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HISTORICAL ESSAYS

U P O N

P A R I S.

Translated from the FRENCH

O F

MR. DE SAINTFOIX.

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IN THREE VOLUMES.

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V O L. I.

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L O N D O N:

Printed for G. BURNETT, at Bishop Burnett's Head,  
near St. Clement's Church, in the Strand.

MDCCLXVI.

HISTORICAL BOOKS

P. A. R. I. S.

THE  
OF  
M. DE SAINT-ROIX

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IN THREE VOLUMES

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V. O. L. I.

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1780  
Printed by ...  
near St. Clement's Church in ...  
MINISTRY

## HISTORICAL ESSAYS

UPON

P A R I S.

THE trade of the Parisians by water was very flourishing. Their City seems, from time immemorial, to have had a Ship for its Symbol. *Isis* presided over Navigation, and was adored even amongst the *Suevi* under the figure of a Ship\*. These reasons are more than sufficient for Etymologists to persuade themselves that *Parisi* was derived from *παρὰ Ἰσίδος*, near to *Isis*; the Greek and Celtic languages being originally the same, and written in similar characters. I do not take upon me to defend this Etymology. *Moreau de Mautour* however

EVER

\* *Loëtant. Apul. Tacit. de moribus Germ. C. IX.*

ever is certainly \* mistaken when he maintains, that this Goddess was not adored in Gaul after its being subjected to the Romans \*\*. Her Priests had their College at Issi; and the Church of St. Vincent, since called St. Germain des Prez, was built upon the ancient ruins of her \*\*\* Temple. It is well known where that of *Mars* † was situated. *Mercury* or *Pluto* (for they were the same Deity amongst the Gauls) had a Temple upon Mount *Leucotitius*; †† and the reader will find under the article *la rue Coquilliere*, that *Cybele* had devotion paid to her near the spot where the Church of St. Eustatius is now situated. It should be observed, that these places were anciently

\* D. *Martin* (in his Religion of the Gauls, Vol. II. p. 131.) proves it by Monuments, which that Academician should not have been ignorant of. —The City of Melun being consecrated to the worship of *Isis*, changed its ancient name (*Melodunum*) to that of *Iseos* or *Isia*. Vide *Jacobus Magni*. Abbo Carmen III. L. I.

\*\* Vid. Hist. of the Academy of Inscriptions, Vol. III. p. 296.

\*\*\* This celebrated Temple of *Isis* (says *Sauval*) which gave name to all the Country, was attended by a College of Priests, who lived, as is thought, at Issi in a Castle, the ruins of which were to be seen the beginning of this Century.

† Vid. *Montmartre*.

†† The Carmelites of *la rue St. Jacques*.

ciently nothing more than small woods, or solitary retreats, consecrated to those Divinities; for the Gauls did not begin to build Temples, till they were under the dominion of the Romans.

*Cæsar* is the first Author who speaks of the Parisians. They were one of those sixty or sixty-four States, who composed the Republic of Gaul, and who formed only a single Nation, though independent of one another. Each of these people had their particular Laws, Chiefs, and Magistrates; and appointed every year Deputies for the general assemblies, which were usually held in the principal College of the Druids, in the middle of a forest in the Country of Chartrain. The administration of civil and political affairs had for a considerable time been entrusted to a Senate of Women, elected by the different Cantons. They deliberated upon peace and war, and decided the differences which arose amongst the Vergobreti \*, or took place betwixt one City and another. *Plutarch* says, that by one of the articles of the treaty between *Hannibal* and the Gauls, it was stipulated, that † “If any Gaul has reason to complain of a  
“ Carthaginian, he must appear before the Se-

B 2

“nate

\* Sovereign Magistrates.

† De Claris Mulierib.

“ nate of Carthage established in Spain. If any  
“ Carthaginian finds himself injured by a Gaul,  
“ the affair must be judged by the supreme Coun-  
“ cil of Gallic Women.” The Druids, dis-  
contented with some decrees of this Tribunal, so  
artfully employed the influence which Religion  
gave them over the minds of men, that they  
caused it to be abolished, and erected one of their  
own in its stead, whose power soon increased to  
such a pitch, that they became absolute masters  
in all the public deliberations. They retained the  
same pre-eminence as the women, and they availed  
themselves of it to appear the first body of the  
State, and indeed to crush every other authority  
by the Despotism of Superstition. It is observed,  
that the Gauls, under the government of the  
women, had taken Rome, and kept Italy in a  
constant tremor; that under that of the Priests  
they were themselves subdued by the Romans,  
and that *Cæsar* owed his conquests to the jealous-  
ies and divisions, which a Druid, the perfidious  
*Divitiacus*, incessantly sowed amongst the prin-  
cipal Cities. The Parisians fought for their li-  
berty with a courage that bordered upon despair.  
Dreading to be forced into their Island, they sal-  
lied forth, after having set fire to it; and went in  
trent of the Enemy, who deceived them by a  
false

false march. The battle was fought below Meudon, and was very bloody \*. They lost it, and the brave *Camulogenus*, whom though in a very advanced age \*\* they had chosen for their Commander, was killed.

*Corrozet* maintains, that it was *Cæsar* who caused the great and little Chatelet to be built. *Malingre* and the *Commissary de la Marre* say, that “Lutetia which he surrounded with walls, “and which he embellished with new edifices, “was called the City of *Cæsar*.” This passage is not found in *Boetius*, whom both of them quote, but in a book supposed to be written by *Scot*, and which can be of no authority. From the time of *Cæsar* till that of *Julian* scarce any mention is made in history of *Lutetia* †. *Julian* was proclaimed *Augustus* there in 360. *Valentinian I.* and *Gratian* also resided there for some time. *Clovis* in 510 declared it the Capital of his conquests. As he resided at the Palace *des Termes* ††,

B 3

and

\* De Bello Gallico. L. VII.

\*\* *Prope confectus atate.*

† It is said that in the Celtic language, *Lub* signifies a river, *Touez* in the middle, and *y* an habitation, and in this manner *Lutetia* is derived from *Lubtouezy*, an habitation in the middle of a river, because this City was really built upon an Island in the middle of the *Seine*. Vid. *Mem. upon the Celtic language.*

†† Without the City.

and as it appears that all the Kings of the first Race fixed their residence here, most Authors will not allow that they had any in the City. In the Sequel I shall talk of this Palace *des Termes*. With respect to that which was in the City, I shall only quote this passage of *Gregory of Tours* \*.

“ *Childebert* sent a person in whom he could  
 “ confide, to *Clotarius*, King of Soissons, to en-  
 “ gage him to come and meet him, in order to  
 “ deliberate whether they should put their Ne-  
 “ phews to death, or whether they should con-  
 “ tent themselves with degrading \*\* them by  
 “ cutting off their hair. . . *Clotarius* hastened  
 “ to Paris. . . They caused it to be reported,  
 “ that the result of their interview was to pro-  
 “ claim

\* *Greg. Tur.* Hist. Lib. III. Cap. XVIII:

\*\* *Incisa Cæsarie ut reliqua plebs babeantur.* The French cut their hair all round their heads, preserving them in their full length only from the top, where they were knotted and tied. None but Princes of the Royal Family were allowed to have their hair flowing upon their shoulders, and without being cut round the head. The hair of those people, who were conquered by the Gauls, was not to reach below the neck: so that a head of hair being a distinguishing mark between the French and the subjugated people, it was not only degrading a Prince or a Frenchman, and dismembering him from his family, to cut his hair; but it was disqualifying him from being a Frenchman.



“ claim the sons of *Clodomir* Kings, and sent a  
 “ message to demand them of *Clotilda* (who then  
 “ resided in the City \*) to raise them upon the  
 “ shield. The good Queen transported with joy,  
 “ sent for the young \*\* Princes into her apart-  
 “ ment, and after having paid attention to their  
 “ taking some refreshment, said to them as she  
 “ embraced them, Go, my children, go and meet  
 “ your Uncles; if I can see you upon your fa-  
 “ ther’s throne, I shall forget that I lost that dear  
 “ child. *Clotarius*, after having assassinated them  
 “ with his own hand, coolly mounted his horse  
 “ to return to *Soissons*: *Childebert* retired into  
 “ the Suburbs: *In Suburbana concessit.*”

Towards the end of the second Race, Paris  
 still surrounded by the two branches of the  
 river, was not more extensive than in the time  
 of *Cæsar*. The Cathedral in the east, the great  
 and little Chatelet upon the north and south,  
 and the King’s palace, or the palace of the  
 Counts on the west, composed its four ex-  
 tremities. “ *Lutetia*, (says *Cæsar*) situated

B 4

“ upon

\* *Quæ tunc in ipsa urbe morabatur.* There must then have  
 been a Palace in the City where she resided, and brought up  
 the young Princes.

\*\* The eldest was only ten years old.

“ upon an Island of the Seine, is the City of the  
 “ Parisians.” “ I passed the winter, says *Julian*,  
 “ who reigned four hundred years after this con-  
 “ queror of the Gauls, in my dear *Lutetia*: it  
 “ forms a little Island in the Seine, and there are  
 “ two bridges for communication.” “ *Paris*,  
 “ says *Abbon*, who wrote nine hundred years  
 “ after *Cæsar*, is joined to the main land by two  
 “ bridges: at the foot of each of these bridges,  
 “ there is a Castle \* without the City.”

If to these authorities we add a few reflections upon the devastation of Gaul by the Barbarians; upon the bloody wars by which *Clovis* continued to form his establishment; upon the partition of his conquests after his death into four Kingdoms, whereby Orleans and Soissons became Capitals; upon the annihilation of trade; and upon the contempt with which the French looked upon those who resided in Cities, and upon every other profession, except that of arms; we shall easily be persuaded, that Paris under the first Race could not be aggrandized. Under the second we see it almost deserted. *Pepin*, *Charlemain*, *Lewis* the Debonair, *Charles* the Bald, and *Lewis* the Stammerer sojourned there only occasionally.

The

\* The great and little Chatelet.

The Emperor *Julian* seems to call to mind with pleasure, the time he passed in his dear *Lutetia* ; he expatiates upon its climate, its soil, its vineyards, and the method the inhabitants used to cultivate fig-trees. Is it likely, that after having said it was confined to a small island, he would not have added, that its Suburbs were considerable, if in fact they had been so? So far from mentioning them, the manner in which he expresses himself, clearly points out that there were none. “As the Parisians, says he, inhabit an Island, they can have no other water than that of the Seine.” The observation which I make \* upon these words, and which has accidentally escaped all the Dissertators, appears to me the more decisive, as the Commissary *de la Marre*, who has in another place \*\* translated the passage at length, seems to have affected forgetting them, because they did not correspond with his ideas. His Treatise upon the Police is a good performance; but a reader should be upon his guard, where he loses sight of his object. A chain of walls which is mentioned in a charter in the time of the two last Kings of the second Race, leads him to place opposite to the City, upon the

B 5

banks

\* *Julian. imper. Misepog.*

\*\* Treatise upon the Police, p. 87. Vol. I.

banks of the Seine towards the north, a small town, which he presumes was built by the Romans \*. After having observed that this chain began near St. Gervais, and that forming a semi-circle behind the Greve, and on the side of St. Merri, it terminated on the bank of the river, beyond the great Chatelet, “Gregory  
 “of Tours (he adds) enumerates with much  
 “precision all the considerable buildings and  
 “foundations which were made by our Kings;  
 “the fires, inundations, and all the other events  
 “which were capable of changing the face of this  
 “Capital from the beginning of the Monarchy.  
 “Would he have forgot to have mentioned its  
 “increase and new inclosure? There is not  
 “the least probability in such a supposition.  
 “*Fredegarius, Aimoin, Sigebert, \*\** and several  
 “other Historians have closely followed him un-  
 “der the first and second Race: they have imitated  
 “his precision in all that concerns Paris: they  
 “have all remained silent with respect to this  
 “inclosure. This doubtless induces us to believe  
 “that this was still a work of the Romans.”  
 We shall see by the extract I am going to make  
 from

\* See his second Plan.

\*\* The Commissary *La Marre* quotes *Sigebert* amongst the Historians who wrote under the second Race: this Historian lived under the Reign of *Philip I.* and *Lewis the Fat.*

from *Abbon's* \* Poem, that this wall, far from being a work of the Romans, was not begun till towards the end of the ninth century. “*Sigefroy* “ enrag'd at not obtaining a passage through the “ City, came hastily \*\* and attacked the large “ Tower † of the great bridge. *Eudes* Count of Paris, “ *Robert* his brother, the Counts *Raguenaire* and “ *Sibange*, the Bishop *Goslin*, and *Eble* Abbot “ of St. Germain, defended it till night with so “ much bravery, that the Normans, notwith- “ standing the considerable breaches that they “ had made, were oblig'd to retire with the loss “ of four or five hundred men. The next day “ they returned with equal fury. The attack con- “ tinued till night. Finding they were always re- “ puls'd, they thought proper at last to entrench “ themselves, and fortify a camp with stones “ and earth in the ‡ borough of St. Germain of “ Auxerrois.”

B 6

This

\* He was in Paris whilst *Sigefroy* laid siege to it in 886.

\*\* *Nempe ruunt omnes ratibus, turri properantes,  
Quam feriunt fundis acriter, complentque sagittis.*

† The great Chatelet.

‡ This quarter was still call'd a Borough under the Reign of *Philip Augustus*, three hundred years after this siege; and the learned *Menage* is at great pains to instruct us upon this head, that the Borough is always separated from the City, whereas the Suburbs join to it.

This quotation evinces, that the wall or inclosure in question did not exist in the year 886 : *Abbon* would have spoken of it : *Sigefroy* would have been obliged first to have attacked and carried it, whereas we find he arrived immediately, and without any obstacle, at the bank of the ditch of the Tower of the great Chatelet. These are my conjectures upon this wall. D. *Felibien*, and all those who have particularly applied themselves to the history of Paris, assert that the ground whereon the town \* now stands, was a forest. The octagon Tower which still remains at the corner of the church-yard des Innocens, served, it is said, for keeping a guard in this forest to check the gangs of robbers that infested it, and to annoy the Normans, who might lie there in ambush in detached troops, rush into the market-place of the Greve, pillage the port, and carry off slaves. I imagine this wall was erected to prevent sudden incursions, and that the Jews who re-appeared in France about that time, obtained leave to build houses in this inclosure, which composed those nasty streets of St. Bon, de la Tacherie, du Pet-au-Diable, and other adjacent ones. It is certain they had a Synagogue and Schools there in the beginning of the third Race.

\* On the northern side of the river,

Race. It was not till the reign of *Lewis* the young, that the buildings in Champeaux \* and in the environs of St. Opportune were begun. These places were formerly called *the Hermitage of our Lady in the wood*, being situated at the entrance of the forest.

We may suppose that the space between the bulwark and the northern side of the river, from the ground whereon the Arsenal is now erected, to the end of the *Thuilleries*, comprehends the remains of a marshy wood, small fields, † cultures, hedges, ditches, and four or five small †† Boroughs, more or less, separated from one another; some dirty streets about the great Chatelet and the Greve; a great bridge, (the Change-bridge) to pass over into a small Island, (the City) which was only inhabited by Priests, and a few trades-

\* The Quarter *des Halles*.

† The streets called *St. Catherine's Culture*, and *St. Gervais's Culture* (which were then pronounced *Coulture*) derive their names from spots which were proper to be cultivated.

†† *Thibouft* Borough, *Abbé* and *Beau-bourg* Boroughs, and the old and new Boroughs of *St. Germain of the Auxerrois*: they were partly surrounded by the wall which *Philip Augustus* caused to be built, and which was finished in 1121. The streets of those Boroughs have always retained their names. The *Commissary de la Marre* asserts, that they were separated from Paris and its Suburbs by fields, marshes, and plowed lands; from thence we may judge of the small extent of the Suburbs.

tradesmen and workmen ; another bridge, (the little bridge) to pass over on the southern side, and beyond this bridge and the little Chatelet, three or four hundred houses, scattered here and there upon the banks of the river, and in the vineyards which covered the environs of the mountain of St. Genevieve. Such was Paris under our first Kings of the third Race, and I believe, if we reflect upon the manners of those times, and upon the causes of its increase afterwards, we shall agree it could neither be greater, nor more considerable. All those different tribunals which we now see, and whose appurtenances are so numerous, did not yet exist : the King, the Count, or the Viscount heard the parties, made a summary judgment, or ordered a battle, in case the affair was too intricate. Neither were there any Colleges ; the Bishop and the Canons supported some Schools near the Cathedral, for the education of those designed for ecclesiastics. The nobles piqued themselves upon their ignorance, and often were not able to sign their names : they lived upon their estates, and if they were obliged to pass three or four days in town, they affected to appear always booted, that they might not be taken for *villains*. Ten men were sufficient to collect the imposts ; there were only two gates, and under *Lewis the Fat*, the taxes of the northern gate amount-



amounted only to twelve \* livres Tournois a year. The most useful arts did not even strike the imagination, and one may judge of the diversions and public places by the indelicacy of the manners: in a word, there was nothing in Paris to attract a stranger, to induce the industrious man to settle there, or rich and lazy people to make it the place of their residence. *Philip Augustus* was fond of letters \*\*; he entertained

\* The numerical *Livre* of France owes its institution to *Charlemain*. It was he who caused twenty pieces to be cut out of a pound of silver, which were called sols, and out of these sols twelve pieces, which were called deniers: so that the livre of that time, as well as now, was composed of two hundred and forty deniers. The sols and deniers consisted of fine silver, till the Reign of *Philip I.* Father of *Lewis the Fat*; in 1103, they were mixed with a third of brass; ten years afterwards, it was increased to half; to two thirds under *Philip the Fair*, and to three fourths under *Philip of Valois*. This diminution of value has been carried to such a height, that twenty sols, which before the Reign of *Philip I.* composed a pound of real silver, do not at this day contain the third part of an ounce. It is pretended that *Charlemain* was as rich with one Million, as *Lewis XV.* with sixty-six. Twenty-four pounds of white bread cost a denier (or farthing) under the Reign of *Charlemain*: this denier was made of fine silver without alloy; by the value which it would bear at present, may be computed whether bread and other necessaries were cheaper or dearer at that time, than now. Twelve livres in the time of *Lewis the Fat* made, I imagine, about twelve times thirty-four of our present livres.

\*\* They seemed to revive under the Reign of *Charlemain*; during the ravages of the Normans they were entirely neglected, till the Reign of *Lewis the Young*, *Philip Augustus's* Father.

tained and patronized the Learned ; the Schools of Paris became famous, the youth of the Provinces and foreign Countries crowded to them ; the quarter, since called the University-quarter, was peopled, and in the 13th and 14th Centuries, was covered with Colleges and Convents. *Philip the Fair* fixed the seat of Parliament ; he also prohibited duelling in civil matters, and one might plead, without being obliged to fight. I know not whether law-suits were undertaken with more courage ; but it is certain, that the chicanery which was introduced at the same time into France, by our commerce with the Court of Rome under *Clement V.* increased miraculously, and that every thing connected with it augmented in less than half a century the number of the inhabitants of Paris at least a thirtieth part. *Queen Ann* of Brittany, great and majestic in every thing, would have a Court. The women, who till then were born in one Castle to marry and die in another, came to Paris, and would not return, and the men followed them. The religious wars under *Charles IX.* and *Henry III.* rendered gold and silver a little more common, by the profanations of the Calvinists, who pillaged the Churches, and converted the sacred vessels, shrines, and statues of Saints into specie. The millions which the Court of Spain flung away in Paris to support

support the league, had made a great number of shop-keepers easy in their circumstances, and it is observed that Dauphin, Christine, and Anjou-streets, \* which *Henry IV.* erected upon part of the garden of the great *Augustins*, and the ruins of the Hotel of the Abbots of St. Denis, were built in less than a year. This was the first of our Kings, who embellished Paris with public squares decorated with ornaments of architecture. After having finished the new bridge begun in the Reign of *Henry III.* the building of which was interrupted during the civil wars, he erected the Royal Square upon the spot where the Hotel of Tournelle before stood, and Dauphin-square upon two little Islands, which he joined together, and with that of the Palace, from whence they were before separated by a branch of the river, at the place where Harlay-street now stands. Towards the end of the administration of Cardinal *Richelieu*, there was only one Master; and the little provincial tyrants, who had cantoned themselves so long in their Castles, in opposition to the Royal Authority, came to intrigue for the most pitiful apartment at Court with all the abjectness of courtiers, at the same time building in the City with all the pomp of great men. At length

\* So called from the *Dauphin*, the Duke of Anjou, and *Madame Christina* their Sister.

length *Lewis XIV.* ascended the throne, and Paris was no longer inclosed : the gates were turned into triumphal arches, the ditches filled up, planted with trees, and converted into public walks. When we consider this Monarch, the noise he made in the world, his forty years victories, his grandeur, magnificence, and dignity in pleasures, the resources he drew from his very expences, his taste for the arts which even his thirst of glory increased ; when one reflects that his diversions in time of peace were not only for his Court, for his Capital, for his people, but festivals which he gave to all Europe : it should seem that Paris ought to have been still more embellished under his Reign.

*The walls of Paris begun in 1190, under the Reign of Philip Augustus, and completed in 1211.*

It is necessary to observe, that I am obliged to make use of names of streets, convents, and houses, which did not yet exist ; and that under *St. Lewis*, grandson of *Philip Augustus*, a third part at least of the ground which was inclosed within this wall, was waste, marshy, or cultivated. It extended from the northern side of the river, towards the Louvre, \* which was without, traversed the streets *St. Honoré* and *Deux-*

\* It was not then half so extensive as it is at present.

Deux-Ecus, the place whereon is built the Hotel de Soissons, Coquilliere, Montmarte, and Montorgueil-streets, the ground where the Italian play-house now stands, Françoise, St. Denis, Bourgl'abbé and St. Martin's-streets, continued along Grenier St. Lazarus-street, traversed Beaubourg-street, St. Avoye-street, at the spot where is the Hotel de Mesmes, and crossing the Convent of White-mantles, passed between the streets Francs-bourgeois and Rosiers, and terminated at the river side, across the buildings of the house of profession of the Jesuits, and the Convent of *Ave Maria*, where the remains of these walls are yet to be seen. They had eight principal gates; the first near the Louvre by the river-side; the second at the place where is situated the Convent of the Priests of the Oratory; the third opposite to St. Eustatius's Church, between the streets Platriere and Jour, the fourth in St. Denis-street, called the Painter's Gate, where there is a blind alley that retains its name; the fifth in St. Martin's street, at the corner of Grenier St. Lazarus-street; the sixth called Barbette \* gate, between the Convent of the White-mantles and Francs-bourgeois street; the seventh near the profession-house of the Jesuits; and the eighth on the river side, between Port St. Paul and Marie-Bridge.

From

\* From the name of a family at Paris.

From the river-side towards the South, the other half of this inclosure, which began at St. Bernard's gate, is nearly marked \* out by the streets, called St. Bernard's ditches, St. Victor's ditches, St. Michael's ditches, or St. Hyacinth-street, Monsieur le Prince's ditches, St. Germain's ditches, or the street of the French Play-house, and de Nesle's ditches, at present Mazarine-street. In this circuit there were seven gates; St. Bernard or la Tournelle's gate; St. Victor \*\*, St. Marcel and St. James's gates; Gibard, Enfer or St. Michael's gate, at the top of Harp-street, at the spot where the fountain stands; Buci \*\*\* gate, at the top of St. André des Arcs-street, over-against Counterscarp-street, and Nesle-gate, where the four Nation's College stands at present. In the Cordeliers-street, where the fountain is erected, there was another gate, called St. Germain's gate; and when Dauphin-street was built, there was one

\* I say nearly marked, and it is easy to imagine the precise line which this inclosure made, when we consider that these streets have been built upon the ditches, and that these ditches were placed before the walls.

\*\* Taken down in 1684.

\*\*\* Thus named from Simon de Buci, the first person who bore the title of first President, who died in 1369.

one † erected opposite the other end of Counter-scarp-street, and which was called Dauphin-gate.

The Streets of Paris were not begun to be paved till 1184, under the reign of *Philip Augustus*. A Financier (*Gerard de Poissi*) deserved to have his name transmitted to posterity by the historic page: he generously contributed to that expence, and gave eleven thousand marks of silver. The silver-mark under *Philip Augustus* was worth three hundred deniers or farthings; its value now is 11,952 deniers.

*The walls under Charles V. begun in 1367, and compleated under Charles VI. in 1383.*

*Charles V.* made no alteration to the wall erected by *Philip Augustus* on the Southern side; he only caused two ditches to be dug round it. This inclosure was flanked with Towers at certain distances, which were not taken down till the year 1646. I have observed that on the Northern side these walls terminated between Port *St. Paul* and *Marie*-bridge, over-against *la rue de l'Etoile*: he extended them to the place where the Arsenal is at present, and *St. Anthony*, *St. Martin* and *St. Denis's* gates were placed where we now see them. From *St. Denis's* gates these walls continued along  
Bourbon-

† They were both taken down in 1672.

Bourbon-street, crossed Petit-carreau and Montmartre-streets, Victory \* Square, the hotel of Toulouse, the garden of the Royal Palace, St. Honoré-street near the Convent of the Quinze-Vingts, and terminated at the river-side at the end of St. Nicaise street. At the four extremities of this inclosure, as well as that of *Philip Augustus*, there were four large Towers; the Tower of wood near the Louvre; the Tower of Nesle where the College of the four Nations is situated; the Tower of *la Tournelle*, part of which still subsists near St. Bernard's gate, and the Tower of *Billi* near the Celestins Convent. They defended on both sides of the river the entrance to Paris by thick chains fixed from one Tower to another, which crossed the Seine, being supported by boats placed at proper distances. The avenue to the Island of St. Lewis\*\* was defended by a Fort. No houses were begun to be built here till 1614, when it was joined to a small Island, called *la petite Isle aux Vaches*, from which it was till then separated by a branch of the river, where the Church of St. Lewis is now erected. *Marie* and *la Tournelle*-bridges † were not finished till 1635.

The

\* Place des Victoires.

\*\* The Island of Notre Dame is so called.

† So called from *Marie*, who undertook them.



The streets des Petits Champs, and des Bons-Enfans, terminated so late as 1630 at the walls of the City, which passed, as I have said, upon the spot where Victory-Square is now erected. This quarter was so retired, that robberies were committed in open day, and it was nick-named Empty-fob-quarter, (in French *vuide gousset.*) The buildings of the Royal Palace, which Cardinal *Richelieu* begun in 1629, occasioned a new inclosure. St. *Honoré* gate, which was then where the shambles and the market of *Quinze-Vingts* are at present, was continued in 1631, as far as we now see it; and from that gate to that of St. *Denis* the new ramparts which were erected, and which *Lewis XIV.* caused to be taken \* down, formed the compass which the bulwarks now trace. This new part of the Town was presently covered with streets, named *Cleri*, *du Mail*, St. *Augustin*, St. *Anne*, the new streets St. *Eustatius* and *Petits-Champs*, and others adjacent: there were mills \*\* however upon St. *Rock's* hill in 1670.

This is a general notion of the different increases of Paris. I shall now run over this Capital; I say run over, for my design in writing these

\* He imagined the Capital of a great King should not have any.

\*\* La rue des *Moulins* has retained the name.

these Essays, was not to give a general description minutely laid down and expatiated upon. I shall only mention such quarters and streets where some remarkable incident has happened, which is interesting and necessary to point out what the manners and customs of this Nation have been at different periods.

*St. André des Arcs street* \*.

During the civil wars under the reign of *Charles VI.* on the 28th of May 1418, at night, *Perrinet le Clerc*, son of an Alderman of the City, took from under the bolster of his father's bed the keys of *Buci* gate, and opened it to the troops of the Duke of Burgundy. These troops who were joined by the meanest of the mob, pillaged, killed and imprisoned all those who opposed the Partisans of this Prince, who were called Armagnacs. On the 12th of June the slaughter was renewed with more fury than ever: the mob repaired to the prisons, and caused them to be opened; the most reputable tradesmen, two Archbishops, six Bishops, several Presidents, Counsellors and Masters of Requests were  
knocked

\* *Ruë St. André des Arcs*, so called because bows and arrows were sold there.

knocked down, or cast from the top of the Towers of the Conciergerie and great Châtelier, and below they fell upon the ends of spikes or the points of swords; the environs of the Palace streamed with blood; the bodies of the Constable *Bernard d'Armagnac*, and of the Chancellor *Henry de Marle*, after having been dragged through the streets, were thrown into the lay-stalls. The butchers afterwards erected a statue of *Perrinet le Clerc* in *St. Michael's Square*, the trunk of which is still remaining, and serves as a boundary to the house, which forms the corner of *St. André des Arcs* street, and that of the Old Bucklery.

Notwithstanding the tradition and opinion of most Historians \*, *Moreau de Mautour* pretends that this boundary with the head of a man is nothing but the pure effect of the caprice of some workman, and that there never was a statue of *Perrinet le Clerc*; he appears so well persuaded of this, that he has neglected to support his opinion by proofs and good reasons. *Germain Brice*, who in other respects is very imperfect in this historical event, says that some years since there  
were

\* See the History of the Academy of Inscriptions, Vol. III.

were found in the cellar of an adjacent house, fragments of this statue. It is reasonable to believe, it was mutilated when *Charles VII.* became Master of Paris, and out of derision they placed it as a boundary. It is very visibly different from the other boundary marks, on account of its length and thickness.

### *St. Antoine Street.*

The Lists which *Henry II.* caused to be made for the Tournaments in which he was wounded, extended from the Palace of *Tournelles* to the Bastille. After his death, *Catherine de Medicis* looking upon this Palace as fatal, would reside there no longer, and even persuaded *Charles IX.* to pull it down. It was not, however, entirely demolished till the reign of *Henry IV.* who began building the Royal Palace in its stead. It had been nothing but a private Hotel, and belonged to the Chancellor *d'Orge-mont* in 1390. *Leo* of Lusignan, King of Armenia, resided there; and died in it in 1393. The Duke of Bedford, who was Regent during the Minority of *Henry IV.* the pretended King of France, lodged there about the year 1422, and enlarged and embellished it to that degree, that *Charles VII.* and his Successors gave it the preference

ference for their residence to the Hotel of St. Paul, which was over against it. The wall \* with the park and gardens extended from the streets des Egouts, to the gate of St. Antoine, comprehending all that ground whereon the street des Tournelles, Jean Beaufire, des Minimes, du Foin, St. Giles, St. Pierre, des douze Portes have been since built, together with part of the street St. Louis, as far as the street of St. Anastase.

It was at the beginning of the street des Tournelles, where one of the sides of the park terminates, facing the Bastille, that *Quelus*, *Maugiron* and *Livarot* fought a duel at five o'Clock in the morning, on the 27th of April, 1578, against *d'Entragues*, *Riberac* and *Schomberg*. *Maugiron* and *Schomberg*, who were only eighteen years of age, were killed upon the spot; *Riberac* died the next morning; *Livarot*, who was wounded in the head, kept his bed six weeks; *d'Entragues* was only slightly wounded; *Quelus* languished thirty-three days of nineteen wounds he received, and died in the King's arms, the 29th of May, at the Hotel de Boissi, in an apartment, which may be said to have been sanctified ever since, serving at present as the Choir for the Nuns of the Order of the Visitation of St. *Mary*.

C 2

“ *Quelus*,

\* The wall of the Palace of Tournelles.

“ *Quelus*, says *Brantome*, \* complained highly,  
 “ that *Entragues* had a dagger more than he,  
 “ who had only a single sword ; whence it arose,  
 “ that in endeavouring to parry and turn off the  
 “ strokes which *d'Entragues* aimed at him, his  
 “ hand was almost cut to pieces, and when they  
 “ began to fight, *Quelus* told him, *Thou hast a*  
 “ *dagger, and I have none* ; to which *d'Entragues*  
 “ replied, *Thou hast been guilty of a great piece of*  
 “ *folly to leave it at home : here we are come to*  
 “ *fight, and not to cavil about arms.* Some say it  
 “ was a sort of cheat, to take the advantage of the  
 “ dagger, if it was agreed upon not to bring any  
 “ weapon, except the sword. This is a point to be  
 “ disputed. *D'Entragues* said no mention was made  
 “ of it ; others urge, that through a punctilio of  
 “ chivalry he should not have used the dagger.”  
 The question then is, whether he should or no ?  
 This is no matter of doubt at this time of day,  
 nor should it ever have been any.

When the news of the death of *Guise* (killed at  
 Blois, the 27th of December 1588, by order of  
*Henry III.*) reached Paris, the people who had been  
 rendered furious by the Monk's sermons, flew  
 to St. Paul's, and destroyed the tombs that  
 Prince had erected to the memory of *Quelus*,  
*Mau-*

\* *Memoirs upon Duels*, p. 94.

*Maugiron* and *St. Megrin*, saying, “that those  
 “wicked fellows, who had expired in denying a  
 “Supreme Being, and were the tyrant’s Minions,  
 “were not deserving of such fine monuments in  
 “the church.” Upon those tombs, which were  
 made of black marble, engraven with Epitaphs on  
 the four sides, were placed the statues of these  
 three favourites, which greatly resembled them.  
 Here follow some of the Epitaphs, which I copied  
 from a book printed in 1587.

*Jacobi de Levi Clariss. familiæ & summæ  
 virtutis adol.*

E P I T A.

Quid marmor, aras, & artes suspicis? Dignus  
 fuit hoc honore

Quæstus, ingenio præstans, moribus facilis, as-  
 pectu

Gratus: cui artes erant, virtutem colere, Deo,  
 Patriæ,

Et Principi servire: non injuriam, sed mortem  
 patienter

Tulit: grati animi est hoc monumentum.

Obiit 4 Kal. Junii anno 1578, æta. 24.

*Pauli de Caussade. Comi. Samegrini.*

E P I T A.

Nil virtus, nil genus, nil opes, nil vires  
possunt,

His omnibus, & favore pollens jacet, victus  
fraude,

† Et multorum viribus : incautum vis obruit,  
quem

Nec publicus inimicus domuit, nec privatus ter-  
ruit.

Abi viator : tace, & pro mortuo ora.

Obiit 11 Kal. August. anno 1578, æta. suæ 24:

*Franc. Maugeronis Clariss. & geneross. adol.*

E P I T A.

Maugeronis in hoc sunt ossa reposta Sepulcro,

Cui virtus annos contigit ante suos ;

Octo namque decem natus, non pluribus annis,

Alter erat Cocles, Hannibal alter erat.

Testis erit tantæ juvenili Iffloria capta

Virtuti, testis perditus huic oculus.

Obiit anno 1578. quinto Kal. Mai. æta. 18.

E P I -

† *St. Megrin*, called the Star, passed for the minion of the Dukes of Guise. The Duke of Mayenne, brother-in-law to that Prince, at the head of twenty or thirty men, caused him to be assassinated in the street of St. Honoré, about 11 at night, on the 21st of July 1578.



## E P I T A P H.

The Cyprian Queen, with an auspicious birth,  
 In this last age had deign'd to bless the earth,  
 The offspring of a God, whose eyes divine  
 With native lustre did so brightly shine,  
 That jealous Cupid sought to quench their flame.  
 One \* he destroyed, yet miss'd his cruel aim.  
 The other beam'd his sacred lightnings so,  
 It wounded more than *Cupid's* fatal bow.  
 With sighs and tears he to his mother went ;  
 The careless mother scorn'd his fond complaint.  
 Then to the fates appeal'd the slighted boy ;  
 Th' enamour'd sisters heard his suit with joy.  
 His suit they heard, and cut his vital thread ;  
 To make him theirs, they join'd him with the dead.  
 So *Maugiron* beneath this marble lies,  
 To love and death at once a sacrifice.

If there is any thing surprizing in meeting  
 with the *Parcæ*, Love, and Venus in a Church,  
 it is full as much so to read that these gentlemen  
 were honoured with funeral orations †, pro-  
 nounced with great pomp by a prelate, *Arnaud*  
*de Sorbin*, Bishop of Nevers. I shall dismiss

C 4

this

\* At the age of 16, he lost an eye, by a wound he received  
 at the siege of *Issoire*.

† Printed for *Cbaudieres*, at the sign of the Man-Savage, in  
 the street of *St. Jacques*.

this article by an anecdote which clearly evinces the rage of duelling at that time. *Quelus* and *Bussi* having quarrelled, they appointed a place of rendez-vous to decide their difference, and their fathers were to be their seconds; the King reconciled them, and prevented the conflict.

### The Street called *L'Arbre Sec* \*.

\*\* In 1505 there arose a kind of insurrection in this street, on account of a female shop keeper, whom the Curate would not bury, till such time as the will she had made, was shewn to the Bishop †. The Bishops laid claim to a right of examining wills, and they prohibited †† the interment of such persons as died intestate, or who had not bequeathed a legacy to the Church; and their relations were obliged § to apply to the Official who appointed a Priest, or some other ecclesiastical person, to rectify the error the deceased had committed, and bequeath the legacies in his name. In 1533, when the plague

ra-

\* This literally translated, is *Dry-tree*, which name is derived from an old sign.

\*\* *Lauriere's* French glossary at the word *Testamentary executor*.

† The President *Lixet Dumoulin*.

†† See *Fieuret's* Treatise upon abuse, Vol. I. p. 371.

§ *Arrets* of March 1, 1401, and March 19, 1409.

ravaged in Paris, and there was no time to think of making wills, an infinite number of dead bodies remained several days unburied, which greatly contaminated the air. *N. des Ursins*, Vicar-general in the absence of the Bishop, was much inclined to soften the rigour of these severities, and permit the burial of the dead without *insisting upon the consequences*. Some Curates went so far, as to oppose the admission of such as were desirous of taking orders, till such time as they had paid their funeral tax, alledging that as they became dead to the world by entering upon a religious profession, it was but equitable they should discharge what they would have been indebted, in case they had been interred.

The Journal under the reign of *Charles VI.* and *Charles VII.* in the year 1440, mentions “that there were no burials, either of young or old, for four months in the Innocents Church-yard, and that no one’s name was stuck up here to be pray’d for, because Master *Denis des Moulins*, Bishop of Paris, wanted too large a sum of money for it.” \* An excommunication was delivered from the pulpit, and fixed at the door of the Parish Church, against the *deceased* who had been buried by his relations in

\* Ibid. in the year 1448.

the fields, through inability or unwillingness to pay the exorbitant sum the Church required to let him rot in consecrated ground. At length these scandalous proceedings were suppressed by an arret of the Parliament, dated the 13th of June 1552. Some Bishops pretended this was in-croaching upon the ecclesiastical authority; but their ordonnances were despised, and those who opposed the arret, were prosecuted with so much rigour, that these oppreffions were by degrees removed, or at least were exercised with greater moderation.

### *The Arsenal.*

There was behind the Convent of Celestins an Arsenal belonging to the Hotel de Ville (or Town-house) which was called *the City-artillery's barns*. *Francis I.* being inclined to cast some cannon, asked the Provost of the Merchants and Sheriffs for the use of this magazine, which they lent him with a very bad grace, foreseeing very likely what would happen. These barns were converted into a royal house. It took fire in 1562. The new buildings which *Charles IX.* erected, were considerably increased by *Henry III.* and *Henry IV.*

The

The Author of the *Melanges d'Histoire et de Littérature* \* says he has seen two contracts which Lewis XIII. entered into with *Vitedo*, the first bearing date the 29th of January 1636, and the other the 3d of October 1637, for cutting a Canal round Paris, from the bastion of the arsenal to the gate of la Conference. He adds, that after much expence this work was interrupted by Mr. *Bulliden*, superintendant of the Finances, “ who  
 “ opposed this undertaking, because it was coun-  
 “ tenanced by Father *Joseph le Clerc*, a Capuchin  
 “ Friar, who made himself so remarkable du-  
 “ ring the administration of Cardinal *Richlieu*”; It is somewhat extraordinary, that a Superintendant of the Finances should through pique against a Capuchin interrupt a work that had cost a considerable sum, and which was looked upon as the only method that could be devised to carry off the inundations of the Seine.

### *Aubri le Boucker-street.*

In 1309 a malefactor who was going to be executed, received his pardon from the Cardinal *de St. Eusebe*. The Cardinals have for a considerable time laid claim to the privilege (which the Roman Vestals enjoyed) of extending their

\* Vol. II. p. 9.

clemency in this manner to criminals, by alledging they met them by chance in their way.

### Key of the Augustins.

This ground was planted with willows, and was commonly overflowed in winter; in the summer-time it was frequented as a public walk. By *Philip* the Fair's letters of the 9th of June 1312, the Provost of the Merchants was ordered to pave it with stones called *pierres de taille*; and by other letters of the 23d of May the following year, he reprimands him for neglecting to execute his orders.

At the end of *Gillecœur*-street, in the angle which it now forms with *Hurepoix*-street, *Francis* I. built a small Palace which had communication with a Hotel belonging to the *Duchess d'Etampes* in *Hirondelle*-street. The painting al fresco, the pictures, the tapestry, the Salamanders \* decorated with emblematical figures, amorous and ingenious devices, all bespoke the God and pastimes to which these edifices were consecrated. “Of all these devices (says *Sauval*) which were  
“not long since to be seen, I can only recollect  
“this one, which was a heart in a flame, placed  
“between

\* The Salamanders were the invention of *Francis* I.

“between an Alpha and an Omega, apparently  
 “to indicate, *it would burn for ever.*” The  
 bathing closets of the *Duchess d’Etampes* are  
 now converted into the stable of an Inn, which re-  
 tains the name of Salamander; a hatter uses  
*Francis I.’s levee-chamber* for a kitchen, and a  
 bookseller’s wife lay in his *little saloon of ec-*  
*stacies*, when I went to visit the remains of this  
 Palace.

I have read in an anonymous Author, that this  
 King, whilst he was amusing himself with throw-  
 ing snow-balls with his Courtiers upon twelfth-  
 day in 1521, as he endeavoured to drive the Count  
*de St. Pol* from a place which he defended,  
 was dangerously wounded in the head by a fire-  
 brand, which *Mongommery* carelessly threw out of  
 a window. It is not astonishing to meet with  
 two villains in a family; but it is very extraordi-  
 nary that a father and son, faithful subjects,  
 and actuated by principles of honour and justice,  
 should be destined by the most shocking fatality,  
 the one to wound, and the other to kill his King.  
*Stephen Pasquier*, who recites this accident in his  
 letters, (Vol. II. p. 77.) says that it happened at  
 Blois.

The Hotel of *Hercules*, so called from the  
 labours of *Hercules*, which were painted upon it,  
 was

was situated at the end of this Key, near the great Augustines. Lewis XII. gave it to the Chancellor *Duprat*. *Anthony Duprat*, his grandson, Lord of Nantoüillet, Provost of Paris, bragged there was no man in Europe, who had so many powerful enemies as himself. At London, said he, I set Queen *Elizabeth* at nought; every day I slander the mistresses of the Duke of Anjou, \* and the King of Navarre, \*\* and I have had the pleasure of breaking my word with the Duke of Guise concerning an estate. The Duke of Anjou, the King of Navarre, and the Duke of Guise sent him word one day that they would sup with him (at this Hotel of Hercules) and they went, notwithstanding all the excuses he could frame for dispensing with that honour. After supper, their Attendants pillaged, or threw out of the windows his money, plate, and furniture. “ The next morning (says *Etoile*) the first President waited upon the King (*Charles IX.*) and told him Paris was in astonishment at the robbery committed the preceding night, and that it was said, his Majesty was there in person, and did it out of joke; to which the King having answered, that those who said so, lied, the first president replied, Sire, of this then I will acquaint ---

“ No,

\* *Henry III.*

\*\* *Henry IV.*



“ No, no, resumed the King, give yourself no  
 “ trouble about it ; only tell *Nantouillet*, that he  
 “ will have too strong a party to deal with, if he  
 “ wants satisfaction.”

