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# Governing Masculinities in the Early Modern Period

Regulating Selves and Others

SUSAN BROOMHALL  
*University of Western Australia*

and

JACQUELINE VAN GENT  
*University of Western Australia*

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## Notes on Contributors

**David G. Barrie** is lecturer in British history at The University of Western Australia. His research interests include crime and punishment in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Scotland, urban history, and the history of leisure and recreation. He is author of *Police in the Age of Improvement: Police Development and the Civic Tradition in Scotland, 1775–1865* (Willan 2008). He has recently published in the *British Journal of Criminology*; *Urban History*; *Crime, Histoire, & Sociétés/Crime, History, and Societies*; the *Scottish Historical Review*, and *Scottish Archives*. With Susan Broomhall, he has edited *A History of Police and Masculinities, 1700–2010* (Routledge 2011) and is writing a monograph, *Police Courts: Crime, Control, and Community in Scotland, c.1800–1892*.

**Susan Broomhall** is Winthrop Professor in early modern history at The University of Western Australia. Her research focuses on cultural history and social experiences of women, gender, and masculinity in early modern Europe, especially France, the Low Countries, and more recently England and Scotland. She has recently completed (with Jennifer Spinks) *Early Modern Women in the Low Countries: Feminizing Sources and Interpretations of the Past* (Ashgate 2011) and edited (with David G. Barrie) *A History of Police and Masculinities, 1700–2010* (Routledge 2011). She is currently writing a monograph entitled *Gender, Power, and Identity in the Early Modern Nassau Family* with Jacqueline Van Gent as part of an Australian Research Council grant, and *Police Courts: Crime, Control, and Community in Scotland, c. 1800–1892* with David G. Barrie.

**Lisa Keane Elliott** is a doctoral candidate at The University of Western Australia, where she is a research assistant and working on her doctoral thesis concerning the Paris Hôtel-Dieu in the sixteenth century, due for completion in mid-2011.

**E.J. Kent** is a Research Fellow in the School of Historical Studies at the University of Melbourne, Australia. She researches in the area of witchcraft and gender in early modern England and New England. Her most recent publications are an essay exploring the case of the witch Anne Bodenham, which appeared in Brandt, Duffy, and Mackinnon (eds), *Hearing Places* (Cambridge Scholars 2007), and another exploring the case of the witch Susan Swapper, which appeared in Cassidy-Welch and Sherlock (eds), *Practices of Gender in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Brepols 2008). Dr Kent is currently finalising a book on male witches titled *Cases of Male Witchcraft in Early Modern England and New England, 1560–1700* (Brepols forthcoming). Future projects include a book on the Salem witch hunt, and work on early modern men and violence.

drinking, and blasphemy, was defined by its rejection of the supposedly sober and bourgeois model of the master printers.<sup>74</sup> Yet, in sixteenth-century Venice, as the city's rulers batted the hatches against the 'infection' of heresy, and cracked down on disorderly and ungodly words and deeds, the man who wished to rise to a position of authority did well to suppress the unruly urges in his workers, and in himself.

Working on the fault line between the worlds of literature and commerce, a printer had to be very skilful to move between competing and sometimes conflicting models of authoritative masculine behaviour. But in these in-between spaces there were many ways open to negotiate and advance his position. He who wished to become a success in the printing trade could bolster his authority by winning the acclaim of scholars and bibliophiles or by marrying strategically within the trade, both important contributing factors to the success of Aldo Manuzio. Making money undeniably brought with it respect and authority, and the possibility to distance oneself from the mechanical side of the trade and move ever closer in lifestyle and status to the political elite of the city. Ultimately, the famously stable three-tiered social system of Venice (patricians, citizens, *popolani*) offered numerous avenues for a man newly-arrived to move within this hierarchy and make a comfortable place for himself.<sup>75</sup> If he could never hope to participate himself in the government of the city, there were a number of other spaces in which to exert authority and gain power, a variety of strategies and tools he could adopt.

In rewriting the rules of early modern society, however, the instrument over which the printer presided was potentially the most powerful of all. As many contemporaries recognized, the expansion of printing promised (or threatened, depending on one's perspective) to open up literacy and access to information, knowledge, and expression to social groups previously excluded from them, like women and lower-class men. Popular printed manuals and encyclopaedias started to appear, which decoded the arcana of social and professional life for a wide audience. The public sphere began to open up to admit the voices of commentators from outside the political and literary elite.<sup>76</sup> The press reinforced and extended the pan-European network of scholarly connections that was the Republic of Letters. In this virtual realm, printers might claim a position as leaders or governors, even if in the real Republic of Venice they remained among the *popolani*, the governed. At least before the implementation of widespread print censorship towards the end of the sixteenth century, the press allowed more diverse and contradictory models of authority and masculine conduct to be publicized, discussed, and compared.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. R. Hibbins and B. Pease, 'Men and Masculinities on the Move', in Donaldson et al., *Migrant Men*, p. 3. See also Wiesner, 'Wandervögel and Women'.

<sup>75</sup> Cowan, "'Not Carrying Out the Vile and Mechanical Arts'", p. 39.

