‘Un mélange perpétuel de biens et de maux’:

Loss, longing, and narrative in the early modern Huguenot refugee memoir

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Short Abstract

This thesis examines through a literary lens four early modern French texts that have heretofore largely been treated from a historiographical perspective. It aims to establish that Huguenot refugee memoirs are material objects meant to make specific contributions in the world; as such, the question underpinning the study of each of my selected texts is: ‘What does it do?’ The introduction presents the account of Isaac Dumont de Bostaquet (1632–1709) as emblematic of this particular memoir moment: exiled from his homeland, Dumont writes an intentionally exemplary narrative of loss and consolation that delineates micro-communities of readers, even as it seeks to replace lost documentation. Dumont’s relation serves, in my thesis, to illustrate that these Huguenot stories have both rhetorical and practical purposes. Each chapter then offers a counter-example; that is, while each presents a certain model of writing as form of action, the texts explored in Chapters One to Three differ significantly in function. Chapter One further explores the memoir as a set of identification papers by re-evaluating the work of Jean Marteilhe (1684–1777), a Huguenot and one-time galley slave, with particular attention to the significance of paper in his tale. Chapter Two elaborates the significance of family in the Huguenot diaspora through the narrative of Jacques Fontaine (1658–1728), minister and Jack-of-all-trades, who incorporates within his writing a covenantal agreement meant to unite his family despite physical distance. His text serves to highlight the role of the family in the writing, preservation, publication, and dissemination of accounts within the

memoir genre. Chapter Three focuses on the construction of the (anglophone) character of the 'French Refugee' through the richly literary retelling of the experiences of Durand de Dauphiné (dates unknown). Exploring English- and French-language recruitment literature generated by British colonial landholders, literature of which Durand's text is both a product and an example, we discover a memoir which constructs a vision of a new world, brimming with opportunities, yet which never quite leaves behind dreams of return to the homeland. My findings lead me to conclude that an understanding of early modern French narrative traditions and innovations, literatures and perspectives is incomplete without an appreciation of Huguenot refugee memoirs. More needs to be done to make these valuable accounts accessible. These important voices deserve to be heard by new audiences: it is a literature for our own times.

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Long Abstract

The body of texts under consideration in this thesis form a strange group: they do not fit neatly into any established genre but instead draw on several different contemporary forms of writing, while also seeming at times to anticipate future literary developments. Other scholars have shown that Huguenot exiles invented the ‘refugee memoir’; I propose that this re-imagining of a literary form mirrors the transformation of the refugees themselves and the ways in which they develop composite identities from fragments of who they were in their homeland, who they became along the journey from homeland to land of refuge, while also taking on traits of their hosts and the countries in which they settle. Furthermore, I argue that the lengths to which these writers go to stage themselves as trustworthy narrators and their accounts as true imitates the realities they face as strangers attempting to prove their identities and trustworthiness without the proper paperwork to do so. The memoirs they write therefore serve as both eyewitness accounts and as paperwork with a purpose.

Taken together, these accounts represent one (more or less) united French Protestant voice writing to counter the dominant Catholic voice that would become the historiographical authority in their homeland. But the memorialists in my case studies each represent different inflections of that Protestant voice. The situations they describe and the emotions they express sound at times startlingly contemporary, articulating the complexities and prejudices experienced by displaced and mobile people across time and space.

The account of Isaac Dumont de Bostaquet (1632–1709) appears as the case study within the introduction of my thesis, which allows me to consider ways in which his text, a narrative of loss and consolation with dual rhetorical and practical aims, represents this particular memoir moment. Throughout the thesis, I set Dumont's work against three other memoirs, each constituting a chapter, and explore the ways in which all four accounts, while sharing similarities in terms of literary framework, storytelling devices, and writing as form of action, differ significantly from each other in their intended practical uses.

In Chapter One, I consider the memoir of Jean Marteilhe (1684–1777) in light of what it means to be French in this period and discuss how the status of French Protestants changed under Louis XIV, who made them legally strangers in their own homeland. I build on the topic of suspicion of strangers in the early modern period to discuss structures of surveillance and proofs of identity in pre-Revolutionary France. I examine ways in which these refugee narratives gesture to truth, evidence, proof and, as in the case of Marteilhe, particularly paper proof. Marteilhe's account represents a unique inflection of the Huguenot refugee voice in that it reflects the consequences to Protestants who were caught attempting to escape the kingdom and were sentenced to the galleys: Marteilhe survived over a decade of enslavement and writes about his experiences. Through his account, I argue points concerning nationality, identity, and proof that are foregrounded in Marteilhe's account more than in the others.

In most Huguenot refugee accounts, the memorialist is clearly the protagonist of the story, usually part of a move to regain lost agency and redeem a tale full of loss and sadness. In my second chapter, however, I look at the narrative of Jacques Fontaine (1658–1728) in which the text itself emerges as the hero, with the family as the supporting cast. I argue that while Fontaine may be in a figurative and literal sense the source or fountainhead of his family's ongoing literary production and genealogical recordkeeping, his descendants are responsible for the survival of the manuscript through their active, continued engagement in its preservation

and dissemination. I examine how Fontaine challenges his offspring to think differently from their contemporaries on many topics, including identity, social hierarchy, work, family, and the transmission of legacy. I argue that he does this by redefining traditional concepts, even to the point of reinventing the literary space of the memoir by embedding in it a family pact and transforming the memoir into a trans-generational binding force. This chapter highlights the 'family function' in the writing, preservation, publication, and dissemination of accounts within this body of texts. It also demonstrates the professional shape-shifting of refugees, and the difficulties in adjustment for those who either did not have proper connections within the Huguenot network or who, like Fontaine, chose (at least initially) not to associate closely with French Protestant leaders in the Refuge.

Chapter Three takes the account of Durand de Dauphiné (dates unknown), lesser-known than the other texts in my corpus and often overlooked or marginalised by critics, and argues that marginality is a matter of perception, setting out reasons why the narrative might in fact be seen as a remarkable work, full of literary surprises, highly informative concerning the character of the 'French Refugee' in the early modern period. I demonstrate how Durand constructs for his readers an early empirical example of American dreaming and, as such, is part of a much longer story. I show how his account borrows from the travel narratives of early explorers and from the *roman*. This chapter includes a consideration of English- and French-language recruitment literature generated by British colonial landowners, literature of which Durand's memoir is both a product and an example. I establish that the rules and methods prevalent in the sixteenth and seventeenth century affected perception and reception of Durand's text: it was not deemed a 'proper' account according to the writing standards of the time. Durand's account highlights issues of settlement and resettlement, and a longing for a place to call home.

Recent trends in French studies have sought to draw attention to transnational voices once judged tangential or peripheral. Building on the impetus of this project, I propose that it is important also to include in discussions of francophone identities and literatures this group of voices largely muted over the last three centuries, these early modern Huguenots writing 'back' to France from places of refuge outside the kingdom, and who chose exile rather than to conform their dissenting voices to that of the majority. I suggest that an appreciation of early modern French literatures and perspectives is incomplete without the inclusion of these Huguenot refugee narratives, and that of special interest are not so much the already much-studied polemical writings of the French Protestant élite, such as those emanating from the Protestant 'République des lettres' but rather the plain language accounts replete with details of everyday life, written by 'common' displaced French Huguenots, describing their escapes from Louis XIV's authoritarian rule in France, their reception in various countries of refuge, and their struggles to adapt to their new surroundings. I posit that reasons for which these narratives are not better known primarily include lack of accessibility but also the suspicion that attaches itself, in the early modern period and still today, to the foreigner or 'stranger' and in this particular case to their 'strange' literature.

Across all four texts, there is a recurrent set of gestures: lost home, new place, an idea of France, an idea of England. We see also the adaptability and creativity of refugees as they move through shifting scapes. I conclude that a byproduct of this re-invention is that these memorialists also reshape the literature in which they talk about themselves. They write practical texts, texts that *do*. Huguenot refugees contributed in various well-documented ways to the material culture of the states in which they settled; less well-documented but just as worthy of attention are their contributions to literary culture. I submit that these accounts narrate experiences that transcend time, space, and sectarian boundaries and are worthy of the attention of a considerably broader audience.

Introduction

Isaac Dumont de Bostaquet: the memoir moment

South African photographer Gideon Mendel's 2022–2023 exhibition *Fire / Flood* in Soho, London featured a series of portraits depicting individuals from five continents in the midst of homes ruined by natural disasters. Some of his subjects stand neck-deep in flood water, others pose in various attitudes amongst rubble and charred remains of objects that were once the backdrop to their daily lives. These pictures tell wordless stories meant by Mendel concomitantly to record acts of devastation and evoke an emotional reaction from viewers, responses that will, he hopes, draw attention to a cause close to his heart—climate change—by increasing global conversations and helpful action. Mendel suggests that the subjects in his photographs are saying: 'Take a look at what's happened to me'; and in so doing inviting viewers to witness this precarious moment in their lives.[1]

My own work is in a vastly different sphere but has in common with Mendel's a desire to highlight a group of persons who, in the aftermath of calamitous events, invited others to bear witness to their life-altering experiences. Where Mendel uses photography to tell the stories of the people he meets, the migrant writers at the centre of this thesis utilised what was available to them—words—to fashion themselves and reconcile their identities in exile through stories of survival. Their tales serve as records of their losses and their yearning for 'home' but they also, once written down and / or printed, become recognised as valuable material objects, useful for purposes other than bearing witness, as we will discover. Each of the four texts foregrounded here serves also as a call to action, with the author / narrator inviting the reader

[1] Fiona Macdonald, 'Drowning World: 12 striking photos of the climate in crisis,' *BBC Culture*, 18 October 2023. https://bbc.com/culture/article/20231017-drowning-world-12-striking-photos-of-the-climate-in-crisis.

to respond to the story, and so to participate in a community of readers which will outlive, and in some way compensate for the devastating experience of loss.

The Huguenot exodus from France that began prior to, but grew in force after, the Edict of Fontainebleau in 1685 was the largest migration in early modern Europe.[2] Historian Carolyn Chappell Lougee, whose ground-breaking work is central to my study, credits these exiles with generating an altogether new form of memoir: 'Those who wrote of their escape and resettlement invented the genre of the refugee memoir out of their experience of exile and their understanding of their own unprecedented needs.'[3] Through rigorous archival research, Chappell Lougee has identified and catalogued over fifty extant accounts but notes that this represents a mere fraction of what was once available; there is evidence that in the Refuge, the name given to countries welcoming the recently escaped Protestants from France, self-writing 'began to flow from Huguenot pens in unprecedented numbers.'[4] Robin Gwynn points to the decreasing availability of these resources as a relatively recent occurrence: 'One wishes there were more original memoirs to set alongside those […] that have survived. Some have disappeared from view even over the past century; where are all the sources known and used by [Samuel] Smiles?'[5] This, too, is an important aspect of these refugee memoirs, for their

[2] Jane McKee and Randolph Vigne, eds., *The Huguenots: France, Exile & Diaspora* (Brighton, Portland, Toronto: Sussex Academic Press, 2013), 3. While my thesis focuses on post-Revocation French Protestant refugees, see Nicholas Terpstra's *Religious Refugees in the Early Modern World: An Alternative History of the Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015) for wider contexts and (re)definitions of the dates and terminology of European migrations. Particularly pertinent to my study is Terpstra's work on the literary antecedents for the framework and language of loss in exile stories.

[3] Carolyn Chappell Lougee, 'Huguenot Memoirs,' in *A Companion to the Huguenots*, ed. Raymond A. Mentzer and Bertrand Van Ruymbeke (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 340. I use 'refugee' here and throughout the thesis according to *Oxford English Dictionary* definition 1.a: 'A Protestant who fled France to seek refuge elsewhere from religious persecution in the 17th and 18th centuries, esp. following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685.' *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. 'refugee, n.', July 2023, https://doi.org/10.1093/OED/4829684540.

[4] Chappell Lougee, 'Huguenot Memoirs,' 326.

[5] Robin Gwynn, 'Patterns in the Study of Huguenot Refugees in Britain: Past, Present and Future,' in *Huguenots in Britain and their French Background, 1550–1800*, ed. Irene Scouloudi (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1987), 222. Samuel Smiles, a Victorian writer known widely for his bestselling book *Self Help*, originally published in 1859, admired what today would be called the Huguenots' 'work ethic'. He wrote *The Huguenots: Their Settlements, Churches, and Industries in England and Ireland* (London: J. Murray, 1867) in praise of the work and industry of Dutch and French Protestant refugees.

collective story can be read as a tale of lost, and nearly lost, voices clamouring to be heard both against official (Catholic) French historiography and across time and space.

Storytelling provided a means to re-appropriate the voice and agency that loss—'the loss of cultural identity, the loss of religious identity, and the loss of political identity'[6]—had taken from these exiles and refugees. Huguenot memorialists used storytelling because 'telling stories about the past is one of the ways people generate and reproduce a culture, thereby shaping cultural identity.'[7] Ruth Whelan notes that 'narrating the self also constructed the self that was being narrated'[8]: as narrators and heroes of their own stories, memorialists could renegotiate on paper the 'self' they wished to portray. I argue that these writers, through the language and shape of their storytelling, also imagined and delineated small communities of contemporary and future readers, drawn from their familial or patronage networks and beyond.

Because memoirs are retrospective and subject to interpretation, even the most careful renderings contain an inevitable aspect of specularity. Huguenot memorialist Isaac Dumont de Bostaquet, for example, claims to write 'un récit fidèle,'[9] but Bruno Tribout and Whelan warn that such assertions should be taken with a grain of caution for 'when early modern writers promote their life-writing as transparent, unadulterated renderings of their self, they are promoting images, self-constructs, signs, which are not equivalent to the self, but which resemble that self, nonetheless.'[10]

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[6] Ruth Whelan, 'Writing the Self: Huguenot Autobiography and the Process of Assimilation,' in *From Strangers to Citizens: The Integration of Immigrant Communities in Britain, Ireland and Colonial America, 1550–1750*, ed. Randolph Vigne and Charles Littleton (Brighton and Portland: Sussex Academic Press, 2001), 465.
[7] Ibid., 466.
[8] Ruth Whelan, 'From the Other Side of Silence: Huguenot Life-Writing, a Dialogic Art of Narrating the Self,' in *Narrating the Self in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Bruno Tribout and Ruth Whelan (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2007), 140.
[9] Isaac Dumont de Bostaquet (1632–1709). Manuscript completed in 1693, reprinted as *Mémoires sur les temps qui ont précédé et suivi la Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes*, ed. Michel Edmond Richard (Paris: Mercure de France, 1968). I use the latter edition throughout. I will follow Whelan and Chappell Lougee in most often referring to this author as 'Dumont' (see Whelan in 'Writing the Self' and Chappell Lougee in 'Huguenot Memoirs').
[10] Tribout and Whelan, Introduction to *Narrating the Self in Early Modern Europe*, 17. For more on this question in a different mode of travel writing, see Wes Williams, *Pilgrimage and Narrative in the French Renaissance: 'The Undiscovered Country'* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).

The reshaping that occurs in the memoir writing process 'constitutes much of its value'[11] and makes memoirs particularly intriguing as specimens of self-identity, because the self that is seen in the mirror 'is in fact an image, which, as it were, objectifies the self.'[12] This is an aspect of these Huguenot refugee memoirs and escape tales largely overlooked by past readers, whose primary concern has often been whether these accounts are true—that is, whether the historical and personal details related by the narrators can be substantiated by outside evidence. Jules Michelet and Thomas Babington Macaulay valued the unique insights they provide into historical experiences like the everyday lives of galley slaves in the maritime fleet of Louis XIV, or the landing of William of Orange in England and the fighting at the Battle of the Boyne;[13] Smiles admired the skills and spirit of liberty brought to Britain by Dutch and French refugees and he subsequently mined these memoirs for examples of the 'effects upon English industry as well as English history' of 'this last great migration of foreign Protestants from France into England.'[14] Other readers, particularly in the nineteenth century, emphasised the moral qualities of the protagonists in these works, figuring them as exemplary and worthy

[11] Chappell Lougee, 'Huguenot Memoirs,' 328.
[12] Tribout and Whelan, 16.
[13] Dianne Ressinger writes that Dumont's memoirs contain 'the only substantial eyewitness account of an officer in one of the three Huguenot regiments which played a significant role in William III's victory in Ireland. In addition to identifying many of the officers in the Huguenot regiments, his first-hand narrative was used by Macaulay as a major resource in his *History of England from the Accession of James the Second*, 6 vols (London: Macmillan, 1913–1915), which influenced generations of historians. Macaulay, in describing the reign of William and Mary, the Battle of the Boyne, and the sieges of Limerick and Londonderry made extensive use of Dumont de Bostaquet's manuscript.' (Dianne Ressinger, 'Good Faith: The Military and the Ministry in Exile, or The Memoirs of Isaac Dumont de Bostaquet and Jaques [sic] Fontaine,' in *From Strangers to Citizens, op. cit.*, 457). Jules Michelet writes about the Huguenots and the revocation in *Histoire de France. Louis XIV jusqu'en 1700*, Tome IX (Lausanne: Editions Rencontre, 1966), making reference to memoirs such as those of Jean Marteilhe and Dumont. Richard notes in his introduction to Dumont's memoirs: 'Michelet a reproché à Macaulay d'avoir minimisé l'apport des réformés français dans la victoire de la Boyne. Il souligne lui-même que les exilés donnèrent à Guillaume et à sa petite armée « le général et presque tous les officiers, les chefs du génie, de l'artillerie, trois régiments invincibles », enfin, « le souffle brûlant qui enleva la Hollande, lui fit risquer sa flotte, enfla les voiles de Guillaume »,' 21.
[14] Smiles, *The Huguenots*, vii.

of emulation; Sunday School presses in France, England, and America printed editions for the benefit of 'youth'.[15]

My work takes seriously the notion that these post-Revocation Huguenot memoirs share the quality of being images (photographs, if you will) of how the narrators see themselves or wish to portray themselves to their audiences as they invite them to witness their experiences, and that therein lies a large portion of what makes them worth studying. By placing several of these texts side by side and comparing the way in which the stories are told, my thesis charts the range of expressive possibilities open to Huguenot writers at the time, and asks what we can learn about the 'self' which these authors depict as they establish and demarcate a powerful community of readers. Where my featured authors used storytelling as a means to reconcile their identities in writing, I use it as a critical method to look closely at their memoirs. This means paying close attention to narrative structures, framing, and storytelling devices, and questions of subject, image, and metaphor. By attending to the authors' own sense-making efforts in this way, we better develop an understanding of the shape of the memorialists' different experiences, both of loss and of the reconciliation of identity. This literary, narratological approach allows for pauses in the historically inflected search for verification and fact, the better to listen to the story being told, and in so doing to engage with the participatory aspects anticipated by the authors of these accounts.[16]

I focus on four authors—Isaac Dumont de Bostaquet (1632–1709), Jean Marteilhe (1684–1777), Jacques Fontaine (1658–1728), and Durand de Dauphiné (dates unknown; he describes himself as a widower with a married daughter at the time of his departure from France

[15] For example, the Rev. Dr. F. L. Hawks writes concerning the memoirs of Jacques Fontaine that 'it was thought that youth might here find an example worthy of its imitation'. Introduction to *The Huguenots, or Memoirs of a French Refugee Family*, trans. and comp. Ann Maury (New York: John S. Taylor, 1838), v.

[16] To be clear, the aim here is not to 'imagine what cannot be verified' on the model, for instance, of Saidiya Hartman's critical fabulation in 'Venus in Two Acts,' *Small Axe*, no. 26 (vol. 12, no. 2), June 2008, 1–14 (quotation, 12). Rather, it is to listen *differently* to these counter-histories by acknowledging more directly the roles of storytellers, stories, audiences, and the relationships between them.

in October 1685)—and present them in that order, for reasons I shall set forth below. These memorialists have many traits in common: they were born in early modern France to traditionally Protestant families, fled their homes due to religious persecution, settled in places of refuge outside their homeland, and wrote, in French, accounts of their escape that have subsequently been printed, published, translated, and received a measure of critical attention. A further characteristic the four authors share is that they were fathers: three of them (Dumont, Fontaine, Durand) mention their children within their accounts, while the existence of Marteilhe's daughter is derived from evidence outside the text. Their status as fathers and 'patriarchs' will be important to our discussion of audience, as well as to understanding the preservation and circulation history of these accounts.[17]

The choice to focus on *published* texts is in part due to practical factors: my project began during a global pandemic when access to libraries and archives was heavily restricted or impossible. Tracing the publication history of these memoirs, however, led to several key discoveries: I found, firstly, that the four accounts are extant and (ordinarily) available for consultation; secondly, that the publication journey of each memoir is as complex and unique as the hero described within its pages. Much time in the early days of this work was spent investigating and evaluating the trustworthiness of the obscure presses that had printed the memoirs in their various editions. It is clear there is a great need for updated, annotated, reliable, accessible critical editions and translations of the Huguenot refugee corpus, and tracing any one of these memoirs' complex editorial histories could have been a thesis in itself. My focus lies elsewhere, as noted above, but we shall return to this question of editions later.[18]

[17] The few surviving accounts by women have been the subject of excellent research by Chappell Lougee and others; see, for example, Chappell Lougee's '"The Pains I Took to Save My / His Family": Escape Accounts by a Huguenot Mother and Daughter after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes,' *French Historical Studies*, vol. 22, no. 1 (Winter 1999), 1–64.

[18] For another recent and original approach to Huguenot refugee memoirs, see Nora Baker, 'Proud Humility: Paradoxes of Self-representation in Huguenot Memoir' (DPhil thesis, Oxford University, 2023). Though drawing from some of the same sources, my thesis differs in that it considers published texts where Baker's focus is largely

This thesis could have been set out as a chronological study that followed the birth order of the memorialists or the publication of their works. The ordering from oldest to youngest of the writers would have been possible, but is made more challenging by the fact that the age and birth year of the writer in my final chapter are unknown (although we might estimate his age based on historical and personal clues in the account). The second method, by order of publication, would have involved complicated questions concerning which versions to use, and so entailed still more detail on the editorial history of this corpus. Fontaine's text, for example, although written in French, was first published in London as an English translation of the French manuscript, then in London again as a French translation of the English edition; it wasn't until 1887 that his original French version was rediscovered in America and published in Paris. As much of the story of these refugees, and of their texts, has to do with movement, by putting the chapters in the present order I have chosen to structure this thesis as the story of the movement of people from rootedness to re-rootedness via upheaval, beginning with Dumont de Bostaquet and ending with Durand de Dauphiné.

Dumont's memoir appears here as the case study within the introduction, which allows us to consider the ways in which his account, a narrative of loss with dual rhetorical and practical aims, represents this particular memoir moment. Throughout the thesis, I set Dumont's work against three other memoirs, each constituting a chapter, and explore the ways in which all four accounts, while exhibiting similarities, differ significantly from each other in their intended practical uses. Dumont represents his own experience as exemplary, but my setting his work at the start of this journey is not to claim that other writers consciously followed his example. The intent is not to trace direct sources or conscious imitation, so much as to suggest that the clear and compelling instance of Dumont's memorialist framework might

archival, and where I use a narratological approach hers is informed by trauma theory. Though both works focus at least tangentially on self-fashioning in the writings of Huguenot memorialists, our conclusions take significantly different forms.

usefully serve as a model for our understanding of how other writers generate similar accounts with different inflections as they too engage with their readers across the Huguenot diaspora.

i. 'Récit fidèle de ce qui s'est passé dans ma vie de plus essentiel'[19]

Isaac Dumont de Bostaquet, a nobleman from Normandy, began writing his memoirs around 1687 as a refugee in the Low Countries and completed them in 1693 in Ireland, six months after settling with his family in Dublin, having resided first in Holland and then in England. His account, one of the rare full-length Huguenot refugee memoirs to have survived and one of the best-known, was composed in the latter part of his life and covers the period from his childhood until 1693. A Huguenot of 'petite noblesse' background, his story illustrates the experiences of a type of refugee whose family name and former military service stand him in good stead in the Refuge, enabling him to connect at once to the Huguenot network and make a fairly smooth transition from life in France to life in exile. For instance, when he meets with William of Orange to seek patronage, 'the prince remembered his family's name, and by virtue of memory Bostaquet got a promise of protection.'[20] A refugee of military background who sought a state pension in the Refuge, he was asked by his potential sponsors to provide a written account of his former military service as replacement documentation for papers that had been lost or left behind in France. This 'official' reason for writing is accompanied by a more painfully personal motive: he acknowledges his status as an example of a Huguenot who abjured his faith under duress in France, and so feels he must provide an explanation in writing

[19] Dumont, 193.
[20] Carolyn Chappell Lougee, 'Emigration and Memory: After 1685 and After 1789,' in *Egodocuments and History: Autobiographical Writing in Its Social Context since the Middle Ages*, ed. Rudolf Dekker (Hilversum: Verloren, 2002), 96.

for that act as both for the present moment and for the future understanding of his community's history.

Dumont's account is divided into eight parts, which are further subdivided into six sequences '[coinciding] either with his arrival in a new country or place of refuge, or with a new set of experiences.'[21] The first sequence is the longest, comprising about half of the narrative, and is devoted to describing his life in seventeenth-century Normandy, where he was born in 1632 and lived until the age of fifty-five. He writes of his three marriages, his nineteen children, the deaths of his first two wives, and makes references to larger events taking place, such as the growing marginalisation and persecution of his people, the Huguenots, and the difficult decisions they faced in light of contemporary political and social changes. This segment ends with his perilous and fraught escape from France, which Dianne Ressinger contrasts to that of his fellow refugee Fontaine, stating that Fontaine's 'bold escape in an open boat near La Rochelle [looks] like child's play compared to the agony of Dumont's arrival in Holland, wounded, alone, and devastated at leaving his family behind.'[22] The segment is aptly titled (by Dumont, and as noted above): 'Récit fidèle de ce qui s'est passé dans ma vie de plus essentiel, pour servir de mémoire à ma postérité ; et cela, depuis ma naissance jusques à ce jour'.

Around the account's midpoint as measured in page numbers, Dumont turns from describing his life in France to chronicling his adventures and misadventures as a refugee. He begins this second segment, which he calls 'Mémoire de ma vie nouvelle ou de ce qui m'est arrivé de biens et de maux depuis le mois de juin 1687 que je me suis réfugié à La Haye', with

[21] Whelan, 'Writing the Self,' 464.
[22] Ressinger, 'Good Faith,' 454.

the following lament: 'La vie de l'homme est un mélange perpétuel de biens et de maux ; et si cela est commun à tous, peu de personnes en ont fait plus que moi la triste expérience.'[23]

This statement (which lends my thesis its title, and to which we return below) encapsulates three important threads that run through the chapters of this study. First, that these works describe through stories the 'mélange perpétuel de biens et de maux', both the adventures and misadventures, of their authors, and this makes for reading that is (intentionally) rather thrilling and exciting. Second, that there is an element of commonality between these texts, an aspect 'commun à tous', and that what allows me to treat the texts in my corpus as a 'family' is what they have in common, namely that they deal with loss in certain prescribed ways, but also the fact that each interprets loss differently and that their narratives reflect these variations. Third, that there are particular ways in which language is used in these accounts: when, for example, Dumont writes that 'peu de personnes en ont fait plus que moi la triste expérience', he is using the superlative to set himself up as an exemplary sufferer. I will consider the memorialists' 'tristes expériences' in light of affect, exploring the role of emotion in these texts and the narrators' expectations of reader response.

We noted above that Huguenot refugee memorialists use storytelling to reconcile their identities in exile, to regain some of their lost agency, and to project a specific image of themselves to their readers. The way in which they express all of this clearly also serves another purpose: these texts delineate micro-communities bound together by a shared vocabulary of emotion. Such groupings might fall under what Barbara Rosenwein terms 'emotional communities', which she defines as 'groups in which people adhere to the same norms of emotional expression and value—or devalue—the same or related emotions.'[24] Dumont's

[23] Dumont, 193.
[24] Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006), 2.

richly affective vocabulary reveals some of the inner turmoil, response to privation and change, and even the occasional joys that characterised the uprooted lives of these refugees. The narrative form he employs and the language he uses provide fundamental insights into a construct that compelled Huguenot exiles to view loss as regenerative—'productive rather than pathological'[25] to borrow affect theorist David Eng's phrasing—and how this perception of loss helped redefine Huguenot immigrants' individual and community identity.

One naturally expects to find expressions of deep sorrow within these Huguenot narratives of loss. Yet this is not the literature of martyrdom that surfaced in the previous century with the works of Jean Crespin and John Foxe, depicting suffering saints meeting gruesome ends with psalms and constancy. In the seventeenth-century writings of Huguenot memorialists, examples of laughter and unrestrained joy appear alongside scenes of distress and heartbreak. But why dwell on this? When and where are these emotions expressed, and to what end?

Let us consider first an occasion of deep sorrow in Dumont's tale: the death of his second wife. This incident takes place in France before his flight to Holland and might have occurred to any woman giving birth in this era. It is therefore not an example of suffering for one's faith. Rather, I am interested here in how Dumont depicts various emotional reactions to an event which he describes as '[le] plus rude coup dont Dieu me pût accablé':

> Mon épouse, grosse pour la septième fois et jouissant d'une santé parfaite dans cet état, fut prise pour accoucher […]. [O]n me vint avertir que cette chère épouse me demandoit. J'y courus ; mais approchant d'elle, elle me dit d'une voix foible et languissante : « Adieu, mon cher mari, il n'y a plus de femme », et aussitôt ayant perdu la parole, elle fut prise de petites convulsions qui lui firent rendre l'âme entre mes bras. Quiconque a aimé avec la plus forte passion que l'on puisse sentir, réfléchisse sur ce que je fis dans ce triste état.[26]

[25] David Eng and David Kazanjian, eds., *Loss: The Politics of Mourning* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2003), ix.
[26] Dumont, 91.

In this instance, Dumont uses ‘quiconque’ to draw a line between those who have experienced the sudden, unexpected loss of a beloved spouse and those who have not; this formulation already imagines a minimal community, but the use of an additional superlative further restricts this small community of sufferers to those who have loved *avec la plus forte passion que l’on puisse sentir*. The intimation that they alone can fully appreciate the depth of Dumont’s sorrow at his wife’s passing makes a considerable claim on his imagined readers.

As the narration continues, we see still more emotion and more superlatives in this deathbed scene:

> [J]’aimois, si je l’ose dire, dans l’excès cette digne et charmante épouse […]. Si la douleur d’une perte si sensible m’avoit pu mettre dans le même tombeau, j’aurois reçu la mort avec une joie sans pareille […]. Enfin mes proches m’arrachèrent malgré moi de ce triste objet que la pâleur seule faisoit croire n’être plus vivant.[27]

In recounting this loss event, Dumont does not cling to notions of stoicism; one senses only a slight self-censoring in his admission of loving his wife ‘si je l’ose dire, dans l’excès’. These passages provide a record from Dumont’s perspective of his wife’s apparent resignation to her death and of her husband’s response to losing her. But we see too the reaction of his inner circle—‘mes proches’, which is to say his initial ‘emotional community’—as they tear him away from the scene in spite of himself, and so save him from following his wife into death.

We turn next to a contrasting emotion, joy, which Dumont uses to delineate further his projected community of readers. Dumont remarries, fathers more children, and is eventually forced by circumstances to flee the kingdom of France ahead of his family. After a long wait in the Refuge, he hears news of the arrival of his wife and one of his children: ‘alors nous courûmes à Rotterdam où je trouvai mon épouse et son fils […]. La joie de se revoir après une si longue absence et tant de maux soufferts ne se peut exprimer que par ceux qui ont éprouvé

[27] Ibid.

l'un et l'autre.'[28] The restrictive 'ne… que' does similar work here to that of 'quiconque' in the earlier deathbed passage: it limits who the author feels can truly share in this particular experience of joy. Although Dumont frequently sets himself up as the superlative sufferer, he also, in moments such as this, allows that a small community of Huguenot refugees have, like him, had the experience of loss and leaving behind loved ones, and so might share in the exquisite joy of reunion.

Most Huguenot memoirs begin 'À mes enfants' yet as has been shown above this dedication encompasses only part of the authors' intended audience. Tribout and Whelan evocatively note:

> Self-writing is ultimately a dialogic art, implicitly and sometimes explicitly inscribing snippets of that vast background noise in the text, talking back, talking to […] narratee, correspondent, other writers, other texts, other times and readers […], textually re-creating an ideal specular relationship that perhaps never was, but which we seek to translate into language, represent symbolically, integrate, sublimate, or mourn forever.[29]

From this viewpoint, memoirs become a type of literature of consolation in which reader involvement is crucial in crafting the affective lives of the Protestant community in diaspora. Katherine Ibbett writes: 'In response to the structural stalemate of the Revocation, Protestants increasingly began to speak a new emotional vocabulary, with the imagined compassionater no longer the king but rather a broader community.'[30] Élie Benoist, author of *Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes*, fully embraced this construct and worked relentlessly to assemble Huguenot testimonials in a prodigious document designated for Holland's governing authorities ostensibly, but also for the judgement of posterity.[31]

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[28] Ibid., 220.
[29] Tribout and Whelan, 22.
[30] Katherine Ibbett, *Compassion's Edge: Fellow-Feeling and Its Limits in Early Modern France* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018), 179.
[31] Élie Benoist, *Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes, contenant les choses les plus remarquables qui se sont passées en France avant et après sa publication, à l'occasion de la diversité des Religions*, 5 vols (Delft: A. Beman, 1693–1695).

Part of appreciating the ways in which these Huguenot refugee accounts differ from the self-writing of their contemporaries requires determining the parameters of the memoir in this period, a challenging task given the difficulty of confining within a single definition a genre of such fluidity, notably in the early stages of its development. 'Le genre des Mémoires qui émerge à la Renaissance,' writes Nadine Kuperty-Tsur, 'ne se laisse enfermer dans aucune définition. De nature hybride, alliant au discours personnel un discours historique, il ne correspond à aucune catégorie.'[32] This inability to fit neatly into a recognised category is treated in Marc Fumaroli's influential article 'Les mémoires du XVII^{e} siècle, au carrefour des genres en prose', which Kuperty-Tsur describes as 'l'une des rares études à considérer le genre de façon globale.'[33] In this study, Fumaroli uncovers and explains 'les raisons de l'essor du genre à un moment critique de son évolution, avant qu'il ne bascule dans le portrait, le roman ou l'autobiographie.'[34] Tracing the trajectory of the genre from its French roots—citing, among others, German erudite Hanses, for whom 'les *Mémoires* sont un genre spécifiquement français que les étrangers se sont contentés d'imiter'[35]—he provides the definition of *mémoire* in Antoine Furetière's 1690 *Dictionnaire universel*, which according to Fumaroli 'développe avec le plus de nuances et d'exemples les divers sens du mot *mémoire*.'[36] Furetière's definition, and particularly Fumaroli's synopsis of it, will prove useful to our discussion of Huguenot memoirs:

> Sens moraux, tout d'abord : faculté de se souvenir, et aussi image que la postérité garde d'un grand homme. Sens concrets ensuite : un *mémoire*, dit Furetière, c'est un *écrit sommaire que l'on donne à quelqu'un pour le faire souvenir de quelque chose*. Et les exemples qu'il donne renvoient au domaine juridique (placet raisonné à un juge), politique (mémoire en faveur de tel parti) ou financier (mémoire en vue d'un recouvrement). Ce mémoire, avec une minuscule, a un pluriel.[37]

[32] Nadine Kuperty-Tsur, *Se dire à la Renaissance: les mémoires au XVIe siècle* (Paris: J. Vrin, 1997), 9.
[33] Ibid., 12.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Marc Fumaroli, 'Les mémoires du XVIIe siècle, au carrefour des genres en prose,' in *XVIIe siècle,* 94-95 (1971), 13.
[36] Fumaroli, 10. See Antoine Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel*, 2 vols (The Hague and Rotterdam: A. et R. Leers, 1690), s.v. 'mémoire'.
[37] Furetière quoted in Fumaroli, 10; italics Fumaroli.

There is yet another type of memoir in this period, *Mémoires* in the upper case, which we will consider briefly before returning to the juridical and political aspects of memoirs so critical to understanding the Huguenot impulse toward self-writing at this moment in history. Furetière defines *Mémoires* as 'livres d'Historiens écrits par ceux qui ont eu part aux affaires ou qui en ont été témoins oculaires, ou qui contiennent leur vie et leurs principales actions, ce qui répond à ce que les Latins appeloient Commentaires.'[38] Examples of such memoirs include the autobiographical *Commentaires* of Blaise de Monluc (1502?–1577), which cover his life and military career from 1521–1576, and two works by Théodore Agrippa d'Aubigné (1552–1630), *Sa Vie à ses enfants* and *Histoire universelle*, which integrate events from his life and the history of France through descriptions of military campaigns in which he played a prominent role.[39] Monluc commanded the Catholic military forces in France during the Wars of Religion while d'Aubigné, virulently anti-Catholic, commanded the Protestant forces under Henri de Navarre. Both men's lengthy chronicles were written in part as a reaction to the ingratitude of the Court after their long years of devoted service, in an effort to rebuild and maintain their honour for posterity.

Although these sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century accounts take on narrative form, to qualify as *Mémoires* in the early- to mid-seventeenth century works needed structurally little more than bearing an association with a person of renown. Fumaroli gives the example of the Duc de Nevers whose memoirs, assembled by Marin Le Roy de Gomberville around 1620 and published in 1665, were merely a compilation of legal documents and letters pertaining to the Duc. What purpose might such a memoir serve? Including original documents free from interpretation or commentary was an attempt to generate a veritable, objective history of the

[38] Fumaroli, 11. Chappell Lougee calls these *mémoires-histoires* ('Huguenot Memoirs,' 323).
[39] Blaise de Montluc, *Commentaires* (1521–1576), ed. Paul Courteault ([Paris]: Gallimard, c. 1964); Théodore Agrippa d'Aubigné, *Histoire universelle*, 10 vols, Alphonse de Rouble, ed. (Paris: Renouard, 1886–1909) and *Sa Vie à ses enfants*, ed. Gilbert Schrenck (Paris: Société des textes français modernes, 1986).

featured public figure. One such memorialist, Bussy-Rabutin, cousin and correspondent of Madame de Sévigné, described the goal of his efforts in collecting and reproducing original documents from his life as a desire to compose 'une histoire de moi si véritable, et particularisée que je la pourrais appeler confession générale, si je ne disois quelquefois du bien de moi comme du mal.'[40] Fumaroli comments: 'Avec un scrupule d'archiviste paléographe, aussi bien Gomberville que Bussy oublient leur talent d'écrivains, et cherchent à éliminer autant que possible les médiations entre leur lecteur et les documents authentiques.'[41]

Several important ideas emerge from these statements. Self-writing appears initially in this period as an endeavour to compile a record of life, an autobiographical account that is creditable, a true record, because it is free of embellishments: it allows the authentic documents to speak for themselves. We note that this form of self-writing leaves to the reader the interpretation of facts. Fumaroli points out that in such instances the authors urge the reader to take on the role of judge and historian: 'Ils [les auteurs] veulent le persuader qu'il [le lecteur] est l'Historien qui achèvera mentalement, par le jugement qu'il rendra, le dossier qu'ils lui présentent.'[42] Authors of later memoirs would present and interpret their life events in narrative form rather than as a compilation of documents, but memoirs would continue to appeal to their readership for judgement and vindication. The reader as judge is a fundamental point in understanding the role of memoirs in this period of French history, as memorialists not only contemplated the past but wrote increasingly with an eye toward future readers and their exercise of judgement.

The political and social situation in France in the seventeenth century was particularly conducive to the generation of memoirs. Fumaroli writes: 'au XVII^{e} siècle, en France, terre de

[40] Bussy-Rabutin, cited in Fumaroli, 11.
[41] Fumaroli, ibid.
[42] Ibid.

guerres civiles, de conflits et de querelles, l'Histoire est un procès dont la postérité seule pourra donner la conclusion définitive.'[43] Because there is no 'perfect historian'—that is, no perfectly objective historian—memoirs serve to document facts and events as they occurred, according to eyewitnesses, so that at some future date the various accounts will be read, and judgement rendered. The imagery here is not merely of an earthly tribunal but of divine judgement, in which memoirs are presented as judicial briefs: 'il faut multiplier les témoignages, accumuler les archives, préparer les mémoires qui permettront à chacun de ne pas se présenter désarmé à l'heure du jugement.'[44] Memoirs become a way to contribute a counter-discourse to the official histories being recorded in this period, deferring to a future reader and a future (legal or divine) judge.

As we have already glimpsed, disgraced or marginalised military leaders like d'Aubigné and Monluc, who wrote in retirement from comfortable estates on their native soil, were not the only French memorialists seeking to protect and preserve their honour for future generations. The reasons Huguenot refugees wrote memoirs were many and varied but the underlying impetus, as referenced above by Chappell Lougee, seems to have been a need to make sense of their experiences, to justify their actions (in certain cases), and to redefine who they were: first-generation escape memoirs became 'a means through which the writers renegotiated their identities after the turmoil of flight.'[45] The hybridity of the memoir genre in this period—the mix of historical and personal stories—must have seemed an appropriate vehicle through which to process the hybridisation of identity that had been forced upon them. Memoirs became a space apart, somewhere exiles could reconstruct the facets of their identity—French, Protestant, refugee—in a sort of narrative Venn diagram of overlapping

[43] Ibid., 12.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Cormac Chesser, 'Between Babylon and Canaan: The Children of the Diaspora and the Story of their Past,' in *The Huguenots: France, Exile & Diaspora*, ed. McKee and Vigne, *op. cit.*, 205. Chesser nods here to the aforementioned findings of Chappell Lougee and Whelan.

categories. For Fumaroli, whose attention to style and form signals a move away from thinking of memoirs primarily as sources of information, the value of these Huguenot refugee accounts lies in fact not in how true they might (or might not) be but that they constitute 'fragments de cette immense conversation où se forme et se polit le meilleur de l'esprit français.'[46]

I propose that a new way of reading this family of texts is as narratives of loss, consolation, and community. Dumont's account provides both a pattern for our understanding of these works as part of a greater body of literature of loss, and raises a number of questions about how consolation and community might be seen to operate as ideals within the Huguenot memoir corpus. These include the following: what does the language in which he describes his losses and subsequent gains reveal about the identity of the Huguenot refugee that Dumont is seeking, consciously or subconsciously, to portray? What might his language tell us concerning the role of memoir itself in shaping the identity of early modern Huguenots in exile? To what extent is the narrative shaping in Dumont's account characteristic of Huguenot refugee self-writing more broadly? What images of community do his—and others'—memoirs forge for the future?

An aspect common to memoirs but which takes on additional significance in refugee self-writing is the presence of genealogies. Dumont's account is no exception: he includes lengthy passages in which he describes his parentage and family connections. For Chappell Lougee, 'the large portion of the opening section that Dumont devoted to a seemingly mundane and even tiresome tracing of kinship and friendship networks back in Normandy'[47] is indicative not merely of nostalgia but of a need to recapture this significant component of his identity. It is a way of demonstrating his connections but also of signalling his former status in society, and we learn from the information he provides that he descends from nobility on both sides of

[46] Fumaroli, 37.
[47] Chappell Lougee, 'Huguenot Memoirs,' 331.

his family: 'Il ne semble pas y avoir eu d'anoblissement ; il s'agirait donc d'une famille « noble de sang et d'origine »'[48] writes Michel Edmond Richard, editor of the 1968 edition of Dumont's memoirs.

The opening pages of these memoirs often feature escape accounts which set out the difficult circumstances that led to the writer's flight and the perils encountered on the way to safety, with many Huguenot refugees arriving in the Refuge with 'only the clothes on their back'. Although this is often literally true, their attire might include expensive jewellery that were either heirlooms, part of a dowry (as in the case of Fontaine), or that might have been acquired by selling large portions of their earthly goods prior to setting out on the journey. Or they might have arranged for the shipment of some of their property ahead of them to a safe place (as did Durand de Dauphiné). In Dumont's case, a symbolic object taken with him into the Refuge is his military sword, which he will use not only to fight his family's way to safety but also to demonstrate his allegiance to the Prince of Orange: 'Il mit son épée, le seul bien qui lui restât, au service de Guillaume III, stathouder des Pays-Bas, puis roi d'Angleterre.'[49] Due to his family connections and the name he made for himself fighting two battles with William III, Dumont received a warm welcome in the Refuge, and particularly in England. Ressinger writes: 'Dumont brought only his pregnant wife and two small children from The Hague to live in Greenwich in the summer of 1689; his older children remained in France. In Greenwich they found a complete support system; the presence of the senior Marquis de Ruvigny and his family at the Queen's House there brought many prominent refugees to live in or visit that town.'[50]

For Dumont, as the previous examples demonstrate, renegotiating his identity involves taking stock of what he has lost and what he has managed to keep hold of that may yet serve

[48] Richard, in the introduction of his 1968 edition of Dumont's memoirs, 11–12.
[49] Ibid., 9.
[50] Ressinger, 'Good Faith,' 454.

for the future; in other words, part of the process of reconstruction involves *deconstruction*. From his reminiscences emerges a catalogue of losses surprisingly Job-like in the rapidity of their succession, with little or no time for Dumont to recover between episodes (we will develop this biblical comparison in greater detail below). It comprises a wide range of losses: loss of home (physical as well as emotional), family (through death or distance), of friends, of material possessions, of status, of power, of homeland.[51] By providing a series of loss events, Dumont is documenting his former assets and the circumstances in which he lost them; he creates, in fact, a sort of anti-inventory.[52] According to George Hoffmann, '[c]onfessional conflict encouraged reformers to view their faith as a portable phenomenon and their church as a spiritual entity, not a political, geographical, or architectural one.'[53] But there were, as both the structure and the detail of Dumont's account make plain, some things that were not portable and had to be left behind; his narrative captures the lost energy of certain lost objects, even as his writing attempts to replace or recreate them during his time in exile.

ii. 'La vie de l'homme est un mélange perpétuel de biens et de maux'[54]

We began this introduction with a brief discussion of the subjects of Mendel's photographs in the Fire / Flood exhibition, subjects whose homes had been ruined by (man-made) natural disasters. Dumont also loses his home to fire, and unable to salvage the situation, he watches helplessly as his ancestral home burns to the ground, in what he calls 'le plus terrible accident dont Dieu pût visiter un homme':

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[51] See Charlotte Wells, *Law and Citizenship in Early Modern France* (Baltimore; London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995) for what 'homeland' meant legally. This topic of homeland and 'Frenchness' will be developed further in Chapter One.
[52] I am grateful to Katherine Ibbett for adding this descriptive term to my vocabulary.
[53] George Hoffmann, *Reforming French Culture: Satire, Spiritual Alienation, and Connection to Strangers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 67–68.
[54] Dumont, 193.

> Pendant toutes ces agitations et mon veuvage, il m'arriva le plus terrible accident dont Dieu pût visiter un homme. Le dernier jour d'août de l'année 1673, le feu se prit au château de la Fontelaye d'une manière si terrible qu'il en fut consumé de fond en comble, sans y pouvoir apporter aucun remède.[55]

Several of his children were asleep in the room where the blaze began but their nurse was able to remove them to safety:

> Enfin, Dieu ayant garanti ces quatre pauvres petites créatures d'un péril si évident, je lui en rendis grâces en mon cœur, et regardai avec constance toute la suite de ce déplorable embrasement […]. Il y avoit de plus un grand coffre plein des écritures de ma famille.[56]

The fire consumes his earthly possessions—including a chest full of family papers—but Dumont, cognisant of having been spared even greater heartbreak, watches the blaze 'avec constance' and offers thanksgiving to his God.

The degree to which Dumont uses a religious, almost liturgical, lexis in narrating this episode is striking: 'dont Dieu pût visiter un homme', 'Dieu ayant garanti', 'je lui en rendis grâces'. This corresponds to a pattern which emerges in Dumont's writing, and which can also be detected in other Huguenot memorialists' narratives: that of God testing man with deplorable disaster, yet the righteous remaining strong in their faith, to the point of giving thanks even in the aftermath of great losses and suffering. Chappell Lougee comments: 'God was a constant presence for Dumont, and his explanation for his dispossession rested upon his conception of Providence.'[57] Ressinger sees a thread of triumphal, redemptive faith in both Dumont's and his fellow refugee memorialist Fontaine's writings. Dumont and Fontaine, as she sees it, 'wrote vastly different accounts of hardship, defeat and the ultimate triumph of faith in a difficult time.'[58] Yet it is to (his perceived) failure and this loss of family documents rather than ultimate triumph that we owe the fact that Dumont set down his account in writing.

[55] Ibid., 97–98.
[56] Ibid., 99.
[57] Chappell Lougee, 'Huguenot Memoirs,' 331.
[58] Ressinger, 'Good Faith,' 451.

We have considered some of the rhetorical aspects of Dumont's writing; we will now look further into the practical reasons for which he wrote, reasons which relate to the catastrophic fire which burned down his home. One compelling motivation for Huguenot engagement in autobiographical writing was to respond to the need for documentation. With their lengthy genealogies and chronologies, memoirs performed the invaluable act of becoming material evidence substantiating identity; they became certifications of identity, establishing a traceable history in order to prove, for example, merit when exiles applied for pensions in the Refuge. This was indeed the case for Dumont: 'What he lacked in exile was not virtue, not religion, not memory, but documentation of social place.'[59] Without these documents, writes Chappell Lougee, Dumont 'must create new papers, must write his identity—that is, become a memorialist.'[60] From this we get an idea of the larger readership intended by memorialists, because Huguenot memoirs 'while dedicated to family and as such ostensibly private, were to be *used* and used in *public*, as substitute identification papers.'[61]

Writing also served another crucial purpose: that of mitigating for the loss of experiential memory *within* the diasporic community. Dumont, the oldest of the memorialists in this study, wrote his memoirs at a time when the ranks of first-generation refugees were growing thin; his anticipation of a future space in which others would be interested in both writing down and reading about the trials and adventures of his generation was grounded in a sense of not only identification papers, but also personal and family memories being lost. 'Let us not forget,' Cormac Chesser writes, 'that the first generation of refugees was beginning to pass from the community of the living in the early eighteenth century, and that the exile communities were composed of people with little or no first-hand experience of the

[59] Chappell Lougee, 'Paper Memories and Identity Papers: Why Huguenot Refugees Wrote Memoirs,' in *Narrating the Self in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Tribout and Whelan, *op. cit.*, 133.
[60] Chappell Lougee, 'Emigration and Memory,' 94.
[61] Chappell Lougee, 'Huguenot Memoirs,' 333. Italics Chappell Lougee.

Revocation, or the refugee experience associated with it.'[62] Indeed, at the political level, voices calling for *oubliance* concerning the struggles, actions, and atrocities of the many years of war were growing louder in France.[63] Against this rising tide of official 'forgetting', Huguenot memorialists like Dumont sought to create a barrier. They were compelled to write how they had escaped their persecutors in France, driven by an intrinsic sense that they should be allowed to worship as their consciences dictated, and the 'manuscripts they created act as a defence against forgetting that unique experience.'[64]

Dumont wrote to replace lost documentation, to admonish future generations not to forget his suffering and experiences, but he also wrote to make amends. The narrative arc in Dumont's memoirs, to the extent one might be said to exist, seems to turn on his forced conversion to Catholicism, while still in France. Ressinger explains the context of this act as follows: 'In 1685 Dumont, 53 years old, faced with the prospect of dragoons in a home filled with women and young girls, felt he had no choice but abjuration, though it shamed him deeply.'[65] Whelan suggests that 'the words he uses to describe this act communicate a loss of self and a sense of lost bearings. He speaks of abjuration as a temptation and a tragedy; a crime, a sin and a failure; a weakness and a fall.'[66] All of this is true, but I would stress that what makes this appear to be the greatest of his own losses to Dumont is (as he himself states it) the poor example set for his community, many of whom followed him in the awful act of abjuration:

> Ainsi tous également criminels, ne jouissions plus de cette tranquillité d'âme qui faisoit autrefois notre félicité. Dieu sembloit s'être retiré d'avec nous […]. [C]e crime étoit

[62] Chesser, 206.
[63] For more on 'oubliance' see Andrea Frisch, *Forgetting Differences: Tragedy, Historiography, and the French Wars of Religion* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015), particularly Chapter 2: Clemency, Pardon, and *Oubliance*.
[64] Chesser, 207.
[65] Ressinger, 'Good Faith,' 453.
[66] Whelan, 'Writing the Self,' 467.

> toujours présent à mes yeux ; et je m'accusois d'avoir servi de mauvais exemple à ma famille et même à plusieurs autres.[67]

Failure, weakness, and shame would have been new emotional experiences for this proud man, as it would have been for his many co-religionists who abjured. They were a self-respecting religious minority who traditionally identified with God's chosen people, encouraged in this analogy and imagery by their spiritual leaders. One way, then, of purging themselves of their guilt and shame was to make confession. There was no tradition in Protestantism of systematic confession made to an appointed cleric, such as a priest; however, a new procedure was established after the Revocation whereby upon arrival in the Refuge, those who had abjured their religion and who wished to be reinstated in the Huguenot community would make 'actes de reconnaissance' during a public church service. This provided an opportunity for new refugees both to give an explanation or context for their act of abjuration and for them to sign the church's register as a counter-action to the 'criminal signatures' they had made in France. Chappell Lougee has shown most explicitly through the example of mother and daughter memorialists Marie de la Rochefoucauld and her daughter Suzanne that many of these memoirs had origins in orality, as appeals for forgiveness of abjuration and reinstatement into community in the Refuge.[68]

A further step in rehabilitating their tarnished public and self-images was to produce longer, more detailed versions of the oral testimonies they gave as 'actes de reconnaissance'. Dumont is different from my other featured memorialists in that he is the only one who abjured; his is therefore the only account that can be thought to have emerged as a counter-action to abjuration. He admits that he has been a bad example to his neighbours in France who followed him in abjuring and that he now writes to set a good example for his children and his community: 'je veux vous en laisser un mémoire exact et sincère, et vous donner un patron

[67] Dumont, 136–137.
[68] See Chappell Lougee, 'The Pains I Took to Save My / His Family'.

pour éviter ce que j'ai fait de mal et imiter ce que j'ai fait de bien.'[69] He writes a template, 'un patron', in anticipation that others might avoid his errors and imitate his good actions, perhaps even including this act of written, consciously exemplary memorialisation.

iii. 'comme un patron de patience singulière & inestimable'[70]

In 'Y a-t-il un style protestant?' Raoul Stéphan draws attention to the imprint of the Bible on French Protestant authorial style: 'Nos écrivains huguenots sont avant tout imprégnés de la Bible, Ancien et Nouveau Testament ; leurs idées, leurs sentiments, mais aussi leur style sont bibliques.'[71] Their 'biblicism' drove Huguenot writers to seek a construct for interpreting their experiences in the stories of the Bible. Nicholas Terpstra underscores this notion by identifying from the Judeo-Christian Bible two stories that contributed most significantly to 'feeding the imaginary' of early modern refugees: 'The first was the Exodus of the People of Israel from Egypt and their migration to the Promised Land. The second was the destruction of Jerusalem and its temple and the forced deportation of Jews to Babylon for a lengthy period which the biblical accounts rounded off to seventy years.'[72] Hoffmann writes that the first story, that of the Israelites' escape from Egypt, especially reverberated with reformers[73]: 'France appeared to them a new Egypt, the Valois kings cruel pharaohs, and forced acceptance of Roman rites a form of spiritual enslavement.'[74]

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[69] Dumont, 190–191.
[70] Editors, 'Argument sur le livre de Job,' *La Sainte Bible* [Bible de Genève] (Lyon: P. Michel, 1566), 326.
[71] Raoul Stéphan, 'Y a-t-il un style protestant?,' in *Histoire du protestantisme français*, ed. Raoul Stéphan (Paris: Fayard, 1961), 347.
[72] Nicholas Terpstra, *Religious Refugees in the Early Modern World: An Alternative History of the Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 289.
[73] Hoffmann, xiii. Hoffmann expresses a preference for 'reformers' rather than 'Huguenots' to describe French Protestants, citing the latter term's 'uncertain origin and vexed application'.
[74] Ibid., 118.