Some time afterwards, *Mademoiselle de Rieux*, the Duke of *Anjou*'s favourite, who was as handsome as *Venus*, and as haughty as a Breton, passing on horseback upon the *Key de l' Ecole*, upon a festival, and seeing *Nantouillet* approach her on foot, followed by his guards, flew at him like lightning, threw him down, and trampled him under her horse's feet. “ This was she (says *Brantome*) who in a manlike manner, with her own hand, killed *Antinotti* the Florentine, whom she married for love, and whom she found in bed with another woman.”

### Street of the *Petits Augustins*.

The Abbey of *St. Germain des Prez*, just without the walls of Paris, resembled a Citadel : the walls were flanked with Towers, and surrounded with ditches ; a Canal thirteen or fourteen fathoms wide, which issued from the river, and which was called the little *Seine*, flowed by the ground, where at present stands the street of the *Petits Augustins*, and run into those ditch-

ditches. † The field which this Canal divided into two, was called the great and little field *aux Clercs*, because the scholars, who were formerly called Clercs, used to walk here upon festival days. The little field was nearest the City.

A part of the army of *Henry IV.* was encamped in the great field *aux Clercs*, when he laid siege to Paris in 1589. “ On Wednesday  
 “ the 1st of November, being favoured by a fog,  
 “ which seemed miraculously to arise, after a  
 “ prayer said in the field *aux Clercs*, the King  
 “ took the Suburbs of St. Jacques \* and St.  
 “ Germain by surprise, and at seven in the  
 “ morning, he had a bed of fresh straw made in  
 “ the hall du petit Bourbon,\*\* in the Fauxbourg  
 “ St. Jacques, where he reposed himself about three  
 “ hours. The same day, having a mind to take  
 “ a view of Paris in its extent, he went up to the  
 “ belfry of St. Germain des Prez, whither he  
 “ was

† They were filled up in 1640, and upon the ground which they occupied was built one side of the streets, St. Benoit, St. Marguerite, and du Colombier: the other side of this last street was built about the year 1543, with the street Desmairais.

\* Some fortifications were raised, and some intrenchments made round these Fauxbourgs, which were not then near so extensive as they are at present. Vid. *Memoires pour servir a l' Histoire*, anno 1589.

\*\* At present le Val de Grace.

“ was conducted by a Monk singly. When he  
 “ came down, he told the Marshal *de Biron*,  
 “ that he was struck with dread at being alone  
 “ with a Monk, and calling to mind the knife of  
 “ Friar *Clement*. . . On Friday the third of No-  
 “ vember, not having received the necessary Ar-  
 “ tillery to attack the Town, he quitted the  
 “ Fauxbourgs, and remained in order of battle,  
 “ from seven in the morning till eleven, in order  
 “ to entice the Duke of Mayenne to come out  
 “ of the gates; but no one came forth \*.”

The Buildings in the great field *aux Clercs* were not begun till the reign of *Lewis XIII.* and the streets *des petits Augustins*, *Jacob*, *de l'Université*, *de Verneuil*, *de Bourbon* and *de Saint Pere* \*\* were not yet compleated in the beginning of the reign of *Lewis XIV.*

Queen *Margaret*, the first wife of *Henry IV.* collected some bare-footed Augustines §, whom she furnished with a dwelling-house, gave them six arpents † of land, and a perpetual annuity of six thousand livres, upon condition that they should sing Canticles and the praises of God, *set*

to

\* Supplement, Vol. I. p. 6.

\*\* Not the street of the *SS. Peres*.

§ *Petits Peres*.

† A measure of land, containing 100 perches square of 18 feet each.

to such tunes as should be composed by her order. These Fathers certainly did not love music; they obstinately persisted in singing nothing but Psalms: she turned them out, and supplied their place with shod Augustins, who have since pretty well conformed themselves, and have given the name to the street.

Street St. Avoye.

The Hotel de Mesmes was the place of residence of *Anne de Montmorenci*, Constable of France. He died there, with all the dignity of a christian hero, the 12th of November 1567, of the wounds he received in the battle of St. Denis, having only lived two days after that battle was fought. This worthy old man, seventy-four years of age, covered with blood, and his sword broken, gave \* *Robert Stuart*, who bid him surrender, so violent a blow in the face with the hilt, that he broke two of his teeth, and threw him off his horse. That instant one of *Stuart's* soldiers fired a pistol at him, and lodged three balls in his reins. He had served under † five Kings, and had been present at near two hundred actions, eight pitched battles, and had been employed in concluding ten Treaties of Peace.

\* Memoirs of Castelnau. L. VI.

† Brantome.

Peace. I observe that in troublesome times Princes and their capital Chiefs, both catholic and protestant, have all come to untimely deaths, or have expired in a very extraordinary manner. *Henry II.* by the splinter of a lance, which wounded him in the eye; *Charles IX.* by vomiting blood; *Henry III.* and *Henry IV.* were assassinated; *Anthony de Bourbon*, King of Navarre, wounded at the siege of Rouen, by not being able to master his passion for *Mademoiselle du Roüet*, after the Surgeons had dressed his wound; *Francis*, Count d'Enghien, by a trunk which fell upon his head, whilst he was diverting himself with his favourites in the Castle of Roche Guyon; *Henry* of Bourbon, Marquis de Beaupreau, by the fall of a horse in hunting; *Lewis I.* Prince of Condé, assassinated by *Montesquiou* after the battle of Jarnac; *Henry I.* Prince of Condé, poisoned at St. Jean d'Angeli; the Marshal *de St. André* killed in cold blood by *Bobigni*, after the battle of Dreux; *Francis* of Cleves killed by accident at the same battle by his best friend; *Francis de Guise* assassinated by *John Poltrot de Mere* at the siege of Orleans; *Henry de Guise* and the Cardinal *de Guise* at length punished and killed at Blois; the Cardinal *de Lorraine* poisoned at Avignon by a Monk, and the Cardinal *de Chatillon* at Hampton by his Valet  
de

de Chambre; Admiral *de Coligni* massacred on St. Bartholomew's day at night; Admiral *Andrew de Villars Brancas* taken prisoner by the Spaniards, stabbed by order of *Contreras*, their Commissary general. *Anne* and *Claude*, two of the brothers called *Joyeuse*, were shamefully put to death by Captains *Bordeaux* and *Descentiers* at the battle of *Coutras*; *George* was found dead in his bed of an apoplexy the morning after his marriage; *Anthony Scipio* drowned himself in the river *Tarn* after the battle of *Villemur*; and *Henry*, Peer and Marshal of France, died a *Capuchin*.

### *Barbette street* \*.

*Isabeau* of Bavaria, wife of *Charles VI.* had purchased the Hotel *Barbette*: this was her *petit \*\* séjour*; she usually retired there during that Prince's illness. The Abbot *de Choisi* quotes an ancient Manuscript, which says "that as he  
" was sometimes outrageous, throwing his arms  
" about without restraint, and as it was feared  
" he might wound the Queen in the night-time,  
" the

\* So called from *Stephen Barbette*, Provost of Paris under *Philip* the Fair.

\*\* A name given to the little Hotels the Princes had at the gates of Paris.

“ the daughter of a horse-dealer, who was very  
“ pretty, and was commonly called in public  
“ the little Queen, was brought to him every  
“ night, and was handsomely recompensed. He  
“ had by her a daughter (*Margaret de Valois*)  
“ who received as a dowry, upon her marriage  
“ with the Sire d'*Harpedanne*, the Estate of  
“ Belleville in Poitou.”

I have read in an ancient chronicle, that in order to induce him to shift his linnen, and lie in sheets, which he would not do for near five months, it was contrived to offer him that fine girl called *Odette de Champdivers*. This was a more natural expedient than that which was afterwards practised. Ten or a dozen men, fantastically dress'd, with their faces smutted, rushed into his chamber, and without saying a word, laid hold of him, undrest him, and put him to bed; he was frightened, and did not dare to make any resistance. One cannot read the history of this Prince, without being moved; he was of a majestic figure, surprisngly strong and alert at all sorts of exercises, liberal, affable, and humane. The outcries of the people, as soon as he was a little recovered, made him acquainted with the tyrannical administration of his uncles, and the goodness of his heart was the cause of his health being still more impaired. He could

see that they availed themselves of his illness, to impose new taxes, and that the Duke of Orleans his brother, and the Queen, appropriated to themselves the revenues of the Crown, which they dissipated in superfluous expences, whilst the Dauphin was in want of necessaries. One day he sent for the Governess of his children, who owned to him that *they frequently went without food and cloathing*. I am not better treated, replied he with a sigh, giving her a golden cup, which he had just drank out of, to sell. He would have been a great King, if he had not been afflicted with that fatal disorder, which gave rise to all the misfortunes of France, and all the triumphs of the English.

### *Des Barres Street.*

*Lewis de Bourdon*, who was handsome and well-made, and had signalized himself upon various occasions, and amongst others at the battle of Azincourt, going one night, as was customary \*, to visit the Queen, *Isabeau de Baviere*, at the Castle of St. Vincennes, met the King (*Charles VI.*) who was returning; he saluted him, but *without either stopping or alighting*, his horse still galloping on. The King having re-  
called

\* See Monstrelet, p. 224.



called him to mind, ordered *Tanguy du Chatel*, Provost of Paris, to pursue him, and to confine him in prison. At night the question was put to him; he was afterwards tied up in a sack, and cast into the Seine, with this inscription upon the sack, *Let the King's justice take place.* His amours with the Queen (who was the next day carried to Tours to be publicly shewn) were so notorious, that they deserved this punishment. An anonymous Author, who seems highly diverted with relating extraordinary events, which induces me to believe he sometimes substitutes fables, says, that the man who was sent to the house \* of *Lewis de Bourdon*, to seize his papers, having opened the drawer of an ancient chest, ten or a dozen serpents issued forth; and that the next day this man was found expiring, with these snakes clinging round his neck, his arms and legs.

### *St. Barthelemy street.*

Before *Robert*, son to *Hugh Capet*, married his cousin *Bertbe* (his cousin german's issue) he convened the Bishops, to know whether it was necessary for him to have any dispensations; they were of opinion, that he did not require any, or that in any case they could grant them to him.

*Gre-*

\* At present the Hotel in this street des Barres,

*Gregory V.* being elected to the papal chair, two years after, held a Council at Rome, whose first Decree was against this marriage, and was conceived in these terms. “ That King *Robert* and “ *Berthe* his kinswoman, who have married contrary to the ecclesiastical laws, must separate, “ and perform a penance of seven years ; and “ that *Archambaut*, Archbishop of Tours, who “ administered the nuptial blessing, and the other “ Bishops, who assisted at this incestuous marriage, be suspended from the communion, till “ such time as they have been at Rome, to make “ satisfaction to the Holy See.” *Robert* loved his wife, who was pregnant, and it appeared to him shocking to dishonour her and the child, to whom she was just going to give existence. He refused to obey, was excommunicated, and immediately, not only the people, but even the Courtiers, disunited from their King : he had only two domestics left him ; nay, they went so far, as to purify the dishes he had eat off, and the vessels he had drank out of, by passing them through the fire. As he was going one morning, according to custom, to pray at the porch of St. Bartholomew’s Church, for he did not dare to go in, *Abbon*, Abbot of Fleuri, followed by two women of the Palace, who carried a great dish of vermillion, covered with a cloth, accosted him,

say-

saying that *Berthe* was just brought to bed, and shewing him the dish, said: *See the effects of your disobedience to the Decrees of the Church, and the seal of the anathema upon the fruits of your love.* *Robert* looks and perceives a monster, according to *Peter Damien* and *Romuald*, with the head and neck of a duck. Is it to be credited, that by the most abominable contrivance, in order to oblige this Prince to submit, and to increase the people's terror, which the excommunications inspired, this monster was substituted in place of the real child? It is more reasonable to think that a lump of flesh, of an out of the way shape, might be formed in the womb of a woman, during her pregnancy, whose imagination and conscience were troubled by the Pope's threats. *Berthe* was divorced. *Robert* wedded *Constantia* of Provence, whose haughty, cruel, and vindictive character, so frequently exercised his patience, and occasioned so many troubles in the State, that it did not seem as if the blessing of heaven was shed upon this second marriage.

### *The Bastille.*

*Christian* of Pisan, who lived in the reign of *Charles V.* and who wrote the life of that Prince, relates that he built the Bastille St. Antoine,

though its works have been continued since. *Hugh Aubriot*, Provost of Paris, laid the first stone the 22d of April, 1370. *Le Laboureur* says, its fortifications were compleated in 1382. This Castle, though no Fort, is one of the most defensible in Europe, concerning which I shall not give any anecdotes.

*Des Bernardins street.*

Cardinal *de Retz*, and the Opposition, endeavouring to excite a fresh sedition in Paris, thought it necessary to report that the Court had endeavoured to assassinate *Joli*, one of the Syndics for the City-rents, and Counsellor of the Chatelet, a man very well respected amongst the people. “ His doublet and cloak were fixed upon  
 “ a piece of wood in a certain position. *D’Estainville*  
 “ *ville* fired a pistol with such exactness at one  
 “ of the sleeves, which was stuffed with hay,  
 “ that he shot it through just where it was in-  
 “ tended; after which it was agreed upon be-  
 “ tween him and *Joli*, that the real pistol  
 “ should be discharged the next morning be-  
 “ tween seven and eight o’clock in the street  
 “ des Bernardins. . . . It was done accordingly.  
 “ *D’Estainville* came up to the coach: *Joli* bow-  
 “ ed his head; the shot went over it, and was  
 “ so

“ so nicely directed, that it lodged in the proper  
 “ part of the coach. . . . He was carried to a Sur-  
 “ geon, opposite to St. Nicolas du Chardonnet,  
 “ when being undressed, a sort of wound was  
 “ found in his left arm, where the balls should  
 “ have grazed, which he had made the night  
 “ before with a musket-flint; so that the Sur-  
 “ geon made no doubt of its being the effect of  
 “ the pistol-shot, and applied the usual dressing,  
 “ whilst d’*Argenteuil* gave out, and did all he  
 “ could to insinuate that the Court must have  
 “ been at the bottom of this affair, as they  
 “ wanted to rid themselves of such of the Syn-  
 “ dics as seemed most steady and zealous in  
 “ promoting the public weal.”

What would a Savage think upon reading this account, where the *Sieur Joli* himself relates, with an air of satisfaction and vanity, that he suborned false witnesses, invented false proofs, and took the best suggested and surest measures to have it believed, that the Queen and the Minister had endeavoured to have him assassinated? This Savage would doubtless think, that these infamous machinations are not dishonorable in France, as it is not natural for a man to take the trouble of writing his own history to render himself odious and contemptible.

*Bétizy street* \*.

Admiral *Coligni* was assassinated in the second house on the left hand, entering from the street de la Monnoye, (where there is now a public Messenger's Office,) upon the evening of the Feast of St. Bartholomew, in the year 1572. The Massacre was not to begin till about an hour before day-break, upon the ringing of the alarm-bell of the Palace-clock. Towards midnight, however, *Catherine* of Medicis thought she perceived in the King some marks of remorse and irresolution: fearful therefore, lest he should change his mind, she hastened the signal, and the bell of St. Germain de l'Auxerrois was rung. The Duke of Guise, well escorted, marches off immediately, and knocks at the Admiral's door: *Labonne* opens it, and is stabbed: *Charles Dianowitz*, (called *le Besme*, because he was of Bohemia,) *Petrucci Siennesis*, *Coffeins* and *Sarlabous*, go up stairs, and find the Admiral seated upon a sofa, having awoke at the first noise. *Young man*, says he to *le Besme*, *thou shouldst respect my gray hairs; but do as thou wilt, thou can'st only shorten my life a few days.* He was ill of a wound

\* So called from *James Bétizy*, Advocate of the Parliament.

wound he had received not long before \*, and the anxieties of the cabinet, joined to the fatigues of war, had brought old age upon him more than his length of years : he was only in his fifty-fifth year. *Le Besme* and *Petrucci*, after having given him several stabs, threw him out of the window into the court, where the Duke de Guise, in order to know him, wiped the blood off his face with his handkerchief, and trampling him under foot, said to his followers, *This is well begun, let's go on with our work.*

*Pierre Mathieu* relates that he had heard *Henry IV.* several times aver, that on the night of the Massacre, some hours before it was perpetrated, as he played at dice with the Duke de Guise, several drops of blood were seen upon the table, and that having had them wiped off, they still appeared ; which struck him in such a manner, that he left off play.

Cardinal de Lorraine, as a reward to *le Besme*, gave him one of his bastards in marriage. An Italian cut off the Admiral's head, and carried it to *Catherine de Medicis* : she embalmed it, and

D 3

sent

\* He was wounded in the right hand and the left arm, with a blunderbuss, which *Maurevert*, as he lay concealed in a house belonging to the Cloister of St. Germain de l'Auxerrois, fired upon him some days before, as he was returning from the Louvre on foot.

sent it to Rome. The Pope \* ordered a solemn procession and thanksgiving, for the happy event that had taken place upon St. Bartholomew's day. Captain *Bressaut*, a Gentleman of Angevin and a Huguenot, was so highly provoked at this procession, that he swore he would *castrate* every Monk that fell in his way; and he was not ashamed to wear a large belt which he had made out of these ridiculous mutilations \*\*.

*Charles IX.* had dispatched orders into all the Provinces to extirpate the Huguenots. Whilst the greatest part of the Governors were barbarous or base enough to obey, the Viscount d'*Orte*, who commanded at Bayonne, wrote the following to the King: *Sire, I have communicated your Majesty's Letter to the garrison and inhabitants of this City; I have found there nothing but brave soldiers and good citizens, and not one executioner.*

### *Des Bons-Enfans street. †*

The Opera-House, and all the other parts of the *Palais Royal* on the side of the Church St. Honoré, are built upon the ruins of the Hotel of the Counts d'Armagnac. It was to this Hotel, that the Duke of Burgundy's troops bent their march,

\* *Mexzeray.*

\*\* *Memoirs of the State of France.*

† So named from the College des Bons-Enfans, which does not now subsist.



march, when the treachery of *Perinet le Clerc* \* gave them admission into Paris, the night of the 28th of May, 1418. The Constable *Bernard d'Armagnac* escaped in disguise to a mason's house in this street; but being betrayed by this wretch, was seized and confined in a cell of the *Conciergerie*. On the 12th of June, the mob having broke open the prison-doors, killed him, and threw his body into a lay-stall, after having ignominiously dragged him through the streets. Such was the end of one of the descendants of *Clovis* by *Charibert*, brother to *Dagobert*. † That of *James d'Armagnac*, his grandson, was still more fatal: *Lewis XI.* caused his head to be cut off, and by a refinement of cruelty, would have his children (the eldest of whom was not above 12 years old) to be put under the scaffold, bare-headed, with their hands joined, and dressed in white, to be sprinkled with their father's blood. *Boufiledejuge*, who had taken upon himself to bring up the eldest, in consideration of a certain Sum he received, § arising from the confiscation of the Estates, let him perish for want in the Castle of *Perpignan*. The youngest (*Lewis de*

D 4

Ne-

\* See the Article under the street of *St. André*.

† See *Vaiffette's* History of *Languedoc*.

§ See the General History of *France*.

*Nemours*) who was the last of that illustrious house, was killed in the reign of *Lewis XII.* at the battle of *Cerignolles.*

*Des Boucheries street in the Fauxbourg  
St. Germain.*

One half of this street, on the side of the little market, was built upon the ground which composed part of the Abbey-warren. *Philip the Good*, King of Navarre, and *Charles the Bad* his son, had their Hotel upon the spot, where the Stalls and Shops of the Fair now are. *Lewis* of France, father to *Philip the Good*, and son of *Philip the Bold*, had erected this Hotel in the midst of some acres of vineyards, which he had purchased of *Raoul de Presles*, Advocate of the Parliament, and father of *Raoul de Presles*, so famous for his works in the reign of *Charles V.* and who, according to the *Abbé Massieu*, took the title of *King's Confessor and Poet Laureat* \*.

*Petit-Bourbon street, near the Church  
of St. Sulpice.*

The Hotel of the furious *Dutchess de Montpensier*, sister to the *Guises*, who were killed at Blois,

\* See the History of French Poetry.

Blois, forms the corner of this street which joins to that of Tournon. If some Historians are to be credited, she prostituted herself to *Bourgoing*, Prior of the Jacobin Friars, and concerted with this villain the means of getting into the presence of *Henry III.* to assassinate him. It is certain, that *James Clement's* mother, who came \* from her village of Sorbonne, near Sens, to Paris, to ask the reward for her son's execrable attempt, lodged with her for some days. It was in this Hotel, that the Preachers persuaded the people to go and venerate *that blessed mother of a holy Martyr*: it was thus she was qualified in the flesh. She received a pretty considerable Sum, and upon her return, a hundred and forty Religious *honourably* accompanied her a league from Paris.

“ *Bourgoing*, being interrogated before his  
 “ Judges, (says *Coyet*,) answered them jocosely.  
 “ He was condemned to be drawn to pieces by  
 “ four horses. † Being conducted to the place  
 “ of execution in the market-place of Tours, he  
 “ told the people he had been one of the mildest  
 “ of Preachers; then he prayed to God to have  
 “ pity of his soul for his great sins. The Re-  
 “ corder told him, he had been Prior, and father,  
 “ as it were, of *James Clement*, who had assas-  
 “ sinated

D 5

\* History of Paris, L. XXIII.

† Chronicle of Novenaire, anno 1589.

“ finated our King. You know, says he, he was  
 “ brought up in the Convent, of which you was  
 “ Prior : whilst you officiated, and after the un-  
 “ fortunate parricide he has committed, you have  
 “ told us, he was a Saint in Paradise ; you can-  
 “ not deny this. No one has heard your ser-  
 “ mons, without hearing you approve and praise  
 “ all that you are accused and convicted of. You  
 “ obstinately refuse to confess the secret of your  
 “ parricide, and to declare your accomplices, and  
 “ yet you expect to appear before God, and de-  
 “ sire him to forgive you your sins. *Bourgoing*  
 “ answered as if in a passion, *We have done*  
 “ *very well what we could, but not what we*  
 “ *would.* These were his last words ; for his  
 “ face being again covered with the cloth, he  
 “ was drawn, quartered, and afterwards burnt.”

*Du Petit-Bourbon street, in the Louvre-  
Quarter.*

That old house, † which is now called the  
 King's *Garde-meuble*, near the Louvre upon the  
 Key, at the entrance of this street, belonged to  
 the Constable *de Bourbon*. Being declared guilty  
 of high treason in 1523, § salt was sown here ;  
 his

† Since the publication of the first edition of these Essays,  
 this house has been pulled down.

§ See *Brantome* in his Lives of illustrious men, Vol. I. p. 229.

his ensigns were broke to pieces, and the windows were marked with that ignominious yellow paint, with which the houses of traitors are coloured. This Prince was killed before Rome, the 6th of May, 1527, being the first to attack the place. These two lines were made upon him :

*Unum Borbonio votum fuit arma ferenti,  
Vincere vel morier ; donat utrumque Deus.*

His soldiers, by whom he was adored, after having sacked Rome, carried his body to Gaëtte, and erected a monument to his memory in a Chapel. The Council of Trent || ordered his body to be taken up, apparently because it is not allowed to fight against the Pope, even when he wages war only as a temporal Prince. This body was thrown near the gate of the Castle of Gaëtte. A French Officer of the garrison put it into a great glazed chest, in which it was to be seen so late as 1660, well preserved, upright, booted, leaning upon a truncheon, dressed in a green velvet cassock, trimmed with large gold frogs.

From the windows of this house, which had belonged, as I have already observed, to the Constable of Bourbon, *Charles IX.* during the massacre of St. Bartholomew, fired upon the Huguenots with a long blunderbuss, whilst they were

D 6

crossing

|| Vide *Brantome*.

crossing the water to make their escape at the Fauxbourg St. Germain. The Pont-neuf (or new bridge) was not then erected.

There is an Orange-tree still to be seen, in the Orange-Grove of Versailles, which existed so early as the time of the Constable de Bourbon, and which is called *the Orange-tree of the Constable of Bourbon*.

### *Des Bourdennois street* \*.

“ *Gaultier and Dupré*, Mercers at the sign  
 “ of the golden crown, aver (says the *Sieur de*  
 “ *Piganiol*, in his description of Paris) that they  
 “ know by tradition, that in 1280, *Philip* the  
 “ Fair lived in the house which they now occupy,  
 “ and, he adds, they are not the only people who  
 “ are of that opinion.” *Philip* the Fair never  
 lived in this house; it was *Philip* Duke of  
 Orleans, brother to King *John*, who purchased  
 it in 1393 for 2000 Livres §. In 1398, it was the  
 Hotel of *Preux* Gui de la Trimouille.

### *Du Bout-du-Monde street*.

This street is so called from a sign on which  
 was painted a Buck, an Owl and a Globe, (in  
 French

\* So called from the *Sieurs Adam* and *William Bourdon*.

§ Which would now amount to about 17000 Livres.

French *un Bouc, un Duc, un Monde.*) From signs of this sort several streets derive their names.

### *De la Bucherie street \*.*

The Physical School is in this street, where it was founded about the year 1472. In former times, the Professors in this faculty were *Clercs*, and bound to celibacy. The Cardinal *d'Estouteville*, who was appointed in 1452, to reform the University, was so strongly solicited by them, and they painted to him in such lively colours, the temptations to which they were continually exposed, that they obtained leave to marry.

In the reign of *Francis I.* the dissection of a human body was accounted sacrilege; Anatomy was consequently a science but very superficially known, and the Physicians of those and the preceding times, must have been very far inferior in skill to the present. Quere, Did more people die then?

Such has been the superstition of some men, that they have made their will, only for having dreamed of a Physician, believing it to be a preface of death.

*Des*

\* So called from the Port aux Buches.

*Des Celestins Key.*

The Hotel St. Paul, which *Charles the V.* built, and which he intended, according to his Edict of the month of July 1364, to be the *solemn Hotel of great diversions*, occupied, with the gardens, all the ground between the street St. Antoine and the river, from the City-ditches to the Parish-church of St. Paul; so that the Bastille and the Convent of the Celestins seemed to be inclosed within its walls. This Hotel, like all other royal houses of those times, had large Towers; these Towers being thought to give an air of domination and majesty to the body of the building. The gardens, instead of yews and lindens, were planted with apple, pear and cherry-trees, and vines, besides beds of rosemary and lavender, pease and beans, long arbours, and fine bowers. From an arbour, which composed the principal beauty of these gardens, and a cherry-orchard, the streets *Beautreillis*, and *la Cerisaie*, derive their names. The inner courts were lined with pigeon-houses, and full of poultry, which the farms of the King's lands and *desmesnes* are obliged to furnish, and here they are fattened for his table, and those of his household. The beams and joists in the principal apartments were decorated with tin flowers de luces gilt.

All



All the windows had iron bars, with a wire lattice, to keep the pigeons from coming to do their ordure in the rooms. The glazing was like that of our ancient churches, painted with coats of arms, emblems and saints. The seats were joint-stools, forms and benches. The King had armed chairs, garnished with red leather and silk fringes. The beds were called *couches*, when ten or twelve feet square, and those only of six feet were named *couchettes*. It was long a custom in France, to keep the guests who were particularly esteemed, to lie all night in the same bed with the master of the house. *Charles V.* used to dine about 11, sup at 7, and all the Court were usually in bed by 9 in winter, and 10 in summer. “The Queen, says *Christian de Pisan*, agreeable to an old and reasonable custom, for preventing any idle talk, or loose thoughts at table, had a grave man, who during the whole repast, related the actions and manners of some worthy person deceased.”

In this reign the custom first took place of *emblazoning apparel*. The women wore their husband's shield on the right side of their gowns, and their own on the left. This fashion continued near a century.

The capital flight of apartments of the Hotel St. Paul, and the principal entry, was on the side of

of the river, between St. Paul's church and the Celestins. In 1519, *Francis I.* disposed of some of the edifices, which composed this Palace, which *Charles VII.* *Lewis XI.* *Charles VIII.* and *Lewis XII.* had quitted to reside in the Hotel de Tournelles. It was all sold in 1551, to different persons, who began to build and open the streets, which are now seen upon the vast extent of ground it occupied.

### *Champfleuri street.*

*Charlemain* had endeavoured to banish entirely common women from Paris. He ordered that they should be publickly whipt, and that those who entertained them, or at whose houses they were found, should carry them upon their back \* to the place where the sentence was to be put in execution. Experience soon evinced, that this order of women was a necessary evil in a great City, and it was thought proper to tolerate them. They began to form into a body, to have taxes imposed upon them, and to have their laws and their judges: they were called *amorous women, girls foolish with their body.* Every year

\* *Volumus ut apud quemcumque inventæ fuerint, ab eis portentur usque ad mercatum, ubi ipsæ flagellandæ sunt.* Capit. reg. fr. Baluz. Vol. I.

year they walked in solemn procession, upon *Mary Magdalen's* day. The streets Froimentel, Pavée, Glatigny, Tiron, Chapon, Tireboudin, Brisemiche, du Renard, du Heurleur, de la Vieille Bouclerie, l'Abreuvoir, Maçon, and Champfleuri, were allotted them to carry on their trade in. In each of these streets was a *burrow*, where they endeavoured to surpass one another, in rendering it clean, agreeable, and commodious. They were obliged to be there by 10 o'clock in the morning, and to retire as soon as the *curfew*-bell was rung, which was at 6 o'clock at night in winter, and between 8 and 9 in summer. They were absolutely prohibited exercising their functions any where else, even at their own homes.

“ Those who followed the Court (*says du Tillet and Pasquier*) were engaged, during the whole month of May, to make the King of the whoremasters bed.” Father *Daniel* pretends that the Post of *King of the whoremasters* was very considerable, and that his jurisdiction extended in certain articles of police, to the King's household, and to all the Kingdom.

The Convent of *Les Filles-Dieu* was founded in the year 1226, as an *asylum* for female sinners, who during their whole life had abused their bodies,

bodies, and were reduced to beggary. A Cordelier instituted the Convent of *les Filles Penitentes*, which was founded in 1497. Their Laws, which *John Simon de Champigny*, Bishop of Paris, would himself draw up, must doubtless appear very singular.

“ No religious [woman] will be received  
 “ against her own will: no one who has for any  
 “ time led a dissolute life; and that those who  
 “ offer themselves; may not be deceived in this  
 “ respect, they are to be visited in the presence  
 “ of the Mothers, Deputy-Mothers, and discreet  
 “ women, by Matrons particularly appointed,  
 “ who shall make oath upon the holy Evange-  
 “ lists to make a just and faithful report.

“ In order to prevent Girls prostituting them-  
 “ selves with the view of being received, those  
 “ who have been once visited and refused, shall  
 “ be excluded for ever.

“ Moreover, the Candidates shall be obliged  
 “ to swear by their eternal damnation, before the  
 “ Confessor and six religious women, that they  
 “ did not prostitute themselves in hopes of gain-  
 “ ing admission one time or other into that Con-  
 “ gregation, and they are cautioned, that if it is  
 “ discovered that they let themselves be de-  
 “ bauched with that view, they will be no lon-  
 “ ger

“ ger looked upon as Religious of that Monas-  
 “ tery, notwithstanding they have made profes-  
 “ sions, and taken the vows.

“ To prevent women who follow a bad  
 “ course of life, deferring too long a conversion,  
 “ in hopes that the door will be always open for  
 “ them, no one aged above thirty years will be  
 “ received.”

This Community was for some time pretty numerous, and History makes mention of a holy personage who preached on horseback in the Carrefours, and who had the satisfaction to see eighty women who led vicious lives, and three publicans, converted by one of his sermons. With respect to the public stews \*, after they had been tolerated near four hundred years, they were abolished by the 101st article of the Ordonnance of the States convened at Orleans in 1560. The number of women of pleasure did not diminish, though their profession was not considered as a body; and in prohibiting their existence any where, they were dispersed every where.

*Du*

\* A memorial which was presented to the Parliament to prove the necessity of re-establishing them, was attributed to Dr. Cayet, Under-Preceptor of Henry IV. Vide Remarks upon the Confession of Sanci, p. 45.

## Du Chaume street.

Charles de Blois and the Count de Montfort waged war to obtain the succession to the Duchy of Brittany. Philip de Valois, Charles's uncle, caused Sire de Clifson (by name Oliver III.) to lose his head \*, and some other Lords of Brittany met with the same fate, upon a slight suspicion of carrying on a correspondence with England and the Count de Montfort. The first step Clifson's widow \*\* took, was to send off her son secretly to London; and when her apprehensions were removed with respect to him, she sold her jewels, fitted out three ships, and put to sea, to revenge the death of her husband upon all the French she should meet. The new Corsaire made several descents upon Normandy, where she stormed Castles; and the inhabitants of that Province were spectators more than once, whilst their Villages were all in a blaze, of one of the finest women in Europe, with a sword in one hand, and a torch in the other, urging the carnage, and eying with pleasure all the horrors of war. The first exploits of young Clifson, as soon as he was able to carry arms, foretold what

\* At Paris in the Halles, Aug. 2, 1343.

\*\* Jane of Belleville.

what he would one day appear. The loss of an eye, occasioned by the thrust of a lance, at the battle of Auray, was not sufficient to make him quit the field, *and it was astonishing to see him fly like lightning with his hammer in hand, knocking down, and routing every thing that came in his way.* This famous victory, which determined the fate of the Dutchy of Brittany, in favour of the young Count *de Montfort*, was partly owing to his bravery. A misunderstanding some time after arose between him and this Prince, who had given the Castle of Gavre to the celebrated *John Chandos*. “The devil take me, Mylord (said *Cliffon* to him) if an English-man shall ever be my neighbour,” and immediately went and set fire to this Castle, which was entirely consumed. Abstracted from his pretension to *le Gavre*, he acknowledged himself, that though he had been brought up amongst the English \*, he never could get the better of that national antipathy against them, which is pretty common, not to say natural, amongst the people of Brittany. King *Charles V.* did not fail to avail himself of his disgust, in order to draw him to his Court. He gave him, Aug. 15. 1371, the Sum of 4000 Livres, to purchase a house

\* He was afterwards (by reason of his never giving Quarter) surnamed the *Butcher*.

house at Paris, which was called, according to *Sauval*, le grand Chantier du Temple \*. I apprehend it was only ground, whereupon *Cliffon* built his Hotel, which still subsists, and makes part of the Hotel de *Soubise*, by this street of *du Chaume*.

*Froissard*, a cotemporary Historian, relates that *Charles V.* some days before his death, sent for the Dukes of Berri, Burgundy and Bourbon, and told them, “Brothers-in-law, by the order \*\* of nature, I feel and am sensible that I cannot live long. I recommend to you my son *Charles* \*\*\*; behave to him as good Uncles should do towards their Nephew: crown him as soon as you can after my death, and give him faithful counsel in his affairs; all my confidence is in you. The child is young, and his abilities are but slender, and he will stand much in need of being governed. An Astro- nomer told me a good while ago, that in his youth he would have many troubles, and would escape great perils and dangers; where- upon I had very serious reflexions, and considered with myself how this could happen, unless

\* Hence arose the name of the street *du grand Chantier*.

\*\* Vol. II. p. 89.

\*\*\* *Charles VI.*



“ unless it were from the side of Flanders: for,  
 “ thank God, our domestic concerns are in a  
 “ very thriving state. The Duke of Brittany  
 “ is artful and various, and has always been  
 “ more an Englishman than a Frenchman at  
 “ heart. You must therefore keep the Nobles  
 “ of Brittany and the great Cities in good tem-  
 “ per; by this means you may destroy their ma-  
 “ chinations. I cannot help praising the Bre-  
 “ tons, for they have always served me with  
 “ loyalty, and contributed to defend my King-  
 “ dom against my Enemies. Now appoint the  
 “ Sire *Cliffon* Constable, for every thing confi-  
 “ dered, I know of none so proper as he. ”

The justice this great Prince did the Bretons,  
 was really due to them. The English were in  
 possession of Guyenne, Perigord, Xaintonge,  
 Rouargue, Limousin, Angoumois, Poitou, An-  
 jou, and Maine, when *Duguesclin*, *Cliffon* and  
*de Rieux* drove them out of these Provinces; and  
 there was not a City or Castle taken, without a  
 Breton having distinguished himself. With re-  
 spect to their Duke, whom France always op-  
 posed, and who owed the advantages he gained  
 over *Charles* of Blois, entirely to the succours he  
 received from the King of England, his Father-  
 in-law, it was natural enough for him to be more

*an Englishman than a Frenchman at heart; but his schemes were destroyed, and when, in 1372, he introduced English troops into the Dutchy, all the Nobility immediately rose, and declared to him that they had sworn obedience and fidelity to him, but that they thought themselves no longer bound by their oaths, when he united with the Enemies of France, their common Country: they waged war against him, and he was obliged to take refuge in London. It is true that Charles V. being desirous to avail himself of the event, to unite the Dutchy to the Crown, the same Nobility opposed him, and remonstrated that Britanny was not originally a Member lopt off of the Monarchy; that therefore it could not be liable to confiscation; that the Bretons had entered into war against their Duke only to oblige him to drive out the English; that they never pretended a right to dispossess him of his Inheritance, and that on the contrary they had engaged their faith to preserve it to him, and to spill the last drop of their blood to defend the rights of their Country. Associations were entered into; such proper measures were taken; and the insinuations of those wretches, who under the mask of Patriotism betray their Country, were so ignominiously rejected; and the Invasion was opposed with such courage and resolution, that*

that *Duguesclin* and *Cliffon*, whom the King had ordered to march into Brittany with the French troops under their command, were not able to do any thing of consequence, and returned with only the shame of having made themselves the horror of a Country, which had so long gloried in having given them birth. By *Froissard's* account it appears, that the steadiness of the Bretons did not lose them the favour of *Charles V.* His last commands upon his death-bed were that peace should be made with them, upon condition that their Duke, whom they had recalled, should renew his homage to France, and break off his alliance with England; which was accordingly done.

I shall dismiss this article with some particulars relating to the *Hotel de Cliffon*. This was a house, says *Pasquier*, which the Parisians made a present of to the Constable of that name, when he was appointed to punish them for their sedition in 1383. The two golden M M's with a crown over them, signified *Mercy*, and it bore equally the names of the *Hotel de Cliffon*, and the *Hotel de la Misericorde*. *Pasquier* is mistaken \*; for *Charles V.* in the year 1371, had

\* *Histoire Genealogique de France*, Tome VI,

given *Cliffon* the Sum of 4000 Livres to purchase that house; and if it was afterwards called the *Hotel de la Misericorde*, it was because the Parisians repaired thither to solicit mercy, and that *Cliffon* really interceded for them, and threw himself upon his knees before the King in the Palace-court to obtain their pardon, in which all Historians agree. As for the golden M M's surmounted with a crown, these were military ornaments upon houses, and signified a particular sort of cutlass, which was called *Misericorde*, which ancient Knights made use of, and presented to the throats of their enemies, after they had thrown them upon the ground. *Francis de Guise* purchased the *Hotel de Cliffon*, which then became the *Hotel de Guise*; and his son *Henry*, surnamed *le Balafre*, who wanted to shave *Henry III.* and was killed at Blois, with his brother the Cardinal, resided here. As he was walking one day in a gallery where *Cliffon* had caused the principal Actions of his life and that of *Bertrand Duguesclin* to be painted, *I always look with pleasure* (said he) *upon this Duguesclin; he had the honour of destroying a Tyrant* \*. *This Tyrant was not his King*, haughtily replied the *Sénéchal*, son of *John Carcado* the *Sénéchal*, Gentleman of the Chamber, who at the

\* *Don Pedro*, King of Castille.

the battle of Pavia, perceiving an arquebuser going to fire upon *Francis I.* threw himself before the piece, and was killed. *Francis de Rohan-Soubise* purchased the Hotel de Guise in 1697, which he greatly augmented and embellished, particularly the peristyle of double columns round the Court.

*The Street de la Culture \*, or Coulture Ste. Catherine.*

The Duke of Orleans, brother to *Charles VI.* was very fond of a Jewess, whom he privately visited. Having some reason to suspect that *Peter de Craon*, Lord of Sablé and de la Ferté-Bernard, his Chamberlain and Favourite, had joked upon this Intrigue with the Dutchess of Orleans his wife, he turned him out of his house with infamy. *Craon* imputed his disgrace partly to the Constable *de Clisson*. On the night of the 13th of June, 1391, having waited for him at the corner of this street Coulture Ste. Catherine, and finding he had but little company with him, he fell upon him at the head of a score of ruffians. *Clisson*, having defended himself for some time,

E 2

with-

\* It derives its name from cultivated ground, belonging to the Nuns of Ste. Catherine,

without any other weapon than a small cutlass, after receiving three wounds, fell from his horse, and pitched against a door, which flew open. The report of this assassination reached the King's ears immediately, just as he was stepping into bed. He put on a great-coat, and his shoes, and repaired to the place, where he was informed his Constable had been killed. He found him in a Baker's shop, wallowing in his blood. After his wounds, which were not dangerous, were examined, *Constable*, (said he to him,) *nothing ever was, or ever will be so highly mulcted.* It was given out, that *Cliffon* made his will the next day, and there was a mighty outcry about the Sum of 1, 700, 000 Livres, which it amounted to. It should be observed, that during twenty-five years that he was in the service of France, he had fought and beat the English every where; that he gained the famous battle of *Rosebeque*, and chastised the *Flemish*; that he enjoyed for twelve years the Salary and Appointments of *Constable*, and that moreover his landed Estate, which included many Castles that he inherited from his Ancestors in *Britanny* and *Poitou*, was very considerable. But in all times it has been considered as a crime for a General or a Minister, whatever services he may have done the State, to leave a certain fortune behind him, which is,  
never-

nevertheless, almost always inferior to that of a private person, who takes upon himself for a score of years the collecting of part of the King's Revenues.

### *The Burying-ground of St. Jean.*

*Peter de Craon's* \* Estate was confiscated, his Hotel demolished, and the place where it stood, was appropriated as a Burying-ground for the Parish of St. Jean. This Burying-ground has been since converted into a Market-place. He obtained his pardon in 1395, at the intercession of the King of England, and turned Devotee. It seems that in his flight, after the assassination he had attempted, he was highly terrified, lest he should be taken and die without confession, and that he often thought of this circumstance in a very christian-like manner, when he returned to Court; for he solicited the King \*\* very strongly, and at length obtained a Declaration, bearing date the 12th of February 1396; whereby the custom of refusing Confessors to condemned criminals was abolished. In the preceding

E 3

\* He was descended from *Renoud*, Count de Nevers and Auxerre, and from *Adella* of France, daughter to King *Robert*. His family has been extinct for a considerable time,

\*\* *Charles VI.*

reign, *Philip de Maizieres*, who had as much compassion for rogues, as *Craon*, had fruitlessly solicited a like declaration. “The chief of the Council, says he in one of his works \*, was so obstinate and headstrong in opposing it, as well as all the rest of the Council, that it would have been easier to have turned a mill-wheel backwards, than to have made this perverse man alter his opinion.” Doubtless the Chancellor, *as well as the rest of the Council*, imagined, and not without reason, that this refusal of confession was an additional dissuasive against the commission of crimes.

