

Introduction

The Other Voice

Travel has long been undertaken for adventure; for the attainment of a physically challenging goal; and for exploration, discovery, and the acquisition of knowledge.¹ These motifs at the heart of all the great travel narratives of the past made travel exclusively a masculine pursuit. Because of the prevailing views of the female sex and restrictive gender norms, travel was not an option for most early modern French women, yet it was undertaken by the three women whose stories appear in this volume. Although there are real differences between them, they have in common the fact that each of them traveled outside of France, either voluntarily or involuntarily, during an era when the idea of a woman traveler was still something of a novelty.

The Ursuline nun Marie Guyart de l'Incarnation journeyed to Canada in 1639 with the explicit goal of teaching the daughters of the native inhabitants, and remained there until her death in 1672, more than thirty years later. In reading in *The Jesuit Relations* of 1635, an issue of the serial publication that reported from 1632 to 1673 on the Jesuit mission in Canada, she learned that the Jesuit Fathers were seeking “some brave mistress” to erect a seminary in Quebec in New France. As per the decree of the Council of Trent,² Ursuline nuns were to abide by the regulations of enclosure. In order to go outside their material cloister, they needed special permission from ecclesiastical authorities. On the assumption that men were better prepared by their experience and their knowledge of sacred texts to do missionary work, Catholic authorities were reluctant to give women such permission. In response to her pleas, they finally allowed Marie to leave, but special measures were taken to ensure provisionary claustration during the three-month-period that it would take to go overseas: she would need to make the journey in the company of other nuns; they would say their daily communal

1. See Nandini Das and Tim Youngs, “Introduction,” in *The Cambridge History of Travel Writing*, ed. Das and Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 1–16; and Yaël Schlick, “Travel Literature,” in *French Women Writers: A Bio-Bibliographical Source Book*, ed. Eva Martin Sartori and Dorothy Wynne Zimmerman (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991), 534–35.

2. The legislation established in 1298 by Boniface VIII and reiterated in December 1563 by the Council of Trent only allowed nuns to leave the convent in case of fire or epidemic. See *Council of Trent*, session 25, chap. 5, in *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. Norman P. Tanner, 2 vols. (London: Sheed & Ward; Washington DC: Georgetown University Press, 1990), 2: 777–78. On the way in which the first Ursuline missionaries circumvented the constraints of enclosure, see Leslie Choquette, “‘Ces Amazones du Grand Dieu’: Women and Mission in Seventeenth-Century Canada,” *French Historical Studies* 17, no. 3 (1992): 627–55.

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office; and they would be confined to designated quarters on the ship.³ On May 4, 1639, Marie embarked on the *Saint Joseph* for New France. Two Jesuits were traveling with her as well as three Hospitallers from Dieppe,⁴ two Ursuline nuns⁵ with their benefactress, Marie-Madeleine de Chauvigny (1603–1671),⁶ and the latter’s lady companion, Charlotte Barré. A selection of sixteen of Marie’s letters depicting her career as a missionary in Canada are included in this volume.

In 1750, Anne-Marie Fiquet Du Boccage⁷ set out at the age of forty on her first “Grand Tour”⁸—which was something of an oddity. It was not until later eighteenth century that it became common for women to travel, notably well-educated

3. Letter 37, April 15, 1639, 70; in *Correspondance*, ed. Guy-Marie Oury, 2nd ed. (Solesmes: Abbaye Saint-Pierre, 1971), 81–82, indicates that the nuns had been invited to use the captain’s quarters. On the measures taken to ensure enclosure while the nuns were traveling, see Nicole Pellegrin, “La clôture en voyage, fin XVIe–début XVIIIe siècle,” in Rogers and Thébaud, *Voyageuses, Cléo: Femmes, genre, histoire* 28 (2008): 77–98. <<https://doi.org/10.4000/cli.7553>>.

4. These Hospitallers, who were members of the Augustinian order, included Mother Marie Guenet, called Marie de Saint-Ignace, Anne Lecointre, called Anne de Saint-Bernard, and Marie Forestier, called Marie de Saint-Bonaventure who founded the Quebec’s Hôtel-Dieu in 1639.

5. One came from the Tours Congregation (Marie Savonnières de la Troche). The other, Cécile Richer (also Cécile de Reuville de l’Enfant Jésus, later known as Mother Cécile de Sainte-Croix), from the Dieppe Congregation, left an account of the journey overseas, translated in Appendix I in this volume.

6. Marie-Madeleine de Chauvigny Gruel de la Peltrie (1603–1671), secular foundress of the Ursulines of Quebec. Her life trajectory resembles that of Marie de l’Incarnation. Marie-Madeleine was married against her will at the age of seventeen to the Chevalier de Gruel, Seigneur de la Peltrie. Widowed at twenty-two, she planned to devote the rest of her life to the practice of virtue. When her father insisted on remarrying her, she conceived the idea of a sham marriage with Monsieur Jean de Bernières de Louvigny, a treasurer of France at Caen, who subsequently became procurator of the Ursulines at Quebec. When the 1635 Jesuit *Relation* came to her attention, she made the decision to devote herself and her fortune to the conversion of Amerindian girls. See Marie-Emmanuel Chabot, OSU, “Chauvigny, Marie-Madeleine de (Gruel de la Peltrie)” in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 1 (1966, rev. 2015), <http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/chauvigny_de_la_peltrie_marie_madeleine_de_1E.html>, and Françoise Deroy-Pineau, *Madeleine de la Peltrie, Amazone du Nouveau Monde: Alençon 1603–Québec 1671* ([Montreal]: Bellarmin, 1992).

7. Madame Du Boccage traveled in company of her husband, although she seldom speaks of him in her correspondence. They did not always take the same route or means of transportation, and they frequently participated in different activities.

8. Originally, the Grand Tour was meant “to round out the education of young men of the ruling classes by exposing them to the treasured artifacts and ennobling society” of Europe; see James Buzard, “The Grand Tour and After, 1660–1840,” in Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 37–52, at 38; and Jean Boutier, “Le Grand Tour: Une pratique d’éducation des noblesses européennes. XVIe–XVIIIe siècles,” in *Le voyage à l’époque moderne* (Paris: Presses de l’Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2004), 7–21. For a broader perspective on the Grand Tour and the transformations of the travel industry from 1750 on, see Lynne Withey, *Grand Tours and Cook’s Tours: A History of Leisure Travel, 1750 to 1915* (New York: William Morrow, 1997).

upper-class English women who seemed to enjoy more freedom than their French counterparts. In the earlier part of the century, travel remained, for the most part, a masculine endeavor.⁹ Except for noble women who traveled for family affairs (marriage, private or political matters, or for maintaining their network of relationships) or undertook occasional journeys to reputed spas,¹⁰ there were relatively few women then who ventured outside of France in search of knowledge. Yet, like the young men of the nobility who went abroad to complete their education, Madame Du Boccage traveled for the purpose of self-improvement first, in 1750, to England and Holland (i.e., the Netherlands), the two countries which most fascinated the French.¹¹ She was well aware of the unusual nature of her initiative, given her sex and age. Seven years later, in 1757–1758, she undertook her second Grand Tour, this time in Italy, to experience firsthand the classical culture that influenced her works¹² and, at the same time, the intellectual liberty offered there to educated women.¹³ A selection of fourteen letters from Du Boccage's epistolary account of her travels are presented in this volume.