Whelan, focusing on Dumont, suggests that he 'shares a tendency with his co-religionists to allegorize his life story in biblical terms, although so allusively, at times, that this is easy to overlook.'[75] I propose that one such exemplary biblical parallel, so 'easy to overlook' that it seems to have fallen into critical oblivion, is the narrative of loss in the book of Job. Because no one has considered these texts through the lens of literature of loss and consolation, the comparison to Job has not yet been made; yet in respect of loss, lament, and calling for written records to memorialise suffering, Job's text stands as a powerful exemplar.

The story of Job is common to the sacred texts of the world's three largest monotheistic religions, but Mark Larrimore notes that the story has 'a particularly important place in Christian exegesis.'[76] He remarks that although patience is not actually mentioned in Job, the 'book of Job has always been accompanied by what has been called the "legend of Job," in which superlative patience is indeed Job's defining trait.'[77] Prominent in both the accounts of Job and Dumont are sudden reversals of fortune of the 'righteous' protagonist and a consequent struggle to discover a reason for the suffering. Loss in both accounts is material and emotional, and both men have a great amount to lose: Job is described as 'a wealthy and virtuous man in an unfamiliar land in the East'[78] with seven sons and three daughters, Dumont is a prominent Normand landowner with an even larger family. Both narratives establish their protagonists as God-fearing men; after he has lost everything and sits afflicted with disease, Job makes the following declaration of faith, according to the Geneva Bible of 1687: 'Voila, qu'il me tue, si

[75] Whelan, 'Writing the Self,' 467.
[76] Mark Larrimore, *The Book of Job: A Biography* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2013), 65. For examples of cross-confessional references to Job in early modern writing, with a focus on compassion, see *Compassion in Early Modern Literature and Culture: Feeling and Practice*, ed. Katherine Ibbett and Kristine Steenbergh (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 30, 54, 63, 114, 130; particularly relevant to the thread of communities of consolation in my thesis is Paula Barros, 'Grief and Compassion in Early Modern English Consolatory Culture,' Chapter 3, 63–81.
[77] Larrimore, 13.
[78] Ibid., 1.

espérerai-je en lui : tant y a que je maintiendrai le train de ma vie en sa présence. Même, lui-même me sera en délivrance.'[79]

Calvin himself, whose *Institutes of the Christian Religion* the Huguenots followed, delivered no less than 159 sermons on Job in 1554–1555, addressing topics from 'adversity' to 'zeal.'[80] The editors of the Geneva Bible, a staple of Huguenot households, leaned heavily on these sermons in their exposition of Job's exemplary virtues in the preface to the book of Job. It opens with the following statement concerning Job's exemplarity:

> L'Histoire présente est comme un patron de patience singulière & inestimable, quand elle nous propose ce sainct personnage Job extrêmement affligé, non seulement extérieurement & en son corps, mais aussi en son esprit, par les tentations que luy ont données sa femme & ses amis.[81]

There is an emphasis in Calvin's sermons and writing—and this seems important for understanding the seemingly dichotomous mindset of Huguenot resistance to and acceptance of suffering—that afflictions, while permitted by God, are caused by Satan. The preface states that in adversity Job 'a combatu virilement par grand constance, & est parvenu à heureuse issue.'[82] We find the word 'constance' and the expression 'avec constance' in Dumont's writing and that of other French Protestant refugees such as Jean Marteilhe, who represents his fellow Huguenot *galériens* as those 'qui n'avaient commis d'autre crime que d'avoir témoigné de la fermeté et de la constance pour la religion de leurs pères.'[83]

'Dieu punit toujours les hommes selon la mesure de leurs pechez,'[84] states the Geneva Bible's preface to Job. Whelan notes that Dumont implicitly accepts the correlation between

[79] Job 13.15–16, *La Sainte Bible* [Bible de Genève] (Amsterdam: P. & J. Blaeu, 1687), 333. Diacritical marks respected. From many available versions, I have selected this one because, contemporaneous with Dumont, it gives a sense of the biblical lexis indubitably familiar to him through sermons he heard both in France and abroad.
[80] These topics are listed in the table of contents in the translated collection of Calvin's homilies published in London, 1574. John Calvin, *Sermons on Job* (Pennsylvania: The Banner of Truth Trust, [Facsimile reprint] 1993).
[81] Editors, 'Argument sur le livre de Job,' *La Sainte Bible* [Bible de Genève] (Lyon: P. Michel, 1566), 326. The spelling has been slightly modernised here and in subsequent quotations from this source to distinguish *i* and *j*, *u* and *v*.
[82] Ibid., 327.
[83] Jean Marteilhe, *Mémoires d'un galérien condamné pour cause de religion* (Nîmes: Edipro, 2015), 161.
[84] Editors, 'Job,' 327.

sin and suffering 'when he allegorizes his own experience in terms of the Flood, and uses a lexis associated with sin and guilt to interpret his own behaviour, particularly his abjuration.'[85] Calvin's doctrine of sin and suffering was preached wherever Huguenots gathered: 'Again and again, in the sermons preached at the time of the Revocation, ministers reacted to the bewilderment of their flocks, who were wondering why such things were happening to them, by pointing to their sinfulness and lack of faith.'[86]

Larrimore remarks that Job's friends 'all subscribe to versions of a retributionist view that sees suffering as divine punishment for iniquity,'[87] although Job to the end maintains his innocence. He draws attention to the juridical language in the biblical story: 'Job increasingly addresses his words to God, whom he would like to call before a court.'[88] Furthermore, as he notes, in the story of Job, 'many elements of a court case are imagined, including a *go'el*, a kind of advocate or champion who might vindicate Job, even if Job has by that time died.'[89] We see a similar call for advocacy echoed in the writings of Huguenot refugees, and, following on from Fumaroli's comments cited above, we might see the accumulation of textual evidence as part of this theme, where refugee writers gather their papers to present on the 'day of Judgement'.

Most significantly, Job can be seen as a biblical model for *written* memorialisation. For there is an inherent contradiction in Huguenots writing about themselves. Calvinist doctrine explicitly forbade self-writing, prohibiting 'any writing that is not scripturally motivated or in some way an exposition of the divine word.'[90] Neither Calvin nor his successors wrote

[85] Whelan, 'Writing the Self,' 468.
[86] Chappell Lougee, 'Huguenot Memoirs,' 331.
[87] Larrimore, 2.
[88] Ibid.
[89] Ibid.
[90] Catharine Randall Coats, 'Representing and Re-Presenting the Self: Fact and Fiction in Agrippa d'Aubigné's "Sa Vie à ses enfants" and the "Histoire universelle," *South Atlantic Review* vol. 54 no. 2 (May 1989), 24.

autobiographies,[91] yet Huguenots engaged in self-writing. How did their memorialists justify this dichotomy? We can see through Dumont's framework how memoirs of the Huguenot refugee experience find ways of addressing the issues of loss and identity, while also circumventing Calvin's injunction against self-writing. One final passage of Job's story might be seen to authorise such circumvention, and in so doing to allow for an understanding of the memoir as a Huguenot act of remembrance, one in which the narrative of loss itself becomes an immortal textual object. Job exclaims:

> A ma volonté que maintenant mes paroles s'escrivissent, à ma volonté qu'elles fussent escrites en un livre: Et que d'une graffe de fer ou de plomb, elles fussent entaillees en pierre éternellement.[92]

Dumont's original manuscript is headed by the scribbled note: 'Registre faict en Hollande à la Haye le mois d'apvril mil six cent quatre vingt huict. Continué en 1689 en Angleterre à Greenwich en décembre. Finy le mois d'apvril 1693 à Dublin en Irlande.'[93] The closing words of the narrative itself, on 3 April 1693, end on a hopeful note:

> Ainsi, après six années de pèlerinage, je suis à Dublin où l'arrivée de milord Galway nous donne une joie sensible et nous flatte de quelques douceurs en ce pays étrange, d'où cependant je pense incessamment à ma famille de France, laquelle je prie Dieu de bénir comme celle-ci, qui, plus heureuse en ce qu'elle sert Dieu en pleine liberté, joint ses vœux aux miens pour la délivrance et notre réunion. Dieu m'accorde des jours pour cela, et pour voir la paix en l'Église et sur la terre ! Amen ![94]

These final words sound a clear reminder of the struggles he has undergone and the reason he has chosen to endure them, struggles through which he has clung firmly to his faith. Charles Read, a former president of the Société d'histoire du protestantisme français who, along with Frances Waddington edited the first edition of Dumont's memoirs in 1864, described the

[91] Ibid., 25.
[92] Job 19.23–24, *Bible de Genève* 1566.
[93] Dumont, 22. The manuscript is currently part of the collection of the Royal Irish Academy in Dublin, MS 12 N 17.
[94] Dumont, 362–363.

manuscript as: 'un registre in-folio de 281 pages, cartonné en parchemin jauni par le temps.'[95] It was handed down through generations of Dumont's family and finally inherited by Charles Vignoles, a descendant of Dumont's daughter Marie-Madeleine, who leant it to Read for consultation. The only known published translation is by Dianne Ressinger and was printed in 2005.[96] Dumont's call for written memorialisation was honoured and no doubt reached a far wider audience than he could have imagined.

My introduction has pointed to the longer history of Huguenot memoirs and introduced the account of Isaac Dumont de Bostaquet as a case study through which to think both about his individual identity and about a family of texts focused on building relationships between communities of readers. In his introduction to Dumont's account, Richard emphasises the underlying aspect of his faithfulness to God: 'Tous les actes de sa vie sont subordonnés à ce postulat essentiel, dont il ne parle presque jamais, mais qui est présent à travers tout le livre.'[97] What was true for Dumont was true for many of his co-religionists living in Huguenot refugee communities: 'In lives filled with disruption,' writes Ressinger, 'faith provided the only real continuity […]. Their faith had become their identity.'[98] If we accept Dumont's account as exemplary and emblematic of this memoir moment, we will see how other texts offer counter-examples to the pattern: while they have many essential elements in common—they can all be considered narratives of loss, for example, and each elaborates a key theme explored in this introduction—they also differ from Dumont's text in important ways. I explore these deviations from the model and draw conclusions concerning the practical purposes these stories, and the textual objects which they become, were meant to serve.

[95] Ibid. Richard uses the text and notes of this 1864 edition by Read and Waddington, supplemented by Richard's own notes.
[96] Isaac Dumont de Bostaquet, *Memoirs of Isaac Dumont de Bostaquet: A Gentleman of Normandy*, ed. Dianne W. Ressinger (London: The Huguenot Society, 2005).
[97] Introduction to Dumont's *Mémoires*, 10.
[98] Ressinger, 'Good Faith,' 460.

Chapter One expands on the sense in which a memoir amounts to a set of identification papers: it is about a slave account, paperwork, and compiling one's own passport. Through the memoir of Jean Marteilhe, I address what it means to be French in this period and how the status of French Protestants changed under Louis XIV, who made them legally strangers in their own homeland. The chapter builds on the topic of suspicion of strangers to discuss structures of surveillance and proofs of identity in the pre-Revolutionary period and show how Marteilhe, a former galley slave in the Sun King's fleet, provides an account with a unique inflection of the Huguenot refugee voice that reflects the severe consequences suffered by Protestants who were caught attempting to escape the kingdom of France. It demonstrates how Marteilhe, whose identity has officially been reduced to a matriculation number and cursory entry in a galley slave register, draws heavily on official documentation to restore his legal identity in a narrative that acts as an annotated passport chronicling his trials and adventures.

Chapter Two elaborates the significance of family in the Huguenot diaspora, by highlighting the family function in the writing, preservation, publication, and dissemination of accounts within the memoir genre. Jacques Fontaine, minister and Jack-of-all-trades, incorporates within his memoirs a covenantal agreement meant to keep his family together despite loss of physical proximity. In Fontaine's account the text itself, rather than the narrator, emerges as the ultimate hero, with the family as supporting cast. The chapter examines how Fontaine challenges his offspring to think differently from their contemporaries on many topics including identity, social hierarchy, work, family, and the transmission of legacy.

Chapter Three focuses on the construction of the (anglophone) character of the 'French Refugee' in the early modern period. Durand de Dauphiné's richly literary account of his experiences, lesser known than the other Huguenot texts in my corpus, proves to be deeply concerned with promoting a specific idea of future community. Exploring some of the English- and French-language recruitment literature generated by British colonial landholders, literature

of which Durand's account is both a product and an example, we see that rather than focusing on the past and the turmoil in France, Durand de Dauphiné's memoir constructs a vision of a new world: a future brimming with opportunities for the most resourceful and ambitious among his refugee co-religionists, yet which never quite leaves dreams of return to the homeland behind.

Chapter One

Jean Marteilhe: memoirs as identification

Despite Dumont's contention that few people had suffered more than he, it would be difficult to imagine a scenario that could exceed Jean Marteilhe's for loss of possessions, social networks, agency, and personal dignity. A former *galérien* who served over a decade in the Sun King's fleet, Marteilhe wrote his memoirs in increments and largely in response to requests by people in power, both during his captivity and after his release, to provide proof of who he was and that the stories he told were true. With its strong emphasis on paper proof, Marteilhe's text demonstrates that even before the modern era of biometric passports, the question of paperwork and identity could haunt individuals, particularly those with unstable status in society.

In this chapter, I argue that Marteilhe's narrative provides an exclusive look at the experiences of Huguenots who, unlike Dumont, were intercepted, imprisoned, and enslaved while making their way out of France. I show how Louis XIV's laws and edicts first make Huguenots like Marteilhe strangers in their own homeland, then further strip the legal identity of any French Protestants condemned to the galleys: these prisoners lose all rights of representation and their identities are reduced to a matriculation number and a cursory record in a naval register. I demonstrate the ways this account of enslavement during the Ancien Régime varies from the other narratives in my corpus, particularly through Marteilhe's foregrounding of paperwork and paper trails. My conclusion is that Marteilhe regains agency by writing a new set of identification papers—his own passport—which will serve the dual purpose of bolstering his status in exile and constituting evidence of merit for the pension he is awarded in the Refuge. I also show how the rhetorical quality of Marteilhe's narrative, which is singularly entertaining and affecting, is meant on the one hand to amuse his readers but on

the other to move them to act on behalf of the Huguenot galley slaves, his companions, yet to be freed.

One of the aims of my thesis is to consider storytelling through the lens of journeys and movement. We will see that in Marteilhe's account movement is not in a direct line from one fixed point to another (this is, of course, the case for most of these refugee narratives) but that there is constant motion: border crossings, adventure stories with turns and twists, repeated obstacles, traps, and tricks. Thwarted movement—that is, movement controlled by people other than Marteilhe or controlled by events outside of his control—occurs in the period prior to his capture but becomes all the more pronounced during his years as a galley slave in which he is tied, in both literal and figurative senses, to the ship of state. We see that even after his release through the intervention of England's Queen Anne, his movements are still bound, to an extent, by the will of others. I take notice of how and when he chooses to end his account—to free himself from his paper chains—as this plays a significant yet understated part in his identity story.

Several interwoven trajectories emerge from a close reading of this account, namely, the journey of Marteilhe's lived experiences becoming printed text (while many other private memoirs remain unpublished), the trajectory of certain material objects within his narrative and ways in which they move the story forward, and the overarching trajectory of Marteilhe himself as a specific form of shape-shifting object: a figure defined by paperwork. As with Dumont's account, I look at both present and absent objects: the particular focus here, however, is on paper items and on moments in which such articles play key roles in determining the memorialist's course or identity. I have set this study of paper objects in Marteilhe's narrative against the greater story of paperwork, identification, and surveillance in early modern, pre-Revolutionary France.

The memoir penned by Jean Marteilhe was first published anonymously in Rotterdam in 1757 as *Mémoires d'un protestant, condamné aux galères de France pour cause de religion, écrits par lui-même ; ouvrage dans lequel, outre le récit des souffrances de l'auteur depuis 1700 jusqu'en 1713, on trouvera diverses particularités curieuses, relatives à l'histoire de ce temps-là, et une description exacte des galères et de leur service.* Part of my analysis will bear on the various elements of the title and what they attempt to do (or not to do); at present, I will merely observe that the narrative contains two unequal but complementary parts, concerning which Isabelle Trivisani-Moreau notes: 'le premier et le plus long (environ deux cent soixante pages) est nettement narratif puisqu'il relève majoritairement de l'autobiographie, tandis que le second, plus bref (à peu près soixante-quinze pages) est descriptif.'[99] The first part has been divided (by its editors) into twenty chapters while the second, a sort of appendix also written by Marteilhe, consists of fourteen subsections on topics ranging from 'Description d'une galère armée et sa construction' to 'De l'artillerie d'une galère armée', providing precise practical information concerning ships and galleys, as well as a few anecdotes.

Part I. Paper proof outside the text: forms of entitlement

Historians have generally reacted to Marteilhe's text by seeking probative evidence outside of the narrative to substantiate the claims made and the episodes described within it. As the account was published anonymously, the obvious place to start is with the author. André Zysberg, who has studied Marteilhe's *Mémoires* closely, explains historians' certitude concerning the text's authorship: 'Le manuscrit de Jean Marteilhe n'est pas parvenu jusqu'à nous. Mais en confrontant le texte imprimé avec, d'une part, les nombreuses lettres de forçats

[99] Isabelle Trivisani-Moreau, 'Les mille et un métiers d'un homme sans condition dans les *Mémoires* du protestant galérien Jean Marteilhe,' in *Métiers et marginalité dans la littérature*, ed. Arlette Bouloumié (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2004), 188.

protestants conservés dans les « Papiers Court », et, d'autre part, avec les archives des Galères de France, l'on ne doute pas de l'authenticité de ces mémoires.'[100] The text has of course held special interest for historians of galley slavery such as Zysberg and Gaston Tournier, both of whom relied heavily on Marteilhe's account in their own works, which have been instrumental in increasing general understanding of Louis XIV's maritime fleet and those who powered it. Tournier's monumental work on galley slaves, *Les Galères de France et les galériens protestants des XVII^e^ et XVIII^e^ siècles*, includes three tomes published around the time of the second world war; in these, he records biographical notices of 2 800 Protestant galley slaves, based on official naval registers. Jean-Daniel Benoît, writing in 1943, points out that Tournier uses both 'témoignages authentiques et les documents officiels des archives'[101] to describe the lives of these *galériens*, and, with an eye to the horrors that were coming to light in his own day, remarks that the story Tournier tells would seem almost incredible 's'il ne nous était donné de voir, au temps où nous sommes, jusqu'où peut aller la cruauté des hommes.'[102] Prior to writing his magnum opus, Tournier published several works highlighting individual or groups of Protestant galley slaves, including an edition of *Mémoires de Jean Marteilhe* in 1942 based on a 1774 edition of the text published in the Hague.

Tournier's passion for recording the lives of these galley slaves was fuelled in part by his professional and personal interests: he was a historian, but he was also a Protestant pastor and director of the Musée du Désert, a museum dedicated to the history of Protestantism in France. This invites a question about trustworthiness: can Protestants be treated as reliable chroniclers of historical events related to the sufferings of their own people? Even Benoît in

[100] From André Zysberg's preface to Jean Marteilhe, *Mémoires d'un galérien du Roi-Soleil* (Paris: Mercure de France, 2021), 11. Zysberg's edition will be quoted throughout the chapter unless otherwise noted. 'Papiers Court' refers to a collection of nearly forty volumes relating to Protestant galley slaves, assembled by pastor and historian Antoine Court and held in the manuscript department of the Bibliothèque de Genève, with a partial copy of the collection also available from the Bibliothèque de la Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français.
[101] Jean-Daniel Benoît, review of *Les Galères de France et les galériens protestants des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*. Tome I, by Gaston Tournier, *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses*, 23^e^ année no. 4 (1943), 269.
[102] Ibid.

his analysis of *Les Galères de France* cannot refrain from affective language, describing Tournier at work 'avec la conscience de son érudition et la ferveur de sa foi, sur cette page émouvante et glorieuse,'[103] a comment echoed while also balanced by social historian Jean Baubérot when he states that as a Protestant historian, Tournier 'n'évite pas toujours une relative hagiographie. Mais, sur un sujet aussi douloureux, son récit reste sobre et l'émotion ne supplée pas à la documentation.'[104] In the nineteenth century, Michelet had also raised the issue of the reliability of Protestant records of their own history, and was unequivocal in his conclusions: 'Les documents protestants de la Révocation méritent-ils confiance ? N'est-il pas imprudent de croire les victimes dans leur propre cause ? Non. Ces documents sont hautement confirmés par la meilleure autorité, celle de leurs ennemis.'[105] As proof, Michelet pointed to the legal paper trail of treaties, laws, ordinances, and official correspondence that signposted the growing persecution of Protestants in early modern France.

Where Michelet directs readers to evidentiary documentation left by the Protestants' enemies, Benoît underscores Protestant historians' meticulous efforts to include in their works paratextual materials that substantiate their truth claims. Concerning Tournier's effort to document in *Les Galères de France* the resistance of Protestant galley slaves to Louis XIV's efforts to convert them, Benoît states: 'C'est cette histoire, avec pièces justificatives en appendice, qui nous est racontée.'[106] Trivisani-Moreau, who studied ten of the approximately fifty first-person Huguenot escape accounts extant, including Marteilhe's, found two frequently recurring objectives for writing: 'l'établissement de la vérité sur les faits racontés dans le cadre d'un document susceptible de servir à l'Histoire et l'indication de la part que le mémorialiste-

[103] Ibid.
[104] Jean Baubérot, review of *Les Galères de France et les galériens protestants des XVII^e^ et XVIII^e^ siècles*. Tome I by Gaston Tournier, *Archives de sciences sociales des religions*, no. 59/2 (1985), 308.
[105] Jules Michelet, *Histoire de France. Louis XIV et la Révocation de l'Edit de Nantes*. Tome XV (Paris: A. Lacroix, 1877), Note IV, 417–418.
[106] Benoît (1943), 270.

scripteur a prise à ces mêmes événements.'[107] She observes that these escape tales are often written for practical reasons, as we noted above, that include re-establishing their authors' merits in private as well as public spheres, 'afin d'asseoir une nouvelle situation, d'obtenir une aide financière, ou plus globalement de construire une image de soi.'[108] Foundational to these accounts is what Trivisani-Moreau terms a 'pacte de vérité' that keeps memorialists from straying too far from the truth: 'entre les faits et leur instrumentalisation, les mémoires des réfugiés protestants, plus encore que les autres mémoires, parce qu'ils émanent d'hommes qui revendiquent leur foi, se fondent sur un fort pacte de vérité qui devrait empêcher leurs auteurs de tordre la réalité pour surévaluer leurs mérites.'[109] This pact with the reader is an important element of Marteilhe's text, as we will discover.

Trivisani-Moreau notes that one way Huguenot memorialists attempt to certify their trustworthiness is by inserting into their narratives letters addressed to them by esteemed members of the Huguenot community, usually pastors, who write to encourage them to continue in their steadfastness.[110] Concerning these built-in proofs, Trivisani-Moreau writes: 'De telles insertions, qui se constituent en preuves, montrent ainsi que ces mémorialistes ont conscience des failles que le lecteur pourrait repérer dans la subjectivité de leurs discours, failles qu'ils s'efforcent de combler en recourant à ces matériaux hétérogènes.'[111] In this way, authors use the voice of an outside third party to validate their stories and to say that which it might have appeared immodest or suspect for them to state explicitly about themselves.

[107] Isabelle Trivisani-Moreau, 'Parler de ce qu'on voudrait taire: mémoires protestants au risque de la confession,' *Dix-septième siècle,* 2021/4 no. 293, 406.
[108] Ibid., 407.
[109] Ibid.
[110] Exiled French pastor Pierre Jurieu gained an extensive following amongst the refugees through his pastoral letters, writing hundreds of these between 1686 and 1689. The minister Jean Barbin in *Les Devoirs des fidèles réfugiez* (Amsterdam: P. Savouret, 1688) frequently refers to Jurieu's letters. Marteilhe mentions having a book of Jurieu's sermons in his possessions (Marteilhe, *Mémoires d'un galérien du Roi-Soleil,* 209).
[111] Trivisani-Moreau, 'Parler de ce qu'on voudrait taire,' p. 417.

Paper and proof are only tangential to Trivisani-Moreau's study, the aim of which is to consider the choices memorialists made in the selection of episodes in their tales and the language used to describe them. My own exploration of Marteilhe's account, while also interested in language, in a first instance foregrounds documentary evidence, highlighting for example how Marteilhe employs a similar device to that described by Trivisani-Moreau but substitutes *paper* evidence for the voice of an outside witness. Additionally, where 'pièces justificatives' may ordinarily be relegated to appendices and footnotes, these documents here take centre stage, and where others have sought to verify the authenticity of Marteilhe's narrative by searching for evidence outside of his account—in legal records, registers, official and unofficial accounts and correspondence—I will demonstrate that Marteilhe has embedded a paper trail of proof within the text itself. By exploring several paper and paperwork moments in his *Mémoires*, I establish that Marteilhe was mindful of the need in the present and future of guarding against accusations of partiality, exaggeration, and falsehood. I also show how Marteilhe's publishers exhibited a further anxiety, the fear of erasure, and the practical steps they took to authenticate his work and to preserve his story to prevent the drowning out of Marteilhe's small voice against those of the official (Catholic) chroniclers of his day.

My first question concerning Marteilhe's text has been to ask how scholars have reacted to it. We have seen how among historians of galley slavery and of Marteilhe's text there has been an impulse toward seeking proof of its authenticity from documentary sources outside the text. As it falls to historians to provide records as objective and accurate as possible, this seems logical enough. But as my own quest is actuated by a consideration of the rhetorical and practical aspects of these texts, I am interested in finding answers to further questions: why does Marteilhe's text generate this response? Why do readers turn to other sources in search of proof that the episodes he describes are true? I propose a two-fold answer: first, that it is due in part to the text's anonymous initial publication, with not only the author's name withheld

but also the names of places and people involved in the story redacted from the editions published during the author's lifetime; second, that it is a matter of genre and the way Marteilhe writes the story, juxtaposing grim commentaries on the contemporary prison system or the duties of slaves in the galleys with entertaining and amusing anecdotes, giving the account certain *roman*-like qualities. Expounding on these aspects of Marteilhe's narrative will necessitate an analysis of the text and its language, but we will first take a closer look at its title.

i. 'Mémoires d'un protestant'

Historians emphasise time and again the rareness of Marteilhe's text. Zysberg, the scholar and editor most closely associated with Marteilhe's *Mémoires*, wrote: 'Entre 1680 et 1715, parmi les 38 000 forçats qui se succédèrent sur les bancs des galères de Louis XIV, à Marseille, mais aussi à Bordeaux, à Rochefort, à Brest, à Saint-Malo et jusqu'à Dunkerque, un seul écrivit et publia ses Mémoires, et celui-là fut un galérien protestant.'[112] Another editor of Marteilhe's text, Vincent McInerney, writes that the memoirs 'present a compelling and unique account unlike any other in the annals of autobiographical maritime history.'[113] Rare they may be, yet the first part of the work's title seems designed not so much to signal its singularity as to place Marteilhe's text within an established genre of Protestant memoirs. However, from the first pages of his narrative, Marteilhe appears to separate himself from other memorialists within the genre of Huguenot refugee tales. From Théodore Agrippa d'Aubigné onward,[114] and as already witnessed in our analysis of Dumont's account, Huguenot fathers tended to address

[112] From Zysberg's preface to Marteilhe's *Mémoires d'un galérien du Roi-Soleil*, 9. The published memoirs of other French Protestant galley slaves are often based on letters between the *galérien* and a correspondent, assembled by, and often with commentary from, either that correspondent or a third party.
[113] Jean Marteilhe, *Galley Slave*, ed. Vincent McInerney (Barnsley, UK: Seaforth Publishing, 2010), ix.
[114] Théodore Agrippa d'Aubigné, *Sa Vie à ses enfants*, *op. cit*.

their memoirs to their children, both to record their life experiences for their descendants and to pass down the principles for which they had sacrificed much; like d'Aubigné and Dumont, they often used analogies and terminology from Scriptures to draw parallels between stories from the Bible and their own escape from France and life in exile. Marteilhe, though occasionally making such references, addresses a different audience and employs a different rhetorical strategy.

Zysberg notes that Marteilhe 'n'a pas cherché à écrire un livre édifiant—nous dirions aujourd'hui « militant »—, manichéen, dans lequel tout serait blanc d'un côté et tout serait noir de l'autre ; il n'impose à ses lecteurs ni sermons ni leçons de morale.'[115] Marteilhe instead documents in vivid, graphic detail a form of existence elsewhere described as 'a living hell'[116] that was a harsh reality for outcasts suffering from the Crown's displeasure:

> Ce mémorialiste des galères de Louis XIV nous découvre le revers de la médaille : une société de 10 000 forçats enserrés, vers 1700, sur quarante galères, où se côtoyaient tous les exclus de l'âge classique : des voleurs, des filous, des assassins, mais aussi des vagabonds, des bohémiens, des contrebandiers, des déserteurs, des paysans révoltés contre le fisc, des fous, des libertins, des sodomites, sans oublier, bien sûr, les galériens protestants.[117]

Ruth Whelan explains in terms of percentages that out of 35,000 men condemned to the galleys between 1685 and 1715, '45% of these were deserters, 16% were salt smugglers, 35% were criminals, and 4% were Protestants'[118]; furthermore, she notes that during this peak time period, 1,450 of this latter group were sent to the galleys 'because they were caught trying to flee the kingdom, worshipping clandestinely, or otherwise actively or passively resisting Louis's policies of religious conformity.'[119] Leaving France without royal permission had

[115] Marteilhe, Zysberg preface, *Mémoires d'un galérien du Roi-Soleil*, 12.
[116] Meredith Martin and Gillian Weiss, *The Sun King at Sea: Maritime Art and Galley Slavery in Louis XIV's France* (Los Angeles: Getty Publishers, 2022), 16.
[117] Marteilhe, Zysberg preface, *Mémoires d'un galérien du Roi-Soleil*, 12.
[118] Ruth Whelan, 'Turning to Gold: The Role of the Witness in French Protestant Galley Slave Narratives,' *Seventeenth-Century French Studies*, 32:1 (2013), 8.
[119] Ibid., 9.

become an illegal act in 1685 with the passing of the Edict of Fontainebleau. If caught in border towns without proper documentation, Protestants were suspected of attempting to flee the country and subsequently arrested and judged: the law ordained that women serve out life sentences in convents; men were sent to the galleys *à perpétuité*, as was the case for Marteilhe.

ii. 'condamné aux galères de France pour cause de religion'

In the opening pages of his *Mémoires*, Marteilhe provides if not a stated reason for writing the account of his life then certainly context and a glimpse of his inspiration for doing so:

> Il y a peu de mes compatriotes, anciens réfugiés dans ces heureuses provinces, qui ne pussent rendre témoignage aux calamités que la persécution dans toutes les provinces de France leur a fait souffrir. Si chacun d'eux en particulier avait écrit des Mémoires de ce qui lui est arrivé, tant dans leur commune patrie, que lorsqu'ils furent obligés d'en sortir, et qu'on en eut fait un recueil, il serait non seulement très curieux à cause des différents événements que l'on y aurait rapportés, mais en même temps très instructif pour un grand nombre de bons protestants, qui ignorent la plus grande partie de ce qui s'est passé depuis l'année mil six cent quatre-vingt-quatre dans cette cruelle et sanglante persécution.[120]

Marteilhe further notes that although he lacks the qualifications for compiling such a *recueil*, 'ne sachant qu'imparfaitement et par tradition un nombre presque infini de faits, que plusieurs de mes chers compatriotes racontent journellement à leurs enfants,'[121] he is nevertheless willing to recount his own adventures and misadventures—not just orally like some of his fellow refugees, but on paper.

We noted above Zysberg's remark that Marteilhe 'n'impose à ses lecteurs ni sermons ni leçons de morale'. The fact that Marteilhe does not lecture his readers does not mean he is not conscious of them; indeed, Marteilhe's account is written with acute awareness of his

[120] Marteilhe, *Mémoires d'un galérien du Roi-Soleil,* 43.
[121] Ibid., 43–44.

audience and is shaped by this awareness. One reason we know this is from the frequent references to his 'lecteur' with which he punctuates the narrative, in phrases such as 'Je n'ennuierai pas mon lecteur en rapportant ce qui m'est arrivé pendant mon enfance'[122] and 'le lecteur ne sera pas fâché que je le régale d'un fait assez divertissant,'[123] to quote just two of multiple examples. But as mentioned, and as the above quotations make plain, he breaks with a tradition already well established in the genre of Huguenot memoirs by the time he writes—born in 1684, he is the youngest of my featured authors and a latecomer to the escape tale writing scene—by not dedicating his narrative to his offspring, despite having a daughter living at the time (though there is no mention of her within the text).[124] Instead, he dedicates his account to the public. He writes in his opening passage: 'Aussi ferai-je seulement part au public par ces Mémoires, de ce qui m'est arrivé à moi-même depuis l'année mil sept cent jusqu'à mil sept cent treize, que je fus heureusement délivré des galères de France par l'intercession de la reine Anne d'Angleterre de glorieuse mémoire.'[125] Marteilhe also breaks with the tradition of opening his account with a lengthy genealogy, providing only one sentence of self-introduction in his opening paragraphs. We can trace, however, some of his network of friends and family as he mentions them through the narrative, often in situations where they are on hand in person or by correspondence to render him assistance in times of need.

Marteilhe's tale is crafted, then, for a different stated audience than many Huguenot memorialists: it does not carry the dedicatory address 'À mes enfants' nor is it explicitly dedicated to his patrons but rather 'au public'. But precisely what 'public' does he seek to address?

[122] Ibid., 44.
[123] Ibid., 46.
[124] We know about the existence of his wife and daughter from correspondence that came to light after the 1865 printing of Marteilhe's memoirs; excerpts of these letters were included in the preface to the 1881 edition of the memoirs.
[125] Marteilhe, *Mémoires d'un galérien du Roi-Soleil,* 44.

Séverine Collignon-Ward indicates that it was not until Zysberg's edition of the *Mémoires* in 1982 that Marteilhe emerged from the 'cercle protestant dans lequel on l'avait jusque-là confiné.'[126] Since the first edition in 1757, Marteilhe's *Mémoires* have been reprinted under different titles no fewer than nineteen times in French and English, in Holland, England and France, by mostly Protestant presses such as the Société des écoles du dimanche in Paris and the Religious Tract Society in London, or by the Éditions Gallimard publishing group's Mercure de France. Zysberg's edition was part of the latter's collection of first-person accounts that was unusual in its day for seeking to highlight accounts of eyewitnesses, 'qu'ils fussent célèbres ou inconnus, une manière inédite d'aborder l'Histoire par le biais du récit vécu.'[127]

The relatively narrow initial circulation of Marteilhe's text might naturally lead to the conclusion that 'public' designated his co-religionists within the Protestant fold, Marteilhe's ideological if not biological descendants. It is true that texts like Marteilhe's—that is, eyewitness accounts meant to provide information but also to encourage fellow Protestants in their faith—were eventually circulated as exemplary Protestant survival accounts 'pour les âmes pieuses et comme livres de dévotion,'[128] to quote Michelet. Whelan underlines the irony in this, for Louis XIV had meant for Protestant galley slaves 'to serve as examples, as signs, of royal power and justice; they were meant to convert, to become Catholics and to encourage others to do the same'[129]; instead, because so many of them resisted conversion and held firm to their beliefs, the few published accounts of their experiences served both as witnesses against the king's power to subjugate the will and as exemplars within their own communities of Protestant constancy and endurance. However, although this text circulated mostly in Protestant circles, the intent of Marteilhe and his original editor, Daniel de Superville, was to

[126] Séverine Collignon-Ward, 'Les Lumières de Marteilhe' (PhD thesis, Michigan State University, 2007), 2.
[127] Ibid.
[128] Michelet, Tome IX, *op. cit.*, 406.
[129] Whelan, 'Turning to Gold,' 9.

reach a much vaster audience in order to draw attention to the sufferings of galley slaves whose release, unlike Marteilhe's, had not yet been secured; among those still held captive were Marteilhe's close friend and former travel companion, Daniel Le Gras, often referenced in his account.

iii. 'écrits par lui-même'

That the *Mémoires* were initially published anonymously no doubt contributed to the frenzy of documentation in evidence in the prefatory materials and notes of each edition of Marteilhe's text, as editors, publishers, and even booksellers attempted to authenticate both the content of the narrative and the reliability of its author. The original edition of 1757 even contained an *Avertissement des Libraires* which directly confronts anticipated concerns about authenticity by stating: 'Le manuscrit de ces mémoires nous étant tombé entre les mains, nous avons cru que l'impression en feroit plaisir au Public, & auroit son utilité pour l'édification des Fidèles. Quoique l'Auteur, par des raisons de prudence, n'y ait pas mis son nom ; cette qualité d'Anonyme ne doit lui faire aucun tort.'[130] To underline this point, the *libraires* called on (anonymous) witnesses: 'Des Personnes de caractère, & dignes de toute creance, nous ont assurés, que cet Ouvrage a été véritablement composé par un de ces Protestants, condamnés aux Galeres de France pour cause de Religion […] & qu'elles sont persuadées, qu'autant que sa memoire a pu lui rappeler les faits, cette Relation est exacte.'[131]

Further undermining claims of authenticity was the fact that the translator of the first English edition, published in London in 1758, also chose to hide behind a veil of anonymity

[130] Marteilhe, *Mémoires d'un protestant* (1757), ii. Original spelling and punctuation respected. Not least of Marteilhe's editors' concerns might have been the fact that fictional adventures were also commonly published with very similar disclaimers in their opening pages.
[131] Ibid., iii.

by using the pseudonym 'James Willington', which we now know to have been a pen name for the novelist Oliver Goldsmith, who (self-consciously) prefaced the account with a re-deployment of the tropes commonly associated with eighteenth-century fiction. Echoing the booksellers' warning of the first French edition, Goldsmith calls upon anonymous witnesses ('Numbers') in advocating for the text's authenticity: 'The Author, indeed, who is still alive, and known to Numbers, not only in Holland but London, has, from prudential Motives, thought proper to suppress his Name; and the same Reasons that have induced him to conceal it, equally influence the Translator.'[132] In his preface, Goldsmith uses the author's choice of anonymity both for himself and those he names (or rather does not name) as proof of the text's authenticity: 'His keeping himself concealed may probably, to some, appear suspicious; yet let it be considered, that, were this the Work of Fiction, nothing could have been easier than to invent fictitious Names also […]. But such the Author chose to imitate in nothing; and his Conduct in the present Case is a Proof of the Authenticity of his Performance.'[133]

Names of people and places elided from the original French edition to protect those who had been of assistance to Marteilhe were added to the 1778 version, the first edition printed after Marteilhe's death in the previous year. Tournier comments: 'L'ex-galérien survécut vingt ans à la diffusion de son livre, mais ce ne fut qu'après sa mort, et dans la troisième édition, que furent mentionnés les noms véritables des hommes et des lieux.'[134] By that date, the Sun King long dead and the French monarchy crumbling, the dangers menacing those who had contributed to the young Huguenot's escape attempt and assisted him during his time in prison and the galleys had presumably passed.

[132] Preface to Jean Marteilhe, *The memoirs of a Protestant, condemned for his religion*, trans. James Willington [Oliver Goldsmith], (London: R. Griffiths and E. Dilly, 1758), vi-vii.
[133] Ibid., vii.
[134] Jean Marteilhe, *Mémoires d'un galérien condamné pour cause de religion* [2015], with notes from Gaston Tournier, based on 1774 edition published in The Hague, 5.

iv. *'ouvrage dans lequel, outre le récit des souffrances de l'auteur depuis 1700 jusqu'en 1713, on trouvera diverses particularités curieuses, relatives à l'histoire de ce temps-là'*

Questions about the identity of the author and translator naturally lead to concerns about the authenticity of the facts related in the text itself, as alluded to by Goldsmith; these concerns were not made easier to address by the fact that Marteilhe's narrative style was deliberately entertaining, lending itself to genre-blending. In Goldsmith's preface, the translator anticipated these further concerns of readers and appears to struggle to describe to whom this hybrid style of writing might appeal: 'it cannot be recommended as a grateful Entertainment to the numerous Readers of reigning Romance, as it is strictly true. No Events are here to astonish; no unexpected Incidents to surprize, no such high-finished Pictures, as captivate the Imagination, and have made Fiction fashionable. Our Reader must be content with the simple Exhibition of Truth, and consequently of Nature.'[135] Goldsmith promotes the veracity of Marteilhe's narrative by downplaying its qualities as entertaining reading material; the important thing, it seems, is to validate the voice of Marteilhe as a trustworthy witness.

From the beginning, Marteilhe makes very clear the scope of his story, delineating what he intends to share with his reader; he will tell them, 'ce qui m'est arrivé à moi-même depuis l'année mil sept cent, jusqu'à mil sept cent treize, que je fus heureusement délivré des galères de France par l'intercession de la reine Anne d'Angleterre de glorieuse mémoire.'[136] Upon reaching this pre-established end point in his narrative, he is careful to remind readers that he has kept his promise: 'Je reprends ce qui me regarde pour finir ces Mémoires avec l'année 1713, terme auquel j'ai promis au commencement de m'arrêter, n'y ayant rien dans la suite de ma vie qui puisse intéresser mon lecteur, à qui je m'étais uniquement proposé de faire le récit

[135] Marteilhe, *The memoirs of a Protestant* [1758], Goldsmith preface, v-vii.
[136] Marteilhe, *Mémoires d'un galérien du Roi-Soleil* [2021], 44.

des persécutions qu'on a exercées sur moi pour la Religion.'[137] My own reading of this, which I will revisit further below, is that by setting a firm end point for his tale Marteilhe intentionally focuses on the aspects of his story—the 'public' parts—that he will allow to be printed and used by his publishers and friends; but the 'private' parts, those more intimately related to his homelife and family after regaining his freedom and settling in the Refuge, he keeps to himself and away from the public eye. But it is clear that concerns about genre, and particularly the 'novel-like' aspects of the narration in these parts intended for the public, permeate the prefaces of early editors who insert lengthy excerpts (and sometimes entire letters) as proof of authenticity. Even Michelet alluded to these characteristics when he wrote concerning Marteilhe's memoirs: 'Nul roman comparable pour l'intérêt des aventures et le pathétique des situations à ces histoires trop vraies.'[138]

Concerns about the novel-like aspects of Marteilhe's narrative are not unfounded: his storytelling is colourful and provides sensory details designed to carry the reader on waves of emotion from laughter to tears, as we will see.

v. 'et une description exacte des galères et de leur service'

We have mentioned Zysberg as an editor of Marteilhe's *Mémoires*; however, it is not for this work that Zysberg is best known but rather for his ground-breaking study *Les galériens: vies et destins de 60 000 forçats sur les galères de France 1680–1748*. In the introduction to this work, Zysberg lists some questions that drove his research about galley slaves: 'Combien étaient-ils? D'où venaient-ils? Qui les avait jugés et pour quel motif? Quelle fut leur

[137] Ibid., 304.
[138] Michelet, *Histoire de France*, Tome IX, 425.

destinée?'[139] He also provides insight into what (paper) sources historians have turned to in order to gather this information: 'Les réponses à toutes ces questions se trouvaient dans les registres d'entrée ou matricules des forçats, dont les archives du port de Toulon—qui héritèrent en partie du fonds de l'intendance générale des galères—conservent la collection à peu près ininterrompue depuis la fin du XVII[e] siècle.'[140] Each condemned man, upon arrival at his assigned port, most often Marseille,[141] would have his information jotted down by royal officials in registry books; 'exits', most of which occurred through death, were also noted there. Zysberg's most significant contribution to the history of galley slavery involved a modernisation of the techniques used to compile and evaluate the information about them, using computers (in the 1970s–80s) to conduct quantitative analysis related to this enslaved population. The task took considerable determination for, as Zysberg explains, 'Il suffit de dénombrer et de soupeser ces registres pour comprendre en quoi leur exploitation a si longtemps rebuté les historiens. Chacun d'entre eux contient 350 à 500 pages où sont inscrits les « signalements » de 3 000 à 5 000 condamnés. Il existe une quinzaine de matricules, soit plus de 6 000 pages au format in-folio.'[142]

Zysberg computerised this information for purposes of quantification but also sought to tell the story of these *galériens* 'by reference to nonquantifiable, traditional sources such as diplomatic and military reports, or the memoirs of highly literate, irreconcilable Protestants who preferred the living death of service on the galleys to the spiritual death of forced conversion.'[143] Zysberg quotes frequently from Marteilhe's account in his own work, as did Tournier before him, drawing on the Protestant galley slave's narrative and exact descriptions

[139] André Zysberg, *Les galériens. Vies et destins de 60 000 forçats sur les galères de France 1680–1748* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1987), 8.
[140] Ibid.
[141] This was the 'port d'attache des galères' until 1748, when it was replaced by Toulon.
[142] Zysberg, 8.
[143] Patrice Higonnet, review of *Les galériens. Vies et destins de 60 000 forçats sur les galères de France 1680–1748*, by André Zysberg, *French Politics and Society*, vol. 7, no. 1 (Winter 1989), 108–109.

concerning details as far-reaching as the diet of a prisoner or *forçat* in the Ancien Régime to how ships were maintained in winter; Tournier, Zysberg and others therefore built upon Marteilhe's account to create new paper objects, texts that provide an even more in-depth look at the lives and experiences of these galley slaves.

One reason for looking so closely at the title of Marteilhe's work has been to derive from this examination a better understanding of the reasons that compel readers of his text—in particular historians, editors, publishers, and translators of his work—to seek documentary evidence of its authenticity in other paper sources. We have also seen through the memoirs' publication history an almost frenetic urge to multiply the number of paper copies in existence, echoing Fumaroli's comments quoted earlier about French Protestant memoirs as judicial briefs awaiting a trial: 'il faut multiplier les témoignages, accumuler les archives, préparer les mémoires qui permettront à chacun de ne pas se présenter désarmé à l'heure du jugement.'[144] It speaks not only of an anxiety about truthfulness, and fiction, but also of a desire to guard against the possible loss of this text, either through deliberate destruction or by neglect, and to preserve it for future generations.

Very early in his narrative, Marteilhe describes an instance where a powerful entity carries out an act of destruction on a special collection of Protestant books. The (aptly titled) Duc de La Force, a nobleman of Huguenot ancestry living in Marteilhe's native *pays*, has converted to Catholicism and turned to forcefully converting Protestants. Buoyed by his success in the numbers of conversions he has secured, La Force turns his attention and destructive actions to the books that represent their heretical (as he perceives it) thinking:

> Pour témoigner sa joie et la satisfaction qu'il ressentait de ses heureux succès [le duc] fit faire des réjouissances publiques au bourg de La Force où est situé son château, et

[144] Fumaroli, 11.

> allumer un feu de joie d'une magnifique bibliothèque, composée de livres pieux de la Religion Réformée, que ses ancêtres avaient soigneusement recueillis.[145]

In light of our study's focus on materiality, and specifically on textual objects, it is interesting to note that Marteilhe makes particular mention of these ancestor-linked texts, the burning of which apparently stood out to him during his early life; for Marteilhe's story will also become a paper object, destined to be passed down through generations. La Force, then, destroyed some 'heretical' textual objects by fire, but created others through his acts of persecution and 'trials by fire.' Richard Ovenden, in *Burning the Books: A History of the Deliberate Destruction of Knowledge*, emphasises how the 'European Reformation' was 'one of the worst periods in the history of knowledge' for the destruction and dislocation of books from the libraries in which they had been long housed.[146] But where Ovenden highlights the destruction by Protestants of Catholic libraries and collections, as well as the efforts of monks and priests to preserve them, Marteilhe's narrative foregrounds destruction and conservation in the opposite direction.

Through an analysis of the original title, we have taken a step closer to the text and peered into some of its pages; we will now consider specific instances in which the author inscribes within the narrative itself verification gestures that speak to his anticipation of the need for authentication and preservation.

[145] Marteilhe, *Mémoires d'un galérien du Roi-Soleil*, 45–46.
[146] Richard Ovenden, *Burning the Books: A History of the Deliberate Destruction of Knowledge* (London: John Murray Press, 2020), 62.

Part II. Paper proof within the text: the question of identification

Marteilhe's text has clearly generated a good deal of verificatory paperwork since its first publication; but I am also interested in the paper trail the memorialist himself embeds within the account for what it tells us about his reasons for writing, and for adopting a somewhat hybrid, eclectic style in which to do so. My intention here is to highlight the role of paperwork (in its many forms) in Marteilhe's story, and as such I examine several paper moments that move the story along, that shape the narrative's principal actors, or that provide insight into the life of this singular personality; for singular, exemplary even, is how Marteilhe chooses to fashion himself. To prove his singularity, his fidelity, and his authenticity, he must take the reader on a journey through various stages of his life and demonstrate, through a carefully crafted paper trail, how he battles the attempts of others to subjugate him and to make him conform to their norms but ultimately emerges triumphant, holding to both his beliefs and his individuality.

i. Who are you?: locating identity

Valentin Groebner provides a snapshot of the difficulties premodern individuals faced in demonstrating (and ascertaining) their identity to others in *Who Are You? Identification, Deception and Surveillance in Early Modern Europe*. He begins with the story of a 'fat woodworker' from Florence whose friends deceive him into believing he is someone other than himself; he holds no identificatory documents on his person and has nothing but his friends' words and his own knowledge to affirm who he is. In the end, he becomes so convinced of his new identity that he responds as if he were this alternate entity, even answering to the other's name. Having through the retelling of this fable highlighted the challenge for individuals within this period of proving who they were, Groebner proceeds to demonstrate, in contrast to much

scholarly work on identification and documentation, that structures for the centralisation and proliferation of identity paperwork were in place long before the commonly accepted pivot point of the French Revolution. In what follows, I demonstrate through examples from Marteilhe's narrative that the premodern era is indeed teeming with such paperwork, and that his account presents an interesting point of departure for the investigation of early theories and practices of identification.

Groebner explains that the word 'identity' is derived from *idem* ('the same') or *identidem* ('time and again') and tended to denote 'not uniqueness, but the features that the various elements of a group had in common.'[147] Studies of identification practices often note that premodern societies were 'structured in strict hierarchical terms [in which everyone] knew his or her own and everyone else's station and status.'[148] Occasionally, what a group had in common was defined in terms of the differences between one group and another. This is evident, for example, in early understandings of 'Frenchness' particularly relevant to the present study.

What did it mean to be 'French' in pre-Revolutionary France? Peter Sahlins in *Unnaturally French: Foreign Citizens in the Old Regime and After* argues that prior to the French Revolution, 'there was no "nation" to which foreigners were expected to assimilate. The kingdom of France knew no statutory definitions of "citizens" and never enumerated their political and civil rights. French "nationality" did not exist: the word only dates from the early nineteenth century.'[149] Sahlins argues that during the Ancien Régime being French was determined, in legal and administrative terms, in opposition to what it meant *not* to be French, and a feudal right called the *droit d'aubaine*, the right of the king to confiscate the property of

[147] Valentin Groebner, *Who Are You? Identification, Deception, and Surveillance in Early Modern Europe*, trans. Mark Kyburz and John Peck (New York: Zone Books, 2007), 26.
[148] Ibid., 22.
[149] Peter Sahlins, *Unnaturally French: Foreign Citizens in the Old Regime and After* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004), x.

foreigners, 'became the key legal mechanism for distinguishing foreigners and citizens.'[150] Additionally, Sahlins notes that absolutist France was a 'monarchy organized hierarchically and legally in privileged estates, corporations, and communities, where individuals shared no common status except as subjects of the king.'[151] This point will play a decisive role in Marteilhe's trajectory and will become increasingly prominent in the story as he describes his passage through the contemporary prison and judicial systems, his life in the galleys, and his eventual liberation.

In *Law and Citizenship in Early Modern France*, Charlotte Wells highlights the *droit d'aubaine* as a foundation for contemporary understandings of nationality, rights, and citizenship. Wells explores the origins of these concepts through the lens of legal assimilation, demonstrating the existence in pre-absolutist times of a 'legal structure of national citizenship long before the revolutionary era but also a distinct emotional attachment to France and a clear sense of the citizen's duty to support and defend her.'[152] The status of the citizen became largely —and then pre-eminently—dependent on obedience and loyalty to the king and rhetorical metaphors which previously figured the state as a community or a city were replaced under absolutism by metaphors of the state as a family that 'was now held to be embodied only in the person of the monarch.'[153] Wells explains further: 'Instead of a community to which all citizens contributed, the state became a family dominated by the authority of the father-figure of the king.'[154] What all this underscores is the role of religion as a means of demonstrating these qualities of obedience and loyalty and the dilemma this posed for French Protestants: Huguenots forfeited their rights to citizenship if they refused to renounce 'la religion prétendue réformée' (RPR), as Protestantism was designated in official documents, to embrace

[150] Ibid., xiii.
[151] Ibid., 1.
[152] Charlotte Wells, *Law and Citizenship in Early Modern France*, *op. cit.*, x.
[153] Ibid., xvii.
[154] Ibid., 91.

Catholicism. 'Those who refused to conform were, ipso facto, no longer members of the state-family,' writes Wells. 'They were either to be chastised into obedience or cast out to live as orphans. Thus the fate of the Huguenots, who, after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, effectively became strangers in their native land. They could maintain that citizenship only by converting.'[155] In other words, if Huguenots were to remain legally 'French' they must trade paper for paper, which many of them did, signing acts of abjuration (like Dumont, as we saw in the introduction); others, like Marteilhe, opted to risk an illegal escape from the kingdom.

Marteilhe's account affords readers significant insight into what structures of authority and identification practices looked like from the viewpoint of the minority French Huguenots living in (or trying to leave) the kingdom. We will see how he takes readers through five instances prior to the moment he and his companion Le Gras are arrested; in each of these instances either revealing or dissimulating their identity as French Protestants becomes a matter of survival.

The opening chapter of *Mémoires d'un galérien* portrays Marteilhe as a good-humoured adolescent whose identity evolves 'on the go' as he travels through various transformative landscapes. Later in his account the reader will catch glimpses of an older man reflecting on the experiences of his youth and attempting to shape a difficult story into an account as entertaining and humorous as it is informative and moving; but in the first few pages the dominant image is the narrator's sentimental attachment to his first identity, the one into which he was born:

> Je suis né à Bergerac, petite ville de la province de Périgord, en l'année mil six cent quatre-vingt-quatre, de parents bourgeois et marchands, qui, par la grâce de Dieu, ont toujours vécu et constamment persisté jusqu'à la mort dans les sentiments de la véritable Religion Réformée, s'étant conduits de façon à ne s'attirer aucun reproche,

[155] Ibid., 92.