<sup>76</sup> See G.W. McClure, *The Culture of Profession in Late Renaissance Italy* (Toronto, 2004); F. De Vivo, *Information and Communication in Venice: Rethinking Early Modern Politics* (Oxford, 2007).

### Chapter 3

## Jean Martin, Governor of the *Grand Bureau des Pauvres*, on Charity and the Civic Duty of Governing Men in Paris, c. 1580

Lisa Keane Elliott

On 5 November 1544, the Parliament of Paris ordered the establishment of a *Grand Bureau des Pauvres* to manage the administration and distribution of poor-relief services in Paris, an institution similar in function to the Aumône Générale in Lyon.<sup>1</sup> The management of the *Grand Bureau* fell to 32 notable persons who 'must humbly accept the said office of the poor ... [and] to have treatment and care of the poor of this city', ensuring the equitable distribution of alms within the districts of Paris.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately, our knowledge of the early years of the *Grand Bureau* is limited due to the lack of extant sources. Even the year of the institution's establishment seems to be a source of confusion, with some historians placing it in 1530, although the consensus is for 5 November 1544.<sup>3</sup> Historians Léon Cahen, Marcel Fosseyeux, and Jean Imbert have postulated that the *Grand*

<sup>1</sup> For information on Lyon's Aumône Générale, see N.Z. Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Cambridge, 1987), ch. 2; J.-P. Gutton, *La société et les pauvres en Europe (XVIe–XVIIIe siècles)* (Paris, 1974).

<sup>2</sup> P. Guérin, *Registres des délibérations du Bureau de la Ville de Paris, 1539–1552* (Paris, 1886), tome 3, 'Assemblée pour les povres de Paris, 16 novembre 1544', LXI (x), pp. 45–7; B. Diefendorf, *Beneath the Cross: Catholics and Huguenots in Sixteenth-Century Paris* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 20–21; J.-P. Gutton, *La Société et les Pauvres: L'exemple de la généralité de Lyon, 1534–1789* (Paris, 1970); L. Lallemand, *Histoire de la Charité: Tome Quatrième, Les Temps Modernes (Du XVIe au XIXe Siècle)* (Paris, 1912), Second Partie, Europe (suite), p. 252.

<sup>3</sup> The extant source material on the sixteenth-century *Grand Bureau* was destroyed in several fires in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The documentation that does exist reveals little behind the intentions for its establishment and governance in those early years. Efforts have been made by scholars to piece together a picture of the *Grand Bureau*'s early years from the fragments that remain. Guérin, *Registres des délibérations*, tome 3, pp. 45–7. See also L. Cahen, *Grand Bureau des Pauvres de Paris au Milieu du XVIIIe Siècle* (Paris, 1904); K.E. Gager, *Blood Ties and Fictive Ties: Adoption and Family Life in Early Modern France* (Princeton, 1996), pp. 110–11; J. Imbert, *Le droit hospitalier de l'ancien régime* (Paris, 1993); T.J. McHugh, *Hospital Politics in Seventeenth-Century France: The Crown, Urban Elites, and the Poor* (Aldershot, 2007).

*Bureau* was established to provide institutional support for the position of the *Commissaire des Pauvres* and consolidate Parisian poor-relief services within the existing administrative framework of the city.<sup>4</sup> A treatise published in 1580 and composed by Jean Martin not only gives an invaluable and detailed description of the structure and function of the *Grand Bureau* in the late sixteenth century, it also provides insight into the attitudes of the civic elite towards poverty, the poor, and, particularly, the charitable act. Martin's under-utilized treatise will be the nucleus of this chapter's exploration of the concept of masculine governing authority in relation to the French poor-relief services and the charitable act in late-sixteenth-century Paris.

As far as can be determined from the meagre extant sources, the intention behind Parliament's establishment of the *Grand Bureau* in 1544 was to form a centralized institution to manage and oversee all the city's poor-relief services and work in conjunction with Paris's town council, the *Bureau de la Ville*, in its efforts to assert and maintain control over the increasing number of paupers in Paris. In 1577, a mere 33 years after its establishment, the Parliament of Paris ordered a major reform of the *Grand Bureau*. The manner in which Martin styled and presented his treatise suggests that the *Grand Bureau* remained an unfamiliar component of the administrative, and charitable, landscape of Paris. He describes how 'several [ignorant] mutineers' were thwarting the *Grand Bureau's* officers in the course of their duties. In fact, several years earlier in 1551, the *Grand Bureau* was the subject of a parliamentary commission, during the course of which it was found that in the five years the institution had been operating the number of registered paupers had tripled.<sup>5</sup> Rather than making inroads in reducing Paris's pauper population, the *Grand Bureau* was seen as an impediment to government and local policy, its inefficient managers and general ineffectiveness seen only as encouragements to the dishonest and 'undeserving' poor to persist in their social and moral degeneracy.

