

CHARITY IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY MARSEILLES

CHARITY AND SOCIAL REFORM:  
CIVIC VIRTUE, SPIRITUAL ORTHODOXY, AND LOCAL IDENTITY  
IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY MARSEILLES

By

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A Thesis

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies

in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements

for the Degree

Doctor of Philosophy

McMaster University

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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (2012)

McMaster University

(History) Hamilton, Ontario

TITLE: Charity and social reform: civic virtue, spiritual orthodoxy, and local identity in seventeenth-century Marseilles

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NUMBER OF PAGES: 315

## Abstract

This work is a local study of charity in seventeenth-century Marseilles. Civic councillors, inspired by the *dévo*t movement, were the chief agents of charitable poor relief. Responding to external political pressures from the Bourbon monarchy and religious inspiration from within the community, charity became a facet of local political authority and a vehicle of social moral reform. The collective purpose of the newly emerging specialized asylums was to mould orderly and spiritually orthodox members of society. In light of the city's ongoing hopes for civic autonomy and its unwavering commitment to Catholicism, the desire for citizen-virtue crystallizes as a struggle for distinctly *Marseillais* identity. My study emphasizes not the '*enfermement*' but the concept of 'charity' as the central concept in treatment of the poor. The asylums were 'rehabilitative' rather than purely punitive. In showing charity as a mechanism of social reform – tailored to each group's material, moral and spiritual lowliness and to the threat they allegedly posed – the study implicitly unveils the exclusionary aspects of the social mosaic.

## **Acknowledgments**

I owe the completion of this dissertation to a number of individuals, who have supported me and provided assistance. My supervisor, Dr. Megan Armstrong, has worked incessantly to ensure the intellectual integrity and stylistic merit of my work. Sharing my enthusiasm, she has pushed and guided me through my studies. I am also indebted to the members of my committee: Dr. Bernice Kaczynski and Dr. Virginia Aksan, who have provided continuous inspiration and offered invaluable feedback on my work. My external examiner, Dr. Kevin Robbins, has equally offered important commentary during and after my Defense. I also wish to mention my mentor, Dr. Francine Michaud. Since my undergraduate studies she has encouraged me and created opportunities for my academic development.

I would also like to thank my colleagues and friends who have offered encouragement throughout my academic journey – Stephanie Corazza, Dr. Waleed Shinwari, Dr. Munir ElDesouki, and Taryn McMillan to name a few. A special mention is Alicia McAuley-Ashfield, who diligently edited parts of my dissertation in the critical, final stages of submission. I also owe thanks to my close long-time friends Paola Rementeria, Lindsay Evans, Besima Valentic and Dr. Kate Skolnik. They have believed in me for as long as I have known them.

This project has been completed with the financial assistance from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council, the Ontario Graduate Scholarship, and McMaster University. I greatly appreciate this aid, and feel privileged to be its recipient.

Finally, I would like to express gratitude to my family. My parents, Zdenek and Hana Stastni, gave up a great deal when they emigrated from Europe. They taught me to never give up. I also wish to thank my sister, Marketa Stastna. She has been my friend, advisor, and a mischievous distraction all my life, and especially during my doctoral studies. Finally, I wish to express my great thanks to my loving husband, Joel Wilcox. He edited endless drafts of my work, and gave me loving strength when my endurance was fading. I am incredibly lucky to have had such a ‘team’ behind me – thank you all!

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## Introduction

A visitor exploring mid-seventeenth-century Marseilles would come upon several asylums (*hospitaux*) in a remarkably short distance. Most were located in the so-called *Panier* district in the northwestern corner of the city, overlooking the sea from a slight elevation. Today it is somewhat isolated from the city centre, but in the seventeenth century this ancient neighbourhood was the heart of charitable activity. The oldest institution was *l'Hôtel-Dieu* (1188).<sup>1</sup> Close by stood the *Charité* (1622), the *Refuge* (1640)<sup>2</sup> with its *Maison des filles repanties* (1630), and after 1690 the *Entrêpot* for pregnant women.<sup>3</sup> Over time, the charity-receiving population of the *Panier* spilled beyond this area into the nearby harbourfront. It was here that the city located *l'Hôpital royal des forçats* (1646) and *l'Hôpital du bon rencontre des enfants trouvés* (1673), with the latter attached to the adjoining *Maison des filles de la providence*. By the end of the seventeenth century, the cityscape would witness the addition of several other hospices, including an insane asylum and a convalescent hospital among others.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> In 1596, the medieval *Hôtel-Dieu* merged with *l'Hôpital du Saint-Esprit* and *l'Hôpital Saint-Jacques-de-Galice*. Archives Départementales des Bouches du Rhône (AD des BR) 6.HD.E1.

<sup>2</sup> The decision to establish the *Charité* took place in 1622, but it opened in 1641. Similarly, the *Refuge* was “founded” in 1640 but did not commence operations probably until 1649 when first independent records appear. Until that time, women were likely confined in the *Maison des Filles Repanties* (est. 1630).

<sup>3</sup> Annick Riani, “Pouvoirs et contestations: La prostitution a Marseille au XVIIIème siècle (1650 – 1830)” (Thèse : L’Université d’Aix-Marseille I, 1982) 5.

<sup>4</sup> In the seventeenth century the following additional hospitals emerged in Marseilles: *Hôpital des Insensées* (1698), *Hôpital des Incurables*, *Hôpital des pauvres passants* (1654), *Hôpital St. Lazare* (medieval leprosarium – in 1672 united with the *Hôtel-Dieu*), and *Hôpital des Couvalescents* (1654). For reasons of scope and lack of documents for our period, they are omitted from this project.



Between the 1620s and the 1690s no less than a dozen new *hospitaux* emerged in Marseilles – a city of 45,000-50,000 inhabitants.<sup>5</sup> This growth in the number of local charitable institutions was in itself not unusual. As other scholars have shown, the early modern period witnessed a dramatic expansion in charitable giving across Europe; an expansion that reflected rising levels of poverty<sup>6</sup> and heightened concerns about social disorder resulting from indigence. Similarly, the trend towards municipally governed and funded poor relief was also becoming widespread. Even though Marseilles paralleled other European centres, however, it was unique in many respects. This dissertation contends that charity in Marseilles was very much a local affair that targeted the community's complex social, political, and spiritual needs. The formation, governance, and day-to-day operations of these institutions speak to the unique character of this port-city at a time of dramatic change in France. Growing royal control and intense spiritual reform in the wake of the Religious Wars shaped Marseilles and its charity in

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<sup>5</sup> Historians differ in their population estimates but they agree that Antoine Ruffi's seventeenth-century figure of 65,000 is an exaggeration, as is the city consuls' own calculation: between 80 and 100,000. See Antoine de Ruffi, *Histoire de la ville de Marseille*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Marseille: Henri Martel, imprimeur-libraire, 1696). The most probable figure is Edouard Baratier's, who suggests that in 1524 Marseilles' population ranged between 14,000 and 15,000 inhabitants, growing rapidly. By 1550 the city's agglomeration reached 30,000 and by 1610 it was likely between 45,000 and 50,000. See Busquet, Pernoud, Baratier, Billioud, *Histoire du Commerce de Marseille, 1480 – 1599*, vol. 3 (Paris: Plon, 1949), 180-183. Historian André Zysberg adds that Marseilles' rural agglomeration outside of the city walls accounted for almost one fifth of France's rural population in the early modern period. André Zysberg, *Marseille au temps du Roi-Soleil: la ville, les galères, l'arsenal (1660-1715)* (Marseille: Jeanne Laffitte, 2007).

<sup>6</sup> Historians agree that the seventeenth century was a "tragic century," with a series of bad harvests, aggravated by plague epidemics and ongoing warfare including the Fronde, causing widespread rural destitution. These impoverished rural populations migrated into the urban centres that were not prepared to absorb them, becoming beggars. See, for example, Elizabeth Rapley, *Dévotes, The Women and Church in Seventeenth-Century France* (McGill-Queens University Press, 1992) 78. Georg'ann Cattelona also explains that Provence experienced farming difficulties, harsh winters and poor harvests specifically in 1670, 1674, 1694, 1702 and 1709. Georg'ann Cattelona, "The Regulation of female sexuality: the Hôpital du Refuge in Marseilles, 1640 – 1789," (Thesis: Indiana University, Bloomington, 1991), 41.

fundamental ways. They contributed to poverty in the porous seaside community, and made charity a civic concern.

The charity that emerged in seventeenth-century Marseilles acquired a specific civic purpose in response to external political pressures and a changing internal religious culture: the new charitable asylums became sites of social and spiritual reform meant to segregate and to mould the supposedly troublesome members of society into virtuous citizens. This approach to the poor reflected a new understanding of charity that emerged in the late sixteenth century. In the earlier medieval tradition ‘charity’ adhered to the theological meaning of *caritas*, denoting selfless (benevolent), universal love for God and for all other human beings. *Caritas* took many forms – the giving of alms and material assistance to the poor being one of them.<sup>7</sup> In the late sixteenth century, and especially in the seventeenth, this medieval practice of benevolent giving gave way to a new form of assistance: the moral reform of the recipient as a path to religious salvation. In France alms-giving was outlawed in the early seventeenth century, and the poor were subjected to spiritual instruction instead. Such an approach to poor relief was adopted elsewhere in Europe, for example in English workhouses and Italian convents and homes for the poor.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> James William Brodman, *Charity and Religion in Medieval Europe* (Catholic University of America Press, 2009) 3-4, and John Bossy, *Christianity in the West, 1400– 1700* (Oxford University Press, 1985) 168.

<sup>8</sup> For Italy, see collection of essays: Peter Ole Grell, J. Arrizabalaga and A.Cunningham, eds., *Health Care and Poor Relief in Counter-Reformation Europe* (London: Routledge, 1999). Historians including Nicholas Terpstra, Sandra Cavallo, and Philip Gavitt deal with various aspects of charity in Italy during the Renaissance period, for example with children and women. See full citations in pertinent chapters. For work on English workhouses, see Hugh Cunningham, *The Children of the Poor: Representations of Childhood Since the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, USA: Blackwell, 1991).

The demographically porous nature of this seaside metropolis meant that the city experienced poverty much more intensely than land-locked areas, however.

Since the Middle Ages, the port had provided the city with a vibrant economy that created a dynamic movement of migration. But even while the port helped to enrich the city, it also made it vulnerable to both external and internal sources of disorder, including military attacks, disease, and criminality. These issues were only exacerbated during the seventeenth century as the port itself expanded in size. This expansion was encouraged by the Bourbon monarchy. Eager to capitalize on its privileged economic and political status as an Ottoman Port following the renewal of the Capitulations treaty in 1604, Louis XIII and Louis XIV invested heavily in the development of Marseilles' harbour. In consequence, Marseilles became an even more powerful player in the Mediterranean. Royal appropriation of the harbour brought with it new challenges for the city, however: as a direct consequence of the port's restructuring, many *Marseillais* faced destitution and subsequent suspicion of sinful and criminal acts. The elites, increasingly influenced by the Catholic Reform, set out to systematically institutionalize and reform the poor as a way of preventing social disorder and claiming control over local affairs. Understood as an analytical lens, 'charity' in Marseilles therefore reveals much about the political relationship between the Crown and the traditionally independent southern frontier of its kingdom.

Importantly, it was the magistrates who adopted the roles of charitable benefactors. Over the course of the century, they progressively fashioned a role for

themselves as both the political and spiritual leaders of the city; one which allowed them to mould the populace in ways that suited their vision of the city. Through their new charitable institutions and promulgation of mandatory reform for the poor, these leaders articulated a new definition of civic ‘virtue.’ For Junko Takeda, the notion of ‘virtue’ among the elites reflected the influence of both classical republican ideology and local economic interests.<sup>9</sup> By the seventeenth century, elite engagement in charity reveals a growing insistence upon Catholic orthodoxy and behavioural propriety. This broadening of the meaning of ‘virtue’ was precipitated by the elite’s political and religious agendas after 1600: namely their ongoing defence of civic autonomy and their unwavering commitment to Catholicism that had only intensified during the Wars of Religion and the subsequent Catholic Reformation. In short, virtue and was intimately tied to local identity in the seventeenth century more than before, and charity was an important instrument used to create both.

While the civic elites generally agreed in their anti-monarchical outlook, they were also greatly fractured. My work reveals that ‘charity’ was an instrument of ‘civil war’ where secular clergy, civic magistrates, and the Chapter clergy fought for prestige and authority in the city. The magistrates, allied with the Chapters, effectively claimed

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<sup>9</sup> Takeda defines Marseilles’ “classical republicanism” as traditionally “averse to royal kingship, absolute monarchy, and to commerce,” specifically to commercial expansionism and pursuit of luxury. Emphasis was on “civic excellence,” which gradually included “commercial civic spirit,” as the “ultimate mark of good citizenship.” She also explains that over the course of the late-seventeenth century, the monarchy gradually co-opted local republican ideas in a way that “allowed the classical republican concept of virtue and civic excellence to become compatible and interchangeable with the Crown’s language of utility to the state.” Junko Therèse Takeda, *Between Crown and Commerce: Marseille and the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011) 2-5,7, 50-57.

leadership in charitable poor relief, and used it to accomplish their civic vision of a virtuous and orderly polis.<sup>10</sup>

In order to accomplish their goal, the civic elites targeted specific groups of the poor for more rigorous ‘charitable’ indoctrination. The great diversity of charitable asylums we find in seventeenth-century Marseilles was symptomatic of the far-reaching effects of port-related indigence. For the elites, the rising numbers of vulnerable children and husbandless women were particularly alarming, as the subsequent chapters will demonstrate. As this study reveals the complex nature of poverty and the diverse nature of the poverty-stricken population, it challenges studies of the ‘begging poor’ that have treated them as a homogeneous group.<sup>11</sup> By studying each charity-receiving group individually, we come to appreciate more fully the specific ‘threats’ that poverty supposedly carried. From the perspective of the urban elite, begging, idleness, debauchery, heresy, a married woman’s ‘aloneness,’ and the illegitimacy of children, as well as foreign status and Protestantism, were sinful and disorderly behaviours associated with poverty. The civic leaders considered the manifestation of these behaviours in their own city to be antithetical to the *Marseillais* notion of ‘virtue,’ and indeed threatening to it.

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<sup>10</sup> Similar civic struggle has been identified by Sandra Cavallo in her study of early modern Turin. See Sandra Cavallo, *Charity and Power in Early Modern Italy: Benefactors and Their Motives in Turin, 1541–1789* (Cambridge University Press, 1995).

<sup>11</sup> Historians generally make only cursory references to the various categories of the poor. Medievalist Sharon Farmer recently engaged in a comprehensive study of the distinct categories of the poor in medieval Paris. My study takes a similar approach to hers. See Sharon Farmer, *Surviving Poverty in Medieval Paris: Gender, Ideology, and the Daily Lives of the Poor* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2002).

This dissertation exposes Marseilles as a complex site of destitution on the periphery of royal influence. Two features are particularly highlighted: the rare scale of impoverishment in Marseilles, and the vast array of ethnic groups present in the city. Both make Marseilles and its charity unique. The present study examines charity as a response to both immediate and long-term concerns of the civic elites that were both political and religious in nature. As a study of early modern charity, it responds to two related historiographical debates: the first concerning the need for a local approach to charity, the second evaluating the punitive character of early modern asylums. Arguing that in Marseilles charity was an important facet of civic authority that played a key role in moral reform, it also contributes to broader debates regarding the formation of the state, the nature and influence of Catholic reform in the seventeenth century, and the place of the Mediterranean in the formation of early modern French society.

***I. First historiographical debate: from “pre-modern welfare state” to local studies of charity***

In order to appreciate local charity as a facet of civic authority, it is imperative to first recognize ‘charity’ as a local affair. Up until the last decades of the twentieth century, historians ascribed a central role for an absolutist monarchy in encouraging the institutionalization of charity. In the 1960s historians such as Emmanuel Chill,<sup>12</sup> Jean

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<sup>12</sup> Emanuel Chill, “Religion and Mendicity in Seventeenth-Century France,” in *International Review of Social History*, No.7 (1962), 400-425.

Imbert,<sup>13</sup> and most famously Michel Foucault<sup>14</sup> treated French charity as a statewide phenomenon, marked by thorough and unilateral intervention of the state. They recalled the Marxist interpretations of their predecessors when they equated the emergence of French asylums with the growing power of the absolute state. Foucault famously perceived the new systematic institutionalization of the ‘deviant’ members of society as a deliberate effort to control the kingdom’s poor via their imprisonment, or “*enfermement*.”<sup>15</sup> His generation of historians shared a modernist, teleological point of view. Beyond overstating the role of the monarchy, these studies also treated France as a monolithic whole, relying on Paris as a sample representative of the kingdom. They understood the charitable asylums of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as harbingers of the modern secular welfare state.<sup>16</sup>

From the mid 1970s onward, historians have proposed important revisions to the Marxist-inspired theses focusing on the French state. Their collective purpose was to demonstrate that charity was a local affair rather than a state initiative. Shifting attention from the politics of the state to studies of charity in regional contexts, they highlighted the role of the local municipal elites in urban charity. Cissie Fairchild’s study of Aix-en-

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<sup>13</sup> Jean Imbert, *Histoire des Hôpitaux en France* (Paris: Presses universitaires, 1958).

<sup>14</sup> Michel Foucault, *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason*, transl. Richard Howard (New York: Vintage Books, Random House, 1988).

<sup>15</sup> Foucault has explained the *enfermement* as the “great confinement” of the deviant, unreasonable and generally “undesirable” members of society. See Foucault, *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason*. This notion has been perpetuated by others. See, for example, Pieter Spierenburg, ed., *The Emergence of Carceral Institutions: Prisons, Galleys and Lunatic Asylums, 1550 – 1900*, vol. 12 (Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam, 1984), and Robert Jutte, *Poverty and Deviance in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge University Press, 1994).

<sup>16</sup> Tim McHugh, *Hospital Politics in Seventeenth-Century France: The Crown, Urban Elites and the Poor* (Hampshire, UK: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2007), 2-4.

Provence<sup>17</sup> and Kathryn Norberg’s exploration of Grenoble<sup>18</sup> illuminate the leadership of local magistrates in charitable poor relief, challenging their predecessors’ emphasis on the monarchy. Kathryn Norberg’s work marks an especially important milestone, for she turns away from the study of institutions and instead focuses on “the relationships between the rich and the poor.”<sup>19</sup> By examining wills, donations, and confraternal assistance, she uses charitable giving as a “barometer” of “fundamental social and economic relations.”<sup>20</sup>

Other historians have echoed Norberg’s emphasis on the role of lay elites in local poor relief. Elizabeth Rapley continued Norberg’s exploration of the *dévots* – lay pious individuals who set out to morally reform the French population in the seventeenth century. Her study examines women in particular – the *dévotés* – who acquired agency through their charitable involvements in the early seventeenth century. She finds them increasingly vulnerable to the growing influence of the male *dévo*t groups, however, ultimately becoming cloistered orders.<sup>21</sup> Rapley offered a fresh perspective on the importance of gender in post-Reformation spirituality and charitable giving – a perspective that parallels others in highlighting women as charitable patrons, but also shows their vulnerability in the male-dominated world of charity. Her study reveals that

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<sup>17</sup> Cissie Fairchilds, *Poverty and charity in Aix-en-Provence, 1640-1789* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976).

<sup>18</sup> Kathryn Norberg, *Rich and Poor in Grenoble, 1600-1814* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, Ltd., 1985).

<sup>19</sup> Norberg, 2.

<sup>20</sup> Norberg, 2.

<sup>21</sup> Rapley, 74-94.



local charitable elites were not always the municipal governments, but in some cases also prominent elite women, even if their influence was short-lived.

Barbara Diefendorf studies the same group of pious women as Rapley, but sees them as more empowered than Rapley suggests.<sup>22</sup> She declares that her book “emerged from frustration with discussions of women's role in the Catholic Reformation,” which was “most commonly depicted as a period particularly hostile to the female sex.”<sup>23</sup> Diefendorf’s work traces the spiritual transformation of Paris between the late sixteenth-century and the mid-seventeenth century, arguing that the “Holy League ignited a Crusade,” whose repercussions and legacy continued to resonate with pious laity in the capital.<sup>24</sup> The charitable sentiments of the seventeenth-century elites emerged out of this earlier penitential piety, she says, pivoting on “spiritual imperatives of self-mortification, renunciation of will...and of collective guilt.”<sup>25</sup> Diefendorf’s study highlights the contributions of women to the Catholic Reformation in Paris as prioresses and chief agents of women’s charitable confraternities. It deepens our understanding of the benevolent impulse among the elites, and its manifestation in the capital. Like Norberg and Fairchilds, Rapley and Diefendorf challenge a state-centric approach, and demonstrate that charity was a localized venture that involved municipal governments as well as devout male and female members of the secular elite.

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<sup>22</sup> Barbara Diefendorf, *From Penitence to Charity: Pious Women and the Catholic Reformation in Paris* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).

<sup>23</sup> Diefendorf, 9.

<sup>24</sup> Diefendorf, 7.

<sup>25</sup> Diefendorf, 7.

The work of Daniel Hickey equally belongs among those contesting the influence of the Crown in charity. Specifically, he strives to dismantle the notion that the monarchy systematically replaced local hospices and charitable houses with large general hospitals. Instead of a kingdom-wide hospital reform directed by the king, he argues, we see communities implementing charitable solutions that met their local needs. In some cases this meant preserving medieval hospices; in others the elites built general hospitals (*hospitaux généraux*) such as the *Charité* asylums.<sup>26</sup> His work suggests that local charitable authorities actively sought to assert their control over local affairs, such as poverty. Nevertheless, this notion remains implicit rather than explicit, for Hickey's chief focus remains de-emphasis of royal leadership in charity.

Finally, the most recent contributor to the debate concerning local versus state management of charity is Tim McHugh.<sup>27</sup> He sets out to “reassess the relationship between the central government and the local elites responsible for the deliverance of assistance.”<sup>28</sup> His comparative study focuses on three cities: Paris, Nîmes and Montpellier. McHugh goes further than Norberg and the others in defending charity as a localized venture. He contends, for example, that Cissie Fairchilds and others erroneously

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<sup>26</sup> Daniel Hickey, *Local Hospitals in Ancien Regime France: Rationalization, Resistance, Renewal, 1530-1789* (Quebec: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997).

<sup>27</sup> In his recent research on the *Hôtel-Dieu* in early modern Beaune, Kevin Robbins explores the agency of lay female nurses who progressively professionalized and successfully withstood the pressures from the Church. See Robbins, “Early Modern Burgundian Hospitals as Catalysts of Independent Political Activity Among Women: Lay Nurses and Electoral Empowerment, 1630–1750,” in *Proceedings of the Western Society for French History*, Vol. 35 (2007).

<sup>28</sup> McHugh, 6.

perceived the local elites to be acting as agents of the state.<sup>29</sup> McHugh argues to the contrary that royal support of local charitable institutions was only a formality. His focus on the Parisian *Hôtel-Dieu*<sup>30</sup> and the *Hôpital Général de Paris* (1656) is deliberate in this respect, for he effectively separates the capital's civic leaders from the monarchy, and exposes the magistrates' specific concerns regarding the poor. He explains that the magistrates actively appealed to the king, urging him to encourage local authorities kingdom-wide to care for the sick and poor. The motive of the Parisian magistrates was to protect their own city and its charitable institutions, and to prevent mass arrival of the rural poor into the capital.<sup>31</sup> The fact that royal involvement was solicited by the Parisian municipal council, and was meant only as a secondary form of support for their civic agenda, is largely unrecognized by other historians – including those treating charity as a local issue. McHugh goes even further, arguing that the monarchy was hesitant, delayed its response, and generally did not contribute financially to regional charities. He effectively renders irrelevant the question of a struggle between local versus royal administration of charity, ascribing total agency to the local elites.

McHugh also challenges Foucault's interpretation of *enfermement*. He suggests the process referred to the confinement of the 'deserving' poor – the sick, the young and the old – rather than of the 'threatening' poor.<sup>32</sup> As we shall see in the following chapter, in practice the authorities in Marseilles enclosed both the 'deserving' and the

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<sup>29</sup> McHugh, 6.

<sup>30</sup> The *Hôtel-Dieu* in Paris was first created in 651 AD; its first lay bureau was created in 1505.

<sup>31</sup> McHugh, 43-44, 83.

<sup>32</sup> McHugh, 85.

‘undeserving’ poor. Though both Foucault’s and McHugh’s views apply in the case of Marseilles, the fact that McHugh does not share Foucault’s notion of the *enfermement* as a monarchical design to systematically enclose the deviant members of society is significant. He removes the state’s agency entirely, and in doing so he casts charity as a local project more definitely than his predecessors have done.

My dissertation echoes a number of the findings of McHugh. Indeed, we find the magistrates of Marseilles engaged in charity in similar ways as McHugh finds in Paris and elsewhere. Accepting and restating charity as an inherently localized endeavour, I further argue that charity in Marseilles was an important facet of civic self-governance and identity. In other words: they were the local elites – not the king – who used charity to assert their authority, both in their own community (over the poor) and in the face of the monarchy. The governing elites of Marseilles were caught in an uneasy political relationship with the monarchy, and their desire to shape a virtuous community was in part an assertion of localized identity and a defense of it. They required spiritual, moral, and civic propriety of all *Marseillais* citizens, and were prepared to segregate and retrain all those who deviated from a state of virtue. Their end purpose was to see these individuals ultimately reintegrated into the urban social body.

This larger civic purpose of charity in Marseilles becomes evident when we address the second related set of shortcomings of early studies of charity: namely historians’ understanding of asylums as fundamentally punitive rather than reformative. Similarly to Jonathan Andrews, who sees London’s Bethlem as a “centre of cure” rather

than “an almshouse, or a detention centre,”<sup>33</sup> I perceive Marseilles’ charitable asylums as reform-oriented and rehabilitative, not purely punitive. In doing so, I fundamentally challenge Marxist and post-Marxist historians’ general lack of attention to the poor beyond the point of their institutionalization. By examining the fate of the poverty-stricken and the true reasons for their segregation – rather than scrutinizing societal perceptions of the poor and their confinement as others have done – the study captures charity in a new way. Charity emerges as an instrument of social conditioning and of rehabilitation, making it an essential tool in the creation of a virtuous polis.

***II. Second historiographical debate: charity as a reformatory rather than a punitive process of social reform***

Scholars’ neglect of the ‘poor’ after they’d been removed from the streets is one legacy of Foucault’s influence, namely his assumption that the poor were confined as a way of punishment, and presumably indefinitely. Though the principle of exclusion certainly is manifest in Marseilles as elsewhere, it is important to recognize that this segregation was to be temporary. My study relies on ‘charity’ rather than the idea of the “*enfermement*” as the chief analytical lens, drawing on the theoretical work of Norbert Elias. Elias posits that social structures – the boundaries of acceptable behaviour – were shifting in the early modern period in a way that perpetuated the dichotomy between

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<sup>33</sup> Jonathan Andrews, “‘Hardly a hospital, but a charity for pauper lunatics’? Therapeutics at Bethlem in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries,” in Jonathan Barry and Colin Jones, eds., *Medicine and Charity Before the Welfare State* (London: Routledge, 1994), 63.

those acting according to these codes of propriety and those neglecting them. The former class perceived itself to be superior to the latter group, often holding positions of power in society.<sup>34</sup> Within this model, the reform-oriented charity envisioned and created by the governing elite of Marseilles helped to create and monitor such a dichotomy. It dictated the rules of ‘belonging’ in the community based on an understood definition of civic virtue.

Part of Foucault’s misrepresentation of hospitals as sites of imprisonment lies in his failure to fully recognize the spiritual component of these institutions. His theory of the “great confinement” stressed the extensive involvement of the state as mentioned. He viewed institutionalization, in other words, as a form of secular justice rather than as spiritually motivated act. His argument derives from a careful study of the shifting perceptions of the poor between the sixteenth and eighteenth century. Foucault argues that the contemporaries increasingly saw the poor as socially disruptive and sinful, which is why the state supposedly felt compelled to separate the so-called ‘deserving poor’ from those who were ‘able-bodied’ and presumably wilfully indolent. Though historians continue to accept this shift in early modern ideology on poverty, they seek to integrate the contemporary religious and moral discourse in their interpretations more than Foucault has done. In doing so, they partially debunk his notion of the secular state’s punitive justice.

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<sup>34</sup> Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations*, transl. Edmund Jephcott, revised edition (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 2000), 58-85.

Both Emmanuel Chill and Jean-Pierre Gutton<sup>35</sup> have recognized the Catholic Reformation as an inspiration to charitable giving, particularly as the post-Tridentine Church re-emphasized the importance of ‘good works’ as integral to one’s salvation. Both historians nevertheless perceived charity as an affair of the state, and treated the influence of the Church as entirely separate.<sup>36</sup> The next generation of historians, including Norberg, Hickey, Rapley and Diefendorf challenged more directly the notion of charity as a secularized affair. They identified a pattern of ‘laicization’ rather than ‘secularization’ of charity, explaining that even as charity passed into the lay hands of municipal governments, its spiritual and doctrinal meaning was not lost.<sup>37</sup>

Kathryn Norberg’s study of Grenoble places contemporary discourse on post-Reformation spirituality in the forefront of her argument. In addition to recognizing the heightened doctrinal relevance of charity as a ‘good work,’ she studies the period’s new concern with the perfection of the soul and the contemporary assumptions regarding the poor. By engaging with the problem of spirituality through the contemporary discourse on morality, she fleshes out the tactile links between religion and charity more effectively than her predecessors do. Diefendorf and Rapley share Norberg’s interest in the *dévo*t movement and the elite’s concerns with the alleged immorality of the poor. Finally, McHugh’s recent study accepts and further scrutinizes the importance of the spiritual context in French charitable practices. Specifically, he shows that a variety of views on

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<sup>35</sup> Jean-Pierre Gutton, *La Société et les Pauvres: l'exemple de la généralité de Lyon, 1534-1789* (Paris: Société d'éditions, 1970).

<sup>36</sup> McHugh, 2.

<sup>37</sup> Hickey, 21-24.

charitable giving – including the Jesuit and Jansenist perspectives – clashed and coexisted in seventeenth-century France.<sup>38</sup> Even though religion ultimately remains peripheral throughout his study, it nevertheless forms the assumed ideological context in the cities he examines.

McHugh represents the most recent generation of historians who have successfully integrated discussions of the Catholic Reformation and of the related moral discourse in their studies of charity. In doing so, these historians have shed light on the spiritual context from which derived the reformative purpose of charity. However, even as these studies highlight the *intentions* of the givers to a greater degree than Foucault has done, the debate remains one-dimensional. It revolves around the charitable givers rather than the poor themselves, failing to answer important questions about the greater social purpose of local charities and its fulfilment. The present study prioritizes the population of beneficiaries by showing the group's complexity – the similarities and differences between its component parts. Understanding the 'threats' they posed and the moral expectations the elites laid before them brings to light the process of moral reform, and the role it played in the maintenance of the community's collective integrity.

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<sup>38</sup> McHugh, 18-26.



### ***III. Reassessment: local charity and state-control***

Beyond addressing the two related issues of ‘state involvement’ and ‘reform’ as part of their respective historiographies, this study also reconceptualizes the way in which these two debates relate to one another. My argument captures an important point of intersection between religion and politics. The municipal elite’s goal to transform both the civic and spiritual consciousness of the citizens was precipitated by the city’s traditionally uneasy relationship with the monarchy as mentioned. Through charity, now reconceptualized as a moralizing campaign, Marseilles and the Bourbons negotiated a workable relationship. The elites used charity to maintain a local identity in the face of the monarchy’s encroachments, while the monarchy welcomed the opportunity to promote obedience and Catholic orthodoxy in the kingdom. Charity in Marseilles therefore helped to shape the city’s complex political relationship with the monarchy – it was not the product of it.

### ***IV. Marseilles as an early modern French urban centre: historiographical contribution***

The final contribution this dissertation makes is in the field of urban history of early modern France. For centuries, Marseilles has played a key role as a trading centre in the Mediterranean, and yet early modern historians have paid little attention to it. This is especially true in the English-speaking academic community. A handful of French

scholars, most notably Régis Bertrand,<sup>39</sup> André Zysberg,<sup>40</sup> Marie-Hélène Froeschle-Chopard,<sup>41</sup> and Edouard Baratier<sup>42</sup> have studied Marseilles in the Ancien Régime. In the North American academic community, the medievalists have been producing exciting work in the field: Francine Michaud,<sup>43</sup> Daniel Smail,<sup>44</sup> Kathryn Reyerson<sup>45</sup> and others focus on the south of France and Marseilles in particular. These historians comprise the very small body of English-speaking scholars working on Provence. Admittedly, several early-modernists relate to Marseilles through various other topics such as trade and commerce, the Crown's naval and military prowess, or the problem of Mediterranean

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<sup>39</sup> Régis Bertrand, *Patrimoine de Marseille: une ville et ses monuments* (Marseille: J. Laffitte, 2001) ; “Cinq églises du temps des rois,” in *Revue Marseille: La revue culturelle de la Ville de Marseille*, No. 215 (Décembre 2006), 19–25 ; “Les Jésuites à Marseille sous l’Ancien Régime,” in *Suite baroque: tableaux pour l’église des Jésuites de Marseille, essais d’identification* (Marseille: Musée des beaux-arts de Marseille, 1998); *Les Compagnies de pénitents de Marseille XVIe – XXe siècles* (Marseille: La Thune, 1997).

<sup>40</sup> André Zysberg, *Marseille au temps du Roi-Soleil* ; “Un esclavage d’Etat : le recrutement des rameurs sur les galères de Louis XIV,” in *Contraintes et libertés dans les sociétés méditerranéennes aux époques modernes et contemporaines, XVIe – XXe siècles*, Actes du colloque international, Tunis, Décembre 2005; *Les galériens: Vies et destins de 60 000 forçats sur les galères de France, 1680 – 1748* (Editions du seuil, 1987).

<sup>41</sup> Marie-Hélène Froeschle-Chopard, *La religion populaire en Provence orientale au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1980) ; “Les Confréries l’Église et la Cité, actes du colloque de Marseille-E.H.E.S.S. 22-23 mai 1985” (Grenoble, 1988); *Espace et sacré en Provence (XVIe-XXe siècle): Cultes, Images, Confréries* (Paris: éditions du Cerf, 1994), and *Dieu pour tous et Dieu pour soi: Histoire des confréries et de leurs images à l’époque moderne* (Paris: L’Harmattan, 2006) .

<sup>42</sup> Edouard Baratier, *Documents de l’Histoire de la Provence* (Toulouse: Privat, 1971)

<sup>43</sup> Francine Michaud, “The Peasant Citizens of Marseilles at the Turn of the Fourteenth Century,” in *Urban and Rural Communities in Medieval France: Provence and Languedoc, 1000-1500*, eds. Kathryn Reyerson, J. Drendel, (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 1998) 275-290; *Un signe des temps: Accroissement des crises familiales autour du patrimoine à Marseilles à la fin du XIIIe siècle* (Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1994), and “Le pauvre transformé : les hommes, les femmes et la charité à Marseille, du XIII siècle jusqu’à la Peste noire,” in *Revue historique*. 2 :650 (2009), 243-290.

<sup>44</sup> Daniel Lord Smail, “Notaries, Courts, and the Legal Culture of Late Medieval Marseilles,” in *Urban and Rural Communities in Medieval France: Provence and Languedoc, 1000-1500*, eds. Kathryn Reyerson, J. Drendel (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 1998) 23-50, and *Imaginary Cartographies: Possession and Identity in Late Medieval Marseille* (Cornell University Press, 1999).

<sup>45</sup> Kathryn Reyerson, *The Art of the Deal: Intermediaries of Trade in Medieval Montpellier* (Brill Academic Publishers, 2002).

slave exchange.<sup>46</sup> Their focus is on the role of Marseilles in the process of French state-formation, however, and therefore they do not represent comprehensive local studies. An important exception is the work of Junko Terèse Takeda, who offers a valuable contribution to the study of early modern Marseilles.

Takeda's recent book, *Between Crown and Commerce*, studies local commerce as it was shaped by royal economic interests.<sup>47</sup> Even though Takeda ultimately declares her work to be a political study of the absolute state, her approach nevertheless reveals much about the community as a whole. She effectively contextualizes local commercial practices in the city's ideological context, and elucidates the local values, traditions, and the political interests that defined the community. My study shares Takeda's appreciation for the local political and ideological context, and sees local charity as a reflection of the male community leaders' desires and their collective *mentalité*. It also joins Takeda in bridging the gap between the French and North American communities of Provence-interested early modern historians.

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<sup>46</sup> Paul Bamford, *Fighting Ships and Prisons: The Mediterranean Galleys of France in the Age of Louis XIV* (Minnesota: North Central Publishing Co., 1973) and Gillian Weiss, *Captives and Corsairs: France and Slavery in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Stanford, USA: Stanford University Press, 2011)

<sup>47</sup> Takeda, *Between Crown and Commerce: Marseille and the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011).

## V. *Chapter layout*

### *Chapter One*

The first chapter is devoted to the group of elite individuals who initiated, administered and promoted a new approach to charity in Marseilles. It also introduces the problem of local poverty through an examination of the *Charité* – the first of many charitable houses founded in the city over the course of the seventeenth century. The chapter argues that the elite’s charitable agendas had a distinctly civic purpose, rooted in the city’s tumultuous political and religious history. It explains why the civic councillors were attracted to the *dévo*t movement when implementing their reform-oriented poor relief system for the purposes of shaping a ‘virtuous’ polis.

Bringing to life the charitable elites of seventeenth-century Marseilles is a challenging task, particularly since details about individual elite families are scarce. Octave Teissier’s incomplete study of the civic government<sup>48</sup> and Raoul Allier’s work on the *Marseillais* branch of the *dévo*t confraternity, *Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement*,<sup>49</sup> are important sources of information. I matched these historians’ findings with available hospital logs and bureau minutes featuring the names of directors and rectors, and compiled an Appendix containing the names of identifiable families.

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<sup>48</sup> Octave Teissier and J. Laugier, *Armorial des Échevins de Marseille de 1660 à 1790* (Marseille: Société anonyme de l’imprimerie Marseillaise, 1883).

<sup>49</sup> Raoul Allier, *La Cabale des Dévots, 1627-1666* (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1902) and *La Compagnie du Très-Saint- Sacrement de l’autel à Marseille* (Paris: Librairie H. Champion, 1909).

We are confronted with similar lacunae in the archive when reconstructing the religious and political climate. Very little evidence exists concerning lay piety, except for the printed *Calendrier Sprituel*. This document is invaluable in capturing important shifts in the religious and civic culture of the city. Specifically, it demonstrates the aggressive encroachment of the civic leaders into the realm of devotion as they appropriated charitable and other spiritual roles. In the absence of archival records regarding devotional life, my study draws on the work of local historians. Bertrand and others have examined the architectural changes to Marseilles' religious topography, seeing them as direct manifestations of a Catholic revival. The city's political history is better documented and captured in historical narratives than religious life. Edouard Baratier has compiled and published important archival documents, joining Busquet, Zysberg, and Bertrand as the chief local historians of Provence. These secondary sources form the foundation of the political discussions highlighted in the chapter.

As a whole, the first chapter takes the reader on an expedition through seventeenth-century Marseilles, with the charitable civic leaders in the lead. It asks them to understand these altruistically inclined men, the city they lived in, and the reasons that compelled them to design and administer a specific type of charity.

### ***Chapter Two***

The second chapter is dedicated to the city's female recipients of charity. First, it exposes the local women's experience of poverty, identifying the fast-expanding harbour as the main culprit in female indigence. Single and abandoned women found themselves

in a dire economic situation and prone to prostitution, which was a source of income readily available in the harbour. As the chapter shows, however, contemporary ideas about female sexuality, sin, and venereal disease significantly mediated these women's social status. Most lone women found themselves defenceless against charges of prostitution and subsequent institutionalization in the newly founded *Refuge*. In evaluating the ideological context of women's economic and social vulnerability, the chapter makes a special contribution to historical studies of venereal disease. By uncovering glaring discrepancies with England, the present study asserts a fundamentally gendered understanding of the pox in Marseilles that supports the argument of women's extreme helplessness to criminal charges and subsequent institutionalization. Relying chiefly on the two charitable houses, *Refuge* and *la Maison des filles de la providence*, the elites strove to reform all allegedly sinful – or potentially sinful – women into pious marriageable women or nuns.

Beyond responding to historians treating female asylums unequivocally as sites of gender control in patriarchal society and as a “female galley”<sup>50</sup> with a purely punitive purpose, the chapter draws on a larger body of work addressing the relationships between social order, religious orthodoxy, and the sexual propriety of women. The work of James Farr, Ulrike Strasser and others, which emphasizes the role of female chastity in the state's effort to solidify social order and collective morality, is particularly relevant in this

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<sup>50</sup> Riani, 3.

respect.<sup>51</sup> A similar pattern can be discerned in Marseilles, where the local governing elites tied women's behaviour to issues of personal honour, civic order, and ultimately a *Marseillais* definition of virtue. The local charitable asylums were the key instruments in this task.

This chapter relies on primary, archival, and secondary sources. Comprehensive analysis of bureau meetings, admission logs, and recorded policies elucidates the internal life of the *Refuge* and the *Maison des filles de la providence*, even though temporal inconsistencies still compromise the integrity of archival evidence to a certain degree. Hospital records were also complemented by several police documents preserved in the municipal archives. These allow for the tracing of some of the women as they embarked on a spiritual journey of moral reform.

### ***Chapter Three***

The third chapter deals with the youngest and the least 'menacing' segment of the destitute poor. Children, who represented a potential rather than an active threat to social order, emerged as important candidates for charitable assistance for two reasons.

Abandoned and especially illegitimate children were considered more prone to

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<sup>51</sup> Ulrike Strasser has shown that in post-Reformation Holy Roman Empire, gender roles became particularly meaningful in the state's effort to establish order. Women's chastity and virginity were constructed as symbols of Catholic orthodoxy and moral propriety. See Ulrike Strasser, *State of Virginity: Gender, Religion, and Politics in an Early Modern Catholic State* (University of Michigan Press, 2004). James Farr's work on early modern Burgundy also exposes the meaning of gender in the politics of an early modern post-Reformation state. His "sociocultural analysis of the relationships among law, religion, and sexual morality" asserts that contemporary patriarchal attitudes as well as spiritual ideas about the moral propriety of both the male and female bodies were fundamentally connected with the Bourbon state's definition of order. James Farr, *Authority and Sexuality in Early Modern Burgundy, 1550 – 1730* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

misconduct than other children. At the same time, they were also considered more pliable and impressionable than begging adults. The civic elites claimed authority over these children via charity, which allowed them to control the moral development of the next generation of *Marseillais* citizens.

The present study of children's charity in seventeenth-century Marseilles represents a direct contribution to the history of childhood in the Early Modern period – generally an under-studied theme.<sup>52</sup> To be sure, the charitable treatment of children in France is equally as little represented in historiography.<sup>53</sup> Though we find few examples of Early Modern European studies of charity for children elsewhere – for example in Augsburg and especially Italy – there is a comparative dearth of French children's

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<sup>52</sup> For history of childhood in France, see Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood: a Social History of Family Life* (New York: Random House Inc., 1962) and Lloyd DeMause, ed., *The History of Childhood* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1974). Despite the merit of these studies, historians have since challenged the teleological interpretations of these authors. Particularly DeMause's psychoanalytical lens casts a Foucauldian spin on the history of childhood, associating early modern education, discipline and restraint of children unequivocally with oppression. Similarly, Ariès has suggested that medieval families lacked sentiment towards children, which argument has been challenged, most recently by Albrecht Classen, ed., *Childhood in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: The Results of a Paradigm Shift in the History of Mentality* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2005). On the whole, a much larger body of literature on children exists for England and other regions, than for France. See, for example, Hugh Cunningham, *Children and Childhood in Western Society Since 1500* (New York: Longman Press, 1995); Linda Pollock, *Forgotten Children: Parent-child Relations from 1500 to 1900* (Cambridge University Press, 1983 – most recently reprinted 1996); Konrad Elsenbichler, ed., *The Premodern Teenager: Youth in Society, 1150 – 1650* (Toronto: CRRS Publications, 2002).

<sup>53</sup> Léon Lallemand's *Histoire des Enfants Abandonnés et Délaiés: Étude sur la Protection de l'Enfance aux Diverses Époques de la Civilisation* (Paris: L'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, 1885) is a comprehensive study with considerable merit despite its old date. Its attempt to capture "world" history of child-abandonment, however, invariably takes away from a focus on France. Though the author devotes a sizeable portion to France, his emphasis is only on Paris. Comparatively more literature exists regarding modern child abandonment in France. See, for example, Rachel Ginnis Fuchs, *Abandoned Children: Foundlings and Child Welfare in Nineteenth-Century France* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1984), and Robert Gilly, Paul Henry, Denis Graveriau, *Les Enfants malades dans les hopitaux: l'exemple de Lyon, 1800–2000* (Paris: La Pariente, 2000).



institutions in this period.<sup>54</sup> Since the publication of Maurice Capul’s two-volume study of marginalized children in Ancien Regime France, little work has been done on the subject – especially in the English-speaking academic community.<sup>55</sup> This chapter seeks to fill the lacuna, not least because recognizing children’s claim to charity in the Early Modern period enriches our understanding of charity as a whole. Children enjoyed a unique type of charity from adults. It was protective, preventative, and reformatory. Moreover, we find age-differentiated treatment of children, which suggests that ‘adolescence’ itself was becoming a distinct stage in human development – a claim that complements the work of historians of childhood.<sup>56</sup> Considering children as recipients of charity fundamentally supports the claim that poor relief had a distinctly civic agenda: to shape an orderly populace rather than to imprison. In this respect, the chapter echoes the work of historians investigating the early modern concept of *civilité* – the instruction of good manners to children.<sup>57</sup> Just as Sara Beam finds civic elites legislating social order via theatre,<sup>58</sup> in Marseilles we find the councillors controlling children via charity.

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<sup>54</sup> For Germany, see Thomas Max Safley, *Charity and Economy in the Orphanages of Early Modern Augsburg* (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press International, 1997). For Italy, see Philip Gavitt, *Charity and Children in Renaissance Florence: The Ospedale degli Innocenti, 1410 – 1536* (Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 1990); Nicholas Terpstra, *Abandoned Children of the Italian Renaissance: Orphan Care in Florence and Bologna* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), and Sandra Cavallo, *Charity and Power*.

<sup>55</sup> Maurice Capul, *Les Enfants placés sous l’Ancien Régime : Abandon et marginalité & Infirmité et hérésie*, vol. 1 & 2 (Toulouse: Éditions Privat, 1989 –1990).

<sup>56</sup> Philippe Ariès has explained the gradual recognition of ‘childhood’ as a separate stage of life in the Early Modern Period. Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood*, 25-29.

<sup>57</sup> The concept *civilité* meant “good manners” taught specifically to children; it comes from Erasmus’ work, *La Civilité puerile* (1559) and *La Civile honesteté pour les enfants* by R. Breton (Paris: 1560). Norbert Elias suggests that an individual’s development from infancy to adulthood represents the microcosm of the organic evolution of society over time (Elias, xi). The charitable asylums’ emphasis on child development in seventeenth-century France therefore can be viewed as part of the process of

Similarly to the previous chapter, the present discussion relies on primary printed, archival, and secondary sources. Hospital logs, records from bureau meetings, admission registers, and occasional letters accompanying anonymously abandoned children were invaluable sources. Though these help to capture the life of the institutions to a certain degree, they are limited and inconsistent. Moreover, it appears that the rectors simply did not record certain data: information about the children's diet, sleeping arrangements, and even details regarding the spiritual instruction and work training of children are sorely lacking. The *Charité* in Aix-en-Provence – a sister institution by all accounts – helps to fill in some of the chasms, as does Lyon's *Charité*. Despite the incompleteness of information regarding children's charity in Marseilles, I believe we can ascertain the purpose and nature of charitable institutions for children: reformatory and didactic, committed to shaping future generations of obedient, orthodox and moral citizens.

#### ***Chapter Four***

The final chapter is distinct from the others. The institution it addresses, *l'Hôpital royal des forçats*, was chiefly a royal project. It was also an explicitly medical institution, intended to oversee and maintain the health of the galley rowers. Yet despite these differences, the hospital also shared important features with the municipal ones. For the first thirty years of its existence, it was managed by the same local elite as the *Charité*, *Refuge*, and *Hôtel-Dieu*. Moreover, the hospital's reformatory and religious purpose

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redefining and articulating codes and expectations of propriety for children, thus defining the French Catholic citizen at the point of childhood.

<sup>58</sup> Sara Beam, *Laughing Matters: Farce and the Making of Absolutism in France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007).

paralleled the other institutions, making it highly relevant to our study of charity as a vehicle of moral propriety and spiritual orthodoxy. After the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, the galley hospital acquired a non-medical purpose, which was to convert imprisoned Huguenot *forçats*.<sup>59</sup> The charitable *Pères de la Mission* collaborated with the *Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement* in achieving this task via catechesis and physically coercive methods – both carried out in the hospital. The conversion of the Protestant prisoners preconditioned their eventual release from the galleys; it literally meant their reconciliation with the rest of French society, with God, and with the king. Like the other local institutions, the galley hospital therefore criminalized sin, articulated spiritual orthodoxy as a fundamental feature of French identity, and proposed charitable moral reform as a suitable remedy for spiritual and political disobedience.

Though this institution speaks to redemptive charity chiefly in the context of state-formation, it also finds parallels in Marseilles' struggle for a communal identity. Specifically, the chapter reveals patterns of local hatred towards the Protestants, and of a relatively amicable approach to the Muslims. These differences echoed the two groups' relative standing in the charitable hospital and in the galleys. The galleys were an integral part of the city landscape, contributing to its character as a dynamic, multicultural, yet arguably xenophobic community.

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<sup>59</sup> *Forçats* were French prisoners condemned to forced labor as rowers on the royal galleys. Since Christianity did not allow for enslavement, the term “forced labourer” allowed the king to bypass the term “galley slave.” Before 1685 these were mostly Catholic convicts collected from prisons across France – prisoners being punished for various financial and personal crimes. After 1685, the majority of *forçats* were Protestants condemned to the galleys for their religion.

Like the other chapters, the present study reveals a reformative rather than an unequivocally punitive purpose of the charitable institution. This chapter also contributes to recent debates on Frenchness, religious uniformity and the construction of the Bourbon state, complementing the work of those historians who have pointed out the relationship between loyalty to the government and the nascent idea of citizenship. In her recent work on the redemption of Catholic captives from Barbary, Gillian Weiss has suggested that the loyalty of French captives to the Crown played an important role in their chances for repatriation.<sup>60</sup> The idea that ‘Frenchness’ was closely tied to state-obedience is also echoed by Peter Sahlins. Studying the evolution of French citizenship through the implications of the *droit d’aubaine*, he explains that an “absolute citizen” was defined by obedience to the absolute monarchy rather than by political rights or privileges.<sup>61</sup> This obedience – as my chapter shows – included Catholicism. The charitable penal institutions addressed here – specifically the royal galleys and their *Hôpital royal des forçats* – allowed the monarchy to reward loyalty, punish treachery, and charitably facilitate spiritual and political repatriation.

The sources used in this chapter are diverse. Hospital documentation is scarce and scattered within the military archive. It is immensely informative and valuable, however,

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<sup>60</sup> Gillian Weiss, “Barbary Captivity and the French Idea of Freedom,” in *French Historical Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 2 (Spring 2005) 235-248.

<sup>61</sup> The historian explains that the absolute state reversed the Aristotelian meaning of “citizenship,” positing it not upon exclusive privileges but rather the subjects’ mandatory obedience to their monarchy. In this way nearly all members of the French community came to be defined as “citizens” even if their status continued to be defined by obligation and their rights were limited to exemption from what he calls “anti-privileges of the aliens,” the tax *d’aubaine* for example. Peter Sahlins, *Unnaturally French: Foreign Citizens in the Old Regime and After* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004), 19-31.

especially because it has been generally neglected by historians studying the galleys. Approbation documents, ongoing correspondence between the king and the hospital administrators, and statutes and ordinances speak to the hospital's function and its internal life. Sources regarding the Muslims outside of the galleys are still more difficult to trace, since they were an illicit minority and often adopted Christian names. It is in the records pertaining to other institutions – for example *l'Hôtel-Dieu* – that we find evidence of their presence. Their apparently tolerated existence within the community is corroborated by the lack of anti-Muslim laws in the municipal archive (such that we find regarding the Protestants) and also by secondary sources and historical narratives. In contrast to the Muslims, the Protestants figure extensively in the municipal archives, rich with ordinances condemning them. Similarly, valuable correspondence regarding the Protestants' treatment in the galleys has been preserved at the *Bibliothèque de l'histoire du Protestantisme français*. Some of these documents convey an explicitly anti-French and anti-Catholic perspective, such that reflects the bias of the contemporary and later publishers (many were English or Protestant-sympathizers). Though they must be understood as potentially historically problematic sources, these letters are – to my knowledge – still the only examples of prisoner correspondence. They have been used by other historians, and generally affirm findings in the archives. Moreover, since the majority are a product of the seventeenth-century context, they shed light on contemporary polemic regarding Protestantism and the international perception of French religious prisoners.

This chapter completes the dissertation's study of Marseilles as a port city. It elucidates the nuances of religious differences and their meaning in the community and in the kingdom. It highlights some of the key points of collaboration between the monarchy and the local administrators, and shows religious orthodoxy to be a fundamental element both of 'Frenchness' and of being '*Marseillais*.'

**Chapter 1:****The charitable elite of seventeenth-century Marseilles*****Introduction***

On the Feast of the Assumption of Mary, 1 January 1640, Marseilles' four lead aldermen assisted at morning Mass in the collegiate church of *Les Accoules*. Afterwards, they proceeded to the *Charité* and *Hôtel-Dieu* charitable asylums, located directly above and behind the church. Clad in red robes and holding white candelabras, they were bringing the Sacrament to the sick and poor as they walked up the steep winding staircase. In March, the group visited two other institutions, the *Refuge* and the *Maison des filles repanties*. This visitation of the city's four main charitable asylums became an annual tradition from this time forward.<sup>62</sup> It signified the civic councillors' active participation in religious life, reflecting a changing conception of political leadership in Marseilles. More importantly, the aldermen's visits signalled the significance of charity as a facet of political authority and civic identity.

This chapter explores the formative relationship between the political elite of Marseilles and charitable institutions between the 1620s and 1690s. It seeks to understand why the elites assumed control over charity at this time, and why both its form and practice looked substantially different under their direction. Traditional charitable

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<sup>62</sup> Archives Municipales de Marseilles (AMM) AA 67 "Cérémonial" (1638–1711).

institutions were replaced with new ones, as charity became increasingly a civic matter requiring the support and guidance of the magistracy. This chapter argues that the elite appropriated the control and direction of charity because it served their vision of a virtuous polity, and helped them to define Marseilles' local identity.

The changing nature and purpose of charity visible in Marseilles after 1620 speaks to a heightened concern about poverty as a threat to the community's spiritual and political health. This fear was fundamentally conditioned by important shifts in the religious and political culture of the city. The Catholic Reformation (in particular *dévot* spirituality), and a long-standing commitment to local self-government shaped the elite's agendas and their uses of charity. From their perspective, being *Marseillais* was a privilege. It required morality, Catholic orthodoxy, and loyalty to civic interests. By institutionalizing those who did not meet the standard of moral propriety, they drew lines of exclusion. But the new charitable institutions were also gateways to social inclusion: the vulnerable and 'threatening' poor were to be endowed with virtue within the charitable asylums, later rejoining the civic community. The local *Charité* pioneered this new understanding of charity, and begins our discussion.



### ***I. The new Charité and the local poor***

In a meeting in late December of 1622, the civic council unanimously voted to establish a *Charité* asylum for the city's poor.<sup>63</sup> Sixty of the seventy-two councillors were present: lawyers, nobles (of the robe), galley captains, higher notables such as merchants, and also several clerics (mostly canons from one of the city's three Chapters) made up this "oligarchy."<sup>64</sup> From among them they selected Emmanuel Pachier, a canon from the *Cathédrale de la Major*, to spearhead the project. The *Charité* finally began operations on 24 June 1641,<sup>65</sup> opening its doors to the local needy population—from children of impoverished parents to the elderly. The hope of the founding councillors was to "prevent wandering beggars from entering the city...and to bring some order and a remedy: consolation to the wealthy and relief to the poor, all for the glory of God."<sup>66</sup>

The seventy-two men became the official 'founders' (*fondeurs*), in which role they wielded a considerable degree of power both over the institution and over the city's poor. All founding families contributed an initial sum of 300 pounds (*livres*), which they

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<sup>63</sup> The civic council enumerated seventy-two men in total (*conseil de ville*); of these, sixty men were present at this meeting, referred to as *conseil de la maison commune*. The founding charter of the *Charité*, AD des BR. 7HD.A2/ AD des BR. 7HD.E1.

<sup>64</sup> Takeda, 22.

<sup>65</sup> August Fabre, *Histoire des Hôpitaux, des institutions de bienfaisance de Marseille* (2vol.) (Marseille, 1854), 153. Archives also indicate the date 13 July 1639 (AD des BR. 7HD.E1). Fabre suggests that some poor were already admitted during the building's construction, clarifying the discrepancy in dates.

<sup>66</sup> "D'y apporter quelque bon ordre salutaire remède à la gloire de dieu a la consolation des gens de Biens & au secours et soulagement desdits pauvres." AD des BR. 7HD.A2/ AD des BR. 7HD.E1.

supplemented by annual donations.<sup>67</sup> In return, this financial patronage guaranteed them (and their descendants) continued influence in the asylum as rectors (*recteurs*). Rectors were selected twelve members at a time every six years, or replaced individually as necessary.<sup>68</sup> In their role as rectors, the councillors frequently intervened in hospital life. Some served as treasurers; others became *semaniers* – directors appointed on a weekly basis. The bureau met every Sunday (usually a minimum of eight individuals was present), discussing noteworthy affairs of the house such as the admission of new inmates, disciplinary problems, general policies, and fiscal issues regarding payments, property transactions, and so on.<sup>69</sup> The involvement of the rectors was chiefly administrative, and did not involve close interaction with the inmates.<sup>70</sup> Even so, the weekly bureau meetings, the topics discussed, and, most importantly, the rectors' financial sponsorship of the institution certainly indicate the civic council's new active role in charity.

While the individual members of the governing elite made their individual contributions to the hospital, the city council as a body also gave 1500 *livres* from public funds received from taxation. The remaining financial support came from the general

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<sup>67</sup> The *Charité* archive contains several annually compiled lists of donations obtained between 1640 and 1682. These included donations, contributions, and testamentary gifts from elite citizens. They range from 15 *livres* to several thousand. AD des BR 7.HD.B13.

<sup>68</sup> The first members were Emmanuel Pachier, André de Gerente, Antoine Riquetti, Jean-François de Mantille, Cosme Deidier, Honoré Signeuret, Laurent Tilline, Elzéar Favaud, Charles Mollat, Ambroise Artaud, Jean-Baptiste Tarquet, and Louis Latil. Fabre, 150-152.

<sup>69</sup> Minutes of the board's meetings can be found in AD des BR. 7HD.E1-E10 (1639-1700).

<sup>70</sup> Though the *Charité* archive does not disclose information regarding the staff, it was presumably made up of hired secular sisters. Such was the case of the *Refuge* – a hospice that most closely resembled the *Charité* in administration.

population. The less affluent could make a charitable contribution to one of the collection chests placed in churches,<sup>71</sup> and the well-off families (including some of the founders) typically bequeathed property in their last testament.<sup>72</sup> The least sizeable contribution came from the king, who usually offered only a tax relief to the city.<sup>73</sup>

Though tracing the founding individuals is difficult, those for whom we have records affirm a close association between the municipal and charitable offices. The de Bausset family, for example, belonged to the mercantile bourgeoisie, but eventually attained a noble title, *sieurs de Roquefort*. We know that in 1647 Pierre held the post of a councillor in the city's magistracy as did Antoine de Bausset – probably his father. Pierre de Bausset as well as one of his heirs named Philippe also had connections with the Cathedral Chapter, both holding the positions of vicar-general at one time. Among the chief community leaders, the de Baussets figured prominently in the governance of hospitals as well. Pierre was a founding member and a rector of both the *Refuge* and the

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<sup>71</sup> AD des BR. 7HD.A2.

<sup>72</sup> The steady decline in the popularity of religious orders as recipients of wills is confirmed by Jean Pourrière, *Les Hôpitaux d'Aix-en-Provence au Moyen âge, 13e, 14e et 15e siècles* (Aix-en-Provence, P. Roubaud, 1969). Nevertheless, historians have recently shown that personal donations by wealthy individuals to these institutions – notably women – continued to represent important symbols of social status and persisted throughout the early modern period. Melissa Wittmeier, “Mélanie de la Fare de Montclar, Marquise de Villeville: Women and Duty in Eighteenth-Century France,” (paper presented at the Conference of the Western Society for French History, November, 2011).

<sup>73</sup> Royal contributions do not seem to have been direct or standardized across kingdom. Daniel Hickey elucidates the shifts within the financing of early modern charitable institutions, as these institutions gradually came under the control of secular agencies and civic governments. He explains that the “twenty-fourth” – first implemented in Dauphiné – was a tax on the clergy, which was directly applied towards poor asylums, first in 1564 and later re-issued in 1620 (23–25). In Grenoble, for example, the king granted the revenues of a new tax on meat-cutters to be directly applied for the local *Charité* (55). In an edict of 1672, Louis XIV also granted the new local institutions the right to expropriate older maladreries and small hospices, often those managed by religious orders. The only exceptions were the kingdom's *hospitaux-généraux*, such as the *Hôtel-Dieu* in Marseilles (56).

*Charité*, while one of his descendants, François, served in the *Refuge*, *l'Hôtel-Dieu*, and *l'Hôpital du bon rencontre*. Other families showed a similar pattern of charitable engagement.

Like Pierre de Bausset, Antoine Moustier was also a founding member and rector of the *Charité*. He was an *échevin* – one of several top councillors elected to preside over the council. His successor, Simon Moustier, became a *viguier* (the first councillor) in 1683, the same year when he came on the bureau of *l'Hôtel-Dieu*. Another prominent family was the Riquetty: Anthoine Riquetty was a lawyer with an acquired noble title (*sieur de Negraux*), who became an *échevin* and a founding member of the *Charité* and the *Refuge* asylums. Thomas Riquetty – possibly his son – was a Jesuit and a rector of *l'Hôtel-Dieu* in the 1660s. Finally, Laurens Gilles was yet another founding member and acting rector of both the *Charité* and the *Refuge* (after 1652). His son, Antoine Gilles, later became the rector of both *l'Hôpital du bon rencontre* and *l'Hôtel-Dieu* sometime in the 1670s. We can assume that the remaining founder-rectors were equally well connected to the political affairs of the city (see Appendix).<sup>74</sup>

The charitable and political roles of the elite overlapped, as the above sample of involved members makes evident. The group also demonstrates that the same individuals or families often held positions in several hospitals simultaneously. Under the governance of the civic council and the elite it represented, charity became a city-wide poor relief

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<sup>74</sup> For other similar examples of familial lineage and political leverage of charitable elites, see Appendix, which has been compiled based on a combination of sources, including Teissier, *Armorial des Échevins de Marseille de 1660 à 1790*, and Ruffi, and finally my own archival research. I was able to trace certain individuals as they appear in bureau meetings recorded in each hospital's logs.

system. The *Charité* was the first of a succession of institutions for the poor, but not the last. In December of 1640, just as the *Charité* was commencing operations, the magistrates held a similar meeting as they had twenty years prior: this time they decided to establish an asylum only for women. The *Refuge* officially opened in 1659, replacing its predecessor, *La Maison des filles repanties*, intended for voluntarily arriving repentant women. Within only a few decades, several additional asylums would open their doors. The growing number of institutions reflected two related developments. First, increasing levels of poverty meant that more individuals needed assistance. Secondly, the elites evidently recognized the great diversity of the poverty-stricken population and created specialized asylums to accommodate distinct groups. That they did so, points to an emergent complex understanding of poverty as a threat to societal order. Children, women, the elderly, and certain prisoners found charity in separate institutions, because they were considered as different kinds of ‘threats’ as opposed to especially deserving.