9. On travel as a male activity, see Luigi Monga, "Travel and Travel Writing," in Luigi Monga, ed., *L'odeporica/Hodoeporics*, vol. 14 (Chapel Hill, NC: Dept. of Romance Languages and Literatures, 1996), 29–33.

10. See Dorothea Nolde, "Princesses voyageuses au XVIIe siècle: Médiatrices politiques et passeuses culturelles," *Clio: Histoire, femmes et sociétés* 28 (2008): 59–76; and Colette H. Winn, "Des Femmes en mouvement . . ." in *Le voyage en Europe à la Renaissance*, ed. Cynthia Skenazi, *Romanic Review* 94, nos. 1–2 (2003), 115–51.

11. Partly as a result of Voltaire's publication of his *Lettres anglaises*, also known as *Lettres philosophiques* (1734), England was especially admired as a model of religious tolerance, freedom of speech, enlightened monarchy, burgeoning economy, and the new scientific spirit; it was the country of Newton and Sloane, Reynolds and Watt. See Roy Porter, "Angleterre," in Michel Delon, ed., *Dictionnaire européen des Lumières* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1997), 80–84. On Holland, see Madeleine van Strien-Chardonneau, "Hollande," in Delon, *Dictionnaire européen des Lumières*, 347–51; and especially *Le voyage de Hollande: Récits de voyageurs français dans les Provinces-Unies* (Oxford: The Voltaire Foundation, 1994).

12. The Grand Tour in Italy reached its height in the middle of the eighteenth century, partly because of the excitement built around the excavation of Roman ruins. Tourists also flocked to Italy for its warm weather, its enchanting sceneries and, above all, for its arts. See Pierre Chessen, "Grand Tour," in Delon, *Dictionnaire européen des Lumières*, 520–21.

13. Elite Italian women had the liberty to engage in the fields of science and mathematics, which was still denied to women in other European countries. On this Italian phenomenon, see Paula Findlen, "Women on the Verge of Science: Aristocratic Women and Knowledge in Early Eighteenth-Century Italy," in *Women, Gender and Enlightenment*, ed. by Barbara Taylor and Susan Knott (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 265–87. See also in Paula Findlen, Wendy Wassynng Roworth, and Catherine M. Sama, eds., *Italy's Eighteenth Century: Gender and Culture in the Age of the Grand Tour* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009), the articles by Elisabetta Graziosi, "Revisiting Arcadia: Women and Academies in Eighteenth-Century Italy," 103–24, and Marta Cavazza, "Between Modesty and Spectacle: Women and Science in Eighteenth-Century Italy," 275–302.

In March 1794, as the revolutionary Terror had gripped France, Henriette-Lucie Dillon, Marquise de La Tour du Pin left that country and fled to America to escape imprisonment and persecution.¹⁴ During the most dangerous part of the French Revolution, the La Tours du Pin had moved to Bordeaux where they lived inconspicuously for months, hidden by sympathetic friends near their family estate of Bouilh, which had been completely sealed. When Lucie (as she is generally known) heard of a ship bound for America, which was docked in Bordeaux harbor, she immediately bought passage and took it upon herself to plot their exile,¹⁵ using an old acquaintance to secure false documents. A few days later, pretending to take her children for a walk for a couple of hours, she embarked on board the *Diane*, a single-masted wooden ship, with her husband, their four-year-old boy, and their eleven-month-old baby girl. The family stayed in the new United States, in the state of New York, from 1794 to 1796. Then, the revolutionary turmoil having subsided somewhat, they returned to France.

Travel was to make up a large part of Madame de La Tour du Pin's life. After she returned from America, she was forced to relocate to England due to France's political unrest in the aftermath of the Revolution. In the following years, she sojourned in different foreign countries as she accompanied her husband in his diplomatic missions. Selections from La Tour du Pin's *Journal of a Fifty-Year-Old Woman* describing her travel experience over the years 1794 to 1797 are included in this volume.

Not only was the activity of traveling symbolic of a freedom of movement that was ordinarily denied to women, but the act of writing meant access to public discourse, which was on the whole open solely to men. The three women showcased here produced substantial accounts of their journeys and experiences abroad. Between 1639 and 1672, Marie de l'Incarnation maintained a vast correspondence with family, friends, and members of her order, documenting the progress of her Canadian mission as well as her spiritual ascent. Madame Du Boccage compiled a detailed record of her educational journeys throughout Europe via a series of letters addressed to her sister. For all we know, the first account of a woman's trip to Italy ever written in French was hers. As for her letters about Holland, they are considered to be a founding text on the voyage to Holland, the earliest of eighty-two travel narratives published in the years 1748–1754, among which only four were written by women. Madame de La Tour du Pin, our third

14. Shortly after her arrival in America, Madame de La Tour du Pin heard of the deaths of her father, Monsieur de Dillon, and of her father-in-law, Monsieur de La Tour du Pin. Loyal supporters of the monarchy, both had perished the same day on the scaffold.

15. On the emigration phenomenon during the Reign of Terror, see Massimo Boffa, "Emigrés," in François Furet and Mona Ozouf, eds., *A Critical Dictionary of the French Revolution*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1989), 324–31; and with a broader perspective, Donald Greer, *The Incidence of the Emigration During the French Revolution* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1951).

travel chronicler, was one of the few women authors to leave behind a written testimony of her escape during the Reign of Terror.¹⁶ Her copious *Journal*, intended for her only surviving son, relates, in addition to the American episode, her European travel throughout her life. These engaging accounts of women's travels represent significant contributions to early modern travel literature and to other textual traditions often associated with travel writing, such as the epistolary genre and various forms of life writing.

