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Seminar *Citizen's Resilience in Times of Crisis*

RUG, June 20, 2013

### **Diaspora and Suffering: Huguenots in the American Colonies**

It is my pleasure to be here today and to offer my thoughts on the theme of citizens' resilience in times of crisis. I will do so by close-reading a seventeenth-century letter of a persecuted Huguenot woman who flees from France to South Carolina (which was an English colony at the time) and achieves, after some difficulty, a 'new' life, if you will, of considerable stability and wealth. She thus exhibits the three behaviors that this workshop aims to study, namely: she acknowledges a crisis; she reacts to it in effective and creative ways; and she later (in this letter) reflects on the crisis as a transformative experience. Her letter also speaks to what the Introduction of this Workshop calls "the social fabric of past communities" (3) or, rather, it shows the rending of familial and communal ties in times of crisis and the reconstitution of an informal Francophone society in South Carolina—a society that will, however, rapidly disappear, both through intermarriage with English colonists and conversion to the Anglican Church. The story of Judith Giton and of the Huguenots in America is therefore not a traditional tale of resilience in the sense that (as the Resilience Alliance defines it, 2011, par. 9): "the system . . . absorb[s] disturbance, undergo[es] change, and still retain[s] essentially the same function, structure, identity, and feedbacks." The Huguenots in France, as I'm sure we're all aware, did not exactly bounce back from the European Wars of Religion.

Nevertheless, I think there is a lot we can learn from their experience, especially, as my title already indicates, about the connection between diaspora, suffering, and continuity. My work specifically studies how trauma and loss impact language or narrative. This becomes relevant to Reinhart Koselleck's definition of crisis in that, like narrative, crisis "not only records

historical developments and changes, but also arranges them in a meaningful order” (2). While reading Giton’s letter, I will point out how she recognizes the “loss of structural certainties” in France and “acknowledge[s] . . . a state of contingency” (when, for example, she works as an indentured servant—or, as she calls it “a slave” in the Caribbean). Her letter simultaneously accepts “the precariousness of events or scenarios”—I’m quoting from the Introduction again—while putting her ordeal “into a long-term perspective” (2). I want to call attention to how her narrative is unmoored from traditional reference points, such as appropriate familial relations—when she flees without notifying her younger brother, for example—and stable ideas of identity—such as whether or not one is or appears like a slave, in order to forge a post-diasporic sense of self. Giton may not bounce back, but she survives and even strikes it rich in America, which, after a crisis of this magnitude, might be called an exemplary instance of resilience.

I will briefly sketch the situation of the Huguenots in both France and abroad—the crisis at hand—before diving into Giton’s language and figures of speech—as an example of resilience.

## Part I. Destruction and Diaspora

The arrival of Huguenots in the New World—the second-largest single episode of transatlantic immigration in the seventeenth century after the Puritan settlement of Massachusetts Bay—is among the least-studied phenomenon in early American history. It has become *de rigueur* to assert and bemoan the understudied nature of this event in recent scholarship.<sup>1</sup> I will therefore not repeat others’ manifold complaints, but instead point out the relative scarcity of documents chronicling the Huguenot experience, especially in comparison to the copious records of the Puritans. Similar to Puritan narratives, Huguenot self-fashioning was a gradual, communal process structured by the experience of displacement and encounter. French Protestants invented

a religious ritual called *reconnaissance*, in which fugitives orally recounted their flight and exile in church before their new congregation. “On the basis of their narration,” writes Carolyn Lougee Chappell, “they would be formally accepted, or not, back into the fold . . . Telling their escape was the Huguenot fugitives’ rite of passage: the passage being the escape [from France], the rite the telling.”<sup>2</sup> Yet despite these autobiographical accounts of flight and refuge, the Huguenot archive remains sparse: it helps to remember that, in the rest of this chapter, we are reading the scant paper trail left by people on the run.