I observe that, in those ages when Letters had not yet softened the manners, the execution of criminals was a spectacle, exhibited with some sort of pomp, and frequently upon holy-days. In conducting them where they were to suffer, (which was usually at *Montfaucon*) they used to stop at particular places, and amongst others in the court of the *Filles-Dieu*, where they were refreshed with a glass of wine and three bits of consecrated bread. This collation was called *the patient's last morsel*; if he eat with a keen appetite, it was looked upon as a good omen for his soul.

The Duke of Nemours (*James d'Armagnac*) whom I have already mentioned, and who lost his

\* Le songe du vicil Pelerin. L. III. C. LXVIII.



his head in the place called the *Halles*, the 4th of August 1477, was conducted thither from the Bastille, mounted upon a horse, caparisoned with black cloth. The chambers of the fish-market, where he was to repose, were lined with serge, of a colour betwixt green and blue; they were sprinkled with vinegar, and juniper was burnt in them to take off the fishy smell. Whilst he was at confession, his Commissaries were regaled with 12 pints of wine, white bread, and pears \*. He was afterwards † conducted to the scaffold, by a gallery erected on purpose; care was taken to stuff the cushion upon which he kneeled: the Executioner, after having severed his head from his body, and plunged it into a tub of water, held it up to be viewed by the people. A hundred and fifty Cordeliers, with lighted torches, closed this shocking spectacle. Before them was carried an open coffin, wherein the head and body of the unfortunate Duke de Nemours were put: they received money to bury him, and returned singing Psalms.

E 4

Coque-

\* See The Parliamentary Registers.

† See Compte du Domaine de Paris, 1478.

*Coquetiere, or Coquilliere Street. §*

In 1684, Mr. *Berrier*, in repairing his house, which was situated near the end of this street, on the side of St. Eustatius's church, had occasion to dig in the garden, where he found about two fathom deep, the foundation of an ancient edifice, and in the ruins of an old tower, the head of a bronze antique, somewhat larger than nature. Was this the head of *Isis* or *Cybele*, or of the Goddess *Lutetia*\*? The Learned are not agreed upon this point. The embattled tower of six sides, with which it was crowned, being the usual Symbol of *Cybele*, appeared to *Moreau de Mautour* a convincing proof that it was a head of that Goddess. It is certain that *Cybele* was held in high veneration amongst the Gauls. When they had any apprehensions of a bad harvest, they placed her statue upon a car drawn by oxen, which made the circuit of the fields and vineyards; it was preceded by the people who sung and danced, and the principal Magistrates followed bare-footed. A learned Monk observes, that the worship of *Cybele* precluded any from being consecrated

§ Derived from the name of the egg-merchants, who kept their Market there; or more likely from *Peter Coquillier*, Burgess of Paris, who lived in 1269.

\* Cities were deified like men.

secrated to her service, who were not entirely devoted to the priestly vocation. One's sex must even be sacrificed to her. "The genius, nature, and temperament of the Gauls inspired them (says he †) with an invincible dislike to such a dishonourable mutilation." These Priests were brought from Phrygia, in the same manner as we bring certain singers with fine voices at this day from Italy.

### *The street des Cordeliers.*

In 1502, *Gilles Dauphin*, their General, in consideration of the favours his Order had received from the Parliament of Paris, sent to the Presidents, Counsellors and Clerks a permission by which they were entitled to be buried in the habit of a Cordelier. In 1503, he conferred the like indulgence on the Provost of the Merchants, on the Sheriffs, and the principal Officers of the City. This privilege is not to be considered as a mere compliment, if it is true that *St. Francis* makes annually a regular descent into Purgatory, to relieve such souls as died dressed in the habit of his Order\*.

E 5

*L'Etoile*

† Relig. des Gaules, Tom. 1. p. 236.

\* See Histoire Ecclesiast. de Choisi, anno 1333, and Relat. de Fraiser.

L'Etoile relates in his Memoirs towards a History of France, (anno 1577.) "That a very fine girl dressed in man's cloaths, and who called herself *Anthony*, was discovered and taken in the Convent of the Cordeliers. She served, amongst others, Brother *James Berson*, who was called the Infant of Paris, and the Cordelier with the pretty hands. These reverend Fathers all said, that they took her for a real boy: and the thing was left to their consciences. With respect to the female boy, she was discharged after being whipt, which was doing great injury to the chastity of a virtuous person, who said she was married, and had served these worthy Divines for ten or twelve years out of pure devotion, and without having ever sullied her honour." Women sometimes have very singular devotions! Perhaps she imagined too, by this means, to shorten her stay in Purgatory.

*Ste. Croix de la Bretonnerie street.*

In the reign of St. Lewis, there were only a few straggling houses in this quarter. *Renaud de Brehan*, Viscount de Podoure and de l'Isle, occupied one of these houses. In 1225 he married the daughter of *Llewellyn*, Prince of Wales, and

and came to Paris to carry on a secret Negotiation against England. Upon Good-Friday at night, in 1228, five Englishmen entered his orchard, insulted him, and put him to defiance. He had only a Chaplain and a servant with him. They seconded him so well, that three of these Englishmen were killed, and the other two run away. The Chaplain died the next day of his wounds. *Brehan*, before his departure from Paris, purchased this house and the orchard, which he gave to his gallant and faithful servant, named *Galleran*. The name of *Champ aux Bretons*, which was given to the orchard or garden, on account of this scuffle, became the name of the whole street; and it was called at the end of the 13th century *La rue du Champ aux Bretons*.

### *St. Denis street and gate.*

The Kings and Queens made their entry at this gate. All the streets in their way to *Notre Dame* were hung with tapestry, and covered overhead with silk stuffs and camblet cloths. Odoriferous water-works perfumed the air: wine, hippocras, and milk flowed from various fountains. The Deputies of the six bodies of Merchants supported the Canopy. The trading corporations.

rations followed, representing in characteristic dresses, *the seven deadly sins; the seven virtues, Faith, Hope, Charity, Justice, Prudence, Strength and Temperance; Death, Purgatory, Hell and Paradise\**, all superbly mounted. Stages were erected at proper distances, where pantomime Actors, intermingled with bands of music, represented the Histories of the old and new Testament: *the sacrifice of Abraham; the conflict David had with Goliath †; the ass of Balaam, speaking to teach this Prophet reason; flocks in a thicket with their shepherds, to whom the Angel foretold the birth of our Lord, and who sung the Gloria in Excelsis Deo, &c.*

Froissard says, that at the entry of *Isabeau de Baviere*, there was exhibited at the gate *aux Peintres* §, rue St. Denis, a clouded sky, very richly bespangled with stars, and a figure of God seated in all his majesty, the Father, the Son and the Holy-Ghost; and in this sky were little children of the choir, in the form of Angels, singing with infinite sweetness; and when the Queen passed in her open Litter under the gate of this Paradise, two Angels descended from above, holding in their hands a very rich crown ornamented with precious stones, which they

\* See *Monstrelet*.

† See *Jean Chenu*.

§ Situated almost opposite to the street du Petit Lion.

they placed gently upon the Queen's head, singing these verses;

Dame encloſe entre fleurs de lys,  
Reine êtes-vous de Paradis,  
De France, & de tout le Pays?  
Nous remontons en Paradis.

Which may be thus rendered in English;

Illuſtrious Dame, with Lillies crown'd  
Of France art thou the ſovereign Queen?  
Whoſe gay Domains ſtretch'd all around,  
Lovely as Paradise are ſeen.  
Back to our native heaven we fly,  
And bear thy praiſes to the ſky.

*Jean Juvenal des Urſins* relates upon the ſubject of this entry, that *Charles VI.* was deſirous of being a ſpectator, and that he ſaid to *Savoisi*, his favourite; “*Savoisi*, I deſire thou wouldſt  
“ mount my good horſe, and I will get behind  
“ thee, and we will dreſs ourſelves in ſuch a  
“ manner as not to be known, and will go and  
“ ſee my wife's entry.--- They went accordingly  
“ through different parts of the City, and puſh-  
“ ed on to get to the Chatelet, by the hour the  
“ Queen was to paſs, where there was a great  
“ concourſe of people, and a number of Ser-  
“ jeants

“ jeants with large maces, who, to prevent the  
 “ people’s crowding, dealt their blows on every  
 “ side with a good deal of severity. The King  
 “ and *Savoisi* endeavoured all this while to get  
 “ near, whilst the Serjeants who neither knew  
 “ the King nor *Savoisi*, struck at them with their  
 “ maces, and the King received several smart  
 “ blows upon his shoulders. In the evening,  
 “ the thing was related at Court, in presence of  
 “ the Ladies, which occasioned not a little  
 “ raillery, the King himself joining heartily in the  
 “ laugh at the bangs he had received.

Next day the Burgeſſes of Paris, according to  
 custom, waited upon *Charles VI.* with magnifi-  
 cent presents, and being upon their knees, thus  
 addressed him; \* “ Most dear and noble Sire,  
 “ your Burgeſſes of the City of Paris present you  
 “ with these jewels.” (They were golden vases.)  
 “ Great thanks to you, good people, (he re-  
 “ plied,) they are fine and valuable.” They  
 afterwards waited upon the Queen, who received  
 still richer presents from them by a *Bear* and an  
*Unicorn*. § In those times, nothing appeared so  
 ingenious as these kinds of Masquerades; and  
 this is not the first nor last ceremonial occasion,  
 upon

\* Vide *Froiffard*.

§ Ceremonial François.



upon which Cities have chosen beasts for their Representatives.

Upon *Lewis XI.*'s entry, in 1461, a very agreeable representation was devised. \* *Several fine girls, quite naked, representing Syrens, and displaying their beautiful breasts, were placed before the fountain of Ponceau, where they sung motets and pastoral airs.* It seems that at the entry of *Queen Ann* of Brittany, so much attention was paid to the accommodation of the Ladies of the train, that ten or a dozen people were stationed at proper distances with chamber-pots, for those who might have any occasion for them. I forgot to observe, that at that time, upon all these ceremonies, the cry of acclamation was not *Vive le Roi*, God save the King; but *Noël, Noël, Christmas, Christmas.*

*The street des Prêtres de la Doctrine Chrétienne, (or Priests of the Christian Doctrin) Fauxbourg St. Victor.*

Their house and this street are situated upon a spot of ground, which was called *le Clos des Arènes*, because † *Chilperic I.* erected a Circus here, in

\* Vide *Malingre*, p. 208.

† *Chilperic*, who is seldom mentioned, but on account of his wife *Fredegonde*, was a very particular Monarch, if the portrait which

in 577: Every one knows, that the Circus amongst the Romans was a place allotted for public games, and particularly for chariot and horse-races. The *Arena* was that part of the Circus where Gladiators and wild beasts fought. *Pepin the Short* took great delight in seeing bulls combat with lions. *Philip de Valois* bought a barn in the street *Froidmanteau*, near the Louvre, to keep his lions, bears and bulls in. At the Hotel St. Paul was the lions tower, upon the spot where the street of that name \* is now built. *L'Etoile* relates, “ that at Easter, 1583, “ *Henry III.* after receiving the Sacrament in “ the  
 which *Gregory de Tours* has drawn of him, is just. He fancied himself a great Theologist, and was desirous of publishing an Edict, whereby the use of the words *Trinity* and *Persons* in talking of God were to be abolished, saying, that the word *persons*, which is used in speaking of men, degraded the divine Majesty. He prided himself too upon being a Poet, and a very able Grammarian. To the letters which were used in his times, he added four characters to express certain sounds, each of which required more than one letter. These additions consisted of the Greek Ω, Ψ, Ζ, Π. He dispatched orders into all the Provinces to correct the old books, agreeable to this orthography, and to teach it to children. The ancient orthography had its martyrs; and two school-masters chose rather to lose their ears, than adopt the new one, which was never practised but during the life of this Prince. Vide Greg. Turon. Hist. Lib. V.

\* See the Article *des Lions-street*.

“ the Convent *des Bons-Hommes*, returned to the  
 “ Louvre, where he had his bulls, lions, bears,  
 “ and such other beasts as he had usually trained  
 “ up to fight with mastifs, shot to death with  
 “ blunderbuffes. This he did on account of a  
 “ dream wherein he thought he was devoured  
 “ by lions, bears, and dogs; a dream, which  
 “ seemed to presage that the furious beasts of the  
 “ League would fall upon this poor Prince and  
 “ his people.”

Our manners are now so changed, that we no longer receive pleasure from seeing two animals tear each other to pieces; and if our Princes keep lions and tigers in their *Menageries*, it is only for their curiosity. Though we are not fond of seeing blood spilt, we are certainly as brave as the Romans.

### *La vieille Draperie street.*

At the corner of this street was the house of the father of that execrable *John Chatel*, who attempted the life of *Henry IV.* and wounded him with a knife upon the upper lip, on Tuesday, the 27th of December 1594. The ground that this house occupied, which was afterwards razed, forms the little square, that is before the great gate of the Palace. A pyramid was erected here  
 with

with inscriptions, but was taken down in 1605.

*Extract of a Letter, which Henry IV. wrote to the different Cities, immediately after this attempt.*

“ We were not arrived at Paris, from our  
 “ journey into Picardy, above an hour, being  
 “ still booted, when in company with our cousins  
 “ the Prince of Conti, the Count de Soissons,  
 “ and the Count de St. Paul, and above thirty  
 “ or forty of the principal Lords and Gentle-  
 “ men of our Court ; as we were receiving the  
 “ Sieurs *de Ragni* and *de Montigni*, who had not  
 “ before saluted us, a young fellow, named *John*  
 “ *Chatel*, of a very small size, and not above  
 “ eighteen or nineteen years old, having slipt in-  
 “ to the apartment with the crowd, advanced  
 “ without being scarce perceived, and thinking  
 “ to stab us in the body with the knife he had  
 “ in his hand, (bowing just then to raise the said  
 “ Sieurs *de Ragni* and *de Montigni*, who were  
 “ saluting us) it only struck us upon the right  
 “ side of the upper-lip, and cut one of our teeth:  
 “ Thank God, we have received so little hurt,  
 “ that we shall not go to bed an hour sooner  
 “ upon that account.”

It appears by an article of the interrogatories which were put to *John Chatel*, that the Provost of the King's household, after seizing and searching him, did not in the least doubt of his being an Emissary armed at all points with fanaticism.

“ Being asked who gave him the *Agnus Dei*,  
 “ the shift of our Lady, and all the chaplets  
 “ which were about his neck, and whether it  
 “ was not to persuade him to assassinate the King,  
 “ under an assurance that he would be invulne-  
 “ rable, and that no harm could come to him ?

“ He said, his mother gave him the *Agnus Dei*,  
 “ and the shift of our Lady; as to the chaplets,  
 “ he strung them himself.”

There were some grounds to believe his father was concerned: his mother and sisters were quite innocent. He maintained, when he was put to the question ordinary and extraordinary, and even to his death, that he had not communicated his design to any one, and *that he had taken this step entirely of his own proper motion.\**

† “ Being asked why he wanted to kill the King ?

“ He replied, that in order to expiate his sins,  
 “ he thought it behoved him to perform some  
 “ signal act that might be serviceable to the Ca-  
 “ tholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion; and  
 “ that

\* Journal de Henri IV.

† First interrogatory before the Provost of the King's Household.

“ that having failed in his design on this occasion, he would still do it, if he could.

“ Being asked again by whom he was persuaded to kill the King?

“ He replied, that he had heard it given out, in many places, as a maxim which one ought to hold as incontestible, that it was lawful to kill the King, from the moment the Pope disapproved of him; and that this doctrine was general.”

This unhappy fellow said nothing but the truth; a year did not elapse before the greatest part of the Ecclesiastics, and almost every Religious, delivered it from the pulpit, and in their Theses and Confessionals.

The *Sieur de Piganiol*, who has only transcribed word for word the antiquities of Paris by *Sauval*, says, that *Henry IV.* was wounded by *John Chatel* in the court of the *Hotel du Bouchage* †, which was then called the *Hotel d'Estrées*, where the handsome *Gabrielle* resided. It is evident by all the proceedings, that it was in one of the halls of the *Louvre*. Besides, the *Hotel du Bouchage* was at no time called the *Hotel d'Estrées*; and *Gabrielle d'Estrées* at that time resided at the *Hotel de Schomberg*, which still exists in the street *Bailleul*, behind the *Hotel d'Aligre*, where

the

† At present the *Fathers of the Oratory*.

the grand Council has for a long time assembled.

*Les Ecrivains street.*

The house wherein *Nicholas Flamel* resided, formed the angle of this and *Marivault-street*. His figure, it is said, is still to be seen upon one of the side-posts, as well as that of his wife *Pernelle*, with Gothic inscriptions and pretended hieroglyphics. The history of this man is somewhat remarkable. He was born without any fortune, of obscure parents, and his profession as a writer did not enable him to acquire great riches. By his beneficence, he of a sudden disclosed a great fortune. The use he made of it, is very uncommon: he was rich for the unfortunate. A reputable family, fallen into distress; a virgin whom wretchedness might have drawn into bad courses; a shop-keeper or workman over-burthened with children; in a word, the widow and orphan, were objects of his munificence. He founded hospitals, repaired some churches, and rebuilt in a great measure that of the *Innocents*. *Naudé* ascribes *Flamel's* riches to the knowledge he had of the Jews affairs; and adds, when they were driven out of France in 1394, and their effects confiscated, *Flamel* negotiated

ciated with their debtors for one half of what they owed, and promised not to divulge the transaction. *Naudé*, and *Piganiol* who quotes him, would not have advanced so false an allegation, if they had read the declarations of *Charles VI.* with regard to the banishment of the Jews. The first, dated the 17th of September, 1394. enacts, that though he exiles them for ever, he does not mean that their persons should be ill-treated, or that their effects should be pillaged. Besides, he enjoins those who are indebted to them, to pay them within a month on pain of losing their pledges; and those who have not deposited any pledges, to discharge their contracts and withdraw them before the time expires. By another declaration of the 2d of March 1395, four months after their quitting the Kingdom, he prohibits from that time any who are indebted to the Jews, making good their payments, and puts a stop to such suits as may have been commenced against them upon that account, ordering at the same time a general release for all those confined in prison; and to conclude this matter entirely, by a declaration, bearing date the 30th of January 1397, the Provost of Paris is commanded to destroy and burn all the bonds given to the Jews.



By these Ordonnances it appears, that as the King himself discharged his subjects of all the debts contracted with these infamous usurers, *Flamel* could not be so great a gainer, by turning informer against those who were in their debt.

Several curious people having dug in the vaults of his house, found in different parts, urns, phials, retorts, coals, and in some stone-pots a certain calcinated, thick, mineral substance like peas. It is not certainly known, whether he was buried at *St. Jacques de la Boucherie*, or under the Charnel-house of the Innocents. *Paul Lucas* \* seems even to be in doubt whether he was dead: he relates in a very serious manner, that being in Asia, he got acquainted with a Dervis, who spoke all languages, and who appeared to be not above 30 years old, tho' he had already lived more than a century. " This Dervis, says he, informed me, that  
 " *Flamel*, being convinced that he would be arrested, in case he should pass for one that was  
 " possessed of the philosopher's stone, found  
 " means to quit France, by getting a report  
 " spread abroad that he and his wife were dead.  
 " She feigned a distemper, which had its course;  
 " and when it was given out that she was dead,  
 " she

\* *Vide* the Travels of *Paul Lucas* through Asia Minor, C. XII. T. I.

“ she was near Swifferland, where she had or-  
 “ ders to meet her husband. A block of wood  
 “ was substituted in her place, and buried; and  
 “ that no part of the ceremonial might be want-  
 “ ing, this interment was made in one of the  
 “ churches which she had rebuilt. He had after-  
 “ wards recourse to a similar stratagem for him-  
 “ self. As every thing is to be done for money,  
 “ it was not difficult to gain over the physicians  
 “ and churchmen. He drew up a will in form,  
 “ wherein he was particularly desirous of being  
 “ interred with his wife, and that a pyramid  
 “ should be erected for their monument. Whilst  
 “ this sensible man was upon the road to join  
 “ his wife, another piece of wood was buried  
 “ in his stead. From that time they both led a  
 “ philosophical life, sometimes in one Country,  
 “ and sometimes in another. I am their particular  
 “ friend, and it is but three years since I left  
 “ them in India.”

*Paul Lucas* was one of *Lewis XIV.*'s pension-  
 ers, and travelled by his order. Such flights as  
 these, which we frequently find in his book,  
 do not reflect much honour upon the Minister  
 who chose and presented him.

*L' Enfer-street near the Palace  
of Luxemburgh.*

St. *Lewis* was so edified with the account which was given him of the silent and austere life of the Disciples of St. *Bruno*, that he selected six of them, and presented them with a house, gardens, and vineyards, in the village of *Gentilli*. These religious men had from their windows a view of the *Palais de Vauvert*, built by King *Robert*, but deserted by his successors, which might be converted into a commodious and agreeable Monastery, by reason of its proximity to Paris. This old Castle was by accident haunted by Ghosts, and hideous howlings were heard from it. Spectres were seen dragging chains, and amongst others, a green monster with a huge white beard, half man and half serpent, armed with a large club, and appeared every night ready to fall upon passengers. What was to be done with such a Castle? The *Chartreux* asked it of St. *Lewis*: he gave it them with all its appurtenances and dependances. No more Ghosts were seen; the street only retained the name of *Enfer*, in remembrance of the infernal racket the devils had made in it.

Some Etymologists pretend that the street of St. *Jaques* was anciently called *via superior*, and

this street, by reason of its being lower, *via inferior* or *infera*; hence by corruption and contraction it afterwards received the name of *Enfer*. Others assert that beggars, sharpers, and vagabonds frequently retiring into bye-streets, the name of *Hell* was given to these streets on account of the outcries, oaths and quarrels, which were incessantly heard there.

### *St. Etienne-du-Mont.*

The Curate of this Parish having complained that a man named *Michau*, one of his Parishioners, had made him wait till midnight to pronounce the *benediction of the marriage-bed*, *Peter de Gondi*, Bishop of Paris, ordered that for the future this ceremony should always be performed in the day-time, or at latest before supper. Formerly a new-married couple could not go to bed till it had been blessed. This was an additional small perquisite for the Curates, who also claimed *les Plats de Noces*, (or wedding-dishes,) which was their dinner either in kind, or in money.

The Curates of Picardy were very troublesome, asserting that a new-married couple could not, without their permission, sleep together the three first nights. An Arret was issued, bearing date

date the 19th of March 1409 \*, whereby the Bishop of Amiens and the Curates of the said City were forbid the taking or exacting of any money from a new-married couple, for giving them leave to lie together the first, second or third night after their Nuptials; empowering every inhabitant of the said City to lie with his wife, without the permission of the Bishop and his Officers. We cannot dispose of any thing that is not ours: did those Curates, like certain Priests of India, imagine that these three first nights belonged to them?

People of distinction, as well as the commonalty, were married at the church-door. In 1559, when *Elizabeth* of France, daughter of *Henry II.* was married to *Philip II.* King of Spain, *Eustatius du Bellay*, Bishop of Paris, went to the porch of the church of *Notre Dame*, and (says the French Ceremonial) performed the celebration of the *Espousals* at the said door, according to the custom of our holy Mother the Church. It should seem, that it was thought indecent, to give leave, in the church itself, for a man and a woman to go to bed together.

*Froissard* says, on the subject of the marriage of *Charles VI.* with *Isabeau de Baviere*, that the intended bride of a King of France, how high

\* Reglem. du Parlement,

soever her birth may be, must be examined and inspected quite naked by the Ladies, in order to know whether she is fit and properly formed to bear children.

### *La Ferronnerie - Street* \*.

On Friday the 14th of May 1610, about four o'clock in the afternoon, two carts that were locked in each other, having obliged the coach of *Henry IV.* \*\* to stop about the middle of this street, which was then very narrow, *Ravaillac* who had followed him from the Louvre, got upon a spoke of one of the hinder wheels, and with two stabs of a knife assassinated this Prince, who expired on the spot. *It is amazing (says Etoile) that none of the Lords who were in the coach, saw the blows given to the King, and if this monster † had thrown away his knife, it could not have been known who had done it. Henry IV. was reading a letter of the Count de Soissons:*

\* So called from the Ironmongers, *Ferronarii*.

\*\* He was going to the Arsenal, and had let down the windows, as it was fine weather, and as he wanted to see the preparations that were making for the Queen's entry.

† When he was arrested, (says *Peter Mathieu*), seven or eight men came up sword in hand, who said aloud that he ought to be put to death, but instantly withdrew again amongst the crowd.

*Soissons*: the Duke *d'Epéron* was upon his right hand on the back-seat; the Marshals of *Lavardin* and *Roquelaure* sat by the door, on the side of the Duke *d'Epéron*; and by the door on the side of the King were the Duke *de Monbazon* and the Marquis *de la Force*; and on the forepart were the Marquis of *Mirebeau* and *du Plessis Liancourt*. *Nicholas Pasquier* relates that a devil appeared to *Ravaillac*, and said to him \*; *Go, strike hard: you will find them all blind*. This devil might very likely be one of those seven or eight men, who came sword in hand after he was arrested, and who wanted to put him to death.

I shall not enter into any long detail, nor into a variety of circumstances that are endless, and which few people are unacquainted with. I shall only deliver my sentiments upon the character of two abandoned villains, whose parricidious hands were armed against one of the best and greatest of our Kings. *John Chatel*, aged about 18 or 19 years, after having studied under the Jesuits, went through a course of Philosophy at the University. His father was a rich shopkeeper, who did not let him want for any thing. His interrogatories point out an unhappy man, stedfast in

\* See his first Letter.

his abominable principles, artless, sincere, and always equal in his replies; a real fanatic not terrified at the sight of his Judges, but looking upon himself as a Martyr, and upon his punishment and crime as an expiation of his sins. After he was released from the torture, *I accuse myself*, (said this monster in an humble tone of voice to his Confessor,) *of some impatience during my torments; I pray God to forgive me, and to forgive my Persecutors.*

*Ravaillac*, who was about 32 years old, was poor, bragged of revelations, and flew into a rage at the very name of Huguenot. He appeared to be a fit instrument for the horrible attempt, which had been for a long time meditated. It is easy to discover by his interrogatories, that his fanaticism was more affected than real. He sometimes put on an ignorant stupidity, and would say, *the Pope is God, and God is the Pope.* His answers were in other respects like those of a reasonable man, not altogether uninstructed. He lies \*, prevaricates, cries, and laments that he  
has

\* He said he had never been out of the Kingdom: it was proved that he had been seen at Naples. He said he had never divulged to any one (not even at confession) his design of killing the King: more than a year before the Prior of the Augustines of Montargis found a letter upon the Altar, in which he was charged to inform that Prince, that a tall red-haired



has not been able to resist the temptations of the devil; he entreats his Judges *not to throw his soul into despair by the force of torments*; he acknowledges himself guilty of a great crime, but persists in denying that any one excited him to perpetrate it, and that he would not have taken the resolution of killing the King, if he had not been assured that this Prince was going to wage war against the Pope. Is it possible to believe, say some, that in the horror of his tortures, he would not have accused those who had seduced him either directly, or by their Emissaries, in giving him from time to time small donations? Perhaps he expected still that they would save his life. Besides, it is certain that upon the first pull of the horses, he asked a respite, and dictated a will, which the *Greffier* penned in such an unintelligible manner, that the most expert decyphers have not been able to explain it.

F 4

Ger-

*man, a native of Angoulême*, intended to assassinate him †. This Prior having consulted with the Lieutenant General and the principal Inhabitants of the City, it was resolved to send the letter, with the verbal procedure thereupon, to the Chancellor, who unluckily neglected this advice. Here is judicial proof, well authenticated, that *Ravaillac* had communicated his abominable purpose.

† Vide the Journal of *Henry IV.* anno 1616. and *Nicholas Pasquier*, Letter I.

*Germain Brice* \* says, that when *Ravaillac* was arrested, he was carried to the *Hotel de Retz*, at present the *Hotel de Condé*. This would have been carrying him a great way. I know that the *Hotel de Condé* was then the *Hotel de Gondi*; but *Jean Baptiste de Gondi*, Duke of *Retz*, had still another *Hotel* near the *Louvre* \*\*, and it was hither this villain was dragged. Here he remained two days, chained and guarded by the *Archers*. The question was put to him in all its rigour, adds *Germain Brice*, and he acknowledged such strange things, that the *Judges* surpris'd and frightened, swore amongst themselves upon the holy *Evangelists*, never to reveal a tittle, for fear of the terrible consequences that might have ensued. They even burnt the depositions, and the whole verbal process, in the middle of the *Chamber*; so that nothing has remained concerning them, but some slight suspicions, upon which no right judgment has hitherto been founded. This account is absolutely false. *Ravaillac* always maintained under the question that he had no accomplices; and if he acknowledged any out-of-the-way things, it was only during the short respite which he asked, after the horses first began to draw him asunder.

Some

\* Description de Paris. Vol. I. p. 219.

\*\* In the street des *Poullies*.

Some months after, the *Demoiselle d'Ecoman*, a Gentleman's wife, who had been attached to Queen *Margaret*, accused the *Marchioness de Verneuil* and the *Duke d'Epéron* \* of being the Instruments of *Henry IV.*'s assassination †. She spoke well, says *Etoile*, and was steady and consistent in her answers and accusations, which were confirmed by cogent reasons and very strong proofs, that quite astonished the Judges. Legal proofs were requisite; but these she could not furnish. She was condemned to be immured within four walls the rest of her days; and in the Arret § it was said that all the proceedings should be suppressed. It is not at all unlikely that *Germain Brice*, who is but too apt to confound all facts, has, amongst others, confounded this procedure with the criminal process against *Ravaillac*. I shall conclude this article with a passage from the *Memoirs of Sully*, which shews the little precaution that *Henry IV.* took against the attempts which were continually made upon his life.

F 5

“ I

\* There is no one of his race now remaining, his line being extinct at the second generation, as well as that of the *Duke de Lerme* in Spain. I shall in another article point out the reasons these two men had for forming this conspiracy, and in what manner they conducted it.

† Anno 1611.

§ An Arret of the 31st of July 1611.

“ I received advice from Rome (says *Sully* \*)  
 “ that there was a conspiracy formed against  
 “ his Majesty’s person, which I imagined I ought  
 “ not to conceal from him, though the intel-  
 “ ligence did not appear to myself to be worthy  
 “ of any thing but contempt, which, indeed,  
 “ it met with from that Prince, who replied  
 “ to me upon the occasion, That he was con-  
 “ vinced, that the way not to render his life  
 “ worse than death itself, was to pay no regard  
 “ to any such informations; that the calculators  
 “ of horoscopes had threatened him, some with  
 “ dying by the sword, and others in a coach;  
 “ but that no one had ever mentioned poison  
 “ to him, which in his opinion was the easiest  
 “ manner of dispatching him, as he eat a good  
 “ deal of fruit, of every kind that was brought  
 “ to him, without a taster; and that *in fine* he  
 “ reposed his confidence in the sovereign Master  
 “ of his days.”

### *The For-l’Evesque.*

*Forum Episcopi*, that is to say, the Seat of  
 the temporal Jurisdiction of the Bishop. There  
 were in Paris and its Fauxbourgs nineteen Lords  
 Jurisdicions; the uncertainty of whose limits  
 occa-

\* *Memoirs of Sully*, anno 1605.

occasioned frequent altercations. By an Edict of the month of February 1674, all these subordinate Jurisdictions were united and incorporated into that of the Chatelet. The Jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Paris, and the Chapter of Notre Dame, of the Abbé de St. Germain des Prez, of the Grand Prior of France, of the Commander of St. John de Latran, and of the Prior of St. Martin des Champs, only remained, and these were confined to their own districts.

*Adrian ae Valois* pretends that it is pronounced *For-l'Evêque*, instead of *Four-l'Evêque*; and that the common oven, where the Bishop's vassals used to send their bread to be baked, makes part of that building, which is now converted into a prison.

*The street of les Fossés Saint Germain  
de l'Auxerrois.*

The Hotel de Sourdis \* had communication with the Cloister of this Church. *Gabrielle d'Estrees*, Duchess of Beaufort, resided in the Dean's house, probably to be near the Louvre, and the Marchioness of Sourdis her aunt. She died here upon Easter-eve in 1599. *Sauval* avers that he knew some old men, who informed him, that

F 6

after

\* The *Cul-de-Sac de Sourdis* in this street.

after her death, she was exposed to view in the great hall of this house §; that she was dressed in a white sattin gown, and lay upon a bed of state, of crimson velvet, ornamented with gold and silver lace. It does not seem probable, that a person should be exposed to public view, whose features were all disfigured, and whose mouth was turned round her neck, by the frightful symptoms of death. She † had passed part of Lent at Fontainebleau: policy and decorum not allowing *Henry IV.* to keep her with him during Easter, he had begged of her to return to Paris, and conducted her as far as Melun. These two Lovers (*says Sulli*) seem to have had a secret misgiving, that they should never see each other more. With tears in their eyes, they loaded one another with caresses, and talked in such a strain, as if it was for the last time of their conversing. The Duchess recommended to the King her children, her house at Monceaux, and her domestics. The Prince heard her, and melted into tears, instead of assuring her, her requests should be granted; they took leave, and instantly recalling each other, embraced again, and could not

§ The Deanery over-against the great door of the church, towards the Louvre.

† Journal de *Henri IV.* 1599.

not part. She went to lodge at the house of one *Zamet* \*, an Italian who had accumulated a very large fortune by being concerned in every new exaction upon the people. This was the man, who in the marriage contract of one of his daughters, stiled himself, *Lord Paramount of seventeen hundred thousand Crowns*. His witty and lively character had endeared him to *Henry IV.* and this Prince usually fixed upon his house for his private suppers and parties of pleasure. The Duchess was received by her host with the highest respect. Whilst she was hearing *Ténébres*, in the church of *Petit St. Antoine*, upon Holy Thursday, after eating a hearty dinner, she was taken with a swimming in the head. Being returned to *Zamet's*, whilst she was walking in the garden, after having eat part of a citron, (others say a sallad †) she had all on a sudden such a burning in her throat, and such violent pains in her stomach, that she cried out, ‡ *Take me out of this house — I am poisoned* §. She was carried home, where her disorder increased with fits,

and

\* *Confession de Sanci*, L. II. Remarques sur le Chap. I.

† Vide d'*Aubigné*.

‡ *Sully's Memoirs*.

§ A marriage between *Henry IV.* and *Mary de Medicis* was already talked of; and as *Zamet* was born a subject of the Duke of Florence, his enemies suspected him of a crime of which there was no proof.

and such violent convulsions, that one could not look without horror upon a face that some hours before was so handsome. She expired on Saturday morning about 7 o'clock: she was opened; and the child was found dead in her womb. *Henry IV.* made all his Court go into mourning, and wore it himself the first week in a violet colour, and the second in black. *This Favourite was poisoned*, says a writer of that time, *because the King had resolved upon marrying her; and considering the troubles that such a step would have occasioned*, adds this galant man, *it was doing a service both to the Prince and the State.* This may be, but it must be allowed at the same time, that such services are more infamous than those of the executioner; besides, the majority of historians impute this so extraordinary death to some very unfavourable circumstances that attended her pregnancy.

### *Du Fouarre-street.*

The University-schools were formerly on both sides of this street. It took its name of *Fouarre*, (an obsolete word that signifies straw,) from the great quantities of it consumed by the scholars, who were seated in their classes upon nothing but straw. There were formerly neither benches



nor chairs in churches. They were strewed with fresh straw and odoriferous herbs, particularly at midnight mass, and other high festivals.

*The street des Francs-Bourgeois, au Marais.*

In 1350, *John Roussel* and *Alice* his wife, caused twenty-four alms-houses to be built in this street, which was then called the street *des vieilles Poulies*. Their heirs, in 1415, gave these alms-houses to the Grand-Prior of France, together with 70 livres of Paris by way of annuity, upon condition of furnishing two poor persons with lodging in each of these alms-houses, who were to be allowed 13 deniers (or farthings) upon their coming in, and a denier a week. These chambers were called *la maison des Francs-Bourgeois*, because those who were admitted into them, were free from all taxes and imposts, on account of their poverty. This is the origin of the name of this street.

Here lived two beggars in 1596, who in their leisure hours had so much practised the imitation of French horns and the voice of dogs, that at the distance of thirty paces, one would imagine he heard a pack of hounds and huntsmen. The deception must have been still stronger in a place where

where the eccho is multiplied by a rocky situation. It is highly probable, that these men were employed in an adventure, wherein a real apparition was thought to appear. If *Henry IV.* had been curious enough to have advanced, he would doubtless have received a dart; and it would have been afterwards said, that not being a good Catholic at heart, it was the devil that had killed him. Most historians relate this affair in the following manner.

† “ The King being a hunting in the forest of  
 “ Fontainebleau, heard at about half a league’s  
 “ distance from where he was, the barking of  
 “ dogs, with the cry and the horns of huntsmen;  
 “ and in an instant all this noise which seemed  
 “ to be afar off, was just at his ear. He ordered  
 “ \* the Count de Soissons to go before and see  
 “ what was the matter, not imagining that any  
 “ one would be bold enough to interfere with  
 “ his hunt, and interrupt his pastime. The  
 “ Count de Soissons in going on, heard the noise,  
 “ but could not discover from whence it came.  
 “ A great black man presented himself in the  
 “ thickest part of the bushes, and cried in a ter-  
 “ rible voice, *Do you want me?* and sud-  
 “ denly disappeared. At these words, the most  
 “ re-

† P. Mathieu, L. I. Nar. V.

\* Journal du regne de *Henri IV.* anno 1598. Supl.

“ resolute thought it was prudent to discontinue  
 “ the chace, which now excited nothing but  
 “ fear; and though this passion frequently ties  
 “ the tongue and freezes up the speech, they  
 “ nevertheless related the adventure, which  
 “ many would have looked upon as one of *Mer-*  
 “ *lin’s* fables, if the truth of it, corroborated by  
 “ so many tongues, and witnessed by so many  
 “ eyes, had not put it out of all manner of doubt.  
 “ The shepherds in the neighbourhood say, it  
 “ is a spirit which they call the great huntsman;  
 “ others pretend that it is *St. Hubert’s* hunt,  
 “ which is heard in other places.”

### *The Church of Ste. Genevieve.*

The tail of Cardinal *de la Rochefoucault’s*  
 cloak, which is upon his tomb in this church,  
 is supported by an Angel. I am surprised that  
 the extravagant imagination which created this  
 Page, instead of leaving him half-naked, did not  
 give him a livery.

### *Grenelle-street, in the Quarter of St. Eustache.*

This Hotel where the amorous Count *de Soif-*  
*sons* diverted himself with dispersing on all sides,  
 upon

upon the windows, ceilings, and wainscot, ingenious emblems, galant devices, and his cypher blended with that of *Catherine de Navarre*, sister to *Henry IV.* This same Hotel, which was afterwards inhabited by the Duke de *Bellegarde*, that amiable and polite Courtier, who was the flame of *Gabrielle d'Estrees*, of Madame, of *Mademoiselle de Guise*, and many others: This Hotel, *in fine*, which became, after the death of the Cardinal de *Richelieu*, the asylum of the Muses, where the French Academy so long assembled, and where the Racans, the Sarazins, and the Voitures held their meetings, is at this hour the *Hotel des Fermes*.

On the 9th of June 1572, *Jeanne d'Albret*, mother to *Henry IV.* died in the third house from this Hotel, towards the street of St. Honoré. She was only 44 years old, and had been ill but five days. It was reported that she had been poisoned, by the scent of a pair of perfumed gloves, which she had bought of *René*, an Italian, and a great rogue, who was perfumer to the Court of *Catherine de Medicis*. The body of this Princess was opened, and the surgeons, according to *Cayot*, reported, that they could not discover any symptoms of poison. She could not avoid coming to Paris upon the marriage of her son; besides, she had been assured, that war was going

to be declared against her irreconcilable enemy, *Philip II.* King of Spain, *Charles IX.* being persuaded that he had caused his wife, *Elizabeth* of France, to be poisoned, accusing her with carrying on a criminal correspondence with his son *Don Carlos.*

Now a-days, as soon as a Princess enters into the fifth month of her pregnancy, Physicians, Surgeons and Men-midwives make a property of her health, and it is with difficulty she can obtain leave from them to go out of her apartment. The easiest carriage, and the finest roads, are no security to them. However desirous she may be of going only from Versailles to Fontainebleau, they will not allow it. *Cayet*, Deputy-Preceptor to *Henry IV.* relates, “ That *Jeanne d’Al-*  
 “ *bret*, being desirous of following her husband  
 “ to the wars of Picardy, the King her father  
 “ told her, that in case she proved with child,  
 “ he wanted her to come and lie in at his house ;  
 “ and that he would bring up the child, whe-  
 “ ther boy or girl, himself — that this Princess  
 “ finding herself pregnant, and in her ninth  
 “ month, set out from Compiègne, passed  
 “ through all France, as far as the Pyrenees,  
 “ and arrived in fifteen days at Pau in Béarn.—  
 “ She was mighty desirous, (adds this historian,)  
 “ to see her father’s will. It was contained in

“ a thick golden box, on which was a golden  
“ chain, which would have gone 25 or 30 times  
“ round one’s neck. She asked it of him. It  
“ shall be thine, said he, as soon as thou hast  
“ shewn me the child thou now carriest about  
“ with thee; and that thou may’st not bring in-  
“ to the world a crying or a pouting child, I pro-  
“ mise you the whole, provided that whilst you  
“ are in labour, you sing a Bearn song, and I  
“ will be present at the birth.——About half  
“ past twelve at night, on the 13th of December,  
“ 1553, the Princess’s pains began to come  
“ upon her. Her father being informed, came  
“ down; she hearing him fell a singing the Bearn  
“ song, which begins, *Notre Dame du bout*  
“ *du pont, aidez-moi en cette heure*; (i. e. Our  
“ Lady of the end of the bridge, assist me in this  
“ hour.)——Being delivered, her father put  
“ the golden chain about her neck, and gave  
“ her the golden box wherein was his will, say-  
“ ing to her: That is for you, daughter, but this  
“ is for me, taking the child in his great gown,  
“ without waiting for its being drest in form,  
“ and carried it into his chamber. — The little  
“ Prince was brought up in such a manner, as to  
“ be able to undergo fatigue and hardship, fre-  
“ quently eating nothing but common bread.  
“ The good King his grandfather ordered it  
“ thus,

“ thus, and would not let him be delicately pam-  
 “ pered, that from his early youth he might  
 “ be enured to necessity. He has often been  
 “ seen, according to the custom of the country,  
 “ amongst the other children of the Castle  
 “ and Village of Coirazze, bare footed, and  
 “ bare-headed, as well in winter, as in summer.”  
 Who was this Prince? HENRY IV.

### *Grenier St. Lazare-street.*

*Pasquier* relates, that in the year 1424 a girl,  
 named *Margot*, came to Paris, who played at  
 tennis (at the court in this street) both fore-  
 handed and back-handed better than any man.  
 This is the more astonishing, as at that time the  
 game was played with the bare hand, or with a  
 double glove. Afterwards some contrived to lace  
 cords and packthread across their hands to send  
 the ball with greater velocity, and thence arose  
 the idea of Raquets. The name of *paume*, (tennis)  
 he adds, was given to this game, because at that  
 time this amusement consisted in receiving and  
 returning the ball with the palm of the hand.