Marie Guyart de l'Incarnation (1599–1672), The Mother of New France

The path leading to New France, where Marie Guyart de l'Incarnation spent the second half of her life carrying out her apostolic mission, was far from direct or free from challenges. From the age of seven, Marie was inclined to a sacred vocation, but her father had other plans for her. When she was seventeen, he arranged her marriage to the master silk worker Claude Martin. Claude died two years later and Marie was left with legal troubles and debts to repay. The precarious state of her affairs compelled her to find work to ensure her survival and that of her six-month-old baby boy, Claude. Thus, in 1621, she entered the service of her brother-in-law, Paul Buisson, the head of the largest transport company in Touraine. Marie began at the bottom of the ladder, initially responsible for the daily chores of cleaning and cooking for the family and workers and caring for the ill, the poor, and those injured at work. Because of her entrepreneurial spirit and her business sense, however, she rapidly climbed the ladder. In 1624, Buisson, who was well aware of his sister-in-law's managerial and business skills, made her his secretary and chief accountant. The following year, he entrusted her with full responsibility for the management of his company. Consequently, Marie became a businesswoman, one of the first in early modern France.¹⁷

In 1620, on the eve of the feast of the Incarnation, she experienced her first mystical encounter with Jesus Christ. She referred to it as her "conversion." After

16. On September 5, 1793, the Convention used the term *Terror* to signal "its intention to organize, systematize, and accelerate repression of the Republic's domestic adversaries and to ensure quick punishment of 'all traitors.'" Historically speaking, it designates the period between September 5, 1793 and July 27, 1794. See François Furet, "Terror," in Furet and Ozouf, *A Critical Dictionary of the French Revolution*, 137–50, at 137; and David Andress, "The Course of the Terror, 1793–1794," in Peter McPhee, ed., *A Companion to the French Revolution* (Malden, MA: John Wiley, 2012), 311–27.

17. On Marie de l'Incarnation as a businesswoman, see Guy-Marie Oury, *Marie de l'Incarnation (1599–1672)*, 2 vols. (Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1973), 1:67–79 and 93–111; and Françoise Derooy-Pineau, *Marie de l'Incarnation: Marie Guyart, femme d'affaires, mystique, Mère de la Nouvelle-France* (Saint-Laurent, Québec: Bellarmin, 1999), 109–24. For an empathetic study of Marie de l'Incarnation's unconventional trajectory, see Natalie Zemon Davis, *Women on the Margins: Three Seventeenth-Century Lives* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 63–139.

she had paid off her debts and her son had reached the age of boarding school, nothing seemed to stand in her way of pursuing the religious vocation to which she felt called by God. On January 25, 1631, despite her relatives' protest, she entrusted the custody of her son to her sister and took leave of her aged father to enter the Ursuline monastery in Tours under the name of Marie de l'Incarnation. She was accepted as a choir nun (the nun in charge of reciting the office in Latin), a position generally assigned to girls with a dowry.¹⁸ In order to enter the Ursuline monastery in 1635, Marie had to make the ultimate sacrifice of separating from her only child, who was only eleven years old at the time. She interpreted her abandonment as an act of obedience to the will of God and in conformity with the commands of the Gospel.¹⁹ We know very little as to how she prepared the young boy for their upcoming separation, but when the time came for her to leave, Claude accompanied her to the monastery without a word of complaint. In her *Relation* of 1633, Marie wrote, "this child came with me totally resigned. He dared not admit his affliction to me, but I saw tears fall from his eyes and knew that he was hurting inside."²⁰ Eight years later, when Marie left for New France, she once again left her son behind, this time, never to meet him again in the flesh.

The spiritual turn that his mother's life had taken played a vital role in the growth and maturation of the young man.²¹ As years passed, Claude, too, seemed to have adopted his mother's view of his abandonment. In 1640, at the age of twenty, he entered the Maurist congregation of Benedictines at Vendôme. Over the course of the three-decade-long correspondence between mother and son (1640–1672), a bond formed that was so strong that it would defy geographical separation and endure the detrimental effects of time.²²

18. On non-noble choir nuns, see Elisabeth Rapley, "Women and the Religious Vocation in Seventeenth-Century France," *French Historical Studies* 18, no. 3 (1994): 617–19.

19. Mary Dunn argues that Marie's unconventional decision was fostered by a patristic tradition of devaluing biological motherhood as incompatible with Christian discipleship; see "'The Cruellest of All Mothers': Marie de l'Incarnation, Motherhood, and Christian Discipleship," *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* 28, no. 1 (2012): 43–62. See also her more fully developed argument in *The Cruellest of All Mothers: Marie de l'Incarnation, Motherhood, and Christian Tradition* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2016).

20. *Relation de 1633*, in Marie de l'Incarnation, *Écrits spirituels et historiques*, ed. Claude Martin, reedited Albert Jamet, 2 vols. (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer; Québec: L'Action Sociale, 1929–1939), 1:9.

21. See Guy-Marie Oury, *Dom Claude Martin: Le fils de Marie de l'Incarnation* (Sablé-sur-Sarthe: Abbaye de Solesmes, 1983).

22. Much has been written on the distinctive relationship between "an absent mother and her abandoned son." See Marie de l'Incarnation, *From Mother to Son: The Selected Letters of Marie de l'Incarnation to Claude Martin*, ed. and trans. Mary Dunn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 32–40; and Sophie Houdard, "Le cri public du fils abandonné, ou l'inexprimable secret de la cruauté d'une mère," *Littératures classiques* 68, no. 1 (2009): 273–84.

Ironically, the woman who had defied conventional norms of motherhood by twice abandoning her son embraced motherhood voluntarily when she emigrated to New France: for Marie de l'Incarnation assumed the position of Mother Superior of her convent community for three six-year terms between 1639 and 1672 and became, as she herself declared with a sense of pride, the mother of her little "seminarians." "They see us as their biological mothers," she wrote. "When they have the slightest trouble, they throw themselves into our arms, as if we were their refuge."²³

Indeed, motherhood occupied a definite and significant place in the way she conceived her apostolic mission. Marie's students included both French and Amerindian girls (Algonquin, Montagnais, and Huron) between two and seventeen years of age.²⁴ The latter could be boarders (or "seminarians"), short-term pensioners (from a week to several months), or day students. Because the young Amerindian girls were removed from their families, Marie deemed it essential to create a safe, stable, and loving environment at the convent. The nuns were to welcome the girls with open arms, show them signs of affection, and look after them as their own mothers would. In the following passage, Marie notes the transfer of maternal love as a result of this day-to-day nurturing:

I will tell you that these young girls generally love us more than their parents, and demonstrate no desire to follow them, which is very extraordinary among natives. . . . While we carried out our spiritual exercises, they remained continually silent; they did not even dare to raise their eyes to look at us, thinking that this would interrupt us. But when we finished our exercises, they showed us their affection in a way that they never do with their biological mothers."²⁵

In another letter, this one to Father Barthélemy Vincent dated Summer 1642, Marie describes the process of identification typical of children this age. Some of the little girls, she noted, built houses out of foliage to have a private place to pray as they saw the Sisters do. Many reasons brought the young girls to the convent—their parents may have entrusted them to the Ursulines at the time of the hunt, they may have been orphans or pledges of peace in time of cessation of hostilities—but they invariably came hungry. At the convent, Dominique

23. Letter 41, January 1640, 73; Marie de l'Incarnation, *Correspondance*, 91–92.

24. The Algonquin, Montagnais, and Huron are Amerindian peoples indigenous to eastern Canada whom Marie encountered, to which set the Iroquois were added from the 1660s. See James White, ed., *Handbook of Indians of Canada*, Appendix to the Tenth Report of the Geographic Board of Canada (Ottawa: C. H. Parmelee, 1913), 14–19, 205–13, 224–28, and 312–14.