On the run from their own king—Louis XIV—who, after 1680, suppressed French Protestantism by means of murder, rape, and torture. Reformed believers were forced to convert or ‘recant’ to Catholicism and, as one bishop remarked smugly: “the dragoons have here been good missionaries.”<sup>3</sup> A few Huguenots were even deported to the French colonies in the Caribbean, though that policy was abandoned in favor of more efficient tactics of extermination at home. For, on October 22, 1685, Louis XIV took away the last legal rights of France’s Protestants by revoking the Edict of Nantes. This had immediate results: approximately two-thirds of the remaining Protestant laity recanted and historians estimate that about 160,000 Huguenots fled France: a dispersal of immense proportions in seventeenth-century Europe. In comparison to this main exodus from France, the Huguenot migration to the American colonies was much smaller in size and more variable in nature: in more of a stutter than a steady flow, Huguenots from several locations (especially France, Amsterdam, and London) began to make their way across the Atlantic after 1680. Despite the seemingly small number of around 2,000 Huguenot settlers in the American colonies in 1700, the social and cultural impact of the French Protestants was profound.<sup>4</sup> The 1685 Revocation of the Edict of Nantes thus constitutes a key moment in the history of the early Atlantic world, not only because it changed the colonies in

far-reaching ways, but also, I argue, because it allows us to see how diaspora prompts certain modes of expression—a discourse of New World suffering and survival.

One of the few known autobiographical accounts of a Huguenot's transatlantic migration can be found in a letter by Judith Giton, written to her brother in Germany. This letter was likely shaped by the practice of *reconnaissance*: a recounting one's flight from France to the congregation of exiled Huguenots in Germany, Holland, England, or America. The theological requirements of *reconnaissance* were not nearly as precise as those of Puritan conversion. The ritual served as an introduction of the speaker to the community, as well as an opportunity to deny any written or oral conversions to Catholicism that may have been made under duress. It seems that the main point of the ceremony was to share stories of torture, persecution, and diaspora. Therefore, similar to the tales from New England, Huguenot accounts created a sense of meaningful, shared suffering. Lougee Chappell notes: "the telling would be an activity of social bonding and community creation: a means of knitting together the expatriates to reproduce a society in which they would belong and not be exiles" (540). It is especially the form of these narratives (emphasis, elision, and style) that reveals how strategies of representation are shaped by diaspora and encounter.

## Part II. A Huguenot Writes Home.

Judith Giton's letter—a manuscript in the Manigault records of the South Carolina Historical Society, presumably a copy kept by the sender—details Giton's flight from Europe, her coming to Carolina, and her initial experiences in America. Her stark and short account is enlivened by what little biographical information we have of her. Judith Giton fled France a little before 1685 with her mother, Madeleine, and her brothers, Pierre and Louis, being about twenty

years old. She embarked for South Carolina in London the same and was married to Noé Royer, with whom she would have two sons. Noé Royer died in South Carolina in 1697. Judith Giton Royer remarried in 1699 to Pierre Manigault and had two more children with him. Pierre Manigault was a land-owning slaveholder and her second marriage made Judith's life comfortable. Judith Giton died in 1711, aged (presumably) forty-six. Her son, Gabriel Manigault, and grandson, Peter Manigault, would go on to become the richest men in the mainland American colonies, owning almost 500 slaves and 50,000 acres of land.<sup>5</sup>

Giton's letter, which was probably written around 1700, was not printed until 1842; a transcription of the original French appeared even later, in 1954.<sup>6</sup> It briefly outlines her flight from France to South Carolina; running less than 700 words total. The omission of any personal details (childhood, schooling) is common in *reconnaissance* narratives, as "it is not her life story but only the episode of escape and relocation that was appropriate for telling to [a] succession of congregations."<sup>7</sup> She begins: "I make you an account of our going out of France as far as Carolina since you wish it" (Giton, 26).<sup>8</sup> Apparently, her autobiographical account has been requested by her brother, who remained in Europe in the military and—as the letter makes clear—has not seen Judith since her hasty departure. This first sentence seems to indicate that they have been corresponding, although all known Huguenot letters from the New World share this opening: it may have been a trope or tradition. A note on the manuscript: "Endorsed: Letter of my wife written to her brother" shows that her second husband read this letter and sanctioned its contents (Giton, 27).<sup>9</sup> Judging by the extremely phonetic nature of its spelling (which is not unusual in Huguenot escape memoirs), she may even have dictated it to him. Regardless of whether this was an official *reconnaissance* or private correspondence, Judith's awareness of her audience adds a performative touch to her story. "Her escape account" writes Lougee Chappell:

“is best understood as an activity, not an object: an oral text that has taken shape in repeated tellings and then has been reexperienced.”<sup>10</sup> If we imagine Giton reliving her ordeal as she tells it to her second husband, her understated style and flashes of anger and agony become significant. (I’m reading from my own English translation of her letter):

We have suffered through eight months exactions and quartering upon us by the soldiery, for the religion, with much evil. We took resolution then to go out of France by night, and leave the soldiers in bed, and leaving the house fully furnished. We got to Romans and hid ourselves ten days while search was made to find us, but the hostess, being reserved, disclosed nothing about us, when asked if any had seen us . . . Then my eldest brother wrote you a letter, and one from Langress. I do not know if you have received them. They informed you that we were going out of France. (Giton, 26)<sup>11</sup>

Giton lived in “the village of la Voulte in Languedoc,” to which royal troops were sent as early as 1682, “to enforce the anti-Protestant restrictions Louis XIV had issued before the Revocation.”<sup>12</sup> Giton’s expression “quartering *upon us* by the soldiery” vividly describes the sense of surveillance and encroachment that the troops inflicted on local Protestants. Her pun that her family decided to “leave the soldiers in bed, and leaving the house fully furnished,” evokes a zeugma, though the first half of the sentence sounds gleeful and proud of their clever escape, while the later half registers her sadness at the sacrifice of most of their worldly possessions. The acute danger of escape becomes apparent in the references to the “search [that] was made to find us” and the tight-lipped “hostess.” Giton seems worried that the news of their flight did not reach the addressee of her letter, taking care to inform him that her “eldest brother,” Pierre, the male head of the family since her father’s death, wrote to him twice to apprise him of their plans.

As she makes her way through France to the German border, Giton's journey becomes more erratic and dangerous:

We passed to the home of Madame de Choiseul, where we did nothing. She was dead, and her son-in-law master of everything. Besides he let us know very well that seeing that we wished to go out of France, that if we wanted to ask anything of him, he would denounce us. We pursued our way to Metz, in Lorraine. (Giton, 26)<sup>13</sup>

“Madame de Choiseul” was, presumably, a known supporter of the Protestant cause in France. Upon her death, however, her house passed to her male descendants, in this case a son-in-law, who did not share her sympathies and was “master of everything.” Giton seems upset by this state of affairs, as the family's activities (such as writing letters) are constricted—“we did nothing”—by the lady's eager-to-tattle Catholic heir. She becomes even more upset when her eldest brother Pierre do not allow the family to say goodbye to the second son, even though they were geographically close to him:

we made to Wesel [in Germany], where we found a host who spoke French a little, who told us there was but thirty leagues from there to Luneburg. We knew at the time that you were there in winter quarters . . . Our late mother and I at once besought our eldest brother to choose to go that way, or choose to let us stay on at Wesel . . . but he would have none of this, having nothing but Carolina in his thoughts. (Giton, 25)<sup>14</sup>

At this point, Judith and her mother have endured the loss of most of their property and months of hiding. And now, they are not allowed to see their son and sibling one last time, because of Pierre's stubbornness. Judith is furious. Unmoored from the geographical markers that signify home, without (presumably beloved) possessions, and now, bereft of a last chance to cement familial bonds, she explodes in feeling:

This has caused me much grief, when I have thought of you, and to have lost so favorable a chance to see you at least one more time. How I have disliked to see a brother so want natural feeling, and how often I have reproached him for this. But he was our master, and we had to do all as he wished. (Giton, 27)<sup>15</sup>

Both Giton and the brother to whom she is writing know that they will never see each other again. She blames her eldest brother for denying them the chance to say goodbye, registering her mother's and her own vehement opposition. Although this may seem like a very particular, personal problem, such stressed and ruptures within family were actually not at all uncommon in Huguenot *reconnaissances* or escape memoirs. "In the Huguenot diaspora," observes Lougee Chappell: "the lines of contention ran not only between émigrés and the French monarchy (as historians of politics and political theory have shown) or between émigrés and their new host society (as studies of assimilation are showing) but within families themselves."<sup>16</sup> The Revocation literally ripped families apart, whether by faith or conversion, through separation and geographical distance, or in disagreement and strife. The Huguenot diaspora, therefore, forms a crisis that crucially and permanently rends the social fabric. Escape accounts and the conversion narratives above do their best to mend and stitch together what persecution and migration have torn apart.

