

# THE HOSTEL OF THE INVALIDES

BY THOMAS POVEY (1682)

(Lambeth Palace Library MS.745)

Edited, with an introduction and notes, by

CARSON I. A. RITCHIE

## PART II

Having given you an account of the prime officers of this House, who take care both of the military and civil, and afterwards of those officers whose jurisdiction is purely military, upon which occasion my pen slipt' upon some particulars relating to that discipline observed in the House, I think I may now inform you of the Oeconomers or civil officers, I mean such as are intrusted under the Director General and the 4 Sub-directors, with the management of the civil affairs or oeconomy of the House, of which the chiefest occurring to me is.

The Treasurer of the House, now Mounsieur de Vilromar, one of the 4 Treasurers of the Extraordinary of War. This gentleman, who both of his own stock and his other employments hath a plentiful fortune, neither lives in the House nor lives by it. He is, I mean, not a charge to it. His Office is to pay, and that [39] without the least fee, all the orders for money drawn upon him by the foresaid sub-directors, Mounsieur de Louvois, who is otherwise employed in weightier affairs being forced, and perhaps rather willing, to leave it to them.

Naturally after the Treasurer should follow immediately the Comptroller, but the Comptroller of this House, whom you may better compare to a Clerk of the Kitchen, (being he exercises that function both to the kitchen, buttery, pantry, granery, cellars, linen clothes, and in short to all other particular offices of the House) is nothing near of that stamp as the Treasurer, or 4 Directors, by whom he is put in, and to whom every Saturday at their meeting, he must bring his bills, for all the expenses of that week last past, both in diet and otherwise, as also an account of all the clothes, shoes, linen, and other things, either received in or delivered out, all that week, vizt. from Saturday to Saturday [40] which the Directors do then examine and register. He takes care that the allowed quantity and quality of bread, wine and meat be brought in by the Baker, Butler, and Butcher, into the pantry, buttery, and kitchen, delivers out to the Baker the corn, and to the Wash House all the foul linen, which he receives back clean, and to be short, performs all the duty of a good and faithful *Maistre de Hostel*, or Steward, tho' he is qualified with the name of Comptroller. He hath the character given him by most people and even the very soldiers, of a most faithful, worthy, disinterested and meek man. He is in the world a man of no great rank, or fortune, which they say of late he hath augmented more by his industry, than by by-ways ordinary enough to stewards. His salary from the House is 2000 livres a year, besides diet and lodgings for him and his family. His wife (as most women in France use to be) is no small help to him. She is active both in spirit and body, tho' she [41] is famous for being one of the fattest and biggest women that can be seen.

The secretary of the House hath an apartment of 2 or 3 chambers. He writes all things belonging to the interior policy or discipline of the House as rules, orders, passes, certificates. He hath his diet and 600 livres a year salary, from the House, but neither he (a rare thing in penmen!) nor any other officer, (that I may say once for all) can pretend the least fee or right for any thing they do in their several stations, and employments.

Then follow two commissaries, whose business chiefly is, constantly to visit the refectories at supper, not for knowing who is present or who absent, which would be to them impossible, but only to tell the number in gross of the presents, which he must immediately before they rise from table return in, that his list and the Aid Maior's (of whom I spake above) may exactly agree. And it is worth knowing that the absents' portions are made good [42] not to the Comptrollers, nor any other officer of the House, but to the House itself. These two are invalides and do eat as well as the secretary of the common table of the invalid officers.

We come afterwards to about a hundred other menial officers and servants serving in the House, from which they are allowed both diet, lodging, and wages, the Butcher, Baker, etc. and their servants excepted. And first I will mention the Butler.\*

The Butler, therefore hath 12 servants under him. He hath for his office two great rooms, the one for bread, the other for the wine, measured, and brought to him from the cellar. His office is just by and opposite to the refectory, as in the Inns of Court of *London*, with two large windows, through which he gives out to his servants what is necessary to be distributed none being admitted into his office but the Governor, King's Lieutenant, Maior, Comptroller or Commissaries. The very day the bread is baked† he receives it from the Baker's servants, who carry it [43] to his office, the same day he distributes it to the soldiers, as they are sitting at table to their dinner, being for more speed carried through the refectories in great baskets going on little wheels. Those soldiers who happen to be out of their right places when the bread

†The Bread is baked at night and distributed the next day.

\* After his mention of the butler, Povey goes on to give a description of the Commissariat. Its value can be judged from the following remarks of Burnand on this particular aspect of the Hostel. 'The study of it is a hard one, the documents are wanting.' Certainly a reading of his account of the victualling department produces a very different impression from that derived from a reading of Povey. Burnand stresses the complaints of the soldiers about their food, and the changes in the regulation of purveyance, as he is compelled to do by the nature of his material. It is only necessary to refer very shortly to some aspects of the Commissariat that Povey does not mention.

The King accorded the Hostel important privileges in the form of free import of salt and wine, articles otherwise heavily taxed in France, though the definitive decrees granting these tax immunities do not seem to have been made until the turn of the century.

The wine for the Hostel came from Bourgogne (as Povey remarks) or Languedoc, freighted down the Seine or Rhône. It was of two sorts, *vin ordinaire*, for the soldiers, and *vin d'état Major* for the more important officials. These wines were kept in bulk in the cellars of the House, which were of vast extent. Owing to the numerous fast days observed, bread was the staple food of the invalides. It was made from Beauce or Italian wheat, and more was provided for each person than they really needed, as the weight of the ration issue to every invalid was based on that given to every soldier in the army. Many of the invalids, as Povey points out, did not want to eat all their bread ration.

The system of letting out various branches of the Commissariat to purveyors was probably uneconomic, and certainly led to speculation, signs of which can be observed in Povey's accounts. Dishonesty in arrangements of this sort was common throughout Europe at this time, as the history of Chelsea Hospital, in our own case, shows. One of the great difficulties facing the Commissariat at the Invalides was the water shortage. The Hostel began with wells which were too shallow, and were continually silting up, and it was not till much later that this was remedied. (Burnand, Chapters 3 and 7.)

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is distributed that way, or who are absent, do absolutely without remedy lose it for that time. It would else be an endless thing. Each soldier is allowed a three pound weight loaf for 2 days, being distributed every second day. It is made of the best and purest wheat to be had, brown, but much whiter and far better conditioned than any ammunition loaf. This allowance is so sufficient that many, specially the old men, have more than they can eat. The overplus they may sell abroad, or give away at their pleasure. Every man carries from the table to his chamber and so back from his chamber to the table, his bread, spoon, knife and cup, wrapt up in his napkin. The knife and earthen cup on [44] his admittance are given him, which he ever after must provide himself withal.

As for the invalid officers' bread, their allowance is not limited, being allowed as much as they can eat. It is very white and every day new, of about a penny loaf to each one, and shall have more if they can eat it. The Butler also, as soon as the meat is served, delivers out the wine all in mistiers, being distributed and carried into the refectory by his servants on broad boards or tables, made in the form of a Billiard, and that the wine within by accident spilt might not be lost, lined with tyn. Each table is carried by two servants, each at each end of the table. Every soldier is allowed a mistie or half pint, being served to them in the very mistiers or misty measures, to avoid cheats on one side, and endless causes of complaints on the other. [45] The Baker hath his 6 servants, lodging, and bakehouse here. The corn which is kept in the granaries, or spacious garrets of this House is delivered him by the Controller, and sent down to the 4 stories of the House, by a large pipe or conduit, which sloping falls and ends within the Comptroller's apartment, into a certain space of ground, made up square with boards, which space being filled makes up a certain measure of corn and from that time the baker is to answer for it.