> élevant leurs enfants dans la crainte de Dieu, et les instruisant continuellement dans les principes de la vraie Religion et dans l'éloignement des erreurs du papisme.[156]

At the age of sixteen, Marteilhe leaves Bergerac with his friend and fellow Huguenot Daniel Le Gras just as Louis XIV's *dragons* descend upon the area with orders to compel French Protestants to convert to Catholicism, using force if necessary. The young men spend the first night after their escape wandering through woods near Bergerac and in the morning find themselves in the small town of Mussidan. There they take a couple of important decisions that will set the course not only of their journey but also of the narrative:

> nous résolûmes, quelques périls qu'il y eût, de poursuivre notre voyage jusqu'en Hollande, nous résignant à la volonté de Dieu pour tous les périls qui se présentaient à notre esprit, et nous prîmes, en implorant la protection divine, une ferme résolution de n'imiter pas la femme de Loth en regardant en arrière, et que, quel que fût l'événement de notre périlleuse entreprise, nous resterions fermes et constants à confesser la véritable Religion Réformée, même au péril du supplice des galères ou de la mort.[157]

In terms of vocabulary, when we consider the phrase 'dans les principes de la vraie Religion et dans l'éloignement des erreurs du papisme' in the earlier passage concerning Marteilhe's parents and the training of their children, and 'nous resterions fermes et constants à confesser la véritable Religion Réformée' we can already see how these sentences and their qualifying words have been formulated so that they stand against the official wording of the Crown concerning 'la religion *prétendue* réformée'. This passage returns us to Trivisani-Moreau's 'pacte de vérité'; but where she alludes to an implicit pact between memorialist and reader, here Marteilhe and Le Gras make an explicit one with each other, one in which the reader is complicit. Having thus resolved to stand firm in their beliefs, they set out for Holland by way of Paris, which they reach without incident.

[156] Marteilhe, *Mémoires d'un galérien du Roi-Soleil*, 44.
[157] Ibid., 48–49.

Paris: encounter with the Huguenot network

It is in Paris that the reader first encounters the Huguenot 'underground network' when the young men receive handwritten instructions from an acquaintance concerning the safest route out of France and into Holland. Marteilhe writes: 'En effet, un bon ami et bon protestant nous donna une petite route par écrit, jusqu'à Mézières, ville de guerre sur la Meuse, qui pour lors était frontière du Pays-Bas espagnol, et au bord de la formidable forêt des Ardennes.'[158] They were recognised as friends and Protestants and as a result of this positive identification were given a piece of paper that became a map to freedom; their course to the safety of the Refuge is set, or so it seems.

At this point in the narrative, Marteilhe and Le Gras are outcasts relying on their instincts and their faith to escape royal authorities, having little experience in dealing with the vicissitudes of life outside of their native Bergerac. As Marteilhe points out: 'j'avais seize ans accomplis pour lors. Ce n'est pas un âge à avoir beaucoup d'expérience pour se tirer d'affaire, surtout d'un si mauvais pas.'[159] Freedom of movement within (but not beyond) the kingdom of France was granted generally to both Catholic and Protestant subjects; in border towns, however, travelling strangers were expected to provide evidence of their identity and right to travel: authorities stopped anyone 'qu'on soupçonnait d'être étrangers.'[160] The status of 'stranger' frequently raised suspicions in early modern times, but this was especially true of strangers discovered in border towns following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Marteilhe notes that around the time they attempted to cross the border out of France in November 1700, 'dans le royaume de France on n'arrêtait personne. Toute l'attention n'était qu'à bien garder les passages sur la frontière.'[161] Young and inexperienced as they were, Marteilhe portrays

[158] Ibid., 49.
[159] Ibid., 48.
[160] Ibid., 50.
[161] Ibid.

himself and Le Gras (but especially himself) as demonstrating considerable acuity in navigating the various obstacles they encounter, as illustrated below in the story of their experiences at Mézières.

Mézières: encounter with an inn-keeper

Having reached the walled city of Mézières, Marteilhe and his companion sit for a time on the mountainside, watching from that vantage point the comings and goings of the townspeople, and considering the options before them. They decide to make an attempt to blend in with the townspeople, altering anything in their appearance that might give them away as *étrangers*; their plan of entry into the city involves a double act of simulation and dissimulation:

> Et en considérant la porte, nous vîmes qu'un long pont sur la Meuse y aboutissait, et comme il faisait assez beau temps, un nombre de bourgeois se promenaient sur ce pont. Nous jugeâmes qu'en nous mêlant avec ces bourgeois et nous promenant avec eux sur ce pont, nous pourrions entrer pêle-mêle avec eux dans la ville sans être connus pour étrangers par la sentinelle de la porte.[162]

Groebner writes that clothes played an important part in early modern identification of people: 'they served both as scrupulously examined billboards of identification and as ciphers of disguise and dissimulation.'[163] Later in Marteilhe's story, when he describes his prison experiences, readers will be introduced to Huguenot members of his 'travelling family' who have disguised their social status through costume to facilitate their escape from France; in this instance, however, Marteilhe and Le Gras need not put on any further costume (other than to don all the clothing from their haversack) but have only to look un-traveller-like in order to mingle with the townspeople and pass unnoticed through the city's gate. Marteilhe writes:

[162] Ibid.
[163] Groebner, 11.

> Nous étant arrêtés à cette entreprise, nous vidâmes nos havresacs de quelques chemises que nous y avions, les mettant toutes sur notre corps, et les havresacs dans nos poches. Nous décrottâmes ensuite nos souliers, peignîmes nos cheveux, et enfin prîmes toutes les précautions requises pour ne paraître pas voyageurs. Notez que nous n'avions pas d'épée, étant défendu en France d'en porter. Ainsi appropriés, nous descendîmes la montagne et nous nous rendîmes sur le pont, nous y promenant avec les bourgeois jusqu'à ce que le tambour rappelât pour la fermeture des portes.
>
> Alors tous les bourgeois s'empressèrent pour rentrer dans la ville et nous avec eux, la sentinelle ne s'apercevant pas que nous fussions étrangers. Nous étions ravis de joie d'avoir évité ce grand péril, croyant que c'était là le seul que nous avions à craindre.[164]

Marteilhe and Le Gras' initial plan succeeds, but they gain entry into the city only to realise their rejoicing is premature: 'nous comptions, comme on dit, sans notre hôte. Nous ne pouvions sortir sur le champ de Mézières, la porte à l'opposite de celle par où nous étions entrés étant fermée. Il nous fallut donc loger dans la ville.'[165] During this unexpected overnight stay in Mézières the youths are recognised as strangers and asked by the inn-keeper to produce identification; however, they are able to outwit their host and escape early in the morning, an event we will revisit in greater detail further below within a discussion of authority structures. Because of their quick thinking and a bit of trickery, the young men are safe and free to continue their journey.

Ardennes forest: encounter with a peasant

On the way to their next destination, they are recognised not only as strangers but this time also as Huguenots, by a local peasant who finds them wandering, lost in the vast forest of the Ardennes. The young travellers offer the man a *louis d'or* to serve as their guide out of the forest and to the town of Charleroi but he refuses, telling them: 'Non pas, quand vous me donneriez cent […]. [J]e vois bien que vous êtes huguenots, et que vous vous sauvez de France ;

[164] Marteilhe, *Mémoires d'un galérien du Roi-Soleil,* 50–51.
[165] Ibid., 51.

et je me mettrais la corde au cou si je vous rendais ce service. Mais […] je vous donnerai un bon conseil,'[166] and in a touching display of compassion for strangers, the peasant gives them clear directions for making their way to safety. Unlike in Paris, these directions are communicated orally, there is no paper map, and although they follow closely the peasant's instructions, an unfortunate setback sets them on the path of a series of fateful events.

Couvé: encounter with a garde-chasse

The travellers take refuge from drenching rains at a 'cabaret' in Couvé, today the small city of Couvin in Belgium, where they are presented with 'un pot de bière à deux anses sans nous donner des verres'[167]; subsequently, they ask for drinking vessels. This seemingly innocuous request leads to their identification as French by the host, which draws the attention of another guest in the room, the 'garde-chasse du prince de Liège', who notices, Marteilhe writes, 'que l'hôte nous avait dit qu'il voyait bien que nous étions français.'[168] The game warden suspects that they are French Huguenots attempting their escape, and he has good reasons for wanting to capture them: an edict issued by Louis XIV on 20 August 1685, preceding the Edict of Fontainebleau of 22 October 1685, declared: 'Voulons que si aucuns de ladite R.P.R. viennent à sortir de notre royaume sans notre permission, ceux qui les découvriront et dénonceront soient mis en possession de la moitié des fonds qu'ils auront dénoncez dans les pays où la confiscation a lieu.'[169] The *garde-chasse* determines to follow them when they leave the inn, not only to uncover their identity but also take them prisoner if possible, and thereby receive his portion of their valuables.

[166] Ibid., 54.
[167] Ibid., 55.
[168] Ibid., 56.
[169] Marteilhe, *Mémoires d'un galérien condamné pour cause de religion*, Note 2, 21.

Marteilhe and Le Gras are granted permission to continue on their journey; they depart confidently, unaware that their release presents a hidden danger: in order for the *garde-chasse* to exercise the right to confiscate the property of these Huguenots, their arrest must be made in a location under French rule, which was not the case at Couvé. Marteilhe and Le Gras, unsuspicious, enter the town of Mariembourg and request a room at an inn. 'On nous mit dans une chambre, et nous étant fait faire un bon feu pour nous sécher, nous n'y avions pas resté une demi-heure que nous y vîmes entrer un homme que nous crûmes être l'hôte du logis, qui, nous ayant salués fort civilement, nous demanda d'où nous venions et où nous allions.'[170] They respond glibly that they have come from Paris and that their destination is Philippeville, still convinced that in the morning they will outwit their host as they had with the previous inn-keepers: however, the game warden had forewarned local authorities about these fugitives and guards are sent to the house to arrest the two young men, who are then taken to the governor for examination. Their fate seems sealed, but in the course of these events, it comes to light that the commander of the detachment leading them to prison is from Bergerac and a close friend of Marteilhe's father: 'Bon Dieu ! s'écria-t-il, votre père est le meilleur de mes amis ; consolez-vous, ajouta-t-il, mes enfants ; je vous retirerai de cette mauvaise affaire, et vous en serez quittes pour deux ou trois jours de prison.'[171]

To this point, the risky episodes in Marteilhe's story have held a note of hope: escape seems possible, freedom is just beyond their grasp. But here is a turning point. Despite being recognised as friends by the commander at Mariembourg, there is nothing the older man can do to free Marteilhe and Le Gras, because letters that will determine their sentence have already started shuttling back and forth between the governor at Mariembourg, notified of the fugitives'

[170] Marteilhe, *Mémoires d'un galérien du Roi-Soleil,* 57.
[171] Ibid., 58.

arrival in town, and the Court at Versailles. We will turn our attention now more specifically to the role of legal paperwork in Marteilhe's narrative of identity and identification.

ii. Where is your paperwork?: surveillance and authority structures

It is useful, when analysing these memoirs, to differentiate between 'identification' and 'identities'; as Groebner explains, the former term 'is always a process that involves more than one person. It seems to me that the various agents and authorities involved in naming and keeping individuals distinct cannot be brought into view otherwise, for they are always present.'[172] Groebner also draws attention to the material dimension of the identificatory process: 'Identification is a procedure that only in very rare cases occurs without material aid'[173]; he defines these aids as 'objects that were instrumental to identification, the papers that individuals used to identify themselves and that stood in for the bodies of those whom they served to identify.'[174] Once compulsory identification was introduced, 'travelling in early modern Europe became a matter of having the right papers.'[175] In considering some of the 'agents and authorities' Marteilhe mentions in his narrative, and also the kinds of material aids demanded by these authority figures, some of the questions we will ask include: who had the authority to ask for documentation? What type of documents were required of travellers? What happened if travellers could not produce requested documentation? This will not be an exhaustive examination of surveillance and authority structures but rather an exploration of these questions using illustrations from Marteilhe's text. We will consider several scenarios and

[172] Groebner, 27.
[173] Ibid., 11.
[174] Ibid., 12.
[175] Ibid.

note in each firstly how paper becomes an issue and secondly how a representative of early modern authority structures in each case stands between the travellers and the road to freedom.

Ben Kafka defines paperwork as 'all those documents produced in response to a demand—real or imagined—by the state. This includes everything from sums recorded by lowly clerks to petitions submitted by indignant citizens, to founding declarations maintained by official archivists in climate-controlled repositories.'[176] Kafka, a sociologist, follows the prevailing scholarly trend of focusing on the French Revolution and the period immediately following as the great era of centralised record keeping and 'bureaucracy', a word and concept that became crystallised only in the late eighteenth century. He mostly avoids discussing the roots or rich and complex pre-histories of these concepts prior to 1789, except to argue that where recordkeeping under an absolutist monarch was a means of exercising control over the population, the French Revolution sought to invert this dynamic by making paperwork a means by which to discipline, and to an extent make accountable, the state itself. Kafka writes: 'The disciplinary state, which relied on documents and details to keep track of its subjects, would also have to be a disciplined state, aware that those same documents and details could be used to keep track of it.'[177] Kafka's ideas are particularly pertinent to my arguments about paperwork in Marteilhe's text in that they underscore the ways that the study of paperwork can allow unique insight into the relationships of individuals with society and authority structures. It is also interesting, in light of Marteilhe's narrative, to note Kafka's comments concerning paperwork's power to constrict and restrict, for as mentioned above, my purpose here is to highlight the phases of Marteilhe's trajectory that were defined by pieces of paper—from monarchs' edicts to parliamentary rulings to personal letters by powerful individuals—and I

[176] Ben Kafka, *Demon of Writing: Powers and Failures of Paperwork* (New York: Zone Books, 2012), 10.
[177] Ibid., 21.

will argue that viewed in this way it may be said that paperwork not only created identities for Marteilhe but also trapped him within their confines.

From the example of Mézières we see that guards at city gates or doors constituted a first line of defence in identifying who could enter the city, and that through cunning the two Huguenots travellers passed undetected by such sentinels; but within the town itself, it was the inn-keeper whose crucial role it was to detect and report strangers. And it is from an inn-keeper at Mézières that Marteilhe and Le Gras receive the first request to present identification papers:

> Nous entrâmes dans la première auberge qui se présenta. L'hôte n'y était pas, sa femme nous reçut. Nous ordonnâmes le souper, et pendant que nous étions à table, sur les neuf heures, le maître du logis arriva. Sa femme lui dit qu'elle avait reçu deux jeunes étrangers. Nous entendîmes de notre chambre que son mari lui demanda si nous avions un billet de permission du gouverneur. La femme lui ayant répondu qu'elle ne s'en était pas informée : « Carogne, lui dit-il, veux-tu que nous soyons ruinés de fond en comble ? Tu sais les défenses rigoureuses de loger les étrangers sans permission. Il faut que j'aille tout à l'heure avec eux chez le gouverneur. » Ce dialogue que nous entendions nous mit la puce à l'oreille.[178]

We glean from this example that money and fines played a role in inn-keepers' motivation for requesting documentation from guests suspected of being foreigners: control of guest identity was driven largely by the costly fines levied for harbouring unregistered foreigners, and particularly Huguenots. When Marteilhe and Le Gras' host enters the room to greet them, he explains: 'Il m'en coûterait mille écus […] si le gouverneur savait que je vous eusse logés sans sa permission.'[179] Groebner provides an illustration from Jacob Burckhardt's foundational study *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* that helps establish the context and background of the inn-keeper's role: 'In the second half of the fifteenth century […], the dukes of Ferrara not only employed informers and undercover agents, but also went so far as to review personally the tally sheets of aliens that innkeepers were obliged to submit to their desks every

[178] Marteilhe, *Mémoires d'un galérien du Roi-Soleil,* 51.
[179] Ibid.

single day.'[180] Elaborating on this theme, Groebner remarks that during the sixteenth century 'a utopian slogan was formulated that was to determine the discourse on individuality and identification in Europe from then on: "Register everyone and everything."'[181] We might see through Marteilhe's examples a similar system of the inn-keeper needing to register his guests with the local governor. But it is difficult from the text to determine the full extent of this process in this first instance, since Marteilhe and Le Gras avoid reporting to the governor by deferring the meeting to the next morning, and then escaping at daybreak through a bit of deceit. Marteilhe recounts the episode as follows:

> Nous formâmes le dessein de sortir clandestinement de ce logis avant que l'hôte fût levé et en état de nous observer. Lorsqu'il nous vit de si grand matin dans sa cuisine, il nous demanda la raison de cette diligence. Nous lui dîmes qu'avant d'aller chez le gouverneur avec lui, nous voulions déjeuner, afin qu'en sortant de chez le gouverneur, nous puissions poursuivre notre route.[182]

The host is unsuspicious and the two Huguenots leave 'ce fatal cabaret sans dire adieu, ni payer notre écot ; car il nous était absolument nécessaire de faire cette petite friponnerie.'[183]

What types of identificatory documents were strangers asked to produce? The first document mentioned in the scenario at Mézières is the *billet de permission du gouverneur*, to which the host alludes in conversation with his wife. But particularly relevant to our study of paper objects is the next item requested by the host: a passport. After the inn-keeper enters the youths' room, explaining to them the fines he faces for lodging unreported strangers overnight, he asks: 'Mais avez-vous un passeport pour pouvoir entrer dans les villes frontières ?'[184] When they respond untruthfully but with great enthusiasm that they do, Marteilhe notes the inn-keeper's response: 'Cela change l'affaire, dit-il, pour empêcher que j'encoure le blâme de vous avoir logés sans permission ; mais cependant il faut que vous veniez avec moi chez le

[180] Groebner, 25.
[181] Ibid., 200.
[182] Marteilhe, *Mémoires d'un galérien du Roi-Soleil,* 52.
[183] Ibid., 53.
[184] Ibid., 51.

gouverneur pour lui montrer vos passeports.'[185] To gain a sense of what is happening here in the text, it will be helpful to examine what constituted a passport in Marteilhe's day.

Daniel Nordman in his article 'Sauf-conduits et passeports' contrasts the 'images de liberté et d'évasion que diffuse facilement la littérature des récits de voyages'[186] with the first *sauf conduits* and passports of modern times which 'n'évoquent guère […] que de dure contraintes.'[187] Although Marteilhe's voyage begins as something of an adventure for him and Le Gras, it becomes increasingly a journey of constraint, and the passport is certainly a well-suited symbolic representation of this, for a passport has the dual ability to allow freedom of passage but also to act in restrictive ways, as we will see.

Louis XI is often credited with the birth of the passport when, in 1464, he demanded that couriers carry an early form of passport and established an office to track their issuance. Passport formats evolved, as did regulations concerning to whom such documents could be issued: carrying a passport became the privilege of a limited number of people travelling for diplomatic or business reasons. Groebner explains: 'From the second half of the fifteenth century to the mid-sixteenth century, the high medieval and later medieval letter of safe conduct issued exclusively to diplomats, envoys, and merchants gradually developed into the *passeport* or the officially licensed *laisser-passer* as a valid document of passage.'[188] Eventually, Groebner states, '[c]arrying a *passeport*, an authorized, sealed document furnishing personal details about their bearer, was now no longer a privilege, but an obligation.'[189] Marteilhe's narrative substantiates the fact that by the early eighteenth century passports were no longer optional for travellers intent on crossing borders.

[185] Ibid., 51–52.
[186] Daniel Nordman, 'Sauf-conduits et passeports,' in *Voyager à la Renaissance,*' ed. Jean Céard (Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 1987), 145.
[187] Ibid.
[188] Groebner, 175.
[189] Ibid.

In *Invention of the Passport: Surveillance, Citizenship, and the State*, historical sociologist John Torpey examines the ways in which nation-states have traditionally sought to control movements by defining on paper who is included or excluded from citizenship. Torpey contends that the creation of documents like the passport made 'relevant differences knowable and thus enforceable.'[190] His study begins with the French Revolution—'because of its canonical status as the "birth of the nation-state"'[191]—and ends in present times. However, as we see in Marteilhe's narrative, there is ample evidence of travel paperwork, and particularly passports, in the pre-modern era which a study that begins with the French Revolution omits. Torpey's study is mostly concerned with the history of documentary controls on movement and identity, of which passports constitute only one form; his findings, while certainly informative, present only limited interest to a study of Huguenot travellers in the early eighteenth century. I will, however, build upon his conclusion that in modern times 'people have to some extent become prisoners of their identities, which may sharply limit their opportunities to come and go across jurisdictional spaces'[192] to show ways in which this occurred already in Marteilhe's (pre-Revolutionary) day.

iii. You are who we say you are: Ancient Régime *prison and justice system*

What happened to French Protestants who failed to produce proper documentation upon request? Groebner's focus is on the 'fiction' of centralised state control; Marteilhe's account provides examples of how *effective* early modern methods of control at the local level might have either sustained or condemned the Absolutist project. For a clearer idea of what this looked like in practice, I will focus on several specimens of paperwork taken from key moments

[190] John Torpey, *Invention of the Passport: Surveillance, Citizenship, and the State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 2.
[191] Ibid.
[192] Ibid., 166.

in the text: in each scenario, an authority figure presents Marteilhe and Le Gras with a paper object that redefines their shifting identities according to the laws of the land.

'procès-verbal'

In Mariembourg, Marteilhe and Le Gras appear before the governor, M. Pallier, who asks their origins and their destination. Although they answer the first question truthfully, 'sur la seconde, nous la palliâmes, lui disant qu'étant des garçons perruquiers, nous faisions notre tour de France […]. Le gouverneur nous fit examiner par son valet de chambre, qui était un peu perruquier, et qui s'attacha par bonheur à mon compagnon, qui l'était effectivement. Il fut convaincu que nous étions de cette profession.'[193] Once again, their use of a ruse has the appearance of initial success: the governor does not require paper proof of their profession and they convince his valet, through Le Gras' knowledge of the trade, that they are wigmakers making their customary way around France. The governor's next question concerns their religion, and Marteilhe, in his narrative, words their response in a way that is interesting in light of concepts of veracity and the voice of witness:

> Nous lui dîmes franchement que nous étions de la Religion Réformée, nous faisant un scrupule de conscience de déguiser la vérité sur cet article. Plût à Dieu que nous eussions dit la pure vérité sur les autres demandes que ce gouverneur nous fit ; car quand on veut faire profession de la vérité, il ne faut, selon la morale chrétienne, jamais mentir. Enfin telle est la faiblesse de la nature humaine, qui n'exerce jamais parfaitement une bonne œuvre.[194]

When the governor asks them if they were planning to leave the country, they deny it; after examining them, the governor orders an officer, who as previously noted they discover to be a family friend, to take the young men to prison.

[193] Marteilhe, *Mémoires d'un galérien du Roi-Soleil,* 57–58.
[194] Ibid., 58.

There, as it is suspected these Huguenots were attempting to flee France, 'Le garde-chasse pria le major de nous faire fouiller pour avoir sa curée, croyant que nous avions beaucoup d'argent. Mais tout notre capital consistait environ dans une pistole, que le major nous dit de lui remettre sans nous faire fouiller.'[195] This command by the officer-friend reflects an effort to help the boys, for he knew that being found with a considerable sum on their persons, as fleeing Huguenots from good families were prone to have, would increase the difficulty of proving that they were in fact poor wigmakers making their way around France. Following this search of their effects, 'on nous fit entrer dans un cachot affreux.'[196] A prison in the Ancien Régime, Zysberg notes, 'au moins jusqu'au milieu du XVIII^{e} siècle, se définit comme le lieu où les accusés, « pris de corps », attendaient la conclusion de leur procès, et non comme un espace pénal.'[197] The fugitives are held there whilst a decision is made regarding their case.

There follows a flurry of activity and anticipation as the officer-friend reports back to the governor that only a minute sum was found on the boys, which proves that they did not intend to escape; malheur! the governor has already reported the Huguenots' detention to the Court at Versailles and must await that Court's decision in the matter. In the meanwhile, the officer assures Marteilhe and Le Gras 'qu'il travaillerait de son mieux avec le gouverneur, de qui il en avait parole, à ce que notre procès-verbal nous fût favorable.'[198] The governor is true to his word: 'Bientôt après le gouverneur envoya en Cour le procès-verbal qui était fort en notre faveur.'[199] It is here, however, that Marteilhe first encounters the limits of local authority in opposition to the Court, as relates to the fate of Huguenots suspected of attempting to leave the kingdom:

[195] Ibid.
[196] Ibid., 59.
[197] Zysberg, *Les galériens*, 10–11.
[198] Marteilhe, *Mémoires d'un galérien du Roi-Soleil*, 60.
[199] Ibid., 60–61.

> Mais la déclaration que nous avions faite, que nous étions de la Religion Réformée, anima si fort contre nous le marquis de la Vrillière, ministre d'État, qu'il ne voulut faire aucune attention sur les apparences qui étaient contenues dans ce procès-verbal, que nous n'avions aucun dessein de sortir du royaume ; et qu'il ordonna au gouverneur de Mariembourg de nous faire notre procès pour nous condamner aux galères, comme nous étant trouvés sur les frontières sans passeport.'[200]

Marteilhe and Le Gras are once again given the opportunity, this time by their friend, to trade paper for paper. After having allowed them to read the orders from de la Vrillière, the officer says to them: 'Je ne vous conseillerai rien […] sur ce que vous devez faire ; votre foi et votre conscience vous doivent déterminer. Tout ce que je puis vous dire, c'est que votre abjuration vous ouvrira la porte de votre prison. Sans cela vous irez certainement aux galères.'[201]

'notre sentence'

In Mariembourg, in hopes of seeing them converted, the local *curé* visits them 'presque tous les jours, et nous donna d'abord un catéchisme de controverse pour prouver la vérité de la religion romaine. Nous lui opposâmes le catéchisme de M. Drelincourt, que nous avions.'[202] Unsuccessful in his efforts to convert them and offended at their treatment of him, the clergyman declares to the governor and the judge that the boys are possessed by a demon. Upon his deposition, 'il fut résolut de nous faire notre procès ; ce qui s'exécuta bientôt. Le juge du lieu et son greffier nous vinrent juridiquement interroger dans la prison, et deux jours après on nous vint lire notre sentence'[203]; such was the authority of the local clergy.

Earlier, Marteilhe noted that he and Le Gras were allowed to read the orders that came from de la Vrillière in their regard, and Marteilhe gave a summary of its contents. In the

[200] Ibid.
[201] Ibid., 61.
[202] Ibid., 62.
[203] Ibid., 63.

following instance we observe that he takes the further step of including, apparently from memory, what the sentence said in substance:

> Que nous étant trouvés sur la frontière sans passeport de la Cour, et qu'étant de la Religion Prétendue Réformée, nous étions atteints et convaincus d'avoir voulu sortir du royaume, contre les Ordonnances du Roi qui le défend. Et pour réparation, nous étions condamnés à être conduits sur les galères de Sa Majesté, pour y servir de forçats à perpétuité avec confiscation de nos biens, etc.[204]

Their sentence having been read, the judge asks if the prisoners wish to appeal to the Tournai parliament. When the young men express outrage at their sentence—asserting their faith in God and his tribunal, as he is the only just judge—their (temporal) judge responds by reminding them that he is under orders from one higher than himself:

> « Ne m'attribuez pas, dit-il, je vous prie, la rigueur de votre sentence ; ce sont les ordres du roi qui vous condamnent. » — « Mais, lui dis-je, monsieur, le roi ne sait pas. Si je suis atteint et convaincu de vouloir sortir du royaume ; et l'Ordonnance ne porte pas que, pour être de la Religion, on soit mis aux galères ; il n'y a que la conviction de vouloir sortir du royaume qui condamne à ce genre de supplice. Cependant, vous, monsieur, vous mettez dans la sentence *atteint et convaincu de vouloir sortir du royaume*, sans avoir examiné s'il y en avait. » — « Que voulez-vous ? nous dit-il. C'est une formalité requise, pour obéir aux ordres du roi. »[205]

Marteilhe brazenly responds: 'Ne vous qualifiez donc plus de juge, mais de simple exécuteur des ordres du roi.'[206] Foolhardy as might seem the act of engaging the judge with such fierce directness, it is evident that the two young men are fighting for their lives and freedom in the midst of a system in which justice depends not so much on evidence and proof as on the word and will of the king. The judge tells them to appeal to the *Parlement*, which they refuse 'sachant bien que le Parlement est dévoué aux ordres du roi, et qu'il n'examinera pas plus les preuves qui sont en notre faveur que vous.'[207] However, as their sentence required severe corporal punishment, it was a legal necessity for an appeal to be made. Zysberg explains: 'Toute

[204] Ibid.
[205] Ibid., 63–64.
[206] Ibid., 64.
[207] Ibid.

sentence criminelle comportant une peine afflictive ou corporelle (le fouet, les galères, la mort) prononcée par une juridiction subalterne devait être confirmée ou infirmée en appel par une cour souveraine.'[208] The same day, four archers take Marteilhe and Le Gras to the prison at Tournai. Marteilhe recounts the details of the harsh journey and horrible cells, but he is fated to experience far worse conditions in future.

'une requête'

There was no penitentiary budget to provide for the maintenance of these undesirables of society; outside of the 'king's bread'—'ration à deux sous et quelques liards composée d'un pain noir d'une qualité exécrable'[209]—prisoners were forced to provide for their own needs, financed either by family and friends or through the charity of strangers. When in their prison cell Marteilhe and Le Gras have spent their last *pistole*, they must barter with guards and clerks for basic necessities, and even their clothes become currency exchanged for a bit of bread: 'Dans cette extrémité, nous vendîmes au guichetier, pour un peu de pain, nos justaucorps et vestes, de mêmes que quelques chemises que nous avions, ne nous réservant que celle que nous avions sur le corps, qui fut bientôt pourrie et en lambeaux.'[210] The contemporary prison system favoured those who had money, or those with wealthy friends or acquaintances. Zysberg writes: 'Tout y était à vendre : une place dans un cachot mieux éclairé et aéré, de la paille fraîche ou, luxe suprême, un lit.'[211] Those like Marteilhe and Le Gras who found themselves without money and far away from their families were left to waste away.

[208] Ibid., from Zysberg's Note 13, 378.
[209] Zysberg, *Les galériens*, 11.
[210] Marteilhe, *Mémoires d'un galérien du Roi-Soleil*, 65.
[211] Zysberg, *Les galériens*, 11.

In Tournai, Marteilhe and Le Gras receive a visit in their prison cell from a 'conseiller du parlement' who offers them his help and encouragement, saying: 'Prenez courage mes enfants, j'espère que vous sortirez d'affaire. Demain je vous enverrai un homme de loi, qui vous portera une requête à signer ; signez-la et vous en verrez les effets.'[212] The next day, the lawyer arrives with a 'requête' for them to read and sign:

> Cette requête, adressée à nos juges en Parlement, portait en substance que, pour être de la Religion Réformée, nous n'étions pas sujets aux peines portées par l'Ordonnance, qui défend à toute personne du royaume de sortir de France sans permission de la Cour ; et que nous offrions de faire preuve que nous ne sortions pas du royaume, puisque nous en étions déjà sortis et y étions rentrés ensuite en passant par Couvé, ville du prince de Liège, où il y avait garnison hollandaise ; mais que n'ayant aucune envie de sortir du royaume, nous ne nous étions servi que du passage par ladite ville, ne pouvant aller de Rocroi à Marienbourg qu'en la traversant ; que si nous avions eu dessein de sortir de France, nous n'avions qu'à nous mettre sous la protection du gouverneur hollandais de Couvé, qui nous aurait fait conduire sans difficulté par les terres de Liège, jusqu'à Charleroi.[213]

Proof—*faire preuve*—is what Marteilhe argued previously the judge had not sought of them. This request formulated by the lawyer offers to give proof that the young Huguenots were not planning to leave France, based on the 'fact' that if they had intended to escape the kingdom they could have quite easily done so by putting themselves under the protection of the Dutch regiment at Couvé. This, as the reader is aware, is a legal fiction: escape was exactly the young men's intention and Marteilhe has already written that his friend in Paris gave them precise instructions concerning the route to take, including details of where they would encounter danger and where they would be in safety. Had they not become confused and taken a different road, the one that led them to Mariembourg and thence to prison, they most certainly would have availed themselves of the protection of the Dutch garrison. Nonetheless, the 'requête' as written and signed is placed before the parliament.

[212] Marteilhe, *Mémoires d'un galérien du Roi-Soleil,* 102.
[213] Ibid., 103.

'un bon congé'

Another paper object of importance surfaces, one that is attached to this initial 'requête' and is to be carried by the two Huguenots throughout their journey. The judge challenges the story laid out in their request and asks for proof that the two prisoners were aware of the borders of France as they travelled, as they were mere boys when they left home and must have had very little information concerning the outside world. Marteilhe tells the reader: 'Pour moi je ne savais que répondre, car de dire que nous l'avions appris étant sur la frontière, cela n'était pas prouvé.'[214] Le Gras, on the other hand, continues his attempts to outwit his opponents; this time, however, his reply to authority is backed up with paper proof. Marteilhe writes: 'mon camarade s'avisa de dire que pour lui il le savait même avant de partir de Bergerac, parce qu'ayant servi en qualité de barbier dans une compagnie du régiment de Picardie, qui s'était trouvé lors de la paix de Ryswick en garnison à Rocroy, il avait été témoin des limites qui furent réglées dans ce pays-là.'[215] This, or some form of this statement may well have been true, but what Le Gras states next is, again, a fabrication: 'que, de là, son régiment avait été transféré à Strasbourg, où il avait été réformé ; et que, s'il avait voulu sortir de France, soit pour aller en Hollande, soit pour se retirer en Allemagne, il lui aurait été très facile de le faire, étant dans le service.'[216] The judge then asks for proof of his 'bon congé'. To Marteilhe's relief, Le Gras 'sortit son portefeuille de sa poche et en tira effectivement ledit congé imprimé et en bonne et due forme, et le présenta au président, qui le livra de main en main à l'assemblée. Après quoi le greffier l'attacha à la requête, et on nous fit retirer et reconduire au Beffroi.'[217]

A notable incident that occurred during their stay at the Beffroi prison relates to disguise and subterfuge, a thread that weaves its way through these accounts, and will be most fully

[214] Ibid., 104.
[215] Ibid.
[216] Ibid.
[217] Ibid., 104–105.

developed in my final chapter. The instance in Marteilhe's story has to do with his 'travelling family' of fellow Huguenots who, like him and his companion, are arrested while attempting to flee the country. One morning, five people are introduced into Marteilhe and Le Gras' prison cell and to their surprise, they recognise some of their friends from Bergerac, whom Marteilhe names as 'les sieurs Dupuy, Mouret et La Venue'. They fail, however, to recognise their two companions. Dupuy explains that these are the misses Madras and Conceil, also of Bergerac, 'qui se sont exposées au périlleux voyage de sortir de France avec nous, sous les habits d'hommes que vous leur voyez, et qui ont résisté à la fatigue de ce pénible voyage à pied, avec une fermeté et une constance extraordinaires pour des personnes élevées avec délicatesse, et qui, avant ce voyage, n'auraient pu faire une lieue à pied.'[218] However, as it was unseemly that two young women should inhabit the same cell as five men—'nos ennemis nous en feraient et à elles, un crime scandaleux'[219]—Marteilhe convinces them to reveal their true identities to the gaoler, who takes them away and provides them with their own room and 'des habits convenables à leur sexe.'[220] Marteilhe concludes this episode by stating: 'et depuis nous ne les avons pas revues, car elles furent condamnées pour le reste de leurs jours au couvent des Repenties à Paris, où elles furent dans le temps qu'on condamna aux galères leurs trois compagnons de souffrance, pour avoir voulu sortir du royaume.'[221]

iv. Marteilhe as galley slave

The legal bluff—the request to present proof and Le Gras' producing of his military discharge papers—seems, in the established pattern of Marteilhe's narrative, initially to have succeeded; two hours after returning to their cell, the jailor arrives, breathless, to congratulate them on

[218] Ibid., 91.
[219] Ibid.
[220] Ibid.
[221] Ibid., 91–92.

their upcoming release, saying he has seen with his own eyes the assembly's resolution absolving them from the accusation of having attempted to leave the kingdom. They eagerly await their release, even as friends from the city come to congratulate them. But despite the ruling of the local parliament in their favour, the release of Marteilhe and Le Gras was not to be: they are considered *criminels d'État* and because of this status the parliament must await the orders of the Court. The public prosecutor writes to the minister of State, the marquis de La Vrillière, already involved in their case, informing him that Marteilhe and Le Gras have, in Marteilhe's words, 'fait preuve parfaite de notre innocence à sortir du royaume, et que le Parlement attendait ses ordres pour la destination des prisonniers. Le ministre répondit qu'ils prissent garde que cette preuve ne fût équivoque et de la bien examiner. Le Parlement, qui ne voulait pas se démentir, récrivit que la preuve était complète et sans réplique.'[222] In a non-absolutist state, this may have been the end of the case, and the prisoners would have been released; this was, however, France under Louis XIV, and de La Vrillière, on behalf of the king, writes a letter that seals the young men's fate.

Marteilhe and Le Gras are once again summoned to appear before the assembly. The president asks if they know how to read and upon their affirmative response presents them with the marquis' letter. Marteilhe notes that the letter was so brief he committed it to memory and is therefore able to replicate the message verbatim in his memoirs:

> *Messieurs,*
>
> *Jean Marteilhe et Daniel le Gras s'étant trouvés sur les frontières sans passeport, Sa Majesté prétend qu'ils seront condamnés aux galères.*
>
> *Je suis, Messieurs, etc…*
>
> *Le Marquis de La Vrillière*[223]

[222] Ibid., 105–106.
[223] Ibid., 106.

This is their final sentence and there is no course of appeal, as it makes clear that this is an order from the king himself, though Marteilhe argues once again on legal grounds that the language of the law has not been respected and that they cannot be sentenced merely on suspicion of wanting to leave the kingdom when they have presented proof to the contrary; his attempt is, however, rejected by the judge. Stunned, Marteilhe nevertheless has the presence of mind to request a further paper object: 'je suppliai ledit conseiller de nous faire donner copie authentique de notre sentence, ce qu'il nous promit et effectua'[224]; the copy of their sentence will reappear further in Marteilhe's narrative. This sentencing takes place on 22 November 1701; three days later, Marteilhe and Le Gras are tied up and handcuffed ('liés et mis les menottes aux mains') and taken to Lille to join a chain of galley slaves that is gathering there, bound for Marseille.

Marteilhe and Le Gras' identity changes in legal terms when they are sentenced to the galleys. Whelan explains the significance of this ruling: 'A life sentence on the galleys was a form of civil death: the ignominy was compounded by the confiscation of all property, together with a prohibition in perpetuity from taking any civil action before the courts of the land.'[225] This stripping of rights took visual form as the men chained at the neck, hands, and feet undertook the arduous journey overland, on foot, to their ports of duty. Zysberg notes: 'De la geôle de la tour Saint-Bernard au pont de la galère, le voyage exigeait environ un mois, les forçats parcourant à pied environ 500 kilomètres.'[226] The arrival of these galley slave chains became such a regular sight in Marseille that they were looked upon without much interest; those involved in the arrival process simply noted: 'Voici plusieurs centaines d'hommes qu'il faudra enregistrer, examiner, tondre, habiller, exercer, discipliner.'[227] Over the years, those

[224] Ibid., 107.
[225] Whelan, 'Turning to Gold,' 9.
[226] Zysberg, *Les galériens*, 25.
[227] Ibid., 40.

living in Marseille and other port cities would see 'des milliers de misérables, marqués au fer rouge avec les lettres « GAL »'[228] paraded through the streets. 'Galley slaves were not just *persona non grata*,' writes Whelan, 'they were also branded criminals with shaven heads, so that they lost all individuality and became, as it were, non-persons.'[229]

'*numéro matricule*'

Zysberg defines a *forçat* as 'l'homme condamné à servir sur les galères du roi'[230]; the first step of turning him into a *galérien* was to register him, a process carried out by the *bureau des chiourmes*: 'Commencent alors les écritures nécessaires à l'enregistrement des galériens. Cette tâche est dévolue à l'écrivain du « 5e bureau », qui grattait du papier de l'aube au crépuscule afin de « suivre les entrées et sorties de chaque homme de chiourme ».'[231] As noted earlier in this chapter, Zysberg and his colleagues contributed greatly to our collective knowledge of how galley slavery worked in practice by computerising and quantifying the information found in hundreds of such registers in which were inscribed details concerning each new arrival. Integral to the registration process of these galley slaves, and subsequently to the research of Zysberg and others, were the numbers each man was assigned, along with a brief description of their physical characteristics and the circumstances that condemned them to service in the galleys.

Pierre Rolland describes further the process through which each convict is given a number and an entry in the official registers, information the first part of which is somewhat reminiscent of modern passport entries:

> À chaque forçat est affecté un numéro matricule, et le scribe inscrit en dessous du numéro matricule divers renseignements d'état-civil (nom, prénom, noms des parents, « garçon » ou marié et avec qui, âge et métier). Suit son signalement (taille, couleur des

[228] Ibid., 7.
[229] Whelan, 'Turning to Gold,' 9.
[230] From Zysberg's 'Glossaire' in *Les galériens*, 422.
[231] Ibid., 41.

> cheveux, forme du visage, indiqués souvent en abrégés BT pour bonne taille, CB cheveux bruns, etc.), quelquefois la couleur des yeux, signes particuliers comme cicatrices ou « poireaux ». Enfin par qui et à quelle date il a été condamné, pour quel motif et pour de temps. Ces renseignements sont donnés oralement par le prisonnier, et un extrait de jugement complète ses dires.[232]

Additional information was recorded for some of the *forçats*: 'Certains condamnés ont droit à des attentions particulières. Le signalement des galériens israélites porte en grosses lettres la mention « Juif ». Celui des forçats calvinistes et luthériens, qu'ils aient ou non été jugés pour cas de religion, s'agrémente de l'étiquette « RPR » (Religion prétendue réformée) tracée en lettres majuscules,'[233] writes Zysberg. These numbers and notices are crucial in conducting research concerning these galley slaves, because 'ce sera le seul document qui nous permettra d'affirmer que telle ou telle personne est bien allée aux galères.'[234] Rolland notes: 'Les fiches des galériens sont généralement écrites d'une belle écriture bien lisible, mais l'immense majorité des galériens étant illettrée, les noms propres (famille, lieu de naissance) donnés par le galérien étaient interprétés et transcrits phonétiquement par les scribes.'[235] Due in part to these phonetic interpretations, the *galérien* featured most prominently in the present study, though himself quite literate and even chosen as a scribe to one of his galley ship commanders, is listed on his matricular entry as 'Marteille', on the liberation list as 'Martheille', but is most often referred to by scholars as 'Marteilhe'.

Rolland comments on the remarkable continuity of these registers, which have greatly facilitated the research of galley slave scholars like himself: 'Sauf quelques changements mineurs […], les fiches sont homogènes sur les presque cent ans sur lesquels nous les avons utilisées, et probablement beaucoup plus.'[236] But registering basic information of the new arrivals is just a first step. 'Les nouveaux forçats ne sont pas encore tout à fait devenus des

[232] Pierre Rolland, 'Les galériens protestants (et condamnés pour aide aux protestants) 1680–1775,' *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français (1903–2015)*, Janvier–Février–Mars 2012, vol. 158, 49.
[233] Marteilhe, *Mémoires d'un galérien du Roi-Soleil,* 44.
[234] Rolland, 50.
[235] Ibid., 50–51.
[236] Rolland, 51.

galériens,' writes Zysberg. 'On les remet d'abord entre les mains du barberot, le forçat coiffeur et infirmier, qui leur rase intégralement le crâne. Ils doivent aussi abandonner leurs « habits de liberté ».'[237] Perhaps this stripping of his rights and voice, the prohibition from ever bringing an action before the courts of France, is in part what compels Marteilhe to take up his pen and write his story for the Court of History.

Marteilhe devotes the greatest portion of his memoirs to his years as a galley slave and his adventures on the high seas, as well as wintering in ports of call or recovering in hospital from injuries sustained in battle. Because this portion of his memoirs—his many adventures as a galley slave and the historic battles and events he names—is that most studied by scholars, I have chosen to focus on paper moments within his galley slave identity that merit attention and contribute to the paperwork story.

v. Marteilhe as freed slave and refugee

As noted above, each *forçat* upon arrival at Marseille would have his name and basic information inscribed in a register; in the left margin of these files was written what became of each man, for example: 'libéré à telle date et sous telle condition, mort à l'hôpital à telle date, mort au combat, ou mort subitement sur telle galère, évadé à telle date et de tel endroit, envoyé en Amérique à telle date.'[238] Though Marteilhe might nearly have 'exited' the galleys through several of these—he nearly died in battle as well as in hospital—his deliverance came in the form of the intercession of a monarch, Queen Anne of England. This act of liberation came as a result of complex diplomatic endeavours that involved a trail of letters and other paperwork, of which Marteilhe provides a survey.

[237] Marteilhe, *Mémoires d'un galérien du Roi-Soleil,* 50.
[238] Rolland, 50.

'un placet'

In 1712, while he recovered in hospital at Dunkirk from severe wounds sustained in battle, several important personages visit Marteilhe and encourage him to set in motion a process that will eventually lead to his liberation and that of many other Protestant galley slaves. As a result of a treaty with France, the English had gained possession of Dunkirk and its port, but it was agreed that the French galleys, along with their crews and rowers, should stay in port for the winter. Among Marteilhe's visitors was an English colonel who informs him that, in Marteilhe's words, 'milord Hill, qui était gouverneur de Dunkerque pour la reine d'Angleterre, pouvait ignorer notre détention et la cause de notre esclavage, et me conseilla de lui adresser un placet pour l'en informer et implorer sa bonté pour notre délivrance.'[239] Consequently, in the first of two significant instances in which Marteilhe writes about putting part of his story on paper, Marteilhe obliges: 'Je fis ce placet le mieux qu'il me fut possible, et le colonel s'en chargea, et le remit à milord Hill.'[240] This action starts a chain reaction of correspondence that will eventually lead to Marteilhe's freedom.

> Le lendemain, ce milord m'envoya son secrétaire pour me dire de sa part qu'il approuvait la connaissance que je lui donnais de notre détention, et qu'il s'emploierait avec zèle pour notre délivrance, mais que n'en étant pas le maître, il allait en écrire à la reine, et que ses ordres, qu'il s'assurait qui nous seraient favorables, détermineraient ses actions ; qu'il nous priait en attendant de prendre patience encore pendant quinze jours.[241]

Marteilhe discreetly shares this word among his brethren in chains, encouraging them to have patience as they await news from the English Court. In the meantime, a complication arises: even if the Queen, well disposed toward the French Protestant galley slaves, wishes for their release, the King of France would most assuredly put obstacles in the way to prevent this from happening. The commodore of the French galley ships, Monsieur de Langeron, admits that 'le

[239] Marteilhe, *Mémoires d'un galérien du Roi-Soleil,* 217.
[240] Ibid.
[241] Ibid.

roi son maître ne donnerait jamais son consentement pour la délivrance de ces réformés.'[242] The English governor, acknowledging this assessment of the situation, tells the commodore: 'Écrivez […] au ministre de votre Cour, qu'il vous ordonne de les faire sortir secrètement de Dunkerque par mer. J'y donnerai les mains et la chose sera facile et sans danger.'[243] The commodore follows through with this plan and receives orders, as Marteilhe puts it, 'pour notre secret enlèvement.'[244] Marteilhe and twenty-five of his fellow Protestant *galériens* are smuggled onto a fishing vessel destined for the *Havre de Grâce*, still in chains and guarded by French soldiers. This 'abduction' leads to their deliverance, which takes place on 1 October 1712.

'toutes ces lettres'

Prominently featured in Marteilhe's narrative of liberation is the Marquis de Rochegude, a refugee nobleman who, Tournier tells us, 'consacra son existence au bien des réfugiés, plaidant leur cause en Angleterre, en Brandebourg, en Hollande, et leur rendit les plus grands services.'[245] Although his efforts were largely unknown at the time to the Protestant *galériens* as they toiled on their ships, Marteilhe enlightens his readers as to the burst of paperwork Rochegude generated and collected from among the heads of states favourable to the cause of the Protestant galley slaves. He mentions in particular letters from the king of Sweden, the kings of Denmark and Prussia, from various Protestant princes, the heads of the Dutch provinces, and the Protestant Swiss cantons, all recommending the plight of the Huguenot

[242] Ibid., 218.
[243] Ibid.
[244] Ibid.
[245] Marteilhe, *Mémoires d'un Galérien condamné pour cause de religion*, Gaston Tournier's Note 1, 197.

galley slaves to the attention of the Queen of England and seeking her powerful intercession for their liberation.

In London, Rochegude meets with 'milord Oxford' to procure an audience with the Queen. Marteilhe describes the scene as follows: 'Milord lui demanda quelle affaire il avait à proposer à la reine. « J'ai, dit le marquis, toutes ces lettres à présenter à Sa Majesté », en les lui nommant toutes. « Donnez-les moi, répondit Milord, je les appuierai fortement. »'[246] The way in which Rochegude responds to this offer demonstrates his intricate knowledge of court politics and how easily such documents might get 'lost' in transition from one person to another: '« Je ne le puis, dit le marquis, car j'ai ordre de toutes ces puissances de les remettre en main propre à Sa Majesté, sinon de les rapporter incessamment. » Sur quoi, milord Oxford lui procura l'audience demandée.'[247] Having obtained an audience with the queen, Rochegude 'remit donc toutes ces lettres à Sa Majesté', who gave them to her 'secrétaire d'État', informing the marquis that she would have the latter examine the letters and formulate an official response. After a fortnight with no news, Rochegude uses his practical knowledge of the English Court and its habits to stage an intervention: knowing the Queen would be taking a stroll in St James's Park, the marquis 's'y rendit pour se faire voir de Sa Majesté'. The strategy is successful: the Queen has him brought to her, telling him: « Monsieur de Rochegude, je vous prie de faire savoir à ces pauvres gens sur les galères de France qu'ils seront délivrés incessamment.'[248] The right paperwork from influential people, combined with direct, tactful access and presence, succeeds in motivating the Queen to act on behalf of the enslaved Protestant *galériens*; 'incessamment'—forthwith—however, would take longer due to those who opposed this liberation, as Marteilhe will demonstrate.

[246] Marteilhe, *Mémoires d'un galérien du Roi-Soleil,* 266.
[247] Ibid.
[248] Ibid.

'cette liste […] par lambeaux'

Zysberg writes that until the peace of Utrecht in 1713, only Huguenots who converted to Catholicism were released from the galleys, with 44 per cent of Protestant galley slaves dying while serving out their sentences. After Utrecht, however, 'Les « opiniastres », qui survécurent et refusèrent d'abjurer, reçurent un ordre de liberté qui comportait une clause particulière. Louis XIV ne les élargit en 1713 et 1714, sous la pression de la reine Anne d'Angleterre, qu'à la « condition de sortir du royaume ».'[249] Marteilhe receives news of Queen Anne's intercession and that the king of France has sent a list to the intendant at Marseille with the names of one hundred and thirty-six Protestants who were to be freed.[250] A puzzling aspect of this order was that for an unspecified reason only a portion of the three hundred galley slaves serving for the same cause, that of religion, were to be freed. Adding a further element of frustration and anxiety was that the list reached the Protestant galley slaves waiting in Marseille only in fragments. Marteilhe writes: 'Je fis du mauvais sang dans ce temps-là, car comme j'étais le dernier nommé et qu'on ne nous envoya cette liste que par lambeaux, je fus trois jours dans la plus grande inquiétude du monde, ignorant si j'y étais ou non. Enfin, je fus consolé comme les autres participants de cette faveur. Mais jugez de l'affliction de nos autres frères qui ne s'y trouvaient pas.'[251] We see here a rare direct appeal by Marteilhe, using affective language, for readers to imagine themselves in the situation of these Huguenot *galériens* who have waited anxiously for their names to be read, have seen many of their comrades freed, only to find themselves left behind.

Between news of Marteilhe's liberation and its coming to pass, more delays follow as the Catholic *missionnaires* assigned to the conversion of Protestants attempt to reverse the

[249] Zysberg, *Les galériens,* 373.
[250] Tournier notes the 'liste des 136 forçats libérés en 1713 (Marteilhe compris), a été conservée aux *Archives de la Marine* à Paris, et aux *Papiers Court* à Genève,' in Marteilhe, *Mémoires d'un Galérien condamné pour cause de religion,* Note 1, 198.
[251] Marteilhe, *Mémoires d'un galérien du Roi-Soleil,* 267.

orders, calling to the king's attention that this liberation order would greatly hinder their hopes of obtaining any further conversions. The orders confirming the liberation of the listed Protestants come at last:

> Un jour donc, les argousins des galères reçurent ordre de l'intendant de nous conduire, nous cent trente-six, à l'arsenal de Marseille, ce qui fut fait ; et l'intendant nous ayant appelés chacun par nos noms nous déclara que le roi nous accordait notre délivrance à la sollicitation de la reine d'Angleterre, à condition de sortir du royaume par mer à nos frais.[252]

After this declaration, each now officially liberated former slave is asked their intended destination. Not quite knowing how to respond to this question, the first in the queue responds 'Geneva', an answer which is in turn echoed by all the others. 'On imagine ces hommes pénétrant, le bonnet rouge à la main, dans le bureau du commissaire des chiourmes, et s'écriant « à Genève », comme s'ils allaient gagner la Terre Promise après tant d'années subies en captivité dans « Babylone »,[253] Zysberg comments. It would seem that now, surely, Marteilhe and Le Gras would be at last on their way to a safe haven; but Le Gras' name had (as we discover only later in the narrative) not made the list, a point which Marteilhe would before long have the opportunity to mention to an influential personage, in a meeting that constitutes a key moment in the journey of Marteilhe's story from oral narrative to textual object.

vi. Marteilhe as exemplar

'un passeport favorable'

The one hundred and thirty-six freed Protestant galley slaves leave Marseille and, following a circuitous route, arrive in Turin, 'capitale du Piémont et la résidence de Sa Majesté sardinoise.'[254] There, fellow Protestant residents 'furent supplier le roi de Sardaigne de nous

[252] Ibid., 269.
[253] Zysberg, *Les galériens*, 375.
[254] Marteilhe, *Mémoires d'un galérien du Roi-Soleil*, 288.

faire donner un passeport pour traverser les États jusqu'à Genève.'[255] A scene then ensues in which the king invites a representative group of the freed Protestants to an audience with him:

> Sa Majesté, qui était pour lors Victor Amédée,[256] voulut nous voir. Six de nous furent admis à son audience. Les ambassadeurs de Hollande et d'Angleterre s'y trouvèrent. Sa Majesté nous fit un favorable accueil, et pendant une demi-heure nous interrogea sur le temps que nous avions été sur les galères, la cause pourquoi et les souffrances que nous avions endurées ; et après que nous lui eûmes succinctement répondu, il se tourna vers les ambassadeurs et leur dit : « Voilà qui est cruel et barbare ».[257]

As a result of their witness, the king gives orders that passports be granted to them. '« Allez donc à la garde de Dieu », nous dit ce prince, et il ordonna sur-le-champ au secrétaire d'État de nous expédier un passeport favorable, ce qui fut fait. Ce passeport contenait non seulement de nous laisser passer par tous ces États, mais ordonnait même à tous ses sujets de nous aider et secourir de tout ce dont nous aurions besoin pendant notre route.'[258]

The receipt of this passport represents a crucial moment in Marteilhe's story: he has gone from passport-less Marteilhe in his first identity to passport-holding Marteilhe, honoured by foreign royalty, having been granted freedom, however reluctantly and clandestinely, by his own monarch as well. These passports allow the freed galley slaves to travel to their ultimate destinations; Marteilhe provides illustrations of how along the way they are greeted with kindness, special gifts and favours, and honoured, particularly on arrival at Geneva:

> un serviteur du magistrat s'avança vers nous et nous pria de mettre pied à terre pour saluer avec respect et bienséance Leurs Excellences de Genève qui venaient à notre rencontre pour nous souhaiter la bienvenue. Nous obéîmes. Les trois carrosses s'étant approchés, il sortit de chacun un magistrat et un ministre qui nous vinrent tous embrasser avec des larmes de joie et avec des expressions si pathétiques de félicitations et de louanges sur notre constance et notre résignation, *qu'elles surpassaient de beaucoup ce que nous méritions*.'[259]

[255] Ibid. Marteilhe notes concerning these French Protestants: 'il y en a toujours bon nombre qui font leur résidence dans cette ville pour leurs commerces' (Ibid.).
[256] Victor Amadeus II (14 May 1666–31 Oct 1732).
[257] Marteilhe, *Mémoires d'un galérien du Roi-Soleil,* 289.
[258] Ibid.
[259] Ibid., 290–291 (emphasis mine).