Included in Jean Martin's treatise is a document that was presented to the Parliament of Paris in 1577 and in which the results of the recent reform of the *Grand Bureau des Pauvres* were outlined in great detail. Martin's reformed *Grand Bureau* was managed by an elected board of 16 governors, known as *commissaires honoraires*, six of whom were from within the Parliament of Paris, one from the *Chambre des Comptes* (the Treasury), two canons from the chapters of Notre-Dame or Sainte Chappelle, three priests from Paris's Faculty of Theology, and four parliamentary lawyers. In addition, these *commissaires honoraires* were assisted by 'sixteen other notable persons such as nobles, royal officers, merchants and bourgeoisie of all estates', each one responsible for one of the 16 *quartiers* (districts) of the city, registering the 'deserving' poor and administering or

<sup>4</sup> M. Fosseyeux, *Le Grand Bureau des Pauvres*, Paris, Archives de l'Assistance publique, Hôpitaux de Paris, 36 FOSS 1; Cahen, *Grand Bureau des Pauvres de Paris*, pp. 2–3; Guérin, *Registres des délibérations*, tome 3, pp. 45–6; J. Imbert, *Histoire des Hôpitaux en France* (Toulouse, 1982), p. 149.

<sup>5</sup> Diefendorf, *Beneath the Cross*, p. 20.

organizing whatever poor relief was required, from medical services to a couple of *sous* for the purchase of bread.<sup>6</sup> The *commissaires honoraires* were responsible for managing this great undertaking, ensuring that the over-stretched relief services were used for the relief of the honest poor; that is, hardworking journeymen and their families, the aged, women, and children, for whom infirmity, helplessness, and periods of unemployment could mean starvation and homelessness.<sup>7</sup> Over the course of the sixteenth century, there was a noticeable change in the rhetoric associated with poverty and charity, an attitude that can be traced to the assumption of the administration of charity and poor relief by French municipal authorities from the Church. The municipal authorities became increasingly concerned that the Church, in addition to its suspected, and in some cases proven, mismanagement or misuse of charitable funds, had been too indiscriminate in its almsgiving, which only encouraged the poor in their begging and idling ways.<sup>8</sup> The rhetoric of the municipal authorities depicted certain groups of paupers, generally male, as 'undeserving' poor whose work-shy and dishonest natures necessitated systems of effective control and policing to prevent them from accessing the inadequate charitable resources depriving the honest poor of much needed and deserved assistance.<sup>9</sup> Given the nature of Martin's treatise and in light of the *Grand Bureau's* supposed bad beginning, Martin's work can be seen as an active endeavour to alter the opinion of his readers towards the institution.

This chapter will explore how Martin, in his treatise *La Police et Règlement du Grand Bureau des Pauvres de la ville et fauxbourgs de Paris*, negotiates his way through the complex hierarchy of Parisian civic governance to establish his own authority through which he was empowered to convey to his readers the legitimacy of the *Grand Bureau* in Paris and establish it as a worthy vehicle through which Paris's governing men could carry out their Christian charitable obligations.

<sup>6</sup> J. Martin, *La Police et Règlement du grand Bureau des Pauvres de la ville et fauxbourgs de Paris. Avec un petit traicte de l'Aumône tiré des Saintes escritures, tant du vieil que du nouveau Testament, et autoritez des Saints Docteurs. Aux citoyens de Paris* (Paris, 1580), pp. 1–1v and 3v–4v. (Indicating page numbers for Martin's treatise has been problematic due to the inconsistent numbering of the published manuscript. I have labelled the reverse side of pages as 'v' for easy reference. For quotations from pages without a number, I have given an indication of where they lie within the text.)

<sup>7</sup> Martin, *La Police et Règlement du grand Bureau*; Imbert, *Le droit hospitalier*, pp. 29–35; McHugh, *Hospital Politics*, p. 84. See also Cahen, *Grand Bureau des Pauvres de Paris*, pp. 3–5; Imbert, *Histoire des Hôpitaux*, p. 149; C. Jones, *Paris: Biography of a City* (London, 2006), p. 132.

<sup>8</sup> These concerns were not exclusive to the sixteenth century, although it was in this century that the secular authorities made decisive efforts to obtain control of poor relief from the Church. M. Mollat, *The Poor in the Middle Ages: An Essay in Social History*, trans. A. Goldhammer (New Haven, 1986), pp. 152–3, 281–3.

<sup>9</sup> B. Geremek, *The Margins of Society in Late Medieval Paris*, trans. J. Birrell (Cambridge, 1991); Geremek, *Poverty: A History*, trans. A. Kolakowska (Oxford, 1994); Mollat, *The Poor in the Middle Ages*.

### Jean Martin and the *Grand Bureau*: Negotiating and Legitimizing Authority

Who was Jean Martin and what authority did he have within the administrative framework of Paris? Who are these 'citizens of Paris' to whom he addresses his treatise? What masculine authorities does he draw upon, or borrow, to address his readers on their civic responsibilities and religious obligations towards the *Grand Bureau* and its 'deserving' poor? How and why is religion used in Martin's treatise, and how does he, a secular man, establish a religious authority? How does Martin position the *Grand Bureau* within the official municipal framework of Paris?

