

# THE HOSTEL OF THE INVALIDES

BY THOMAS POVEY (1682)

(Lambeth Palace Library MS.745)

Edited, with an introduction and notes, by

CARSON I. A. RITCHIE

## PART I

### INTRODUCTION

AMONG the fields of enquiry to which the minds of men turned in Restoration England, that of hospital administration was not to be the least important in its effects. The impetus towards studies of this sort was produced in part by the foundation in Paris by Louis XIV of the *Hôtel des Invalides* in 1674. Even before the useful effects of the great hospital had been evaluated, Charles II had written to the French King, asking for information about the foundation. Louis' reply was to commission the publication of the first printed account of the Invalides, Le Jeune de Boullencourt's sumptuously produced book, which appeared in 1683.<sup>1</sup> Even before de Boullencourt handed his work to the printer however an English court official called Thomas Povey had composed a treatise which outshone that of the official writer—or would have done if it had ever got into print. A whole series of official or semi-official accounts of the Invalides followed Boullencourt's work. Books such as those of Félibien,<sup>2</sup> Granet<sup>3</sup>, or Calabre Pérau<sup>4</sup> enriched by the plates of Cochin and other engravers, left nothing to be desired from the point of view of book production. Amongst this magnificence however the simple human story of the old age of France's greatest army was completely forgotten. That story had found its chronicler in the person of Thomas Povey, but it seemed that his narrative was to be enjoyed only by the few personages of high station for whom he had doubtless composed it. By one of the ironies of history, Povey's treatise, composed in 1682, has remained unpublished. Although it had apparently circulated in official hands and was shelved, and perhaps even read in Lambeth Palace (for the Archbishop of the day had had much to do with the foundation of London's 'Invalides', Chelsea Hospital) nothing more was heard of the work until it was discovered by the editor in Lambeth Palace Library in 1956. The fact that this manuscript remained unknown to scholars has produced more than one *lacuna* in the official histories of the Invalides. Nor was Paris the only sufferer, for Povey was a litterateur worthy to take his place among the brilliant writers of his period.

<sup>1</sup> Le Jeune de Boullencourt, *Description Générale de l'Hostel Royal des Invalides*, Paris, 1683.

<sup>2</sup> J. F. Félibien, *Description de l'Eglise Royal des Invalides*, Paris, 1706.

<sup>3</sup> J. J. Granet, *Histoire de l'Hôtel royal des Invalides*, Paris, 1736.

<sup>4</sup> G. L. Calabre Pérau, *Description historique de l'Hôtel Royal des Invalides*, 1756.

The steps which brought Povey to write his treatise, 'The Hostel of the Invalides,'<sup>5</sup> may be briefly recounted. Louis XIV, dissatisfied with the treatment given to veteran soldiers in the French army, founded the *Hôtel des Invalides* for them in 1670. British treatment of old soldiers also left much to be desired. It was the sight of the wounded soldiers who had returned to Portsmouth after the attempt on La Rochelle lying in the streets which had moved Felton to assassinate Charles I's favourite, Buckingham, their commander. The example given by the French King was eagerly taken up here. Shortly after the foundation of the Invalides the Marshal General of the Army of Ireland, the Earl of Granard, discussed the idea of founding a similar hospital and of providing for the old soldiers of the Irish army. He made his plans in 1675 and began building in 1680. Charles II wished to establish a similar hospital in England. Discussion began in governmental groups in London concerning the design and organization of military hospitals, and naturally a good deal was said about the Invalides. Monmouth visited the Hostel in Paris in 1672 and 1677. On the latter occasion he wrote to Louvois to ask for copies of the foundation statutes for Charles II's use. It was this request which apparently led to the King's order to Boullencourt to write his treatise on the hospital. The information gathered about the Invalides apparently made such a good impression on court circles that an alternative scheme for the soldiers' welfare, that of out-pensions, was abandoned in favour of a hospital. Moreover when Sir Christopher Wren designed Chelsea Hospital, he obviously had the plans of the Invalides before him. He is known to have owned a collection of drawings of the House, and his use of screen walls, and the arrangement of wards and of the officers' apartments show that he had studied these plans with some care. Moreover when the first invalids began to arrive in Chelsea they were administered under a scheme which obviously owed much to arrangements in the Invalides. So English interest in the Paris hospital was strong from about 1670 onwards and must have been particularly strong in 1681, when in September, Charles II made his final decision with regard to the foundation of Chelsea Hospital. Just before the King left for the races at Newmarket he ordered Sir Stephen Fox to begin work at Chelsea. Fox was an army paymaster who was now prepared to spend some of the money he had made on charitable uses. On 11th January, 1682 he bought a site for the hospital. At this date English interest in the Invalides might be supposed to be at its height. Besides the printed account of the Hostel in Boullencourt, several manuscript descriptions of the foundation were circulated among interested officials in London. In March 1686 the Secretary of War received from the English Ambassador in Paris a copy of the 'Military Ordonances and some other things that relate to the Hopital des Invalides.' In May the English Secretary of War wrote to the Ambassador as follows: 'I am now reading a large description in folio of the *Hôtel des Invalides* which takes notice of several Edicts and Regulations concerning the government and economy of that place, which are said to be published and observed there, none of which are to be found in any of the volumes of Military Ordonances.'<sup>6</sup> There can be no doubt that Povey wrote his account of the Invalides primarily in order to provide

<sup>5</sup> Lambeth Palace Library, MS. 745.

<sup>6</sup> See Captain Dean, *The Royal Hospital, Chelsea*, London, 1950, for an excellent account of how Chelsea was influenced by the Invalides.

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information for the planning of a similar hospital, as he says himself: 'Having given you a breife insight into the revenue of the House which may afford you some light for like things.'<sup>7</sup> The Archbishop of Canterbury, in the very year that the manuscript was written, 1682, received a visit from Evelyn, Sir Stephen Fox, and Sir Christopher Wren at Lambeth Palace. Evelyn records how they brought with them: 'The plot and designe of the Colledge to be built at Chelsea, to have the Archbishop's approbation.' The Archbishop, William Sancroft, is thought to have contributed £1,000 to the Chelsea Hospital, and he was concerned with the arrangements for its construction in 1684. There would then have been nothing strange in his commissioning a report on the Invalides, while he would at the least have been willing to accept the presentation of such a manuscript as Povey's report in that particular year. It seems reasonable to conclude that this was what happened, and to assume that it is thus that the treatise is in Lambeth today.

Too much need not be said about the importance of the manuscript; readers will obviously form their own opinion about it and many will agree with the editor that it is a military classic worthy to rank with those of Sergeant Bourgogne or Rifleman Harris. It should be mentioned however that Povey's account is the earliest ever written about the Invalides. The reasons why it must be assigned to the year 1682 must be deferred for a moment, but it is worth mentioning as an additional proof of the early nature of the account that Povey is obviously describing an institution in full flower, with all its noble aspirations embodied, or on the way to fulfilment, and with none of the later difficulties which were to blight many of the founder's hopes yet in being. Another observation which must be made is that Povey was a man of much greater parts than any of the official French writers on the Hostel. He was a soldier, a scientist, a founder of colonies, a *dilettante*, a writer, in a word the Complete Man of the Baroque Age. Not was he an outsider; he had lived within the walls of the hospital and had his facts at first hand; they were the fruit of innumerable conversations with its inhabitants some of whom he had helped to enter the hospital. It will not surprise the reader then, to learn that he is better informed about the Invalides than mere official historians who are busy writing a panegyric rather than a factual treatise. It would be easy to select facts from Povey's narrative and show that they reveal a completely new and unsuspected aspect of the great hospital. Thus, to take but one instance, historians tell us that the Protestants in Louis' army received pensions and were not admitted to the hospital (the foreign Protestants that is, for French protestants were probably never admitted). It is only Povey who describes for us the life of the Protestant Invalides before the revocation of the Edict of Nantes exiled them from the House. It would be easy to multiply examples of this sort but it would be better to close this topic with a quotation from the greatest historian of the foundation. 'Literature is dumb concerning the old soldiers.'<sup>8</sup> Burnand confesses that he lacked the means to give life and colour to his description of the early days of the House; not merely was there no literary description of the foundation on which to draw, other than those mentioned above, which are fairly arid, but the archives of the house had been destroyed as well. The French Revolution virtually destroyed all

<sup>7</sup> Manuscript, Page 23.