The corn is first measured above in the granaries by the comptroller's servants, being let down through the foresaid pipe or spout, piercing through the 4 floors or galleries of the House, with holes in it, and covered with leather under, by means whereof the corn is cleared of the dust, which falls gently by the spout on each gallery. They say, that one day with another there is consumed here a muy or bout of corn, each muy being of 12 sceptiers, each sceptier rendering 45 breadths.\* [46] Every second day he bakes for the soldiers and every day for the officers and infirmery. The bread baked he (as I already said) delivers to the Butler, the Comptroller commonly present. And if the soldier finds or suspects himself wronged in his due quantity of bread, he may weigh his loaf before the Lieutenant du Roy, Maior, or the officer then in duty, in a balance or weights, hanging to that only purpose in the entry betwixt the refectories, and if the bread falls short, the officer adds to it a crown of five shillings, with which then if it overweighs not the other scale, the Baker for penalty forfeits a crown to the soldier, which out of hand he is paid off. So necessary is severity in these things, and if in the quality the Baker fails, he is then punished as the officers shall think fit, as it happened to the former baker, who once

\* Measurement of weight, volume, and liquid, was complicated at this time because the names of the different measures expressed different quantities according to what was measured—like ounces in avoirdupois and troy weights in our own system. A *muid* of wine was, roughly, a hogshead; it contained 36 *sceptiers* of 8 (Parisian) *pintes* to the *sceptier*. A *sceptier* of corn was equal to 220 pounds and was the twelfth part of a *muid* of corn. (Cotgrave, *op. cit.*)

being found in fault, was forced to pay a 4 penny piece to each soldier, and continued for 4 or 5 months afterwards [47] to do well, but thinking the soldiers again careless, returned to his vomit, whereupon being discovered, he was immediately for good and all turned out, and that the Baker may not cheat in giving stale bread to the soldiers for new, he marks his bread every time he bakes, the first time with one mark, the second time with a double mark, and for 4 times; at the 5th time he gives it without any mark, after which he begins again with his first mark, and so till the fifth time. The Baker having for himself or servant, no wages, diet nor salary from the House, is entered into a certain agreement with the Directors, by which he is bound to deliver to the Butler 200 pound of bread, conditioned as above, for 230 pound of meal, or the value in corn delivered him by the Comptroller, having for himself the 30 pound over and above, if more or less with the Bran or other profit if any there be. But he upon his own charges heats the oven and [48] furnishes all things, having his hot and cold water within his Bakehouse, with the same ease as in the kitchen. This baker complained to me of his bargains, being lately raised, by his own late servant, who made cheaper offers to the Director, which he would rather accept of than part with his own employment.

The chief cook, with 7 or 8 under-cooks, besides other men, serving in the kitchen, for washing immediately after meals the dishes, plates and porringers, have the diet, lodging and salary in the House. All these things are washed behind the kitchen chimney, and with a step to it is the room, where they are set up on shelves. The kitchen is large and lightsome, paved with broad stones, with a great, large and square chimney within, on which do stand several kettles to boil the meat, with fornaces under them just as to make lime. The water comes in to the very backside of the chimney, so as the chimney fire serves to warm a certain quantity of it, for by one cock [49] of the conduit that brings the water you may at any time draw out cold water, and by another cock you may also at any time draw out hot, into whose room you may by a third cock, let in cold water to warm in the same kettle, by this how much trouble's avoided, I need not tell you, and that I may not forget it, you are to take notice that thrice at least a year, the House hires a matter of 300 women, who at Christmas, Easter, and St. Louis's Feast are brought into the great anticourt, to scour all the dishes, plates, chamberpots, candlesticks, spoons, and in short all the pewter in the House, having their diet in the bargain. The Kitchen is near the refectory, over against a large, but a short entry, dividing the refectory into two great halls upon the right and left hand, by which at the same time the meat is carried into both halls, without passing to the one through the other, and so consequently you may easily imagine that there is much time and trouble saved. The same proportion and geometry to the refectory and kitchen [50] on the other side of the royal court is observed, tho' at present one only kitchen, vizt. that which is contiguous to the Refectory on the left hand, going into the royal court, is made use of to dress their victuals.

The Butcher, who is grown to be a rich man, so far as to buy for one of his children the office of Prevost of Pontois, having horses and hounds, is lodged within the inclosure of the House, where he has 4 or 5 servants, constantly, besides his other two sons, and some servants who go into the very bowels of *Germany*, to furnish this House with cattel. His butchery and a low house joining to it, with a little yard, is

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out of the Hostel itself but within the second inclosure and on the backside of it. The Butchery is paved with a large stone, and by reason of the water coming into it, as into the kitchen, it is kept very sweet, and clean, for which also he brings in his cattel, not through any of the common three gates of the House, but by another private gate on the right hand of the whole House, coming in, answering to the private gate of the Governor [51] on the left. It's also by the same gate, that he empties in carts all the entrails and immundities of his Butchery, as are the Houses of Office, by breaking down a piece of the wall when need is. He kills, as he tells me, 18 large Beefs a week, 45 Muttons, and 30 Calves, a little more or less, as 'tis required, but generally speaking, he furnishes 2300 pounds of meat a day. The former for furnishing bad meat was fined to pay 3*d.* to each soldier of the House and upon his relapse into the like cheat was quite turned out. He, as well as this present Butcher, by an agreement with the Directors, is to furnish the House with Beef, Veal, and Mutton, all the year long, at 3*d.* and the 6th part of a Penny per pound, including all the tongues and other the eatable entrails. He is allowed all the cattle eaten in this House, and a certain number more for himself, free from all town entries, and other duties, which they call 'pied fourchu.\* I never saw better meat, than he hath furnished out of *Germany, Normandy, Poictou, Limosin*, etc. whereof he hath great droves, for the [52] better feeding of which the King bought fields near the House, which he sometimes sows, for pasture's sake. He hath good stables for his cattle joining to his butchery, where there is also a Henhouse, the Pigeon-House by reason of the inconvenient neighbourhood of Pidgeons, being raised. The Butcher weighs and delivers the meat to the cook in the Comptroller's presence. He furnishes the infirmary, who need most veal and mutton, at 5*d.* a pound all the year long.

Near the Butchery is the smith's shop, with 2 or 3 servants, who are also at a certain rate, and near to him a stable for the Comptroller's Horse, and for 3 Horses for the Prevost and 4 archers who have their livery or archer's coats, and in another stable joining to them, is a room for 3 horses, whereof two are constantly at work drawing up water out of the wells.

For the water house is just by these stables, and a man, who is an invalid soldier, attends it, takes care, and drives the horses, being allowed 25 crowns yearly salary. He told me, that this year one of their [53] best springs is lost, and strayed in the adjacent quarries, and that every day he must furnish the house with 5000 muids of water, there being 120 robinets in the House. In the same quarter also is a little low house for the Upholsterer, where he mends and makes quilts and beds of straw and [hiatus in M.S.] to which he hires some of the soldiers to help him.

All these aforesaid offices, from the Butcher downwards are low houses in a great long yard by themselves, all along the right side of the Hostel going in, and are separated by another yard and wall, from the Hostel, having as aforesaid a private gate into the said yard, and a door also into the Hostel which is commonly shut.

The taylor's trade is of so great use and importance to this House, that you need not doubt, but that there is a Master Tailor, here, with 4 or 5 head servants, who cut

\*The *Pied fourchu* duty is 5/-6*d.* an Ox, 40*d.* a Calf, 37*d.* a Sheep, lamb, etc.

out, and oversee the work. For as to the workmen under them, they have no other here than invalid soldiers of the House, where you [54] may well reckon above 500 of that trade, which those that know it not do easily and willing learn here, that they may be able to earn the Penny. The Master Tailor's apartment is joining to the place, where his men work, which is a long, large, spacious and lightsome room or gallery, on the second story, and served formerly for a part of the infirmary. His whole business is to make all the new clothes of the House, turn and mend the old ones, according to need, which by like agreement as the rest, he undertakes to do, and may, to the end of employing the soldiers, bring hither any foreign work. I saw there a fortnight ago above 400 soldiers together in that room, making of the clothes of the Garrison of Casal, and shall probably hereafter have the making of the clothes of all the army, which this man by reason of the soldiers, can afford the King cheaper than any other tailor. Each soldier is allowed 8*d.* for every new coat and breeches he sews, which with his diet, lodging, clothes, and the rest here free, makes him a good gain at the year's end. The officers' [55] clothes are of finer cloth than that of the soldiers, from whom they are distinguished, also by a little silver galloon lace, which their coats are trimmed with. The officers and soldiers are allowed new coats and breeches once in 30 months, during which time they may, if they please, have them once turned out and renewed as far as they can be. The cloth therefore is very thick and strong, and their clothes made genteel enough, and suitable to their bodies. All their coats are of a blew colour (the King's colour) lined with red. Their breeches (for which they are allowed the 15th month a new lining) are of a white gray, also of a substantial and strong cloth.\* Their stockings, which are of the same colour, are thick, long and strong milled stockings, being knit and made in the House, in which also the soldiers are employed by their undertaker who allows each soldier 14*d.* a pair for the making. So as some make three stockings in a day, by which he hath his one and twenty pence, and this they reckon to be the [56] profitablest trade for a soldier, of all that are exercised here. Every fifteenth month the soldier is allowed a new pair of stockings, which he is allowed to get soled once during that time, about the 7th month, getting the Comptroller's order to the tailor as well for mending the stockings, as all other things. The Comptroller having a book for marking the several things and time for mending, with the soldiers' names. He is also every 15th month, that I may not forget it, allowed a good new hat, which is marked with the seal of the House, that the soldiers might not either sell or change it. Of Hats there is an undertaker at a first rate.