Frustratingly, little is known of the treatise's author, Jean Martin, other than what he shares with his readers. Martin introduces himself as a 'public prosecutor in the Court of Parliament' and as having for '15 or 16 years, attended the *Grand Bureau* of this great city', although he does not specify in what capacity.<sup>10</sup> However, this biographical information is sufficient to establish that, by virtue of his position within the Parliament of Paris, Martin was a governed male and, as we shall see, based on his position within the Parliament of Paris, possibly a governing male within the *Grand Bureau des Pauvres*. The Parliament of Paris was the ultimate judicial and political organisation for France, responsible not just for safeguarding law and order for King and country, but also with civic responsibilities for Paris itself.<sup>11</sup> Amongst some of its responsibilities, the Parliament of Paris was responsible for provisioning the city, regulating prices, organising poor-relief collections, supervising the guilds, hospitals, and prisons, and intervening in the municipal administration and financial affairs of the *Bureau de la Ville* when necessary for the continued good governance of the city.<sup>12</sup> From an organisational point of view, Parliament was divided into six chambers. The *Gens du Roi* were made up of the *Procureur Général*, *Avocat Général* and their assistants (prosecutors, solicitors, and clerks) and were answerable directly to the King, as was the *Grand Chambre*, which was presided over by the First President. The other chambers were *Chambre de la Marée*, *Chambre des Vacations*, *Requêtes*, *Enquêtes*, and *Tournelle*, with a pool of court clerks, solicitors, barristers, and notaries servicing the *Grand Chambre* and the *Tournelle*.<sup>13</sup> Parliamentary prosecutors, or solicitors, served under the direction of the *Procureur Général*, who was responsible for upholding the civil and criminal laws of the country. A parliamentary prosecutor held a level of authority in keeping with the many barristers, clerks, and notaries

<sup>10</sup> Martin, *La Police et Règlement du grand Bureau*, 1st Epistle and 3rd Epistle.

<sup>11</sup> J.H. Shennan, *The Parliament of Paris* (London, 1968), pp. 170, 327; Lallemand, *Histoire de la Charité: Tome Quatrième*, pp. 251–2.

<sup>12</sup> J.H. Shennan, *The Parliament of Paris* (New York, 1998), pp. 87–91. See also E. Coyecque, *L'Hôtel-Dieu de Paris au Moyen-Âge: Histoire et Documents. Histoire de L'Hôtel-Dieu, Documents (1316–1552)* (Paris, 1891), tome 1, ch. 7.

<sup>13</sup> See the organizational chart for the Parliament of Paris in the Appendices of Shennan, *The Parliament of Paris* (1968).

of the Parliament and relied primarily on wealthy clients for financially rewarding employment. Prosecutors were able to further their professional and social position by volunteering for or being elected to leading roles within organisations such as the *Grand Bureau*.<sup>14</sup> Given then what is known about the structure of the Parliament of Paris and, as we shall see, that Martin addresses the *Procureur Général* directly, the biographical information he provides about his professional life suggests he held a position within the *Gens du Roi*, therefore placing him within the upper hierarchy of the Parliament, although as a prosecutor he was among the lower-ranking male officials. This in turn would qualify him for the position of *commissaire honoraire* of the *Grand Bureau*, which would also confer upon him the status of a governing male.

Jean Martin's treatise consists of seven parts, which can be split into two distinct categories: secular and religious. It opens with three introductory epistles to specific 'citizens of Paris', which precede the 1577 reform document titled *La Police des Pauvres de la ville et fauxbourgs de Paris*. This is followed by a poem titled *Charité Malade aux Riches Terriens* and a religious-themed treatise titled *Traicte de L'Aumosne*, and finally an *Exhortation de S. Augustin, de la manière de prier avec l'exemple de certain trespasse en Egypte, et de la misère de l'ame, Sermon lxxix à ses frères au desert*. Martin's treatise is a combination of genres, styles and modes of rhetoric, both secular and religious in tone, that suggests his target audience, the 'citizens of Paris', came from different levels within the civic hierarchy of Paris. The treatise promotes the importance of the *Grand Bureau* within the civic framework of Paris and seeks to inspire charitable support for the institution, reminding the 'citizens of Paris' of the 'virtue' to be found in the active pursuit of their civic and religious (charitable) duties. That Martin is directing his treatise to his fellow governing men is evidenced in the treatise title, *Aux citoyens de Paris*. The meaning of the word *citoyen* (citizen) evolved in the late sixteenth century within the areas of law and literature and at the forefront was a new understanding of national citizenship.<sup>15</sup> French thinkers and writers such as François Hotman and most famously Jean Bodin, whose *Six Books of the Commonwealth* was published in 1576, formulated the concept of the *citizen* as a male member of a male-governed state.<sup>16</sup> It is, therefore, logical to deduce that Martin's use of the word 'citizen' in his title was purposeful and signalled his target readership as Paris's elite, specifically, as we shall see, the municipal governors to whom he addresses his opening three epistles. The rest of the treatise bears out this assumption, the language of both the secular and religious elements of the treatise is dominated by references to, for example, 'the King or Governors, wise

<sup>14</sup> Shennan, *The Parliament of Paris* (1968), pp. 45–7.