<sup>8</sup> R. Burnand, *L'Hôtel Royal Des Invalides*, Paris, 1913.

traces of the past of the hospital, other than the buildings and the published records. The inhabitants, who might have been thought to have a debt of gratitude to the monarchy, took a leading part in the insurrection, and the pikes, swords, and muskets which armed the revolutionary crowds had been supplied in part by the armoury which Louis XIV had intended as a reserve store in case Paris were ever besieged. The last royal governor of the house, M. de Sombreuil, was dragged off to prison but released at the tearful prayers of his daughter, who was however forced to drink a glass of the blood that was flowing freely outside the prison. Perhaps she should have had the other half, as her father was once more arrested and sent to the guillotine in 1794. If it would be difficult, without Povey's account, to discover what were the facts about the early Invalides, it would be even more difficult to recreate the spirit of the hospital. The Invalides is a building from which the spirit has departed. Unfortunately in exchange for the spirit it has got a body – Napoleon's. The church dedicated to St. Louis, King of France, has become a shrine to the Corsican hero, and his presence there, surrounded as he is by *ex votos* from his admirers such as the red porphyry sarcophagus from Nicholas I and the ashes of the King of Rome from Hitler, has destroyed for every adherent of religion, or art, the original atmosphere of the great church. It might well be argued that even at its foundation, the Invalides had been a shrine to militarism, an attempt to glorify the soldier. But Louis XIV stood not at the end, but at the beginning of the process. By exalting the glory of the soldier he was attempting, principally, to make amends for the shameful ill treatment of France's old soldiers in the past. By housing his veterans in a palace he was trying to show that loyal service deserves its reward. Moreover in his day, and for long to come the end product of war, the cripples, the blind, the wasted in body could be seen in the Invalides as well as the trophies of victory. Now, only the panache is left.

A few words about the manuscript may not come amiss here. Povey's work, 'The Hotel Royale Des Invalides,' or 'The Hostel of the Invalides,' for both titles appear on it, is a small quarto manuscript, measuring nineteen and a half centimetres by twenty-five centimetres. The paper on which it is written is of good average quality for the end of the seventeenth century; it does not bear any distinctive watermark. The binding is a plain one of brown calf, ornamented with good tooling in gold, but with nothing to indicate its provenance. Probably however it is a late seventeenth or early eighteenth century binding. The account is written in a hand of considerable elegance, and it may be the work of a professional copyist, perhaps even of one of the scribes who produced illuminated manuscripts at the Hotel des Invalides. There is no reference in the work itself to Thomas Povey, but immediately after the manuscript there follows another of the same size and handwriting bound up with it. This is a description of Versailles, and it bears on the first page the name: 'Thomas Povey.' Moreover the Library Catalogue (an early nineteenth century compilation, but perhaps made up in part from older library lists) attributes the authorship of the manuscript to: 'Thomas Povey Esq.'

Indications in the text date the composition of the account to 1682. Povey says that the Governor of the House is André Blanchard de Saint Martin; he held office from 1678 to 1696. Povey also refers to: 'François Lemacon, Seigneur d'Ormoy, *Prevost General des Bandes à la police du regiment des Gardes Francaises,*' as having died

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recently; d'Ormoys died in 1678. Mention is also made of the visit 'three years before' of Los Balbases, the Spanish Ambassador, to the House; this gives 1682 as the date at which the manuscript was written.

Thomas Povey, the author of the manuscript, was a well known merchant, courtier, civil servant and man of taste during the Commonwealth and Charles II's reign. He was also an author and the 'Hostel of the Invalides' was by no means his only production. Even if the authorship of the manuscript were not attributed to Povey, both on the Versailles manuscript and in the catalogue, it would be possible to build up a picture of the author which corresponds very well with what we know of Thomas Povey from scattered references in the Invalides manuscript and the deductions which can be made from them. Both the author of the manuscript and the merchant had the same tastes; the author was a person with sufficient influence to secure his entry as a temporary resident at the Invalides. The historical Thomas Povey was also a man of great influence and many friends. He had written a manuscript of military interest which has remained unpublished – this was an account in verse of his journey to supervise the collection and victualling of the fleet going out to relieve the garrison of Tangier. He had been interested in hospitals, having been put in charge of hospital arrangements during the Great Plague in London. He was concerned for the welfare of soldiers; when it looked as though the garrison of Tangier were going to starve to death before official funds could provide victuals for them, he had pledged his credit as a merchant for their relief. Both author and merchant are familiar with the internal arrangements of the Inns of Court; Thomas Povey had been a student in an Inn of Court. Judging from the obvious sympathy he displays towards the old soldiers, the author was a kindly, amiable man; Thomas Povey was notorious for his good nature. Both were deeply interested in gadgets; the author can hardly get away from the hot and cold taps in the kitchen of the Invalides, while Povey crammed his house with gadgets, and tried to make money out of a device for raising water. Both had experience of army administration, and the historical Thomas Povey had on at least one other occasion been given a fact finding mission. He had been asked by the Royal Society to supply answers to questions concerning North American animals and plants.

Seeing that something has been said about Thomas Povey's life, a very brief sketch of his career may be given here. The son of an important court official, he entered the Inns of Court, only to find that the Civil War had put law out of men's minds. He joined the Parliamentary side, wrote a pamphlet advocating peace and moderation, became suspect to the Parliamentarians but recovered their confidence sufficiently to become a leading statesman in colonial affairs. After the Restoration he was still in favour, and was entrusted with various important government posts. His duties as an administrator did not interfere with his very extensive commercial undertakings, nor with his position as an acknowledged expert on everything which had to do with taste.

Before ending this introduction it would be as well to give some further details about the medical arrangements of the Invalides, supplementary to those which Povey himself gives.

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The infirmaries, says Boullencourt, are made up of all the rooms which cross and surround six courts which are placed at the end of the Pavilions of the Hotel alongside the church on the side looking towards Paris, behind the two middle sized courts which are on the left hand side on entering by the great front of the building, on the north side, and which one sees on the left hand side of the front of the church on the south side . . . This building is orientated from the east to the South. Its front on the Paris side is 64 yards long, that looking south is 48 yards, and the rest is a square in proportion. Not more than one story above the ground floor has been added to this building, so that it does not spoil the view of the main block and the church, to which it is adjacent. The vaults of the foundations constitute thirteen cellars, for the supply of wine, firewood, and other things which are necessary for the sick and the wounded, and also for five cesspits; and of the six courts about which we have spoken, two are intended for gardens, three are for the sick, and the other is for communication. It serves to pass from the infirmaries to the church, and to the main building. On the ground floor can be found several rooms and apartments made for the use and convenience of the sick, such as a big kitchen to prepare the food, in which there are several taps, and even taps above the cooking pots which provide as much water as one would wish, a buttery, a pantry, a very handy scullery, in which there are also several taps which provide as much water as one would wish, and all other amenities to wash the linen of the sick, with a laundry for doing the washing, a room designed for making herbal infusions, in which there are big kettles of red copper which are well tinned . . . a big pharmacy fitted out with all necessary drugs, and kept in admirable cleanliness and order by the good sisters of Charity . . . a surgery furnished with all instruments necessary for that art, a very convenient laboratory for carrying out distillations and chemistry operations, a big room for giving out and receiving linen, a refectory for these sisters, six big rooms in which to put the sick and wounded, of which the principal four are called: '*les Salles de Notre Dame*' . . . Besides this there are other small rooms going across which are intended for convalescents and sick officers, all together they contain 289 beds furnished with straw beds, bolsters, pillows, sheets, coverlets and valances of yellow serge in winter and white fustian in summer. Each sick person has his own bed, but what is remarkable for the cleanliness and convenience of the sick is that there are doors of carpentry work in all these rooms at the space between two beds, by which one enters into little alcoves which enclose close stools, and wash basins which one can empty behind and outside of these rooms by means of little galleries in the middle of which are the privies, which have been constructed behind and outside of these rooms. So that each sick man has his close stool near to his bed, and can go there easily . . . There are also stoves in the German fashion in each room from place to place to prevent the sick catching cold, let into the wall with the stove pipes corresponding to the chimney flues . . . Several cells or iron cages have been made at the end of these rooms in order to put deranged persons in them. The first storey . . . contains another big room intended for soldiers who have particularly contagious diseases . . . so that there are in the whole of these infirmaries 550 beds for the sick in case of need.<sup>9</sup>

Different wards were set aside for different kinds of patients when Félibien wrote his account of the house.

There are nine rooms in these infirmaries, the most convenient part of the *Salle Notre Dame* is intended for officers, the remainder for soldiers suffering from ordinary illnesses; that of Saint Joseph is for men who are old and infirm, that of St. Cosme for the wounded, a little room with baths for private diseases, for which they treat the soldiers of the King's household, and all other officers and soldiers, who obtain an order from the Minister for this. The *Salle de Saint Louis* is for scrofulous diseases, that of the *Ange Gardien* for cancers, and infectious diseases, finally those of Saint Michel, the *Bon Pasteur* and Sainte Geneviève for times when the number of sick increases.<sup>10</sup>

Other parts of the hospital that may be mentioned were: 'a room where the surgeons congregate where they preserve a large case of surgical instruments, similar

<sup>9</sup> de Boullencourt, *op. cit.* p. 20.