Perhaps this last sentence is just posturing on Marteilhe's part, a gesture of modesty; but the passage reflects the esteem in which these former galley slaves were held by the authorities in states of Refuge, an esteem that goes beyond what Marteilhe (says he) feels he deserves. Perhaps too Marteilhe writes in this manner, using phrases 'larmes de joie' and 'expressions si pathétiques' to heighten the theatrical or dramatic quality of the moment, and to highlight the contrast between their reception as freed men – honoured, wept over – with the treatment they have endured for years, even decades for some, as 'non-persons' on the galleys.

'cet exemple […] par écrit'

Marteilhe builds into his account numerous instances where he is selected by his peers or superiors for positions of trust and responsibility. As he contemplates settling down, another such opportunity arises:

> Je commençais pourtant à songer tout de bon à m'occuper à quelque chose d'utile, lorsque messieurs du consistoire de l'Église wallonne me prièrent d'être l'un des députés qu'on avait résolu d'envoyer en Angleterre pour deux fins : l'une pour remercier Sa Majesté britannique de la délivrance qu'elle nous avait obtenue, et l'autre pour donner quelque poids aux sollicitations qu'on faisait à Sa Majesté pour faire délivrer ceux qui restaient encore sur les galères, au nombre d'environ deux cents.[260]

Trivisani-Moreau notes, from the way Marteilhe has built up his reputation within the narrative: 'Rien d'étonnant alors à ce que, une fois libéré et arrivé à Amsterdam au terme de son voyage, il fasse partie de ceux que l'on choisit pour aller remercier la Reine Anne d'Angleterre de son intervention dans la libération des galériens et solliciter à nouveau son intercession pour ceux qui restent détenus à Marseille.'[261] Marteilhe accepts the invitation. 'Je partis donc pour Londres avec deux de nos frères et dans peu nous nous y trouvâmes douze députés, tous,

[260] Marteilhe, *Mémoires d'un galérien du Roi-Soleil,* 298.
[261] Trivisani-Moreau, 'Les mille et un métiers d'un homme sans condition,' 191.

comme on nous appelait, galériens.'[262] Though he appears quite willing to shed this old label of 'galérien', this former identity, he must resign himself to act the 'character' of the galley slave still for a time, in the service of drawing attention through his own story to those who remain in chains. In this guise, then, Marteilhe is presented to Queen Anne: 'Messieurs les marquis de Miremont et de Rochegude nous présentèrent à la reine, qui nous admit à l'honneur de lui baiser la main.'[263]

Another meeting follows soon after this one, with the French ambassador to the court in London, the duc d'Aumont: 'Monsieur le marquis de Rochegude, qui possédait à fond la politique des Cours, jugea à propos de nous présenter au duc d'Aumont, qui était pour lors ambassadeur du roi de France à la Cour de Londres.'[264] The marquis once again uses his practical knowledge of the Court and his own position within it to organise a meeting between the French ambassador and the delegation of *galériens*, an interaction which the marquis feels will work to their advantage in drawing further attention to the plight of the remaining Protestant galley slaves. The marquis' strategy proves effective: 'Son Excellence nous reçut fort gracieusement, nous touchant à tous dans la main et nous félicitant de notre délivrance ; il nous demanda combien de temps nous avions souffert le supplice des galères et à quelle occasion nous y avions été condamnés. Chacun de nous répondit à cette demande séparément car le temps et l'occasion étaient différents.'[265] The former galley slaves bring to the ambassador's attention 'que le roi avait consenti que tous les galériens, généralement qui l'étaient pour cause de Religion, fussent délivrés ; que cependant on n'en avait délivré que cent trente-six et retenu environ deux cents. Son Excellence parut frappée de cette distinction.'[266]

[262] Marteilhe, *Mémoires d'un galérien du Roi-Soleil*, 298.
[263] Ibid., 298–299.
[264] Ibid., 299.
[265] Ibid., 299–300.
[266] Ibid., 300.

When the ambassador equivocates, suggesting that perhaps those who had not been released had been condemned due to other offenses, Marteilhe takes it upon himself to speak up. 'J'étais le plus jeune de la troupe, et le moins grave, et je m'étais fait un effort sur moi-même de m'enhardir à plaider cette cause devant son Excellence ; mais je la priai de me le permettre avec un tel air d'assurance de la convaincre, qu'Elle s'attacha avec bonté et patience à m'écouter.'[267] Marteilhe tells the ambassador (and the reader) how he and his friend Le Gras travelled together from Bergerac and received the same sentence but that he, Marteilhe, had been delivered from the galleys and Le Gras had not.[268] 'Monsieur l'ambassadeur nous fit la justice de paraître convaincu par cet exemple et me pria de le lui donner par écrit, ce qui se fit.'[269] We learn by this, through Marteilhe's own words, not only the fact of his having lost his travelling companion, but also the probable genesis—or at least a crucial moment—in the journey of Marteilhe's memoirs from spoken to written story.

Marteilhe's matricula number was 37986 and his 'notice' indicates that he was among the 'forçats venus des galères de dunkerque', that he is 'fils d'Isaac et d'Anne Lavergne' and 'garçon sans métier natif de Bergerac en Périgor âgé de 32 ans'; in regards to physical description, he is noted as being of 'B. T.'; it is noted that he arrived on the galley ship *La Palme* at Dunkirk on 20 January 1702 and that he was condemned 'en 1700 pour fait de Religion a…vie'. A marginal note in the register reveals that he was liberated on 17 June 1713 'par ordre du Roy du 17. May.' But for the writing and preservation of his memoirs, this skeletal entry in a naval register might have been, as it was for most of his fellow *galériens*, the only

[267] Ibid.
[268] A note in Tournier's edition of Marteilhe's text (*Mémoires d'un Galérien condamné pour cause de religion*, Note 1, 60) states: 'Marteilhe ne parle plus guère de son compagnon, et nous savons peu de choses sur lui. Le Gras fut galérien sur *L'Heureuse* à Dunkerque jusqu'en 1712 ; il fut de la même chaîne que Marteilhe, et dirigé sur Marseille ; libéré le 7 mars 1714, il se retira en Hollande, et fut pensionné de 300 florins par les États de Hollande.' Within Marteilhe's narrative, it is not until the visit to the French ambassador that the reader learns that Le Gras has not been released along with Marteilhe and the others.
[269] Marteilhe, *Mémoires d'un galérien du Roi-Soleil*, 301.

trace remaining of Marteilhe, his experiences, and details pertaining to thousands of galley slaves serving in the Sun King's maritime fleets.

'Qu'était-ce que ce livre ?'

The preface to the 1881 edition of Marteilhe's *Mémoires* articulates the question that has long overshadowed this text: 'Qu'était-ce que ce livre ? Ce tableau si navrant des suites odieuses de la persécution religieuse était-il authentique ? Pouvait-il être accepté comme une peinture tristement fidèle de la vérité ? Ou bien n'était-ce qu'un roman destiné à exciter la pitié du lecteur en faveur d'un héros imaginaire ?'[270] We have seen how scholars and editors of earlier editions tended to respond to this question by looking at outside paper sources, and these editors react in a similar vein:

> Des recherches furent faites ; l'on réussit à se procurer en Hollande deux autres exemplaires d'une édition moins ancienne que celle de 1757 qu'on avait sous les yeux. L'on y trouva la clef de tous les noms désignés dans la première édition par de simples initiales. L'on put, enfin, s'assurer que ces Mémoires, parfaitement authentiques et revus par Daniel de Superville, l'un des pasteurs qui avaient accueilli le pauvre fugitif, renfermaient l'histoire trop réelle des souffrances d'un pauvre jeune homme, Jean Marteilhe, de Bergerac.[271]

Furthermore, we note in this preface the desire to reprint and thereby preserve this 'trop réelle' account for future generations. The preface's author blames obstacles of other more pressing works for the delay in republishing the text and credits Michelet with saving Marteilhe's story from oblivion: 'peut-être même auraient-ils été oubliés, si la publication du bel ouvrage de M. Michelet sur la *Révocation de l'édit de Nantes*, en confirmant pleinement les recherches déjà faites, n'avait rendu plus vif le désir de voir paraître ces *Mémoires*, inconnus de la plupart des descendants de ceux-là même qui avaient tant souffert pour leur foi.'[272] We see in this reference

[270] Marteilhe, *Mémoires d'un protestant condamné aux galères de France pour cause de religion* (Paris: Société des écoles du Dimanche, 1881), v.
[271] Ibid., vi.
[272] Ibid.

to Michelet a further example of how historians, through their own work, not only built upon examples from Marteihe's narrative but helped draw public attention to it and preserve it as a book available for consultation by future generations.

Books emerge as symbolic objects in Marteilhe's narrative, providing an important motif. There is a thread of literacy and education even from the opening pages of his account, where he writes of his parents who raised their children 'dans la crainte de Dieu, et les instruisant continuellement dans les principes de la vraie Religion et dans l'éloignement des erreurs du papisme.'[273] While much has been written concerning the upbringing and schooling of Protestant children in France[274] it is evident from Marteilhe's narrative that books, particularly books of sermons and devotional books, played a prominent role in that instruction. Within Marteilhe's story, books appear and reappear as they are borrowed, returned, and traded. One example occurs shortly after Marteilhe and Le Gras receive their final sentence condemning them to the galleys and are sent to the tour Saint-Pierre in Lille where 'le geôlier nous fouilla partout.'[275] Two Jesuits are present to watch over these proceedings and Marteilhe mentions that they take 'nos livres de dévotion et notre sentence, sans nous avoir jamais voulu rendre ni l'un ni l'autre.'[276] Furthermore, Marteilhe adds, 'j'entendis que l'un de ces pères disait à l'autre, après avoir lu ladite sentence, que c'était une grande imprudence au parlement de donner copie authentique de pareilles pièces.'[277] Almost pendant-like, we find an instance of the ship's Catholic *aumônier* taking such books away, but with Marteilhe's permission, toward the end of his time as a galley slave:

[273] Marteilhe, *Mémoires d'un galérien du Roi-Soleil,* 44.
[274] For perspective on Huguenots within the French educational system of the seventeenth century, see Jean Migault, *Journal de Jean Migault ; ou, Malheurs d'une famille protestante du Poitou victime de la révocation de l'édit de Nantes (1682–1689),* ed. Yves Krumenacker (Paris: Les Éditions de Paris, 2011). Migault was a Huguenot schoolteacher who endured the *dragonnades* and was imprisoned before fleeing France for the Low Countries. A chapter on Migault did not make the final cut of my thesis; I hope to return to him in later work.
[275] Marteilhe, *Mémoires d'un galérien du Roi-Soleil,* 107.
[276] Ibid.
[277] Ibid., 107–108.

> Pendant les trois dernières années que je restai à Dunkerque, où les galères furent toujours désarmées, il ne se passait presque point de jour qu'il [l'aumônier] ne vint sur la galère, où nous passions une heure ou deux ensemble, sans parler de religion, du moins fort peu. C'était un homme savant et bon prédicateur, et comme par le moyen de mes amis je recevais souvent des livres de piété, de la Hollande, entre autres divers tomes des sermons de feu monsieur Saurin, il me demanda un jour si je n'avais pas quelques sermons de nos auteurs à lui prêter.[278]

In this instance, Marteilhe is quick to note that the books are both borrowed and promptly returned:

> Quoique cette demande me parût suspecte, je hasardai cependant de lui en prêter, et je débutai par un tome des ouvrages de monsieur Saurin, qu'il me rendit ponctuellement. Il y trouva tant de goût qu'ensuite je lui prêtai tous les livres que j'avais, même les *Préjugés légitimes contre le papisme* de monsieur Jurieu, qu'il me rendit, ainsi que les autres, avec exactitude.[279]

A number of points are interesting to note in this rich passage. The first is that although Marteilhe was an enslaved rower, he was still allowed to keep some personal possessions; we also note the mention that books find their way from the Refuge into the hands of certain Protestant galley slaves—enough even to make up a small mobile library.

Rolland provides insight on how this might have happened when he remarks on '[le] réseau de soutien aux galériens protestants, qui transitait par des négociants suisses de Marseille […], faisant passer discrètement informations, argent, courrier et livres de religion.'[280] We see examples of each of these items in Marteilhe's narrative, as well as further instances of trading of texts, and the threat of their destruction. Early in the narrative, Marteilhe uses an 'incendiary' vocabulary to describe the circumstances that induced him to leave Bergerac: 'Avant d'en venir au détail de ma fuite hors de ma chère patrie, il est nécessaire de

[278] Ibid., 209.
[279] Ibid. Zysberg notes that Pierre Jurieu (1637–1713) 'est l'une des figures les plus intéressantes du protestantisme français de la seconde moitié du XVII[e] siècle. Théologien de combat, polémiste redoutable, Jurieu fut l'un de ceux qui ne se résignait pas au fait de la Révocation et, se plaçant à la fois sur le terrain politique et sur le plan religieux, lièrent un combat pour la foi réformée à la lutte contre l'absolutisme louis-quatorzien. Un grand nombre de ses sermons et de ses lettres pastorales évoquent les galériens protestants.' (Ibid., Note 68, 389). A more detailed discussion of Jurieu and his writings can be found in Chapter Three of this thesis.
[280] Rolland, 53.

rapporter ce qui l'occasionna et alluma en mil sept cent le feu de la persécution la plus inhumaine dans la province où je naquis.'[281] Within a few lines he depicts destruction not just in metaphorical but also in literal terms when he describes, as has previously been noted, the bonfire the Duc de La Force makes 'd'une magnifique bibliothèque, composée de livres pieux de la Religion Réformée, que ses ancêtres avaient soigneusement recueillis.'[282] Over a decade later, when held at Havre de Grâce in a precarious state between captivity and a secret knowledge of his imminent freedom, Marteilhe describes a further incident. Customs officers arrived at the lodgings where Marteilhe and twenty-five fellow Protestant galley slaves were being held, intent on rummaging through their belongings. The officer in charge of the galley slaves acquiesces, quipping that they are more likely to come away with lice than bounty, but the customs officers 'nous fouillèrent partout, et comme on peut juger, sans rien trouver.'[283] Then they make a discovery:

> Mais voyant parmi nos bardes une petite caisse fermée à clef, où nous avions tous nos livres de dévotion, ils demandèrent à la visiter. J'avais la clef de cette caisse, et je ne voulais pas la donner, craignant le feu pour notre petite bibliothèque. L'intendant s'en apercevant me dit : « Mon ami, donnez cette clef sans rien craindre, ces Messieurs doivent faire leur devoir. » L'ayant donnée en tremblant, un des commis l'ouvrit, et ne voyant que des livres, il s'écria : « Voici la bibliothèque de Calvin, au feu, au feu. »[284]

In his own book, Ovenden, himself Bodley's Librarian at Oxford, honours the work of librarians and archivists who have fought back against those seeking to destroy knowledge of the past, and writes that he has included individual stories because they are 'instructive of the many ways knowledge has been attacked throughout history.'[285] To Ovenden's examples, we could add that of the intendant at Marteilhe's lodgings, who intervenes and insists that the

[281] Marteilhe, *Mémoires d'un galérien du Roi-Soleil*, 44.
[282] Ibid., 46.
[283] Ibid., 226–227.
[284] Ibid., 227.
[285] Ovenden, 15.

customs officers quickly lock the box back up again and depart, leaving the books untouched and unharmed.

It has been established that Marteilhe existed and that the historical facts he provided, backed by paper proof, are known to be true; but still, what *is* this text? It might be useful to answer this question in terms of what it is not. Unlike other Huguenot refugee memoirs in this study, it is not a narrative of material loss or loss of social networks and family. Marteilhe, unmarried and too young for a profession, a mere 'garçon' when he leaves Bergerac, but who lived to a remarkable age, says almost nothing about these types of losses. Thanks to Zysberg, who provides additional information concerning Marteilhe's family, we catch a glimpse of a different kind of loss to which Marteilhe's account bears witness, the loss of an imagined future:

> La famille de Jean Marteilhe, famille d'une honnête aisance, semble tout à fait représentative de cette bourgeoisie protestante qui tenait le haut du pavé à Bergerac à la veille de la Révocation. Enrichie par le commerce des vins, des bois et des grains, négoce très actif qui transitait par la Dordogne, la bourgeoisie bergeracoise dominait également la campagne proche, où elle avait acquis de nombreux domaines, notamment des vignobles (c'est le cas des Marteilhe). Les enfants de cette petite élite marchande et terrienne détenaient également des offices (ou charges) de finances et de judicature, achetés sous les règnes de Henri IV et Louis XIII.[286]

With the accession of Louis XIV and a series of laws barring Protestants from civil occupations, 'cette bourgeoisie se tourne vers les carrières libérales ; cette voie étant fermée à son tour, elle se résolut à la conversion, du bout des lèvres, ou à l'exil.'[287] One can only imagine, given the striking character traits that emerge from his memoirs, what the future would have looked like for someone like Marteilhe, in his native country without such restrictions, without the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and without the fateful sentencing to the galleys.

He ends his account right where he might have told about his daughter and the details of his life and experiences as a man, having made his home in the Refuge; but he chooses to

[286] From Zysberg's notes in Marteilhe's *Mémoires d'un galérien du Roi-Soleil*, Note 2, 375.
[287] Ibid.

keep those things hidden from the public eye. The details we know about the end of his life we gather from outside sources: 'C'est à Cuylenberg, en 1777, que Jean Marteilhe mourut à l'âge de quatre-vingt-treize ans. Il laissait une veuve déjà âgée elle-même et une fille qui épousa, à Amsterdam, un officier distingué de la marine anglaise, le vice-amiral Douglas. En 1785, leur fils, M. Douglas et sa femme vinrent en France pour visiter leurs parents du Périgord.'[288] Thus, though it is probable that Marteilhe never again set foot in his homeland, some evidence exists that a close relative fulfilled the dream so often evoked in Huguenot refugee memoirs of effecting a return to France, their homeland, without endangering their lives.

Writing of libraries and archives, Ovenden notes: 'The processes of selection, acquisition and cataloguing, as well as of disposal and retention, are never neutral acts. They are done by human beings, working in their social and temporal contexts.'[289] By producing this part narrative, part descriptive memoir, Marteilhe is working within the 'social and temporal context' of post-Revocation Europe and bracing for the inevitable question about identification and proper paperwork that has so often led to a change in his life's trajectory: he has anticipated that readers would question the narrative's authenticity, and has built verification gestures into the text itself, foreshadowing the safeguards embedded in today's modern travel documents. It is for these reasons that it can be said that working within the framework of a Jobean narrative of loss, exploring different kinds of loss and suffering than some of his co-religionists, and recounting his own experiences with a distinctive attention to identification papers, Marteilhe recycled these losses and experiences of suffering into an invaluable textual object and in so doing, has written his own passport.

[288] Marteilhe, *Mémoires d'un protestant condamné aux galères* [1881], x. Nora Baker has uncovered archival evidence indicating it was not Marteilhe's daughter but rather his niece who married M. Douglas (*op. cit.*, 98, Note 264).
[289] Ovenden, 9.

Chapter Two

Jacques Fontaine: leaving a legacy

In the aftermath of the Edict of Fontainebleau, faced with increasing threats to their lives and livelihoods, Jacques Fontaine and his fiancée Anne-Elisabeth Boursiquot make the dangerous sea journey from south-western France to England in the company of several other French Protestants. The group arrive in Appledore, Devon, in late autumn 1685. They are welcomed and hosted by the local population who offer them bread so large, inexpensive, and different from what they have seen in France that Fontaine, a minister by training, begins to have entrepreneurial ideas about trading in grain as a way of providing for himself and his dependents in the longer term. This enterprising, risk-taking spirit characterises the self that Fontaine chooses to portray in his memoirs as circumstances continually force him, and the other members of his growing family, to reinvent themselves professionally and to use their wit, intelligence, and imaginations to survive and prosper in sometimes hostile environments.

Laws and edicts across the 1660s had made it harder and harder for Protestants in France to take part in certain professions and trades, restricting their realm of influence and their opportunities to build a professional reputation, but also curtailing their ability to earn a living and provide for their families. Professions in which French Protestants traditionally worked ranged from the leather and textile trades, commercial and mercantile jobs, and various legal positions; some also worked as physicians or teachers.[290] A few trained for religious ministry, and Jacques Fontaine, to whose account we turn in this chapter, was one such. By setting Fontaine's account against a backdrop of early modern trade, I show the ways in which the text illustrates some of the challenges faced by Huguenot refugees forced to reinvent

[290] For more on this, see Mentzer and Van Ruymbeke, eds., *A Companion to the Huguenots, op. cit.*, 1.

themselves in exile, even as they negotiate new friendship and professional networks across the diaspora and in the places they (sometimes) come to call home.

Fontaine began writing his memoirs, as he notes in opening, 'à Dublin en Irlande le 26 mars 1722 (style anglais) lorsque j'ai fini ma soixante-quatrième année pour l'usage de tous mes enfants.'[291] What he does not say here, but what was clearly a further motivation for writing, was the very recent death of his wife, Anne-Elisabeth, with whom he had escaped France in November 1685 and whom he married in England on 8 February 1686. Based on her reading of Fontaine's account, Dianne Ressinger is right to suggest that Fontaine's wife 'must have been impressive in every sense; serene, intelligent, spirited yet devout, with firm opinions which she was not afraid to express. She was certainly a match for her volatile husband, who had great regard for her.'[292] She does not write her own account, but her presence of mind and resourcefulness are evident throughout the narrative of this family's many adventures, trials, and tribulations. Eight children were born to Anne-Elisabeth and Jacques, seven of whom survived to adulthood. Fontaine addresses his memoirs to these children, opening his account with 'Mes chers enfants'. In what follows, I demonstrate how Fontaine, writing to his children, also envisions a future community of readers among his descendants, leading him to transform his memoirs into a (nearly sacred) family pact.

The family Fontaine spent many years shape-shifting in England, before moving to Ireland, where their life was no less complex, subject to changes in fortune and in situation. The economic and social status of the family is a constant concern, in the course of a trajectory punctuated by periods of great success. Fontaine reports that between August 1688 and March 1689, just three years after fleeing France, he is able to pay off his debts and acquire all the

[291] Jacques Fontaine, *Persécutés pour leur foi. Mémoires d'une famille huguenote*, ed. Bernard Cottret (Paris: Les Éditions de Paris, 2003), 11.
[292] Ressinger, 'Good Faith,' *op. cit.*, 453.

tools necessary to his newly developing manufacturing trade. His sense of responsibility toward his family, his respect for his wife, their shared embrace of hard work, and his perception of God's favour are evident in his comments concerning this time:

> outre cela, j'avais encore en argent quatorze livres sterling qui ne devaient rien à personne ; ce qui fait voir que Dieu aide à qui se fie à lui […]. Il est vrai que tout cela ne s'est point fait sans des soins et fatigues continuelles et pour ma chère épouse et pour moi. Mais que ne doit-on point faire pour ses enfants ![293]

Around 1690, Fontaine devises a way of making a special wool fabric, very popular at the time, for considerably less than his competitors. He employs several impoverished weavers to help him, and within three years is running a highly profitable business—until the formula for his fabric is discovered, then imitated, eventually making it impossible to find a market for his goods. Fontaine moves his family from England to Ireland in 1694, accepting the pastorate of a French church in Cork but refusing a salary, supporting his family instead by running a cloth manufactory where he again provides jobs for the less fortunate. In 1699, he moves his family to Bearhaven in Bantry Bay, Ireland, to open a fishery.

Life in Munster is not without danger and loss. Fontaine gives the impression of a place under near constant threat, and he takes pride in the way in which his several family members help to fortify his house, and take up arms in the defence of the town on more than one occasion. On 1 June 1704 they survive a first attack on their bay by French corsairs, who are assisted by Irish 'papists'; some good comes from this incident, however, when Queen Anne (who is present, and indeed instrumental, in several of these French refugee stories) awards Fontaine a pension of five shillings a day for his courage in fighting off the French. On 8 October 1708, the family are subjected to new attacks by French pirates, again aided by the local Irish rebels; in this instance Fontaine's son Pierre is taken hostage. In the midst of all the dangers, Fontaine sees Providence at work, and notes with some pride that Pierre's release was secured through

[293] Fontaine, *Persécutés pour leur foi*, 157.

the intervention of prominent personages in the colonial elite. After the attacks, Fontaine is able to secure compensation for damages to his ruined fishery, and with these funds he moves his family to Dublin and opens a school there. In 1715, his son Jean, nominated by his family for the task, leaves for America to prepare the way for his siblings to settle there; Pierre departs Ireland for Virginia in 1716 and Jacques (the son) in 1717.

Following decades of professional and financial uncertainty and occasional danger, Fontaine begins writing, then, at a time marked by the loss of his wife, but also by relative stability. He himself is comfortably settled in Dublin, benefitting from a pension that will sustain him to the end of his days, with four of his seven children living in Virginia, one daughter still with him in Ireland, and the other children living in England and Wales. He makes two manuscript copies of his memoirs: one for his children in Virginia, and the other for his daughter and sons living nearer to him. The latter copy is lost but the former survives, as does the colourful partial history of its preservation.[294] Despite these seemingly secure circumstances, his account betrays an anxiety about erasure of the family name and history, of falling back into the poverty forced upon his ancestors due to religious persecution, which befell him in turn after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and motivated his subsequent flight from France. In what follows, I demonstrate how Fontaine, writing to his children about his own life, and about the lives of his (and their) forbears, also imagines future readers beyond his immediate situation, and specifically his immediate family. He imagines a future community of readers among his descendants, extending and reworking his own writings in such a way as to transform his memoirs into a trans-generational text, at once quasi-sacred, useful, and usable.

[294] The manuscript was badly damaged during the U.S. Civil War but a large portion of Fontaine's original manuscript as well as significant fragments are held in Box 2 of MSS 6769 of the Special Collections Library at University of Virginia in Charlottesville, VA (USA). MSS 6358-b of the same collection contains two early nineteenth-century transcriptions made before the manuscript was damaged and which have allowed the integral reconstruction of Fontaine's account. We return to this in the final section of the chapter.

The memorialists in my study have much in common; yet Fontaine is the only one of these writers for whom are extant both the memoir manuscript and a significant number of documents—epistolary, autobiographical, ecclesiastical, legal—written or attested by his descendants. Fontaine is also the only writer in my corpus to devote considerable time to his forbears, and in this way to establish a kind of pre-history of his own family trials and travels as Huguenot refugees. In the first section of this chapter I introduce a number of selected elements of Fontaine's life story, focusing on his time in England and on some of the factors that induce him to shape his account in the way that he does, the zeal with which he makes his mark on the world, and his urging of his children and their children in turn—'vous et ceux qui viendront après vous'[295]—to take up their pens and continue writing the family story. The second section considers the significance of the Fontaine family name, and the ways in which this memoir, with its integration of chosen moments from the lives of the patriarchs who came before him back in France, may be seen as not only the source, or fountainhead, of information concerning the family's heritage and history but also the initiator of the Fontaine family's literary production over generations to come.

Before the Fontaines could trade and prosper in words, however, in the Refuge they must first learn to earn a living through the labour of their hands. The third section of this chapter returns to close readings of moments from Fontaine's own life in both England and Ireland, in order to draw out the memoir's structuring themes: work and bread. I examine instances in which he makes literal or figural references to bread, from foodstuff, through to a means of earning a living, and even making a handsome profit. Setting Fontaine's pride in his family's former noble status against his even greater pride at his father's voluntary and, as he sees it, pious renunciation of their noble title, I consider in these two sections at the centre of the chapter how he redefines his family's nobility along both temporal and spiritual lines.

[295] Fontaine, *Persécutés pour leur foi*, 14.

Finally, by way of conclusion to the chapter, I return to the trans-generational pact, and to the rich afterlife of Fontaine's text, illustrating the ongoing role of the 'family function' in these Huguenot accounts, one taken to an exceptional degree by this particular family, thanks to this memoir, and to the intergenerational contract which Fontaine's descendants continue to honour to this day.

Part I. 'un tissu d'aventures différentes'[296]—persecution, penury, and proof

We have seen that Dumont de Bostaquet describes life as 'un mélange perpétuel de biens et de maux'; Fontaine, for his part, tells his children that he provides them with 'une histoire [...] de ma vie, qui a été un tissu d'aventures différentes, de misères et de prospérités, d'abattement et d'élèvement, et partout une preuve évidente des soins de la providence de Dieu envers moi.'[297] The triangulation of the key terms prosperity, proofs, and providence is significant here; it is around these poles that Fontaine's narrative is woven into a 'tissu', or a text, which amounts to a great deal more than a 'mélange'. Among the reasons he gives for committing his story to writing is that his sons have expressed a desire that their family adventures be chronicled:

> ayant […] lu dans l'article 18 de votre union, que vous souhaitez que quelqu'un fasse une histoire de temps en temps de ce qui arrivera ci-après à la famille, j'ai cru que je ne devais pas négliger de vous donner la satisfaction de vous apprendre de qui vous descendez et qui sont vos parents ; afin que l'histoire que vous ferez ci-après soit une suite de celle-ci, et que vous puissiez la commencer d'aussi loin que je suis capable de vous l'indiquer avec certitude.[298]

His memoir, in other words, serves as a supplement, or codicil, to a contract of union, which the brothers have already signed, in an effort to preserve the 'union' of their family in exile. This fraternal pact, the details of which have not survived, proves to be a central part of the 'back story' of Fontaine's memoir as it moves from oral narrative to written legacy : '[c]omme

[296] Ibid., 13.
[297] Ibid.
[298] Ibid.

je me suis souvent aperçu que, lorsque je vous ai fait le récit ou lu quelques fragments de ce qui est arrivé à vos ancêtres et à moi, vous y preniez un sensible plaisir et que vous m'avez souvent prié de vous en faire une histoire.'[299]

If Fontaine feels it necessary to take the additional step of putting pen to paper, it is to make a written 'histoire' of the orally transmitted 'fragments' of experience, and in so doing to ensure that the sacrifices and legacy of his family will never be forgotten. Commenting on this key passage, Chappell Lougee notes that 'a written version was required for the same reason that his family had recently "sworn, written and signed" [the] paper contract that he calls "this union": because oral communication, oral promises, even family sentiment or blood ties did not suffice in the diaspora as they had for earlier generations in France (though not for his own).'[300] As we shall see, Fontaine's memoir also serves as an exemplar, a further impetus to future generations to extend the fraternal pact, to take up their pens in turn, and to add their own stories to the family memoir.

Fontaine's family, his profession, and the question of use all feature prominently in the title of the memoir as it has come down to us: 'Histoire de la Famille des Fontaine recueillie par moi Jacques Fontaine ministre de l'Evangile sur les mémoires que j'en avais ci-devant ramassés commencée à Dublin en Irlande le 26 mars 1722 (style anglais) lorsque j'ai fini ma soixante-quatrième année pour l'usage de tous mes enfants'.[301] French Protestants were generally a more literate group than the wider population in France, and although Fontaine clearly bears a grudge toward some of his senior relatives in matters related to his education, insisting the latter 'was arranged "by those who preferred thrift to my advancement" as the family suffered increasing persecution in the early 1680s,'[302] it is nonetheless evident that

[299] Ibid.
[300] Chappell Lougee, 'Huguenot Memoirs,' 335.
[301] Fontaine, *Persécutés pour leur foi*, 11.
[302] Ressinger, 'Good Faith,' 453.

literacy was valued by Fontaine's family of origin. What exactly Fontaine means when he suggests that his own text had been composed 'pour l'usage de tous mes enfants' is central to this chapter, as Fontaine reimagines the possible shapes and lives of the Huguenot refugee memoir. As we shall see, whilst writing a narrative of loss within the same general framework as Dumont, and calling the reader's attention to papers and documentation in ways akin to Marteilhe, Fontaine also explores and exploits his creative, entrepreneurial spirit to imbue the text with a unique inflection of the genre he adopts, in which the familiar dedication to his children conjugates with the all-important notions of enterprise and prosperity, providence and proof, and, above all, exemplary use.

While Marteilhe wrote 'Je n'ennuierai pas mon lecteur en rapportant ce qui m'est arrivé pendant mon enfance', Fontaine has no such qualms: he devotes a significant portion of his account to this formational time in his life. Bernard Cottret, editor of the recent edition of Fontaine's memoirs on which I draw in this chapter, notes that despite what has been said concerning the era's perception of children as merely smaller versions of adults, Fontaine appears to have enjoyed an exceptional childhood: 'On se plongera également avec délices dans la trentaine de pages que l'auteur consacre à son enfance.'[303] Ressinger sums up Fontaine's early life as follows: 'he was raised by a widowed but assertive mother. His education, extensive by standards of the time, was somewhat haphazard. A series of indifferent teachers preceded his attendance at the College of Guyenne, where he earned his Master of Arts degree in 1683.'[304] For all that his memoir advertises his calling and status as a minister on its title-page, Fontaine's memoir, in his telling of it, articulates a strong sense of grievance, and a feeling that his fate was seemingly sealed early, and perhaps even before he was born.

[303] Bernard Cottret, Postface, Fontaine's *Persécutés pour leur foi*, 244.
[304] Ibid.

Born on 7 April 1658,[305] one of the first 'misères' in his life occurred when at the age of one he was dropped by his nurse's daughter and sustained a leg injury from which he never fully recovered. Suggesting that he had been destined 'au saint ministère avant que d'être conçu'[306], Fontaine notes that he was born into a family of ministers: 'mon père avait été ministre ; j'avais trois frères ministres, un qui était mort proposant, deux beaux-frères ministres, deux oncles du côté de ma mère ministres.'[307]

Although he respects the sacred office, he finds himself unsuited for it, but to announce this to his widowed mother would have broken her heart. In the end, after trying out a few other trades, he settles into training as a minister, and a worse time to enter Protestant ministry in France can scarcely be imagined. As Cottret writes:

> Jacques Fontaine entre dans l'âge adulte précisément lorsque les persécutions s'abattent sur les protestants du royaume […]. [L]es dragonnades de 1681 en Poitou, la destruction l'année suivante du temple où il prononce ses premières prédications lui font craindre pour sa sécurité. Il s'enfuit en Bretagne brièvement et se livre au commerce du vin. Il revient à Saintes au bout de quelques mois et continue d'étudier la théologie dans un monde qui bascule : on ne parle que de temples rasés, de ministres arrêtés […]. Nous sommes en 1683 : le jeune proposant tient des assemblées secrètes dans sa maison de Saintonge et réunit autour de lui jusqu'à cent ou cent cinquante personnes, en cette terre de forte densité huguenote.[308]

In an episode which, while it holds some interesting parallels to Marteilhe's story, is beyond the scope of this chapter, the young minister is sent to prison for holding these illegal church gatherings. Having served his sentence and eventually secured his release, he returns home to his parish in Saintonge, but finds life there growing ever more difficult for its Huguenot inhabitants. So, in 1685 Fontaine eventually takes the decision to leave France; many years later, from the security of his Dublin refuge, he reflects on his reasons for doing so: 'Mais enfin

[305] Fontaine provides an excerpt of his baptismal record from the 'Livre baptistaire du consistoire de Vaux et Royan,' *Persécutés pour leur foi*, 63.
[306] Fontaine, *Persécutés pour leur foi*, 71.
[307] Ibid.
[308] Cottret, Postface, Fontaine's *Persécutés pour leur foi*, 245–246.

le grand persécuteur Louis XIV ayant cassé et révoqué d'édit de Nantes le mois d'octobre 1685, je vis alors qu'il fallait ou périr ou sortir.'[309]

The escape itself happens in two stages. First, he flees his home in Saintonge under cover of darkness, and with what will prove to be characteristic concern for the material as well as the emotional costs of his actions:

> Je laissai ma maison à minuit et sortis avec mon valet, deux chevaux et une valise, bien armé et résolu de ne pas mourir à petit feu, mais de vendre ma vie aussi chère que je le pourrais. Je laissai ma maison toute garnie sans en rien tirer […]. Je n'emportai avec moi qu'autour de cinq cents francs, qui était tout ce que j'avais d'argent, et encore y en avait-il une bonne partie en deniers, que je changeai ensuite pour de l'or.[310]

Having gathered in La Rochelle a small group of people, including his fiancée Anne-Elisabeth Boursiquot (and her dowry) and ten other acquaintances, Fontaine then undertakes the second stage of the journey of escape: he makes the dangerous (and eventful) cross-Channel trip from La Tremblade to England, disembarking in the Devon coastal village of Appledore.

This sea-crossing is not his last; later, following a court case brought against him in Taunton (to which we return below), Fontaine and his family will, as noted above, have cause to leave England, to try to further their chances of prosperity, safety, and success in Ireland. Bracketing the narrative of his time in England between two significant material moments, in which he catalogues his possessions, Fontaine offers his readers significant insights into the changing fortunes of his refugee family between their two sea-voyages. Scholars note the ample availability of documentation from this period concerning what the wealthy ate, possessed, and otherwise made use of in their homes, but that considerably less is known, however, about the poor, refugees, immigrants, and the middle or working classes. Fontaine's account, both in its general shape and in details such as the two 'bracketing' instances we focus on here, provides glimpses of the lives, habits, and perceptions of ordinary people of the time.

[309] Fontaine, *Persécutés pour leur foi*, 127.
[310] Ibid.

Although his descriptions of local habits and inhabitants are marked by his own prejudices, Fontaine's narrative offers insight from an insider / outsider perspective of early modern possessions and professions, trades and economies, in and between France, England, and Ireland. It also points to the growing trade with the Americas, and to further sea-crossings which will become an important factor in shaping Huguenot refugee identity both in the Fontaine family and in the community at large.

The first instance to focus on here begins with Fontaine remarking to his children that at the time he married Anne-Elisabeth soon after arriving in England, 'on ne peut être guère plus pauvre que nous étions', but that they were buoyed by their love for each other and faith in God: 'vous pouvez juger de l'amour tendre qui possédait nos deux cœurs, et, d'ailleurs, la forte confiance que nous avions en la providence de Dieu.'[311] The newlyweds initially take a furnished room in Barnstaple for two or three months, but after receiving presents (and financial gifts) from France and London—'un lit de plume et quelques couvertures, que mon valet Manseau m'avait sauvées et envoyées, et quelques linges que ma sœur Forestier m'avait envoyés de Londres'[312]—they move into a small house. The goodwill of their neighbours, both English and French, is evident in their generosity toward this young refugee pair. Fontaine writes: 'Les habitants de la ville ayant été avertis de ma pauvreté par les autres Français, vinrent voir cette maison et la garnirent de tout ce qui est nécessaire pour un petit ménage d'une manière la plus généreuse du monde, de sorte que je me vis meublé sans qu'il m'en coûtât un farthing.'[313] Furthermore, he adds that every market day wheat, meat and poultry were provided for him without his ever knowing to whom he was beholden. 'Cette vie aurait paru charmante à certaines personnes', Fontaine notes, before stressing that being on the receiving end of the generosity of others was hard to bear: 'mais pour moi et ma chère femme, chaque don nous

[311] Ibid., 139.
[312] Ibid.
[313] Ibid.

était autant de coups de couteau dans le cœur. Nous souhaitions quelque voie à vivre par nous-mêmes et non par charité.'[314] This self-fashioning of the refugee as a figure who seeks not charity but independence and a way of earning his own bread structures Fontaine's account from start to finish. When he later moves from Barnstaple and accepts a position in the home of Sir Haswell Tynte, near Bridgewater, 'ne pouvant m'accommoder de cette servitude basse et complaisance indigne d'une personne qui a un cœur qui aime la liberté,'[315] he stays only five months, and moved on….

Clearly both circumstances and his own restlessness forced Fontaine to continually reinvent himself professionally, and to use his brain and imagination to succeed in sometimes hostile environments. Ressinger notes concerning Fontaine's personal and professional shape-shifting: 'Within two years of his arrival in England, he married and had his first child, engaged in the grain trade with relatives remaining in France, started a school for teaching French, and began a profitable cloth manufactory.'[316] These were only the undertakings of the first two years! Fontaine described all of this activity in great detail, and, as Ressinger rightly comments, 'all of it required extensive interaction with the English economy and social structure.'[317] Some Protestants carried with them into exile the tools of the trades they had practiced in their homelands, and were able to continue working at these same professions in the Refuge; other Huguenot refugees were forced to reinvent themselves professionally, sometimes time and again. Peter Burke, addressing the condition of craftspeople in early modern Europe, suggests that one should 'speak of craftsmen cultures in the plural, distinguishing the weavers, the shoemakers, and so on. Every craft has its own culture in the sense of its own skills, handed down from generation to generation, but some crafts, at least, seem to have had a culture of

[314] Ibid.
[315] Ibid., 140.
[316] Ressinger, 'Good Faith,' 455.
[317] Ibid.

their own in a wider and a fuller sense.'[318] He adds that 'documentation for these cultures is a mixture of what members of the craft said about themselves and what others said about them; if not altogether reliable, this evidence is at least suggestive.'[319] Part of what makes Fontaine's account and its backdrop of early modern economies both interesting and valuable is that it provides many perspectives on these issues.

The topic of Huguenot trades and contributions to countries of refuge has been subject to a somewhat controversial historiography. Raymond Mentzer and Bertrand Van Ruymbeke write that the forced migration of Huguenots due to their expulsion from France 'conferred upon them a preeminent place in the numerous accounts of forced religious migrations' and that 'Huguenot accomplishments and contributions to France and the lands to which they eventually fled have long been celebrated.'[320] An example of this is provided in the introductory remarks of F. L. Hawks to the 1838 first American edition of Fontaine's memoirs, in which he states: 'It has been remarked more than once that this country has never had better citizens in it than the Huguenots and their descendants.'[321] While this represents one way the subject of the Huguenots and their contributions in the Refuge have been presented, Mentzer and Van Ruymbeke also reference another view, noting: 'Political and religious opponents have, for their part, characterized these French Protestants as seditious, disruptive and destabilizing, particularly within the French kingdom. The propaganda campaigns continued well into the 20th century.'[322]

[318] Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (3rd ed., London: Routledge, 2009), 65. Burke also alludes to an interesting link between weavers and literacy, noting that 'their work enabled them to read if they wanted to, propping the book on the loom.' Burke, 66.
[319] Raymond Mentzer and Bertrand Van Ruymbeke, *A Companion to the Huguenots* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), p. 4.
[320] Ibid.
[321] F. L. Hawks, Introduction to Jacques Fontaine and Ann Maury's *A Tale of the Huguenots, or Memoirs of a French Refugee Family*, trans. and comp. Ann Maury (New York: John S. Taylor, 1838), vii.
[322] Mentzer and Van Ruymbeke, 4.

One striking instance of the hostility to which French Refugees were subject in Fontaine's own time concerns precisely the matter, or the business, of social relations and trade. It is an occasion which serves to introduce the second of the 'bracketing' lists of possessions which mark out his time in England. The family had for some time been living, and prospering, in Taunton, when Fontaine finds himself in court. He narrates the scene in language that bears evidence of the locals' prejudices, as well as his own:

> Lorsque je comparus, on m'accusa de plusieurs contraventions : j'étais le chevalier d'industrie, *a Jack of all trades*, contre qui chacun se plaignait. Je faisais peigner la laine, je la teignais moi-même, la faisais filer et tisser, puis la détaillais à ma boutique, où on trouvait autant de sortes de marchandises que de drogues chez les apothicaires. Les *grocers* se plaignent que j'ai gâté leur métier en vendant en détail à meilleur marché qu'ils n'achètent en gros. Les vendeurs de quincaillerie sont prêts à fermer boutique et se mettre à la charge de la paroisse si je ne ferme la mienne […]. En un mot comme en mille, c'est un chien de Français qui ôte le pain de la main aux Anglais, et, à les entendre, j'étais riche comme un juif.[323]

The poor refugees who arrived in Barnstaple with nearly nothing in their possession, seemed to the citizens of Appledore deserving of charity; yet to the good folk of Taunton, this prosperous boundary-crossing *Jack of all trades* has gone too far. Soon after this, Fontaine and his family depart from Bristol to Cork on 24 December 1694, not (as Fontaine takes clear pride in detailing) with nothing to their name, but with twelve horse-loads of belongings. This cargo consists not only of household items—'meubles et choses nécessaires à la maison la charge de douze chevaux'—but also equipment and tools of their trade: 'quantité de drogues pour les teintures, des chaudières pour le même usage, des écrous pour des presses, et plusieurs marchandises propres pour l'Irlande.'[324] In this next phase of resettlement, their skills and equipment become portable as the family prepare for a smoother transition in their next place of refuge than in their last.

[323] Fontaine, *Persécutés pour leur foi*, 151–152. For more on this kind of suspicion of Huguenot artisans, see Neil Kamil's monumental *Fortress of the Soul: Violence, Metaphysics, and Material Life in the Huguenots' New World: 1517–1751* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), 546–547.
[324] Fontaine, *Persécutés pour leur foi*, 162.

Part II. 'notre nom était originairement *de la Fontaine*'[325]—nobility, re-imagined

Fontaine foregrounds his family's noble ancestry from the opening pages of his narrative: 'Mais avant de passer plus outre, il faut et il est d'une nécessité absolue que vous vous souveniez que je vous ai souvent dit que notre nom était originairement *de la Fontaine* et non pas seulement *Fontaine*, et que mon père est le premier qui ait ainsi altéré et tronqué partie de son nom.'[326] The language here is insistent, almost desperate. It seems critical to the author that his children remember, first, that they were formerly 'de la' Fontaine, and second, that his father *chose* to elide the family name to 'Fontaine'. His insistence on both points tells us much about how and why the family Fontaine, whose story over the last century and more Jacques recovers from potential loss, is itself both a kind of usable exemplary narrative, which the Memoir Fontaine seeks to both establish and perpetuate, and a tale still to be written by future generations.

To understand the shape of Fontaine's thinking on these matters, we can turn to Neil Kenny's *Born to Write: Literary Families and Social Hierarchy in Early Modern France*, a study which features surnames considerably better known for their literary work and learning than the family Fontaine, but which provides key insights, arguments, and tools for thinking about the memoir tradition, and about the collaborative authorship of Fontaine's work in particular. Kenny takes as his subject a number of early modern 'literary producers', a term taken to include 'author, editor, or translator.'[327] His focus is on 'collaboration', as a process which in a family of literary producers might include 'co-authoring, continuing, editing, translating, prefacing, or finding a publisher or printer for a relative's manuscript work that one had been safeguarding.'[328] All of this proves to be very helpful in establishing the kinds of work that goes into any memoir, but perhaps most useful of all is Kenny's coinage of the 'family

[325] Ibid., 14.
[326] Ibid.
[327] Neil Kenny, *Born to Write: Literary Families and Social Hierarchy in Early Modern France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 32.
[328] Ibid.

function', which encompasses the 'attribution of agency in the production of works not to individual authors but to families,'[329] and so calls attention to the role, often overlooked in literary studies, as in studies of memoir, of family contributions to written production.

The paterfamilias Jacques Fontaine is, of course, the primary focus—the source and origin, the mirror and exemplar—of the memoir explored in this chapter. [330] But, as we shall see in the final section below, the many subsequent contributions of the Fontaine family collaboration can also be considered literary in the sense elaborated by Kenny, in that they provide illustrations of cooperation in literary production through several generations, with a distinct role given not only to the patriarchs, but also to two female descendants of different generations, to whom is owed perhaps the greatest debt in regard to the original manuscript's preservation and publication, as well as the safeguarding of family correspondence and other documents.

Another way in which Kenny's work proves invaluable is his exploration of literary families and their productions in the context of social status, social hierarchy, and social mobility in early modern times. These are, as we have already glimpsed, topics of key importance to Fontaine, as to other refugees in his situation, and they greatly influence his writing. Robert Descimon's research into early modern French social hierarchy provides a springboard for Kenny's contemplation of the role played by literary families in the period's social hierarchical manoeuvrings. *Épreuves de noblesse*, a compilation of essays edited (and several co-written) by Descimon and Élie Haddad, looks specifically at Parisian nobility of the 'robe' in the Ancien Régime, challenging the terminology traditionally used by historians to categorise nobility groups. The overarching argument of the volume is that historians have too

[329] Ibid., 36.
[330] For more on the richness of 'Fontaine' in this literary sense, see Hester Lees-Jeffries, *England's Helicon: Fountains in Early Modern Literature and Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), especially 200.

easily accepted contemporary classifications of a 'noblesse de robe' / 'noblesse d'épée' dichotomy: 'les termes de « robe » et d' « épée » constituaient des assignations identitaires qui ne correspondaient pas nécessairement à la complexité des situations empiriques.'[331] When one pushes aside ideological preconceptions, the essayists consistently underline, one sees that social hierarchy was never as well delineated as contemporary writers and period historians have made it appear.

The work's authors also challenge assumptions about social mobility during this period. 'Est-ce à dire que la mobilité sociale était bloquée ?' asks one of the essayists; no: 'des hommes nouveaux pouvaient encore se glisser dans le monde de l'office. Cependant, pour se constituer en lignage robin, la seule transaction monétaire n'était pas suffisante : il fallait aussi réussir son insertion parmi ses nouveaux pairs.'[332] Much of *Épreuves de noblesse* is devoted to the constant difficulties such families faced in ensuring the line of succession, a struggle that took considerable financial means, discipline, cooperation, and a good deal of luck. The conclusion is that the story of social mobility in France from the sixteenth to eighteenth century is more accurately described not in terms of two fixed, impenetrable noble classes but rather of economics and human biology, of ebb and flow, of money purchasing promotion, and of the monarchy's encouragement of those who had the means, could provide certain proofs ('preuves') and pass certain tests ('épreuves') to purchase royal offices and their associated titles.

Where Descimon and Haddad reassess notions of class and social mobility within the 'robe' nobility in Paris, Kenny looks at 'the broader picture of heredity, inheritance, and familial transmission in the Ancien Régime'[333] to consider the place some early modern literary

[331] Robert Descimon and Élie Haddad, eds. *Épreuves de noblesse. Les expériences nobiliaires de la haute robe parisienne, XVI^e^-XVIII^e^ siècle* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2010), 14.
[332] Ibid., 21.
[333] Kenny, *Born to Write,* vii.

families were able to carve for themselves in the social hierarchy of the time. The works of Descimon, Haddad, and Kenny all offer useful perspectives from which to examine what social mobility looked like for Fontaine, a French Protestant refugee from a family of former nobles who finds himself in exile in rural England, then rural Ireland, before finally settling in Dublin. In this section of my chapter, I consider how this refugee, unattached to power or to the greater Huguenot support network, and far from cities where he may have more quickly made social connections, strives to find a place for himself and his family. He does so through an attachment not only to profit and trade, but also to learning, teaching, and the power of the written word, embodied in a long-range, multi-pronged process of writing that includes redefining the terms of nobility and social status, presenting proof of his family's nobility under this new conceptualisation, and establishing a literary legacy that will perpetuate and enhance the story for generations to come.

If it was widely believed during this time, as Kenny notes, that members of a noble family 'shared their own, superior, instantiation of human nature,'[334] what did it mean for Fontaine's father to give up his title for the sake of something he thought of superior value? And how did this voluntary renunciation of social rank affect the identity of the younger Jacques Fontaine? An initial answer to these questions, and some sense of the internal conflict this process must have caused, can be found in how Fontaine formulates his account. The alleged former noble status underpins Fontaine's staging of himself and his losses, but the *voluntary* abandonment of noble rank and social status is also crucial to Fontaine's self-fashioning and engenders a further element: as his father made the principled decision to reinvent the family's noble status, Fontaine takes it upon himself to redefine nobility, on paper, for the present and future generations of his faithful family. Fontaine (son) experiences the loss

[334] Kenny draws here on Arlette Jouanna, *Ordre social. Mythes et hiérarchies dans la France du XVI^e siècle* (Paris: Hachette, 1977).

of title and position not just through his father's choice but also through his own refusal to abjure the Protestant faith, and his consequent decision to flee France for England. In narrating their collective history, Fontaine reframes the story to show that they are doubly, indeed triply noble.

This reframing motivates Fontaine's insistence, in a first move, on his children bearing in mind their noble ancestry, followed in the very next pen stroke with a downplaying of the value of worldly titles of nobility:

> J'ai insinué que nos ancêtres étaient nobles, ce qui est vrai, quoique ce soit là le moindre endroit où je trouve de quoi se glorifier d'être leurs descendants. Il y a ici quelque chose de plus grand et de plus glorieux qu'une noblesse mondaine. Les martyres et les afflictions pour la vraie religion sont les titres de noblesse que je vous présente afin que vous y preniez toute la gloire de votre origine.[335]

Through the act of communicating this origin story at the outset of his memoir, Fontaine both restores to the family the lost 'de la' of their surname that his father made the principled choice to remove, and dismisses the title's importance in light of its worldliness. The traces of these dual aspects of a 'noblesse mondaine' and of a more otherworldly inheritance surface throughout Fontaine's account of the family's social trajectory, as it leads up to his own birth, and that of his children in turn.

In his edition of the account, Cottret glosses the bravado of the claim we have focused on here in the following, resonant terms: 'L'auteur ne manque pas de remettre en cause la vanité d'une noblesse ancestrale : les Fontaine auraient été originellement *de* La Fontaine. A quoi bon ? Ce défi roturier permet en fait de valoriser l'élection par Dieu de la famille. L'attachement à la foi protestante, voilà pour Jacques Fontaine la seule noblesse authentique.'[336] This is undoubtedly true, but it is also a feature of Fontaine's account that it is informed by the language of *preuves* and *épreuves* which structured the contemporary discourse concerning

[335] Fontaine, *Persécutés pour leur foi*, 15.
[336] Cottret, Avant-propos to Fontaine's *Persécutés pour leur foi*, 8.

status and social mobility. Fontaine himself is repeatedly at pains to provide documentary proof of his family's former nobility, in ways that point in two directions. First, to paper sources—government registers and official documents—, and second, to material proof:

> Car il se peut encore voir dans les registres de la Rochelle, en Aunis en France, lorsque mon grand-père eut la garde de la tour de la chaîne de la Rochelle, que son nom était Jaques de la Fontaine, on peut aussi [le] voir dans le contrat d'achat qu'il fit de la maison joignant la Poissonnerie, à la Rochelle, laquelle maison a été donné en mariage, en part du dot de ma sœur Gachot. Si même j'avais les papiers de mon père dont mon frère, Pierre Fontaine, qui a demeuré en France, a hérité par mon refuge, vous verriez quelques contrats où mon père, pendant la vie de mon grand-père, signait Jaques de la Fontaine.[337]

Of note in this passage are three key topics that emerge in other memoirs in my corpus. The first is the reference to official documentation that would substantiate claims in the narrative (which I have developed most thoroughly in the chapter on Jean Marteilhe). The second is the bemoaning of lost documentation (which is particularly significant in the account of Dumont de Bostaquet). The third is the reference to the family who have stayed in France (presumably having embraced Catholicism) and inherited the memorialist's earthly possessions and inheritance (another prominent grievance in Dumont's story). Each of these aspects accentuates the importance of paper in terms of inheritance, family bonding, and what I am calling Fontaine's memoir-as-legacy.