### *Guenegaud-street.*

I have observed that from Buci-gate, situated  
 near the top of the street of St. André des Arcs \*,  
 the

\* Opposite the street Contresarpe.

the City-walls passing over the ground, where Dauphine-gate \* was afterwards erected, terminated their inclosure at the gate de Nesle, which then stood on the spot which the court of the College des quatre Nations now occupies. The Hotel de Nesle, with its gardens, was situated on the ground, where we now see some appurtenances of this College, the houses of the petite-place de Conti, this petite-place itself, the Hotel de Conti, the street Guenegaud from the common sewer to the river, and the little street de Nevers. *Philip the Fair* purchased it from *Amauri de Nesle*, in 1308. The Kings his Successors gave it away and alienated it several times: it always reverted to the Crown. *Charles IX.* sold it, in 1571, to *Lewis de Gonzague*, Duke of Nevers, who rebuilt it in part. It was afterwards called the Hotel Guenegaud, and at length the Hotel de Conti. *Henri de Guenegaud*, Secretary of State, who purchased it in 1650, made great alterations to it, and built this street upon part of the ground which composed the garden.

*Brantome* mentions a Queen † who resided at the Hotel de Nesle, who used to watch for passengers; and such as were most agreeable to her, let them

\* At the other end of Contrescarpe-street.

† *Dames Galantes*. Tome I. p. 271.



them be of what condition they would, she had them called and introduced to her; and after having obtained what she wanted of them, she had them thrown from the Tower \* into the water below. I cannot say, continues he, that this is a fact; but the greatest part of the people of Paris affirm it, and those who shew the Tower, never fail to relate it.

The Poet *Villon* in his ballad to the Ladies, which he composed in 1461, says;

*Où est la Reine*

*Qui commanda que Buridan*

*Fut jetté en un sac en Seine?*

“Where is the Queen, who ordered that *Buridan*  
“Should be thrown in a sack into the Seine?”

*Jane*, Countess of Burgundy & Artois, Queen of France and Navarre, a Princess much censured for her manners, resided at the Hotel de Nesle, after the death of *Philip* the Long, her husband. She died in 1329, and wanted to be buried in the Cordeliers Church. *John Buridan* was a native of Bethune in Artois, and famous  
in

\* It stood where the Place des quatre Nations is now erected.

in the University of Paris after the year 1327. If he was thrown into the Seine, he was not drowned; for he was still living in 1348.

† It was to this same Hotel de Nesle, that *Henrietta* of Cleves, wife to *Lewis de Gonzague*, Duke of Nevers, brought the head of her Lover *Coconas*, || which was exposed upon a post in the Place de Greve: she carried it off herself by night, had it embalmed, and kept it for a long time in the drawer of a cabinet behind her bed. This cabinet was afterwards watered with the tears of her grand-daughter § *Maria Louisa de Gonzague* of Cleves, whose Lover ‡ suffered the same fate as *Coconas*.

D. *Félibien* and D. *Lobineau*, in their History of Paris, have manifestly copied the Plans in the first Volume of the Treatise upon the Police by the Commissary *la Marre*. These Plans are very erroneous. They place the Hotel de Nesle without the walls; whereas it was most certainly within them; and it is equally certain that the walls of this Hotel made part of those of the City. The Duke *de Berri*, uncle to *Charles*

† *Memoires de Nevers*. Tome I. p. 57.

|| Beheaded in 1574.

§ She was married to *Ladislas*, and afterwards to *Casimir*, brothers and Kings of Poland.

‡ *Cinqmars*, beheaded in 1642.

*Charles VI.* it is true, erected a little Hotel (the *sejour de Nesle*) beyond the City-ditches. It communicated with the great Hotel by a draw-bridge, and the gardens extended on one side towards Buci-gate, and on the other to the bank of the river, that is to say, to where the Key Malaquet now stands. This little Hotel ought not to have been confounded with the great one. The College des quatre Nations was erected upon some of the appendages of each, and also upon the City-ditches. Before writing this, I made an accurate inspection of the ancient Plans of Paris in the King's Library, and in that of St. Victor.

Some people who were digging near the Tower de Nesle, in 1538, discovered 11 vaults, and in one of these vaults the body of a man, armed cap à pié. Were these sepulchres made in the time of the Pagans? It is very certain, there never was a Church or a Church-yard upon this spot\*.

### *Gibet.*

A corrupt word from *Gebel*, which signifies in Arabic a mountain. In former times, criminals

\* *Guill. Marcell.* Tome I. p. 71 & 78.

minals were executed in France upon high grounds, that the punishment inflicted might be seen at a great distance. *Tacitus* \* says that the Germans used to hang traitors and deserters upon trees, and that they stifled cowards, lazy people, and *nice fellows*, under a hurdle in a bog. The spirit of the law, in the difference of these punishments, was to publish the desert of the crime, and to bury its infamy in eternal oblivion.

*Stephen Pasquier* † observes that the gibbets of Montfaucon *have been fatal to all that were any wise concerned in them*; that they were hand-felled by *Enguerrand de Marigni*, who erected them; that *Peter Remi*, Superintendent of the Finances, under *Charles* the Fair, having repaired them, was also hanged upon one of them; and in our time, adds he, *John Mounier*, Lieutenant Civil of Paris, having lent a hand to renew them, if he did not end his days there like the two others, made the Amende honorable however in the same place. *Pasquier's* remark is good, as it shews there was a time, when justice was inflicted in France, upon great rogues, as well as little ones.

The

\* De Moribus Germ. C. XII.

† L. VII. C. XL.

*The Guet.*

It appears that under the first Race of our Kings, the Guet was not in great reputation. By an Ordonnance of *Clotarius II.* anno 595, it is enacted “ That when a robbery  
 “ is committed by night, those who are upon  
 “ guard in that quarter, are responsible if they  
 “ do not stop the thief; that in case the  
 “ rogue, escaping from these first, is seen in  
 “ another quarter, and the guards of this se-  
 “ cond quarter, being immediately acquainted  
 “ with it, neglect to stop him, then the loss  
 “ occasioned by the robbery, shall fall upon  
 “ them, and they shall moreover be con-  
 “ demned to pay a fine of five sols; and so  
 “ on from quarter to quarter \*.”

*La Harpe-street.*

Under a very sorry house that has the sign of *la Croix de Fer*, (or iron Cross) there is a very large hall vaulted, near 40 feet high. This is a remain of the ancient Palace *des Termes*, and a precious monument of the Roman manner of building. The cement which they made use of, we have never yet been ac-  
 G 2 quainted

\* *Traité de la Police*, Tome I. p. 256.

quainted with. This, methinks, does no honour to our Architects. The Edifices and Courts of this Palace occupied all the extent between this street de la Harpe, and that of St. Jaques, from the street du Foin to the Place de Sorbonne. The park and gardens of this Palace reached on one side as far as Mount Leucotitius \*, and on the other to the Temple of Isis \*\*. Some learned men believe that the Emperor *Julian* erected it about the year 358. Others pretend it is more ancient.

This was the usual place of residence of our Kings of the first Race. *Childebert*, says *Fortunat*, went from his Palace, through his gardens, as far as the environs of the Church of *St. Vincent*. The Princesses *Gisla* and *Rotrude*, daughters of *Charlemain*, were exiled to this place after his death. This great Prince had winked a little too much at their conduct, very likely through that same tenderness, which (according to *P. Daniel* †) prevented his giving them away in marriage, not being able to resolve upon a separation from them. *Lewis le Debonnaire*, as soon as he mounted the throne, undertook to reform their manner of living, and

\* The Mountain of *Ste. Genevieve*.

\*\* *St. Vincent's*, since *St. Germain des Prez*.

† *History of France*. Vol. I, p. 558.

and began by putting two Lords to death, who passed for their Lovers. He doubtless believed, that this example would intimidate other Gallants from offering themselves. It appears he was mistaken, and that they were never in any want of such. These Princesses, besides a great share of wit, had no small taste for Letters; they were also affable, generous, beneficent, and in a word good, as women of gallantry usually are, without guile, and without any motives of intrigue, interest, or ambition. They died generally lamented; and whilst *le Debonnaire*, who was fond of no other company but that of Priests, who had banished all recreations from his Court, and even regulated it monastically; who had no taste for any thing but Psalm-singing and Church-ceremonies, *after having rendered himself contemptible*, says the same P. Daniel \*, *to the Bishops and Abbés, by having been too familiar with them, and paid them too much deference*, died disgraced and degraded in the opinion of his subjects, with the reputation of *a very virtuous, but at the same time a very indifferent Monarch* †.

G 3

St.

\* History of France. Vol. I. p. 645.

† Ibidem.

## St. Honoré - street.

In the reign of *Philip the Fair*, the Churches of St. Honoré, St. Thomas du Louvre, and des Quinze-Vingts, were still surrounded with fields and vineyards; and in an old Register of that time it may be seen, that in the year 1310 there was a good harvest of corn, wine, and oats. These Churches were not inclosed in Paris till the building of the wall began under *Charles V.* in 1367, finished in the reign of *Charles VI.* in 1383, and which existed so late as 1633.

In reading the History of civil wars in the reigns of *Henry III.* and *Henry IV.* it should be observed that the Palace of the Thuilleries was on the outside of the walls. “*Henry III.* \*  
 “ says *l’Etoile*, seeing the rage of the people  
 “ continue, and being informed besides, that  
 “ the Preachers who distracted them, and who  
 “ maintained no other doctrine than *that they*  
 “ *should go and take brother Henry of Valois*  
 “ *in his Louvre*, had got 7 or 800 Scholars,  
 “ and 3 or 400 Monks to take up arms;  
 “ and those about the Prince having at five  
 “ in the afternoon received advice by one of  
 “ his

\* In 1588.



“ his trusty servants, who had slipt into the  
 “ Louvre in disguise, that he must get out as  
 “ fast as he could, or he was undone, he went  
 “ out of the Louvre on foot, with a stick in his  
 “ hand, according to custom, and as if going to  
 “ walk in the Thuilleries. He was not yet out  
 “ of the door before a Citizen told him, to  
 “ make the best of his way, for that the Duke \*  
 “ *de Guise*, with 1200 men, was coming to  
 “ take him. Being arrived at the Thuilleries  
 “ where was his stable, he got on horseback  
 “ with such of his attendants as could be mount-  
 “ ed there. *Dubalde* booted him, and putting  
 “ on his spur the wrong way, *It is all one*, said  
 “ the Prince, *I am not going to see my mistress*.  
 “ Being on horseback, he turned towards the  
 “ City, and swore he would not re-enter it but  
 “ by a breach.”

§ “ Between five and six in the evening, says  
 “ *Coyet, Henry III.* went out of Paris by the Porte

G 4

“ Neuve.

\* The Duke *de Guise* went at night to the first President,  
*Achille de Harlai*, who perceiving him coming, cried to him :  
 “ It is a shame, Sir, it is a shame, that the man should turn  
 “ his master out of his house ; moreover, my soul is God’s,  
 “ my heart is the King’s, and as to my body, I give it,  
 “ if it must be so, to the wicked people who lay waste the  
 “ Kingdom.”

“ Neuve. His attendants followed him, most of  
 “ whom were in great consternation ; for a cer-  
 “ tain Counsellor of State, who had gone in  
 “ his robes to find him at the Louvre, mounted  
 “ the first horse he met with in the stable, and  
 “ instantly set off, unbooted as he was, in order  
 “ to come up with him ; and when this Prince  
 “ went out by the Porte Neuve, 40 Arquebu-  
 “ siers, who were posted at the gate of Nesle,  
 “ fired suddenly upon him and his followers.”

From the authority of these two cotemporary  
 Historians, it appears, that the Porte Neuve was  
 situated on the bank of the river, a little on this  
 side the last wicket\*, leading from the New-  
 Bridge to the Thuilleries. The walls of the  
 City, crossing the ground from the Porte Neuve  
 to where the street of St. Nicaise † is now built,  
 afterwards joined to the gate of St. Honoré,  
 situated where the Shambles des Quinze-Vingts  
 are now erected. This gate of St. Honoré was  
 not taken down, and moved back to the place  
 where we have seen it, at the entrance of the  
 Boulevard, till the year 1633.

“ The Gallery of the Thuilleries, says *Sau-*  
 “ *val*, § is a work, that *Henry IV.* wanted to  
 “ carry

\* At that time there was neither a Gallery at the Thuilleries, nor wickets.

† Built about the year 1636.

“ carry all along the river as far as the Palace  
 “ of the Thuilleries, which then composed part  
 “ of the Fauxbourg St. Honoré, that so he  
 “ might be either without the City, or within  
 “ it, as he chose, and not see himself im-  
 “ mured, where the honour and life of  
 “ *Henry III.* had almost always depended upon  
 “ the caprice and phrenzy of an irritated mob.”

In 1616, *M. de Berulle* purchased the Hotel du Bouchage, as an establishment for the Priests of the Congregation of the Oratory. The Cul-de-fac of the Oratory was called the street du Louvre. It was at the end of this street du Louvre, in the street St. Honoré, facing the Hotel du Bouchage, that *Paul Stuard de Caussade*, Count de St. Megrin, going out of the Louvre about 11 at night, on Monday the 21st. of July 1578, was attacked by 20 or 30 men, and received 33 wounds of which he died the next day. The King caused him to be buried at St. Paul, with the same pomp and ceremony as *Quelus* and *Maugiron*\*. “ There was no enquiry  
 “ made after the perpetrators of this murder,  
 “ (*says l'Etoile*) his Majesty being informed

G 5

“ that

§ Tome II. pag 40. This Gallery was not finished till the Reign of *Lewis XIII.*

\* Anno 1578.

“ that the Duke of Guise had instigated it ; a  
 “ report being spread abroad that this favourite  
 “ was the darling of his wife \*, and that the  
 “ man who committed the murder, had a beard  
 “ and countenance like the Duke de Mayenne.”

What times ! what manners ! If we call them to mind, and consider the shocking picture which this half century presents to us, we shall agree, I believe, that in general the lives of the Citizens would be less exposed under the reign of a *Nero*, than under that of a King, whose feeble authority produces nothing but petty Tyrants.

### *The Hotel de Ville.*

During the confinement of King *John*, the Provost of the Merchants and Sheriffs made a present to the Church of Notre Dame, of a wax candle (probably rolled up) of the same length as the circumference of the walls of Paris. This gift which was received annually, was suspended during the time of the League for 25 or 30 years. In 1605, *Miron*, Provost of the Merchants, gave instead of it a silver lamp, with a wax taper, that burns night and day, before the Altar of the Virgin. This devotion is as respectable,

\* *Catherine of Cleves*, widow to the Prince de *Porcien*, whose second husband was *Henry de Guise*, killed at Blois in 1588.

able, as it is singular. What indeed can be more so, than to go every year in Procession round 2 or 300 faggots, which are set on fire, during the most intense heats of the summer? After many researches concerning this ridiculous ceremony, I find that the Greeks and Romans had rejoicings at the proclamation of a peace, or the news of victories gained over an enemy; and that these rejoicings were always accompanied with sacrifices, when great fires were lighted up to burn the victims. We have had the wit to preserve the fires, without having any victims to burn. Ever since gunpowder was invented, it has been thought the birth of Princes has been most majestically announced by a hundred brazen mouths. Query, would not concerts of flutes, violins, bag-pipes, and hautbois, have a much better omen?

### St. Jaques-Street.

The subterraneous Chapel of the Church of the Carmelites (formerly Notre Dame des Champs) appears to be of very great antiquity. It composed part of a Temple dedicated to *Mercury*; and if some Authors are to be credited, the figure which is seen on the top of one end of this Church, is a statue of that God. *Moreau de*

*Mautour*, after having several times examined this figure with spying glasses, says in his account of it to the Academy of Inscriptions, “ That it  
 “ was of stone; that it had the face of a young man  
 “ without a beard, and that the hair of the head  
 “ was short; that it was cloathed with a drapery  
 “ from the neck down to the feet; that on the back  
 “ of the head which was naked and leaning to-  
 “ wards the left shoulder, there were five spikes  
 “ issuing from a large bar of iron, which went a-  
 “ cross this statue, and served to support it; that it  
 “ held a balance in the left hand; that little  
 “ children’s heads were perceivable in each scale  
 “ of this balance, and that the scale on the right  
 “ side sunk lower than the other; that on the  
 “ top of the wall M. DC. V. appeared in Ro-  
 “ man characters, intimating the epocha of the  
 “ building of the wall, as well as of the erection  
 “ of that statue: and that in fine, these things  
 “ all taken together led him to think that it re-  
 “ presented St. *Michael* \*, who weighs the souls  
 “ in a scale.”

If

\* *Piganiol*, the moment he leaves off transcribing *Sauval*, is no longer happy in his reasonings and quotations. Certain iron spikes, says he, (*Descript. de Paris*, Tom. V. p. 343.) which were placed on the top of this statue to prevent the birds from perching upon it, and to defend it from the ordure that they might leave there, have induced *Moreau de Mautour* to believe that they were ears of corn, and therefore a symbol of *Ceres*. We find that *Moreau de Mautour* says quite the contrary.

If this had been the figure of that Archangel, it would have had wings, with the Devil under foot, and the drapery would not have extended below the knees. I am apt to imagine, that it is in fact a *Mercurius Theutates*, which has been found in some part of this inclosure; and that being taken for the statue of a Saint, it was placed on the top of the gable-end of this church, when it was rebuilt in 1605.

DIIS INFERIS  
 VENERI  
 MARTI ET  
 MERCURIO  
 SACRUM.

This Inscription, found in the forest of Belesme, evinces that the Gauls placed *Mercury* amongst the infernal Deities; and as they believed the Metempsychosis †, it is natural to imagine, that they sometimes represented this God as examining, weighing, and appraising souls, in order to judge whether he should give them a good or bad situation, when he sent them back to the earth.

“ Amongst the Gauls, says *Cæsar*, \* were  
 “ many images of *Mercury*; they had more ve-  
 “ nera-

† *Cæsar de bello Gallico*, Lib. VI.

\* *Ibid.* No. 15 and 16.

“neration for him than for any other of all the  
 “Gods; they looked upon him as the Inventor  
 “of Arts, the Protector of Travellers, and the  
 “Patron of Merchants.—They all say that  
 “they are descended from *Pluto*, which they  
 “knew by the tradition, that the Druids have  
 “preserved. It is in commemoration of this  
 “origin, that they do not compute time by days,  
 “but by nights. In dating the beginning of  
 “months and years, and in celebrating the an-  
 “niversary of their birth, they always reckon  
 “from the preceeding night.” †

No one is ignorant, that the same Deity amongst the Pagans had various employments. They adored *Apollo*, as God of the Sun, and at the same time as the God of Physic and Poetry. Thus, tho' *Cæsar* seems to distinguish *Mercury* from *Pluto*, in the passage which I have just quoted, it is not the less true that they were the same amongst the Gauls; and this is what determines me in my opinion. *Titus Livius* † speaks of a spot (to all appearance consecrated) which was called the Mount of *Mercurius-Theutates*. Here then *Mercury* and *Theutates* make but one; or rather *Theutates*, which signified in the Celtic language, *The father of the people,*

† So late as the 12th. century, they reckoned by nights in France.

‡ L. XX. C. XLIV.



people, § was only an epithet which the Gauls and Celtiberians gave to *Mercury*, because they looked upon him as the chief of their race. This was the *Pluto*, the *Dis pater* whom *Cæsar* mentions, and from whom they pretended to be descended. *Galli se omnes à Dite patre prognatos prædicant.*

The use of statues \* to represent Divinities, whom they adored, was not introduced amongst them till very late, and by a more frequent intercourse with the Greeks and Romans. In antient times, when they had deified a Hero, they gave his name to a wood, a lake, a rock, a precipice, or a river. These wild and rural places were the only objects of their devotion; these were the Temples, the Altars of their Gods, and their Gods themselves. It was particularly in the middle of forests, at the foot of the oldest oak-

§ *Theut* signified people, and *Tad*, father, from whence is derived the word *Tata*, which children make use of.

\* The Germans, says *Tacitus*, think it would be degrading the Majesty of the Gods to shut them up in Temples, and to represent them under human figures. They give the names of their Divinities to woods, which they consecrate to them, and adore these solitary places as being filled with their presence. *Cæterum nec cohibere parietibus Deos, neque in ullam humani oris speciem assimilare, ex magnitudine cælestium arbitrantur. Lucos ac nemora consecrant, Deorumque nominibus appellant secretum illud, quod solâ reverentiâ vident.* De Morib. Germ. Cap. IX.

oak-trees, and such as were the most covered with moss, that they performed their principal religious ceremonies, and those shocking sacrifices of human victims that are described by *Lucan*.

*Barbara ritu*

*Sacra Deum : structæ sacris feralibus aræ,  
Omnis & humanis lustrata cruoribus Arbor.*

Lib. iii.

They attributed to the Rhine a discernment, somewhat extraordinary, and which luckily we have not yet ascribed to the Seine. When they suspected their wives of infidelity, they exposed the children upon the river, which swallowed up those who were not legitimate, and bore the others gently to the shore\*.

Temples were not begun to be built in Gaul, till it was subdued by the Romans. It seems these Temples were not in Cities, but in the neighbourhood of them; it is certain there were none within the walls of *Lutetia*. The Abbey of St. Germain des Prez was built upon the ruins of the Temple of *Isis*. That of Cybele was pretty near the beginning of the street called Coquilliere, towards the Church of St. Eustatius. Monmartre took its name from the Temple of *Mars*; and the Temple of *Mercurius-Theutates*, or *Pluto*, was at  
that

\* Vide *Juliani Imper. Epist. XVI.*

that time, where the Convent of the Carmelites now stands, that is to say, upon that side of Mount *Leucotitius*, which is now called the Fauxbourg St. Jaques.

On the other hand, I am not ignorant, that in most burying-grounds there was a Chapel dedicated to St. *Michael*, who was invoked as the patron of the dead, and defender of their tombs; that at the gate of Notre-Dame, he is represented weighing of souls, whilst the Devil in order to pilfer some of them squats down and hides himself under his scales; and that it should therefore be presumed, some may say, that it is one of his statues which is seen upon the top of the Carmelites Church. To this objection I answer, that after Christianity had dissipated the darkness of idolatry, the same functions were attributed to several Saints, as the Pagans had attributed before to their false Divinities; that somebody having by accident, as I said above, dug up in a field a *Mercurius-Theutates*, imagined it to be a representation of St. *Michael*, and that Sculptors proceeding upon this statue, and on this opinion, used to represent that Archangel in this manner. I will add, that the Pagans never buried their dead in Cities; that the places where they made their interments, were usually consecrated to *Mercury*; that they gave this God the epithet  
of

of *Redux*, as having the power of re-conducting souls to the earth; and in fine, that by all the monuments which have been discovered in the inclosure of the Carmelites and the environs, it is not to be questioned but that this was the burial-ground of the Parisians in the times of Paganism.

*The Church des SS. Innocens.*

Under the article of this Church-yard, *Corrozet* quotes an Epitaph which was to be seen in his time, but is not now to be found, probably because being engraved upon a plate of copper, some wretch or other has stole it to sell.

*Here lies Jollande Bailly, who died in the year 1514, in the 88th of her age, and the 42d of her widowhood; who saw, or might have seen before her death, two hundred and ninety-five children, all descended from herself\*.*

*Isle of Notre Dame, or St. Louis.*

It was under the reign of *Charles V.* according to some Authors, that there lived a dog, whose memory deserved being handed down to posterity by a monument that is still extant over the chimney of the great hall of the Castle *de Montargis*.

\* *Antiquités de Paris*, printed in 1561.

gis. *D'Audiguier* says it was a grey-hound; a circumstance, which I cannot help calling in question, if it be true that the faculty of smelling in dogs is the *primum mobile* of their perception. Grey-hounds, it is well known, have no scent; and therefore if they fawn upon their master, or if they wait upon him when he goes to bed, and when he gets out of it, it is nothing more than the power of habit, (which is the case of Courtiers) and not the effect of any attachment or affection. In short, I hold dogs absolutely incapable of those marks of fondness and love, of which I am now going to give the relation.

*Aubri de Montdidier*, travelling alone in the forest of Bondi, was murdered, and buried at the foot of a tree. His dog remained upon the grave several days, and would not leave the place, till he was compelled to do so by hunger. He came at last to Paris, to the house of an intimate friend of the unhappy *Aubri*, and by his doleful howlings, seemed to acquaint him of the loss they had sustained. After receiving some victuals, he renewed his noise, went to the door, and turned about to see if he was followed by any one, came back to his master's friend, and pulled him by the coat, as it were to persuade him to go along with him. This

extraordinary behaviour of the dog, his returning without his master whom he never quitted, and who all at once disappeared, and perhaps too that distribution of justice and of events, which seldom permits any long concealment of atrocious crimes; all these put together, occasioned the dog's being followed. As soon as he came to the foot of the tree, he began to howl more violently than ever; and to scratch up the ground, as if marking out the spot where they should dig: they dug, and found the body of the unhappy *Aubri*.

Some time after, he accidentally spied the murderer, whom all Historians agree in calling the Chevalier *Macaire*. He flew at his throat immediately, and it was with much difficulty he was forced to quit his hold. Every time the dog met him, he pursued and attacked him with the same fury. The dog's inveteracy against this man alone began to be taken notice of; and people not only called to mind the affection which he had always shewn for his master, but several instances of the Chevalier *Macaire's* hatred and envy against *Aubri de Montdidier* came also to be recollected. Some other circumstances increased the suspicion. The King being informed of what had passed, had the dog sent for, who remained perfectly quiet,

quiet, till such time as the Chevalier *Macaire* appeared, when immediately, in the midst of a score of other Courtiers, he turned about, barked, and attempted to rush upon him. In those times, when there were no convincing proofs of guilt, it was usual to appoint a combat between the Accuser and Accused. These kinds of combats were called *God's Judgment*, because people were persuaded, that heaven would sooner work a miracle than let innocence be overcome. The King being struck with so many corroborating circumstances against *Macaire*, judged it to be a *gage of battle-case*; that is to say, he appointed a duel between the Chevalier and the dog. The Circus was marked out in the Isle of Notre Dame, which was then a large plain, uncultivated, and uninhabited. *Macaire* was armed with a large club; the dog had a cask, whither he might retreat upon occasion, and from whence he might renew his attacks. On being loosened, he instantly runs up to his adversary, turns round him, evades his blows, threatens him first on one side, then on the other, tires him out, and at length darts at him, seizes him by the throat, brings him to the ground, and forces him to acknowledge his crime in the presence of the King and the whole Court.

It

It is not astonishing that this dog should remain several days upon his master's grave, nor that he should manifest so much rage at the sight of his assassin; but the greater part of readers will not believe, that a duel was appointed between a man and a dog. For my part, it appears to me, that whoever has lived any time in the world, and is a little acquainted with History, should be as fully convinced of the oddities of the human mind, as of the fidelity of dogs.

About the year 968, it was debated, whether inheritance should take place in direct line. The Civilians being divided in opinion, the Emperour *Otho I.* appointed *two Bravos* to fight together in his presence, to determine this point of right\*. The Champion for inheritance getting the better, it was ordered to take place, and that for the future, grand-children should be joint heirs to the Estates of their progenitors with their uncles and aunts, in the same manner as their fathers and mothers would have inherited.

The Bishop of Paris and the *Abbé de St. Denis* disputed about the Patronage of a Monastery\*\*. *Pepin the Short*, not being able to decide the claims,

\* *Tiraq. de jure primig. Qu. XL.*

\*\* *Hist. de Paris.*



claims, which appeared to him very much perplexed, referred them to the *Judgment of God by the Cross*. Hereupon the Bishop and Abbé appointed each of them a man, who being conducted into the Palace-Chapel, stretched out his arms in the form of a Cross; whilst the people with devout attention betted by turns for the one and the other. The Bishop's man grew first tired, dropped his arms, and lost him the cause\*.

The Ordeal, or *Judgment of God by cold water*, consisted in casting the accused person into a large deep tub of water, with his right hand tied to his left foot, and his left hand to his right foot. If he sunk, he was judged innocent; if he swam, it was a proof that the water, which was previously consecrated, would not receive him, as being too pure to admit a criminal.

The person condemned to the Ordeal, or *Judgment of God by fire*, was compelled to carry a red-hot iron bar of about 3 pound weight nine and sometimes a dozen paces. This trial was also made by thrusting the hand into an iron gauntlet red-hot from the furnace, or by plunging it

\* Amongst other means employed by the *Siamese*, to discover on which side justice is in civil and criminal matters, they particularly use certain purgative pills, which they cause the two parties to swallow; and he who keeps them longest upon his stomach without voiding, wins his suit. *Hist. des Voyages.*

it into a vessel full of boiling water, to take out a consecrated ring, which was suspended in it at a greater or less depth. The Patient's hand was afterwards wrapped up with a linnen cloth, upon which the Judge and the Accuser affixed their seals. At the end of three days, the cloth was taken off, and if no mark of the burning appeared, he was absolved and acquitted.

The irons and other instruments which were used upon these trials, were consecrated and kept in Churches *privileged for that purpose*. The profits which therefrom arose were additional reasons for supporting this credulity of the lieges. It should seem that the precept, *Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God*, was entirely forgotten in those times.

I am sorry that the Author of the *Spirit of Laws* \* should be persuaded that our Ancestors had hands like a crocodile's paws. *Who does not perceive*, (says he, speaking of these trials) *that amongst a people trained to arms, a hard and callous skin could not receive such an impression from hot iron or boiling water, as to be visible three days after? And if it did appear, it proved that he who underwent the trial was an effeminate fellow.* Effeminate persons, one might tell him, may be very worthy people. *Our peasants*, adds he,

\* Vol. II. pag. 311.

he, with their callous hands, handle hot iron just as they please. Where has he seen this, one may ask him again, and in what Provinces do our Peasants plunge their hands in boiling water, without any mark remaining?

The trial by fire was in use amongst the Pagans \*. In the *Antigone* of *Sophocles*, the guards offer to prove their innocence by handling hot iron, and walking through flames. *Strabo* † mentions some Priestesses of *Diana*, who walked upon burning coals, without receiving any hurt. *St. Epiphanius* relates, that the Egyptian Priests rubbed their faces with certain drugs, and afterwards plunged them in boiling caldrons, without seeming to feel the least pain. *Madame de Sevigné*, in one of her letters ‡, says, that she has just seen a man in her own chamber, who let fall ten or a dozen drops of burning sealing-wax upon his tongue, which after the operation appeared as well as ever. We have seen in the Provinces a Quack, named *Gaspard Toulon*, who rubbed his hands with melted lead.

To return to the history of *Aubri de Montdidier's* dog. It appears to me, that the decision of a point of law, by the fighting of two Champions; the loss of a suit by one man's growing tired

\* *P. Brumoy*. Vol. III. p. 403.

† *Strab.* L. XII.

‡ Vol. V.

tired and letting his arms drop sooner than another; the acquittal of persons accused, because being tight bound, they sink in water, and others being adjudged guilty for not being able to grasp a bar of red-hot iron, without being burnt; it appears to me, I say, that such facts might abate the reader's incredulity with regard to the duel in question, and the more so, as the fact is confirmed by a monument. I have already observed that this combat is painted upon one of the chimneys of the great hall of the Castle de Montargis. Besides, very judicious\* Critics, and particularly *Julius Scaliger* and Father *Montfaucon*, relate this history, and these writers are not apt to recount fables. With respect to the Authors who fix it in 1371, in the reign of *Charles V.* I believe they are mistaken. *Oliver de la Marche*, who wrote about the year 1460, relates it in his Treatise upon Duels, and says, that he extracted it from the *ancient Chronicles*; an expression which is never used when an event is mentioned to have happened not above a hundred years before. I presume, that this dog was co-temporary with *Philip Augustus*, or *Lewis VIII.*

### *La Juiverie street.*

This street is so called in abhorrence of a people continually exposed to oppressions, and the

\* Exerc. CCII. No. VI.

the sport of the avarice of Princes, who banished them to seize upon their effects, and afterwards permitted them to return upon paying exorbitant Sums; for such was the fate of the Jews in France, under the first, second and third Race, till the year 1394, when they were absolutely and compleatly banished by *Charles VI.* Whatever proposals they have since made, even during the most pressing exigencies of the State, they have never been able to obtain a new toleration. The most opulent of them resided in the streets de la Pelleterie, de la Juiverie, de Judas, and de la Teixeranderie; the artisans, little brokers, and salesmen occupied the Halkes, and all those streets which terminate there. Their schools were in the streets St. Bon and de la Tacherie. Their synagogue was at different times in the street du Pet-au-Diable, or in that de la Juiverie. *Philip Augustus*, after expelling them in 1183\*, permitted the Bishop of Paris to convert their Synagogue in the street de la Juiverie, into a Church, when it became, and has since remained, the parochial Church de la Magdeleine. Two spots of ground which were then useless, but where the streets Galande and Pierre-Sarrazin have been since built, served them for burying-grounds. They were not allowed to appear in

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public,

\* Chart. Ep. Paris. Biblioth. Reg. F. 22.

public, without a yellow badge upon their breasts. *Philip* the Bold obliged them to wear even a horn upon their heads. They were prohibited bathing in the Seine; and when they were hanged, it was always between two dogs. In the reign of *Philip* the Fair, their Community was called *Societas Caponum* \*, and the house where they met *Domus Societatis Caponum*, from whence doubtless arose the word *Capon*, [a Sharper.]

### *La Jussienne-street.*

This street was formerly called the street de l'Egipienne, on account of a Chapel dedicated to St. Mary the Egyptian, which is at the entrance of it, towards the street of Montmartre. People by a corruption and abbreviation of the word, have become accustomed to call it *la rue de la Jussienne*.

We laugh at certain ceremonies in the religious devotion of Savages. It is difficult for us to conceive, that the simplicity or extravagance of the human mind could carry men to such lengths. But are these rites of Savages more ridiculous than those which the superstition of our Ancestors gave birth to? In 1660, the Curate of St. Germain de l'Auxerrois caused some glazing that had been

in

\* Regist. du Parlement, 1312.

in the Chapel of St. Mary the Egyptian for above 3 Centuries, to be taken down. On this glass the Saint was painted standing on the deck of a boat, with her cloaths tucked up to the knees before the waterman, with these words underneath, *How the Saint offered her body to the waterman for her passage.*

### *The Port of St. Landri.*

The body of *Isabeau de Bavière*, wife to *Charles VI.* who died on the 30th of September, 1435, was carried to the Church of St. Denis, in a very particular manner. It was embarked at this Key in a small boat, and the waterman was ordered to remit it to the Prior of the Abbey.

### *Les Lions-street, near St. Paul.*

This street took its name from the building and courts wherein were kept the King's great and small lions. \* One day, whilst *Francis I.* amused himself with looking at a combat between his lions, a Lady having let her glove drop, said to *de Lorges*, "If you would have me believe, that you love me as much as you swear you do, go and recover my glove." *De Lorges*

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went

\* *Brantome Dames Galantes.*

went down, took up the glove in the midst of these furious animals, returned, and threw it in the Lady's face, and notwithstanding all the advances she made, and all the arts she used, would never see her afterwards.

### *Les Marmouzets street.*

“ Such of us, says the *Commiffary de la*  
 “ *Marre* \*, as have seen the beginning of his  
 “ Majesty's reign, still remember that the streets  
 “ of Paris were so full of dirt and mire, that  
 “ necessity had introduced the custom of always  
 “ going out booted; and as to the infection this  
 “ communicated to the air, the *Sieur Courtois*,  
 “ a Physician, who lived in the street des Mar-  
 “ mouzets, made a small experiment, whereby  
 “ a judgment might be formed of the rest. He  
 “ had in his hall, towards the street, some large  
 “ andirons with brass knobs, and he several  
 “ times informed the Magistrates and his friends,  
 “ that every morning they were covered with a  
 “ pretty thick tincture of verdigrise, which he  
 “ caused to be cleaned, by way of experiment  
 “ the next day; and that from the year 1663,  
 “ when the Police for cleansing the streets was  
 “ re-established, these spots totally disappeared.

“ He

\* *Traité de la Police*, Vol. I. p. 560.



“ He drew this consequence from thence, that  
 “ the corrupted air which we breathe, occasioned  
 “ impressions upon the lungs and other entrails,  
 “ so much the more malignant, as those parts  
 “ are incomparably more delicate than brass,  
 “ and that this was the immediate cause of several disorders.”

*Le Maltbois street, near the Arcade  
 de la Greve.*

As the young King *Philip*, whom his father *Lewis the Fat* had united with him in the Monarchy, and caused to be crowned at Rheims, was passing near St. Gervais, a hog got between his horse's legs, and threw him down, by which the young Prince had so unlucky a fall, that he died of his wounds the next day, October 3, 1131. It was prohibited at that time to let swine go about in the streets. Afterwards those of the Abbey St. Antoine were allowed that privilege, the Nuns having represented that it would be failing in point of duty to their Patron, not to except his pigs from the general rule.

*St. Martin-street.*

A spot of ground, that was covered with sand, and that was surrounded with a double rail, with scaffolds for the King and the Judges of the field, for the Ladies, the Courtiers and the People, was called *Champclos*. This kind of theatre, which was destined to be sprinkled with the blood of the Nobility, was usually erected at the expence of the Accuser; and sometimes the Accused had pride enough to insist upon sharing the costs.

\* *It is very likely, says Sauval, that the Lists or Champclos of St. Martin des Champs, and of the Abbey of St. Germain des Prez, were always ready; and that these remained without being renewed, till such time as they were no longer fit for being used.* The Religious of this Priory and Abbey had, doubtless, the goodness to hire them out; and there was an obligation due to these holy men for providing a place where people might cut one another's throats, at an easier expence than if a new *Champclos* had been prepared on purpose.

I shall quote a passage from *Brantome*, which will lead me to some reflexions upon judicial combats and duels. I believe they will appear so natural, that it will seem surprizing they should have

have escaped so many Authors, who have treated upon this subject.

“ At the combat between my late un-  
 “ cle *Chataigneraye* and *Jarnac*, says *Bran-*  
 “ *tome\**, amongst the grand and superb assembly  
 “ which was there met, a great number of Em-  
 “ bassadors was present, and amongst others  
 “ that of the great Sultan *Soliman*, who was  
 “ much astonished at seeing a French Gentleman  
 “ fight against a French Gentleman, and more  
 “ so, at a combat between one favourite of the  
 “ King and another; the King himself setting  
 “ them by the ears, and exposing them in such  
 “ a manner to carnage and bloodshed. The  
 “ Mahometans do not practise this; amongst  
 “ them the sole point of honour consists in ser-  
 “ ving their King well, and in espousing and  
 “ supporting his quarrels in war. The antient  
 “ Greeks said these combats were only fit for  
 “ Barbarians. The antient Romans were of  
 “ the same opinion as the Greeks and Turks;  
 “ they in no shape approved of these duels and  
 “ combats, nor did they ever dip in those points  
 “ of honour, which are peculiar to us Chris-  
 “ tians.”

The Greeks and Romans, like the Mahome-  
 tans of the present time, were dressed in long

\* *Memoires sur les Duels*, p. 194.

vestments, had no arms in their Cities, and never carried any but when going to war, it was scarcely possible in those ages, that a quarrel between two Citizens should have a bloody issue.

\*The people of Germany had no Cities; they lived in forests; their dress, not to be incommodious in hunting, was short, and rather confined their shape; the dread of wild beasts obliged them to be always armed; and the first emotion of a man that is so, when an insult is offered him, is to lay his hand upon his arms: hence, I believe, we may derive the origin of duels, with which other Nations reproach the people of the North, and their descendants. Let us now see, how these combats were judicially authorized, and why the event was looked upon as a *Decision of God*.

When the Franks had, with *Clovis* for their conductor, completed their establishment in Gaul, they felt the necessity of having written laws, to regulate the administration of Justice, and constitute a positive form of Government. It is only requisite to read *Tacitus*, † to see that those laws which were called *Salic*, were formed upon the usages and customs of the Germans; they were only altered and modified according to the present state of a nation, which was no longer wander-

• Vide *Tacit. de Moribus German.*

† *Ibid.*

wandering, and wherein each Particular began to enjoy the property of the partition fallen to his lot of the conquered lands. The unfortunate custom of doing one's self justice by force, transmitted, as one may say, with their blood, from age to age, amongst all the people that came from Germany \*, appeared to them as antient and noble as their origin. There were no possible hopes of persuading Conquerors to renounce a custom, which they looked upon not only as a mark of their independence, but as the right of every freeman. If *Numa* had no trouble in abolishing it amongst the Romans, it should be considered that this so much boasted Legislator, who commanded at most not above two leagues in circumference, in an asylum of slaves, fugitives, and thieves, was not required to be more than a tolerable Justice of Peace. It was easy to enforce rules upon a set of villains, whom the hopes of impunity had rendered fellow-countrymen, who mutually despised and feared one another, and each judging of the rest by himself, was obliged for his own security, to be cautious of not infringing upon the laws. Our Ancestors were a very different sort of men. Natural equity, candour, and good faith, formed the basis of their character. As they were not ap-

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prehen-

\* Ibid. C. xxi.

prehenfive of any bafe defigns, they would have been afhamed to arm themfelves againft force and courage; not being degraded by crimes, they felt, a little too haughtily indeed, that they were men. The *Sages* whom they appointed to digeft their laws, were therefore obliged to conform to the prejudices of that brutal honour which predominated; they endeavoured only to diminifh its fatal effects, by fubjecting it to formalities. It was faid, that he who thought himfelf injured by another in his honour or fortune, fhould fummmon him before a Judge, and after having reprefented his grievances, he might declare with a loud voice, that he thenceforward looked upon the *man prefent as his enemy, and that he would purfue him and attack him where-ever he could.*

If the proofs againft the accused perfon were fufficient to convict him, the Judge terminated the affair by fining him. It fhould be obferved, that amongft the Franks, as well as the \* Germans, even homicide was expiated by a Sum of Money; and that under the firft and fecond Race of Kings, and during almoft 300 years of the third, a Nobleman could not be punifhed with death but in cafes of high-treason, or treason againft the State.

\* Tacit. *ibid.* C. XXI.

In default of sufficient evidence for conviction, an oath was administered. *If two neighbours, according to the Capitularies of Dagobert, dispute about the boundaries of their possessions, a sod of earth must be cut from the spot in question, and be exhibited by the Judges in Court. The two Parties touching it with the points of their swords, must call God to witness to the justice of their claims, and then proceed to fight. Victory is to determine on which side justice lies.*

In cases of a capital nature, the formality of the oath was increased, in order to render it more dreadful to the Parties, by making them swear by the Relicks of those Saints, for whom it was known they had the greatest veneration. Setting aside the remorse of a wretch, who has just perjured himself, and the resolution which innocence never fails to inspire, it was natural to consider the event of a combat authorised by law, and consecrated by religious ceremonies, as a formal judgment, whereby the Supreme Being manifested the truth or falsehood of the accusation. The Vanquished was immediately drawn upon a hurdle, in his shirt, to the gibbet, where he was hung up, whether dead or alive. *Legris*, whom the wife of *Carrouge* accused of having ravished her, after his being thrown on the ground and under his

his enemy, maintained still that he was innocent. “ He was convicted notwithstanding by  
 “ the issue of the combat, says *Laboureur* \* ;  
 “ his body was dragged to the gibbet, ac-  
 “ cording to the custom on like occasions, and  
 “ he paid with his honour and blood for the  
 “ crime of a wretch, who was afterwards  
 “ executed for other misdeeds, and who ac-  
 “ knowledged himself guilty of this rape. ”

It is astonishing to find a Nobleman suffering an ignominious punishment, because he was overcome in the trial by duel, when this same Nobleman, being declared attainted and convicted of the same crime upon certain and positive evidence, would only have been fined. After having duly considered a custom, which appears so fantastical, I believe, I have discovered its origin amongst the *usages of the Germans*. A German could not be punished with death, unless heaven itself seemed to pronounce his sentence. “ Amongst that people,  
 “ the execution of a criminal (says *Tacitus*)  
 “ is not so much considered as a punishment,  
 “ which the authority of the Chief has a right  
 “ to inflict, as an inspiration and an express  
 “ commandment from God, who they imagine  
 “ presides over battles, and succours the com-  
 “ batants.