We must not also forget the Master Shoemaker, who is lodged conveniently here, having a vast working room. He by agreement is bound to furnish all the shoes at a crown a pair (the lowest rate in Paris of that kind of strong shoes being at least a

\* One of the most interesting pieces of information which Povey gives us is his description of the uniform of the invalides. The record of this had disappeared so completely that Burnand doubts whether there was a 'sealed pattern,' but Povey's words describing it are quite explicit. His is the only complete description given of the uniform of the time, and along with the engravings in *Le Jeune de Boullencourt*, it has been possible to make a reconstruction of it. To many people the cut and colour of a soldier's clothes several centuries ago may seem of supreme unimportance, but as enthusiasts will hasten to point out, it is the uniform that makes the man inside it. There can be little doubt that the choice of *bleu de Bercy*, or royal blue, as the colour of the invalids' uniform increased the fervent attachment of that corps to their monarch, an attachment shown by their defence of the Bastille against the Paris mob, at a time when very few of the King's troops were prepared to obey his orders.

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crown and ten pence). By the bargain the entry of all the leather is from all taxes free. Here also [57] you may see in this great hall a world of hands at work, and some working (wherein you may admire Nature's ingenuity) with one hand, the stump of the other drawing the thread, another paring the shoes with his left, having not a bit of the right down from the arm to help him. They will, I fancy, at last turn their feet into hands rather than remain idle and want money. The shoes are made of two very strong soles, a substantial upper leather, and of strong, broad and middle sized heels. Every 6th month they have a new pair delivered to them, and during that time they are allowed a pair of strong soles, the shoemaker then degenerating into a cobbler. For every pair of new shoes he allows the working soldier 8*d.*, and fourpence for a pair of soles.

Here also you may see most kind of tradesmen at work, some making silk hangings with all fine postures, other arras, some at silk stockings, some at ribbons, others at crape, others at [58] tabby. Some weaving, others carding, some silk, others wool, some are goldsmiths, others tinkers, and all these trades they exercise in their private rooms\* (if there be no public allowed) four or five of them joyning with the officer's leave together, who allow them all things according to prudence and reason. For the crape and silk weavers, they have a long and large room allotted to them, where their *metiers* are set up, and do constantly work. As for the Tisserands or other weavers, they have a long and large great cellar, where especially in summer (for by reason of the hard weather they are not in winter so many) there are 2 or 300 most commonly at work. For the merchants of Paris, and most tradesmen, can generally get their work done cheaper here, by the soldiers, than by the ordinary workmen of the town. And the House is glad to keep as much as is possible the soldiers from idleness, and see them benefit themselves, as well as they handsomely can. In short nothing of a trade can want work in this house. [59] They are allowed with leave, to work in the town if they will, but they find it more beneficial, having their victuals in the House, to work there, making their bargain as good as they can, with such as employ them.

This House having, I believe, as many windows as the Escurial, must not want a Glazier, who hath his lodging and shop within it, being at a certainty to keep all the windows and glasses in repair, as is the smith for all hinges locks, keys and the rest. The carpenter also, who finds constantly some work to do, is here. All the aforesaid tradesmens' lodgings and shops are on the back courts, some on the lower stories, some in the upper, according to the quality and necessity of the trades, and for avoiding as little noise and trouble as can be, both to the House and themselves.

Now I must speak of the wash-house and consequently of the linen. The Wash-house formerly was within, and in a back court of the House [60] it had all imaginable conveniencies, with double chimneys, huge pans still on the furnaces, a great water-pipe falling by several cocks into the pans, hot or cold water at pleasure, just as in

\* To the list of handicrafts practised in the Invalides which Povey gives it is only necessary to add that of illuminating manuscripts. Thanks to royal favour, the remittance of the tax on leather, for example, and the high quality of the workmanship, the Hostel manufacturers were in great demand. Stocking knitting was the most prosperous of the industries, and 40,000 stockings were produced yearly. The governmental ambition of equipping the whole of the army with clothes made by the invalids was partly realised in 1710, when 180 battalions were so clad. The tapestries of the Hostel were famous. These and the other industrial pursuits of the Hôtel, however, diminished as the eighteenth century wore on. (Burnand, Chapter 9.)

the kitchen, and 20 or 30 women constantly washing. But it seems the filth and trouble was found so great and inconvenient that they bought a large House, serving now for a wash house down from the Hostel towards the River, with a great garden to it to dry the linen, over which one of the sentries of the anti-court hath both the view and watch in day time. Unfortunately he shot a man last year, who was going into the garden without leave. The man was to blame also, for the sentry cried often to him, absolutely forbidding him to go in, which he would not obey.

There is an undertaker now, who for 1100 livres a year hath agreed with the Directors, to wash all the linen of the House. He lives in this new wash-house, with 10 washer-women, who wash commonly [61] at the river, and bring the linen to be drawn and dried at this House and garden, the linen being now much whiter and better washed than formerly. The Comptroller, his wife, or children, do deliver to this undertaker every Monday, all the foul linen of the house, that was fouled the last week past, whereof they both keep a particular account all which he renders back clean to the Comptroller at the appointed and usual time. For it is the Comptroller and his wife that have the keeping of the linen and keep women constantly to work, making shirts, drawers, cravats, and all other shifts and mending the old ones.

As to the linen, it is put up within the Comptroller's apartment on shelves in 2 or 3 great rooms, and is in this manner distributed. The refectories twice a week, vizt. on Sundays and Thursdays, have clean table cloths, clean napkins for the soldiers but once a week, who receiving the clean do deliver the foul ones. In winter they have a change of sheets and drawers once a month [62] in summer once in 3 weeks, shirts, cravats, handkerchiefs, socks and night capps once a week, nay sometimes twice, if they absolutely want it. Each soldier hath 2 shirts in possession, the one he wears, and the other he keeps clean in his chamber, till Saturday morning, which is the time he puts off his foul and the same morning delivers it with his cravat, handkerchief, socks, and night cap, together with his ticket, to the Comptroller at the linen office, and together with another ticket, receives back all the like clean, through the windows of the said office, being 4 in all and to avoid strife or confusion, everybody comes to the window in their ranks, the first come, being the first served. For endeavouring to prevent the foregoer is no less than an imprisonment. The tickets are invented in order to ease the Comptroller, which being easier for him to tell over than the linen itself, he knows best how the accounts of all the linen delivered stands in his office. The officers' linen is carried to them clean in baskets [63] every Saturday night. The Monday morning following, the same servant calls to him for his foul, there being servants appointed in each quarter for this office.

The former shifts, I mean the very same, the soldier may perhaps never see again, for as they are to nobody in property, so are, but just by chance come to hand, distributed again, having regard to three sizes, great, mean, and smaller. Every soldier in particular, or any of the chamber fellows for all the rest, may deliver in and receive back their shifts in the manner aforesaid. All the linen is marked with the House's mark, being the same as the King's, for all here, men and linen are the King's. Their cravats are short, and indifferent fine linen. The shirts, drawers, socks, night caps and handkerchiefs, are of course linen, about 16*d.* an ell. Their sheets about 14*d.* The officers' linen is lately much finer than that of the soldiers. There is a linen draper

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of late [64] who hath a chamber or two for his cloth in the House, and he at a certain rate is to furnish the Comptroller with all the linen the House wants, having besides a magazine for making hangings within the House, at which he employs the soldiers.