Giton's ordeal is by no means over after she has left Europe:

We were three months at London awaiting a ship set for Carolina. Being embarked we were very badly off. The spotted fever appeared in our ship, of which many died. Of it our late mother died, being elderly. We were nine months before arriving in Carolina. We were at two ports; in Portugal; and at an island called Bermuda, belonging to the English, to repair our ship, because of a great storm, where we were badly used. Our ship's

captain, having committed certain rascalities, was thrown into prison, and the ship seized.  
(Giton, 27)<sup>17</sup>

The time spent in London “awaiting,” was perhaps boring and certainly expensive, but it was not particularly dangerous, as many Huguenots poured into the British capital and founded their own churches. Giton’s account of the Atlantic, on the other hand, is filled with peril. Disease and death are rampant.<sup>18</sup> The separate sentence, “of it our later mother died, being elderly,” when a clause would have sufficed (such as “y en mourut notre defunte mere, estant âgéé”), emphasizes the occurrence and cause of death, which is apparently unknown to the addressee of this letter. Morbidity and mortality were high on board ship, but Giton displays little fear of death, not even pausing to mention the “great storm” at any length. The “rascalities” of the captain, on the other hand, have a much greater impact on Giton’s narrative as they leave her and her brothers penniless and stuck in Bermuda.

“We were obliged to go on to Carolina,” writes Giton: “and, as our money was used up after we payed [sic] our passage at London, it followed that our brother, Louis, and I, served eight months for twenty-four crowns required for our second passage” (Giton, 27).<sup>19</sup> Impoverished and commanded by her brother (which is why the Gitons would be “obliged to go on to Carolina,” instead of staying in Bermuda), Judith and her younger brother Louis go to work to earn money for the voyage. The family’s lack of funds demonstrates that they expected to receive a land grant from the government instead. Giton’s dense prose does not clarify whether her labor took the form of indentured servitude or voluntary service. Her unquestioning attitude: “it followed that . . . Louis, and I, served” similarly obscures why her eldest brother Pierre did not ‘serve.’ It is worth recalling here, that Giton’s grudge against her elder brother began in France, as he here appears lazy, in addition to tyrannical.

The “second passage” finally brings Giton to her New World destination, where hunger and hard work await her:

After being in Carolina we suffered all sorts of evils. Our eldest brother died, a year and a half after our arrival here, of a fever, not being fitted to the hard work to which we were exposed. We have seen ourselves since our departure from France, in every sort of affliction; in sickness, pestilence, famine, poverty, very hard work. (Giton, 27)<sup>20</sup>

Again, Giton seems to lash out at Pierre, who, “not being fitted to the hard work” in Carolina, dies “of a fever.” The pace of Giton’s narrative speeds up considerably following her arrival in America. Perhaps due to the constraints of paper and space, she only devotes the last five sentences of her letter to the fifteen years she has spent in Carolina.<sup>21</sup> Giton stresses the hunger she suffered in Carolina and her inability to buy enough food: “I was in this country a full six months, without tasting bread, and whilst I worked the ground like a slave. And also, I have passed three or four full years before having it when I wanted it. God surely gave us good grace to have been able to withstand all sorts of trials” (Giton, 27).<sup>22</sup> Her short reference to “trials,” weathered with God’s help, recalls other Protestant accounts of hardships suffered in the New World. Although Giton does not note any spiritual effects of her migration, her letter (and the larger genre of *reconnaissance*) closely resembles Puritan conversion narratives in their performative nature and single-minded focus on the dynamics of travel and separation.