<sup>10</sup> Félibien, *op. cit.*, p. 34 and subsequently.

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to that which the Czar Peter I had made in France. There is also a special room set aside for anatomy and dissections which he [the surgeon in chief] makes on bodies, and he gives demonstrations to the journeymen surgeons whom it is his business to instruct.<sup>11</sup> Another centre of activity in the hospital was: 'a very convenient laboratory where the Sisters do their pharmaceutical work. With respect to important prescriptions which require a little wider knowledge, it is the Chief Apothecary who supervises them. These prescriptions are all carried into a room called the Pharmacy, which deserves the attention of the enquiring because of the way in which it is arranged and the cleanliness which prevails there.'<sup>12</sup>

The medical staff of the hospital consisted at first of the Chief Physician, Chief Surgeon, and apparently also the Chief Apothecary, with their assistants. By the Foundation Edict of 1674 the Chief Physician was given a status equivalent to that enjoyed by the ordinary doctors of the Royal Household.<sup>13</sup> The Chief Surgeon, after having served in the House for six years, received his Freedom as a Surgeon in Paris. As the Chief Surgeons tended to avail themselves of this privilege of retiring from the hospital after they had served their term of six years and setting up as Master Surgeons in Paris, a change was made on 12th August 1707, and a Surgeon Major was appointed instead, whose position would be permanent, and under whom there would be a subordinate Surgeon who was gaining his Freedom.

The Chief Physician and Surgeon Major had their own apartments in the Invalides, so as to be available day and night, while the Surgeon who was gaining his Freedom lodged in the Infirmaries. The supplementary Surgeons slept in the building, while the Surgeon on duty during the night slept in a room called: 'The wound dressing room,' (*l'Appareil*). Patients who could get out of bed came there to have their injuries attended to.

The care of nursing the wounded and veterans had been at first entrusted to servants who received wages from the Hôtel. This did not answer very well, and on 7th March 1676, Louvois drew up a contract with Nicole Harau, the Mother Superior of the Convent of the *Filles de la Charité* in the Faubourg Saint Laurent. The Sisters were to take sole charge of the infirmaries, and were to do everything for the sick except bleeding them and giving them clysters. The Apothecary or Surgeons were to direct the Sisters in making up prescriptions, but in all other respects these officials were to have no authority over them. The Sisters were to receive their orders from the Administrator General, who agreed to pay the Convent for their services.<sup>14</sup> The Sisters received 12 *écus* a year, on which they provided everything they needed, except for coarse linen which the Hôtel provided. There were 35 Sisters in 1736 and they all lodged in private apartments in the Invalides. They had a chapel, so that they could carry out the religious exercises imposed on them by their Rule. They ate the same food as the sick, and they also cooked the food for the patients and looked after their bed linen. This was always kept very clean and was used up so quickly that the

<sup>11</sup> Félibien, *Archives Curieuses de l'Histoire de France*, F. Danjou, Paris, 1839, p. 116 and subsequently.

<sup>12</sup> J. J. Granet, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>14</sup> Félibien, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

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Hôtel had to give the Sisters 6000 *livres* a year so as to enable them to buy new bed linen. As has been seen, the Sisters made up the ordinary prescriptions, such as those for the 'syrups and confections' which the sick required. They also bought the necessary drugs and everything else required for the infirmaries, paying the merchants who had supplied the goods.

A typical day in the hospital would begin as follows: 'Every day the Grey Sisters' (that is the Sisters of Charity) rise at four o'clock, at five the sick are given some broth, and the necessary stores are distributed to the wards. At six, mass is said, and immediately after the physician and the Surgeon Major pays their visits, with the Apothecary in attendance, to write prescriptions. At eight a room outside the infirmaries is opened to receive and to treat those patients in the Hostel who are not bedridden.'

All in all the hospital, in its palmy days, was an impressive foundation, not merely for what it did, but for what it inspired others to do. Few would disagree with Louis XIV's remark, in his 'Testament,' "Among the different establishments that we have had made in the course of our reign, there are none more useful to the State than the '*Hôtel Royal des Invalides.*' "

**ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

I should like to thank my wife for making a copy of the manuscript, the Trustees of Lambeth Palace Library for permission to publish it, M. Le Conservateur du Musée de l'Armée, Hôtel Des Invalides, Paris, and M. Le Conservateur en Chef du Département, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, for their help.

I should particularly like to thank Miss Vidal Hall, of the French Embassy, London, for her help, and also the Centre de la Recherche Scientifique, Pans. The Librarians of Woolwich Polytechnic were also very helpful.

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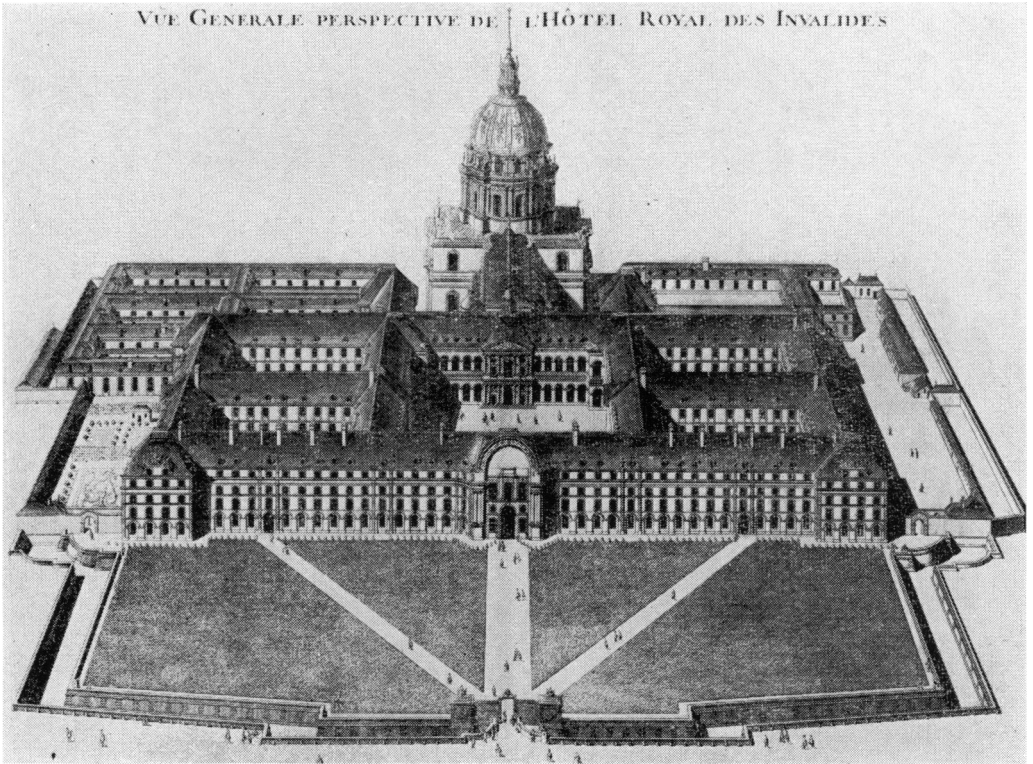


Figure 1. General perspective of the Hôtel Royal des Invalides  
(From D. Michel Félibien's *Histoire de la Ville de Paris*, Paris, 1725).

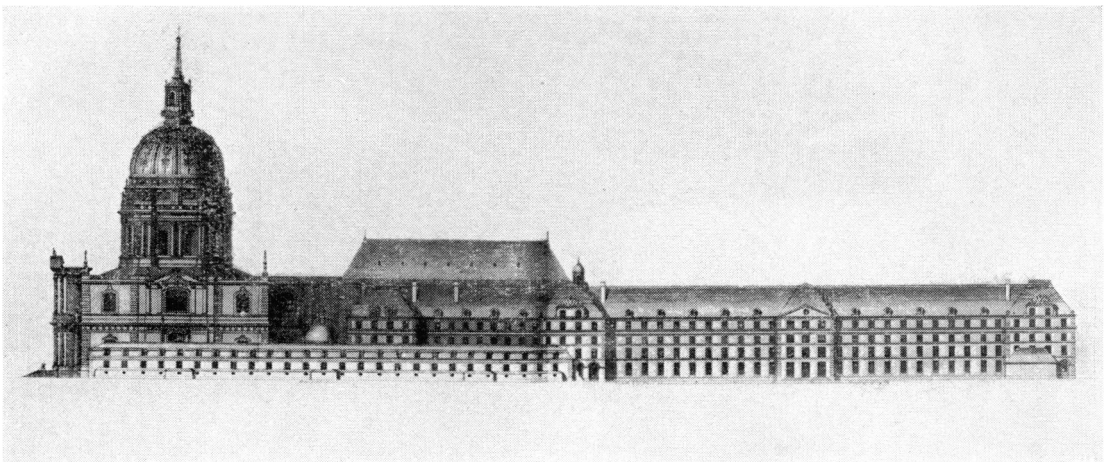


Figure 2. Elevation of one side of the Hôtel Royal des Invalides, showing the infirmaries.  
(From Le Jeune de Boullencourt's *Description générale de l'Hostel Royal des Invalides*, Paris, 1683.)