Before I proceed farther, and to the end that you might with more facility comprehend their manner of lodging and other things here, I will give you as short and clear a description of the House as I can. It is situate in the Plain of *Grenelle*, a good musket shot out from *Rue de bac* and as far almost up from the river, just at the end of *Rue de Grenelle*, a scattered kind of street heretofore, but now pretty well built. The whole frontispiece of the House looks full north, and opposite almost to the middle of *Cour de la Reyne*, with a large way lately paved from it down to the river. The wall of it, and of its courts, is about a mile and a half round. The anticourt, which is before the House, and is called 'la grand cour,' is like a great terrace, with [65] an insensible descent down from the House, whereby the rain may descend easier. This anticourt, which in a little, is like a great half-moon, whose horns are joined to both the extreme ends of the House, and in its middle the first gate coming in, from which gate there are paved three ways, which lead you up to the three common gates of the House, all distant about a pistol shot one from another. The middle way is twice or thrice larger than St. James' Park, Pall Mall, and brings you strait to the portal or great gate of the House, which they call 'la Porte de la Cour Royale.' The anticourt is invironed with a pretty large dry fosse, as broad in the bottom as at the brim, with a strong stone wall within, on each side of the fosse to keep up the earth, and as the ground of the Anticourt is sloping and higher by 3 or 4 foot than that on the outside of the fosse, so is the wall within higher and about 2 foot above the ground of the terrace, as is the other wall on the opposite side [66] higher also, with the same proportion than the ground on the outside of the fosse. The bottom of the fosse is gravel with a green moat through all in the middle. The gate of the anticourt is of iron bars; on each side of this gate and within it are 2 lodges, all made, and covered with stone. The right lodge going in is the guard room, and the left, over against it, is for the Porter. At this gate there is always a sentry, and often two, with the two porters, and just by it the wooden horse, who bears up his proud neck into the skies. It's in this anticourt that the soldiers commonly play, sometimes at nine-pins, sometimes at bowls, sometimes at cards, I mean those commonly who are upon the guard, and some *aux petits pallets*,\* but without the least noise or transportment. From this gate you go streightly up to the middle gate, or the gate de la Cour Royale, as I already said. At this gate of the Cour Royale is the great Guard of 4 companies, one [67] only being at the Gate of the anticourt. At this royal gate, (over which the King's statue is to stand in triumph) you see the *Grue* or *Carcon*, another instrument for punishment. Here you have always a sentry and one of the porters, and by it is the magazine for the arms. This and the side gates of it, which seldom have a sentry, are constantly open at day time, and a little way off from those side gates, are the two fore-pavilions of the House, beyond which is the little low house, with a little gate for the Governor's coach to come in, to him alone privy, and beyond the other pavilion is an other low house for the physician, with a gate also leading you to the great yard, where the Butchery and some other the above mentioned offices are.

\* This seems to have been a kind of quoits.

As for the 3 common gates, the middle, which is built in the middle of the House, under a great stately dome, is the chiefest, as being the gate of the Royal Court† situate in the middle of the whole House. It's royal indeed, being royally contrived and [68] built, very spacious and great, paved with a broad white stone, with double peagges a top of one another, all in square round about, with arches somewhat less than those at Covent Garden. The walks are Piazzas, being a foot or two higher than the Court itself, in which you mount by 3 or 4 steps at, and in the middle of the four sides of the Court. The lower Piazzas are paved with a broad stone, and the upper with large brick. From the lower Piazzas on the right and left hand of the Court you mount by the foresaid steps into the refectories and into the galleries round about them, and in the upper piazzas are the doors into the soldiers' chambers, for these piazzas are as high as the garrets of the House, and therefore the chambers have sight upon the court, their lights coming from the back courts. At the upper end, or side of this court, is the church, with a great dome and the clock and hand marking the hours. To this church you mount by 3 or 4 large easy steps, into which you have 3 doors to [69] enter, the middle being the biggest. You go also out of the upper Piazzas into the Church by one great door above, answering to the middle below, and above there are large spacious galleries, round about the church, as at *Charenton*, where the soldiers and more particularly officers and strangers, when this church is ended, may pray. At all the ends of the Royal Court and in the middle of the piazzas all winter hang up great lanthorns with answerable lights, as there are also some in all the galleries to banish hence the Prince of Darkness and his dark Deeds. These piazza are convenient walks for the soldiers to shun the heats of summer and the cold winds of winter. No coach, cart, nor horses, unless when the King or the truly great ones come hither, are admitted into this court, which an invalid soldier is obliged to keep very clean and sweep every day for 25 crowns a year. At the four ends of the court is the fall, by lead pipes, of the rain and gutters of the House, upon broad stones [70] through the holes of which the rain falls into a great common sewer of all the House, which from under this Court they are a carrying all along under ground to the river.\*

The two other gates siding the great middle gate, lead you into a double court of each side, or rather into two square courts on each side built round about with Houses, I mean with one continued house for the Invalides which is equivalent to many houses, some sides of these houses having 28 large double chambers in a row, so as the Royal Court is separated from them by the 2 refectories and piazzas, and is as big in a manner as the 4 courts if joined together. As on the two corners of the frontispiece of the House, there are 2 great pavilions, where the soldiers' chambers partly are, so on the 2 extremities of the backside of it, there are 2 pavilions answering to those in which are the 4 prisons and 2 dungeons, as also the privies answering, and at the end of each gallery. The [71] prisons are large and clear rooms with good beds and coverlids, where the greatest pain is the want of liberty, and feeding upon bread and water, together with the company of some rats and mice, the cats of the House

†As big as the great court at Windsor.

\*Each of these little courts is as big as the first court of St. James's.

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having no way to come in. The dungeons are much like other dungeons, but not altogether so frightful. The privies are paved with very large stones, are kept very clean and sweet, if in privies there can be imagined any kind of sweetness, but these are as sweet as any privies can be.† They are double and opposite at the end, under both sides of the gallery, each containing 2 large rooms, with a descent in the pavement for the water to run down, being daily washed. They are conveniently situate for the soldiers, and near them privies for the officers, having their particular keys to them. The priests, infirmaries, sisters, comptroller, etc. have houses of office in their own apartments. Besides the above 5 courts and the long yards, there are six other private courts here, not [72] open to all people as some in the infirmary, and some elsewhere, and it is to be observed, that there is no court in all the House, but hath water coming into it. As for hot water, which the soldiers may upon occasion want after meals, tis free for him to come into the kitchen, where he may any time turn a cock which at any time affords hot water.

The soldiers' apartments are all in and round about the galleries of the house. The House (except the Royal Court side, where the Piazzas are) is all 4 stories high, each story is divided into long Dortories, as in convents, with chambers for the soldiers on both sides of it. The first story on the ground in and all round about the House is called the Gallery of St. Charlemagne, the second, St. Guillaume, St. Maurice, St. Martin, and St. Hubert. All the third, St. Louis, the fourth and last St. Victor and St. George. Over this fourth are the granaries, round about the House, whereof a part of it is allotted for the meal, part for the corn, which is grinded in neighbouring mills near the House, and part for to dry the [73] Infirmary linen. The soldiers' chambers have over their doors the figure, by which each chamber is named, so as to speak to such a soldier, called 'John an Oaks' the porter at the gate will direct you to the chamber with the figure of 5, for example, in St. Louis, or St. Victor's gallery, where you cannot miss to hear of him.

Every chamber contains as many beds as it can conveniently hold, some 3, some 4, 6, and but few with 8. Every soldier hath his own bed, big enough for any one man, his pewter chamber pot, which he must scour now and then, as it needs it, his pewter pot for water, a woolen and linen night cap, his comb allowed him also by the House, and his little chair by his bed, commonly with a little cord nailed near his bed, to hang his clothes and stockings on. Every chamber is allowed 2 or 3 cupboards, vizt. according to the number of the beds, with 2 or 4 partitions to each cupboard, each soldier being allowed his own part or partition, with his [74] particular key to it. And here he locks up his bread, spoon, napkin, linen and other his small utensils. To each

\*These stories, dortories and galleries, are called in the House corridors. The one on the ground upon the right and left hand is the corridor of St. Charlemagne, the second 'Sur la premiere eschelle' or first pair of stairs to the right St. Maurice and St. William and St. Hubert. Upon the second stairs or eschelle on the right and left St. Louis, and upon the third to the right St. Victor, to the left St. George, being all names of Canonized Cavaliers or Soldiers.