<sup>15</sup> C.C. Wells, 'The Language of Citizenship in the French Religious Wars', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 30/2 (1999): p. 441.

<sup>16</sup> Wells, 'The Language of Citizenship', pp. 441–2; M.J. Tooley, 'Introduction', in J. Bodin, *Six Books of the Commonwealth* (1576), trans. Tooley (Oxford, 1955), p. x, and Bodin, pp. 19–21.

and prudent' or 'good Governors and virtuous characters'.<sup>17</sup> Given that charity was traditionally associated with women, particularly from the more affluent noble, elite, and middling classes, Martin's treatise could be seen as an endeavour to establish a legitimate space for governing men within the realm of charity. By means of his treatise, Martin demonstrates how his readers, the 'citizens of Paris', can incorporate the religious obligation of charity (towards the *Grand Bureau* in particular) into their civic responsibilities.

In their focus on masculinity, gender theorists have recognized variations of masculinity and masculinities that are 'divergent, often competing and above all ... changing'.<sup>18</sup> Bettina van Hoven and Kathrin Hörschelmann point out that masculinity and masculinities are concepts 'that rightly evoke a complexity' and, as historians, we need to stop thinking about them as static.<sup>19</sup> The complex nature of governing masculinities is much evident in Martin's treatise as we witness his endeavour to negotiate his authority within the existing secular and religious hierarchies in order to lend credence to himself and to the subject of his treatise, the *Grand Bureau*. Martin seeks to address his readers from his position as an experienced secular governor and parliamentarian, but also to negotiate a position as a religious scholar with some knowledge of the Christian's duty of charity. This is one of the reasons why Martin's treatise is an excellent case study for such a topic. Martin has to undertake a series of complex negotiations across different levels of not one but two hierarchies, secular and religious, to establish himself as an experienced and learned champion for the *Grand Bureau*. One of the techniques he employs in his endeavour is the humility topos or affected-modesty technique that was in popular use among authors until the eighteenth century.<sup>20</sup> The humility topos enabled authors to apologize for their boldness in addressing their readers on a topic to which their own experience may not have been equal. They presented their work as a humble endeavour 'roughly executed', to use Martin's description of his own treatise, but undertaken with the purest of motives, for which they humbly beg their readers' forgiveness and indulgence.<sup>21</sup> Martin uses this technique

<sup>17</sup> Martin, *La Police et Règlement du grand Bureau*, pp. 33, 38.

<sup>18</sup> M. Roper and J. Tosh, 'Introduction: Historians and the Politics of Masculinity', in Roper and Tosh (eds.), *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800* (London and New York, 1991), p. 1.

<sup>19</sup> B. van Hoven and K. Hörschelmann, 'Introduction: From Geographies of Men to Geographies of Women and Back Again?', in van Hoven and Hörschelmann (eds.), *Spaces of Masculinities* (London and New York, 2005), p. 10; D.M. Hadley, 'Introduction', in Hadley (ed.), *Masculinity in Medieval Europe* (London and New York, 1999), pp. 2–3.

<sup>20</sup> E.R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1990), pp. 79, 85–6.

<sup>21</sup> Curtius, *European Literature*, pp. 79, 85–7, 149–50; S. Franklin, *Writing, Society, and Culture in Early Rus, c. 950–1300* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 220–21; R. Shoock, 'The Borromeo Rings: Rhetoric, Law, and Literature in the English Renaissance', in W. Bryan Horner and M. Leff (eds.), *Rhetoric and Pedagogy: Its History, Philosophy, and Practice* (Mahwah, 1995).

as a starting point from which to demonstrate his awareness of his subordinate position in relation to many of his readers so as not to alienate their attention from his treatise and undermine his efforts to inspire and encourage their civic-mindedness and Christian virtue. In his three introductory epistles or 'humble salutes' to his readers, Martin claims himself where appropriate as a subordinate or peer to his readers. He clearly signals that his intended readership, the 'citizens of Paris', were largely his superiors not only through his obvious 'humble salute' in the opening epistles, but also, quite simply, by directly addressing his epistles to his intended readers.

The first three parts of his treatise are in the form of epistles in which Martin endeavours to justify the nature and purpose of his treatise to his readers. The first and third epistles are addressed to fellows among the secular elite, while the second epistle is addressed to the highest religious authority in France. Martin's first epistle is addressed to fellow prosecutors and his superiors in the parliamentary chamber of the *Gens du Roi*, particularly the *Procureur Général*. He seeks not only to establish his own expertise (borne of his status as a 'Prosecutor in the Court of Parliament' and his experience as a governor of the *Grand Bureau*) but also to obtain his readers' indulgence and their attention to the treatise, including that of France's second-highest secular authority (after the King).