27949

Nous Revenant Colonel du Regiment de Beaulieu Ecrivre  
L'ordre militaire de St Louis commandant Le dit Regiment  
Certifier avoir donné ordre absolu au nommé St Joseph  
Soldat de la Compagnie de la Mare etant Invalide d'etre  
par une Blessure qu'il avoit eue au Siege de Turin et en  
faute d'informes de quoyes pendant sept ans en soy  
de quoy nous luy avons accordé le present faita Sedan  
Le 13<sup>e</sup> de Decembre 1714

Les Messrs. Les J<sup>rs</sup> de Turin qui  
en son absence de l'armée de France  
d'une Lettre qui a été a l'apud de Sedan  
par lequel les Supplis de l'on Louis de France  
Le 5<sup>e</sup> de Decembre 1714

Figure 3. Certificate admitting a soldier named St. Joseph, of the Belleisle regiment, to the Invalides. He had been wounded in the left shoulder at the siege of Turin and had then been a prisoner-of-war for seven years. Signed at Sedan by Pech, Colonel of the regiment, and countersigned by the surgeon, Morand, in October 1714.

## The Hostel of the Invalides

### TEXT

THE HOSTEL OF THE INVALIDES, which for the magnificence of the building is as sumptuous in a manner as the *Louvre* itself, is so called as being a house ordained only for officers and soldiers unfit for service. It is called *Hostel*, being a name of honour, by which princes' and chiefest mens' houses are call'd here, and not Hospital, which sounds of beggery – this depressing and dis-honoring, the other expressing and honoring the nobleness of a Soldier's profession. It is called of the *Invalides*, from the Latin word '*invalidus*' which signifies unfit or disable, within which notion are not only those who have lost any of their limbs, or the use of any of their senses, or necessary members, but such also as old age renders incapable of serving the King, who all without exception are into this house admitted. And tho' you see there many well recovered again, both strong and very fit for service, yet are they, being once admitted, never turned out [2]\* but upon certain great misdemeanors, as begging, swearing, whoring, cheating, theiving, fighting, and the like. For which also (Theft and beggary excepted) and for smaller crimes, as quarrelling, playing or smoaking in forbidden places, giving ill language, making noise, neglecting duty on the guard, and such like things, there are appointed four prisons, two dungeons, a *grue* or *carcan* and the wooden horse,\*\* by which are punished the delinquents and guilty, according to the nature and malice of the guilt, justice and mercy as the occasion happens joyning together moderation and severity, which I may in the continuance of this discourse give you some farther account of.

Once they are of this house, whether well recovered, or not, they may, if they will, have leave to quit it for a time, or for good and all; for a time, as for 5 or 6 months, nay 2 or 3 years, to see their friends, look to their little concerns, if any they have, and even serve the King in any of his troops. [3] And in these cases, they are allowed nothing from the house for their journey, nor for the time they are absent. If for good and all they are then mildly examined what motives they have to leave the House, if upon some discontent, or unreasonable usage there received, if for want of having their due allowance, or for any severity of any officer. This examination is made by the Directors, who for fear of any rashness or inconsideration in an unadvised soldier, commonly endeavor to persuade them to stay, which if absolutely they refuse to do, then at parting they give each 5 crowns towards their journy, leaving him besides all the cloaths and linen he wears on his back. To strangers, as *English*, *Germans*, and even such as had long journyes to make, formerly was allowed more, not exceeding 8 crowns. The 5 distinctly for all is now the taxed rate. Nor ought I to silence here

\* Bold-face figures refer to page numbers in the original MS.

\*\* '*Grue*' literally means a crane; here it means a pillory. '*Carcan*' is defined as 'An iron collar, wherewith a Malefactor is tied to a post.' (*The Royal Dictionary Abridged*. A. Boyer, London, 1708.)

The wooden horse was an enormous hackney, made of wood, and placed in the anticourt. Delinquents were forced to mount this wooden hobby horse. Burnand describes this as a moral rather than a physical punishment. He is apparently unaware that muskets were sometimes tied to the victim's feet, and he was forced to swing his legs, while sitting on the fairly sharp saddle of the horse. Offenders punished in this way were sometimes terribly mutilated. (Robert Burnand, *L'Hôtel Royal des Invalides*, Paris, 1913, p. 201.)

the Directors for their prudence and discretion, who fearing in such cases to let loose into the wide world so many ravenous wolves, and wild boars, do first examine their comrades and chamber fellows [4] about the life and conversation of these men, which if found to be bad and uneasy, is first endeavored by all wayes both mild and severe, to be amended here, before they can obtain leave to quit the House, which none must presume to do without the Governor's pass and seal of the House, under the penalty of being proceeded against as a deserter. Such as will, may also return to the King's service, for good and all, without limitation of time, as above 80 did 5 years past. If for a limited time, and that they fail within the term to come home, the Governor fails not to issue out and send his letter to the commander or commanders of such soldiers ordering him, or them, to dismiss them home, which order is infallibly complied with without more ado.

This House is no less intended for strangers, than for the King's subjects, so as there is no exception against *English, German, Italian, Spaniard, Turk* (there being now one) or *Moor*, whether [5] Christian or Jew, Papist, Protestant, Presbyterian, or Mahometan. Everybody may confess openly his own religion, in short all is welcome, who either is an old soldier, or disabled in war, and the King's service, tho' he served but a minute.

For this general law of excepting no religion nor nation they allege two reasons, the one politic, and the other Christian: the first because it is an extraordinary encouragement to all persons of what country or sect so ever, not only to serve the King, but even to serve him both courageously and faithfully, being his gratitude, bounty, and charity, is such as to provide for them the rest of their dayes, with more plenty, security, and less trouble, than at their own homes. The second is that true faith being the gift of God and only coming from him, it is in vain endeavored to be imposed upon consciences, which in dissembling what they believe not may commit [a] thousand sacrileges. At their admittance, their Christian name and surname, as also their name of War,\* are in the common [6] book registered, together with their country, parish, parents and age, as near as possible may, and all this most for their own good and interest, to the end they might not be frustrated of any inheritance, right, title, or interest, that may descend upon them by succession, or otherwise.

From the premisses we may infer, how easy a matter it is to be into this House admitted. The first and hardest step to it, (if it be hard) is to obtain a certificate from the Colonel, Lieutenant colonel, or Commander in Chief or from either of them or from the Captain (if it be a free company) that the person so concerned is through age, wound, or some accident incapable any more of serving the King.

This certificate (fig.3) the invalid soldier or officer (under the notion of officers to this purpose only are comprehended the King's musquetiers of his two Companies and *Guarde Corps*) doth without more ado carry to the Directors of the House appointed by Mounsieur de Louvois, who without any delay [7] or put offs, at their first meeting, which is often twice, infallibly once a week, and that constantly on Saturday afternoon

\* New recruits often assumed different names when enlisting, particularly if they had respectable parents who might feel aggrieved at their son enlisting as a private.

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about 4 a clock, do examine with more mercy than severity the said certificate,\* which being found true or truth-like, if the wound be not otherwise apparent to the Directors, the chirurgion or chirurgions of the House immediately visit them, and upon his report given there present by word of mouth, without that shameful and mercenary custom of fees, they are accordingly out of hand either admitted, or denied, but the later seldom, for they give so little obstacle that I as yet hear of none refused, having myself got in many English on my bare word, without any officer's certificate. This facility I suppose proceeds from the King's merciful and absolute order to that purpose and from the pity of the Directors, so willing to relieve the poor and distressed soldier, true charity inclining always to favor and benignity. Besides that the revenue of the House is vast, and at present capable to maintain, as it is to lodge, above 5000 people, more probably, as they say, than ever shall happen [8] together there to live. It is moreover supposed and reasonably presumed, that soldiers, naturally given to licentiousness, do stand in need of being here, when they ask it at so dear a rate, as to lose their usual freedom and liberty, which is to many dearer than the assurance of a moderate subsistence for the remnant of their life, still alloyed with constraint.