† The Privies did not long remain sweet, and it was complained that they poisoned the air along the great facade. In 1784 'des commodités à l'anglaise' were installed. (Burnand, Chapter 3.)

chamber there is but one key, which they keep by weekly turns. The keeper, without leave of his chamber fellows, must not be out of the way during his week, unless he provides otherwise the key ready for his companions. Every one, even the very officers, cleans his own shoes, makes his bed, carries and empties his chamber pot in the morning in the privies, not as formerly out of the windows,\* and sweeps the chamber in his turn. The dirt or dust he leaves in a little basket at the chamber door which the appointed servant of the House in the morning empties in a greater one, leaving the chamber's basket again at the door, which the soldier takes into the chamber. As for the dorteries, galleries, and all other the common places and passages of the House, they are kept clean by the menial servants of the House. The soldiers' bed is of a thick straw pallet, with a substantial flock quilt, boulder, 2 good sheets [75] and 2 coverlids, one of which is laid by in summer heats. They have no curtains allowed them. Those that can shift some by money or friends may. To every chamber is allowed also a table, a broom, candlestick, snuffers, and two candles of 6 in the pound in 3 nights. To each 3 soldiers is allowed 2 candles† and 2 to 4 soldiers, and no more than 2 to 8. From about 9 a clock the candles must be blown out to prevent fire, and other disorders, to which purpose the rounds do also often go about. In summer, when at 9 a clock to daylight they can go to bed, they are allowed no candles. The Chandler they have also in the House. The Chambers are paved with brick, and have good large double windows on the side courts, on the anticourt, and on the fields. And to be sure of the chambers being kept clean, that the windows be also so, and sometimes left open to air the chambers and that their beds be well made, each appointed sergeant having a common key, in the morning or afternoons visits those of his own quarter, to see it [76] done and executed, if any happen to fail, and for his pains he is to have a mistier of wine a day, and half a crown a month. He hath also a key to open their cupboards, in which if he find any quantity of tobacco or brandy, it is his own. Sometimes the Aid Majors do also visit the chambers. The officers' chambers are commonly at the ends of the dorteries, the better to observe the soldiers. They are 2 and 4 sometimes in a chamber. Their beds have better quilts, coverlids, and sheets. They have also curtains. They make their own bed, clean the chambers, and empty their chamber pots, unless they otherwise hire some of the soldiers to do it for them, which may cost them half their mistie a day.

They may rise in the morning commonly at what hour they please; this because they are presumed, from their name Invalid, to be inclined to indispositions and infirmities, for those who are not truly invalides, the hour generally is betwixt 7 and 8. [77] by reason that their chambers are about 8 or 9 visited to see if all be clean and in a decent order. The true invalides are lodged in St. Charlemagne and St. Guillaume's galleries, the nearest that can be to the ground church, and the right hand refectory, whose two halls are taken up by them, except one table, that is assigned for 3 companies. At the end of this refectory there are 2 great rooms as

†They are allowed candles from the House from Michaelmas to the last day of March, as lanterns to the streets of Paris.

\* By 1710, however, the invalides had reverted to the former practice and a compromise had to be effected. It was decided that the soldiers might throw nothing out of the windows during the daytime, but they were at liberty to throw out what they wished at night.

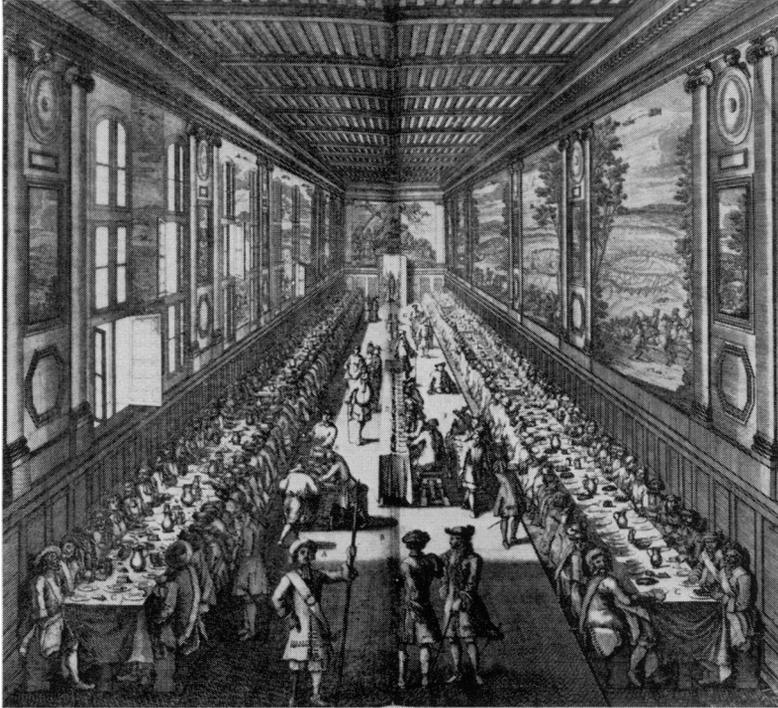


Figure 4

The Refectory. The water table can be seen in the centre of the Refectory.  
(From Le Jeune de Boullencourt, *Description Générale de l'Hostel Royal des Invalides*, Paris, 1683.)  
(see p. 189)



Figure 5

Diascordium and theriac jars from the original foundation in the Musée de l'Armée,  
Hôtel des Invalides.

(By courtesy of the Director)

(see p. 191)

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another refectory, for some invalides of the latest come out of the infirmary and for the invalid soldiers newly admitted into the House, where they must eat for 6 weeks, till they are fully instructed of their Christian Doctrine, within which time they are also clad by the House, and to learn the order of it.

The blind men are lodged near and about the other refectory, just on the first floor, in part of St. Charlemagne's gallery. They have 2 or 3 tables in this left hand refectory, the nearest to the door, where they come in, at which none of the sighted soldiers can sit [78] so that they might not wrong at the meals the poor blind, who are about 80 in all, and to the contrary in order to give way and occasion Christianly to serve them, some of the kindest and best natured sighted soldiers are lodged in the blind mens' chambers, living together in all kindness and brotherly affection, and near their apartment is one of the stove rooms and another by the true Invalides, and 2 more on the second corridors, in which from the first of November to the last of March the soldiers may warm themselves at most hours, the 2 rooms being set about with long forms which they sit upon. In 2 of these stove rooms backwards they may smoke Tobacco, but nowhere else in the whole house. Playing at draughts is allowed in their chambers and at cards in the anticourt, but dice altogether forbidden, so as none durst carry them about him.

You cannot without doubt but expect all this while how with what order and in what proportion [79] their meat is served, which to make to you clearer I must reassume something of my above observations about the refectories. First the 2 great refectories each divided in the middle by a large and short entry from the kitchens into 2 great halls (each hall being much longer and as broad as the Middle Temple Hall, with doors at both the ends of each Hall) the said 2 refectories, I say, do coast and side up the Court Royal, having their light from the back double courts. These refectories are painted on the walls with several representations of the King's sieges, battles, and victories since the year 1667. On both sides of the refectories, as in the Middle Temple, are the long tables and forms, each company having his own proportion of the table marked to him with his figure on the wall, so as they must not inroach on their neighbors. The blind mens' and the true invalides' tables, with each one's particular place, are peculiarly assigned to them. The [80] officers' refectory are two chambers betwixt the kitchen and the great refectory, opposite on both sides of the entry. Of the new comers' and convalescents' particular refectory, I already told you, as I did of the pantry and buttery. Secondly in the great left hand refectory (fig. 4), in the very middle of it, is the water table, to which such as for punishment must drink only water are confined, being sometimes 10 such, and sometimes 30 at it. Thirdly at 8 a clock in the morning the tables are covered, and at each soldiers place a clean pewter porringer is laid on his plate; from that hour till 10, the refectories are open for the soldiers to come in, to cut off their bread into their porringer for their pottage, which cut, they so leave it, and depart. None must cut any into his neighbor's porringer, without leave from him, some abuses being lately discovered in this matter prejudicial to the House. To every mess or 4 or 2 men there is a great pewter pot left, and filled with fresh fountain water, and a little measure for salt, [81] which the Saltman serves to them out of his apron with a little measure, immediately following the meat, having measures for one man alone, for 2, 3 or 4 men, which the messers afterwards

to avoid contention divide betwixt themselves, to each his own due and share. At 10 a clock the refectory doors are shut, and then the servants of the House come in with great kettles carried betwixt each two and fill with hot boiling broths all the porringers where they found bread cut, but no other.