Sires, the prosecutors, and the *Procureur Général* of the King, Jean Martin Prosecutor in the Court of Parliament, gives humble Salute. Sires, having these 15 to 16 years ... frequented the *Grand Bureau des Pauvres* of this great city ... My Lords, who can see better than me the charity of some noblemen, so noble and bourgeois, than others ... and [who] continue to donate their property to [the poor] members of Jesus Christ. And others too have cooled it seems in their proper charity ... and they do nothing remotely Christian.<sup>22</sup>

Martin establishes his position as a parliamentary prosecutor and draws upon his own experience as a long-standing governor with the *Grand Bureau*, firming up his own professional credentials in order to qualify his address to his peers and superiors. However, Martin downplays the assertion of his own authority with a 'humble salute', acknowledging the superior professional status of the addressees, and follows this with a careful compliment to the noblemen whose charitable actions his position has privileged him to witness. However, this compliment, like others to follow, is not directed specifically at the noblemen of his address. Martin adopts a generic form of address referring to 'some noblemen', instead of, for example, 'you noblemen' or 'noblemen' in general, which allows his readers to disassociate themselves from those others who come under criticism for their failures as civic leaders and Christians. In a way, through this indirect rebuke, Martin employs the humility topos on behalf of his readers, awarding them the same privilege of disassociation that, as the author, he can employ for himself. It is a display of deference and respect to his readers to keep them on side.

<sup>22</sup> Martin, *La Police et Règlement du grand Bureau, 1580*, pp. B–Bv.



Martin's first epistle is a deft negotiation between establishing his own authority and demonstrating acts of subordination in order not to offend those of superior professional rank to his own.

Martin employs a similar technique of flattery in his third epistle to his fellow *commissaires* of the *Grand Bureau*. He explains to his colleagues that he is using his knowledge of the inner workings of the *Grand Bureau* for the benefit of the 'citizens of Paris' and that his treatise, therefore, is not intended as a lecture to them on their roles and responsibilities. Martin assures his colleagues he wishes only to demonstrate how the *Grand Bureau's* 'Christian' officers perform their 'virtuous' duties with 'dexterity' for the good of the 'poor members of God' and the health of the city; that is, how they play their part as citizens within this institution. He compliments his fellow *commissaires* and assures them he was 'encouraged' to publish the *Grand Bureau's* ordinance by the excellent example of their 'exercise of this virtue of Charity', not only to inspire the 'citizens of Paris ... to be more inclined and prompt with the exercise of their Charity' but also as inspiration for the entire kingdom of France.<sup>23</sup>

I thought to very humbly beg you betters and authorities, that continuing as your zealous servant accustomed by your most prudent Council that is this *Bureau*, be always ruled and governed for the good of the poor, so that by this they be always maintained and sustained in this so famous governance ... [so] that other cities and provinces of the Kingdom, without great relief projects, can take [it] as an example ... [to] assist their poor.<sup>24</sup>

Martin justifies addressing his superiors and equals on the basis of his own position, and within the treatise negotiates different levels and kinds of authority for himself to add weight to his views and engage their support for the *Grand Bureau*.

In his second epistle to 'Master Philippes Huart, Doctor Regent in the Faculty of Theology', Martin shows how he has cultivated religious knowledge which is sanctioned by the head of France's highest religious authority. In doing so, Martin establishes a commanding position from which to address his readers on religious issues, specifically those relating to charity. The Faculty of Theology was the guardian of French Roman Catholicism, 'the most authoritative theology faculty in Latin Christendom', charged with the protection of the Roman Catholic doctrines, rituals, and beliefs. The Doctor Regent was the head of the Faculty.<sup>25</sup> Receiving the support of the Faculty buttressed the religious side of Martin's endeavour. Martin offers his 'humble salute' to Master Huart and emphasizes the

<sup>23</sup> Martin, *La Police et Règlement du grand Bureau*, 3rd Epistle.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. D.

<sup>25</sup> P. Benedict, *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed: A Social History of Calvinism* (New Haven, 2002), p. 130. For an overview of the Faculty of Theology in the sixteenth century, see J.K. Farge, *Orthodoxy and Reform in Early Reformation France: The Faculty of Theology of Paris, 1500–1543* (Leiden, 1985) and R.J. Knecht, *Renaissance Warrior and Patron: The Reign of François I* (Cambridge, 1996).

purity of his intention to demonstrate to his readers that 'there is nothing easier than the exercise of our Christian religion' — a fact, he claims, has been revealed to him during his long years of religious instruction.<sup>26</sup>

[W]ithout having regard of my roughness and ignorance, thinking only of benefiting the public, I am induced and emboldened to compile and outline this ... rhapsody of authority ... by form of exhortations addressed to the Parisian people, for this in no way provokes the exercise of this so perfect charity toward the poor members of God, whom you can see and contemplate in such great numbers in this Parisian city: so much that it has not been possible to be able to provide without providence [and] I say also generosity, of those who have the charge and handling of it.<sup>27</sup>

To Master Huart, Martin conveys an awareness that it is not his 'vocation to handle the Holy Letters, and still less to polish [them]'; however, his 'imbecility' has been improved through the religious instruction he has received over the course of '16 or 18 years' and he therefore requests he be allowed to fulfil his 'perpetual obligation' to God and the Church through his treatise and to promote 'this virtue of Charity' to his readers. Martin's efforts were successful, judging from the certificate following the epistles issued by 'G. Rose' and 'P. Huart' of the Faculty of Theology, permitting him to use religious exhortations to 'instruct' his readers on the 'worthy and good' subject of charity.<sup>28</sup>