\* Book VI. Chap. X.



“ batants. *Velut Deo imperante, quem adesse*  
 “ *bellantibus credunt* \*.”

Part of the confiscated Estate of the Vanquished devolved to the Lord High-Justiciary; so that the Bishops, Abbés, Priors and Chapters, who were in possession of Fiefs and Lordships, thought the decision of civil and criminal trials by duel might be very well permitted. Pope *Nicholas I.* † looked upon duelling as *a legal combat, and a conflict authorised by the laws.* *Peter le Chantre*, who wrote about the year 1180, says, ‡ “ That some Churches adjudge and order  
 “ duelling, and make the Champions fight in  
 “ the Court of the Bishop or Archdeacon, as  
 “ is practised at Paris; and that Pope *Eugene III.*  
 “ being consulted upon these fights, replied  
 “ that the ancient custom should be continued.”  
*Lewis VI.* declared that the *Bondsmen*, or *hommes de corps* of the Church of Paris might bear witness against whomsoever they would, and that whoever treated them as guilty of perjury, should be obliged to prove his accusation  
 in

\* De Moribus Germ. C. VII.

† In the year 858.

‡ Quædam Ecclesiæ habent monomachias, & judicant monomachiam debere fieri inter rusticos suos; & faciunt eos pugnare in curiâ Ecclesiæ, in atrio Episcopi vel Archidiaconi, sicut fit Parisiis. De quo consultus Papa *Eugenius* respondit, *Utimini consuetudine vestrâ.* Cod. MS. Abb. St. Vict. Paris.

in the way of duel, otherwise he should lose his cause, and be obliged under pain of excommunication, to make reparation for the insult given to the Church. Under the reign of *Lewis the Young*, the Monks of *St. G n vieve* offered to prove by duel that the inhabitants of a small Village near Paris were *Bondsmen* of their Abbey. In the same reign, the Monks of *St. Germain des Prez*, having required a duel to prove \* that *Stephen de Maci* was culpable in imprisoning one of their *Bondsmen*, the two Champions fought a good while with equal advantage; but at length by the assistance of God (says the Historian) the Abbey-Champion struck out his Antagonist's eye, and obliged him to own himself conquered. The Plebeians and *Bondsmen* fought with cudgels, and had a shield to parry the blows. In the Auditories of all the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, instead of the Crucifix which is now seen, there were the figures of two Champions armed cap   pi , in the heat of battle. *Ragueau* relates that there were two such figures in the Audience-Chamber of the Chapter of *St. Merri*. " I am  
 " much mistaken, says *Sauval*, † if I have not  
 " seen some myself in the two Chambers of  
 " Re-

\* *Histoire & Preuves*, anno 1154.

† Vol. II. p. 580.

“ Requests in the Palace, before they were  
 “ painted, gilt, and ornamented, as they are  
 “ at present; and I think, continues he, that  
 “ behind the Crucifix of one of these Cham-  
 “ bers, there remains great part, if not the  
 “ entire figure, of one of these Champions.”

By the regulations of *Philip the Fair* \* it is ordered,

That the Lists should be forty paces wide, and eighty in length.

That duelling should not be allowed, except there were grounds of suspicion against the accused person, and when the proofs were not sufficient.

That on the day fixed, the two Combatants should set out from their houses on horseback, their visor raised, and carrying before them a glave, hatchet, sword, and other proper arms of attack and defence; that they should move slowly on, making at every other step the sign of the cross, or at least having in their hand the image of the Saint, to whom they pay the most devotion, and in whom they have the greatest confidence.

That

\* Anno 1306.

That being arrived in the Lifts \*, the Appellant having his hand upon the Crucifix, is to swear upon the faith of baptism, upon his life, soul, and honour, that he believes he has a good and just quarrel, and that moreover he has neither about him, nor his horse, nor his arms, any herbs, charms, words, stones, exorcisms, compacts, or incantations, which he intends to make use of. The Respondent is to take the same oaths.

That the body of the Vanquished, in case he is killed, shall be delivered to the Marshal of the Field, till such time as his Majesty has declared whether he will pardon him, or have justice executed upon him, *by tying him by the heels to a gibbet.*

That in case the Vanquished is alive, he is to have his points cut, be disarmed and undressed; that all his harness shall be scattered about the field, and he shall remain lying upon the ground, till such time as his Majesty has declared in like manner, whether he will have justice executed upon him, or whether he will  
pardon

\* In Germany a Coffin was placed in the middle of the Lifts. The Accused and Accuser placed themselves, one at the head, and the other at the foot of this Coffin, where they remained silent for some moments, and then began the duel.

pardon him. As to the rest, his Estate shall be confiscated for the King's use, after the Conqueror has been previously paid his damages and expences.

The combat between *Chataigneraye* \* and *de Jarnac*

\* The Challenge of *Francis de Vivonne de la Chataigneraye*.

“ Sire, Having learnt that *Guy Chabot* was lately at Compiègne, where he said, “ That the person who had given out, “ that he had bragged of lying with his mother-in-law, was “ wicked and malicious: whereupon, Sire, with your good “ pleasure and permission, I reply, that he has told a wicked “ falsehood, and that he will always do so, as often as he says “ that therein I have advanced a thing which he did not himself say; for he told me several times, and bragged of it, “ that he had lain with his mother-in-law.

*Francis de Vivonne.*

See the Additions of the Memoirs of *Casselneau*, Vol. II. p. 554.

The Challenge of *Guy Chabot de Jarnac*.

“ Sire, With your good leave and pleasure, I say, that *Francis de Vivonne* lies, in the imputation which he has cast “ upon me, concerning what I spoke to you of at Compiègne, “ and therefore, Sire, I most humbly intreat that you will “ please to order us a field for the utmost rigour.

*Guy Chabot.*

The

*Jarnac* in the Court of the Castle of St. Germain-en-Laye, on the 10th of July, 1547, was the last duel that was authorised. *Henry II.* was so affected at the death of *Chataigneraye*, his favourite, that he made a solemn oath to abolish this kind of duelling.

It was proved to *Henry IV.* by above 7000 Letters of grace expedited at the Chancery, that there had been at least 7 or 8000 Gentlemen killed in duels within the space of 17 or 18 years. There were but few duels, whilst they were permitted, because a man fighting by stealth, would have been dishonoured and passed for an assassin; because

#### The Oath of *Francis de Vivonne.*

“ I *Francis de Vivonne*, swear upon God’s Holy Evangelists, upon the true Cross and the Faith of Baptism, which I hold from it, that in a good and just cause I am come into this field to fight *Guy Cbatot*, who has a bad and unjust cause to defend himself against me; and moreover I have not about me, nor in my arms, any words, charms, or incantations, whereby I am in hopes of aggrrieving my adversary, or by which I wish to be assisted against him.”

*Cbatot* took the same Oath.

The day of this combat, *la Chataigneraye*, who was a true braggadochio, had invited above 150 persons belonging to the court to supper; all the preparations he had made for this supper in his tent at the end of the Lists where they fought, were eat and devoured by the servants.

because by making a complaint and requiring a duel, he obtained satisfaction to his honour; because the Judges acquainted with the quarrel by the complaint made, endeavoured to accommodate it; because it was scarce possible for him who was in the wrong, not to be intimidated by the oaths he was to take; and in fine, because it was necessary either to kill or die, and die dishonoured. Moreover, the Nobility not being yet so venal as they are at present, a Gentleman had sufficient regard for his own blood, and even for that of his antagonist, to imagine they were each of them answerable to their Country, and should therefore not spill it upon a trivial occasion.

The Edicts of *Lewis XIV.* against duelling are very severe; but the fatal prejudices which have hitherto subsisted with regard to the Point of Honour, will never be removed, except by shame and ridicule. I would select four different places, in four different quarters of Paris, where a duel should be presented every Sunday, for the diversion of the public. The fortunate Champion, who killed his antagonist, should be recompensed with a prize in money, and a medal. Those who were emulous of acquiring glory in these combats, should the day before repair to a Commissary appointed to receive an  
account

account of their names and qualities ; they should then draw lots, and each of these Gentlemen having gained an antagonist, they should go and sup together, like honest folks, who were to cut one another's throats the next day, but without any enmity, and only because they were men of spirit. I would also abolish the present custom of punishing with death, such Gentlemen as quarrelled and fought ; but I would compel them to wear the medal. The idea of being confounded with wretches who expose their life for money, without being looked upon as more courageous than they, would insensibly dispose a person the least pacifically inclined, not only to view with reluctance, but even with shame and infamy, the giving or receiving provocation to fight ; the more so, as killing in some private combats is no certain proof of a man's valour. If it had been the fashion amongst the Romans, as it is with us, to attempt plunging a sword into each other's body, upon the slightest offence, I maintain that the combats of Gladiators would have put an end to it. Mr. Duclos asserts \*, *That this Point of Honour, which is sometimes chimerical, may have the advantage of keeping up a certain sensibility of soul, more generous and powerful than simple duty.* I do not understand very well what

\* Memoires de l'Acad. des Inscript. Tom. XV. p. 630.



is that *generous sensibility* of soul, over which duty has not an entire dominion; or if I comprehend its meaning, it must be, that the soul of a Frenchman is not formed like that of an antient Greek or Roman, nor like that of a Turk or a Persian; and that if it was not constantly employed on the idea of tilting at the most trifling personal insult, it might become very ignominiously modified in time of action, when nothing more is required of a Citizen, than to do his duty. If this Comment explains Mr. *Duclos's* sentiment, his sentiment is false and inconsiderate.

The Author of the *Elements of Education*, printed in 1640, fancies that whiskers may contribute to make a man brave. *I have a good opinion*, says he, *of a young Gentleman, who is curious about his mustaches. The time which he takes in combing and adjusting them, is not at all lost time; the more attention he bestows this way, the more is his heart nourished and supported with manly and heroic ideas.* It appears in fact, that the love and pride of handsome whiskers is the thing that died last in the brave men of those times. The French Mercury relates \*, “ That  
 “ whilst the Executioner was cutting off the  
 “ Count *de Bouteville's* § hair, the Count stroked  
 “ his

\* Anno 1627, p. 452.

§ Beheaded for duelling.

“ his whiskers, which were large and hand-  
 “ some, and the Bishop of Nantes told him,  
 “ You should think no more of this world, my  
 “ son; What, do you think of it still?”

### *La Parcheminerie-street.*

Before the Art of Printing was known in Europe, the Benedictin, Bernardin, and Chartreux Monks employed themselves in copying ancient Authors. We are obliged to them for having preserved to us an infinite number of books. The Chartreux Monks being informed, that *Guy*, Count de Nevers, intended to present them with some silver vessels, they intimated, that a present of parchment would be much more agreeable. The use of paper, such as we have at present, is not very ancient: nothing but parchment was used in the reign of King *John*.

### *New-street of St. Merry.*

In 1358, *Perrin Macé*, a banker's servant, assassinated *John Baillet*, Treasurer of the Finances, in this street. The Dauphin, afterwards *Charles V.* who was Regent of the Kingdom\*, during the imprisonment of his father

King

\* *Choisi Histoire du Roi Jean.*

King *John*, ordered *Robert de Clermont*, Marshal of Normandy, to go and seize this villain in the Church of St. Jaques de la Boucherie \*, where he had taken refuge, and to have him hanged; which was accordingly performed. *John de Meulant*, Bishop of Paris, exclaimed against the impiety, under pretence that it was violating the Ecclesiastical privileges, and had the body of this assassin taken down from the gibbet, and the funeral obsequies performed in this Church of St. Jaques de la Boucherie, at which he himself assisted †: this was doing great honour to this gibbeted man. Some days after, *Robert de Clermont*, was assassinated in an insurrection, wherein he was maintaining the interest of his King. *John de Meulant* interdicted his interment § in any Church or Church-yard, saying, he had incurred Excommunication, by causing *Perrin Macé* to be seized in holy ground, and that an Excommunicated person ought not to be buried amongst the Faithful. It seems this Prelate had not improved his understanding by reading the Old Testament; he would there have seen that *the places of refuge* † intended by *Moses*, and afterwards established by

\* Vide *Malingre*.

† Histoire de Paris.

§ Vide *Daniel*.

† Vide *Numb. Ch. xxxv. v. 6.*

by *Joshua*, were not designed for assassins, but for those who had committed an involuntary murder; and that God says, *If a man come presumptuously upon his neighbour to slay him with guile, thou shalt take him from my altar, that he may die* \*. *Lewis XII.* loved his people too much, and his religion was too enlightened, not to abolish absolutely and entirely the right of asylum, which several Churches and Convents enjoyed; amongst others *St. Jaques de la Boucherie*, *St. Merry*, *Notre-Dame*, *l'Hotel-Dieu*, the *Abbey St. Antoine*, the *Carmelites of the Place Maubert*, and the great *Augustins*. A judgment may be formed of the abuse of these asylums, by a single instance. In 1365, *William Charpentier* murdered his wife; his crime was notorious, and proved by incontestible evidence; he even acknowledged the commission of it himself; he was seized at the *Hotel-Dieu*, whither he had fled for refuge, by the *Serjeants* who conducted him to prison; he made his complaint, whereupon the *Parliament* fined the *Serjeants*, and ordered, that the said *William Charpentier* should be replaced in his asylum †, which was absolutely done. I do not know what became of him, or whether he married again; but it is certain that he was not punished.

*Les*

\* *Exod. Ch. xxi. v. 14.*

† *Reglement du Parlement.*

*Les Trois Pavillons-street.*

*Diana de Poitiers*, wife of *Lewis de Brezé*, Grand Seneschal of Normandy, whom *Henry II.* created Duchess of Valentinois, resided at the Hotel Barbette. In 1561, the Duchesses d'Aumale and de Bouillon, her daughters, sold this Hotel (as being part of their father's inheritance) to different persons who demolished it, and began to build in its place, the streets de Diane, du Parc Royal, and the new street Barbette. It cannot be ascertained how the street de Diane changed its name to that of des trois Pavillons.

*The maidenhead of Diana*, says a certain Manufacturer of Anecdotes, was a delicious bit, and worthy of being presented as an offering to the greatest of Monarchs, nor did our good King Francis refuse it. It is certain that *Francis I.* granted to *Diana of Poitiers* the Count de St. Vallier, her father's pardon, after he was condemned to die, in 1523, for having been concerned in the schemes of the Constable of Bourbon. With respect to the *maidenhead*, the Author is mistaken, as she had been married 8 years before (March 29th 1514.) to *Lewis de Brezé*.

\* *Brantome* fixes the time of her birth to the year 1496, *Father Anselme* dates it 1499, and

*Duchefne* in 1500, so that she was at least 40 years old, when *Henry II.* who was then only 18, became so desperately in love with her; and tho' she was near 60 years old at the death of this Prince, she had always preserved the same dominion over his heart † : he wore her livery (which was black and white ‡,) at the Tournament wherein he was wounded.

She had very black hair which curled, a white skin, beautiful teeth, and finely turned legs and hands, was tall of stature, and had a most noble mein. She was never ill. In the coldest weather she washed her face with spring-water, and never used any sort of pomatum. She rose every morning at 6 o'clock, often took a ride of about a league or two, then returned and went to bed, where she read till noon. Every man who had any way distinguished himself by Letters, might depend upon her protection. The Calvinists who hated her \*, gave out that *Clement Marot* was amongst the number of her favourite lovers. She told *Henry II.* who wanted to acknowledge a daughter § he had by her, in

† *Brantome. Vie de Henri II. p. 37.*

‡ Widows always continued in mourning.

\* *Memoirs de Condé. Vol. VI. p. 11. Note.*

§ This Daughter was still living in 1620, and was called *Madem. de la Montagne.*

a haughty manner: *I was born of a family that entitled me to have legitimate children by you; I have been your mistress, because I loved you; I will not suffer any Arret to declare me your concubine.*

The Courtiers, who for so long time had idolized her to her face, turned their back upon her, as usual, so soon as *Henry II.* was at the point of death; and *Catherine de Medicis* sent her an order to deliver up the jewels of the Crown, and to retire to one of her Castles. *Is the King dead?* said she to the person who was charged with this commission. *No, Madam,* replied he, *but he cannot live till night.* *Well then,* says she, *I have as yet no master, and I would have my enemies to know, when this Prince shall be no more, that I fear them not; if I am unfortunate enough to survive him for any length of time, my heart will be too much lost in sorrow, for me to be sensible of the chagrin and anxiety which they are desirous of giving me.*

She died the 26th of April, 1566, aged 66 years, 3 months and 27 days. She ordered by her Will, that her body should be exposed to view in the Church des Filles Penitentes\*, before it was carried to Anet, where it was buried.

“ Six months before her death, (says *Bran-*

\* Vide the *Illustrious Ladies of Hilar. de Coste.* Vol. 1. p. 510.

“ *some* \*,) I saw her so handsome, that no heart  
 “ of adamant could have been insensible to her  
 “ charms, though she had some time before  
 “ broke one of her legs upon the paved stones  
 “ of Orleans. She had been riding on horseback,  
 “ and kept her seat as dexterously and well as  
 “ she had ever done ; but the horse slipped and fell  
 “ under her. One might have expected that  
 “ such an accident, added to the pain she un-  
 “ derwent, would have made some alteration at  
 “ least in her amiable face : but this was not  
 “ the case ; she was as beautiful, graceful, and  
 “ handsome in every respect, as she had always  
 “ been. What a pity it is, that the earth should  
 “ cover so charming a person ! She was gracious,  
 “ beneficent and charitable.— † The people of  
 “ France ought to pray to God, that every King’s  
 “ favourite may be as good and as beneficent as  
 “ this.”

She is the only one, I believe, whose Medal  
 was struck. “ M. Peiresc, says *l’Etoile*, sent  
 “ me the Medal of the Duchess de Valentinois §  
 “ struck in copper ; on one side is her effigy  
 “ with this Inscription, *Diana Dux Valentiorum*  
 “ *clarissima*, and on the reverse, *omnium victorem*  
 “ *vici*,

\* Dames galantes. Tom. II. p. 239.

† Vie de *Henri II.* p. 11.

§ March 29th. Anno 1608.



“*vici*, (I have conquered the Conqueror of all.)” The Abbé *de Choisi*, in his Ecclesiastical History\*, wherein similar accounts are not frequently found, asserts that the Duchess de Valentinois, *priding herself upon her virtue, real or imaginary*, caused this Medal to be struck, where she is represented *trampling Love under her feet*. This agrees pretty well with the haughtiness she expressed in opposing the legitimation of the daughter she had by *Henry II.* but this is not to be reconciled with that article of her Will, wherein she enjoins, that after her death her body may remain some time in the Church of the Filles Penitentes. *M. de Trudaine* has this Medal struck in silver in his Cabinet; it is extremely rare, and he was very willing to shew it me. I believe it was the City of Lyons, where this Duchess was much beloved, that caused this Medal to be struck, and that the words, *I have conquered the Conqueror of all*, are allegorically † applied to *Henry II.* who had another Medal struck in 1552, where she is represented under the figure of *Diana*, with her breast naked, a quiver upon her shoulder, holding in one hand an arrow, and leaning with the other upon her bow, with these words inscribed, *nomen ad astra*. The *Henry-Diana*, with crescents, that is to say, the *H's* and *D's*, which we see cyphered

I 4

phered

\* Vol. IX. anno 1559.

† Vide *Mexeray*.

phered in the Louvre, are still greater monuments of the passion of this Prince.

*La Poterie-street.*

In 1600, the Comedians of Provence obtained leave to settle at Paris; they opened their Theatre at the Hotel d'Argent in this street. In 1609, the Judge of Police, on account of some disturbances which happened at the door of this play-house, and at that of the Hotel de Bourgogne, issued an Ordonnance, the principal articles of which I shall recite, as they appear to me curious by reason of the comparison of times and manners.

“ Upon complaint made by the King’s Sol-  
 “ licitor, that the Comedians of the Hotel de  
 “ Bourgogne and the Hotel d’Argent finish their  
 “ representations at unseasonable and inconve-  
 “ nient hours for the winter-time, and that they  
 “ exact exorbitant Sums from the people, with-  
 “ out permission; it being necessary to make  
 “ some provision in this respect, and to stipulate  
 “ a moderate tax for the subjects, We have pro-  
 “ hibited, and hereby very expressly prohibit  
 “ the said Comedians, from St. Martin’s day  
 “ till the 15th of February, to perform after  
 “ half an hour past four at the latest, and to  
 “ this

“ this end they are enjoined to begin, with such  
 “ audiences as they may have, at two o'clock in  
 “ the afternoon precisely, and end at half past  
 “ four, and that the door be opened precisely at  
 “ one o'clock.

“ The Comedians are forbid taking of the  
 “ inhabitants and others, a greater Sum than five  
 “ sols for the pit, and ten sols for the boxes and  
 “ galleries ; and in case there should be any re-  
 “ presentations, which may require a larger ex-  
 “ pence, we shall make provision for the same  
 “ upon their petition.”

“ Paris, says M. le President *Hainault*, was  
 “ very different at that time from what it is now ;  
 “ there were no lamps, there was a great deal of  
 “ dirt, very few coaches, and a great number of  
 “ thieves.” To this it may be added, that a Player  
 might then support himself better with twenty  
 pence, than he can now with six livres.

In the beginning of the reign of *Lewis XIII.*  
 the Comedians of the Hotel d'Argent left that  
 quarter, and hired a tennis-court in the old street  
 du Temple ; they were called the troop *du Ma-*  
*rais*. It was upon this new stage, that two Ac-  
 tresses (the *Demoiselles Marotte Beaupré* and  
*Catherine des Urlis*) appointed a meeting in order  
 to fight each other sword in hand, which they  
 did in good earnest at the end of the Entertain-

ment. *Sauval* says he was that day at the play \*.

*Les Prouvaires-street †.*

In 1476, *Alphonso V.* King of Portugal, came to Paris to solicit for succours against *Ferdinand* King of Arragon, who had dispossessed him of Castille. *Lewis XI.* Historians say, paid him great honour, and endeavoured to procure all possible amusemens for him: he lodged at a Grocer's, named *Laurence Herbelot*, in this street, and was taken to the Courts of Justice, where he had the pleasure of hearing a very fine cause pleaded §; the next day he went to the Bishop's Palace, where a Doctor in Theology was admitted in his presence, and on the Sunday following, which was December 1st, and the eve of his departure, an University-procession was ordered, which passed under his windows ||. Here is a King very honourably lodged, and very finely amused.

The

\* Vol. II. p. 578.

† Or les Prêtres-street. *Prouaire*, in old French, signified a Priest.

§ *Malingre's Annales de Paris.*

|| See *Chronique de Louis XI.*

*The street and hill St. Roch.*

In mentioning the wall \* begun in the reign of *Charles V.* in 1367, and compleated under *Charles VI.* in 1383, and which subsisted till 1631, I observed that the City-walls crossed the ground of the Place des Victoires, and of the garden of the Palais Royal, and terminated at the gate of St. Honoré, situated where the Shambles des Quinze-vingts now stand. It was on this side that *Charles VII.* attacked Paris on the 8th of September, 1429, whilst the English were masters of it. *The said King †* came to the fields towards the gate St. Honoré, upon a sort of bank or mountain which was called the *Marché aux Pourceaux ‡*, where he erected several cannons and culverins.--*Jane the Virgin* said she would assault the City; she was not well acquainted with the quantity of water that was in the ditches §.—She fathomed it with a line, and found it very deep; in doing which §, she was wounded in both (or at least one) of her thighs with an arrow. She would not retire,

I 6

not-

\* See above, p. 21.

† Histoire de *Charles VII.* called that of the Maid of Orleans,

‡ La Butte St. Roch.

§ This part of the ditches where she proposed making the attack, was where the streets des Boucheries, and Traversiere now stand.

§ Near the street Traversiere, towards the street St. Honoré.

notwithstanding, but caused wood and faggots to be thrown into the other ditch, in hopes to gain the wall \* ; in fine, when night came on, she was sent for several times, but she could not be prevailed upon to retire in any shape, till the Duke d'Alençon went in search of her himself, and brought her back.

Some mills remained upon the hill of St. Roch, so late as 1670. The new street des Petits-Champs terminated at the street of Ste. Anne, and from thence to the Hotel de Vendome, which was demolished in 1687. to erect the square of that name, there were nothing but a few paltry houses, dispersed here and there, upon the ground, where this new street des Petits-Champs was continued, and the streets of Gaillon, d'Antin, and Lewis le Grand were built. The market for horses was held on that spot which the Hotel d'Antin now occupies. It was at the beginning of this street d'Anin, on the side towards the new street des Petits-Champs, behind the garden-walls of the Hotel de Vendome, that the Dukes of Beaufort and Nemours fought a duel, having five seconds on each side, on the 30th of July, 1652, about seven in the eve-

\* This side of the wall or rampart was where now stands the little street du Rempart, it crosses the street de Richelieu, in the street St. Honoré, over-against the street St. Nicaise,

evening. The Duke of Beaufort's seconds were *Buri, de Ris, Brillet, and d'Hericourt*. The Marquis *de Villars*, father to the Marshal; the Chevalier *de la Chaise, Compan, and d'Uzerches*, were the Duke of *Nemours's* seconds, who had himself loaded the pistols at home, and took them with the swords to the place of action. Upon their meeting, the Duke of *Beaufort* said to him, *What a shame it is, brother-in-law! Let us forget what is past, and be good friends: to which Nemours replied, You villain, I must either kill you, or you kill me.* He fired first, probably as having received the offence, and would afterwards have fallen upon *M. de Beaufort*, whom he had missed, sword in hand; but he received three balls in the stomach from his antagonist's pistol, which killed him on the spot. *D'Hericourt* was killed by the Marquis *de Villars*, and *de Ris* by *d'Uzerches* †; the others were not dangerously wounded. The Archbishop of Paris forbid ‡ prayers being said for the Duke *de Nemours* in his own Parish-Church of *St. André des Arcs*, whither his body had been carried. Who was this Archbishop? The famous Cardinal

† See *Memoires de Montpensier*.

‡ He at length permitted it at the end of a fortnight, Aug. 14, 1652, at the request of the Prince *de Condé*.

nal de Retz \*, who usually carried a poiniard in his pocket, instead of a breviary.

*Salle-au-Comte-street.*

The house of *Henry de Marle*, Chancellor of France, who was assassinated § in 1418, was situated near the Fountain. A Procurator of the Chatelet, who purchased this house in 1663, says *Sauval*, found himself very badly lodged and straitened in it for want of room.

It is recorded in the Registers of the Parliament, that on the 9th of August, 1413, *Charles VI.* in order to proceed according to the usual forms, and by way of scrutiny, in the election of a Chancellor, caused the Dauphin, the Dukes of Berri, Burgundy, Bavaria and Bar, with several Barons, Knights and Counsellors, to enter into the Council-Chamber, who all swore upon the Evangelists, and upon the true Cross, to choose him whom they should judge most worthy of filling that high Post. *Arnaud de Corbie* had eighteen suffrages: *Simon de Nantes*, President of the Parliament, had twenty, and *Henry de Marle*, first President, had forty-four; so that (according to the *Abbé de Choisi* †) *Henry de Marle* was proclaimed

\* Vide the Memoirs of Retz.

§ See the Article of the street St. *André des Arcs*.

† Hist. de *Charles VI.*



claimed Chancellor, by a plurality of voices, the vote of the King being only reckoned as one.

### La Seine-street.

Queen *Margaret de Valois*, first wife to *Henry IV.* on her return to Paris, after an absence of twenty-five years, caused a Hotel to be built, which had very large gardens, that extended along the river, at the bottom of this street, in 1606; she died here March 27th 1615. I have as much esteem as any body for virtue in females; but I do not think a woman should be pulled to pieces without mercy, like this poor Princess, because she may have had a few lovers, and been subject to some weaknesses. Setting these aside, *Queen Margaret* was a hearty well-wisher to the glory and tranquillity of the State, and to the best of hearts united the most noble, compassionate and generous soul, much wit and a great deal of beauty. “ The true heirs of the *Valois*,  
 “ says *Mezeray* \*, she never gave to any one,  
 “ without apologizing for the smallness of the  
 “ gift; she was the refuge of Men of Letters,  
 “ had always some of them at her table, and  
 “ improved so much by their conversation, that  
 “ she spoke and wrote better than any woman of  
 “ her

\* Hist. de la mere & du fils.

“ her time.” She passed part of the day in bed, furrounded with some of the prettiest children of the choir, who sung to her. “ Being at Tou-  
 “ louse, says the President *Laroche* †, she re-  
 “ ceived the salutations of the Parliament, in a  
 “ very rich white damask bed, having at the foot  
 “ of it little children of the choir, singing  
 “ and playing upon the lute.” There was no  
 body in Europe that danced so well as she. Don  
*Juan* of Austria \*, Governor of the Low-Coun-  
 tries, set out post on purpose from Brussels, and  
 came to Paris *incognito*, to see her dance at a  
 grand ball.

*Henry IV.* had no reason to complain of her  
 want of complaisance. The following passage is  
 found in her own Memoirs, on the subject of  
 one of the King’s Mistresses. “ † Being taken  
 “ ill at day-break, as she lay in the Chamber  
 “ des Filles, she sent for my Physician, and de-  
 “ fired him to acquaint the King my husband  
 “ of her situation; which he did. We lay in  
 “ the same room, but in different beds, as was  
 “ our custom. When the Physician brought  
 “ him this news, he was a good deal embar-  
 “ rassed, not knowing what to do; fearing on  
 “ the

† Hist. des Parlemens de France.

\* Vide *Brantome*.

‡ Memoires de la Reine *Margueritte*.

“ the one hand that she would be discovered,  
“ and on the other, that she would be badly at-  
“ tended, for he loved her dearly. He at length  
“ resolved to acknowledge the whole affair to  
“ me, and to desire me to go and assist her,  
“ knowing very well, notwithstanding what had  
“ passed, that he should find me ready to serve  
“ him in every thing that gave him pleasure.  
“ He opens my curtain, and says to me: My  
“ dear, I have hidden a thing from you, which  
“ I must now impart to you; I beg you will for-  
“ give me, and not remember any thing I have  
“ said to you upon this head; but oblige me so  
“ far, as to get up presently, and assist *Fosseuse*,  
“ who is very ill. You know how much I love  
“ her. I desire you will oblige me in this. I  
“ told him that I honoured him too much to be  
“ offended at any thing he said, that I would go  
“ instantly, and would behave to her as if she was  
“ my own daughter; he said that in the mean  
“ time he should go a hunting, and take all his  
“ Courtiers with him, that they might not be  
“ acquainted with the affair. I presently had  
“ her moved from the Chamber des Filles, and  
“ put her into a room apart, with my Physician  
“ and women to attend her, and had her per-  
“ fectly well taken care of. God was pleased  
“ that she should bring forth only a daughter,  
“ and

“ and that too still-born. The King my hus-  
 “ band coming back from the chace, found me  
 “ returned to bed, being fatigued with having  
 “ risen so early, and with the trouble I had been  
 “ at, to get her properly assisted. He desired  
 “ me to get up, and go to see her. I told him  
 “ I had visited her, when she stood in need of  
 “ my assistance, but that at present she had no  
 “ farther occasion for it; and that if I went, I  
 “ should rather discover than conceal what had  
 “ happened, and should be pointed at by all the  
 “ world. He was very angry with me, which  
 “ displeased me a good deal, as I can't help  
 “ thinking, that I did not deserve such a recom-  
 “ pence, for what I had done in the morning.”

The horrors of the night of St. Bartholomew  
 are well pourtrayed in another passage of the  
 Memoirs of this Princess. “ When I was fast  
 “ asleep, says she, there comes a man knock-  
 “ ing at the door with his hands and feet,  
 “ and crying out, *Navarre, Navarre.* My  
 “ nurse thinking it was the King my Master,  
 “ run hastily to the door. It was a Gentleman,  
 “ named *M. de Téjan*, who had received a  
 “ wound in his elbow from a sword, and another  
 “ in his arm from a halbert, and who was still  
 “ pursued by four Archers, who all rushed into  
 “ my apartment after him. He wanting to  
 “ shelter

“ shelter himself, flung himself upon my bed.  
 “ I feeling that I was held by these ruffians,  
 “ threw myself on the floor, and he after me,  
 “ clasping me all the while about the waist.  
 “ We both screamed out, and were both equally  
 “ frightened. At length, it pleased God that  
 “ M. *de Nancai* \*, Captain of the Guards, came  
 “ in, who finding me in this situation, though  
 “ he compassionated my condition, could not  
 “ forbear laughing.” In the Louvre, in the  
 King’s sister’s bed-chamber, even upon the bed,  
 wretches were butchered, whilst they in vain  
 appealed to the faith of oaths and treaties !  
*Nancai*, who passed for one of the worthiest men  
 at Court, laughs at this spectacle ! He laughs in  
 these moments of horror, upon a day execrated  
 by all posterity ! “ Having shifted myself, (says  
 “ the Princess,) for I was all over sprinkled with  
 “ blood, and having put on a night-gown, I  
 “ went into the apartment of Madame *de Lor-*  
 “ *raine*, my sister. As I was entering the anti-  
 “ chamber, a Gentleman, named *Bourse*, es-  
 “ caping from the Archers who pursued him,  
 “ was run through with a halbert, at the distance  
 “ of three paces from me.--- Five or six days  
 “ after, those who had engaged in this affair,  
 “ finding they had failed in their principal de-  
 “ sign,

\* *Gaspard de la Châtres.*

“ sign, not having so great an enmity to the  
 “ Huguenots as to the Princes of the blood,  
 “ were extremely disconcerted and chagrined,  
 “ that the King my husband and the Prince *de*  
 “ *Condé* had escaped; and knowing, that as he  
 “ was my husband, no one would attempt his  
 “ life, they planned another scheme; they per-  
 “ suaded the Queen my mother, that I ought  
 “ to be divorced. Upon a holiday, which we  
 “ had appropriated for commemorating Easter,  
 “ going to her levee, she made me swear that I  
 “ should tell her the truth, and asked me, if the  
 “ King my husband was a man? saying, if he  
 “ were not, there were methods of getting me  
 “ divorced. At first I begged of her to believe,  
 “ that I did not understand her question: but as  
 “ she pressed it very close, I resolved at last on  
 “ protesting that he was; having some suspicion  
 “ that they wanted to separate us in order to do  
 “ him a bad office.”

\* *Henry IV.* by whom she had no children,  
 finding himself in peaceable possession of the  
 Crown, proposed to her, for the good of the  
 State, to dissolve their marriage; to which she  
 answered in the noblest, modestest and most dis-  
 interested manner. So far from insisting upon  
 a number of conditions, which that Prince would  
 have

have been obliged to comply with, she only desired that her debts might be paid, and that she should be insured a reasonable pension. “ The abasement of her condition, says *Mezeray* \*, was so heightened, by her goodness, and the other Royal virtues which she possessed, that she never fell into contempt, on account of this reverse of her fortune.” Her Palace was sold in 1619, four years after her death; and they begun building the *Key Malaquais* upon part of the ground, which the gardens occupied. Till then the *Fauxbourg St. Germain* was only like those villages, that are composed of a few streets, the houses whereof being separated one from another by vineyards, fields and gardens. On going out of the gate de *Nesle*, situated where the *College des Quatre-Nations* now stands, the country immediately presented itself. The streets of *Tarannes* and *St. Dominique* were called the *Chemin aux Vaches*; and the streets § *des Petits-Augustins*, *Jacob*, *de St. Pere*, *de l’Université*, *du Bacq*, *de Verneuil*, *de Beaune*, and *de Bourbon*, did not yet exist; the proof of which may be read with pleasure, in a *Comedy of Corneille*, exhibited for the first time in 1642.

D O-

\* *Hist. de la mere & du fils.*§ Formerly the *Pré aux Clercs.*

## D O R A N T E.

*To my eyes Paris appears like a country in Romance. This morning I imagined it an enchanted Island: when I left it, it was a desert, and now I find it inhabited. Some new Amphion, without the aid of masonry, has transformed its thickets into superb Palaces.*

## G E R O N T E.

*Such metamorphoses are every day to be seen in Paris. All over the field aux Clercs, the same thing is visible, and there is nothing in the Universe that can parallel the superb outside of the Cardinal-Palace. \* An entire City, built with magnificence, seems to spring miraculously from an old paltry ditch.*

LE MENTEUR, Acte II. Sc. V.

*The Passage of the Seine at the Key Malaquais, or des Quatre-Nations.*

‡ A short time after the Peace of Vervins, Henry IV. as he returned from hunting, in a plain dress, and attended only by two or three Gentlemen, crossed the River at the Key Malaquais,

\* The Quarters de Richelieu and Montmartre.

‡ Vide Sauval, Vol. II, p. 534.



quais, at the same place where people still take water. Finding that the waterman did not know him, he asked him what folks said of the Peace. Upon my life, says the waterman, I don't know what this fine Peace signifies; every thing is taxed, even to this wretched boat, which I can scarce live by. But, continued *Henry IV.* does not the King intend to regulate those taxes? The King is a good sort of man enough, replied the rustic, but he has got a Mistress, who must have so many fine cloaths, and so many trinkets, and it is we that must pay for all--Be it so, if she were but true to him; but they say she has got many other lovers besides. *Henry IV.* who was highly diverted with this conversation, sent the next morning for this waterman, and made him repeat before the *Duchess of Beaufort*, all that he had said the day before. The *Duchess* flew into a violent passion, and would have had him hang'd. --- You are a fool, says *Henry IV.* this is a poor devil, whom wretchedness puts out of humour; I will not have him pay any more for his boat, and I am sure he will every day sing, *Long life to Henry, and long life to Gabrielle.*

This good King was haughty upon occasion. He one day asked *Redolphus II.*'s Ambassador, says *Peter Mathieu*, whether that Emperor had any Mistresses? *If my Master keeps any, they are*

*in private*, replied the Ambassador. *It is very true*, says *Henry IV.* *there are few men, who have great qualities enow not to oblige them to hide their weakneses.* The same Historian relates, that he had frequently heard him aver, that it was not pleasure alone that attached him to the *Duchess of Beaufort*, “that she was useful to  
 “ him in reconciling the bickerings of his Court;  
 “ that he entrusted her with the informations he  
 “ received concerning his Courtiers; that she  
 “ soothed him, softened his temper, and dissipat-  
 “ ed his chagrin; so that, adds the Historian,  
 “ she supported every one, oppressed nobody,  
 “ and the majority rejoiced at her grandeur and  
 “ fortune.”

### *St. Severin-street.*

In the month of January, 1474, the Physicians and Surgeons of Paris represented to *Lewis XI.* that \* “several persons of condition  
 “ were afflicted with the stone, colick, pains  
 “ and stitches in the side; that it would be very  
 “ proper to inspect the parts where these disorders were engendered; that the greatest lights  
 “ they could receive, would be from performing an operation upon a living man, and that  
 “ there-

\* *Chronique de Louis XI.* p. 213.

“ therefore they begged a *Franc-Archer*, who  
 “ was condemned to be hanged for a robbery,  
 “ and who was frequently afflicted with these  
 “ complaints, should be delivered up to them.”  
 Their petition was granted; and this operation,  
 which, I believe, was the first that was made for  
 the stone, was publickly done in St. Severin  
 Church-yard. “ After having examined and  
 “ made their experiment, adds the Chronicle,  
 “ the bowels were replaced in the body of the  
 “ said *Franc-Archer*, which was sewed up by  
 “ the King’s command, and so well dressed, that  
 “ in a fortnight’s time he was cured, was par-  
 “ doned his crimes without expence, and even  
 “ had money given him.”

The course of events in human life is some-  
 times very remarkable. It was necessary that  
 this wretch should be condemned to be hanged,  
 in order to be cured of the stone; but will it be  
 believed, that if he had suffered death, his body  
 would have remained a precious deposit, which  
 the Surgeons would not have dared to have touch-  
 ed? The dissection of a human body was looked  
 upon as sacrilege, so late as the beginning of the  
 reign of *Francis I.* and the Emperor *Charles V.*  
 ordered a consultation of the Theologians of Sa-  
 lamanca, to determine whether, in point of con-  
 VOL. I. K science,

science, a body might be dissected in order to obtain a knowledge of its structure.

Upon the gate of the Anatomical Amphitheatre of Toulouse, there is the following Inscription:

*Hic locus est ubi mors gaudet succurrere vitæ.*

Here death pleases himself with succouring life.

I shall not risk a translation of the Inscription which is over the door of the Anatomical Amphitheatre of Paris.

*Consilioque manûque.*

I should find myself between two rocks: I should displease either the Faculty of Physic, or the Academy of Surgery.