New World diasporic narratives thus seem to ceaselessly repeat scenes of departure and arrival in order to make sense of the experience of displacement. These constant, and seemingly unwitting, repetitions resemble what psychoanalysts would call the effects of trauma, whereby a disruptive event is reenacted (in dreams and stories) until it can be interpreted, processed, and finally put away by the sufferer. My point here is not to claim a clinical diagnosis of any kind for

the colonists; instead I simply wish to point out that the discourse of wounding and trauma can help explain the formal features of these immigrant narratives. The repetition of departure scenes in Protestant accounts is more than coincidental, and is perhaps best read as an ongoing quest for interpretation and communal meaning. Permanent departure from Europe, friends, and families is, in a way, postponed by the obsessive return to the final farewell in colonial personal narratives. Also, it seems essential that these leavetakings are witnessed, if by none other than their intended readers. This requirement is in keeping with the psychological working-through of trauma in which, as Dori Laub writes, the event must be “re-externaliz[ed]” so that “one can articulate and transmit the story, literally transfer it to another outside oneself and then take it back again, inside.”<sup>23</sup> The somatic transference or correspondence sketched by Laub becomes even more pronounced in the Protestant language of painful conversion, which I discuss at length in my book manuscript. In Giton’s telling and in many other Protestant stories, diaspora appears not only as a thematic center, but also as a formal element—fracturing plot and scattering syntax in a linguistic parallel to the dispersal of believers across the Atlantic.

After a seeming unending relation of hardships, Giton ends her letter by noting: “Suffice it, that God has had pity for me, and has changed my lot to one more happy. Glory be unto him.”<sup>24</sup> “The resistance of narrative closure,” writes Ruth Whelan: “makes [it] particularly valuable as a story of the configuration and *re*configuration of social identity.”<sup>25</sup> Its abrupt ending seems to resemble a hard-won complacency rather than real content with her current situation. Turning back to Giton’s concrete complaints in America: the inability to ‘have’ bread—a food which, unlike meat and produce, one cannot provide for oneself but must buy—seems symbolic of not just poverty, but also personal distress. It was to become a trope in later Protestant propaganda for the New World. Many of Giton’s complaints are thus characteristic,

and one might argue that her narrative constitutes a standard or theme, upon which later relations are vary. But, it is important to remember that if, as Elizabeth Tomkin has argued, oral life writing “is one of the ways that people generate and reproduce a culture, thereby shaping cultural identity,”<sup>26</sup> the cultural identity at stake here is a specifically diasporic one, as Giton struggles to come to terms with her displacement.

### III. Conclusion

Their personal narratives reveal that the Puritans and Huguenots shared much more than their Reformed faith. In early America, they both interpreted their suffering as simultaneously a sign of God’s favor and a challenge to their beliefs. Judith Giton’s letter struggles to make sense of physical persecution and displacement, relating how foreign environments and peoples necessitated new ideas of identity and ways of seeing the world. “As in the Old Testament,” writes Jon Butler: “an exodus initiated to preserve faith now was changing the people who had begun it.”<sup>86</sup> Diaspora and encounter leave traces in language and faith—causing uncertainty, verbal and psychological repetitions, and a general sense of shock. Until we better understand the effects of crisis on representation, our ideas of colonial America, and of citizens’ resilience in general, remain under revision.

## Notes

1. For complaints on the dearth of Huguenot scholarship, see Jon Butler, *The Huguenots in America: A Refugee People in New World Society* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: Harvard University Press, 1983), 4; J.F. Bosher, "Huguenot Merchants and the Protestant International in the Seventeenth Century," *William and Mary Quarterly* 52, no. 1 (1995): 78; Philip Benedict, *The Faith and Fortunes of France's Huguenots, 1600-85* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2001), 5; Catherine Randall, *From a Far Country: Camisards and Huguenots in the Atlantic World* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2009), 2. The discussion of the Huguenots' disappearance or assimilation as a cohesive group in the American context (Butler), versus their strategies of adaptation and adjustment (Bosher, Randall) is similarly staid and will not be rehashed here.