Martin's opening epistles are important to establish a connection with his superior and fellow governing men. He not only shores up his secular influence as a parliamentary prosecutor and governor of the *Grand Bureau* but also seeks borrowed authority from France's pre-eminent spiritual arbiters at the Faculty of Theology to address matters 'not being [his] vocation'. The order of the epistles reflects the hierarchy of the men Martin addresses — the *Procureur Général* of Parliament, the Doctor Regent of the Faculty of Theology, and lastly, Martin's fellows in the Parliament and the *Grand Bureau*. He uses the epistles to assure his superiors of his respect and to highlight his own subordinate position in some areas, yet does not undermine the legitimacy of his own experience and influence as an institutional office-holder. As a result, his mission to demonstrate the worthiness of the *Grand Bureau* as a recipient of the charitable benevolence of the 'citizens of Paris' is secured by virtue of his own governing and learned authorities.

<sup>26</sup> Martin, *La Police et Règlement du grand Bureau*, p. 40.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 2nd Epistle.

<sup>28</sup> 'We the undersigned Doctors of the Holy Theology Faculty of Paris, certify to have seen this present treatise on the Police of poor, established in the city of Paris, with the exhortations for Charity ... and find us there nothing contrary with the Catholic faith and determinations of our Holy Mother the Apostolic Catholic and Roman Church, and is thus worthy and good to be clarified for the instruction of the people'. *Ibid.*, p. iv. This statement is dated 13 May 1576.

### Jean Martin on the Civic Responsibility of the Governing Man

Part four consists of Martin's parliamentary paper, 'The policing of the poor in the city and suburbs of Paris', which was presented to the Parliament of Paris in 1577 following the reform of the *Grand Bureau*. In this document, Martin outlines in great detail the structure and function of the *Grand Bureau* in the wake of these reforms. While Martin opens part 4 of his treatise with another 'humble salute' to his superiors and fellows, it is here that he draws upon the authority he has earned in his position as a *commissaire honoraire* of the *Grand Bureau* in the promotion of the institution and its officers, and levels criticisms at those men who ignore their responsibilities as governing men by failing to support the *Grand Bureau*. His authoritative voice is derived from the knowledge he has obtained of its inner workings during his tenure therein. As stated earlier, Martin indicates that the governors (*commissaires honoraires*) of the *Grand Bureau* are elected from within the municipal hierarchy of Paris and the position is one which may yield professional rewards, but is undertaken 'without wages or profit' and 'for the grace of God' alone.<sup>29</sup> The governors meet twice a week on 'Mondays and Thursdays, for one to two hours, after midday ... to attend to the process and affairs of the poor, pooling the alms', making decisions on their distribution, following up on legacies and donations to the poor and overseeing the implementation of relevant royal and parliamentary edicts.<sup>30</sup> By demonstrating his experience and knowledge of the inner workings of the *Grand Bureau*, Martin establishes his specialist credentials, and thus his authority as a governing male. In addition, it is likely that Martin is endeavouring to demonstrate to his superior and fellow governing men that the publication of his treatise, like his role in the *Grand Bureau*, is undertaken by the pure desire to promote the cause and legitimacy of the institution that he serves voluntarily and without reward.

Martin does not completely abandon the humility of his earlier approach now that his credentials have been established. The following excerpt is a perfect illustration of Martin's creative negotiation between his position as a subordinate to his professional superiors and as an experienced governor of the *Grand Bureau*, addressing both those with no experience of the *Grand Bureau* and its function and his fellow *Grand Bureau* governors and officers. He deftly moves from governing male to governed male in his attempt to engage and retain support for the *Grand Bureau* while not alienating his readership with the criticisms that he regrets must be expressed. Firstly, Martin praises the work of the 'good men' of the *Grand Bureau* who serve 'for two years without wages or profit [and] by the grace of God', and with humility and deference to his fellow citizens, promises not to be too 'tedious' in his endeavours to summarize their good work.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., p. 3v.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., p. 2v.

Here is the synopsis of the aforesaid organisation and charity, of which I have intended to particularize and declare by the detail of what each *Commissaire* and officer has in his charge. ... But not to be too wordy and tedious, I will leave aside or *let men of good will think that each does in his charge what he can*, and that it is not an easy matter to organize or administer so great a number of the poor, even in a city such as Paris. Given also that *many rich people* are unsatisfactory in their duty to help and contribute ... with charity, or to understand [the role] of this organisation well.<sup>31</sup>

Martin provides 'men of good will' the opportunity to disassociate themselves from the criticisms being levelled at the 'many rich people' who are not fulfilling their charitable duties and, most importantly, who make no effort to understand the importance of the role of the *Grand Bureau*. Martin allows his readers to distance themselves from the rebuke and place themselves amongst the 'men of good will ... who [do] what [they] can' for the Parisian poor. Yet he has placed the idea into the minds of his readers that the *Grand Bureau* does its best to 'organize and administer so great a number of the poor' and that its efforts would be bolstered by support from Paris's wealthier citizens.