At 11 the bell ringing as at 6 constantly at supper, the soldiers come north and south to the refectory doors, and a great whistle, for another sign given to the servants within the refectories, they immediately open all the doors and everybody comes leisurely and quietly takes his own place, where they sit 4 to a mess, and are most chamberfellows; I say 4 to a mess, for some you see of 3 and some of 2, by reason of such as happen to be absent, and for the same reason before [82] the meat is served, there are many messes of 2 and 3 men made in the kitchen, which are brought with the 4 men messes. Such as are absent and are not in their due places, as the messes are that way distributed, are to lose their meat without the least remedy, or grumbling, for that time. Coming to the refectories they bring with them their earthen cups to drink in, each soldier at his admittance having one given him from the House. And for the blind, who are most to be pityed, not only each one hath his proportion of salt to him, in the usual place on his plate, but also his proportion of meat, being they cannot see to eat by messes. The same order is for supper, only they have no pottage, as is usual in France, being allowed but Beef a la mode, boiled Beef, or some other way dressed, finding often in the messes pieces of tongue, and some such things. Four times a year, vizt. at St. Louis, St. Martin, Epiphany, and Shrovetuesday they [83] are allowed roast meat and a mistier of wine apiece extraordinary.\*

Every soldier is allowed at the rate of a pound of meat a day, which boiled and free from all bones (as it is always served to them) is hardly, they say, 3 quarters. The messes are not weighed to them but made by conjecture, and if any see theirs visibly less than his neighbor's messes, he or they may complain to the then officer commanding in the refectory, and he will order the servants to add more to it, which must be done immediately without any more formality. Formerly each one had his own share of meat, and not in messes, which are now found much more convenient and speedy.

Of their proportion of wine I already told you, only the serjeants of the House and such as served formerly in the army as troopers are allowed every second day a mistier of wine for their breakfast, which is the only difference betwixt them and all the rest. After supper immediately [84] (but no obligation after dinner) all the soldiers must go strait from the refectory to the church, where a priest helping them to make their examen of conscience for that day, and saying a few prayers, they sing afterwards *David's* Psalm for the King's prosperity and health, which done they may go away, or continue longer there at their private devotion, which you see many do.

As for the officers' refectory, there are 2 large rooms, as I told you, and 2 great round tables in each room, laid with clean table cloth and napkins 3 times a week, with their silver spoons, forks, salts, knives, and a silver Tasse from drinking to each,

\*They are allowed in the refectory to talk civilly, but to whistle, knock with a knife, or make any such noise they are punished for it. They cannot leave their places or come out of the refectory till the bell rings, being a sign for it.

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being allowed a Chopin of wine to each at every meal, which they drink mixt with water or as they please; besides a new halfpenny loaf, with a mistier of wine every morning to their breakfast. They are served at dinner with a great dish of pottage, and a dish of Beef, mutton, and veal, boiled, together with some entrails and roast meat, besides cheese, apples and [85] such fruit for their dessert. At suppers they have beef, mutton or veal roasted, with a dish of poultry and sallad, together with a desert, being 5 or 6 to a mess, and yet not served like messes. They go immediately to meat after the soldiers are gone out of the refectory, and are allowed each at the rate of a pound and a half a day of butchery meat. In short they make as good cheer as at an ordinary of a crown a day anywhere in Paris.

As for Fridays, Saturdays, and other days of abstinence, the soldiers have a pottage meagre with herbs or pease and 3 boiled hard egges apiece to dinner and 3 to supper. If any of their eggs be rotten, the servants immediately give other good eggs for the rotten. So as there are eaten in this House 9000 eggs a day. In Lent only they have fish, with a pottage, as above. Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays in Lent, they have a good piece of salt salmon for their dinner and cheese only, for collation or supper, poor John or yellow Morue, on Thursdays and Saturdays [86] *White Morue* or salt fish on Sundays and Tuesdays, with a white or red Herring by turns at night to collation, and sometimes French Beans. The soldiers will tell you that they make best cheer in Lent. The officers have all manner of salt and fresh fish, as also eggs dressed in several ways, to their full satisfaction and content.

There is an undertaker to furnish the House with eggs, which you see carried hither in great carts, with 4 horses to a cart, as much as ever they can draw, and yet the eggs so ranged in the cart, that you see none broken. The Butcher also sends all his meat from the butchery to the kitchen upon a little cart drawn by one horse, so well acquainted with the way that without any man leading of him, he takes a wide demicircle through the anticourt in presence of all the world and enters soberly into the gate and court leading him to the kitchen, where he of himself stops, and feeling himself discharged of his load, turns naturally with his cart, and so returns back to the butchery, being honoured sometimes with the company of his faithful companion, the Butcher's mastiff [87] dog, who scorns, or rather grumbles at any of the soldiers' kindnesses, or approaches if they offer to come near him, his companion the horse, or his beloved cart, which I suppose he often licks.

Now I am come to the Infirmary,\* which formerly was on the second stories of the

\* Next to the military aspect of the Hôtel, the medical side preponderated. The hospital service was divided into the three branches of surgery, medicine, and pharmacy (fig. 5), of which surgery was the most important. A surgeon, doctor, and apothecary headed the three departments.

A large amount of research was done at the Hostel, and a regular medical school came into being there, with which are associated such well known names as Morand, Sabatier, and Parmentier. Regimental surgeons attended courses of anatomy lectures in the infirmaries.

The unruly *garçons* of the medical department, drawn from the servants of the Hostel, were a constant source of trouble; discipline slackened, and by 1707 reforms were necessary. The matter of the responsibility of the *apothicaire major* was another source of conflict. The Sisters of Charity claimed, and had enjoyed, the direction of the pharmacy, and when, late in the eighteenth century, Parmentier was appointed as an independent apothecary, the appointment caused such a storm of protest from the sisters that it had to be cancelled. The increasing number of invalids and the paucity of medical stores and helpers, together with the floods of human debris which filled the salons after every French battle, seem to have made the struggle of the department with its problems an un-availing one. In spite of these difficulties the infirmaries seem to have been well planned and on the whole well served. A great point in their favour is that there were no epidemics of any importance.

House, but now is in a long low House, just on the ground, made like a Lorraine Cross, and invironing 3 or 4 courts. This House is like long galleries, and covered with fine slate. It is built low, so that it might not hinder the light of the soldiers' chambers, nor the prospect of the House. It is within the common great wall inclosing the House, and at most ends of it you see altars, and in its centre or middle, another altar at which from almost all the galleries they may out of their beds see the priest officiating. The officers' infirmary contains about 300 beds, each fitted with 2 thick quilts, soft sheets, easy pillows, and warm coverlids, with serge curtains in the winter and linen [88] ones in summer with a close stool, chamber pot, leaning staff, a rope to help up, and a large easy chair to each bed. In every gallery there are stoves in the middle and great chairs both there, and at the ends for the soldiers to rest at their conveniency as they walk up and down. Of late there is an order that none but the Flambeaux bearers must attend the sacrament into the infirmary, some inconveniency being lately discovered of the soldiers waiting on it thither.

This infirmary is not only intended for the invalid soldiers of the House, but also for other soldiers of the King's, who are wounded or very ill, and are sent hither to be cured, and so returned back to the regiments, as above 60 did the last year. The invalids, because invalids happen often and in great number to be here, there being about a hundred now sick, and some so indisposed as tho' they walk up and down in it, they are never to come to live out of it, yet is there neither doctor's skill, care, nor physic wanting to them, nay, not cordials of pearls. And there is an [89] Irish soldier now there who in baths alone cost the House above 50 crowns, having his legs and thighs down from his haunches withered which happened [to] him the very first time that ever he was upon sentry; and for their linen it is as often changed as need is.

To the infirmary from the House there is but one entry, at which stands within 2 porters in livery, with a sentry without. Within the same entry, on the left hand, is the door to the devout Sisters' House, to which they have a private garden, court, kitchen, and laundry, to themselves, having the care and custody of all the infirmary linen, with a sentry at the door to hinder men from going in for privacy's sake. These Devotes, being 30 in this House, under a superior called Sister Barbara\* [90] are employ-

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At a time when typhus was fairly prevalent in France, this showed that the Grey Sisters were as ready with soap and water as they were with *eau bénite*. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that at this period, at any rate, the Hostel infirmaries were well in advance of contemporary military hospitals. In spite of good intentions and much devoted service, however, they did not escape the train of abuses which seem to have engulfed the whole of French administration towards the end of the eighteenth century. (Burmand, ch. 6.)