And being that a good discipline and revenue are the same to a politic body, as the soul and body to a natural, I must not forget to give you a small account of both. As to the discipline and laws, tho' never so good, they signify no more than a dead and fair cadaver to which is wanting the animating soul, as the strict execution of the law is the true soul, which gives it force, life, and vigor. To this end therefore are invented, with no less justice and severity than prudence and mercy, the punishments which I above mentioned, and which are ordained to be inflicted upon all within this house according [9] to the nature and circumstances of their crimes. And first, for begging, the soldiers are without remission turned out, and sent away publicly in the presence of their comrades, to Bisetre,\*\* the Hospital General of all the poor, and there shut up for ever with all the common beggers of both town and country, where besides working gratis, and the discredit of the place, their allowance of victuals and cloaths, both in quantity and substance falls very short of what they have here.

Nay the law in this point is reduced to that severity now, that they must not so much as offer the least thing tending or smelling to beggery; for which reason they are now forbidden, what formerly they might in civility have done, that is to offer themselves to show the House to Strangers or other persons moved with curiosity to see it, and from whom they expected with a longing eye, tho' not with a tendering

\* The conditions of admission to the House, as laid down by the preliminary ordinance of 24th February 1670, were that a soldier must have been effectively disabled in the King's service, or had grown old in it, having served, in the latter case, at least ten years. The edict of foundation, of April 1674, called for a closer examination into the claims for admission and that the certificates proving his past services should be submitted to the Council. Povey's remarks show the difference which existed between the letter of the law and the much more merciful practice followed in admitting veterans. Nevertheless, in the year after Povey wrote his account, alarm was expressed at the abuses caused by soldiers who had obtained false certificates of their service from their commanding officers. (Burnand, Chapter II.)

\*\* Bicêtre had been the general alms house for the poor of Paris since 1656. Elsewhere in the notes there is an account of how this building which had at one time been the home for veteran soldiers, became as it were their penitentiary.

hand, some kind of benevolence. For this very cause 3 years ago, when Balbases\* [10] the Spanish Ambassador was here negotiating his master's marriage with the present Queen of *Spain*, there was immediately upon the first discovery an invalid Captain turned out of the House by Monsieur *Louvois* for receiving, after he had conducted the said Ambassador up and down the House, a Quadruple in Gold from him.\*\* So far the least act of mendicity is esteemed here unworthy of a soldier's heart and courage.

Secondly, whoring is a crime severely chastised in this House, especially if taken *in flagranti*, for which the dungeon and fasting upon bread and water for a good and long time is not sufficient, it is also punished with public confusion and shame. About 2 years ago the Provost of this House having apprehended a soldier in a bad house with a common slut and quean, he, assisted with his two archers, brought them both to the House, and there bare head and face with their backs tied to one another, were put upon the [11] Wooden Horse, as the Guard was to be relieved, and so continued in that posture 4 hours together.

Thirdly, stealing, tho' it be but sixpence, is here punished with a Flower de Luce marked on the soldier's back with a burning iron, to which execution as to all other crimes within the same sphere, the common hangman of the town is sent for, and the soldier thus branded is immediately turned out of the House, this ignominy, besides, rendering him infamous and incapable therefore of ever bearing arms for the King. Nay the Galley nor Gibbet shall be no more wanting to them than to others, if the crime deserves it. Racking, breaking upon the Wheel, nor scarce any other torture had been thought severe enough for a late fellow, had he been apprehended, who about 2 years ago lying only he and one more, in one chamber, killed his chamber-fellow, laid his body afterwards betwixt his quilt and straw-bed, took away his money, and so run away. Missing of them at first, they only were [12] thought to have deserted, but in 3 or 4 days after, the body stinking and infecting the neighborhood, the truth was discovered, and letters were sent to all places, with a terrible hue and cry after him. In this point of stealing they are so severe, that lately a lady visiting the house for curiosity and going by the by into an officer's chamber, she drew out there and forgot her watch which the officer taking into his own possession and restored not, notwithstanding the publications made in the church, that whoever found it should restore it. The officer was discovered to have it, upon which he was ordered to be degraded, that is to say, to eat with the common soldiers, which he, refusing to do, was immediately turned out.

\* Paul Spinola, 3rd Marquis of los Balbases, 1632–1694, was a Grandee of Spain and later Major Domo to the Queen of Spain. He negotiated the marriage of Charles II of Spain and Marie Louise d'Orleans, daughter of Philippe Duc d'Orleans, and his first wife Henriette d'Angleterre (Charles II's favourite sister) which took place on 31st August 1679.

\*\* The very handsome tip given to the Invalid officer by the Spanish ambassador, which would probably have been worth about four English guineas in 1726, before the value of money changed, will serve to introduce the vexed question of French coinage at this time. A *livre*, which was purely an accountant's term, not represented by any coin, varied very much in different parts of France. In 1650 a Paris *livre* was worth 20 Paris *sous*, or 25 *Tournois sous*. A *sou*, in 1726, was worth approximately a halfpenny, and contained 12 *deniers*. A half *écu* or crown of exchange, was worth 2/7½d. in 1726; the *écu* was the 'crown' mentioned in Povey. In 1650 the *livre Tournois* was 'the most ordinary French pound', 'a pound in mony,' and was worth 25 shillings sterling. (Thomas Snelling, *A view of the coins at this time current thro'out Europe*, London, 1766. Randle Cotgrave, *A French English Dictionary*, London, 1650.)

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Fourthly, for swearing, they are threatened with a new law, to pierce their tongues, but in the interim, the Grue or Martisan, a painful torture, is partly the punishment.\* To this, standing, [13] they are tied neck and heels, their head by force being bent and drawn down almost to the very ground, after which they are imprisoned at bread and water for a month, and afterwards set to the Water Table for a month, together with the drunkards, and not permitted during this time to go out of the House, all of which penalties are doubled and trebled etc. as the relapses are, so as in spite of their teeth they must mend, being not to be turned for this crime out of the House.

Fifthly, drinking being a lesser crime is also less punished, for which is inflicted a week's imprisonment in the common prison, at bread and water, and then a month at the water table, placed in the midst of the refectory,\*\* during which time he must not stir out of the House, which at the second time is doubled with a fortnight's prison at bread and water and two months at the water table, two month's confinement within the House, and so accordingly trebled, and lastly they [14] are never permitted to go out of the House, their tickets being absolutely taken from them. Lately an Irish drunken soldier had his ticket after 13 months restored to him in honor of Easter Holy dayes.† He, knowing his proneness to drink when he goes abroad, declares he durst not (tho' now he may) venture out upon any account whatsoever. Lately also a soldier-taylor, being drunk often in the House, discovered those that gave him the drink, for which the taylor was set at liberty, but never afterwards to work, and the others were sent in his room to prison.

Sixthly, lying out of the House without leave (which married men having their wives in or near *Paris* are not denied twice a week) is also a great crime. This, fighting, and drunkenness, are punished very near alike. Making of noise, giving ill language, and breaking the established rules of the house, are according [15] to the malice or importance of the crime, more or less punished, as the Governor of the House, the Vice Governor, Maior, etc. shall think fit, to the discretion of whom these things are left, for the most to see executed.

\* Here, as elsewhere, it is possible to use the manuscript to correct Burnand, who makes no mention of the threatened use of the hot iron in this connection, but only of imprisonment and the horse. It is not impossible that this form of punishment for blasphemy was suggested by its use in contemporary England, where James Naylor had been condemned to suffer in this way twenty years before (Burnand, p.201).

Discipline in the Invalides was necessarily severe. The French armies, before Le Tellier, bore a considerable resemblance to the Italian *condottieri*. The preliminary decree of 12th November, 1670, referring to their conduct before the transfer of the establishment from the House at Cherche Midi to the Hostel, accused them of barricading themselves in their rooms, drinking to excess, abusing the servants, rioting in the kitchen and corridors, wandering round the town, accosting the 'filles de joye,' purse cutters, and other dregs of the community, and forming riotous assemblies with them.

The disciplinary system employed in the house, which was to punish the first offence lightly, the second more severely, and the third with expulsion, helped to soften the rough character of the inhabitants, as did the gentleness of the Missionary Fathers, but 'this crowd of swashbucklers and mercenaries, whom the Great Wars had rolled from Flanders to Germany,' continued to be the despair of their superior officers, from time to time, until the Revolutionary Period. (Burnand, Chapter 9.)

\*\* A print, by Le Pautre, shows the water table in the midst of the refectory and its disconsolate inhabitants.