The physical landscape of charity in Marseilles changed dramatically under the control of the urban elite. As new asylums were founded, other hospices were closed down or amalgamated. The medieval *l’Hôpital de l’Annonciade*, *Saint-Lazare* leprosarium, *St. Jacques de Galice* and *l’Hôpital Saint-Esprit* gradually disappeared, leaving *L’Hôtel-Dieu* as the only legacy of medieval charity.<sup>75</sup> This systematic replacement of old institutions with new ones was a pattern visible in many other French

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<sup>75</sup> *St. Jacques-de-Galice* was a medieval hospice meant to house pilgrims traveling to the Holy Land. It was merged with *Hôtel-Dieu* in 1596. The hospice of *St. Lazare* later became an insane asylum as leprosy gradually disappeared (1698). AD des BR 6.HD.E1.

and European cities between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which to some degree was the result of royal involvement.<sup>76</sup> In 1617 Louis XIII outlawed begging and indiscriminate alms-giving throughout his kingdom. Instead, he encouraged municipal governments to follow the examples of Paris and Lyon in establishing their local ‘general hospital’ for the poor. The royal edict (reissued in 1624 and 1628) read:

We order to all our officers, mayors, city councillors and magistrates...who are responsible for the policing and administration of the poor to work incessantly, ensuring that the begging poor are welcomed with charity and that those who are capable of work, are employed.

Louis XIII’s ordinances applied to the entire kingdom, but should not be confused with royal initiation of charitable poor relief. The king offered only formal (not financial) support, and the task of caring for the poor lay with local elites. Tim McHugh has also pointed out that these edicts were the result of an initiative by the Parisian magistrates, who had prompted Louis XIII to address municipal centres in an effort to prevent the influx of rural poor into the capital.<sup>77</sup> Even if royal incitement played a role in the foundation of the *Charité* in Marseilles then, the asylum (and those that followed) was a distinctly local project that responded to the unique character of local destitution. Indeed, the founding documents from the *Charité* in Marseilles demonstrate that the local elites wholeheartedly embraced the effort to institutionalize their local poor as a way to establish order in the community.

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<sup>76</sup> Hickey, 21-25.

<sup>77</sup> McHugh, 43-44, 83.

The citizens will be delivered from the inconvienience that the begging poor pose as they loiter in the churches, streets and other public places, which gives them occasions to commit scandals as a result of their idleness. We will see to it that the plight of the true poor be answered.<sup>78</sup>

The text suggests compassion, but it equally betrays the negative connotations associated with poverty and begging at this time.<sup>79</sup> The *Charité* represented a controlled space of poverty, designed to contain the crime and disorder thought to be related to indigence.

Archival documents are silent about the numbers of inmates admitted to the *Charité*. We know that the intended capacity was up to five hundred individuals.<sup>80</sup> In 1655, it allegedly housed three hundred.<sup>81</sup> Even inconsistent and incomplete admission logs indicate that the elite's perceived need for assistance to be quite high. Dozens arrived at the *Charité* daily, some benefiting from bread donations, others seeking shelter. But poor relief had become a much more restricted privilege than the high incidence of

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<sup>78</sup> “Nous ordonnons qu'en toutes les villes de nostre royaume l'ordre et règlement ordonne pour nos villes de paris et lion pour la clôture entretement et nourriture des pauvres soit suivis et en ce faisant voulons que tout pauvres mendians ayent a se retirer aux lieux de leur naissance où domicile: a quoi nous enjoignons a nos procureurs de tenir la main. Mandons a tous nos officiers, maires, échevins, et consuls des lieux et chacun deux a qui la police et administration du fait des pauvres appartient qu'ils ayent a travailler incessamment que lesdits pauvres soient accueillis avec la charité qu'il appartient et les valides employés a ce a quoi chacun d'eux sera plus propre a travailler : en sorte que nos sujets soient de livres de l'inconvienience qui provient de la fréquente et assiduité des dites pauvres des églises rues et lieux publics de nos dites villes; les occasions a l'oisiveté de commettre les scandales qu'on voit trop souvent et la misère des vrais pauvres soulagée. Permission donnée par messieurs les consuls de cette ville de M. a Emmanuel Pachier pour l'établissement de l'hôpital général de la Charité.” AD des BR 7.HD.A2. (1622).

<sup>79</sup> McHugh, 11-37, he explores the evolution of the “theories of charity” from the Middle Ages until the early modern period.

<sup>80</sup> AD des BR. 7HD.A2 “Lettres patentes, ordonnances concernant la mendicité, bohémiens etc.” (1622, 1628, 1640, 1689).

<sup>81</sup> Fabre, 156.

voluntary arrivals may indicate. We can look to the example of Paris to understand contemporary views of the poor.

Tim McHugh explains that the Parisian *Hôpital Général* was “not intended to imprison all of the city’s poor...at the beginning it was planned to confine only those too young and too old to earn a living.”<sup>82</sup> In addition to the poor who were ill, the elderly, and children, the institution also catered to the so-called *pauvres honteux* – honourable citizens who fell on hard times presumably by no fault of their own. Widows, as well as solitary men with children seem to have belonged into this group and were eligible for shelter. The charitable authorities supposedly turned away public beggars (*vagabonds, gens sans aveu*) who were able-bodied and thus capable of work (*pauvres valides*). Their begging was ascribed to their supposed laziness, which the king declared punishable by a five-year galley sentence.<sup>83</sup> McHugh explains, however, that in reality these ‘vagabond beggars’ were simply encouraged to find meaningful work, and were expelled from Paris if found to be non-natives.<sup>84</sup>

The theoretical distinction between the indolent and honourable begging poor presented practical problems: it presumed social status to be a criterion in eligibility for charity, and therefore the selection of the ‘deserving’ was highly subjective. As a result, each region evidently interpreted royal ordinances differently. In Marseilles, admission records stipulate that “the bureau would collect additional information about each

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<sup>82</sup> McHugh, 91-92.

<sup>83</sup> AD des BR 7.HD.A2 “Ordonnances du roy Louis XIII, 4 July 1639/ Louis XIV 1686”

<sup>84</sup> McHugh, 93.



candidate and decide if he or she was eligible.”<sup>85</sup> This unsystematic, ‘case by case basis’ approach suggests that local charitable elites adapted their charity to meet the community’s needs. Indeed, some discrepancies between Marseilles and Paris can be identified.

Though McHugh claims that the *Hôpital General* in Paris was intended specifically for the sick-poor, in Marseilles the indolent beggars were probably confined alongside the elderly and ‘deserving’ poor. The lack of records mentioning galley-sentenced local beggars points to their confinement in the *Charité* instead. We also know that the councillors conducted periodic, city-wide searches for beggars with the intention of arresting them, and bringing them to the institution. Finally, the *Charité*’s mission to enclose all those who “had no means of earning a living,...teaching them the proper trade that best suits them,”<sup>86</sup> presumes the inmates’ capacity to work. The supposedly idle and immoral able-bodied beggars therefore likely joined the more traditional charity-recipients housed in the same institution. On the other hand, some ‘honorable poor’ were evidently turned away from the *Charité*’s doorstep, even though McHugh stipulates this to be the intended target-group in Paris. When a poor woman presented herself and her three children at the *Charité* for assistance in 1641, for example, she was given bread but was denied shelter. Her children were admitted, however, and were to remain in the

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<sup>85</sup> “Louis Giraud s'est présenté pour estre reçu en qualité de pauvre dans la maison...on va s'informer s'il est de la qualité porte par les règlements de cette maison” AD des BR 7.HD.E2.

<sup>86</sup> AD des BR 7.HD.A2.

hospice until she regained financial stability and reclaimed them.<sup>87</sup> Similarly, the elderly and blind Veran Camoins was carefully reviewed by the bureau when he presented himself for admission in 1647,<sup>88</sup> even though the blind typically were eligible for charity. We do not know Veran's fate, but the review process itself indicates that he was not admitted right away.

The charitable leaders of Marseilles clearly exercised a rigorous selection process in order to conserve space. Historian August Fabre suggests that several enlargements to the *Charité* were attempted, but due to financial strains their success was limited. By 1690, four inmates supposedly shared one bed, says Fabre.<sup>89</sup> Such conditions would hardly encourage the voluntary arrival of “false beggars,” as Hickey called those seeking charity under false pretenses. Instead, the full capacity and the rigorous review process suggest that the authorities of Marseilles prioritized specific groups. Fearing that *all* begging bred sin and disorder, the administrators committed as many beggars as they could, institutionalizing especially the so-called ‘indolent’ beggars, even if it meant that some widows and other *pauvres honteux* only received bread.

The act of begging signified laziness and immorality, but to the elite *Marseillais* citizens it also visibly affronted their understanding of civic virtue. Takeda has shown that the local council traditionally embraced ideas of “classical republicanism,”<sup>90</sup> which equated personal virtue with the pursuit of collective interest. Local merchants and the

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<sup>87</sup> AD des BR 7.HD.E1 (1641).

<sup>88</sup> AD des BR 7.HD.E2 (1647)

<sup>89</sup> Fabre, 159.

<sup>90</sup> Takeda, 2-5, 7, 50-57. See FN no. 7 for detailed definition.

councillors promulgated this ideology most fervently when defending their economy against the Crown's intended enfranchisement of the port.<sup>91</sup> They argued that commitment to local commerce was virtuous; it brought honour and meant inclusion among the civically-useful *Marseillais*. These classical republican ideas about prosperity and virtue undoubtedly informed the elites' approach to the begging poor. Since the able-bodied beggars were considered lazy – evidently unwilling to contribute to local prosperity and mercantile economy – they lacked virtue and were even thought to perpetrate crime. In short, beggars posed an economic and moral threat. Their presence was antithetical to communal integrity and the classical republican ideals it embraced.

The councillors' concerns about poverty as a threat to collective virtue grew stronger over the course of the century, largely because of the success of the harbour. When the city and harbour expanded in the 1650s, so too did the number of the urban poor. This expansion owed a great deal to royal interest in Marseilles as a gateway to the Mediterranean. Internal political turmoil during the Wars of Religion had effectively distracted the last Valois monarchs from building a French presence in the Mediterranean, despite the special privileges granted to the monarchy in the various Ottoman Capitulations. The end of this turmoil, and a change in regime, saw the newly arrived Bourbon monarchy eager to reassert these privileges. As early as 1622, Louis XIII granted trade monopolies to both Toulon and Marseilles. This was one of the first steps the monarchy took in an effort to utilize the southern ports for purposes of state

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<sup>91</sup> Takeda, 31-34.

commerce. By re-routing all trade to Marseilles and Toulon, Louis XIII hoped to encourage the local Chambers of Commerce to cooperate.<sup>92</sup> Still, the magistrates and the Chamber vehemently opposed royal interference in local affairs. They perceived it to be a form of royal appropriation of the city – a violation of local autonomy and of the city’s republican traditions. From a purely economic point of view, the magistrates and the Chamber contended that the king’s plans to enfranchise the port (rendering it a “free-port” without taxes) would impoverish the city as a whole. The policy of enfranchisement only catered to non-Marseillais interests, they claimed, and was altogether contrary to the ‘common good’ or *bien public*.<sup>93</sup> Despite ongoing and heavy opposition from the civic leaders, both Louis XIII and Louis XIV assisted by Colbert continued to press the state’s mercantilist agendas at the expense of local interests.

Louis XIV visited Marseilles for the first time in March of 1660, determined to re-imagine the whole city for the needs of the state. The city’s crooked streets were soon overhauled with expansive boulevards, such that conveyed royal order and transparency.<sup>94</sup> Louis’ real focus, however, was the harbour. Structured enlargement began as early as 1665, under the leadership of royal intendant Nicholas Arnoul. Two

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<sup>92</sup> According to Paul Masson, the Chamber of Commerce functioned as an intermediary between the interests of the crown and those of the city. Paul Masson, *Histoire du commerce français dans le Levant au XVIIIe siècle* (New York : B. Franklin, 1967), 178-208. Local historian D’Istria sees the Chamber largely as the city’s own initiative. Robert Colonna D’Istria, *Histoire de la Provence* (Paris : Editions France Empire, 2000), 150.

<sup>93</sup> Takeda, 31-34.

<sup>94</sup> Takeda explains that the restructuring was strongly opposed by the *échevins*; but that the monarchy eventually negotiated a compromise where some of the authority was transferred to local hands. The magistrates then agreed to proceed with certain changes according to the monarchy’s wishes, but refused others. Takeda, 24-31.

new forts, the Fort St. Nicholas (1665) and Fort St. Jean (1668), soon flanked the entrance into Marseilles' harbour, monitoring the open sea and the city within.<sup>95</sup> These initial intrusions into the local topography, however, were merely the prelude to the Crown's more assertive gestures of domination. In 1665 Colbert returned the royal galleys to the shore of Marseilles.<sup>96</sup> Serving as a state prison, the destination of enslaved *turcs*,<sup>97</sup> and eventually Protestant *forçats* after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, the galleys and their new *arsenal*<sup>98</sup> became France's central military naval base and an imposing sign of royal power.<sup>99</sup> Ultimately, the arrival of the galleys meant poverty and social turmoil for much of Marseilles' population, however, particularly for women.

From 1665 onward, the port bustled with thousands of men, attracting impoverished women from Marseilles and its environs. Prostitution ran rampant, as married and unmarried women flooded the male-populated *arsenal* in search of work. What is more, Colbert's Edict of Enfranchisement (1669) arguably contributed to the economic vulnerability of many local women. Under the terms of enfranchisement Colbert created two new *Compagnies du Levant* (est. 1670 and 1678–1684) and later

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<sup>95</sup> Raoul Busquet, *Histoire de Marseille* (Paris, Editions Robert Laffont, 1945), 235-242.

<sup>96</sup> Marseilles' galley corps had been stationed in Toulon between 1649 and 1665, due to a plague epidemic in Marseilles. In 1665 however, the galleys as well as the Marine headquarters were moved back to their original base in Marseilles, in order to eliminate conflicts between the navy and the galley officers. Bamford, 53. Also Busquet, 237-238.

<sup>97</sup> The term *turc* referred collectively to all slaves of the Muslim faith procured from the Levant and Barbary.

<sup>98</sup> *Arsenal* translates as shipyard and armoury; it referred not only to the spatially delineated area of Marseilles port dedicated to the galleys but also to the body of employees and galley-captives that comprised it.

<sup>99</sup> It should be noted that unlike the trading companies, the galleys were a project that the civic leaders and local merchants welcomed with enthusiasm in hopes of gaining more effective protection against corsairs and pirates preying on the Mediterranean waters. Archives Nationales (AN) Marine B<sup>6</sup>77, fol. 142, "Service General des galères, 1410–1664."

*Compagnie de la Méditerranée à Marseille* (1685–1694). The men employed by these royal companies (which included most of the city's merchants) were now obliged to undertake longer and more frequent campaigns into the Mediterranean.<sup>100</sup> Even though the monarchy vouched to supply protective escorts to fend off corsairs and pirates, Takeda says this proved to be an empty promise.<sup>101</sup> Consequently, many women whose husbands were often at sea, ended up abandoned and economically vulnerable.

The longer separation periods between husbands and wives, together with the influx of prisoners and marine personnel, had grave consequences for the local population. Numbers of illegitimate births rose proportionally, creating a vicious cycle of poverty. In the over-crowded and expanded harbour the elites found a nucleus of sin. The rampant immorality and disorderly behaviours they observed in this part of the city only affirmed their pre-existing notions about the threatening nature of the poor. Poor prostitutes and prisoners (many considered heretics due to their Muslim or Protestant faith) made up a large portion of Marseilles' population by mid-century. They were thought to cause a multitude of social ills, testing the governing elite's heightened expectations of moral propriety and its pursuit of an orderly and virtuous polity.

Between the time the *Charité* was first envisioned in 1622 and the royal takeover of the port in the 1650s, it became clear to the aldermen that wide-spread destitution and the vice it carried (real or imagined), required a systematic solution: the confinement and moral training of the threatening poor. Philanthropy effectively meant that the elite's fears

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<sup>100</sup> Masson, 178-208.

<sup>101</sup> Takeda, 35-36.

were turned into ‘gifts’ – the gift of salvation to the poor and disorderly. But such charity had a deeper purpose than the restoration of social order and the removal of the poor from public space: the councillors’ motives were socio-political and religious.

The changing shape of charity between the 1620s and the 1690s effectively encapsulated the aldermen’s conscious effort to shape a local identity, an endeavor that reflected long-standing aspirations to self-government. Indeed, the fact that much of the wide-spread destitution was caused by political encroachments from the monarchy surely coloured the governors’ new resolve to control and mold the behaviour of the local poor. Why the elites came to view charity as a method of citizen formation becomes clear when we consider the local experience of the Catholic Reformation after 1600, and the intimate connections the elite made between civic virtue and Catholic orthodoxy. The following discussion shows how the civic desire for political autonomy, together with the spiritual influence of the Catholic Reformation, shaped the elite’s uses of charity in the seventeenth century.

## ***II. Catholic Reform and political struggles, 1530–1660***

The influence of Catholic spirituality upon the practice of charity in Marseilles after 1620 becomes clear when we consider the nature and intent of the spiritual renewal taking place at this time. The so-called Catholic Reformation marked a period of intense interest in spiritual renewal among the clergy and the laity alike in the wake of the Wars

of Religion.<sup>102</sup> This interest took diverse forms. In some regions, Church and clerical reform were a priority; in others it was the laity who first developed new expressions of piety. Marseilles – a city on the periphery of France and in the heart of the Mediterranean – experienced the Catholic Reformation in its own way. Here it is perhaps best understood as a movement that combined fervent Catholic piety with civic notions of virtue, and one in which the practice of charity became an important mechanism for disseminating the elite's definition of Marseillais identity. The appeal of spiritual renewal for the elites of Marseilles is understandable, because they were products of a city that had long brandished its reputation as a centre of Catholic orthodoxy.

*a. Wars of Religion and Marseilles' nascent identity*

Marseilles was a staunchly Catholic city throughout the Early Modern period, and its religious identity had long been a matter of civic pride. Indeed, she demonstrated more than once her unwavering commitment to Catholicism, even if it meant at times outright defiance of the monarchy. This was particularly the case during the Wars of Religion. As early as 1531, Provençal priests urged the population to search for all those worshipping in the Lutheran faith, and in 1541 the archbishop of Aix-en-Provence, Anthoine Fiolhol, called for the forced conversion of all Protestants. Events took an especially violent turn in Marseilles. Historian Busquet asserts that in late 1562 approximately four hundred Protestants were massacred in an attack sanctioned by the Marseilles' magistrates.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> Joseph Bergin, *Church, Society and Religious Change in France (1580-1730)* (London: Yale University Press, 2009), 1-13.

<sup>103</sup> Busquet, 185.



Anti-Huguenot sentiment continued to grow after 1574, with more intense and violent clashes across the province. In Marseilles itself the wide-spread violence and hostility progressed to the point of political chaos. The local government's relationship with the monarchy had been uneasy since the death of Louis XI (1461–1483),<sup>104</sup> but it deteriorated especially in the 1570s. The city continued to press for political autonomy, while the newly crowned Henry III (1574–1589) was losing control. By 1575 the civic council had a firm hold on affairs in Marseilles, and was prepared to defend the local Catholic identity.<sup>105</sup>

At this time the Catholic League (created in Picardy in 1576) gained a significant level of popular support in Marseilles, and by 1588 it took complete control over the government.<sup>106</sup> Fearing the growing influence of the League in the kingdom, Henry III ordered the assassination of Henry I, Duke de Guise, and imprisoned his son Charles, who succeeded Henry as the governor of Provence. The influence of the Catholic League in Marseilles could not be halted, however. At this point the *Marseillais* civic identity was irrevocably tied to Catholicism. In 1591 the post of first consul went to Charles de Casaulx, a prominent member of the Catholic League, who did not hesitate to implement

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<sup>104</sup> Provence became part of the French kingdom only in 1482, when count Charles V d'Anjou died and Louis XI (his cousin and king of France) removed René II duke of Lorraine from succession as the governing count. Palomède de Forbin, *lieutenant general du roi* in Provence, subsequently negotiated and defended many of the province's rights and privileges in a document that became known as *constitution provençal* – “Provençal constitution.” Louis XI met most of the local demands, inadvertently setting an important precedent. His successor, Henri III, was determined to end Provençal independence, however. For more on Provence in the 15th and early 16<sup>th</sup> century, see Baratier, *Documents de l'Histoire de la Provence*, 148–151, and Takeda, 22-24.

<sup>105</sup> Busquet, 186-187.

<sup>106</sup> Busquet, 191-194.

an ultra-Catholic dictatorship in the city.<sup>107</sup> The civic council continued to permit only “League opinion,”<sup>108</sup> urging fellow citizens to “sew white crosses on their hats and denounce all the Protestants they knew.”<sup>109</sup> While Aix-en-Provence eventually recognized the new king Henry IV (1589–1610) as its sovereign in 1593, Marseilles and Casaulx could not be convinced. Instead, the first consul pursued secret alliances against Henry with the Spanish king, Phillip II.<sup>110</sup>

Casaulx’s outrageous insubordination did not go unnoticed for long. In 1594, Charles Duke of Guise declared loyalty to the monarchy of Henry IV, and returned to Provence as its governor. Still, he was unable to oust the Catholic League from the government. In 1595 Henry IV’s troops entered Marseilles, instituting royal order once and for all. They subdued the city politically, and assassinated Casaulx.<sup>111</sup> Even after this gesture of royal power, however, Marseilles would continue to press for local autonomy in the decades that followed, as we shall see.

This brief historical overview sets up an important context for our study of the new generation of councillors and their charity. The same dedication to Catholicism and to local autonomy continued to animate the aldermen’s actions, their concerns for morality becoming as important as the elimination of the Huguenots. ‘Spiritual

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<sup>107</sup> Antoine de Ruffi portrays Casaulx in less than positive light. However, his own grandfather – notary Robert Ruffi – was a royalist and thus Ruffi’s assessment must be understood as personally motivated and partial account.

<sup>108</sup> Busquet, 195-196

<sup>109</sup> Busquet, 189

<sup>110</sup> Busquet, 206–207

<sup>111</sup> Pierre de Libertat, a military leader and a captain loyal to the monarchy, was commissioned to murder Casaulx in return for the position of the city’s *viguier*. Though Libertat himself died soon after in 1597, his descendants continued to carry the title. Busquet, 210-212.

orthodoxy' effectively acquired a new meaning for the local elite. It now meant Catholicism, but also civic loyalty, sexual propriety, economic industriousness, and disdain for sin of all kinds, as the following discussion of charity makes evident. Such was the definition of 'virtue' for the *Marseillais* elite. The dynamic force of the Catholic Reformation found fertile ground in the city, blossoming as the councillors' commitment to creating a loyal and Catholic polity strengthened.

**b. *The Catholic Reformation in Marseilles (1620s–1630s): making way for the Dévots***

The early decades of the seventeenth century brought a new wave of Catholic revival, a “brilliant flourishing...and a renaissance of the Catholic faith”<sup>112</sup> that had a profound effect on the laity by the 1630s. The regular clergy were the first to usher in a new spiritual enthusiasm to the city. The Jesuits (1623),<sup>113</sup> Oratorians, and Recollects (1621) emerged in Marseilles at this time, heralding a new emphasis on spiritual perfection. Several medieval orders simultaneously expressed a similar interest in reinvigorating their devotion, for example the Order of Preachers (*Frères Prêcheurs*) and the contemplative Carthusian brothers (*Chartreux*).<sup>114</sup> Finally, the local Augustinian and Carmelite orders experienced division as they embraced internal reform. In the case of

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<sup>112</sup> D'Istria, 159-163.

<sup>113</sup> Bertrand, “Les Jésuites à Marseille sous l’Ancien Régime,” 15 and 43. Historian d’Istria discusses the flourishing of religious orders in Marseilles on pg. 160.

<sup>114</sup> The medieval order of the *Chartreux* brothers adhered to a stricter style of worship in the seventeenth century. In contrast to the many other mendicant orders that moved towards the city centre, the Carthusian brothers embraced contemplative spirituality that dictated isolation. Their monastery and church were built in the periphery of Marseilles in 1633, and architecturally reflected the order’s sombre austerity. It stood in contrast to Marseilles’ other monastic churches proliferating at the time. Bertrand, “Cinq églises du temps des rois,” 24-25.

these two orders, a desire for strict asceticism spurred the formation of new branches, known as the (Discalced) Augustinians (*Augustins réformés*) and the Discalced Carmelites (*Carmes déchaux*). The non-reformed Augustinians (*Grands Augustins*) and the non-reformed Carmelites (*Grands Carmes*) instead retained more traditional forms of belief.<sup>115</sup> An interest in mystical and contemplative piety informed the faith of nearly all of Marseilles' religious orders. More importantly, many of these groups shared their passion with the laity in new ways. In doing so, they helped to create a spiritual climate where the laity – especially the elites – became increasingly inspired and involved in the community's religious life.

The newer orders, such as the Jesuit and the Oratorian, were particularly visible and active in the life of the laity. They facilitated a new, more open type of rapport between the laity and the Church. Of the two, the Jesuits remain the best documented. They were also very popular, and were successful in soliciting the support of the *Marseillais* magistracy. According to historian Régis Bertrand, the local elites sought out the Order, and endorsed their settlement in the city as early as 1623. Soon after, in 1630, the Jesuits commenced building their first church of *Saint-Jaume*. Construction was interrupted for financial reasons, but in 1641 the city council prioritized its completion, repair, and decoration. The influence of the Jesuits continued to grow, and in short sequence they built two additional Jesuit churches, as well as several colleges and seminaries. Even though historians often see the French Jesuits as the champions of royal

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<sup>115</sup> Bertrand, "Cinq églises du temps des rois," 24-25.

influence at this time,<sup>116</sup> it can be argued that in Marseilles they blended well into the city's own dynamic religious culture. By collaborating with the civic council during holidays, welcoming the laity in their new churches, and educating the elite youth in seminaries, the Jesuits inadvertently helped to popularize the Catholic Reformation in the broader community.

The new order of the Oratorians was just as influential as the Jesuits. Though less well documented, we know that these clerics participated actively in charity. In the later part of the century they collaborated with *l'Hôpital du bon rencontre*, instructing its children in the catechism every Sunday. Another recently created group that became directly involved in the city's new charitable asylums were the *Prêtres de la Mission*. This group was founded by Vincent de Paul in 1633, and included preachers, priests, as well as lay individuals committed to evangelical work. Though the *Prêtres* were chiefly concerned with the spiritual comfort and instruction of Catholic galley prisoners (and later the conversion of Protestant *forçats*), we find them also at the *Charité*, educating the children in the catechism.<sup>117</sup>

The new and reformed orders also had a direct influence upon lay confraternities. The medieval penitential confraternities, for example, directly imitated the reform ideals

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<sup>116</sup> Eric Nelson describes the Jesuits' presence in the kingdom, explaining that between 1594 and 1603 the monarchy expelled the Order on alleged charges of aiding in the attempted assassination of Henry IV. After their recall, however, the Jesuits enjoyed royal favour and represented the champions of Catholic orthodoxy in the kingdom. Eric Nelson, *The Jesuits and the Monarchy: Catholic Reform and Political Authority in France (1590-1615)* (Hampshire, UK: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2005) 2.

<sup>117</sup> AD des BR 7.HD.E9 (1694).

of the post-Tridentine orders.<sup>118</sup> Like the Carmelites and the Augustinians, the Penitents divided into two distinct confraternal models: the *Penitents Blanc du Saint-Esprit* of the non-reformed tradition (the so-called *voyantes* or ‘visible’ confraternities) and the ‘discalced’ (*déchausés*) who embraced a Tridentine approach to devotion.<sup>119</sup> Both enjoyed the support of the civic leaders and shared in charitable responsibilities. While the *Penitents Blanc* carried on their medieval charitable duties – for example their financial support of *l’Hôtel-Dieu* hospital – the newly reformed ‘discalced’ Penitents organized and funded funerals for the begging poor. All penitential confraternities also visited the sick during processions, alongside the aldermen.<sup>120</sup> The relationship between the Penitents and the civic leaders was an important one for another reason. Bergin explains that in the late sixteenth century the Penitents of Marseilles represented a “useful cover” for militant activities during the Catholic League period,<sup>121</sup> and as allies to the councillors they continued to represent the ambassadors of the city’s ultra-Catholic identity.

The influence of the Jesuits, Oratorians, and *Prêtres de la Mission* upon the religious culture of Marseilles is possible to trace even today in the art and architecture of

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<sup>118</sup> We know that in the sixteenth century, fourteen penitential confraternities were in existence in Marseilles, but only two chapels survived into the seventeenth century: *Penitents blancs du Saint-Esprit* (est. In 1511, their chapel founded in 1544), and *Penitents blancs de Sainte-Catherine*, a confraternity affiliated with the Church of *Saint-Laurent* (est. 1605–1610, their chapel constructed around 1640). See Bertrand, *Patrimoine de Marseille: une ville et ses monuments*, 49; also *Les Compagnies de pénitents de Marseille XVIe – XXe siècle*.

<sup>119</sup> Bertrand, *Patrimoine de Marseille*, 49.

<sup>120</sup> Église Catholique, diocèse de Marseille, *Calendrier spirituel et perpétuel pour la ville de Marseille: avec un état spirituel de tout le diocèse* (Marseille: Veuve d'Henry Brebion, 1713), 101-106.

<sup>121</sup> Bergin, 10-11.

the city. Bertrand explains that these reformed orders visually altered their sacred spaces to welcome the laity during worship. They moved their chapels from the periphery to the city centre at this time, opening their doors to lay worship more often than had been the case before.<sup>122</sup> The respective churches of *Saint-Cannat* (built 1526, consecrated 1619), *Saint-Théodore* (1648), *Saint-Ferréol* (1542), and *Notre-Dame du Mont Carmel* (belonging to the non-reformed Carmelite nuns) were now more visible and vertically dominating, and their interiors welcoming to the parishioners.<sup>123</sup> The sanctuaries were open (transept separating the congregation from the altar removed), well lit, and featured large choir spaces designed to carry the sound of organ.<sup>124</sup> In short, the laity could feel encouraged to partake in the new spiritual energy of the Catholic Reformation.

Though the ecclesiastical artistic developments in Marseilles paralleled changes experienced elsewhere after the Council of Trent,<sup>125</sup> they were also distinctly local. First of all, the religious orders frequently commissioned local artists, who captured “celebration, pomp, and popular religion.”<sup>126</sup> Most notable among these were painter Michelle Serre and architect Pierre Puget, whose work adorned many chapels and sacred spaces. Secondly, the civic leaders were actively involved in the architectural and artistic fervour of the period, patronizing the same local artists and creating their own sites of

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<sup>122</sup> The Carthusian brothers’ church of *Sainte-Marie-Madeleine* (1680) was an exception in this regard. It was built on the outskirts of Marseilles to ensure the order’s greater isolation and facilitate contemplative solitude. Even so, the interior design was unmistakably welcoming, and occasionally served the parishioners as well.

<sup>123</sup> Bertrand, “Cinq églises du temps des rois,” 19-26.

<sup>124</sup> Bertrand, “Cinq églises du temps des rois,” 21-23.

<sup>125</sup> Bertrand, “Cinq églises du temps des rois,” 23.

<sup>126</sup> Marie-Claude Homet, *Michel Serre et la peinture baroque en Provence (1658-1733)* (Aix-en-Provence: Edisud, 1987), 12.

worship. Serre's paintings decorated the *Hôtel-Ville* city hall as well as several hospitals, for example.<sup>127</sup> Indeed, the new seventeenth-century hospitals of Marseilles participated in this visual celebration of Marseillais' religious culture. Pierre Puget is perhaps best known for his work as the chief architect of the *Charité* hospital and chapel (1662).<sup>128</sup> Designed in the spirit of the Catholic revival the city was experiencing, the *Charité* chapel belonged among the newly redesigned sacred spaces of Marseilles. It carried the hallmarks of a revived spiritual culture, one that was also intimately tied to the civic spirit. The asylum's design resembles a panopticon, featuring a spacious courtyard surrounded by multi-storeyed buildings with ample loggias. The *Charité* chapel – positioned in the centre – is a simple, lofty, yet awe-inspiring construction reflecting the local baroque style.<sup>129</sup> Standing in its centre, the visitor – a hospice inmate or an elite benefactor – surely felt overcome with a new sense of spiritual energy and purpose.

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<sup>127</sup> Some of Serre's works included the decoration of the *Hôtel de Ville* (*Christ mourant sur la Croix*, 1690), later portraits of Louis XV and other notable figures (around 1716), and numerous convents in the area: the *Antonins*, *Augustins*, *Benedictines*, *Capucins*, *Capucines*, *Carmelites*, *Carmes Déchaussés*, *Grands Carmes*, *Chartreux*, *Clarisses*, *Domimicains Prêcheurs*, *Minimes*, *Observantins*, *Prêtres de la Mission de Provence*, *Récollets*, *Religieuses de la Misericorde*, *Trinitaires*, and *Visitation* (1st and 2<sup>nd</sup> convent). The confraternities of the masons, notaries, tailors (church of the *Les Accoules*), merchant-shoe makers as well as carpenters (*Grands Augustins*), musicians (*Cathédrale de la Majeure*), *Notre-Dame du Bon Voyage* (church of *Saint-Martin*), coral-seekers (church *Les Prêcheurs*), bakers (church *De la Madeleine* in the village of *Martigues*), as well as the *Penitent Blancs* (church of *Saint-Esprit*), *Penitents Bleus* (*Saint-Martin*), and the luminaries of the Purgatory and Rosary (*Les Prêcheurs*), *Saint-Sacrement* (*Les Accoules*), and *Scapulaire* (*Grands Carmes*), also all commissioned Michel Serre for paintings for their chapels, particularly in the 1680s and 1690s. Serre had done some work in parish churches as well, specifically *Saint-Martin* church, and also in the *Hôtel-Dieu* and *Hôpital des Insensées* hospitals. Churches in the villages of *Tarascon* and *Mazargues* also commanded paintings from Serre. Homet, 50–58, “Chart of commissioned works.”

<sup>128</sup> For financial reasons the construction began in 1671.

<sup>129</sup> Jacqueline Charle, “Un chef-d’œuvre de Pierre Puget : La Chapelle de la Vieille Charité,” *Revue Marseille : La revue culturelle de la Ville de Marseille*, No. 215 (Décembre 2006) 26.



As an architectural project, the *Charité* embodies the new spiritual vigour then sweeping the city. With specific relevance to this dissertation, the *Charité* reflected the artistic appetites and spiritual leanings of the civic councillors who commissioned the hospital and spearheaded charity in general. Like much of the laity who joined or founded new confraternities, the councillors too embraced the Catholic Reformation and its confraternal upsurge, as the *Charité* and its architecture demonstrate. By the late 1630s the lay elite articulated their spiritual convictions in the so-called *dévo*t movement. This type of penitential piety spread across France, appealing to the lay elites in particular. In Marseilles, *dévo*t spirituality came to epitomize one of the principal currents of spiritual revival and a key influence on local charity. It heightened the elites' expectations of Catholic orthodoxy and behavioural propriety. The *dévo*t movement also encouraged the municipal councillors to espouse political *and* spiritual leadership in the community, and to pursue their goals of Catholic and distinctly civic identity. Both were achievable through charity.

*c. The Dévots: champions of civic virtue and Catholic orthodoxy*

The origins of the *dévo*t movement are debated by historians. Some believe it emerged directly out of the French wars of religion,<sup>130</sup> signifying an ongoing commitment to eradication of the (Protestant) heresy. Others see the *dévo*ts as a more organic and long term movement within the French Catholic tradition. To Bergin, for example, the group

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<sup>130</sup> Barbara Diefendorf implicitly embraces this position, when she traces the origin of seventeenth-century “charity” to the “penitence” that was popular in the Holy League years, leaving a legacy. See Diefendorf, *From Penitence to Charity*.

represented a new desire to redefine and reinforce Catholic values in the collective mind of the laity; they were not “nostalgics” of the League period, he says.<sup>131</sup> All historians agree, even so, that the *dévots* originated in Paris in the early decades of the seventeenth century. Barbara Diefendorf’s study of the “first *dévote*” provides us with insight into the early movement’s spirituality.

Diefendorf focuses on the female leaders of the movement – the *dévotes* of Paris. According to Diefendorf, the *dévots* were fervently anti-Protestant, and dedicated themselves to a life defined by strict piety, contemplation, ongoing spiritual self-reflection, prayer, and in some cases even self-flagellation.<sup>132</sup> The Parisian *dévotes* worked closely with Pierre Bérulle and Vincent de Paul, leading “an apostolic mission...to save souls.”<sup>133</sup> Already in the first decades of the seventeenth century their charitable intentions crystallized more clearly: both the *dévotes* and *dévots* sought to offer spiritual comfort to the sick by visiting them in hospitals, provided guidance to the poor and the begging by counselling them, and organized charitable programs for the spiritual elevation of those in need.<sup>134</sup> The early *dévots* envisioned a charity that prioritized the moral rebirth of recipients rather than material assistance. For this purpose they soon organized various charitable groups. In Paris, the *Dames de la Charité* (1617) were

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<sup>131</sup> Bergin, 366-373.

<sup>132</sup> Diefendorf, 4.

<sup>133</sup> Diefendorf, 8.

<sup>134</sup> Bergin, 373.

particularly active; in Marseilles, Vincent de Paul created the *Prêtres de la Mission* as mentioned previously.<sup>135</sup>

In 1630, de Paul embarked on a new project. Together with other prominent spiritual figures of the time,<sup>136</sup> he created a male-only confraternity designed to carry out the charitable work of the *dévots* in cities across France.<sup>137</sup> Under the name of *Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement*, this group officially emerged in 1630 in Paris, and by 1639 in Marseilles. The *Compagnie du Très-Saint-Sacrement*, as it became known in Marseilles, soon dominated local charitable affairs in the city. By 1639, however, the *dévo*t mentality had changed in a radical direction. Elizabeth Rapley explains that in the early 1640s, the *dévots* embraced a much broader definition of ‘sin,’ one which also involved more intrusive methods of charitable moral reform.<sup>138</sup> *Dévo*t commitment to providing moral, spiritual guidance to the laity now meant increased preparedness to eradicate sin in all its forms.<sup>139</sup> At this time the *dévots* abandoned visitations of the poor in favour of their institutionalization – a vision that we see materialize in Marseilles. This was because the charitable group increasingly associated poverty itself with sinful behaviours such as

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<sup>135</sup> H. Simard, *Saint Vincent de Paul et ses Œuvres à Marseille* (Lyon: Librairie Générale Catholique et Classique, 1894), 73-74. For more on the *Prêtres de la Mission*, see Chapter IV.

<sup>136</sup> Bergin, Allier, and others indicate that some of De Paul’s associates included: the Oratorian Pierre de Bérulle, Francois de Sales, as well as members of the Capuchin and Benedictine orders. Bergin, 370 and Allier, *La Cabale*, 10-24.

<sup>137</sup> The idea of “secrecy” is an intriguing one, particularly because the confraternity was not secret from the monarchy. Louis XIII embraced the project, as did Marie de Medici and others at Court. Bergin suggests that the confraternity’s secret status was part of its mystique – a form of distinction. Allier also indicates that the confraternity hoped to remain hidden from most bishops. Only in some cases were bishops actively involved or encouraged to participate. Allier, *La Cabale*, 31.

<sup>138</sup> Rapley, 91-92.

<sup>139</sup> Bergin, 373.

heresy, idleness, and sexual debauchery.<sup>140</sup> De Paul himself opposed the policies of institutionalized poor relief,<sup>141</sup> but the trend became nevertheless a widely accepted one. Even the female *dévot*es we encountered in Diefendorf’s study fell victim to the all-sweeping pressure of institutionalization. All *dévot*es were eventually forced either to become cloistered religious nuns, or to adopt the roles of sister-nuns in the new female *Refuges*.<sup>142</sup>

The *dévo*t movement redefined the conceptual relationship between poverty and of charity. The early generation’s credo that “true charity... consisted not in pampering their [the poor] bodies but in salvaging their souls,”<sup>143</sup> gained a sinister tone. Poverty signalled both sinfulness and social disorder to the *dévot*s – a belief that the *Marseillais* elites arguably shared. The Statutes of the local *Compagnie du Très-Saint- Sacrement* – presumably written by the elite members of Marseilles – demonstrate the nature of the group’s mission, and its heightened commitment to utilize charity to combat sin:

The principal goal of those involved in the confraternity is to lead a holy existence and to perfect others, to prevent sins that are being committed in the community....Every member will take care to work diligently towards the spread of the Catholic Roman Apostolic religion and the eradication of heresy in the province; will ensure that edicts are observed....and those found to be depraved will be reported for remedy by the Compagnie.<sup>144</sup>

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<sup>140</sup> Norberg, 34.

<sup>141</sup> Rapley, 92.

<sup>142</sup> Rapley, 74-94.

<sup>143</sup> Rapley, 77.

<sup>144</sup> Raoul Allier quotes the *Statuts pour ester gardez par ceulx de la compagnie du Très Saint Sacrement établie a Marseille*: “La principale fin de ceulx qui composent la Compagnie sera de ce sanctifier chascun selon sa condition et de sanctifier les autres, d’empescher de tout leur possible les peches qui ce commettent das le lieu de son establissement....Chascun aura soing de travailler diligemment a tout

The spiritual agendas of the *dévo*t programme were highly compatible with the goals of the local government. Like the *dévots*, the councillors too were seeking to rectify the problem of poverty and the disorderliness it caused. The fact that the local *Compagnie* drew its members from the civic elite was not a coincidence. Active and former civic councillors, members of the nobility, other city notables such as lawyers and merchants, and finally galley captains were recruited every year. Indeed, the three elite men cited earlier, Pierre de Bausset, Laurens Gilles, and Anthoine Moustier, were among the founding members of this confraternity (1639). Since the local *Compagnie* was created by the very same individuals who governed the city, we can appreciate the intimate links between the *dévo*t emphasis on moral reform and the magistrates' understanding of civic virtue. Creating good subjects meant they were moral, hard-working and obedient. These objectives were achievable through charity.

The secular clergy was an under-represented segment of the local elite in the *Compagnie*. Several ascetics from the St. Victor Abbey, members of the Oratory (who provided a place of assembly), and canons from the Cathedral Chapter (such as Emmanuel Pachier) were the only representatives of the city's clergy. In some regions, the *dévots* even kept their organization secret from the local bishop.<sup>145</sup> Though this did not seem to be the case in Marseilles, it is still notable that it was the vicar-general rather

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ce qui regarde l'augmentation de la Religion catholique, apostolique et romaine et l'extirpation des heresies dans tout les lieux de ceste province, de prendre garde aux contraventions des edictz,...et sy quelqu'un a cognoissance d'un desvoyé, il taschera de le ramener au chemin de la veritté, et le proposera a la Compagnie affin d'y remedier." Allier, *La Compagnie*, 14-23.

<sup>145</sup> Allier, *La Cabale*, 31.

than the bishop who allegedly gave the group approbation in 1639.<sup>146</sup> This apparent under-representation of the secular clergy in this group signals the laicization of charity, which was now in the hands of the *dévo*t councillors. Charity therefore represented an arena of a contest for power and internal divisions within the elite itself. An important development that likely informed the shifting nature of charity in this respect was the seemingly weak presence of the secular clergy in the local Catholic revival in general. Between the 1620s and the 1640s the religious resurgence belonged primarily to the regular orders and the laity they inspired as we have seen, but the priests and especially the bishops were marginally involved. Though archives are silent on parochial life, we know enough about some of the city's bishops to infer the laity's dissatisfaction with the higher clergy's spiritual guidance.

In the early decades of the century, two bishops were assassinated in short sequence: Frederic Ragueneau (1572–1603) for his anti-League views and Jacques Turricella (1605–1618) for his alleged hoarding of money.<sup>147</sup> Both incidents were expressions of the laity's resentment of the bishops' corruption.<sup>148</sup> Only in 1639 did a distinguished and widely popular spiritual leader ascend to Episcopal office. The Oratorian Eustace Gault and later his brother, Jean-Baptiste Gault (1642), were personal friends of Vincent de Paul. The latter bishop and de Paul visited the galley prisoners

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<sup>146</sup> Allier, *La Compagnie*, 2.

<sup>147</sup> Busquet, 216-217.

<sup>148</sup> Nicholas Coeffeteau was the bishop of Marseilles between 1622 and 1623. He was famous for his polemics on the Eucharist and for his anti-Calvinist policies. He was largely away from Marseilles, however, spending his time in Paris due to ill health.

together, and envisioned the future *l'Hôpital royal des forçats* (1646). The period of Gault's appointment also coincided with the establishment of both the *Charité* and the *Refuge*, which demonstrates a collaborative relationship with the civic council in the field of charity. Though Jean-Baptiste Gault's philanthropic activities were extensive, his influence was as short-lived as was that of his brother's. Gault died only three months after assuming office, leaving the laity disenchanted once again. The long administration of Etienne de Puget (1644–1668), proved to be a disappointment for the magistrates. He allegedly failed to defend local interests before the monarchy, and chose to flee instead. The bishop left the new Episcopal Palace (1648) as his only architectural legacy, expressing little interest in other aspects of parochial reform. It is not surprising that his name never appeared in the membership log of the *Compagnie*.

Given a general lack of public confidence in the local episcopacy's reforming energy, it is no coincidence that we find the aldermen of Marseilles exercising greater religious influence at this time. Surviving documents suggest, moreover, that the councillors relied on the support of the penitential confraternities, the Jesuits, and most importantly the Chapter clergy to help them assert their influence in religious affairs.<sup>149</sup> The civic magistrates' *dévot* identity increasingly helped them fashion an image as the city's spiritual and political leaders. They were the champions of civic virtue and of local

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<sup>149</sup> Bergin explains that Chapter clergy – the “corporate clergy” – retained much of their significance in the early modern period, and in many cases their influence grew. Bergin, 78-79. Marseilles shows this pattern: the Cathedral Chapter enjoyed privileges comparable to the bishop. See André and Madeleine Villard, *Les fonds des Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, séries anciennes G et H*. (Marseille, 1970), section 6G.

sense of Catholic orthodoxy, while the influence of the bishops was minimal, short-lived, or unpopular.

*d. The growing religious authority of the civic elite (1630s–1660s): shaping an identity*

The extent to which the elites took on a new spiritual role in Marseilles becomes clear when we look at their participation in religious festivities from the mid-century onward.<sup>150</sup> Certain holidays, for example, now belonged in the councillors' scope of authority. On the first Sunday of Lent and the first feast of Pentecost they assisted at Mass in the *Cathédrale Majeure* – a central site of worship with an associated Chapter.<sup>151</sup> They also celebrated Mass in the Collegiate (Chapter) Church of *Saint-Martin* on the second Sunday of Lent. Lastly, from the year 1640 onward, the magistrates partook in the Solemnity of the Virgin Mary Mass held on 1 January in *Notre Dame des Accoules* – the same day designated for their hospital visits. Over time the civic leaders found still more opportunities to blend the realms of their religious and civic authority. A particularly meaningful example, in addition to the councillors' assistance at masses, is their performance of baptisms. Archives reveal multiple instances in the mid- and late seventeenth century when the aldermen performed the baptisms of the children of prominent citizens. They chose such solemn holidays as Christmas Day for the event, donning once again their red religious robes. Yet, this apparently spiritual affair had a

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<sup>150</sup> For more on the meaning of religious rituals (saints) as constructed sites or objects of civic meaning, see Moshe Sluhovsky, *Patroness of Paris: Rituals of Devotion in Early Modern France* (Leiden: Brill, 1998).

<sup>151</sup> AMM.AA 167 “Cérémonial.”



decidedly civic meaning: these children were usually christened with the name ‘Marseille,’ symbolizing the civic spirit with which the new generation was to be endowed.<sup>152</sup>

These manifestations of religious leadership by the lay elite are striking evidence that the aldermen of Marseilles, from the time they founded the *Compagnie du Très-Saint-Sacrement*, were intent upon sacralising their civic office and associating their civic duties with proper Catholic behaviour. In performing religious rituals and espousing charitable functions, they cast religious affairs (such as charity or baptisms) as critical facets of civic authority. Though religion traditionally was central to medieval and early modern conceptions of social order, here we see the secular governing elite appropriating spiritual roles for civic purposes. They promoted a new understanding of civic virtue, one that proposed Catholicism, morality, and even civic pride to be its central components. Jodi Loach’s description of contemporary Lyon perhaps is applicable to Marseilles: “The citizenry was being transformed into a Catholic one, a living exemplar of the post-Tridentine model, by transforming its collective understanding, imagination and memory, so as to effect a conversion of its collective will.”<sup>153</sup> In Marseilles, this ‘collective will’ began to take shape in the 1630s, when the *dévots* carried the momentum of the Catholic Reformation and the legacy of the Religious Wars. The civic leaders then increasingly conflated spiritual orthodoxy with civic propriety, promoting an identity that was both

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<sup>152</sup> AMM.AA 167 “Cérémonial.”

<sup>153</sup> Jodi Loach, “The Consecration of the Civic Realm,” in eds. Sarah Hamilton and Andrew Spicer, *Defining the Holy: Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing, 2005) 299.

Catholic and distinctly local. This effort further intensified in the decades that followed, under new political pressures from the monarchy.

### ***III. Political upheavals and local spiritual (religious and civic) identity, 1650s–1715***

In the mid-1650s the political tensions between Marseilles and the monarchy resurfaced with a new force. Provence's relatively recent and involuntary submission to the Crown left a bitter aftertaste in 1595. Even though Marseilles' autonomist tendencies lay latent in the subsequent decades, local leaders continued to promote their own interests. They shaped an undisputedly Catholic civic identity, and controlled the *Marseillais* citizenry via symbolically-charged baptisms and charity. However, the developments of 1655 brought new political troubles, unleashing old rebellious tendencies. The death of the city's first councillor and loyal royalist, Antoine de Valbelle,<sup>154</sup> created a power vacuum that gave way to factionalism as early as 1657. Henri de Forbin, baron d'Oppède and first president of the *Parlement*, subsequently nominated de Valbelle's former enemies into the city council, which provoked his allies to attack the *Hôtel de Ville*. The incident burst into city-wide unrest. This did not go unnoticed by the monarchy suspicious of noble factionalism everywhere, especially in Marseilles. The twenty-year old Louis XIV summoned the alleged perpetrators and former supporters of de Valbelle, Gaspard de Glandevès-Niozelles and Felix de la Reynarde. In their audience

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<sup>154</sup> Busquet, 218-221.

in January of 1659, the king urged them to abandon Marseilles' suspect, autonomist tendencies, equally manifested in the visitors' provocative refusal to kneel before the monarch. By October, however, Niozelles' supporters were once again elected into the city council, prepared to defend Marseilles' sovereignty. Louis grew infuriated. This time, he decided on exemplary punishment for the city, to end Marseilles' rebelliousness once and for all.<sup>155</sup>

The "Punishment of Marseilles"<sup>156</sup> of 1660 was to be a lasting lesson in obedience, marking the culmination of long simmering tensions. In January 1660, the city was disarmed, Niozelles' faction was exiled, and three new *échevins* were put in their place. These comprised the so-called *échevinat*: first, second, and third councillor, and a *viguier*. Though a similar structure had been in place previously, the label 'échevins' was new.<sup>157</sup> The magistracy as a whole was reduced to sixty members from the original three hundred.<sup>158</sup> The first new *viguier* was Fortia de Pilles, a loyal supporter of the monarchy who got his job for life.<sup>159</sup>

In March, the king himself arrived in Marseilles, personally inaugurating the new regime in the city. He kept an illusion that Marseilles would retain some of its long-standing privileges, but effectively he conquered the city. Louis left behind an army of 3,500 royal guards, a new royal intendant for the province, and a *viguier* in charge of the

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<sup>155</sup> Busquet, 229-230.

<sup>156</sup> Busquet calls the events following the disobedience displayed by Marseilles' elites "la punition de Marseille...une série de leçons," – a "punishment and a series of lessons [in obedience]." Busquet, 231.

<sup>157</sup> Teissier, 1-4.

<sup>158</sup> Takeda, 22-23.

<sup>159</sup> Busquet, 231-233.

reduced magistracy.<sup>160</sup> At this time, the Crown also moved forward with plans of restructuring and overhauling the port as mentioned earlier. The galleys were returned to Marseilles in 1665, two watch-towers were erected, and narrow medieval streets were replaced with broad and transparent boulevards in the lower city.<sup>161</sup> The monarchy asserted royal order with resolve and clarity – the “*bâton du roi*”<sup>162</sup> ruling firmly over Marseilles’ economy and political affairs.

The royal political takeover naturally meant that some of the civic councillors would now be replaced with verified loyal royalists. Even so, pre-existent governmental structures and political ideas remained in place. In her study of Marseilles’ commerce after 1660, Takeda has described a transformation whereby “the Crown that sought to expand its power and limit local autonomy adapted political concepts stemming from the city to sustain absolutist claims.”<sup>163</sup> She explains that “the new *Marseillais* merchant elites...were neither overt royalists nor acquiescent collaborators...but played a double role: they were instruments of centralization and advocates for municipal interests.”<sup>164</sup> In the end, the monarchy did not replace or exile all magistrates, but instead gave them lucrative roles in commerce as *négociants*.<sup>165</sup> In doing so, it effectively struck a careful balance between local and state interests by co-opting local political traditions for state

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<sup>160</sup> Busquet, 234.

<sup>161</sup> Busquet, 241-242.

<sup>162</sup> Busquet, 235.

<sup>163</sup> Takeda, 7.

<sup>164</sup> Takeda, 21.

<sup>165</sup> Takeda, 50-51.

purposes. This meant that even though the period between 1660 and 1683 was characterized by “deep mistrust,”<sup>166</sup> the local elites did not lose all their control.

Takeda’s findings regarding this moment of political change serve an important purpose in our study: they help reconcile the apparent contradiction between the royal takeover and the civic elites’ continued influence over charity. Accepting Takeda’s view that the monarchy in fact “helped intensify civic and republican sensibilities throughout France while gutting France of actual republics,”<sup>167</sup> we can explain the local magistrates’ sustained control over charity and spiritual affairs as part of a larger compromise. Though politically subdued, the civic leaders’ efforts at pursuing a local identity were not necessarily jeopardized. The continued existence of the *Compagnie du Très-Saint-Sacrement* suggests the ongoing influential role of the local magistrates, at least in the realm of charity and moral reform of the local poor. Though Cardinal Mazarin officially dissolved the *Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement* in 1660,<sup>168</sup> the local *Marseillais* branch continued to receive members until the late 1690s. These were none other than the descendants of the ancient *dévot* families such as the de Baussets and others.<sup>169</sup>

Instead of curtailing the influence of the local *dévots*, the monarchy chose to work with them. In addition to keeping active the local *dévot* confraternity, Louis XIV also consciously appointed bishops who furthered royal control over local Church affairs, yet

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<sup>166</sup> Takeda, 21.

<sup>167</sup> Takeda, 7.

<sup>168</sup> Mazarin expressed opposition to all secret assemblies and congregations after 1660, and in 1666 Louis XIV officially suppressed the confraternity. Marseille, however, was one of the most resilient and long-lasting ones in the kingdom, says Bergin, 372-387; Allier, *La Cabale*, 15.

<sup>169</sup> Allier, *La Compagnie*, 2-101, “Rolle des confrères.”

without upsetting local spirituality. In 1668, Toussaint de Janson-Forbin became the new bishop of Marseilles. He was a former member of the *Compagnie*, well-known for his anti-Protestant convictions. Though we know little about his parish involvement, he likely had the civic elites' sympathies. His successor, bishop Charles Gaspard Guillaume de Vintimille du Luc (1685–1708) was an equally appealing candidate to the civic elites. We know he was an active member of the *Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement*, and wholeheartedly supported the local charitable projects. In 1685, for example, he lauded the local *Refuge* asylum for promiscuous women, as is documented in the asylum's charter.<sup>170</sup> His support reflected his Episcopal duties but also his personal interest as a member of the *Compagnie*.

Perhaps the best documented and most venerated bishop from the end of our period was du Luc's successor, Henri Belsunce de Castelmoron (1708–1755), a Jesuit. First, it is noteworthy that by this time the Jesuit order was closely linked with the monarchy. Eric Nelson explains that especially since the late 1620s the Bourbons increasingly relied on the Jesuits to “establish authority within the Catholic Church in [the] kingdom.”<sup>171</sup> As a member of the royally endorsed Jesuit order, Belsunce thus represented royal authority over Church affairs in Marseilles. We also know that the Jesuits had the support of the civic council early on, which means Belsunce's

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<sup>170</sup> AD des BR 8.HD.A1 “Lettres patentes” (1685).

<sup>171</sup> In 1627 Louis XIII laid the first stone of a Jesuit Church of Saint Louis in Paris. The completed facade (1641) depicts Ignatius of Loyola, Francois Xavier, and Saint Louis under the Bourbon coat of arms. In Nelson's view, it epitomizes the royal approval and even appropriation of the Jesuits for purposes of state-solidification. Nelson, 1-3.

appointment was agreeable with the spiritual interests of the local elite. Bishop Belsunce indeed became an ambassador of local *Marseillais* Catholicism. More than any of his recent predecessors, he championed religious reform of the laity, and his accomplishments are well documented.<sup>172</sup> Both contemporaries and historians celebrated his remarkable dedication to the local populace during the plague epidemic of 1720, for example. In earlier years, his commitment to the laity was also palpable. In 1712, Belsunce published the *Calendrier Spirituel*, a detailed yet accessible document addressed to ordinary parishioners. It outlined the life of religious ritual while spiritually enlightening the general populace.<sup>173</sup> Though we lack a comparable document from earlier decades, the bishop's publication alone suggests that Belsunce was closely connected to the laity, and perhaps one of the first local bishops who embraced the Catholic Reformation at the parish level.

In the last decades of the century, the city's religious life flourished under the administrations of du Luc and Belsunce. The *dévots* continued to play an important role in charity, and the magistrates performed various spiritual roles. They did so with a less militant agenda than was the case in the League period, however, since the magistracy

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<sup>172</sup> The problem of "parish reform" is beyond the scope of the present analysis. However, based on the unflattering history of Marseilles' sixteenth and early seventeenth-century bishops (of which two were assassinated in short sequence), we can assume that their commitment to Catholic Reform or parish reform was minimal.

<sup>173</sup> According to the *Preface*, the *Calendrier* was meant to be widely circulated and made available to parishioners in order that their spiritual education may be facilitated; all clergy were also urged to advertise thoroughly all celebrations, special masses, and days that the Holy Sacrament would be exposed. In short, it appears that the bishop placed great emphasis on the dissemination of the Catholic doctrine amongst the lay population. The purpose and the tone of the *Preface* emphasize devotional unity in practice and consistency of worship across the diocese. *Calendrier spirituel*, "Avertissement."

had been forced into obedience more emphatically after 1660. Moreover, since the king appointed bishops who fostered local Catholic revival and supported the *dévo*t spirituality, the civic council likely reconciled its own agendas with those of the Crown. The monarchy kept the local *Compagnie* functioning, but the most rebellious factions of the civic government were exiled. In other words, the Bourbons took advantage of this moment of social and spiritual upheaval in Marseilles, co-opting the *dévo*t spirituality for its own needs. By supporting the work of the *Marseillais dévots*, the king hoped to eradicate poverty and disorder in the realm to claim Marseilles' prosperous harbour, and, most importantly, to put an end to political defiance. Simultaneously, the local magistrates continued to shape a virtuous populace, emphasizing Catholicism and moral propriety as civic virtues, and thus protecting the city against threats both external and internal.

***Conclusion: Marseilles' religious culture at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century***

The *Calendrier Spirituel* is an invaluable document that speaks to the city's transformed religious culture at the end of our period. It represents a book-end to this chapter, and concludes our study of the changing character of Marseilles' spiritual identity and of those shaping it. The feasts and celebrations captured in the *Calendrier* demonstrate how deeply the civic leaders internalized their new religious duties. The marked visibility of their new asylums equally suggests that charity had become an



important bulwark of civic authority. Finally, the city's increasingly collective style of worship affirms the councillors' conscious effort to shape an identity as a Catholic and civically-conscious polis.

One of the most illustrative examples of a transformed religious culture is the procession of the Feast of Corpus Christi.<sup>174</sup> This medieval holiday grew in importance during the Catholic Reformation across Europe.<sup>175</sup> By 1712, it reflected in Marseilles the community's civic and spiritual consciousness.<sup>176</sup> It is no coincidence that the civic leaders – namely the four *échevins* – took position near the head of the Procession. They followed immediately after the sub-deacon from the Cathedral Chapter, whose lead position represented the elevated status and authority of the Chapter clergy.<sup>177</sup> Marching alongside the bishop and carrying the Holy Sacrament, the four *échevins* wore the same red robes they always did when partaking in spiritual occasions. They embodied the secular and the sacred – both realms of authority. Only after them came the rest of the

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<sup>174</sup> The city celebrated five other religious city-wide processions: the feast-day of St. Lazare (Marseilles' first bishop and the city's patron saint), the Day of Assumption of the Virgin Mary, also the Day of Ascension of Christ, the feast-day of St. Mark and finally the last day of Rogations. In addition to these processions, the Cathedral Chapter as well as various religious orders and confraternities celebrated other holidays as well. For example on Palm Sunday only members of the Cathedral Chapter marched in a procession. *Calendrier Spirituel*, 92-100.

<sup>175</sup> The Corpus Christi had been celebrated with a general procession since the thirteenth century, when pope Urban IV declared it a universal procession in all Christendom. For more on the significance and history of the Sacrament, see Miri Rubin: *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge University Press, 1991). Joseph Bergin explains that this holiday attained heightened significance after the Tridentine Reform, as reformers called for greater diffusion of Christ-centred spiritual practices. Bergin, 237 and 243. Marseilles' *Calendrier Spirituel* equally signifies the Feast's importance, designating it as "the most solemn and principal feast." *Calendrier Spritiuel*, 92.

<sup>176</sup> Procession is described in detail in the *Calendrier spirituel*, 92.

<sup>177</sup> Bergin elaborates on the growing prominence of Chapters in sixteenth and seventeenth-century French centres. Bergin, 78-79.

clergy, confraternities,<sup>178</sup> and the rest of the parishioners. The Procession's image invokes the councillors' visit to the *Charité* in 1640, recorded in the beginning of this chapter. This time, however, the charity recipients participated in the celebration more actively.

The inmates from the city's charitable asylums (close to a dozen by the end of the century) came at the tail-end of the procession, after the parishioners of *Saint-Ferréol*, *Saint-Laurent*, *Les Accoules*, *Saint-Martin*, and the Cathedral. The city's poor, too, followed a given order: children, the sick, poor, and eventually prostitutes and prisoners.<sup>179</sup> The charity recipients were the most dependent members of society and therefore they came last. Their inclusion, however, equally signified the communal and integral nature of Christian charity, and publically underscored the benevolence of the aldermen. The procession visually demonstrated the councillors' self-fashioned image as the secular, spiritual, and most charitable leaders of the community.