25. Letter 43, September 3, 1640, 77; Marie de l'Incarnation, *Correspondance*, 96–97.

Deslandres notes,²⁶ material assistance always preceded spiritual assistance, as this was a sure way of attracting and retaining the young girls. Marie adopted the ritual of hospitality in conformity with Amerindian custom and would often treat her little pensioners with *sagamité*,²⁷ a type of porridge of hulled corn, which they greatly enjoyed. Convinced that doing so would enhance her teaching, she made it her business to find out about her students' family environment and lifestyle, whether they came from supposedly more docile peoples, such as the Huron and the Algonquin, or whether they were raised by those generally hostile to Christians, such as the Iroquois. She soon discovered that girls from sedentary families—those who had been taken from their woodland environment and settled in villages—could achieve just as much as her French students, whereas those who came from families that retained their nomadic customs—those who moved from place to place to hunt, fish, and gather resources—seemed to lose everything they learned at the convent as soon as they returned home.

Marie considered the highest priority of her teaching to be the spiritual education of the children in preparation for their first communion, and the moral instruction that went along with it. Girls were taught Christian doctrine and prayers as well as the correct manner of doing spiritual exercises, making their confessions, and receiving the sacraments. They were introduced to specific values and prescriptive gender norms prevalent in seventeenth-century French society. They also received minimal training in reading, writing, arithmetic, and sometimes music. As directed by the king of France, the Amerindian people were to learn to speak French and behave like the French in every respect except for eating habits and dance.

Marie sensed the importance of learning the languages of her students to facilitate communication and gain their trust. Even though she found it challenging, she learned several indigenous languages to be able to explain to her students the Christian doctrine in their own language and thereby form intermediaries who could in turn convey the Christian message in their own tongue. She also encouraged singing when she saw the pleasure her students took in singing in unison the Christian hymns that had been translated into their language. By incorporating elements of indigenous culture in her teaching methods, including the Amerindian ritual of hospitality, their native tongues, or their joy in singing, Marie made of her convent an *entre-deux*, a sort of privileged space, where two very different worlds could meet and cultural exchanges became possible.

26. Dominique Deslandres, "Un projet éducatif au XVII^e siècle: Marie de l'Incarnation et la femme amérindienne," *Recherches amérindiennes au Québec* 13, no. 4 (1983): 281.

27. On the indigenous foundation for this meal and the influence of the French in naming it, see Janet C. Gilmore, "Sagamité and Booya: French Influence in Defining Great Lakes Culinary Heritage," *Revue de la culture matérielle* 60 (Automne 2004): 58–69; <<https://journals.lib.unb.ca/index.php/MCR/article/view/18000/19275>>.

Today, Marie de l'Incarnation is especially remembered as the founding Mother of the first Ursuline Congregation in North America and as one who encouraged cultural exchanges between early settlers and Amerindians.²⁸ Equally important, however, is the metaphorical mother figure, whose fecundity made her the first woman writer of New France.

From early on, writing occupied a special place in Marie's life. She was indeed a prolific writer and, by 1684, "the most published member of her order."²⁹ In addition to the extensive correspondence that she maintained during the thirty-three years she spent in Canada,³⁰ she wrote, at her son's request, an autobiographical narrative, in which she related her mystical encounters. The first account she penned at her son's solicitation burned in the fire that ravaged the convent in 1650. Marie then wrote another version that she sent Claude in 1654. She made him promise that no one but himself or her niece, Marie Buisson, who had entered the Ursulines in Tours, would ever see this document. However, as early as 1647, she had begun to write about her religious experiences, with the consent of her spiritual director, hoping to leave her writings as a legacy to Claude. By 1653, Marie had composed an intricate index outlining her spiritual journey.³¹

Drawing from these works and her correspondence, Claude Martin published in 1667 an account of his mother's life entitled *La vie de la Vénérable Mère Marie de l'Incarnation*.³² He also published her correspondence in 1681, with revisions including editing the style and the order of the paragraphs, removing the passages deemed too intimate, reorganizing the letters in conformity with his categories of "lettres spirituelles" and "lettres historiques," and contextualizing them in view of a specific readership.³³

28. On Marie as cultural intermediary, see Alessandra Ferraro, "Attività missionaria e mediazione interculturale in Nouvelle-France: Marie de l'Incarnation," in *Le culture dei missionari*, ed. Nicola Gasbarro (Rome: Bulzoni Editore, 2009), 153–74; and Marie Gourdeau, *Les délices de nos cœurs: Marie de l'Incarnation et ses pensionnaires, 1639–1672* (Sillery, Québec: Septentrion, 1994).

29. Thomas Carr, "Writing the Convent in New France: The Colonialist Rhetoric of Canadian Nuns," *Quebec Studies* 47 (Spring/Summer 2009): 4.

30. From the 13,000 letters she wrote, only about 300 are extant.

31. See Vincent Grégoire, "Marie de l'Incarnation religieuse, mystique et mère: La première femme écrivain de Nouvelle France?," *Dalhousie French Studies* 42 (Spring 1998): 47–56.

32. Claude Martin, *La vie de la Vénérable Mère Marie de l'Incarnation, Première Supérieure des Ursulines de la Nouvelle France: Tirée de ses lettres et de ses écrits* (Paris: Louis Billaine, 1677); facsimile reprint ed. Guy-Marie Oury (Sablé-sur-Sarthe: Abbaye de Solesmes, 1981). Most nun authors published through the intermediary of a male ecclesiastic, and their writings usually appeared after their death.

33. Martin's editorial initiatives should be understood in the context of the scriptorial interaction that ordinarily took place between religious women and their spiritual directors. See Carla Zecher, "A New-World Model of Female Epistolarity: The Correspondence of Marie de l'Incarnation," *Studies in Canadian Literature* 21, no. 2 (1996): 96–99.

In addition to her spiritual writings, Marie drafted in 1647 the *Règlements*, or *Rules*, that accompanied the Constitutions of the Ursulines of Quebec. Before her death, she intended “to leave behind as many things in writing as possible” to assist the Ursuline nuns who would pursue her teaching apostolate. To this end, she produced several textbooks, catechisms, and prayers between 1662 and 1668: “a large Algonquian book about sacred history and holy things, along with a dictionary and an Iroquoian catechism, which is priceless . . . , a large Algonquian dictionary in the French alphabet,”³⁴ and another one in the Amerindian alphabet. None of these works has survived; some were lost in the fire of 1686, others were given to nineteenth-century oblate missionaries going up North. In the years 1669–1670, just before her death, Marie authored two texts to appear in Marie-Augustine de Pommereu’s *Chroniques de l’Ordre des Ursulines*, a two-volume history of the order’s communities published in 1673. Finally, she composed necrologies and death notices of the nuns who had died at the convent of Quebec and she contributed various accounts of her mission in New France to *The Jesuit Relations*.