*Le Temple-street.*

The *Templars* were so called because *Baldwin II.* King of Jerusalem, gave them a house near the Temple of Solomon. Their Order did not subsist above 200 years; it began in 1118, and was abolished in 1312. *Villani*, and the greatest part of Historians, aver that a *Templar*, who was Prior of Montsaucon, near Toulouse, and a Florentine, named *Nofjodai*, who were their accusers, were two profligates,

fligates whom the Grand-Master had condemned for heresy, and for the infamous lives they led, to end their days in prison. These two wretches contrived to inform *Enguerand de Marigni*, Superintendent of the Finances, that upon a promise of their liberty, and being secured a subsistence, they would discover secrets, *wherefrom the King might derive greater advantages than by the conquest of a Kingdom*. It was upon the deposition of these two men, that all the Templars who were found in France, were arrested upon a day appointed, October 13th 1307. *William de Nogaret*, so well known by his outrageous character, and *Friar Imbert*, a Dominican, Confessor to the King, and dignified with the title of Inquisitor, took upon themselves to prosecute this affair with all possible activity. Informations were lodged on every side, and presently nothing was talked of but chains, dungeons, executioners, and funeral piles \*. The very dead were not exempted from this prosecution; their bones were taken up, and burnt, and their ashes given to the wind. Those who voluntarily acknowledged themselves guilty, had their pardon, and even pensions, granted them: the others were delivered up to the torture. Several who would

\* Vid. *Nangii* continuat.

not have feared death, terrified by the Apparatus of the torments, agreed to all they were bid to confess. There was also a great number, whose constancy could not be shaken, either by promises or punishments. Fifty of these were burnt behind the Abbey de St. Antoine, who to a man protested their innocence in the midst of flames, to their last breath. The Grand-Master, *James de Molai*, who had been God-father to one of the King's children; *Guy*, Commandant of Aquitaine, son to *Robert II.* and *Mabaut d'Auvergne*, and brother to the Dauphin of Auvergne, *Hugh de Peralde*, Grand-Prior of France, and another whose name is lost, after being conducted to Poitiers before the Pope, were brought back to Paris to make a public confession of the general corruption of their Order. These were the principal Officers; and as *Philip* the Fair was not ignorant of its being loudly reported, that the immense riches which the Templars had brought from the East, and which he wanted to get possession of, was the real cause of the persecution they underwent, he hoped that so much ceremony would impose upon the people, and calm the minds of those who were terrified by so many shocking executions, both in the Capital and the Provinces. They all four mount-  
ed

ed a scaffold, which was erected before the Church of Notre-Dame; their sentence was read, which mitigated their punishment to perpetual imprisonment. One of the Legates afterwards made a long speech, wherein he expatiated upon all the abominable and impious practices that the Templars had been convicted of, (as he said,) by their own acknowledgment; and that none of the Auditors might harbour the least doubt, he called upon the Grand-Master to speak and publicly renew the confession he had made at Poitiers. *Yes, I am going to speak,* said the unfortunate old man, shaking his chains and advancing to the edge of the scaffold; *I have but too long betrayed truth. Deign to bear me, deign to receive, O my God! the oath that I make, and may it avail me when I appear before thy Tribunal. I swear that all which has just been said of the Templars is false; that they have ever been an Order zealous for the faith, charitable, just, and orthodox; and that if I have been weak enough to say otherwise at the solicitation of the Pope and the King, and with a view to suspend the horrible tortures which were inflicting on me, I repent of it. I see,* added he, *that I provoke our Executioners, and that the pile is going to be lighted. I submit myself to all the torments that are preparing for me, and acknowledge, O my God, that there are none which*

can expiate the crime I have been guilty of against my brethren, the truth, and Religion\*. The Legate, highly disconcerted, ordered the Grand-Master to be reconducted to prison, as well as the brother of the Dauphin of Auvergne, who had also retracted. The same night they were both burnt alive at a slow fire, on the spot where the statue of *Henry IV.* is now erected. Their stedfastness did not fail them: they invoked *Jesus-Christ*, and prayed to him to support their courage. The people in consternation melted into tears, threw themselves upon their ashes, and carried them off as precious relicks. The two Commanders, who had not resolution enough to retract, were treated with lenity. *Mezeray* relates † that the Grand-Master cited the Pope to appear before the Tribunal of God ‡, in 40 days, and the King in a year. If it be true, that there was such a summons, it was a prophecy which the event verified. With regard to the two villains who occasioned all these proceedings, the first perished in an unlucky affair, and the other, *Noffodei*, was hanged for some new crimes.

The abominable practices which the Templars were accused of, were § that upon their reception

\* Hist. de Paris, Liv. II.

† Hist. de France.

‡ *Cboisi*, Hist. Ecclesiastique.

§ *Processus contra Templarios*, per Dupuy.



into the Order, they were conducted into a dark room, where they denied *Jesus-Christ*, and spit thrice upon the Crucifix; that he who was received, kissed him that admitted him, first upon the mouth, and afterwards *in fine spinæ dorfi & in virgâ virili*; that they adored a wooden head gilt, which had a long beard, that was never exhibited but at the general Chapters; that it was recommended to them to be chaste with respect to women, but very complaisant towards their brethren, *as soon as they were required*; that if it happened that a Templar had a male-child \* by any girl, they assembled, and forming a ring, tossed it from one to another till such time as it was dead, *postea igni torrebant eum, exque eliquatâ inde pinguedine simulacrum decoris gratiâ unguebant*; that in Languedoc, three Commanders † being put to the torture, had acknowledged they had assisted at several provincial Chapters of the Order; that at one of these Chapters held at Montpellier, in the night-time, according to custom, a head was exposed; that immediately the devil appeared under the figure of a Cat; that so long as they continued adoring this Cat, it spoke and answered to all with great condescension; that afterwards several Dæmons appeared

K 4

under

\* *Robert Gaguin*, L. VII. p. 12.† *Histoire Generale de Languedoc*, anno 1307.

under the form of women, and that every brother took one.

Brother *Peter de Boulogne*, Procurator General of the Order, represented \* in different petitions, that it was not at all probable, that men, especially such as were not actuated by any motives of interest, should renounce the religion in which they were born, to believe in an Idol, and that none who presented themselves to be admitted into the Order, had been terrified at these abominable mysteries, and had revealed them; that the King, by his Letters, had promised such Templars as voluntarily acknowledged themselves guilty, their liberty, their lives, and even pensions; and that those who could not be seduced by promises, nor terrified by threats, were given up to the most excruciating tortures; that it had been proved that several Templars, who fell ill in prison, had protested in their last moments, with the most striking marks of repentance and sincerity, that the declarations which had been extorted from them, were false, and that they had made them only with a view to being released from the horrible torments which were inflicted on them; that the evidences were not confronted with the accused persons, and in fine, that none of the Templars who had been arrested

\* *Defensio Templar. per Dupuy.*

in the other Kingdoms of Christendom, had deposed any thing similar to the abominable practices, which had been imputed to them in France, where their destruction had been resolved upon, and prepared for, by all the methods that force and seduction could employ.

The Archbishops of Sens, Rheims and Rouen, so far from paying any attention to these remonstrances, procured a decision in the Councils of their Provinces, to the following effect \*, That such Templars as retracted from what they had declared when put to the question, should be treated as reprobates, and as having renounced *Jesus-Christ*; and some days after, agreeable to this barbarous and singular Jurisprudence, 59 of them were burnt, in the place where the Hotel des Mousquetaires noirs now stands. By the account of the Bishop of Lodevo †, a cotemporary Historian, these unfortunate men are represented, whilst devoured by flames, as fixing their eyes upon heaven, to draw from thence that strength which had failed them when upon the rack, and praying to God not to permit them to betray truth a second time, by accusing themselves and their brethren of crimes which they had not committed.

K 5

At

\* *Ex secunda vita Clementis V. p. 37.*

† *Chronique de Montfort, par Duchesne. Vol. V.*

\* At the general Council held at Vienne in Dauphiny, composed of upwards of 300 Archbishops, Bishops, and Doctors, of Germany, Italy, England, Spain and France, all (except an Italian Prelate, and the Archbishops of Sens, Rheims and Rouen) represented, that it would be against natural equity to suppress the Order of the Templars, before they had been heard in their own defence, and upon their exceptions against the evidences, and without having confronted them with their accusers, as they had requested in all their petitions. The Pope, astonished at this general opposition to his intentions, bellowed forth, *That if for want of some formalities, a judicial sentence (viâ justitiæ) could not be pronounced upon them, the extent of his Pontifical power supplied them all, and that he would condemn † them by way of expedient, rather than cause any uneasiness to his dear son the King of France.* In effect, in a secret Consistory, held some months after, of the Cardinals and Bishops, whose complaisance, (says Vertot,) brought them back to his opinion, he broke and annulled the § Order of Templars. The purport of the sentence was, that not being able to try them according to the

• Histoire Ecclesiastique, par Fleuri.

† Gurtbleri. Hist. Templariorum. Num. 141.

§ Vide Rapin de Thoiras.

the forms of law, he condemned them in the mean time by his apostolical authority.

It is certain, that they had given themselves up to pomp and luxury, to an effeminate and voluptuous life; that their bravery, their birth, and the laurels they had acquired in so many actions, together with their immense riches, inspired them with pride and sentiments of independence, which could not fail to give infinite displeasure to every Sovereign; that on account of their privileges and possessions, they had had very warm disputes \* with the greatest part of the Bishops; that their continual raileries at the idleness and pious frauds of the Monks had drawn upon them dangerous enemies; and that, in short, *Philip* the Fair accused them of having sent succours in money to *Boniface VIII.* during his misunderstanding with that Pope, and of discoursing at all times in a seditious manner upon his conduct, and upon that of his two favourites, *Enguerrand de Marigni*, Superintendent of the Finances, and *Stephen Barbette*, Provost of Paris and Master of the Mint.

*Marigni* was one of those men, who call themselves Ministers of State, and who are only its Tyrants, under the authority of a Master, whose natural equity they corrupt by flattering

\* *Processus contra Templar, per Dupuy.* p. 130.

all his passions. Not being able to devise any new taxes, he had had recourse to the most pernicious of resources, the lowering and raising of the value of money. The alterations he made therein, became so frequent, and were carried to such an excess, that the populace of Paris rose, pillaged *Stephen Barbette's* house \*, ill-treated the King's Purveyors in the Markets, kept the King himself shut up in the Temple, where he at that time resided, and prevented any provisions being carried to him for three days. *Barbette* and *Margni* accused the Jews and the Templars of having excited this commotion. No Prince was ever more haughty than *Philip* the Fair, and his pride rendered his hatred implacable; besides †, he was avaricious, expensive, always in want of money, and consequently frequently obliged to let himself be deluded by the means his Ministers employed to procure it. There was no difficulty to make him adopt a scheme of revenge, which might bring into his coffers the spoils of the Jews, and part of the riches that the Templars had brought from the East. A report was presently spread in Paris, that the Jews had committed an outrage upon a host, profaned the sacred vessels, and crucified children upon Good-Friday.

The

\* Hist. de Paris.

† See *Dupin's* History of the Church in the 14th Century.

The people who are fond of believing every thing that may excite their rage, did not hesitate crying out, that these enemies to the Christian name should be exterminated. The Ministry caused them all to be arrested in one day, the 22d of July, 1306: their effects were confiscated, and none of them had any thing left him, besides what was just necessary to carry him out of the Kingdom\*. The year following, all the Templars who were found in France, were arrested in the like manner; and the terrible Tribunal which was erected against them, was composed of Bishops and Monks. The Archbishop of Sens, brother to *Enguerrand de Marigni*, presided in that at Paris.

*Clement V.* filled St. Peter's chair. Almost all Historians, amongst others † *St. Antonin*, Archbishop of Florence, *Villani*, and the writer of *Nangis's* continuation, say, that this Pope carried on a shameful trade with sacred things . . . that Livings were publickly sold at his Court . . . § that going from Lyons to Bourdeaux, he had pillaged in his way all the Monasteries and Churches . . . that he had fixed the Holy See in France ‡ that he might not be at a distance from the Countess de Perigord, daughter

\* Hist. Ecclesiastique, par *Fleuri*.

† Ibid.

§ *Nangis* continuat. anno 1305.

‡ See *Villani*.

daughter to the Count de Foix, whom he was desperately in love with . . . || that Philip the Fair having offered to get him elected to the Popedom, upon 6 conditions, he swore upon the holy Sacrament to fulfill them all, and that the extinction of the Order of the Templars was one \*. So that, when he learnt this Prince had caused them to be arrested, if he testified surprise and passion, and if he wrote severe Letters upon the subject, this was only, according to some Authors, not to appear having given up the rights of the Holy See. It is certain that it was not long before he was appeased. *That dear son*, says he, in one of his Bulls, talking of Philip the Fair, *has not arrested the Templars through an avaricious motive, (non typo avaritiæ,) but through pure zeal for Religion; he is very far from desiring to appropriate the most trivial part of their effects. . . We ourselves have interrogated 72,* adds he, *who have all confessed the abominable crimes which are imputed to their Order . . . The Grand-Master has also made a confession at Obinon, before our Commissaries, the Cardinals Berenger de Fredole, Etienne de Suisi & Landolphus de Brancaccio. The Grand-Master, like most of the Nobility of that time, could neither write nor read. When the deposition*  
he

|| Hist. Ecclesiastique, par Cloisi.

\* Fleuri, Ibid.



§ he was said to have made at Chinon, was read to him at Paris, he seemed greatly astonished, made the sign of the Cross twice, and said, *If those three Commissaries \* were of a different profession, I know what proposal I should make to them.* He was answered, that Cardinals did not receive challenges to fight. *Well then,* replied he, *I pray God, that their bellies may be ripped up, as the Tartars and Sarrazins rip up those of lyars and false witnesses.* Vertot says, that in order to fix a still heavier charge against the Grand Master, and to make him appear more criminal, the *Greffier* had manifestly added some aggravating circumstances to his deposition. This does not justify the Commissaries: should a Judge subscribe to an interrogatory, without having read it?

In consequence of the Pope's Letters and Representations, the Templars were arrested in all the States of Christendom. There were none, however, condemned to death but in France, and in the County of Provence, which then belonged to the King of Naples and Sicily. The Council of Vienne, after the general suppression of the Order, had disposed of their Estates in favour of the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem.

§ *Processus contra Templar*, p. 132.

\* *Hist. Ecclesiastique*, par *Cboisf.*

Jerusalem \* ; but *Philip* the Fair did not consent to this transfer, but upon condition of being previously paid 200,000 Livres, for the expence of proceedings. This was an immense sum in those days ; nevertheless his Successor *Lewis Hutin* thought he had a right to ask 60,000 Livres more, and it was at length agreed, that he should have two thirds § of the Templars money, their household - furniture, their Church-ornaments, and all the Fruits and Revenues of their Lands, from the 13th October 1307, to the year 1314. *Rapin de Thoiras*, says “ that *Edward II.* King  
 “ of England, in hopes to avail himself of their  
 “ effects, held a national Synod in London,  
 “ wherein they were condemned ; but that they  
 “ were not treated so rigourously as in France,  
 “ and that the Government of that Country  
 “ was satisfied with dispersing them amongst  
 “ the Monasteries, to do penance, with a mo-  
 “ derate pension arising from their Revenues.”  
 The *Abbé de Choisi* asserts, that the English Lords possessed themselves of all the Templars effects, saying, “ that their Ancestors had given  
 “ these Riches to the Templars, and not to the  
 “ Hospitallers, and that as there were no more  
 “ Templars, it was equitable that those effects  
 “ should return to their ancient Masters.”

The

\* The Knights of Malta,

§ Regist. du Trésor.

The King of Castille united their Estates to his Domain. The King of Portugal gave them to the Order of Christ, which he instituted, and the King of Arragon appropriated to himself 17 Fortresses, which they possessed in the Kingdom of Valentia. The Pope \* had a good share of these rich spoils, particularly in the States of *Charles II.* King of Naples and Sicily, Count of Provence and de Forcalquier. He divided with this Prince all the money and moveables of these unfortunate men.

*Enguerrand de Marigni*, whom Father *Daniel* represents as a Minister of great merit, had pilaged the Treasury, overwhelmed the people with Taxes, and ruined many individuals by

\* In the History of the reign of *Philip the Fair*, the Abbé *Velli* maintains, that *Clement V.* did not profit by the spoils of the Templars, and that *Dupuy*, who is quoted, is incapable of saying that the Pope had any pecuniary advantage therefrom. Here are *Dupuy's* own words. *These Letters were executed, and the Templars were condemned to death, which they accordingly suffered; their goods and chattels were confiscated to the Count de Provence's emolument, with whom the Pope shared, and such things as were immoveable, were preserved for the Hospitallers.* Hist. de la condamnation des Templiers. Tom. I. p. 57.

The first Edition of these Historical Essays had appeared five years before the publication of the History of the Abbé *Velli*. I had therein quoted *Dupuy*; so that this was accusing me of a false allegation.

unheard-of vexatious prosecutions. He was equally void of faith and piety, and was the vainest and most insolent of men. He had the audacity to say, in full Council, to the Count *de Valois*, brother to *Philip the Fair*, *It is you that have lied.* Upon Ascension-eve 1315, before day-break, as was then the custom, he was hung upon the gibbet that he himself had caused to be erected at Montfaucon some years before, and in quality of *Master of the household*, says Mezeray, *he had the honour to be tucked up to the highest part of it, quite above all the common thieves.* Ten years after, the Count *de Valois*, whose illness had affected his mind as much as his body, ordered alms to be given to the poor; and those who had the distribution of them, said from him to every beggar, *Pray to God for Mr. de Marigni, and for Mr. de Valois.* This Prince's Confessor, secretly solicited by the Bishop of Beauvais, and the Archbishop of Sens, brothers to *Marigni*, had alarmed his conscience upon the condemnation of this Minister, whose trial, it is true, was not conducted with all the requisite formalities.

A statue of *Marigni* had been erected upon the stair-case of the Palace, near to that of *Philip the Fair*. It was afterwards taken down.

I had the curiosity to view it in a small court of the prison of the Conciergerie, where it remains without a pedestal, resting against the wall. It seemed to be in a good attitude: it is of a short stature and pretty plump, the face smiling and agreeable. The drapery falls below the knees, and there is a sort of hood upon the head, the point of which is not turned up behind, but twisted, and falling upon the left shoulder: it has an embroidered belt over the coat, with a sword fixed to it.

### *The old Street du Temple.*

In this street, on the 23d of November 1407, about half an hour past seven in the evening, over-against the house, which was then called the Image Notre Dame, and which joins to the Convent of the Hospitaller Nuns of St. Gervais, the Duke of Orleans, only brother to *Charles VI.* having with him only two Equeries, mounted upon the same horse, a Page \*, and three footmen, who walked before to light him, was attacked by eighteen armed men, at the head of whom was a Norman Gentleman, named *Raoul d'Ocquetonville.* This villain cut  
off

\* This Page, named *Jacob de Merre*, was killed in endeavouring to cover his Master.

off his hand, with which he held his mule's bridle, with a stroke of a battle-ax, and with two more strokes cleft his head. It is said, that the next day blood issued from the body of this Prince, which was taken to the Church of the *Blancs-Manteaux*, when the Duke of Burgundy \*, who was not yet known to be the

\* There is a sympathy and antipathy between Beings purely material. The blood, it is said, being accustomed to be violently agitated at the sight of a man one highly detests, may contract a sufficiently strong antipathy, to be still a little agitated, at that man's approach, even though frozen by death.

“ It is certain, says *Mezeray*, (Vol. II. p. 127.) that *Richard Cœur de Lion*, being arrived at Chinon to celebrate the funeral of his father *Henry II.* the body of this unhappy father, deprived of life, and no longer endowed with words to reproach this ungrateful son, with all the chagrin he had felt upon his account, spurted out blood in large quantities from the nose and mouth against him, as if he laboured to say, *Glut thyself with this blood, which thou seemest so much to thirst after.*”

*M. de Thou* relates, that *Garcias Medicis*, having stabbed his brother *Cosmo*, Great Duke of Florence, their father made *Garcias* approach the body, when the wounds instantly opened and emitted blood. Lib. XXXII.

A great quantity of corpuscles flow with agitation from the human body, when it endeavours to defend itself; these fix themselves upon the murderer and his garments; when he approaches the person he has killed, they are attracted towards their natural source; it is their magnet; they enter into the wounds, and give sufficient motion to the blood, to cause some drops to issue. *Vallemont's Baguette divinatoire.*

the author of this assassination, and who was willing to put on a good face, came to give him holy water.

This *Lewis I.* Duke of Orleans, united to the most bewitching figure a great share of wit. “He was a great debaucher of the Ladies of the Court, (says *Brantome* in his *Dames galantes*,) and of Women of the first Quality. One morning, there being one in bed with him, whose husband came to wish him good morrow, he hid the Lady’s face, and shewed him all her body, which he had the pleasure to see naked and touch where-ever he would, but upon condition of not discovering her face on pain of death . . . and the jest was, that the husband being the next night in bed with his wife, he told her that *M. d’Orleans* had shewn him one of the handsomest women he had ever seen; “but

The *Trial or Judgment of God by the Coffin*, has been a long time in practice in Germany. When an Assassin, notwithstanding informations, still remained unknown, the body of the person assassinated was entirely stript, and placed upon a Coffin; and all those who were suspected of having any hand in the assassination, were obliged to touch it. If any motion, any alteration in the eyes, mouth, hands, feet, or any other part of the body, was observed; if the wound bled, he who touched at the time of this extraordinary emotion, was looked upon as guilty. *Essman. dissert. de prod. sanguinis.*

“ but as to her face, he did not know what  
 “ to say of it, as he had always kept it hid.”  
 This Lady’s name was *Mariette d’Anghien*, and  
 her husband was *Sire de Canni de Varennes*.  
 “ From this little traffic (adds *Brantome*) sprung  
 “ the brave and vaillant bastard of Orleans,  
 “ Count of Dunois, the support of France,  
 “ and the scourge of the English.”

Most Historians give us to understand, that  
 whilst the daughter of a dealer in horses, who  
 was very gay and pretty, supplied the Queen’s  
 place to *Charles VI.* at the Hotel of St. Paul,  
 the Duke of Orleans endeavoured to amuse  
 that Princess at the Hotel Barbette: he was  
 coming to sup with her, when he was assas-  
 finated. It was also said, that the Duchess of  
 Burgundy was not cruel to him, behind the  
 Tapistry at a Masquerade; that he had under-  
 taken to render himself amiable in her eyes,  
 partly through the hatred he bore her husband,  
 and that he was so indiscreet, as to sing a song,  
 which he made for this Princess, before him  
 at supper, wherein she was described by *the*  
*beauty of her black hair.* The Chronicle adds,  
 that he had a closet, wherein were hung all  
 the pictures of such Ladies, whose favours he  
 had received; and that the Duke of Burgundy,  
 knowing that his wife’s picture was there amongst  
 others,



others, resolved to take his revenge by that infamous and cowardly assassination.

This Duke of Burgundy was son to *Philip* of France, who was taken Prisoner at the Battle of Poitiers, and conducted to London with his father King *John*. Whilst King *John* and the King of England were at supper together, *Philip* gave the Steward a slap in the face, saying to him, *Where hast thou learnt to serve the King of England before the King of France, when they are at the same table?* Truly, *Cousin*, said *Edward* to him, without being angry, *you are Philip the Bold*. The Courage with which this young Prince had fought at the Battle of Poitiers, being then only 14 years old, entitled him to the surname of the *Bold*; but I cannot conceive why the Duke of Burgundy his son was surnamed *John without fear*, as his heart was inaccessible to remorse, and he was perpetually agitated by the fear of having attempts made against his life. After the murder of the Duke of Orleans, he built a Tower at his Hotel of Burgundy \*, and in that Tower he had a Chamber without windows, the door of which was very low. He shut § it at night, and opened it in the morning,

\* The Hotel of the Italian Comedy makes part of it.

§ Vide *Monstrelet*.

morning, with all the precaution wherewith fear inspires the guilty. He was familiar with none but butchers \*. The hangman § was one of his Courtiers, who went to his levee, and took him by the hand. The Massacres which this unworthy Prince occasioned in Paris, his treachery towards France, and his connections with the English, will render his memory ever execrable.

### *Thibautodé-street.*

*Agnès du Rochier*, a very pretty girl and the only child of a rich tradesman in this street, eighteen years of age, whose father had left her a handsome fortune, turned *Recluse* in the Parish of St. Oportune, October 5th 1403. Those were called *Recluses*, whether maids or widows, who built themselves a little chamber joining to the wall of some Church. The ceremony of their *Reclusion* was performed with great

\* Vide *Cboiff*, Hist. Ecclesiastique.

§ He was called *Capelucbe*, and was condemned to death for several crimes. Being upon the scaffold, and perceiving that he who was to cut his throat, was taken ill, he ordered himself to be untied, disposed the block, examined if the sabre was very sharp, just as if he had intended, says the *Journal*, to perform that office upon another; afterwards he called for mercy upon God, and was beheaded by his own Valet. *Journal de Paris*, August 22d. 1418.

great pomp: the Church was hung with tapestry; the Bishop celebrated Mass pontifically, preached, and afterwards went himself to seal the door of the little chamber, after having copiously sprinkled it with holy water; there remained nothing but a little window, from whence the *pious Solitary* heard the Offices of the Church, and received the necessaries of life. *Agnes du Rochier* died at the age of ninety-eight years: she was born rich, and by visiting prisoners, and poor people in distress, might have solaced many an unfortunate person in the space of fourscore years; but she wanted to get to heaven, without once going out of her chamber.

### *Saint Thomas du Louvre-street.*

About the middle of this street, the house that is constructed of stones and bricks, which now belongs to *M. Artaud*, was a century ago the Hotel of *Rambouillet*, so celebrated by *Mademoiselle de Scuderi*, and the other Geniuses of that time. The Hotel of *Longueville* was the Hotel of *Chevreuse*, the cradle of the patriotism and politics of the famous *Cardinal de Retz*, who had all the great qualities that he wished to have, but would not be troubled with those of a Bishop, a Citizen, and an honest man.

*Tire-Boudin, formerly Tire-V—street.*

*Mary Stuart*, wife of *Francis II.* going through this street, asked its name: it was not decent to pronounce it, so the last syllable was changed, and the alteration has still remained. Of all the streets allotted for women of pleasure, this street and that of *Brisemiche*, were the best furnished. In 1387, the Provost of Paris issued an Ordonnance, to drive this sort of women from *Brisemiche* \* street, at the request of the Curate of *St. Merri*, on account of the indecency of their residing so near a Church and a Chapter. Some § Shopkeepers opposed the execution of this Ordonnance, and undertook to support these prostitutes in their ancient possession of this street. The Parliament by an Arret of the 21st of January, 1388, admitted the Shopkeepers opposition (reserving however a definitive sentence) on the first Monday in Lent, upon fresh allegations of the parties. Some time after, the Curate of *St. Merri* found means to be revenged of one of these Shopkeepers, by condemning him to the *amende honorable* on a Sunday, at the Parish-Church-door, for having eat meat of a Friday.

\* Or *Bailleboë*.

§ Hist. de Paris. Vol. II. L. XIV. p. 701.

*Tirechape-street.*

On the night of the 20th of January, 1608, five men who carried provisions to the Halles, were found frozen to death at the corner of this street. *Peter Matthieu* relates, that he was present when *Henry IV.* said at his levee, \* *That his whiskers were frozen in bed, by the side of the Queen.* This was his wife.

*La Tixeranderie-street.*

*Paul Scarron* lodged, on the second floor, at a house in this street. He and his wife (afterwards *Madame de Maintenon*) had no other apartments than the two front-rooms, divided by the stair-case, a kitchen in the court, and a closet where a footboy lay. *Mr. de Voltaire* says, that when *Scarron* married in 1651, he lodged in the street d'Enfer. There are four streets which bear this name in Paris; they are not in the Parish of St. Gervais. *Scarron* had probably moved; he died aged 59 years, October 1st. 1660, and was buried at St. Gervais, the Parish wherein is this street de la Tixeranderie. His family, who were originally from Piedmont, had for a long time assisted in Parliament. Mr.

*de Voltaire* is in the right to say, *That it was fortunate for Miss d'Aubigny, to marry that man, though impotent, and possessed of a very small Estate; but the expression is not just, when he adds, that he was ill-favoured by nature.* Scarron had been well made, and of an agreeable figure in his youth; he became impotent by the effects of a debauch he committed at the age of seven and twenty.

*La grande & la petite Truanderie-  
Street.*

The little Place of the *Puits-d'Amour* (Love's Well) or of *l'Ariane*, is at the corner of a triangle, which is formed by these two streets with that of *Mondetour*. This Well was so called from the tragical end of a young girl, who threw herself into it, and was drowned, being deceived and deserted by her lover. She was called *Agnes Hellebic*, and her father held a pretty considerable post in *Philip Augustus's* Court. About three hundred years after, another adventure happened at this Well. A young man who was driven desperate by the cruelty of his mistress, threw himself in, but was so lucky as not to receive any hurt; and the fair one had time enough to let him down a cord, assuring him, that for the future

future she would abate of her severity. To demonstrate his regard for this Well, he was at the expence of rebuilding it. *Sauval* says §, that in his time there was the following Gothic inscription, badly engraved, upon the upper stone of it.

L'Amour m'a refait  
En \* 525 tout-à-fait.

Love compleatly repaired me in \* 1525.

The Author of the *Nocturnal Events* asserts, that a Missionary, preaching at St. Jaques de l'Hopital, held forth with such strength and zeal against the rendezvous which were kept every night at this Well; against the songs that were sung there; against the lascivious dances that were danced there; against the oaths that were taken there as at an Altar, to love for ever; and against all that followed, that fathers and mothers, and devotees, male and female, repaired thither immediately, and filled it up. I very much question this anecdote, as it is scarce probable, that *Sauval*, who was a cotemporary, would not have related it. He only says, *I have seen water drawn from this Well, and I have seen it dried up; it is at present filled up and half destroyed.*

Formerly the Taxes which were levied upon the people, were called *Tributs*, and by abbreviation,

L 3

viation,

viation, *Trus*. “From this word *Trus*, (says *Pafquier*\*,,) “that of *Truander* is derived, which signifies to gormandize and trample upon; because those who are appointed to levy the Taxes, are generally ill-natured people, who have little compassion for the poor, over whom they execute the King’s orders.” It is probable, the name of *Truanderie* was given to the streets, where the Offices of these Farmers and Receivers were established.

### *La Trouffe-Vache-street* †.

§ The Cardinal *de Lorraine*, returning from the Council of Trent, wanted to make a kind of solemn entry into Paris, accompanied by several military people in arms. The Marshal of *Montmorenci*, who was then Governor of this Capital, sent to acquaint him that he would not allow it. The Cardinal returned a haughty answer, and continued his march. *Montmorenci* met him facing the Charnel-house of the Innocents, put his escort to the sword, and his Eminence escaped into the back-shop of a tradesman in

\* Vol. I. p. 883.

† So called from a Sign, *à la Vache trouffée*, the Cow with her tail turn’d up.

§ Vide *de Thou*, Book XXXVII.



in this street, where he remained till night, concealed under a maid-servant's bed.

This same Cardinal being at the head of the Council, in the reign of *Francis II.* found himself importuned by a great number of lame Officers, and Officers widows, who solicited at Court some small pensions to enable them to live. He caused it to be proclaimed by sound of trumpet, *in order to rid himself* (for such were his words) *of these Beggars\**, that all those who were come to Fontainebleau to ask for any thing, were to withdraw in 24 hours, upon pain of being hanged on a Gibbet, which he had erected before the Castle.—He died in bed.

### *De Vaugirard-street.*

† In the reign of *Francis I.* the sum total of the rent of all the houses in Paris amounted to no more than 312,000 Livres. At present the bare-footed Carmelites, independent of the vast extent of ground which their gardens and Convent occupy, enjoy near 100,000 Livres, arising from the rent of houses, which they have built in this and the adjacent streets. They did not begin their settlement in France till 1611, when a tradesman, named *Nicholas Vivian*, gave them

L 4

a

\* *Vie de François de Guise*, p. 65.

† *Histoire de Paris*, L. XIX. Numb. 55.

a very small house. It is but doing them justice to say, that they do not pride themselves upon their riches. They still continue sending some of their brotherhood to beg from house to house.

\* M. *Camus*, Bishop of Bellay, avers, “ that  
 “ a single Order of Mendicants costs the Chri-  
 “ stian world thirty-four millions of gold, reckon-  
 “ ing only a hundred Livres for the victuals and  
 “ cloathing of every religious person; so that  
 “ (says he) the most tyrannical Prince does not  
 “ exact of his people, for supporting his luxury  
 “ and his armies, so much as the Mendicants  
 “ draw from them.--- To want to live without  
 “ working, is a continual robbery of the Nation,  
 “ and of the real poor.”

Several celebrated Doctors have maintained, that it is contrary to Religion and good sense, to make a profession of poverty; that *Jesus-Christ*, though he chose to live in a state of poverty, did not, however, affect it; that he never asked alms, nor made profession of a voluntary poverty; that he did not teach, that the faithful should make a profession of begging; that on the contrary he laid it down as a maxim, that men should never ask alms by inclination and choice, but only when they were compelled to it by necessity.

Live

• L'Apocalypse de *Meliton*.

Live by the labour of your hands; employ in this labour, which is useful to society, the time you apply in endeavouring to obtain legacies and alms; remember that it is said in Genesis, that God placed man in the terrestrial Paradise, to dress it and to keep it: *Tulit ergo Dominus Deus hominem, & posuit eum in Paradiso voluptatis, ut operaretur & custodiret illum.*

### *Verdelet-street.*

*The Butcher* was formerly a surname of honour, which was given to a Général after a victory, in remembrance of the carnage he had made of 30 or 40,000 men. *John de Montigni*, first President of the Parliament, was surnamed *the Baker*\*, in remembrance of the corn, which he brought to Paris during a famine, and which preserved the lives of 25 or 30,000 people. *This is one of those actions, says Mezeray, the memory of which I would have perpetuated by Medals.* Had this Historian lived in our time, he would have had this satisfaction. The inhabitants of Provence caused a Medal to be struck in 1747, to convey to posterity a mo-

L 5                    nument

\* His family gave up the name of *Montigni*, to adopt so honourable a surname. He resided at the corner of this street, which joins to that of *Plâtrière*.

numment of the obligations they had received from M. Bouret.

*A Letter written by Messieurs the Procurators of the Country of Provence, to M. Bouret, Farmer General, May 12th. 1747.*

SIR,

“ We are greatly mortified to see you depart  
 “ from us, without our having given you some  
 “ mark of the deep sense we entertain of your  
 “ favours. Nothing but the feelings of our  
 “ hearts can equal the services Provence has  
 “ received from you ; and all that we can do,  
 “ will ever fall short of what we owe you. We  
 “ conceived that the most sensible testimony we  
 “ could give you of our sentiments, was to cause  
 “ a golden Medal to be engraved, having on  
 “ one side the arms of the Province, with this  
 “ Inscription, COMITIA PROVINCIAE, and on  
 the reverse, STEPHANO-MICHAELI BOURET  
 QUOD JUSSU LUDOVICI XV. REGIS CHRIS-  
 TIANISSIMI, ET OPE JO. BAPT. DE MA-  
 CHAULT GENERALIS AERARII MODERATO-  
 RIS, PROVINCIAM MAXIMA REI FRUMEN-  
 TARIAE PENURIA LABORANTEM, PROVIDEN-  
 TISSIME SUSTENTAVIT, HOC GRATI ANIMI  
 MONU-

MONUMENTUM PROCURATORES PROVINCIAE  
DICANT, CONSECRANT. M. D. CC. XLVII.

“ The matter has thus been deliberated in one  
“ of our assemblies, and we have sent our orders  
“ to Paris, for striking such a Medal. It is un-  
“ fortunate for us, that we cannot present it to  
“ you, before your departure. We imagine,  
“ when it is executed, you will be pleased to  
“ accept of it, as a mark of the gratitude of the  
“ Body of this Province, and of the respectful  
“ attachment with which we are,

SIR,

*Your most humble and most obedient Servants,*

The Marquis OF PIERREFEU, JULIEN,  
THOMASSIN, LA GARDE, MICHEL  
POMIERS, Consuls and Assessors of Aix,  
Procurators of the Province.

*La Verrerie - street.*

The Ordonnances of *Charlemain*, *St. Lewis*,  
*Charles IV.* and *Charles V.* against prohibited  
Games, mention Dice and Backgammon, but  
do not speak of Cards, which is a proof that they  
were unknown at the time of the publication of  
those Ordonnances. It appears they were invent-

ed towards the end of the reign of *Charles V.* as mention is made of them in the Chronicle of *little Jehan de Saintré*, when he was Page to that Prince. A painter who resided in this street of *la Verrerie*, named *Jacquemin Gringonneur*, was the Inventor. In an account of *Charles Poupart*, Cashier (or Superintendent of the Finances) to *Charles VI.* we read ; \* “ Paid 56 sols, Paris-  
 “ money, to *Jacquemin Gringonneur*, painter,  
 “ for three packs of Cards, gilt and variously  
 “ coloured, with several devices, to be laid be-  
 “ fore the said Lord our King, for his amuse-  
 “ ment. § ”

We play, says *Mr. de Croufaz*, to avoid being pestered with the conversation of fools. There are many fools then! There are also many excommunicated people! The Council of *Mentz* †, held in 813, separated from the Communion of the Faithful all Ecclesiastics and Laymen, who played at games of chance.

The thirst of gain has rendered us more polite than our Ancestors. They did not play upon their parole. When a person had not money to pay at the end of the game, he was obliged to give security for the Sum he  
 owed

\* The Register of the Chamber of Accounts.

§ During the intervals of his fatal illness.

† Vide *Conc. Mog. Can. 14.*

owed †. “ In 1368, the Duke of Burgundy (says *Laboureur*) “ having lost sixty Livres at “ Tennis, with the Duke of Bourbon, Mr. “ *William de Lyon*, and Mr. *Guy de la Tri-* “ *mouille*, left them, for want of money, his “ belt as a deposit; which he afterwards gave “ in pledge to the Count *d’Eu* for eighty “ Livres, which he lost to him at the same “ play.”

\* In 1676, a Comedy of five Acts of *Thomas Corneille*, called *Le Triomphe des Dames*, (which has never been printed) was represented upon the Theatre of the Hotel de Guenegaud; and the *Ballet of the Game of Piquet* was one of the Interludes. The four Knaves first made their appearance with their halbarts, in order to clear the way. The Kings came successively afterwards, giving their hands to the Queens, whose trains were bore up by four Slaves, the first of whom represented *Tennis*, the second *Billiards*, the third *Dice*, the fourth *Backgammon*. The Kings, Queens, and Knaves, having, by their Dances, formed *tierzes* and *quatorzes*; all the black being ranged on one side, and all the red on the other; they concluded with a Country-Dance, wherein all the suits were confusedly blended together.

I

† Hist. de *Philippe de Boulogne*. Tome I. p. 94.

\* Theatre François. Vol. XI. p. 475.

I believe this Interlude was not new, and that it was nothing more than a sketch of a grand *Ballet*, which was performed at the Court of *Charles VII.* from whence the first idea of the game of *Piquet* was taken, as it was certainly not thought of till towards the end of this Prince's reign. How many are there who play every day at this game, without being acquainted with the depth of its merit! A Dissertation, which I take to be Father *Daniel's*, evinces § that it is symbolical, allegorical, political, historical, and that it comprehends very useful maxims upon war and government. *As* (or *Ace*) is a Latin word, which signifies *a piece of money, wealth, or riches.* The Aces at *Piquet* have the precedency, even of the Kings, to signify that money constitutes the sinews of war, and that when the Finances are low, the King's power is weak in proportion. *Treffe* or *Trefoil*, (Clubs) an herb that grows spontaneously in our meadows, implies that a General should never encamp his Army in a place where forage may be scarce, and whither it will be difficult to convey it. By *Piques* and *Carreaux* (Spades and Diamonds) are meant *Arsenals of Arms*, which should  
always

§ *Memoires pour l'Hist. des Sciences & des Beaux Arts.*  
Anno 1720.



always be well furnished. *Carreaux* (Diamonds) were a sort of strong heavy arrows, which were shot from a cross-bow, and were so called on account of their heads being square. *Hearts* represent the courage of Chiefs and Soldiers. *David, Alexander, Cæsar, and Charlemain*, are at the head of the four *Quadrilles*, or suits of Piquet, to denote that however numerous and brave troops may be, they have occasion for experienced Generals, equally prudent and courageous.

When an Army finds itself in a disagreeable situation, disadvantageously encamped, and unable to dispute the victory, they must endeavour to make the loss they are to sustain, as small as possible. This is what is practised at Piquet. If the foundation of our game is bad, if the Aces, the Quintes and Quatorzes are against us, we must endeavour, by way of precaution, to get the *Point*, to prevent the *Pic* and the *Repic*; the Kings and the Queens must be guarded to avoid a *Capot*.

We find upon the four Knaves the names of *Ogier, Lancelot*, (two Worthies in the time of *Charlemain*) *la Hire* \* and *Hector* (of *Gallard*)

\* Whilst the English were Masters of Paris and the one half of France, *la Hire*, it is said, was shewn by  
Charles

lard) two celebrated Captains in the time of *Charles VII.* The title of *Valet* was formerly honourable, and the greatest Lords bore it, till they were created Knights. In this view, the four Knaves (Valets) at Piquet represent the Nobility, as the tens, nines, eights and sevens imply the Soldiers.

The Anagram of *Argine*, which is the name of the Queen of Clubs, is *Regina*: this was Queen *Mary d'Anjou*, wife to *Charles VII.* The beautiful *Rachael*, Queen of Diamonds, was *Agnes Sorel*. The Maid of Orleans was represented by the chaste and warlike *Pallas*, the Queen of Spades, and *Isabeau de Baviere*, by *Judith*, the Queen of Hearts. This is not the *Judith*, who is mentioned in the Old Testament, but the Empress *Judith*, wife to *Lewis le Debonnaire*, who was accused of being a woman of great intrigue, who occasioned so many

*Charles VII.* the great preparations that Monarch was making for a magnificent *Ballet*, and was asked by the King what he thought of them. *Faith, Sire*, replied *la Hire*, *My opinion is, that a gayer method cannot be devised of losing a Kingdom.* It is said of the same *la Hire*, that just as he was going to attack the enemy, he fell on his knees, folded his hands, and preferred to heaven the following supplication: *O God, I beseech thee to perform this day for la Hire, as much as thou wouldst wish la Hire to perform for thee, if he were God, and thou wert la Hire.* He fancied that he had prayed vety devoutly.

many troubles in the State, and whose life therefore had a good deal of resemblance to that of *Isabeau de Baviere*.

*Charles VII.* is easily known by the name of *David*, which is given to the King of Spades. *David*, after having been a long time persecuted by *Saul*, his father-in-law, obtained the Crown of Judea; but in the midst of his prosperity, he had the mortification to see his son *Absalon* revolt against him. *Charles VII.* after having been disinherited and outlawed by *Charles VI.* his father, gloriously recovered his Kingdom; but the latter years of his life were much troubled by the restless spirit and bad character of his son (afterwards *Lewis XI.*) who dared to wage war against him, and was even the cause of his death.

Thus a pack of Cards, by the help of a commentary, may become as consequential, as many Greek and Latin Authors.

### *Les Vieilles Etuves-street.*

The use of hot baths, was formerly as common in France, even amongst the middling sort of people, as it now is, and always has been in Greece and Asia; they were frequented almost every day\*. *St. Rigobert* caused baths to be constructed for the Cannons of his Church, and furnished

\* Vide *Pollandus*. T. I. Januarii. p. 175.

nished them with wood to heat the water. *Gregory de Tours* † mentions some Nuns, who had quitted their Convent, because some indecencies had been practised in the baths. Pope *Adrian I.* recommended to the Clergy of every Parish to go to the bath processionally every Thursday, and to sing Psalms as they went along.

It seems the guests who were invited to dine or sup, were at the same time invited to bathe. “ The King and Queen (says the Chronicle of “ *Lewis XI.*) gave some grand Entertainments in “ several Hotels belonging to their Servants and “ Officers of Paris. Amongst others, there was “ one on the 10th of September 1467, when “ the Queen, accompanied by *Madam de Bourbon*, *Mademoiselle Bonne of Savoy*, her sister “ and several other Ladies, supped in the Hotel “ of Master *John Dauvet*, first President in “ Parliament, where they were received and “ regaled in a very sumptuous manner, and “ four fine baths, richly ornamented, were fitted “ up, as it was thought the Queen would bathe “ there; but she did not, as finding herself some- “ what indisposed, and also because it was a dan- “ gerous season. In one of these baths *Madam “ de Bourbon* and *Mademoiselle de Savoye* bathed “ themselves, as did *Madam de Monglat* and *Per-*  
rette

† *Greg. Tur. Hist. L. X. Cap. x.*

“ *rette de Châlon* ( a tradesman’s wife of Paris )  
 “ in another apart.--- The next month, the King  
 “ supped at the Hotel of the *Sieur Denis Hesse-*  
 “ *lin*, his Master of the Pantry, where he was  
 “ very nobly entertained, and where there were  
 “ three fine baths richly decorated for him, to  
 “ divert himself with bathing, which however  
 “ he did not do, as he had taken cold, and the  
 “ season also was dangerous.”