The visibility of the civic leaders and their new *hospitaux* was not limited to the procession. The *Calendrier* shows that the new charitable asylums also became central

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<sup>178</sup> In the seventeenth century, markedly fewer new confraternities seem to have emerged than in the previous century; however, many traditional ones continued to exist (most notably the Penitents). Next to traditional guild-based confraternities, we find luminaries and lay congregations whose main purpose was spiritual devotion and prayer. Congregations that were attached to religious orders were designated as "Tiers-Ordres," but were still considered lay groups. In the early seventeenth century, the *Hôtel-Dieu* hospital also founded two confraternities – St. Elizabeth for women and St. Louis for men. AD des BR 6.HD.E6. Archives have not preserved extensive information about Marseilles' confraternities, save for several records regarding the Penitents. Several dozen were in existence, however, and all are listed in alphabetical order in *Calendrier Spirituel*, 101-106.

<sup>179</sup> Surviving sources from the neighbouring Aix-en-Provence offer insight into the arrangement of the various charitable institutions during processions. Children's hospices generally came first, including the general hospital of the *Hôtel-Dieu*, followed by the *Charité*, and hospices catering to women and girls – the *Refuge* and *Filles Repenties du Bon Pasteur*. Last came the prisoners (*L'Œuvre des pauvres prisonniers*) and the insane (*L'Hôpital des insensés*). AD des BR (Aix) 29.HD.A3. We can anticipate a similar order in Marseilles.

sites of devotion during holidays emphasizing penitence. For example, *l'Hôpital du bon rencontre* exposed the Sacrament on the third Sunday of Advent, on the Feast of the Conversion of St. Magdalene benediction and indulgences were given at the chapel of the *Refuge*, and during Lent these same celebrations took place at *l'Hôpital Saint-Esprit (Hôtel-Dieu)*. During the Easter Triduum, *l'Hôpital du bon rencontre, la Charité, l'Hôpital des couvalescens* and the *Maison des filles repanties* also offered Benediction of the Sacrament. Like the redesigned monastic churches of the early century, the asylums opened their sacred and secular spaces for the benefit of the laity. The hospitals became part of the city's religious topography, and their inmates assumed a specific position in communal worship. Both developments reflected the new role of the civic leaders, who increasingly conjoined and adopted spiritual and charitable roles.

The community as a whole was solidifying its civic identity with its Catholic one. An integral part of this process was also the increasingly collective character of worship. Indeed, the *Calendrier* abounds with instances of collective worship other than processions: for example, many prominent masses were celebrated only in select locations – parish churches, monastic chapels, or hospitals. The first feast of the Pentecost, for instance, was only celebrated in the Cathedral and the Church of *Saint-Laurent*, but not the remaining parish churches. Similarly, only *Saint-Ferréol*, the Cathedral and *Saint-Laurent* held Mass on Holy Friday and Easter Saturday. Finally, Indulgences and Benediction were most often given in monastic churches, and only rarely in parish or hospital chapels. As the believers crossed the thresholds of their home parish

churches to worship elsewhere, they were experiencing their ancient religion in a new way. The five parishes – traditionally more or less self-contained units – were coming together, embracing a city-wide approach to worship more emphatically than before.

This fundamental transformation of Marseilles, tangible in Belsunce's *Calendrier*, represents the legacy of the *dévo*t movement, the Catholic Reformation, and the civic agendas of the governing elites. The charitable asylums emerged out of the crucible of political and spiritual change that was seventeenth-century Marseilles. By the end of our period, the tendency of political dissent lost its urgency after the Crown asserted control over the city, and partially co-opted the moralizing campaign against the poor for purposes of the state. The municipal leaders nevertheless remained the managers of local identity, which they continued to shape via charity.

## Chapter 2:

### *Le Refuge & la Maison des filles de la providence: women and poverty*

#### *Introduction*

Of all the sins and malice that mankind is capable of in its natural sinfulness, none is more irritable to Heaven and attracts more chastisement to Earth than the unfortunate sin of impurity. Those who by divine providence find themselves elevated and charged with the duty to awake others to the glory of their souls, must stop this despicable sin of man. God is our protector in this fight...The Refuge...is absolutely necessary...helping us assure victory....<sup>180</sup>

In the founding charter of Marseilles' new *Refuge* asylum for debauched women, the bishop's galvanizing words convey exasperation and a sincere concern for the spiritual well-being of his flock. As a devout member of the *Compagnie du Très-Saint-Sacrement*, bishop Charles Gaspard Guillaume de Vintimille clearly believed that prostitution was growing and posed an ever greater danger to the moral integrity of Marseilles' citizenry.<sup>181</sup> Prostitution may well have been in an expansion phase, responding to the

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<sup>180</sup> “De tous les péchés dont la malice des hommes soit capable depuis la corruption de notre nature il n'en est point qui irrite d'avantage le Ciel ni qui attire de plus grands châtimens sur la Terre que le malheureux péché de l'impureté. Ceux qui par un effet de la divine providence se voient élever dans des charges dont le devoir principal est de veiller au salut des âmes... apporter tout de soin pour arrêter le cours de cet infamable [péché] des homes...Le Dieu est notre protecteur dans le combat...Le Refuge... nous est absolument nécessaire... Voulons nous en assurer la victoire de la on peut aisément juger qu'entre tant de Saints établissemens qui se sont faits de nos jours pour mettre l'innocence a l'abri de la corruption du monde, il n'en est point de plus important que celui de ces sortes de maisons destinées a enfermer les femmes dont la vie a été scandaleuse et libertine.” AD des BR 8.HD.A1 “Lettres patentes.”

<sup>181</sup> The term “prostitution” appears frequently in archives along with terms such as “mauvaise vie,” “vie libertine,” “vie scandaleuse,” “vie lubrique,” and the generic “débauche,” with little distinction between them. The *Recueil General des Anciennes Lois Françaises* cross-references “débauche” and “prostitution” as well. See Jourdan, Decrusy, Isambert (et al.), *Recueil General des Anciennes Lois Françaises depuis l'an 420 jusqu'à la Révolution de 1789*. (29 vol.) (Paris: Librairie de Plon Frères,

growing numbers of sailors, merchants and other travellers arriving at the bustling port. A closer scrutiny of the city's ideological and political climate reveals, however, that many women likely came under the authorities' suspicion, not for proven debauchery, but because they were vulnerable, alone and poor.

This explains, for example, how twenty-year old Janneton ended up in the *Refuge*. In early 1694, the girl was romantically involved with Jean-Baptiste Gasein, a Spanish merchant whom she presumably met in Lyon. She found herself pregnant with his child, and though she wanted to accompany him back to Spain, Gasein refused. With plans to flee to Avignon, Gasein first attempted to leave Janneton at the *Hôtel-Dieu* in Lyon. The hospital directors refused her, however, and so Janneton followed her lover to Avignon. The unrelenting Gasein attempted to leave her there, claiming that his father would kill them both if she continued to Spain with him. Even then, he was unable to convince his unwanted companion to return to Lyon. In Marseilles, Gasein finally succeeded in halting Janneton's marital ambitions. He found support from the civic council, which promptly institutionalized the girl in the *Refuge* on charges of the alleged 'debauchery' she had committed in Lyon. Janneton ran away from the asylum shortly thereafter, and at that point disappears from the records.<sup>182</sup>

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imprimeurs-éditeurs, 1825). The contemporary *Institutes du Droit Criminel* add the term "stupre" as a synonym to "débauche." See Muyart de Vouglans, Pierre-François, *Institutes du Droit Criminel* (Paris: Le Breton, 1757). *Débauche*, which most frequently appears in Marseilles' archive, therefore indicates a female crime of sexual promiscuity – this being a seventeenth-century change compared to earlier periods when "débauche" equally involved gambling and other disorderly behaviours committed by men and women alike.

<sup>182</sup> AD des BR 8.HD.F6.

Both this anecdote and the bishop's sermon cited earlier expose the dark underbelly of the rapidly expanding Mediterranean metropolis, where lone women were increasingly becoming a sinister face of poverty manifest to male civic elites. The intent of this chapter is to understand why husbandless poor women, alongside abandoned children and other marginalized groups, became especially targeted recipients of charity in seventeenth-century Marseilles. It uncovers the gendered assumptions behind poverty, as well as the relationship between post-Reformation charity and moral reform. In doing so, this study directly challenges scholarship emphasizing the punitive intent of early modern female asylums.<sup>183</sup> Georg'ann Cattelona, for example, has compared the local *Refuge* to a "modern prison," whose purpose was to segregate the guilty and sinful from the rest of society.<sup>184</sup> Such a modernist interpretation is limiting for two reasons, however. First, it casts the asylum as an instrument of secular justice rather than as a charitable institution, and secondly, it underplays the significance of material destitution in the local women's lives. I argue, on the contrary, that Marseilles' female charitable asylums

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<sup>183</sup> Gender historians have treated French asylums largely as instruments of gender control deployed by the monarchy during the "grand enfermement." Annick Riani, for example, argued that the state exerted a unilateral effort to remove prostitutes from the streets. Georg'ann Cattelona's analysis of the *Refuge* in Marseilles echoes Riani's findings, though she recognizes the extensive collaboration between the local government, monarchy and the citizens of Marseilles. Both historians' contributions are valuable, particularly because of their direct relevance to the history of Marseilles. Their discussions of patriarchal hegemony, however, lack in religious contextualization. Philip Riley has drawn attention to the importance of religion in the "grand enfermement," explaining that the sin of "lust" rather than "sloth" or idleness was in fact a more urgent cause of disorder in men's eyes. Riley's analysis draws connections between the period's gendered views of criminality and spirituality, which conceptually approaches discussions of "charity." Nonetheless, his hope ultimately is to counter Michel Foucault's economics interpretation of the "grand enfermement" rather than to explain its logic. See Philip F. Riley, "Michel Foucault, Lust, Women, and Sin in Louis XIV's Paris," in *Journal of Church History* 59 (1990) 35–50. This chapter recognizes the relevance of the "enfermement" in the case of Marseilles' women, but focuses on the ways in which the Catholic Reformation underlay approaches to charity and ultimately women's forced institutionalization.

<sup>184</sup> Cattelona, 53.

became sites of social conditioning that strove to re-instil in women sexual propriety. The elites distinguished between women whose innocence should be protected, those who could be moulded into obedient wives and nuns, and those who were beyond reform. The *Refuge* and the *Maison des filles de la providence* for younger girls were instrumental in this process. These institutions were intent upon moulding marginalized women and girls into worthy *Marseillaises* – women who were obedient, virtuous and Catholic. As we shall see, the hospital governors measured success in concrete ways.

### ***I. Poverty and sexuality in a Mediterranean metropolis***

One of the fundamental reasons why women's charity was mediated through their gender was because the experience of poverty was itself gendered. Though historians have documented the rising numbers of unattached and vulnerable women in the seventeenth century kingdom-wide,<sup>185</sup> the situation in Marseilles was much worse. Marseilles was no ordinary city: its fast-expanding naval activities and growing male seafaring population rendered many women (married and unmarried alike) especially vulnerable to acute poverty. Because women experienced destitution in a unique way – it

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<sup>185</sup> In his study of Burgundy, Farr observes a France-wide trend of increasing numbers of single women; he states: "with more single females than males of marriageable age during the second half of the seventeenth and eighteenth century – may have worked against women by reducing their opportunities." In Marseilles this imbalance was exacerbated by the port. See, James Farr, "The Pure and Disciplined Body," in *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 23: 3 (Winter 1991) 413.



often pushed them towards prostitution – the councillors subsequently perceived most lone and impoverished women as potentially disorderly and sexually unrestrained.

The elites found a nucleus of sin in the port particularly after the 1660s. The galleys (1665) were undoubtedly the lead cause of poverty-related sexual disorder in the harbour. First, bringing in a large influx of men, the galleys created a demographic imbalance in the community. The two new forts alone housed a garrison of 3,500 men, and the galley arsenal buildings included another 2,000 to 4,000 *galeriens* (galley rowers).<sup>186</sup> The numbers of *forçats* and slaves, together with soldiers and marine personnel in the *arsenal* reached several thousand men – a substantial increase in clientele for prostitution. Every month, a new ‘chain’<sup>187</sup> of prisoners from all corners of the kingdom passed through the city, finally settling in the port. Even though these travelling *forçats* were forbidden to enter any woman’s dwelling, they did so regardless, sometimes with the active encouragement from the officers.<sup>188</sup> Thanks to the galleys, Marseilles’ port became a more lucrative centre for prostitution than ever before.

A second development related to changes in the harbour had an equally damaging impact on women. The enlarged port absorbed many men either as prisoners or as seafarers, which meant that their wives were left alone in a financially vulnerable state. Many French convicts brought their wives to Marseilles along with a “flock of children,”

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<sup>186</sup> Riani, 24.

<sup>187</sup> *Chaîne* was a procession of enchained prisoners escorted to the galleys from prisons across the kingdom.

<sup>188</sup> AN Marine B<sup>6</sup>17.

says André Zysberg.<sup>189</sup> These “miserable women who lived like beasts” found little security there, however. For a brief period of time in the 1630s they were protected by Vincent de Paul’s *Prêtres de la Mission* confraternity, which offered them lodging and spiritual instruction.<sup>190</sup> After 1649, however, the organization ceased to exist as the *Refuge* commenced operations. Women became vulnerable once again, and more likely to end up directly in the *Refuge*. De Paul’s effort illustrates the extreme vulnerability of many married women whose husbands became entrapped in the harbour. Because even greater numbers of men and women arrived after the port’s expansion in 1660, we can assume the problem of port-related poverty grew more acute as well.

But the wives of prisoners were not the only ones facing financial insecurity. The soldiers and merchants employed by the new royal trading companies, *Compagnie du Levant* (1670 and 1678–1684) and later *Compagnie de la Méditerranée à Marseille* (1685–1694) had just as few resources as the *forçats*. Gillian Weiss explains that these companies provided insurance on cargo, but not on men.<sup>191</sup> This meant that women who lost their husbands at sea found little compensation. It is striking that such a lack of security for seamen’s wives was not the norm in Europe, however. In contemporary Holland, for example, the wives of sailors were treated with respect and were

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<sup>189</sup> Zysberg, *Les galériens*, 174.

<sup>190</sup> This group offered communal lodging and spiritual instruction three times a week. H. Simard, 73-74.

<sup>191</sup> The only recourse for wives was a theoretically expressed promise to buy back and redeem French subjects if they became enslaved. In reality, however, even this guarantee was rarely fulfilled as Gillian Weiss has shown. See Gillian Weiss, “Barbary Captivity and the French Idea of Freedom,” 131–164, and her article, “Commerce, Conversion and French Religious Identity in the Early Modern Mediterranean,” in eds. Keith Cameron, Mark Greengrass and Penny Roberts, *The Adventure of Religious Pluralism in Early Modern France* (Berne: Peter Lang, 2000) 275-288.

economically looked after both by the Dutch East India Company – the primary employer of their husbands in Amsterdam, Enkhuizen, Rotterdam and Delft – and by the respective civic councils. The women’s legal and financial standing was comparable to that of widows: they were treated as “grass widows,” explain historians Heijden and Heuvel,<sup>192</sup> and as a result were able to apply for specific types of charity.<sup>193</sup> The Company also arranged for seafaring husbands to send portions of their salary to their wives in the form of “money letters,”<sup>194</sup> and made certain additional employments available to the women themselves. Thanks to these “survival strategies,” the women enjoyed a relatively respectable social standing and livelihood. In Marseilles, however, where none of the same securities existed, the wives of sailors were subject to suspicion. The fact that in Holland women without husbands were able to live communally with others in mutually supportive arrangements,<sup>195</sup> while in Marseilles such female houses were most frequently labelled as ‘*bordels publiques*,’ shows that a discrete set of assumptions about poverty, sin, and gender guided the actions of the *Marseillais* elites. Marseilles’ authorities clearly distinguished between widows and all other women whom they presumed to be prostitutes. Since only widows native to Marseilles qualified for the *Charité* hospice’s

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<sup>192</sup> Heijden and Heuvel, “Broken families: Economic resources and social networks of women who head families,” *The History of the Family* 12 (2007) 226-228.

<sup>193</sup> The urban “Charity Boards” often offered direct financial aid, or they paid the women’s travel fare to the ports where their husbands had boarded. Heijden and Heuvel, “Sailors’ families and the urban institutional framework in early modern Holland,” *The History of the Family* 12 (2007) 302-303.

<sup>194</sup> Heijden and Heuvel, “Sailors’ families and the urban institutional framework in early modern Holland,” pg. 301.

<sup>195</sup> Heijden and Heuvel, “Broken families: Economic resources and social networks of women who head families,” 230.

bread donations,<sup>196</sup> the wives of convicts and of sailing merchants increasingly found themselves destitute.

The reasons why many married women in Marseilles were unable to sustain financial solvency in their husband's absence were also rooted in the contemporary legal norms of property ownership vis-à-vis women. The south of France, known as a *pays de droit écrit*, drew its legal practices largely from Roman law.<sup>197</sup> According to Roman law, married women were unable to own property unless they were widowed, at which point they could inherit the husband's property and access their own dowry through a proper last testament.<sup>198</sup> While in Holland the women were able to initiate court proceedings without their husbands, manage their husbands' property, and even remarry in cases of their husbands' prolonged absence,<sup>199</sup> in Marseilles the wife continued to be legally tied to her absent husband. Historian Jean Brissaud explains the provisions of Roman law in France: "the wife is in a situation differing little from that of a slave. Body and possessions, she is subject to her husband; she is 'in manu,' under his hand, according to the Roman expression. She cannot possess anything of her own; everything she acquires goes to her husband."<sup>200</sup> This policy effectively disqualified a married woman as an independent property-owner. Even the husband's absence did not elevate her status in this

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<sup>196</sup> Cattelona, 45.

<sup>197</sup> Manlio Bellomo, *The Common Legal Past of Europe, 1000–1800*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., transl. Lydia G. Cochrane (The Catholic University of America Press, 1995) 102.

<sup>198</sup> R. W. Lee, *The Elements of Roman Law with a translation of the Institutes of Justinian* (London: Sweet & Maxwell Ltd., 1944), 102, 185, and 201.

<sup>199</sup> Heijden and Heuvel, "Sailors' families and the urban institutional framework in early modern Holland," 304-305.

<sup>200</sup> Jean Brissaud, *A History of French Private Law*, transl. Rapelje Howell (New York, Augustus M. Kelley Publishers, 1968) 14.

regard. The law stipulated that a husband enslaved in a foreign country still retained power over his family as per the principle of *patria potestas* ('power of a father'), thus further limiting his wife's independence.<sup>201</sup> Barbara Diefendorf elaborates that it was the *obedience* to the husband that technically dissolved her rights to independent property or to legal action.<sup>202</sup> In some French regions, specifically those under customary law such as Normandy, women found ways to emancipate themselves from the economic and legal dependency on their absent husbands.<sup>203</sup> In Marseilles, however, such opportunities were apparently rare, and even married women with travelling husbands found themselves unable to navigate the pitfalls of destitution.

Some women – single or with absentee husbands – sought independent income to overcome the legal obstructions in property-ownership. Often they worked as laundresses, seamstresses, or domestic servants. However, such income was most often insufficient for livelihood. These working women, too, supplemented their income with prostitution.<sup>204</sup> Indeed, married status made little difference: lone married women were just as vulnerable as young migrating girls who were drawn into the city in search of work. The latter most often fell prey to equally poor men, who in many cases promised them marriage but never

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<sup>201</sup> Lee, 81.

<sup>202</sup> Barbara Diefendorf, "Women and property in ancient regime France: Theory and practice in Dauphiné and Paris," in eds. John Brewer and Susan Staves, *Early Modern Conceptions of Property* (New York: Routledge, 1995) 175-176.

<sup>203</sup> Zoë Schneider, "Women before the Bench: Female Litigants in Early Modern Normandy," in *French Historical Studies*, 23: 1 (Winter 2000) 21-23.

<sup>204</sup> Francois-Xavier Emmanuelli, "La marginalité féminine à Marseille a la fin de l'Ancien Régime," in *Marseillaises : Les femmes et la ville des origines à nos jours*, ed. Yvonne Knibiehler (Paris : Côté-femmes éditions, 1993) 145.

followed through.<sup>205</sup> It is likely that Janneton belonged into this category of naive and hopeful girls. The paradox of the port is clear: as much as the expansion of the port challenged the women's effort to find and keep their husbands, it was also the port that made prostitution both profitable and thus alarmingly popular as a source of livelihood.

The total number of women who found themselves on the margins of society comprised as much as one sixth of the entire female population – some 25, 000 women. Their vulnerability to indigence and to social scrutiny was the result two developments related to the expansion in the harbour: an increasing local male population and longer periods of separation between prisoners, merchants and their wives. Women found themselves unable to fulfill the contemporary expectation of marriage as they struggled to find or to keep a husband. As a result, they faced poverty and a likely condemnation to the *Refuge* asylum. The admission logs from the *Refuge* indeed suggest a close link between the harbour, prostitution, and female poverty. Next to young single girls with failed marriage prospects we find the wives of galley officers, *cannoniers*, soldiers, sailing merchants, and of *forçats* and slaves. From a sample of thirty-three 'denounced',<sup>206</sup> women in 1693, eleven were reported to be married, nine were the daughters prostituted by their mothers (one of them also married), two were widowed, and eleven were presumably single with no indication of their family background. Out of the eleven single

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<sup>205</sup> Yvonne Knibiehler, "L'accueil des mères pauvres XVIIIe-XXe siècles," in *Marseillaises : Les femmes et la ville des origines à nos jours*, ed. Yvonne Knibiehler (Paris : Côté-femmes éditions, 1993) 237.

<sup>206</sup> *Dénoncée* – a woman incriminated or "denounced" by another party, mostly neighbours as shall be made explicit.

women, six girls were twenty-five years old or younger, while the others were unmarried in their late thirties or forties.<sup>207</sup> Of the eleven married women, six were the wives of galley soldiers, personnel or sailors, some of whom were presumably absent.<sup>208</sup>

A good example of a condemned woman married to a sailor is Marguerite Aszuière, aged 40. She was married to Franque Lanche who had been absent for twenty years in 1693. His employment is unspecified, but he was of Roman origin and thus likely a merchant, soldier or a sailor. Since his departure twenty years prior, Marguerite had become pregnant five or six times; her neighbours and her parents ascribed this to her ‘*vie scandaleuse*’ (‘scandalous life’). She worked as a servant for some time, but was chased away due to her allegedly immoral lifestyle. At that point she found herself in the *Refuge* for the first time. When she was released after three years, Marguerite apparently fell back into her depraved ways, and in 1693 her parents turned to the grand vicar and the *échevins* to arrest the woman, stopping her infamous ways once and for all.<sup>209</sup> The absence of Marguerite’s husband likely was a pivotal factor in her life. Unable to make a

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<sup>207</sup> Because this sample comes from the *dénonce* documents (copies found in the municipal police as well as departmental hospital archive), it reflects only those condemnations that came first from the citizens and only later were submitted to the *échevins* who carried out the arrest. Its evidentiary quality may seem somewhat limited as a result. Nonetheless, it is important to note that a woman’s entry into the *Refuge* was nearly always a combined effort of the *échevins* and the populace, where the magistrates sought secondary support from populace and the populace sought executive power to arrest from the *échevins*. In fact, the *Refuge*’s entry registry blurs the order of steps taken, and states simply that a woman was “condemned by justice.” Therefore, even if the *dénonces* do not signal the *échevins*’ initiative, they still attest to the widespread influence of the Catholic Reform’s discourse on morality that was embraced by the agents of justice and moral reform (embodied by the *échevins* and the *Refuge*) and the general population of Marseilles alike. AD des BR 8.HD.F6.

<sup>208</sup> Of the remaining five, three were married to peasants or artisans, and two were unspecified.

<sup>209</sup> AD des BR 8.HD.F6.

living otherwise, she pursued the lucrative avenues of prostitution, eventually ending up in the *Refuge*.

While in the case of Marguerite they were her parents who brought her to the attention of the magistrates, it is significant to note that the authorities were legally allowed to intervene even without the family's lead. When a woman wearing a male costume was caught on the *arsenal* premises in August of 1701, for example, she was taken directly to the *Conseil de Guerre*, and subsequently sent to the *Refuge* for prostitution. Her nose and ears were cut off as punishment – a permanent mark of her sinfulness. Her husband was a sailing merchant and at the time away on a campaign, which evidently left the condemned woman's fate at the discretion of the civic authorities.<sup>210</sup> A newly edited version of the *Refuge* Regulations dating from 1690 elaborates on the point of spousal consent and abandonment, revealing that married women with absentee husbands were in fact under the full authority of the civic council and the *Refuge*.

In regards to women who are abandoned by their husbands, the échevins can commit these women into the *Refuge*, in order to diminish their scandalous behaviours. They will stay there as long as the judges will see fit, and until their husbands come to reclaim them. If, however, the husband feels that his wife's debauchery continues, he may leave her in the *Refuge*.<sup>211</sup>

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<sup>210</sup> AD des BR 8.HD.F6.

<sup>211</sup> “A l'égard des femmes mariées qui seront absents pourront lesdits échevins pour faire cesser l'escandalle faire mettre lesdites femmes dans le refuge pour y être détenues tant qu'il sera par eux jugé a propos et jusque à ce qu'elles soient réclamées par leur maris qu'il sera enjoint de les leur remettre sauf en cas de continuation de débauche de la part dedites femmes au connivence de leurs maris.... ” AD des BR 8.HD.E8.



This statement evinces the *échevins*' large scope of power over abandoned wives. Indeed, it appears that the husband's presence was more critical than the woman's married status alone. Marguerite and the unidentified girl from 1701 illustrate this notion: both with absentee husbands at sea, they were just as vulnerable as single girls. In short, widows and young girls (children) were effectively the only women exempted from potential accusation, while all others could easily be sent to the *Refuge* on charges of prostitution. An important contributing factor to women's vulnerability was the ideological climate in Marseilles at this time. Marriage, female sexuality and poverty were each critical categories of meaning that were shifting in significant ways at this time. How they were changing explains why the civic elite were convinced that prostitution was growing in the city, and reinterpreted charitable institutions as vehicles of moral reform.

**a. *The ideological context: marriage, sexuality and poverty***

Early modern marriage patterns suggest that Marseilles traditionally valued marriage more than other regions: women in South-eastern parts of Europe often married earlier and were generally more likely to marry than women in North-western Europe who tended to remain single for longer or not marry at all.<sup>212</sup> The geographic differentiation also corresponds to distinct religious preferences: Catholic communities in the South exerted greater pressure on early marriage than Protestant, Northern regions.<sup>213</sup>

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<sup>212</sup> Maryanne Kowaleski, "Singlewomen in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: The Demographic Perspective," in eds. Judith M. Bennett and Amy M. Froide, *Singlewomen in the European Past, 1280–1800* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999) 52.

<sup>213</sup> Kowaleski also explains that many Mediterranean communities viewed women's sexual purity as a reflection of family honour. Kowaleski, 57, 62-63. For more on the Mediterranean-specific shared

Seventeenth-century France indisputably existed within these long-standing patterns, which explains the high scrutiny of husbandless and unmarried women in Marseilles. This scrutiny gained new momentum in response to growing elite enthusiasm for spiritual reform at this time: an enthusiasm which placed new emphasis on the solemnity of marriage.

According to church authorities as well as contemporary moralists, marriage was more than a social and economic institution – it became “the centerpiece of the purified Christian society.”<sup>214</sup> The Council of Trent redefined marriage as a solemn, public and pious sacrament, officially codifying it as such in the *Tametsi* decree in 1563. Though the French Crown resisted many elements of the Tridentine doctrine, the *Tametsi* decree was generally accepted and implemented kingdom-wide, and included even stricter measures, such as mandatory parental consent.<sup>215</sup> Julie Hardwick has further argued that royal emphasis on “pure marriage” stemmed from the conviction that the family represented the patriarchal model for the absolute state, and was itself an integral unit of the state.<sup>216</sup> This idea became prominent particularly during the reigns of Louis XIII and Louis XIV, when social and moral order were articulated as mutually formative concepts.<sup>217</sup> Because they

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sense of ‘honour’ see anthropologists’ work, for example Michael Herzfeld, “The Horns of the Mediterraneanist Dilemma,” in *American Ethnologist*, 11: 3 (1984).

<sup>214</sup> Farr, “The Pure and Disciplined Body,” 400.

<sup>215</sup> Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks, *Christianity and Sexuality in the Early Modern World: Regulating Desire, Reforming Practice* (UK: Routledge, 1999) 105-110.

<sup>216</sup> For discussions of state and family, see Julie Hardwick, *The Practice of Patriarchy: Gender and the Politics of Household Authority in Early Modern France* (Penn State Press, 1998).

<sup>217</sup> Jeffrey Merrick also unveils a related and parallel development to notions about sexual propriety and political order in seventeenth-century France, namely the ways in which sexual disorder symbolized political anarchy and was in fact used for purposes of satire and political critique. See Jeffrey

constituted one another, female chastity and compliance with prescribed gender roles were crucially important to social order.<sup>218</sup> In short, next to celibacy, marriage represented the only acceptable lifestyle alternative for women in seventeenth-century France.

To be sure, contemporary discourse on marriage relied on pre-existent derogatory assumptions regarding the female gender in general. Georg'ann Cattelona invokes Jean Delumeau when she explains that “Maleness was identified with the mind, the soul, with the ‘higher’ parts of the self, and by extension, culture, while femaleness was identified with the ‘lower’ parts: physicality, birth, the irrational, and by extension nature.”<sup>219</sup> Single women were especially and traditionally viewed with derision, and in some cases the words for ‘singlewoman’ and ‘prostitute’ were used interchangeably.<sup>220</sup> In post-Reformation France, the sexuality of all women was questioned with new intensity. At this time the *Querrelle des femmes* – an ongoing literary and theological debate about the merits of the female sex – gained new fervour. Clerics identifying more with the Tridentine reform expressed their reservations about women, highlighting the negative characteristics of the female sex embedded in the Christian tradition. One particular document, *Alphabet de l'imperfection et malice des femmes*, written by a member of the

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Merrick, “The Cardinal and the Queen,” in *The French Historical Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 3 (Spring 1994) 667-699.

<sup>218</sup> Farr, “The Pure and Disciplined Body,” 391-414.

<sup>219</sup> Cattelona, 76.

<sup>220</sup> Ruth Mazo Karras, “Sex and the Singlewoman,” in eds. Judith M. Bennett and Amy M. Froide, *Singlewomen in the European Past, 1280–1800* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 127-145, and Sharon Farmer, “‘Is It Not Good That [Wo] man Should Be Alone’: Elite Responses to Singlewomen in High Medieval Paris,” 82-105 in the same volume.

clergy, Jacques Olivier, displays the marked disdain some of the debate's participants expressed towards women. The book was published at least eighteen times in France before 1650, and in 1673 translated into English. In the *Preface*, Olivier addresses women in the following way:

Woman, if your haughty and fickle spirit knew the power of your misery and the vanity of your condition, you would shun the light of the sun, seek shade and would hide in caves and caverns, curse your fortune, regret your birth and abhor your own self. But the extreme blindness that prevents your awareness, keeps you in this world the most imperfect creature of the universe, the seminary of misfortune, the source of all struggles, the toy of all insane, the plague for the wise, the brand of hell, the match of vice, a monster of nature, a necessary evil, a harmful pleasure, a hook of the devil, the enemy of angels, countering the wisdom of God himself who has created you....<sup>221</sup>

The author addresses women as inherently imperfect, sinful, and as a threat – the opposite of the virtuous man. He then proceeds to list alphabetically all of the women's vices, beginning with “avarice” and ending with “zealous jealousy.” For each he draws on biblical references in an effort to prove the close relationship between woman and the Devil: “instead of bringing man good fortune, she has brought him misfortune,

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<sup>221</sup> “Femme, si ton esprit altier et volage pouvoit congnoistre le fort de ta misère et la vanité de ta condition, tu fuirais la lumière du soleil, chercherois les ténèbres, entrerois dans les grottes et cavernes, maudirois ta fortune, regrettois ta naissance et aurois horreur de toy-mesme; mais l'aveuglement extrême que t'oste ceste cognoissance, faict que tu demeures dans le monde, la plus imparfaicte créature de l'univers, l'écume de nature, le séminaire de malheurs, la source de querelles, le jouet des insenséz, le fléau de sagesse, le tison d'enfer, l'allumette du vice, la sentine d'ordure, un monstre en nature, un mal nécessaire, une chimère multiforme, un plaisir dommageable, l'hameçon du diable, l'ennemy des anges et le momon de la divinité, contrefaisant et reformant la sapience du mesme Dieu qui t'a créée.” Jacques Olivier, *Alphabet de l'imperfection et malice des femmes* (Paris : A. Barraud, editeur, 1617) 1-2.

damnation, and his ruin...the Devil found nothing in the world more suitable to charm the eyes and hearts of men than a woman,”<sup>222</sup> says Olivier in his polemic on ‘Sin.’ The author’s self-proclaimed purpose in writing the treatise is to alert the reader about the much greater number of “bad” women than the “good ones.”<sup>223</sup> More significantly, Olivier hopes to “uproot the vices and replace them with virtues.”<sup>224</sup> He believes in the possibility of women’s moral reform, even as he describes them as forsaken and damned. Importantly, the author entrusts this task to the presumably male readers whom he addresses separately from the women.

Olivier’s document is relevant to our study of female charity for several reasons. First, even though women did not remain entirely undefended after the publication of the belligerently written *Alphabet*,<sup>225</sup> the notion of female imperfection was nevertheless a prominent and consistent one throughout the period.<sup>226</sup> Other literary sources confirm that the idea of women’s sinfulness was a pervasive theme. Leading theologians and moralists echoed Olivier’s derision of the female body in contemporary catechisms such as Philippe d’Outreman’s *The True Christian Catholic* (1622), Jean Eudes’ *Le Bon Confesseur*

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<sup>222</sup> “Au lieu que la femme devoit procurer le bien de l’homme, elle luy procura son mal, sa perte et sa damnation, comme l’on void en l’histoire de la création: car le Diable ne trouvant rien au monde de plus cauteleux, de plus attrayant, et de plus propre pour charmer les yeux et le coeur des hommes, que la femme.” Olivier, 124.

<sup>223</sup> Olivier, 13.

<sup>224</sup> “Arracher les vices et y planter les vertus.” Olivier, 13.

<sup>225</sup> Cattelona explains that *Defense des femmes contre l’Alphabet de leur pretendue malice et imperfection* was published soon after in 1617 by Capitaine Vigoreux, and in 1618 another text entitled *Le Champion des femmes* by the Chevalier de l’Escale appeared as well. Cattelona, 74.

<sup>226</sup> Anne Duggan explains that in the last two decades of the seventeenth century the “quarrel” changed focus, targeting women’s taste for luxury in the upper classes. Nevertheless, it continued to channel a “veiled critique of inherent vices of feminine nature.” Anne E. Duggan, *Salonnières, Furies, and Fairies: The Politics of Gender and Cultural Change in Absolutist France* (Cranbury, NJ: Rosemont Publishing & Printing Corp., 2005) 131.

(1666), or Jean Jacques' *Catechism of an interior life* (1656).<sup>227</sup> The second point of significance lies in Olivier's implied call to reform. He is suggesting that debauched females be subjected to a moral retraining, a new catechism to help mitigate women's inherent sinfulness. The *Refuge* in Marseilles institutionalized precisely this task, as we shall see.

Olivier's suspicion of female nature was widely shared, as was Louis XIV's "lust for virtue" that equated female chastity with social orderliness.<sup>228</sup> These powerful ideologies found parallels at the local level. In Grenoble, Marseilles, and elsewhere the urban elites (particularly those inspired by the *dévot* spirituality) spearheaded campaigns against sin and female promiscuity. The *dévots* had an "obsessive" impulse to condemn the harlots, prostitutes, and suspected "procuresses" they saw "on every corner,"<sup>229</sup> says Norberg of contemporary Grenoble. The *Refuge* directors in Marseilles, who counted the husband's physical presence as the only reliable evidence of a woman's respectability, clearly shared this suspicion of solitary women. For them, the new charitable institution – the *Refuge* – represented the solution to gender-specific poverty. Its establishment was also the result of an increasingly rigorous legislation regarding prostitution – legislation that encapsulated and reflected the contemporary ideologies on marriage and female sexuality. Laws regarding prostitution in Marseilles changed dramatically over the course

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<sup>227</sup> Riley, "Michel Foucault, Lust, Women, and Sin in Louis XIV's Paris," 35-50.

<sup>228</sup> Philip F. Riley, *A Lust for Virtue: Louis XIV's Attack on Sin in Seventeenth-century France* (Greenwood Press, 2001)

<sup>229</sup> Norberg, 37-49.

of only a few decades, showing that by the mid-seventeenth century poor women operated in an increasingly intolerant climate.

Prostitution had worried Marseilles' municipal leaders perhaps as long as the city lived through port revenues, but well into the fifteenth century the local policies remained relatively lenient. Chasing out *femmes publiques*,<sup>230</sup> confiscating their property, or relegating sexually unrestrained women to specific parts of the city<sup>231</sup> were some of the most common strategies urban elites used in order to curb the practice. Economically, the city thrived from sex trade as much as it did from the seaport itself: the authorities imposed a tax on prostitutes in an effort to discourage the practice but welcomed the income all the same.<sup>232</sup> In the 1540s the aldermen attempted to open a public brothel where the city's immodest women would be confined, but the Cathedral Chapter rejected the project.<sup>233</sup> In the years that followed the growing problem of prostitution remained untreated.

In 1561, *l'États d'Orléans* deliberated to close all public brothels in the kingdom.<sup>234</sup> Though this policy reached Marseilles as well, it is important to note that

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<sup>230</sup> Ordinances dating from the 1250s stipulate, for example: “les femmes publique seront chassées tant des villes que de la compagne, leur biens seront confisqués...” urging women to leave lest their property be confiscated. Isambert, *Recueil General*, 146.

<sup>231</sup> In the 1540s the city attempted to establish a public brothel into which the city's immodest women would be confined, but the Chapter of the *Majeur* Cathedral objected to the project. Dr. Hippolyte Mireur, *La Prostitution a Marseille: Histoire, administration et police hygiène* (Paris, Marseilles, 1882), 40.

<sup>232</sup> Mireur, 39.

<sup>233</sup> Mireur, 40.

<sup>234</sup> “Défendons à toutes personnes de loger et recevoir en leurs maisons, plus d'une nuit, gens sans adveu et incongneus. Et leur enjoignons les dénoncer a justice, a peine de prison et d'amende arbitraire. Défendons aussi tous bordeaux, berlans, jeux de quilles et de dez, que voulons estre punis extraordinairement, sans dissimulation ou connivence des juges, à peine de privation de leurs offices. ” quoted in Mireur, 41-42.

women were not yet exclusively targeted but instead were considered part of a larger problem of moral decadence involving gambling, begging, debauchery and other forms of corruption. Vice escalated over time, however. Prostitution in Marseilles soon spilled beyond brothels and cabarets, and into the streets where the line between public and private space blurred. Ten new brothels allegedly operated on the notorious *rue l'Échelle* alone, all frequented by *Gavottes*,<sup>235</sup> slaves, soldiers and sailors in particular.<sup>236</sup> The constant flow of clients and prostitutes transformed once private buildings into public brothels and public streets into sites of private sexual acts. The moral sensibilities of citizens and authorities were being tested in new ways.

By the early seventeenth century, the relaxed approach to licentious women had changed. In 1629 a plague epidemic ravaged Marseilles and it was clear to the city councillors of both Marseilles and the neighbouring Aix-en-Provence that it was “a divine punishment for the sin of prostitution and moral decadence.”<sup>237</sup> As a direct consequence, both towns decided to pursue the road of ‘good works,’ and appease God’s wrath by establishing charitable institutions that would welcome repentant prostitutes desiring to reform their ways. In 1630 Aix opened the *Maison des filles pénitentes du Bon-Pastuer*, and Marseilles a sister institution, the *Maison des filles repanties de Sainte-Marie-Magdeleine*.<sup>238</sup> Marseilles’ new hospice encouraged active repentance in some women, but it was the *Refuge* established later on that effectively criminalized women’s

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<sup>235</sup> Annick Riani defines the “Gavottes” as travellers from Italy.

<sup>236</sup> Riani, 26.

<sup>237</sup> “Le fléau duquel Dieu punit d’ordinaire le péché d’impureté.” Qtd. Mireur, 46.

<sup>238</sup> Mireur, 47.



unruliness. Collaborating with the *échevinat* who were also the police-force, the *Refuge* rectors resolved “to lock up and correct all women and girls practicing public debauchery; to remove them from society where they cause disorder and corrupt the morals of young people.”<sup>239</sup>

By the 1640s, provincial and royal legislatures forbade all *cabaretiers* and *hôteliars* from housing “all bohemians, homeless or lost women and girls and other vagabonds,”<sup>240</sup> and in 1682 the *Parlement* of Provence condemned accused women to eviction and whipping.<sup>241</sup> Finally, in 1688 the king published several ordinances targeting *femmes de mauvaise vie* specifically in Marseilles and its port. The following excerpt reveals contemporary fears about women’s sexual tendencies; it equally draws our attention to the harbour as infamous place of iniquity.

By the king’s orders...His majesty wishes and expects that women leading a bad life who are found in the barracks of the ‘forçats’ or in the chambers of soldiers and other galley employees, will be convicted of having engaged in scandalous commerce, and will be in the future condemned by the War Council to have their nose and the ears cut off, and in such a state they will be promenaded along the port. It is rather important to the king and for public interest that this ordinance not be ignored. ...An exact search shall be conducted and, women accused of the said crime, will be arrested and taken to royal prisons where their

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<sup>239</sup> “Elle a pour objet de faire enfermer et de corriger les filles et femmes de débauche publique et de les retrancher ainsi de la société ou elles causent tant de désordres en corrompant les mœurs des jeunes gens.” Founding charter reprinted in Mireur, 50.

<sup>240</sup> Edicts from 1619 and 1643 quoted in Mireur, 52-53.

<sup>241</sup> “Dans dix jour après la publication du présent arrêt, les femmes vagabondes et autres de mauvaise vie, videront la province a peine du fouet et que les propriétaires qui auront connive, seront condamnés a cent livres d’amende envers le roy.” Qtd. Mireur, 53.

penalty will be carried out... This ordinance will be read and made public, posted at all public squares and usual places in the city.<sup>242</sup> The document shows that by 1688 corporal punishment, public example, and imprisonment were the penalties meted out to women accused of prostitution and *mauvaise vie*. While in the mid-sixteenth century ‘*débauche*’ referred to a plethora of disorders, by the seventeenth century it became a synonym for prostitution and implicated mostly women. As the elites’ concerns about poverty-related moral disorder grew, impoverished, husbandless women found it increasingly difficult to escape charges of prostitution.

Yet the poor women’s presumed sinfulness and inclination to prostitution, which so deeply offended the heightened moral expectations of the *dévo*t elites, represented only one factor shaping charity and its reformative purpose. The diagnosis of a venereal disease was another element that often sealed a poor woman’s fate, because the contemporary attitude to the pox (*vérole* in French) was equally gendered. In Marseilles – unlike elsewhere in Europe – venereal disease was understood as a symptom of female immorality. It served as additional evidence for the need to correct and morally reform her. Like poverty and alleged female corruption, it was another cause for charity.

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<sup>242</sup> “De par le Roy,... Sa Majesté veut et entend que les femmes de mauvaise vie qui seront trouvées dans quelques baraques des forçats, ou dans les chambres des soldats et autres gens des équipages de ses galères, ou qui seront convaincues d’entretenir avec aucun d’eux quelque commerce scandaleux, soient a l’avenir condamnées par le Conseil de Guerre a avoir le nez et lez oreilles coupés par l’exécuteur de la haute justice, et a être menées en cet état le long du Port; et jugeant qu’il est très nécessaire pour le service du Roy et l’intérêt public qu’elle ne soit pas ignoré... nous faisons savoir qu’il en sera fait une exacte perquisition de notre part, et que les femmes trouvées coupables dudit crime, seront arrêtées et remises aux prisons du Roy pour subir la peine portée par ladite ordonnance... la présente sera lue et publiée a son de trompe et cry public, et mise par affiche en tous les lieux et carrefours de cette ville accoutumés.” AN Marine A<sup>2</sup> 6.

**b. *Venereal disease and Marseilles' women***

Venereal disease, specifically the pox, was frequently cast as a disease of the poor in Early Modern Europe, because the destitute poor were burdened with the stigma of the disease more than the wealthy. Kevin Siena, who studied Stuart and Georgian London, explains that society's elite members were able to claim privacy, protect their reputations, and receive better care. The poor, on the other hand, were confronted by numerous bureaus and hospital committees that afforded little or no discretion. Gender similarly affected the patient's experience, where women were usually denied the privilege of a female practitioner, explains Siena.<sup>243</sup> Both gender and poverty therefore mediated the patient's *experience* with the pox, but the disease was not necessarily thought to be restricted to a certain segment of population such as women or the poor. Moreover, even though Siena admits that sexuality and the cultural constructions of disease were frequently tied to an agenda of moral reform, he asserts that in London this only occurred in the nineteenth century. "Gendered penitentiary approach," he says, was in England a "modern phenomenon quite unknown in the seventeenth century."<sup>244</sup> English seventeenth-century hospitals "were not fighting widespread moral turpitude, but rather one of its products, widespread venereal infection."<sup>245</sup>

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<sup>243</sup> Kevin Siena, *Venereal Disease, Hospitals and the Urban Poor: "London's Foul Wards 1600 – 1800"* (University of Rochester Press, 2004) 61.

<sup>244</sup> By the eighteenth century women's institutions in England also attained a highly disciplinary tone. See Donna T. Andrew, *Philanthropy and Police: London Charity in the Eighteenth Century* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991)

<sup>245</sup> Siena, *Venereal Disease, Hospitals and the Urban Poor*, 8-10.

Siena's findings stand in stark contrast to the situation in seventeenth-century Marseilles. To the elites of Marseilles, venereal disease was a symbol of specifically female corruption. Here, the pox was *defined* as a disease of poor women in particular. In other words, poverty and gender determined both the patient's experience and her very diagnosis. The following analysis comparing Marseilles to Paris and London suggests that the contemporary approach to Marseillaises 'poxed' women was geared towards their moral reform rather than medical treatment.

The first crucial difference between England and Marseilles concerns the treatment of venereal patients in general. While in London the poor could seek medical care in designated asylums and wards, the *Marseillais* authorities refused admission into hospitals (including the *Hôtel-Dieu*) to venereal patients (as was the norm in other French institutions).<sup>246</sup> Together with galley slaves, scurvy patients, plague victims, and pregnant women patients with the pox were obligated to seek treatment elsewhere – presumably from barbers or infirmaries.<sup>247</sup> The first explicitly worded refusal of venereal patients in the *Hôtel-Dieu* dates from 13 April 1672, and reappears several times in later years.<sup>248</sup> Other records point to this policy as well: when one of the *Hôtel-Dieu*'s female patients was identified as potentially afflicted with the pox in 1676, for example, she was sent

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<sup>246</sup> Siena's self-defined purpose for his book is to challenge the notion of stigmatized treatment of the poor. He asserts that though the "experience" of the disease was mediated by economic situation, the poor were not considered any more sinful than the wealthy, and were admitted into hospitals. Siena, *Venereal Disease, Hospitals and the Urban Poor*, 6.

<sup>247</sup> Fabre explains that *Hôtel-Dieu*'s directors refused venereal patients primarily because the pox was considered incurable and also fatal. Fabre, 294-297.

<sup>248</sup> Fabre, 294, also AD des BR 6.HD.E5.

away for treatment in order to prevent contagion.<sup>249</sup> Similarly, in 1678 a woman carrying the pox was sent to the neighbouring village of Aubagne for “fast and efficacious treatment.”<sup>250</sup> The option of private care was likely a luxury that only a few patients could afford, however, leaving poor patients excluded from medical facilities and socially marginalized.

The *Hôtel-Dieu*'s policy of refusal likely reflected a lack of medical knowledge, paranoia, and fear of contagion. One hospital accepted patients suspected of carrying the pox, however. This was the *Refuge* poor asylum for loose women. According to records, it appears the *Refuge* welcomed and treated patients inflicted with *mal venerien* (*vérole*) as early as 1659 when it opened.<sup>251</sup> The asylum's status as the sole hospital for venereal patients in the city suggests that the civic authorities employed discriminatory rather than fully prohibitive measures towards venereal patients. In choosing the *Refuge* as the city's only pox hospital, the magistrates clearly conveyed their presumption that the pox was chiefly a women's disease. No other hospital (including the *Hôtel-Dieu*) mentions male patients diagnosed with *vérole*, even though we know from Siena that men did, indeed, contract the disease. Similarly, the *Hôtel-Dieu*'s explicitly worded decision to “no longer

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<sup>249</sup> A record from 1676 confirms the exclusion of venereal (female) patients on grounds of their contagiousness: “qu'il y a une femme malade dans l'hôpital qu'on croit être atteinte du mal venerien, et comme c'est une maladie qui se communique et qu'elle nourrit mesmes une enfant d'une autre femme malade qu'elle peut infecter du même mal il seroit dans la faire mieux visiter par les médecins et chirurgiens et en cas qu'elle se trouvent atteinte de cette maladie de la congédier ou bien la faire traiter séparément des autres malades, sur quoi le bureau a prie m. le semainier de prendre ce soin et d'en disposer comme il trouvera bon. ” AD des BR 6.HD.E6.

<sup>250</sup> AD des BR.6 HD.E6.

<sup>251</sup> Multiple notes from the *Refuge* archive confirm that the women were treated in-house. On 11 May 1664, we learn that it was the hospital's apothecary, M. Mourier, who was charged with treating women inflicted with the pox. AD des BR 8.HD.E1.

admit women with venereal disease,”<sup>252</sup> affirms a gendered understanding of the pox in Marseilles. The *Refuge* was a fitting venue for treatment – a female institution targeting a female disease. But its role as the exclusive pox hospital was still more meaningful. By reducing the availability of treatment to the *Refuge*, the authorities implied that it was a disease of prostitutes. In other words, only after declaring themselves prostitutes – accepting the need for moral reform – could women receive medical care.<sup>253</sup>

It could be argued that the acceptance of poxed patients in the *Refuge* was a form of gendered advantage for women, leaving men simply untreated. Understood in the context of contemporary medical opinion, however, it is clear that this policy was rooted in a fundamentally derogatory gendered view of venereal disease. Early modern medical practitioners, physicians, and venerologists generally agreed about the connections between female physiology and their propensity for disease transmission. Humoral theory dictated that women were moist and warm, which conditions were favorable both for contamination and spread of venereal disease in the body.<sup>254</sup> Infection was believed to enter through the pores of the skin, absorbed directly into the bloodstream, and travelling from the outside into the body’s interior.<sup>255</sup> The women’s womb was an especially

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<sup>252</sup> “Délibération qui défend de ne point recevoir des femmes qui ont du mal vénérien.” AD des BR 6.HD.E6.

<sup>253</sup> Fabre, 300. In the *Refuge* records, diagnoses of “*mal venerien*” figure frequently. AD des BR 8.HD.E1/ F6.

<sup>254</sup> Kevin Siena, “Pollution, Promiscuity, and the Pox: English Venereology and the Early Modern Medical Discourse on Social and Sexual Danger,” in *The Journal of the History of Sexuality*, Vol. 8, No. 4 (April 1998) 563.

<sup>255</sup> Historian Lisa Smith adds that early modern patients and physicians thought of their humoral bodies as constantly in motion, accordingly perceiving infection to be on the “outside” finding its way in.

suitable site for infection to flourish, and was thought to be a ‘cause’ of the disease.<sup>256</sup>

This humoral theory-based interpretation of the pox was popular across Europe, not least in France. Louis XIV’s personal physician, Monseigneur de Blegny, was instrumental in influencing medical opinion of the day through his treatise, *New and Curious Observations on the art of curing the venereal disease and the accidents it produces* (1674). The text was translated into English two years later, becoming the standard literature for understanding and treating the pox.

In the context of our discussion of poor female venereal patients in Marseilles, the importance of Blegny’s treatise is multifold. Firstly, it confirms that French physicians subscribed to a gendered view of the disease, such that we see practiced in Marseilles. Secondly, given the work’s authorship, popularity and scientific detail, it represents an important reference point of contemporary standard of medical knowledge – at least in the capitals of Europe (Paris and London). The thoroughness and dense content of this work apparently did not translate into practice in the peripheral Marseilles, however, where diagnosis, prognosis, and treatment were riddled with imprecision and ambiguity. The two ways in which the *Treatise* relates to the situation in Marseilles are therefore puzzling: on the one hand, Marseilles’ authorities failed to meet the medical standards of

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See Lisa Wynne Smith, “‘An Account of an Unaccountable Distemper:’ The Experience of Pain in Early Eighteenth-Century England and France,” in *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, Vol. 41, No. 4 (2008) 459-480.

<sup>256</sup> “I shall consider but only two causes of the pox...that of its generation, which consists in the mixture and corruption of the seeds of divers persons, received and retained in the fame womb; and that of its communication, which consists in the contact of impure persons.” Monseigneur de Blegny, *chirurgien in ordinary to the French Queen, New and Curious Observations on the art of curing the venereal Disease and the accidents that it produces in all its degrees, explicated by natural and mechanical principles, with the motions, actions and effects of mercury and its other remedies* (London, 1676; French edition 1674) 11

the day described by Blegny; on the other, they evidently agreed with the author that the pox was “the mark as well as the fruit of debauchery and lubricity...contagious distemper... received and contained in the wombs of publick women.”<sup>257</sup> These discrepancies point to a highly selective use of medical knowledge by the *Marseillais* elites. This reflected their reformatory rather than medical agendas. Diagnostic practice and treatment were therefore based on a gendered understanding of the disease rather than on the contemporary standard of medical objectivity, as the following comparison between Blegny’s theory and the practices in Marseilles reveal.

A crucial point of departure between Blegny and the physicians of Marseilles concerns the definition of the disease itself. Though Blegny describes the discrete stages of venereal disease, including syphilis, the pox and gonorrhoea, Marseilles’ medical authorities make little distinction between the terms.<sup>258</sup> Instead, they used the terms *mal venerien*, *vérole*, and sometimes *syphilis* as generic labels when discussing any given stage of the disease. The frequency with which the classification *vérole* appears quite possibly indicates a misdiagnosis. This lack of diagnostic expertise further influenced treatment. While Blegny details the most appropriate therapies for each stage of the

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<sup>257</sup> Blegny, 2-3.

<sup>258</sup> Blegny explains that a stage with specific symptoms (skin lesions, pains, or discharge) could be called “particular pox,” but would still be essentially a version of the “universal pox,” which the author calls syphilis. The “pox,” then, was a point in the disease’s progression that was manifested in chickenpox-like symptoms, though the author concedes that the word “pox” was used interchangeably with syphilis, and perhaps more frequently. In fact, he admits that some symptoms may completely disappear while new ones appear; this might explain why in Marseilles some cases seemed to have hope for cure while others were declared “incurable” without further explication of the particular diagnosis. Blegny, 24-29.



disease and highlights the use of mercury in particular,<sup>259</sup> the *Marseillais* physicians instead propose hot baths and herbal ointments.<sup>260</sup> Topical cures of external symptoms such as fistulas and sores generally belonged to the early and mid-sixteenth century. This means that the medical authorities in Marseilles relied on outdated procedures.<sup>261</sup> Finally, prognosis was similarly confused in Marseilles: Blegny recommends treatments and therefore presupposes recovery, but historian Fabre speaks of the tremendous fatality of the pox in Marseilles.<sup>262</sup> He also suggests that some of Marseilles' venereal patients were sent for treatment and declared cured within days, yet others were immediately labelled as incurable.

This arbitrary diagnostic practice and treatment in Marseilles points to an unsophisticated understanding of the disease. Fabre judges the medical practices in Marseilles to be “full of uncertainty, trial and error, credulity and ignorance.”<sup>263</sup> His negative assessment is supported by the general lack of physicians in the city: with the exception of *l'Hôtel-Dieu*, Marseilles' asylums had no staff physicians or even barbers at this time. Instead, they relied on the rare, shared visits by the city's four acting

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<sup>259</sup> Fabre does not mention mercury or herbal potions as treatments of choice for *vérole* in Marseilles. He does, however, document a case where a patient was subjected to mercurial treatment but died within half an hour of application. Though it is true that mercury caused untoward effects in all patients, in Marseilles its utility was quite likely unrecognized, pressing for milder but ineffective alternatives.

<sup>260</sup> Fabre, 98.

<sup>261</sup> Nicholas Terpstra explains that early sixteenth-century Italian medical authorities shared the widely popular Galenic approach to the treatment of the pox. Relying on the humoral theory, physicians in Italy and elsewhere believed that individual sores, buboes, and fistulas can be treated individually, thus re-establishing a balance of the four humours in the body. Nicholas Terpstra, *Lost Girls: Sex and Death in Renaissance Florence* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010) 151-157.

<sup>262</sup> Fabre, 297.

<sup>263</sup> Fabre, 306.

physicians. The *Refuge* itself – though a designated pox hospital – used the services of an on-site infirmary rather than a physician or a barber. Financial constraints perhaps contributed to the generally low level of medical know-how in the city. The elites' priority was with civic order and the elimination of female poverty and that likely perpetuated the medical backwardness. In order to meet their goal, the *Refuge* rectors were inclined to let gender assumptions dictate diagnosis. Fabre explains that “often venereal buboes were confused with the plague,”<sup>264</sup> which suggests that any illness manifested through skin lesions could be falsely diagnosed as venereal disease. Such a diagnosis indeed was convenient in female patients already suspected of promiscuity.

Marseilles emerges as a medically underdeveloped periphery compared to Siena's contemporary London and Blegny's Paris. It instead resembles European capitals in the early sixteenth century – a time when venereal disease was poorly understood and often misdiagnosed. Nicholas Terpstra points out, however, that even then the approach to girls afflicted with the mysterious venereal disease was sympathetic. He explains that the women who ran the Florentine *Casa della Pietà* for girls “admitted [teenage girls] quickly and discreetly,”<sup>265</sup> while sending older patients (male and female) to the *Trinità degli Incurabili* hospital for poor incurable patients.<sup>266</sup> The contrasting example from Renaissance Florence suggests that a gendered and derogatory treatment was not the inevitable consequence of locals lacking medical acumen. In seventeenth-century

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<sup>264</sup> “On prenait souven des bubons veneriens pour des bubons pestilentiels.” Fabre, 306.

<sup>265</sup> Terpstra, *Lost Girls*, 168.

<sup>266</sup> Terpstra, *Lost Girls*, 154.

Marseilles, however, we discern an inadequate medical expertise coupled with anxiety about poor female venereal patients. Such an attitude reflected the civic elite's agenda to target sin, poverty and allegedly unruly women.

As a final point of discussion it is worth exploring the conceptual relationship between sin and disease and the potent symbolism it carried in seventeenth-century Catholic Europe. Among others, Kevin Siena explains that the clear demarcation of the 'healthy' and the 'diseased' drew on the notion of symbolic contagiousness that linked sexual and social dangers together, "employ[ing] the fear of the one to augment the fear of the other."<sup>267</sup> In sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England, for example, the symbolism of venereal disease was used to preserve social order, namely by conflating Catholic 'popery' with syphilis. By relating venereal disease to 'dangerous' sites such as alehouses, explains Siena, English puritans were able to construct the disease as socially disruptive. They animated fears and generated hatred between the Catholics and the Protestants. The *Marseillais* civic authorities, who had representatives in the *Refuge* bureau, understood 'venereal disease' even more literally. They identified with the disease those they wished to reform: poor, lone women whom they presumed to be sexually unrestrained.

The supposed debauchery of poor single women was the target of the reformers, but it was their medical diagnosis (if not their behaviour) that often brought these women before the authorities and into the asylum. In a sense the councillors *expected* the

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<sup>267</sup> Siena, "Pollution, Promiscuity, and the Pox," 554.

impoverished lone female to be afflicted with the pox. Her diagnosis gave the civic authorities the final justification to condemn her. Having explored the ideas and circumstances that brought many poor married and single women into the *Refuge*, we now turn to the asylum's operations. Its reformatory, rather than punitive, intent was reflective of the magistrates' greater purpose: to eliminate disorder, sin, and disease, and in doing so create moral women worthy of the men's virtuous polity.

### ***I. l'Hôpital du Refuge***

The *Refuge* asylum, also called *Hôpital de St. Joseph* (patron saint of 'lost causes'), was established in 1640,<sup>268</sup> and officially commenced operations in 1659. It was "intended for prostitutes, women condemned by local justice who desire to retire there to avoid temptation and embrace a holy life."<sup>269</sup> The total number of women in the *Refuge* fluctuated, as did the length of their stay. While documents from 1668 state that seventy women occupied the asylum, Cattelona has calculated the average to be slightly lower. In the 1660s she estimates twenty-two women, followed by doubling of the population to forty six a decade later, dropping to twenty-six in 1680, and finally reaching hundred and

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<sup>268</sup> In 1647 the hospital acquired a new house in the Panier section, and in 1690 an "*Entrepôt*" for pregnant women was added. Riani, 5.

<sup>269</sup> "Destiné pour y recevoir les femmes prostituées condamnées par justice et les femmes pénitents qui désirent ce s'y enfermer pour ce tirer des occasions et embraser la voye du salut..."AD des BR 8.HD.E8 (undated, probably 1665).

twenty-four in 1690.<sup>270</sup> The high numbers of the 1680s and 1690s called for an expansion of the premises, which began in 1688 and continued into the 1690s.<sup>271</sup>

The institution admitted two categories of women, *volontiers* (voluntary arrivals previously destined for the *Maison des filles repanties*) and *condamnées* (condemned by justice as prostitutes). The latter constituted the more numerous group.<sup>272</sup> That the *volontiers* and condemned prostitutes shared the hospice was intentional. The process of moral reform was essentially fluid: we shall see that condemned women could aspire to the monastic life, while women who entered voluntarily could lose their veil if they deviated from prescribed notions of propriety. The women who arrived voluntarily were therefore important models for those brought by justice. Regardless of their means of arrival, all women were required to declare their “own free will” to enter the institution. The women’s statement of their ‘own free will’ could be simply a symbolic recognition of a newfound love for God and commitment to penitence, but there were likely other reasons as well. The mandatory declaration of ‘free will’ to enter suggests that many women found themselves in the *Refuge* by force and perhaps unjustly. It seems the asylum’s directors hoped to conceal the coercive nature of their reformatory establishment, and to enclose women even with limited evidence. In short, even a cursory glance reveals that the *Refuge* did, indeed, resemble a female prison in many ways.

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<sup>270</sup> Cattelona, 219 Appendix: table 3.1: “estimated ten-year census of the inmate population of the *Refuge*.”

<sup>271</sup> Cattelona, 187 and AD des BR 8.HD.E2 (7 June 1688).

<sup>272</sup> AD des BR (Aix) 29.HD.A3.