† No doubt the Irish soldier had his ticket restored as part of a public amnesty for offenders. (Burnand, Chapter 9.)

As for the 4 prisons, and 2 dungeons, they are in the two pavilions in the hinder part of the House. The Prisons are the common and ordinary punishment as aforesaid, for that the Carcan and Horse are more instruments of shame and terror, having heard but of one man horsed about a year ago, and he for returning a blow to an officer, and lately of a cook's servant being discovered carrying meat out of the House.

But the sinews of this House (as well as of war) is the revenue of it, whereof to give you some account shall perhaps be not unwellcom to you.\*[16]

The first and chiefest branch of this fund is the *Liard par Livre*, that is to say a farthing (four farthings going to a Penny)† out of every 20 soulx or 20 pence of all the money payed out by the King's Treasurer of War either ordinary or extraordinary to all officers and soldiers in the King's pay, and to those of the artillery and to any other paid out of the Fund set apart for the war and put into the hands of the Treasurers aforesaid, so that the King's gratuities towards some deserving or poor officers, paid by an officer called the 'Keeper of the King's Treasure Royal,' are not within this deduction, and much less those that have no relation to the war, which seems just and reasonable, being they can claim no title or interest to live in the house, altogether designed for soldiers. Some will have this branch yearly to amount to 7 or 800000 Livres, which easily you may know by knowing the fund, yearly set by for the war. The Treasurers who pay this fund are obliged to deduct the liard aforesaid, being accountable [17] for it, which as it comes to a sum, they deliver to the Treasurer of the House, without fee or deduction. The increase of the soldiers, and consequently of the charges of the House, and decrease (since the peace) of the armies and of the fund for it, hath raised this deduction from two Deniers per Livre, or the 6th part of a penny, to 3 Deniers, or the 4th part of a French Sou or penny.

The second branch of this fund is all the places of lay brothers (in French *des*

†Nota. It was till of late 2 deniers per livre, for so they called it, which is a 6th part of a penny out of every 2 pence.

\* The revenues of the Hostel reflect its dual character, that of a quasi-monastic foundation, and a governmental institution for old soldiers. On the one hand it was supported by the pensions of the *oblats* and the income formerly set aside for hospitals, on the other it derived a large revenue from the Ordinary and Extraordinary Funds for War. By a nice calculation the contribution from these funds increased as they themselves became greater. So when the French armies were engaged in the field and casualties streamed into the Hotel the means for their maintenance also increased.

The deduction from the funds which was originally two deniers in the livre was raised to three deniers in the livre (as Povey points out) on 16th February 1682. Not even the eventual grant of a fourth denier, however, was successful in establishing a sound financial basis for the Hostel. After a few years of initial prosperity it began to have an annual and increasing deficit, partly because of the difficulty of collecting the deniers from those charged with their collection—the army treasurers—partly owing to the burden of the upkeep of the invalids in the provinces. It is against this prospect of 'constraint, poverty, and finally complete confusion,' that Povey's description of the prosperity of the House must be viewed. The reforms of 1776 finally put *Les Invalides* in a safe financial position, after a succession of crises in which it was feared that the plate of the House would have to be sold, the sick die for want of proper treatment, or the Invalids riot for lack of bread. (Burnand, Chapter 5.)



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*religieux lais*\*) which the better to understand, you are first to know that all Abbies, and Priors in France, either founded by the Kings and Princes of the royal blood or in the King's nomination were in times past and until the establishment of this Hostel, all and every of them, obliged to maintain or keep some one, some two, disabled or decrepid soldiers according to their revenue, which is as much to say, as if the soldier did hold the place of one or two lay-brothers according to the first foundation [18] of such abbey or priory. And such soldiers formerly being no less glad to be free to go about their private concerns, and enjoy their full liberty, than the quiet monks to be rid of the trouble of them, they commonly stipulated to pay to the soldier a yearly pension of 100, or 150 livres or thereabouts, who was then free to live where ever he pleased. I hear of some old officers who having several places

\* Mention of the *religieux lais* necessitates a few words of explanation as to why the monastic foundations of France should be contributing to the support of retired veterans, and this in turn requires some account of the genesis of the House.

The idea of a provision for crippled soldiers began in Christian times with the institution in monasteries of lay pensioners known as oblates. These persons gave all their goods to the monastery in return for a livelihood there. This institution had existed in the days of Charlemagne, but it achieved its greatest popularity in the eleventh century. Several causes contributed to the desire on the part of the layman to enter a monastery in this way, the religious impulse to put oneself under the protection of the monastery's patron saint, a desire to escape public charges, and to evade military service.

There were also in the monasteries at this time 'pensionaries,' poor people who were admitted either as guests on the request of some magnate, or of the King, or on condition that they worked for the monastery.

It was Edward I of England who began the custom of sending to the monasteries for their entertainment there wounded officers and soldiers. They could bring with them two horses and two servants, a number which the powerful Abbey of St. Edmunds succeeded in getting reduced. Similar privileges were extended to old soldiers in France, where these pensioners became known as 'moines lais.' In return for their keep they performed menial service. Their life seems to have been a fairly easy one and the services required of them not too rigorously exacted. In those troubled times the monasteries must have been glad to have in their midst servants who could wind up a crossbow, or direct a stream of boiling oil on to an escalating party.

The Counts of Burgundy followed the Edwardian policy in the provision for their old soldiers, which crystallised into a privilege known as the 'pain d'abbaye,' or 'pain abbatial.' By the seventeenth century every monastery in Franche Comté had its disabled soldier. Louis XIV was able, then, when he required it, to cite his comital as well as his royal right to the 'abbey bread.'

Little by little the custom grew of presenting wounded soldiers to monasteries to which there was royal nomination. By the royal edict of 1547, places in the monasteries were officially reserved for them, and the Wars of Religion in France saw an enormous increase in their number. Gradually the situation became more and more confused, with veterans obtaining places in several monasteries at once. Thomas Povey had heard of officers who had done this.

It was left to Henry IV to grapple with the problem. His solution was a house for maimed soldiers, 'stropiats' as the Italian condottieri had taught the French to call them, to be maintained by the reorganized revenues of the hospitals and lazar houses. The project had gone as far as the naming of the institution. It was to be called 'La Maison de la Charité Chrétienne,' and the pattern of a distinctive uniform was commissioned. Want of funds led to the scheme being quashed by the ordinance of September 1611.

Richelieu took up the idea two years later, and attempted to found, at the *Chateau de Bicêtre*, in Paris, a home for old soldiers, in the form of a Community to be known as the 'Commanderie de Saint Louis,' of which he was to be grand commander. To its support every abbey and priory was to contribute at the rate of 100 livres (the sum previously settled as the pension of a *moine lai*.) Work began on the building in 1634, but was abandoned in 1656. The premises became the general work-house for the poor of Paris.

Meanwhile the strolling lay monk had become a definite danger in Paris, the solution of which escaped the authorities. Eventually by an ordinance of 24th February 1670, Louis XIV founded Les Invalides. The House was to be supported by the pensions of the *religieux lais* and the 2 deniers in the livre on the ordinary war payments. Construction began in 1670, and the Hotel was solemnly founded in 1674.

affected to them enjoyed 8 and 900 livres a year, some more some less, upon places of *Religieux lais*, which now is taken from them and annexed to this house, every place of lay brothers being now taxed and valued at a 100 livres a year, payable out of the said abbeys. And this branch makes yearly a considerable sum. St. Denys Abbey was always taxed with two places of *religieux lais*.

The third and last branch of this revenue consists of three heads. The first of all hospitals appointed for receiving of pilgrims; the second of all the hospitals designed for those infected with the plague [19] and the third of a good part of the hospitals or Maladreries founded for the lepers. The first (being pilgrimage is now almost altogether out of use) are for ever to this House appointed. The second, while there is no plague, and therefore with some restriction, and the third only for part, the other part being appropriated together with the Hospitals of St. Lazare, for the new Knights of St. Lazare\* chosen out of the maimed and well deserving officers, who are actually in service. These three sorts of hospitals are very numerous in *France*. The Maladreries specially, have good revenues, intended formerly for such only as were infected with Leprosy, which disease being in ages past no less common than contagious, is now known only by its name, specially since the great use of Mercury, and therefore was, as many believe, the effects of the Napolitan disease, which within this age and above is so thoroughly cured that that contagion of leprosy, as well as the Itch of Pilgriming, is wholly ceased. These Maladreries by succession of time and the ends ceasing for [20] which they were designed and founded have been within these 150 years last past applied to several monasteries and other pious uses. The Jesuits of *Burdeaux* alone enjoyed 15000 livres a year of them, and so did other religious houses, and even many private men of quality held them as church livings and benefices, all which now are appropriated to the Invalides and maimed, as I already mentioned.