An author, a mother, and a mystic, the missionary career of Marie de l’Incarnation reached its apogee on April 3, 2014, in the estimation of her coreligionists, when she was canonized as a saint of the Roman Catholic Church.

Anne-Marie Fiquet Du Boccage (1710–1802), Poet, Translator, Salonnière, and Traveler

The two consecutive Grand Tours outside of France that Madame Du Boccage undertook in her forties appear to be the culmination of a life devoted from early on to education and self-improvement. Born into the upper-middle-class of Rouen (Normandy), Anne-Marie Le Page received an exceptional education at the exclusive convent of the Assumption in Paris.³⁵ It was there that her precocious thirst for knowledge and her uncommon capacity for learning were first noticed. At barely seventeen years old, she married a certain Pierre Joseph Fiquet Du Boccage from Dieppe, who was a *receveur des tailles* (tax official). Their union, which remained childless, seems to have been happy, as she and her husband shared similar interests in traveling, literature, and the translation of poetry. By the age of thirty-five, Madame Du Boccage had already achieved literary and worldly notoriety³⁶ due to

34. Letter 235, August 9, 1668, 87; Marie de l’Incarnation, *Correspondance*, 801.

35. On her life and career, see Grace Gill-Mark, *Une femme de lettres au XVIIIe siècle: Anne-Marie Du Boccage* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1927); and Rotraud von Kulesa, “Anne Marie Le Page,” in *Dictionnaire des femmes de l’ancienne France*, at SIEFAR [La Société Internationale pour l’Étude des Femmes de l’Ancien Régime]; <http://siefar.org/dictionnaire/fr/Anne_Marie_Le_Page>.

36. On participation in academic contests as a component of the strategy of success, see John R. Iverson and Marie-Pascale Peretti, “‘Toutes personnes . . . seront admises à concourir’: La participation des femmes aux concours académiques,” *Dix-huitième siècle* 36 (2004): 313–22.

the prize awarded to her in 1745 by the Academy of Rouen, a rare distinction for a woman, for a poem on the “Fondation d’un prix alternatif entre les Belles Lettres et les Sciences” (Foundation of an Alternative Prize between the Belles Lettres and Sciences).³⁷ This achievement earned her the esteem of Voltaire and the flattering epithet of “the Sappho from Normandy.”³⁸ Madame Du Boccage was not only one of the few women in France awarded a prize from a provincial academy in the eighteenth century, she was also the woman who received the greatest number of honors during her lifetime, including membership in various academies in Rome, Padua, Bologna, Lyons and Rouen.

As a *femme de lettres*, Madame Du Boccage distinguished herself from other women who took up the pen in her time by both the range of her writings (she embraced virtually every genre including poetry, drama, epistolary, travel literature) and the choice she made in practicing “masculine” genres such as tragedy and epic. By choosing to explore genres usually reserved for men, Madame Du Boccage hoped to gain recognition in the literary circles open to great scholars of the time. During her lifetime, she gained rapid recognition in literary circles as a poet, a translator, and a *salonnière*. From an early age, she had taken a liking to poetry and had applied herself to the study of the English language. She tried her hand at all kinds of poetry: society verse, which was much in vogue at the time, pastoral verse, verse-drama, and verse-epic. Between 1740 and 1760, she published numerous verses in periodicals such as the *Mercure* and the *Journal de Verdun*, and she was also frequently acclaimed in the same journals.³⁹ She gained great visibility by being the first of many to attempt to put Milton into French verse. *Le paradis terrestre* (1748), her imitation of his *Paradise Lost*, was the most popular French version in the eighteenth century. The other important works she composed during these years include an epic poem in ten cantos relating the discovery of the New World by Columbus, *La Colombiade, ou la Foi portée au*

37. This poem was published the following year in the journal *Mercure de France*.

38. One may want to explore further the relationship between Voltaire and Madame Du Boccage. Du Boccage had great admiration for the man and his works. But Voltaire’s attitude toward her was ambivalent at best. The legend goes that he had made disparaging remarks to the Baron von Grimm about her works and that, in 1758, when she visited him at Ferney on her way back from Italy, he crowned her with laurel while making monkey faces behind her back. See Jean-Charles Chessex, “Madame Du Boccage ou la belle inconnue,” *French Review* 30, no. 4 (1957): 297–302.

39. She was a well-respected figure, as indicated by the praise she garnered: *Forma Venus, Arte Minerva* (A Venus in form, a Minerva in art). This motto appeared under Mademoiselle Loir’s portrait of Du Boccage, which was used as a frontispiece in eighteenth-century editions of *La Colombiade* and the *Recueil des œuvres de Madame Du Boccage*. As R. Thomas Watson notes, “[t]he first part of the motto brings to mind the role that women were expected to play in society, that of an elegant ornament, typified by the hostess of the salon,” whereas the second part refers to the goddess Minerva, who was the embodiment of wisdom and reason; see “*Forma Venus, Arte Minerva*: Madame Du Boccage: A Simone de Beauvoir avant la lettre,” *Simone de Beauvoir Studies* 7 (1990): 4.

Nouveau Monde (1756), and *Les Amazones* (1759), a play for the stage concerning gynecocracy. It was performed eleven times between July and August 1759 by the Comédiens ordinaires du Roi. In the 1760s, she published *La Mort d'Abel*,⁴⁰ which she had begun in 1715, a paraphrase in verse of Salomon Gessner's *Der Tod Abels*, and *Le Temple de la Renommée*, a translation of Alexander Pope's *Temple of Fame*. In Rouen, the Du Boccages associated with literary figures who took an interest in the works of Milton and Pope and in the practice of translation. Among them were Henri Martin Le Roy, who published an annotated translation of *Paradise Lost* in 1775; Jean-François du Resnel du Bellay, a commentator and translator of Pope's *Essay on Criticism* (1730), his *Essay on Man* (1736), and *The Principles of Morality* (1745); and Pierre-François Guyot, better known as Abbé Desfontaines, a translator of both ancient and modern texts, including the three extremely popular English works *Gulliver's Travels* by Jonathan Swift, *The Rape of the Lock* by Alexander Pope, and *Joseph Andrews* by Henry Fielding.