Descimon writes that the rise of a 'noblesse de robe' caused the 'noblesse d'épée' to feel acutely the vulnerability of its position in society, but that the two orders were united by 'le souci suprême de l'hérédité et de la recherche continue de meilleurs moyens de transmission.'[338] These twin worries of the French nobility in France also haunt Fontaine's narrative in the Refuge, as his memoirs seek both to secure a place for his family in society and to ensure that its members will be bound together. As Chappell Lougee notes: '[o]nce geographical place did not provide family with a center, in diaspora only paper could offer the

[337] Fontaine, *Persécutés pour leur foi*, 14–15.
[338] Descimon and Haddad, 208.

material grounding for family that face-to-face communications had previously provided.'[339] But paper documents in the early modern period were notoriously vulnerable. Even in the case of so notable a writer as Molière, Georges Forestier reminds us in the biographical preface to *Molière in context*, not one letter from that celebrated playwright survives; Racine's two sons, who 'were determined to ensure that their father was remembered' and so wrote and published a significant Memoir, were able to rescue from destruction only a couple hundred missives from tens of thousands he had sent and received.[340]

If paper traces of notable and ennobled 'great' writers were at risk of erasure, it follows that documents penned by obscure individuals for the benefit of their inner circle might be especially so. That an original manuscript of an early modern memoir should survive is a feat in itself; that three centuries after the original memoir was written, a manuscript writer's offspring should still be actively involved in preserving that manuscript and adding to the family's literary output (as is the case with the Family Fontaine) is truly remarkable. This unique collection of documents, which we turn to below, permits the examination of Fontaine's memoirs not just as a standalone account but also as an embodiment, or instantiation, of the trans-generational literary family function at work.

Having established his family's nobility by referring to past memories and paper proofs, Fontaine, minister that he is, sets about proving his legacy on a religious plane. He establishes his family's spiritual nobility and 'election' at first in terms of martyrdom, when he refers early in his memoirs to the night his great-grandparents are murdered in their home for their Protestant faith. Recollecting the painful memories of the previous century's Wars of Religion,

[339] Chappell Lougee, 'Huguenot Memoirs,' 335.
[340] Georges Forestier in Biographical Preface, *Molière in context*, ed. Jan Clarke, trans. Sally Wagstaffe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022), 1. These are of course just two, albeit significant, early modern instances of a complex set of writerly figures.

Fontaine notes how the 'ennemis jurés de Dieu et de son Evangile' sent assassins to the home of Jean de la Fontaine, the author's great-grandfather, to carry out his and his wife's execution:

> Ils envoyèrent donc, dans l'an 1563, de la ville de Mans, un bon nombre des exécuteurs infernaux de leur cruauté, qui arrivèrent chez lui sur le soir, entrèrent en sa maison, le saisirent au dépourvu et, lorsqu'il s'y attendait le moins, le tirèrent hors de son logis et lui coupèrent la gorge. Sa femme, alors grosse de sept ou huit mois, qui voulut sortir, espérant qu'ils l'écouteraient en faveur de son mari, reçut aussi de ces barbares le même traitement. Son valet, qui crut le pouvoir secourir, eut aussi part à la gloire de son maître et de sa maîtresse. Ainsi Dieu se servit de ces infâmes guet-apens, envoyés par les émissaires de l'Ante-Christ, pour distribuer quatre **couronnes du martyre** à ses fidèles serviteurs et à sa servante, qui transporta dans le ciel l'âme de son enfant avant que de le mettre au monde. Heureux enfant qui fut **baptisé du martyre** avant sa naissance, et qui a vu la gloire céleste avant la lumière du jour ![341]

The memories are painful, but the rhetoric of 'martyrdom' crowns the passage, as it crowns the pre-history of his family, extending even to the lives of those as yet unborn. Reworking a common theme of the writings of the Wars of Religion, Fontaine uses this terminology to accentuate his family's suffering and the price they have paid for their principles and their faith.

Martyrdom was also a prominent topic of discourse in the Refuge, particularly among the correspondents within the Huguenot *République des lettres*. 'Once thousands of refugees began pouring out of France after the Revocation,' writes Chappell Lougee, 'Huguenot leaders like Jurieu and Benoist saw the need to persuade public opinion in the principal host countries—Holland, Prussia, England—that the refugees merited welcome: that they were oppressed innocents whose disobedience was justified, not rebels, as Louis XIV and his officials claimed.'[342] Élie Benoist, the exiled French Protestant minister referenced earlier in this thesis, was instrumental in compiling stories of the persecution of Huguenots in a work intended as a counter-discourse to the predominantly Catholic historiography of the time. Fontaine, in chapter VI of his memoirs, proudly remarks that his own arrest and trial in France

[341] Fontaine, *Persécutés pour leur foi*, 18, emphasis mine.
[342] Chappell Lougee, 'Huguenot Memoirs,' 336.

for hosting illegal church gatherings is mentioned by Benoist; but he notes the fact primarily to offer his correctives:

> M. Benoist a rapporté quelque chose de cette histoire, mais sur des mémoires fort défectifs. Vous le verrez dans son *Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes contenant les choses les plus remarquables qui se sont passées en France avant et après sa publication, à l'occasion de la diversité de religion*, et principalement les contraventions, inexécutions, chicanes, artifices, violences et autres injustices que les réformés y ont souffertes jusqu'à l'édit de révocation, en octobre 1685, avec ce qui a suivi ce nouvel édit jusqu'à présent.[343]

Fontaine first locates the passage, telling his children it may be found in 'Tome III, 3[e] partie, qui comprend ce qui s'est passé depuis l'an 1683, par M. Benoist. Voyez, en l'an 1684, Folio 744 et 745, article en marge : Assemblée au Bois de Royan et accusation surprenant.'[344] He then incorporates the relevant excerpt and, in the original manuscript, offers nine marginal notes correcting errors or clarifying details of Benoist's reporting of the events related to himself.[345] He also reminds his children that they too might have suffered the fate of 'martyrs': 'Vous vous souvenez, chers enfants, du temps auquel votre mère, vous et moi n'avons pas été moins haïs des papistes de Bearhaven, qui ont employé et pirates et corsaires pour nous faire finir notre vie comme celle de ces bienheureux martyrs.'[346] He is stating, in other words, that not only are they the descendants of martyrs, but that martyrdom is a good deal more than a topos found in stories of the past: it remains a clear and present danger to the family, and to the wider body of the faithful.

Indeed there are signs that Fontaine appears to entertain the possibility of telling his family story and personal history as martyrology, recalling many other incidents or *épreuves* that might be considered testing of the family mettle. But he ultimately pursues an approach that portrays trade, hard work, and prosperity—and consequently individual agency—

[343] Fontaine, *Persécutés pour leur foi*, 112.
[344] Ibid.
[345] Ibid. Cottret includes these notes by Fontaine in Notes 4–12 on 112–113.
[346] Ibid., 18.

operating in tandem with providential intervention. The shift in genre follows the move in generations, as well as in circumstances. Whereas his great-grandparents had been killed in the wars, Jacques de la Fontaine, his grandfather, managed to escape with two of his younger brothers to La Rochelle after the death of their parents. There, the boys find at least co-religionist refuge which saves their lives; but they also need to find a way to make a living; with them begins a key theme in Fontaine's history, the need to beg for bread:

> Ils y arrivèrent mendiant leur pain ; ils étaient tous trois beaux et blondins, et paraissaient être de famille et bien élevés, mais sans recommandation ni adresse à qui que soit […]. Quelqu'un eut pitié d'eux et leur donna le couvert pour les petits services qu'ils étaient capables de rendre. Entre autres, un cordonnier craignant Dieu, à son aise et charitable, prit chez lui l'aîné, Jacques de la Fontaine, mon grand-père, en affection, et lui apprit son métier, sans le regarder comme apprenti.[347]

Burke writes that shoemakers in early modern culture were, along with weavers, a 'self-conscious and literate group,'[348] and that when 'Calvinism spread in the Cévennes in the sixteenth century, it was carried by shoemakers.'[349] It is likely that the shoemaker who took Fontaine's grandfather under his wing was not only God-fearing but also literate, which might have had positive implications for the young man. 'Sans le regarder comme apprenti' could be a reference to the often difficult relationships between harsh masters and their apprentices in this era, and the fact that this cobbler does *not* look upon Fontaine's grandfather as merely an apprentice serves, perhaps, in Fontaine's eyes, as a sign of election and divine favour. What it certainly does is lays down in the text a pattern or exemplar of affectionate attachment to others which exceeds charitable giving, and extends the bonds of family to those who are in need.

We see also emerging in Fontaine's expressions here the vocabulary of 'bread' and 'work': he will use these concepts to write a new definition of nobility, more suited to his modern world of social mobility through ingenuity, trade, and industry. 'Quelqu'un eut pitié

[347] Ibid., 19.
[348] Burke, 67.
[349] Ibid., 68.

d'eux' is the salvation of these children and this family, and this moment nearly replicates itself in the context of the arrival of Fontaine and his group on the shores of England, which we will explore further below. But instead of dwelling on the pity and compassion story at this point, Fontaine uses this anecdote about his forbears begging bread to emphasise how the family, from nothing, have rebuilt a place and reputation for themselves.

As was noted in the thesis introduction, a recurring element in the discourse and writings of Calvinists was God as Judge, sending rewards and punishments in turn, both on the faithful and unfaithful; additionally, there were times when the righteous and 'chosen' experienced the hand of God moving in their favour, as Fontaine seeks to demonstrate in the case of his grandfather's and great-uncles' descent into poverty. Fontaine writes: 'Ce n'était pas alors le temps d'avoir l'esprit hautain et de se tenir à ses titres de noblesse, mais de rendre grâce à Dieu, qui faisait naître un moyen de manger le pain en travaillant de ses mains.'[350] Fontaine voices through his ancestors' experience an act of surrender of their rightfully held noble status, with the airs to which it might have entitled them, and an acknowledgement of their thankfulness to God who has allowed them to eat (bread) by means of a trade. This elevates the status not only of work but of his ancestors for having chosen to embrace this work rather than lament their lost nobility. Fontaine reminds his children—born and raised as they were in different social structures—that working in a trade was something that nobles were not permitted to do at this time in France: 'Car vous devez savoir qu'en France nul noble ne peut s'employer à aucun trafic, ni marchandise, ni emploi mécanique, sans perdre son droit de noblesse et redevenir simple bourgeois et roturier.'[351] That being the case, Fontaine feels compelled to do as his grand-father and father had done: he redefines the family's identity, by

[350] Fontaine, *Persécutés pour leur foi*, 19.
[351] Ibid., 15.

establishing the nobility of trade and labour, through a practical conjugation of providence and prosperity.

This re-conceptualisation consists in part of listing, in the span of a few short pages, a sort of inventory of the many different trades learned or held by members of his extended family or relatives by marriage over the past two generations, most of which he seems quite proud to name. These include: 'blanconnier', 'orfèvre', 'ils tenaient une boutique de libraire', 'qui avait boutique de toiles et autres choses à la Rochelle', 'perruquier', 'qui tient la boutique de libraire à Londres', 'maître d'école à la Rochelle', 'habile marchand à Londres, un homme bien fait et qui a été en aide à tous ceux de la famille depuis qu'il est réfugié à Londres', 'horloger à Londres', 'gantier français à Londres'. While he notes some as being skilled or in trade, others are ministers (like himself) or in medical practices: 'L'ainé était ministre, et ayant passé en Hollande, où il avait fini ses études, il fut envoyé ministre hollandais aux îles de Tabago', 'Le second fils fut médecin', 'Le troisième fils était apothicaire', 'il a laissé un fils qui était médecin', 'Le quatrième était chirurgien', 'Son fils aîné était chirurgien', 'L'aîné a fait la philosophie avec moi, à Bordeaux. Il est médecin.'[352] Others he mentions more pejoratively, like the 'simple soldat', son of a goldsmith, of whom he writes: 'Le troisième fils de l'orfèvre Bouquet était un vrai débauché. Je l'ai vu à Londres ; il était simple soldat et ne voulut jamais laisser la guerre pour s'attacher à quelque autre chose, comme son frère le libraire le lui conseillait et l'aurait aidé pour cet effet. Je ne sais ce qu'il est devenu.'[353]

It is one thing to tout the (post-noble) family network's professional activities, and quite another to communicate to his children the precariousness of their own social position; though of course the two moves are intimately related. Loss and suffering sharpened Fontaine's awareness of the need to prepare for the future and to implement a plan for the protection of

[352] Ibid, 21–22; 25–26.
[353] Ibid., 25.

his loved ones, even after his death. One reason Fontaine writes his memoirs is to counteract the loss of his family's social position; but in order to secure an abiding place in social hierarchy for his own descendants, an additional factor is required: he must convince his children of the necessity to uphold at all costs a sworn pact that will keep the family prospering in unity together to the end of time. The Protestant work ethic *avant la lettre* that becomes his trademark in exile likely developed in part from hearing how his grandfather and great-uncles, although of noble blood, were forced by circumstances to beg for bread. But Fontaine also turns this 'riches to rags' story into a lesson in associative living for his children:

> Mais comme nul de vous ne sait qui c'est qui doit partir le premier de cette vie, étant sensibles au grand malheur où tombent les enfants qui sont laissés orphelins, comme vous le voyez dans cet exemple, pourvoyez des pères et des mères à vos enfants pendant que vous êtes encore en santé ; prévenez pour eux un si funeste malheur, en resserrant le lien que vous avez déjà noué entre vous, renouvelant vos vœux d'être tous des pères et mères à tous vos enfants.[354]

The insecurity of one's status as an individual in society, for Fontaine, translates into the need for forming a more permanent, enduring type of relationship, one that extends beyond the immediate family unit defined as one's own offspring, to embrace a wider kinship structure in the Refuge. Cottret notes that Fontaine's account comes to its readers, centuries after it was written, as 'la voix d'un homme qui lègue à ses enfants, avec le souvenir de leurs aïeux, le sens d'un destin collectif exemplaire, dans ce double exil de temps et de l'espace, de la vieillesse et du déracinement.'[355] Ruth Whelan writes concerning Fontaine's fellow memorialist Dumont de Bostaquet that he is 'driven by a desire to pass on the exemplarity of the past, that is, to draw out the lessons to be learned from his own story, and convey them through the narrative to his descendants.'[356] Exemplarity, whether drawing from the past or looking toward the future, is

[354] Ibid., 20.
[355] Cottret, Avant-propos to Fontaine's *Persécutés pour leur foi*, 7.
[356] Whelan, 'Writing the Self,' 467.

clearly a key aspect of Fontaine's narrative as well. Cottret writes: 'Derrière Jacques Fontaine, toute une lignée familiale est en effet appelée au salut.'[357]

As noted in opening, Fontaine's memoir can, in this regard, usefully be seen as a supplement to the associative pact of which his children had, it seems, already agreed the terms. It is worth exploring how he communicates to his children the importance of this document, and the claims arising from it, as a safeguard against future woes. His first move is to refer back to earlier times. He suggests that the fraternal agreement between his children has a pre-history: it brings into practice an idea, or a proposal which Jacques' father had originally envisioned for his own children, but was never able to implement:

> Je dois, avant que de passer à la famille de mon père, vous rapporter ici le grand désir qu'il avait d'unir ses enfants d'une manière extraordinaire et de les engager de regarder tous les enfants qui sortiraient d'eux tous, non comme neveux seulement, mais aussi comme leurs propres enfants, et de faire un fonds commun pour le soutien de ceux de la famille qui, à l'avenir, en pourraient avoir le besoin. Ce n'est pas de lui, comme vous pouvez croire, que je l'ai appris, mais de ma mère et de mes frères qui me l'ont dit plusieurs fois. [358]

Fontaine concludes his recounting of this memory with the assertion that Providence had clearly reserved that privilege for him: 'qui n'ai eu rien tant à cœur aussitôt que Dieu m'a donné des enfants, que j'ai, comme vous le savez tous, instruits et élevés dans cet esprit d'amitié plus que fraternelle et dans une union sans exemple.'[359] Indeed Fontaine signals from the outset that the inspiration for this pact had a considerably longer history, rooted in Old Testament writings concerning Israel's exiles and the need for covenant with God and with each other. He underlines this connection, and his belief in the family's special election and consequent responsibilities, by inscribing on the title page an excerpt from the Psalms:

> Inclinez vos oreilles aux paroles de ma bouche. Je parlerai des choses notables d'autrefois. Lesquelles nous avons ouïes et connues, et que nos pères nous ont racontées. Nous ne les célerons point à nos enfants. Et ils raconteront à la génération à

[357] Cottret, Postface to Fontaine's *Persécutés pour leur foi*, 233.
[358] Fontaine, *Persécutés pour leur foi*, 30.
[359] Ibid.

> venir les louanges de l'Eternel et sa force et les merveilles qu'il a faites. Car il a établi son témoignage en Jacob, et il a mis sa loi en Israël : il a donné charge à nos pères de les faire entendre à leurs enfants, afin que la génération à venir, les enfants qui naîtront, les connussent et qu'il se missent en devoir de les raconter à leurs enfants, et afin qu'ils missent leur confiance en Dieu et qu'ils n'oubliassent point les exploits du Dieu fort, et qu'ils gardassent ses commandements.[360]

Psalms were, as scholars have shown, an important component of Huguenot family life and worship, and were often quoted in their memoirs and correspondence. Olivier Donneau explains: 'Les psaumes sont au cœur de la piété huguenote. Ils accompagnent la vie quotidienne des réformés français. Ils réconfortent les prisonniers ou les martyrs et, après la révocation, galvanisent ceux qui choisissent la résistance active.'[361] The strength of the symbolic meaning of the Psalms for Huguenots is evidenced by the reaction of French authorities to the public singing of psalms: 'Conscient de la portée identitaire, et parfois contestataire, de cet arsenal symbolique, le pouvoir interdit de les chanter en public dès 1661.'[362] Scores of examples are listed in Benoist's *Histoire de L'Edit de Nantes* of Protestants who were persecuted, prosecuted or punished for singing psalms.

It is perhaps a mark of Fontaine's idealism that he thinks he can succeed in commanding his children to follow his example, when both the biblical and the family narratives to which he draws attention point to a repeated failure to follow the psalmist's instructions. But Fontaine's second move is to shape the future on the pattern of the past; he directs his readers' attention to the successes of the recent past, as his next example shows:

> Observez aussi de quelle utilité une bonne union est dans une famille. Car si ma mère et mes frères n'eussent aidé Jane et Judith en mettant leurs fils et filles en apprentissage, puis [en] leur laissant une avance pour les établir, et les mères et tous les enfants auraient été obligés d'aller mendier leur pain de porte en porte**,** comme vous avez vu que mon pauvre grand-père et mes deux grands-oncles ont fait, faute d'un tel secours.[363]

[360] Given as Psaume LXXVIII, 1–7 in the unspecified version and edition used by Fontaine.
[361] Olivier Donneau, 'Le livre en exile : le cas du Refuge huguenot (1685–1750),' *Livre et l'Estampe*, 54 (Bruxelles: Société royale des bibliophiles et iconophiles de Belgique, 2008), 43.
[362] Ibid., 43–44.
[363] Fontaine, *Persécutés pour leur foi*, 37.

The story he tells of his family's history in moving from his great-grandparents to the next generation has, initially, a reverse-mirror structure; the transition from the renunciation of social nobility to the glorious nobility of martyrdom finds its counterpart in the social fall of the surviving family members into penury. Yet throughout this 'tissu' there runs the thread of providential care, as the family learn to earn their own bread, and, with the third generation represented here by his mother and his brothers, to establish a working bond, and, crucially, the funds to support wider family members who had fallen on hard times. Chappell Lougee notes that Fontaine's book culminates in 'page upon page of little other than details of the writing, signing by each child, and acting out of the family union. The memoir itself, then, was to serve, through writing, as the tangible and lasting bond of mutual obligation, a trans-generational binder.'[364] It was a pact that was to offer not only 'fathers and mothers' for any orphaned family members but that also established a common purse for the provision of their financial, practical needs.

Fontaine offers his children a considerable number of amendments and safeguards for their pact, including guidelines for dealing with the 'excommunication' of members. As Cottret notes, Fontaine's language is reminiscent of Calvinist church practices in which consistories monitored the moral behaviour of parishioners, withholding support from any they considered lazy or prone to over-indulgence: 'tout comme l'Eglise, la famille peut prononcer l'excommunication de certains de ses membres : si quelques descendants en viennent à rompre leurs engagements, on ramènera les égarés en les admonestant fraternellement. Mais éventuellement, une fois épuisés tous les recours, les esprits endurcis devront être retranchés « comme autant de membres gangrénés. »'[365]

[364] Chappell Lougee, 'Huguenot Memoirs,' 335.
[365] Cottret, Postface, Fontaine's *Persécutés pour leur foi,* 238.

In reading Fontaine's commentary on the pact, one becomes aware of a growing emphasis on exemplarity and the family's separateness. Not only will theirs be 'une union sans exemple', but it will be 'une union étroite et perdurable' and 'une résolution inébranlable', appropriate to a family that have been set apart even from within the community of (also specially elected) French Protestants. Fontaine embroiders on his theme of this current moment being a response to past lessons heard, and learned: 'aussitôt que je vous ai tous vus en âge de discrétion, [je] vous ai exhortés à faire entre vous une union étroite et perdurable, à quoi, grâces à Dieu, j'ai eu la joie de vous voir tous consentir avec zèle et une résolution inébranlable de vous y tenir et d'y engager les vôtres jusqu'à la fin du monde.'[366] Chappell Lougee neatly summarises the effect and import of Fontaine's efforts here: 'Fontaine sacralizes the family, setting the concept of binding promise at its religious and secular heart.'[367]

Cottret rightly claims that Jacques Fontaine 'est à la fois attaché à un ordre des choses profondément patriarchal et à une conception plus souple des relations entre les hommes, voire entre les hommes et Dieu, qui tirerait sa légitimité d'un contrat.'[368] Setting this Fontaine family pact in the twin contexts of common Huguenot practice and contemporary social theories demonstrates its innovative quality. We know that the family is a religious space for Protestants. Fontaine takes this a step further: having by this point relinquished his pastoral responsibilities in France, England, and Ireland, he establishes a 'family-as-church' motif in his writing, using expressions that seem to draw on the language of church charters, in order to persuade his children of their sacred duty to uphold their pact and to honour the terms of their agreement. Chappell Lougee notes that 'Huguenot refugees typically regrouped abroad in enclaves of kin and former neighbors that centered on the local French Protestant church'[369]; Fontaine's world

[366] Fontaine, *Persécutés pour leur foi*, 30.
[367] Chappell Lougee, 'Huguenot Memoirs,' 335.
[368] Ibid.
[369] Chappell Lougee, 'Paper Memories and Identity Papers,' 128–129.

centred instead on his family. 'J'avais toujours accoutumé de prêcher à ma famille,'[370] he has noted previously. The more traditional Huguenot refugee use of the memoir to connect with others in the exiled Huguenot community is contrasted in Fontaine's case with his turning away from that community (or at least not seeking to be rooted in it) but focusing instead on his own children.

The terms of this family treaty, which constitutes the formal re-imagination of the noble family as associative pact, remain unknown to us, as do its exact signatories. It must have been attached to the front of the manuscript written, as Fontaine notes in opening, by way of response to the eighteenth of its terms, but no copy of the whole pact survives (or has yet been recovered). The only details we have come from the suggestions and admonishments in Fontaine's narrative, the most important of which we have detailed here. Most scholars' (residually patriarchal) working assumption seems to be that at least Jacques' sons—Peter, John, Moses and Francis—would have signed and therefore been bound by this family oath.

Combining proto-economic theories of contract with inherited Huguenot traditions, the Family-Church Fontaine drafts an agreement that rests (and falls) on lateral good faith. In Chappell Lougee's words, it 'fuses the patriarchy of the stem family traditional in Saintonge with the innovative contract theory then resonating in Locke's England.'[371] Her conclusion is that Fontaine's memoir is proof that exile 'provoked not merely new ways of thinking but new practices of inscribing.'[372] I suggest that what the pact, as mediated by Fontaine's comments on it, and by the narrative memoir he fashions to serve as its codicil shows, is that the Fontaine family is, moreover, less a church in exile, than a church in perpetual motion. To grasp the novelty of Fontaine's own writing and thinking in this regard, it is useful to recall, as Donneau

[370] Fontaine, *Persécutés pour leur foi*, 144.
[371] Chappell Lougee, 'Huguenot Memoirs,' 334.
[372] Ibid., 335.

notes, that the typical refugee assimilation experience in exile is laborious, complicated by a persistent desire to return eventually to France: 'le sentiment d'appartenance à une diaspora alimenté par l'espoir d'un retour en France persiste.'[373] Whereas other Huguenot writers (including the memorialists in this thesis) write of their hope to return to France or their longing for France, bitterness is the dominant emotion Fontaine reserves for his home country. Fontaine, while having written extensively about the past, does so primarily as a way of pointing his children to a better future, should they follow the path he lays out for them. The lesson to be learned from the previous generations of the family as it re-imagines what it means to be noble, which is to say true to their Protestant faith and to their new-found belief in providential prosperity, is that returning to France is an impossibility.

Part III. 'un moyen de manger le pain en travaillant de ses mains'—providence and profit

Along with the paper proofs and personal memories which establish the family's noble past, Fontaine also draws his readers' attention to a chosen object, a keepsake, that would have served as material proof of the family's former status, had he still held it in his possession:

> J'ai même eu dans ma possession une cuiller d'argent doré, pliant dans son étui, que mon père avait lors de ses voyages et que ma mère me donna, où il y avait, sur la manche de la cuiller, *I.D.L.F.*, qui voulait dire Jaques de la Fontaine. Laquelle cuiller j'ai été obligé de vendre en Angleterre, lors de ma grande misère, pour avoir du pain.[374]

If Fontaine articulates the genealogy he narrates to his children in terms of 'titres de noblesse' both temporal and spiritual, this gilded silver spoon might be thought of as material proof of his family's election. A cherished gift from mother to son, it serves in the first instance as a

[373] Donneau, 43.
[374] Fontaine, *Persécutés pour leur foi*, 15; for more on cutlery in the period, see Daniel Roche, *Histoire des choses banales. Naissance de la consommation dans les sociétés traditionnelles (XVII^e–XIX^e siècle)* (Paris: Fayard, 1997), 259.

trace of the lost father(s), and of the family's wealthy past. In the second instance, it offers the more usable emblem both of the misery to which they became subject in England, and of the profitable portability of their noble past in moments of desperate penury. Into Fontaine's discourse of proofs, then, he weaves a strong thread of divine providence and provision, of 'Dieu, qui faisait naître un moyen de manger le pain en travaillant de ses mains'.

Fontaine's narrative is in fact rich in bread, both literal and metaphorical, and in the following section I consider closely both what Fontaine writes on this topic of bread, and how it makes a particular kind of sense of the social trajectory he charts from begging bread and receiving pity / compassion from strangers to sharing bread in his own home, either with those less fortunate than he, or with those he hopes to influence in his favour. I demonstrate how, as well as sharing bread, he equips others to earn their own bread, thus becoming the recipient of the praise and gratitude of others and establishing a reputation for himself in society not only as a prosperous man, but also one given (occasionally) to good and generous deeds.

Daniel Roche writes concerning 'ordinary things' in seventeenth- through nineteenth-century France: 'Les aliments ne sont pas seulement bons à manger, ils sont aussi « bons à penser et à imaginer ». Ils tiennent une place considérable dans la vie religieuse et symbolique, impliquent des comportements sociaux, dans le privé comme dans le public, voire inspirent des stéréotypes régionaux.'[375] A brief overview of food usage in early modern France reveals nuances virtually unknown to consumers today, such as a social structure for the consumption of dark or light bread:

> Les budgets du XVIIe et du XVIIIe siècles montrent la prédominance des dépenses alimentaires—entre la moitié et les deux tiers—et l'importance des céréales comme aliment de base. C'est là une réalité, même si l'on voit apparaître une certaine diversité. Les céréales sont consommées essentiellement sous forme de pain, en bouillie moins fréquemment, froment, seigle, sarrasin, orge. On retrouve les blés sur toutes les tables, mais le pain est plus noir et plus mêlé chez le pauvre, plus blanc et plus pur chez le

[375] Roche, 240.

> riche. La proportion d'un grain ou d'un autre varie selon le résultat des récoltes mais aussi selon le calendrier saisonnier ou festif.[376]

Furthermore, white bread was not equally available throughout the country: 'Paris a le privilège de manger presque constamment blanc, soit que la ville bénéficie d'un avantage économique, celui du marché réservé, soit qu'elle estime intangible son droit à manger du blé et le statut qui en découle.'[377]

Bread is important to the study of Fontaine's account not least because, as we noted above in the introduction to this chapter, it is the first English-made product that catches his eye upon arrival in Devon, and in his narrating of events he seems immediately to seize upon the opportunities it might provide as a means of earning income to feed himself and those under his care. Bread is treated in this section as important symbolically (as a religious emblem and object of contemporary global debate), literally (as food, nourishment, opportunity), and metonymically (as 'begging', 'earning', 'sharing'). Examining Fontaine's account through the means of 'bread' also shows how one Huguenot refugee memorialist portrays his own contributions and those of his extended family in their home and host societies in the seventeenth century.

We have already seen how Fontaine uses the story of his orphaned grandfather and great-uncles begging for bread in La Rochelle—'Ils y arrivèrent mendiant leur pain'—to illustrate the depths to which the 'de la Fontaine' family fortunes and status had fallen in the past. The pivot point in the story as told by Fontaine comes through the help of strangers: 'Quelqu'un eut pitié d'eux'. It is a tale of pity and compassion that replicates itself after a generational gap in the context of Fontaine and his group's arrival on the shores of England. Fontaine describes the scene as follows:

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[376] Ibid., 243.
[377] Ibid.

> Enfin nous débarquâmes à Appledor, dans la manche de Bristol, au bas de la petite rivière qui passe à Barnstaple […]. Ayant payé notre passage, il nous resta, à votre mère et à moi, que vingt pistoles d'or; mais Dieu, qui ne nous avait pas conduits dans un pays de sûreté pour nous y faire périr de faim, toucha le cœur des principaux habitants de Barnstaple qui, nous ayant envoyé chercher tous douze, prirent chacun un ou une de nous dans leur maison et nous traitèrent avec une douceur et amitié inconcevables, chacun prenant autant de soin du Français ou de la Française qu'ils avaient en leur maison que si nous eussions été leurs enfants ou leurs frères, de sorte que Dieu nous fit trouver, chez les étrangers, des pères, des mères, des frères et des sœurs.[378]

Fontaine and his fiancée arrive in England with (nearly) nothing and no status, and yet they find themselves welcomed by strangers. Ressinger notes that Fontaine 'wrote an idyllic description of his arrival in England in November 1685 after 11 days at sea in a small boat,' before suggesting that 'the idyll soon turned to poverty, bitterness, and frustration.'[379] She points to the differences between Fontaine's arrival and reception and that of Dumont de Bostaquet: 'In contrast to Dumont's Greenwich experience, there was no ready-made support system in elegant surroundings to ease the transition into life in the west of England. His was a daily struggle in a small house in a back street, dealing with a system he neither understood nor accepted.'[380] This is true to some extent, as we shall see. Fontaine himself does not, at this point in the narrative, stress the misery of his condition. His emphasis is, rather, on the fact that he and his fiancée did not have to continue begging, or looking for shelter for too long before they gain some measure of independent income: earning their own bread.

David Hitchcock's research on vagrancy in English culture provides context for understanding perceptions of beggars and the poverty associated with movement during this period. He writes that 'the abject representations and experiences of poverty underpinned the social order, or "chain of being", and animated the early modern state, particularly the state's efforts to separate poor people deserving of relief from poor people who did not deserve it.'[381]

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[378] Fontaine, *Persécutés pour leur foi*, 132–133.
[379] Ressinger, 'Good Faith,' 455.
[380] Ibid.
[381] David Hitchcock, *Vagrancy in English Culture and Society, 1650–1750* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016), 7–8.

The English parochial system played an important part in separating 'worthy' and 'unworthy' recipients of charity. Hitchcock suggests that '[t]he composition of the early modern English state relied on unpaid officials and structures of local, parochial governance in more than 9,000 different parishes. These "little commonwealths" were profoundly participatory structures in and of themselves, and they were the constitutive elements of the central state.'[382] They also tended to be highly prejudicial against unsettled, mobile people. The language Fontaine uses to describe his group's reception by the local inhabitants ('mais Dieu […] toucha le cœur des principaux habitants de Barnstaple', 'de sorte que Dieu nous fit trouver, chez les étrangers, des pères, etc…') reflects Fontaine's belief that the warm reception given them is their providential due for all the suffering the arriving group have endured for their religion. They are 'worthy' beggars, and the proof of this, in Fontaine's framing, is that the good people of Barnstaple are moved by God to offer not merely the indifferent hospitality one might offer to strangers but that the new arrivals are greeted and treated as family members. The cross-generational family narrative being developed here is reinforced by the sense that the English locals repeat the actions and the embodied grace of the God-fearing cobbler, who had taken in Fontaine's grandfather, not merely seeing him as an apprentice but, the implication seems to be, more as a son.

What Fontaine seems to fear most is being taken for a vagrant: 'the quintessential crime of status […], a category predicated on an illusory choice, an assumption that vagrants chose not to work at proper occupations, if they chose to work at all.'[383] Fontaine is not just eager to present proof of his worthiness to receive charity; he also seems intent on dissociating himself from another group of beggars, those who beg for a living. A minister by training, Fontaine would be well-aware of stereotypes related to the orders of *frères mendiants*, who in the

[382] Ibid., 28.
[383] Ibid., 19.

Western Church were traditionally members of Franciscan, Dominican, Carmelite, or Augustinian orders who renounced material possessions to embrace poverty—'courant les chemins, sébile à la main', in the words of Paul Bertrand.[384] Throughout his narrative, Fontaine attempts to prove that he is not a 'begging brother'. Fontaine refuses to be ordained into the established Church in England because he sees it as a cloaked form of Catholicism. Cottret writes:

> Jacques Fontaine éprouve le sentiment d'une durable trahison des élites réformées […]. [L]e corps pastoral, une fois arrivé en Angleterre, se laisse séduire par une Eglise anglicane qui, par pragmatisme, charité ou finasserie, a su ménager une assez subtile transition entre la Réforme et la vieille religion. Fontaine n'a pas fui la France « toute catholique » pour être ordonné par un évêque. Il sera pasteur, mais pasteur non-conformiste, et demandera à ses frères presbytériens de lui imposer les mains.[385]

This refusal to be ordained comes at a cost, for only ministers ordained by the Church of England receive a state stipend. But he is insistent that he will work with his hands. The pattern repeats itself when Fontaine accepts the pastorate of a church in Ireland:

> Lorsque l'église se fut accrue, les gens aisés, honteux de ce que je les servais gratis, s'assemblèrent et me proposèrent de se taxer volontairement, pour marquer au moins leur reconnaissance. A quoi je leur répondis qu'il y avait quantité de pauvres parmi nous, et que je les priais de leur donner ce dont ils avaient résolu de me faire présent ; que Dieu me bénissait et que j'avais de quoi vivre sans leur être à charge, et que je me faisais un plaisir d'imiter saint Paul, prêchant l'Evangile et gagnant mon pain par le labeur de mes mains.[386]

For all that he re-imagines nobility as a spiritual legacy, as we have seen, he is nonetheless keen to prove that he does not belong to the lower social classes, that these episodes of begging or borrowing are temporary setbacks, and that through industry and hard work, he will re-establish his family's social status as useful members of society.

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[384] Paul Bertrand, Chapitre XVI, 'La fondation des ordres mendiants : une révolution ?', in *Structures et dynamiques religieuses dans les sociétés de L'Occident latin (1179–1449)*, ed. Marie-Madeleine De Cevins and Jean-Michel Matz (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2010), 201.
[385] Cottret, Avant-propos, in Fontaine's *Persécutés pour leur foi*, 8.
[386] Fontaine, *Persécutés pour leur foi*, 165.

In recalling his arrival in England, Fontaine again urges his children to stick to their pact to take care of each other's financial needs, pointing out that even those of high social status around them have not been shielded from falling into poverty and servitude:

> Comme encore vous voyez, parmi les Anglais, des gens fort riches dont les parents proches sont à la charge de la paroisse, ou du moins sont obligés de servir en qualité de valets et de servantes. Au lieu qu'une avance médiocre qui ne monta, tout au plus, qu'à mille ou douze cents francs a mis ces deux familles en état de vivre, par leur industrie, fort honorablement et en France et dans le refuge.[387]

He is haunted by fears that his family will fall back into poverty, and consequently determined to establish a secure place in the local community. This fear manifests in the narrative as both pitying those who are poorer than he, and in speaking in superior tones about his and his wife's standing in the community. See for instance, the following passage in which 'la femme de Fontaine' has all she needs and she and her husband will not have to beg, as did his wife's poorer relatives:

> Car, hélas ! ils étaient pauvres ; mais la femme de Fontaine n'en avait pas besoin. De faire ici le gueux, et demander grâce à ceux-ci aurait été pour moi une ignominie abominable et une honte insupportable. Il fallut donc faire de nécessité vertu et chercher de l'argent en quelque endroit que ce fût.[388]

The truth is that 'la femme de Fontaine' likely *was* in need, but Fontaine's pride concerning his hard-earned social status prevented him from admitting this. Begging was all well and good for his grandfather and great-uncles, but Fontaine preferred to borrow the money to repay his debts and save face within the local community (of people he did not even like).

Roche has shown that in France white bread was associated with Paris and luxury; in his memoirs, Fontaine provides a glimpse of what bread looks like in the Refuge. In the midst of the passage describing his arrival in Devon, Fontaine pauses to remember, with reverence, his first experience of bread on English soil:

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[387] Ibid., 37.
[388] Ibid., 142.

> Il faut que je me souvienne, avec remerciement envers la providence de Dieu, de la première bouchée de pain que je mangeai, étant arrivé à Appledor, où nous débarquâmes. La joie de nous voir en sûreté, la sobriété avec laquelle nous avions vécu dans le vaisseau, jointe à la purgation naturelle que l'on fait ordinairement sur mer […], nous avait tous rendus dispos et de bon appétit, de sorte que le plus pressé (après avoir rendu grâces à Dieu) fut de demander du pain.[389]

Not only does he marvel at the taste of the bread the locals provide, which would hardly seem surprising after such a long and arduous sea journey, he also comments on its enormous size and low cost, comparing it to the bread in France: 'On nous servit des biscuits, larges comme des assiettes, qui, en France, auraient pu valoir autour de deux sous pièce ; et, lorsque nous vînmes à payer, on ne nous fit payer que demi-sou pièce de ces biscuits. J'en admirai le bon marché.'[390] His initial reaction when he learns the price of this bread is to doubt the accuracy of what he has heard, blaming a poor translation / translator. He sends one of the younger members of his group to a local bakery and receives the confirmation he needs:

> mais comme celui chez qui nous étions ne parlait que fort mauvais français, je m'imaginai qu'il se trompait ; et, après l'avoir fait raconter deux ou trois fois, il me disait toujours que chaque biscuit ne coûtait que demi-sou. Ne pouvant le croire, je donnai à ma petite fille un sou marqué et lui ordonnai de m'aller acheter du pain pour cet argent. Elle fut chez le boulanger et m'apporta effectivement deux de ces biscuits ou galettes. Ce qui me confirma le bon marché du pain.[391]

What does it mean for Fontaine to be in a place where bread is a different shape and costs less than in France? It means opportunity—a chance to make a profit and to live comfortably, not having to beg bread, and to be a source of bread to others.

As soon as the good price of bread is confirmed to him at Appledore, Fontaine begins to have ideas concerning the possibility of speculating in grain: 'D'abord il me vint dans l'esprit que qui pourrait envoyer du grain en France y trouverait un profit considérable ; mais ma

[389] Ibid., 132.
[390] Ibid., 133. For context on 'large comme des assiettes', Roche writes that during this time period, in peasant homes, '[o]n mange encore sur le pouce ou avec un tranchoir de pain ou de bois, premier support individuel dans les manières collectives,' 258. These plate-size breads may have been similar to the 'Sally Lunn bun' one finds in Bath, which were purportedly first made there by a Huguenot refugee called Solange Luyon around 1680. See Dana Bate, 'The Squishy History of Bath's Buns,' *Smithsonian Magazine*, 3 Feb 2012, https://www.smithsonianmag.com/arts-culture/the-squishy-history-of-baths-buns-87692089/.
[391] Fontaine, *Persécutés pour leur foi*, 133.

fiancée et moi n'avions que vingt pistoles.'[392] The account of his first weeks in England is dominated by efforts to persuade his neighbours, relatives, and acquaintances—French or English, near or far—to buy into his venture of selling English grain to France. The first to agree to this scheme is his English host; but Fontaine experiences a brief pang of conscience when he realises that should the venture fail, he has no funds with which to reimburse this generosity. This does not trouble Fontaine for long: 'Pendant la nuit, je réfléchis sur cette offre si obligeante, et m'aperçus que c'était un effet de la continuation de la providence divine, qui par là m'offrait un moyen de gagner de quoi me soutenir dans mon extrême pauvreté.'[393] Although he sees at this point no possibility that his plan should fail, he nevertheless proposes as collateral the few possessions he has:

> j'avais, outre mes vingt pistoles, une montre d'argent, une fort belle rose de diamant valant autour de dix ou douze pistoles ; ma femme, ou plutôt ma fiancée, avait une chaîne à cou d'or, un collier de petites perles, un diamant d'autour de cinq pistoles et une émeraude. J'avais aussi cinq ou six cuillers d'argent.[394]

With the family's portable assets (like the gilded silver spoon referred to at the beginning of this section) underwriting the risk involved in this venture, the enterprise starts off well. But complications arise from his dealings with his relatives in France who were to supervise the selling of the goods. Cottret summarises the problem: 'Un mois plus tard, une première cargaison arrive en France où les parents la réceptionnent ; le pays est affamé ; les profits devraient donc être très élevés […]. Malheureusement, il faut compter avec la concurrence (déloyale) d'autres marchands. Au lieu des dix mille livres tournois escomptées, la cargaison ne se vendra que six ou sept mille livres.'[395] Fontaine dismisses these losses, however, as he is optimistic that the cargo of wine they send back to him will sell at a considerable profit: 'Qu'importe. Au retour, les vins de Bordeaux ou d'Angoumois trouveront

[392] Ibid.
[393] Ibid., 134.
[394] Ibid.
[395] Cottret, Postface, Fontaine's *Persécutés pour leur foi*, 253.

preneur en Angleterre.'[396] But his run of bad luck continues; as he plunges into debt he must consider other ways to earn his bread. After further ventures and more losses, he turns his assets over to his host and fellow investor, recording the loss in his memoirs: 'Là s'en fut la cuiller pliante dont j'ai parlé au commencement de mon récit.'[397]

Meanwhile, during these trying first years, his wife opens a general store in their home when they move to Bridgewater. 'Il y avait une boutique à la maison où nous étions, et ce fut alors que nous commençâmes à tenir une petite boutique qui s'accrut avec le temps.'[398] Fontaine becomes actively involved in helping supply goods for her to sell:

> J'avais d'ailleurs bon crédit chez quantité de marchands en gros de Bristol et d'Exeter, de sorte que j'avais toujours au moins pour quatre cents livres sterling vaillant de toutes sortes de marchandises en la boutique de ma femme, qui avait deux garçons de boutique, car Garache était plus d'un an chez moi avant Tavernier, et lorsque je payais à ces marchands en gros quelque somme d'argent sur ce que je leur devais, j'en prenais toujours autant vaillant de marchandises nouvelles, de sorte que la boutique était toujours bien garnie.[399]

Anne-Elisabeth will continue to supplement the family's income through her shopkeeping even when they move from England to Ireland; in fact, as Cottret notes, her occupation later becomes a controversial subject, as evidenced in a letter to Jacques Fontaine from the French Reformed Church of London dated 24 April 1698. It reads in part: 'On a receu une lettre de Mr Fontaine, Ministre de l'Eglise françoise de Cork en Irlande, où il mande qu'il[s] lui dispute[nt] son ordination qu'il a eut à Taunton l'an 1688 par des Ministres presbytériens, et qu'on trouve mauvais que sa femme exerce une manufacture.'[400] In answer to this, the London consistory records state they have written to Fontaine to the effect that:

> l'Eglise donne la vocation, et […] ce n'est pas des Ministres qui examinent qu'elle découle. On a aussi résolu de lui faire savoir que l'exercice d'un métier n'est pas incompatible avec le Ministère, et que s'il ne peut faire subsister sa famille sans cela,

[396] Ibid.
[397] Fontaine, *Persécutés pour leur foi*, 142.
[398] Ibid., 140.
[399] Ibid., 143.
[400] Cottret, Annexe I, Fontaine's *Persécutés pour leur foi*, 261.

> on doit lui donner liberté de travailler. On a enfin résolu de lui représenter qu'on souhaite qu'il eust parlé dans sa lettre avec plus de respect de l'Eglise anglicane.[401]

From Bridgewater, Jacques and his growing family move to Taunton, transplanting the shop with them. In Taunton, he is ordained by his Presbyterian brethren and opens a school. He does not provide much detail about the school other than mentioning that by March 1688 it was already quite successful: 'J'avais alors une école assez considérable à enseigner le français,'[402] but teaching will, from this point, remain part of his repertory, along with repeated economic experiments in relation to the manufacture of cloth.

Steve Pincus writes in this regard that a variety of new manufactures emerged in England over the seventeenth century and specifically mentions Huguenot refugees as having contributed their knowledge and skills to the draperies industry: 'Between 1600 and the 1670s England had gone from being a glass-importing to a glass-producing nation. England's remarkable development in this industry, much like the development of the new draperies, depended on skills learned from foreign handicraftsmen, in this case Venetian and Huguenot refugees.'[403] Proud of the fact that after Barnstaple, he no longer had to live on charity, Fontaine also notes that on occasion he would solicit funds for some of his needy compatriots who transitioned through the village. His so doing provides a form of insider glimpse at the local cloth manufacturing industry in the West Country in the 1680s: Fontaine notes having given two poor Frenchmen the equivalent of forty francs, and when they asked him how they might earn their own bread, heeded his suggestion that they present themselves as apprentices to one of their fellow Frenchmen in Bristol who worked in cloth manufacture, assuring them that within a year they would no longer need to rely on charity. Two years later, they arrived in

[401] Ibid.
[402] Fontaine, *Persécutés pour leur foi*, 142.
[403] Steve Pincus, *1688: The First Modern Revolution* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), 57.

Taunton to thank the one who had put them on the path to success; they were so altered in dress and appearance that Fontaine failed to recognise them:

> Ils me dirent qu'ils étaient ceux à qui j'avais conseillé d'apprendre un métier ; qu'ils le savaient en perfection, et qu'il ne leur manquait plus sinon que quelque personne charitable voulût leur faire quelques avances et qu'ils travailleraient à moitié de profit ; qu'ils ne connaissaient personne plus ingénieux et plus propre que moi ; que si je voulais avancer seulement trente livres sterling, ils travailleraient deux ans avec moi et seraient contents de la moitié du profit pour leur labeur, qu'ils avaient de quoi s'acheter des métiers et outils ; seulement les vingt livres sterling seraient pour acheter des laines filées et les teintures. J'acceptai leur offre, et comme je ne voulais pas diminuer le fonds de ma boutique pour une nouvelle entreprise, j'empruntai vingt livres sterling de Mme White, une veuve de Bridgewater, marchande de tabac.'[404]

Fontaine then set himself to observing their work, and within three months he had out-mastered them, inventing new patterns and new procedures, and enjoying great financial success. However, even at this stage, his descriptions convey a sense of a tense, competitive environment:

> Enfin, au bout d'un an, nous avions gagné quelque chose ; mais aussi, au lieu de vingt livres sterling, il y en avait plus de quatre-vingts d'employées dans la manufacture. Ils se querellèrent ensemble et ne se pouvant plus accorder, ils me demandèrent une certaine somme d'argent pour leur part du profit, que je leur donnai, et j'eus toute la manufacture sur mon compte.[405]

Additionally, Fontaine provided work in the cloth trade for a one-legged man, 's'attirant ainsi mille bénédictions de la famille du pauvre hère' as Cottret notes, before suggesting that '[c]ette philanthropie connaît pourtant quelques limites : en matière commerciale, Jacques Fontaine a des mœurs carnassières.'[406] What Cottret terms as *mœurs carnassières*, Fontaine sees as using his creativity and imagination:

> On faisait à Norwich une sorte d'étoffe appelée *calaminco*, très belle et d'un excellent usage, et qui était alors la plus en mode. Je pensai donc à imiter ces étoffes, car, n'ayant point fait d'apprentissage, tout m'était égal ; il fallait toujours puiser de mon cerveau tout ce que je prétendais d'entreprendre.[407]

[404] Fontaine, *Persécutés pour leur foi*, 144.
[405] Ibid.
[406] Cottret, Postface, Fontaine's *Persécutés pour leur foi*, 254.
[407] Fontaine, *Persécutés pour leur foi*, 157–158.

Conversely, he criticises his competitors for their lack of imagination and innovation, writing that 'pour eux, ils n'étaient pas capables de faire rien autre chose, car ils ne savaient rien par imagination, mais uniquement par routine, ce qu'ils avaient vu faire à leurs maîtres.'[408]

Fontaine invents a formula for making fabrics more cheaply and soon is making a considerable profit, drawing the ire of his local competitors. Eventually, his secret is revealed and the market is overwhelmed by cheap cloths, causing prices to drop sharply. Cottret puts these things helpfully in context: 'Nous sommes en 1694. Les économies de la famille atteignent mille livres sterling, ce qui est honorable quand on sait qu'un boutiquier moyen a un revenu annuel d'une quarantaine de livres, autant qu'un pasteur anglican dans une paroisse ordinaire.'[409]

In Taunton, Fontaine uses his imagination and his skills in industry to improve his financial position and social standing. But his innovative ways cause backlash from other community members and he is taken to court and, as we saw earlier, accused of being a 'Jack of all trades.' Returning to this sequence in his narrative, we see that during the trial, the mayor challenges Fontaine concerning his lack of training in the various trades he practices in the town. Fontaine replies: 'La question est pertinente, car, de par la loi, nul ne peut exercer que le métier dont il a fait son apprentissage.'[410] The remainder of his answers to the mayor's question consist of arguments that bring to mind the words of Descimon, Haddad, and Kenny. He says in a voice loud enough to be heard throughout the court (and across the ages):

> « Messieurs, […] en France on a de l'estime pour un homme suivant ses qualités, et, parmi toutes, un homme de lettres et d'étude, qui se comporte honnêtement, est honoré de tout le monde, quand il n'aurait pas un sou. Toute la noblesse, les seigneurs, les marquis et les ducs se font un plaisir de la compagnie d'une telle personne. Il est qualifié pour tous les emplois honorables d'abord qu'il est savant, de sorte que mon père, qui était lui-même un digne pasteur de l'Evangile, a élevé quatre garçons dont je suis le dernier, en toutes manières, dans les arts libéraux, dans l'espérance que, quelque endroit

[408] Ibid., 158.
[409] Cottret, Postface, Fontaine's *Persécutés pour leur foi*, 254.
[410] Fontaine, *Persécutés pour leur foi*, 152.

> où la fortune nous transportât, notre éducation nous servît au lieu de richesses, et nous fît honorer parmi les gens d'honneur […]. »[411]

Fontaine, in this important passage, is drawing both on his ancestral noble past, and on his father's prescience in educating his sons in the liberal arts and in vocations that would translate into portable trades in the various places they settled. He also builds the case that those thus educated, if they are men of quality, should be welcomed by the upper echelons of society, and that lords, marquises, and dukes should take pleasure in their company. However, as he continues his public address, he points out the fact that such is not the case in Taunton, where an educated man without riches is despised but a low-bred man of great means is lauded and honoured. His critique is to the point, and is unforgiving:

> Mais lorsque je suis venu dans cette ville, j'ai vu que la science sans richesses est regardée comme une nuée sans eau, un arbre sans fruits, en un mot une chose digne de mépris ; au lieu que si un pauvre ignorant peigneur de laine ou un colporteur amasse de l'argent, il est honoré de tous et devient le premier en ville.[412]

Fontaine explains that, due to these local prejudices, he was obliged to change strategies in seeking to make a good name for himself in the community, and he gave himself to amassing wealth as the most prized local virtue. Recalling his defence, word for word, years after the event, he writes: 'J'ai, messieurs, renoncé à toutes mes sciences spéculatives, et me suis aussi mis peigneur de laine et vendeur d'épingles et de lacets, afin d'essayer si je pourrai un jour, étant devenu riche, être aussi le premier de la ville.'[413] His statement is risky, to say the least. The assembly laughs light-heartedly at his tongue-in-cheek characterisation of their town's culture; but his words galvanise the aldermen against him. Fontaine's business is taxed to such a great extent that he decides to earn his bread elsewhere. The family Fontaine moves to the

[411] Ibid.
[412] Ibid., 153.
[413] Ibid.

Protestant Refuge of Cork in December 1694, taking with it the transferable goods listed proudly in the text, and the lessons of their experiences in ungrateful England.[414]

Despite his best efforts at self-sufficiency and establishing himself in the social hierarchy, Fontaine fails to integrate the communities in which he settles. Perhaps his isolation and detachment are caused in part by seeing himself in a higher social bracket than those around him, as superior to them due to his former nobility, education, training, and especially his family's unique separateness. Whatever the reasons, as Ressinger emphasises, Fontaine's actions in England repeatedly isolate him from those around him:

> Fontaine's alienation can clearly be seen as an expression of his feelings of isolation from the English and later Irish towns in which he lived. His failure or inability to embrace local customs and practices resulted in contempt for the very people with whom he was forced to associate in his need to support his family. He lived in several communities but remained detached, not accepted in them, facing his difficulties with an arrogant and uncompromising attitude. Fontaine spent nearly 10 years in England, and when he left [for Ireland] he never looked back.[415]

Chappell Lougee is more generous in her estimation of the gains and losses itemised in Fontaine's account of his dealings with others. 'And yet,' she writes, 'looking at how Fontaine's story is told uncovers, between and beneath the lines, not an antagonistic rejection of host society and home country but rather a remarkable blending, in the mind of the writer, of resources he imported from his childhood and those he found in the Refuge.'[416]

Finding further refuge in Cork, the family quickly establish their business, with Fontaine himself initially serving as pastor to a small congregation, without accepting a salary; in fact, business is so successful that the family are not only able to feed themselves but are able to assist poor refugees around them with bread and a means of work. Fontaine writes: 'Ma chère épouse gagnait à la manufacture de quoi entretenir la famille et faisait vivre tous les

[414] Ibid., 162.
[415] Ressinger, 'Good Faith,' 455.
[416] Chappell Lougee, 'Huguenot Memoirs,' 334.

réfugiés qui étaient pauvres et avaient besoin d'ouvrage.'[417] Fontaine is finally in his element, appreciated, honoured, loved, until a series of further difficulties force him in a first instance to resign his pastorate, and in a second instance to give up his manufactory. The first is occasioned by a French merchant called Isaac de La Croix, formerly of Calais who, having already sown seeds of dissention in several churches in France and England, began to do the same in Fontaine's French church at Cork. Offended by a sermon in which he felt Fontaine targeted him, although Fontaine denies this in the strongest terms, La Croix threatens the pastor with revenge, saying, 'Tu me le payeras !'[418] Fontaine writes: 'Il voulait se venger sur moi ; ce qu'il fit dans la suite […], car il fit tout ce qu'il put pour briguer contre moi et m'aliéner le cœur du peuple.'[419] Two prominent parishioners, persuaded against Fontaine, do everything in their power to obtain his resignation. Fontaine seemingly exacerbates the situation when, in a conversation meant to calm tensions, he loses his temper: 'ayant, dans la chaleur de la dispute, dit sans doute plusieurs choses qu'il eût mieux valu taire, quelque vraies qu'elles fussent, ils furent chez l'évêque, déclamèrent contre moi et dirent ce que j'avais dit et ce à quoi je n'avais jamais pensé.'[420] The bishop writes to 'mylord Galloway' (Henri Massue de Ruvigny, earl of Galway[421]) with a list of complaints against Fontaine, and that gentleman in May 1698 summons Fontaine to a meeting in Dublin.