Even as the *Refuge* employed tactics of incarceration, however, it was primarily a ‘charitable asylum’ – a feature underplayed by both Cattelona and Riani who have focused on the asylum’s penal aspect. The institution’s charitable character bears much significance in our study, however, chiefly because the principle of charity (assistance to the poor) encapsulated social control through moral reform. In other words, contemporary notions of charity and of corrective discipline were complementary as we shall see, not mutually exclusive. To be sure, the asylum’s definition of ‘charity’ was complex. The founding charter sheds some light on the hospice’s intended favourable effect: “such a good enterprise...[is] a retreat from vice, a sanctuary promoting public peace and the glory of God.”<sup>273</sup> It appears that the asylum benefited the community while saving the women’s souls. This apparent win-win situation hides a more complex reality, however. Careful study reveals that while the women were targeted as the *recipients* of charity (shelter and moral education), the real *beneficiary* was the community hoping to shed disruptive elements. Ultimately, the end of orderliness justified the means of forced confinement. This goal is immediately evident in the *Refuge*’s status as the sole charitable female asylum in Marseilles.

The *Refuge* was the only female poor relief institution, which confirms that poverty and female unruliness were conflated concepts. Communal order rather than alleviating women’s poverty was the intended objective of the benefactors. When we look at other contexts, we see that such a criminalizing approach to female poverty was far

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<sup>273</sup> AD des BR 8.HD.A1 (1640).

from inevitable. Early modern Italy, for example, offered a vast range of female poor relief institutions, which answered to the women's needs rather than the agendas of the civic council. Sherrill Cohen has shown that prostitutes could seek refuge in the Franciscan nunnery of *Santa Maria Maddalena* and the *Monastero delle Convertite* administered by a lay confraternity, while battered women and young girls who ran away from home found hospitality in the *Casa delle Malmaritate*.<sup>274</sup> It seems in Italy women's poverty was carefully disconnected from problems of sexual promiscuity, allowing for women's victimhood rather than automatic culpability. Contrary to the cases cited by Cohen, the *Maison des filles repenties* in Marseilles – a hospice akin to the Italian *Santa Maria Maddalena* – was short-lived. It fell out of use a decade after its establishment in 1630, when the *Refuge* absorbed it.<sup>275</sup> As of 1640, the *Refuge* was the only charitable asylum available to solitary women regardless of their background. It applied charitable principles to punitive and reformatory objectives. The *Marseillais* authorities eventually abolished all forms of legal prostitution,<sup>276</sup> and in doing so effectively sharpened the boundaries between respectable and disreputable women. The goal was to reform the local female population, which is also evident when we compare the charitable benefactors in Marseilles and in Italy.

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<sup>274</sup> Sherrill Cohen, *The Evolution of Women's Asylums since 1500. From Refuges for Ex-Prostitutes to Shelters for Battered Women* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 13-37. For more on Italy, see Cavallo, *Charity and Power* (1995).

<sup>275</sup> The archival records of the *Maison des Filles Repenties* are small and only include documents from the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Even though the house did not cease to function, the internal records from the *Refuge* show recurrent references to “femmes/filles repenties” which suggests that the two institutions increasingly cooperated and that the *Maison's* prominence declined as the *Refuge* grew in popularity. Riani confirms the eventual dissolving of the *St. Madeleine Maison des Filles Repenties*.

<sup>276</sup> Mireur, 42.

In Cohen's Italy they were the monastic orders and confraternities (many female groups) who cared for poor and otherwise marginalized women. In Marseilles, on the other hand, the magistrates also often served as rectors at the *Refuge*. They were directly influenced by the *dévo*t spirituality, which meant that civic order and poor relief were considered mutually formative goals achievable in a single institution. In short, the civic council and the community whose integrity and honour they sought to protect were the ultimate beneficiaries rather than the women. Their goal was to shape a public identity by removing and rehabilitating citizens who were considered threatening to collective virtue.

The high level of popular involvement in the sentencing of women to the *Refuge* also suggests that this form of poor relief represented a communal assault on sin rather than an attempt to remedy the women's material needs. The civic councillors and *Refuge* rectors depended on the community's active assistance in carrying out the arrest of a suspected prostitute for several reasons. First, from a legal point of view the woman's disruptiveness had to be determined through witness accounts. Moreover, in order to accuse a disruptive woman and punish her in court, she had to be proven a 'public prostitute.' French law (deriving from Roman law as mentioned) distinguished between two types of fornication: sexual relations between "honest unmarried persons" and those involving unmarried "debauched impure persons."<sup>277</sup> Though evidently subjective, such a

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<sup>277</sup> "La fornication...se divise en fornication simple, qui se commet avec des personnes libres, mais débauchées...et en fornication qui se commet avec des personnes libres et d'honnête condition." Montrevault, président du Parlement, *Traité des matières criminelles suivant l'ordonnance du mois d'août 1670, et les édits, déclarations du Roi, Arrêts et Règlements intervenus jusqu'à présent* (Paris : Chez Theodore Le Gras, 1768) 11.



classification was extremely important. While fornication in general was “neither endorsed nor punished,” in cases where the woman was considered a debauched person and her behaviour was publically disruptive, she became the culprit and was punished by law as a *prostituée publique* (a common prostitute).<sup>278</sup> In cases of adultery, the same emphasis on the public display of debauchery carried even more potency. If the sexual impropriety involved a married woman, the male perpetrator was held accountable and severely punished, because his actions had caused an injury to the woman’s husband’s honour and to that of his descendants. The only way to circumvent such consequences for the accused man was by proving that the woman (married or not) was, once again, a public prostitute. The man’s responsibility for the adultery was then dissolved, and the woman was condemned in the same way as in cases of fornication.<sup>279</sup> In short, disruptiveness, scandal, and the public exposure of such “crimes against chastity”<sup>280</sup> were the key factors classifying both fornication and adultery as prostitution, consequently bringing criminal charges solely on the woman.

Available witness accounts abound with claims of disruptions, noises, and disturbances of public peace for this very reason. They reveal that the language of accusation mirrored the provisions of French law as well as the king’s hopes for “tranquility and public peace.” In many cases the initial report of a *scandale*, or *débauche*

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<sup>278</sup> “Il n’y a point de peine judiciaire contre ce crime... nous suivons en ce point, non pas pour autoriser ces crimes, mais en les tolérant, & en laissant la vengeance a Dieu ; sauf a sévir par nos Loix du Royaume contre les scandales & prostitutions publiques...” Montrevault, 12.

<sup>279</sup> Montrevault, 12.

<sup>280</sup> The contemporary term was *luxure*, collectively referring to all sexual crimes against chastity. Montrevault, 11.

came from the woman's close relations including landlords, neighbours, and even family members.<sup>281</sup> Their complaints were summarized in a *dénonce* – a formal document enumerating the woman's transgressions, which effectively served as supporting evidence for her condemnation.<sup>282</sup> Based on surviving *dénonces* from the police archive, it appears that the citizens were most offended by displays of immoral behaviour in the public domain such as the street or the general neighbourhood. For example, they frequently claimed that a woman ran a *bordel publique* – a judgment based on the large numbers of strange men frequenting her apartment. In April of 1686, for instance, several residents reported their neighbour, Jeanette Rigaud, to the *échevins* on charges of “a great scandal all over the neighbourhood.” Claiming constant commotion of “men and women of debauched behaviour and questionable morals in her apartment causing nightly disturbances,”<sup>283</sup> they successfully brought Rigaud to the *Refuge*.

Some accounts speak of public solicitations to visit alleged brothels; noises in the street, gunshots, stones hurled at windows, and even assaults by disenchanted customers were also cited as evidence of prostitution.<sup>284</sup> Finally, the witnesses often insisted on the irregularity of the woman's lifestyle, highlighting her failure to conform to the decorum

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<sup>281</sup> AD des BR 8.HD.F6/ AMM FF 227/ AMM.FF 230.

<sup>282</sup> The *dénonce* documents likely offer only a limited snapshot of the accusation process. They are the condensed accounts of each individual case, presumably summaries of the *process verbaux*; they emphasize witness and plaintiff charges in particular. As such, they obscure the steps taken, and simply conclude that a woman was “condemned by justice.” It thus cannot be ruled out that more detailed accounts—perhaps with more literary than testimonial evidence, or transcriptions of the possible “confrontations” at some point existed. Nonetheless, it is equally plausible that Marseilles' municipal justice simply carried out the interrogation and judgment based solely on the neighbors' charges and without the accused woman's self-defense.

<sup>283</sup> AMM.FF 227.

<sup>284</sup> AD des BR 8.HD. F6.

of Catholic orthodoxy. Blasphemy, theft, suspect relationships with soldiers, sailors or with *forçats*, *turcs*, or *Gavottes*, the woman's sporadic attendance at mass, illegitimate children, and attempts at abortions were disorders associated with prostitution and marks of sinful un-Catholic behaviour. In some cases, the Catholicity of the reported person was directly put in question: whether a woman expressed Huguenot sympathies or was a recent convert from Islam, she was clearly noted as such. Isabeau Turque "de nation," meaning "from the nation of Turkey," was explicitly identified as "recently converted and baptized in Marseilles."<sup>285</sup> We can assume that such preconceived notions about women of non-Catholic backgrounds brought additional scrutiny to the wives of galley *forçats* who were mostly Protestants after 1685.

The community shared the magistrates' objective to secure public peace and communal moral integrity, but their collective interests were also contoured by private ones. The majority of witnesses evidently cared to show their disapproval, and to dissociate themselves from the accused woman's actions. Honourable women wished to ensure they were not confused with prostitutes, and honourable men did not want to be caught soliciting prostitution.<sup>286</sup> Gasein, whose story introduced the chapter, was evidently keen to shed his fatherly responsibilities and to avoid a problematic reputation as the father of a bastard child. Other types of honour conflicts stemmed from jealousies including sexual rivalries between mistresses, financial creditors, or mother-daughter

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<sup>285</sup> AD des BR 8.F6 "Dénonce contre Isabeau Turque de nation qui a été convertie à Marseille et tenue sur les fonds baptisimeaux" (15 June, 1696).

<sup>286</sup> Riani, 16.

resentments.<sup>287</sup> Levelling a charge of ‘scandalous life’ on a female nemesis often was a quick way of rectifying personal conflicts. This was likely because even little evidence sufficed for indictment and arrest. Some testimonies detailed the woman’s transgressions, but others were quite vague and limited to the generic accusation of *mauvaise vie* or *débauche* – both ill-defined and potentially all-encompassing terms. The *échevins* and the public were driven by preconceived notions about the poor women’s morality and by a desire to remove them from public space when they laid imprecise charges on them.

It is significant that the legal practices were somewhat skewed in Marseilles – aiding in a woman’s swift accusation and condemnation. A comparison between the case of Marseilles and the *Traité des matières criminelles* published by the Parlement of Paris helps us understand early modern criminal procedures regarding prostitution in France. In many respects the *Marseillais* authorities echoed those of Paris: for example the defendant was automatically presumed guilty,<sup>288</sup> thoroughly interrogated, and imprisoned throughout the investigation.<sup>289</sup> In other respects the *échevins* of Marseilles clearly departed from French law, however, adapting the legal practices to their goals.<sup>290</sup>

First of all, the *Traité* explains that the accused has the right to a so-called “confrontation” with the witnesses after the initial interrogation – an opportunity to react

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<sup>287</sup> Riani, 16.

<sup>288</sup> Mireur, 61. Mireur understates the fact that automatic culpability was the case for all crimes, not only prostitution.

<sup>289</sup> Montrevault, 250-259.

<sup>290</sup> As a *pays de droit écrit*, Marseilles followed more faithfully Roman Law than did northern regions, as we have seen in the case of property law. It is possible that its adherence to Roman Law shaped local practices in regards to prostitutes as well.

to the charges against her in order to “attain the truth.”<sup>291</sup> In Marseilles, however, the *dénonces* give no indication that such verification ever took place. Instead, the defendant was asked leading questions about pregnancies, venereal disease, source of livelihood and married status. Such queries reflected the councillors’ desire to reform morally impoverished and therefore suspicious women.<sup>292</sup> Secondly, the *Marseillais* authorities did not comply with the procedures implemented in Paris when collecting evidence. Montrevault’s *Traité* features an extensive list of individuals who cannot testify for or against the defendant, including family members, husbands, wives, friends, enemies and household personnel.<sup>293</sup> In the *dénonces* from Marseilles, however, these relations figure frequently as witnesses and accusers, along with landlords, neighbours, and employers. In cases where a witness was unavailable or the accused woman was not a native *Marseillaise*, the bishop issued a *certificat de mauvaises moeurs*, a “certificate of poor morals,” which served as supporting evidence of the woman’s culpability.<sup>294</sup> Most significantly, there is a glaring discrepancy as to what constitutes a valid proof. Montrevault explains that ‘testimonial’ proof may complement ‘literal or physical’ proof in crimes where the latter is unavailable, and must be based on truth and certainty.

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<sup>291</sup> Montrevault, 260.

<sup>292</sup> Riani also labels the bureau as “inquisitors,” and though her assessment based on eighteenth-century documents does not accurately reflect the practice in the seventeenth century, the same tendencies and questions can be discerned in seventeenth-century documents also. Riani, 5 and 14.

<sup>293</sup> Nicolas de Fréminville’s treatise parallels these provisions regarding witnesses who can and cannot testify. Nicolas de Fréminville, *De la procédure criminelle devant le jury, ou traité pratique de la présidence des cours d’assises* (Clermont-Ferrand : Imprimerie de Thibaud-Landriot Frères, 1855) 258-260. It also cross-references *témoin*, i.e., witness, with *denonciateur*, or plaintiff (830), suggesting that in Marseilles, the public were not only the witnesses but also the plaintiffs.

<sup>294</sup> Riani, 14.

“Noises, poor reputation of the accused, and other presumptions cannot serve as complete proof,” according to the *Traité*.<sup>295</sup> Yet these were virtually the only grounds based on which many *Marseillaises* women were condemned.

Based on the types of charges and the simplistic accusation process, it appears that a poor woman’s path to the *Refuge* was direct, swift, and pre-determined. Poverty and a single life cast her as a suspicious woman, and her behaviour was closely scrutinized by the community. Condemned women were sometimes given a choice between exile and sentence to the *Refuge*; they usually chose the former.<sup>296</sup> It is unclear how many accused women were in fact condemned. Based on the *Refuge* entry registries and available *dénonce* documents it seems the vast majority of those accused did, in the end, go to the *Refuge*.

Since poor and single women were marginalized economically, legally and had a limited claim to honour, charitable assistance was a fitting response in the community’s eyes. Moreover, since immorality was articulated as a danger and charity as a Christian duty, the civic leaders could harness popular support with relative ease. But even if public peace and communal self-preservation in the face of perceived immorality were the civic council’s primary goals, their promise to the women – the intended charity *recipients* – was still meaningful. After all, the *Refuge* rectors claimed to offer a “retreat and a sanctuary from vice,” suggesting the women’s shelter and protection with the implied hope of their eventual reconciliation to society. The intimate relationship between charity

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<sup>295</sup> Montrevault, 270.

<sup>296</sup> Riani, 5.

and moral reform driving the elites' campaign on sin was therefore fundamentally important to its success. Having examined the benefactors, the following section considers the beneficiaries: the women.

*c. The implementation of charity in the Refuge*

Having outlined the general benefit of the *Refuge* in the founding documents cited earlier, the rectors further defined the charitable nature of the *Refuge* on two levels. First of all, the charter stated that “the rectors and administrators will take care of the women charitably...,”<sup>297</sup> meaning that the financial resource came from external contributions but not the women (the rector-founders and the civic council primarily).<sup>298</sup> Secondly, and more significantly, the rectors emphasized charity's spiritual intent, that of a moral reform. Through religious instruction and asceticism, the women were to regain their honour and spiritual purity. They would then be reconciled with God and with the *Marseillais* community at large. The hospital's charitable assistance went beyond economic aid; it targeted what was considered to be the cause of poverty, which was the women's supposed immorality.

In order to do so, the directors established a relationship of dependency and control between the institution (the benefactor) and the women (the beneficiary) soon after the women's arrival. The *Règles pour les filles de la Maison du Refuge* from 1665 emphasized the women's guilt and the requirement of penance. It urged them to:

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<sup>297</sup> “Les recteurs et administrateurs en [of women] prennent soin charitablement.” AD des BR 8.HD.A1.

<sup>298</sup> The small number of families who wished to confine their own daughters or wives had to pay their pension.

realize they are stray sheep that the Lord, Jesus Christ, has taken great care to find, and has with great joy taken upon his shoulders the burden to admit them into the house as into his fold..., that they fulfill the hope of their betterment.<sup>299</sup>

The directors instilled gratitude into the inmates – gratitude which meant humility signifying the women’s recognition of sin and preparedness for moral reform. As an expression of obedience and gratitude, all the women were obligated to pray for the directors, founders and for God, and attended special masses in honour of deceased benefactors of the *Refuge*.<sup>300</sup> They were expected to understand their stay in the institution as a second chance of sorts, one made possible through Christ and under the guidance of the male directors of the asylum. As a token of their acceptance of this challenge, duty and commitment to change their ways, the women underwent an obligatory confession *de toute leur vie* (“of their entire life”) upon entry, and had their hair shaved “so they could rejoice and be freed from the Devil’s cords.”<sup>301</sup> Even so, the

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<sup>299</sup> “Que toutes les filles qui seront reçues en cette sainte maison reconnoissent la grâce que Dieu leur fait de les retirer du chemin de perdition pour ester mises en celui du paradis et quelles sont cette brebis égarée que le bon Pasteur, Jesus Christ, a cherché avec grand soin, a trouvé avec grande joye a rapport sur ces espauls avec grand peine, pour les mettre dans cette maison comme dans son bercail ou elles sont hors des prises du loup d’enfer et en de grandes espérances de leur salut.” AD des BR 8.E2.

<sup>300</sup> AD des BR (Aix) 29.HD.A3. The documents of Marseilles indicate a close correlation between Aix-en-Provence and Marseilles. Aix opened its *Refuge* in 1668 – previously it had been part of the local *Charité* est. 1640. The founding charter of Marseilles’ *Refuge* also indicates that Marseilles’ authorities intentionally followed the example of Aix: “l’exemple et imitation de la ville d’Aix qui depuis quelque temps ont établi en icelle une maison de Refuge.” AD des BR 8.HD.A1. The parallel developments in both cities justify this chapter’s reliance on sources from Aix archive that supplement Marseilles’ incomplete collection.

<sup>301</sup> “...les cordes par lesquelles les diable les tendit captives bien aise d’estre affrancies de sa tyrannie...” AD des BR (Aix) 29.HD.A3 and AD des BR 8.HD.E2 “Règles pour les filles de la maison du *Refuge*” (1665). James Farr also comments on the symbolism assigned to women’s hair: Farr, “The Pure and Disciplined Body,” 401-405.



women were not allowed to attend mass until the bureau decided they had expressed a sufficient degree of remorse and contrition.<sup>302</sup> Once they did, they were considered secular sisters. Dressed in grey robes fully covering their bodies, the ‘sisters’<sup>303</sup> went about their days of spiritual exercises and work.<sup>304</sup>

Daily life resembled that of a cloistered convent: hourly prayer, catechism, frequent confessions and thorough examinations of conscience filled the women’s days. Spiritual activities were interrupted only by work performed in silence – for example lace-making, spinning or kitchen-aid.<sup>305</sup> In contrast to children’s work programs meant to develop practical skills, the women’s work primarily had a punitive purpose.<sup>306</sup> The king himself specified that condemned prostitutes should spend “as much time as possible in the most painful tasks that their physical strength allows, in the manner that the directors find most appropriate.”<sup>307</sup> Long hours, physical exertion to the limit of one’s capacity, and an utter lack of freedom characterized women’s work programs. Such lifestyle was

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<sup>302</sup> AD des BR (Aix) 29.HD.A3.

<sup>303</sup> Archives suggest that the designation “soeur” was applied to all female inmates upon entry, regardless of whether they had achieved the status of a nun or a novice. For the purposes of this chapter, the term “secular sister” refers to women who were not hired nuns and came either as *volontiers* or as condemned prostitutes.

<sup>304</sup> AD des BR (Aix) 29.HD.A3.

<sup>305</sup> AD des BR (Aix) 29.HD.A3.

<sup>306</sup> Terpstra has shown that in Italy charitable houses for women offered them work in the silk-industry, for example. Nicholas Terpstra, “Working the Cocoon: Gendered Charitable Enclosures and the Silk Industry in Early Modern Europe,” (lecture, University of Toronto: *Marginality and Gender in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe workshop*, June 11, 2010). In Marseilles, however, the women’s contribution to the city’s economy through mandatory work was minimal. The economic purpose of the women’s work is not explicitly stated, and we can thus assume it was used towards the women’s keep.

<sup>307</sup> “...le plus longtemps et aux ouvrages les plus pénibles que leurs forces le pourront permettre, en la manière en laquelle les Directeurs qui en auront le soin particulier, le trouveront à propos.” AMM.FF 225 and AD des BR 8.HD.E2 “Lettres patentes” (1688).

meant to achieve their repentance and obedient state of mind. On some occasions, the rectors resorted to more vigorous corrective measures as well, however.

Records from the *Refuge* in Aix-en-Provence detail the preventative and punitive measures employed by the directors that help us appreciate the reformatory intent of female charity. The rectors distinguished between “light, serious, and most serious” deeds commanding punishment.<sup>308</sup> Punishable acts ranged from the disruption of obligatory silence and verbal blasphemy, to the instigation of revolt. The women who violated the house rules were required to repent their actions, often while in solitary confinement on bread and water only. In more serious cases the culpable inmate was imprisoned in the hospice’s *cachot* (a small cell equipped with chains),<sup>309</sup> and chastised with other undefined *peines corporelles* (“physical punishments”). Sometimes, the women’s insolence was also penalized by way of annulling the time already elapsed from the original sentence.<sup>310</sup> This was a powerful method of punishment: if the infraction occurred five years into a woman’s ten-year sentence, for instance, another five years was added at the time of the incident.

The rationale behind the directors’ punitive methods was rooted in their expectation of moral perfection. Impudent behaviours caused God’s displeasure, just as

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<sup>308</sup> AD des BR (Aix) 29.HD.A3.

<sup>309</sup> AD des BR (Aix) 29.HD.A3. Though in theory seventeenth-century institutions no longer relied on corporal punishment, the hospital rectors embraced the principle of the “punishability of the soul,” congruent with the Judaeo-Christian tradition that emphasized the sinful nature of humans. Riani, 8.

<sup>310</sup> AD des BR (Aix) 29.HD.A3.

“good order and peace pleased God.”<sup>311</sup> Disobedience meant an unacceptable form of deviance from the path of reform, but it was also a sign of great disrespect of the charity given. The women’s stay in the *Refuge* was understood as a chance to aspire to moral and behavioural correctness, thus reconciling with God. This chance was a privilege, however, which could be forfeited. Verbal blasphemy, disobedience, escape and finally revolt constituted mockery of the rectors’ charity, and were therefore highly punishable. In short, obedience was both the requirement and the goal of women’s charity, making charity the fundamental *modus operandi* of social control.

Even though the ultimate decision-making and disciplinary authority rested with the bureau, the task of behaviour management was entrusted to nuns (referred to as ‘*religieuses*’) who oversaw the women’s spiritual education, conduct and the proper observation of house rules. Initially the bureau hired women from the convent of *Bon Pasteur* in Aix. As Cattelona explains, however, the directors never drew the *Refuge* staff from any one religious order exclusively, and neither did they appoint women from within the inmate population. Instead, nuns were attracted from various convents in the area, ensuring “pure and virtuous” personnel.<sup>312</sup> Many of the hired *religieuses* were also secular women influenced by the *dévo*t spirituality. The *dévotes* began their work in the 1630s in Paris, joining Vincent de Paul’s charitable impulse to aid the poor by instructing

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<sup>311</sup> “C’est ainsi que le bon ordre étant gardé la paix dans la maison et Dieu en sera loué.” AD des BR (Aix) 29.HD.A3.

<sup>312</sup> Cattelona, 179-181.

them in spiritual matters. These female *dévotés* targeted specifically ‘fallen’<sup>313</sup> women. By the 1640s, however, the *dévotés* ceased to work independently, and many were forced to enter cloistered orders.<sup>314</sup> The fact that we find them in the *Refuge* in Marseilles by the mid-century affirms the authoritative hand of the male-dominated *Compagnie du Très-Saint-Sacrement* in Marseilles, under whose authority the *Refuge* operated. They created what Cattelona calls a “semi-religious order,” reflective of the reformatory zeal of the *dévot* rector.<sup>315</sup>

The mix of lay and religious personnel – nuns and novices hired alongside the secular *dévotés* – was only one of the features that made the *Refuge* distinct from charitable convents found in Italy,<sup>316</sup> and from “modern prisons” as suggested by Cattelona.<sup>317</sup> Neither a convent nor a fully laicized institution, the *Refuge* embraced primarily a civic understanding of charity: the asylum helped to combat spiritual pollution and female debauchery in the community. Because the women’s stay entailed a moral transformation that eventually resulted in their rejoining the *Marseillaise* community of respectable citizens, their progress throughout this journey to spiritual perfection was measured in tactile ways. Specifically, condemned women were given the opportunity to aspire to the status of a novice or even a nun, fulfilling the steps towards spiritual

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<sup>313</sup> Cattelona, 181.

<sup>314</sup> Rapley, 74-94.

<sup>315</sup> Cattelona, 182.

<sup>316</sup> Terpstra, *Lost Girls*, and his lecture, “Working the Cocoon: Gendered Charitable Enclosures and the Silk Industry in Early Modern Europe,” (lecture, University of Toronto: *Marginality and Gender in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe workshop*, June 11, 2010).

<sup>317</sup> Cattelona, 53.

perfection. The following explores how the *Refuge* rectors envisioned female reform in practice.

In addition to condemned prostitutes and the hired nuns who oversaw the condemned women's conduct and instruction, two other groups of women shared the asylum: a small number of under-aged girls sent by their parents to improve their youthful wayward ways,<sup>318</sup> and repentant ex-prostitutes who came voluntarily to lead a life of contrition for their previously libertine lives – the previously mentioned *volontiers*. The *volontiers* seem to be unrecognized by Cattelona, mistakenly grouped with the hired staff of nuns as *religieuses*.<sup>319</sup> Though many *volontiers* came as novices from other convents, they were nevertheless a distinct group of inmates in the *Refuge*, “penitent women desiring to enclose themselves within the hospice to retire from temptation and sin...to do penance for their past pompous lifestyle and to embrace a path of salvation.”<sup>320</sup> Some entered the ranks of the hired staff; others simply joined the general population of repentant sisters, and most eventually took the white novice veil. These women were also explicitly removed from the judicial system. Instead the bishop or the vicar-general

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<sup>318</sup> Parents were able to bring their daughter either as a “repentant” voluntary sister intending to lead a virtuous life, or they could commit her if they felt she had been a prostitute.

<sup>319</sup> Cattelona distinguishes between “religious” and “secular” women, associating the label *religieuse* only with the hired staff. Since all inmates were in fact able to follow a path from secular status to a veiled nun as part of their moral betterment, however, the label *religieuse* can equally refer to the reformed prostitutes. As a result, Cattelona presumes the *volontiers* to be religious personnel, when in fact they were repentant women who came of their own accord and often remained secular sisters.

<sup>320</sup> “Femmes pénitents qui dezirent ce s’y enfermer pour se tirer des occasions du péché...faire pénitence de leur vie pompée et embraser la voye du salut.” AD des BR (Aix) 29.HD.A3 and AD des BR 8.HD.E8.

oversaw their admittance.<sup>321</sup> Their stay varied in length, and was generally much shorter than the period spent by the sentenced women: the typical commitment was between two and three years, after which time the women could decide to stay or leave.<sup>322</sup>

The *volontiers* embodied humility and internal commitment to penitence. Most importantly, they fulfilled an important function as role-models, living alongside the sentenced prostitutes who frequently resented their stay. Benedicta Ward illuminates the contemporary meaning of conversion as a shared learning experience. She explains that Augustine's "supreme example of dramatic conversion...was not something experienced in isolation....When anyone discovers the healing fountains of conversion, it is in some way through the gift of other people....At each stage this sudden, life-giving, unlooked-for apprehension of God is communicated to others." The *Refuge* directors adopted a similar approach to example-based conversion, where "the actual sight of penitents or the story told about them presents the truth about repentance."<sup>323</sup> For this reason, the relationship between the *volontiers* and those who came via the channels of justice was characterized by both closeness and careful separation.

The repentant *volontiers* were visually distinguished from the others with white novice veils as a sign of their penitence and virtuous intentions. They also seem to have enjoyed kinder treatment and a less vigilant disciplinary attitude from the mother

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<sup>321</sup> AD des BR 8.HD.E8.

<sup>322</sup> In some instances they left earlier – for example Gabrielle Montagne was condemned in 1686 for twenty years but left in 1696 because she "finished her sentence," reads the bureau notice. AD des BR 8.HD.F3.

<sup>323</sup> Benedicta Ward, *Harlots of the Desert: a study of repentance in early monastic sources* (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications Inc., 1987) 2-3 and 7-8.

superior. The condemned women were forbidden to speak to the *volontiers*, perhaps a sign of their discrete standing.<sup>324</sup> The clear articulation of the two different states and privileges of each group arguably stemmed from their relative moral merit: those who came of their own accord and already committed to a spiritual lifestyle enjoyed advantages that were denied to the sinful condemned women. But for the directors to harness the potency of their ‘example’ and encourage the other women, the separation of the groups could never be complete. Prayer, mealtimes, spiritual instruction, and other activities generally involved all women collectively. Most importantly, each woman’s relative standing in the institution was flexible as mentioned. Already at the time of admission the newly arriving woman’s status was recorded with some deliberate ambiguity. For example, Magdeleine Girarde was “received as a voluntary for two years on 25 February 1683, as per her declaration.”<sup>325</sup> Her ‘voluntary declaration of free will’ did not necessarily signal her as a *volontier*, however, for such a declaration was a mandatory requirement as explained previously. Indeed, we find her police *dénonce* document that confirms she was originally arrested for prostitution.<sup>326</sup> The apparent vagueness and confusion in records was not necessarily accidental – rather it is a testament to the non-permanent nature of each woman’s standing. Even the condemned prostitutes enjoyed the label *volontiers*, suggesting that the bureau did not consider their identity as prostitutes to be permanent.

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<sup>324</sup> AD des BR à Aix.29.HD.A3.

<sup>325</sup> “Reçue volontaire pour deux ans le 25 février 1685 comme a sa déclaration.” AD des BR 8.HD.F3.

<sup>326</sup> AD des BR 8.HD.F6.

The sentenced prostitutes and penitent women each stood at different points on the path to salvation, the former needing more spiritual repair than the latter. Nevertheless, the journey to perfection was a shared one. Once in the *Refuge*, women from either group could pursue the holy life of a nun, or at the very least become marriageable proper women. This transition from debauchery to voluntary penitence was achievable in the *Refuge*, and the promise of spiritual perfection epitomized its charitable offerings. It was a path from imperfection to perfection – from prostitute to a moral and obedient woman. To aid their quest for perfection, the women venerated influential role-models while in the institution, including St. Mary Magdalene, St. Mary of Egypt, and St. Pelagia.<sup>327</sup> They were former prostitutes who achieved absolution and spiritual perfection through sincere conversion and intense penance – a challenge the *Refuge* directors proposed to the *Marseillaises* prostitutes. Indeed, many women accepted that challenge, as the following discussion demonstrates. Incomplete records preclude the tracking of all admitted women – the lack of last names makes identification particularly difficult.<sup>328</sup> We also lose sight of many sentenced prostitutes due to the extreme length of their sentences, which spanned from a minimum of five years to ten, thirty, or a lifetime.<sup>329</sup> Many sisters likely died or left without leaving a record. Nevertheless, it appears that between 1672

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<sup>327</sup> AD des BR 8.HD.E2.

<sup>328</sup> The most comprehensive record of women's vows and declarations can be found in AD des BR 8.HD.F3 (1686–1711). Other documents regarding women's admissions are sporadically recorded in AD des BR 8.HD.F2 (1668–1677), AD des BR 8.HD.E1 (1659–1668), AD des BR 8.HD.E8 (1665–1680), with additional information regarding women's monastic vows in AD des BR 8.HD.E2 (1669–1695) and AD des BR 8.HD.F14 (1695–1700).

<sup>329</sup> This general pattern is evident in available entry logs, AD des BR 8.E1 (1659–1668), AD des BR 8.HD.E8 (1665–1680).



and 1698, at least thirty women took their novice vows, of which the vast majority were originally condemned prostitutes.<sup>330</sup> These women accepted the spiritual challenge to reform their ways as a form of taking charity at the *Refuge*.

The first example was Anne Rombaude, condemned for prostitution in 1697. She proceeded to take novice vows later on, though it is unclear when.<sup>331</sup> Another woman, Magdeleine Fillholle, was also a condemned prostitute. She entered the *Refuge* in 1672, and after she fulfilled her five-year sentence she left the hospice. In 1679 she returned, this time with a life sentence. At that point she entered the novitiate, but over twenty years later (1702) she ran away and never pursued the black veil of a nun.<sup>332</sup> The destiny of Anne Reguce was similarly tumultuous. From her *dénonce* document we learn that she was sent to the *Refuge* for prostitution, theft, and *vie scandaleuse* first in 1686. She apparently reformed her ways and became a novice. In 1690, however, Anne was stripped of her veil (*dévoilée*) for an unrecorded transgression, and died in the *Refuge* as a secular sister in 1694.<sup>333</sup>

These are but a few examples of condemned women who chose to become novices at some point of their stay. Some lost their zeal, and others lost their veil due to

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<sup>330</sup> While entry registers contained in the departmental archives account for dozens of women, these notations and *dénonces* from the police can be cross-referenced with only eight women: Madeleine Giraude, Anne Giraude, Marguerite Asziere, Anne Regousse, Marguerite Chaumette, Anne Rombaude, Catherine Arnaude and Gabrielle Montagne. Their “admission records” can be found in AD des BR 8.HD.F3 and their *dénonce* documents in AD des BR 8.HD.F6 or in AMM.FF 227 and 230.

<sup>331</sup> Anne Rombaude: condemned and admitted on June 30, 1697 for ten years, took veil in 1690; released in 1707 (AD des BR 8.HD.F3) her police *dénonces* in AD des BR 8.HD.F6.

<sup>332</sup> Magdeleine Filholle: condemned and admitted on 23 May, 1672, for three years and as of 1679 for life. She received the “white veil” in 1690, and ran away in 1702. AD des BR 8.HD.F3.

<sup>333</sup> Ane Regousse: *voile blanc* 1686; *dévoilée* (i.e., rid off her novice status) in 1690. AD des BR 8.HD.F3 with her *dénonce* in AD des BR 8.HD.F6.

misbehaviour. Nonetheless, the fact that they embarked upon a journey of spiritual renewal shows that the charitable imperative proposed by the bureau was somewhat successful in inspiring women to change their ways. Those who went a step further to pursue their *voile noir* (full nun status) were only a few. Unlike the novices these women were destined to lead a spiritual life in the *Refuge* as nuns. From the records available, we can chart the spiritual progression of four of them. These women represent striking examples of spiritual commitment, and illustrate the full potential and meaning of the rectors' charity.

The first, Dauphine Giraude, was condemned as a prostitute in 1687, sentenced to spend her life in the *Refuge*. Though exact dates are lacking, we learn that she turned her life-sentence into a religious vocation, taking not only the white but also the black veil several years into her sentence.<sup>334</sup> Isabeau Raffi, who was condemned in 1659, became a novice in 1686, and proceeded to become a veiled nun in the 1690s – a remarkable commitment of thirty years.<sup>335</sup> Finally, Marguerite Etienne and Françoise Guigue were both condemned for prostitution and received in the *Refuge* in 1663. We find them there still in the 1690s, having become nuns in the meantime.<sup>336</sup> The dedication of those women who entered the *Refuge* as condemned prostitutes but remained as religious sisters

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<sup>334</sup> Dauphine Girarde: condemned and admitted on 14 February, 1687, for life. She took the “black veil” and died in 1706. AD des BR 8.HD.F3.

<sup>335</sup> Isabeau Raffi: condemned and admitted on 12 October, 1659, for life. At some point she was transferred to Aix but later returned to Marseilles. She took the novice veil in 1686, and became a nun 1690. Died in 1710. AD des BR 8.HD.F3.

<sup>336</sup> Marguerite Etienne: condemned and admitted on 9 March 1663, for two years. She became a nun and died in 1713. Françoise Guigue: condemned and admitted on 27 August 1663 (at some point she transferred to Aix), became a nun and died in 1702. AD des BR 8.HD.F3.

is remarkable. It is plausible that it was the extreme length of their sentence that inspired them to turn their stay into an arguably more palatable one by becoming nuns. It is also possible that a sincere change of heart or a thorough consideration of their bleak options in the secular world convinced them to stay within the asylum walls. Regardless of their motives, these women represented the moral transformation that the asylum directors hoped for. The novices could presumably return to the community as marriageable moral women; a handful stayed as holy nuns. These were the two alternatives for successfully reformed women. Both fit within traditional gender roles, and were therefore an appropriate solution to the problem of women's sinfulness and unruliness.

Even though some women embraced a spiritual path to perfection at least for a period of time, many others (if not most) resented the pressure to do so. The majority of condemned women remained secular sisters and never took their vows; others orchestrated a revolt or attempted to escape. The year 1696 witnessed two major revolts in the months of October and December, during which at least thirteen women successfully ran away from the asylum. Steady rise in mutinous activity continued throughout the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, but decreased after 1735 when new and more secure buildings were constructed.<sup>337</sup> The high incidence of rebellions during this period may have reflected progressively less tolerable conditions, as

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<sup>337</sup> While the period between 1675 and 1699 saw the break-out of approximately forty women in total, during the preceding twenty-five years only thirteen women escaped (1650–1674). Even though it is important to account for a difference in population, which was twenty-two women (average) between 1650 and 1674, rising to an average of seventy-eight between 1675 and 1699, the ratio of escape still remains higher for the later period. Based on Cattelona's calculations, 221, Appendix table 3.6. Riani further elaborates on the cessation of escapes after 1735. Riani, 9.

suggested by Riani who likens the *Refuge* to a prison by the mid-eighteenth century.<sup>338</sup> It is just as likely that revolts were opportunistic. The 1696 revolt, for example, can probably be ascribed to the construction of the *Entrêpot* that was underway at the time. It seems women were able to leave through the courtyard and a passage created between several buildings.<sup>339</sup> Such a means of escape was undoubtedly easier than the variety of previously tried techniques described by Riani, including the sawing of bars on windows, burning of doors in order to create panic and smoke, piercing through roof-top panelling, bribing of the mother superior, or climbing down from windows on drapes.<sup>340</sup> While the majority successfully escaped through the construction-site in 1696, several eventually returned or were caught, and at least one woman lost her life when climbing over a wall.<sup>341</sup>

Most of those who participated in the revolt were women condemned by the courts for ten years or more; for them the structural expansion evidently represented a long-awaited chance to escape. Honnorade Martin, for example, was an escapee from the ranks of the condemned. She came to the *Refuge* in April of 1662, but in her thirty years

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<sup>338</sup> Riani, 10.

<sup>339</sup> The bureau minutes repeatedly refer to “new building” in the 1690s – this was likely a reference to the new “entrêpot” built in the 1690s. In 1694 the construction of a new “galère” was proposed – an enclosed passage connecting the buildings – it is possible the mass escape coincided with this second construction as well. AD des BR 8.HD.E3.

<sup>340</sup> Riani, 9.

<sup>341</sup> Meeting minutes read: “Michele Prauele a pris le voile blanc pour le 3<sup>e</sup> fois le 4 mai 1692. S'est évadée hors de la révolte des filles octobre 1696. Morte dans son entreprise s'estant précipitée dans la montée du nouveau bâtiment.” She allegedly fell from a wall of the newly constructed building, having taken her novice veil before. AD des BR 8.HD.F3.

there she never pursued a religious vocation. In 1696 she finally ran away.<sup>342</sup> Her long stay in the *Refuge* was probably full of resentment that finally culminated in her chance and risky return to the outside world. Even though the majority of mutinous women shared Honnorade's long-subdued anger, a handful of escapees came from the *volontiers* group – a curious course of action for women who entered the *Refuge* of their own accord. Anne Marie Pinatelle de Malte, for example, came in 1678 but ran away during the revolt in 1696.<sup>343</sup> A similarly puzzling fate was that of Anne Vanel. She was condemned for prostitution in 1688 for only two years, and in 1694 she became a novice committed to stay past her sentence. In 1696, however, she too broke out and ran away.<sup>344</sup> This mosaic of stories speaks to the women's differing reactions to the conditions and lifestyle in the *Refuge*. Some condemned women resented their fate, adamantly resisted becoming novices, and waited thirty years for a chance to escape. Others embraced their sentence and even became nuns. Yet another group of women came voluntarily with the intentions to do penance, but were disillusioned and in desperation ran away.

Despite the institution's charitable premise that promised salvation and social rehabilitation to those who showed remorse and committed to moral perfection, the *Refuge* was a site of social control. It absorbed most women who found themselves on the margins of society due to their poverty and single life. Whether pushed to prostitution or simply suspected of the practice, these women faced social scrutiny from the community

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<sup>342</sup> Honnorade Martin: her condemnation and revolt noted in AD des BR 8.HD.F3.

<sup>343</sup> Anne Pinatelle de Malt, AD des BR 8.HD.F3.

<sup>344</sup> Anne Vanel: two notices regarding her condemnation, novice-status and eventual escape. AD des BR 8.HD.F.

and the elites in particular. Next to widows, the only other category of females who escaped the vigilant eyes of the *Refuge* directors were girls of pre-marital age. Young girls who were essentially children did not yet personify the sins of poverty and sexual impurity the way their *Refuge*-bound counterparts did. The charity they found in the *Maison des filles de la providence* was protective and preventative in principle, rather than corrective. Still, their poverty and the inherent sinfulness of the female sex marked them as potentially threatening, which is why they were institutionalized. Ultimately, the *Maison* fulfilled the same role as the *Refuge*: it helped to maintain order and reinforce gender roles in seventeenth-century Marseilles.

## II. *La Maison des filles de la providence*

The *Maison des filles de la providence* of Marseilles (called *Oeuvre de la pureté* in Aix-en-Provence)<sup>345</sup> was established in 1680 as part of *l'Hôpital du bon rencontre* for orphaned children.<sup>346</sup> The founding documents exhibit heroic, self-serving language of the founders:

The house of Providence has been established to keep the innocent (black) sheep that we've pulled out of the wolf's maw, about to devour them. They are the poor blind who have no guide and hang on the precipice by two fingers – we have saved them

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<sup>345</sup> The *Oeuvre de la Pureté* in Aix-en-Provence was the sister institution of Marseilles' *Maison des Filles de la Providence*. Due to a lack of records in Marseilles, however, this analysis relies on archival documentation from the same establishment in Aix.

<sup>346</sup> For detailed discussion of the said hospice, see Chapter III, regarding children.

from this danger, and put them on the path of righteousness. The demon is ready to devour them with his rage and fury, but we shall shatter his scheme by bringing them up in virtue.<sup>347</sup>

The language is meaningful. It clearly conveys the innocence of the young girls – they are “the poor blind” with no guide, and supposedly need to be rescued. They are not accountable, unlike the sinful women of the *Refuge*. While innocent, however, the girls are nevertheless tainted. The directors compare them to “black sheep,” allude to the symbolic proximity to the wolf’s teeth, the demon, and the precipice of irreversible downfall. Using metaphorical language, the directors indicate that the girls are marginalized and face a great moral danger – danger of losing their childish innocence and sexual purity. The purpose of the institution was to protect this innocence, to prevent future sins, and to counteract the damaging effects of the girls’ supposedly questionable background. The language itself also served to glorify and reinforce masculinity of the civic leaders of charity.

The movement towards institutionalized care for vulnerable girls was a seventeenth-century development in Marseilles, signifying the growing fear of female poverty and a greater attention to the virtue of future generations. In earlier periods vulnerable girls of Marseilles were cared for differently, usually by various

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<sup>347</sup> “La maison de la Providence...a été érigée pour renfermer des brebis [black sheep] innocents qu’on tire de la gueule [maw] du loup qui est prest a les dévorer; ce sont de pauvres aveugles qui n’ont aucun guide, qui sont a deux doigts du précipice et qu’on tire de ce danger évident pour les remettre dans le grand chemin. Enfin, on renferme dans cette maison des pauvres filles que le démon considère déjà comme des victimes destinées à sa rage et a sa fureur, et dont on rend les desseins inutiles par le soin qu’on rend à les élever à la vertu.” Fabre, 211.

confraternities. In sixteenth-century practice, for example, lay confraternities often made donations towards orphaned girls' dowries, focusing on their financial preparation for marriage rather than their moral instruction. The nuptial and maternal focus of this charity reinforced gender roles and stereotypes harbored by the male elites. The local 'prud-hommes' and fishermen confraternities were traditionally involved in these donations. Later, these dowered orphaned girls were housed communally in the *Maison des filles grises* (est. 1576). Though charitable dowry-donations to the *Filles grises* were recorded as late as 1619, gradually the number of recipients was reduced to four, and later the organization dissolved altogether.<sup>348</sup> In 1635, several elite women of *Marseilles* – mostly the wives of civic councillors – founded a charitable house called *Maison des filles orphelines* for orphaned girls. The house was formally associated with the *Hôtel-Dieu* hospital, and provided dowry and lodging to twenty-five girls. In 1641 the councillors relegated these girls into the *Charité*, however, dissolving the *Filles orphelines*.<sup>349</sup> Finally, thirty years later the *Maison des filles de la providence* emerged as yet another institution for vulnerable girls. Instead of dowries, however, it prioritized catechesis and structured upbringing within the institution.

The archives from the *Marseillaise Maison des filles de la providence* have not been preserved, partially because the institution was never a separate or a prominent one.

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<sup>348</sup> Fabre, 198 – 210. In Aix-en-Provence a comparable project was the *Oeuvre Corpus Domini de Saint-Saveur* established in 1587 as per the last testament of Monseigneur Bertrand Bernardi, procureur général de roi et président de la ville d'Aix, AD des BR (Aix) 33.HD.A1. Over the course of the seventeenth-century, these confraternal and privately-funded charities for girls gradually declined and disappeared.

<sup>349</sup> Fabre, 216.



It only received its royal *lettres patentes* in 1688 after ongoing struggles with the *Charité* and the city council.<sup>350</sup> Nonetheless, we can gain some insight into its life and function by analyzing its sister and model institution in Aix-en-Provence, *Oeuvre de la pureté (Filles de la pureté)* also called *Notre dame de la Garde*. The founding documents from July 1680 express a similar zeal as the excerpt from Marseilles. Using less metaphorical language than the previous statement, this document discloses more detail about the targeted group of girls, and the ‘danger’ they supposedly faced (and posed).

In [this] house we will retire only those young girls who find themselves in an evident danger of losing their honour and thus offending God...[girls] around seven or eight years of age who will thus be raised in piety and Christian morals and will learn all that is necessary.<sup>351</sup>

The seven and eight-year olds made up one of two groups of girls housed in the *Maison*, and were called *Filles de l'enfance de Jesus Christ*. Older girls, who were eleven or twelve, were referred to as *Filles de la pureté*. The separation is significant: it likely indicates the emergence of a new type of anxiety about the female nature, where adolescence was becoming recognized as a stage in human development that was wrought with challenges separate from those related to childhood. For girls, it evidently marked the inauguration into a potentially dangerous realm of sexuality.

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<sup>350</sup> For details regarding the struggles between the *Charité*, the *Hôpital du Bon Rencontre* and the city council, see Chapter 3, regarding children’s charity.

<sup>351</sup> “...laquelle maison on retire seulement les pauvres jeunes filles qui se trouveront dans un danger évidant de perdre ses honneur cappable d’offendre Dieu d’environ sept ou huit années en haute pour les élever a la piété aux mœurs de chrestiennes et leur apprendre cout ce qui est nécessaire.” AD des BR (Aix) 28.HD.A1.

The younger girls were admitted because they were orphaned or because the livelihood of their parents was deemed damaging to their innocence. The more senior girls were admitted on similar grounds, but with some indication that they had lost their purity – for example by being involved in their mothers' prostitution trade. Similarly to the younger girls, however, they were not yet held accountable for their tarnished reputation. Their institutionalization was justified in the following way:

Girls around eleven or twelve years of age who unfortunately lost their innocence due to the lack of a secure retreat and because of the mischief committed by their parents – specifically their mothers who lead a poor immoral life of prostitution.<sup>352</sup>

Both groups of girls were admitted into the hospice for protection. It was “the most excellent and glorious undertaking,” boasted the institution's leaders.<sup>353</sup>

The chief charitable component was spiritual upbringing, similarly to the *Refuge*-enclosed women. The approach was preventative and protective rather than reformatory, however. These girls were too young to share in the stigma of singlehood, and were therefore removed from the derogatory construct tying poverty to women's sexual unruliness. Their spiritual education was meant to offset all detrimental familial influences on the girls so they could be “spared of sin..[and] keep their innocence.”<sup>354</sup>

Some of the ‘dangers’ the girls faced were immediate (for example the care of their

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<sup>352</sup> “...de filles d'environ onze ou douze années qui perdent malheureusement leur innocence par le défaut d'une retraite assurée et par la malice de leurs parantz et de leur propre mère qui en font du infâme commerces et mener une mauvaise vie....” AD des BR (Aix) 28.HD.A1.

<sup>353</sup> AD des BR (Aix) 28.HD.A2.

<sup>354</sup> “Le salut des âmes celles de la pécher du péché...de conserver dans la pureté et innocence.”AD des BR (Aix) 28.HD.A2.

impoverished or promiscuous mothers) and some were potential (the girls' female nature). While in the care of the hospice, the girls were thus taught the value of purity and the meaning of virtuous life.

Penance was not a prioritized theme like it was in the *Refuge*. Instead, prayers emphasized the girls' spiritual surrender to the teachings of Christ. During such prayers the girls were meant to internalize feelings of modesty and gratitude for the charity offered. "My Jesus, I give You my heart; Mother of Jesus, give my heart to Jesus so that no other creature possess it."<sup>355</sup> The girls recited this in unison, as they professed their absolute love for Christ. This love and piety supposedly defied all temptation and the symbolic giving of the heart to another person; accordingly, the prayer asks the girls to give their heart to Jesus the same way that His mother gave to Him, that is, entirely. Finally, the prayer accentuates and encourages Marian devotion, highlighting Mary's role as a mother, so as to compensate for the girls' own experiences of poor parenting. Other documents further elaborate on the didactic meaning of this particular prayer. It was meant to encourage the girls early in the morning to "breathe for Him [Christ]..."<sup>356</sup> and having thus "filled their heart with the love for God," they were to get up quickly so as to prevent temptation and "entry of the enemy into [their] hearts."<sup>357</sup> The rectors insisted

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<sup>355</sup> "Mon Jesus je vous donne mon Coeur mère de Jesus donnez mon Coeur a Jesus afin qu'aucune créature ne le possède' ainsi soit il on répond tout haut Deo Gratias a celle qui éveille en disant cette prière par le dortoir. " AD des BR (Aix) 28.HD.A2.

<sup>356</sup> AD des BR (Aix) 28.HD.A2.

<sup>357</sup> AD des BR (Aix) 28.HD.A2.

that the girls' first thoughts should always be of God who watches over their hearts, and helps them remain vigilant in evading sin.

Modesty was an especially highlighted virtue in the house. In addition to spiritual humility, the girls were encouraged to dress with decency, “keeping in sight and close to their hearts the extreme importance of the beautiful virtue of purity.”<sup>358</sup> They were taught to internalize the meaning of ‘purity’ found in the institution’s title – an allusion to their youthful bodily innocence and the dangers of carnal temptation. The directors and the mother superior expected the girls fully to embrace the notion of their personal embodiment of the ‘temple’ of Jesus Christ and of the Holy Spirit. Citing Saint Paul, for example, the rector implored the girls: “Don’t you know that you yourselves are the temples of God?”<sup>359</sup> The girls were to cherish their bodies and protect their innocence – a cautionary reminder of the female body’s inherent sinfulness.

In order to overcome the carnal threat to purity, the girls were also expected to profess their intentions of a virtuous life frequently. After morning lecture, for example, the mother superior read a prayer of meditation. Each girl was supposed to use this prayer for personal reflection on her own new-found life of morality; it was a conscious “resolution to practice virtue and to fight mean temperament so as to be at one with Jesus Christ....”<sup>360</sup> In keeping with the hope for a future virtuous life, the girls also prayed for those who had already left the hospice, and called on the Virgin Mary to protect them.

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<sup>358</sup> AD des BR (Aix) 28.HD.A2.

<sup>359</sup> “Ne sçavez vous pas...que vous êtes le temple de Dieu... ?”AD des BR (Aix) 28.HD.A2.

<sup>360</sup> “Résolution de pratiquer une vertu particulière ou combattre sa mauvaise humeur ce jour la, pour se rendre agréable a Jesus Christ....”AD des BR (Aix) 28.HD.A2.

Just as catechesis and prayers were meant to inspire a moral lifestyle, so their daily tasks were preparatory for their future life as good wives. After Morning Prayer the girls went to clean their dormitories, help in the sacristy and in the kitchen. Older girls without assigned household tasks “join[ed] the spiritual charity” to teach catechism to the younger girls “with kindness, charity and patience.”<sup>361</sup> Work training was evidently gentle, not intended for punishment as in the case of the *Refuge* women. Corporal punishment was not permitted unless specifically ordered by the mother superior, and even then only on rare occasions.

Even though the girls were not treated as harshly as the women of the *Refuge*, they were constantly reminded of their inherent sinfulness. Prayers emphasizing penitence were certainly not exclusive to charitable institutions, but they were particularly meaningful there. As the girls took Communion, for instance, they uttered the following:

I am prepared to give my life for this truth [the real presence]; I adore it with the deepest respect that I am capable of. Give me, please, your holy blessing and grace that I may never offend you.<sup>362</sup>

Such a prayer compelled the girls to recognize their sinfulness; others were meant to help them ask for pardon.

My God, give us grace and teach us how to pray; my God, we offend you constantly in many ways, give us – we beseech you –

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<sup>361</sup> AD des BR (Aix) 28.HD.A2.

<sup>362</sup> “Je suis prête a donner ma vie pour cette vérité je vous y adore avec le plus profond respect qu’il m’est possible donnez moi s’il vous plait votre sainte bénédiction et la grâce de ne vous offencer jamais mortellement.” AD des BR (Aix) 28.HD.A2.

the light to recognize our faults and the grace to detest them. I confess to you, God omnipotent, my imperfection...I ask you with utter humility for pardon of all the sins that I have committed throughout my entire life, particularly today. I repent my sins through all the love I carry for you in my heart and I propose that in return for your holy grace to correct them in the future and to confess. Mea culpa (my sin).<sup>363</sup>

The two prayers reflect a heightened emphasis on spiritual self-examination, a process highly relevant to the rectors' desire to instil obedience and virtue in the young inmates.

Shaping the young girls' moral character, the *Maison des filles de la providence* in Marseilles and the *Oeuvre de la pureté* in Aix seemingly fit within the same model of charity as the *Refuge*: they satisfied elite males' fearful mission to save young girls in apparent danger of losing their innocence. And yet the support that the two houses received from their respective civic authorities was minimal compared to the *Refuge*. The more lenient establishments, such as *l'Hôpital du bon rencontre* (discussed in the following chapter) and the *Maison des filles* within seem to have struggled. Though information is limited, it appears that both establishments for girls relied on the financial support of the clergy more so than the civic council. In Aix, for example, the majority of the founders were priests from the Church of St. Sacrement and other parish churches.<sup>364</sup>

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<sup>363</sup> “Mon dieu nous voici en votre sainte présence faites nous la grâce de nous enseigner a prier, mon dieu nous vous offencons toujours en plusieurs choses donnez nous s’il vous plait les lumières pour connoistre nos fautes et la grâce pour les détester. Confiteor deo omnipotenti jusqu’a mea culpa...je vous demande très humblement pardon de tous les péchés que j’ai commis en toute ma vie particulièrement durant ce jour je m’en repens de tout mon cœur pour l’amour que je vous porte et propose moyenant votre sainte grâce de m’en corriger à l’avenir et de m’en confesser au plutôt. Mea culpa.” AD des BR (Aix) 28.HD.A2.

<sup>364</sup> Arnaud d’Arnaud, priest and canon of the church of St. Vincens, Jean Baptiste du Chaine, priest and a canon of the church of St. Sacrement, Babriol Bernard, priest and canon of the same church,

According to the founding charter, “the house [was] established under the protection of our Holy Virgin under the title ‘Notre Dame de la Garde,’ and under the archbishop’s authority.”<sup>365</sup> The civic councillors are not mentioned as was the norm. Such a disconnect from the magistracy was even more evident in Marseilles: *l’Hôpital du bon rencontre* archive speaks of an ongoing struggle between the *Charité* (supported by the city council) and the founders of *l’Hôpital du bon rencontre* for children. Since the hospice’s foundation in 1673, the councillors were doubtful about its utility, and the new proposal in 1680 to add a charitable house for endangered girls found the councillors no more enthusiastic. It was only in 1684 that the city council allowed the girls’ hospice to be added, on the condition that no support would be elicited from the community.<sup>366</sup> Finally, when in 1689 financial strains halted construction, the councillor Marc Savignon approved a one-time contribution from the magistracy.<sup>367</sup> Still, both in Aix-en-Provence and in Marseilles, the new hospices for girls drew most financial support from “pious individuals persuaded of the utility of this hospice,”<sup>368</sup> rather than from the civic government as was the case for the *Refuge* and *Charité* specifically. This division confirms that ‘charity’ represented an arena of ‘civil war’ – a competition for power and prestige among elite members of society.

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Rene de Barvene, priest and canon of the Sat. Sacrement church, and Gaspard D’Honnoval, conseiller du roy at the court of the Parlement, AD des BR (Aix) 28.HD.A1.

<sup>365</sup> “Cette meson est établie sous la protection de nos sainte vierge et soub le titre de notre dame de la garde et soub l’autorité et injonction de nos seigneurs les archevêques.” AD des BR (Aix).28.HD.A2

<sup>366</sup> Fabre, 211.

<sup>367</sup> Fabre, 212-214.

<sup>368</sup> “Personnes de piété persuadés de l’utilité de cette œuvre.” AD des BR (Aix) 28.HD.A2. These agreed to contribute either a grand sum of 20, 600 payable as an inheritance or 678 *livres* annually.

Though shut out of the civic council's support network, the *Maison des filles de la providence* ultimately claimed a place among Marseilles' charitable institutions for women. Many of their directors shared the zeal of the *dévots* to target female promiscuity.<sup>369</sup> By institutionalizing and educating young girls the elites thought to be vulnerable to temptation, they helped to strengthen and maintain social order. At its core, the protective charitable impulse of the *Maison des filles de la providence* reflected the same convictions about the supposed sinfulness of poor women as were espoused by the *Refuge* directors. Understood as complementary institutions, the *Refuge* and the *Maison des filles de la providence* demonstrate that a principle of moral merit defined charity for women. The two ends of the spectrum – youthful innocence that was deemed worthy of protection and the moral decadence of adult prostitutes – were connected at a fundamental level. The very idea that a prostitute could attain salvation and resemble her youthful and innocent counterpart lay at the heart of the contemporary reform-oriented charity men administered for women.

### ***Conclusion***

The *Refuge* was a unique female institution whose definition of 'charity' encapsulated a corrective purpose. It grew out of a volatile, sea-side, cosmopolitan setting and was meant to target a distinctive demography and economic situation. The charitable

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<sup>369</sup> See Appendix for the names of several directors, some of whom were also members of the *Compagnie du Très-Saint-Sacrement*.



premise of the *Refuge* was fundamental to its purpose: since poverty justified assistance, the *Refuge* asylum was thought a fitting destination for poor women without husbands unable to benefit from the securities of widowhood. The asylum also effectively allowed all honourable *Marseillais* citizens to commit, detain and reform women who were considered marginal and morally disruptive by virtue of their ‘aloneness,’ poverty, or disease. The incarcerated female occupants were to undergo an important transformation within the asylum’s walls – a transformation predicated upon moral reform. Only then would they be able to reconcile with God and reintegrate with the community.

Charity for women aimed to correct sinful behaviour as well as prevent it in younger girls, as the examples of *l’Oeuvre de la pureté* and *Maison des filles de la providence* demonstrate. All female charitable institutions shared a fundamental purpose: to mould spiritually orthodox and moral women who fit the role of honourable wives or cloistered nuns. Such women were needed, the elites believed, to create the virtuous society they envisioned. This male-administered charitable mission heightened social cognizance of adolescence, especially in females, while simultaneously adding philanthropic prowess as a new component of honourable masculinity for city fathers. The next targeted group were children and adolescents: begging youth, illegitimate infants and all other ‘disorderly’ children catalyzing the anxieties of the male elites. Like the girls housed in the *Maison des filles de la providence*, they too shared in port-related destitution and corruption, and faced an obligatory charitable moral reform as a result.

### Chapter 3:

#### *L'Hôtel-Dieu, la Charité and l'Hôpital du bon rencontre : charitable care of children*

##### *Introduction*

On Christmas Eve of 1668, an infant boy was left at the depository window of *l'Hôtel-Dieu* in Marseilles. Like many others, the baby carried a brief note informing the hospital staff that his name was Simon, and that he had been baptized. That is all. The child would be called Simon. He came “with [a] large, lovely blue ribbon,” presumably attached to him along with his baptismal ticket.<sup>370</sup> He was assigned to a nurse and survived for almost three months, but records show that little Simon died in March of 1669. Simon represents only one of countless children whose lives ended before they began. The sad universe of abandoned children comes alive in the account of a nineteenth-century visitor to the Parisian *Hôtel-Dieu*:

As soon as I arrive at the gate, my eyes stop on a box or a turnstile of sorts on the right side of the door, separated by shutters into two parts – one side facing the street and the other opening into the interior. This ‘turnstile’ resembles a mailbox. A mother throws her infant inside almost like a letter; a short moment of awareness that the swaddled ‘parcel’ suspects her intrigue and knows the trickery....In the night and covered by mystery, the miserable or adulterous woman deposits her newborn. Pulling the bell to

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<sup>370</sup> “Le 24 décembre 1668 veille de Noël reçu Simon du Grand ruban blu mignon, reçu a la fenêtre sur les huit heures du soir et veille de nativité notre seigneur un garçon avec son billet portant qu'il estoit baptisé Simon. Mort le 3e mars 1669.” AD des BR 6.HD.G49 (1668–1669) “Livre pour la réception des petits enfants a la fenetre de l'hôpital Saint Esprit et Saint Jacques de Galice de cette ville de Marseille commence le 5 avril 1663.”

awaken the night-nurse, she disappears in the shadows with tears  
of remorse.<sup>371</sup>

In the seventeenth century, the ‘mailbox’ or ‘turnstile’<sup>372</sup> installed in *l’Hôtel-Dieu* in Marseilles received abandoned infants at all hours of the night and day. Most newborns were left anonymously by their parents, or they were brought by those who found them.<sup>373</sup> Some had a baptismal certificate similar to Simon’s but many did not; some children were placed into the hospital’s window already dead. The surviving foundlings received a name, they were baptized in the nearby Church *Les Accoules*,<sup>374</sup> and later assigned to one of the hospital’s wet-nurses. Despite the apparent commitment of the institution, the majority of received infants died within days, weeks, or months.<sup>375</sup>

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<sup>371</sup> “Lorsque j’arrivai à la grille, mes yeux s’arrêtèrent sur une boîte, ou tourniquet, placé à droite de la porte, et s’ouvrant par deux coulisses à l’intérieur et sur la rue. Ce tourniquet représente parfaitement une boîte aux lettres. Il est vrai qu’une mère y jette son enfant à peu près comme un billet doux à la poste, avec cette nuance que le billet doux entame l’intrigue, et que l’enfant la dénoue....La femme misérable ou adultère déposait là, de nuit et mystérieusement, son nouveau-né ; puis, tirant la sonnette pour éveiller la soeur de garde, elle s’échappait dans l’ombre avec ses larmes ou ses remords.” André Delrieu, “Enfants Trouvés” in *Paris ou le livre des cent-et-un, vol. 2* (Paris: Chez Ladvocat, libraire de S.A.R. le Duc d’Orléans, 1831).