The Ceremony of the Bath was the most  
 punctually observed of any, upon the reception  
 of a Knight. “ \* When an Esquire comes to  
 “ Court to receive the Order of Knighthood,  
 “ he must be very nobly received by the Officers  
 “ of the Court. . . . Two *Equerries of Honour*,  
 “ properly qualified and well acquainted with  
 “ preparing courtly Entertainments and Repasts,  
 “ and deeply read in Chivalry, must be appoint-  
 “ ed to conduct every thing relating to the  
 “ said Esquire. . . They must send for the barber,  
 “ and prepare a Bath to be furnished with Lin-  
 “ nen both within and without the tub ; and  
 “ the beard and hair of the Esquire must be  
 “ dressed and cut round. . . The King shall or-  
 “ der his Chamberlain to introduce into the  
 “ Esquire’s Chamber the genteelest and most  
 “ sensible Knights then present, that they may  
 “ teach

\* *Glossaire de Ducange*, Vol. II. p. 357.

“ teach him the orders and rules of Chivalry ;  
 “ and the Minstrels shall march before the said  
 “ Knights, singing, dancing and sporting, till  
 “ they come to the chamber-door of the said  
 “ Esquire ; and when the *Equerries of Honour*  
 “ hear the Minstrels, they are to undress the Es-  
 “ quire, and put him into the bath naked . . .  
 “ and the first of the Knights is to kneel before  
 “ the tub, and say to him in a whisper, Sire,  
 “ this bath is a great honour to you ; and then  
 “ he is to teach him the rules of Chivalry in  
 “ the best manner he can. Afterwards, he is  
 “ to pour some of the water in the bath upon  
 “ his shoulders, which all the Knights are to  
 “ do in like manner, one after the other.”

*Charles VI.* being desirous to create *Lewis*  
 and *Charles d'Anjou* Knights, these two Princes,  
 says the Chronicle, appeared at first as nothing  
 more than simple Esquires, being dressed only in  
 a long tunic of light brown cloth, without any  
 ornament. They were conducted into the Cham-  
 ber where their baths were prepared for them ;  
*they jumped in ;* they afterwards received the  
 Knight's habit, made of crimson silk, trimmed  
 with a light grey fur, the gown trailing, and a  
 mantle made in the form of a sacerdotal cloak.  
 After supper they were conducted to the Church,  
 to pass the night, according to custom, in prayer.

The

The next morning, the King being dressed in the royal mantle, entered the Church, preceded by two Esquires who carried two swords with the hilts upwards, from whence hung two pair of golden spurs. After Mass was celebrated by the Bishop of Auxerre, the two young Princes went upon their knees before the King, who dubbed them, and put on them the belt of Knighthood. The *Sieur de Chauvigni* fastened on the spurs, and the Bishop gave them his blessing.

*During the Repast, says an ancient Ordonnance, the new Knight is not to eat, nor drink, nor stir, nor look about him, any more than a bride on her wedding-day.*

There was in England an Order of the Knights of the Bath. The new Knight dined with the King the day of his reception. When he retired from table, the head Cook came in, and shewed him his great knife, threatening to cut his spurs off with disgrace, if he did not faithfully keep the Oath he had just taken.

### *La Vivienne-street.*

In the year 1628, as a gardener was digging the earth, in order to root up a tree on the spot where the Change now stands, he found nine Cuirasses, which had certainly been made for women,

women, as appeared by the embossments and rounding on each side of the breast. Who were these Heroines, and what Century did they live in? This is a discovery I have not been able to make. I have only found in *Mezeray*, under the article of the Croisade, preached by St. Bernard, in the year 1147, \* *That several women did not content themselves with taking the Cross, but that they also took up arms to defend it, and composed squadrons of females, which rendered credible all that has been said of the prowess of the Amazons.*

When the French conquered Gaul, they had no other defensive armour than the shield. Superiority of numbers may crush them, but never terrify them, says *Sidonius Apollinaris*. The haughty courage which animated them, remains imprinted on their brow, even after death. . . Their dress is short, and streightens their waists, he adds; their heads are uncovered when they go to the field of battle, and the swiftness with which they fall upon the enemy, seems to equal that of the javelin which they dart. They did not usually wear a helmet and cuirass, like the Romans and Gauls whom they had subdued, until the reign of the sons of *Clovis*. The Lords of certain Fiefs under the second Race, and all the Knights under the third, wore a breast-plate of steel; upon this

\* *Hist. de France*, Vol. II. p. 98.



this plate was the *Gobiffon*\*, over the *Gobiffon* the *Haubert* §, or Coat of Mail, and upon the *Coat of Mail* the *Coat of Arms* †. I do not know whether all these accoutrements were more weighty and incommodious, as Father *Daniel* avers, than the compleat iron armour, which began to be in use in the reign of *Philip* the Fair, and covered † the whole man with iron, from  
top

\* The *Gobiffon*, or *Gambesson*, was a kind of doublet made of taffety, stuffed with wool, and quilted. It served to break the violence of a blow from a lance, which, without piercing the Coat of Mail, might cause contusions.

§ The *Haubert*, or Coat of Mail, was a jacket made of little iron rings, to which were fastened the greaves, which were made of the same materials, and covered the legs and thighs. The *helmet* secured the head, face, and nape of the neck. The *visor* of the helmet was a little grate, which might be lifted in time of action, to admit the air. In Tournaments the swords were four fingers breadth wide, that they might not go through the cavities of this grate.

† The *Coat of Arms* was made of fine woollen cloth, and sometimes of gold or silver stuff. Hereupon the warriors arms were emblazoned. It was made in the manner of the upper coat of the Musqueteers.

*Milice Françoise*, Vol. I. p. 396.

† M. *Desnyers*, Secretary of State, wrote to the Marshal *de Cbatillon* in 1638. "The King desires that you will cause  
" to be distributed by Messrs. the Intendants, to the French  
" Cavalry, the suits of armours which are at Montreuil,  
" and

top to toe; but I believe, that by rendering himself almost invulnerable by either of these methods of arming, a warrior was exposed at the same time to a cruel death, by the difficulty of rising when thrown from his horse. More men died by these overthrows, than by the wounds they received from hostile weapons. “ We  
 “ had (says *Philip de Comines*, speaking of the battle of Fornora,) “ a great train of footmen \*  
 “ and servants, who all surrounded those ar-  
 “ med Italians, and killed the greater part of  
 “ them. Almost all these footmen were pro-  
 “ vided with hatchets, such as are used for cut-  
 “ ting wood, with which they cleft in pieces  
 “ the vizors of these men in armour, and gave  
 “ them many severe blows upon the head; for  
 “ it was difficult to kill them, they were so  
 “ strongly fortified, and I did not see any one  
 “ fall but when he was surrounded by three or  
 “ four men.” What a horrid right of war!  
 “ Alas! says *Cbarren*, we chuse obscurity, we  
 hide

“ and that you will oblige the *Cavaliers* to wear them upon  
 “ pain of being degraded from their Nobility. You, Sir, and  
 “ the *Marshal de la Force*, are enjoined to instruct them of  
 “ what consequence it is to the State and to their own pre-  
 “ servation, that they don’t go into the field every day, in  
 “ nothing but a doublet, against an enemy that is armed  
 “ *Cap-à-pié.*”

\* *Fantassins*, who accompanied the armed men.

“ hide ourselves, and are visible to none but our  
 “ enamorata, in the pleasing act of producing  
 “ our own likeness; whereas we destroy it in  
 “ open day-light, to the flourish of trumpets,  
 “ with which the whole atmosphere resounds ! It  
 “ is not decent, adds he, to converse about cer-  
 “ tain things, whilst we expatiate with pride  
 “ upon a sabre and a pike --- the instruments of  
 “ death are marks of Nobility --- we gild, we  
 “ enrich a sword, it is a capital ornament of our  
 “ dress.”--- A Critic gravely replies, would the  
 Philosopher *Charron* have us publickly expose  
 and decorate with ribbons and pearls what ought  
 to be concealed ?

### *L'Université - street.*

This street is so called by reason of its being  
 upon ground belonging to the University, and  
 formerly known by the name of the *field aux*  
*Clercs.*

In ancient times, the University was very  
 powerful in the State. As soon as the Members  
 perceived that their privileges began to be infrin-  
 ged upon, they shut up their schools. The  
 Preachers becoming hoarse all of a sudden, gave  
 no more sermons, and the Physicians aban-  
 doned their Patients. The people complained

and remonstrated; the Court was obliged to yield, and satisfy the University.

### Zacharie-street.

It is but a short time since there was to be seen a stone, about 2 feet square, over the door of the house which joins the corner of this street to that of St. Severin, whereupon was engraven a variety of figures; the principal of which were that of a man thrown from his horse, and of another whom a Lady crowned with a *garland of roses* \*. Over this stone there was the following inscription: *To the valliant Clari*, and underneath, *In despite of envy*. This was a monument which the sister of *William Fouquet*, who was Equerry to *Queen Isabeau* of Bavaria, had the boldness to erect on her house, to commemorate the glory of her kinsman, the *Sire de Clary*, at a time when the Court, highly displeas'd at the combat between this brave man and *Courtenay*, prosecuted him with a violence that tended to make him lose his life upon a scaffold. *Peter Courtenay*, an English Knight and the favourite of his Master, had come to Paris, to set at defiance with the lance and sword, *Guy de la Trimouille*, the

\* This was the price which the servant of Love received from his very honoured Lady, whose white hands placed it upon his head.

the King's Standard-Bearer; solely because *la Trimouille* passed for one of the bravest and most skilful men in France. After they had broken several lances against one another, in presence of the whole Court, the King would not allow them to fight with the sword, as there was nothing more than an emulation of glory between them, and no ground of quarrel had excited them to take up arms. *Courtenay*, upon his return, waited upon the Countess *de St. Pol*, the King of England's sister, and repeated to her several times, that no Frenchman had dared to make a trial with him. "The Sire *de Clary*, (says the Chronicle of St. Denis,) "thought he was in honour bound to pick a quarrel with this Bragadochio, for the injury he did his Nation, "and proposed to him, even\* with the consent "of the Countess, to meet the next day in the "Champclos, where he behaved so valliantly, "that he forced him to quit the field covered all "over with bruises. Every body (adds the Chronicle) "looks upon this action as worthy "of a perfect Knight, and it is agreed that he "justly chastised the pride of this Englishman. "But the judgments of Courts do not always "coincide with personal merit, and private interest frequently decides in a very different man-

M 2

"ner

\* Vide *Le Laboureur*, Book V, p. 3.

“ ner from the voice of the public. The Duke  
 “ of Burgundy, who envied the Sire de Clary the  
 “ glory he had wrested from *la Trimouille*, his  
 “ favourite, changed the face of the affair. He  
 “ said it was an unpardonable crime in a private  
 “ person, to have dared to enter the Lists with-  
 “ out the King’s permission, and prosecuted him  
 “ so rigourously, that this brave Knight was for  
 “ a long time in great perplexity. I have seen  
 “ him seeking for shelter on every side, fear-  
 “ ful lest what he had undertaken only for the  
 “ glory of the State, should be expiated by his  
 “ blood, as if he had betrayed his Country.”

It is very extraordinary, that the men of  
 those times, who took so many precautions  
 against death, by wrapping themselves up in iron  
 from head to foot, should range the world to pick  
 quarrels, and fight without cause, in the manner  
 of *la Trimouille* and *Courtenay*.

It appears that the Form of the Challenges of  
 ancient Chivalry still subsisted in the time of  
*Henry IV.* The famous Earl of *Essex*, who  
 commanded the Troops that Queen *Elizabeth*  
 sent to this Prince in 1591, wrote to Admiral  
*Andrew de Villars-Branças*; “ If you will your-  
 “ self fight either on horseback or on foot, I  
 “ will maintain that the King’s quarrel is more  
 “ just than that of the League \* ; that I am a  
 “ better

\* Chron. nov.

“ better man than you, and that my Mistress is  
“ handsomer than yours; that if you refuse to  
“ fight singly, I will bring twenty with me,  
“ the worst of whom shall be a party worthy  
“ of a Colonel, or sixty, the lowest of whose  
“ rank shall be that of Captain.” The Ad-  
miral answered; “ As to the conclusion of your  
“ Letter, whereby you would maintain, that  
“ you are a better man than me, I tell you  
“ that you have lied, and will lie every time  
“ you endeavour to maintain it; and you will  
“ also lie, when you pretend that the quarrel I  
“ espouse for the defence of my Religion, is not  
“ better than that of those who endeavour to  
“ destroy it; and as to the comparison between  
“ your Mistress and mine, I am inclined to be-  
“ lieve you do not adhere more to truth in this  
“ article, than in the two others: however,  
“ this is not an object that affects me much at  
“ present.” This Challenge had no conse-  
quences.

According to the ancient Chivalry, a Lady was chosen, to whom, as to the supreme Being, a Knight disclosed all his sentiments, thoughts, and actions. I am astonished, that no Author has taken notice of the origin of this galant devotion, in the manners of the Germans our ancestors:

“ They believe (says *Tacitus* \*) there is some-  
“ thing divine in woman.”

### *The Church of Notre-Dame.*

The Christians did not begin to have public Temples till about the year 230. The first Church in Paris was built in the reign of the Emperor *Valentinian I.* about the year 375. It was called *St. Stephen's*, and there was no other within the City in 522, when *Childebert*, son to *Clovis*, liberally contributed to its reparation. At this period it was furnished with windows of glass, enlarged, and improved with a new *Basilique*, which was dedicated to the *Virgin Mary*. It was partly upon the foundations of these two Churches, by giving a greater extent to the Cathedral which we now see, that the building of this Church was begun about the year 1160, in the reign of *Lewis the Young*. It should seem the Pastors of those times had a less ardent zeal in their undertakings, or were much less successful than their brethren of our days. It was not completed before the expiration of two hundred years.

It was customary on *Whitsunday*, to throw firebrands through the openings of the arched roof,

\* C. VIII.



roof, and to let loose some pigeons, which flew upon the assistants whilst Mass was saying.

Upon the death of the Bishop and Cannon, their bed devolved to the Hotel-Dieu. When luxury and effeminacy had introduced beds more rich and commodious, there frequently arose disputes between the Bishop's creditors and the Hospital, concerning the curtains, the counterpane, and the number of matrasses. The Parliament in 1654 set aside the claims of the creditors of *Francis de Gondi*, Archbishop of Paris, and adjudged his bed, with all its appurtenances, to the Hotel-Dieu. This was the nuptial bed of a Steward's daughter.

In digging underneath the Choir, in the month of March, 1711, there were found, at the depth of 15 feet \*, nine stones, the Bas-reliefs and Inscriptions of which could not fail making a great noise amongst the Antiquarians of Europe. I have read all the explanations and conjectures, which they have risked upon these monuments; and what seemed to me the most probable, was, that under the reign of *Tiberius*, a company of Traders by water (*nautæ Parisiaci*) had caused an Altar to be erected on this spot,

M 4

(which

\* One may judge how much the level of ancient Paris has been raised. There were 13 steps to go up to this Church-door, whereas one must now descend to go into it.

(which was then probably the Port of Paris,) fully exposed \* to *Esus*, *Jupiter*, *Vulcan*, *Caster* and *Pollux*. *Piganiol*, after having observed, that it was easy to distinguish amongst these stones the particular one which served as a hearth to this Altar, § because the hole in the middle of it was filled with coals and incense at the time of the discovery, adds, *There is but little likelihood that the spot where these stones were found, was the place of their first situation; it is more natural to believe, that this Altar consecrated to Jupiter, having been taken down by the Christians, its ruins were scattered abroad, and abandoned to those who were willing to become possessed of them.* This narration is truly worthy of this writer. If the Altar in question was situated any where else, if the stones which composed it, were scattered different ways, would not the incense and coals have been turned upside down, and dissipated likewise? Would they have been found in the middle of this stone, whose center was bored to make it a hearth?

It is the Equestrian Statue of *Philip de Valois*, and not of *Philip the Fair*, which is upon the right hand

\* I say *fully exposed*, because the Gauls, when they were subjected to the Romans, and first began to have Temples, built very few of them in their Cities. It is certain there were none in Paris.

§ *Descript. de Paris. Tom. I. p. 369.*

hand in going in, against the next pillar to the Choir. This Prince, when he came to Paris, after the battle of Cassel, repaired to Notre-Dame, which he entered compleatly armed, and left behind him his horse and arms, after having thanked God and the Virgin *Mary* for the victory he had gained.

The *St. Christopher* is a vow of *Anthony des Effarts*. He had been arrested with his brother *Peter des Esarts*, Superintendent of the Finances, who was beheaded in 1413. He dreamt one night that *St. Christopher* broke the grates of his prison-window, and carried him away in his arms. Being pronounced innocent some days after, he ordered this Colossal Statue to be cut, before which he is represented kneeling.

*Lewis XIII.* asked the Pope to erect the Episcopal See of Paris into an Archbishopric, which he obtained in 1622. *Gregory XI.* who had the same request made him by *Charles V.* in 1376, replied to that Prince, *That he was prevented from doing so, by the Church of Paris being so very poorly endowed* \*. I imagine this would not have been an obstacle in the time of the Apostles.

\* Vide *Duebesne's Hist. des Cardinaux François.*

*Lewis XIV.* in the month of April, 1674, erected the Lands and Lordships of St. Cloud, Maisons, Creteil, Ozoir-la-Ferriere, and Armentieres, into a Duchy, in favour of *Francis de Harlay*, Archbishop of Paris, and his Successors. They take their seat in Parliament amongst the temporal Peers, immediately after the Dukes of Bethune-Charost.

The octagon basin in the Thuillerie-gardens, it is said, is as wide as the Towers of Notre-Dame are high.

### *The Palais.*

The *Palais*, or Palace, has been the usual place of residence of all our Kings of the third Race, from the time of *Hugh Capet* till that of *Charles V.* \* It was a collection of large Towers, which had a gallery of communication, that commanded a prospect over Issi, Meudon, and St. Cloud. The garden belonging to it, which was called *the King's garden*, occupied all the ground whereupon are erected the *new Court* and *that of Lamoignon*, and all those brick houses which surrounded them, and which are easily distinguished from the ancient build-

\* He preferred living at the Hotel of St. Paul, which he had built.

buildings. This garden which covered the space, where Harlay-street now stands, was separated, by a branch of the river, from two small Islands, that were united to each other and to the City, and whereupon the *Place Dauphine* began to be built in 1608.

In the month of March, 1599, the Parliament caused the mounting-block of stone to be erected in the Court du May, that the aged Presidents and Counsellors might with greater facility mount their horses or mules, in going out of Court. A Counsellor in those days offered his horse's crupper to a Brother Bencher, just as he would now offer him a place in his coach.

*He asked me, are you on horseback? Is there none of your Company here? I answered I am on foot all alone, and yet he did not offer me his crupper.*

REGNIER, Sat. VII.

We should think it very singular now-a-days, were we to see two Magistrates, in their robes and bands, mounted upon the same horse, like the sons of *Aimon*. *Gui Loisel every Saturday night accompanied his father on foot to his Country-house, near Villejuie, his father riding*

*riding all the way on his mule.* This was not ostentatious; but we have at the same time a very noble proof of the courageous resolution which reigned in the deliberations, when the defence of the rights of the blood of our Sovereigns came upon the carpet. Let us image to ourselves Paris given up to Fanaticism, to Monks and *Seizes*, who breathed nothing but massacres and fresh assassinations; let us view the Parliament without succours or defence, surrounded with these blood-thirsty men: The Senate braves their fury, nothing intimidates it . . . the Arret of the 28th of June 1593 (for the observation of the Salique Law) is issued, which saved the State, and restored us to our lawful Princes and to the best of Kings. There is no History of any people whatever, that can instance an action which evinces a higher and more unlimited devotion to the Nation, and to the Laws of justice and honour.

### *The Palais des Termes.*

*Dioclesian's Baths* at Rome were not entirely finished till the year 306, and this Palais was built upon the model of those Baths. It is astonishing, then, how any one can maintain that it was considerably more ancient than  
the

the Emperor *Julian*, who commanded in Gaul in 357. Besides, in building this Palace, it was necessary to consider how water could be brought thither; and not only so, but in 1544 the remains of an aqueduct, which served to convey that of Arcueil, were actually discovered\*; so that it may be presumed, this aqueduct, and consequently the Palace itself, were not yet compleated in the time of *Julian*, in as much as he says in his *Misopogon*, *The Parisians inhabit an Island, and have no other water than that of the Seine*. My opinion is, that this Prince, at his leaving Paris, gave orders to build this Palace, that he might leave a monument of his magnificence near a City, which he cherished, and where he had been proclaimed Emperor.

*It appears from the account of Ammianus Marcellinus, Libanius, and Zozimus, that the Soldiers who proclaimed him, went out of their Camp in the evening, and repaired in a body to the Place which was before the Palace of his residence, where they passed the night. This Palace, it is said, was certainly that of the Termes, without the City, as a Place spacious enough*

\* See Corrozet.

to contain such a number § of people as could not be within it. To this reasoning I reply, That it seems to me very easy to imagine that this Place was there, and on the same spot too, where *Charles VII.* a thousand years after convened the inhabitants of Paris. “ The King (says the Chronicle of St. Denis) resolved to restore tranquillity by a convocation of the Parisians in the Palace-Court †: a scaffold was erected upon the stairs, which this Prince mounted together with his Uncles and the great Officers of the Crown; the Chancellor spoke to the people. ”

“ How was it possible (it is added) to find lodgings in the City for such a crowd of Courtiers, as accompanied *Julian*? He had with him the Prefect of the Gauls, the Master of Arms, the Count of the Domestics, the Master of the Libels, the Master of the Offices, the Prefect of the Chamber, the Grand Equerry, a Questor, Notaries, “ Tri-

§ The number of these Soldiers could not exceed 9 or 10,000, as they only composed part of the Army of *Julian*, when he afterwards marched against *Constantius*. This Army, according to *Ammianus*, *Marcellinus* and *Zozimus*, (L. XXI. L. III.) consisted of only 20,000 men.

† The Palace-Court was not then surrounded with walls, nor incumbered with houses and shops, as at present; besides, the adjacent streets did not terminate so near,



“ Tribunes, Chamberlains, Decurions of the  
 “ Palace, and others.” This enumeration  
 of *Adrian de Valois*, which is more pedantic  
 than judicious, I shall answer by a fact. The  
 Emperor *Charles IV.* and his son *Venceslas*, who  
 had been elected King of the Romans, paid  
 a visit to our King *Charles V.* in 1378; and  
 our King *Charles V.* the Emperor, and the  
 King of the Romans, were all three accom-  
 modated at the Palace.

The Author of the Journal of the Reigns  
 of *Charles VI.* and *Charles VII.* relates \*, that  
 on Monday, June 21st 1428. the Regent of  
 France (the Duke of Bedford) gave at the Palace  
 in Paris one of the most sumptuous feasts that  
 had ever been seen; that all persons, of what  
 condition soever, were admitted to dinner; that  
 the Regent, his wife, and all the Knighthood,  
 were served in their respective places, and with  
 such removes as were suitable; first the Clergy,  
 as Bishops, Prelates, Abbés, Priors, and Doctors  
 in all Sciences; afterwards the Parliament, the  
 Provost of Paris, the Chatelet, the Provost of  
 the Merchants, the Sheriffs and Burgesses; and  
 then the common people of all stations. The whole  
 amounted to above 8000 guests seated at table.

Farther,

\* Page 116.

Farther, let us examine this City a little, which is represented as so inconsiderable, and which in the time of *Julian* had neither Temples to false Gods, nor Churches, Convents, nor Hospitals; and we shall find an Archbishopric, the Cathedral, the Cloister of the Canons of Notre-Dame, a Square, a Market-place, the Hotel-Dieu, a Foundling-Hospital, two Convents of Monks, twelve Parish-Churches, six and forty streets, and the Palais with all its dependencies.

I shall dismiss this article with observing that there was from the earliest times a Palace in the City, where *Cæsar*, and the Proconsuls who succeeded him in Gaul, resided; that *Julian* occupied it, when he was proclaimed Emperor; that several of our Kings of the first and second Race have lived there, and that it was the usual lodging of *Hugh Capet*, and all his Successors, till the time of *Charles VII.* who ceded it entirely to the Parliament. With respect to the Palais des Termes, it was begun to be built towards the year 361, about 120 years before the time of *Clovis*. This Prince, *Childebert* his son, and some other Kings of the first Race, preferred it for their residence to the City-Palace. The Normans destroyed it in part; and towards the end of the second Race,

Race, the garden and such of the apartments as were inhabited, served only as retreats for the pleasures of certain gay females who could not receive their Lovers at home.

### *The Louvre* \*.

It was said of Versailles, when *Lewis XIV.* began to build there, that it was a *favourite without merit*. It may be said of the Louvre, that notwithstanding the merit of its situation, it has scarce ever been in favour. *Dagobert* kept there his dogs, hunting-horses, and huntsmen. Indolent Kings resorted thither pretty frequently; but it was only after dinner, by way of digestive, taking an airing or so in their coach in the forest †, which covered all that side of the river: they returned in the evening in a boat, angling as they moved along, to sup at Paris, and lie with their wives. This royal house is not mentioned under the second Race of Kings, nor even under the third till the reign of *Philip Augustus*, who converted it into a kind of Citadel, surrounded with wide ditches, and flanked

\* Derived from the old Saxon word *Louwear*, which signified a Castle.

† Part of this forest still subsisted in the time of *St. Lewis*, for Historians say that he built the Hospital of the *Quinac-Vingts* (*in loco*) in a wood.

flanked with Towers. That which was called the *large Tower of the Louvre*, (pulled down by *Francis I.* in 1528.) was built by itself in the Center of the Court, and indeed of the whole Edifice, the apartments of which it rendered still more dark and dismal. It should seem, this Prince affected to shut out all light by the melancholy gloom he wanted to reign here, that this Tower, the dungeon of Sovereignty, by which all the great Feudataries of the Crown held their fiefs, might proclaim to those who came to take the oaths of homage and fidelity, that it was a prison ready prepared for them, in case they should fail to fulfill their engagements. Three Flemish Counts, *John de Montfort*, who disputed with *Charles de Blois* the Duchy of Brittany, and *Charles the Bad*, King of Navarre, were imprisoned here at different periods. The Louvre which had remained without the City for above the space of six Centuries, was at length taken into it by the walls commenced under the reign of *Charles V.* in 1367, and finished in the reign of *Charles VI.* in 1383. *Charles V.* whose Revenues amounted to no more than a Million of Livres, expended 55,000 Livres on heightening this Palace, and rendering the apartments more commodious and agreeable; but neither this Prince, nor his  
Suc-

Successors, till *Charles IX.* made it the usual place of their abode: they left it for foreign Sovereigns, who happened to come into France. In the reign of *Charles VI. Emanuel*, Emperor of Constantinople, and *Sigismund*, Emperor of Germany, were lodged here. *Francis I.* complimented *Charles V.* with it in 1539. These Princes, I observe, were always received with great magnificence, and had the highest honour paid them; but when they made their Entry into Paris, the strictest care was taken to give them nothing but black horses, the white ones being reserved for the Sovereign's own riding in his Kingdom. “ The Emperor *Charles IV.* (says *Christine de Pisan* \*,) “ rode upon the horse, “ sent him by the King, which was black, “ and his son *Venceslas*, elected King of the “ Romans, was mounted in the like manner. “ It was not without reason, that they were “ furnished with horses of this colour: for when “ the Emperors enter into any capital Cities “ of their own dominions, they are usually “ mounted upon white horses, and King “ *Charles V.* was not willing that they should “ be mounted in the same manner in his King- “ dom . . . Then the King to receive the “ said Emperor, set out from his Palace upon

“ a

\* Chap. XXXV. and XXXVI.

“ a great white Palfrey, accompanied by the Dukes  
 “ of *Berry, Burgundy, Bourbon, and Bar*, toge-  
 “ ther with Counts, Barons, and Knights without  
 “ number, and Prelates dressed in Roman hoods.”

*Charles IX. Henry III. Henry IV. and Lewis XIII.* resided at the Louvre, where they erected several additional buildings. There are no vestiges to be seen of the old Castle of *Philip Augustus*, which *Charles V.* caused to be repaired. What is most ancient, is not of an earlier date than the reign of *Francis I.*

“ Sire,” (said *Dufreny* one day to *Lewis XIV.* who loved him and diverted himself with his pleasantries,) “ I never look at the new \* Louvre, without crying out, Superb monument of the magnificence of one of the greatest Kings, who has filled the whole earth with his fame ; Palace worthy of our Monarchs, you would have been completed long ere now, had you been given to one of the four Orders of Mendicants, to hold their Chapters in, and to lodge their General.” The thought is ridiculous; but it makes me call to mind, that none of these Friars ever want the necessaries of life, whilst the Cardinal *de Retz* † relates in his Memoirs, that paying a visit one day to the Queen

\* The building began by *Lewis XIV.*

† See Cardinal *de Retz's* Memoirs, Vol. I. L. II. p. 296.

Queen of England, at the Louvre, he found her in the chamber of her daughter, afterwards the Duchefs of Orleans, when ſhe ſaid to him: *You ſee I am come to keep Henrietta company; the poor child could not get out of bed to day, for want of a fire.* “ It is very true, continues he, that for “ ſix months the Cardinal *Mazarin* did not “ cauſe her penſion to be paid; the trades-folks “ would give her no more credit, and there was “ not a bit of wood in her apartments; the “ Parliament ſent her 40,000 Livres.” O *Henry IV.* O my Maſter, O my King, it is thy grand-daughter who is in want of a faggot, that ſhe may riſe, in the month of January, in the Louvre!

“ If ever the grand ſcheme, ſays *Piganiol*, “ § which was projected for the Louvre, whiſt “ *M. Colbert* was Superintendent of the buildings, “ be carried into execution, the Church of St. “ *Germain de l’Auxerrois* ſhould be demolifhed, “ as alſo the houſes of the Cloiſter and thoſe of “ ſome adjacent ſtreets, to form in their ſtead, “ a great and magnificent Square, which ſhould “ join to the *Pont-Neuf*, (or New-Bridge,) and “ which by opening an avenue to the Louvre, “ would place that ſuperb Façade, which *Claude* “ *Perrault* deſigned, and which is the fineſt piece “ of

§ Description de Paris, Vol. II. p. 128.

“ of modern Architecture in the Universe, in a  
 “ very advantageous point of sight.”

It is to be hoped that this plan will be executed by M. le Marquis *de Marigni*, the only one, since M. *Colbert*, who has shewn himself actuated by a zeal for the real glory of the King and the good of the Public. He has gratified the general wish of the Nation, by undertaking to finish the Louvre. This Square is doubtless comprehended in his design. It would be easy to join some Abbey to the Canonics, and to the Cure of St. Germain de l'Auxerrois, to indemnify the Curate and Cannons for the houses to be taken down. I imagine it would not be necessary to demolish the Church, but only to decorate the great entry; besides, if it were demolished, it might be rebuilt out of the funds of the *Oeconomats*, as was practised with respect to the new Parish of Versailles; and by this regulation it would put neither the King nor the City to any expence.

### *The Tuilleries.*

This Palace had its name from the spot whereon it is situated, which was called *les Tuilleries*, because tiles (*la tuile*) were made here. *Catherine de Medicis* built it in 1564. It consisted  
 of



of nothing but the large square Pavilion in the middle, the two wings, each of which have a terrace on the garden-side, and the two Pavilions which terminate the wings. *Henry IV. Lewis XIII. and Lewis XIV.* have extended, elevated and decorated it. It is said to be neither so well proportioned, so beautiful, nor so regular, as it was at first: the Tuilleries is nevertheless, next to the Louvre, the finest Palace in Europe.

An Astrologer having prognosticated to *Catherine de Medicis*, that she would die near St. Germain, she immediately flew in a most superstitious manner \*, from all places and Churches that bore this name. She no more resorted to St. Germain en Laye; and because her Palace of the Tuilleries was situated in the Parish of St. Germain de l'Auxerrois, she was at the expence of building another, which was the Hotel de Soissons, near St. Eustatius's Church. When it was known to be *Laurence de St. Germain*, Bishop of Nazareth, who had attended her upon her death-bed, people infatuated with Astrology, averred that the prediction had been accomplished.

It was at the Tuilleries, four days before the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, that she gave that feast, which most of the Historians make mention

\* Vide *Mexeray*.

tion of \*; but much too slightly. They excite the reader's curiosity, without gratifying it. *Mezzeray* says only, That upon occasion of the marriage † of the King of Navarre with *Margaret de Valois*, there were many diversions, Tournaments and Ballets at Court; “ and amongst  
 “ others, there was one, which could not fail to  
 “ prefigure the calamity that was upon the point  
 “ of bursting upon the Huguenots, the King and  
 “ his brothers defending Paradise against the King  
 “ of Navarre and his brothers, who were repul-  
 “ sed and banished to Hell.” Here follows what I have found in some Memoirs of those times, which are very scarce. “ First, in the said §  
 “ Hall, on the right hand, Paradise was repre-  
 “ sented, the entrance to which was defended  
 “ by three Knights (*Charles IX.* and his brothers)  
 “ compleatly armed. On the left was Hell,  
 “ wherein was a great number of devils and little  
 “ imps, playing an infinite number of monkey-  
 “ tricks, and making a hurly-burly with a great  
 “ wheel, turning round in the said Hell, and sur-  
 “ rounded with little bells. Paradise and Hell  
 “ were divided by a river, whereon was a bark  
 “ navi-

\* *De Thou*, L. LII.

† Afterwards *Henry IV.*

§ *Memoires de l'Etat de France sous Charles IX.* Vol. I. p. 362.

“ navigated by *Charon*, Ferryman of the infernal  
“ regions. At one end of the Hall, behind Pa-  
“ radise, were the Elysian Fields, which con-  
“ sisted of a garden embellished with verdure  
“ and all kinds of flowers, and the Empyrean  
“ heaven, represented by a great wheel with the  
“ twelve signs of the Zodiac, the seven Pla-  
“ nets, and an infinity of small Stars illuminated,  
“ shining with great lustre by means of lamps  
“ and flambeaux that were artfully disposed be-  
“ hind. This wheel was in continual motion,  
“ and occasioned the turning of the garden also,  
“ wherein were twelve Nymphs, very richly  
“ dressed. In the Hall several Knights errant  
“ appeared (these were Lords of Religion, who  
“ had been purposely chosen;) they were armed  
“ at all points, habited in a variety of liveries,  
“ and conducted by their Princes, (the King of  
“ Navarre and the Prince of *Condé*.) All of these  
“ Knights endeavouring to reach Paradise, in  
“ order to go afterwards in quest of the Nymphs  
“ in the garden, were prevented by the three  
“ other Knights to whose keeping it had been  
“ committed; who one after the other appeared  
“ in the Lists, and having broke their pikes  
“ against the said assailants, and struck them  
“ with their cutlasses, drove them towards Hell,  
“ whither they were dragged by the devils and

“ their imps. This sort of battle lasted till the  
“ Knights were vanquished, and dragged one  
“ by one into Hell, which afterwards closed and  
“ was shut up. At that instant *Mercury* and *Cu-*  
“ *pid* descended from the skies upon a Cock.  
“ The part of *Mercury* was performed by *Ste-*  
“ *phen le Roi*, the celebrated singer, who after  
“ he had come down, went and presented him-  
“ self to the three Knights, when chanting a  
“ melodious song, he made them a speech, and  
“ returned to heaven upon his Cock, singing  
“ all the way. Then the three Knights arose  
“ from their seats, passed through Paradise, and  
“ went into the Elysian Fields in search of the  
“ twelve Nymphs, whom they conducted into  
“ the middle of the Hall, where they danced  
“ a Ballet, which was exceedingly diversified,  
“ and lasted a full hour. The Ballet being done,  
“ the Knights who were in Hell, were released,  
“ and fought together helter-skelter, till they  
“ broke their pikes. The battle being ended,  
“ some trains of powder, which were laid round  
“ a fountain fitted up almost in the middle of the  
“ Hall, were set fire to, whereby a noise and  
“ smoke were created, which obliged every one  
“ to retire. Such was the diversion of this day,  
“ from whence may be conjectured, amidst all  
“ these

“ these feints, what were the thoughts of the  
 “ King and the Cabinet-Council.”

*Catherine of Medicis*, whose abominable Politics had corrupted the good disposition of her son, was the soul of this Cabinet-Council. Can one, without shuddering with horror, think of a woman who devises, composes, and prepares a feast on the Massacre which she is to commit four days after, upon great part of the Nation, over which she reigns ! Who smiles at her victims ; who plays with carnage ; who makes Love and the Nymphs dance upon the banks of a river of blood, and who blends the charms of music with the groans of a hundred thousand unfortunate Beings whom she inhumanly destroys !

I observe, that by an accident singular enough, the finest public garden in Athens was called the *Tuilleries*, or the \* *Ceramique*, because it had been planted like ours, upon a spot where tiles were made.

### *The Hotel de Ville, or Town-house.*

The French, after the conquest of Gaul, did not change the forms of Police and Govern-  
 N 2 ment,

\* *Κεραμος*, a tile, and from thence *Κεραμικός*, the place where a Manufactory of tiles, or earthen-ware, is carried on.

ment, which they found established in the respective Cities; each one had its Officers: they were called *Defenders of the City*. Their business was to support the privileges and trade of the inhabitants, and to regulate the expences which were necessary to be incurred upon certain occasions. These *Defenders of the City* were chosen from amongst the body of the *Nautes*, who were Citizens of the first rank, incorporated for carrying on the commerce by water. The Inscriptions found in the month of March, 1711, on digging the ground under the Choir of Notre-Dame, informs us, that under the reign of *Tiberius*, the Company of the *Nautes* settled at Paris, erected an Altar to *Esus, Jupiter, Vulcan, Castor, and Pollux*. It is natural to suppose that the *Mercatores aquæ Parisiaci*, who are mentioned in the reigns of *Lewis the Fat* and *Lewis the Young*, had succeeded under another title to those ancient traders, and that here we may trace the source of the municipal body, since known by the name of the *Hôtel de Ville* of Paris, and intrusted with the general Police of the Navigation and Merchandizes which come by water. It is not known where the Corporation of the City met under the first and second Race. In the beginning of the third, they held their assemblies in a house in the *Vallée de Mijere*, called the House of Mer-

Merchandize ; from thence they removed to the *Parloir aux Bourgeois*, near the Great Chatelet, and afterwards to another *Parloir aux Bourgeois*, in one of the Towers of the City-walls, not far from the Jacobins in the street of St. Jacques. In the reign of *Philip the Bold*, anno 1274, their Officers received the title of *Provost and Sheriffs of the Merchants of the City of Paris*. In 1357, they purchased the *House de Grève*, otherwise called *la Maison aux Piliers*, on account of its front being supported by Pillars, for 2880 Livres. It had belonged to the two last Dauphins of Viennois, and *Charles V.* resided there whilst he was Dauphin, who gave it to *John d'Auxerre*, Receiver of the Gabelles, in consideration of the signal services he had performed. Upon the ruins of this house, and some other contiguous ones, the Hotel de Ville was begun to be built in 1533, but was not compleatly finished till 1605.

It would be a difficult matter, I believe, to find a public Edifice built in a worse taste, or whose façade is more wretchedly imagined. With respect to the square ; is it not a relick of the ancient barbarism in our manners, to fix upon an inclosure usually appropriated to gibbets and scaffolds, for the place of our public rejoicings upon the birth of a Prince, a victory obtained, or some other happy event ?

### The Great and Little Chatelet.

Paris, which still comprehended only the City, was surrounded with walls, flanked with Towers\* at certain distances, when the Normans laid siege to it in 885, in the reign of *Charles the Fat*. There was no entering it but by two bridges, the little bridge, and that of the Change. Each of these bridges was defended by two Towers, one of which was part of the wall, and consequently was within the City; the other was separated from it by the bridge and the river. These outer Towers stood where the Great and Little Chatelet are now situated.

The Normans set fire to the Little Chatelet, and entirely destroyed it. There is the greatest reason to believe, that after they raised the siege, another Tower was built upon the same foundation, which subsisted till the reign of *Charles V*. This Prince caused the Edifice we now see, to be begun in 1369.

As to the Tower of the Great Chatelet, the Normans could not make themselves masters of it.

\* In the street *de la Pelleterie*, and likewise in that of *St. Lewis*, near the Palace, some vestiges of the walls of these two ancient Towers are still remaining. It is said the Tower in the street *de la Pelleterie* was at first called *the Tower de Marquesas*, and afterwards *the Tower de Roland*; but it is very uncertain, whether the famous *Roland* ever resided at Paris.



it. *Abbon*, a cotemporary writer, and perhaps an eye-witness, relates, That after having endeavoured in vain to fill up the ditches of this Tower with fascines, and even with oxen and cows, which they killed for the purpose, they threw in the corpses of part of the prisoners they had taken, whom they put to death, that their dead bodies might serve them for a bridge; that *Gozlin*, Bishop of Paris, struck with horror and indignation at this act of inhumanity, lanced a javelin, invoking the Virgin at the same time, and killed one of the instruments of this barbarity, whose body was immediately tossed in with the others.

\* *The name of Cæsar's Chamber, which has been fixed by tradition, upon one of the Chambers of the Great Chatelet, the antiquity of its large Tower, and these words, TRIBUTUM CÆSARIS, engraved † upon a marble, which was still to be seen under the arcade, about the end of the sixteenth Century, appear to the Commissary de la Marre convincing*

N 4

proofs

\* Vide *Traité de la Police*, Vol. I. p. 87.

† *Corrozet*, whose work was printed in 1550, asserts that he had heard it averred by people still living in his time, that they had seen an Inscription upon that part of the Chatelet, to this purpose, *Here the Tribute was paid to Cæsar*; and in our own memory, continues he, Greek and Latin characters were visible upon some of the stones, *Antiquités de Paris*, p. 10.

proofs of that *Fortress's* being built by the orders of this Conqueror, or under the reign of some of the first Roman Emperors. When I say that this does not deserve confutation, I allow that there might, from the earliest period, have been a kind of Fort erected on this spot.

In a Tariff of St. *Lewis* for regulating the duties upon the different articles brought into Paris by the gate of the Little Chatelet, it is ordained, That whoever fetches a monkey into the City for sale, shall pay four deniers; but if the monkey belongs to a Merry-Andrew, the Merry-Andrew shall be exempted from paying the duty as well upon the said monkey, as on every thing else he carries along with him, by causing his monkey to play and dance before the Collector. Hence is derived the Proverb, *To pay in monkey's coin*, i. e. to laugh at a man instead of paying him. By another article it is specified, That Jugglers shall likewise be exempt from all imposts, provided they sing a couplet of a song before the Toll-gatherer.

### *Le Pont \* au Change, or Change-Bridge.*

*Gregory de Tours* relates § that it was said at his time, that Paris was consecrated by two brazen

\* So called from the Money-Changers who resided there.

§ Hist. L. VIII. C. XXXIII.

brazen figures, which represented a Serpent and a Dormouse; that these animals were charms against fire; that in cleansing the bed of the river, under this bridge, the two figures were taken up, and that from that time, this Capital had been subject to frequent fires, and to be infested by Serpents and Dormice. *Germain Brice* \* boldly cites this passage from *Gregory de Tours*, without having read it, and subjoins a ridiculous reflexion to the most erroneous quotation.