In 1733, the Du Boccages settled in Paris, where they spent eight months of the year. They held a literary salon⁴¹ that assembled once a week, first at rue de La Sourdière, and after 1758 at rue Saint-Roch, some of the great minds of the time, including the mathematician and astronomer Alexis Clairaut; the geometer Charles Marie de La Condamine; the naturalist Georges-Louis Leclerc, comte de Buffon; the chronobiologist Jean-Jacques d'Ortous de Mairan; the moralist and historiographer Nicolas-Charles-Joseph Trublet; the philosopher Étienne Bonnot de Condillac; the famous playwright Pierre de Marivaux; and the scientist and author Bernard Le Bovier de Fontenelle, who attended the Sunday suppers of Madame Du Boccage on a regular basis and was a great admirer of her verses.⁴² Madame Du Boccage's salon was especially known for the international

40. Since Madame Du Boccage did not know German, she used a prose translation of Gessner's *Der Tod Abels* as a basis for her translation. When she wrote her imitations of Chinese poems, she likewise consulted prose versions by Pierre-Martial Cibot, a contributor to the serial publication *Mémoires concernant l'histoire, les sciences, les arts, les mœurs, les usages des Chinois . . .*, ed. Jacques Marie Amiot, et al. (1776–1814). In a letter to M. de Moncrif, she admits having consulted Du Pré de St. Maur's translation of Milton when she revised her imitation of *Paradise Lost*: "J'ai réparé toutes les petites marques noires excepté deux . . . , une au 153e vers du 4e chant, et l'autre au 324e du même chant, dont je vous envoie l'endroit marqué dans la traduction de M. du Pré de St. Maur à la 321e page." See "Unpublished Letters of Mme Du Boccage," ed. Frederick King Turgeon, *Modern Philology* 27, no. 3 (1930): 322.

41. On eighteenth-century sociability and literary salons, see Antoine Lilti, *The World of the Salons: Sociability and Worldliness in Eighteenth-Century Paris*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 47–49.

42. Bernard Le Bovier (or Le Bouyer) de Fontenelle (1657–1757), member of the *Académie française*, secrétaire perpétuel of the *Académie royale des Sciences* (1699–1740), author of *Lettres galantes*, published anonymously in 1685, was best known for his *Nouveaux Dialogues des morts* (1683), his *Entretiens pour la pluralité des mondes* (1686), and his *Digression sur les Anciens et les Modernes* (1688). As a "Modern" in the famous Quarrel between the Ancients and the Moderns, Fontenelle believed in the continuous progress of human knowledge since Antiquity and highly valued innovation and

intellectuals who frequented it, many of whom she had encountered or had renewed ties with during her leisure journeys in England, Holland, and Italy: among them, the diplomat and passionate francophile Lord Chesterfield;⁴³ the philosopher and art critic Francesco Algarotti; the economist Ferdinando Galiani; and two of the most prominent Italian playwrights, Carlo Goldoni and Vittorio Alfieri. Clearly, the flattering welcome Madame Du Boccage had received on her Grand Tour, especially in Italy where France was much admired at the time,⁴⁴ the successful reception of her works both in France and outside, her numerous contacts abroad, and her foreign acquired knowledge added a cosmopolitan element to her salon, which made it stand out from other contemporary centers of Enlightenment.⁴⁵

Henriette-Lucie Dillon, Marquise de La Tour du Pin (1770–1853), a Survivor of the Reign of Terror

The notoriously challenging times in which she lived may explain the lifelong, wide-ranging mobility of Madame de La Tour du Pin. A survivor of the Reign of Terror, she was also a first-hand witness to the rise and fall of Napoleon Bonaparte,

invention. See Jochen Schlobach, “Anciens et Modernes [Querelle]” in Delon, *Dictionnaire européen des Lumières*, 75–79.

43. Philip Dormer Stanhope (1694–1773), 4th earl of Chesterfield and knight of the garter, statesman, diplomat, member of the Whig party, and man of letters; see Samuel Shellabarger, *Chesterfield and His World* (Boston: Little Brown, 1951). Lord Chesterfield is the author of *Letters to his Son on the Art of Becoming a Man of the World and a Gentleman*, a work published posthumously by his widow (1774), which contains some four hundred letters to his illegitimate son Philip Stanhope. Chesterfield also wrote numerous letters to his friends, among whom was Madame Du Boccage. Twelve of his letters to her in the years 1750–1752 are found in *Miscellaneous Works of the Late Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield: Consisting of Letters to His Friends Never Before Printed, and Various Other Articles*, ed. M. Maty, 2 vols. (London: Printed for Edward and Charles Dilly, 1777), 2:242–81 (Letters LXXXV–XCVI). Several of these letters refer to Chesterfield giving Du Boccage busts of Pope, Milton, Dryden and Shakespeare. See “Anne-Marie Fiquet du Boccage, and a Bust of Alexander Pope,” at Bath Art and Architecture (October 25, 2014); <<http://bathartandarchitecture.blogspot.com/2014/10/anne-marie-fiquet-du-boccage.html>>.

44. In Italy, she was viewed as a distinguished visitor and was received by the highest society, including the pope and the cardinals; nationalism was emerging, promoting a sense of cultural distinctiveness and trying to lessen the impact of cosmopolitan influences. See Jeremy Black, “Cultural History and the Eighteenth Century,” *XVII–XVIII: Bulletin de la société d’études anglo-américaines des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles* 42 (1996): 7–20.

45. On eighteenth-century salons as centers of Enlightenment, see Dena Goodman, “Enlightenment Salons: The Convergence of Female and Philosophic Ambitions,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 22, no. 3, special issue on *The French Revolution in Culture* (1989): 329–50. On the rivalry between Madame Du Boccage’s salon and that of Madame Geoffrin, see Gill-Mark, *Une femme de lettres au XVIIIe siècle*, 24–49.

the coronation of three kings (Louis XVI, Louis XVIII, and Charles IX), and the ascent of Emperor Napoleon III.

Henriette-Lucie Dillon was born in Paris in the fashionable Faubourg Saint-Germain, rue du Bac.⁴⁶ She came from a prominent family of Irish descent, linked to the Dillons of Costello-Gallen whose chief renown, after the fall of the Stuarts, was won as Colonel-Proprietors of Dillon's Regiment, an Irish brigade that had long served in France. Her father, Arthur Dillon (1750–1794), son of Henry Dillon, 11th Viscount Dillon of Costello-Gallen, inherited the leadership of the Dillon's Regiment and served in North America and the West Indies during the American Revolutionary War.⁴⁷ He married his second cousin, Thérèse-Lucie de Rothe (1751–1782), daughter of General Edward de Rothe and Lucy Cary, who later belonged to the intimate circle of friends of Marie Antoinette and served the queen from 1780 to 1782. Lucie was only twelve when her mother died, and because her father was frequently absent from home on military campaigns, she was placed under the care of her maternal grandmother Lucy Cary (?–1804), daughter of Laura Dillon and Viscount Falkland, and spouse of General Edward de Rothe. In her early teens, Lucie was appointed lady-in-waiting to Marie Antoinette, rapidly learning the rules of courtly etiquette required of a young lady upon her *début* at Versailles. On May 21, 1787, at the age of sixteen, Lucie was engaged, with Marie Antoinette's blessing, to Frédéric-Séraphin de Gouvernet, a young and handsome aide-de-camp to Gilbert du Motier, Marquis de Lafayette. She welcomed this union as she saw an opportunity to escape from the control of her tyrannical grandmother, but also she had a premonition that it was meant to be: "It was an instinct, an impulse from Heaven. God had destined me for him."⁴⁸ Upon the death of her father-in-law, she became Comtesse de La Tour du Pin Gouvernet, then Marquise de La Tour du Pin when King Louis XVIII granted her husband the title of marquis.