<sup>372</sup> *Tourniquet* translates as “turnstile, revolving door or a roundabout turnstile;” it allowed the parent to deposit their child, which would then pass through the “tourniquet” and emerge inside the hospital.

<sup>373</sup> If children were brought by their own parents, they were often required to pay a small pension. An admission record dating from 26 February, 1626, shows that 40 *sols* monthly were charged while the child was breast-fed by one of the nurses. AD des BR 6.HD.E1.

<sup>374</sup> AD des BR 6.HD.G49.

<sup>375</sup> Archival records reveal high mortality of hospital infants (AD des BR 6.HD.G49), which was generally consistent with the period’s high infant mortality rate. See Linda Pollock, “Parent-Child Relations,” in *The History of the European Family, Volume One: Family Life in Early Modern Times, 1500–1789*, ed. David Kertzer and Marzio Barbagli (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001). August Fabre also explains infants (notably those who were abandoned and illegitimate) often succumbed to the “petite vérole,” which was an infection symptomatic to syphilis often transmitted from the child’s mother. It was the primary cause of Marseilles’ children’s deaths, he says, while poor hospital conditions or nurses’ neglect were only secondary factors. Fabre, 405-407.

Child abandonment<sup>376</sup> was not at all new. Children had been lost to history and routinely deserted by their parents since classical times.<sup>377</sup> In the Early Modern period parentless children received more consistent attention when they began to be institutionalized.<sup>378</sup> The first orphanages emerged in fifteenth-century Italy.<sup>379</sup> In France, on the other hand, parents resorted to leaving children by the roadside or at the doorsteps of churches well into the eighteenth century.<sup>380</sup> It was only in the seventeenth century that urban elites and the king exerted a concerted effort to care for abandoned children.

My study of *Marseillais* child-care examines the motives behind this new charitable endeavour from a local point of view, complementing the work of historians focusing on Paris.<sup>381</sup> I argue that under the leadership of the magistracy the new

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<sup>376</sup> John Boswell defines child abandonment as the complete deliberate relinquishing of parental control over a child. John Boswell, *The Kindness of Strangers: the Abandonment of Children in Western Europe from Late Antiquity to the Renaissance* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1988) 24. Historian Lloyd DeMause who studies childhood from a psychological point of view defines “abandonment” much more broadly. According to the historian, the practice of wet-nursing, apprenticeship, service in other households, and also the deliberate fosterage of children in institutions or other families, amounted to “abandonment” as well. Pollock, however, takes a more apologetic approach to abandonment, explaining that it is important to distinguish between cruelty and misguided practices common in the period. Pollock, “Parent-Child Relations,” 192. The present study relies on Boswell’s definition of child abandonment.

<sup>377</sup> Boswell’s study is an overview of child abandonment since the classical times with an emphasis on the high incidence and longevity of child-abandonment as a practice.

<sup>378</sup> Boswell and Cunningham explain that the rise of Christianity contributed to social criticism of the practice of child abandonment, because Christianity viewed children as participants in the society’s quest for salvation. See Boswell, 154, and Cunningham, *Children and childhood*, 27-40.

<sup>379</sup> Philip Gavitt, *Charity and Children in Renaissance Florence: The Ospedale degli Innocenti, 1410 – 1536* (Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 1990); also Terpstra, *Abandoned Children of the Italian Renaissance*, and Sandra Cavallo, “Charity as Boundary Making: Social Stratification, Gender and the Family in the Italian States (Seventeenth-Nineteenth Centuries)” in *Charity, Philanthropy and Reform from the 1690s to 1850*, ed. Hugh Cunningham and Joanna Innes (London: Macmillan Press, 1998) 108-129.

<sup>380</sup> Boswell, 49, and Bernard-Benoît Remacle, *Des hospices d'enfants trouvés, en Europe, et principalement en France: depuis leur origine jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris: Chez Treuttel et Würtz, 1838) 60. For medieval charity, see Pourrière, *Les Hôpitaux d'Aix-en-Provence au Moyen âge*.

<sup>381</sup> Vincent de Paul was instrumental in leading philanthropic activities for children in the capital (*Hôpital des enfants trouvées*). See Pierre Collet, *Vie abrégée de saint Vincent de Paul, instituteur de l*

charitable institutions for children represented sites of social and moral education that were distinctive from adult poor asylums in the city. Moreover, these institutions for children were age-specific, suggesting that adolescence was increasingly recognized as a separate stage in human development. Charity for youth and children helped to demarcate in new ways stages of human maturation, and was attuned to the male elites' vision of social order. Much like debauched women, poor children were institutionalized because their poverty characterized them as potentially threatening to social order. Unlike prostituting women, however, children and teenagers were a potential rather than an active threat. Similarly to the case of the *Filles de la providence*, the charity that children received was protective and preventative, rather than punitive and reformatory, reinforcing an emergent 'enlightened' view of childhood innocence and the malleability of the young. The elite's decision to institutionalize these children reflected a new notion of the nature of the child: awareness of their intellectual malleability on the one hand, but also their supposed proclivity to misbehaviour on the other. Employing the multiple strategies of discipline, education, and affection, the new institutions were designed to mold these at-risk children into future generations of good *Marseillais* citizens.

Three poor asylums took on this task in seventeenth-century Marseilles, each catering to a specific group of children: *l'Hôtel-Dieu*, *la Charité*, and *l'Hôpital du Bon rencontre*. Tellingly, each hospice defined child 'sinfulness' differently: in infants,

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*congrégation de la Mission et des Filles de la Charité* (A. Mame et fils, 1843) ; Bernard Gaudeul, *Saint Vincent de Paul: précurseur de l'assistance publique* (Paris: Fernand Sorlot, 1938), and more recently Luigi Mezzadri, *Vincent de Paul (1581 – 1660)* (Desclée de Brouwer, 1985).

immorality was most often associated with their presumed illegitimacy, while older children were reprimanded for begging and laziness. The act of separating children into different institutions signalled the authorities' growing interest in poor parentless children. The city fathers were precocious in identifying different problematic types of categories of the young, aiding, overall, in unprecedented definitions of 'childhood' in France.

### *I. Changes in childcare*

Late medieval Marseilles offered few resources for abandoned and orphaned children. These were collectively referred to as *enfants trouvés*, meaning foundling infants who were presumed to be illegitimate. Most of the city's parentless children were left on the doorstep of *St. Martin* parish church;<sup>382</sup> their subsequent fate depended on the kindness of strangers, monastic orders, and a variety of small hospices. *L'Hôpital Saint-Esprit*, for example, traditionally welcomed orphaned children, together with travelling pilgrims and the city's sick. Other medieval institutions that eventually vanished,<sup>383</sup> such as *l'Hôpital de l'Annonciade* and *Saint-Jacques-de-Galice*, also occasionally took care of several infants. The numbers in each institution were small, however, (annual average of four to six) as were the numbers of nurses available (approximately one nurse to four

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<sup>382</sup> Fabre, 399.

<sup>383</sup> Though detailed information is lacking, it is likely that the magistrates closed down older hospices in hopes of confiscating their property and channeling it towards their new charities. Such a process was identified by Daniel Hickey (France) as well as Sandra Cavallo (Italy, Turin).

infants).<sup>384</sup> Most unwanted or orphaned children were therefore left at random locations, because no centralized system of charitable child-assistance was in place until the late sixteenth century. What is more, those fortunate few who found help were most often infants. Teenagers and older children were on their own, it seems, since no hospice for adolescents seems to have existed in Marseilles at this time.

This situation changed during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when both the king and local communities turned their attention to children. Francis I expressed a new interest in vulnerable children in 1530: by his edict, orphaned children were to be admitted into all hospitals in the kingdom.<sup>385</sup> The Bourbon monarchs reasserted their interest in institutionalized care. The attitude of Louis XIII and Louis XIV towards Paris' newly established *Hôpital des enfants trouvés* (1656)<sup>386</sup> demonstrates the peculiar new role that children played as charity recipients by this time. The monarchy declared it a “Christian duty” to provide for children, also underscoring children’s potential as future subjects of France:

There is no task that is more in harmony with Christian charity than that of caring for poor abandoned children, whom their weakness and misfortune render a cause for compassion. Their

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<sup>384</sup> Fabre, 381-392. The number of children rose to approximately 50-60 per year after the merging of the three institutions.

<sup>385</sup> “Le droit de tutelle sur ces enfants: le plus anciens des hôpitaux de France, où non seulement les pauvres malades de nos provinces et toutes sortes d’enfants exposés trouvent un asile assuré, mais où sont encore reçus les pauvres de toutes les nations du monde.” (1530) Transl.: “The right of guardianship of [abandoned] children: not only the sick and poor but also children and foreigners will find refuge in France’s oldest hospitals.” Qtd. in Remacle, 39-40.

<sup>386</sup> Paris’ General Hospital was established in 1656 and from 1670 the *Hôpital des Enfants Trouvés* constituted a separate section in the general hospital. André Delrieu, “Enfants Trouvés.”

conservation is greatly advantageous, for they can become soldiers, workers or they can populate our colonies.<sup>387</sup>

The edict appeals to the needs of the state, where properly trained children were perceived as potentially useful, rather than as traditional objects of pity. Such attention from the state, also marked by a rejuvenation of French civic charity, is unparalleled in other Catholic regions at this time. Catholic Spain and Italy embraced the post-Reformation emphasis on child education, but the state was not actively involved. In Spain, the monarchy's attention to 'heretical' children reached as far as their utility in denouncing their Jewish parents.<sup>388</sup> In Italy the demand for spiritual orthodoxy came directly from the Church, which then carried out the education of children.<sup>389</sup> Though in both cases we see a new interest in 'teens', it is in France that a structured and deliberate attention to children and youth is more evident in education and charity. Both the urban elites and the king saw charity as a suitable means of training future generations of orderly, productive members of the community.

In Marseilles, important developments in child-care signalled the elites' new awareness of, and anxieties over, children's value. In 1621 Marseilles' *Hôtel-Dieu* general hospital introduced for the first time proper record-keeping of admitted children,

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<sup>387</sup> "Comme il n'y a pas de devoir plus conforme à la charité chretienne...que d'avoir soin des pauvres enfans exposés que leur faiblesse et leur infortune rendent également dignes de compassion...Considérant combien leur conservation est avantageuse, puisque les uns peuvent devenir soldats; les autres ouvriers ou habitants des colonies..." (Qtd. in Remacle, 68).

<sup>388</sup> David Graizbord, "Converso Children Under the Inquisitorial Microscope in the Seventeenth Century," in Albrecht Classen, ed., *Childhood in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, 373-387.

<sup>389</sup> Christopher Carlsmith, "Troublesome Teens: Approaches to Educating and Disciplining Youth in Early Modern Italy," in Konrad Eisenbichler, ed., *The Premodern Teenager*, 151-171.



noting baptism as well as the date of their arrival.<sup>390</sup> More changes soon followed: after 1625, for example, the *Hôtel-Dieu* was designated as the only permitted place for anonymous child abandonment. This meant that parents were effectively forbidden to leave a child outdoors.<sup>391</sup> Instead, they were required to bring their unwanted child to *l'Hôtel-Dieu's* window, ring the bell, and notify the nursing staff of the new arrival.<sup>392</sup> A concentrated effort to control and limit indiscriminate child abandonment in Marseilles was beginning to emerge, reflecting the new assumption that children needed and deserved a more structured assistance than before. Old medieval hospices caring for children eventually disappeared, giving way to new ones. Crucially, each of the three hospitals now responsible for parentless children soon identified its own targeted child-group, further demarcating the stages of childhood. *L'Hôtel-Dieu* became the designated infant-care asylum, the *Charité* housed legitimate children and youth, and finally *l'Hôpital du bon rencontre* admitted all the remaining youth who were rejected from the *Charité* – particularly foreign children. We begin our discussion with the *Hôtel-Dieu*, catering to the youngest, infant and toddler child population of Marseilles.

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<sup>390</sup> Fabre, 394-395, 398.

<sup>391</sup> This change became officially instituted in 1713. Fabre, 412.

<sup>392</sup> Fabre, 400.

## II. *L'Hôtel-Dieu: offsetting the sin of illegitimacy*

*L'Hôtel-Dieu* hospital was founded in 1188, and represents one of Marseilles' oldest institutions for the sick and poor.<sup>393</sup> At the end of the sixteenth century it absorbed both *l'Hôpital Saint-Esprit* and *l'Hôpital Saint-Jacques-de-Galice*, becoming the city's chief general hospital and its only medical institution. After these structural changes it continued to house the sick and the poor, including children, for some time.<sup>394</sup> However, the child population grew steadily over the course of the seventeenth century, however, and eventually the *Hôtel-Dieu* became the sole infant-care institution in the city. Though archival records are incomplete and lack in temporal consistency, rough estimates collected from available admission logs suggest that between the 1620s and the late 1660s the number of admitted *enfants trouvés* fluctuated between forty-four and seventy-five annually, rising steadily. In the last decade of the century, between 1687 and 1697, the child population supposedly increased from one hundred and sixty to two hundred and eight.<sup>395</sup> August Fabre offers even more staggering numbers for the earlier period. He counted eighty-eight children in 1630, one hundred and twenty-seven by 1637, and noted

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<sup>393</sup> In the middle ages the *Hôtel-Dieu* also accepted pilgrims but eventually they would be sent to the *Hôpital des Couvalescents* established in Marseilles in 1654. A brief contemporary overview of Marseilles' medieval and early modern institutions : Monseigneur l'Évêque, le clergé et la ville de Marseille, *Calendrier spirituel et perpétuel pour la ville de Marseille, avec un état spirituel de tout le diocèse* (Marseille: Chez la veuve d'Henry Brebion, imprimeur du Roy, 1713) 145.

<sup>394</sup> In addition to the standardized support received from the city council, the *Hôtel-Dieu* enjoyed the greatest proportion of testamentary support compared to other hospitals. AD des BR 6.HD.B3/4/ 15/ 25-27. The frequency with which citizens chose the *Hôtel-Dieu* as their *heretier universel* likely speaks to the credibility of an establishment with long tradition.

<sup>395</sup> My own calculations based on available entry registries and hospital ledgers AD des BR 6.HD.G43/49/53.

a decrease to ninety-four the following year.<sup>396</sup> Though we are dealing with estimates and discrepancies in data, it is evident that the number of abandoned children who found themselves in the *Hôtel-Dieu* was great.

This rise in numbers likely resulted from the hospital's internal transformation. After 1625 the *Hôtel-Dieu* became the sole institution admitting abandoned infants and toddlers. With the *Charité* opening its doors in 1639, the purpose of the *Hôtel-Dieu* altered again. Since the *Charité* focused on legitimate youth (*enfants légitimes*) as we shall see, the *Hôtel-Dieu* became the destination for all illegitimate children. Since verifying the illegitimacy of anonymously abandoned children was virtually impossible, the authorities considered all infants of unknown parents to be illegitimate. They were referred to as *enfants abandonnés*, *enfants exposés*, or *enfants trouvés*.<sup>397</sup> In the seventeenth century, therefore, *l'Hôtel-Dieu* specialized in two ways: first by admitting infants presumed to be illegitimate (that is, all infants abandoned anonymously), and secondly by welcoming those children the *Charité* rejected as *non -légitimes* (illegitimate). In doing so, the *Hôtel-Dieu* played a key role as a charitable institution serving the interests of the civic elite: it cared for the most vulnerable members of society who could later be educated, and it served to offset and reduce the problem of illegitimacy as a hallmark of immorality.

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<sup>396</sup> Fabre, 407.

<sup>397</sup> Gilly, 28.

*a. Infant-care at l'Hôtel-Dieu*

One of the most important and unique features of the *Hôtel-Dieu* was its focus on infants. The immediate baptism of a newly arrived foundling was one of the first concerns of the rectors, as the example of Simon demonstrates. The next equally vital task was proper nursing care. The practice to employ wet-nurses in *l'Hôtel-Dieu* enjoyed a long tradition since 1480,<sup>398</sup> but evidently grew in importance in the Early Modern period. By the mid-seventeenth century, *l'Hôtel-Dieu* employed an average of one hundred and fourteen wet-nurses, which marked an increase from previous periods.<sup>399</sup> Indeed, archival records indicate that the topic of nursing preoccupied the hospital staff: while other aspects of the children's lives remain unrecorded and concealed to us, affairs concerning nurses and nursing practices feature extensively in the hospital's archive. The institution's greater attention to nursing arguably reflected the hospital's new status as the only infant institution in the city.

As the numbers of arriving babies increased, ensuring sufficient quantities of milk became a point of great concern. In response to the growing numbers of arriving children, *l'Hôtel-Dieu* followed the example of Lyon, and chose to place some infants into the care of nurses living in the countryside (so-called 'external nurses').<sup>400</sup> These children returned

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<sup>398</sup> Fabre, 382.

<sup>399</sup> My own calculation based on available records in AD des BR 6.HD. G1-14.

<sup>400</sup> Archival records discuss "external" and "internal" nurses, presumably those residing within the institution and those nursing in their own home.

back into the city when they were older (usually seven years old),<sup>401</sup> in order to receive education within the hospital walls. Even while in the care of a country-side nurse, however, the infants and toddlers were closely monitored by the hospital authorities. During their regular semi-annual visits the rectors ensured that linen and milk were sufficient. They also carefully monitored the proper behaviour of the nurses, who were effectively the most important figure in the child's life.

Nurses were required to live a virtuous life, and underwent mandatory religious training by the hospital priest.<sup>402</sup> The directors' heightened attention to the morality of nurses stemmed from their belief that the nurse could affect her child via her breast milk. Elizabeth Marvick explains: "The characteristics acquired by the child in the arms of his nurse were therefore truly as *innate* as those acquired *in utero* – and probably more significant in later life."<sup>403</sup> This logic was based in the medical opinion of the day: according to the humoral theory, the proper balance of the four humors (yellow and black bile, phlegm and blood) had a direct impact on the individual's emotional and physical well-being. Breast milk, the source of nutrients for the child, was directly related to the

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<sup>401</sup> DeMause explains that in the Early Modern Period, the age of seven often marked the beginning of apprenticeship or other work involvement for children. DeMause, 32. Various records in Marseilles' archive equally suggest that the age of seven was a milestone year for children: at this time they were transferred to the *Charité* (if they were at the *Hôtel-Dieu* during infancy) or to the city (if they were in the countryside). The age of seven is also denoted as the minimum age of admission in to the *Charité*. Though archival records are not clear or detailed, it appears that ages twelve and sixteen were also important milestones: girls were often separated and relegated to female institutions when they reached twelve, while the age sixteen marked the end of charitable assistance to children/ youth altogether.

<sup>402</sup> AD des BR.6.HD.E4.

<sup>403</sup> Elizabeth Wirth Marvick, "Nature Versus Nurture: patterns and trends in seventeenth-century French child-rearing," in ed. Lloyd DeMause, *The History of Childhood* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1974) 265.

generation of the four humors in the liver, and was therefore considered a key factor in shaping the child's future temperament.<sup>404</sup> Similarly, breast-milk was also a frequent cause of syphilis transmission into children. Nurses could contract the pox from them, but they could equally infect them, according to contemporary medical opinion.<sup>405</sup> Moral nurses were therefore less likely to infect the child with the pox and along with it, an immoral temperament.

To be sure, the bureau implemented strict measures for the resident nurses as well: they were forbidden to leave the premises of the hospice, and if they abandoned their entrusted child during an epidemic or failed to declare his death, they were severely punished by whipping or death.<sup>406</sup> The nurses were also cautioned not to contaminate or mix milk with others, and were never to interchange the linens with those of the hospital's adult patients and elderly poor.<sup>407</sup> Each nurse's assigned children were her responsibility, and her failure was apparently equal to infanticide. In return for their effective and diligent care, nurses were compensated with a pension, they were provided with room, board, and even medical care.<sup>408</sup> In short, the nurses at the *Hôtel-Dieu* were both carefully supervised and cherished. They represented some of the most indispensable and

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<sup>404</sup> Paul Hysen, Susan Hysen, "Understanding the theory behind Graeco-Arabic medicine," Traditional Medicine Network (© 2003), <http://www.traditionalmedicine.net.au/chapter2.htm>, April 2012.

<sup>405</sup> Terpstra, *Lost Girls*, 151.

<sup>406</sup> Various "minutes" from weekly bureau meetings and a series of repeatedly published "precautions" and rules to be followed during epidemics, stipulated the above mentioned penalties for child-abandonment or failure to declare their death. AD des BR 6.HD.E1 (1 August, 1629, July 1649, and 20 December 1663) .

<sup>407</sup> AD des BR 6HD.E4.

<sup>408</sup> Medical care was most often related to cases of venereal disease. When a nurse contracted the pox from the child, she was treated at the hospital's expense. Examples from 1675 and 1689 are documented in AD des BR 6.HD.E1.

valued employees, whose role defined the hospital's new purpose. Concentrating infant foundlings represented a form of hospital specialization that allowed the magistrates to control children's access to nurses. More importantly, by focusing on presumably illegitimate children, the institution helped to segregate the 'sinful' from the rest.

**b. *Illegitimacy***

*L'Hôtel-Dieu* supposedly admitted only those children who were illegitimate, while legitimate parentless children were sent to the *Charité*. This re-distribution of parentless children into different institutions based on their legitimacy/ illegitimacy was arguably a deliberate attempt to separate those children who were born out of sin from those who were not. The attention of the *Hôtel-Dieu* directors to illegitimate foundlings reflected wide-spread assumptions both about the practice of child abandonment and about the sinfulness of illegitimacy. Since most (if not all) abandoned infants in Marseilles were presumed illegitimate, they were considered both immoral and potentially threatening. First, the practice of child abandonment endangered the child's moral development. It exposed young children to further poverty and sin as they struggled to survive without parents. Secondly, abandoned children represented the seeds of disorder and the future generation of beggars. The language of the 'Statutes' of some of Marseilles' charitable asylums reveals this universal sense of urgency to curb poor children's wayward behaviours. The rectors of the *Bon rencontre* hospital, for example, hoped that in their hospice children would "receive better education than that which they

might find on the boats and docks,<sup>409</sup> where they routinely congregated and slept. The civic elites institutionalized children simply to preserve their innocence by preventing their future fall into poverty and corruption.

In order to reduce the practice of child-abandonment, the charitable leaders also targeted what they thought to be the source of abandonment: illegitimacy. Even though not all abandoned children were illegitimate, several indicators suggest that illegitimacy was still one of the more compelling reasons for child-abandonment in seventeenth-century Marseilles. The lack of contact between parents and their deserted children,<sup>410</sup> as well as the high occurrence of anonymous abandonment, suggests that parents generally had no intentions of reclaiming their child. In cases where temporary economic hardship was the cause of child desertion – for example in the Florentine *Opidale degli Innocenti* explored by Gavitt – parents frequently visited their children, and a careful record of family names was kept. In Marseilles' *Hôtel-Dieu*, however, infants were most likely abandoned for reasons of parental shame resulting from out-of-wedlock births.<sup>411</sup> Post-

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<sup>409</sup> “Qu’il se trouvoit dans notre ville un très grand nombre de pauvres enfants abandonnés qui périssent faute de conduit, ou qui prenoient une mauvaise éducation.” AD des BR 10.HD.B1/ E1 (1672-3) “Lettres patentes du roi, approbation des réglemens par l’évêque, intendants de justice, échevins.”

<sup>410</sup> *Charité* archive indicates that children were given for adoption “to whom who wants them” on condition that the children would be provided for. Both the *Hôtel-Dieu* and *Charité* appealed to parents to pick up their children as soon as they would be able to, indicating that economic hardship was in some cases the reason for abandonment. These occasions, however, were probably extremely rare. In most cases children were left with no clear resolution of their situation. AD des BR 7.HD.E1.

<sup>411</sup> DeMause explains that many parents felt shame in parenting children out of wedlock, which subsequently pressed them to leave these children. John Boswell’s study also highlights the problematic relationship between abandonment, illegitimacy and social order (Boswell, 8). He also explains, however, that gradually (through the Middle Ages) the Christian doctrine lessened its scrutinizing approach to abandonment, celebrating foster care and begrudgingly accepting child abandonment as a necessary practice preferable to infanticide (Boswell, 154-174). The fact that abandonment again became a problem in



Reformation France espoused a particularly derogatory discourse on illegitimacy that classified it as sinful, often by associating illegitimacy with prostitution. As a result, the children increasingly carried the stigma of their allegedly immoral mothers.

According to a royal edict of 1609 targeting the *Hôtel-Dieu* hospitals of both Lyon and of Marseilles, pregnant women were no longer allowed to give birth in the hospital unless a criminal inquiry was carried out, verifying their married status.<sup>412</sup> If a woman was found to be unmarried, she was automatically thought to be a prostitute and was escorted to the *Refuge* asylum. After 1690 the adjoining *Entrepôt* became the designated ‘maternity ward’ for single mothers. Other similar practices implemented at the *Hôtel-Dieu* also evince the disparaging assumptions about illegitimate children. When bed-spaces became limited, for example, the directors turned directly to the *échevins*, urging them to tighten their policy on prostitution.<sup>413</sup> They clearly sought to eliminate what they assumed was the most likely source of abandoned children, which was prostitution. Prostitution was thought to be the chief cause of most illegitimate births, and illegitimacy was thought to be the cause of abandonment. Consequently, anonymously abandoned and presumably illegitimate infants were regarded as threatening to the community’s moral integrity.

As with their mothers, the children’s sinfulness called for charity in the form of moral ‘conditioning,’ if not reform. For the child, illegitimacy represented a ‘defect;’ it

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the early modern period in France, specifically post-Reformation and post-Trent, therefore attests to a shift in the moral and ideological priorities of the society.

<sup>412</sup> Gilly, 25-26.

<sup>413</sup> AD des BR 6.HD.E1 (30 June 1689).

was on a par with such contemporary child-ailments as physical deformity, mental retardation, pathological anger, insanity, or heresy, explains Maurice Capul.<sup>414</sup> For these and other problems, children were traditionally sent to the countryside in France, since specialized-care institutions did not exist. The illegitimate children of Marseilles and Lyon were often treated similarly as those afflicted with mental or physical illness. Keeping all presumably illegitimate infants in *l'Hôtel-Dieu*<sup>415</sup> (or in the countryside) while sending legitimate children to the *Charité*,<sup>416</sup> was a sorting process that played an important role in children's moral training. Bureau meeting minutes affirm that the directors of both hospitals placed great emphasis on the arriving children's legitimacy or illegitimacy in order to place them appropriately. It appears that other criteria – for example the children's parental background – were a lesser concern. For instance, the children of imprisoned, debauched women were admitted into the *Hôtel-Dieu* if they were illegitimate, but were rejected if they were legitimate.<sup>417</sup> Similarly, when a female patient of the *Hôtel-Dieu* tried to bring her child with her into the institution, she was refused.

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<sup>414</sup> Capul, *Les enfants placés sous l'Ancien Régime: Infirmité et hérésie*, 7-18.

<sup>415</sup> It is not clear how long children stayed in the *Hôtel-Dieu* in Marseilles: the *Calendrier Spirituel* mentions that illegitimate children remained in the *Hôtel-Dieu* “till a certain age,” (145-146). This was often the age of seven, explains DeMause, when children were sent to apprenticeships (DeMause, 32). Some children were probably also sent to the *Charité* at the age of seven, following the example of Lyon. Still, we discover records in the *Hôtel-Dieu* archive that discuss marriage matches for the hospital girls, which suggests that children remained in the hospice's custody until the age of fifteen – an age after which the *Hôtel-Dieu* explicitly did not admit children. AD des BR 6.HD.E1 (1 June 1679).

<sup>416</sup> Multiple entries from administrative meetings indicate that the bureau repeatedly urged to remain adamant in enforcing illegitimacy as a criterion for admission. AD des BR 6.HD.E1/E4 (12 November 1676).

<sup>417</sup> Archives affirm the admission of a four-year-old child called Guillaume (nicknamed “Bonnet”) of a condemned and imprisoned woman named Andrèze. The boy was welcomed immediately, because he was allegedly illegitimate and the result of her “*commerces clandestins*” (i.e., prostitution). AD des BR 6.HD.E1/ E4 (15 May 1665). In another instance, however, a two-year old child of a condemned woman was rejected because he was legitimate. AD des BR 6.HD.E1 (16 May 1675).

She tried to persuade the directors that the child was conceived out of wedlock, but did not succeed. In the end, her son was sent to the *Charité* instead, to await her recovery.<sup>418</sup>

The apparently pressing need to isolate illegitimate children from the legitimate ones reflected a discomfort with illegitimacy on moral grounds, and emerged from male directors' anxieties over the exquisitely impressionable nature of young children as future generations of moral citizens. Recorded bureau meetings disclose a great deal of anxiety about the potential marriage matches between illegitimate children. One record reads: "because of the grave consequences caused by marriages between bastards, we must never allow such matches to occur," cautioned the directors, implying that licentiousness can propagate itself genetically.<sup>419</sup> What the directors seemed to forget, however, was that even legitimate siblings who had been anonymously abandoned may commit incest, as they did not know their parents and siblings. The directors' vehement opposition was evidently founded on a rather weak rationale. It more likely stemmed from a general unease about illegitimacy than about incest. Illegitimacy represented a mark of inferiority if the child. Even though this 'innate flaw' was not punishable because the sin belonged to the parents rather than the child,<sup>420</sup> it nevertheless carried a significant stigma, and demanded charitable attention and repair. By separating them, the directors could physically isolate the most sin-carrying children, treat them differently, and monitor their future whereabouts and marriages.

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<sup>418</sup> AD des BR 6.HD.E4 (June 1676).

<sup>419</sup> "Qu'attandu les consequences que les mariages de batard à batard peuvent avoir a été délibéré de ne jamais faire de ces mariages au préjudice de cette maison." AD des BR 6.HD.E1 (13 July 1684).

<sup>420</sup> Capul, *Les enfants placés sous l'Ancien Régime: Infirmité et hérésie*, 10.

The hospitals' policy of separation of illegitimate children was part of a larger process carefully to supervise and morally mould children posing a particularly potent threat to social order and to the community's moral social order. Unfortunately, Marseilles' archives lack details about the treatment of these children once institutionalized, and it is therefore unclear to what extent the children's separation translated into their distinct treatment within their respective asylums. Maurice Capul suggests that differentiated treatment usually did occur, however,<sup>421</sup> which we find exemplified in the case of Lyon. Since Marseilles modelled its charities on those in Lyon, a brief analysis is valuable.<sup>422</sup>

Lyon's *Hôtel-Dieu* housed both illegitimate and legitimate children,<sup>423</sup> but in separate living quarters. The children wore dissimilar dress, and ate separately.<sup>424</sup> Most importantly, all children were judged according to the so-called 'Christian adoption principle,' which was later instituted as a decree. Robert Gilly explains that this principle encapsulated the advantageous standing of legitimate children in contrast to their illegitimate counterparts. The Christian adoption principle meant that the child would be the beneficiary of his or her adoption, and not the adopting foster parent (or institution).

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<sup>421</sup> Capul, *Les enfants placés sous l'Ancien Régime: Infirmité et hérésie*, 7.

<sup>422</sup> Marseilles' *Charité* was built on the model of Lyon's *Aumône Générale* (est. 1530s), which was modelled on *Aumône Générale Provisoire*, and became the *Charité Aumône Générale* in 1614. Gilly, 30. The founding charter of Marseilles' *Charité* mentions its intentions to imitate Lyon. AD des BR 7HD.A2.

<sup>423</sup> In Lyon the arrangement was different from Marseilles: all young children were housed in the *Hôtel-Dieu* and were sent to the *Charité (Aumône Générale)* at age of seven as of 1626. The *Hôtel-Dieu* and the *Charité* thus both housed illegitimate and legitimate children, but of different age each. Importantly, both hospices in Lyon were headed by the same individual named Mathieu de Vauzelles (city councillor). See Gilly, 25.

<sup>424</sup> Gilly, 32-34.

This was an important contrast to pagan forms of foster care, when a foster parent often took care of an orphaned child in order to sell them or use them for work.<sup>425</sup> As the Christian principle became implemented in France,<sup>426</sup> important stipulations came to define its applicability.

In an edict of 1605, Henry IV outlined the two necessary conditions for the child to be considered *adoptif* under the Principle's terms: the chief criterion was that the child was legitimate and of local parents who were either destitute or deceased; the required age was between seven and fourteen.<sup>427</sup> These *enfants adoptifs* were welcomed in Lyon's *Hôtel-Dieu* in a public ceremony symbolizing their inclusion into the community – their adoption.<sup>428</sup> Illegitimate children received no such ceremony. Another significant advantage of an *adoptif* status was the child's eligibility for future dowry from the charitable asylum.<sup>429</sup> Though Gilly admits that in practice the *adoptif* and *non-adoptif* children had a similar lifestyle,<sup>430</sup> the symbolism of separation is important. Based on Gilly's findings, it appears that institutionalization for legitimate children of Lyon signalled their immediate communal reintegration. For the illegitimate ones, on the other hand, it meant segregation and exclusion. They were kept in separate living quarters, a

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<sup>425</sup> DeMause, 33-34.

<sup>426</sup> Lyon's *Hôtel-Dieu* implemented the principle of "Christian adoption" between 1631 and 1636. Gilly, 37.

<sup>427</sup> Gilly, 38.

<sup>428</sup> Gilly, 33.

<sup>429</sup> Marseilles' hospital archives do not stipulate that a dowry was denied to illegitimate children – girls from both the *Charité* and the *Hôtel-Dieu* were married off to suitable and hospital-approved matches. By the same token, dowries are rarely mentioned in either case, precluding as thorough an analysis as was possible for Lyon. A clear separation between illegitimate and legitimate girls was maintained nevertheless, as explained above.

<sup>430</sup> Gilly, 38.

distinct asylum (in the case of Marseilles), or in the countryside. These ‘flawed’ children would join the others only after they reached a suitable age for education, and returned to the city.

The return of all country-side foster children to the city for instruction was an important seventeenth-century development; the authorities evidently believed that even illegitimate children could be morally ‘repaired.’ By bringing children back into the asylum instead of letting them grow up in the country, the elites also asserted greater control over vulnerable children than had been the case before. In the sixteenth century, for example, illegitimate children were often left in the countryside with their foster parent even after they had been weaned. They were encouraged to “adopt the peasant lifestyle if they pleased.”<sup>431</sup> In 1626 this practice changed dramatically, however. By a royal edict, all foster children (legitimate and illegitimate) who were living in the country were to be transferred to the *Aumône générale* (*Charité*) in Lyon at the age of seven.<sup>432</sup> The same policy applied in Marseilles. A note from 1698 affirms “the return of those girls who are now old enough to receive proper education in the asylum.”<sup>433</sup> The councillors did not wish to risk greater rural poverty, and pre-emptively brought back the children. Through this policy they also replaced the freedom to learn a peasant lifestyle with

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<sup>431</sup> Remacle, 55.

<sup>432</sup> Remacle, 53-55.

<sup>433</sup> Archives confirm the return of girls from the countryside: “y en [filles] ayant aussi un grand nombre a la campagne entre les mains de leur mères nourricieres qui sont d'un âge compétant pour les retirer dans ledit hôpital et les remettre soub l'education de la mère en quoi on n'a pas peu parvenir a cause qu'il n'y a pas de logement dans ledit hôpital pour les contenir...” Transl. : “There is a larger number of girls in the countryside, still in the care of their nurses, who are now old enough to return to the hospice and receive education...which had not been possible prior due to small number of beds.” AD des BR 6.HD.E8 (16 January 1698).

catechisms, work training, and close supervision within the controlled space of the hospital. “The house that had nourished them [in the country] fulfilled its task,” and the asylums took over.<sup>434</sup> The municipal authorities of Lyon, Marseilles, and other urban centres had a vested interest in managing child-development: to produce generations of obedient, productive, and virtuous citizens.<sup>435</sup> Even though illegitimate children were certainly not the only ones subjected to structured teaching, their transfer from the country to the city was especially meaningful. It signalled their inclusion, and affirmed the elite’s ongoing anxiety over the inherent sinfulness of illegitimacy.

Similarly to nourishment and baptism, education was a form of charity. It was a promise of life outside of poverty and sin. Both the *Hôtel-Dieu* and the *Charité* were equipped to provide structured education, but it was particularly in the *Charité* hospital that children were subjected to rigorous discipline through work-training and schooling. These children were supposedly legitimate, and thus we could expect them to be somewhat privileged based on Gilly’s study of Lyon. Curiously, however, we discover their treatment to be rather severe. The reasons were likely twofold: the children’s older age (only those older than seven years were admitted)<sup>436</sup> and the criminal implications of their begging. Together, these factors likely convinced the *Charité* rectors that a strict standard of discipline and thorough instruction were both age-appropriate and necessary. While the concern with infants was to contain their sinfulness of their illegitimacy, with

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<sup>434</sup> Remacle, 53.

<sup>435</sup> Similar features were identified by Donna Andrew in London.

<sup>436</sup> *Calendrier Spirituel*, 137.

older children the emphasis was on curtailing their begging. We shift attention to Marseilles' impoverished youth, highlighting some of the key features of the *Charité* asylum. Work programs and discipline-oriented religious instruction both embodied the reformatory purpose of children's charity.

### ***III. La Charité: correcting idleness and sin in youth***

The *Charité* hospital opened in 1641, intended “to enclose poor beggars, men, women and orphaned children....”<sup>437</sup> This heterogeneous population formed distinct groups: those who arrived voluntarily requesting either bread or shelter, and those who were found begging on the streets and were subsequently arrested by the *échevins*. Approximately once every month, the directors and city authorities organized a search for all beggars with the intention of bringing them to the institution – a similar process identified elsewhere in Europe.<sup>438</sup> Abandoned, orphaned, and begging youth invariably fell into the category of non-voluntary arrivals. They were most often brought in by other

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<sup>437</sup> A royal edict published in 1683 stipulated: “De par le roy, monsieur de Pilles Gouverneur Viguier et capitaine sur les galères; messieurs les eschevins de la ville de Marseille... Estant nécessaire de remédier aux désordres qui arrivent pendant la nuit & de purger la ville de plusieurs mauvais garnimens [garnement] qui ne doivent pas y estre soufferts ; nous enjoignons a tous vagabons, boëmiens & boëmiènes & autres gens sans adveu, de vuider la ville et terroir par le jour, a peine de la prison & d'estre poursuivis comme voleurs publics.” Transl.: “It is necessary to remedy all the disorders that occur during the night and to purge the city of many bad scoundrels (mischievous children and brats) that cannot be suffered. We order to all vagabonds, bohemians and other loose persons, to leave the city and its territory within a day or else they will be prosecuted like common thieves and be condemned to prison.” AMM.1BB 197 (23 February, 1683).

<sup>438</sup> AD des BR 7.HD.E (various). Also, Cavallo, *Charity and Power*.



*Marseillais* citizens, or they were collected by the authorities along with the city's adult beggars.<sup>439</sup>

My archives do not clearly reveal the number of children admitted or the proportion of children within the overall hospital population. This is partially due to the fact that some entry logs conflate the number of *enfants* with *hommes*, while others separate between *garçons* and *hommes*. Girls were most likely included in the number of *enfants* or they were admitted within the adult female section. Albeit incomplete, admission records show that between 1641 and 1657, an average of thirty new male inmates were admitted, some of whom were presumably boys.<sup>440</sup> Between 1657 and 1683, no more than forty young boys were let in annually, but a much smaller number of men (maximum of twenty annually) arrived.<sup>441</sup> The proportions indicate that even though the *Charité* did not care exclusively for children, it often admitted more children than adult and elderly poor. In the directors' eyes, unsupervised begging children represented just as great a threat to moral order as adults. Some documents make this explicit: "scoundrels, mischievous children and brats,"<sup>442</sup> were considered just as bothersome as "vagabonds and bohemians." All such groups should be "purged from the city," concluded one of the many widely implemented royal edicts.<sup>443</sup>

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<sup>439</sup> A typical entry from the admission logs confirms that children did not come of their own will. While adult often registres often read "has presented himself or herself/ s'est présenté(e)" as needy of assistance, children were invariably "presented by/ présenté(e) par" another person, sometimes an impoverished parent, and sometimes a member of the community. AD des BR 7.HD.E2.

<sup>440</sup> AD des BR 7.HD.F1.

<sup>441</sup> AD des BR 7.HD.F2.

<sup>442</sup> *Garnimens* [garnements] translates as "scoundrels, mischievous children, brats."

<sup>443</sup> Above-cited royal edict of 23 February, 1683 in AMM.1BB 197.

In light of these disparaging assumptions about begging children and youth, it is not surprising that the *Charité* treated its young inmates like it did adults. They too were considered accountable (at least partially) for their sinful begging, and were expected to improve their moral conduct accordingly. Age played a role here, because children seem to have been considered ‘punishable’ after the age of fourteen – another charitable effort to demarcate the liminal rites of passage in youth.<sup>444</sup> At the same time, the fact that children and youth were most often brought in and detained in the *Charité* against their will reflected their supposed immaturity. In short, the *Charité* children were treated both as adults and as dependents. This complicated status fundamentally shaped the charity these children received.

Just like the adult beggars, the children were enrolled in mandatory work-programs intended to prevent the sin of idleness. Unlike adults however, they were also taught how to read, write, and know the catechism. This form of instruction was meant exclusively for children.<sup>445</sup> A distinct set of assumptions about childhood apparently contoured the hospital’s approach to them: begging children were mischievous and disorderly but they were also more receptive to learning than adults. The words of Jacqueline Pascal – rectoress from the Port Royal Abbey in Paris – effectively capture the complex contemporary sentiment towards children:

Young children, and especially those who are mischievous, frivolous or wedded to some considerable defect, must not be

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<sup>444</sup> Capul, *Les enfants placés sous l’Ancien Régime: Infirmité et hérésie*, 21.

<sup>445</sup> AD des BR 6.HD.E1.

allowed to take communion. They must be made to wait until God has affected some change in them, and it is wise to wait a long time...to see if their actions are followed up.<sup>446</sup>

Even as children were thought to be inclined to mischief, they were also considered defenceless, dependent, and spiritually and intellectually innocent. Pascal continues: “Be like new-born children. . . . Grant, O Lord, that we may always be children in our simplicity and innocence, as people of the world are always children in their ignorance and weakness.”<sup>447</sup> As much as children and youth needed discipline they were also suitable for learning and worthy of protection.<sup>448</sup> In the *Charité*, structured work-training as well as spiritual and literary education embodied the essence of charitable care for children. The bourgeois *échevins* wanted to make sure dangerous children and youth became productive economic units in the new orderly polis.<sup>449</sup> Ultimately, such re-educated youth would grow up to become obedient *Marseillais* citizens.

### c. *Work*

The *Charité* work programs for children and youth were meant to encourage obedience on three levels. First, the hospital directors believed that work was an effective way of occupying children, thus eliminating their indolence and immediate opportunities

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<sup>446</sup> Ariès, 127.

<sup>447</sup> Ariès, 122.

<sup>448</sup> Philippe Ariès explains that throughout the Middle Ages, childhood was understood as an imperfect stage in human development, one where children’s benefit lay primarily in the promise of their future as adults. Only gradually did children come to be associated with spiritual agency, when the image of the Infant Jesus became more prominent in medieval Catholic liturgy. Hugh Cunningham agrees with Ariès, explaining that it was in the Renaissance period that children came to be recognized for their edificatory potential. See Ariès, 128, and Cunningham, *Children and Childhood*, 42-46.

<sup>449</sup> Donna Andrew similarly contextualizes London’s Coram’s foundling hospital’s effort to train vulnerable children.

for misbehaviour. Secondly, children's compliance was assured by the dependency that asylum-run work programs maintained while the children remained in the institution's employ. Finally, properly trained children would grow up to be obedient, productive, econometric and self-sufficient citizens, committed to moral and orderly lifestyle outside of poverty. Since material destitution was at this time understood in terms of spiritual and moral deficiency, children's work represented the practical application of the elites' moralizing efforts.

One of the primary reasons for involving children in structured work programs was to curb their temptation to misbehave, simply by occupying them. Though the *Hôtel-Dieu* is not our focus here,<sup>450</sup> the directors of this particular hospice articulated this contemporary rationale especially well in one of their meetings in March of 1685. The hospital rector decided to employ children for the following reasons:

The hospital children play all day long either inside or in front of the church...which allows them to become mischievous...In order to spare them from offending God...the bureau has deliberated to find ways to occupy the children, either by teaching them to make stockings from cotton or wool, or bonnets.<sup>451</sup>

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<sup>450</sup> *Hôtel-Dieu* eventually involved its older children in work programs as well, but not until 1685. What marks the *Charité* as distinct was its commencement of child work programs at the time of the hospice's establishment in 1641. Clearly, work training was fundamental to the hospice's function and purpose.

<sup>451</sup> "Les enfants jouent tout le jour tant dans la maison ou devant l'église...que permet se rendre des mauvais enfants...Que pour éviter que Dieu ne voie demande compte de leurs actions...avons délibéré de les occuper si nous pouvons...pour la mettre dans la maison et leur enseigner de faire de bas soit de cotton ou de laine ou de bonnets." AD des BR 6.HD.E1 (1 March 1685).

The excerpt shows that work was understood as an effective way of maintaining children's obedience and managing their behaviour. Unrestrained child-play was apparently seen as dangerous and conducive to misconduct. The *Charité* espoused the same beliefs. Dealing with older children caught begging, the *Charité* did not hesitate to put children to work. As early as 1641, it organized structured work-training in its *fabrique* on-site, which was complemented by external apprenticeship programs for boys and maid-service employments for girls.<sup>452</sup> For the most part, girls were taught how to make bonnets, ribbons, stockings or lace, while boys were instructed in crafts such as carpentry.

The importance of work as a preventative behaviour-management tool is meaningful and rather distinct from other areas of Europe. Because of its didactic nature and the presence of schooling (as we shall see), we should not perceive the *Charité* in Marseilles strictly as a “pre-industrial workhouse” identified by some in England.<sup>453</sup> At the same time, the *Charité* was dissimilar from such reform-oriented work programs as those identified in Italy. Nicholas Terpstra has shown that in early modern Bologna and Florence charity-receiving girls and women played an important role in the city's nascent silk-industry.<sup>454</sup> The same economic interest was lacking in Marseilles, however. While Bologna's civic leaders focused on their thriving silk industry, conveniently using the work-force of parentless youth towards that goal, in Marseilles the city council evidently

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<sup>452</sup> AD des BR 6.DH. 7.HD (various).

<sup>453</sup> Cunningham, *The Children of the Poor*, 25.

<sup>454</sup> Terpstra, “Working the Cocoon” lecture.

was preoccupied with poor relief initiatives and with moral reform. Stocking and bonnet production were thus only secondary to concerns with moral orderliness. Moreover, in Italy, charitable institutions were typically under the control of the Church or they were sponsored by individual pious givers – often women.<sup>455</sup> There was a medieval notion of charitable giving, which prioritized the piety of the giver rather than the morality of the recipient. In Marseilles, where asylum leadership overlapped with civic governance, the function of children's work programs was primarily educational and corrective. The elites strove to instill a proper work ethic in order to meet the need for social order, predicated on economic advance for all citizens.

In addition to providing effective behaviour-management techniques, the *Charité* work programs encouraged obedience in another way. They generated and maintained a relationship of dependency posited upon obedience for the duration of the children's stay. The path to an independent, prosperous life outside of the asylum was neither direct nor short. Children were employed in a similar way as children would be in a contemporary household, which means they had no income of their own.<sup>456</sup> Although they were sometimes allowed to keep a small portion of their earnings (usually one-fourth), the rest was used to subsidize their material needs. Because the children only had access to work

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<sup>455</sup> Historians of Italian charitable giving collectively show a pattern of individual hospital-sponsorship. See Gavitt's study of the Florentine *Ospedale degli Innocenti*, also Katharine Park, "Healing the Poor: hospitals and medical assistance in Renaissance Florence," in *Medicine and Charity Before the Welfare State*, eds. Jonathan Barry and Colin Jones (London: Routledge, 1994) 26-45, and Sandra Cavallo, "The Motivations of Benefactors: an overview of approaches to the study of charity," in the same collection (46-62).

<sup>456</sup> Though historical records vary and linguistic ambivalence precludes precise dating, historians agree that in the household children were required to begin working early – usually as soon as they were weaned. Cunningham, *Children and Childhood*, also Ariès, 21 and DeMause, 249.

through the institution, however, they were effectively kept in a relationship of dependency on the institution. This was typical for all forms of charity, where working adult inmates were similarly expected to help pay for their support. Similarly, the decision to discharge a young girl or boy from the asylum was fully at the bureau's discretion. When the bureau saw fit, girls received a dowry and were married off to approved matches, and boys were given 'seed money' to establish themselves in the trade they had been taught.<sup>457</sup> Until then, the children's work was part of the hospital's charity and its patronage. Their youth and orphan status rendered them fully dependent upon the rectors, who kept them in a position of need as long as they thought necessary. They were in a perpetual 'apprenticeship' in the charitable institution.

Contemporary French vernacular further affirms the conceptual links between childhood, dependency, and also low social status. Philippe Ariès explains that the term *enfant* was used in reference to all members of society who were not self-sufficient.<sup>458</sup> He indicates, for example, that words such as *enfant* and *garçon* were applied to those who were locked in feudal relationships despite their advanced age.<sup>459</sup> By contrast, in the world of the bourgeoisie and nobility, youths and adolescents were more clearly distinguished from children. In these circles, the word *enfant* was reserved for the very small and physically infirm members. In short, the classification *enfant* literally represented the early stage of life, but symbolically it denoted dependency and a social

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<sup>457</sup> Archives suggest that boys received 36 *livres* when they left the institution. AD des BR 6.HD.E1 (9 June 1669).

<sup>458</sup> Ariès, 25-29.

<sup>459</sup> Ariès, 27.

lowliness that was economic, social, and moral.<sup>460</sup> Abandoned children were ‘dependent’ in every sense of the word – a dependency that the asylum administrators maintained and even exploited for the greater social good. Work under the hospital’s tutelage did not release children from their neediness – it was meant to instil skills. Upon discharge, children presumably were equipped to pursue their professional vocation, and avoid a life of sin and poverty. Though we know little about the fate of dismissed children, we do know that the rectors took considerable care in preparing the boys for trade, and assigning girls to suitable marriage matches. Work was considered a form of charity precisely because it was meant to deliver these children from sin and perdition.

Even though both children and adults were expected to work, only children were offered additional education as well. Particularly catechesis represented a useful and necessary tool in shaping the children’s behaviour, morals and, ultimately, their character. The assumptions about children’s tendency to misbehaviour were the same as those that underpinned work programs. But beyond the apparent ‘need’ to discipline these allegedly disorderly children of poor parents, catechesis also reflected the notion that children were well receptive and took to instruction. The same innocence that made them corruptible also made them impressionable, amenable, and easily teachable. This tractable characteristic was thought to be unique to children, which is why adults were not

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<sup>460</sup> Another example of such implicit associations between adulthood and accountability was the contemporary attitude to adulthood in girls. The designations *femme* and *fille*, for example, were at times interchangeable, suggesting that young girls were considered to be accountable for their sexuality as much as grown women. Adulthood – which was often marked by early marriage for girls – was therefore also a gendered concept. Boswell, 34.



educated in the same way. Children without parents who were fully dependent on the institution represented an especially valuable target group, giving the authorities easy access to the future generation of *Marseillais* citizens.

**d. Catechesis**

The learning potential of children was increasingly recognized in the seventeenth century. To be sure, the greater emphasis on child instruction evident in Marseilles was part of a wider trend to institutionalize children's education in France. The so-called *petites écoles chretiennes* for small children<sup>461</sup> emerged kingdom-wide, together with numerous seminaries and colleges. This pattern was prominent particularly after the Tridentine council,<sup>462</sup> but the society's attention to childhood education had roots already in the Renaissance. Humanist thinkers including Desiderius Erasmus began to articulate a new understanding of the nature of childhood and children's education. Urging that children could and should be "moulded like wax,"<sup>463</sup> Erasmus argued that, unlike adults, children were intellectually pliable and impressionable. In Italy especially, educational institutions proliferated as early as the sixteenth century, making education more

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<sup>461</sup> Many provincial towns saw the emergence of the so-called *Petites Écoles* and *Écoles de Charité* intended for children of poor and honourable parents. The well-documented Lyon and Paris are such examples. See Capul, *Les enfants placés sous l'Ancien Régime: Abandon et marginalité*, 33-34. Marseilles does not appear to have opened such a separate institution, as the *Charité* presumably was intended to meet the needs of all of the city's children.

<sup>462</sup> The Jesuits, Ursulines and Jansenists took the lead in establishing seminaries, while the Minim order ran the *petites écoles chrestiens*. In Marseilles itself the Jesuits established three convents in 1623, 1628 and 1638, and in 1689 they founded a seminary of theology. See Régis Bertrand, "Les Jésuites a Marseille sous l'Ancien Régime," 15-24.

<sup>463</sup> Cunningham, *Children and Childhood*, 42-46.

accessible even to non-privileged youth via confraternal sponsorship.<sup>464</sup> Post-Tridentine Italy resembled seventeenth-century France in its emphasis on teaching moral propriety and Catholic orthodoxy to underprivileged youth.<sup>465</sup> While the Church spearheaded this initiative in Italy, however, in France the new state-sanctioned, locally administered charitable asylums embraced the task instead. Within their walls, spiritual education represented a form of charity – an offering of a properly productive lifestyle and of salvation.

In France, one chief indicator of the greater care to indoctrinate children was the re-emergence of catechisms after the Wars of Religion. For the first time, they were also designed for children.<sup>466</sup> Following the Tridentine model catechism of 1566,<sup>467</sup> French catechisms paid special attention to children by publishing three versions: longer, shorter, and a children's *abecedaire*.<sup>468</sup> This was partially a reaction to the Protestant child-catechisms and a counter-Reformation effort to appeal to the Catholic laity.<sup>469</sup> Addressing catechisms to children made sense to the authorities, because catechesis and behaviour-management were intrinsically tied. The catechism taught children both the

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<sup>464</sup> Christopher Carlsmith explains that in sixteenth-century Bergamo, various confraternities (for example the Misericordia Maggiore) sponsored individual students to attend academies and universities. Remarkably, they were willing to forgive instances of misbehaviour without withholding their stipend in hopes of encouraging the successful completion of their youth's studies. Carlsmith, 151-159.

<sup>465</sup> Carlsmith, 159-170.

<sup>466</sup> Though the practice of catechesis was around since the Middle Ages, it attained new utility in the wake of the wars of religion when France was being re-evangelized. See Karen Carter, *Creating Catholics: Catechism and Primary Education in Early Modern France* (Brigham Young University) 40.

<sup>467</sup> The Tridentine catechism became widely popular in France, and bishops adapted it for their respective dioceses. Carter, 26-30.

<sup>468</sup> Carter, 52.

<sup>469</sup> Carter, 41-48.

Catholic doctrine and the correct behaviours for achieving salvation – behaviours the hospital administrators believed would make children into loyal, pious, and obedient members of the community. The three institutions catering to poor children in Marseilles shared the commitment to “bring up and educate children in the fear of God,” in the words of the rectors from the *Hôtel-Dieu*.<sup>470</sup> It was again the *Charité*, however, that embraced the endeavour whole-heartedly. Indeed, *l’Hôtel-Dieu* was as tardy in implementing structured education for children (catechesis, reading and writing) as in training children for work. The first recorded decision to instruct children appears only in 1690,<sup>471</sup> whereas the *Charité* engaged the hospital priest in child-instruction as early as 1641. Later on, in 1694, the *Charité* rectors also involved the *Pères de la Mission* (charitable confraternity spearheading the conversion of galley-confined Protestants in Marseilles) in offering additional lessons to children.<sup>472</sup>

The *Charité’s* enhanced attention to child-instruction and discipline via catechesis reflected the nature of the population as explained earlier: older begging and thus already sinning children were in greater need of moral guidance than the newborns, toddlers, and

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<sup>470</sup> “D’en [child] prendre soin charitablement et de la faire élever et instruire tous au service et a la crainte de Dieu qu’en ce qu’est nécessaire. . . .” AD des BR 6.HD.E4 (19 March 1665).

<sup>471</sup> AD des BR 6.HD.E1 (22 April 1690). This was contemporaneous with Locke’s new theories on how humans learn, the ‘emptiness’ of their infant brains, and their instinct need for moral instruction.

<sup>472</sup> “L’instruction des pauvres estant d’une très considérable importance et devant être le principal de tous nos soings, on a délibéré de demander a monseigneur l’évêque une mission. . . afin que par ce salutation moyen nous puissoint contribuer a leur salut autant qu’il nous sera possible.” Transl.: “Instructing the poor is of utmost significance, and is the principal purpose of our care. We have thus resolved to appeal to the bishop to organize a ‘mission’ that will contribute to their [the children’s] spiritual elevation.” AD des BR 7.HD.E9 (Bureau meeting, 1694). The *Ordre de la Mission* was a confraternity originally founded by St. Vincent de Paul in the early decades of the century; its primary goal was spiritual assistance to galley *forçats*. See André Zysberg, *Les galériens*, 196-197. Chapter IV discusses this confraternity in extensive detail.

handful of children who survived infancy in *l'Hôtel-Dieu*. Even though we lack archival details regarding the *Charité's* catechism lessons, historian Karen Carter sheds some light on the general structure and content of seventeenth-century French catechisms for children, and allows us to anticipate core elements of those likely used in the *Charité*. Indeed, we shall see that the instances of disciplining noted in the hospital records adhered closely to the principles of catechesis.

Carter explains that the overarching goal of child-catechesis was to teach the “science of salvation,” which involved learning about the work of God, vices and virtues, and the ways of attaining salvation. Commonly the first segment was the *Apostles' Creed*, containing twelve articles addressing the life of Christ, Passion, sacrifice, and the Mystery of the Trinity. An extensive examination of the seven sacraments followed, stressing confession and communion. Next, the catechism discussed prayer and its critical role in devotion. Finally, it described feasts, holidays and rituals.<sup>473</sup> The catechism primarily strove to help children understand the main tenets of the Bible. At the same time, in practice, catechesis deliberately blended spiritual obligations with every-day working behaviours. For example, the study of the Ten Commandments and Sacraments was meant to stimulate a discussion of obedience owed to God, to the Catholic Church, and by extension to the civic authorities and the charitable institution itself. Similarly, attendance at mass, prayer and confession were underscored as the most important duties of an obedient and devout Christian. Accordingly, children of the asylum were taught to

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<sup>473</sup> Carter, 66-69, 75-79.

practice submissive reverence, and to profess thanks and pray regularly for the directors and benefactors, including those who were deceased.<sup>474</sup> The proscriptive and prescriptive character of the catechism lessons reached even further into the realm of children's conduct. They were taught how to behave on Sundays after mass. Laziness and vanity were explicitly forbidden as unproductive or counter-productive, while reading about the Scriptures and visiting the sick were recommended forms of leisure.<sup>475</sup> In short, *Charité* children were exposed to catechesis because it was an effective method for shaping their belief system, their behaviour, and their aptitude for hard labour.<sup>476</sup>

Juxtaposing the recorded cases of misbehaving children in the hospitals with the punishments they received, shows that the most frequent causes for punishment echoed the principles of catechesis. Aforementioned laziness, vanity and generally inappropriate behaviours (especially disorders during Mass) were forbidden and called for chastisement and strict house arrest.<sup>477</sup> In some cases, more long-term policies were implemented in

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<sup>474</sup> In Marseilles, charity-receiving children were frequently asked to “accompany the dead;” in white robes and with candles, they resembled angels (this idea of children's angelic innocence has been explored by Cunningham, *Children and Childhood*, 25). The vulnerable children from Marseilles' asylums adopted this role particularly for the funerals of hospital benefactors, prominent members of the community, the *échevins*. AD des BR 6.HD.E1/E2/E5.

<sup>475</sup> Carter, 75-76.

<sup>476</sup> Historian Jean-Charles D'Hôtel has suggested that the primary goal of catechesis was to instil religious orthodoxy and obedience by emphasizing the ecclesiastical hierarchy headed of the Church. Jean-Charles D'Hôtel, *Les origines du catéchisme moderne d'après les premiers manuels imprimés en France* (Paris: Éditions Mouton, 1967) 427-428. The emphasis on secular behaviour noted by Carter, however, more closely reflects the situation in Marseilles.

<sup>477</sup> “Le bureau pour remédier à tous les désordres a délibéré qu'il ne sera jamais permis aux filles sousquel pretexte que ce soit de sortir de la maison sans une permission expresse du bureau...qu'elle [mère] retranchera...toutes les vanités et superfluités desdites filles sans exception de personne; qu'elle fermera l'entrée de cet appartement....” Transl.: “The bureau has decided that, in order to remedy disorders, it will no longer be permitted to girls to leave the premises without the express permission of the bureau....The mother superior will curb and prohibit all vanities and superfluous things without exception, locking the

order to maintain order. At signs of trouble in the girls' section of the hospice, for example, the mother superior introduced a schedule resembling that of the *Refuge* asylum for prostitutes.<sup>478</sup> It involved an early wake-up call at five or six o'clock, strict silence, and additional prayers between work intervals and before bedtime. Structured and restricted days were meant to prevent turmoil and defiance, as well as to encourage feelings of repentance and duty towards the civic fathers. When such measures did not suffice, additional measures were put in place. In October of 1693, for instance, the directors detained several *filles incorrigibles* (uncorrectable girls) in the hospital's prison. The reason was their exhibited "blasphemous" behaviour during the procession of St. Lazare.<sup>479</sup> The girls were ordered to have no communication with the others, and survived only on bread and water for several days. The same penalty was also exacted to several other girls who allegedly revolted in the hospital's bonnet factory the same month.<sup>480</sup> This punishment was, according to the bureau, the most severe measure utilized. It followed the administration of the strap and other methods of chastisement, claimed the rector.<sup>481</sup>

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girls within their apartments." AD des BR 6.HD.E1 (4 November 1668). Other recorded instances of disorderly behaviours in the *Charité* archive: AD des BR 7.HD.E2 (1647–1656)/ 7.HD.E6 (1675).

<sup>478</sup> Multiple instances of disciplinary action towards girls: in 1671 four *rectoresses* were hired to oversee the discipline of girls in the *Hôtel-Dieu* (AD des BR 6.HD.E1); various examples of punishment of disobedient girls are noted in AD des BR 6.HD.E1/ 4/ 6, indicating a rise in discipline and disorder at the end of the century.

<sup>479</sup> AD des BR 7.HD. E9 (October 1693).

<sup>480</sup> AD des BR 7.HD.E9 (October 1693).