\* Sister Barbara was Barbe Bailly, the first of the Superiors of the Sisters in the Hostel, and had the title of 'la soeur servante.' She entered the congregation in 1645, and assisted Mansart in drawing up the plans for the infirmaries. Little is known about these most interesting women, '*Les Filles De La Charité*,' in their connection with the Invalides. There are no records of them at the Hostel, and their own archives have disappeared. Their Mother House was in the Faubourg St. Laurent, and they were chosen because of their connection with the order of Missionary Fathers. The arrangement by which they came to work at the Hostel, the *contrat* signed between Louvois and the Superior of the Community, Mère Nicole Harau, allowed them almost complete independence. They were responsible only to the Minister of War. There were, at first, to be twelve or more sisters and it is interesting to note that their number had already by 1682, risen to 30, the figure at which it was to remain fairly constant. Burnand remarks very pertinently that while complaints against every other department of the Invalides are common there are none directed against the Grey Sisters. To the wounded *invalides*, as for the French and English wounded on the Continent, and American wounded brought into Quebec, they seem to have been ministering angels.

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ed at the dressing all the infirmity meat, making, mending, washing, and drying all their sheets, shirts, and all other the linen shifts within the infirmity where they have a wash-house, a yard, and a great part of the garret to dry their linen. They make the beds, empty the chamberpots and close-stools, [and] carry to the beds the meat first cut in portions by Sister *Barbara*. They watch two every night by turns the sick, going about from bed to bed to see if the sick man be covered, or by chance falls out of his bed, if at rest, or otherwise, and briefly they take solely all the care of this place. One of the priests is also bound to lie all night in the Infirmary to administer the Sacrament in case of need. This Sister *Barbara* hath the absolute command over the rest of the Sisters, taking in, or turning them out, as she finds the least cause.

And it is worth your notice, that of these Devout Sisters there are in Paris about 400 in all, who professing to help the poor in the several quarters of [91] Paris, are in several Houses, living together under superior women in the said Houses, being all subordinate to the several parish priests where they live. It is out of these that are taken the Devotes of the Invalides, who hardly ever stir out of the Infirmary, where they are allowed clothes, lodging and diet, and pretend to no other salary or reward, but from the great giver of all rewards. They are coarsely clad, with thick gray Bayes, with a coarse apron before them, a coarse coif of linen close to their head, ears, and forehead, and covered with a coarser complexion of their own, fitter to quench than to kindle the flames of love, being therefore allowed but 25 crowns a year for all the clothes and linen they wear. In the several offices of the Infirmary are several springs of water and underground channels to carry all the immundities into the general common sewer. Men at first were employed [92] about the Infirmary, who being not found so handy, these were brought in, to whom no soldier, under great punishment, durst offer the least immodesty in word, look, or deed, not so much as unnecessary talk. The sick are served with nothing but fowl, chickens, new laid eggs, jellies, broths, and sometimes veal or mutton, according to the nature of their stomachs, and quality of their diseases.

At the end of the infirmary is another less for the *infirmes* in mind, where you see some old soldiers fallen into perfect infancy, for *Bis pueri senes*,\* and but one absolutely mad, which if it continues without intervals shall probably be sent to the *Petites Maisons*\*\* or Bedlam. This also Infirmary is under the care of the Devout Sisters, whom sometimes the Superior Sister upon suspicion will turn into prison, at bread and water, and after turn them out for ill behaviour if they deserve it.

The Doctor, for attending this House, hath 300 li. Sterling yearly pension, and a lodging in the House [93] tho' he hath also his house and family in the town, but once or twice a day he visits the Infirmary.

The Master Chirurgeon with his 4 or 5 servants, are lodged near the Infirmary, being at certain wages by the year. These are the butchers of human flesh, whom you see often opening skulls, cutting legs and arms, serving bowels, opening veins, and sometimes pricking arteries. These *Fratres* (for so they call them) are obliged twice a week (as some on Mondays and Thursdays, and some on other days) to trim the

\* *Bis pueri senes*—the old are children twice.

\*\* The *Petites Maisons*, the Paris madhouse, occupied the space now covered by the Square *du Bon Marché*.

soldiers without the least fee, being at diet and wages in the House, and after 5 years service, with a little cost, may receive their freedom in *Paris* or elsewhere in France.† The soldiers may, if they will, trim themselves.

From this great work, and real effects of true charity, wherein the spirit of God visibly appears, let us go to God's own House here. The Church, then, situate, as I told you, at the upper end of the Royal Court where its doors and large [94] entry paved with large stone, do begin opposite to the gate of the said court, with two small courts on both sides of it, which formerly were the churchyards, but now a long and large churchyard is beyond, and siding with the yard, which leads you to the Water-house, butchery, and those other trade shops. On the sides of this churchyard backward are carried two great wings of the House, one of which on the left hand on the first and second story lodges the Comptroller and his family, divided only from the rest of the gallery and Piazzas by gates of iron, as the Governor's apartment is, and the other wing is the Priest's house, divided also in the like manner from the rest of the gallery or piazzas, within which house they have common halls to receive visits, their refectory, kitchen, cellars, private chambers, and all other conveniencies whatsoever as in the most regular convents, with a fine spacious garden for themselves. The King allows them 12000 livres a year, upon which they maintain themselves [95] in diet and all other things. The King providing the luminaries, and all other the charges of the church. They are called by their institution missionaries and are here about 17.\* priests in all besides some that are in inferior orders, which they breed up to be priests, and send them after to other their houses. They are persons of exemplary life, which is the reason the King took them to be parish priests of Versailles, as the superior of this House is the parish priest here. Some of these Fathers speak *Dutch*, and other Italian and Spanish, and other English, and other *Scotch*, *Irish*, *Switz* and other languages, whereby they might be able not only to hear the Strangers' confessions in several languages but also to catechise, admonish, instruct, or exhort them to a good life, to which purpose there is besides the Church, a great room, in which the several strangers, their respective days meet, to receive instructions. They say [96] daily their masses, administer the Sacraments, sing on Sundays and holidays, High Mass, noon, Vespers and Complyne, go about the Royal Court in processions and do preach every Sunday and holiday, besides some exhortations on other days. One of the Fathers is appointed to visit the soldiers' chambers, and lend them what devotion or other moderate books they call for, which they may keep as long and change as often as they will, taking only in writing the name of the soldier and chamber. The House hath bought this very year above 60 English books, having books also in most other languages. In Lent, besides holidays, they preach all Wednesday and Friday mornings, going but very seldom abroad, and being as private and retired here as in any convent, their iron gates being always shut, and opened by their porter, who is a lay brother, only when anybody rings, having farther their wood and water

\*15 Priests, and 6 more as lay brothers, or inferior orders, which is all in the Priests' House.

† The Surgeon's assistants could set up as barber-surgeons for themselves, without having to spend further time on an apprenticeship.

### *The Hostel of the Invalides*

within themselves. They trouble nobody for religion, yet they sweetly exhort [97] and not importune all that are of a contrary sect to embrace their own, to which it is observed that their own quiet proceedings, conversation, and exemplary life are the most efficacious and convincing arguments.

On Sundays and Holidays, all the professed Catholics without excuse or exception (only those that are sick) must assist at High Mass, sermon, Vespers, Complyne and Procession when there is one. On work-days most of the Catholics, unless perhaps such as [are] otherwise very busy at their work, do of their own free accord and devotion hear every day Mass, but to this there is no obligation upon them, and to do them right, you may see at most hours of the day great numbers of soldiers very devoutly at their private prayers, God having of his mercy and by the means of these good priests, changed from wild boars into tame sheep the greatest part of them. As for the Hugonots and sectaries they are about 80 in all, with 2 or 3 Hugonot officers, one [98] of which by turns leads 20 or 30 of them to *Charenton* preach[es], and brings them with sobriety and good order home. Many of the French turn to be *Catholics*. The 5 English that are here have done so already, but none of the 20 Scots did, but to the contrary they turn private spirits, and preachers to one another. And of about 100 Irish that are here, there is hardly any but was born with a Pope in his belly.