And by reason that these former appropriations to several monasteries and pious uses as aforesaid was done by authority of the Prince and according to the forms of law, many therefore, notwithstanding the King's order, would not part with them without law, some claiming lawful right and interest, some standing upon prescription, and others as absolute benefices not formerly Maladreries contracting with time and obscurity, and rust in the first title. The King therefore for these reasons [21] and for the farther and better discovery of all Maladreries within this kingdom, passed a contract some ten years ago to some particular persons, who for the recovering of them from the several concerned bodies either natural or politic, are to have for their encouragement and in consideration of their endeavors, care and trouble, the first five years rent of the said Maladreries, to begin from the payment of a considerable sum, which upon passing of the said contract, was paid by the said persons to the King as a fine for their good bargain. I hear these farmers have been at above 60000 crowns charges in discoveries and law-suits upon this business, which at first

\* The Order of St. Lazarus was a mediaeval military order founded to help pilgrims in the Holy Land. After falling into some decay, the order was revived in France through the activity of Philibert de Nerestang, who used his influence with Henry IV to obtain a bull very favourable to the Order. Further reorganization of the Knights took place during the reign of Louis XIV. The Knights could marry and enjoy pensions. (L. Moreri, *Le Grand Dictionnaire Historique*, 1725 Tome IV, article 'Lazare.')

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made a great noise and some disorder, but is now (it seems) appeased, in all likelihood I suppose to the King's satisfaction and design. This branch as I am informed amounts to 150000 crowns yearly revenue or thereabouts.

These three forementioned branches do compound the tree which bears the revenue of this House. [22] If more be of late added its more than I can hear. But at first (as likely at present) this fund served both for the building of the house and for the maintenance of the soldiers, tho' I hear by the reason of the vast buildings daily added, and the number of the Invalides much more increasing, than decreasing, the House contracted 50000 livres of debt, which the King hath lately discharged out of his own revenue. Upon the whole matter it is thought, that this Fund is so great that it shall not only be sufficient to answer the charges of the House but also some other private pensions for military officers. And for this reason as also for the honor of this great Monarch, this house by the King's edict was and is made and declared incapable of receiving or purchasing by legacy or otherwise any rents or lands other than such as are adjacent to the House and for the immediate conveniency of it, which the King himself hath already done. [23]

Having given you a breife insight into the revenue of the House which may afford you some light for like things, I will now descend to the government of it, both military and civil.\*

And first I must tell you, that the King himself, as being the Founder, so is he the immediate protector and patron of it; immediate because being so, it is exempted from the right of visit or examination of any other, as Chancellor, the High Almoner of France, the Archbishop, first President of the Parliament or any other who claim and pretend a right of visiting of Houses of the like quality, and pious foundations.

Secondly the Principal Secretary of State for War Affairs, for the time being, is always appointed Director, Administrator and Governor General (for these are the very terms) of this House, as being appendant to his Charge more than to that of any of the other three Secretaries. He hath power to add, and diminish, redress, ordain, and establish all things relating to the better discipline and government of the House. [24] In pursuance of this power he can appoint, take in, turn out, punish, or reward (as best to him seems) any servant, serving officer, or any other person in the House. He is obliged to visit the House and view most places in it, once or twice a month, if sickness or absence do not hinder him.

\* Povey's account of the administration of the House is admirably concise. It only remains to mention the Council, which could, at need, assist the *Secrétaire d'Etat de la Guerre*, which included the Colonel, the Lieutenant Colonel and the *Sergent Major* of the Gardes Françaises, with the Colonels of the old six regiments of infantry, the Colonel General of the light cavalry, his 'maistre de camp general,' his Commissary general, and the Colonel General of dragoons. Unlike Burnand, our author puts the *Directeurs*, who at this time were Camus Destouches, Camus Duclos, and Camus de Beaulieu, directly under the *Secrétaire d'Etat de la Guerre* in the official hierarchy. This is the more logical in that they were directly responsible to him. A salary was later added to the office of Directeur.

The *Major* had the duties, additional to those mentioned by Povey (at a later date at any rate), of policing the Hostel and inspecting the men's rooms. His salary, which is not given by Povey, was fixed at 1200 livres. The Secretary is also referred to in the manuscript. The treasurer, or rather the *receveur* of the Hostel, was the most senior of the treasurers general of the *Extraordinaire des guerres*, one of the two principal war funds. Later a separate post of treasurer was created at the Hostel. In spite of the contrary opinion put forward by Luynes in his *Memoires* (quoted by Burnand, p. 88) the post of *gouverneur* at this time seems to have been fairly liberally endowed. (Burnand, Chapter IV.)

Thirdly. Under this Director General, by reason of his many other weighty affairs belonging to his employment of Secretary of War the King hath appointed 4 other Directors subordinate to him, who must look diligently to all and singular the affairs of the House, and take special care of every thing. These now have been named and put in by Monsieur de Louvois, Principal Secretary of State. One of them is Monsieur des Touches, a man of not apparent, but real worth and merits, living at the Arsenal as Comptroller of the Artillery, being nearly related to Mounsieur Tilladet, Mounsieur de Louvoys' brother in law. They must be men of means of their own, of great integrity and probity [25] for they are to serve gratis, and diligently, without any salary or fees out of the revenue of the House, depending solely for their recompense on the King's own liberality, who, that they may not be a burden to the house, gives them other places both of credit and profit, as a reward very sufficient for their trouble and pains here. These are the chiefly intrusted men, and on whom all the brunt doth lie, who meet weekly Saturday at 4 a clock, being the day and hour appointed about the affairs of the House, in which they have 4 or 5 rooms wholly for that purpose, being not allowed to live there. They then examine all the weekly bills, and all accounts, expenses, and all other the charges of the House. They look into the Under Officers' actions, into the discipline of the House, the comportments of everybody, and in short have an eye and authority over all from the highest to the lowest, their magistratures being rather civil than military, and yet with a jurisdiction over both. At their meeting the Lieutenant du Roy and sometimes the Maior, may assist, but without any deliberative [26] voice. The Provost and Master Chirurgion must constantly be there, standing behind the Director's chairs, expecting, if any need they have of them. The Council's Apartment consists of the Council-Room, the Secretary's room, or office, the Common Room, without from whence they call in the Soldiers or others, and a private room for rest.

Fourthly, the Governor of the Hostel (for so he is called) for this place can be considered in two respects. First as a little town or corporation, and secondly as a citadel or a garrison. In this latter view, this Governor hath his jurisdiction, which is solely military, and still somewhat subordinate to the forementioned Directors, to whose meeting he is called. He is the Chief and first Officer actually living in the House, where he hath on the first and second floor on the left wing, going into one of the collateral courts, a large apartment of 7 or 8 rooms, having strong bar iron [27] gates at both ends, hindering, if he pleases, his communication but not his view into the rest of the Gallery. He hath his own kitchen, and just adjoining to that wing a little low house, and a court, where his stable and coach house is, and his servants do lie, having a private door into the said court for his coach to come in, without coming into any of the common yards of the House. He hath 6000 livres a year pension out of the revenues of the House, and the King bought for him lately a little House, and garden of pleasure, half way to the river, as ever hereafter annexed to this House. Mounsieur de St. Martin,\* formerly Mareschall des Logis of Horse, is now the

\* Andre Blanchard de St. Martin entered the army in 1638, became captain in the Regiment de Clerambault, and rose to be Maréchal général des logis de la cavalerie. He was made Governor of the Invalides on 28th November 1678 and died there on 18th February 1696.

### *The Hostel of the Invalides*

Governor, as was before him, and the first that ever was, Mounsieur D'Ormy,\* Provost des Bandes of the King's Regiment of French Guards, being lately dead, and buried in the House. The Governor eats apart, and as some say, not upon the expenses of the House. His only (in short) employment and province, is to keep the soldiers in a kind of military discipline [28] and in good and civil order, that the laws of the House be observed, and [he] meddles with nothing else.

Fifthly, Le Lieutenant du Roy, who is the next man to the Governor, and in his absence supplies his place, his business also is to maintain the soldiers under rule and government. His apartment consists of 2 or 3 rooms and [he] may eat by himself or at his will, with the invalid officers, and hath 500 livres a year pension.