<sup>481</sup> "qu'il y avoit des filles dans la maison si insolents et si incorrigibles que les corrections et punitions ordinaires soit par des coups de nerfs, emprisonnements, ou abstinences, n'estoient point suffisantes ni capables de les rendre sages, ayant considéré qu'il seroit a propos lors qu'il se trouve quelque esprit de cette nature de le séparer pour long temps des autres soit pour tacher de les réduire soit pour empêcher que son venir ne se communiqué on a délibéré qu'on feroit une prison particulière qui serviroit de galère a une endroit de la maison qu'on a trouve propre pour ce la dans l'appartement des filles qui n'auroit aucun communication." Transl.: "There are girls in this house who are so insolent and incorrigible that

Both the mother superior and the priest continued to monitor the *Charité* girls,<sup>482</sup> ensuring they were “inspired by the fear and respect of God, the authority of the mother, and the hospital directors.”<sup>483</sup> The above-cited examples show that doctrine was directly used to mold the behaviour of the girls. Penance, fear of God, and regular confessions were some of the central features of moral training in the *Charité*. They structured the children’s daily routine, and complemented other forms of disciplining such as corporal punishment or imprisonment. The catechism was immensely important, because it allowed the hospital authorities to combine discipline with doctrine, and apply the children to task.

Another important feature of the catechisms that likely made them useful tools in behaviour-management was also their inscrutability. Carter explains that children were generally discouraged from gaining a deeper understanding of the Catholic doctrine, but instead were expected to accept the “mysteries” of God unquestioningly.<sup>484</sup> Casting the child’s behaviour against the inherently mysterious doctrine often generated fear, shame, and internal guilt within the child.<sup>485</sup> The subtle threat of spiritual torment – or the failure to reach salvation – complemented the promise of salvation. The fear and a lack of understanding of the content subsequently helped to ensure children’s compliance with

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ordinary punishments such as the strap, imprisonment or abstinence are no longer sufficient to discipline them. Therefore it may be appropriate to separate them for a longer period of time in order to attempt to prevent them from communicating....we have deliberated to establish a special prison that would function like a galley, a place in the house where these girls shall be enclosed and have no communication.” AD des BR 7.HD.E9 (September 1692).

<sup>482</sup> Boys were also punished if they created disorder; arguably less frequently than girls.

<sup>483</sup> AD des BR 7.HD.E9 (1692).

<sup>484</sup> Carter, 37.

<sup>485</sup> Marvick, 276-279.

house-rules and with the moral training. The *Statutes* of the seventeenth-century

*charitable écoles chrétiennes* illustrate this method of child-training:

...to be always modest at bedtime, at waking up, at work, in the manner of clothing, in words and actions,...all that contradicts such purity should make them [children] immensely fearful....<sup>486</sup>

Even as the excerpt emphasizes the virtues of modesty and humility, it also introduces the element of fear. Only by knowing (though not understanding) the “truths of the catechism”<sup>487</sup> can a child evade the “great horror from all that is impure.” Contemporary educators believed in the infliction of mental anxiety as a suitable means of instilling good manners, and often abandoned corporal punishment in favor of psychological tactics such as those based in doctrine.<sup>488</sup>

The charitable hospitals applied the popular technique with a marked intensity. More significantly, they stressed the children’s duty to appreciate such teaching as a form of charity, even if it involved experiencing spiritual distress. The directors’ hope for children’s gratitude is evident in a record from April 1693:

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<sup>486</sup> “D’être toujours modestes au coucher, au lever, au travail, en leur vêtement en leur port et maintient, en leurs paroles et actions, en leur donnèrent une grande horreur de tout ce qui peut être contraire a la pureté.” Sisters of Charitable Instruction of the Child Jesus, *Statuts et règlement*, Ch. VIII art. 5.

<sup>487</sup> “L’esprit de cet institut consiste principalement a travailler efficacement et sans relâche a leur propre sanctification et a l’entière perfection de leur intérieur par l’acquisition de toutes les vertus dans l’espérance d’être attirés de Dieu et élevés par son Saint Esprit et sa grâce a l’instruction du prochain....” Transl.: “The spirit of this institution consists primarily of working relentlessly and effectively towards the perfection of their [the children’s] soul and their sanctification...the acquisition of all the virtues in the hope of bringing them to God so they could be elevated by His Holy Spirit and grace.” *Statuts et règlement*, Art. VI, XIV.

<sup>488</sup> Marvick, 278; Ariès, 113-116, 120-126.



...to inspire [girls] by a good education towards fear of God and submission that they owe to those persons whom our Lord has charged with their guidance, obligating them [the hospital directors] to work hard and relentlessly to ensure that the girls don't do as they had done before.....<sup>489</sup>

The passage is significant for several reasons: it discloses the close relationship between discipline and doctrine; it conveys 'good education' as a form of charity that the children (in this case, girls) must be thankful for, and finally it implicitly solidifies the role of the charitable institution as an agent of God's grace. Another similar note recorded in the hospital log concerns a newly hired rectoress. Here, the children were obliged to appreciate their new chaperone, and see the benefit of punishment: "mother Marquise, who has a special talent for instilling fear of God and respect in the girls, also has qualities that make them like her."<sup>490</sup> The statement explicitly states the task of the mother superior was to bring up the *Charité* girls in the fear of God. It also suggests, however, that the rectors desired for her to have a positive rapport with the pupils. Presumably, they believed that such an affinity would help prevent the girls' rebelliousness that compromised the effectiveness of her teaching.

Ultimately, the rectors hoped the children would welcome their strict upbringing. In their eyes, catechesis (similarly to work and education in general) represented a

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<sup>489</sup> "leur [filles] inspirer par une bonne éducation la crainte de Dieu et la soumission qu'elles doivent aux personnes que notre seigneur a chargé de leur conduite et les obliger par conséquent de travailler avec plus d'assiduité et plus d'ardeur qu'elles ne faisoient auparavant..." AD des BR 7.HD.E9 (1693).

<sup>490</sup> "La mère Marquise qui a un talent tout particulier pour imprimer la crainte et le respect aux filles et des qualités en même temps pour s'en faire aimer..." AD des BR 7.HD.E9 (October 1693).

charitable gift. Catechesis was meant to teach children how to earn God's mercy, and prevent His wrath, thus bringing them closer to a mindset adept at perpetual productive life, and ultimately to salvation. Still, the proscriptive and prescriptive content of the catechisms was not the directors' only method of control over these children. The hospital authorities were also capable and willing to withhold their charity. This meant that the youth could be plunged back into a life of poverty and depravity. Because charitable giving itself was made conditional upon the child's moral merit – it could be denied – it was an effective means of control. Work training, spiritual instruction, lodging, nourishment, eventual gainful employment, the opportunity of a marriage match attainable only via a sufficient dowry income, and most importantly salvation – these charitable teachings were fragile acquisitions and had to be earned. Accordingly, the child's refusal of the 'gift' of charity was a highly punishable offense. As we have seen in the case of the *Charité* girls, their revolt was reprimanded with imprisonment because it signalled a disrespect that could not be tolerated. Running away and begging represented still a much more severe degree of defiance that resulted in the most serious penalty: forfeiture of the asylum's charity. Children who fled the institution (which occurred frequently) were most heavily punished. Their breakout amounted to the mocking repudiation of the institution's benevolence and the elites' paternal authority. One recorded incident illustrates the serious implications here.

During the same Procession of St. Lazare in October of 1693, twenty-seven girls seized an opportunity to escape from the *Charité* hospital.<sup>491</sup> Thirteen girls returned later that evening, four slept outside, and several did not return at all. The penalties that the bureau meted out to the rebellious youth merit a full quotation:

We [the bureau] have resolved to implement exemplary punishment for those who might create disorder in the future. That is why we have decided that the thirteen older girls would be beat/whipped<sup>492</sup> for a period of three days in the refectory and the smaller would be whipped by the ‘mothers’ also for the duration of three days. They will stay in the hospital prison from the day of St. Lazare until their punishment. Those who slept outside of the hospital [four of them] will also be chastised/whipped in the refectory; they will remain in the prison another eight days. For a period of one year until the next day of St. Lazare, two of the four girls [taking turns] will spend their dinner-time kneeling in the refectory every Friday. Those girls who have not yet returned, shall be denied future re-admission.<sup>493</sup>

The above passage from the bureau’s meeting describes the most rigorous punishment recorded in the hospital archives: the refusal of re-admission. It also demonstrates the

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<sup>491</sup> The St. Lazare procession appears on several occasions in recorded cases of escape; presumably it was a notoriously problematic event that for children represented a convenient opportunity for escape.

<sup>492</sup> *fustiger* means “to flay” which means “to whip or beat harshly, strip skin from body or carcass” (Oxford Dictionary).

<sup>493</sup> “On a résolu de les bien punir pour servir d’exemple a celles qui auroint envie d’en faire autant a l’avenir. C’est pourquoi on a délibéré que...treize les grandes seroient fustigées a coups de nerfs pendant trois jours en plein réfectoire et les petites fouettées par les mères aussi pendant trois jours et qu’elles sortiroient et seroient délivrées de la prison ou elles estoient enfermées depuis ledit jour de St. Lazare jusqu’à présent par l’ordre de M. le semanier....Celles qui ont couche dehors au nombre de quatre seront aussi fustigées en plein réfectoire et resteront encore huit jours en prison et que pendant une année tous les vendredis jusques a St. Lazare de l’année prochaine on en feroit mettre 2 des 4 alternativement a genoux pendant le dîne au milieu du réfectoire....Et que pour ce qui est de celles qui ne sont pas revenues jusqu’à présent et se trouvent dehors on a délibéré de ne plus les recevoir.” AD des BR 7.HD.E9 (1693).

intricate nuances within the group's 'crimes' and the corresponding punishment. The youths who returned and showed humility were given the 'charity' of re-admission, though they had to express remorse and publicly repent for their misbehaviour. Those girls who did not return to the asylum, and presumably chose a life of disorder and poverty, were denied the opportunity of a second chance of charity. It is noteworthy that the directors often did search and bring back their fleeing children hoping to prevent their resort to begging.<sup>494</sup> In October of 1693, however, the directors' patience evidently wore thin with girls who were deemed to be beyond reform. Their potential return to misery and moral deprivation represented the ultimate consequences for leaving the charitable institution without permission.

Though all children were expected to learn and manifest obedience, certain other factors played a role in their treatment, namely age and gender. In the above example it is evident that the 'small girls' were met with a slightly less severe penalty than the older girls. All *Charité* girls were apparently still more prone to disorder than boys. Archives abound with records of disobedient girls requiring additional surveillance – mother superior, rectoress, priest, and the male bureau – while the complaints against boys were comparatively few. The misbehaviour of young girls was judged through a gendered lens that conflated disorder and sin with female sexuality. They were effectively judged similarly as the *Refuge*-confined women we encountered earlier. Gender and age

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<sup>494</sup> Incident from April 1654: Jacques Phelip ran away; he was re-admitted but submitted to exemplary punishment of the strap and was then compelled to do penance and examine his conscience. AD des BR 7.HD.E2.

notwithstanding, the institution as a whole housed older children, who were held accountable for their poverty and begging. Smaller children and infants were evidently perceived to be innocent in this respect. For this reason work programs and religious instruction were characteristic particularly of the *Charité*. The asylum's higher incidence of rebellious behaviour than either of the two remaining hospices for children likely reflected the unyielding demand for a vocational obedience and the tense internal atmosphere that resulted from the children's resentment.

Despite the firm approach of the *Charité* rectors, it would be erroneous to deny their compassion and benevolent altruism that surely informed their efforts to rescue children. The following discussion explores the more explicitly affectionate side of charity for children. The display of tenderness towards children likely also played a key role in maintaining the effectiveness of the hospital as a reformative institution. Affection was the natural, necessary counter-part to disciplining, because the directors' kindness supposedly signalled God's favour. Failing to contain children physically (as we have seen in October of 1693), the directors had to strike a careful balance between disciplining and inspired learning.

The directors justified and expressed kindness in a variety of ways. Often it directly corresponded to the children's behaviour. In some hospitals, for example, the children were rewarded with alms if they attended additional religious service by the Oratorians.<sup>495</sup> It was an incentive meant to encourage good behaviour. This caring

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<sup>495</sup> AD des BR 10.HD.E1 (early 1676).

approach also echoed the rectors' self-perceived role as the children's guardians. Just as it was their duty to educate and discipline children in the absence of their parents, so the directors felt a sense of obligation to extend affectionate and protective care.<sup>496</sup> Importantly, this duty to raise the children as devout Catholics was increasingly seen as compatible with the sentiment of love.

The idea that parental love and love for God were mutually complementary sentiments re-surfaced particularly after the Tridentine Council, and likely played an important role in the treatment of vulnerable children. Larry Wolff has argued that the Catholic Reformation encouraged the blending of maternal and pious expressions of emotion: maternal sacrifice was recognized as pleasing to God while piety was deemed expressible through maternal sentiment.<sup>497</sup> Based on the correspondence of Madame de Sévigné to her daughter while at a spiritual retreat in an abbey at Livry, Wolff explains that the mother ultimately justified her difficult choice to leave her daughter as a form of Lenten self-denial.<sup>498</sup> He further argues that the mother's dilemma whether to give in to the emotions she felt for her daughter, or to devote her love and attention wholly to God, was a testament to the contemporary 'compatibility' of the two forms of love.<sup>499</sup> The

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<sup>496</sup> The contemporary standards of parental obligation were several-fold: 1) provision of material sustenance 2) education in Christian responsibilities and doctrine 3) regulation of behaviour 4) the ability to correct and discipline a child. Carter, 80-83 and Pollock, "Parent-Child Relations," 191.

<sup>497</sup> Larry Wolff, "Religious Devotion and Maternal Sentiment in Early Modern Lent: From the Letters of Madame de Sévigné to the Sermons of Père Bourdaloue" in *French Historical Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 2 (Fall 1993) 369-395.

<sup>498</sup> Wolff, 366.

<sup>499</sup> Wolff, 368.

directors thus personified parental roles as fathers while simultaneously serving God through their commitment to charity.

In the archives, we discover instances of parental affection particularly at the time of the children's discharge from the hospice. For girls, this time came when their hand was requested in marriage. Boys usually ended their sojourn by enrolling as apprentices in a trade, and further continuing toward independent employment as craftsmen – the ultimate productive, econometric measure of institutional charity's success. More information is available to us about the girls' departure than the boys'. A detailed record of an exemplary courting situation comes from the *Hôtel-Dieu* in 1664. The methods of the *Charité* were presumably similar, though records are not as complete.<sup>500</sup>

The young man presented himself as Simon Recour, a silk-worker, son of Balthezar and Marguerite Jourdane from Aournes, and living in Marseilles. He demanded to marry Anne Esperite, one of the patients. The notation explains that the bureau took diligent notes on the life and manners of said young man, paying special attention to his potential capability to care for his new wife. He was asked to promise to care for his young bride well, preventing her future destitution. Most importantly, the bureau then questioned Anne herself on her desire to marry Simon. After she consented, the rectors resolved to give her a dowry of 150 *livres*, and to represent the bride's father at the

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<sup>500</sup> A record from the *Charité* indicates, for example, that a girl was given to a family as a house-servant, on the condition that she were provided for and her future marriage match arranged. AD des BR 7.HD.E1 (1643).

marriage ceremony.<sup>501</sup> The excerpt reveals the parental sentiment of the rectors: by accompanying her at the marriage ceremony, granting a dowry, and paying close attention to the husband's moral, familial, and professional background, the rectors fulfilled the father's role, giving further honor for themselves as suitably masculine and paternal actors.

In addition to overseeing marriage matches, the hospital directors enacted a fatherly role in other ways. For example, we find instances where the rectors actively defended the children in the face of danger. Historian Benoit Remacle explains (using the example of Lyon's *Hôtel-Dieu*) that contemporaries admonished the unnecessary brutality and injustice towards children. They cautioned: "Often there are masters who are brutal, unreasonable and more likely to inspire poor morals than to correct them. Thus it is important to be prudent and distinguish the truth."<sup>502</sup> The document cited by Remacle suggests that those who were in charge of children, such as foster parents, country-side

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<sup>501</sup> "Auquel bureau s'est présenté Simon Recour musnier [moulinier = throwster, a textile silk worker] filz a feu Balthezar et Marguerite Jourdane du lieu de Aournes rezident en cette ville et demandé en mariage Anne Esperite fille de l'hôpital. Le bureau après avoir été pris information sur la vie et moeurs dudit Recour et sur sa vocation de musnier capable de pourvoir nourrir et entretenir une famille et ayant appelé ladite Anne Esperite et interrogée séparément si elle a agréé ledit mariage laquelle a volontèremment donné son consentement, délibéré que ledit mariage sera effectué et constitué en dot la somme de 150 livres en argent selon la coutume et outre ce le provenant à la volonté de messieurs les recteurs lesquels dans place de père adsessteront [assisteront] tout au contrat de mariage..." Transl.: "Simon Recour, silk-worker and a son of Balthezar and Marguerite Jourdane from Aournes, citizen of Marseilles, presented himself to the bureau, asking for the hand in marriage of Anne Esperite, a girl of the hospital. The bureau gathered information regarding the life and morals of the said Recour as well as about his employment as a textile worker, considering whether he would be capable to provide for her and their family. After having separately inquired from the said Anne whether she had voluntarily consented to the marriage – which she confirmed – the bureau deliberated that the marriage would take place. The directors would provide a dowry of 150 pounds as was the custom, and would act as the 'father' figures in assisting at the marriage." AD des BR 6.HD.E4 (21 February 1664).

<sup>502</sup> "Il arrive souvent que leurs maîtres sont brutaux, déraisonnables, et plus capables de leur inspirer de mauvaises inclinations que de les corriger: ainsi c'est a la prudence à distinguer la vérité." Remacle, 8.



nurses, as well as craft-masters, were to be checked by the institution in order to protect the children from harm. The directors of Marseilles' hospitals evidently interfered on several occasions. A document from 1664 describes that "certain pious individuals" reported their suspicions regarding the potentially perilous household where Marguerite (a girl from *l'Hôtel-Dieu*) was employed as a house-servant. The bureau examined the situation, and subsequently removed the girl from the allegedly unjust and cruel master.<sup>503</sup> The fatherly, caring attitude of the directors reflected their desire to curtail all detrimental influences on the children's moral development. It likely also reflected a genuine affection and a real quest by city fathers to employ their benefactions in reinforcement of their own masculinity.

As we can see, children and youth encountered a variety of attitudes in seventeenth-century foundling asylums. Work and spiritual education defined life particularly in the *Charité*, which housed an older population of begging, parentless children. The purpose of work, catechesis and the discipline they inspired was to generate self-sufficient, obedient and spiritually orthodox citizens capable of becoming honorable producers and consumers in dynamic urban marketplace like Marseilles. Accordingly, impropriety, misbehaviour and mockery of religious matters or of charity itself were severely punished. Tenderness provided a positive incentive and was essentially commensurate with the child's manifested obedience and aptitude for work. It was meant to motivate children to aspire towards virtue, which in turn would earn them the love of

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<sup>503</sup> AD des BR 6.HD.E4 (1664).

God. In the final analysis, what the civic authorities offered as charity was really the opportunity to learn virtue and earn salvation.

The *Hôtel-Dieu* and the *Charité* complemented one another in their care: the former targeting abandoned infants and illegitimate children; the latter older legitimate children caught begging. A third institution for children joined this charitable effort in 1673: the *Hôpital du bon rencontre*.<sup>504</sup> Similarly to the other two hospices, this institution emphasized religious education of children. In other aspects of its care it was quite unique, however. The asylum evidently adopted a less disciplinary approach, one that dissociated abandonment and begging from the idea of the child's own sinfulness. Because of the distinct approach, however, the institution endured administrative difficulties. It emerges as an anomaly – an important indicator of the complex, dynamic nature of children's charity in seventeenth-century Marseilles.

#### ***IV. L'Hôpital Notre Dame du bon rencontre***

The *Hôpital du bon rencontre* was established in 1673, considerably later than the *Charité* and *Hôtel-Dieu*. The founder-directors were “pious individuals [who] hoped to pursue a project that would be extremely pleasing to God and useful to the public, by establishing a hospital where they could receive abandoned children...these would find a safe place there and be raised in virtue and piety, instructed in vocations that they choose

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<sup>504</sup> This hospice was also called *Notre Dame du Bon Rencontre*, *Hôpital des Enfants Abandonnées*, and *Hôpital des Pauvres Enfants*.

instead of becoming vagrants and vagabonds.”<sup>505</sup> The founding documents echo the purpose of the other charitable institutions. In practice, however, the new asylum was quite different.

One of the asylum’s most distinct and important features was its exclusive attention to children. The *Charité* institutionalized both children and adults for reasons of begging; the *Hôtel-Dieu* admitted parentless infants and ill adults. Unlike both of these, the *Bon rencontre* catered solely to parentless, begging children over the age of twelve. This age group partially overlapped with that targeted by the *Charité*. The creation of another institution for similar child-population suggests that the founders believed the begging youth did not belong into the existing institutions. In other words, youth and children were worthy of assistance even outside of the context of illegitimacy, infancy, sickness, or presumed disorderliness associated with begging. By removing vulnerable children from the context of adult poverty, the rectors of the *Bon rencontre* hospice indirectly expressed their conviction that children were the victims, rather than the perpetrators, of poverty-related sin. Yet again, we see ‘youth’ and ‘adolescence’ implicitly defined as a salient and visible stage of life. These children and youth did not need rigorous reform, but protection. The *Bon rencontre* asylum for children clearly

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<sup>505</sup> “Ils [personnes de piété] auroient cru faire une œuvre agréable a Dieu et très utile au public d’établir une maison pour y recevoir les enfants abandonnés de cette qualité qui se trouvent dans un lieu d’assurance s’élevant a la vertu et a la piété et sont instruits a des vocations proportionnes a leurs inclinations. En sorte qu’au lieu qu’auparavant ils devenoient fainéants et vagabonds.” AD des BR 10.HD.B1/ E1 (1672-3).

displayed a lesser commitment to discipline and punishment than the other institutions, hoping to achieve protective care through different means.

A key difference in the hospice's practice of charity was the lack of a work-program for children. This aspect was closely related to the type of population the asylum housed: the lack of adult inmates meant that the poor children were removed from the construct of culpability that surrounded adult poverty. Because the rectors did not perceive the children to be accountable for their own destitution, they did not strive to directly correct work habits. Though children were discouraged from lounging idly about the city, forbidden to beg, and were expected to find meaningful work for the day,<sup>506</sup> the asylum did not compel children to work, nor did the rectors arrange or directly oversee their employment.

The absence of a work program was not the only difference. A related feature was the rectors' non-insistence on the children's permanent or consistent stay within the institution. The rectors encouraged children to seek overnight lodging and nourishment in their house, but the youth were free to leave in the morning.<sup>507</sup> Archives also show that the bureau did not solicit the help of the *échevinat* (police of the civic council) in searching for street children. Instead, the directors appealed directly to the galley captains for help in gathering children for the night because children frequently slept in the docks

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<sup>506</sup> *Calendrier Spirituel*, 137-138.

<sup>507</sup> *Calendrier Spirituel* and archives of *Bon Rencontre* hospital, AD des BR 10.HD.B1.

and boats around the harbour.<sup>508</sup> We know little about the internal life of the institution, but it seems it resembled establishments such as those we find in early modern Italy, where charitable authorities strove to create a home-like environment for children, as Gavitt has explained.<sup>509</sup> In short, the approach of the *Bon rencontre* hospital was arguably more altruistic, less reform-oriented, less lesson-intensive, and also more independent from the city council than the *Charité*, for example.

Though the rectors were less controlling than their colleagues from Marseilles' other charitable houses, they nevertheless shared an emphasis on religious instruction. The *Bon rencontre* hospital explicitly took it upon itself to welcome those children that the other two asylums left out. Specifically foreign, out-of-city, and non-Christian children<sup>510</sup> became targets. These were most often the children of galley slaves and

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<sup>508</sup> The hospice directors first appealed to the city councillor and galley captain, M. Le Pilles, in February 1673: “que les directeurs joyent prier M. le Pilles gouverneur de la ville et messieurs les échevins de faire crier a son de trompe par la ville qu'aucun de ces pauvres enfants n'a coucher sur la port long les murailles et sous les haies n'y pas les rues de la ville et aucuns lieux suspects, barques bateaux ni vaisseaux sous les rigoureuses paines mais qu'ils passent a venir prendre la retraite et sécurité pendant la nuit.” Transl.: “the directors appealed to M. le Pilles to make it known that no children should sleep in the port along its walls and docks, in the street, boats and barques, or other suspect places. There shall be penalties; instead they should come [to the hospice] to find retreat and safety for the night.” AD des BR 10.HD.E1 (February 1673). The same plea to amass all parentless children was repeated several times over the next few years.

<sup>509</sup> Gavitt, 141-178. Sandra Cavallo argues that in Italy charity was an unequivocally inclusive endeavour; like in the case of Gilly's *adoptif* children, she demonstrates that a welcoming ceremony took place. Such practice was limited in France, however, where it meant exclusion to many even as it brought inclusion to some. Cavallo, “Charity as Boundary Making: Social Stratification, Gender and the Family in the Italian States.”

<sup>510</sup> “Que ne pouvant recevoir a la *Charité* les enfants étrangers, et ceux-ci l'estant presque a tous desquels ils ne peuvent pas empêcher l'établissement... que ne peuvent recevoir a la *Charité* les enfants qui fréquentent les galères ... ils ne peuvent pas impecher l'établissement.” Transl.: “Since the *Charité* does not admit children of galley slaves and children of foreigners, they [the *Charité* rectors] cannot prevent the establishment of *Bon Rencontre*.” AD des BR 10.HD.E1. This comment, apparently explaining the necessity of the *Hôpital du Bon Rencontre*, was the direct result of a conflict between the *Charité* and the new *Bon Rencontre*, discussed in this chapter.

*forçats*, and were thus predominantly Protestant or Muslim. In the words of Maurice Capul, “Huguenot children were the embodiment of perpetual heresy and of disorder,”<sup>511</sup> and their re-education was therefore imperative especially after 1685.<sup>512</sup> Such ‘heretical’ children were required to abjure their faith, and subsequently undergo thorough catechesis and ultimately conversion.<sup>513</sup> Even though the *Bon rencontre* rectors shared a commitment to eradicating unorthodox tendencies in the city with the other two organizations, their implementation of this education was different once again. Instead of relying on a resident priest, the directors sent their children to the Oratorians every Sunday, and as a reward gave the children small alms.<sup>514</sup> That these ‘heretical’ children enjoyed a considerable degree of freedom in religious education is perhaps surprising, given the institution’s focus on non-Christian children. Nevertheless, the lack of excessive regulation in catechesis fits within the general pattern of the lenient character of the hospice.

The non-restrictive, coddling character of the hospice suggests that the directors of *l’Hôpital du bon rencontre* were less wedded to the civic government’s moralizing

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<sup>511</sup> Capul, *Les enfants placés sous l’Ancien Régime: Abandon et marginalité*, 43.

<sup>512</sup> For more detail regarding Protestant children’s re-education and the closure of Protestant schools, see Capul, *Les enfants placés sous l’Ancien Régime: Abandon et marginalité*, 44-96.

<sup>513</sup> Such a case was recorded in 1673, when a child was admitted and required conversion (supposedly the boy desired his conversion in hopes of becoming a soldier...this was denied him because the occupation was deemed too dangerous). The directors Bayn and Normand assisted in his abjuration and conversion. “Jean Claude, hérétique enfan de la maison de la Retraite a nous a prié depuis long tems y faire abjuration....A été délibéré par la prière que nous a fait Jean Claude enfant de la maison...lequel fit sa iuration de son hérésie... nous rebutons a une si dangereuse occupation...a la consideration que le sieur de la brosserdiere nous assura a l’an rolle dans sa compagnie.” The child was sent as an apprentice to a brush-maker instead; nonetheless, the importance of Catholicism is made evident. AD des BR 10.HD.E1 (1673)

<sup>514</sup> The children received one-third of bread after they returned from their lesson. AD des BR 10.HD.E1.

campaign against the poor. Perhaps this was why the magistrates approached the asylum with apprehension from the beginning. Since the time of its establishment in 1673, *l'Hôpital du bon rencontre* faced severe opposition from the *Charité* poor asylum – one of the most favoured charitable projects of the *échevins*. The *Charité* rectors argued that a new hospice for children was unnecessary,<sup>515</sup> even though in reality bed-spaces for children were lacking city-wide.<sup>516</sup> The small group of benevolent individuals nevertheless pressed forward, urging that another asylum was of great necessity. They emphasized that their new asylum would “celebrate the glory of God, serve the king, and would benefit the city as a whole.”<sup>517</sup>

In the end, they succeeded in obtaining royal approbation documents and the civic council’s permission to open their hospice. The fact that many of the founding members shared a *dévo*t mentalité<sup>518</sup> was likely an important factor that earned an approval from the civic council. Financial and administrative support continued to be minimal, however. It came predominantly from the founding *personnes de piété*<sup>519</sup> rather than from the city

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<sup>515</sup> AD des BR 10.HD.B1.

<sup>516</sup> Even though the *Charité* took in a great number of children at this time, it seems to have been insufficient. The founding documents of the Bon Rencontre affirm a continued influx of parentless children : “Qu’il se trouvoit dans notre ville un très grand nombre de pauvres enfants abandonnés qui périssent faute de conduit, ou qui prenoient une mauvaise éducation...” Transl. : “In our city, we find a great number of poor abandoned children, who perish due to neglect or they adopt poor education.” AD des BR 10.HD.B1.

<sup>517</sup> “Comme il y va en ce rencontre de la gloire de Dieu, du service du roy et de l’avantage du public et particulièrement de cette ville.” AD des BR 10.HD.B1.

<sup>518</sup> See Appendix for rectors’ membership in *Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement*.

<sup>519</sup> The identity of these families is poorly documented. Generally speaking, they were different families than those who founded the *Refuge* and the *Charité* and did not have close links to the municipal government. With the exception of Antoine Gilles, Henri Prat, Jacques Savignon, Louis Truillard, George Emerie, and Antoine Long, who appear also on the bureau of *l’Hôtel-Dieu* or the *Refuge* after the 1670s, the

council, as was the case with the other institutions – further evidence of elite factionalism and charity schemes as a kind of ‘civil war’ among competing elites. The aldermen eventually gave a reluctant thousand pounds (normally they contributed 1500 to the *Charité* and other hospitals), and promised that the new hospice would enjoy similar royal privileges as the others, specifically tax relief.<sup>520</sup> Nevertheless, the *Bon rencontre* house for children continued to rely on individual donations more than any other institution.<sup>521</sup> The composition of its bureau also evinces a marked disconnect from the city’s political elite and their interests. Whereas the *Hôtel-Dieu* and the *Charité* (as well as the *Refuge*) often shared their administrators – many were active or former members of the civic council – the new children’s asylum had comparably fewer connections with the local government and with the other institutions. We find Henry Prat and Francois DeBausset on the *Bon rencontre* bureau (both men previously involved with the *Hôtel-Dieu* and with the civic council). However, such examples of shared support are rare. There were no tactile administrative connections between the *Bon rencontre* hospital and the *Charité* in particular, likely because the latter harboured ongoing feelings of disapproval. The *Bon rencontre* administrators instead relied on the support of religious figures, engaging several bureau members from the ranks of regular and secular clergy – canons from the

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founding members of the *Hôpital du Bon Rencontre* seem largely disconnected from the rest of the charitable elite.

<sup>520</sup> AD des BR 10.HD.B1.

<sup>521</sup> Most seventeenth-century institutions in Marseilles and elsewhere were funded by the city council, which made annual donations of fifteen hundred pounds.



Chapter of St. Martin and from the St. Victor Abbey,<sup>522</sup> as well as some parish priests (generally absent in the *Charité* bureau).

The distinctive nature of the bureau's composition, its unsteady beginnings, and the ongoing opposition it experienced from the *Charité* suggest that the *Hôpital du bon rencontre* was less popular with the civic council than the other institutions. The *Charité* rectors repeatedly harassed the new hospice, in an effort to gain superiority and prestige as benevolent city fathers: in 1689, for example, they pressed for the confiscation of the property belonging to the *Bon rencontre*, intending to blend the two institutions.<sup>523</sup> The *Bon rencontre* bureau turned to the provincial *Parlement* in the early 1690s, and by emphasizing the great necessity of their children's asylum once again, they defended their institution. They had to concede to include an insane asylum on its premises in 1698.<sup>524</sup>

Such a deep and long-lasting division indicates that the civic leaders clearly endorsed those charitable institutions that placed children directly and firmly under the control of the asylum administrators, and involved them in closely supervised spiritual and practical training. There was a war against destitution and the social and moral ills it spawned. The more indulgent and less controlling approach practiced in the *Hôpital du bon rencontre* arguably put the new hospice on a war-path with the *Charité* hospital and the civic elites who populated its bureau. Indeed, the fact that Marseilles' citizens tended

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<sup>522</sup> Allier, *La Compagnie*. For more thorough examination of the *Compagnie*, see Chapter 1.

<sup>523</sup> AD des BR 10.HD.B1.

<sup>524</sup> The asylum was apparently established in 1698 (AD des BR 10.HD.B1), but archival information regarding this institution is lacking. Historian Fabre mentions its existence as well as oppressive nature.

to bring wandering children before the bureau of the *Charité* rather than the *Bon rencontre* (which apparently struggled with empty beds)<sup>525</sup> is a meaningful indicator of similar communal preferences and tensions as well.

In the end, the ongoing struggles between *l'Hôpital du bon rencontre* and the *Charité*, as well as the relative popular support for each, attest to a significant divide in contemporary convictions about children, their charitable needs, and the differing definitions of 'disorder.' Both charitable advocates – the *Charité* and its indulgent opponent *l'Hôpital du bon rencontre* – believed that children needed and deserved protection, and that they could be taught and moulded. They fundamentally disagreed on their understanding of charity, however. The *Charité* perceived charity as a privilege given in return for obedience and the directors enforced propriety accordingly. The *Bon rencontre* provides a contrast to this prevalent definition of charity in Marseilles: it offered an altruistic, self-less form of assistance that was primary material in nature.

### ***Conclusion***

Children were economically vulnerable and therefore they traditionally represented worthy recipients of charity. They claimed a more prominent place among the charity-receiving poor over the course of the seventeenth century. New institutions were founded in Marseilles as elsewhere, each catering to a discrete group of parentless youth.

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<sup>525</sup> Bureau minutes from early 1673 show that the hospital struggled with empty beds that it hoped to fill in order to fulfill their charitable endeavour. AD des BR 10.HD.E1.

Anonymously abandoned infants and toddlers were assumed to be illegitimate bastard children, which is why they were to be housed in the *Hôtel-Dieu* – separately from the rest. Older youth, on the other hand, were most reprimanded for begging and disrespectful behaviour. They were institutionalized primarily in the *Charité*, where they received structured instruction intended to instil virtue. Within the walls of distinct asylums, the civic authorities of Marseilles shaped and moulded parentless youth and children according to their standards of civic propriety and virtue.

While the authorities feared abandoned children's development if unsupervised, they simultaneously believed in children's learning potential. A novel understanding of 'childhood' was beginning to emerge: children were treated with both severity and affection. In the directors' eyes, their moral betterment represented a 'charitably offered' opportunity to reach salvation. Simultaneously, properly trained children were the key to an orderly and virtuous community. This fundamental goal of the civic elites is evident also when we consider their relationship with *l'Hôpital du bon rencontre*. This institution specialized in the truly outcast children – those excluded from the other two, who were mostly non-Christian children. Despite its apparent emphasis on Catholic instruction, the institution received little support from the civic council. It was likely its less structured and gentler approach to children that made the civic elites hesitant to endorse it.

The final group of the charity-receiving poor discussed here were the prisoners of Marseilles, specifically Protestants condemned to the galleys. While children's charity was fundamentally geared towards their preparation for a virtuous life, charity in the

galleys was redemptive. As the following chapter shows, in the galleys ‘charity’ encapsulated the king’s mercy and the prisoners’ potential release from the royal prisons. Importantly, however, the king showed such mercy only to those who converted back to Catholicism. Like children and women, the prisoners could only reach salvation through their obedience and Catholic orthodoxy.

## Chapter 4:

### *L'Hôpital royal des forçats: charity in the galleys*

#### *Introduction*

Who doesn't know the famous phrase: Protestantism is contrary to the character of the French people! This character, of which the race is one of its principal elements, its traditions, its temperament, its climate that has created it – what else? All the religious, literary, social and political tendencies that belong to Protestantism, the French have tolerated only with difficulty.<sup>526</sup>

These words, which introduced the forty-ninth issue of the *Bulletin Historique et Littéraire de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme*, capture the anti-Huguenot sentiment harboured by the seventeenth-century *Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement*. The *Compagnie* was committed to eradicating sin kingdom-wide, and, in Marseilles, as we have already seen, to prioritizing the moral reform of the poor. Its commitment to the conversion of the local Huguenots was equally strong. In achieving this task, the *Marseillais dévots* relied on (and collaborated with) another charitable confraternity, similarly the brainchild of Saint Vincent de Paul: the *Prêtres de la Mission*.<sup>527</sup> In 1643

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<sup>526</sup> “Qui ne connaît la fameuse proposition: Le Protestantisme est antipathique au caractère français! Ce caractère, la race dont il est un des éléments principaux, ses traditions, son tempérament, le climat qui l'a formé, que sais-je encore? Tout cela ne tolérerait que difficilement les tendances religieuses, littéraires, sociales, voire politiques, que représente ou favorise le Protestantisme.” “L'Antipathie de la France pour le Protestantisme à propos des annales de la Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement, 1632 – 1665,” in *Bulletin Historique et Littéraire de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français*, Tome XLIX, quatrième série, neuvième année (Paris : Agence centrale de la société, 1900) 91-109.

<sup>527</sup> Raoul Allier explains there were links between the two groups, and occasions of collaboration. Allier, *La Cabale*, 51-55.

king Louis XIII appointed this group to oversee the spiritual affairs on the galleys located in Marseilles – the destination of Catholic, Muslim, and eventually Protestant prisoners.

This chapter studies ‘charity’ in the context of the Protestant heresy and the nascent idea of French identity. The *Hôpital royal des forçats* amidst the galley arsenal played a crucial role in shaping social order by underscoring Catholic faith as a facet of obedience to the king. Between 1646 and 1685, this institution focused on maintaining the physical well-being of the galley rowers – at this time Catholic *forçats* and Muslim slaves (referred to as *turcs*). After 1685, however, the arrival of the Huguenots would see its charitable engagement take on a decidedly political and spiritual intent, namely that of seeking the political reconciliation of French Protestant prisoners through their conversion. This change in the nature of the galleys over the course of the seventeenth century demonstrates that both medical care and conversion were understood to be forms of royal charity. For contemporary Catholics and for the king especially, the conversion of heretics meant their salvation, their emancipation from the galleys, and ultimately their reintegration in French society. The promise of freedom, repatriation and spiritual redemption was a gesture of the king’s fraternal love and of forgiveness for the *lèse-majesté* Protestants had committed.

Though primarily a royal initiative, the prisoner-hospital equally occupied a place in the physical and social space of Marseilles. For the first thirty years, the local elites acted as the hospital’s administrators. The study of the galleys and the galley hospital therefore speaks to the local elites’ concerns about a Catholic Marseilles: just as the

previous chapters have demonstrated the councillors' commitment to eradicating sinfulness related to poverty, here we see their contempt for the Protestant religion. To be sure, a study of the local perceptions of the Muslim and Protestant faiths reveals a more favourable treatment of the former group than the latter. It therefore underscores the community's sense of identity as a Catholic polis, and a resentment of the French Protestants as traitors. Though after 1685 the local elites were largely uninvolved in the hospital, their earlier sentiment formed an important ideological context that likely made Marseilles a suitable site for the royal prison.

Despite its significance, *l'Hôpital royal des forçats* has received very little attention from historians studying the French galleys.<sup>528</sup> Most scholars examine the galleys as a site of imprisonment and an imposing symbol of royal power.<sup>529</sup> My study exposes the *reformative* rather than the purely punitive function of the galleys. It uncovers the hospital's unique definition of charity, showing that as a charitable site the galleys and their hospital accomplished much more than punishment: delineating the boundaries of

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<sup>528</sup> Both Zysberg and Bamford – chief historians studying the galleys – briefly mention the rowers' hospital as a site of medical recovery. The only source devoted specifically to *l'Hôpital royal des forçats* that I was able to locate is a booklet composed and generously sent to me by one of Marseilles' archivists, Georges François. His rendition, albeit brief and somewhat general, provides invaluable information regarding the general purpose and daily life in the hospital. Georges François, "L'Hôpital royal des forçats," Comité du Vieux-Marseille cahier no. 99 (Marseille: presses du Centre Littéraire d'Impression Provençal, 2007).

<sup>529</sup> Zysberg has compared the galleys to the "Narrenschiff" or the "ship of fools," a nautical image belonging to the Middle Ages that represented a small vessel on which outlaws, madmen and other "deviant" and unwanted members of society were sent off on the open waters. Michel Foucault, too, has evoked the "ship of fools" in his study of early modern asylums. Zysberg's evocation confirms his emphasis on punishment and exclusion that is not unlike Foucault's. See André Zysberg, "Galley and hard labour convicts in France (1550 – 1850): From the galleys to hard labour camps: essay on a long lasting penal institution," in *The Emergence of Carceral Institutions: Prisons, Galleys and Lunatic Asylums, 1550 – 1900*, ed. Pieter Spierenburg, vol. 12 (Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam, 1984) 78, and Michel Foucault, *Madness and Civilization*.

inclusion and exclusion, the king's conversion-oriented institution was an indispensable instrument in fashioning orderliness, and with it, 'Frenchness.' The king demanded obedience, endeavouring to foster his subjects' loyalty and to define their identity as absolute subjects of France. In principle his efforts clashed with the local identity-struggle of the civic leaders, however, as we have seen.

***I. Hôpital royal des forçats, 1646–1685: a place of healing***

***a. Origins of a charitable hospital***

*L'Hôpital royal des forçats* was established in 1646 for the benefit of all rowing galley prisoners. At this time the galley population predominantly consisted of Muslim slaves and French Catholic *forçats*. According to Bamford and Zysberg, there were approximately 7,000 Muslim slaves in Marseilles between 1679 and 1707, and 38,036 French *forçats* between 1680 and 1715. Up until 1685, the *forçats* were mostly criminals convicted of a variety of infractions – property crimes and military desertion were the most common – whose sentences were generally short and spanned only a few years. After 1685, however, another 1,419 Protestant prisoners arrived in the galleys, gradually replacing the Catholic rowers as life-long prisoners.<sup>530</sup>

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<sup>530</sup> Bamford, 144, and Zysberg, *Les galériens*, 72-74.



As the figures indicate, already in 1646 the hospital serviced a sizeable patient population. Louis XIII expressed the needs of the galleys in the hospital's founding documents:

the forçats who are on the galleys have not yet been able to feel the effects of such universal charity; have not yet had a hospital for themselves where they would be able to attend to their bodily and spiritual needs, even as their captivity and fatigue render them more susceptible to maladies and the hospital therefore of utmost necessity....<sup>531</sup>

The excerpt highlights the hospital's medical charitable purpose: it was a place where the rowers could benefit from "royal piety and charity....to lodge, nourish, treat medically and assist spiritually all the rowers."<sup>532</sup> In short, the hospital was meant to allow the prisoners to "die a better, cleaner death,"<sup>533</sup> comments historian Zysberg, as well as to assist the king in sustaining his galley corps.

The monarchy's interest in this particular hospital was shared within his royal circle. The niece of Cardinal Richelieu, the Duchesse d'Aiguillon, was the primary benefactor: in her last testament of 1643 she bequeathed 6,000 *livres* to the *Prêtres de la Mission* (also called *Pères de la Mission* and *Congrégation de la Mission*) charitable

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<sup>531</sup> "Les seuls forçats qui sont sur les galères n'ont point jusqu'a ici ressentis les effets de cette charité universelle, n'ayant pas eu d'hôpital fonde ni dote pour eux, bien qu'il fut d'autant plus nécessaire, que leur captivité et leurs ordinaires fatigues les rend en plus sujets aux maladies et plus dignes de composition...on puisse commodément remédier aux besoins corporels et spirituels des maladies." AN Marine A<sup>2</sup> 2 "Édit de la fondation" (July 1646).

<sup>532</sup> AN Marine A<sup>2</sup> 2 "Édit de la fondation" (July 1646) .

<sup>533</sup> Zysberg, *Les galériens*, 392.

confraternity, to be used specifically for the benefit of the *galeriens*.<sup>534</sup> It was an expression of her piety (a ‘good work’) and of trust in the said charitable group. Louis XIII contributed another 3,000 *livres*, and committed to supply 90,000 annually.<sup>535</sup> The monarchy also pledged 20,000 *livres* to be given in 1670 and in 1680, as well as another 90,000 in 1690.<sup>536</sup> Even though the king was unable to fulfill his promise due to insufficient funds in the royal coffers, the generous intention signals his vested interest in preserving the health of his rowers.<sup>537</sup>

In realizing the new project, the monarchy relied on local support as well, and for the first three decades (1640s–1670) the king left administrative duties in the hands of the *Marseillais* elites. Gaspard de Simiane, a provençal noble, apparently worked closely with Mme. D’Aiguillon in directing and probably also partially financing the project.<sup>538</sup> The first chosen administrators were Henry Darmand, city councillor and a treasurer general of France in Provence; also Pierre DeBausset, city councillor with a noble title; and finally Charles Molat, local lawyer and civic leader. These men also held positions at

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<sup>534</sup> “Pour d’établir et entretenir a Marseille, quatre prêtres de leur congrégation...lesquels suivant les volonté et intention du roi, auront la supériorité sur les aumôniers des galères qu’ils pourront ôter et remplacer, selon qu’ils le trouveront plus utile pour la gloire de dieu; ils iront de cinq ans en cinq ans sur chacune des galères de Marseille et autres ports du royaume pour instruire en l’amour de Dieu les pauvres forçats et autres personnes étant es dites galères.... De plus, lors et quand ils le jugeront a propos, ils enverront des missionnaires en Barbarie, pour consoler les pauvres chrétiens captifs et les instruire en la foi, amour et crainte de Dieu.” Qtd. in Simard, 68-69.

<sup>535</sup> Simard, 71.

<sup>536</sup> Zysberg, *Les galeriens*, 388.

<sup>537</sup> A second hospital for soldiers was established in Marseilles in 1686, called *L’Hôpital des equipages*. It was intended for soldiers who were in the king’s employ but not as galley slaves. The civic council was required to contribute 12,000 *livres*, which met with some resentment. AN Marine A<sup>2</sup> 5 (8 February 1686) .

<sup>538</sup> Their relationship is unclear; however, it is highly probable that de Simiane took some part in financing the hospital as well.

the *Refuge* and the *Charité*.<sup>539</sup> Based on the local management, we can regard the galley hospital as a *Marseillaise* institution similar to the *Charité* and *Refuge*, even if it was the king's most cherished one.

Though the hospital was locally administered, the king was in charge of the institution's spiritual life. In 1643 he appointed the *Congrégation de la Mission à Marseilles* (first created in 1633) to care for the rowers' spiritual well-being as confessors. Its founder, Vincent de Paul, had visited Marseilles' galleys several times earlier in his life and, appalled by the miserable condition of the prisoners, resolved to ease their plight through spiritual guidance.<sup>540</sup> With the foundation of the hospital in 1646, de Paul welcomed the royal appointment as the head chaplain (*aumônier général*) of the galleys and of its new hospital.<sup>541</sup> From thereon, the *Pères de la Mission* represented royal spiritual authority on the galleys and in the hospital – a role they continued to play even after de Paul's death.

At this time, the main tasks of the chaplains resembled those of Catholic priests on-land. They attended to the needs of the hospital's dying patients, led prayers twice per day, and administered sacraments.<sup>542</sup> Their duties revolved around emotional and spiritual support particularly of ill Catholic *forçats*, but with no particular emphasis on catechesis or conversion.<sup>543</sup> Muslim slaves were exempted from prayer, and their conversion was

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<sup>539</sup> AN Marine A<sup>2</sup> 2 “Édit de la fondation” (July 1646).

<sup>540</sup> Collet, 36.

<sup>541</sup> Mezzadri, 60.

<sup>542</sup> François, 39.

<sup>543</sup> François, 39.

explicitly forbidden by political agreements.<sup>544</sup> Both the Ottomans and the French prioritized trade and relative political peace, which they regulated through the Capitulation Treatises throughout the period.<sup>545</sup> Consequently, Mass was not regularly celebrated on the galleys, since most *galériens* at the time were Muslim.<sup>546</sup> In short, the hospital's charitable character lay in the *Congregation's* spiritual succour and the medical care it offered.

***b. The Muslim patient population***

The king's great attention to healing and medical assistance reflected the nature of the galley population. Muslim slaves, who comprised the majority of rowers at this time, were considered a great asset because of their reputed physical strength, resilience, and their potential ransom value.<sup>547</sup> When they became weakened by physical labour and disease, their efficiency was compromised. In the case of the Catholic *forçats* who shared the galleys at this time, the transport to Marseilles represented just as dangerous and exhausting an endeavour; Zysberg estimates that between 3 and 6% of all *forçats* died en-route from their respective prisons to Marseilles, dozens more perishing within the first

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<sup>544</sup> Weiss, "Back from Barbary: captivity, redemption and French identity in the seventeenth and eighteenth-century Mediterranean," (Thesis: Stanford University, 2002)" 29 and 64.

<sup>545</sup> In 1535, the French king struck a friendship and trade pact known as the "Capitulations," which came to be renewed and also violated repeatedly. Bamford, 38, 160-163; also Weiss, "Back from Barbary," 29, 64.

<sup>546</sup> Gaston Tournier, *Les galères de France et les galériens Protestants des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*, Vol. 1 (France : Les Presses du Languedoc, 1984) 120.

<sup>547</sup> Though we know that the Catholic *forçats* shared the galleys, they were in a minority, and for our purposes they have little relevance. They were punished less severely than the Protestants, but held less privileges than the *turcs*. It is the comparison of the two non-Catholic groups that is the most valuable for our understanding of charity as a vehicle of fostering Catholic orthodoxy in France.

few months.<sup>548</sup> The king expressed his anxiety about the loss of rowers in the foundation documents: “often due to lack of separation from infectious illness, large numbers of prisoners die, which weakens the galley corps and diminishes the utility of the galleys as a whole.”<sup>549</sup> In order to prevent and treat disease, the new *hôpital* staffed several physicians, barber-surgeons and apothecaries. Such extensive medical staff was not the norm, since most of the local hospitals shared physicians and relied on their periodic visits. By contrast, royal regulations pertinent to the galley hospital repeatedly stressed the hospital staff’s required diligence, the physician’s duty to visit all patients once a day and later twice a day.<sup>550</sup> Complementing the physicians’ work, the apothecary managed a strict diet: bouillon was given to febrile patients, half-portions of meals for all other patients, and complete rations for convalescents.<sup>551</sup> Some surviving receipts disclose additional details about the patients’ diet: bread, eggs, occasional meat, legumes and wine

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<sup>548</sup> In the winter of 1694, the proportion rose to 30% due to inclement weather, cold, and famine. On the whole, approximately one out of five condemned *forçats* died within a year. Zysberg, *Les galériens*, 382-384.

<sup>549</sup> “Il arrive souvent qu’ils en sont infectés et que par le grand nombre de ceux qui meurent...les choïurmes en sont affaiblies et les galères bien souvent rendues inutiles au service d’état.” AN Marine A<sup>2</sup> 2 “Édit de la fondation (July 1646). In 1684, Louis XIV demonstrated a similar concern when he published “Mémoire sur la conservation des forçats,” in an effort to prevent disease and ultimately increase the utility of the convicts. In this document the king lays out the rules for the transport of the condemned prisoners from their respective regional prison all the way to Marseille. The *conducteurs* were cautioned not to take any ill prisoners; if the *forçats* become ill during their transport they should be treated with proper medication in the towns through which the procession passed. The weight of the chain would be regulated at 30 pounds, and the daily march limited to four towns only. Each condemned prisoner should receive shoes and appropriate amount of food and wine. Corporal punishment by beating was forbidden and whipping was allowed only in extreme circumstances. AN Marine B<sup>6</sup> 86 fol. 294 “Mémoire sur la conservation des forçats depuis le lieu de leur condamnation jusques a Marseille ” (1684).

<sup>550</sup> *Observations de Chirurgie pratiqué par M. Chabert, chirurgien real des galères*, cited by François, 38. *Règlements pour l’Hôpital royal des forçats malades imprimez de l’ordre de Messire Nicolas Arnoul, conseiller du roy en ses conseils, intendant de la justice, police et finances des galères de sa majesté, et fortifications des villes, citadelles et autres places fortes de Provence* (Marseille: Charles Brebion, Imprimeur du Roy, de Monseigneur l’évêque et de la Ville, 1672) 21.

<sup>551</sup> François, 41.

were the usual hospital fare.<sup>552</sup> The apothecary's close contact with patients via meals and medicaments also made him a suitable messenger, alerting chaplains of any imminent deaths.<sup>553</sup> Such detail regarding medicine and diet is lacking in the archives of other local charitable institutions, which attests to the high value of this particular hospital to the monarchy.

The attentive care Muslim slaves received in the hospital was consistent with their general treatment in the galleys. The following examination of their standing among the galley prisoners brings to light important conceptual relationships between citizenship, religion, and charity, which we shall see being echoed in the case of the Protestants. Specifically, it becomes apparent that, as non-French, non-Christian subjects, the Muslim slaves were treated solely on the basis of their military value, that is, with less severity than the remaining prisoners. By contrast, the French Protestants would receive more rigorous treatment in the galleys and in the hospital, reflecting their lower standing as sinning, rebellious subjects of the king.

*c. Muslims in the galleys*

According to a contemporary observer, John Bion, the Muslim slaves had “the same allowance with the soldiers and were...the least unfortunate of the whole Crew.”<sup>554</sup>

Bion, himself an English Protestant, was making a polemic point. In his assessment, the French Catholics had deviated from true faith to such a degree they treated non-Christians

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<sup>552</sup> *Règlement pour l'Hôpital royal des forçats malades* (1672) 26.

<sup>553</sup> *Règlement pour l'Hôpital royal des forçats malades* (1672) 26.

<sup>554</sup> John Bion, *Account of the Torments the French Protestants endure aboard the galleys* (London: 1708) 13.

better than their fellow Christians. His propagandistic message aside, Bion was in fact correct to observe a more favourable treatment of the Muslims. The Muslims were considered very valuable for several reasons, and consequently were treated relatively favourably.

First of all, because they were not Christian, their enslavement was permissible by the Church. While the Christian religion did not allow for the enslavement of fellow Christians, Muslims were considered ‘infidels,’ and thus their enslavement did not pose a great spiritual obstacle to the Europeans.<sup>555</sup> Their non-Christian and foreign status effectively became a license for enslavement, even though slavery was generally abolished on French soil at this time.<sup>556</sup> Louis XIV articulated and justified his policy on galley-enslavement in such terms.

Every man who touches the kingdom’s soil is free; nobody shall be excluded from this law except the Turks and Moors who are sent to Marseilles to serve on the galleys. [This is because] before arriving there, they were purchased in foreign countries where such practice is common.<sup>557</sup>

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<sup>555</sup> Christian slaves were purchased as well – for example Russians, Greeks, and slaves from Albania or other places in Eastern Europe. These groups were part of the Orthodox Christian Church, which made their enslavement justifiable, according to Colbert. See Zysberg, *Les galériens*, 67.

<sup>556</sup> For more on slavery in early modern Europe, see David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1966); also Sue Peabody, *“There are no slaves in France”: the political culture of race and slavery in the Ancien Régime* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).

<sup>557</sup> “Tout home qui a une fois touché les terres du royaume est libre, et on ne se dispense de suivre cette loi que pour les Turcs et les Mores qui sont envoyés a Marseille pour le service des galères, parce que, avant d’y arriver, ils sont achetés dans des pais étrangers ou cette espèce de commerce établie.” AN Marine B<sup>6</sup> 26 fol. 431 (October 20, 1694); also printed in Weiss, “Commerce, Conversion,” 279.

Because of their unique position, the Muslims were highly desirable objects of intra-European competition throughout the seventeenth century. Peace treaties occasionally broke the long-standing tension that characterized France's relationship with the Ottoman Empire, but mutual slave-taking never ceased.<sup>558</sup> Diplomatic agreements often went ignored, and corsairing activity continued to disturb the Mediterranean waters.<sup>559</sup> The ongoing participation of the Knights of Malta in privateering activities of the king likely encouraged the practice. The Maltese Knights were the most sought out agents in Levantine slave trade, accumulating large numbers of slaves in Malta, and enabling interested monarchs to access a pool of new slaves anytime.<sup>560</sup> The Bourbons relied heavily on this group to procure slaves for Marseilles.<sup>561</sup> In addition to the Knights, the Bourbon monarchy also relied on the agency of French consuls,<sup>562</sup> and on some occasions directly commissioned privateers or merchants to purchase or capture 'infidels' for

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<sup>558</sup> Bamford explains that the Capitulations had a detrimental effect on the supplies of slaves for his galleys, which is why they were often broken. In 1681 and 1684, for example, peace treaties with Algiers stipulated a minimum of 700 Algerian slaves to be released before 1690. For more on Mediterranean peace treatises, see Bamford, 160-163.

<sup>559</sup> Daniel Panzac claims that "privateering" or "corsairing" activity – distinct from piracy in that it was state-endorsed – generally ceased during periods of peace, and only resurfaced in the 1720s when France and the Ottoman Empire were again in open war. Daniel Panzac, *La caravane maritime: Marins européens et marchands ottomans en Méditerranée, 1680-1830* (Paris : CNRS, 2004) 76. Contrary to Panzac, Gillian Weiss suggests that slave-taking activity was encouraged by the state, and continued even during periods of peace. Robert Davis also affirms extensive slave-taking activities in the Mediterranean basin throughout the early modern period. See Weiss, "Back from Barbary," 26, and Robert C. Davis, *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters: White Slavery in the Mediterranean, the Barbary Coast, and Italy, 1500 – 1800* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

<sup>560</sup> Bamford, 146.

<sup>561</sup> Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli and Salé, but also Smyrna, Cairo, and Alexandria were some of the most common places of origin of France's slaves. Zysberg elaborates that out of the seventy-six *turcs* in 1672, twenty-four were from Algeria, two were from Salonique, one from Sicily, twelve from Constantinople, six from Tunis, two from Rhodes, one from Armenia, one from Alexandria, two from Sale, six from Tripoli, one from Negroponte, thirteen from Dalmatia, one from Chypre, two from Anatolia and ten were undetermined. See Zysberg, "Un esclavage d'Etat," 80.

<sup>562</sup> Zysberg, *Les galériens*, 67.



France's galley fleet.<sup>563</sup> If possible, the king also took advantage of shipwrecks and coastal raids, seizing able-bodied *turcs* practically for free.<sup>564</sup>

In addition to their 'availability' for enslavement as non-Christians, the Muslim captives were also reputedly physically more fit than any other men – another factor contributing to their higher standing in the galleys. Hoping to maximize their utility as rowers, the monarchy repeatedly expressed concern about the quality of purchased slaves, and within a two-month span complained at least three times about the condition of the newly acquired slaves:

I was extremely surprised to learn...that out of the newly acquired thirty-three Turks, there were two who were too small, aged fourteen and fifteen, another one with dropsy (swelling or an abscess) on his right leg, and another seventy years of age. In the future, be careful not to take Turks who are useless for the galleys, but only purchase those who are healthy and in a condition to serve.<sup>565</sup>

Healthy *turcs* were the key to the monarchy's military naval success. The strongest and fittest men – usually between the ages of twenty and thirty-five – were assigned to lead positions as "first oarsmen," called *espaliers* or *vogue-avants*. These were the most physically demanding rowing positions. In return for their arduous labour, the *vogue-*

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<sup>563</sup> Zysberg, *Les galériens*, 68.

<sup>564</sup> Bamford, 142.

<sup>565</sup> "J'ay este extrêmement surprise d'apprendre par ledits lettres qui m'ont este escrites de Marseille que dans le nombre des 33 turcs que vous avez envoyé, il s'en est trouve 2 fort petites...et agez de 14 ou 15 ans, un autre estropie de la jambe droite, et un autre âgé de 70 ans. Prenez bien garde à l'advenir de vous charger des turcs inutiles pour le service des galères, estant bien important de n'en acheter que de sains et en estat de servir." AN Marine B<sup>o</sup> 17 "Letter addressed to Sieur des Orange a Versailles" (30 May 1685).

*avant* rowers received greater quantity of meat, which was meant as an incentive to others.<sup>566</sup> As a privileged form of rest, the intendants also awarded certain less taxing employments to these most valuable rowers – for example appointments as confidants to officers, domestic servants in their houses, or as tavern keepers in the galleys.<sup>567</sup> The slaves were also permitted to leave the galleys during the day, working about the city unimpeded. Some were even able to open their own boutiques or artisan shops along the quays, interacting with customers while enjoying relative independence and freedom. This opportunity of income enabled them to improve their diet, and, in turn, become more efficient rowers.<sup>568</sup> Finally, in 1692 the king established a special school in the arsenal, designed exclusively to educate the *turcs* in the art of sailing and ship-construction – approximately one hundred young slaves were enrolled.<sup>569</sup>

The above examples indicate that the monarchy systematically invested in the Muslim slaves, hoping to maximize their utility. The *turcs*' stay in the galleys was defined by a pragmatic, economic, and political purpose. The hospital was built chiefly for their benefit: it was a medical institution that had little to do with spiritual reform at the time. As non-Christians and subjects of Levantine and Barbarian rulers, the 'heresy' of the Muslim slaves was of little consequence for the king – it was an asset.

Though the Muslim slaves' high utility brought them privileges, it also hindered their chances of liberation, since the king was never keen to release his most valuable

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<sup>566</sup> Bamford, 204.

<sup>567</sup> Zysberg, "Un esclavage d'Etat," 79.

<sup>568</sup> Bamford, 225.

<sup>569</sup> Bamford, 232.

rowers. In theory, they could be released through means of diplomatic exchanges or buy-backs, but even so, many liberated slaves were compelled to remain in the king's employ as paid employees (*mariniers du rame*). In March of 1685, for example, the king granted liberty to a slave named Nassan of Algeria who converted to Christianity and adopted the name 'Lazare.'<sup>570</sup> His liberation was conditional, however, upon Lazare's agreement to remain in life-long service.<sup>571</sup>

Liberated slaves were forbidden to remain in France unless they converted to Christianity – like Lazare.<sup>572</sup> Nevertheless, many non-converted Muslims evidently lived in Marseilles as well, leading a relatively unmolested existence. Their communal reception was consistent with the slaves' privileged treatment in the galleys: in the galleys their utility as rowers superseded their heretical status; in the community, their expertise in commerce was likely an attractive feature that granted them a place among the *Marseillais*. They were targeted neither with conversion nor with coercive treatments, in the galleys, in the city, and the kingdom. The following discussion shows that the

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<sup>570</sup> The *Institutes Coutumiers de Provence* dating from 1608 confirm that freed slaves were to be baptized, and that baptism qualified freedom: "Toutes personnes sont franches en ce royaume, et si tost qu'un esclave a atteint les marches d'icelui, se faisant baptizer, est affranchi." Transl. "all persons are free in this kingdom; if a slave is baptised, he too is freed." Antoine Loisel, *Institutes Coutumieres* (Paris: Abel l'Angelier, 1608) 1.