Pointing once again to paper proof, and stepping away from the reverent tones in which most French Huguenot refugees referred to Lord Galway, whom many considered their patron, Fontaine narrates what follows:

> Lui [Lord Galway], qui se mêlait de tout et qui tremblait sous les évêques, ne se fit pas de difficulté de sacrifier mes intérêts pour satisfaire l'évêque de Cork. J'eus de grands

[417] Ibid., 165.
[418] Ibid., 168.
[419] Ibid.
[420] Ibid.
[421] For more on Lord Galway, see *Huguenots and Ireland: Anatomy of an Emigration*, ed. Jean-Paul Pittion, C. E. J. Caldicott, and Hugh Gough (Dublin: Glendale Press, 1987) and Randolph Vigne, 'The Good Lord Galway: The Irish and English Careers of a Huguenot Leader: Biographical Notes,' *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of Great Britain & Ireland*, xxiv, no. 6 (1988).

> entretiens avec lui sur cette matière dont vous pourrez voir des copies parmi mes papiers.[422]

For the peace of the church, Fontaine resigns. He includes in his manuscript a copy of his resignation letter and a certificate that, in laudatory terms, expresses the Dublin church elders' deep appreciation of Fontaine's sacrificial and faithful service to his congregation and the people's great regret at his departure. To his children, Fontaine declaims: 'Voilà la misère d'un ministre qui dépend du caprice de son troupeau. Lorsqu'un esprit querelleur, malicieux et adroit l'entreprend, il faut que le pauvre ministre se sacrifie et tous ses intérêts pour procurer la paix dans l'église.'[423] In 1695, Fontaine's wife and then Fontaine himself fall dangerously ill but then recover; next, his eldest sons Jacques / James and Aaron, recalled from Holland after two years of living abroad, narrowly avoid perishing by shipwreck on their way back to Ireland; a further setback occurs when an act is passed by the English Parliament banning the transport of wool goods from Ireland, essentially destroying the Fontaine family's manufacturing prospects, at which time Fontaine decides to sell out: 'je vendis donc tout ce que je pus des outils de ma manufacture et laissai le métier.'[424] He must move once again, and establishes himself in the fishing trade in Bearhaven, sadly without much success, and indeed with some further trauma, to which we return in a moment. Fontaine must once again devise a way to prove himself in society, and he does this, as he has done in other places and various contexts, by sharing bread.

As anthropologists R. Kenji Tierney and Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney make clear, 'food and foodways offer uniquely powerful windows to understand cultures and connections.'[425] Commensality, or sharing meals, has been 'a perennial interest among anthropologists as both

[422] Ibid.
[423] Ibid.
[424] Ibid., 173.
[425] R. Kenji Tierney and Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney, 'Anthropology of food,' in *The Oxford Handbook of Food History,* Jeffrey Pilcher, ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 117.

source and expression of group identities.'[426] Tierney and Ohnuki-Tierney describe how in Western societies, 'the carving of a turkey may represent the pinnacle of a festive occasion, yet even in ordinary meals, bread is shared when other dishes are distributed individually. To "break bread together" is to become one.'[427] Bread, and particularly sharing bread, play, of course, a key role in Christian tradition and practice. The celebration of Holy Communion or the Eucharist, for example, is for Fontaine a way of remembering the last supper of Christ with his disciples, a meal that included the elements of bread and wine that were meant to symbolise his body and blood.

Jeffrey Pilcher writes that in the modern era, 'secular versions of commensality, shared meals taken at restaurants or clubs, have become important sites for building class identities, whether elite discussion claimed in exclusive temples of haute cuisine, as expressions of middle-class ideals of democracy, or working-class solidarities over fish and chips.'[428] Food as a metaphor is important to discourse of identities, and Tierney and Ohnuki-Tierney underscore this importance in the following terms:

> Food is unique as a metaphor for the self and for social groups through two interlocking mechanisms that assign symbolic power. First, food is *embodied* in each individual and therefore operates as a *metonym* by being incorporated as part of the self. Second, food has historically been consumed collectively by a social group—the rise of solitary dining being very much a modern phenomenon. This communal consumption therefore renders food as a *metaphor* of "we"—the social group and often of people as a whole. This double linkage—metaphor underscored by metonym—gives foods a powerful symbol for the collective self not only conceptually but also *at the gut level*.[429]

Fontaine, in his account, models not only begging for, and earning, but also sharing bread as means for compensating for, or correcting, the unfortunate or difficult situations in which he and his family find themselves. It is not difficult to read into this action not only his relief at no

[426] Ibid., 119.
[427] Ibid., 121.
[428] Jeffrey Pilcher, ed. *The Oxford Handbook of Food History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), xxi.
[429] Tierney and Ohnuki-Tierney, 121. Authors' emphasis.

longer being subject to others' charity, and his longing for belonging to a group or community, but also his desire to assert a place for himself and his family within his host society.

Strategic hospitality is not a skill which he learned in Ireland, but was, rather, already part of his self-fashioning early in his time in Devon. Through his anecdotes, we are cognisant both of the fact that the people of Devon were kind enough to take the refugees in and feed them and that the Fontaine family hosts French meals in their home for the Frenchwomen in the local area who were not yet accustomed to English food. This allows Fontaine to position himself as a sort of local hero to his countrymen and women. He writes that while in Barnstaple, due to generous and anonymous donations of provisions, his only expenditure in the year he lived there was a bushel of wheat and that he was in possession of more than two bushels when he left. Additionally, he boasts:

> comme la bonne chère me coûtait si peu, j'étais aussi fort libéral à l'occasion de toutes les Françaises qui, n'étant pas accoutumés à l'ordinaire anglais, étaient ravies de venir manger de ma soupe et de mon pain ; aussi y en avait-il chaque jour quelqu'une qui faisait la cuisine et puis aidait à la manger.[430]

In Fontaine's telling, he would almost have the reader believe that his generosity extended not only to the sharing of soup and bread at his table with his fellow Frenchwomen but also to letting them prepare the food themselves!

Food historian Trudy Eden helpfully sets these questions in a larger context: 'food and the act of eating, particularly group eating, are potent forces in human culture. No one in any culture sits at a table to share a meal without a complex set of understandings that influence their behavior at the table as well as away from it.'[431] Eating together and eating the same food was an important aspect of identity formation or validation:

> When a group of people sit together and eat the same food, they create or strengthen physical and social bonds. The type and strength of the bonds varies depending on the

[430] Fontaine, *Persécutés pour leur foi*, 139.
[431] Ken Albala and Trudy Eden, eds. *Food and Faith in Christian Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 1.

> circumstances of the meal. Physical bonds arise when people eat the same food, which their bodies metabolize and turn into flesh. They become, if only in part and only temporarily, made one and the same. In earlier times and places, this distinction was important, as it underlay human identity.[432]

Another historical food specialist, Ken Albala, explains how '[the] act of ingestion and digestion involves the incorporation of food into our own flesh. What we eat literally becomes us, and we become it. Logically, therefore, food is among the most powerful expressions of identity, both for the individual and the group.'[433]

Fontaine's desire for social prominence and constant need for approval and the admiration of others, including his children and the greater public who might hear his tale, permeates the narrative. He appears to desire admiration for his cleverness; where other people merely saw bread, he saw opportunity. If, in the course of the narrative, Fontaine seems more often than not to sabotage his relationships with the community through his ambition and self-focus, occasionally hospitality and the sharing of bread does lead to some important breakthroughs in his quest for a higher position for himself and his children in the social hierarchy. It is worth exploring one final, and striking, instance to show how this is so.

We have seen in previous chapters that paper and money trails are instructive when we try to trace the shapes of change and self-formation in Huguenot refugee narratives of escape and resettlement: Fontaine's account is no exception. In the closing pages of his memoirs, Fontaine takes readers through some harrowing events, including the loss of one son to illness, and the abduction of another by 'pirates et corsairs' during the family's time in the fishing village of Bearhaven. The potentially traumatic story of Pierre's abduction forms part of Fontaine's narrative explanation of the perils of the fishing industry, his heroic exploits in defence of Bearhaven (noted above in opening), and the pension he subsequently received from

[432] Ibid., 2.
[433] Ken Albala, 'Historical Background to Food and Christianity,' in *Food and Faith in Christian Culture*, *op. cit.*, 7.

the Crown as compensation for his efforts. This matters not least since it is this pension that allowed him to purchase a substantial property in Dublin in which to set up a boarding house and school; and so, finally, to make a home in which the family Fontaine could properly settle.

The 'pirates' in fact attacked on two occasions: the first on 1 June 1704, and the second on 8 October 1708. Fontaine's longer family history gave him a strong sense of election, and a powerful sense of the ever-presence of the threat of martyrdom; these episodes are a powerful reminder of this fact as condition of the refugee life. As we saw in opening above, Fontaine himself reminds his children of this threat, by recalling to them the danger they all faced: 'Vous vous souvenez, chers enfants, du temps auquel votre mère, vous et moi n'avons pas été moins haïs des papistes de Bearhaven, qui ont employé et pirates et corsaires pour nous faire finir notre vie comme celle de ces bienheureux martyrs.'[434] The narrative of how they managed to survive and escape during this time—working on fortifying the house and the larger village, continuing legal disputes and being obliged to travel to and from Dublin and even London, writing letters to garner support from friends in the West Country in England, securing legal papers from Ormond, and the Crown—all this takes up a good deal of time in the memoir, across chapters XIV and XV. These closing chapters detail the several disasters, dangers, and threats to which Fontaine and his family were subject, including both his own capture and that of his son, Pierre, who was held hostage for some long time. They bear witness, also, to Anne-Elisabeth's diplomatic skill in negotiating her husband's release, and securing a future for the family under the most difficult circumstances so far in their complex trajectory.

The chapters conclude by staging a recollection of an instance of strategic hospitality: an initially unlikely confirmation of the belief in 'sharing bread'. It is an event, briefly recalled, that constitutes, for Fontaine, confirmation that even in the middle of bitter, at times mortally

[434] Fontaine, *Persécutés pour leur foi*, 18.

dangerous colonial and confessional conflict, sharing bread can facilitate friendships and relationships that will eventually (through the twists and turns of Providence's workings) help secure opportunities for himself and for his children that will increase and sustain their prosperity and social prominence. Hoping to find the funds to pay the pirates for the return of his son, Fontaine mobilises his several connections, and the legal knowledge acquired through repeated disputes and appearances in court. Armed with the papers he needs—'notre *affidavit*, collationnée par le gouverneur de Kinsale et ses principaux officiers'[435]—he travels to Dublin to meet with General Inglesby, Lord Justice of Ireland, to plead his case. On arrival, he is delivered good news: 'il me dit qu'il y avait à la trésorerie un *warrant* sur le *concordatum* tout signé pour moi, afin que je reçusse cent livres sterling, ce qui me fit d'autant plus de plaisir que je ne m'y attendais pas.'[436] In the next breath, with an 'Il faut savoir que, autour de deux mois avant ce malheur ici', Fontaine pulls back the veil on this seemingly unwarranted, unexpected generous move on the part of General Inglesby to relate how he (Fontaine) had paved the way for this apparent miracle by his own generosity and hospitality:

> Il faut savoir que, autour de deux mois avant ce malheur ici, le général Inglesby avait été député par le gouvernement pour aller visiter les ports de l'ouest d'Irlande, afin de choisir le meilleur havre pour y bâtir une fortification, et qu'étant venu à Bearhaven, j'avais été au-devant de lui jusqu'à Donmanus, à trente-six milles de ma maison, et l'avais amené chez moi.[437]

Furthermore, embroidering on the care and attention which he lavished on the visiting dignitary, he adds:

> Je l'y reçus et toute sa compagnie très honorablement, avec la décharge de mon canon. Il y demeura trois jours, toujours servi au moins de quatorze ou quinze plats et de toute sorte de vins ; car j'avais été averti quelque temps avant son arrivée, et avais eu le temps de me préparer, et il m'a toujours fait la grâce de m'aimer depuis ; de sorte qu'on peut encore ici observer comme quoi la providence de notre bon Père avait d'avance pourvu

[435] Ibid.
[436] Ibid., 208.
[437] Ibid.

> ce puissant ami pour m'aider dans l'affliction où il avait résolu de me faire tomber dans la suite.[438]

Providence, industry, and strategic hospitality, work together for the Fontaine family's good.

Part IV. 'pour l'amour de tous mes enfants'[439]—learning, legacy, and the family function

Neil Kenny writes that some works of family literature were 'entrusted to the future as objects that might continue to be usable by the family, whether in specified and predetermined ways or in unspecified and non-determined ones.'[440] In the final section to this chapter, I explore a number of ways in which this proves to be true of the writings of Jacques Fontaine, who, especially in later life, develops a clear interest in education, in exemplarity, and in the training of not only his own children, but also wider members of the communities in which his family made their home. It is to 'tous mes enfants' that he entrusts the task of making use of his memoirs; and his descendants have established a long history of carrying out this directive.

Learning, for Fontaine, seems always to be a material matter, and one in which his concern for his family is paramount. This much is clear from his explanation for his having invested the pension he receives for his efforts in respect of the defence of Bearhaven on the establishment of a school in St Stephen's Green in Dublin: 'Étant à Dublin, je pensai à quelque voie pour gagner de quoi aider au maintien de ma famille, et me résolus de prendre quelque maison propre pour y avoir des pensionnaires, et y tenir école pour le français, latin et grec […]. Je pris un *lease* pour quatre-vingt-dix-neuf ans, à raison de dix livres par an.'[441] Years before, in Taunton, Fontaine had opened another school. He does not provide much detail about that school, other than mentioning that by March 1688 it was already quite successful and that,

[438] Ibid.
[439] Fontaine, *Persécutés pour leur foi*, 58.
[440] Kenny, *Born to Write*, 18.
[441] Fontaine, *Persécutés pour leur foi*, 208.

following William III's accession to the throne, 'Je vécus quelques mois sans autre embarras que mon école ; mais, comme c'est un emploi des plus ingrats en ce lieu-là, j'en fus vite las et je n'aurais pu vivre là-dessus.'[442]

The Dublin school experiment is a more sustainable success, in part because he is able to take on a good few other teachers to make the school worthwhile to a wider range of pupils, and in part because the learning there transmitted is allied to the project of educating his own children, giving them (back) what his family lost two generations ago: a socially distinct education, 'égale à celle des plus nobles du pays'; he explains his plan:

> Je pris des pensionnaires et ai tenu école dans cette maison autour de quatorze ans, et, avec la bénédiction de Dieu, ai élevé tous mes enfants en sa crainte et leur ai donné *une éducation égale à celle des plus nobles du pays* ; car j'avais des maîtres d'écriture, de dessin, de danse, à faire des armes, et ils continuaient cependant leur latin et leur grec avec moi, les mathématiques, la fortification et la géographie. En un mot, je n'ai jamais épargné aucune dépense pour leur donner une noble éducation, *et aux garçons et aux filles*, qui ont aussi appris à faire toutes sortes d'ouvrages et le dessin.[443]

The second italicised phrase here is equally significant. We know from Fontaine's memoirs that he considered the training of daughters as important as that of sons for the family's success and sustainability:

> Vous savez, mes chers enfants, que souvent les filles et les femmes sont la charge des familles, se donnent au monde et dépensent plus par leurs affiquets et par leur compagnie que leurs maris, fainéantes, coquettes et inutiles à tout bien. Vous voyez tout le contraire dans ces deux familles : des filles qui ont nourri leurs pères, leurs mères et même leurs maris. Ainsi je voudrais que dans une famille bien réglée, on donnât à chaque fille, dès sa jeunesse, quelque emploi utile comme de conduire quelque ouvrage, et par là [elle] retirerait la viande de celles qui dévorent. Et pourquoi non ? Elles sont aussi capables de tout entreprendre qu'un homme, et même plus adroites dans des métiers délicats et où il faut de l'application. Souvenez-vous de quoi a été capable votre chère et bienheureuse mère, ma tendre et à jamais regrettée épouse.[444]

[442] Ibid, 157.
[443] Ibid., 210. Italics mine.
[444] Ibid., 36–37.

His statements concerning the capability and usefulness of education for girls seem prescient in light of the role played by women in the preservation of these words. It is, as we shall see, to two of his female descendants of different generations that we owe perhaps the greatest debt in regard to the original manuscript's preservation and publication, as well as the safeguarding of family correspondence and other documents.

In *Learning Languages in Early Modern England*, John Gallagher adds a corrective to the idea that only English speakers of a certain class or gender had access to languages; he also provides a valuable overview of the educational economy in the early modern period and vivid descriptions of the language learning scene—who could teach, where, what, and how—as the boundaries of pedagogy shifted. 'Language-learning was central to this changing education culture: it brought vernacular teaching to new audiences in new spaces, and relied on the labour of those often excluded from more prestigious educational environments, such as immigrants and women.'[445] Unfortunately, Fontaine's memoirs provide next to no detail regarding the curriculum, or students of his first experiment in learning in Taunton.[446]

While no precise picture can be drawn from Fontaine's account of the structure and curriculum of his school in England, we do know that when he moves to Dublin, Fontaine, working from his home in St Stephen's Green, applies an institutional model, perhaps observed initially in England, in which he targets gentlemen's sons as his pupils. The advertisement for his services, published by the *Dublin Gazette* in August 1709, reads:

> James Fontaine, French Minister, who is now come to settle in this City of Dublin, will board Gentlemen's sons in his House, that he hath taken for that purpose in Stephen's Green; and will teach them the French, Latin, and Greek Tongues; also History, Geography and other parts of the Mathematicks, and especially Piety; for Twenty Pounds a Year, to be paid Quarterly, and giving Two Guineas Entrance. They will be

[445] John Gallagher, *Learning Languages in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 15.
[446] For more on language education, curricula, and advertising of language tutorial services in this period, see Gallagher's insightful work cited above.

> also Taught Writing, Common Arithmetick, Drawing, Dancing and Fencing, paying for the Masters a reasonable rate.[447]

Fontaine's boarding school in Dublin not only provided him with income but also allowed him to support the education of his sons at nearby Trinity College.

All this is all the more significant, since early in his account, and in reference to his own education, Fontaine states that those who were charged with the task preferred thrift to his advancement. He emphasises that he has not repeated this pattern when it comes to the education and training of his own children; in fact, he makes a point of noting the expenses and the lengths to which he goes to ensure they have the best education available to them and the best opportunities for advancement. He is determined that his offspring and descendants be equipped to work both with their hands and brains, making the most of the new opportunities available to them in the English-speaking world.

The memoir notes that Fontaine takes on significant debt in order for his children to have opportunities for a better life. Speaking in terms that recall the biblical episode of the exile of the Israelites, Fontaine writes: 'Quelle satisfaction de se voir dans la condition des enfants d'Israël dans le désert ! Jamais aucun reste, jamais une bourse de vingt pistoles, et cependant jamais aucune disette […] : un pain quotidien qui se distribue à chaque besoin au nourrisson du ciel.'[448] He reminds his children of a particular instance in which he suffered financially to establish his son and son-in-law and their families in America, and states that he is prepared to suffer even further if necessary:

> Vous l'avez vu, chers enfants, et avez vécu sur cette manne de la Providence et en avez toujours eu tout le necessaire […]. Mais je l'expérimente bien encore davantage depuis que, m'étant endetté et ayant engagé ma maison et moi-même pour fournir aux dépenses nécessaires à établir Jacques et M. Maury en Virginie.[449]

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[447] Cottret, Annexe II, Fontaine's *Persécutés pour leur foi*, 262. Originally published in *Dublin Gazette*, no. 450, 9–13 August 1709.
[448] Fontaine, *Persécutés pour leur foi*, 58.
[449] Ibid.

He reinforces the degree of his 'engagement' in the family project in announcing to his children that if need be he will suffer far more for the love of his children: 'si Dieu juge à propos de me mettre à l'épreuve, j'espère que, comme j'ai souffert la prison pour ma religion, je la souffrirai aussi patiemment et sans murmure pour l'amour de mes enfants.'[450]

Although Fontaine writes his memoirs at a time of his life when he is agreeably situated in St Stephen's Green within the Huguenot community of Dublin, he is, as noted above, separated from most of his children: four have settled in Virginia, three are living in England and Wales, and only one daughter is still with him in Ireland. In this final section of my chapter, we return to the 'family function' to give an overview of the ways in which Jacques Fontaine's memoirs, written between 26 March and 8 May 1722, were received by successive generations of the (wider) family Fontaine as a memorial object to be preserved and protected, translating and publishing this exemplary narrative, making of it a useable object to be re-imagined and supplemented in both traditional and innovative ways.

The first American edition was published in 1838 as *A Tale of the Huguenots, or Memoirs of a French Refugee Family*, from a translation by Fontaine's descendant Ann Maury, the great-granddaughter of Jacques' daughter Marie-Anne and her husband Matthew Maury. In his introduction to this edition, F. L. Hawks, rector of St Thomas Church, New York, writes:

> Among the private documents, belonging to one of the most respectable families under the parochial charge of the present writer, there has long been preserved, with pious care, a manuscript autobiography of one of its ancestors, who, as a persecuted Huguenot, endured much for the sake of his faith […], which extended to several hundred pages, was written in the French language, and without any view to publication.[451]

The memoir has become over time a form of Protestant relic, as the resonant terms, pious, persecution and publication all make clear. Chappell Lougee has argued that Huguenot

[450] Ibid.
[451] F. L. Hawks, Introduction, Fontaine and Maury's *A Tale of the Huguenots* (New York: John S. Taylor, 1838), v.

memoirs that profess only to be written for the intimate family circle often had a wider audience, which is to say possible publication, in view. Kenny, too, has made the case for family literature that was intended for a broader, sometimes 'higher' audience, where dedications were often used as one family's way of communicating with another. The 1838 edition of Fontaine's memoirs is dedicated by the translator to her kin, but the introductory remarks by Hawks indicate a belief, likely shared by the family members, that the contents will benefit a much wider readership, a sentiment and hope no doubt also shared by John S. Taylor, 'Theological and Sunday School Bookseller.'

In his telling of the publication history of this volume, it was Hawks, having read the manuscript, who suggested to his parishioner Ann Maury, that he might prepare the work for print, and no doubt used his considerable influence to ensure its publication; she in turn agreed to his suggestion, on the condition that he would write an introduction to the work and vouch for its authenticity. Maury's dedication to the volume reads: 'To the two thousand descendants of the exemplary Christian whose eventful life forms the chief subject of the following pages, and who are now living in the United States of America, this work is affectionately inscribed by their kinswoman.'[452] That she may with such confidence indicate a precise number of relatives who have made their home in the United States already seems to imply the implementation of Jacques Fontaine's command that his descendants keep in close contact with each other in the diaspora.

A second English edition was published in New York in 1853 and a third in London, by the *Religious Tract Society*, in the 1870s. A French translation of that English version was published in 1877, and it was only in 1887 that the original French manuscript was finally re-discovered, and published. In his preface to this 1887 edition, P. Vesson writes: 'En passant

[452] Ibid., unpaginated.

d'une langue dans une autre, le récit perd nécessairement quelque chose de son originalité et de sa saveur. Que sera-ce lorsqu'il s'agit d'une traduction à deux degrés, c'est-à-dire faite elle-même, de seconde main, sur une traduction précédente?'[453] It became imperative to find either in England or the United States the original manuscript in order to restore 'après plus d'un siècle et demi, à la littérature du Refuge, cette page palpitante d'émotion et d'intérêt'[454] which Fontaine's text was thought to represent. One of the two original manuscripts was discovered in the possession of the Fontaine family in Virginia, and an exact copy was found in New York.[455] The 1887 edition became the first 'qui publie le texte complet et authentique des Mémoires de Fontaine dans la langue même où ils ont été originairement écrits.'[456] A warm reception by its primary audience, French Protestants, was clearly anticipated by the editors: 'Nous présentons avec confiance cet ouvrage sous sa nouvelle forme, ou plutôt sous sa forme primitive, à notre public protestant. L'accueil bienveillant qu'il a fait à la traduction nous est un garant de celui qu'il réserve au texte.'[457] Fontaine's memoirs, with those of Dumont de Bostaquet and Jean Migault, have to date received the most scholarly attention.[458]

Jacques Fontaine's original 1722 manuscript—or to be more accurate, what remains of it—is held in the Special Collections of the University of Virginia, in Box 2 of MSS 6769.[459] David Whitesell, curator of the collection, writes that the manuscript 'was badly damaged during the U.S. Civil War. We have the original binding (from which the manuscript has been removed) and (approximately) leaves 25–167 (some fragmentary).'[460] The notes that

[453] Cottret, Annexe IV, 'Préface à la première édition française (1887),' in Fontaine's *Persécutés pour leur foi*, 267.
[454] Ibid.
[455] Cottret notes: 'Dès le 10 janvier 1878, M. Baird écrivait au *Bulletin de l'histoire du protestantisme* « que la famille Fontaine, de l'Etat de Virginie, avait en sa possession le manuscrit original des Mémoires et qu'il s'en trouvait également une copie exacte à New York. »' Ibid., 268.
[456] Ibid.
[457] Ibid., 269.
[458] Chappell Lougee, 'Huguenot Memoirs,' 329.
[459] I have not been able to consult the manuscript in person; it can be accessed online as scanned images or a pdf at https:/search.lib.virginia.edu/sources/uva_library/items/u3902599.
[460] Email from David Whitesell to Nora Baker on 5 November 2021; my thanks to her for making this correspondence available to me.

accompany the manuscript point to an interesting episode in the manuscript's history, though we may never know more of the particulars. During the U.S. Civil War, the notes state, Jacques' descendant James Fontaine and his family:

> were driven from their home, 'Rock Castle' by the enemy [the Union Army]. When they returned everything was scattered and destroyed and this manuscript was missing. It was brought back by a neighbor, Mr. Quarle with this note.
>
> Headquarters Army of the Patomac [sic]
>
> 26 May 1864
>
> I have placed this book in the hands of MR. Quarles with the request that he retains it to be returned to Mr. Fontaine at some future time. [signed G. H. Mendell, Capt. U. S. Engineers]

Most striking of all is the note that suggests that, while in the hands of the Union Army, the manuscript 'was badly mutilated and 69 pages missing, a sword having gone through it.'[461] The danger and violence which haunted the life here finds itself inscribed on the manuscript itself.

The nineteenth-century editions lay particular emphasis on the exemplarity that was an already important aspect within Fontaine's own narrative framing, and which proves to be an element prominent in the work's initial reception. Hawks, capitalising on his publisher Taylor's reputation, observes that he not only found Fontaine's manuscript interesting and entertaining, but that it also contained 'many an useful lesson to be gathered from the leading events of the story [and] valuable lessons of wisdom, applicable to "the life that now is;" and it was thought that youth might here find an example worthy of its imitation.'[462] After summarising some of Fontaine's life and misfortunes, putting an accent on the family's unflagging faith, Hawks reiterates his conviction that '[t]he example of such a man is surely a lesson for youth,'[463] and

[461] Unpaginated notes headed 'Memoirs of the Rev. Jacques Fontaine,' held with the original manuscript. Also in the possession of the University of Virginia are leaves from an early nineteenth-century English translation and two early nineteenth-century manuscript transcriptions made before the manuscript was damaged, and prior to its publication in 1838. These and other partial manuscripts are held as part of MSS 6358-b and MSS 6269-a.
[462] Hawks, vi.
[463] Ibid., vii.

that it would be 'chiefly of benefit to the young, though [the book] would have interest for all.'[464]

Some family members took it upon themselves to exercise censorship over the family records and correspondence, seemingly in an effort to keep the Fontaine waters 'unsullied' and protect the reputations of some family members. Hawks notes in the introduction to the 1838 American edition, concerning Fontaine's descendants in the United States: 'Some of them have been, some now are, clergymen of worth and usefulness, some have been at the bar, some in the halls of legislation, some in important public offices, and we have yet to learn the name of that one who has disgraced himself, his ancestry, or his country.'[465] Although these words were meant as a compliment to the family and to Fontaine's legacy, based on the evidence to which we have access today we know part of the absence of knowledge of any Fontaine offspring who may have disgraced themselves was due a hidden hand, that of Ann Maury, who was careful to edit out any information about her family that may have been perceived as unflattering or unexemplary.

Several of Fontaine's seven children followed their father's example in expressing themselves in writing, something obviously encouraged by Fontaine in his writing, through phrases such as 'Je laisse à Jean le soin de faire sa propre histoire et de ce qu'il a été obligé de souffrir sous un tel colonel, et de sa maladie qu'il eut en Espagne et depuis son retour'[466] and 'Voilà un court récit de l'état de chacun de vous. J'espère que vous continuerez vos histoires particulières et les joindrez à celle-ci pour la satisfaction de vos descendants.'[467] Pierre (or Peter) Fontaine, the child his father mentions most often in his memoirs, and the one who had been taken hostage by privateers in Bearhaven, proved to be one of the most prolific

[464] Ibid., viii.
[465] Ibid., vii.
[466] Fontaine, *Persécutés pour leur foi*, 212.
[467] Ibid., 220.

contributors to the family literary record. He left behind letters, sermons, will and diaries that can still be consulted today.[468] Like his father, he became a Minister, and remained in Virginia until his death in 1757; his unfortunate lapse of integrity, linked to Manakin Town, the Huguenot settlement founded in 1700 and located on Virginia's frontier, is an affair that some of his family members—most especially his sister, Jacques Fontaine's second child, Marie Anne or Maryann (named for 'Marie, qui était le nom de ma mère, et Anne, l'un des noms de ma femme'[469])—tried to play down in her correspondence with the family. Maryann, who also settled in Virginia and remained there until her death, and married Matthew Maury, himself a member of a prominent Huguenot family, was an active and assiduous correspondent. Ressinger, herself a descendant of Fontaine,[470] and thus a further member of Fontaine family function, suggests that Maryann 'shares much of the emotional turmoil in her time'[471] through her letters, and was instrumental in keeping the correspondence flowing between her relatives, in preserving it, and in recording for later readers the details of the family's changing fortunes.

Jean (or John) Fontaine was, as the Memoirs note, the family's advance man, travelling to Virginia in 1715 and buying a plantation in King William County.[472] He was 22 at the time of his initial journey to Virginia, and kept detailed journals that were subsequently edited and annotated by Edward Porter Alexander, and published by the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation in 1972, along with an account of his military experiences in Spain.[473] Upon his arrival in Virginia, John befriended Governor Alexander Spotswood, the Virginia colony's governor, and accompanied him and a small group of men on a trip to survey the Virginia

[468] They are in the rich Special Collections Department of the University of Virginia library, which holds several Fontaine family papers as Accession 6358-b.
[469] Fontaine, *Persécutés pour leur foi*, 157.
[470] Vivien Costello, 'Researching Huguenot settlers in Ireland,' *BYU Family Historian*, vol. 6 (Fall 2007), 90.
[471] Dianne Ressinger, 'This Side of the Water: A Huguenot Family in Virginia,' *Transactions* 123 (2021), The Huguenot Society of South Carolina, 11.
[472] Fontaine, *Persécutés pour leur foi*, 216, 220.
[473] Cottret remarks in his Postface, Note 25: 'On ajoutera enfin à ces textes le récit que Jean Fontaine fournit des années 1710–1719 : *The Journal of John Fontaine*, Williamsburg (Virginia), The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1972.' Ibid., 250.

wilderness. Spotswood, the colony's political and economic architect, was chiefly responsible for attracting a large number of immigrants to the colony. Here again, the Manakin Town settlement proves to be part of the Fontaine Family story:

> John wrote elaborate descriptions of the wilds of America, the open vastness, the abundance of natural resources, and the plentiful wildlife […]. No doubt, [he] was hoping that his services to the governor as the expedition's chronicler would garner him special favors in the form of land grants. John did receive a land grant, and his account would attract Huguenot immigrants to Virginia who settled at what became the Mannakin[sic]-Town settlement.[474]

Manakin Town was also a significant location in the life, and writings, of François (or Frances), the youngest of the Fontaine brothers, who followed his siblings to Virginia, served as Minister to different sections of the Huguenot community there, and eventually became professor of Oriental Languages (Hebrew) at the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg. We will return to Manakin Town further below, in the memoir of my final memorialist, Durand de Dauphiné.

The youngest child of Jacques and Anne-Elisabeth, herself named Elizabeth, cared for her parents in Dublin until her father's death in 1728; she married Daniel Torin in London in 1729, and later retired to the home of her brothers John and Moses in Wales. Like her sister Maryann, she was an active correspondent, as the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation's Manuscript Collection as MS 68.3 (Fontaine / Maury Papers, Part I) and MS 90.5 (Fontaine / Maury Papers, Part II) attest.

Kenny notes that despite the rise of research and studies that put an accent on the collaborative efforts involved in literary production, 'attributing that producing essentially to one sole figure remains today a powerful default tendency, as it was, if in different and less

[474] 'The Fontaine Family – A Brief History,' http://www.fontainemaurysociety.com/fontainehistory.html. In another literary reference, historian Marcus Rediker in *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea: Merchant Seamen, Pirates and the Anglo-American Maritime World, 1700–1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989) used excerpts from James Fontaine's trans-oceanic voyage on *The Dove* as a narrative backdrop to describe eighteenth-century maritime life. Though John paved the way for his siblings to emigrate from Ireland to Virginia, he himself eventually settled as a gentleman farmer in Wales for the last twenty years of his life.

widespread ways, in the early modern period itself.'[475] Although the author function of the primary text in this chapter is associated most often with Jacques Fontaine, the individual named on its title page, the existence of these memoirs, from their inception to their current preserved status today, is very much due to the efforts of the family function. Haddad wrote: 'la cohésion des lignages de la haute robe parisienne nécessitait une discipline et des pratiques familiales que les successions mettaient souvent à mal.'[476] By re-formulating concepts of nobility and legacy, Fontaine eliminated some of the variables that wiped out 'lignages' of traditional nobles; by entrusting his legacy to paper in a way that instilled in his descendants a sense of their temporal and spiritual nobility and separateness, he was able to bind them together in lasting covenant. But it took the tenacity, focus, and hard work of generations of his family to ensure the continued circulation and availability of Fontaine's work.

'Convoyez, mes chers enfants, ces saints et glorieux sentiments à vos descendants, et leur laissez l'amour et la crainte de Dieu en héritage inamissible, affecté de père en fils jusqu'à la fin du monde.'[477] The best available source for information about Fontaine's family and his descendants remains the Fontaine-Maury Society, initially founded by Fontaine's children themselves; named for two branches of the family, it still thrives today. The Society's stated mission is to carry out the vision of their common ancestor 'whose dying wish was that all members of his family remain close through the ages and to aid one another in times of strife.'[478] They do this by 'honoring, respecting, and promoting the various historical and intellectual contributions which have been made by family members throughout history.'[479] This Society is, in effect, a living continuation of the trans-generational pact, signed between Fontaine's children, the eighteenth article of which gave rise to the memoirs at the heart of this

[475] Kenny, *Born to Write,* 35.
[476] Descimon et Haddad, 20.
[477] Fontaine, *Persécutés pour leur foi,* 60.
[478] Fontaine-Maury Society home page, http://www.fontainemaurysociety.com/index.html.
[479] Ibid.

chapter; they can also be seen, I suggest, as an instantiation of Kenny's family function in operation. For in his conceptualisation of the family function in literature, Kenny defines collaboration as a number of contributions, including co-authoring, continuing, editing, translating, prefacing, or finding a publisher or printer for a manuscript a family member has been preserving. Requisite to any of these tasks is a sense of the importance of writing; in this, as in all of the other domains Kenny makes mention of here, the Family Fontaine have excelled. Following the example of their ancestor Jacques, they have kept the family name alive, and preserved the lessons of the French Refugee experience for future generations of readers.

Chapter Three

Durand de Dauphiné: narratives of (un)settlement

Published anonymously in the Hague in 1687, and addressed to 'Messieurs les fidéles François qui se sont tiré [sic] de la captivité de Babilon pour suivre la verité', the *Voyages d'un François exilé pour la religion avec une description de la Virgine & Marilan dans l'Amérique* is now generally accepted as the work of one 'Durand de Dauphiné'. Gilbert Chinard, editor of the only existing scholarly edition of the text, wrote in 1932: 'L'ouvrage dont on trouvera plus loin la reproduction intégrale est aujourd'hui fort rare et n'a jamais fait l'objet d'une étude spéciale.'[480] Nearly a century later, nothing much has changed: as far as I have been able to ascertain, Durand's account still has never been the object of a study in its own right. Indeed, a key characteristic of the work seems to be its marginality, with critics largely regarding it as having little historical or literary value. It has largely served as the source of a few anecdotes and footnotes in works on Huguenot refugees and early colonial British America. Chappell Lougee, for instance, lists the *Voyages* as one of the more than fifty Huguenot refugee memoirs she has located and analysed, and Bertrand Van Ruymbeke explores aspects of its relation to colonial pamphlet writing, but otherwise Durand's text has excited little sustained academic interest.[481]

In this chapter I intend to draw Durand's *Voyages* away from the margins, footnotes, and lists, and into central focus. I will suggest that much of the text's indifferent or unfavourable critical reception is a matter of perception, an issue of what we might call 'faulty lenses'. Even

[480] Durand de Dauphiné, *Un Français en Virginie. Voyages d'un françois exilé pour la religion avec une description de la Virgine & Marilan dans l'Amérique* [1687], ed. Gilbert Chinard (Paris: Droz, 1932), 5. I will refer to this text as *Voyages*.

[481] See Chappell Lougee, 'Huguenot Memoirs,' *op. cit.*, and Bertrand Van Ruymbeke, 'Vivre au paradis? Représentations de l'Amérique dans les imprimés de propagande et les lettres de réfugiés,' *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français (1903–2015)*, 153 (Juillet–Août–Septembre 2007), 354–55.

his champions have, in an important sense, misread Durand's own rhetorical claims about his having 'jamais sçeu ce que c'est de / période ni de rétorique', since his parents had raised him as a soldier, rather than as a writer.[482] For this is in fact a text rhetorically readied for action, and indeed for battle, engaged as Durand is on the side of those who, having escaped '*la captivité de Babilon*' are working their way towards new forms of community, a renewed sense of home. The *Voyages*, seen through this lens, might be understood to be a remarkable work, replete not only with historical information, but also with literary surprises, enlightening readers as to the condition of being a 'French Refugee' in the early modern period, and also acting as a vehicle for broader, engaged discussions of political ecologies, colonial settlement, and the meaning of 'home.'

In previous chapters, we saw how Huguenot refugee accounts attempted to replace that which was lost: faced with lost documentation, Isaac Dumont de Bostaquet's memoir provided evidence of former military service that would qualify him to receive a pension in the Refuge; after a decade of enslavement on the Sun King's galleys, Jean Marteilhe drew heavily on official documentation to restore his legal identity in a narrative that acted as a sort of annotated passport chronicling his trials and adventures; Jacques Fontaine devised a contractual binding force that he hoped would keep his family (and his family's legacy) together despite the loss of physical proximity. I propose that in Durand's account as well something is lost and in need of replacement, and that the lost object here is a collective identity, tied to an inherited understanding of France itself. To turn to this narrative is therefore to continue to explore further aspects of loss and longing, threads that run through my thesis.

The generic status of this text is connected to the matter of Durand's veracity and authenticity, a question which remains unresolved: did the man who names himself within this

[482] Durand de Dauphiné, *Voyages*, 43–44.

account of a French exile really exist? This topic is one we glimpsed already in Marteilhe's account, and here, as with Marteilhe, Chinard believes Durand did exist, and indeed sees in him another simple, honest writer (a topic we glimpsed already in Marteilhe's account but on which we will expound further below) whose unostentatious text marks a key moment in cultural history:

> [Durand] nous aide à comprendre comment est née et comment s'est propagée, au dix-huitième siècle, chez les exilés huguenots, puis chez les philosophes et enfin dans le grand public, cette image d'une terre promise transatlantique, que la Providence avait comblée de ses faveurs et semblait avoir réservée pour en faire le « dernier asile de la liberté ».[483]

Van Ruymbeke, one of Durand's more attentive recent readers, both draws on the history of this debate and clarifies his assessment of the current critical position on the matter:

> A nos yeux, Durand a réellement existé. Toutes ses références au milieu réfugié londonien et à la vie quotidienne dans la Baie de Chesapeake, à l'exception d'exagérations et d'anecdotes respectivement destinées à séduire et à divertir le lecteur, correspondent à la réalité historique.[484]

Yet he warns that Durand's testimonial 'doit néanmoins être lu avec prudence, car il s'agit bel et bien d'un imprimé de propagande astucieusement déguisé en récit de voyage, lui-même à la lisière du roman.'[485] Keeping both Chinard's enthusiasm and Van Ruymbeke's prudent notes on the text's generic hybridity in mind, I propose to read this work as though Durand really existed and that his *Voyages* narrate the exemplary, complex experience of a Frenchman *exilé pour la religion*, as he both benefits from the support of English colonial establishment and comes to formulate his own dreams of home. In so doing, I also develop Chinard and Van Ruymbeke's sense that the *Voyages* (like other memoirs in my corpus) is a text that defies easy classification. Much of the account describes, as noted, Durand's experiences in British

[483] Ibid., 6.
[484] Van Ruymbeke, 'Vivre au paradis ?', 354–55.
[485] Ibid., 355. Van Ruymbeke writes, 'D'ailleurs, j'ai pu consulter l'édition de 1687 qui était reliée avec un roman !' (email from author, 9 May 2020).

Atlantic colonies and depicts his encounters with people and nature there, but it is not 'just' a New World adventure: it is about resettlement, about conflicting sentiments, and is essentially a tract or pamphlet intended for fellow French Protestants. In the style of other Huguenot refugee memorialists, Durand describes the circumstances of his departure from his homeland and his journey to the Refuge; he includes a catalogue of material, emotional, even conceptual losses that he and his family endured as a consequence of the Revocation; he uses vivid emotional as well as biblical language to describe his losses, and employs storytelling in which he features as a protagonist, a device that not only fits him with agency to fashion himself as he pleases but is also calculated to appeal to the compassion of his readers and move them to action.

The account begins with a familiar Huguenot story: the titular *exilé* must leave his home in France precipitously on 18 October 1685, as the king's dragoons invade the area, turning French Protestants out of their houses before looting and burning what remains. A middle-aged gentleman with land both in his native Dauphiné and in Provence, Durand had given considerably more thought to flight than had many of his co-religionists and was rather more prepared for the emergency, during the 'dragonnades' (forced conversions of Protestants) that accompanied the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. On his departure from France, Durand's purse contained seemingly adequate funds to sustain him in his travels, and he had sufficient time to assemble a portion of his household goods to take with him.

The presence of these funds and the stress on preparedness for the future signals the existence of other significant deviations from the subgenre of Huguenot refugee memoirs in these *Voyages*. The narrative is divided into fifteen sections: the first contains the dedicatory address to 'Messieurs les fidéles François' already noted, and Durand's introduction to his narrative; nine 'voyages' sections detail his travels by land, sea, and river; in the middle of these sections are four brief descriptive segments covering various aspects of nature and

colonial life in Virginia, Carolina, and Maryland; the final chapter consists of a French translation of one of Durand's landholding friend's terms and proposal to Huguenot refugees, an appendage common to contemporary promotional literature. Durand himself refers to the work as 'ce petit traité'[486] and makes no secret of his object: he offers this rare eyewitness account of not only escape from France, but also of the conditions and peoples of colonial Maryland and Virginia, the better to inform fellow refugees of the truth concerning opportunities for future settlement in these colonies, and the potential for returns on their investment of time, effort, and faith. Durand's depiction of his own shifting identity—from refugee through to potential settler—relates, of course, to a much larger set of debates in French writing on America, and his text, with its peculiar insider's perspective, both imitates and prefigures textual conversations about what would eventually become known as the American Dream.

Like many of his co-religionists, having fled France, this 'exilé' seeks new places in which to settle, but unlike many Huguenot refugee memoirs, which seem to be principally concerned with looking backwards, and remain fixed as narratives of lament and loss, Durand's work looks to the future with astonishing optimism about its possibilities. This is, or appears to be, a text committed to advertising the merits and profits to be had from settlement in the Americas. There are, clearly, points of both commonality and difference here with the other memoirs I have explored thus far in this thesis. Yet what makes Durand's distinctive is its combination of apparently differing impulses—loss and hope, longing and belonging—into one complex dream. For the optimistic American Dream which Durand paints for others is in the end not the one he chooses for himself: this is a collective, rather than an individual or even family memoir, and the idea Durand holds on to is the Huguenot dream not of settlement, or

[486] Durand de Dauphiné, *Voyages*, 46 and 133.

assimilation, but of return: a return to a France in which Protestants might one day live and worship according to their conscience.

Durand's travels in British America lasted from 22 September 1686 until 15 March 1687, approximately six months. During his visit to Virginia, he is introduced to several local leading figures, including the governor, Lord Howard of Effingham, and Ralph Wormeley II, son of a former governor, who owns great tracts of land on the Rappahannock River. This brief time proves instrumental to the reframing of Durand's dream and to the formulation within his narrative of his views and identity as a French Huguenot refugee. He greatly admires Wormeley's plantation home, Rosegill, and it is near Rosegill that Durand encounters, among other things, a 'village des Sauvages', and so reflects on the original inhabitants of this place; he also remarks, frequently, on the presence of servants and enslaved people in the colonial structure. In a study of a Wormeley descendant, Jonathan Poston notes this fact in his brief reference to Durand, remarking that '[a] visiting Huguenot refugee, Durand de Dauphine, has left the best account of Ralph Wormeley II'[487] and that Durand 'found that Wormeley lived in a grand style, owning twenty-six negro slaves and twenty Christian servants.'[488] Poston further remarks: 'He disapproved, however, of the social activities at Rosegill, including the gambling parties which lasted all night and the very strong Portuguese wines that were served.'[489] This disapproval might be attributed to a strict Calvinist upbringing—George Hoffmann, for example, has noted how 'French reformers in Geneva had outlawed dancing, made rules about how one could name children, and censured colorful clothing, low necklines, and fancy hats

[487] Jonathan Poston, 'Ralph Wormeley V of Rosegill: A deposed Virginia aristocrat, 1774–1781' (Master's diss., College of William and Mary, 1979), 5. https://dx.doi.org/doi:10.21220/s2-ff3v-tq28.
[488] Durand makes several references to Indigenous populations, and seems keenly aware of the enslaved Africans everywhere he goes, noting their condition and their 'value' in the eyes of the English colonials and colonial laws. I am not aware of any other study on Durand that has focused on these remarks; this would therefore be an area of great potential for exploring the recorded views of a French Huguenot on the conditions of enslaved or indentured people (Africans and Europeans) in Virginia.
[489] Poston, 5. On Virginians' habits, Chinard notes: 'Nous sommes dans une Amérique bien différente de la Nouvelle-Angleterre et les colons du Sud n'avaient rien de l'affectation puritaine de leurs cousins du Nord.' Durand de Dauphiné, *Voyages*, 22.

[…], shut down taverns, banned card games, and canceled festivals'[490]—were it not that Durand describes himself in his youth as having been a *bon viveur*, with a taste for women and good wine. His disapproval of the English colonial practices he witnesses may, rather, be grounded in disappointment: he has at this stage not yet reached French Carolina, each attempt having been thwarted, and his longing grows more intense to be among people who speak his language and share his French customs and tastes. Although appreciative of his English hosts, he desires to be with his own countrymen, his own community.

Durand's *Voyages* can usefully be seen, and indeed has been seen, as I will show in the initial sections of this chapter, as both a kind of adventure story and a corrective, at times critical response to the early modern English settlement narrative of conquest and empire-building in the Americas.[491] In particular, his work connects with the type of writing identified as 'American Georgic' with its emphasis on the settlement opportunities offered by the 'working landscape', as opposed to landscapes that are pleasant to the eye but otherwise unproductive.[492] Toward the conclusion of his narrative, as he returns on his 'dernier voyage' from the Americas to Europe, he finds that during his thirteen months absence, the number of 'François Réfugiés' has increased more than twenty fold; rather than finding this distressing, he considers this a 'grande consolation', in that it suggests that the Huguenot community in exile is growing ever stronger.[493] It is with the support of English colonists, and in favour of his French co-religionists that he has published his 'Petite relation', in hopes of promoting 'leur établissement / dans le plus beau & le meilleur pais que j'aie encore vu'. But as Durand both builds on and writes a corrective to this settler narrative, he comes to the growing realisation that ultimately it is

[490] Hoffmann, *Reforming French Culture*, 2. Hoffmann expresses a preference for the term 'reformers' rather than 'Huguenots' to describe French Protestants, citing the latter term's 'uncertain origin and vexed application,' xiii.
[491] Americanists generally prefer the term 'Americas' to 'New World' but I shall use these terms interchangeably in my study.
[492] See, for example, Timothy Sweet, *American Georgics: Economy and Environment in American Literature, 1580–1864* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002).
[493] Durand de Dauphiné, *Voyages*, 135

France that needs reconquering and resettlement. I contend that Durand's attempt to fit in with English promotional writing is ghosted by a more pointed account directed at his fellow French 'Messieurs les fidéles', arguing that the settler energy of his fellow Huguenots should be redirected to their homeland.

As the chapter progresses, I will argue that an examination of the genres and figures in play in Durand's account is incomplete without reference to the writer's sense of his own complex identity as both a pilgrim in strange lands, and an exile, nourishing the idea of some kind of return to a lost home. For this is a memoir with a *double destinataire*, in which Durand takes on the role of the 'French Refugee' for the Virginia-based English landholders who have commissioned his pamphlet, but also for his fellow Huguenots, both those willing to settle in this British colony and those weary of travel to new and unfamiliar places; these are Durand's at once exhausted and hopeful fellow exiles, who are encouraged to focus their hopes on returning to France and reclaiming what they feel is rightfully theirs, even if it means displacing and so *un*settling those who have in the meanwhile claimed the Huguenots' lands and houses as their own.

Part I. Critical reception: values and perception

The earliest extant written opinion concerning Durand's literary effort emerges in correspondence between two of his English landholding patrons. In a letter dated 1 June 1688, William Fitzhugh writes to his friend Nicholas Hayward, whose proposal Durand had appended, in translation, to his work:

> I thank your kindness in Mr. Durand's book, and must agree with you as well as I can understand it, that its a most weak unpolite piece, having neither the Rules of History

> nor method of description & taking it only as a private Gentleman's Journal, 'tis as barren and defective there too.[494]

This exchange reveals that Durand's published account clearly failed to live up to the landowners' expectations, and in so doing inaugurates its long history of disappointed readers; but why was it such a disappointment to Durand's patrons?

One must first question how much of Durand's work the Englishmen actually comprehended, as Fitzhugh's 'as well as I can understand it' implies. During Durand's time in Virginia, he found it necessary to avail himself of the services of an interpreter, for he spoke little English and very few people he encountered—not even the Virginian landholders—appear to have spoken or understood much French. The only French speakers he met were a few scattered Huguenots already settled there and the mysterious Monsieur Ysné, to whom we return below. Despite the highly probable language barrier, Hayward and Fitzhugh nonetheless felt able to pronounce judgement on Durand's narrative, finding it wanting, and this mainly on the grounds of not measuring up either to the 'Rules of History', or to the 'method of description.' Fitzhugh clearly has other more accomplished published texts in the prospect literature field in mind, and this falls short; it was not even good enough according to the lower, less polished generic standards of the 'private Gentleman's Journal.'

This language of rules and methods calls to mind the thinking prevalent in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by which, as Joan-Pau Rubiés phrases it, 'a new intellectual elite sought to teach Europeans how to see the world.'[495] During this period, travel literature became increasingly governed by rules designed to capture and catalogue systematically the discoveries of explorers and travellers in an effort to expand Europe's general knowledge base. According to the rationale of the time, '[t]ravellers should be interviewed by men prepared to ask the right

[494] From the correspondence of William Fitzhugh published in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 2 (January 1895), 270. Original spellings are retained in quotations throughout.
[495] Joan-Pau Rubiés, 'Instructions for travellers: Teaching the eye to see,' *History and Anthropology*, 9.2–3 (1996), 140.

questions and to help in the writing of proper histories.'[496] The prescribed pattern for travel narratives of this kind can be seen in the following description of *Historical relation of the island of Ceylon*, a joint effort between Robert Knox, a sailor for the East India Company, and his interviewer Robert Hooke, secretary of the Royal Society of London for Improving Natural Knowledge:

> First came a physical and human geography of the island with notes on the economy, flora, fauna, and also a pathbreaking map of the interior of the island. Then followed a description of the king, his government and the history of his rule, including a rebellion. A third part included a wide-ranging description of the people, again illustrated with pictures, and including their 'humours and qualities', social groups, religious beliefs and practices, everyday life, language, laws, and almost every stage from birth to death. Knox concluded with an account of his personal journey and its various circumstances.[497]

Although the temptation might be to consider this an extreme example of seventeenth-century travel writing due to Hooke's scientific training and interests, Rubiés states that despite variations in the genre, 'Knox's relation could be seen to represent a consensus about the analytical categories that such a genre was supposed to cover.'[498] The landholders' criticism of Durand's work echoes this vocabulary of 'right questions' and 'proper histories'; furthermore, Fitzhugh's terms 'barren and defective' not only recall contemporary ideas concerning in / fertile land, but also, in a common set of metaphorical moves, express concerns over the proper management, or 'husbandry' of women, and 'sauvage' / wild and im / pure peoples.

In this respect it also overlaps significantly with the language of purity, contagion, and purgation which Nicholas Terpstra has demonstrated was a language of persecution across this period: 'a recurring vocabulary of responses to perceived threats,'[499] uttered by official institutions such as church and state and used to put barriers around certain people, such as refugees, to separate them from the 'pure' and reduce the possibility of (literal or figural)

[496] Ibid., 139.
[497] Ibid., 140.
[498] Ibid.
[499] Terpstra, 13.

contamination. Terpstra, in re-contextualising and re-dating the Reformation, includes not only the Jews expelled from Spain in the early 1490s (at the same time as the 'discovery' of the New World) but widens the focus to include 'the refugee, the exile, the forcibly enclosed.'[500] New margins created new outcasts: 'As societies composed clearer definitions of what was good and normal and holy, they had to decide what to do with those who were now defined as bad and deviant and unholy.'[501] We see echoes of this not only in early settlement narratives, but also in Durand's own writing, particularly the passages describing Virginia's Indigenous people and enslaved Africans, to which we return below. It is only speculation, but it may be that the attention Durand pays to the conditions of existence of those whom the landowners have dispossessed is one of the reasons his text strikes them as 'unpolite.'