Sixthly follows the Maior and 2 Aid Maiors, who hath a military command, as in the field, and walk or stand by the refectories during dinner and suppers, in order to prevent and redress all disorders; one of the Aid Maiors as the meat is served, going before the serving-men, and for exactness and speed's sake distinguishing with his little cane the soldiers by messes. The Provost, of whom all the soldiers (in consideration of his employment) do stand in [29] awe, tho' not for his quality, as most provosts are not of any, yet for his jurisdiction hath good credit here, having two archers joined with him, with three horses maintained in the stable. His charge is to ride and rove up and down the city, and adjacent villages, about the soldiers, that they behave themselves civilly, commit no insolency abroad, and in case of transgression, in drink or otherwise, to bring them home, where they must expect condign punishment. He has 600 livres a year salary.

Seventhly and lastly you have 45 captains more or less as the soldiers number increase, each captain having 25 men to his company, and no other inferior officer under him, but one of the two serjeants, who is appointed as only an overseer under him. All the other military officers, (the Governor himself included) are chosen out of the number of the Invalid officers living here, and because that the soldiers of this House amount now to near 2000 men, we are to distinguish among them two sorts of Invalides. [30] The first and which by prehemency are called *Invalides* as being really so, are not divided into any companies, being incapable of any duty, but the last, who are healthy and strong, for more distinction and better discipline's sake are inrolled in several companies. These companies, tho' they have their several drummers, invalid also, yet have they but two drums beating, the one for the relievers, and the other for the relieved, in order, I suppose, to avoid greater noise than needs must, in a house now more like a monastery than a camp, both in spiritual and temporal. And to the more easy meeting of each company, the soldiers of the same company are not only of the same apartment of the house but have also their chambers contiguous if not commonly chamber-fellows.

The guard is always of 5 companies, constantly relieved at one a clock in the afternoon, so as every eighth it comes to each company's [31] turn to be on the guard. Three of these companies actually on the guard do at the ordinary hours eat together with all those of the House, and after they and the House have done eating,

\* François Lemaçon, seigneur d'Ormy, and prévôt général des bandes à la police du régiment des Gardes Françaises, became Governor of the Invalides in 1675, and died in December 1678.

they return back to the guard, and the other two companies do come and eat also in the refectory, which done they return again to their post. In a word, none but the strong and healthy young and lusty soldiers are tyed to the guards. The old ones, extremely maimed or infirm, vizt. the properly called *Invalides*, are exempted as I already said, and of course have a writ of '*Quietus est.*'\* so far, that in the refectory they have 4 tables to themselves, besides another great chamber, which serves for another refectory, all knowing their distinct plates and places, and for more ease indeed have a Quarter of the House in the lower galleries, vizt. in St. Charlemagne and St. Guillaume, which Quarter they call *l'appartement des Invalides*.

The drum then beating a little before one in the great anticourt before the house, the soldiers there meet and thence do [32] march, each company in good order with their drum and arms to the two guards, whereof one is at the gate or entry of the said anticourt, and the other 4 at the great gate of the House itself.\*\* Each company relieving the guard is armed with swords, and have 14 fusils, for the first ranks, the following being arm'd with Halberts (Pikes they have none.) These swords, fusils, and halberts, (before they relieve the guard) are delivered them by their sergeants, who take them from the storehouse or guard rooms, where, being relieved, they deliver them back again, setting up upon hooks at the great and middle gate of the House itself, besides the guard room, where the guards' arms, as fusils and halberts, do hang upon several crooks to that purpose. There is an inner great room within the said guard-room which serves as a magazine for all the arms of the House, sufficient in all to arm 6, or 700 men with fusils and halberts,\*\*\* there being [33] need of no more here, and much less of Pikes: At the door of this magazine there stands always a sentry, as also at the guard-room, all the sentryes have Capots† and Mittins, and those out in the great court have *Gueridets* or little sentry-houses, and for keeping constantly all the said arms in good order there is an invalid appointed to do it, for which he hath 25 crowns yearly salary. At the said two gates of the anticourt, and of the House, besides the sentry appointed to each of these there are also to each 2 porters, who are invalides, and in the King's livery with their canes or short porter's staff in their hand. Their wages are 25 crowns a year to each besides some contingent casualties.†† When they discover any soldier carrying out his new shoes to sell, if it should happen, or bring any quantity of brandy or tobacco to sell in the House, in which cases, all such prohibited things imported or exported are confiscated to them, their chief charge being to observe all persons and things coming in, or going out of [34] the

\* That is, they were not to be troubled any more.

\*\* The description of the placing of the guards mounted at the Hostel given by Povey differs from that described in Burnand, who probably derived his information from *Le Jeune de Boullencourt*. The latter, writing somewhat later, no doubt described altered general orders. (Burnand, Chapter 9.)

\*\*\* It seems hardly necessary to remind the reader that these arms were taken from the arsenal by the stormers of the Bastille. The presence of arms in such quantities here in the *Invalides* in fact, was one of the contributory factors to the success of the French Revolution. No doubt these 'swords, fusils, and halberts,' which the prudence of Louis XIV had laid up against an attack on the capital, then went into hiding, as happens in revolutions, to appear periodically on the battlefields of Paris, at least until the decree of the National Convention ordering the citizens to hand in their weapons. Ironically enough, *Invalides* formed the garrison of the Bastille. (Burnand, Chapter 9.)

† A capot was a greatcoat.

†† Contingent casualties = perquisites.

### *The Hostel of the Invalides*

House, as also to direct strangers to the chambers of all those within the House, either officers, soldiers or servants, having a list of their particular names and chambers about them; if they have leave to go abroad, if they come home in good order, sober and without being drunk, and in short to do all things belonging to the duty and discretion of a good porter, who withal, lies still under the eye of the officer then commanding that guard. The soldiers of the guard do wear that day their sword up and down the House, until they are relieved, which they must not do in the House, nor no other soldier, unless upon function. They may do it abroad, tho' I never saw hitherto any practice it. But the invalid admitted officers do wear their swords abroad and at home at their pleasure.

At the two guard-rooms there are two constant great fires in large pans, with a constant [35] lamp, all night long, of four lights, hanging in the middle of the room. They have also large straw beds, with warm and heavy coverlids at both guards and some books of devotion, as the 'Holy Court,' 'Life of Saints,' etc. which you see the soldiers reading. The captains commanding the guards have in an inner room of the second guard very good beds, lights, chimneys to fire, and all other necessary and decent, but not superfluous conveniencies.

At eight a clock at night in summer and when it begins to be dark in winter, the retreat beats in the great anticourt, which is heard above a mile round about the House, as at Meden, and even Pont neuf, notwithstanding the noise.\* Half an hour after eight the gates are half shut, and till nine they may come in, but never after, for at 9 they must all be retired to their chambers, and may then go to bed, and say a few private prayers if they will. And because lying out of the House without leave is a crime wherein several more enormous are presumed [36] to be ordinarily ingrossed, which is punished here the next day the party appears with a week's imprisonment at bread and water, and a month's confinement to the water table, during which time, and often the next month after, he is not to go out of the House. And the better to discover such delinquents, there is in each quarter of the House a Serjeant, who in the morning at 4 a clock visits all the beds in his quarter. If any he finds absent, he gives his name to the Maior or Provost, who as soon as possible finds out the party, and commits him to prison as aforesaid. This Serjeant for his pains is allowed half a chopin of wine a day, and half a crown a month as a pay.

The round or watch goes through all the courts and galleries of the House 2 or 3 times a night, at eleven and three a clock constantly. There are out each night and day several sentries [37] vizt. one at the first gate to come into the anticourt, and another at the great middle gate of the House. These two sentries on Sundays and holidays are commonly doubled. There is a sentry on the Governor's iron gate; one at the storehouse or magazine, two on each side of the anticourt, with little lodges, one on the Infirmary door, and one at the door of the chapel, which because it is not

\* Meudon, now a suburb of Paris, was at this time a detached village, lying about 25 kilometres south-west of Paris. Pont Neuf, the famous bridge across the Seine at the island of the Cité, is only about 2100 metres away from the Invalides, but as Povey points out, it was not the fact that the drumbeat could be heard so far away that was remarkable, but that it could be heard above the noise of carts and foot passengers crossing the bridge.

*Carson I. A. Ritchie*

fully perfected is guarded for fear of thieves by 3 sentries more in the night.\* At meals they put sentries at all the doors of the several refectories, as well to prevent disorder and noise as to hinder the soldiers from leaving the refectory till the bell rings for a sign that they may. The sentries in winter have good or heavy robes to keep them warm, and are changed every half hour. They are all commonly armed with halberts, there being but two sentries on the flanks of the anticourt, that have fusils. Coming out of the refectory after supper, the sentries of the refectory hinder the soldiers if need be, from stealing away into [38] their rooms, but do make them come out into the Royal Court, and to the church to prayers, where they must all assist.

\* The 'Église royale' was not completed until 1706.

*(To be concluded)*