<sup>571</sup> "Sa majesté voulant que le Nassan d'Alger fils de Mustapha, qui se nomme a présent Lazare, turc qui s'est fait chrestien, servant actuellement sur ses galères, soit mis en liberté. Elle mande et ordonne aux sieurs conseillers généraux de ses galères de le faire détacher de la chaisne a condition qu'il servira toute sa vie comme marinier de rame sur les galères." Transl.: "His Majesty wishes that Nassan of Algeria, son of Mustapha no. 11 1104, who now is called Lazare, Turk converted to Christianity and currently serving on the galleys, be granted liberty. The king orders to officers of the galleys to detach from the chain this Lazare, on condition that he shall serve as a rower on the galleys for the rest of his life." AN Marine B<sup>6</sup> 17 "Ordre du roy adressé duc de Vivonne par maréchal de France, et intendant général des galères" (21 March 1685).

<sup>572</sup> Zysberg, *Les galériens*, 172-173.

community embraced a relatively accepting approach to the Muslims. They were treated as non-French and non-Catholic members of society – as a foreign presence owing no spiritual loyalty to the community or its king.

## ***II. Religious minorities in the community: Muslims and Protestants, 1530s–1688***

### ***d. Muslims in Marseilles and in France***

Part of the reason why the French people did not perceive Muslim presence as a threat was likely the group's long ancestry in the kingdom, sanctioned by the monarchy. In the early sixteenth century Muslims settled in France relatively freely, a development aided by the military alliance that Francis I struck with the Ottoman Sultan in the 1520s and 1530s.<sup>573</sup> Henri IV, king of Navarre, followed Francis' example in the 1580s, offering refuge to Spanish Moriscoes fleeing persecution.<sup>574</sup> While these royal policies allowed Muslim settlement in France, it was expected that they would adopt Christianity. The requirement of 'naturalization' was in place since at least in 1566, according to which policy all foreigners who wished permanently to settle on French soil had to adopt Catholicism.<sup>575</sup> This would exempt them from the *droit d'aubaine*, a law that accorded

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<sup>573</sup> Jules Mathorez, *Les étrangers en France sous l'ancien régime* (Paris : Champion, 1921) Vol. 1, 175.

<sup>574</sup> In 1610, close to 50,000 Moriscoes banished from Spain traversed the Pyrenees and through France headed to North Africa. Henry IV aided them in this quest by permitting them to remain in the southern areas of France (for example Bayonne, Toulouse, Toulon and Marseilles) on condition that they give up Islam. Weiss, "Commerce, Conversion," 278.

<sup>575</sup> Sahlins, 24.

the monarchy the right to claim all property of non-naturalized deceased foreigners.<sup>576</sup>

‘Naturalization’ also symbolized the new Frenchmen’s ‘adoption’ by the king as their paternal protector.<sup>577</sup>

Even though settling Muslims were encouraged to adopt Christianity, however, the requirement was never strongly enforced. Sahlins estimates that the majority of all foreigners living in France in fact did not undergo naturalization.<sup>578</sup> Indeed, well into the seventeenth century, the local population in Marseilles and the monarchy exerted little pressure for Muslim naturalization despite official policies. This would remain the norm even in the seventeenth century, perhaps because the primary concern of the monarchy was to make money off its captives and to promote trade. Mediterranean trade traditionally was not bound by concerns for strict political or religious boundaries. Religious affiliation was a separate matter from commercial interests, which was a provision of *droit musulman* that the French Crown adopted as well.<sup>579</sup> Gillian Weiss adds that the commercial interests of the Bourbons surpassed their concerns with Islam on French soil, even as the monarchy struggled to prevent the apostasy of French citizens in Levantine captivity.<sup>580</sup> Throughout the Early Modern period, coastal areas such as

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<sup>576</sup> Sahlins, 24, and Mathorez, 163-165, 179.

<sup>577</sup> Takeda, 94.

<sup>578</sup> Sahlins, 9.

<sup>579</sup> Panzac, 14.

<sup>580</sup> Weiss explains that the king was extremely concerned about the French captives’ turn to Islam, and for that reason took preventative measures: peace treaties included clauses that forbade forced conversion to Islam (for example treaties with Algeria in 1628 and 1689, and Morocco in 1682), Catholic institutions and missionaries were maintained in the French outposts (*échelles*), cases of apostasy were carefully monitored, and women and children were repatriated as frequently as possible, and were encouraged not to follow their captured husbands into captivity. Other royal ordinances stipulated that

Marseilles were bustling with non-naturalized Muslims, who became a familiar sight to the local citizens. The transient status of the merchants blurred the line between temporary and permanent settlement, thus circumventing the official requirement of naturalization.

Perhaps because of their special status in the city, it appears that in the local community the Muslims were treated relatively well. The only recorded gesture of animosity against the local Muslims occurred in 1620. In the summer of that year, several Ottoman diplomats were attacked in their hostel by an angry mob of *Marseillais* citizens. The incident was a spontaneous and passionate reaction following the sinking of a French ship by Ottoman corsairs.<sup>581</sup> The apologetic correspondence between the French and Ottoman rulers that followed indicates this to be an isolated act of “mob-retribution,” however,<sup>582</sup> rather than a reflection of persistent aggression against the local Muslim population.<sup>583</sup> Such expressions of popular sentiment were not uncommon, and were by no means isolated to religious groups.

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French men who married in Barbary would lose their status as French subjects. Weiss, “Commerce, Conversion,” 276-277.

<sup>581</sup> Henri Delmas de Grammont, “Massacre des Turcs à Marseille en 1620, d’après un ancien récit publié à Lyon chez Cl. Armand en 1620” (Paris: Chamption, 1879), recounted in Baratier, *Documents de l’Histoire de la Provence*, 191-193. Archive: AMM. FF 32 “Massacre des turcs” (1620).

<sup>582</sup> According to William Beik, popular protest was an expression of long-standing resentments against the ruling echelons of society; he calls this principle the “politics of retribution.” They were displays of popular justice. See William Beik, “The Culture of Protest in Seventeenth-Century French Towns,” in *Social History Journal*, Vol. 15, No. 1 (Jan. 1990) 1-23.

<sup>583</sup> Gillian Weiss confirms that popular violence did not typify relations between France and the Ottoman Empire, particularly because the presence of Muslim traders in major port cities was economically desirable. Weiss, “Back from Barbary,” 125.

Several decades later, the local treatment of the Muslims further improved. After the enfranchisement of the port in 1669, the king embraced an “open-door” policy towards Muslim traders. Colbert actively encouraged Muslim merchants to settle in Marseilles and other coastal areas, promoting mercantilism and the state’s commercial interests.<sup>584</sup> The *échevins* of Marseilles protested this policy, just as they did all of the Bourbons’ interventions in Marseilles. Nevertheless, they did not persecute or exclude the Muslims as they did the Jews and the Protestants.<sup>585</sup> Moreover, the occasional appearance of *turc* patients in the records of Marseilles’ *Hotel-Dieu* hospital affirms their place in the community.

On 17 May 1674, the bureau of *l’Hotel-Dieu* hospital records the following notice: That it “has deliberated to receive sick *turcs* in the hospital – this being a request made by the city council.”<sup>586</sup> The fact that a special deliberation was made regarding *turcs malades* indicates that it was not a regular practice, but one that was nevertheless permissible. Another record appears in November of the following year, when two *turcs* were admitted for reasons of sickness. This time the directors denied them admission due to a lack of space. Despite the official decision to turn them away, one of the key-holders conceded and allowed them entry. For this act of defiance, the key-holder was stripped of

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<sup>584</sup> Takeda, 80, 95-105.

<sup>585</sup> Prohibitive measures against Jews and Protestants abundant in the municipal archive AMM. GG 134/ GG 135/ GG 154.

<sup>586</sup> AD des BR. 6HD. E5 “Délibération à recevoir des turcs malades dans cet hôpital et c’est a la prière de m. les consulz de cette ville” (17 May 1674).

his duty.<sup>587</sup> The directors' trepidation to admit these *turcs*, as well as the action and fate of the disobedient key-holder, affirm the ambiguity of the Muslims' place in Marseilles. Placing non-converted Muslims into one of Marseilles' primary hospitals was against official policy. However, the key-holder's action also signals his sympathy with the two Muslim patients. Such local ambivalence marked local relations into the 1680s, when the king recalled his policy of open migration.

Beginning in the 1680s, the monarchy began to pursue Catholic uniformity with greater intensity kingdom-wide, including coastal trading regions such as Marseilles. In 1682, Louis XIV published an edict compelling all "Mahometans" to be instructed in Catholicism,<sup>588</sup> and in 1685 Catholicism was made mandatory for all merchants participating in Mediterranean trade.<sup>589</sup> Even so, it appears that local population continued to turn a blind eye to Islam's presence in their city. Once again, we find instances of sympathy in the communal archive. Correspondence between the monarchy and the galley officers reveals ongoing concern about escapee Muslims who receive aid from the local citizens, for example.<sup>590</sup> Since galley-enslaved *turcs* frequently worked in

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<sup>587</sup> AD des BR. 6HD. E6 (21 November 1675).

<sup>588</sup> Mathorez, 180.

<sup>589</sup> Weiss, "Commerce, Conversion," 277.

<sup>590</sup> "De par le roy: sa majesté étant informée qu'il arrive fréquemment des évasions des forçats & turcs de ses galères...ce qui donne lieu de juger que les habitans de Marseille leur donnent retraite, en leur facilitant les moyens de s'évader. A quoy étant nécessaire de pourvoir, sa majesté a trouve bon de renouveler son ordonnance en datte du 22 août 1696 par laquelle elle fait reiterativement très-expresses inhibitions & défenses a tous les bas officiers de ses galères, habitans, maçons & autres artisans de Marseille & des environs, de mener hors la ville, ni de donner retraite a aucuns forçats & turcs de ses galères, ni de faciliter leur suite, a peine contr'eux, chez lesquels il en sera trouve, qui se seront évadez, d'être condamnez aux galères en leur place pour trois ans." Transl.: "His Majesty has been informed that frequently turcs and forçats escape from teh galleys...which leads him to think that Marseilles' citizens give them retreat, and aid them in escape. It is necessary to stop such a practice; His Majesty has resolved to



the employ of local artisans during the galleys' off-season, potential opportunities for escape arose. It only took a savvy and sympathetic accomplice to facilitate an escape. Many escapees likely joined other clandestine Muslims, taking advantage of the arsenal's adjoining cemetery and mosque.<sup>591</sup> In short, even though formal evidence about the Muslim population of Marseilles is hampered by their illicit status, the instances of local cooperation suggest that Muslims lived in relative peace with the local Catholics.

The ambivalent status of illicit Muslims in the community and the kingdom was consistent with contemporary attitude towards Islam. Takeda explains that seventeenth-century writers alternatively criticized and praised the *turcs*: some admired their virtue and military prowess; others celebrated their religious toleration while criticizing the anti-Protestant policies of Louis XIV, and some depicted the Ottomans as barbarous and corrupt.<sup>592</sup> The particular point of view depended entirely on the context, Takeda says, which was true for both the kingdom and local regions such as Marseilles. Though the monarchy's interests were commercial and strategic as Weiss and Takeda explain, here I suggest that captive Muslims and even those who secretly settled in French cities never

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renew previous ordinance from August 22, 1696 that strictly forbids for all galley officers, inhabitants, masons and other artisans of Marseilles and environs, to give asylum to slaves and forçats, or to help them in any way. Those who will be found guilty of such assistance will be condemned to the galleys in the prisoners' place for three years." AMM. GG 134 (13 March 1715).

<sup>591</sup> Mathorez, 179. Masson also mentions a mosque in Marseilles. Masson, 451. Recent scholars have elaborated, suggesting that in the seventeenth century, in the Vieux-Port there had been a Muslim necropolis and a small mosque for the *galériens*' purposes. They admit, however, that no architectural traces remain and the mosque's alleged existence continues to be debated. It was only in the early twentieth century that Marseilles built its current mosque. For this discussion, see Abdelouahab Khelif and Salah Bariki, "L'Art Sacré Musulman," in *Marseille: La revue culturelle de la Vile de Marseille*, No. 215 (Décembre 2006) 103-104.

<sup>592</sup> Takeda, 81-93.

posed a direct threat to royal authority, which is why they were treated more favourably. Similarly, they seem to have posed little threat to *Marseillais* definition of virtue, and were therefore accepted. As non-Christians, they had not ‘betrayed’ the Catholic culture of the city the way the Protestants did, at least in the eyes of the community. By adopting Protestantism, these French subjects deviated from the accepted norms of propriety, orthodoxy, and order that were so important to the identity of Marseilles. Even prior to Louis XIV’s Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the Huguenots were rejected from the community – a context that made Marseilles a suitable locale for *l’Hôpital royal* post-1685.

*e. The Huguenots in Marseilles and in France*

The Huguenots were never accommodated in Marseilles the way the Muslims had been. In the staunchly Catholic polis, the abandonment of Catholicism was a form of abhorrent treachery to local identity. Indeed, the French label for the Huguenots, “*gens de Religion Prétendue Réformée*” (“people embracing a religion pretentiously/ falsely called “reformed”), implies their supposed deceit of the French people. The civic leaders of Marseilles evidently believed the crime of the Huguenots was unforgivable, and excluded them from their community even earlier than the monarchy implemented drastic measures against them.<sup>593</sup> As early as the 1530s, the Archbishop of Aix-en-Provence urged that all followers of Lutheranism be brought before the authorities and compelled to leave the

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<sup>593</sup> Janine Garrisson divides the reign of Louis XIV into several phases: 1661 – 1669 characterized by royal hesitation; 1670 – 1679 relative calm, followed by rising tensions of 1681 – 1684, and finally the revocation in 1685. See Janine Garrisson, *Histoire des protestants en France De la Reforme a la Révolution* (Toulouse: Editions Privat, 2001) 143-144.

province.<sup>594</sup> Between the 1560s and 1590s, the aldermen of Marseilles further appealed to the monarchy and to the provincial lieutenant to allow Marseilles to forever keep her status as a Catholic city.<sup>595</sup> This policy effectively meant that any future edicts demanding religious toleration (such as the Edict of Nantes published) would not apply in Marseilles.

Animosity between the Catholics and Protestants of Marseilles grew stronger in the early decades of the following century, as the civic leaders continued to invoke the anti-Protestant policies of their sixteenth-century predecessors. To justify the city's unwillingness to receive the Protestants, the councillors stressed their city's long-standing respect for the Catholic tradition, and their "fidelity to its prince."<sup>596</sup> It was the right of

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<sup>594</sup> Baratier, *Documents de l'Histoire de la Provence*, 164-172. Compared to Aix-en-Provence, the anti-Protestant campaign in Marseilles was much more virulent, initiated directly by the civic elites. Marseilles' Protestants also constituted a larger and more visible community that came under direct assault. Jean Stouff, "La communauté protestante d'Aix: Répression et communauté protestante à Aix-en-Provence, 1660 – 1685," in *Provence Historique*, vol. XXXVIII, no. 151 (March 1988) 11-21.

<sup>595</sup> It appears that Marseilles was first exempted from Protestant tolerance by Charles IX in 1562 ; patent letters published by this king read : "au requis des habitants de Marseille par lesquelles il est dit que quoiqu'il ait été permis aux gens de la religion prétendue reformée de s'assembler pour l'exercice de leur religion, néanmoins le roi n'a pas entendu y comprendre la ville de Marseille qui s'estant perpétuellement maintenue dans la foi et religion catholique apostolique et romaine mérite d'être distinguée des autres villes du royaume...." Transl.: "at the request of Marseilles inhabitants it is declared that even though it has been permitted to Protestants to assemble and practice their religion, the king did not intend to include the city of Marseilles in this provision....The city shall forever remain maintained in the Roman Catholic Apostolic religion." AMM. GG 134 (25 April 1562). In 1596 this aforementioned "Act of reduction" was renewed by Henri III: "L'Acte de réduction porte qu'il ne sera fait aucun autre exercice de religion que de la catholique apostolique et romaine dans la ville et son terrain." Transl.: "The Act of Reduction states that no religion other than the Catholic Roman Apostolic will be practiced in Marseilles and its terrain." AMM. GG 134 (1596).

<sup>596</sup> The municipal council's deliberation of 1 March 1654 echoes previous ordinances, declaring that Protestantism would continue to be prohibited. On 16 October 1688, and then again in 1698, the king published "Mémoire servant pour autoriser la requête présentée à M. l'intendant par m. les eschevins de Marseille, contre l'établissement des RPR en cette ville." The document quoted previous anti-Protestant policies: "Car bien que Charles IX par sa déclaration du 17 janvier 1561 eut permis aux PR de s'établir dans toutes les villes de son royaume il en excepte les villes frontières de son gouvernement de province et ensuite d'un supplication expresse des habitants de Marseille par lettres patentes en faveur de ladite ville du 25 avril 1562, il déclara que Marseille n'est pas compris dans ledit edict...La ville de Marseille...n'a pas moins mérité cette liberté de la pureté de la religion pour avoir toujours estre fidele a son prince " Transl.:

Marseilles' citizens, the governors claimed, to remain a Catholic city. The language is as significant as the content: it illustrates that the idea of royal obedience was tied to the question of religion. It also indicates that state-loyalty supposedly warranted certain rights – the right to a local identity being among them. Such phrasing explains why the Huguenots were treated as suspect intruders in Marseilles.

In the end, the civic leaders did not wait for royal permission to reject the Huguenots from their community. They pursued their own policy of Catholic uniformity. During the first decades of the seventeenth century, the municipal council published several new ordinances that stipulated Catholicism as the only religion permitted in the city. The councillors targeted the Jews and the Protestants in particular, labelling them as *sects méchantes*, or “malicious sects.”<sup>597</sup> The Jews had been expelled from Provence in the Middle Ages,<sup>598</sup> and in the seventeenth century the same fate befell the Huguenots. The councillors claimed the Protestants were dishonest and took away professional and commercial opportunities from other Catholic citizens.<sup>599</sup> From the 1650s onward, the Huguenots were completely forbidden to establish themselves in the city, purchase

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“Even though on 17 January 1561 Charles IX has permitted Protestantism in all of the kingdom’s cities, he has exempted frontier cities. Thus, by a declaration of 25 April 1562, Marseilles has been removed from the edict...Marseilles has merited the freedom of purity of religion by its fidelity to the monarch.” AMM. GG 134.

<sup>597</sup> AMM. GG 134 (16 October 1688) “Mémoire.”

<sup>598</sup> The Jews had been expelled from Provence in the Middle Ages; nevertheless, extensive documentation regarding the Jews’ continuous exclusion throughout the seventeenth century appears in civic documents in the Chamber of Commerce Archive. CCM. G5 “Juifs a Marseille et a Aix (1672–1773)” and AMM. GG 154 “Juifs documents divers avant 1789.” Within the context of this chapter, however, the Jews have little relevance, particularly since their exclusion has medieval origins.

<sup>599</sup> AMM. GG 134 (16 October 1688) “Mémoire.”

property or hold offices. Their *droit de citadinage*<sup>600</sup> – the right ‘to belong’ – was effectively denied them.<sup>601</sup> To underscore the undesirability of the Huguenots in the community, the councillors sanctioned the destruction of all Protestant temples, and decreed that deceased Protestants were to be buried in the Muslim cemetery reserved for galley convicts– a gesture of deep disrespect towards Protestantism as a heretical faith.<sup>602</sup>

Very few Protestants remained in Marseilles by the end of the seventeenth century, no doubt because of this long period of hostility that preceded the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Provence was one of the least Protestant provinces in the kingdom, accounting for only about 9,000 Protestants between 1630 and 1680, the majority of whom converted and abjured.<sup>603</sup> Of course, in 1685 the political situation of the remaining French Huguenots deteriorated throughout the kingdom. With the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, all Huguenots had to convert or – if they were ministers – leave within two weeks.<sup>604</sup> Those who were caught fleeing the kingdom, or continued to worship in the Protestant faith, were subjected to extreme measures designed to induce abjuration. The so-called *dragonnades* – raids by Crown military personnel – were

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<sup>600</sup> The term *citadinage* denoted the right to live and work in a city. “Citadinage, Compendiosa versio Gallica anni 1616,” Centre National de Ressources Textuelles et Lexicales, <http://www.cnrtl.fr/definition/ducange/citadinage>. October 4, 2011. For more on early modern French definition of “citizenship,” see Sahlins, 1-31.

<sup>601</sup> AMM. GG 134 (16 October 1688) “Mémoire.”

<sup>602</sup> Kaltenbach, 41.

<sup>603</sup> For numerical representation of Protestant populations by region, see Garrison, 129.

<sup>604</sup> Article X of the Edict prohibits emigration, and Article IV orders all ministers to leave within a fortnight or convert. “Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, Edict of Fontainebleau, 22 October 1685,” Modern History Sourcebook, <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1685revocation.html>. April 13, 2011.

particularly effective in bringing entire families to abjure and convert.<sup>605</sup> Using physical torture, the king's *dragons* punished the heresy and political betrayal that Protestantism represented. They also hoped to obtain the names of other clandestine Protestants in the community. Marseilles' municipal archive preserves the names of families that abjured and those who did not. By November 1685, approximately eighty-four families had made their abjuration while eight were known to have not – a remarkably swift progression.<sup>606</sup>

The following notation from the archive elucidates the process:

Paul Calix had four dragoons who were sent to the house of a local merchant, Isac Olier...The four dragoons who had been lodged at Abraam Olier's house have not yet found the said Olier and thus were sent to Denis Chopellier.<sup>607</sup>

The above excerpt suggests that the movement of the *dragonnades* through a community was systematic. Two or four dragoons were lodged with a Protestant family until their successful conversion. The officers subsequently questioned the family on the whereabouts of other Huguenots. Such an unwelcome and frightening presence in the

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<sup>605</sup> *Dragonnades* were in existence since 1681, designed to frighten Huguenots into adopting Catholicism. Accounts of the “*dragonnades*” exist in various historical sources, mostly Protestant-sympathizing. See, for example, Edward Arber, ed., *The Torments of Protestant Slaves in the French King's Gallies, and in the Dungeons of Marseilles 1686 – 1707* (London: 1908) 182-183. Historians estimate that in the last two decades of the century, between 210,000 and 900,000 Protestants left France, leaving behind between approximately 1,000 and 15,000 of Protestants on French soil.

<sup>606</sup> AMM. GG 134 “Rolle des heretiques rezidant a Marseille qui n'ont pas encore abjuré” (1685). Eight names of heads of households are listed, while pages 44-45 contain the records of approximately 56–68 abjurations beginning with the summer of 1685.

<sup>607</sup> “Paul Calix avoit eu quatre dragons ont este envoyés a la maison de Isac Olier marchand proche...Les quatre dragons loges chez Abraam Ollier n'ayant pas trouve ledit Olier... ont este envoyés chez Denis Chopellier.” AMM.GG 134.

community surely was a compelling reason for many to abjure if they had not emigrated in time.

The Huguenots who converted to Catholicism nevertheless continued to be regarded with suspicion in Marseilles, a community where Roman Catholic religion was an integral part of civic identity. Soon after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the king published multiple ordinances urging the people of Marseilles “not to harass or bother in any way the new converts (*nouveaux convertis*), or engage in their “malicious mockery.”<sup>608</sup> Based on such declarations, it appears the long-standing cultural phobia of Protestants was not easily calmed in Marseilles. In response to ongoing local struggles, Louis XIV prohibited former Huguenots from assembling in any way, forbade them to travel outside the kingdom, and also denied them the right to possess arms or gunpowder.<sup>609</sup> The converted Huguenots were rendered a harmless presence of

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<sup>608</sup> “Nous faisons très-expresses inhibitions & défenses a toutes personnes de l'un & de l'autre sexe d'inquiéter en aucune manière les Nouveaux Convertis, soit par des paroles, gestes ou chansons, d'user d'aucun reproche contre eux ny rien de semblable a peine de dix livres d'amande & de la Prison. ” AMM. GG 135 “Ordonnance de par le roy, monsieur de Forville de Pilles capitaine d'une es galères de sa majesté, gouverneur viguier et messiers les échevins de cette ville, faisant les fonctions de gouverneur en son absence” (12 November 1685). Another similar ordinance was published six years later: “Estant venu a notre connoissance que de gens mal intentionnés contre quelques habitans de cette ville, nouveaux convertis & par des animosités particulières, font asses oses pour mettre des placards dans les carrefours de cette ville contre lesdits nouveaux convertis, au lieu de venir nous en donner avis, ce qui fait aisement voir qu'il ne font cette démarche que par une pure malignité, dont il pourroit arriver de facheux inconveniens. Nous Faisons très expresses défenses a toutes personnes de quelle qualité & condition qu'elles soient d'insulter lesdits nouveaux convertis, moins encore d'user contr'eux de semblable voye, a peine d'être sévèrement punis. ” Transl.: “It has come to our knowledge that some ill-intentioned inhabitants have dared to put up posters against new converts instead of coming to the proper authorities to report any problems. Such approach stems from maliciousness, which can have untoward results. We forbid any such insults by anyone; those who harass new converts will be severely punished.” AMM. GG 135 “Ordonnance de par le roy monsieur de forville de pilles, capitaine d'une galères ” (28 August 1691).

<sup>609</sup> On 12 March 1689, the king published “Ordonnance du roy pour empêcher les assemblées des nouveaux convertis dans les provinces de son royaume. ” On 24 September 1690, he equally forbade all new converts from holding weapons and gun-powder. AMM. GG 134.

disenfranchised, disgraced and repentant subjects. Those who resented this fate faced the galleys. The *peine de galères* was the highest penalty for heresy. It was meted out to all those who failed to convert, were caught emigrating, distributing books, or associating in any way with other European Huguenots.<sup>610</sup> At this time the galley hospital shifted its charitable focus to conversion-oriented spiritual instruction of the Protestants.

Before fully exploring the internal affairs of the royal hospital post-1685, it is essential to recognize the fundamentally reformatory purpose of the anti-Huguenot campaign. First, the fact that the galley sentence effectively replaced the death sentence at this time suggests that the monarchy preferred to convert and to reform the Protestant prisoners, rather than to execute them immediately. The shaping of obedient subjects was more important to state-construction than the elimination of overtly disobedient ones. For the same reason, the Protestants were forbidden to emigrate. This provision in the Edict de Fontainebleau, as well as the implementation of the galley-sentence, indicate that the Huguenots were treated as disloyal subjects because they sinned through heresy, but as subjects nevertheless. They still owed allegiance to their king, and it was through the king's 'charity' they could regain a favourable standing. In other words, because the French Protestants were subjects of the king they were treated differently from the Muslim slaves. The galleys represented both a punitive and reformatory site, where conversion and catechesis epitomized charity as of 1685. *L'Hôpital royal des forçats*

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<sup>610</sup> Most Huguenots were sent to the galleys immediately after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, with additional mass arrivals from Languedoc and Cevennes following the Wars of the Cevennes in 1702. See Zysberg's chart, "Les motifs de condamnation des forçats envoyés aux galères pour cause de religion protestante," in *Les galériens*, 115.



became the locus of this new kind of charitable activity, aimed at reconversion of Protestants and the extirpation of heresy at home. This is a key instance in France of ‘philanthropy’ harnessed specifically to religious indoctrination and re-education.

### ***III. L’Hôpital royal des forçats post-1685: a place of conversion***

Important changes to the hospital’s administration in the 1660s and 1670s preceded its ultimate shift in focus in 1685. The death of Vincent de Paul in 1660 just preceded by a matter of months Louis XIV’s assertion of personal rule. Both of these developments arguably contributed to changes in the hospital’s overall direction and agenda. The first change concerned the hospital’s expanding religious scope; a change that became evident as early as 1672. The king implemented new Regulations for the staff, calling for closer supervision of patients and for the imposition of a new model of behaviour that echoed convent life. Here, charity itself underwent a kind of ‘cloistering’. According to the detailed document, all hospital personnel were to wake at four in the morning, engage in a personal prayer at half past four, and subsequently begin their assigned duties. Fifteen minutes after five in the morning the entire staff congregated to assist in a general prayer for the community. Assisted by *infirmiers*, the head chaplain celebrated Mass at six thirty in the morning. Afterwards, the chaplains visited the sick, bringing them the Host. At half past ten all staff assembled in the chapel to participate in “*l’Examen particulier*,” examining their conscience, and later assembling to hear a

reading from the Bible. Finally, all hospital staff went to adore the Sacrament while singing ‘*l’Exaudiat*’ in honour of the king. Similar decorum was observed for the remainder of the day.<sup>611</sup> These Regulations show that the monarchy strove to instill in staff members an obedient state of mind, one dedicated to spiritual perfection. The new expectations of hospital staff were not the only changes at this time. In the early 1670s the monarchy also created the position of sacristan, along with several additional *infirmiers* to care for the chapel.<sup>612</sup> Though piety had been practiced by the *Prêtres de la Mission* previously, here we see a shift towards a more controlling and austere form of spirituality. The hospital was being transformed from a place of spiritual healing to a site of rigorous spiritual formation.

While the hospital was gradually abandoning its original spiritual purpose of providing comfort to dying Catholic patients in favour of a more radical programme, it was also in the throes of ongoing conflicts between the hospital’s locally elected administrators and the arsenal’s royal officers. The royal intendants Brodart, Vivonne, and Arnoul strove to push local leaders out of the hospital bureau, claiming that “pious people were often not pious at all, doing mischievous acts on the pretext of charity.”<sup>613</sup> They endeavoured to openly discredit the hospital administrators as lax, so they could bring the institution more fully under royal authority.<sup>614</sup> This political transformation

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<sup>611</sup> *Règlement pour l’Hôpital royal des forçats malades* (1672) “Exercices généraux,” 73-75.

<sup>612</sup> François, 39. The duties of the infirmaries and the sacristan are also described in *Règlement pour l’Hôpital royal des forçats* (1672) 37-40 and 57-66.

<sup>613</sup> Bamford, 217.

<sup>614</sup> Bamford, 218.

officially took place in 1676. As a result, hospital administrators were no longer drawn from the ranks of local elites, but instead were royally appointed officials.<sup>615</sup> They were in charge of a restructured institution, one that would continue to offer medical care to some, and intense spiritual training with the purpose of conversion to others. After 1685, the institution emphatically embraced the king's definition of charity, which awarded the abjuration of Protestant prisoners with freedom, social reintegration, and path to salvation as Catholics.

The changes in the hospital were immediate, captured in the correspondence of a Protestant convict, Samuel de Pechels. His testimony was the following:

We called our prison 'the chamber of shadows' ...there were approximately two hundred and thirty of us...we had nothing but simple straw mattresses in extremely poor condition, which had been used by the sick forçats before us...these we had to share two or three persons per bed. The lamps burnt all night long, without a doubt so that the guards could better monitor us....Those among us who attempted to pray fell victim to these vigilant guards.<sup>616</sup>

The excerpt, referring to one of the hospital rooms reserved for Huguenot patients, seems vastly inconsistent with the foundation documents dating from 1646. To be sure, the hospital continued to function as a place of healing for the Muslim slaves, who continued to enjoy diligent medical care as promised in 1646. As a Huguenot condemned to the

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<sup>615</sup> AN Marine B<sup>6</sup> 86 "Mémoire sur l'hôpital des forçats" (1684).

<sup>616</sup> "On appelait notre prison la chambre des voiles; nous étions a peu près 230 hommes et femmes enfermes dans la même pièce; nous n'avions rien d'autre que de mauvaises paillasses très usées par les forçats qui avaient été malades, et nous étions obligés de nous mettre deux et même trois sur la même. Les lampes brûlaient tout la nuit, sans doute pour que les gardiens pussent mieux nous surveiller. Ces misérables comites tombaient sur ceux d'entre nous qui se rapprochaient pour prier." Qtd. in Kaltenbach, 41.

galleys after 1685, however, de Pechels experienced the hospital in a much different way. *L'Hôpital royal* became the central site of the chaplains' missionary activity at this time. "The place that served as a hospital to the slaves was made into a prison for us," remarked one Protestant prisoner in his memoir.<sup>617</sup> Most archival documents and historical narratives do not make a distinction between patients who were Huguenot, Muslim, or Catholic. To be sure, certain royal documents stipulate that patients were to be treated equally.<sup>618</sup> This likely was not the case after 1685, however, as is suggested in correspondence.

Historian Jacques Kaltenbach explains that next to the *bagnes* (terrestrial prisons) of Fort Saint-Jean, Chateau d'If, and Fort Saint-Nicholas with its Citadelle, the hospital itself functioned as a prison for Protestant *forçats* who were "healthy but reputed to be dangerous men."<sup>619</sup> Two types of accommodation were available, it seems. The first – the earlier depicted "chamber of shadows" – was the main hospital room reserved for the Huguenots. Others were confined to the attic. Kaltenbach explains that the attic was partitioned into multiple small cells approximately four square metres in size. With no air circulation, rooms became very hot as the sun beat on the roof. Each cell was equipped with chains that were tied to the individual prisoners' ankles, connecting the men to one

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<sup>617</sup> Original printed in Kaltenbach, 41.

<sup>618</sup> "Ils traiteront tous les Forçats maladies également, sans user d'aucune particularité aux uns plus qu'aux autres, si ce n'est par ordre du Médecin." Transl.: "All *forçats* shall be treated equally, unless explicitly ordered by the physician." *Règlements pour l'Hôpital royal des forçats malades* (1672) 61. Hospital regulations first appeared in 1672 as explored earlier; in the same spirit they re-appeared in 1684 and 1685, indicating that medical care continued to be given to Catholic and Muslim captives.

<sup>619</sup> Kaltenbach, 41.

another.<sup>620</sup> Curiously, the details regarding the Protestants' quarters in the attic are missing in the king's *Règlement* pertaining to the hospital. The omission indicates either secrecy if the intendants acted beyond the king's orders, or the king's desire to maintain a façade of humane treatment in his charitable hospital, or both.

The treatment of the Huguenots in the hospital was just as disturbing as their accommodations, which we can gather primarily from correspondence sent to supporters living in exile. Admittedly, these sources regarding the Protestants' experience are somewhat problematic: as letters collected by Protestant sympathizers and published by English presses they represent a form of propaganda. Nevertheless, their content is congruent with archival information and documents cited by other historians. Zysberg confirms the cruel treatment of the Huguenots, for example, as do archival documents such as royal correspondence regarding the problem of thorough conversion. Moreover, since the Protestant letters are the only representations of their perspective, they bear indisputable merit. A letter written by several Protestant prisoners to Mme. De Peray – a devoted supporter living in exile – describes the suffering that their fellow Protestant captive endured while hospitalized:

He spent approximately two months in the hospital. He was much tormented and distressed there, loaded with chains....It is a great inhumanity to burden with chains an ill man already weak and close to death, while other more dangerous and villainous *forçats* are left without chains while in the hospital. A place of healing

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<sup>620</sup> Kaltenbach, 41.

has been converted into a place of torture....I cannot bear to describe all the evil that is done to us there....<sup>621</sup>

Though the authors in the end remain silent about the details of “all the evil that is done,” we can turn to yet another account for a final illustration captured in correspondence.

When Alexandre Astier fell ill on the galleys and was taken to the hospital, the hospital’s chaplain allegedly “did him all the evil imaginable...several times he made him wash the drapes and covers of his bed even during a time when Astier was so weak and exhausted that his legs could not support him...”<sup>622</sup> Since we know that the hospital employed linen personnel tasked with changing the patients’ bedding, we must assume that Astier was being bullied by the chaplain – an occurrence Zysberg confirms as frequent.<sup>623</sup> The scattered impressions that come to us in letters suggest that Protestant patients, because of their spiritual beliefs, were treated with a mixture of spiritual education and physical

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<sup>621</sup> “M. Elie Maurin...il avait été détenu de maladie environ deux mois. Il y a été beaucoup tourmenté et affligé, jusques a le charger de chaines, pour la haine que les ennemis de notre religion ont contre luy. C’est une grande inhumanité d’accabler de fers un malade foible et presque moribond, pendant qu’on laisse les plus méchants, les plus scélérats forçats sans chaines, lorsqu’ils sont malades a l’hôpital. On convertit ainsy un lieu de soulagements en un lieu de tourments. Je ne scauvrois vous représenter tous les maux qu’on nous fait. ” “Lettre des galeriens Bancillon, Fointblanche et Serres le Jeune a Mademoiselle de Perray, 14 décembre 1699, ” in *Bulletin Historique et Littéraire de la Société de l’Histoire du Protestantisme Français*, Tome XVII, deuxième série, troisième année (Paris: Agence centrale de la société, 1868) 121.

<sup>622</sup> “Pendant ce temps la, un missionnaire, nomme M. Miroir, luy fit faire tout le mal qui se puisse imaginer, jusques a luy faire lever les draps et couvertes de son lit, et cela dans un temps même que Astier estoit si faible et extenué qu’il ne pouvoit seulement se soutenir sur ses jambes.... ” Anon. “Extrait naïf et fidele des souffrances d’Alexandre Astier, ” in *Bulletin Historique et Littéraire de la Société de l’Histoire du Protestantisme Français*, Tome XXIX, Deuxième Série, Quinzième Année, 1880 (Paris, Agence centrale de la société) 465.

<sup>623</sup> On pages 45-47, the *Règlements* (1672) speaks extensively of the duties of the *lingier* (i.e., linen-keeper).

abuse. Muslim and Catholic patients, on the other hand, were of interest only as recipients of medical treatment.

The fact that the Muslims were housed in a separate room was also an indication of their different status as prisoners because of their faith.<sup>624</sup> Though we lack a detailed explanation of the king's order to separate Muslim from Christian patients, several hypotheses can be entertained. Most likely, the monarchy wished to prevent the Muslims from converting to Christianity. In the event that Muslim slaves adopted Catholicism, they were to be released from the galleys, thus costing the king his most valuable rowers. The slaves' separation from the Christians therefore ensured that they would be exempted from Catholic Mass and from catechesis conducted within their respective chambers. Based on what we know from correspondence about the treatment of hospitalized Huguenots, however, it is also likely that isolation helped to disguise the maltreatment of Protestant patients like Astier. Moreover, since the Muslim and Protestant prisoners shared a friendly rapport,<sup>625</sup> keeping the suffering of the Protestants concealed likely helped to prevent a mutiny in the hospital. With the Protestants separated in the 'chamber of shadows' and in the attic, the *Prêtres de la Mission* were able to exert unmitigated pressure to convert them. Though archives are silent on the details of spiritual instruction, royal correspondence to the intendants and chaplains elucidates the new conversion-

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<sup>624</sup> "Les turcs seront séparés des chiourmes, et il leur sera destine une salle de l'hôpital." Transl.: "The Turks shall be separated from the prisoners, and will be delegated into their own chamber." AN Marine A<sup>2</sup> 5 "Ordonnance ou règlement que le roy veut et ordonne être observé dans le port de Marseille pour la direction et administration de l'Hôpital des forçats" (26 July 1685).

<sup>625</sup> Tournier, 152 and Bion, 14.

oriented purpose of the hospital, and demonstrates the key role of the *Congrégation* in fulfilling this function.

*f. Forced conversion as charity*

This new spiritual agenda, and the role of the *Pères* in fostering the conversion of Protestants, first becomes visible in the new *Règlements* of the hospital published by the king as early as 1685. Here, Louis XIV underscored the chaplains' duty to "target new arrivals and new converts especially, achieving progress [in teaching them] the truths of the Roman Catholic apostolic religion."<sup>626</sup> The king also repeatedly appealed to the galley officers, the head chaplain of the *Congrégation de la Mission*, and the bishop of Marseilles to launch the conversion-process immediately upon arrival of the new prisoners. One of Colbert's letters to galley intendant M. Begon expresses this agenda:

The king wishes that you force all galley soldiers who are Protestant to convert; those who refuse to submit themselves to His Majesty's will, shall be taken to prison.<sup>627</sup>

Threat of punishment was evidently one of the officers' favourite ways of encouraging conversion. In the summer of 1687, the king decided to further boost the conversion process by calling on all "those who are zealous and capable enough to give the

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<sup>626</sup> "Vérité de la religion catholique apostolique et romaine, particulièrement les nouveaux convertis et ceux des nouvelles chaînes." AN Marine A<sup>2</sup> 5 "Ordonnance portant que les aumôniers des galères feront la prière soir et matin sur les galères ou ils seront aumôniers" (11 November 1685) Also "Règlement sur les fonctions des aumôniers des galères" (December 1685).

<sup>627</sup> "Le roy veut que vous obligez les soldats des galères qui sont de la RPR de se convertir et que vous fassiez metre en prison ceux qui refuseront de se soumettre aux volontez de sa majesté." AN Marine B<sup>6</sup> 18 "Lettre de Colbert a M. de Begon" (17 March 1686).



appropriate instruction for ensured success.”<sup>628</sup> Such an “extraordinary and all-inclusive mission” would surely “persuade the heretics to convert and realize their errors.”<sup>629</sup> Since the task of enforcing conversion lay primarily with the galley chaplains, the king’s attitude towards them changed as well. After 1687 the chaplains were forbidden to leave the arsenal. By confining the chaplains in the hospital, the king hoped to ensure a more intense and faster conversion process.<sup>630</sup> The king further instructed the chaplains to report frequently on the progress of abjuration and conversion of the Protestants, and to inform the intendants and ministers about any potential mutinies or Protestant sympathizers among the officers. Some chaplains even organized bullying, explains Zysberg.<sup>631</sup>

By the end of the seventeenth century, the Catholic chaplains were – as one *forçat* has put it – “the core mechanism of the great machine of clubs and bludgeons.”<sup>632</sup> The *Prêtres* no longer embraced de Paul’s vision of spiritual soothing, but instead adapted their work to meet the goals of the state. In the galleys they came to embody the standard of discipline and the new Catholic social order that Louis XIV envisioned. The commitment of the chaplains was apparently great. At times, however, their pursuit of Catholic orthodoxy was excessive to the point of being counter-productive.

Correspondence from 1701 suggests the king’s fears about the potential ineffectiveness of

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<sup>628</sup> “Ceux qui soient zélés et capable de donner les instructions convenables pour réussir dans ce dessein.” AN Marine B<sup>6</sup> 18 “Lettre à M. l’evêque de Marseilles” (22 September 1687) .

<sup>629</sup> AN Marine B<sup>6</sup> 18 “Lettre à M. l’evêque de Marseilles” (29 October 1687) .

<sup>630</sup> AN Marine A<sup>2</sup> 5 “Ordonnance qui deffend aux aumoniers et chirurgiens des galères de s’absenter du port de Marseille ” (23 October 1687).

<sup>631</sup> Zysberg, *Les galériens*, 197.

<sup>632</sup> Zysberg, *Les galériens*, 197.

the chaplains’ “indiscrete zeal...as a result of which their [chaplains’] efforts become futile due to the poor treatment that they [forçats] suffer and that causes them to lose confidence in the chaplains.”<sup>633</sup> Some critics of the chaplains’ work came from their own ranks: John Bion, for example, allegedly converted to Protestantism while serving as a Catholic chaplain. He was unable to reconcile the practices demanded by the king, and became an advocate for the Protestant cause.<sup>634</sup>

By the end of the seventeenth century, French royal ‘charity’ embraced coercion and conversion, effected by the *Prêtres* chaplains in their hospital. Conversion meant a path to salvation and (at least in theory) subsequent release from the galleys. It was framed as a gesture of royal fraternal love and of forgiveness – a gesture of charity. Though cases of released *forçats* were few, even the theory of mercy manifest here is worth exploring. It was fundamental to the shifting meaning of charity for purposes of state-construction and social control.

Based on royal correspondence, it is apparent that the king monitored the success of conversion so he could grant mercy to those who abjured. In his letter to Marseilles’ officials dated October 1686, Colbert wrote:

His Majesty wishes to grant liberty to him who, in his agony, has demanded to abjure and now lives as a good Catholic. You should notify me about the names of those new converts who distinguish

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<sup>633</sup> “Zèle indiscret...auprès desquels leurs soins deviennent inutiles par les mauvaie traitement qu’ils ont fait souffrir et qu’ils ont aussi perdu l’estime et la confiance des officieurs et des aumosniers par leur manières divers. ” AN Marine B<sup>6</sup> 34 “Correspondence between Monsieur de Montmort, galley intendant, and Versailles” (1701) .

<sup>634</sup> Bamford, 121.

themselves by living as ‘good Catholics’ and I shall then expedite the necessary orders to the king to obtain some grace and detach him from his chain....<sup>635</sup>

Colbert suggests that conversion warranted liberty – liberty that represented the king’s new charity. In another excerpt, he also expresses the hope that the merciful liberation of abjuring *forçats* will incite others to give up their faith as well:

The king wishes to show grace to those whom you have indicated as sincerely converted and with their tasks of Catholicity fulfilled, which hopefully will incite others to open themselves to instruction and renounce their error.<sup>636</sup>

Colbert’s emphasis on ‘example’ and ‘inspiration’ is reminiscent of the *Refuge* asylum’s deliberate inclusion of condemned and penitent women in the house. In both situations, the authorities hoped that those who redeemed themselves would inspire others. Tempting the Huguenots with the promise of freedom was one of the ways in which the king hoped to break the resolve of Protestants. In some cases the monarch followed through with his promise of liberation, affirming the fundamentally reformatory function of the galleys.

After the king received the certificate of Jean Paquot’s “sincere conversion,” for example,

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<sup>635</sup> “Sa majesté a bien voulu accorder la liberté a celuy qui a demande de faire abjuration estant a l’agonie, et qui vit a présent en bon catholique, et j’expedieray les ordres nécessaires pour le faire détacher de la chaisne aussytost que vous aurez pris la peine de me faire scavoir son nom.... A l’esgard des autres nouveaux convertis, quand il y en aura quelqu’un qui se distinguera par vivre en bon catholique, il faudra que vous ayez agréable de me le faire scavoir, et je proposeray a sa majesté de luy faire donner quelque gratification.” AN Marine B<sup>6</sup> 18 “Lettre au supérieur de la mission de Marseille” (8 October 1686)

<sup>636</sup> “Par la grâce que le roi veut bien accorder a une partie de ceux qui sont condamnez pour fait de religion que vous m’avez marquée paroistre sincèrement convertis et remplir les devoirs de catholicité, ce qui exciter les autres à se faire instruire et a renoncer a leurs erreurs.” AN Marine B<sup>6</sup> 34 “Lettre a M. de Montmort” (26 January 1701) .

he “had kindly granted him the grace to leave the galleys.”<sup>637</sup> Many others were not as fortunate, however. An imprisoned Huguenot named Blessier allegedly converted to Catholicism, appealing to the king for liberty on several occasions. Still, the king refused to release him for unspecified reasons, and instructed the officers to take special caution that Blessier would not escape.<sup>638</sup> The case of Blessier shows that Louis XIV granted liberty arbitrarily – a way of maintaining his status as the unpredictable, mysterious and absolute source of authority and clemency.

Despite the theoretical promise of freedom, an estimated forty-four percent of Protestant *forçats* died on the galleys.<sup>639</sup> Many apparently failed to convert ‘sincerely’ like Blessier, while others adamantly refused to abjure. It seems the proportion of prisoners who never attempted to adopt Catholicism was substantial. Convinced of the truth of their faith, the Huguenots consistently refused the king’s ‘charity’ and the conversion efforts of the chaplains. This non-compliance of the Huguenots signifies a deep disconnect between the king’s and the Huguenots’ understanding of the principles of Christian charity. The Huguenots defined charity in terms of mutual spiritual aid, which they accomplished through their own secret charitable society designed to strengthen their resolve and ease their physical suffering. The fact that the Huguenots did not associate conversion with charity the way that the Catholic chaplains had, affirms the king’s fundamentally political agenda. His purpose was to bring back under control the

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<sup>637</sup> AN Marine B<sup>6</sup> 34 “Lettre a M. Sieur de Contrat” (2 February 1701).

<sup>638</sup> AN Marine B<sup>6</sup> 18 “Lettre a M. Begon” (January 1686).

<sup>639</sup> Zysberg, *Les galériens*, 411.

disobedient, sinning subjects of France. Harnessing charity's new meaning as a vehicle of moral reform, Louis XIV conflated the idea of salvation with political repatriation and social reconciliation. However, the following discussion of the Protestants' charitable society reveals the true futility of the king's endeavour. It demonstrates that the Protestants embraced 'charity' in a way that gave them a sense of unity, and rendered the conversion-activities of the chaplains more difficult to carry out.

***g. Charity among the Protestants and their life in the galleys***

On 25 February 1699, thirteen men formed “une sorte de société secrète de secours mutuels,” a secret society whose chief purpose was to solidify the Protestant faith through communal worship.<sup>640</sup> The clandestine society called itself *l'Église souffrante*, *La petite république des forçats*, *Église enchainé* and *Église flottante* – labels that signified a sense of unity, resolve, and martyrdom. The following letter addressed to Mme. De Peray in Geneva illustrates the sense of spiritual righteousness and adherence to the doctrine of pre-destination, which the prisoners internalized as sufferers for their faith:

Oh how we would bless our God and cherish our chains, if they could lead to the erection of our Church.... But all that is by the grace of God, dear madam, and it only confirms more and more that our religion is true. Patience, conviction and constancy of our generous Christians...while the excess of rage and violence that is done to us, which are so far removed from the principles of Jesus Christ and his apostles, give proof of their anti-Christianity. The Missionaries and galley chaplains, who drive this machine of

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<sup>640</sup> Kaltenbach, 24.

batons and clubs, spare us the effort to come up with reasons to convince them, for their actions speak enough....<sup>641</sup>

The prisoners were convinced of the error of the Catholic chaplains, perceiving their own suffering as a test of faith and a sign of God's grace. Captivity was engrained in the identity of the condemned Huguenots, representing a source of strength in their ordeal.<sup>642</sup>

Encouraged by Protestants abroad and by mutual support from within the group, the society embraced its own discrete understanding of charity. Stripped of the right or opportunity to worship openly, the imprisoned Huguenots understood charity in practical terms. In the opening statement of the *Regulations*, the authors "promise[d] that each will do the best that is in his power to console and heal the distressed community."<sup>643</sup> Those who wrote the *Regulations* did not intend to "assert superiority over their fellow believers, but instead convey that, in the spirit of charity, they hope[d] to heal the body and the soul."<sup>644</sup> The fifteen individual points that followed defined charity by

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<sup>641</sup> "Mais tout cela par la grâce de Dieu, ma très-honorée Mademoiselle, ne fait que nous confirmer de plus en plus dans notre sainte religion. La patience, la fermeté et la constance de nos généreux chrétiens en démontrent invinciblement la vérité... pendant que ces excès de fureur et de violence qu'on nous fait, qui sont si éloignés des maximes de Jésus-Christ et de ses apôtres, donnent des preuves manifestes de l'antichristianisme. Ces Messieurs les missionnaires et aumôniers des galères, qui sont les grands ressorts de cette machine à gourdins et bâtons, nous épargnent la peine d'employer les raisonnements pour les convaincre, puisque leurs actions le font assez, et font voir ce qu'ils sont." "Lettre des galériens Bancillon, Fointblanche et Serres le Jeune a Mademoiselle de Perray, 14 décembre 1699," in *Bulletin Historique et Littéraire de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français*, Tome XVII, deuxième série, troisième année, 1868) pp. 121-122.

<sup>642</sup> The Huguenots were also likely inspired by Egyptian and Babylonian captivities of the Jews in Biblical literature, which was well known to the Huguenots and inspired their communities.

<sup>643</sup> Confesseurs de l'Eglise Souffrante, "Les forçats de Louis XI: Règlements faits sur les galères de France par les confesseurs qui souffrent pour la vérité de l'évangile, 20 février, 1699" in *Bulletin Historique et Littéraire de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français*, Tome XVII, deuxième série, troisième année, 1868) 24.

<sup>644</sup> Confesseurs de l'Eglise Souffrante, 27.

camaraderie, protection of one another, mutual compassion and companionship, and a complete commitment to the shared test of faith under duress. All prisoners were to:

Remain vigilant and caring in respect to the conduct of the entire suffering community, to welcome back and correct those who are vicious, encourage and strengthen the weak, console the ill and those who are treated especially harshly...in order that God gives us freely not only faith in Christ, but also the gift of suffering for him which shall be glorified for the purity of our manner, our endurance, and our ties in our suffering.<sup>645</sup>

The document suggests that mutual assistance in keeping faith was a chief charitable duty of each prisoner; it was a way of celebrating God and ensuring the community's internal tenacity. This spiritual and emotional support was not, however, considered as 'good works' conducive to salvation as in Catholicism. The illicit Protestant society understood charity not as a path to salvation, but as an indispensable means of communal self-preservation.

In achieving this goal, the Huguenots placed special emphasis on mutual education. The *Règlement* asked those who were better versed in the "truths of their religion" to impart their knowledge to their less educated brethren patiently and "with charity." Thorough acquaintance with doctrine would essentially disarm "the enemy" by

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<sup>645</sup> "veiller soigneusement sur la conduit de tout notre corps souffrant, pour reprendre et corriger les vicieux, pour encourager et fortifier les foibles...pour consoler les maladies et ceux qui seront extraordinairement persécutés...afin que Dieu qui nous a donne gratuitement, non-seulement de croire en Christ, mais aussi de souffrir pour lui, soit autant glorifié par la pureté de nos moeurs et par notre constance que par notre souffrance et nos liens." Confesseurs de l'Eglise Souffrante, 24.

forestalling accusations of a lack of Scriptural knowledge, they claimed.<sup>646</sup> The authors of the *Regulations* also urged that “if some do not fully perform the tasks of our worship due to fears of severe punishment – for example if they kneel before the Host – the others shall support them with charity and view them as brothers still.”<sup>647</sup> As these excerpts make clear, the document explicitly associated compassion, patience, and mutual aid and support with charity. In addition to spiritual guidance, the *Règlement* highlights other special forms of collective aid – specifically to the sick. The document suggests that “if anyone falls ill, one of us will visit him before he is taken to the hospital in order to console him and prepare him for the duress that awaits him, make him stronger...”<sup>648</sup> Indeed, this is a telling testament to the intense Catholic indoctrination that likely awaited the Huguenot *forçats* in the hospital. Together, both the *Règlement* and correspondence indicate that *L'Église flottante* functioned thanks to its internal cohesiveness, loyalty, and mutual tolerance. These qualities were essential for survival and defined charity to the Huguenot prisoners.

The Huguenot *galériens*' understanding of charity could not be more different from that of the Catholic galley chaplains working for the king. The Bourbons incessantly viewed loyalty and now ‘charity’ through the prism of religious orthodoxy. Because heresy was effectively a political crime, the king did not hesitate to implement any and all measures in order to achieve the conversion of the Huguenot prisoners. Indeed, spiritual

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<sup>646</sup> Confesseurs de l'Église Souffrante, 26.

<sup>647</sup> Confesseurs de l'Église Souffrante, 25.

<sup>648</sup> Confesseurs de l'Église Souffrante, 26.



indoctrination carried out through the explicitly charitable channels of the *Congrégation* and its *Hôpital royal*, represented only one means of inciting conversion. Additional methods of coercion were implemented as well, including very cruel forms of punishment and the denial of privileges to the Huguenots. These were merely different sides of the king's evolving definition of charity.

The Protestants' wretched existence in the hospital was consistent with their generally low standing among all the galley prisoners. One of the main privileges that the Muslims and Catholics were given but the Huguenots were denied was the presence of wives and friends in the galley arsenal.<sup>649</sup> Particularly the Catholic *forçats* arriving from all corners of the kingdom were able to communicate with the wives who often followed them to Marseilles. Similarly, correspondence was allowed for Muslims and Catholics but explicitly forbidden to the Protestants. Only with the help of a few local sympathizers and also the *turcs* were the Huguenots able to communicate with their families and supporters in exile.<sup>650</sup>

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<sup>649</sup> Bion, 13.

<sup>650</sup> Policies against the Huguenots' contact with the outside world were implemented early on. Colbert's letter from October of 1686 reads: "je luy ay mande mesme de les empescher d'escire a quoi que ce soit, de recevoir des lettres...et d'avoir aucune communication avec les gens de cette religion, qui peuvent estre a Marseille." Transl.: "I have ordered him to ensure that the Huguenots are prevented from writing and receiving letters...and having any communication with those of their religion who might be sympathizers in Marseilles." AN Marine B<sup>6</sup> 18 "Lettre au supérieur de la Mission de Marseille" (8 October 1686). In 1696, another similar ordinance was passed regarding the censorship of all the Protestants' mail. Bamford elaborates that the officers were concerned not only with potential schemes for escape but they also suspected that critique of their conduct might reach the ministry or the king. Bamford's supposition indicates that the galley officers deviated from the king's orders – perhaps pursuing harsher techniques than those mandated by the king. We know that much correspondence left the arsenal nonetheless, reaching sympathizers in the Swiss cantons, Holland, and England. For more on Huguenot correspondence, see Bamford, 219.

By far the most important privilege denied to the Huguenots was the ability to earn income by working outside the galleys. In 1702, at least seventy-seven local merchants, manufacturers and artisans employed *galeriens* during the galleys' off-season.<sup>651</sup> These were mostly *turcs*, but not the Protestants. This discrimination has been generally unrecognized by historians, who tend to treat the prisoners as a homogeneous group. Close reading of royal documents indicates, however, that the Protestants were deprived of both of income and contact with the outside world. As early as 1686, the king ordered that all Huguenot prisoners were to remain chained to their galley bench (called the *brancade*),<sup>652</sup> while others went to work in the harbour and about the city.<sup>653</sup> The rationale for this restrictive measure can be found in another similar ordinance issued the following year. Colbert explains that "His Majesty is convinced that there is no better way to bring Protestant *forçats* to conversion than to retain them chained, preventing them from venturing on land."<sup>654</sup> While kept on-deck, the Huguenots were also denied certain more palatable employments, for example positions as tavern-keepers, deck cleaners, or hospital servicemen. These posts were reserved for the Muslims as

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<sup>651</sup> Bamford, 229.

<sup>652</sup> Zysberg defined *brancade* as a chain with multiple "branches" that attached to the rowers' ankles and their bench. The *brancade* then designated also the group of prisoners attached to the same bench. Zysberg, *Les galeriens*, 463.

<sup>653</sup> "Le roy approuve la proposition que vous faites de retenir en brancade les forçats de RPR et de ne leur point permettre de servir comme taverniers, mousser de poupe, servants de l'hôpital ny de barberots jusques a ce qu'ils ayent fait abjuration " Transl.: "The king approves your suggestion to keep Protestant forçats tied to the galley and also to disallow them work as tavern-keepers, hospital servants, deck-cleaners...until they have abjured their faith." AN Marine B<sup>6</sup> 18 "Lettre au S. Begon" (22 July 1686).

<sup>654</sup> "Sa Majesté estant persuadé qu'il n'y a point de meilleur moyen pour obliger les forçats de la RPR de se convertir, que de les retenir en brancade, et de les empêcher d'aller a terre. " AN Marine B<sup>6</sup> 18 "Lettre a M. l'evesque de Marseille" (12 February 1687) .

mentioned. The denial of work and visiting privileges represented only two of many methods on which the intendants relied when forcing conversion.

Mockery of the Protestant religion and extreme physical punishments of the Huguenots reflected their low standing as sinning subjects of the king. While the Muslims were exempted from attending Mass, the Huguenots were forced to worship in a Catholic manner, bowing before the Host. In fact, it appears that Mass was only celebrated on the galleys after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, “with the sole purpose of irritating the Protestants’ faith,” says historian Gaston Tournier.<sup>655</sup> If the Huguenots did not participate in the sacraments according to the chaplains’ orders, they would be subjected to a severe beating known as the *bastonnade*. According to historians, the *bastonnade* involved the incessant flogging with heavy ropes or whips while the individual *forçat* lay prostrate on the galley’s large frontal cannon called the *coursier*.<sup>656</sup>

John Bion’s testimony is evocative of the extreme maltreatment of the Huguenots: “Tis so cruel a scene that the most profligate obdurate wretches cannot bear the sight, but are forc’d to turn away their eyes.”<sup>657</sup> He further explains that after the ordeal was completed, vinegar and salt were applied to fresh wounds. Importantly, they were the Muslim slaves who often carried out the *bastonnade* on the officers’ orders, says Bion.<sup>658</sup> One of the reasons was the greater strength of the slaves – another was likely the galley officers’ desire to drive a wedge between the convicts. The Muslims and Protestants were

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<sup>655</sup> Tournier, 120.

<sup>656</sup> Zysberg, *Les galériens*, 183-187.

<sup>657</sup> Bion, 28.

<sup>658</sup> Bion, 28.

sympathetic to each other's ordeal, and the Huguenots often relied on their Muslim co-prisoners for various types of assistance. Huguenot *forçat* Jean Marteilhe recalls his gratefulness for the help of a Muslim *brancade*-partner who helped him deliver correspondence and purchase provisions on-shore.<sup>659</sup> In light of these vital friendships, the Muslims' role in the *bastonnade* surely was a deliberately inflicted form of mental anguish. With a cynical gusto, the royal galley officers symbolically reversed the idea of the crusade, conveying the superiority of the 'infidels' over the Protestants.

Physical punishment, humiliation, and religious harassment were some of the means that the Crown officers used to destroy the resistance of the Huguenot *forçats* and to achieve their conversion. This treatment was contrary to that of the Muslim slaves who were the subjects of their own Levantine rulers. Their high utility had earned them a more palatable existence, devoid of harsh practices such as the *bastonnade* and conversion attempts. Despite the pressure to convert the Protestants through these measures, the success was minimal and redefinitions of royal 'charity' futile. By the late 1690s, nearly sixty percent of imprisoned Huguenots had not yet abjured, or relapsed back to Protestantism after a brief period as "new converts" or *nouveaux convertis*. Approximately ten percent converted but had not become "good Catholics," while a mere three percent converted and were deemed 'sincerely' good Catholics; good enough to earn emancipation.<sup>660</sup> As a means of stimulating conversion, the galleys were ineffective, to say the least. The officers' brutality and the rigorous regulations implemented by the

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<sup>659</sup> Tournier, 152.

<sup>660</sup> Zysberg, *Les galériens*, 194.

*Pères de la Mission* failed to bring the desired results, and encouraged the Protestants' steely sense of martyrdom.

Besides joining other historians in demonstrating the cruel treatment of the French Protestants on the galleys,<sup>661</sup> this chapter has shown that deeper issues were at play than merely the royal will to punish and eradicate heresy. The galleys had a reformatory purpose that relied on the principle of confessional charity to achieve the conversion and thus political reconciliation of those who disobeyed the king. This same political meaning of 'charity' as a facet of political control is discernible also in the king's treatment of French Catholic subjects in Ottoman captivity, however. The king extended royal 'charity' to them – facilitating their rescue and their return to France – as a *reward* for their loyalty to the state and for their steadfast Catholicism. The last section illuminates this reverse side of charity in the context of Catholic obedience rather than Protestant disobedience, and thus it complements our understanding of charity as a political instrument of the king. Charity functioned as increasingly a vehicle of correction in the case of the French Protestants, and as an incentive and reward in the case of the French Catholics.

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<sup>661</sup> Bamford, 184.

#### ***IV. Charity as a reward for Catholic orthodoxy***

The reformative, conversion-oriented charitable *Pères de la Mission* understood Catholic orthodoxy as an expression of obedience to the state. We find evidence of such uses of charity also in other policies of Louis XIV. The case of French Catholic subjects captured in the Middle East, who were rescued by the king based on their manifested loyalty to the Crown and to Catholicism, similarly showcases charity as an instrument of social control. In other words, the charitable “redemption of slaves” (*rédemption des esclaves*) was a form of charity that – like the reformative galley-sentence – was meant to instil and solidify political obedience and Catholic orthodoxy.