When viewed through the lens of early modern travel writing and prospect literature, regulated by rules and standards, Durand's little pamphlet, making as it does only passing references to any of the prescribed categories, falls woefully short in the eyes of the English landholders, those earliest known critical readers of the *Voyages*. But were they justified in using the 'Rules of History', the 'method of description', and the conventions governing 'a private Gentleman's Journal' as their standard of measurement? Chinard, as we will see, thinks not: he deems the landholders' comments unfair, and argues that Durand's text was in fact remarkably well suited to its target audience—not primarily English Gentlemen, but rather, French Refugees.

Chinard, writing at the second pivotal moment of reception, works with a different set of coordinates, arising from within a different critical debate. Writing at the point at which the francophone scholarly tradition is commenting travel narratives both actual and fictional, he is at pains to correct a misinterpretation on the part of English readers. He states: 'Fitzhugh avait

[500] Ibid., 8.
[501] Ibid.

mauvaise grâce à se plaindre: incomplet et imparfait comme ouvrage historique, la relation de Durand était, en réalité, admirablement faite pour attirer l'attention des réfugiés français vers la Virginie.'[502] In the long and rich introduction which prefaces his edition of *Voyages,* Chinard argues that neither Hayward and Fitzhugh nor other English readers were the intended audience for the pamphlet. This was not an English text meant for an English readership: the intended audience was 'les réfugiés français', and if one looks at it through that lens, says Chinard, it was admirably done. It was 'avant tout un livre de propagande et de publicité et c'est à ce titre qu'il faut le juger.'[503] This clarification on Chinard's part of the intended *destinataire* is also then a clarification as to the text's genre and literary value. Chinard stresses that Durand is an honest writer and that his account is a simple and sincere one: 'Durand était trop honnête pour vouloir tromper ses coreligionnaires de propos délibéré.'[504] His *Voyages*, according to this reading, is a 'récit sans apprêt et sans littérature,'[505] in which Durand, having landed in Virginia with 'aucune idée préconçue'[506] could consequently observe everything around him 'avec des yeux tout neufs.'[507] A variant on the foundational figure of 'l'homme simple' which underscores Montaigne's 'des Cannibales', Durand had composed 'un récit naïf de ses infortunes […] n'ayant aucune prétention littéraire […], un tableau des plus pittoresques et des plus vivants de la vie d'une colonie anglaise à la fin du dix-septième siècle.'[508] The key terms here are 'naïf', 'pittoresques' and 'vivants': Chinard does not claim that the work is of great literary value, and in this respect shares Hayward and Fitzhugh's assessment of the stylistic qualities of Durand's writing. But it is precisely these features that guarantee its charm and uniqueness. Chinard acknowledges that the *Voyages* is incomplete and that Durand's style is

[502] Durand de Dauphiné, *Voyages*, 30.
[503] Ibid.
[504] Ibid.
[505] Ibid., 5.
[506] Ibid., 19.
[507] Ibid.
[508] Ibid., 5–6.

'gauche et schématique'[509] at times; but it is the marked absence of what Chinard calls 'littérature' that guarantees the key value of truthful witness to a fresh New World:

> Durand a pu se tromper en quelques points, voir et décrire les choses plus belles qu'elles n'étaient, mais il reste le seul Français, et nous pouvons ajouter le seul auteur du dix-septième siècle, qui ait connu et qui ait peint d'après nature, avec un dessin maladroit de primitif et des couleurs peu variées, un tableau naïf et séduisant de cette ancienne vie coloniale dont le charme flotte encore autour des manoirs somptueux bâtis par les grands « propriétaires », au milieu des solitudes américaines et dans les clairières des forêts primitives.[510]

The terms in which this praise of Durand's writing and of the 'charme' of 'cette ancienne vie coloniale' is expressed might themselves seem to the modern reader either 'naïfs' or 'maladroits'; or both. The French-born Chinard himself spent most of his career in the United States writing prolifically on cross-cultural perceptions, particularly between the French and Americans; in other words, he shares the investment in the notion of the *double-destinataire*: he writes both for a French audience and the anglophone settler society. Indeed, though this is not the place to explore this further, his edition, beginning with the frontispiece photo and supplemented by fulsome thanks to key Virginians who aided his research is clearly partly motivated by a nostalgia for the life of the southern 'grand propriétaire', a dream still much alive at Chinard's time of writing. But his words, in their measuring of the distance, and the difference, between this 'simple' account from such markedly 'literary' forms of travel writing as romance, and the emergent novel, also characterise a particular and defining moment in the history of not only the reception of Durand's text, but of travel writing in French more broadly. It is a moment we might summarise as one in which 'weak and unpolite' is translated as 'naïf et séduisant.'

If the collaboration that resulted in this pamphlet of Durand's was the convergence of three separate dreams, so too the later reception of the text embodies a long history of at once

[509] Ibid., 25.
[510] Ibid., 36.

transnational and colonial dreaming in French literature and American society. This history Chinard and his contemporary Geoffroy Atkinson did much to uncover and it is to their constituent texts we owe much greater access to these accounts. Both of these key figures in the editorial history of travel writing were French scholars working in America; both, in their different ways, wrote about New World travel narratives and brought to collective scholarly attention the interplay between fiction and real journeys in such accounts. Focusing, for his part, on more overtly fictional texts, Atkinson exploits the traditional language of borrowing and sources to describe the relation between these different kinds of writing: 'L'élément réaliste de tous les *Voyages Extraordinaires* publiés en France avant 1720 a été emprunté aux récits de voyages réels. Pour faire accepter comme véritables leurs voyages imaginaires, les auteurs de ces romans exotiques ont dû puiser des détails circonstanciés dans des relations déjà parues.'[511] Both scholars develop this theme to trace the key philosophical ideas of the eighteenth century, such as Rousseau's noble savage, back to their origins in the travel accounts of early explorers. Chinard explains that 'les premiers récits de voyages, avec leur enthousiasme naïf pour les sauvages, leur admiration pour la vie simple et libre de ces peuplades du Nouveau Monde qui vivaient sans prêtres, sans lois et sans rois, et qui surtout ne connaissaient « ni tien ni mien », semblaient déjà annoncer les théories les plus hardies de Rousseau.'[512] Noting Chinard's contribution to the field with his trailblazing 1911 work *L'Exotisme américain dans la littérature au XVI^e^ siècle*, Atkinson further reflects on the distinct roots of philosophical thinking on the New World he has uncovered in his own research: 'L'influence de la littérature exotique sur les philosophes rationalistes du XVII^e^ siècle est, en effet, assez frappante.'[513] Around the time of the discovery that the earth was not the centre of the universe, the horizons

[511] Geoffroy Atkinson, *Les relations de voyages du XVII^e^ siècle et l'évolution des idées* (Paris: Champion, 1924), 2.
[512] Gilbert Chinard, *L'Amérique et le rêve exotique dans la littérature française au XVII^e^ et au XVIII^e^ siècle* (Paris: Droz, 1934), v.
[513] Atkinson, *Les relations de voyages*, 19.

for exploration appeared limitless; travel increased, as did voyagers' accounts of their discoveries: 'L'idée d'un univers terrestre, ne comprenant que l'Europe, les bords de la Méditerranée et un vague au-delà, s'altéra au cours de cette époque,' writes Atkinson. 'Et, chez les lettrés tout au moins, cet univers borné et, pour ainsi dire, « intime » fut remplacé, dans l'espace d'un siècle et demi, par l'univers relativement immense que nous nous figurons aujourd'hui.'[514] Much of Atkinson's work deals with this concept of 'nouveaux horizons' and the openness of spirit felt by the French in this time period.

Chinard, for his part, was perhaps a little more cautious, or at least less programmatically oriented toward seeing the texts of the past primarily in relation to the categories of present than Atkinson. 'Dans l'état actuel de la science,' he notes in the introduction to *L'Amérique et le rêve exotique dans la littérature française au XVII^e^ et au XVIII^e^ siècle*, 'ce livre ne saurait être ni complet ni définitif. Le moment n'est pas encore venu où l'on pourra déterminer avec précision l'influence que la découverte de l'univers physique a exercée sur la pensée du XVII^e^ et du XVIII^e^ siècle.'[515] An important hindrance to establishing such links with greater confidence was that the written accounts of early French explorers were at the time largely unstudied and unknown: 'Il faudrait tout d'abord que notre histoire coloniale fût mieux connue, que les écrits de nos marins, colons et missionnaires aient été étudiés et édités avec soin, ou, tout au moins, que nous ayons de bonnes bibliographies, ce qui n'est pas.'[516] In the context of our discussion on settlement and colonisation, Chinard's repeated use of the possessive 'notre / nos / nous' deserves some attention. In the first instance, it stands out starkly against the talk of Indigenous cultures governed by phrases such as 'ni tien ni mien', mentioned in relation to the Native Americans' seemingly Edenic ideas of occupation and tending of the land. Chinard's possessive 'nous' and 'nos' refer to the hitherto unexplored

[514] Ibid., ix.
[515] Chinard, *L'Amérique et le rêve exotique*, vi.
[516] Ibid.

territory of 'French' New World writing and a wish to uncover French writers and travellers' contribution to the enduring dream of settler culture to which I alluded earlier. Yet it also serves to illustrate the point made by many recent scholars, including Peter Mancall in *Nature and Culture in the Early Modern Atlantic*, that 'despite the obvious presence of complex cultures in the Western Hemisphere, Europeans remained convinced that they had a legitimate claim to Americans' land.'[517]

Accepting the archival challenge to explore the textual terrain, Atkinson took upon himself the colossal task of compiling the bibliographies Chinard had called for, in such works as *La Littérature géographique française de la Renaissance* and *Les Nouveaux horizons de la Renaissance française*. Drawing on this foundational work, a wide range of recent scholars have added their own interpretations to the imitative, imaginative, and confessional traditions operative in this 'littérature de voyages'. Among these, Paolo Carile makes two important points that help put Durand's narrative in contexts that will prove central to our new reading of this text. The first relates specifically to the role of French Huguenots in the history of travel narrative, as Carile explains his own particular interest in the Huguenots in the following terms:

> [U]ne partie importante de la littérature française de voyages de cette époque s'inscrit dans la mouvance réformée […]. [L]es témoignages de ces hommes nous renseignent sur le rôle des huguenots français dans l'expansion coloniale européenne au-delà des océans ainsi que sur les relations entre le calvinisme et certaines utopies politiques et religieuses.[518]

One might assume he is making reference here to the Protestant 'greats' such as the adventurer Jean de Léry, whose work has in the past few decades become central to discussion of early modern French writing, thanks in large part to the work of Frank Lestringant.[519] But

[517] Peter Mancall, *Nature and Culture in the Early Modern Atlantic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018), 74.
[518] Paolo Carile, « Avant-propos », in 'Huguenots sans frontières. Voyage et écriture à la Renaissance et à l'Âge classique,' *Bulletin de l'Association d'étude sur l'humanisme, la réforme et la renaissance*, no. 55 (2002), I.
[519] Frank Lestringant, *Jean de Léry, ou, L'invention du sauvage : essai sur l'Histoire d'un voyage faict en la terre du Brésil* (Paris: H. Champion, 2e éd. rev. et augm., 2005). Several other works by Lestringant are pertinent to our study, including *André Thevet : cosmographe des derniers Valois* (Genève: Librairie Droz, 1991) and *Le huguenot*

in fact Carile highlights not only (now) well-known accounts like that of Léry, but also the accounts of non-canonical French Protestant travel writers such as Charles de Rochefort, a pastor who writes a history of the Antilles, and Henri Duquesne, an officer who envisioned an 'île d'Éden', a Protestant republic, on the island known today as Réunion. In terms which extend and complicate the long critical history of the relation between real and imaginary voyages of the early modern period, Carile praises the book Duquesne wrote about île d'Éden's failure, published a dozen years before Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, as 'le plus beau « roman véritable » de l'île déserte de la littérature française.'[520]

Carile's claim underscores his second key argument, which is that from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment, 'la littérature française de voyages est la source à laquelle puiseront le roman utopique, le roman d'aventures, l'essai ethnographique, et dans quelques cas, même le poème épique et le théâtre.'[521] Once again the 'real' journey is distinguished from the more prized and complex later texts, which proliferate in different genres across the wide range of literary forms. What Fitzhugh considered 'weak, unpolite, and barren' matter undergoes further transformation, as Chinard's 'source' undergoes further transvaluation as the remarkably rich soil which generated an abundance of literary fruit.

In his edition of Durand's *Voyages*, Chinard had also issued a further call: 'Il y aurait une étude des plus curieuses à faire sur la littérature de l'émigration huguenote et sur la propagande entreprise pour décider les réfugiés à quitter l'Europe pour aller s'établir par delà les mers.'[522] While Atkinson was quick to respond to the call to produce bibliographies charting the new horizons, this other 'défi' waited longer before being taken up by recent historians, most notably Van Ruymbeke and Owen Stanwood. The result is that we now know

et le sauvage : L'Amérique et la controverse coloniale en France, au temps des guerres de religion (1555-1589) (Genève : Droz, 3e éd. rev. et augm., 2004).
[520] Carile, II.
[521] Ibid., I.
[522] Durand de Dauphiné, *Voyages*, 13.

considerably more about this genre than Chinard did when he edited the *Voyages*, and it is clear that Durand was responding to the genres of settlement literature in ways that Chinard could only glimpse. Van Ruymbeke's work allows us to see the fierceness of the competition in such works, during the late seventeenth century, to recruit North American settlers: 'en cette fin de siècle la concurrence est vive non seulement entre les propriétaires de colonies mais aussi entre ces derniers et des riches propriétaires terriens, notamment en Virginie, qui souhaitent également recruter des huguenots.'[523]

We do not need to believe that all the refugees had read, like Durand himself, the pamphlets advertising English colonial settlements, but it is clear that many of those who made the journey had heard tell of English and French colonies before leaving Europe.[524] From his own account, it is clear that Durand was already familiar with these pamphlets before stepping foot in Virginia.

Concerning the format of the Carolina tracts in particular, interesting to our study as Durand aims his counter-propaganda specifically at them, Van Ruymbeke writes:

> Ces imprimés de propagande sont d'une grande diversité. Les plus courts, appelés en anglais *broadsides*, présentent la colonie en quelques pages. Plus fréquents sont les récits ou relations, tels que la *Relation de la Caroline par un Gentilhomme François* (La Haye, 1686), qui sont assez longs, entre 30 et 40 pages et le plus souvent écrits de seconde main par un agent des propriétaires qui n'est jamais allé en Amérique. Dans la même catégorie nous trouvons les descriptions ou *accounts* telle que la *Description de la Carolline près de la Floride*, publiée à Genève en 1684, qui est une traduction de *An Account of the Province of Carolina in America*. Les recueils de lettres, véritables morceaux choisis, sont également très en vogue car ils donnent un caractère authentique à la propagande.[525]

These *imprimés*, following the generic 'rules' explained by Rubiés, often took the form of questions and answers most prominent in the minds of prospective emigrants: 'Beaucoup de

[523] Van Ruymbeke, 'Vivre au paradis ?', 353.
[524] See, for more on this, Bertrand Van Ruymbeke, *From New Babylon to Eden*: *The Huguenots and their Migration to Colonial South Carolina* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2006), 42.
[525] Van Ruymbeke, 'Vivre au paradis ?', 349.

questions, en effet, touchent, d'une manière très pragmatique, à la fertilité de la terre, à la douceur du climat, au prix du passage atlantique, à la présence de villes, aux métiers les plus nécessaires etc.'[526] Durand, however, does not follow this pattern to the letter. He begins with an escape account (we have already alluded to his reasons for doing so), then narrates his travel adventures in colourful detail, before finally getting down to the business of describing the land, at times correcting the details of others' accounts, before offering an argument as to why his fellow refugees should in fact eschew Carolina for Virginia. He does include a document, but it is not a charter for colonisation in Carolina; rather, it is a proposal by the landowner Hayward, detailing the (most glowing possible) terms of settlement for the French Refugees within the English colony of Virginia.

In summarising the form and the function of these colonial pamphlets, Van Ruymbeke makes the following remarks: 'Outre leur relative rareté, la similitude, à la fois de forme et de contenu, que l'on note entre ces documents, qui pourtant présentent deux Amériques, l'une rêvée voire fantasmée, l'autre vécue, a priori opposées, les rend fascinants à étudier.'[527] The language of dreaming finds its way into the critical discourse, and we will see emerge a 'mirage américain' that morphs into the image of two distinct Americas: the one lived in real time, the other 'rêvée voire fantasmée'. These two Americas underlie the literature of the post-Revocation Huguenot migration from France, and are central to the *Voyages* of Durand.

We have now noted how, viewed through Hayward and Fitzhugh's lens of rules and methods, Durand's account was a 'most weak unpolite piece' that fell short of expectations; in opposition to such a view, Chinard pointed out that these English landowners were not the intended audience for the piece and that it was, as Van Ruymbeke and others have since also argued, a narrative remarkably suited as a tool to persuade French Huguenots to settle in

[526] Ibid., 349.
[527] Ibid., 347.

Virginia. It has also been demonstrated that the ways in which the *Voyages* may—and may not—be considered both colonial propaganda and Huguenot refugee memoir determine its value within a critical tradition which runs from Chinard through to more recent scholars such as Carile, Van Ruymbeke and Stanwood (to whom we turn in a moment), all of whom also prize the degree to which this text is both unique in its form, and entertaining in the manner of its writing. Building on these previous critical moments in the life of Durand's text, we will now explore how Durand makes his own sense of the tropes and modes of two dominant forms of travel writing in his time—prospect literature and romance—demonstrating as he does so an awareness of a set of inherited narrative and generic traditions, while choosing at times to deviate from these norms, so as to bear his own distinctive form of witness, and to offer his own compelling account of the 'French refugee' experience.

Part II. 'stéréotypée et plagiée' / 'à la lisière du roman': prospect literature and romance

Susan Scott Parrish, in *American Curiosity: Cultures of Natural History in the Colonial British Atlantic World*, writes: 'In English culture, the promotional tradition began with England's voyages to the southern mainland coast of North America in the 1580s. Almost a hundred years behind Spain in laying claim to and making profit from New World territories, English promoters needed to quicken their countrymen's desire for westward plantation.'[528] English readers of pamphlets, broadsides, and other printed materials about the colonies expected to find certain tropes used both to describe the natural features of the New World and its Indigenous populations as well as to celebrate imperial projects promoting the production of goods scarce or unavailable in England. Several of these motifs merit closer attention in light of our analysis of Durand's narrative since, as will be shown in the first part of this section, his

[528] Susan Scott Parrish, *American Curiosity: Cultures of Natural History in the Colonial British Atlantic World* (Chapel Hill, NC: OIEAHC/UNCP, 2006), 27.

account is both a product and an example of this type of literature, drawing on and consolidating the tropes of colonial settlement.

Chinard and Van Ruymbeke both celebrated the uniqueness of Durand's account compared to those of his contemporaries; part of that uniqueness is its value as an entertaining narrative, not lessened by the mystery surrounding both text and author. Van Ruymbeke points to this mystery as a factor that contributes to its appeal: 'Au-delà de sa valeur comme document et comme témoignage de première main, le mystère qui entoure son auteur et son côté roman picaresque en font un texte fascinant.'[529] In the second part of this section we will develop this sense of mystery, by exploring how Durand reworks a number of the key tropes of romance—subterfuge and disguise—in the course of narrating his escape from France, his travels in Italy, and eventful journey from England to the New World.

Agriculture clearly constituted an important part of Durand's own initial settlement dream. He had set out for America with an idea of emigrating to the colony known at the time as 'Carolina' to live within an established Huguenot community, cultivate mulberry bushes and produce silk. Yet when he finally arrived in North America in September 1686, after nearly a year of digressive adventures by land and sea, he had suffered additional hardships and losses that left him completely destitute, a refugee on an unfamiliar Virginian shore among people whose languages and dialects he neither spoke nor understood. His initial dream of settlement in Carolina was dead, along with many of the companions who had sailed with him and were to have assisted him in his new life. Faced with these further losses, Durand had to constitute for himself another dream, another way of sustaining himself in this new land. One of the key aspects of Durand's *Voyages*, then, is the metamorphosis of his American dream, pitting surprise, interruption, and error against the resilient, creative character of the French Refugee.

[529] Van Ruymbeke, 'Vivre au paradis ?', 354.

i. Scarcity and abundance: Durand's New World prospects

Despite great diversity of format, the writing which falls within the field of prospect and settlement literature is largely (in Van Ruymbeke's words) 'stéréotypée et plagiée', and greatly reminiscent of the structure laid out by Knox in his instructions for travellers: 'Les auteurs commencent généralement par une présentation géographique et topographique de la colonie, puis décrivent son économie, sa population, sa vie religieuse et son système politique, parfois avec un extrait de la charte de colonisation qui garantit la légitimité du projet.'[530] Many of the early colonists' schemes concerning Virginia revolved around tobacco, its chief crop, but viticulture and sericulture were other important agricultural trades often mentioned in British writing about America, and interest in these areas grew exponentially as Huguenot refugees came flooding into England after the Revocation. There was an assumption, which leaders in the French Protestant diasporic community did little to correct, that Huguenots, because they were French, were knowledgeable not only in the art of planting and cultivating the mulberry bushes necessary to silk making, but also vineyards and wine-making. Stanwood remarks that foreign observers had always been keen to note in reports home how the vines grew abundantly and wildly in the New World: 'There was hardly a European in North America who did not notice the grapes.'[531] Consequently, many hopes were built on the belief that if one could import settlers skilled in cultivating land, raising vines, tending grapes, and making wine, the economic harvest would be plentiful.

In such a context, it is no surprise that when Durand arrived in Virginia and was introduced to several notable landholders, they were keen to show him their vast properties, 'wining and dining' him to such an extent that Durand's text is known among some scholars

[530] Ibid., 350.
[531] Owen Stanwood, 'Imperial Vineyards: Wine and Politics in the Early American South,' in *Experiencing Empire: Power, People, and Revolution in Early America*, ed. P. Griffin (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2017), 51.

primarily as a first-hand account of Virginian sociability and drinking habits.[532] His hosts eagerly attended to his frequent exclamations about the beauty and fertility of the landscape, and with good reason: this language of terrain as both aesthetically pleasing to settlers and useful to economic profit had dominated colonisation rhetoric, as Timothy Sweet has shown, since promotional tracts first emerged as a genre in the sixteenth century.[533] Before they had finished making their rounds, Durand's hosts had commissioned him to write a prospectus addressed to his co-religionists that would include the generous terms the Virginia landholders were prepared to offer any Huguenots willing to brave the transatlantic journey and settle on 'their' lands. The origins of Durand's *Voyages* thus lay in a commission by the English for the French; it was, from his patrons' perspective, meant as a tract written by a French Huguenot refugee to attract those like him to Virginia.

Losses and gains; scarcity and abundance: these were common motifs in the prospect literature of Durand's time. In his ground-breaking study, *No Wood, No Kingdom: Political Ecology in the English Atlantic*, Keith Pluymers explores how the issue of wood scarcity, 'a consistent concern in early modern Europe', supported theories which helped advance political ecologies and fuel imperial conquests.[534] Agricultural writer Arthur Standish, whose pithy saying 'No wood, no kingdom' Pluymers borrows for his title, believed that wood shortages would bring down England's material, social, economic, and political order. Pluymers leans on Standish's rhetoric as a framework for examining the writings of other propagandists and

[532] Chinard writes that the 'petits tableaux de la vie coloniale qui abondent dans la relation de Durand devrait suffire à lui assurer une place à part parmi les annalistes de la « vieille Virginie »,' *Voyages*, 23. Chinard further notes that contemporary *livres de raison* confirm the exactitude of Durand's descriptions, yet adds concerning one episode in particular: 'Mais quelle sèche énumération des quantités de boisson et de « viandes » pourraient produire une impression si vive que ce récit de deux pages, dans lesquelles le sobre Provençal dissimule mal son étonnement et presque son effroi devant les étranges et foudroyantes concoctions auxquelles on donnait le nom de « ponch » !' Ibid.

[533] Sweet, *op. cit.* See particularly Chapter 1: Economy and Environment in Sixteenth-Century Promotional Literature, 12–28.

[534] Keith Pluymers, *No Wood, No Kingdom: Political Ecology in the English Atlantic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2021), 4.

colonial promoters to show how scarcity—and even *threats* of scarcity—were used to justify (and very occasionally to resist) colonisation efforts in the New World. But he further notes that 'as the writings of Standish, Virginia Company pamphleteers, and East India Company backers demonstrate, there was no consensus on the nature, severity, and scope of, or the solution to, wood shortages.'[535] Each of these entities attempted to control the rhetoric surrounding wood scarcity to promote their own interests, project, or colony.

On one side of the wood shortage debate, then, was English scarcity; on the other side was colonial abundance. As Pluymers shows, '[p]romotional writers described "Virginia," first at Roanoke in present-day North Carolina and then the settlements along the James River, as a place of fantastic abundance that defied the normal rules of European agriculture and climate.'[536] Durand nods to this narrative of abundance by including in his account sections on 'De la Beauté et Fertilité de l'Amérique' and 'Des Arbres de la Virginie' with lengthy, sometimes hyperbolic descriptions of what he has seen or been told about the land in respect both of its beauty and—crucially—of its utility. Reworking an old topos, he states that rather than praising at length the 'beaux herbages & agréables ruisseaux' of this land, he will stress its productivity: 'comme nous autres pauvres réfugiés avons plus besoin de l'utilité que du delectable, je m'étendrai davantage sur la fertilité.'[537] One way he then goes on to portray Virginia is in terms of an abundance of trees—'La terre de ce païs est entièrement couverte d'Arbres'[538]—and he seems especially attuned to a specific contemporary concern regarding wood scarcity which was the need for particular types of trees good for shipbuilding: 'il y a quantité de pins prodigieusement longs & droits, on en fait des mâts des navires.'[539] Pluymers notes that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the increase of transatlantic trade 'called

[535] Ibid., 3.
[536] Ibid., 104.
[537] Durand de Dauphiné, *Voyages*, 88.
[538] Ibid., 97.
[539] Ibid.

for more vessels, and, particularly after the 1588 victory over the Spanish Armada, ships were central in rhetoric, strategy, and practice of war. Early modern shipwrights made specific demands on woods.'[540] Beyond trees, Durand also describes crops and vegetation, again allowing himself at times to slip into hyperbole: 'On y sème vulgairement du tabac, du bled sarrasin, du froment, des pois ou abricots, de l'orge, des patates, des naveaus, qui y son d'une grosseur monstrueuse et très bons.'[541] This rhetoric of abundance, in Durand's account and in promotional writing in general, was often interwoven with a jumble of images depicting the New World as a prelapsarian, pastoral, untainted space destined for a chosen people.

Chinard wrote extensively on the dream—or mirage—that seduced many travellers and emigrants to the Americas. He comments: 'La vérité est que nous emportons dans nos voyages des idées préconçues, des préjugés et des rêves que nous cherchons avant tout à confirmer. Entre nous et le pays que nous visitons s'interpose une vision qui nous empêche de voir la réalité, et, comme tant d'autres avant nous, nous devenons les victimes d'une illusion et d'un mirage.'[542] What to Chinard is an indulgent self-critique, to Mancall is a judgement of European travellers' preconceptions:

> Early European viewers of Americans, keen as they might have been to transcribe what they saw or heard accurately, also had to wrestle with the unspoken assumptions that guide anyone's description of another. Their descriptions reflected their own understanding of the physical world. As a result, their writings often included comparisons between what they observed in new locales and what they and their readers know from their homelands.[543]

In another work, Chinard traces both dream and mirage far back to the pastoral dreams of the ancients, pointing out that many early travel accounts were written by educated missionary priests, influenced in their ideas by the Latin classics they had read, and whose imagining of a

[540] Pluymers, 7.
[541] Durand de Dauphiné, *Voyages*, 89; see also Van Ruymbeke, 'Vivre au paradis ?', 350.
[542] Chinard, *Les réfugiés huguenots en Amérique avec une Introduction sur le mirage américain* (Paris: Société d'Édition « Les Belles-Lettres », 1925), ix.
[543] Mancall, 11.

perfect way of life 'n'est pas purement chrétien, il est en même temps classique ou antique'[544]; consequently, 'les sauvages américains vont leur apparaître sous les traits de Romains de la République ; ils leur prêteront la gravité et l'éloquence de Caton et des personnages de Tite-Live.'[545] Catholic missionaries were of course not the only travellers formed by such reading or attracted to the dream. Parrish identifies 'the comforting aspects of Golden Age, pastoral, and Edenic visions'[546] as a common feature in the writing of English promoters, who preferred to show 'not a world in dynamic flux, but rather one in the harmonious stasis of the Golden Age.'[547] And in his commentary on *Voyages*, Chinard notes that Durand too fell under the spell—'le gentilhomme huguenot a subi l'attirance du mirage américain'[548]—and occasionally uses Edenic and pastoral imagery in his text to enhance the appeal of this foreign place.

Pamphlets promoting these idealised images and ideas circulated widely among the Huguenots in the Refuge, each trying to outdo the claims of the others 'dans un esprit de véritable contre-propagande.'[549] The Carolina pamphlets, in which Durand took particular interest, were 'numerous and glowing, describing the colony as something akin to a new Paradise, "one of the most beautiful countries in the world," where people lived in health and plenty.'[550] These tracts succeeded in spreading an Edenic image of Carolina; so much so that '[b]etween 1684 and 1686, more than any other colony in British North America, Carolina was the object of particular attention on the part both of Huguenot refugees […] and also of other colonial landowners and proprietors, Huguenot church elders in London, and French officials on post in England.'[551] The pamphlets, commissioned by the Lord Proprietors of the colony,

[544] Chinard, *L'Amérique et le rêve exotique*, vi.
[545] Ibid.
[546] Parrish, *American Curiosity*, 27.
[547] Ibid.
[548] Chinard in Durand de Dauphiné's *Voyages*, 5; for further examples of writing in this tradition see Lestringant, *Le Huguenot et le sauvage*.
[549] Durand de Dauphiné, *Voyages*, 5.
[550] Owen Stanwood, 'The Huguenot Refuge and European imperialism,' in *A Companion to the Huguenots*, ed. Mentzer and Van Ruymbeke, *op. cit*., 404.
[551] Van Ruymbeke, *From New Babylon to Eden*, 42.

engendered a short-lived Carolina fever that reached its peak in 1685; most of the Huguenots who settled in Carolina had arrived by 1687.

Durand enters the conversation as a 'counter-propagandist' for what he comes to see as the under-promoted colony of Virginia, writing to correct what, after travelling to the region, he realises are inaccuracies in the literature about Carolina. But the New World was not just portrayed as an Eden: according to the propagandists, it was also a Promised Land. Linda Gregerson and Susan Juster write: 'The core drama of Exodus fired the wanderlust of Europe's pilgrims who liked to fashion themselves "New Israelites" in search of New Jerusalems, and elements of this narrative found their way into a remarkable array of personal and official accounts of missions to the Americas.'[552] We see a 'Promised Land' trajectory inscribed in the story arc of *Voyages*, in which the narrator loses everything, but is sustained by the hope of a Promised Land in which exiles like himself can rebuild their lives. Durand did not hide from his readers the horrors he experienced, such as the arduous transatlantic journey that nearly took his life or the greedy, unscrupulous people with whom he was forced to do business; but these realities aside, notes Chinard, 'il n'en a pas moins décrit la Virginie, comme une terre promise, un pays de cocagne et une véritable utopie.'[553]

And yet, this was, as Durand recognises, an Eden already inhabited by others; a Utopia in which other, more recently transported peoples were subjected to cruel and inhuman slavery. The first-hand portraits he provides of his encounters with enslaved and Indigenous people in seventeenth-century Virginia serve as vivid reminders of how the dreams of settlement and conquest (of people, of territories, of nature) also meant the unsettlement—and often the subsequent annihilation or elimination—of others.

[552] Linda Gregerson and Susan Juster, eds., *Empires of God: Religious Encounters in the Early Modern Atlantic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011, 5.
[553] Chinard, Introduction to Durand de Dauphiné's *Voyages*, 31.

Parrish mentions the 'demonization of the Indians that flared up particularly during times of warfare' as a further motif of English settlement narrative.[554] The writings of early travellers to the New World portrayed its inhabitants on the one hand as *bons sauvages* living in innocence and unspoilt beauty and on the other hand as cannibals and heathens in need of conversion to Christian religious ideas. Both images worked to excite and incite readers to support imperial conquests and missionary endeavours. 'It is no exaggeration,' remark Gregerson and Juster, 'to say that religious passions and conflicts drove much of the expansionist energy of post-reformation Europe: they provided both a rationale and a practical mode of organizing the dispersal and resettlement of hundreds of thousands of people from the Old World to the New.'[555] In Durand's account, references to Indigenous peoples are few but clearly reflect his inherited prejudices. This is evident, for example, in his description of a dilapidated 'village des Sauvages' in Portobago, on the Rappahannock River, near one of the plantations he visits:

> Ces Sauvages […] sont des gens plus noirs que les Egiptiens que nous avons en Europe. Ils se marquent le visage par des cicatrices faites en coquille de limaçon, où ils mettent de la poudre, & ainsi ils sont marqués pour toute leur vie. Les femmes dans la maison ne portent qu'une peau de cerf pour couvrir leurs parties les moins honnestes […]. Les hommes ne portent dans le village qu'une méchante chemise de toile blanche ou bleue, & dès qu'ils l'ont vêtu ne la quittent point qu'elle ne leur tombe dessus par morceaux, car ils ne lavent jamais rien.[556]

In other words, Durand does not recognise in this social structure the forms of agriculture, settlement, and community which he values and which he believes the land both offers and deserves. Pluymers writes that long before the English settled there, the original occupants of Virginia 'had developed economic, political and cultural practices to draw on the diverse plants and animals that surrounded them. Algonquian-speaking peoples from the James River to the Chesapeake Bay supported themselves with agriculture, hunting, fishing, and

[554] Parrish, *American Curiosity*, 27.
[555] Gregerson and Juster, 1.
[556] Durand de Dauphiné, *Voyages*, 117–18.

gathering that shifted according to seasonal availability.'[557] Durand does not recognise these cultural and economic qualities, nor does he name the Native Americans whose 'village' he describes, and that the English plantation owner Ralph Wormeley had arranged for him to visit, who were likely part of the Wahunsenacawh, or 'Powhatan.'[558] After providing a few details concerning their dwellings, habits, and appearance, Durand notes that as he and his friends prepared to leave, their hosts 'firent présent à Monsieur Vuormmeley d'une douzaine de peaux de cerf, & à Monsieur Parker & à moi d'une poignée de pipes à chacun.'[559]

Parrish argues that 'Europeans and Africans confronted the both disorienting and promising novelty of the American environment while Native Americans witnessed in dismay the changes wrought on their bodies and environs by these otherworldly newcomers.'[560] Addressing the vulnerability of Indigenous populations to European pathogens, Mancall remarks, in a similar vein, that: 'Postcontact living conditions stressed Americans' bodies, making many more likely to perish from a disease that they might otherwise have survived.'[561] Durand, for all his incomprehension as to the ecological values of the community he visits, does share a moving illustration of this phenomenon, making of it an example of the lack of human charity sometimes exhibited by the European 'Chrétiens' toward the region's Native 'Sauvages':

> Ces Sauvages n'avoient eu ni avoient jamais ouï parler de la petite vérole. Cette maladie qui prend de temps en temps les Chrétiens des Indes [the Americas] comme ceux de l'Europe, se communiqua à eux. Ils demandèrent ce qu'on avoit accoutumé d'y faire pour y remédier. Quelques malicieux leur dirent qu'ils n'avoient qu'à chercher l'eau la plus fraiche qu'ils pourroient trouver, & s'en laver partout le corps ; cela fit qu'il en échappa peu de ceux qui l'avoient, si bien qu'en haine de cela, ou du regret d'avoir

[557] Pluymers, 109.
[558] The term 'Wahunsenacawh' is preferred by present-day historians but English-language texts will still occasionally use 'Powhatan'. This tribal alliance of Algonquian-speaking Native Americans is often associated with both Pocahontas, its leader's daughter who married Englishman John Rolfe in 1614, and with the 1622 Powhatan 'massacre', a deadly attack on Jamestown colonists. For more on the Powhatan / Wahunsenacawh and for context on this attack, see Misha Ewen, *The Virginia Venture: American Colonization and English Society, 1580–1660* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2022), 18, 64, 67-68.
[559] Durand de Dauphiné, *Voyages*, 110.
[560] Parrish, *American Curiosity*, 20.
[561] Mancall, 52.

> quitté la mer à cause de la pêche, ils allèrent solliciter les Sauvages de Canada à leur venir aider à chasser les Chrétiens de la Virgine, & leur promirent leurs plantations en récompense.[562]

According to Durand's informant, the local tribe is driven either by anger or regret at their losses to appeal to 'les Sauvages de Canada', who come to their aid. The English, forewarned, overpower the Native warriors: 'On fit mourir tous ceux du païs qu'on prit, & pour ceux de Canada on les vendit pour esclaves. On les a donc chassés bien avant dans le païs, & même il en resta peu.'[563] In his highly informative work *Bonds of Alliance: Indigenous and Atlantic Slaveries in New France*, Brett Rushforth reminds us that early modern slavery in the Americas was not limited to the contemptable practice of Europeans enslaving Africans: a vast, efficient network for the capture and trade of Indians was also in existence. 'Colonizers traded between two and four million Indian slaves from the late-fifteenth to the mid-nineteenth century, most of whom were initially enslaved by other Native peoples.'[564] Durand provides a fleeting, evocative glimpse of a subject on which it would be useful to have more details.

Durand also references on several occasions that the lands on which the Indian tribes had lived, seized by the English for their own use (such as selling them on to Huguenot settlers), were the most fertile in the region. There was good reason for this richness, as Indigenous peoples had acquired from long attendance to the land and their environment a profound knowledge of how to tend it: '[Native] Americans knew the seasons and how and where to find what they needed to survive and flourish, drawing on detailed collective memories to generate mental maps that were never sketched or written.'[565] That vital knowledge, shared with early settlers, was often the key to the latter's survival; it was also a precious source of information to scientific minds far beyond the Virginian shores. Parrish stresses that Colonial America was

[562] Durand de Dauphiné, *Voyages*, 83–84.
[563] Ibid., 84.
[564] Brett Rushforth, *Bonds of Alliance: Indigenous and Atlantic Slaveries in New France* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 9.
[565] Mancall, 74.

not merely a place for the reception and transmission of ideas (and diseases) *from* Europe, but that it was somewhere just as much at the centre of scientific exchange as cities like London, because the English needed the first-hand knowledge of colonials and the specimens they sent home: such knowledge 'offered' to Europe's scientific elites often came through the intermediary of Indigenous peoples in America, as well as from enslaved Africans and women who worked the lands otherwise represented as a naturally abundant Eden.

Although Parrish's focus in *American Curiosity* is on natural history, she raises questions concerning sources, methods, and ideologies in the early modern British Atlantic world that might usefully be transposed onto other disciplines, including narratives of travel and settlement. She places particular stress on how knowledge and 'knowledge production' involved highly complex local and transatlantic relationships and hierarchies. Using this framework to question the ways and means through which Durand gathered and proved his information on the New World, we discover that it comes both from face-to-face encounters but also from the literature he reads. Encounters and relationships, both actual and textual, are in fact key in Durand's text, creating decisive moments and a specific literary space into which to convey his narrative.

We have seen that textual precedent plays an important role in the formation of Durand's travels and his *Voyages*, and that prior to undertaking his transatlantic journey, Durand read colonial promotional pamphlets—*imprimés*, as he calls them—that shaped his Huguenot refugee dream of an American Promised Land. Although Durand is strongly influenced in the direction of his journey by the *imprimés* he has read, and though there is a definite element of wanting to test or (dis)prove the veracity of such accounts for himself, he stresses that he flies from home as a matter of survival and not, for instance, on a humanist quest for self-actualisation. He does not embark on his journey merely out of curiosity but because his options for not doing so have become terrifyingly limited; his purpose in travelling

to the Americas is therefore existential, and in this respect representative of the broader Huguenot community. He claims he would have been quite happy to spend the rest of his days in his native France with only occasional journeys, under different circumstances: 'si Dieu ne m'avoit fait l'honneur de m'appeler à souffrir pour son nom.'[566] Leaving Babylon behind him, he sets out for what the pamphlets had represented as a new Canaan, the biblical Promised Land; Durand was, initially, hopeful that he could make a comfortable life for himself there, and he sets his exemplary narration in relation to others within the genre of prospect literature, the better to encourage others to consider undertaking a similar journey.

ii. 'Un récit naïf / à la lisière du roman': disguise, subterfuge, and hybrid identities

Chinard argues that Durand—'trop honnête pour vouloir tromper ses coreligionnaires de propos délibéré'—writes a simple and sincere account; but in truth this account is far from a straightforward report of what Durand's 'yeux tout neufs' have seen. The fact that the journey Durand narrates is primarily existential does not in any way prevent him from staging his account as something of an Odyssean adventure, including elements of subterfuge, warning, fortuitous meetings, a shipwreck, and a poignant underlying longing for home. By framing his voyages as adventures, Durand might be seen to be working in a Huguenot tradition which leads back at least as far as Léry, of whom George Hoffmann writes: 'Thanks to multiple reprintings and re-editions of [Léry's] the *Voyage to the Land of Brazil*, his story of traveling in search of a promised land across the sea, instead of over the biblical desert, would serve to recast French refugees' exiled fate into an enticing adventure.'[567] From a different perspective, as we saw above, Van Ruymbeke highlights the question surrounding the true identity of the author as a factor that contributes to its appeal. But I suggest that the strong undercurrent of

[566] Ibid., 42.
[567] Hoffmann, 155.

subterfuge in his tale, coupled with the recurrent reworking of the tropes of romance (deception and disguise, warning and error), reveals that something else is at play here; something closer to Chinard's equally compelling observation that *Voyages* reads very like a novel.

Romance is, as Patricia Parker reminds us, 'characterized primarily as a form which simultaneously quests for and postpones a particular end, revelation, or object.'[568] More specific, and pertinent in relation to Durand's text, is Parker's explanation of how '[w]hen the "end" is defined topologically, as a Promised Land or Apocalypse, "romance" is that mode or tendency which remains on the threshold before the promised end, still in the wilderness of wandering, "error," or "trial."'[569] In Durand's *Voyages*, the Promised Land is both literal (Virginia or France) but also ideological: for even though Durand sets foot in the land and is offered a new dream complete with (almost) everything he could want, it is not *his* Promised Land, for it lacks the one thing for which he longs the most. There is in Virginia (as yet) no community of French Protestants with whom he may live and worship. He is therefore forced to take to the road once more, to keep wandering, shape-shifting, and negotiating new identities until he attains his object, his end, his true home.

The displaced position of Huguenots as legal 'outsiders' within their homeland is, as Hoffmann argues, a recurrent concern for the community as it established itself. Focusing on early satire, Hoffmann shows how sixteenth-century French 'reformers' fashioned not only themselves but also French Roman Catholics as aliens and foreigners, since France had become alienated from itself. He explains this perplexing double move:

> But what proves peculiar to reformed satire is the conception of *oneself* as a foreigner. Rather than reinforcing a French identity, these satires attenuated or explicitly threw such into question. Through them, reformers fashioned themselves into a non-indigenous population, Christian aliens who uneasily resided within an imperial Catholicism, itself an import from Rome. How could one still wish to belong to a land

[568] Patricia Parker, *Inescapable Romance: Studies in the Poetics of a Mode* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1979), 4.
[569] Ibid.

> so strange and savage as a country dominated by the arcane, vicious superstitions of the Roman Church?[570]

Hoffmann's findings concerning this dual positioning in reformed writing are useful to understanding Durand's own positioning vis-à-vis his readers, for he stages himself at once as an insider and an outsider, in both cases playing a specific kind of foreigner, as we have argued throughout: the French Refugee.

As we have already seen, the eventual collaboration between Durand and the landholders represented the convergence of three separate dreams: the French Protestant dream of a community where Huguenots would be free to worship according to their conscience, an economic dream of British empire whereby the American colonies would provide a source of material wealth for England, and the landholders' more individual dreams of attracting Huguenot settlers who would bring a rich return. Durand continues in his performance of the French Refugee to this English audience throughout his travels, benefitting in return from their hospitality. This phase of his performance of the French Refugee, then, is still directed at an English audience; but the account he writes, as he mentions early on, is aimed not at these English landholders (not, that is, directly), but rather at his French co-religionists; and for this French audience, he must first establish himself as a creditable eyewitness.

Durand sets out his trustworthiness in a three-fold opening move: he writes as 'un François exilé pour la religion', he dedicates his account 'A Messieurs les fidèles François qui se sont tirés de la captivité de Babilon pour suivre la vérité,'[571] and he carefully recounts his perilous escape from France, his Babylon. That he begins by evoking the image of Babylonian captivity is no coincidence: with these dedicatory words he strategically brings to his reader's mind the idea of exile, an image he subsequently reinforces through devices that mirror the memoirs and personal letters of the Huguenot diaspora. Durand tells the reader that he begins

[570] Hoffmann, 6; emphasis Hoffmann.
[571] Durand de Dauphiné, *Voyages*, 41.

his *Voyages* by describing the circumstances under which he escaped France and his journey to the Americas because 'il ne falloit pas faire parler un homme qui se rencontreroit là comme s'il étoit tombé du ciel', as might have been the case had he launched immediately into his adventures in the New World. As we have already seen, prominent within the narrative of his escape is a recounting of the losses, both material and emotional, endured by himself as well as acquaintances and family members. Throughout the recounting of his escape, he uses language characteristic of Huguenot refugee narratives of loss and, in Pauline fashion, catalogues his sufferings as a badge of honour, telling the reader how during his travels he has endured 'la faim, la soif, les périls, les naufrages, & tout ce qu'on peut endurer sans mourir.'[572] In narrating the story in such a way that he figures as the sympathetic protagonist, he is imitating another strategy employed to great effect by Huguenot memorialists, an approach he acknowledges using in person and not just in writing, for he tells us concerning a Frenchman he encountered in London: 'Je lui racontai ce qui m'étoit arrivé pour lui inspirer plus de compassion, mais il me dit qu'il n'étoit pas de la Religion, que néanmoins je ne me mis point en peine, que bien qu'il fut loin d'une lieüe & demy, il ne me quitteroit point qu'il ne me vît logé.'[573]

Durand's opening strategy reveals that he is seeking to establish credibility in the French readers' eyes, but not for legal or judicial purposes. By using devices based on the style of Huguenot refugee writers he is making the statement: 'I am one of you'. He is establishing himself as one of the community, not just a lone traveller setting out on a whim or for personal gain; moreover, he hopes that his readers will see throughout his account, as a mark of special favour on him, that God has 'suscité des gens de la nation la plus ennemie de la Réformation, & d'un caractere le plus animé contre notre Religion pour me rendre les derniers services, qu'il

[572] Ibid., 43.
[573] Ibid., 70.

ait encore inspiré de la compassion à d'autres de la même communion, afin de m'en faire recevoir mille bienfaits, c'est ce qu'on ne verra pas dans la destinée d'aucun Réfugié.'[574] Not only can they trust him because he belongs to their wider community but also because the stories he tells are clear proof of divine favour on his life.

Although in his first move Durand has established himself as a Huguenot insider, his second move pulls away from French Protestant norms in this subgenre of refugee narratives, as if to emphasise, 'but I am also an outsider'. Rather than continuing to write in the style of a narrative of loss, he instead fashions himself as a type of singular pilgrim. But where Durand seems quite deliberate in pointing out to his readers at the beginning of his story that he is only *pretending* to be a Catholic pilgrim, as we will see below, the move in which he portrays himself as a *Protestant* pilgrim is considerably more subtle. The main objective of this move seems to be an emphasis on his role as an honest eyewitness, an important component of travel discourse across the early modern period. Durand is saying: 'You can trust me because I am a *témoin oculaire*.'

It was not unusual in travel narratives for authors to argue over who did or did not really see the things about which they wrote. Wes Williams writes: 'The question as to the value ascribed to autopsy, to the eyewitness report, is an insistent one in Renaissance travel writing as has been shown in relation to the "duel des cosmographes."'[575] This reference to a well-documented row between François de Belleforest, a stay-at-home Cosmographer, and André Thevet, who had been part of the colonial venture in Brazil (then known as 'la France Antarctique'), and later became Cosmographer Royal, is taken a step further in recent scholarship. Focusing on the work of Léry, also part of the Brazil experience, and highly critical

[574] Ibid., 46. This idea of 'compassion / commiseration' and its limits is strong in Durand's account and deserves further exploration. For more on the wider context, see Katherine Ibbett, *Compassion's Edge*.
[575] Williams, 237.

of Thevet, Hoffmann comments on the strong sectarian underpinnings of the high stakes debate and on Andrea Frisch's role in highlighting its key aspects of observation and observance:

> Once returned to their devotional origins, Léry's apparently empiricist practices can be seen to enliven deeper Reformation purposes. Andrea Frisch has already singled out his importance in setting precedents of 'eye-witnessing' for legal discourse and epistemological developments in the period: 'for Léry, witnessing is no longer bearing witness, but having experiences.' Through understanding his observation as a form of observance, one can discern alongside the nascent appreciation for eye-witnessing a complementary but distinctly devotional aim of bearing witness to one's faith in unfamiliar settings.[576]

In Durand's account we can also see how observation and observance mingle as he interprets each experience for his audience through the lens of his own faith. Additionally, in establishing his credibility as an honest witness he compares himself to the writers of those other, deceptive pamphlets, saying he had once thought of writing a mere, simple description of Virginia like those he had read in France concerning Carolina and Pennsylvania: 'mais j'ai ensuite préveu que cela paroissant sans aveu, le papier souffrant tout, il pourroit avec raison être soupçonné d'infidélité, comme je suis obligé de dire en conscience que ces mêmes imprimés s'éloignent de la vérité en beaucoup de choses, ce qu'on verra dans la suite.'[577] Durand insists that his account is truer than that of others on grounds that he has no particular hidden interest in the matter and that he himself plans to return: 'On peut ajouter une entière confiance à ce que j'en écris; je n'ai pas plus d'intérest à parler avantageusement d'un païs que d'un autre, & outre que je fais profession d'une grande sincérité, le dessein que j'ai d'y retourner doit ôter toute sorte de soupçon.'[578]

To underscore his credibility as an eyewitness, Durand lists specific instances where the pamphlets were wrong. He writes concerning types of trees, for example: 'Dans la Caroline

[576] Hoffmann, 128. On the evolution of testimonial discourse and the figure of the eyewitness, see Andrea Frisch, *The Invention of the Eyewitness: Witnessing and Testimony in Early Modern France* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004).
[577] Durand de Dauphiné, *Voyages*, 44.
[578] Ibid., 45.

[il] y a de très beaux cèdres beaucoup plus gros & plus droits que ceux de Virgine, des Noyés, abondance de Meuriés, des Figues, des Pêches, des Cerises, des Pommes, mais il n'y a point d'Oliviés, d'Orangers, de Citroniés, de Vignes sauvages, ni de Coton comme disoient ces imprimés.'[579] Although he has not been able to travel the length and breadth of the colonies himself, he relies on the word of men he considers 'des gens d'honneur & dignes de foi' to inform his readers that 'Toutes les terres de ces Colonies se joignent à l'Occident, mais il n'y a point encore aucuns chemins pour aller de l'un à l'autre', as intimated by the propaganda; moreover, what the pamphlets stated about the climate is also inaccurate: 'J'ai veu des Imprimés qui disoient encore que les hivers de ces païs commençoient lors que nous avions le printemps en Europe, ce qui n'est pas véritable, non plus.'[580]

In an essay on credibility in early modern travel narratives, Daniel Carey notes the wide array of techniques used by writers to establish the authenticity of their reports, strategies ranging from 'protestations of honesty to reassurances of ocular experience, and resolute reliance on legitimate sources of supporting information.'[581] Authors combined various forms of external and internal documentation as testimonials of their authenticity. We see one way Durand provides documentation is by including landholder Hayward's proposal at the end of his account. An additional way, as Carey points out, in which early modern travel writers sought to bolster the perception of their account's authenticity was to make use of 'native voice': Léry, for example, provided transcriptions of words and music of the native peoples he encountered.[582] Durand records no such Indigenous voices; but he does take care to record the foreign sounds produced by the English among whom he finds himself, and thus we find

[579] Ibid., 79.
[580] Ibid., 80.
[581] Daniel Carey, 'The Problem of Credibility in Early Modern Travel,' *Renaissance Studies*, 33.4 (September 2019), 547.
[582] See for example, Chapitre VI: La chorégraphie des Indiens ou le ravissement de Jean de Léry, in Lestringant, *Jean de Léry*, 147–170.

phonetic transcriptions of some of the English names of people and places in his *Voyages*: 'Gravesin' for Gravesend, 'Faubourg Despedlefil' for Spitalfields, 'Charlestoun' for Charlestown, 'Baston' for Boston, 'Gemrive' for James River, 'Monsieur le Colonel Fichoux' for Fitzhugh. Durand could not speak English; he records these 'foreign' words as he hears them, and in so doing adds a striking auditory dimension to his tale. We are no longer just looking through the lenses Durand presents, reading his honest descriptions, we are also *hearing* with his truthful ears.