The Church\* is able to contain 6000 men, and is open from 5 a clock in the morning

\* Perhaps there is nothing more significant in the development of the Invalides than the way in which the organised religious services dwindled until they had died out almost entirely, so that what had been an important religious college was reduced to a parish church.

The *contrat* which arranged the part which the Missionary priests were to play in the institution provided that there were to be at least twelve of them in attendance on the Hostel, to celebrate the divine office. The chapel of the Invalides, the church of St. Louis, was a royal chapel. As Povey remarks, the psalm 'Exaudiat,' had to be sung daily, with the verse 'Domine salvum fac Regem,' repeated three times, indicating the personal nature of the prayers for the King. (Burnand, ch. 8.)

By a new agreement of 1680, the number of officiating priests was fixed at 20, and it is interesting to note that they were below strength at the time the manuscript was written. The Missionaries enjoyed all the privileges of the house including the free import of a certain amount of wine and salt, and 6000 livres a year. Besides celebrating mass, they catechised and instructed the newly arrived recruits for the Invalides during the period for which they were confined to the House, invigilated in the infirmaries and visited the sick. 'They must have been strange penitents, these old soldiers,' Burnand remarks, 'wreckage of the armies of Italy, Flanders, or Alsace, who took such delight in pillaging enemy territory, unscrupulous veterans who willingly left the Hostel to riot in the streets, or look for excitement at the Pont Neuf, or the St. Germain's fair.' Povey's remarks about the good work of conversion done by the Missionary Fathers are endorsed by Père Daniel in his *Histoire de La Milice Francaise*.

In spite of the tax immunities which they enjoyed, the finances of the Missionaries seem to have become seriously involved, and they attempted to retrieve the situation by taking pensioners. Much has been written about the Church of St. Louis, and much more could be said about the ceremonies, of a mingled ecclesiastical and military nature, that took place there. Here is the order of a procession which formed a part of one of them, and in which all the inhabitants took part:

A company of 60 fusiliers under arms.

Fifes and drums.

The invalids in companies, four abreast.

The brigade of officers.

The Brotherhood of the Holy Sacrament, two by two.

The clergy of the Hostel, and a detachment of fusiliers.

The staff.

The Council of administration.

The functionaries.

The Lieutenant Colonels and Battalion Commanders with the Provost Guard.

The Ladies of the Hostel.

The Grey Sisters, with the invalids, under arms, marching in square about them.

Thirty fusiliers.

till 7 at night, it is big and stately and shall be very magnificent when the Cupolo which they are building (like to that of St. Peter's of Rome) is finished. Near to the altar is a large and open quire for the priests and officers, about the bigness of that of *Westminster* and the body of the church is full of forms set in order for the soldiers to kneel at, lean to, or sit upon. About the church to the walls of it are several fine and easy confessionals, and behind the altar the Sacristy, with the preacher's pulpit in the middle [99] of the church to a pillar. At the door there is always a sentry, and by reason they add new buildings, at night for fear of thieves, either from abroad or at home, the Church is guarded by more. They have caused to be made magnificent and new fine organs, which are now ready to be set up. The church is kept very clean, being daily swept, and paved with fine large stones. They have 6 young boys to serve the Church, assisting also to answer the priest at burials and other ceremonies, 2 carrying at the burials 2 lighted flambeaux, one the cross, and 2 about the priest; 4 men to carry the coffin, are allowed everybody 7d. a piece. Having said some few prayers in the Church, they from thence carry the body to the churchyard, being followed by a great number of soldiers. Once a month they assist at a high mass sung for all the dead *Invalides*, as also for the deceased soldiers in the army. They are all obliged to confess and communicate at Easter in the House. Most do it once a month [100] at home or abroad, at their choice, and truly they are so Godly given, that you may see many of them in most churches in town and at most devotions, where they edify all people. And it is by this profound sense, which they may conceive of God and of religion, as much as for fear of the secular power, that their comportments both within and without are in a manner irreproachable, few excepted. So that they themselves do confess and praise the particular Providence of God Almighty over them by forcing them by a happy necessity to live in this place, where they may so easily work out the good of their souls. And for that of the body they unanimously will tell you, especially the sober sort, that besides the certainty of being provided for, for the rest of their days, either well or sick, nothing of what is necessary in diet, clothes, or other things is wanting to them. So as those who complain (for 'tis the nature of a soldier never to be satisfied) do complain without ground or reason.

The soldiers are now allowed to go out of the [101] gate of the anticourt without leave, which of course they have by virtue of their tickets, signed by the Governor, the 3 days' names being written upon them, three days a week, and on other days upon any good cause or reason may obtain it. As for to go abroad for air's sake, I think they cannot refresh their lungs with a finer and purer one, nor comfort their eyes with a nobler prospect than here, for from most chambers of the House, and from the anticourt, they have at the same time a full prospect upon the adjacent gardens, villages, fields, woods, river, Cour de la Reyne, Thuilleries, Louvre and the City of Paris.

The scarcity of money, for the soldiers are allowed none (nor officers neither, except 2 or 3 by favour by way of pension for more than ordinary desert) the scarcity of money, I say, is the greatest subject of complaint, and who, pray, complains not of scarcity of money? Yet do they all make honest shifts to get some, for those that have any trade [102] by working at home or abroad, do make up good sums. So that they often are able to maintain a wife and family, and therefore do sometimes marry,

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as any soldier here may with the House's consent, being first fully informed by the Prevost what the woman is. Those that have no trade, tho' well in years, do endeavour here to learn one, even to read and write, having invalid masters in the House for that purpose. Others are at easier work, some making bellows, some stoppers for bottles, some fossets for barrels and other vessels, some making pens, others at larderers, some at allumets, and in fine some do help to plough, to dig, to build, to fence, to weed, and to water the neighbouring gardens. Those who are only good at catching flies in the air, must to get money punish their bellies for their laziness, by sparing their bread and wine to sell it at home to their comrades, or abroad to change it into tobacco, which is often more refreshing to their second nature than [103] their meat to the first. The officers, unless they have friends or some means of their own, as some have, are in the worst case of all.

This House is a corporation and parish of itself, and is exempted from all taxes, town duties, and other impositions whatsoever. It hath free from all customs and entries, all its wood, coals, glasses, iron, cloth, linen, leather, meat, salt, and wine, this coming down by the river most out of Burgundy, there being an undertaker for it, and to be short, the King gives this House all the privileges and favour that it is capable of.

Now as to me, the greatest wonder of all wonders, is to consider with what quietness, spirit and modesty, without the least noise or confusion, all is here governed. Nothing so officious, or generally civil to one another as the soldiers are. No swearing, whistling, gambling, clamouring, upbraiding, nor even speaking the least immodest word. A miraculous, but a happy [104] change indeed, in men naturally brutish and bred up in all disorder, vice, and debauchery. All this I must attribute first to God, and under him as his great instruments, to this wise and great monarch, no less bountiful in his reward than severe in his punishments, and lastly to the care and piety of these good Fathers, who by imprinting on their hearts the fear of God, do give those pricks and remorse to their consciences, which no law of man, tho' never so severe, can hardly ever do. Besides these Fathers, being men of great Order and Discipline, in which only consists the life and being of all communities, they know and can advise best, either by fair or foul means, the true observance of them. For before their settlement here, notwithstanding the great rigour of the laws, and seconded in the execution with greatest rigour by *Monsieur de Louvois*' naturally severe humour, the soldiers before his eyes would sometimes slash one another, which disorder is now prevented [105] by the advice of these good Fathers, with whose superior, in the beginning especially, Monsieur de Louvois used to be 2 or 3 hours shut up at a time, consulting him in most things about the discipline of this House. I am (which is more) informed by an antient Father of these, that he doubts not but that there are many saints amongst these soldiers. Some he knows who spend 8 hours a day in meditation and prayers, and some who are 3 hours continually on their knees before the altar, and some who mortify themselves as much as Capuchines. What joy and comfort this gives to the King, whose inclinations naturally tend to order, justice, and righteousness, he doth himself in several occasions so express, that you may hear it from others better than I can tell you, but this I can, that he is so well satisfied with these Missionaries, that of late he hath taken some of their body to attend his own chapel in his Palace at Versailles.