The Dealers in Birds, who obtained leave to expose them to sale upon this bridge, were obliged to let loose two hundred dozen of them upon the Entry of the Kings and Queens. This we may suppose to have been a kind of allegorical intimation to the people, that if they had been oppressed under the preceding reign, their rights, privileges, and liberties were going to be restored under the new King.

At the Entry of *Isabeau of Bavaria*, wife of *Charles VI.* a Genoese fastened a rope from the top of the Towers of *Notre-Dame* to one of the houses upon this bridge; he descended dancing upon the rope, with a lighted flambeau in each hand: he passed between the blue taffety curtains ornamented with large golden Flowers

\* Description de Paris, Vol. I. p. 13.

de Luce, which covered the bridge; he fixed a crown upon *Isabeau's* head, and re-ascended upon his rope into the air. The Chronicle adds, as this was performed in the night, he was seen in all parts of Paris and its environs.

*Le Pont Notre-Dame, or the Bridge  
of our Lady.*

The Ecclesiastical Infantry of the League passed in review upon this bridge before the Legate on the 3d of June, 1590. Capuchins, Minims, Cordeliers, Jacobins, Carmelites, and Feuillans, (begging Friars of the Order of St. Bernard) with their gowns tucked up, and their hoods down \*, with helmets upon their heads, cuirasses upon their backs, swords by their sides, muskets on their shoulders, marched four and four, with the Reverend Bishop of Senlis at their head, carrying a spontoon: the Curates of St. Jacques de la Boucherie and of St. Come †, acted as Serjeants Major. Some of these Militants, without considering that their muskets were loaded with ball, and eager to give the Legate a Salute, fired away in the height of their zeal, and killed one of his Almoners, who was standing by his side. His Eminence  
finding

\* Hist. de Paris.

† Vide *l'Etoile's* Supplement, anno 1590.

finding the review to wax a little too hot for him, hastened to confer his benediction, and marched off the premisses.

### *Le Pont-Neuf, or the New Bridge.*

This bridge is 170 Toises in length, and 12 in breadth. It was begun in 1578, but not finished till 1694. Two small Islands on the West-side of the City were united, in order to erect it: these Islands had till then been separated by a branch of the river, where the street de Harlai now stands. The Place Dauphine was begun upon these united Islands, in 1608. The largest of these Islands was called *l'Isle aux Treilles*, and the other *l'Isle de Buci*, or *du Pasteur aux Vaches*. In 1160, Lewis the Young made a Gift to the Chaplain of the Chapel of St. Nicholas of the Palais, of six hogsheds of wine, annually, of the growth of the *Isle aux Treilles*.

### *Place des Victoires.*

The Abbé de Choisi says \*, that the Marshal de la Feuillade intended purchasing a vault in the Church of the Petits Peres, which he designed to carry under ground as far as this Place,

N 6

in

\* Memoires, L. V.

in order to be buried precisely underneath the Statue of *Lewis XIV.* I am sensible that the Marshal *de la Feuillade* had not by his actions and signal victories merited a monument at St. Denis like *Duguesclin* and *Turenne*; but neither was he one of those useless Courtiers to the State, who ought to be interred at the foot of their Master's Statue, in the public place consecrated to the Idol, whom they had adored, but little served. The Abbé *de Choisi's* wit consists in these sallies, which are void of truth, and which do harm to none but the writer, whose malignity they unmask.

*Rails before the Royal Houses and  
some Hotels.*

The Princes of the Blood had an entire jurisdiction over their domestics. The great Officers of the Crown had the like over all those, who by their Posts, Employmens, or Business, were within their Department. If a tumult arose amongst the people, or some sudden complaint was to be made, they assembled before the house, either of the Governor, or the Great Almoner, or the Constable, or the Great Chamberlain, or the Grand Equerry, or the Chancellor, or some Prince of the Blood, in

a word before the house of any one who had a right to judge and punish the persons who were complained of. This Prince, or great Officer, went down to his door, where there was a rail to prevent his being broke in upon by the people, and on which he leaned to hear the grievances. This is the origin of the rails, which are seen before different Hotels. The Cardinal *de Rohan*, as Great Almoner, had one before his Hotel, in the street du Temple: there was none before the Hotel de Soubise. There is one before the Hotel d'Armagnac, because the Grand Equerry lives there: there are none before any of the Hotels of any of the other Princes of the house of Lorraine. There is one before the Hotel of the Duke de Bouillon, in quality of Great Chamberlain: there is none before the Hotel d'Evreux, nor before that of Auvergne. The Dean of the Marshals of France, as representing the Constable, has a right to rails. It is somewhat improper to let rails remain before Hotels which formerly had them, when the person that is in present possession, has no right to them: it is true he cannot repair them, and he must let them drop to pieces. There is a rail before the Hotel of the Controller-General, because it was formerly intended for the Hotel of the Embassadors extraordinary, and had previously

viously belonged to the Chancellör, Mr. *de Pontchartrain*. The Keeper of the Seals has a right to a rail. It is surprizing to see one before the Hotel of the East-India Company; for though it is not made like the others, it has nevertheless the appearance of a rail, which does not belong to an Hotel that has so commercial an appearance.

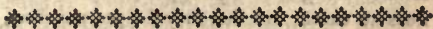
*End of the Anecdotes upon Edifices  
in Paris.*





*Non omnibus loquor.*

SENECA.



*The Gauls.*

**P**AUSANIAS, speaking of the Gauls, says that the custom of calling this people by that name, was not introduced till very late, and that their ancient appellation was *Celtes*. The Celtic language was the mother-tongue of all the West, and I believe there are proofs \* of its being still preserved in Lower Brittany † and in Wales, with such alterations only,

\* What amounts almost to conviction in this respect, is, that the Bretons and the Welch understand each other, though they are so remote in situation, and have had no sort of connexion for many ages.

† Brittany was anciently called *Armorica*. This name was derived from *ar mor*, two words in the language of this Country, which signify the *Sea*, and *ribl* Coast, that is to say, *Sea-Coast*. The Inhabitants of the Island of Britain  
(Eng-

only, as time could not fail to create. *Gall* and *Kelt* signified in Celtic, and still signify in the Britons tongue, *valliant* or *courageous*. *Polybius* and *Ammianus Marcellinus* represent the Gauls as of an advantageous stature, with an austere look, lively, passionate, and stately; in other respects they were candid, free and affable towards strangers. *Cæsar* says \*, they were curious to excess, and that they stopped travellers, and gathered round them in the public places, to ask them for news. They were fond of shew, and wore golden bracelets, collars, rings, and belts. Their hair was naturally fair; but to change it to a colour, which was more agreeable to them, they reddened it with a pomatum § made of goat's grease and beech-ashes. The Vergobrets (or sovereign Magistrates) powdered theirs, and their beards also, upon ceremonial

(England) painted their bodies with various colours, as the Savages do to this day. The Gauls called this Island *Britanés*. *Britb*, in Ereton, signifies painted of different colours, and *enés*, an Island, that is to say, *the Island of the men painted with different colours*. The name of *Picts*, *Picti*, which the Romans gave them, was in all likelihood derived from this signification.

\* S. IV. Numb. V.

§ Some Authors pretend that this pomatum turned the hair entirely red, and that this people thought that a large blood-colour mane, round their head, gave them a terrifying look when they went to the wars.

nial days, with gold-filings. The women took their seats in all Assemblies wherein war and peace were to be deliberated upon. Those who came last to these Assemblies, were \* hewn in pieces; and such as were appointed to impose silence, were allowed to cut a piece off the cloaths of the person who caused any interruption †. They dipped their new-born children into cold water, to render them more robust, and to temper them like steel. An over-fat ‡ man was fined, and the fine was annually increased, or diminished, in proportion to his size. When a girl was marriageable, her father gave an invitation to the young men of the district to dine with him: she was left entirely at liberty to chuse which of all the number she liked best; and to testify the preference she gave to that person, she presented him first with the vessels and implements for washing. Sometimes they fixed upon two ravens to put an end to a law-suit. The parties placed two cakes, made of flower, diluted in oil and wine, upon a board, which was carried to the side of a lake ||; two ravens would presently light upon this board, and would break and scatter about one of the cakes, whilst they devoured the other entirely: that

\* Vide *Cæsar*.† *Strabon. L. IV.*‡ *Ibid.*|| *Ibid.*

that party, whose cake was only scattered about, gained his cause. A discontented client might say perhaps, that this was an emblematical prophecy, whereby the Druids foretold in what manner justice would be administered one day in Gaul. Ravens are voracious; their plumage is black, and the party who gains his cause, is often as nearly ruined, as he who loses it.

They had the greatest veneration for oaks, and particularly for those which had been consecrated by the ceremony of the Mistletoe. It was by this religious ceremony that they announced the new year \*. The Druids, accompa-

\* Their year began at the winter-solstice, the sixth night of the moon; this night was called the *mother-night*, as producing all the rest. We reckoned still by nights in France in the 12th Century, and said *quinze nuits*, (fifteen nights) as we say now *quinze jours*, (fifteen days.) *Cæsar. de bello gallico. L. VI. and Plin. L. XVI. C. XLIV.*

*Teutat* or *Teutates* signified in Celtic, and signifies still in British, *Father of the People*, from *Teut*, people, and *Tat*, father. *The Gauls*, says *Cæsar*, pretend that they are descended from *Pluto*; now it is certain that *Teutat* was the *Pluto* of the Gauls. *De bello gallico. L. VI.*

*Efus* or *Eus*, the God who scatters horror and carnage, who raises or depresses the courage of Warriors, who points out those who are to be killed. *Euz* in British signifies terror, a kind of sacred horror. *Euz enès*, the Isle of Ushant; *enès*, Isle, and *euz*, horror or terror, the Isle of terror, so called on account of a Trophy consecrated there to *Efus* or *Eus*.

*Taranis,*

accompanied by the Magistrates, and the people who cried out, AU GUY L'AN NEUF, (*To the Mistletoe; the new year*) went into a forest, and there formed a triangular Altar of turf round the finest oak, cutting upon the trunk and the two largest branches the names of such Gods, as they thought most powerful:

THEUT.

ESUS. TARANIS. BELENUS.

THEUT.

Then a Druid, dressed in a white Tunic, got up into a tree, and cut the *Mistletoe* with a golden bill, whilst two other Druids were at the foot to receive it in a linnen cloth, and to take particular care to prevent its touching the ground. This new *Mistletoe* was dipped in water, which was distributed amongst the people, who persuaded themselves that it was now of a purifying nature, very efficacious against sorcery, and a specific for many distempers.

The

*Taranis*, the God of thunder. *Taran* signified in Celtic, and still signifies in British, *thunder*.

*Belenus*, like *Apollo* amongst the Greeks and Romans, was with the Gauls the Sun and the God of Medicine. The Greek and Latin Poets said the fair *Phœbus*: *Melen* in British signifies *fair*.

The Gauls believed that *Mithras* presided over the Constellations. They represented him as of both sexes, and adored him as the principle of heat, and fecundity, of good and of bad influences. Those who were initiated into his mysteries, were divided into several fraternities, each of which had a Constellation for its Symbol, and the brethren celebrated their feasts, and made their processions and festivals, disguised in the shape of a *lion*, a *ram*, a *wolf*, a *dog*, &c. that is, under the figures supposed to belong to the Constellations; so that our Masquerades and Balls, which we have certainly the origin of here, were formerly religious ceremonies.

### *The principal College of the Druids.*

*Cæsar* \* positively asserts that this College was upon the confines of the Country of Chartrain, in *finibus Carnutum*. Was it in the City of *Dreux*, whose name is certainly derived, like that of *Druid* †, from the word *Drus*,

or

\* De bello gallico. L. VI. Numb. XIII.

† Some pretend that *Druid* comes from two Celtic words, *Di*, God, and *Rbouidd*, talking, that is to say, talking of God. But a proof that *Druid* comes from *Drus*, is the veneration the Druids had for oaks, which were called *Druyer*, and that he who watches and preserves the forests, is still called *Gruyer*.

or *Deru*, which in Celtic signified, and still signifies in British, *an oak, of oak?* The Druids were also called *Senans*, i. e. Prophets or Diviners. *Pomponius Mela*, who wrote under the reign of the Emperor *Claudius*, relates, That in the small Island of *Sena*, at present the Island of *Sein*, over-against the Coast of *Quimperco-rentin*, there was a College of female Druids, whom the Gauls named *Cenes*; that they were nine in number; that they preserved a perpetual virginity; that they delivered Oracles, and that it was believed they had the power of with-holding the winds, and of exciting tempests. The words *Senans* and *Cenes* were certainly derived from *Kener*, or *Caner*, which signified in Gallic and British, to prophesy or foretell.

Upon the subject of the word *Senans*, *D. Martin* (in his *Religion of the Gauls*, Vol. I. p. 180.) quotes a Letter written by a Cannon of *Ste. Genevieve*, to a Benedictine Monk. It is to the following purport. “ I beg of  
 “ you, Reverend Father, to search in *M. Valois*, or elsewhere, what could be the place  
 “ called *Senantes*, between *Chartres* and *Dreux*.  
 “ A prodigious quantity of Medals of the first  
 “ age are found in two fiels lying between  
 “ the Church of *Senantes*, and a place called  
 “ the

“ the Grand Coudray. I will send my brother  
 “ twenty or thirty of them the first opportunity,  
 “ to shew them to the Connoisseurs. A little  
 “ square subterraneous chamber has also been  
 “ discovered, by a horse at work falling into it.  
 “ This chamber was paved in the Mosaic man-  
 “ ner, with inlaid work. The Medals are  
 “ found upon the least digging, or removing  
 “ the stubble. There are several places still in  
 “ the fields I mention, where corn will not grow;  
 “ a proof of cavities being underneath. In a  
 “ Gift § made in the time of *Ives de Chartres*,  
 “ of the Church of *Senantes* at Coloms, this  
 “ place is called *Locus de Senantis*. Whence  
 “ is this word derived? If the Druids resided  
 “ at Dreux, *Senantes* is not far off; but the  
 “ large bricks below ground, which are disco-  
 “ vered at every step one takes, and the Me-  
 “ dals that are found in such abundance, testify  
 “ a work of the Romans. ”

D. *Martin* observes, that the Roman Me-  
 dals, and the Roman air, which is found in the  
 remains of antiquity, discovered at *Senantes*, are  
 nothing to the purpose, because the Druids were  
 famous, rich, and powerful in Gaul, many ages  
 before and after the conquest of these vast Pro-  
 vinces by the Romans; and therefore these Priests

might

§ *Ives de Chartres* died in 1115, aged 80 years.



might be possessed of Roman Pieces and Medals, and may have given a Roman air to the works they constructed at Dreux and at Senantes, since the time of *Cæsar*.

*The Opinion of the Gauls upon the state of souls after death.*

The Gauls burnt with the Deceased his arms and cloaths, together with the animals, and even some \* of the Slaves he was known to be fondest of. They lent them money, which they were not to ask the reimbursement of but in the other world; and they wrote and threw Letters into the pile, to be given to their deceased friends and relations. § They thought that souls circulated eternally from this world to the other, and from the other world into this; that is to say, that what is called death, was the entrance into the other world, and what is called life, was the returning out of that world to come into this; That after death the soul passed

\* *Omnia quæ vivis cordi fuisse arbitrantur, in ignem inferunt, etiam animalia; ac paulo supra banc memoriam, servi & clientes, quos ab iis dilectos esse constabat, una cremabantur.*  
*Cæsar. de bello gallico. L. VI. Numb. XVII.*

§ *Diodorus Siculus.*

passed || into the body of some other man, and that the inequality of conditions, and the measure of pain and pleasure, were regulated in the other world upon the good or bad they had done in this; That moreover, by fighting courageously for one's Country, by offering oneself a victim in times of public calamity, or by killing oneself † to redeem the life of one's Prince, Patron, or friend, all the crimes that one might have committed, were expiated, and the person so doing was sure of going to enjoy amongst heroes an agreeable and glorious life. The people of the North believed, that heroes went into the Palace of *Odin*, their God, and that they had every day the pleasure of arming and

|| *The Druids teach the Gauls, that souls never die, but that they pass from one to another after death; and it is from this doctrine they derive that courage, which emboldens them to meet death with so much intrepidity.* Non interire animas, sed ab aliis, post mortem, ad alios transire; atque hoc maxime ad virtutem excitari putant; metu mortis neglecto. *Caesar. de bello gallico. L. VI. Numb. XIII. See also Lucan. L. I. ver. 454 & seqq.*

† They were of opinion, that the wrath of the Gods might be appeased, and that one life might be redeemed by another. Accordingly, when they were ill and in danger of dying, they sought some one who would die for them, and they now and then found such a person, partly by dint of money, and partly because he who killed himself, was in hopes of a happier life than that which he quitted.

and ranging themselves in battle, and of hacking one another to pieces; that when the festive hour approached, they returned on horseback, safe and sound, and seated themselves at table in the Hall of *Odin*, where a wild boar was served up, which was sufficient to regale them all, though almost innumerable; that the same boar was served up to them every day, and that every day it became entire again.

*The Siege of Paris by LABIENUS, one of CÆSAR'S Lieutenants in the 701st year of Rome, 52 years before JESUS-CHRIST.*

\* *Labienus*, having left the Recruits that were newly arrived from Italy, at Sens, to guard the baggage, marched with four Legions towards Lutetia, which then consisted only of that little Island, which we call the City. He found the Parisians encamped behind a marsh, which was formed by the waters of the river Bievre, and is now the Fauxbourg Saint Marceau. After having fruitlessly attempted to force a passage through this morass, by means of hurdles and

• De bello gallico. L. VII. C. LIV. LV. LVI.

and fascines, he decamped in the night, and returned towards Melun, which could not oppose him, as the greatest part of the inhabitants were gone to succour the Parisians. He made use of 50 large boats, which he found there, to carry his troops over the Seine, and came and encamped upon that ground, which is now covered by so many streets and houses, from the Church of St. Gervais to the Louvre. The Parisians, fearful lest he should take their City, set fire to it, cut down the bridges, (the little bridge and the Change-bridge) and encamped on the other side of the river, having their right at the foot of Mount Leucotitius †, and the left where the Key of Conti now stands. A few days after, news arrived, that the people of Autun had thrown off the Roman yoke, and that *Cæsar* had raised the siege of Clermont in Auvergne: it was even added, that for want of provisions, he was retiring into the Narbonnoise Gaul. *Labienu*s thought of nothing more than returning towards Sens, where he had left all the baggage of his Army; but his retreat was the more difficult, as he was obliged to pass the Seine in sight of the Parisians, and as he had at his back the people of Beauvais, who prepared to come and attack him.

† The Place Maubert and Ste. Genevieve.

him. To extricate himself from this disagreeable situation, he had recourse to a stratagem. He distributed amongst the Roman Knights the 50 boats, which he had brought from Melun, with orders, that as soon as it should be dark, they should fall down the river in the greatest silence, and wait for him at two leagues distance from the Camp. He left five cohorts for the defence of the Camp, and ordered five others to embark on board some boats, and go up towards Melun, making all the noise and bustle they could; then with three Legions he went in person, and joined the Roman Knights, at the place he had appointed, over-against Auteuil. When the Parisians perceived all these motions, they persuaded themselves, that the Enemy alarmed and terrified by the late intelligence, had separated in disorder, and were studious only of flight. In this opinion, they divided into three corps: one remained to guard the Camp; another took the route of Melun \*, and the third marched towards Meudon, and met *Labienus*, who had already got his Cavalry and Infantry across the

O 2

river.

\* The penetration of Commentators has been surprisingly exercised upon the word *Metiosedum*. Some say it is Corbeil, others Meudon. I take *Metiosedum* to be an error in the text, and that it should be *Melodunum*, Melun.

river. The battle was very bloody, and lasted the whole day; at length victory declared for the Romans. Paris remained under their dominion till the reign of *Clovis*, that is to say, about 533 or 534 years.

### *The Franks* \*.

“The Franks,” says the Author of the *Exploits of our Monarchs* ‖, “elected a long-haired King, *Pharamond* the son of *Marcomir*.” “The Franks,” says *Gregory of Tours*, “having passed the Rhine, settled at once in *Tongria* §, where they created, in every Canton and City, Kings with long hair, from the most distinguished family amongst them.” He relates in another place, that young *Clovis*, son to *Chilperic*, having been stabbed and thrown into the *Marne*, by order of *Fredegonde* his mother-in-law, his body was caught in a fisherman’s net, who could not doubt from

\* From the word *franck*, which in German signifies *free*.

‖ By all that is mentioned under this article, it will appear that *Clodion* was not particularly surnamed the long-haired, any more than the other Kings of the first Race.

§ The Country of *Liege*. I have read over again *Father Daniel’s* dissertation upon this subject, and am thereby more and more confirmed in my opinion against his system.

from the length of his hair, that he was the son of the King.

*Agatias*, a cotemporary Historian, relates that *Clodomir*, son of *Clovis*, having been killed in a battle against the Burgundians, they knew this Prince amongst the slain, by his long hair; for it is an established custom amongst the Kings of the Franks (adds he) to let their hair grow from their infancy, and never to cut it; they part it equally on both sides on the top of the head, and let it flow gracefully upon the shoulders... This sort of head of hair is looked upon as a prerogative inherent in the Royal family. Except those of this family, none of the Franks could wear their hair loose: they clipped it round their head, preserving however that on the top, which they knotted and tied in such a manner, that the end of the toupee shaded the forehead in the form of an aigrette. This is the manner in which *Sidonius Apollinaris* represents them in his Panegyric of *Majorian*, and *Martial* in an Epigram to *Domitian*.

Hic quoque monstra domas rutuli quibus  
arce cerebri

Ad frontem coma tracta jacet, nudataque  
cervix

Setarum per damna nitet.

*Sidonius Appollinor.* Paneg. Carmen 47.

*You have tamed monsters, whose long hair flowing from the crown of the head, falls down upon their brow, whilst the hinder part of the head is altogether unfurnished with hair.*

Crinibus in nodum tortis venere sicambri.

*Martial de Spectac. Epig. 3.*

*We there saw the Sicambri, who twisted and knotted their hair.*

The conquered Nation, that is, the Gauls or Romans, wore their hair short; *Serfs* (or *Bondsmen*) had their heads shaved; the Ecclesiastics, to testify still more their spiritual servitude, shaved it entirely, retaining nothing but a small circle of hair. They swore in those days by their hair, in the same manner as we do now upon our honour. To cut any one's hair, was degrading him, and branding him with infamy. Those who had been concerned in the same conspiracy, were obliged to cut one another's hair. *Fredegonde* cut the hair of her son-in-law's mistress, and fixed it to the door of that Prince's apartment: the action was looked upon as horrible. There was nothing more polite, than whilst you was saluting a person, to pluck off a single hair, and



and present \* it to him. *Clovis* pluckt off a hair, and gave it to *St. Germier*, to testify how much he honoured him; immediately every Courtier pluckt a hair from his head in like manner, and presented it to this virtuous Bishop, who returned to his Diocese enraptured with the politeness of the Court.

It is a mistake to imagine, that when a Prince of the Blood Royal had his hair clipped, he was obliged to take holy Orders, and become Priest or Monk. He might have the same intercourse with the world, which other men had, and might even marry; but he and his children were no more considered as a part of the Nation, the long head of hair being a distinguishing mark between the Franks and the subdued people. To cut a person's hair, was the same thing as telling him, that he was from that moment become a Foreigner, and therefore incapable of succeeding to the first honours of the State. This law against those who were no longer considered as constituting part of the Nation, has been invariably observed from the beginning of the Monarchy down to the present times. *Hugh Capet* urged it against *Charles*

O 4

Duke

\* This was as much as to say, you are equally devoted to him as his slave. A man who became a slave, cut his hair off, and presented it to his Master.

Duke of Lower Lorraine, and his issue. The Duke of Anjou (afterwards *Henry III.*) would not go to receive the Crown of Poland, to which he was elected, till such time as he had Letters Patent from *Charles IX.* declaring him to be still a Denizen, notwithstanding his residence in a foreign Country; and *Philip V.* who was called to the Throne of Spain \*, obtained the like Letters Patent from *Lewis XIV.* which he did not renounce till he was in the peaceable possession of that Throne, that is to say, when the Regent (the Duke of Orleans) had engaged the Emperor *Charles VI.* to give up his claim.

“ The *Suevi* are distinguished from the other  
 “ Germans,” says *Tacitus*, (De Mor. Germ.  
 Cap. XXXVIII,) “ by a peculiar mode they have  
 “ of twisting their hair, and binding it up in  
 “ a knot; and it is by this also that the Free-  
 “ born of that Nation are distinguished from the  
 “ Slaves. All those of the other parts of Ger-  
 “ many, who wear their hair in this manner,  
 “ do it only in imitation of that people, or be-  
 “ cause they have entered into some alliance  
 “ with them. In those other Nations, however,  
 “ this practice is not extended beyond the years  
 “ of infancy; whereas the *Suevi* continue, even  
 “ to old age, to raise their hair backwards, and

“ 10

\* *Memoires de Torci.*

“ to tie it on the top of their head, in a manner stern and staring. That of their Princes is more carefully adjusted.” This passage, next to those already quoted from *Agathias* and *Gregory de Tours*, seems to me to point out plainly from what Quarter the Franks came; and that they were detachments of young *Suevi*, who associated with each other, and quitted the banks of the Elbe and the Weser, to seek their fortune in some other Land. The *Suevi* were originally Gauls \*. The Franks, therefore, by conquering Gaul when under the dominion of

O 5

the

\* *Ambigat*, King of the *Celtæ*, lived in the time of the Elder *Tarquin*, King of Rome, and reigned over all that tract of Country which now comprehends the French Monarchy, and the whole of Flanders. Bourges was the Capital of his dominions. (*Tit. Liv. Lib. V.*) His people were so numerous, that the Provinces were quite surcharged with them. He therefore ordered it to be proclaimed, that he intended sending *Sigovezus* and *Bellovezus*, his sister's sons, to establish Colonies, wherever the Gods and Auguries should conduct them. In consequence of this Proclamation, 300,000 of his subjects followed these young Princes, about 600 years before *Jesus-Christ*. *Bellovezus* crossed the Alps, and settled along the Po. *Sigovezus* traversed the Hercinian forest, penetrated into Bohemia, where he left part of his Army, and went with the rest to finish his wanderings between the Elbe and the Weser, on the banks of the Ocean. Some Authors pretend, that the *Scnnonæ*, mentioned by *Tacitus*, who were the most powerful State of the *Suevi*, were descended from the inhabitants of the Country of Sens (*Scnones*) who had followed *Sigovezus*. These are the Saxons at present.

the Romans, did nothing more in Fact, than resume the property of a Country that had formerly belonged to their Ancestors.

### *Manners and Usages under the first Race.*

The French were all free, and all equal. Honours and dignities established nothing amongst them, save only a temporary subordination. They had *Chiefs* and *Judges*; but they had no Superiors.

It was upon the Gauls, the Nation they had subdued, that they imposed taxes, and on them they levied tribute. The Frenchman was entirely independent, both as to his person and possessions. He owed nothing to the State but fealty, attachment, courage, and a bold right hand.

Historians represent him as impetuous, violent, and ever ready with his sword to vindicate his injured rights; but in other respects he was generous, beneficent, and endowed with an honesty of heart, to which he would sacrifice what he held dearest in the world, his Liberty. When he could not pay his debts, he went of himself to his Creditor, presented him with a pair of scissars, and became his Bondsman, by either cutting his own hair, or permitting some body  
else

else to do it. The Decorum of modern manners has superseded this old and ridiculous probrity. What should we say now, were we to see a Duke measuring out cloth, or plying the broom in a Woolen-Draper's shop?

He generally sat down to table in the Courtyard, and the gate upon such occasions was constantly kept open. He invited passengers and strangers to partake of his repast. The cheer indeed was none of the most delicate, as it consisted only of large quarters of roasted pork and beef. They drank plentifully, and descanted with sufficient freedom on the conduct of their Governors; but it was not allowed to speak ill of Women.

Every crime, excepting High-treason, was expiated by certain penalties. The man who did not offer himself to revenge the death of his murdered father \* or kinsman, was excluded from his share of the inheritance. The legal manner of prosecuting this revenge, was by summoning the murderer before the Judge, and declaring to him with a loud voice, That from that period he should be pursued, and attacked

O 6

wherever

\* The Duke *Sandragefile* having been killed by one of his enemies, the Grandees of the Kingdom cited his children to appear before them for having neglected to revenge his death, and deprived them of their right of succession.

wherever he could be found, and that fire and sword should be employed against him. The Judge and some common friends of the Parties endeavoured to soften their spirits, and bring them to what they called a *Composition*. That was a fine which the murderer agreed to pay, and amounted to 200 *Sols of Gold* for the murder of a Frenchman, and the one half for that of a free-born Gaul or Roman.

He that stole a grey-hound, was obliged to make three turns round the Market-place, kissing the dog's posteriors. If he stole a hawk \*, he was condemned to pay eight Crowns of Gold, or submit to have five ounces of his flesh eaten off by the bird from a part of his body, which the reader will easily guess at, without my naming it.

Before the Nation had embraced Christianity, they chose out a field famous for some victory, where they deposited the remains of their Kings and Generals. A pile of stones, sand, and turf, was erected over the grave, to the height of about thirty or forty feet. Many of those tombs are still to be seen in France, and the Territory of Liege. *Childeric*, the father of *Clovis*, was buried near Tournay, on the banks of the *Escaut*, in a place that has been since inclosed within the

\* Loi Gombette.

the walls of the City. His tomb was discovered in 1653. There was found in it a leather purse almost consumed, containing upwards of a hundred pieces of gold, and double the number in silver, being Coins of different Roman Emperors: They likewise found in it buckles, clasps and threads of garments, with the handle and chape of a sword, all gold; writing-tablets, with a style and plates of gold; a figure in gold of the head of an Ox, (the Idol he worshipped, according to some) and more than three hundred small bees of the same metal \*; the bones of a horse, with a shoe, bit, and other remains of a horse's harness; a globe of crystal, a pike, a battle-ax, a human skeleton entire, and by the head of this skeleton another head, not quite so large, which seemed to be that of a young man, probably the 'Squire, who had been killed according to the custom of those times, that he might accompany and serve his Master in the lower regions; lastly, a ring of gold, with these Latin words round it, **CHILDIRICI REGIS**, importing it to be the property

\* These had been separated, in all likelihood, from his Coat of Arms, into which they had been introduced. *Bees*, it is said, were the Symbol of the first Kings of France; and when Scutcheons were afterwards devised under the third Race, those *bees* which were badly cut upon ancient tomb-stones, were taken for Flowers de Luce.

perty of King *Childeric*. On the seal of this ring that Prince was represented with long hair flowing down upon his shoulders, and holding a javelin in his hand in the manner of a scepter. It appears from this, how careful they had been to inter with him his clothes, armour, money, horse, domestic, and writing-tables; in a word, every thing that they believed necessary for him in another world. In later times, when Death removes any of our Sovereigns, their table continues to be covered for the space of forty days; wine and water is tendered them, and they are presented with every dish, as if they were still amongst the Living.

When the fair *Austrigilde* was on her death-bed, she prevailed on her husband King *Gontran*, to cause the two Physicians who attended her in her illness, to be put to death, and buried along with her. These, I believe, are the only two of the Faculty that ever were privileged to lie in the tombs of Kings; but I have no sort of doubt, that many others have justly merited the same honour.

The most sordid species of avarice had not yet led the Ministers of the Lord to pave his Temple with dead bodies. *St. Gregory* the Great, who was cotemporary with the grand-children of *Glovis*, in the Permissions which he granted  
for



for the building of Churches, never failed expressly to specify, *provided you are well-assured that no dead body was ever laid in the place.* The Council of Nantes in 656, when they allowed burial in the porch of the Church and round the walls, prohibited it in the strictest terms within-side and near the Altars. Under the first and second Race, there were no interments within the walls of Paris. *Gozlin*, who was Bishop of it, dying there in 886, whilst the Normans were besieging it, *was buried*, says the Monk *de St. Vaast*, *within the City, contrary to ancient custom, because it was impossible to have it done without, or perhaps because they were desirous to conceal his death from the besiegers.* The rich had their tombs near Cities and Villages; and the practice of interring them with their clothes, arms, hawk, and other precious things that pertained to them, continued for many ages. People were paid for keeping watch at these tombs.

At the end of the first Race, more than a full third of the French still remained plunged in the darkness of Idolatry. They believed that certain females, *Druideffes*, had by dint of meditation penetrated into the secrets of Nature; that by the great good they had done in the world, they had procured themselves an exemp-  
tion

tion from mortality, as the reward of their merit; that they resided in the bottom of wells, on the banks of rivers, and in the caverns of rocks; that they had a power of granting unto men the faculty of metamorphosing themselves into wolves and other animals \*, and that their hatred or friendship decided the fate of families. On certain days of the year, and at the birth of their children, they were particularly careful to spread a table in a separate chamber, on which they placed a variety of dishes and bottles, with three covers and some small presents: This they did with a view to induce *the Mothers* (for so were those subaltern Powers called) to honour them with a visit, and vouchsafe them their favour. Hence is the origin of our Fairy-Tales.

They thought, as the Gods were immense Beings, that they ought not to build any Temples for them; that their Divinity filled the forests, and was impressed on the furrowed bark and yellow moss of the ancient oaks. The wood, which they had selected for the celebration of their Mysteries, they approached with trembling. The silence and obscurity that reigned in those awful retreats, inspired them not so properly with fear,

\* At the beginning of the eleventh Century this Metamorphosis was called *Werwolf*.

fear, as with a species of religious horror, which they looked upon as an effect of the presence of the Deity whom they came to adore. They dreaded at every step, lest he should reveal himself to their eyes. To convey to him the idea they entertained of their own dependence, they never entered the wood, till they were first bound about with cords \*. If they happened to fall down, it was not lawful to rise: They must make the best of their way on their knees, or roll themselves along, till they had fairly got beyond the sacred precincts. Men penetrated with such a veneration for places which they believed to be inhabited by the Gods, must have been extremely scandalized, when they saw Christians enter armed into Churches, talk to and salute each other there, and change their place and attitude, as if they were in an Amphitheatre. I observe, that if the Churchmen of those times did not repress these indecencies with a suitable severity, they were attentive at least to secure a proper respect for their own persons. One of the Decrees of the Council of Macon bore, “ That every Layman who  
 “ met a Priest or Deacon in the way, should  
 “ present him his shoulder to lean upon; that  
 “ if the Layman and Priest were both on horse-  
 “ back,

\* *Nemo nisi vinculo ligatus ingreditur.*

“ back, the Layman must stop, and reverently  
 “ salute the Priest; but if the Priest happened  
 “ to be on'foot, and the Layman on horseback,  
 “ the Layman in that case must alight, and not  
 “ mount again, till the Ecclesiastic had got to  
 “ a certain distance; the whole under pain of  
 “ being excommunicated during the pleasure of  
 “ the Metropolitan.”

In the same Council of Macon, a Bishop having maintained \*, that Women neither could, nor ought to be denominated *human creatures*, the question was agitated for several Sessions. The dispute was carried on with no small keenness, and the opinion of Theologians seemed very much divided. At last however the Partisans for the Fair Sex carried the day. It was decided and solemnly declared, That Females *did* compose part of the human species; and in my judgment, we ought to acquiesce in the decision, tho' the Council that gave it, had not been œcumenical.

The

\* *Greg. Tur. Lib. VIII. Cap. XX.*

*Cum inter tot sanctos Patres Episcopos quidam statueret, non posse nec debere mulieres vocari homines: timore Dei publice ibi ventilaretur, & tandem post multas vexatæ hujus questionis disceptationes concluderetur quod mulieres sint homines.*  
 Polygamia Triumphatrix, pag. 123.

The Bishops were obliged to maintain the poor and prisoners, and to ransom Christian captives. This part of their Office added to their general credit, and enriched several individuals. When one is deputed by the Public to distribute charities, one has a right at the same time to ask and collect them.

They had a great share in the happy successes † of the arms of *Clovis*, by secretly engaging the Cities to revolt against *Gondebaud*, King of the Burgundians, and to submit themselves to the French. *Clovis* was a Pagan, but *Gondebaud* an Heretic, of the Sect of *Arius*.

A married man might be promoted to the Diaconate and Priesthood, and might even become a Bishop; but he must previously declare, that he would never more live with his wife on any other footing than if she was his sister: His son generally obtained the reversion of the Bishoprick. It was not permitted to marry *her that was left off* by a Priest or Deacon.

In the sixth Canon of the Council of Orleans, which was held about the end of the reign of *Clovis*, every Layman was forbid offering himself to be of the sacred function, without the permission of the King or some Judge.

*Char-*

† *Greg. Tur. Lib. II. Capp. XXIII & XXXVI.*

*Charlemain*, renewing this prohibition in his *Capitularies*, explains the motive to it in the following terms, *Ne regale obsequium minuat*, for fear the service of the King should suffer.

Birth, or political abilities, were little attended to in the choice of Queens, who owed their creation almost always to their Beauty. The Kings, besides the occasional enjoyment of Mistresses, indulged themselves with a plurality of wives. “Dear Prince,” said *Ingonde* one day to her husband *Clotarius I.* “I have  
“ a sister that I dearly love. Her name is *Aregonde*, and she lives in the Country. I hope  
“ you will be kind enough to settle her in the  
“ world, and chuse her out a spouse.” *Clotarius* went to see this same *Aregonde* at her house in the Country: He found her handsome, wedded her, and then returned to acquaint his wife, that he had not been able to devise a more proper match for her sister than himself; that he had therefore married her, and that for the future she should have her for a companion.

A Prince was saved or damned, according to the Good or Ill he had done to the Monks. These had established it into a maxim\*, “That  
“ to secure one’sself a place in Paradise, no-  
“ thing

\* *Mexoray*, Tom. I. p. 235.

“ thing more was requisite than to make a good  
“ friend there, and that it was not at all im-  
“ practicable to buy off the most crying injustice,  
“ and the most enormous crimes, by Donations  
“ in favour of the Churches.” The Author  
of the Exploits of *Dagobert* (*Gest. Dagob. Regis*,  
Cap. XLVII.) says, “ That upon the death of  
“ that Prince, he was condemned to the judge-  
“ ment of God, and that a holy Hermit named  
“ *John*, who lived upon the Sea-coast of Italy,  
“ saw his soul chained down in a bark that  
“ was navigated by Devils, who ever and anon  
“ were mauling it most cruelly, as they con-  
“ ducted it towards Sicily, where they were to  
“ plunge it into the gulfs of Mount *Ætna*; that  
“ *St. Denis* appeared all at once in a globe of  
“ light, preceded by thunder and lightning, and  
“ that having routed these malignant spirits, and  
“ rescued the wretched soul from the claws of  
“ the most unmerciful of them, he carried it  
“ up to Heaven with him in triumph.” This  
last adventure of King *Dagobert* was painted be-  
hind his tomb in the magnificent Church, which  
he had ordered to be built to his blessed Pro-  
tector.

*Abderame*, Lieutenant to the Caliph of Da-  
mascus, after conquering Spain, crossed the Py-  
renees, and advanced as far as Tours, at the  
head

head of 400,000 Saracens. *Charles Martel*, by his activity, prudence, and valour, gained a complete victory over this formidable Army. Hardly, say the greater part of Historians, did 25,000 of them escape. If this brave man had not stemmed that impetuous torrent, perhaps we might have seen at this day as many Turbans in France, as are now in Asia. What obligations then do not we lie under to him! But *Charles*, in order to pay and retain † his soldiers, had availed himself of all the gold and silver he found in the Monasteries: He even distributed rich Abbeys amongst those of his Captains who had most distinguished themselves in his service. He was damned, and *damned in body and soul*, to render his damnation, according to the rude notions of that uncultivated age, still more shameful. It is recorded in the Life of *St. Eucher*, (*Mezeray*, Tom. I. p. 331.) “ That being at  
 “ prayer, he was ravished in spirit, and led by  
 “ an Angel into Hell; that he there saw *Charles*  
 “ *Martel*, and learnt of the Angel, that the  
 “ Saints, whose Churches that Prince had robbed,  
 “ had condemned him to burn eternally in body  
 “ and soul. *St. Eucher*, adds the Historian, wrote  
 “ an account of this revelation to *Boniface*,  
 “ Bishop of Mentz, and to *Fulrad*, Arch-chaplain  
 “ to

† *P. Daniel*, Tom. I. p. 347.



“ to *Pepin* the Short, praying them to open  
 “ the tomb of *Charles Martel*, and to see whether  
 “ the body still remained there. The tomb was  
 “ opened accordingly. The bottom of it was  
 “ all burnt, and nothing found but a large ser-  
 “ pent that issued out of it with a stinking  
 “ smoke.” *Boniface* did not omit to acquaint  
*Pepin* the Short and *Carloman* of all these proofs  
 and circumstances of their father’s damnation.  
*Lewis* of Germany \* having in 858 seized upon  
 some Ecclesiastical Estates, the Bishops of the  
 Assembly of *Crecy* put him in mind by letter  
 of all the particulars of this terrible history, add-  
 ing at the same time, that they had received them  
 from old men of undoubted credit, who had been  
 eye-witnesses of the whole.

I conclude this article upon the Manners and  
 Usages of the first Race with saying, that the  
 ferocious, perfidious, and barbarous conduct of  
*Clovis*, and the greater part of his sons and grand-  
 sons, ought not to prejudice us against the cha-  
 racter of the French of those early times. My  
 idea perhaps may appear singular. I hold, that  
 in a State composed, as the Monarchy was at  
 that period, of one Nation absolutely free, and  
 of another that had been subdued, it was next  
 to an impossibility that there should be good  
 Kings.

\* *Mexeray*, Tom. I. p. 332.

Kings. The Frenchman enjoyed independence, relished it, and never went to Court. The Kings therefore had no Favourites, but such as they had enfranchised: their Confidants were Slaves; and their Privy-Council consisted of Gauls, who were studious only of raising themselves, and whose trembling withered souls, devoted to the caprice of their Idol, approved of his transports, and flattered all his passions.

*End of the First Volume.*

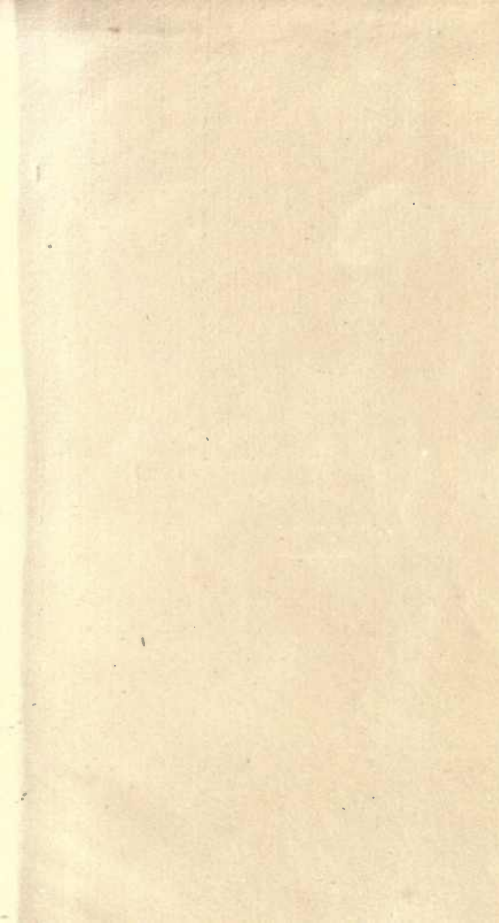












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