Durand, then, is keen to prove himself a reliable eyewitness to his French audience. And yet, as we noted in opening, he protests that he is utterly ill-equipped for the task: 'Je n'ai jamais sçeu ce que c'est de période ni de rhétorique ; mes parens m'avoient destiné pour la guerre, & par conséquent ne m'avoient fait apprendre autre science que de lire & écrire.'[583] But in these very protestations one detects an effort on Durand's part to reinforce the honesty of his account. Durand also anticipates questions concerning why he does not come to them in person with his testimony instead of sending out a printed text. He reminds them that his sufferings were for *their* sake, a consequence of seeking evidence for the written corrective which he now presents to them:

> Dieu m'est témoin que si le grand accablement où je me suis réduit par tant de fatigues, de souffrances & d'afflictions, m'avoit pu permettre de faire le voiage d'Hollande & d'Allemagne, pour pouvoir vous informer de vive voix, tant de pauvres fidèles Vagabons dans toute l'Europe, d'une très favorable retraite dans le plus beau & le plus fertile païs que j'aie encore veu, je ne me serois jamais porté à cette témérité de souffrir qu'on mît au jour tant d'imperfections.[584]

The *Voyages* frequently exploit the romance trope by which the narrator and others in his circle attempt to dissimulate their identity. Durand's own shape-shifting begins early in his account when he is forced to abandon his ancestral home in France as the 'dragons' descend

[583] Durand de Dauphiné, *Voyages*, 44.
[584] Ibid.

upon his neighbourhood. His subsequent cataloguing of the many losses, digressions, and disguises which he had to take on along the way constitute something of a romance, even as they serve to establish the credibility of his account, and substantiate his claim to membership in the Huguenot community. While attempting to escape from France, for example, Durand disguises both his name and provenance, and even pretends to be a Catholic pilgrim so as to justify his travelling identity : 'Je déguise mon nom, me dis être d'une ville de Provence où il n'y a jamais eu de Protestans, & feignant d'avoir fait un vœu je pris [la diligence] pour aller à Rome.'[585] As we saw previously in Marteilhe's account, assuming a disguise was a common and necessary stratagem at this time among Huguenots attempting to escape the kingdom. Indeed Durand mentions a spirited young relative who disguised herself as a boy, as one of Marteilhe's acquaintances had done, in an effort not to be recognised:

> une jeune fille nommée Marguerite de Durand âgée de 17 ans, encore d'un de mes germains, s'étant habillée en garçon avoit voulu se sauver aussi & étant accompagnée de quelques hommes ils trouvèrent une embuscade au passage d'un Pont, qui voulant l'arrêster elle en tua deux, & en blessa deux autres & reçut ensuite un coup de fusil à travers le corps, & étant connue pour une fille, on la mit dans un Château voysin. Je ne sçai si elle en aura eschapé.[586]

Subterfuge is risky, and can be fatal. An identity once surrendered, may never be regained. Durand, still pretending to be a Roman pilgrim, nonetheless further disguises his true identity, from an Iberian monk he encounters in Livorno. The Spaniard sees through the disguise, but, fortunately for Durand, has affectionate memories of the hospitable reception he had received from Huguenots during a sojourn in France. Chinard's summary of the meeting echoes the travellers' own preconceptions about how far conventions of hospitality might extend: 'Chose qui pourra sembler étrange, ce fut grâce à un moine espagnole qui n'ignorait rien de son état, qu'il obtint passage à prix réduit sur un navire anglais […]. Durand fut agréablement surpris

[585] Durand de Dauphiné, *Voyages*, 51.
[586] Ibid., 50.

de trouver tant d'humanité chez un homme couvert d'un froc.'[587] It is a remarkable episode of cross-confessional kindness, but it also serves, within Durand's own text, as a quietly polemical argument in favour or working together with 'gens de bien' and 'honnêtes hommes' when the occasion requires, or allows for such collaboration. Durand is initially surprised at the monk's offer of help, but soon sees his companion's open mind and heart reflected in his language: 'Néanmoints voyans qu'il me parloit avec tant de franchise & qu'il me paroissoit fort sincére, je luy avouay ingénument mon dessein.'[588]

'Franchise; sincére; ingénument'; the language of truth-telling accompanies moments of disguise and subterfuge in the text; and indeed the very next page sees Durand, while still in Livorno, introduced to a young French Protestant widow, also from Dauphiné, who reveals how she was abandoned during her escape from France by her deceased husband's nephew, supposedly an 'honnête homme', but in truth a faithless scoundrel. The man had acted as her escort until he heard that, according to the Revocation edict, he was entitled to all her goods. Her supposed protector then 'fit bien semblant de la solliciter à s'en retourner avec luy ; mais il étoit assuré qu'elle avoit trop d'attachement pour la Religion pour commettre cette lâcheté.'[589] The widow, aware of both Durand's provenance and intended destination, sees in him a means to make a better match, at least for a while : 'elle me fit prier par des Marchands de Languedoc d'avoir un peu de soin d'elle pendant le voyage & de faire marché de son passage.'[590] The next day brings a further reason for Durand to agree to, and in fact to compound, the deception: the woman will only be allowed to travel aboard the ship they have planned to leave on if Durand will pretend to be her husband, in order to protect the widow from the advances of a young English lord 'extrêmement débauché' who turns out to be

[587] Ibid., 10.
[588] Ibid., 54.
[589] Ibid., 55
[590] Ibid.

travelling by the same ship: 'ils ne conseilloient point à cette Damoiselle d'aller avec lui, à moins que j'eusse la charité pour elle de me dire son mari.'[591] Unconventional as it might have seemed to him at the time, Durand agrees to the proposal, and 'leur promis & à elle tout ce qu'ils souhaitoient, & ainsi il ne fut pas question de faire aucun marché. Elle fut embarquée de même que moi, c'est à dire pour rien.'[592] Perhaps had the gentlemen known a little more about Durand's history—by his own admission his greatest youthful fault was 'un amour un peu déréglé pour le sexe'[593]—they might have hesitated a bit more over this arrangement. But, at least according to his own tale, Durand proves to be a man of honour; indeed, it was in his best interest to treat her well, for the woman had represented herself as having experience in sericulture and expressed a willingness to help him fulfil his dream of settling in the Americas.

The travellers remain together for some long time. As their fates seem to become increasingly intertwined they endure, and survive together, the perilous journey to England (which includes both an attack from pirates, and rough seas). Durand's account makes its way both around the maritime edge of Europe and (in Chinard's terms) along the 'lisière du roman'. When, in London, Durand shares with the widow his enthusiasm for the prospect literature pamphlets, the 'imprimés' about the Carolinas which he has been reading, she confirms her skills in sericulture, and further commits to giving him what money and goods she has left to accompany him across the seas once more: 'elle me disoit […] qu'elle auroit soin de mon ménage & passeroit le reste de ses jours avec moi'; Durand, in turn 'avoue' (to his readers) his long time love of the Americas: 'J'avoue que je vins á Londres entesté de ce pais là, & ce qui acheva de m'enchanter ce fut la confirmation qu'on me donna de la vérité de ces imprimés, & la resolution de cette femme.'[594] The genres of prospect literature and romance meet in the

[591] Ibid., 55–56.
[592] Ibid., 56.
[593] Ibid., 73.
[594] Ibid., 67.

paired figures of the widow and the 'imprimés'; the one whose faithfulness has been proven several times over, the other which has yet to be properly tested.

A further pairing of romance and colonial literature is shown in the most striking of the narratives of disguise and dissimulation in the *Voyages*: those which attach themselves to the figure of the English gentleman known as Monsieur Ysné / Lord Parker : 'Homme de 32 ou 33 ans, très bien fait de corps et d'esprit, & qui parloit fort bon François, Il me dit qu'il étoit Facteur de quelques riches Marchands de Londres, qui l'envoioient en ce païs là avec quelque Marchandise pour essayer d'y établir un Commerce. [I]l se trouva le plus honnête homme et le plus obligeant que j'aye vu de ma vie.'[595] This complex character's tale shadows, or doubles, Durand's own from his first appearance on a boat at Deal harbour through to the very end of the *Voyages.* Their association, the details of which we will not explore here, represents the 'plus romanesque, nous pourrions presque dire déjà le plus romantique' of the threads of Durand's narrative; it includes a story-within-a story which raises an important set of questions about the hybrid genres of romance and prospect literature, this time cross-pollinated by cross-confessional friendship.[596] The story is told about himself by the man who initially passed as the merchant Ysné, but has now been recognised by a colonial servant as the English aristocrat 'Milor Parker'; it is a tale in which he makes private confession to Durand of the reason he has disguised his true identity.[597] The setting is a clear night in December, several months into Durand's stay in Virginia; as the two men walk along a path that borders the Rappahannock River, Parker tells Durand of having fallen in love in France with a Mademoiselle de Garenne whose taste for luxury has drained the young man of his last *louis d'or*. The young lovers decide

[595] Ibid., 69.
[596] Chinard refers to this as 'l'épisode le plus romanesque, nous pourrions presque dire déjà le plus romantique, de la relation de Durand' (Durand de Dauphiné, *Voyages*, 24). There is more work to do on this enigmatic figure and on the recurrent trope of the double in Durand's account.
[597] Chinard, who initially doubts the existence of Parker, notes that Durand's friend did indeed exist, but was merely 'un simple baronnet et non un lord, mais tout noble anglais était un « milord » pour un Français du dix-septième siècle.' (Ibid., 26). Parker was born in Sussex in 1655, and his lands in England were adjacent to those of Lord Howard of Effingham.

to separate for a time to allow the Englishman to rebuild his fortune, and they part with tears, swearing their eternal faithfulness to each other. It does not, however, take long for the young woman to prove faithless, and take up with another man—the Archbishop of Paris, in fact, as Durand discovers from letters Parker shares.

It is this episode in particular that critics point to when they mention the text's 'côté roman picaresque', like Van Ruymbeke, or remark, like Chinard: 'On voit quel profit l'abbé Prévost aurait pu en tirer, et combien il aurait su rendre touchante cette petite aventurière qui peut, à juste titre, être une sœur aînée de Manon Lescaut.'[598] Chinard's further suggestion is that Durand includes Parker's private confession as a form of public confessional propaganda—a way of demonstrating Catholic duplicity and disparaging a leading prelate—and as substantiation for this claim notes that the Paris archbishopric was filled at the time by 'le fameux Harlay de Champvallon, dont les amours avec Mme de Lesdiguières et les passades étaient connues de toute la cour.'[599] But this reading under-represents both the centrality of the repeated figure of the kindly Catholic fellow-traveller to Durand's account, and more especially under-estimates the significance of Ysné / Parker's role as faithful and compassionate friend to the Huguenot Durand on his adventures, especially at those points where he undergoes loss of both direction and community.

The point is made clear when Durand undergoes his tragic loss in the third month of his journey, with the death of his Huguenot companions: ten weeks into their voyage 'la « malheureuse Damoiselle »', the resourceful widow who has accompanied him since Livorno, dies; her death is followed three days later by the 'garçon' Durand had brought with him from France. Durand feels the loss of his eclectic little household acutely, to the point where he pleads with God to take his life: 'Tant de pertes me réduisirent dans un état lamentable. Je priai

[598] Ibid.
[599] Ibid., 25.

le bon Dieu avec beaucoup de zèle & d'ardeur de terminer tant d'afflictions & de souffrances par une prompte mort, mais mon heure n'étoit pas encore venüe.'[600] Not only did he experience great grief at the loss of his companions, but for the first time he begins to question this dream of his, recalling words of warning against undertaking the journey which he had been given by a Huguenot friend back in London: 'Asseurement ma douleur fut sans comparaison plus grande que si tout cela m'étoit arrivé en Angleterre, car alors je n'aurois pas hésité de suivre le conseil de Monsieur de Bourdieu.'[601]

That initial warning—one of two key error-inducing warnings in the narrative, as we shall see in a moment—bears revisiting here, for it is not for nothing that Durand calls it to mind at this key moment of loss. It had occurred, as noted, during his brief stay in London, when he receives conflicting advice from two exiled Huguenot pastors, Monsieur de Bourdieu and Monsieur Pyoset. The former, whose advice he now recalls, had not only advised him to forego the journey, but offered him a different vision of the future based on an alternative idea of (re)settlement and community:

> Monsieur de Bourdieu, qui m'avoit tant témoigné de tendresse […], me dit fort généreusement qu'il ne me conseillerait point d'aller en ce païs là, qu'il s'emploieroit de tout son pouvoir pour me faire avoir une subsistence honnête pour deux ou trois ans, & qu'après cela, comme nous étions voisins de Province, il falloit retourner en France, qu'il avoit septente ans, mais qu'il ne prétendoit pas de mourir qu'il n'eût encore prêché à Montpellier.[602]

This conversation had acted as a temporary setback to Durand: returning to France had not figured as a possibility to him based on what his eyes had witnessed in his own land. It seemed to him for French Protestants like himself, collective worship at home, with others of his faith, something he experiences briefly on a Sunday in London, and describes with great emotion, was now only a dream:

[600] Ibid., 74.
[601] Ibid.
[602] Ibid., 17.

> Le lendemain qui étoit un jour de Dimanche, je m'enquis si soigneusement & roulay tant dès le bon matin qu'après qu'on m'eut mené à plusieurs Eglises Angloises, finalement on me mena au Temple François de Londres, où j'arrivay assez long-temps avant qu'on commençât le premier Prêche. Ce fut là ou avec une joye que je ne sçaurois exprimer d'avoir rejoint ce précieux flambeau de l'Evangile, qui avoit été transporté hors de notre Royaume, je rendis mes très humbles actions de grâces à l'Eternel de la sortie de Babylon, & de mon heureuse arrivée dans ces fortunés contrées ou l'on prêche la vérité sans aucun trouble ni empêchement.[603]

Delivered from internal exile in Babylonian France, he finds refuge in the Strangers Church in Threadneedle Street, a refuge which generates, briefly, the further dream of returning to a France in which the truth could be preached freely and without impediment. But even as he made his way to his lodgings in London, he has a further encounter which will give him both spoken and—crucially—written encouragement to seek out other 'contrées' instead, and to embark on the Carolinas journey. Reflecting on Monsieur de Bourdieu's warning, he writes:

> Cela m'ébranla un peu, mais en me retirant de chez lui je rencontrai un homme que je connoissois, qui me dit que Monsieur Pyoset, Pasteur de l'Eglise de Londres, qui m'avoit aussi offert service, avoit reçû une lettre de ce païs là d'un Marchand de son lieu, il me dit qu'on ne lui écrivoit que du bien, & qu'il me conseilloit d'y aller.[604]

Durand ignored the advice of his first interlocutor, his imagination already spellbound by what he has read, and the romance of the journey to the Carolinas; the chance encounter with Monsieur Pyoset and his 'lettre […] d'un Marchand de son lieu' confirms his decision. It is a decision now, in his moment of deepest loss, he comes to regret. Even Bourdieu's hopeful words, and his articulation of the dream of Huguenot repatriation to a France that would allow freedom of (Protestant) worship, now seems like a kind of madness, and the death of his co-religionist companions means that it is the Catholic M. Ysné who must step into the role of Durand's chief compassionater: 'Monsieur Isné compatissoit beaucoup à mon désespoir, & me consolait autant qu'il pouvoit.'[605]

[603] Ibid., 71–72.
[604] Ibid., 67.
[605] Ibid., 74.

It is at this point that a further (also unheeded) voice of warning makes itself heard in Durand's account. The captain of a vessel from Barbados, carrying enslaved Africans destined for Virginia, boards Durand's ship in a friendly manner. Hearing the passengers' plans to forge new lives for themselves in Carolina, according to what they have read in the *imprimés*, he warns them that their plans could prove not just a waste of time but also deadly:

> Tous ces Messieurs les Marchands lui ayant dit qu'ils alloient s'établir en ce païs là, qu'ils portoient des imprimés qui le faisoient passer pour le plus beau, & le plus fertile qui fût dans l'Amérique, & que beaucoup de personnes à Londres les avoient assuré tout cela être véritable, ce Capitaine leur répliqua qu'il y avoit deux ans qu'il y mena trente deux personnes de Plemous [Plymouth] tous fort vigoureux, qu'il y retourna onze mois après, & qu'il n'en trouva que deux en vie, & qu'il n'y avoit pas un acre de bonne terre dans tout le midy de Caroline.[606]

Ysné, convinced by the captain's account, tries to persuade Durand to follow him on to this second ship, and to make his way to the English colony of Virginia. 'Il fit tout son possible pour m'obliger à aller avec eux, mais je lui dis que comme je n'avois pas apris qu'il y eût des François dans la Virginie, je n'y pourrois être que mal, que bien que j'eusse un extrême regret de me séparer de lui, il faloit suivre ma destinée, puisque j'étois engagé si avant.'[607] With more agency over his 'destinée' than the enslaved Africans undertaking a life-altering journey *not* of their own choosing aboard the other ship, Durand bids (what he believes to be) a final farewell to his one, dear French-speaking friend and, clinging to the flotsam of the alternative dream of settlement proposed by Monsieur Pyoset, remains steadfast in his determination to see for himself if the *imprimés* about Carolina are true. As we saw above, their paths will cross again later, several times, and the continuing friendship of the *romanesque* figure of Ysné / Parker's will prove instrumental in Durand's fulfilment of what turns out be his true destiny: travelling to Virginia, and writing an account of his time there, an account designed to promote the English colonial cause.

[606] Ibid., 75.
[607] Ibid., 75–76.

Part III. The pilgrim and the exile: dreams of return

It is another experience painfully common to both romance and migration narratives, the shipwreck, that diverts Durand from his original intentions to make landing in Carolina, and brings him to the English colony of Virginia. Here, he receives the greatest temptation to alter his course, his identity, his shifting shape and to settle down with a new wife and some land: he is offered a new dream, one that includes the prospect of extensive property, a new cadre of powerful and influential friends from among the Virginian aristocracy. An as it were ready-made second identity is his for the taking, along with a wealthy wife. Durand explains the enticing option placed before him by the local landowner, keen to recruit him to commercial cause:

> Monsieur Vuormmeley [Wormeley] me fit dire qu'il y avoit dans ce voisinage la veuve d'un bourgeois qui n'avoit que trente ans, & qui étoit fort bien faite sans avoir aucune famille, qu'il savoit qu'elle ne souhaiteroit pas mieux que de se marier avec une personne de qualité, qu'il avoit beaucoup de pouvoir sur son esprit, qu'elle étoit bien logée, avoit une Plantation de mille acres de terre avec beaucoup de bétail de toutes espèces […] & lui proposeroit de se marier avec moi.[608]

Durand declines the offer of a second, this time well-appointed, widow companion, blaming it in part on 'la différence du langage.'[609] Beautiful as was Virginia to Durand, there were next to no fellow French settlers in the area. Declining the offer of an anglophone wife signals a greater concern, which we alluded to above, and which Chinard sets out in the following eloquent terms: 'renoncer à entendre le service du Seigneur en français était pour Durand une perspective insupportable.'[610] As he travels around Wormeley's plantations, however, he is increasingly taken with the vistas, and his mind fills once more with possibilities. Stanwood notes: 'Travelling on the upper reaches of the Rappahannock, Durand "was extolling upon the beauty of the place we had just seen, the same lovely hills whence flow fountains & brooks, & broad

[608] Ibid., 116.
[609] Ibid.
[610] Ibid., 33.

meadows below, always covered with wild grapevines; I [Durand] was saying that fine vines could grow upon these slopes & that doubtless the wine would be excellent.'"[611] Wormeley 'replied that if I could find some means to bring Frenchmen there, he would sell the whole of those ten thousand acres of ground he owned on both sides of the river for one écu an acre.'[612]

This scene of conversation, relayed by Stanwood in the English, inaugurates a conversion, a mountaintop moment of revelation, which, in the French *Voyages*, leads Durand to his true vocation. In the upper reaches of Virginia's hills, all covered with grapevines, Durand experiences a life-changing epiphany:

> J'avois jusques à présent balancé ou de retourner en Angleterre, ou d'aller dans le Nort de l'Amérique; mais dès que j'eus vû la beauté & la fertilité de cette Province de Rappahannak, & particulièrement des terres de Monsieur Vuormeley, cela joint avec la satisfaction dont je joüissois depuis quelques jours qui m'avoit asseurément fait recouvrer une partie de mes forces, fit que je résolus absolument mon retour dans l'Europe. Je vis que ce païs n'étoit pas connu, & que comme il n'a aucuns propriétaires, personne n'a pris le soin d'en faire imprimer des relations comme de la Caroline & Painsilvanie.[613]

It is in response to the English landholders' ambition to find some way of bringing Frenchmen to Virginia that Durand finds his new vocation. Turning his gaze from the landscape itself, he reviews the existing literature on this place; finding none is in itself a revelatory vision, in which he connects the absence of settlers with the fact that there were no *imprimés* for French readers. Immersed in the notions of his own time, Durand further fails to recognise what he himself has recorded concerning the 'proprietary' history of the lands around him. Allowing his thoughts to move from one apparent absence to another he asserts that, unlike Carolina, which had Lord Proprietors to commission promotional propaganda to recruit settlers, Virginia has 'aucuns propriétaires'. That the land before him stands firstly in need of cultivation,

[611] Stanwood, 'Imperial Vineyards,' 58. Stanwood draws here from a later, English edition by Chinard of Durand de Dauphiné, *Voyages*, published as *A Huguenot exile in Virginia; or Voyages of a Frenchman exiled for his religion with a description of Virginia and Maryland* (New York: Press of the Pioneers, 1934).
[612] Ibid.
[613] Durand de Dauphiné, *Voyages*, 120.

secondly in need of advertisement, and thirdly in need of (Huguenot) 'propriétaires' is the revelation that leads him to realise his true calling. Stunned by his own insights, he can only think of 'rushing down from the mountain', as one might say, and returning home to Europe to write and to publish pamphlets of his own, the better to persuade others of his kind, and his language, to take on the journey to Virginia: 'je ne songeay plus qu'à chercher une occasion pour m'embarquer au plutôt.'[614]

In what one might think of as a narrative whisper, Durand reveals to his French Protestant audience that this moment brings with it a further, even more significant revelation, one which motivates his decision to return to Europe, and indeed to make of that return journey his last. He divulges this to them, rather than to others, even his friend Ysné / Parker with whom he is once again reunited, because Durand can assume the biblical literacy of his fellow Huguenots, and their immediate grasp of what he is on the verge of confiding in them, in a way that he cannot suppose of his English and / or Catholic friends. He writes:

> Une autre considération qui n'avoit pas peu contribué à me faire résoudre de retourner en Europe, que je ne communiquai pas à Monsieur Parker parce qu'il étoit Catholique Romain, & par conséquent très peu versé dans l'Ecriture fut qu'en partant pour l'Amérique, j'achetai l'accomplissement des prophéties de Monsieur de Jurieu.'[615]

It is perhaps an odd moment to reveal to his readers that he had been carrying this text with him since leaving London; but it is also a clear sign that even if he has lost his living co-religionist travelling companions, and even as he resolves to encourage Huguenot migration to Virginia, he holds fast to the dream of an eventual return home to France. For this book of prophetic interpretations by Huguenot minister Pierre Jurieu, and Durand's response to his reading of it, points to a larger set of conversations taking place internally between 'Messieurs

[614] Ibid.
[615] Ibid., 125. Durand refers to *L'Accomplissement des prophéties ou la délivrance prochaine de l'Eglise […]* (Rotterdam: Abraham Acher, 1686).

les fidéles François' and externally with entities such as those represented by the Virginian landholders, concerning the fate of thousands of Huguenot refugees.[616] One such internal debate involved two prominent members of the French Protestant community, the aforementioned Jurieu and Pierre Bayle, who held highly different views regarding the prospects for an eventual return of the Huguenots to France. Bayle 'hoped that by behaving in a circumspect fashion, with ample displays of their loyalty, they might be able to persuade Louis XIV to treat his Protestant citizens in accordance with the provisions of the Edict of Nantes and to allow the refugees to return to the land of their birth and to practice their Reformed faith in peace.'[617] In opposition to this view, Jurieu, who had built up an enormous following among the refugees through his pastoral letters, 'had few illusions about the possibility that the French Court would reverse its policies.'[618]

Hubert Bost explains that in the *Accomplissement des prophéties*, Jurieu, '[b]ouleversé par la révocation de l'édit de Nantes, taraudé par le besoin de comprendre le sens de l'histoire dont il était témoin et se voulait acteur,'[619] seeks to interpret the events of the Book of Daniel and the Book of Revelation in light of the unconscionable events happening around him; ultimately, he sees in the prophecies clear signs that they are living in an age dominated by the Antichrist (the Roman Church), which will soon usher in the millennial reign of Christ. Based on his firmly held beliefs resulting from 'an infinitely detailed, extensive, and learned analysis of prophetic texts,' Jurieu urges the Huguenot diaspora to support governments which oppose

[616] Although excellent work has been done by Stanwood and others on the 'silk and wine' component of the Huguenots' role in British imperial / colonial enterprises, further studies are needed to explore the repercussions of the English construction of the 'French Refugee' in respect of the ways in which French Protestants related to the evolving transnational identity of the Huguenot Refugee.

[617] H. M. Bracken, 'Pierre Jurieu: The Politics of Prophecy,' in *Millenarianism and Messianism in Early Modern European Culture. Continental Millenarians: Protestants, Catholics, Heretics*, ed. J.C. Laursen and R.H. Popkin (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2001), 86.

[618] Ibid. These letters, written during 1686–89, had 'tremendous impact' on the Huguenot community; the minister Jean Barbin refers to them repeatedly in the instructions he gives French refugees in *Les Devoirs des fidèles réfugiez, op. cit*.

[619] Hubert Bost, 'Entre mélancholie et enthousiasme: Pierre Jurieu, prophète de l'Apocalypse,' *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français (1903–2015)*, 147 (Janvier–Février–Mars 2001), 104.

France and could help bring an end to the reign of the Sun King.[620] While Jurieu and Bayle continued their debate until the end of their days, history's judgement of the two men and their legacy has come down in favour of the latter: 'Bayle's reputation later becomes secure as a hero in the eighteenth century while Jurieu is confined to the lunatic fringe of the Calvinist dogmatists despite his being extremely knowledgeable about seventeenth-century philosophy, both rationalist and scholastic.'[621]

Particularly relevant, as we will see in conclusion to this chapter, is a rapprochement Bost makes between Jurieu and Augustine: 'À certains égards, Jurieu fait penser à saint Augustin, qui, tandis que les barbares sont aux portes de Rome et que la civilisation paraît s'écrouler, conçoit et rédige la *Cité de Dieu* : pour que la peur ne soit pas victorieuse, pour que ses coreligionnaires ne baissent pas les bras.'[622] In Jurieu's view, the chance to discover and inhabit new lands outside of France has the added corollary of opportunities for the conversion of their inhabitants, a concept that returns us to the conversion tropes of early modern settlement narratives:

> Je regarde les voyages de longs cours de nos Européens, les découvertes de nouveaux Pays dans l'Orient & dans l'Occident, & l'art que l'on a de pénétrer jusqu'aux extremitez du Monde, comme des voyes que Dieu se prepare pour l'accomplissement de cette grand promesse, qui regarde la pleine conversion des Nations.[623]

Concerning Huguenot pastors abroad, Jurieu writes that they are 'tous prés & en reserve pour retourner chez eux reporter le flambeau de la vérité, aussi-tôt que la providence de Dieu leur en ouvrira la porte.'[624] We recognise here language and imagery used by Durand to describe his experience of the French church in London. Remembering no doubt his pastor friend in London and his kind offer of support, Durand's imagination is once again enflamed with an

[620] Bracken, 87.
[621] Ibid.
[622] Bost, 'Entre mélancholie et enthousiasme,' 104.
[623] Jurieu, xxi.
[624] Ibid., xliii-xliv.

idea and a dream, but this time it involves a return to France: 'Ainsi je souhaitai d'être témoin du rétablissement de la Religion dans ma patrie, comme je l'ai été de sa désolation et de sa ruine.'[625]

Having undergone his own adventures and received the crowning experience—his enlightenment, the recognition of his divine mandate to write this book—Durand can return to the Huguenot community in London and await the reopening of his homeland to people of his faith. He is someone whose eyes have seen, whose ears have heard, and whose words now set forth a pathway to the Promised Land, a textual guidebook. For those who have yet to undertake their own adventure, Durand paints the scene of a prosperous American Paradise and perpetuates the dream of a land where if one is willing to work hard (but not too hard), one can have a gainful, indeed prosperous and peaceful life, enjoying freedom of conscience regarding the practice of their religion all the while.

The focus of Durand's *Voyages* is a certain type of exile figure, the French Huguenot refugee; but our analysis has provided occasional glimpses of other early modern people on the move, whether mobile of their own volition or by necessity, such as the merchant, the enslaved person, the Indigene, the settler, the traveller / explorer, and the pilgrim. Important to our reading of the value attributed to Durand's text, as we shall see, is a brief consideration of how concepts of home differ in the perceptions of each of these figures in motion. Of particular interest in this, the concluding section of this chapter, are two figures which have great resonance in Protestant discourse: the pilgrim and the exile. Pilgrimage discourse has, of course, a long cross-confessional and cross-cultural history, having been appropriated to varying degrees and in various ways by both Catholics and Protestants,[626] and Durand's text

[625] Durand de Dauphiné, *Voyages*, 151.
[626] In Protestant discourse, perhaps the most famous example is John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress*, first published in 1678 and never out of print, which traces 'Christian's' arduous journey from his hometown City of Destruction to the Celestial City (London: N. Ponder, 1678).

might be read not only as a tale of exilic romance, but also as a type of exemplary pilgrimage account.

Williams characterises 'pilgrimage in the West […] as bound up with three categories: exile, the literal journey, and imitation.'[627] While an exhaustive examination of pilgrimage and exile narrative traditions would go beyond the limited scope of this chapter, a brief consideration of similarities between the figures of pilgrim and exile in relation to the question of returning home will be helpful to understanding what Durand is trying to accomplish. We begin by noting that pilgrim writers have traditionally been portrayed as *exiled* writers: 'Pilgrim writers are in exile on earth, and more intensely in exile from Christ even as they travel closer to Jerusalem. Exiled from the fullness of the past, they none the less imitate inherited devotional procedures. Exiled from the home community by virtue of leaving for encounters with the Other, they draw closer to the past, and to Christ.'[628] We have already observed that Huguenot refugee writers tended to process their experiences in terms of Judeo-Christian biblical parallels, and particularly the long journey of the Israelites from Egypt to the Promised Land, and the deportation of the Jews to Babylon.

Beyond these two stories, in pilgrimage narratives we also find echoes of the first biblical exodus in which Adam and Eve were forced to flee from the Garden of Eden. If pilgrimage can be thought of as a means to 'connect the distant holy place with home through the agency of one's own body,'[629] it can also be thought of as a pathway back into a prelapsarian paradise, and pilgrimage narrative becomes a way of immersing oneself (and one's readers) in the curative experience of a spiritual rebirth. Conjugating exile and pilgrimage, the exemplary traveller's narrative permits a sort of resetting, certainly a recasting, of the universe and of

[627] Williams, 10.
[628] Ibid.
[629] Ibid., 24.

universal experience. It is as though a pilgrim is able to hit a reset button that takes the world back to initial settings, a concept not dissimilar to the Edenic state (or dreamscape) of the world of the *bon sauvage* imagined first by early explorers, Montaigne, and the *philosophes*.

The figures of pilgrim and exile, then, have some essential commonalities: both undertake a journey, experience displacement and distancing from home, and undergo experience through loss. It is, however, in studying the differences rather than the similarities connecting the experiences of exile and pilgrimage—especially differences related to agency—that we will come to appreciate more fully the deftness of Durand's movements. Pilgrimages contain an aspect of liminality, a voluntary road of privation and suffering, while exile is banishment, an involuntary road of suffering and distancing from others and from home. The impetus of pilgrims for undertaking a journey varies, but they will usually have more choice in the matter than does the exile: 'pilgrims either decide to take to the roads, or they are sent by those who have power over them.'[630] Though it is true that if someone 'has power over them' this might significantly restrict their agency, even under dominion a pilgrim will have power over his own body and movements—is freer to interpret the rules and terms of pilgrimage—than an exile is to alter the condition of his body or his movements. Exiles usually undertake their journeys with greater reluctance and less choice than do pilgrims, and many are led away from home against their will. Moreover, a certain established goal, one that entails personal or spiritual satisfaction, usually actuates the pilgrim, while one rarely goes into exile merely for purposes of self-actualisation.

The exile and the pilgrim have different notions of home, for it is not the pilgrim's idea to settle in the country he visits; his ambition is to go home, inspired and enlightened. The exile, on the other hand, is usually in a position where he is unable to return home and must be

[630] Ibid., 1.

more aware or conscious of the landscape and issues that surround him, with an eye to temporary or more permanent settlement. Durand, though he says that he would return to Virginia and settle there if his health allowed, also holds fast to the dream of return to France; because of his physical weakness he will wait in England until his homeland opens up again. For those who have the health and motivation to settle elsewhere, while waiting for the homeland to be open once again, he writes the following:

> J'ai un grand désir de retourner dans ce païs, & tout ce qui me pourroit obliger à rester c'est que je me sens grandement foible ; mais qu'on ne se rebute point pour cela, je me donnerai l'honneur d'escrire à Monsieur le Gouverneur & à ces autres Messieurs, je prendrai la liberté de supplier Monsieur l'Evêque de Londres d'écrire aussi, & si Dieu me fait la grâce de recouvrer un peu de mes forces je les accompagnerai.[631]

This close reading of *Voyages d'un François exilé pour la religion* reveals this unusual account to be a rich textual example of the human experience of loss and yearning inherent in exile and displacement. Durand himself concludes by promising his readers that he will write, and write, and write; and should his strength return, he will take to the seas again and accompany those whose journeys have begun with a reading of his text.

Part IV. From Mont Ventoux to Manakin Town

A goal of this chapter has been to show that Durand's *Voyages* both draws on the narrative past—settlement propaganda, romance, pilgrimage literature and confessional memoir—and anticipates future literary developments. My conclusion, conducting a detour to an earlier, arguably foundational moment in the history of these entwined genres of travel writing, considers Petrarch, the 'first tourist', and his much-discussed letter describing his climb of

[631] Durand de Dauphiné, *Voyages*, 136.

Mont Ventoux in light of Durand, the accidental tourist, and his own apparently improvisational, and yet carefully, consciously structured narrative.

Poised between past, present, and future imaginings, Petrarch's account of his both actual and allegorical journey, with its emphasis on three key moments in the life of the pilgrim writer, is a particularly appropriate, if surprising, choice for displaying the structural trajectory of Durand's multifaceted text. In *Pilgrimage and Narrative in the French Renaissance*, Williams notes that the letter in which Petrarch narrates his ascent of Mont Ventoux has been the starting point of 'much recent debate about imitation, curiosity, and the travelling self in the Renaissance.'[632] He describes the circumstances that occasioned the letter as follows:

> Petrarch writes that the climb had begun out of curiosity, developed in response both to the 'frigida incuriositas' of others, and to the desire—'cupiditas'—to emulate a mountain climb he had been reading of in Livy. Some way up the mountain Petrarch meets an old man who tells him he is in error: the journey is worse than a waste of time, as he knows himself, having tried the climb in his youth. Petrarch is deaf to the old man's exemplary tale (perhaps because unlike that of Livy, he cannot 'read' it, still less emulate it, yet), and so he climbs on. At the summit Petrarch sits down, and takes a copy of the *Confessions* out of his pocket with a view to finding a passage from the Father appropriate to the place. He prepares to read this passage out loud to those who have climbed the mountain with him; the stage set, Petrarch opens the *Confessions* and readies himself to perform his part in the drama of dialogues with Augustine.[633]

What happens next comes as much as a surprise to Petrarch as it does to his audience, which consists of his younger brother and two servants. He has hit upon a passage in which Augustine writes warningly: 'And men go to admire the high mountains, the vast floods of the sea, the huge streams of the rivers, the circumference of the ocean, and the revolutions of the stars—and pass themselves by.'[634] Struck dumb by his reading, Petrarch heads quickly back down the hill and starts to write the very letter which we, in the future, now read. Williams draws attention to three key moments in Petrarch's letter—leaving in response to textual precedent,

[632] Williams, 29.
[633] Ibid.
[634] Augustine of Hippo, *Confessiones*, ed. James O'Donnell, 3 vols (Oxford, 1992), i, 124.

reading at the summit, and writing on return—and suggests that the three moments 'determine the sense of Petrarch's journey as a pilgrimage.'[635]

Other scholars looking back on Petrarch's letter have also found it a useful springboard for observations concerning empirical journeys inspired by reading, summit revelations that lead to transformation, and textual objects that result from reflection on these events in the quiet of one's room. Neil Safier notes that Petrarch's 'articulation of the link between in situ observations (themselves predisposed by reading) and the subsequent *transformation* of those observations back into written words raises a fundamental question about how on-the-spot reading and the circumstances of writing came to affect both the perception and reproduction of observed landscapes, from the traveler's eye to the printed page.'[636] Russell Lawson, contrasting Petrarch's letter of his Mont Ventoux experience with that of Jeremy Belknap's letter to a friend concerning his unsuccessful climb of the White Mountains in 1784, comments that Petrarch 'realized that he had vaster and greater spiritual summits to climb. He returned from his journey into the wilderness a wiser man, humbled in the face of the divine. Petrarch, conqueror of a mountain, concluded that truth is not found on a mountain top but within oneself. Belknap, conquered by a mountain, concluded that truth is found when one departs from one's mortal shell to the spiritual summit of heaven.'[637] Jesús Carillo, for his part, focuses on Petrarch's self-gaze and subjectivity as he juxtaposes the climb account of sixteenth-century Spanish historian and writer Fernández de Oviedo with that of Petrarch, stating that his purpose in comparing the two mountain ascent descriptions, Nicaragua's Mt Masaya for Oviedo, is 'not to establish a precise relationship between two isolated texts, but rather to trace one of the

[635] Williams, 30.
[636] Neil Safier, '"Every day that I travel … is a page that I turn": Reading and Observing in Eighteenth-Century Amazonia,' *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 70.1 (March 2007), 104.
[637] Russell Lawson, *The American Plutarch: Jeremy Belknap and the Historian's Dialogue with the Past* (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 1998), 137.

possible paths connecting two chronologically and geographically distant landmarks of modern discourse.'[638]

Following in the footsteps of these earlier scholars, we might imagine how Durand reinscribes the Petrarchan gesture of setting out on a journey based on textual precedent, and indeed can be seen to be working within the framework of the Petrarchan pilgrimage model, defined by the three key moments to which Williams refers. With this in mind, we can see how Durand's *Voyages* might be viewed not only as a type of dream narrative, colonial prospectus, Huguenot memoir, and travelling romance, but also—through the lens of pilgrims' accounts—as an experiment in the adoption of an exemplary pilgrim voice, which has the effect of sanctifying all of the above genres within itself. This pilgrimage paradigm allows us to draw attention to the ways in which elements of surprise and unexpected circumstances transform both the pilgrim and his dream, contributing to the creation of new textual objects which in turn become vehicles for further dreaming and further forms of agency.

In pointing out that Durand's text represents a 'crisis of response' in some way not dissimilar to Petrarch's in his letter about the Mont Ventoux climb, the claim here is not that Durand is consciously rewriting Petrarch; it will be obvious to the reader that many significant differences exist between the authors, the texts, and the descriptions of their two journeys. One such difference is that while both characters undertake a voyage, Durand's is at the same time more literal and more figural than Petrarch's. Durand's journey takes him considerably farther in distance than Petrarch: Petrarch could see Mont Ventoux from his window, where Durand tells us that according to his conductors he travelled 'six mille huit cents lieues sur la mer, sans parler du chemin que j'ai fait sur la terre à pied & à cheval, aiant partagé le temps moitié en

[638] Jesùs Carillo, 'From Mt Ventoux to Mt Masaya: The Rise and Fall of Subjectivity in Early Modern Travel Narrative,' in *Voyages and Visions: Towards a Cultural History of Travel*, ed. Ják Elsner and Joan-Pau Rubiés (London: Reaktion Books, 1999), 61.

navigations, & l'autre partie à parcourir la terre.'[639] Furthermore, Durand's journey is metaphor in ways that Petrarch's is concrete, while Petrarch's is metaphor where Durand's is concrete. For example, hills and mountains figure prominently in Durand's description of the Piedmont region of Virginia and constitute a significant part of his praise of its beauty, but there is no literal mountain for Durand to ascend; although a 'mountain top experience' he most certainly describes. Despite significant differences, there are interesting parallels worth noting and what I am calling the lens of Petrarchan pilgrimage highlights certain structural features in the narrative that seem worth investigating through a close reading of the text but have to date received little critical attention.

In the course of this chapter, we have explored in turn the text's generic identity, the author's portrayal of his shape-shifting individual identity, and the description of his evolving dream of collective or community identity. A logical final step is to wonder: What would this type of settlement look like in reality? Between July 1700 and March 1701, four ships sailed from England to Virginia, carrying hundreds of French Protestant refugees, charged (as hitherto largely unexplored documents held within the Bodleian make clear[640]) with both sustaining their distinct identity as Huguenots abroad and making a financial return on the Crown's investment in them. Their assignment was to establish a settlement in the backcountry of Virginia, near the Rappahannock River. The colony they founded, Manakin Town, is important not only as the last resettlement project of its kind in Virginia, but in the context of our present study carries additional weight as an apparent consequence of calls such as Durand makes in the *Voyages*.

[639] Durand de Dauphiné, *Voyages*, 43.
[640] Documents related to the Manakin Town settlement are held in the Rawlinson Collection in the Bodleian Library, Oxford; see particularly Rawlinson MSS. A 271, fol. 271, no. 2–3, 5.

Stanwood notes one group of French Protestants who travelled in 1687, shortly before the contingent mentioned above, who 'almost certainly responded to the descriptions of Virginia in Durand of Dauphiné's book.'[641] Whether a direct response or not, Manakin Town provides an empirical example of Durand's imagined, Edenic community—and it is no less interesting to us for the fact that it has been classified by scholars and historians as an utterly failed experiment in community building: half of the eight hundred French Protestant immigrants destined to found Manakin Town settled elsewhere, and the population never rose much higher than three hundred inhabitants.[642] Like Durand when he visited the 'village des Sauvages', others visiting the site may not in fact have seen a proper 'town' at all, as it was nothing more than an assemblage of huts, comprising 'one room, and even in the pastor's case, contained no more than a chair, a bed and two or three chests.'[643] The houses were 'clapboard structures with mortar daubed about the posts and studs inside to provide insulation […]. The nearby fields were worked with hoes instead of plows and their corn had to be hauled a great distance to be ground into meal.'[644] In demographic studies of Manakin Town records, Leslie Tobias found that at least 70 percent of Manakin Town's original 1701 population left before 1714.[645] The town was being 'rapidly integrated into the Virginia economy and that integration destroyed any of the original sense of community.'[646] By 1750, Manakin Town had dissolved, its surviving inhabitants having integrated into the surrounding English communities or settled further afield, as did a large group that left Manakin Town for the Carolinas around 1710: 'Within the space of two generations, [Manakin Town] literally disappeared from the colonial

[641] Owen Stanwood, *The Global Refuge: Huguenots in an Age of Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 66.
[642] Robert Crewdson, 'The Manakin experiment: a French Protestant colony in the New World,' *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 55.3 (September 1986), 206.
[643] Ibid., 205.
[644] Ibid.
[645] Leslie Tobias, 'Manakin Town: The Development and Demise of a French Protestant Refugee Community in Colonial Virginia 1700–1750' (Master's diss., College of William and Mary, 1982), 41.
[646] Crewdson, 210.

landscape.'[647] Was Durand's dream of a Huguenot community in Virginia then, in actual practice, merely a mirage?

Scholars have detailed the causes of the community's dissemination, traced their integration, and listed the alleged contributions of the French population to the early American economy[648]; we will not dwell here on the complex details and challenges of accounting for community development in Colonial America. But perceptions of failure, like weakness, may be only matters of what I have referred to in this study as critical 'lenses'. In the case of Manakin Town, the generalised perception of 'failure' is largely due the settlement's not meeting key stakeholders' expectations: 'To retain their communal identity,' explains Stanwood, 'the Huguenots needed independence, which was hardly possible during the 1690s. The last major project of the decade sought to remedy the situation, and while it ultimately failed to live up to its high ambitions, it did bring in the largest number of refugees to a town in the backcountry of Virginia, a place called Manakin Town.'[649] In one of the only scholarly articles on this settlement, James Bugg argues that Manakin Town was 'a small footnote' in the epic of the early settlement of the American frontier; yet he claims its history, however brief, 'is of more than passing interest because it is the story of an alien people who attempted to establish on the Virginia frontier, twenty-five miles beyond the line of settlement, a depository of their culture. It is the chronicle of an experiment which failed, but which in failure enriched Colonial Virginia as it could never have done had the plans of its founders been successful.'[650]

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[647] Ibid., 203.
[648] See David Lambert, 'Beyond World's End: The Protestant International and the Huguenot Migration to Virginia (PhD thesis, Claremont Graduate University, 2008); Tobias, *op. cit.*; Patricia Menk, 'Notes on some Early Huguenot Settlements in Virginia,' *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 52.3 (July 1944), 194–96; James L. Bugg, Jr., 'The French Huguenot Frontier Settlement of Manakin Town,' *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 61.4 (October 1953), 359–94; for original documents related to these four ships, including passenger lists and financial accounts, see Rawl. MSS.
[649] Stanwood, *The Huguenot Refuge and European Imperialism*, 407. David Lambert describes the influx of French Protestants to Manakin Town 'the largest of the Huguenot migrations to English North American and the only one that saw the active involvement of the king of England in its planning' (Lambert, 4).
[650] Bugg, 359.

In other words, Manakin Town 'failed' because its inhabitants integrated into the surrounding community; although it began as a 'clearly identifiable settlement contained within the larger community of the county,'[651] the walls (imaginary and literal) separating the French Protestant refugees from others came down, with unexpected (and, at least according to Bugg, enriching) consequences.

One element this seems to prove is 'the rapidity with which emigrants were assimilated into the fabric of American colonial life'[652]; perhaps another is that 'success' in building a community comes not from staying away from but rather from interactions with those unlike us. Is this not a variant on the modern, idealised vision of America as a place of immigrant integration, a melting pot, where background and ethnicity become 'a crucial pivot for self-identities and political affiliations, but not an all-absorbing cause for conflict with an alien "other"'?[653] What Durand seems to uncover, if not during the journey itself, then certainly in the retelling of it, is his inability to have survived without people unlike himself—those who did not speak his language, those who were not of his religion, those who were not of his nationality. At every turn, he encountered a stranger offering help, reaching out a hand in kindness; and Durand too reached out, offering protection to the French widow, a listening ear to the heartsick English nobleman. The success of Manakin Town, then, is largely in its symbolism which, lived out, does not quite measure up to expectations; it was a beautiful utopian image that ushered a group of French refugees into a certain kind of Promised Land, that subsequently evolved into a different kind: 'Most of the settlers,' observes Robert Crewdson, 'seem to have accepted the colonial way of life soon after their arrival and this hastened the demise of the once proud beginning of Manakin Town.'[654] In the spirit of the

[651] Tobias, 2.
[652] Crewdson, 203.
[653] Alejandro Portes, 'An enduring vision: the melting pot that did happen,' *International Migration Review*, 34.1 (Spring 2000), 247.
[654] Crewdson, 210.

adaptable Durand de Dauphiné, these immigrants adjusted, learning to reinvent themselves in the face of new challenges and to pursue ever newer horizons.

Conclusion

The overarching aim of my thesis has been to show that early modern Huguenot refugee memoirs are material objects meant to make specific contributions in the world; as such, the question underpinning the study of each selected text is: 'What does it do?' What difference does it seek to bring about in the world at the time of its initial conception, or in the minds of later readers? What work is involved in the 'transit' of these memoirs in the various stages of their lives, from genesis through to production, diffusion, and reception?[655] In the introduction, I presented Isaac Dumont de Bostaquet's account as emblematic of this particular memoir moment: exiled from his homeland, Dumont writes a narrative of loss and consolation, intentionally exemplary, delineating micro-communities of readers through his use of emotional language and narratological devices. The loss he describes is not just emotional but also material: he writes to reproduce paperwork destroyed or left behind in France in order to demonstrate merit for a military pension in the Refuge. Dumont's account served to illustrate that these Huguenot narratives had both rhetorical and practical purposes.

Each of my chapters then offered a counter-example to Dumont's account in that while similar in some ways to the model of writing as form of action, the texts explored in Chapters One to Three differ significantly in strategy, and are deployed to different ends. In Chapter One, I demonstrated how Jean Marteilhe, although working within the same general coordinates as Dumont, creates a different type of narrative: it is the account of an enslaved *galérien*, with a strong focus on paperwork, in which Marteilhe attempts to reclaim the identity Louis XIV has taken from him by essentially writing his own passport, his own identification

[655] For more on this process of 'transit' as the movement between these four stages of a text's life, see the Introduction to *Montaigne in Transit: Essays in Honour of Ian Maclean*, ed. Neil Kenny, Richard Scholar and Wes Williams (Cambridge: Legenda, 2016).

papers. Marteilhe's account affords key insights into what it means legally to be a French Huguenot in France during this pre-Revolutionary period. We witness the tension between enforced and free movement, as well as how Marteilhe seeks to regain lost agency through his self-fashioning and storytelling, as he imagines for himself the possibility of a new identity and a new workable life. His tale also holds a call to action, as he writes not only for himself, but also to draw attention to a cause: there are other Huguenots still serving in the galleys who have not yet been freed. In Chapter Two, Jacques Fontaine is compelled by loss of physical proximity with his family to sanction a binding agreement through which he hopes to pass to future generations a sense of rootedness and of belonging to a respectable, pious family. We learn from his account the challenges of surviving financially and professionally as a French Huguenot in the Refuge, and the resourcefulness and adaptability required to succeed outside the established Huguenot network. His appeal is to his offspring (many of whom were by the time of writing settled in America), entreating them to honour their agreement with each other so that the family will remain connected and mutually supportive throughout time. In Chapter Three, Durand has lost the close-knit community of Huguenots that surrounded him in his native Dauphiné, and so attempts through his writing to recreate a similar community for his co-religionist refugees within the British colonies in America. We glimpse through his narrative some of the complexities of settlement, unsettlement, and resettlement that faced exiled populations who became part of the developing 'American Dream.'[656]

Storytelling provided an interpretative key to understanding both the rhetorical and practical dimensions of these texts. In drawing together the various strands of argument, a set of paired gestures emerges, each carrying significant emotional charge: the lost home and a

[656] An interesting line for future investigation might be identifying and investigating points of intersection between the movements of the Fontaine family and Durand in Virginia; we know that Manakin Town is one such connection—are there more? Also, is it possible that Durand's text, published initially in 1687, might have circulated in Dublin during the time of the Fontaine's residency there in the late seventeenth, early eighteenth century and influenced their cross-Atlantic settlement?

new place to settle; an idea of France, and an idea of the Refuge. From here there emerges into being, both invented and inscribed in these accounts, the modern idea of what it means to be a refugee. Early modern exiles from France, these memoir writers improvise as they go how to live and write on the move, as they and their texts are displaced in transit from one place to another; in the process, they work out the shapes of survival and community that make up the figure of the 'French Refugee'.

Central to this exploration of Huguenot memoirs is the question of shape-shifting identity: generic, individual, and collective. A byproduct of their being in transit and constant need for self-reinvention is that the memorialists also reshape the literature in which they talk about themselves: the shape-shifting of the writers is reflected and replicated in the hybridity of their texts. This study has, in other words, set out to track not only the travels of its refugee authors, but also to respect the texts they create; both their travels and their texts defy easy classification. These complex identities, formal, generic, and stylistic, represent important voices that would still find resonance with audiences today were they more widely known.

Each of the accounts in my corpus provides evidence of creative, generative energy born of loss: Huguenot refugees write practical texts, texts that are, to coin a phrase, 'readied for action'—literary artefacts which are both usable and live.[657] As readers, we experience the extraordinary creativity of a group of refugees as they take what is lost—important papers, identificatory documents, family units, communities, networks—and create something on paper to replace it. Their attempt to give voice and usable narrative shape to experiences of loss also bears an important thread of finding purpose in suffering: this results in narratives that are entertaining, informative, redemptive, regenerative, and enduring.

[657] For more on this way of thinking about the work of literature as useful artefacts (though not with reference to the corpus explored here), see Terence Cave, *Live Artefacts: Literature in a Cognitive Environment* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022).

Why are these accounts not better known? I posit that reasons include the suspicion that attaches itself, in the early modern period and still today, to the foreigner or 'stranger' and in this particular case to strange(r) literature. And this is indeed strange literature: like its authors, it does not fit neatly into any recognised genre but rather draws on several different forms of writing. Huguenot refugees contributed in various well-documented ways to the material culture of the lands in which they settle; less noted but just as worthy of attention, or so I argue, are their contributions to the literary landscape and literary culture in the form of this peculiar literature. The lengths to which these writers go to stage themselves as trustworthy narrators and their accounts as true might of course be read as evidence of the endurance of the travelling tropes of romance; it is certainly the case that, as I have shown, some of these memoirs situate themselves close to the borders of fiction. But it is also important to recognise this insistence on veracity as a response to the realities these memoir writers encounter as foreigners attempting to prove their identities and trustworthiness, without the proper paperwork or networks to do so. These Huguenot refugee writers' re-imagining of a literary form mirrors the transformation they themselves have undergone and the ways in which they develop composite identities from fragments of who they were in their homeland, who they became along the journey from homeland to land of refuge, while also taking on traits of their hosts and the countries in which they settle.

Perspective is a prominent *topos* in this thesis: we discover that changing the lens through which we read these memoirs affects the terms in which we value them. I have shown that reading these texts side-by-side reveals that self-writing in this moment is not just writing about an individual but about a family, a community: these Huguenot authors are not writing just about themselves but also marking out a community of readers. In this way they differ from the memoirs written by the next great wave of exiles from France, the post-Revolutionary *émigrés*. As noted previously, and most specifically in Chapter Two with Jean Marteilhe, after

1789 significant changes occur in relation to the French state's centralisation of documentation. Chappell Lougee remarks that after this date, '[t]he new-style memoir, a product of this new world of the modern state and now understood to document only interior personality, would allow subjectivity to expand.'[658] Additionally, she contrasts the different uses of these two corpuses, noting: 'Huguenot refugees separated from their family documents had written their own *social* identity, for use when it was needed in practice. Revolutionary *émigrés* wrote their own *personal* identity, whether to contest, ratify, or bypass the civil identity a state and its papers would confer upon them.'[659] Furthermore, Chappell Lougee comments that the *émigrés* in their memoirs emphasise their French identity; as we have observed from the examples in my thesis, Huguenot memorialists are grappling still with what it means to be refugees. Finally, a further difference between the corpuses is that most of the 200 émigrés memoirs extant were written upon their authors' return to France; Huguenot memorialists wrote from the ambiguity born of exile, not knowing if they would ever again see their native land.

These accounts are part of the creative literary output of early modern French refugees. Terpstra has written that early modern '[e]xiles and refugees were extraordinarily active and creative wherever they landed.'[660] My work provides additional examples of this creativity and brings to the field an understanding of the generic hybridity of these texts, which is evident by reading them closely in the ways that I have explored in this thesis. In so doing, I also challenge the ways these accounts have often been presented in the past—whether as sources for historical information or as imperfect quasi-fictions—and bring new and focused attention to the richness and diversity of these memoirs, by highlighting different voices and (to the degree that they are recoverable) their different intentions, functions, and effects.

[658] Chappell Lougee, 'Emigration and Memory,' 100.
[659] Ibid., Chappell Lougee's emphasis.
[660] Terpstra, 19.

Recent trends in French studies have rightly sought to draw attention to transnational voices and literatures once judged tangential or peripheral.[661] I propose that it is important to include in discussions of francophone identities and literatures the voices of this early modern Huguenot minority, writing 'back' to France across time and space from outside the kingdom, and choosing exile rather than to conform their dissenting voices to that of the majority. An understanding of early modern French narrative traditions and innovations, literatures and perspectives, is therefore incomplete without an appreciation of Huguenot refugee memoirs. However, more needs to be done to make these valuable accounts accessible to a wider audience. These important voices deserve to be heard by new audiences: it is a literature for our own times, and indeed for any generation in which people experience loss and are in need of consolation. Although written three centuries ago, these texts sound at times startlingly contemporary, articulating the complexities and prejudices experienced by displaced and mobile people across time. As in Mendel's photographs of people made vulnerable through disasters, we see in these accounts human responses to vulnerability, clinging to dignity in the face of adversity, discovering new identities in the midst of great loss. Creative cross-disciplinary collaboration could help to make these compelling characters and their stories known to wider audiences using today's innovative technologies, and storytelling techniques, in tandem with updated, annotated, and accessible editions of these vital, still living works.

[661] See for example *French Global: A New Approach to Literary History*, ed. Christie McDonald and Susan Rubin Suleiman (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010) on ways of rethinking French literary outside of the national boundaries of France.

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