In her studies of French captives in the Mediterranean, Gillian Weiss deconstructs the language of letters these prisoners wrote to France, hoping to be rescued by the Crown.<sup>662</sup> The captives highlighted their economic and military value to the Crown; their roles as heads of households whose return home was essential for the preservation of order (likely to be disrupted by the presence of husbandless wives and abandoned children), and finally their fears of apostasy.<sup>663</sup> After 1685, the king made Catholicism an explicit requirement for potential redemption, which meant that French Huguenots or those who converted to Islam would not be considered for redemption. Both the king’s policies and the letters of the prisoners affirm loyalty to the Crown and to Catholicism as

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<sup>662</sup> According to Weiss, over the course of the seventeenth century approximately 4,000 French subjects found themselves in Ottoman captivity. See Weiss, “Barbary Captivity and the French Idea of Freedom,” 233.

<sup>663</sup> Weiss, “Barbary Captivity and the French Idea of Freedom,” 239-246.

the chief prerequisites for repatriation. They also show that redemption and repatriation were understood to be acts of royal charity – the same construct dictating the conversion-activities in the galleys.<sup>664</sup>

In the case of the Huguenots sentenced to the galleys, the monarchy underscored its authority by withholding liberty, as we have seen. In regards to the French Catholics captured in the Middle East, on the other hand, the king's demand for obedience was accomplished through the unique role of the redemptive fathers as the king's *liaisons*. The captives addressed their appeals to the king, but in practice the monarchy delegated the task of liberation to two redemptive orders, the Trinitarians and the Mercederians.<sup>665</sup> These religious orders enjoyed a long tradition, and were by no means new to the seventeenth century. Nevertheless, their charitable function adapted well to the needs of Bourbon state craft, aiding the monarchy's struggle for Catholic uniformity in the kingdom. The redemptive fathers solicited funds in the cities affected by the loss of men, subsequently travelling to the Levant and to Barbary in order to buy back imprisoned Frenchmen.<sup>666</sup> The Mercederians have left us a detailed account of their mission to

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<sup>664</sup> Weiss, "Barbary Captivity and the French Idea of Freedom," 244-245.

<sup>665</sup> Historians explain that the king remained generally apathetic to the plight of his French subjects who were captive in Barbary and the Levant. Slavery was deemed to be an inevitable risk and part of the profession. Financial strictures were partially responsible, though arguably he maintained a deliberate distance, for freedom was a "privilege" and not yet a right. Weiss, "Barbary Captivity and the French Idea of Freedom," 232-233.

<sup>666</sup> In 1662, the French Mercederian redemptive order allegedly rescued seventy slaves from Algeria, while another twenty-five were given charitable alms and spiritual support. According to their own statistics, the Mercederians also rescued more than a hundred French slaves from Algeria in 1644; 362 for 90,000 *livres* in 1660, and seventy in 1662. *Le Miroir de la charité chrétienne, ou Relation du voyage que les religieux de l'ordre de Notre-Dame de la Mercy du royaume de France ont fait, l'année dernière 1662, en la ville d'Alger d'ou ils ont ramené environ une centaine de Chrétiens esclaves* (Aix: Jean Baptiste & Estienne Roize Imprimeurs du Roy & de l'Université, 1663) 150–161.

Algiers in 1662. The document, entitled *Miroir de la charité*, was published in order to “raise awareness and incite others to soften the hearts of fellow Christians and excite them towards a compassion for those who are their fellows.”<sup>667</sup> The Mercederians saw themselves literally as ‘fathers’ tasked with rescuing the Church’s ‘children,’<sup>668</sup> and reuniting the Catholic community in France. Their goal was to liberate loyal French Catholics from the hands of the ‘infidel.’ We see an important parallel between their work and the galleys in Marseilles: the conversion of the Protestant galley prisoners, representing emancipation from their heresy, as well as the rescue of loyal Catholic subjects from the Islamic territories were both designed to repatriate loyal French Catholic subjects.

The state’s involvement in redemption was limited, which arguably helped to underscore the king’s role as the ultimate and merciful, yet unpredictable ruler. Historian Wolfgang Kaiser explains that between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the task of redemption gradually passed from private channels to the Marseilles’ Chamber of Commerce and the civic council, and finally under the control of the king who then used religious orders. Even as the royal intervention helped to standardize the cost paid for individual captives, it also made the redemption process more cumbersome. The captives now had to appeal to the king for mercy, even though the royal monetary assistance

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<sup>667</sup> *Le Miroir de la charité chrétienne*, 193.

<sup>668</sup> *Le Miroir de la charité chrétienne*, “Preface” containing an epistolical address to Mons. Cardinal Grimaldi, archbishop of Aix-en-Provence.



would be minimal and rescue still uncertain.<sup>669</sup> Because freedom and repatriation were the fruits of loyalty, the captives were encouraged to reflect on their worthiness to the state. As the redemptive fathers came and went, the prisoners could continue to feel hopeful that they, too, would be saved. For this reason, the fathers often left behind provisions and funds, boosting the morale of the remaining captives and strengthening their resistance to apostasy.<sup>670</sup>

While the French captives crafted colourful appeals with hopes of a rescue, such efforts are absent in letters sent by other nationals captured in the Middle East. This contrast affirms charity's role as a reward for obedience to the state, specifically in France. Captured Italians, for example, who also wrote to their rulers and home communities solicit ransom, constructed their case rather differently. Their letters conveyed despair, resentment, and accusatory reproach rather than carefully constructed evidence of merit. They perceived themselves to be Christian martyrs in the hands of the 'infidel,' and believed their captivity to be a punishment for their sins. One prisoner wrote: "I have no hope, only that the help of God and of good Christians might raise me from this Inferno....those of us, poor and abandoned, who do not have anyone who is moved to compassion." More importantly, the Italian captives apparently felt their own rulers, community, and family members had failed them. They believed they were

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<sup>669</sup> Wolfgang Kaiser, "Les 'hommes de crédit' dans les rachats de captives provençaux, XVI – XVIIe siècles," in *Le Commerce des captifs: Les intermédiaires dans l'échange et le rachat des prisonniers en méditerranée, XVe – XVIIIe siècle*, ed. Wolfgang Kaiser (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 2008) 296-311.

<sup>670</sup> *Le Miroir de la charité chrétienne*, 150-161.

suffering for Christ alone, but felt little obligation of loyalty to their rulers.<sup>671</sup> The French captives' patience was tried just the same, but their appeals emphasized ongoing allegiance to the Crown in an attempt to gain royal mercy and the chance to rejoin their fellow subjects of France. Loyal Catholicism was a cause for repatriation, and repatriation depended on fidelity to Catholicism and loyalty to the monarchy. The galleys fit within the same paradigm, as this chapter has argued.

### ***Conclusion***

This chapter's consideration of *l'Hôpital royal des forçats* amidst Louis XIV's galley arsenal in Marseilles encourages a more complex analysis of early modern charity. Charity had transformed from a medieval expression of personal piety to an early modern concern with the moral integrity of the recipient as an orderly member of an autocratically governed community. While we can observe this transformation in France's numerous poor asylums that sprung up in the seventeenth century, the galley hospital displays more evidently the intimate relationship between state-obedience, religious orthodoxy, and redefinitions of charity in early modern Europe. Because it allows a comparison between the French and non-French, Muslim and Protestant prisoners, it pushes us to consider charity as an important factor in the nascent idea of citizenship.

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<sup>671</sup> For citations of translated Italian correspondence, see Davis, *Christian slaves, Muslim masters*, 176-177.

The hospital first opened to meet the medical needs of the Muslim rowers. After 1685, however, when large numbers of imprisoned Huguenots arrived in Marseilles, it transformed its charitable character. For the Protestants, charity now involved catechesis and conversion, even as the remaining Catholic *forçats* and Muslim slaves continued to benefit from physical and spiritual care. Conversion was understood as a form of charity because it preconditioned a release from the galleys, and because it meant spiritual and political redemption as the king's obedient and orthodox subjects. The subtle texture of the relative communal acceptance of the Muslims and the long-standing hatred of the Protestants in Marseilles affirms charity's socio-political purpose: to award loyalty to Catholicism and to the state, as well as to punish and reform the treachery of Protestantism.

## Conclusion

This study has shed new light on Marseilles as an early modern Mediterranean metropolis; on its institutions, its people, and their ideas. More specifically, it has elucidated the changing nature of charity and of poverty as they responded to external and internal pressures in the seventeenth century. Precipitated by political and religious changes, charity became an instrument of social control designed to shape the local population of Marseilles, reflecting the perpetual status competitions among fractured local elites, civic and religious. Through institutionalized charity, the elites drew lines of exclusion and inclusion based on moral merit, and in doing so promulgated a distinct definition of *Marseillais* virtue. They helped to create or reinforce the city's new identity as a virtuous polis.

The most significant ongoing, external pressure was royal political expansion, which posed a threat to local autonomy in the sixteenth and especially the seventeenth century. Keeping charity in local hands was therefore one way of retaining influence over local affairs. The poor relief system that emerged was also a response to new economic challenges and wide-spread poverty, similarly caused by royal interference. The Bourbons expanded the *Marseillais* harbour in a way that indirectly but significantly affected the local population. The practice of prostitution became more visible and concentrated in the port, as thousands of sailors and galley convicts flooded the area. Women, whose husbands were now absorbed by the port as convicts or marine personnel,

were financially vulnerable and sought income as prostitutes in the harbour. The numbers of illegitimate children rose perhaps as quickly as did the numbers of lone and poverty-stricken women. In short, even as the harbour benefited the mercantilist policies of Colbert and Louis XIV, it upset local commerce and maritime livelihood in irreparable ways, prompting local authorities to fashion a new system of charity.

External factors shaping seventeenth-century charity were matched by internal ones. Specifically, the civic elites' desire to protect local interests in the face of political takeover by the Crown were coloured by their steadfast commitment to Catholicism. Marseilles experienced the Catholic Reformation between the 1620s and the 1690s chiefly as a lay movement that prioritized perfection of the individual soul through Catholic orthodoxy. Inspired by new religious orders, the civic elites quickly and wholeheartedly developed their own understanding of spiritual and moral reform. The so-called *dévo*t movement allowed them to appreciate spiritual propriety as an indispensable element of civic order. Perceiving poverty as sinful and detrimental to order, the *dévo*t-inspired councillors mobilized a moralizing campaign against the poor under the precepts of charity. They sought to enclose and morally reform the destitute poor, promising salvation and reconciliation with the community as a form of charity. As founding members of the *Compagnie du Très-Saint Sacrement*, the councillors became more powerful agents of social and moral order – the enhanced civic and spiritual leaders of the community. Within several decades they founded a number of charitable asylums, hoping to shape virtuous populace through institutionalization, work training, and catechesis.

They were effectively combating the external political pressures from within, re-shaping a civic identity while resisting royal absolutism.

The first chapter has shown the civic elites, particularly the magistracy, as the chief protagonists of our story. The fact that charity was no longer in the hands of the Church, but instead was directly managed by the civic government, is significant. Charity was closely tied to civic agendas, and became both a facet and a manifestation of political authority in the community. The asylums were rehabilitative – not punitive – and were meant to create and re-create virtuous citizenry. According to the elites, ‘virtue’ encapsulated Catholicism, traditional commitments to local commerce, and strong civic loyalty. The intimate relationship between religion and civic identity first emerged during the Wars of Religion, when the civic government expressed its strong hatred of the Protestants and the Protestant king Henry IV. In the seventeenth century the magistrates carried the momentum of political rebellion, and pronounced more emphatically the contention that civic and spiritual identities were mutually formative concepts. By the end of the century, the monarchy asserted its political influence in Marseilles, but was forced to accept local religious and civic cultures. As charitable leaders, the councillors continued to shape a collective identity, incorporating Catholic devotion with civic pride. Anchored in a complex religious culture and political history, the local charitable asylums were instrumental in the process of identity-formation in Marseilles – a process that encapsulated the civic elites’ struggle against the king.

Beyond casting ‘charity’ in the context of the city’s ongoing strife for political autonomy and civic identity separate from France and the king, the chapter reveals another level of conflict. It points to ongoing antagonisms among factions of the elite – secular and religious – who used ‘charity’ as a vehicle of their ‘civil war’. Competing for prestige and authority, the Chapters sided with the civic leaders, who effectively excluded the secular clergy from their philanthropic projects and used ‘charity’ for civic needs. The following chapters equally manifest the contours of this ongoing animosity and perpetual disagreement among the fractured civic elite.

Chapters two and three have focused on two discrete groups of charity recipients. Women who found themselves on the margins of society were housed in the *Refuge* asylum, where they found shelter, nourishment, and most importantly spiritual education and strict moral training. In most cases these women were suspected of prostitution – a charge driven by derogatory assumptions about the inherent sinfulness of the female sex, singlehood, and venereal disease. Though they were the ‘recipients’ of charity, they were not necessarily the ‘beneficiaries.’ The community and the elites had a vested interest in locking up all suspicious women, seeking to establish order in the streets and even resolve personal conflicts. Despite the problematic and coercive nature of the *Refuge*, the ‘charity’ it proposed was fundamental to its function as a rehabilitative site of social control. In theory, the condemned women were able to reach a state of spiritual purity either as novices or as nuns. Only as morally reformed and honourable women could they

return to the community, or devote themselves to God. Both were acceptable lifestyle alternatives for women, achievable via the ‘charity’ of the *Refuge*.

Younger girls were also judged according to disparaging gendered standards of propriety: daughters of suspected prostitutes and of poor parents were collected and institutionalized in the *Maison des filles de la providence*. The purpose of their stay and of the directors’ charity was to protect the girls’ innocence and purity. Like the *Refuge*, the *Maison* helped to promote the standards of female propriety in the city, and to create a generation of honourable *Marseillaises*.

The third chapter echoes some of the findings from the *Maison des filles* for poor girls. It addresses the remaining children of Marseilles and the charity they received. It highlights children’s new claim to charity in the seventeenth century, when the state and the civic governments became aware of children’s potential value to society. Analyzing three specialized institutions for children in Marseilles, it underscores the preventative, protective, didactic and corrective purpose of their charity. It also suggests that ‘adolescence’ was increasingly separated from ‘childhood’ in the minds of the civic leaders, who strove to target the specific dangers that each category allegedly posed. Older children were subjected to thorough work-training and catechesis in order to combat their idleness and prevent their future begging. Younger children presumed illegitimate were segregated in an effort to isolate their inherent sinfulness and prepare them for future moral training. In both the *Charité* and the *Hôtel-Dieu*, the authorities operated under the assumption that children were unpredictable and inclined to



misbehaviour, but could also benefit the society if properly brought up. The only anomaly was the *Hôpital du bon rencontre*. Lacking a work-program and strict rules of mandatory confinement, it found little support from the civic council. Its existence is crucially important, however, as it illustrates the curious standing of children as charity recipients. Though the civic authorities agreed that children needed care in order to contribute to become orderly citizens, they were not prepared to offer them care unless it fully supported their expectations of propriety.

The final chapter deviates from the rest. Unlike chapters two and three, it addresses an institution that was primarily a royal rather than a local initiative. *L'Hôpital royal des forçats* grew amidst the newly restructured galley arsenal, and was destined to receive sick (rather than poor) prisoners. Despite its differences from the local poor asylums, this particular hospital contributes to our local study of charity. First of all, the *Pères de la Mission* who were the chaplains in the galleys and the hospital, were connected to the civic elite and the *Compagnie du Très-Saint-Sacrement*. Both groups combated heresy and targeted the Huguenots in particular. Though anti-Huguenot campaign did not fully unravel until the last decades of the century – a time when the hospital administrators were no longer the local elites – the ideological context in Marseilles in the early decades of the century likely contributed to the galleys' evolution as a site of conversion. Moreover, since the community rejected the Huguenots consistently and repeatedly well before the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, we can assume it also wholeheartedly supported the galleys. The most significant reason for

including *l'Hôpital royal* in our study is not its connection to the local elite, however, but rather its unique understanding of charity. We have seen that while the galley population was primarily Muslim and Catholic, the charitable hospital offered medical care and spiritual soothing. With the arrival of the Huguenots after 1685, it altered its function dramatically. The *Pères de la Mission* now focused on enforcing the abjuration and conversion of all Protestant prisoners. Only then could they hope to be released from the galleys, gain the king's forgiveness, and aspire to salvation. Like in the *Refuge* and the *Charité*, charity meant moral reform. It too promised 'belonging' to those who exhibited moral merit and spiritual orthodoxy. Unlike the other local hospitals, the state prison-hospital speaks to the problem of identity-creation in a different way. It allows us to compare Muslim non-French prisoners with French Protestant prisoners, revealing that the non-Christian subjects of other rulers were treated better than the Frenchmen. The latter had betrayed the king by abandoning Catholicism, and therefore they were punished. 'Charity' therefore literally meant their redemption and their rehabilitation.

Together the hospitals that emerged in the unique environment of sea-side Marseilles raise important questions about the nature of two larger seventeenth-century phenomena: the so-called Catholic Counter Reformation and Bourbon absolutism. The French absolute monarchy initiated, paralleled, and was forced to embrace localized designs to shape and mold obedient subjects.<sup>672</sup> We, then, are pressed to inquire about the

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<sup>672</sup> Historians have recognized 'absolutism' as a process of constant negotiation. See James Collins, *The Fiscal Limits of Absolutism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), William Beik, "Review Article: Louis XIV's Absolutism as Social Collaboration," *Past and Present*, No. 188 (August

relationship between the absolute state and isolated regions such as Marseilles. To be sure, the case of Marseilles suggests that even though the monarchy and the civic leaders' respective agendas for social order and spiritual orthodoxy intersected, the implementation was distinctly local. The fact that these new institutions were in lay hands yet relied on the values of Catholicism raises equally important questions about the relationship between the Church and the secular governments in this period. It appears that instead of a movement towards secularization, the urban elites deployed religion for purposes of civic government – the opposite of secularization.

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2005) pp. 195-224, Beik, *Absolutism and Society in Seventeenth-Century France: State Power and Provincial Aristocracy in Languedoc* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), and Beik, *Louis XIV and Absolutism: a Study with Documents* (Bedford: St. Martins Press, 2000).

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**Appendix 1:**

## Timeline

1481	Provence becomes part of royal domain
1531	Prosecution of Protestants in Provence begins
1542	Church <i>Saint-Ferréol</i> consecrated
1561	<i>L'États d'Orléans</i> abolishes all brothels kingdom-wide
1562	Massacre of Protestants in Marseilles
1588	Catholic League asserts full control in Marseilles
1591	Charles de Casaulx becomes first councillor in Marseilles
1595	Henry IV's troops enter Marseilles; assassination of Casaulx
1596	<i>Hôtel-Dieu</i> absorbs <i>l'Hôpital du Saint-Esprit</i> and <i>l'Hôpital Saint-Jacques-de-Galice</i>
1603	Bishop Frederic Ragueneau assassinated
1605	Henry IV adopts Christian Adoption Principle in France
1609	Single pregnant women no longer allowed in <i>Hôtel-Dieu</i>
1617	Louis XIII outlaws alms-giving and begging (re-issued 1624 and 1628) Jacques Olivier writes <i>Alphabet de l'imperfection et malice des femmes</i>
1618	Bishop Jacques Turricella assassinated
1619	Church <i>Saint-Cannat</i> consecrated
1620	Massacre of Turkish diplomats
1622	<i>Charité</i> officially founded Louis XIII grants trade monopoly to Marseilles and Toulon
1621	Recollects in Marseilles
1623	Jesuits in Marseilles
1625	<i>Hôtel-Dieu</i> becomes the designated asylum for abandoned infants

- 1626 Parentless children transferred back from countryside to the *Charité* as per royal edict
- 1629 Plague in Marseilles : decision to establish *Maison des filles*
- 1630 *Compagnie du Saint-Sacrement* founded in Paris  
*Maison des filles Repanties* established
- 1633 *Prêtres de la Mission* established in Paris by Vincent de Paul
- 1635 *Maison des filles orphelines* (closed 1641)
- 1639 *Compagnie du Très-Saint-Sacrement* created in Marseilles  
Oratorian Eustace Gault becomes bishop
- 1640 Civic councillors visit charitable asylums on the day of Solemnity of the Virgin Mary – it becomes an annual tradition.
- 1641 *Charité* commences operations, introducing work-programs for adults and children
- 1642 Jean-Baptiste Gault becomes bishop
- 1643 *Prêtres de la Mission* appointed as chaplains of the galleys
- 1644 Etienne Puget becomes bishop
- 1646 *L'Hôpital royal des forçats*
- 1648 *Church Saint-Théodore consecrated*
- 1649 Vincent de Paul's charitable assistance to wives of *forçats* dissolved
- 1659 *Refuge* commences operations  
Louis XIV summons Marseillais faction leaders to Paris
- 1660 Louis XIV visits Marseilles for the first time, institutes royal order  
Expansion of harbour begins
- 1662 *Charité* chapel built
- 1665 Galleys stationed in Marseilles
- 1665–1668 Fort St. Jean & Fort St. Nicholas built
- 1668 Toussaint de Janson-Forbin becomes bishop

- 1669      Affranchissement of Marseilles' harbour  
Louis XIV encourages Muslims to settle in France
- 1670      First Compagnie du Levant
- 1672      *Hôtel-Dieu* refuses venereal patients for the first time  
*L'Hôpital royal des forçats* fully under royal administration
- 1673      *l'Hôpital du bon rencontre des enfants trouvés (Bon rencontre)*
- 1674      Monseigneur de Blegny publishes *New and Curious Observations on the art of curing the venereal disease and the accidents it produces*
- 1678      Second Compagnie du Levant
- 1680      *Maison des filles de la providence* for girls
- 1682      Parlement de Provence condemns all prostitutes to whipping and eviction  
All merchants trading in the Mediterranean compelled to adopt Catholicism by a royal edict
- 1685      Revocation of the Edict of Nantes  
*Compagnie de la Méditerranée à Marseille* created  
Charles Gaspard Guillaume de Vintimille du Luc becomes bishop  
*Hôtel-Dieu* introduces a work-program for children
- 1690      *Entrepôt* built at the *Refuge*
- 1693      Several girls escape from the *Charité*
- 1696      Revolt at the *Refuge*
- 1699      Protestant galley prisoners create a secret charitable society
- 1708      Jesuit Henri Belsunce de Castelmoron becomes bishop
- 1712      Bishop Belsunce publishes *Calendrier Spirituel*
- 1720      Plague in Marseilles

**Appendix 2:**

Known family relations and functions of the governing elite of Marseilles  
(compiled based on hospital logs/ recorded bureau meetings; Antoine Ruffi's *Histoire de Marseille*, and Teissier's *Armorial des Échevins de Marseille de 1660 à 1790*)

- **Members of the Compagnie du Très-Saint Sacrement indicated (\*)**
- **Founding members (\*\*)**

NAME	TITLE/ FUNCTION	HOSPITAL LEADERSHIP	PERSONAL TESTAMENTARY SUPPORT	OTHER POTENTIAL FAMILY CONNECTIONS
<b>Agnel, Pons</b>		Charité (1640) Founder (F)		<b>Agnel, François:</b> échevin (assessor) (1669)
<b>Alamet</b>		Hôtel-Dieu (1701)		
<b>Allaud, Louis</b>	bourgeois	Hôtel-Dieu (1650s)		
<b>Allies, Esprit</b>	bourgeois	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1674) F, Hôtel-Dieu (1671)		
<b>Alpheran, Gaspard</b>	bourgeois	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1680) F		
<b>Armand, Pons</b>		La Charité(1640) F		
<b>Armbli, A.</b>		La Charité(1640) F		
<b>Arnaud, François</b>	Son of Jean, merchant/ bonnet-maker	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1674) F		<b>Alphonse-Louis :</b> councillor at parlement <b>Jacques :</b> notary
<b>Arnaud, Guillaume</b>	seneschal	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1683) F		
<b>Artaud, Ambroise</b>		Charité (1640) F		
<b>Astour, Charles</b>	merchant	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1685) F		
<b>Aubert, François</b>	seneschal	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1685)		
<b>Aubert, Jeanne</b>		Hôtel-Dieu		



		(1696)		
<b>Baille, Isabeau</b>	patient in Hôtel – Dieu and wife of Jean Aubert, cobbler		testamentary donation 250 pounds to Hôtel-Dieu (1677)	
<b>Bain, Andre</b>	merchant bonnet-maker	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1673) F, Refuge (1695)		
<b>Bain, Louis</b>	merchant	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1673) F	testamentary donation 100 pounds to Hôtel-Dieu (1677)	
<b>Baptelin, François</b>	bourgeois	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1674) F		
<b>Barbarous, Pierre</b>	prior	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1681) F		
<b>Bardon</b>		Hôpital du bon rencontre (1673) F		
<b>Barnoin, Jacques</b>		Hôpital du bon rencontre (1676) F		
<b>Baron, Jean</b>	canon and priest, St. Martin Collegiate Church		institutes Hôtel-Dieu his hier (1672)	
<b>Baron, Martin</b>		Charité (1640) F		
<b>Baron, Pierre</b>	bourgeois		institutes Hôtel-Dieu his hier (1632)	
<b>Barthelemy</b>	hermit		gives all his possessions to Hôtel-Dieu	
<b>Barthelemy, Etienne</b>		Hôpital du bon rencontre (1674) F		
<b>Barthelemy, Pierre</b>	merchant	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1675) F		
<b>Bastellin, François</b>		Hôtel-Dieu (1668-9)		
<b>Baudin, Estienne</b>				donation 2000 pounds to Charité (1676)

<b>Bayn, Joseph</b>		Charité (1640) F, Refuge (1659- 1680s)		
<b>Bayn, Thomas</b>		Refuge (1640)		
<b>Beau, Pierre</b>	first échevin (1713)	Hôtel-Dieu (1697)		<b>Beau, Jean:</b> échevin (1668) <b>Louis:</b> merchant and negotiator in Tripoli and Syria
<b>Beaumont, Jean-Baptiste</b>		Hôpital du bon rencontre (1682) F		
<b>Belin, Anthoine</b>		Hôtel-Dieu (1666-1667)		
<b>Bellerot, Jean</b>		Hôpital du bon rencontre (1681) F		
<b>Belliard, Honore</b>	first échevin (1690)	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1675) F		
<b>Bellon, Claude</b>	canon and priest, St. Martin Collegiate Church		donation 300 pounds to Hôtel-Dieu (1637)	
<b>Berandier, Balthazar</b>	viscount		institutes Hôtel-Dieu his hier (1693)	
<b>Berenguier, Barthelemy</b>	confessor		institutes Hôtel -Dieu his hier (1697)	
<b>Bernard, Etienne</b>	bourgeois		donation of 300 pounds to Charité (1649)	<b>Bernard, Antoine:</b> second échevin (1680)
<b>Bernard, Jacques</b>		Hôpital du bon rencontre (1696) F		
<b>Bernard, Louis</b>	merchant woodsman	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1690) F		
<b>Beroud, Barthelemy</b>			institutes Hôtel-Dieu his hier (1635)	
<b>Bertrand, François- Nicholas</b>	squire	Refuge (1668)		

<b>Bertrandy, Pierre</b>	canon and priest, Les Accoules Collegiate Church		Testamentary donation of succession to Hôtel-Dieu (1686); also 150 pounds to Notre Dame de Bon Secours; 150 pounds to Hôpital des couvaescens, and 30 pounds to Chapter Les Accoules	
<b>Besson, Marie</b>			testamentary donation of a house to Hôpital des filles de la providence (1682)	
<b>Beuf, Pierre</b>		Hôpital du bon rencontre (1682) F		
<b>Bilhon, Joseph</b>	merchant bourgeois	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1672) F		
<b>Biscarre, Jacques</b>	merchant	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1674) F		
<b>Blanc, Estienne</b>	échevin	Charité(1640) F, Refuge (1668-)	testamentary donation 30 pounds to Hôtel-Dieu (1688)	<b>Blanc, Pierre</b> : royal prosecutor at the sénéchaussée <b>Jean-Baptiste</b> : échevin (1674)
<b>Blanc, Jacques</b>	merchant with cotton	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1682) F	testamentary donation 300 pounds to Hôtel-Dieu (1688)	
<b>Blanc, Louis</b>	merchant book- seller		testamentary donation 100 pounds to Hôtel-Dieu (1680)	
<b>Bon, Jean</b>	merchant	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1672) F		
<b>Bonean, François</b>		Hôtel-Dieu (1666-1667)		
<b>Bonifay, Jean</b>	mason and architect	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1678) F		
<b>Bonsolin, Jean</b>		Charité (1640) F		
<b>Bony, Pierre</b>			charitable donation 3000 pounds to Hôtel-Dieu (1701)	

<b>Borrelli, Louis</b>	first échevin (1660), negotiator and secretary of the king (1688–1768)	Hôtel-Dieu (1701)		
<b>Borrelli, Andre</b>		Charité (1640)		
<b>Borrelli, François *</b>	first échevin (1685)			
<b>Borrelli, Jean</b>		Hôtel-Dieu (1669)		
<b>Borrelli, Jean-Andre</b>		Hôpital du bon rencontre (1685) F		
<b>Borrelli, Joseph</b>	royal negotiator, first échevin (1692)		insitutes Hôtel-Dieu his hier (1608)	
<b>Bouchet, Henry</b>		Charité (1640) F		
<b>Bouif, Louis</b>	priest	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1682) F		
<b>Bouille, Anthoine</b>		Charité (1640) F		
<b>Bouille, Laurens</b>	merchant	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1684) F		
<b>Bourgogne, Louis</b>	noble		testamentary donation 300 pounds to Charité(1651)	
<b>Bourguignon, Jean</b>	merchant	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1677) F		
<b>Boutassi, Louis</b>		Hôtel-Dieu (1669)		<b>Boyer, Pierre:</b> notary
<b>Bouze, Estienne</b>	squire		testamentary donation 300 pounds to Charité (1648)	
<b>Boyer, Claude</b>		Hôtel-Dieu (1696)		
<b>Boyer, Jean</b>	priest		testamentary foundation of a weekly mass at Hôtel-Dieu (1689)	
<b>Boyer, Jean Bernardin</b>	merchant	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1683) F		
<b>Brachet, Pierre Denis</b>		Hôpital du bon rencontre (1673)		

		F		
<b>Brebien, Henri</b>	printer	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1685) F		
<b>Brunet, Lazare</b>			institutes Hôtel-Dieu his hier (1698)	possible relation with <b>Bastien Cabre</b> : squire
<b>Cabre, Marguerite</b>			donation/ foundation of a mass at the Refuge	
<b>Cappean, Charles</b>	merchant	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1677) F		
<b>Capris, jean</b>	doctor of theology		institutes Hôtel-Dieu his hier (1679)	
<b>Carfuel, Gaspard</b>		Hôpital du bon rencontre (1679)		
<b>Cazoneuf, Jeanne</b>			testamentary donation to Charité (1653)	
<b>Chabert, Marie</b>			institutes Les filles de la providence her hier (1683)	
<b>Chabot, François</b>			institutes Charité as his hier (1682)	
<b>Chacornal, Nicolas</b>	monk, Abbey St. Victor	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1680) F		
<b>Chapus, Joseph</b>	merchant	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1685) F		
<b>Chaulier, Jean</b>			testamentary donation to Charité(1692)	<b>Chaulier, Antoine</b> : master mason
<b>Chaulier, Joseph</b>		Hôpital du bon rencontre (1695) F		
<b>Chautard, Jean-Bte.</b>	priest	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1672) F		
<b>Chesneau, Jean</b>	master surgeon	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1672) F		

<b>Coderelly, Anthoine</b>		Charité (1640) F		
<b>Colla, Marguerite</b>			donation 600 pounds to Charité (1693)	
<b>Columb, Barthelemy</b>	merchant apothecary	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1685) F		<b>Colomb, Antoine:</b> first échevin (1696)
<b>Corail, Pierre</b>	bourgeois	Hôtel-Dieu (1659)	testamentary donation 300 pounds to Hôtel-Dieu (1664)	
<b>Cornier, Lange *</b>		Hôtel-Dieu (1665-1666)		
<b>Coutrier, François</b>	merchant	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1682) F		
<b>Creissel, Gabriel</b>		Hôpital du bon rencontre (1680) F		
<b>Cuire, Anthoine</b>	bourgeois	Hôtel-Dieu (1659)		
<b>Curet, Nicolas</b>	bourgeois	Charité (1640) F		
<b>Curiol, Jean</b>	second échevin (1664)	Hôtel-Dieu (1668-9)	foundation of a mass and donation of a mill to Charité (1690)	
<b>Dachard, Jacques</b>	noble sieur de Collombe	Refuge (1640)		
<b>Dagnan, ?</b>		Charité (1640) F		
<b>Dagoult D'Olives, Balthazard</b>		Hôtel-Dieu (1669)		
<b>D'Albertas, Antoine</b>	échevin (1650s), noble sieur de S. Maime			<b>D'Albertas, Alphonse-Rodolphe :</b> administrator of l'Oeuvre de la providence, knight of the Order of Malta
<b>D'Albertas, Charles</b>	seigneur de Genes		testamentary donation 500 pounds to Hôtel-Dieu	
<b>D'Albertas, Sebastien</b>	councillor at parlement	Charité (1640) F		
<b>D'Albertas, Thomas</b>			testamentary donation to Charité (1651)	

<b>Dalmas, Jean</b>	priest	Hôtel-Dieu (1650s)		<b>Dalmas, Joseph:</b> échevin (assessor) (1703)
<b>Daniel, Andre</b>	provost		insitutes Hôtel -Dieu his hier (1632)	
<b>D'Andreas de Venellere, Carry et Rous</b>	councillor	Charité (1640) F		
<b>Dantoine, Victor</b>		Hôpital du bon rencontre (1677) F		
<b>Dantoneille, Joseph-Matheiu</b>		Hôpital du bon rencontre (1680) F		
<b>Daparle, M. Balthazard</b>	noble sieur Dollieres	Hôtel-Dieu (1659)		
<b>D'Arene, François</b>	échevin (1650s)			<b>D'Arene, Nicolas:</b> provost 1530s
<b>Darmand, Scipion *</b>	lieutenant general	Charité (1640) F, Refuge (1659-)		
<b>Darmond, Joseph</b>	échevin, noble	Hôtel-Dieu (1659)		
<b>Daudifret, François</b>	monk and priest, Abbey St. Victor	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1677) F, Refuge (1663-90s)		
<b>D'Augustine, Marc-Antoine</b>	échevin (1650s), noble sieur de Septèmes			
<b>Daurelle, Claude</b>	priest in Sisteron, canon Les Accoules Collegiate Church		testamentary donation to Hôtel-Dieu (1687)	
<b>De Lahaye</b>		Hôpital du bon rencontre (F)		
<b>DeBausset, Anne</b>			testamentary donation to Charité (1649)	
<b>DeBausset, Antoine</b>	échevin, lieutenant principal de la sénéchaussée (1650s)			

<b>DeBausset, François *</b>	knight of the Order of Malta	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1676) F, Hôtel-Dieu (1671), Refuge (1668)		
<b>DeBausset, Philippe</b>	vicar-general, Cathedral la Major		two testamentary donations to Hôtel-Dieu: 100 pounds (1692) and 50 pounds (1695)	
<b>DeBausset, Pierre **</b>	doctor of theology, vicar-general (1660s), noble (sieur de Roquefort), bourgeois merchant, provost, Cathedral Chapter (1660s), councillor in 1647	Charité (1640) Refuge (1652)	donation 350 pounds to Refuge (1688), part of a building donated to Charité(1680)	<b>DeBausset, Antoine :</b> lieutenant principal at the sénéchaussée <b>Nicolas :</b> sieur de Roquefort, governor of Château d'If, lieutenant at the sénéchaussée
<b>DeBegon, Michel</b>	galley intendant	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1685) F		
<b>Deberenti, Andre</b>	noble sieur de Venilles	Hôtel-Dieu (1650s)		
<b>DeBlanc, Esprit</b>	monk, Abbey St. Victor	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1684) F		
<b>DeBlanc, Jean-Baptiste *</b>		Hôpital du bon rencontre (1672) F		
<b>Debourgogne</b>		Hôtel-Dieu (1701)		
<b>DeBrodart, Jean-Baptiste</b>	galley intendant	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1682) F		
<b>Decabanes, Balthezard</b>	canon and priest, Abbey St. Victor	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1673) F, Filles de la pureté (1678) F		
<b>DeCandolle, Anthoine</b>	noble	Hôtel-Dieu (1670)		
<b>Decandolle, Lange</b>	canon and priest, Abbey St. Victor	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1673) F		



<b>Decapriani, Balthazard</b>	échevin (1650s), special lieutenant at the sénéchaussée			
<b>Decapriani, Charles</b>		Charité (1640) F		
<b>DeFelix, Antoine</b>	échevin, noble, councillor at the sénéchaussée	Hôtel-Dieu (1671)		
<b>Defelix, Louis</b>	noble	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1677) F		
<b>DeFelix, Nicolas</b>	échevin (1650s), noble sieur de la Rearde			
<b>DeForbin, Gaspar</b>	provost (1630s)			
<b>DeForbin, Jacques</b>	provost (1650s)			
<b>DeForbin, Laurens</b>	provost (1653), noble marquis de Janson			
<b>DeForbin, Melchior</b>	provost 1612, noble sieur de Janson			<b>Toussaint de Janson-Forbin:</b> bishop (1668), Vincent, Jean, Charles, and François were provosts in the 16th century
<b>DeForresta, Anthoine</b>		Hôtel-Dieu (1650s)		<b>DeForresta, Jean-Pol :</b> judge <b>DeForresta, François :</b> judge
<b>DeForresta, François **</b>				
<b>DeForresta, Joseph-Ignace *</b>				

<b>DeForresta, Elizabeth</b>	marquise de la Roquette, widow		testamentary donation 12000 pounds to Refuge (1688), 1000 pounds to Hôtel-Dieu (1698), 45000 pounds to Hôpital des filles de la providence (1686)	
<b>DeForresta, Gaspar</b>	provost (1642), noble baron de Trets			
<b>Degaillar, Noel</b>	monk, Abbey St. Victor	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1684) F		
<b>Degasparo, Andrea</b>		Charité (1640) F		
<b>Degastines, ?</b>		Charité (1640) F		
<b>Degeorge, Dolliere</b>		Hôpital du bon rencontre (1682) F		
<b>Degerente, Andreas</b>		Charité (1640) F, Refuge (1663-)		
<b>Degerente, Andreas</b>		Charité (1640) F		
<b>Degerentes, Jean-Baptiste</b>	noble	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1673) F		
<b>DeGourdan, ?</b>	Jesuit	Refuge (1662)		
<b>DeGratian, Pierre</b>		Hôpital du bon rencontre (1682) F		
<b>Degrimaldi, Maurice</b>	galley captain	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1676) F		
<b>DeJanson de Forbin</b>	galley captain, commander	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1679) F		
<b>DeJarento, Jean</b>	échevin, chamberlain Abbey St. Victor			
<b>DelaCotta, Cezard</b>	noble		testamentary donation 12000 pounds to Charité (1653)	
<b>Delafont, Jean</b>	surgeon at the galleys		testamentary donation 150 pounds to Hôtel-Dieu (1693)	
<b>Delascours, François</b>	échevin	Charité (1640) F,		

<b>DeLescouet, Balthezard Marion</b>		Hôpital du bon rencontre (1682) F		
<b>DeLibertat, Pierre</b>	provost	Charité (1640) F		<b>Libertat, Barthelemy:</b> provost
<b>Delisle, Jean</b>		Charité (1640) F		
<b>Delorme, Joseph</b>		Hôpital du bon rencontre (1677) F		
<b>DeMance, Antoine</b>	galley captain	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1685) F		
<b>DeMantillery, Jean-François</b> **		Charité (1640) F		
<b>Demarein, François</b>	galley captain, noble sieur de Merevil	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1681) F		
<b>Demichel, Henry</b>		Hôpital du bon rencontre (1677) F		
<b>DeMonier, Louis</b>	échevin (1650s), noble sieur d'Aiglun,			
<b>DeMontainlieu, Louis</b>	Maltese knight and galley captain	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1682) F		
<b>DePaul, Pierre</b>	échevin (1650s) squire,	Hôtel-Dieu (1665-1666)		
<b>Deporrade, Pierre</b>	monk and priest, Abbey St. Victor	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1677) F		
<b>Derdur, Cosme</b>		Charité (1640) F		
<b>DeRomieu, Louis</b>	noble sieur de Fos		donation 3000 pounds to Hôtel-Dieu	
<b>DeRosset, Jean</b>	galley captain	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1681) F, Refuge (1668-90s)		
<b>DeRuffi, Anthoine *</b>	échevin (1650s), seneschal, attorney	Hôtel-Dieu (1668)	testamentary donation 50 pounds to Hôtel-Dieu (1688)	<b>DeRuffi, Robert:</b> notary
<b>Desacco, Barthelemy</b>	échevin (1650s)			
<b>Desacco, Henry</b>	monk and priest, Abbey St. Victor	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1677) F		

<b>DeSacco, Pierre</b>		Hôpital du bon rencontre (1682) F		
<b>DeSaint, Michel</b>	baron	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1682) F		<b>DeSaint-Jacques, Antoine</b> : royal prosecutor at the sénéchaussée <b>Joseph</b> : attorney and councillor at the sénéchaussée <b>Honore</b> : squire
<b>DeSaint- Jacques, Estienne *</b>	royal prosecutor at the sénéchaussée	Charité (1640) F, Refuge (1668-)		<b>De Saint-Jacques, Antoine</b> : échevin (1672) <b>Pierre</b> : first échevin (1679) <b>Louis</b> : first échevin (1689)
<b>Desaint Jacques, Suzanne</b>			donation 100 pounds and inheritance to Charité (1647)	
<b>Desavonieres, Charles</b>	galley captain and commander	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1677) F		
<b>DeSeguiran, Anibal</b>	galley captain	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1682) F		
<b>Dessavonieres</b>		Hôtel-Dieu (1701)		
<b>DeTincour</b>	Maltese knight and galley captain	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1684) F		
<b>DeTornier, François</b>		Hôtel-Dieu (1663-4)		
<b>Deuan, Latum Pierre</b>	merchant	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1685) F		
<b>DeVair, Guillaume</b>	Bishop of Lisieux		donation 36000 pounds to Hôtel-Dieu	

<b>DeValbelle, Antoine</b>	échevin (1650s), noble sieur de Montfuron, lieutenant general of admiralty			<b>De Valbelle, Barthelemy</b> : lieutenant general of admiralty <b>Cosme</b> : squire <b>François</b> : treasurer Abbey St. Victor <b>François-Paul</b> : councillor at parlement <b>Jean-Bte</b> : councillor at parlement, special lieutenant, later lieutenant general of admiralty
<b>DeValbelle, Leon</b>	royal confessor, councillor at parlement, lieutenant general of admiralty, noble sieur de Meyrargues	Hôtel-Dieu (1672–73)		
<b>DeValbelle, Madame du Lieutenant</b>			donation 600 pounds to Charité (1648)	
<b>DeVias, Baltazar</b>	échevin (1650s)			
<b>DeVillages, Gaspar</b>	échevin (1650s), noble sieur de la Salle			
<b>Deydier, Jean-Baptiste</b>			donation 600 pounds to Hôtel-Dieu (1682)	
<b>D'Hermete, Antoine</b>	merchant	Hôtel-Dieu (1675)		
<b>D'Hermete, Nicolas</b>	noble sieur de Belvedere		donation 9000 pounds to Hôtel-Dieu (1689)	
<b>Donat, Jean</b>	merchant	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1673) F, Refuge (1695)		
<b>Doria, Antoine</b>	noble		donation 200 pounds to Hôtel-Dieu (1648)	
<b>Dou, Pierre</b>		Hôpital du bon rencontre (1696) F		
<b>Duplessis, Brossordiere</b>	royal military commander	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1678) F		
<b>Dupont, Baptiste</b>	second échevin (1660)	Refuge (1660-90s)		

<b>Duprat, Jacques</b>	councillor at the sénéchaussée	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1677) F		
<b>Dupuy, Antoine</b>	banker	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1672) F		<b>Dupuy, Augustin:</b> squire
<b>Dupuy, Robert</b>	merchant	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1675) F		
<b>Dupuys, Henry</b>	squire, consul de France a Smyrne	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1672) F		
<b>Emeric, Jean</b>	royal notary	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1674) F		
<b>Emerie, George</b>	monk, Abbey St. Victor	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1683) F, Refuge (1695)		
<b>Esantier, Jean</b>		Hôpital du bon rencontre (1695) F		
<b>Estoupan, Joseph</b>		Hôtel-Dieu (1696)		
<b>Etienne, Thomas</b>	second échevin (1675)	Hôtel-Dieu (1671)		<b>Estienne, Claude:</b> échevin (1678)
<b>Fabre, Frinoele</b>			institutes Hôtel-Dieu his hier (1663)	<b>Fabre, Jean</b> : first échevin (1697) <b>Mathieu</b> : first échevin (1694) <b>Joseph</b> : second échevin
<b>Fabre, Jean-Pol</b>	merchant	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1683) F	institutes (in equal proportions) as hier Hôtel-Dieu, Charité, and Hôpital des couvalescens (1684)	
<b>Fabre, Marc</b>	canon and priest, St. Martin Collegiate Church	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1677) F		
<b>Fabre, Vincens</b>	merchant candle-maker	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1683) F		
<b>Fabricque, Jean</b>	merchant with paper	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1684) F		
<b>Faivre, Nicollas</b>		Charité (1640) F		
<b>Faizen, Joseph</b>		Hôtel-Dieu (1696)		

<b>Faranol, Elzias</b>	bourgeois	Charité (1640) F		
<b>Faucon, Benoit</b>		Hôpital du bon rencontre (1672) F		
<b>Ferrari, Nicollas</b>		Hôpital du bon rencontre (1682) F		
<b>Forest, Jean- Anthoine</b>	merchant	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1685) F		
<b>Fortia, Alphonse</b>	provost (1682– 1696)			
<b>Fortia, Paul</b>	provost, governor (sieur) of Pilles, Baron de Baumes (1660–1682)			
<b>Fougasse, Jean- Jacques</b>	merchant		institutes Charité as his hier (1692)	
<b>Gail, François</b>		Hôtel-Dieu (1696)		
<b>Gantelme, Balthezare</b>	squire		institutes Hôtel-Dieu his hier (1652)	
<b>Garnier, Gaspard</b>	Royal notary	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1674) F		<b>Garnier, Balthazard</b> : lieutenant des soumissions au siège de Marseille <b>Charles</b> : royal prosecutor of admiralty <b>Henry</b> : lieutenant; <b>Honoré</b> : royal prosecutor of admiralty <b>Jacques</b> : royal prosecutor of admiralty <b>Bruno</b> : second échevin (1706)
<b>Gautier, Henry</b>		Hôtel-Dieu (1650s)		
<b>Gavarri, Andre</b>	merchant in the port	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1676) F		
<b>Gazelle, Jean- Jacques</b>	bourgeois	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1674) F		
<b>Germain, Jean</b>		Charité (1640) F		

<b>Gervais, Jean-Baptiste</b>	merchant (vegetables)	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1690) F		
<b>Gervais, Jean</b>	merchant	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1677) F		
<b>Gilles, Antoine *</b>	noble, son of Laurens	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1672) F, Hôtel-Dieu (1672 - 1673)		
<b>Gilles, Jean</b>	notary	Charité (1640 - )		
<b>Gilles, Laurens **</b>		Charité (1640), Refuge (1652)		
<b>Ginies, Antoine</b>		Charité (1640) F	institutes Hôtel-Dieu his hier (1671)	
<b>Giraud, Estienne</b>	wig-maker	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1682) F		<b>Giraud, Antoine :</b> canon, Cathedral de la Major
<b>Gonsollin, Anthoine</b>	soap-maker	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1677) F		
<b>Gonsollin, Jean</b>	échevin (1650s), bourgeois	Charité (1640) F		
<b>Gougou, Berthezar</b>		Hôpital du bon rencontre (1682) F		
<b>Gouilhem, Pierre</b>		Hôtel-Dieu (1696)		
<b>Gourdan, Pierre</b>	royal notary	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1674) F		
<b>Goutard, Jean</b>	galley captain		institutes Hôtel-Dieu his hier (1698)	
<b>Gras, Antoine</b>	échevin (assessor) (1660)	Refuge (1659)		<b>Gras, Louis:</b> échevin (assessor) (1704)
<b>Gratian, François *</b>	merchant bourgeois	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1673) F, Hôtel-Dieu (1672-73), Refuge (1695)		
<b>Gratian, Nicolas</b>	échevin (1650s), treasurer general of France			
<b>Gravier, Laurent</b>	merchant	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1674) F	charitable donation 1500 pounds to Hôtel-Dieu (1695)	



<b>Grimaud, Nicollas</b>		Hôpital du bon rencontre (1681) F		Grimaud, Mathieur: merchant
<b>Gros, Claude</b>		Hôpital du bon rencontre (1695) F		
<b>Gros, Jacques</b>	merchant	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1685) F		
<b>Guien, Esprit</b>			Testamentary donation 1554 pounds to Charité(1667)	
<b>Guignons, Louis</b>		Hôpital du bon rencontre (1696) F		
<b>Guillermi, Estienne</b>	merchant	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1678) F		
<b>Hellies, Andre</b>			institutes Hôtel-Dieu his hier (1690) along with Charité and Hôpital des couvalescens	
<b>Hugues, Guillaume</b>	merchant	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1676) F		
<b>Ioannis, Sebastien</b>	doctor of medicine	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1673) F		<b>Joannis, Pierre</b> : royal attorney, lieutenant judge in Aix, judge at Saint- Maximin, lieutenant of admiralty
<b>Isnaisse, Laittis</b>		Hôpital du bon rencontre (1681) F		
<b>Iulien, Lazare</b>	priest at Cathedral de la Major	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1678) F		
<b>Jourdan, Antoine</b>	merchant bourgeois		testamentary donation 1000 pounds to Hôtel - Dieu (1697)	Jourdan, Noel : negotiator in Tripoli
<b>Jourdan, Pierre</b>	vicar	Hôtel-Dieu (1697)		
<b>Lambert, Alexandre</b>	bourgeois (possibly attorney)	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1683) F		<b>Lambert, François</b> : second échevin (1709)

<b>Lambert, Magdeleine</b>	wife of an attorney		institutes Hôtel -Dieu her hier (1675)	
<b>Latil, Jean</b>		Hôtel-Dieu (1663-4)		
<b>Latil, Pierre</b>	bourgeois	Hôtel-Dieu (1701)		
<b>Laugier, Nicolas</b>		Hôpital du bon rencontre (1676) F		
<b>Laurens, Gaspard</b>	noble sieur de Septèmes	Refuge (1660)	institutes Hôtel-Dieu his hier (1686)	
<b>LeBois, Michel</b>	merchnt	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1686) F		
<b>Lechambon, ?</b>		Charité (1640) F		
<b>Legrin, Jacques</b>		Charité (1640) F		
<b>Leroy, Jean</b>	galley captain	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1676)		
<b>Libertat, Pierre</b>	provost 1596-		institutes Charité as his hier (1665)	
<b>Long, Antoine</b>	merchant	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1672) F, Refuge (1695)		
<b>Longuier, Magdeleine</b>			unspecified donation to the Refuge	
<b>M. Berard</b>		Hôtel-Dieu (1675)		
<b>M. Bourrau</b>		Hôtel-Dieu (1675)		
<b>Mabilly, Estienne</b>	notary	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1686) F		
<b>Mallaval, Jean</b>	échevin	Charité (1640) F, Refuge (1640)		
<b>Maret, Pierre</b>	merchant	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1672) F		
<b>Margretty, François</b>	priest		instituted Hôtel-Dieu hier (1685)	
<b>Marnier, François</b>		Hôpital du bon rencontre (1695) F		

<b>Marroty, Jean</b>	bourgeois	Refuge (1659)		
<b>Martignon, Annibal Antoine</b>	priest, Cathedral de la Major	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1678) F		
<b>Martin, Honoré *</b>	prior in Saint-Maxim, noble	Hôtel-Dieu (1663-4), Hôpital du bon rencontre (1683) F		<b>Martin, Antoine</b> : notary, judge at La Ciotat <b>Esprit</b> : controller general of finances in Provence <b>François</b> : vicar perpetual in Turriers <b>Jacques</b> : sacristan Abbey St. Victor <b>Lange</b> : negotiator in Tunis <b>Louis</b> : councillor at parlement <b>Pierre</b> : squire
<b>Maure, Gabriel</b>	merchant tainter (of hides)	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1690) F		
<b>Maynard, Honnore</b>	merchant	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1677) F		
<b>Mazanod, Pierre</b>	squire, consul of France in Smyrna	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1682) F		
<b>Mazanot, Charles</b>	squire	Charité (1640) F		
<b>Mazet, ?</b>		Refuge (1684-90s)		
<b>Medecis, François</b>	monk, Abbey St. Victor			
<b>Michel, Emmanuel</b>	merchant	Hôtel-Dieu (1701)		<b>Michel, Guillaume:</b> Hôpital du Bon rencontre (1673) F
<b>Mignot</b>		Charité (1640) F		
<b>Montolieu, Jean-Bte.</b>	échevin (1650s), galley captain,			
<b>Moullat, Charles</b>		Charité (1640) F, Refuge (1652)		<b>Moulat, Honoré</b> : merchant <b>Antoine</b> : échevin (assessor) (1710)
<b>Moustier, Antoine **</b>	échevin, priest	Charité (1640), Hôtel-Dieu (1650s)		

<b>Moustier, P.</b>		Charité (1640)		
<b>Moustier, Simon</b>	first échevin (1683), son of Pierre Claude Reynaud	Hôtel-Dieu (1668)		
<b>Moutet, Jacques</b>	merchant	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1677) F		
<b>Moutte, Jacques</b>		Hôpital du bon rencontre (1682) F		
<b>Mouttet, François</b>			institutes Hôtel-Dieu his "heretier universel"	
<b>Mulchy, Honore</b>	metal-worker	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1673) F		
<b>Murris, Pierre Anthoine</b>	monk and priest, Abbey St. Victor, sacristan	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1673) F		
<b>Napollon, Cezard</b>	first échevin (1687), merchant	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1684) F		<b>Nappolon, Samson:</b> squire and negotiator at Alep
<b>Napollon, Louis</b>	banker	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1673) F		
<b>Nogaret, Jean</b>	son of a merchant	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1673) F		
<b>Norman, Anthoine</b>		Hôpital du bon rencontre (1673) F		
<b>Nounean, Pierre</b>	merchant (drapes and fabrics)	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1673) F		
<b>Ollive, Estienne</b>	second échevin (1677) bourgeois		testamentary donation 15 pounds to Hôtel-Dieu (1692)	
<b>Ollive, Guillaume</b>	merchant bourgeois	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1683) F		
<b>Ollive, Jean</b>	merchant	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1673) F		
<b>Ollive, Pierre</b>	merchant		testamentary donation 30 pounds to Hôtel-Dieu (1691)	

<b>Ollivier, Anne</b>			testamentary donation 30 pounds to Hôtel-Dieu (1697)	
<b>Ollivier, Charles</b>	canon, Cathedral de la Major		testamentary donation 15 pounds to Hôtel-Dieu (1687)	
<b>Ollivier, Jacques Chartaud</b>			testamentary donation 15 pounds to Hôtel-Dieu (1695)	
<b>Pachier, Emmanuel</b>	canon, Cathedral de la Major	Charité (1640) F		
<b>Pascal, Pierre</b>			institutes Hôtel-Dieu his hier (1690)	
<b>Pernelle, Pierre</b>	priest and sacristan, Cathedral de la Major	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1677) F		
<b>Pierre, Anthoine</b>	mercier	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1677) F		
<b>Pioulle, Jean-Antoine</b>	canon		donation 4950 pounds to Hôtel-Dieu (1626)	
<b>Piquet, Esprit</b>	merchant	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1672) F, Refuge (1684)		
<b>Plesent, Jean</b>		Hôpital du bon rencontre (1680) F		
<b>Pomier, Claud</b>		Hôpital du bon rencontre (1674) F		
<b>Portal, Cezard</b>	mason and architect	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1675) F		
<b>Poulet, Andre</b>	merchant	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1682) F		
<b>Pourdupont, Jean</b>		Charité (1640) F		
<b>Prat, Andre</b>	merchant bourgeois, negotiator in Tetouan and Sale	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1677) F	testamentary donation 2000 pounds to Charité (1651)	<b>Prat, Jean</b> : master surgeon-barber

<b>Prat, Henry</b>	1er échevin (1675), bourgeois, negociant a Tetouan et a Sale	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1672) F, Hôtel-Dieu (1663–1664)		
<b>Prat, Marguerite</b>			institutes Hôtel-Dieu her hier (1634)	
<b>Prevost, Bernard</b>	first president of parlement	Refuge		
<b>Puget, Estienne</b>	bishop, noble sieur de Merindol and marquis de Mallemort			
<b>Puget, François</b>		Hôpital du bon rencontre (1681) F		
<b>Puget, Jean</b>		Hôtel-Dieu (1666-7), Refuge (1684)		
<b>Pujol, ?</b>		Refuge (1695)		
<b>Rarquet, Baptiste</b>		Charité (1640) F		
<b>Rassignolly, Jean-Baptiste</b>	surgeon-barber		donation 150 pounds to Hôtel-Dieu	
<b>Ravelly, Jean-Pol</b>	monk and priest, Abbey St. Victor	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1677) F		
<b>Rebolly, François</b>	merchant	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1683) F		
<b>Rebouillon, Jean Estienne</b>		Hôpital du bon rencontre (1674) F		
<b>Reinier, Marie</b>			institutes the Refuge her hier	
<b>Remesat, Lassoine</b>	merchant	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1680) F		
<b>Remuzat, Jacques</b>	noble	Hôtel-Dieu (1663-4)		
<b>Remuzat, Louis</b>	second échevin (1688), banker	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1677) F		
<b>Reymond, Anthoine</b>		Hôpital du bon rencontre (1677) F		

<b>Reymondin</b>		Hôtel-Dieu (1701)		
<b>Reynard, Catherine</b>	noble, widow		donation 3400 pounds to Hôtel-Dieu (1678), 200 pounds to Charité(1649)	
<b>Reynaud, Claude</b>	noble	Hôtel-Dieu (1668)		Reynaud, Gabriel - merchant
<b>Reynaud, François</b>	merchant	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1674) F		
<b>Reynier, Jean-Bte.</b>	master cobbler-shoe maker		institutes Hôtel-Dieu his hier (1698)	Reynier, Mathieu - squire, negociant a Chypre, Tripoli, Syrie
<b>Ricard, Anthone</b>		Charité (1640) F		
<b>Rinbaud, Jean</b>	first échevin (1682), banker	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1675) F		
<b>Riquetty, Anthoine</b>	échevin, squire, sieur de Negreaux	Charité (1640s), Refuge (1640)		Riquetty, Jean - sieur de Mirabeau
<b>Riquetty, Jean</b>	échevin (1650s)			
<b>Riquetty, Pierre</b>	sieur de Negreaux			
<b>Riquetty, Thomas *</b>	Jesuit	Hôtel-Dieu (1665 - 1667),		
<b>Robally, Jean-Anthoine</b>	noble	Hôtel-Dieu (1660)		
<b>Robert, Jean François</b>		Hôpital du bon rencontre (1695) F		
<b>Robolly, Jean-Antoine</b>		Hôtel-Dieu (1663-4)		
<b>Roquemaure, Anthoine</b>	royal notary	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1674) F		
<b>Roumiere, Pierre</b>	seneschal	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1682) F		
<b>Rousset, Joseph</b>	merchant	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1686) F		
<b>Routier, Gaspard</b>	merchant	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1677) F		

<b>Roux, Acassy</b>	squire	Hôtel-Dieu (1659), La Charité (1640) F		
<b>Sabain, Robert</b>	banker	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1677) F		
<b>Sallade, Anthoine</b>	merchant (coral)	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1677) F		
<b>Saurin, Honore</b>		Hôpital du bon rencontre (1682) F		
<b>Saurin, Jean-Baptiste</b>	merchant	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1682) F		
<b>Sauron, Jacques</b>	seneschal	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1685) F		
<b>Savignon, Jacques</b>	first échevin (1688), banker	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1672) F, Hôtel-Dieu (1671)		
<b>Savournin, François</b>		Charité (1640) F		
<b>Savournin, Jean</b>	merchant	Charité (1640) F		
<b>Seguirane, Catherine</b>	widow of Louis Fabre		testamentary donation of all her property to La Charité (1647)	
<b>Seiguret, Jean-Baptiste</b>	merchant	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1672) F		
<b>Sellon, Guillaume</b>	merchant	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1682) F		
<b>Seurle, Joseph</b>		Hôpital du bon rencontre (1682) F		
<b>Seurle, Pierre</b>		Hôpital du bon rencontre (1682) F		
<b>Sicard, François</b>		Hôtel-Dieu (1663-4)		
<b>Sicard, Gaspard</b>	first échevin (1674)	Hôtel-Dieu (1671)		
<b>Sicard, Jean</b>	merchant	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1679) F		
<b>Signoret, H.</b>		Charité (1640) F		



<b>Simiane, Gaspar</b>	chevalier de la Coste	Hôtel-Dieu (1672-73), Hôpital royal des forçats (1646) F		
<b>Sommatti, François</b>	attorney, lieutenant at the sénéchaussée	Charité (1640) F		Sommatti, Pierre, squire
<b>Sossin, Estienne *</b>	merchant	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1677) F		
<b>Soucheiron, Louis</b>	merchant	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1672) F		
<b>Suffren, Pierre</b>	squire, noble		donation of 300 pounds to Hôtel-Dieu (1687)	
<b>Tarquis, Jean-Baptiste</b>	squire	Hôtel-Dieu (1650s)		
<b>Thorat, Pierre</b>	squire		donation 400 pounds and a house to Hôtel-Dieu	
<b>Truillard, Cosme *</b>		Hôpital du bon rencontre (1672) F	institutes Refuge his hier (1686)	<b>Truillard, André</b> : merchant <b>Pierre</b> : merchant
<b>Truillard, Denis</b>	merchant	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1685) F		
<b>Truillard, Jeanne</b>	widow of Jean Martin		testamentary donation 30 pounds to Hôtel-Dieu (1698)	
<b>Truillard, Louis *</b>	échevin, merchant bourgeois	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1674–1690s), Refuge (1695)	testamentary donation 1000 pounds to Hôtel-Dieu (1697)	
<b>Turc, Domonique</b>		Hôtel-Dieu (1697)		
<b>Turc, Jacques</b>		Hôpital du bon rencontre (1695) F		
<b>Turc, Jean</b>	merchant	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1683) F		
<b>Turcat, Jean</b>		Charité (1640) F		
<b>Vacher, Jean</b>	notary	Charité (1640) F		

<b>Vareze, François</b>	merchant	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1677) F		
<b>Varges, Albert</b>		Hôtel-Dieu (1663-4)		
<b>Varrages, Albert</b>		Hôtel-Dieu (1663-4)		
<b>Vento, Lazare</b>	échevin (1650s), noble sieur de la Baume			<b>Charles Vento:</b> provost in 1540s
<b>Venture, Gabriel</b>		Charité (1640) F		
<b>Venture, Jean</b>		Charité (1640) F		
<b>Vert, Isnard</b>	merchant	Hôpital du bon rencontre (1674) F		
<b>Provost, Jean</b>		Charité (1640) F		
<b>Provost, Louis</b>	bourgeois	Hôtel-Dieu (1650s)		
<b>Virelle, Joseph</b>		Hôpital du bon rencontre (1675) F		
<b>Ycard, Pierre</b>	second échevin (1679)	Hôtel-Dieu (1666-1667)		