46. The information that follows is based upon Madame de La Tour du Pin's *Journal* and various biographical sources including Catherine Montfort, "Madame de La Tour du Pin: An Aristocratic Farmer in America," *New Perspectives on the Eighteenth Century* 12, no. 1 (2015): 35–47, and Montfort, "Madame de La Tour du Pin, 1770–1853: *Le Journal d'une femme de cinquante ans*," *Dalhousie French Studies* 108 (Spring 2016): 39–51; Caroline Moorehead, *Dancing to the Precipice: Lucie de La Tour du Pin and the French Revolution* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2009); for which see also Ruth Scurr's review of Moorehead's *Dancing*, "Stolen Youth: The Life of Lucie de La Tour du Pin: The French Revolution as seen from Versailles," *The Nation* (August 17, 2009); <<https://www.thenation.com/article/archive/stolen-youth-life-lucie-de-la-tour-du-pin/>>.

47. See Richard Bourke and Ian McBride, eds., *The Princeton History of Modern Ireland* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016), 492.

48. Madame de La Tour du Pin, *Recollections of the Revolution and the Empire: From the French of the Journal d'une femme de cinquante ans by La Marquise de La Tour du Pin*, ed. and trans. by Walter Geer (New York: Brentanos, 1920), 36; online at archive.org: <<https://archive.org/details/recollection-sofr00latouoft/page/n6/mode/2up>>. Citations from texts not included in this volume are from this translation.

Between 1790 and 1806, Lucie had ten pregnancies with six live births in different places and countries, due to the numerous posts Frédéric held during his long diplomatic career. Early in the Revolution (from March to October 1791), he was appointed Plenipotentiary Minister at the Hague. During the Terror, the La Tours du Pin escaped to America. The journey overseas, which lasted sixty days, proved to be quite stressful for the whole family. Early on, they felt their lives in peril when a ship from the French Coast Guard came alongside the *Diane* and ordered the captain to follow them. If not for a fortuitous fog that allowed the *Diane* to escape in the opposite direction, the passengers would surely have faced the guillotine. Throughout the journey, Monsieur de La Tour du Pin suffered the unpleasant symptoms of seasickness. Their son Humbert cried for white bread and fresh milk and baby Seraphine's gums would not stop bleeding as she ate hardened biscuits riddled with worms. Madame de La Tour du Pin found it impossible to rest. At night, obliged to lay in the same bed as her baby girl, she dared not move for fear of killing her:

Fearing that I would smother her by rolling on top of her in my sleep, I found a way to attach myself to the side of the bed with a band of cloth that circled around my waist, in a way that kept me from turning or changing position. In this way, my little girl had all the space that she needed. At first, this way of sleeping was a real torture but I quickly became accustomed to it, and in a few days, it seemed as though I had never slept any other way.⁴⁹

This episode is highly indicative of Madame de La Tour du Pin's resourcefulness and of her remarkable ability to adapt to the situation at hand, whatever it might be.⁵⁰ Equally symbolic of her level-headedness and her determination to embrace the new life ahead of her with its uncertainties and hardships is another episode during the Atlantic crossing when she hacked off her hair with kitchen scissors, even though the Titus style⁵¹ was not yet in vogue for women: "I found

49. *Journal d'une femme de cinquante ans, 1778–1815*, 2 vols. (Paris: M. Imhaus & R. Chapelot, 1913), Part. 1, chap. 16, 381–82; online at *Gallica*: <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k467930>>; and at *archive.org*: <<https://archive.org/details/journaldunefemme00lato>>. Citations from texts translated in this volume are from this edition, to be cited henceforth as La Tour du Pin, *Journal* (quotation here is on pages 179–80). The same publishers had printed an earlier edition in 4 vols. in 1907–1911, with the subtitle *publié par son arrière petit-fils le colonel comte Aymar de Liedekerke-Beaufort*.

50. Alix de Rohan Chabot defines Madame de La Tour du Pin's special adaptability to whichever challenge life sent her way as "le talent du bonheur." See Alix de Rohan Chabot, *Madame de La Tour du Pin: Le talent du bonheur* (Paris: Perrin, 1997).

51. The so-called Titus haircut originated during the Reign of Terror when executioners would chop the hair of those sentenced to death close to the nape of the neck to make sure the guillotine did the job. In the early 1790s, men began to crop their hair short to imitate the busts of Roman Emperor

my long hair so matted that, despairing of ever being able to untangle it and apparently anticipating the Titus haircut, I took a pair of scissors and cut it short, which angered my husband.”⁵² As she tossed it overboard, she simply observed: “I threw my lovely blonde curls into the sea, and with them all the frivolous ideas that they had ever fostered in me.”⁵³

The La Tours du Pin finally landed in Boston, where they encountered other French émigrés, revolutionaries for the most part, who did not look kindly upon these royal sympathizers on the run. From there, they went to a rural community in New York upon the recommendation of an acquaintance and rented a farmhouse with the intention of learning from their landlord how to till the soil and manage a farm. Six months later, they purchased their own dairy farm in Troy, a few miles from Albany in upstate New York. In 1796, the La Tours du Pin were summoned by their friends to return to France as the political climate was changing. When the Terror was over and the proscription against émigrés was finally lifted, they went back to reclaim their family estate that would otherwise have been confiscated. But on the eve of the 18 Fructidor Coup (September 4, 1797), they fled into exile again, this time to England, where they lived as émigrés on the charity of relatives and friends. They returned to France at the turn of the century.

For the next thirty years, the La Tours du Pin would be constantly on the move. They left for Belgium for five years when Napoleon appointed Frédéric Prefect of Brussels. Then after a year in Amiens, the family lived briefly in Vienna, where Frédéric served as Ambassador Plenipotentiary, then relocated once more when he became Minister of the Court of the Low Countries. For the next ten years, from 1820 to 1830, the La Tours du Pin resided in Turin, where Frédéric held the post of Ambassador. When he retired from public life in January 1830, they took residence in Versailles. Frédéric died at the age of 78. Lucie outlived her husband, whom she loved dearly, and five of her six children. In 1820, at the age of fifty, she began putting in writing her recollections for her two children who then survived, her last-born son, Aymar, and her daughter, Charlotte, known as Alix, who died suddenly in 1822. The manuscript, which had been preserved by Aymar, ended up in the hands of his nephew, Hadelin, who in turn bequeathed it to his son, also named Aymar, who first published it in 1906.⁵⁴ In a few years, the book went through sixteen editions.