2. Carolyn Lougee Chappell, "'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* 22, no. 1 (1999), 11.

Sources for diasporic Huguenot writing are: the appendices to Charles W. Baird's *History of the Huguenot Emigration to America* (1885; Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1973), vol. 2 and Molly McClain and Alessa Ellefson, "A Letter from Carolina, 1688: French Huguenots in the New World," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 64, no. 2 (2007): 377-394. Chappell claims to have found more than 51 "escape memoires" in her article in Randolph Vigne and Charles Littleton, eds, *From Strangers to Citizens: the Integration of Immigrant Communities in Britain, Ireland, and Colonial America, 1550-1750* (Portland: Sussex Academic Press, 2001), 539.

3. Quoted in Samuel Mours, *Essai sommaire de geographie du protestantisme réformé français au xviiie siècle* (Paris: Librairie protestante, 1966), 40-1.

4. The exact number of Huguenot refugees is a hotly debated topic. Whereas an eighteenth-century Protestant leader, Antoine Court, claimed with confidence that over 2 million French fled, a twentieth-century French historian put the figure at a mere 100,000. Jon Butler relies on the calculations of Samuel Mours, who estimates a total of 160,000 initial immigrants. Butler, *Huguenots in America*, 22-24.

For where the Huguenots went and in what numbers, see Sandra Pott, Martin Mulsow, and Lutz Danneber, eds. *The Berlin Refuge, 1680-1780: Learning and Science in European Context* (Leiden: Brill, 2003); J.A.H. Bots, *The revocation of the Edict of Nantes and the Dutch Republic, 1685* (Amsterdam: APA-Holland University Press, 1986); M.A.W. Bakker, *Hugenoten in Groningen: Franse vluchtelingen tussen 1680 en 1720* (Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff /Bouma's Boekhuis, 1985); Vigne and Littleton, eds. *From Strangers to Citizens*, chapters 41-45.

On the Huguenot migration to America, see Neil Kamil, *Fortress of the Soul: Violence, Metaphysics, and Material Life in the Huguenots' New World, 1517-1751* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005); Paula Wheeler Carlo, *Huguenot Refugees in Colonial New York: Becoming American in the Hudson Valley* (Brighton, England: Sussex Academic Press, 2005); Bertrand van Ruymbekke and Randy J. Sparks, eds. *Memory and Identity: the Huguenots in France and the Atlantic Diaspora* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2003).

5. Giton's narrative is cited in Baird, *History of Huguenot Emigration to America*, vol. 2, 112-114, 182, 183, 296-7 and Butler, *The Huguenots in America*, 49-50, 54, 92-93. I have relied on a printing of the original French letter, alongside an English translation by Samuel Gaillard Stoney, in the *Transactions of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina* 59 (1954): 24-27. All

further references in text (marked Giton) are to this edition with the original French given in notes.

Biographical information compiled from Slann Legare Clement Simmons's introductory remarks (Giton 24) and Butler, *The Huguenots in America*, 125-6. The fact that Pierre Maniguault settled an account with his stepson, John Royer, upon Judith Giton's death (the settlement is printed following Giton's letter in *Transactions of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina* 59) leads me to believe that John Royer must have been Giton's child, contrary to Butler's claim that her marriage to Noé Royer was childless.

6. An English translation of Giton's letter first appeared in *The Magnolia; or, Southern Appalachian* (1842): 231-232.

7. Lougee Chappell, " 'The Pains I Took to Save My/His Family,' " 12.

8. "Jes vous faire une relations de notre sortyee de france iusque a carline [sic] plus que vous le souetee" (Giton, 25). I owe many insights on Giton to personal communication with Bertrand van Ruymbeke.

9. "Endorsed: letter de ma femme e'scrite a son frere" (Giton, 26).

10. Lougee Chappell, " 'The Pains I Took to Save My/His Family,' " 11.

11. "nous avons soufert pendant 8 moy la contributions at le logemant des janh de guere pour la religions avec bien du mal nous prime donc ressolutions de sorty de france lat nuit et de leser les soldat dant le lit et lesert la messon toute garniee nous fume a romant nous cachert pendant dix iours cependant qui faisoit la recherche pour nous trouver mais lotayse estrant cegretet ne nous declarat point car on vin demande sy on nous ávet veú . . . donc mon frere énee vous écrivit une letre et une de langre jes ne sait sy vous le aveé resué elle" (Giton, 25).

12. Butler, *The Huguenots in America*, 49.

13. “nous pasame chet md de choisseule ou nous ne fime rien de tout elle estoy morte et son baufis étoy mestre de tout de plus i nous fit bien conoitre que voiet que nous voulions sorty de france que sy nous voulions lui demandest quelque chosse i nous de clareres nous pour suivime notre chemains pour alere á mays an lorayne” (Giton, 25).

14. “nous fume á veselle ou nous trouvame un otet qui parlet un peux france qui nou dit qui niávet que trante lieu de lat á lunebourg donc nous savions que vous étyee lat en cartye diver . . . notre defunte mere et moy priame instamans notre frer énéé de vouloire passer par lat ou vouluse nous lesere avezelle . . . mais i ne voulut iamais nayant que lat caroline en son esprit” (Giton, 25).

15. “set qui mat cossé touiours un grand chagrins quand jes pansseé en vous et avoir perdu une sy belle occasions pour vois voire aumoins en cores une fois que ie eux de regret de voire un frere ávoire sy peux de naturele que ie lui ayt reprochet de fois mais iletet notre metre i nous falet faire tout comme i voulet” (Giton, 25).

16. *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, s.v. “regret,” Première Édition (1694), part of the “*Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française Database Project*,” directed by R. Wooldridge & I. Leroy-Turcan, the ARTFL Project and The University of Chicago, accessed February 27, 2007 <http://www.lib.uchicago.edu/efts/ARTFL/projects/dicos/ACADEMIE/PREMIERE/>. Thanks to Christopher Hodson for his help with translation.

17. Lougee Chappell, “ ‘The Pains I Took to Save My/His Family,’ ” 31.

18. “nous fume troy moy á londre pour átre un vessaus pret pour caroline és tant en barquéet nous fume bien male lat fievre pour preusse se mit dant notre nessaus donc ilat mourant beaucoup notre defunte mere en mourut estant agée nous fume neux moy ávant dariveé en caroline nous fume á deux port un portugay et ás une ile ápelleé bermoude ápartenante au anglet

pour racomoder notre vessaus á cosse dune grande tanpeste ou nous fume bien male treteé notre capitene de vessaus áyant fait queleque friponnerie fut mit en prisons et les vessaus sezié” (Giton, 25-6).

19. “nous fume obligéé de venir en carolline et come notre argens éstoy finit après avoie peyéé notre passage á londre i falut que notre frere louis et moy servions 8 moy pour vintes catre éscut qui faley pour notre segons passage” (Giton, 26).

20. “après étres en encaroline [sic] nous ávons soufert toute sorte de maux notre frere énéé mourut un an et demit après notre áriveé isy dune fievre netan pas ácoutumeé au rudet travallie ou nous étyons esposseé nous nous somme vue depuis norte sortyé de france an toute sorte dacflisions en maladiee peste famine pauvreee travallee bien rudemant” (Giton, 26).

21. The complete lack of punctuation in the original French complicates this assessment.

22. “jes bien étés dant ce péy six moy sant avoie goutée de pains et que ie travalliet álat tere comme une esclavet et mesme jes bien passéé troy ou catre aneé ávans dant avoie quand jes voulut dieu nous áfait une belle grave davoire peux ressiere á toute sorte de preuvel” (Giton, 26).

23. Laub in Shoshana Felman and Dori Laub, *Testimony: Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis, and History* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 69.

24. “ile sufit que dieu á eux pityee de moy et á changeé mon sort á un plus heureux gloire lui ensoit randueé” (Giton, 26).

25. Ruth Whelan, “Writing the Self: Huguenot Autobiography and the Process of Assimilation,” in Randolphe and Vigne, *From Strangers to Citizens*, 465.

26. Elizabeth Tomkin, *Narrating our Pasts: the Social Construction of Oral History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992): 97, 112, quoted by Whelan, “Writing the Self” in Randolphe and Vigne, *From Strangers to Citizens*, 466.