Titus. In the late 1790s, women adopted the Titus style as well. By the end of the eighteenth century, the Titus haircut became a sensation. On revolutionary hairstyles and the “Titus” look, see Robin Bryer, *The History of Hair: Fashion and Fantasy Down the Ages* (London: Philip Wilson, 2000), 75–77.

52. La Tour du Pin, *Journal*, Part 1, chap. 16, 386.

53. La Tour du Pin, *Journal*, Part 1, chap. 16, 386.

54. Frédéric Claude Aymar de La Tour du Pin Gouvernet, Comte de Gouvernet (1806–1867), Madame de La Tour du Pin’s son; Hadelin Aymar Charles-Alphone Marie Liedekerke-Beaufort (1816–1903),

Experiencing Otherness

Most striking about these women's travel experiences is their diversity: the women's personal circumstances (age, social background, etc.) and motives for travel, the time spent in foreign lands, and the parts of the world where they traveled, all differed. Whereas Marie de l'Incarnation left France in search of a richer spiritual life, and Madame Du Boccage did so in search of leisure and instruction, Madame de La Tour du Pin was forced to flee to avoid capture or persecution, such that her memoir can be read partly as an escape narrative. All three narratives provide an account of an extended visit abroad, not simply a journey. Madame Du Boccage spent sixteen months in Italy; Madame de La Tour du Pin resided a little less than two years in America; and Marie de l'Incarnation spent over thirty years overseas. From the beginning, Madame Du Boccage knew that her sojourn in Italy was temporary, even though she hoped to prolong it and might have done so were it not for her husband's sudden gout attack. When she fled her homeland, Madame de La Tour du Pin was probably hoping never to come back again,⁵⁵ but even though she rapidly adjusted to her new life in America, she did return when France's political climate became more propitious for her husband's affairs. Marie de l'Incarnation, uniquely, had made the choice early on to devote her entire life to the education of indigenous girls. Such motives had a significant impact on the way in which these women perceived and embraced Otherness. Other questions to keep in mind when reading these travelogues include: how prepared were these women to undertake a journey abroad in terms of what they knew of and of what they imagined about these distant lands before they actually set foot on them? how did their perceptions change during their time abroad? how open were they when confronted to the numerous challenges (physical, cultural, and so forth) which come inevitably when encountering unfamiliar situations and people? what benefits were they hoping to reap from their exposure to a foreign culture and what did they actually gain?

It will be there that I find bliss . . .

In the eyes of early modern people, Amerindian Otherness was the greatest imaginable form of Otherness: in addition to geographical diversity, they felt there existed fundamental differences with respect to forms of social organization, mores

Aymar's nephew, the son of his sister Alix de La Tour du Pin Gouvernet; and Aymar de Liedekerke-Beaufort (1846–1909), Hadelin Aymar's son.

55. As the family is about to return to France, she notes, "France had left me with memories of horror. I had lost my youth there, broken as it was by innumerable terrors." La Tour du Pin, *Journal*, Part 2, chap. 5, 100–101.

and customs, culture, and language. They perceived Amerindians as “savages,”⁵⁶ which, according to the etymology of this term (from the Latin *silva*, or “forest”), refers to peoples who live in the forest in the state of nature, and therefore who are untouched by civilization. At the time, the Amerindian was also viewed as a being devoid of moral principles. The sociopolitical power that the Huron and Iroquoian women exercised scandalized the patriarchal society of early modern France.⁵⁷ The sexual license Amerindian girls displayed and their autonomy in matters of marriage and divorce were seen as evident signs of the moral inferiority of Amerindians.⁵⁸ Most of all, “sauvagerie” was associated with the degraded state of humanity since the Fall, in Christian theology the time when, with the expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden, humanity was condemned to sin and death until its redemption by Jesus Christ.⁵⁹

Merely judging from the vocabulary Marie used in her correspondence, one might conclude that her opinion of the Amerindian Other concurred with that of her contemporaries. After all, she, too, employed the adjective “sauvage” and the noun “sauvagesse” to refer to the impure souls awaiting to be washed clean from the stain of original sin in the blood of the lamb. For her, the terms savagery and barbarism implied physical violence as well, the “savages” being in her eyes the enemies of the Christians. Despite these preconceptions, however, Marie arrived in Canada with an open mind toward the Amerindians: “I adore all these little ‘savages;’ it is as though I carry them in my heart.”⁶⁰ Her mission, as she understood it, was mainly to make Jesus known to those who did not yet know him. She

56. In the letters, we have used the term “native” to translate the original “sauvage” in order to respect current sensitivities. For a discussion of Otherness, however, it seems necessary to understand the terms “sauvage,” “sauvagesse,” and “sauvagerie” in their historical context. For more on the nuances of these terms, see Hans-Jürgen Lusebrink, “*Barbare, sauvage*,” in Delon, *Dictionnaire européen des Lumières*, 140–43. For suggestions as to how to translate them into English, see John DuVal and Kathleen DuVal, “Are *Sauvages* Savages, Wild People, or Indians in a Colonial American Reader?” *Translation Review* 79, no. 1 (2010): 1–16.

57. Coming from a patriarchal society, colonial Europeans failed to understand the matrilineal kinship system of Iroquois society and the crucial role women played in political, social, and economic activities. On gender roles among indigenous peoples and the clan mothers, see Cindy Baskin, “Women in Iroquois Society,” *Canadian Woman Studies*, vol. 4, no. 2 (1982): 42–46; <https://cws.journals.yorku.ca/index.php/cws/issue/view/574>.

58. In comparison with seventeenth-century European women, women in Iroquoian and Algonquian societies enjoyed a good deal of freedom in major life decisions. They could engage in premarital sex without public disapproval, choose their marriage partners, and divorce if the marriage did not work out. See “Women of New France,” Fort St. Joseph Archaeological Project, Booklet Series no. 1 (2010); <<http://npshistory.com/publications/women-of-new-france.pdf>>.

59. Some of the ideas developed here come from my article “La rencontre franco-amérindienne d’après la *correspondance* de Marie de l’Incarnation (1639–1672),” in *Altérité et différences à l’aube des temps modernes*, ed. Cynthia Skenazi and Colette H. Winn, *French Forum* 43, no. 2 (2018): 253–67.

60. Letter 11, March 20, 1635, 63; Marie de l’Incarnation, *Correspondance*, 41.