Martin's tone becomes less appeasing, and in the following excerpt he adopts the full force of his authority, derived from his personal and professional experience, to deliver an official censure of the 'several [ignorant] mutineers' who have been obstructing the *Grand Bureau's* officers in the execution of their duties. He explains to his readers that the reason behind the inclusion of the parliamentary document on the reform of the *Grand Bureau* is to demonstrate how the organisation fits in with the municipal endeavours of the city, led by the *Bureau de la Ville*, to uphold social control and regulation of the 'great number of the poor' for their good and the public health of Paris and its inhabitants. By obstructing the officers of the *Grand Bureau* in the course of their duties, these 'several [ignorant] mutineers' are acting against their own civic responsibilities as citizens of Paris and are also in direct violation of their sovereign and his Parliament under whose direction the *Grand Bureau* operates.

[T]he capture, imprisonment ... and correction of all those who are found to be beggars in Paris, because it is championed by the King and the aforementioned Court [Parliament] that all people who beg there on pain of the whip, for the inconvenience of plague and other diseases which will be able to occur; [and] that several *belistres* and *cagnardiers*<sup>32</sup> by pretence and disguise of diseases take

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., p. 23 (my emphasis).

<sup>32</sup> *Belistres* — one of many terms with a litany of negative connotations used in reference to male professional beggars — 'a beggar, vagabond, scoundrel, ragamuffin, poor knave, needy rogue'. Children were *belistreaux*, 'a little, or young beggar' and women *belistresses*, 'a woman beggar; a Doxie, Morte, base Queane'. *Cagnardiers* — 'A lazy vagabond, a lowly hedgecreeper, a slothful scoundrel, tottered or beggarly rogue'. The female equivalent is a *cagnardiere* — 'A hedge-whore, lazie queane, lowlie trull, filthie curtall, Doxie, Morte'. R. Cotgrave, *A Dictionaire of the French and English Tongues (1611)* (Columbia, 1968).

*alms from the true poor. ... Still there are several mutineers, ignorant of the labours of the aforesaid police force, who sometime endeavour to prevent the Sergeants from carrying out the capture of the aforementioned belistres, and are the cause of the disorder that one can see: so much that it is championed by the King and Court of the people, on [pain of] custodial sentence and corporal punishment, to prevent the Sergeants and Officers of the police force, and are thus charged to help them make the captures and imprisonments for the good of the true poor and public health.<sup>33</sup>*

Behind Martin's condemnation lies the authority of an experienced and knowledgeable government official, working in accordance with official municipal policy and with the license of the Parliament of Paris. Despite humbly allowing his readers to disassociate themselves from criticism by the generic inference of 'several [ignorant] mutineers', he is still sufficiently empowered to condemn those who act against their sovereign and fellow citizens serving 'by the grace of God' for the 'poor members of God' and the order and safety of Paris. Martin warns that it matters not what position these 'several [ignorant] mutineers' occupy in society for as citizens of Paris they are obligated to obey the laws of their King and support his officers in maintaining the good governance of his city for *all* his subjects: in this case the poor, who were in need of governing; the officers of the *Grand Bureau* whose governing position required support from the 'citizens of Paris'; and 'several [ignorant] mutineers' who needed a reminder of their civic responsibilities as citizens towards their sovereign and his subjects.<sup>34</sup>

Martin takes great care to reassure his readers that the *Grand Bureau* operates in accordance with the rules of Parisian municipal authorities and that supporting it is one way to carry out their civic responsibilities. The *Grand Bureau* labours to assist the deserving *pauvres honteux* (shame-faced poor) and ensures its resources are used solely for their benefit. Martin lends weight to his assurance by employing official municipal rhetoric to emphasize that these shame-faced poor receive alms from the *Grand Bureau* only 'according to whether their poverty and needs were known'.

[The] *Commissaires* for the district [are sent] to visit the poor and their goods, in their rooms, to find out succinctly from three or four neighbours of their poverty, number and charge of children ... and if it has been sometime that they have been resident in Paris. ... [T]he *Commissaire* submits his report verbally or in writing to the *Grand Bureau* the following day ... and if it is due ... the poor are put at alms on a certain sum and alms per week for a certain time or always, as the *Commissaires* recognize that they deserve.<sup>35</sup>

Martin continually uses his position to demonstrate to his readers — the potential *Grand Bureau* supporters and benefactors — the importance and relevance of the

<sup>33</sup> Martin, *La Police et Règlement du grand Bureau*, p. 6.

<sup>34</sup> Bodin, *Six Books of the Commonwealth*, pp. 19–21.

<sup>35</sup> Martin, *La Police et Règlement du grand Bureau*, p. 9.

institution within the governing framework of Paris. Again, he assures his readers that the *Grand Bureau* operates in line with the municipal authorities to curtail the anti-social activities of those deemed 'incorrigible and unworthy of charity'. When seen in conjunction with the following extract from the 1516 registers of the *Bureau de la Ville*, it is clear that Martin employs the familiar language of male governance to consolidate his authority and the legitimacy of the *Grand Bureau* as a regulating institution.

[Vagrants] are to be fed and housed, but also chained up by the body and feet ... ; to be housed close to the site of the public works so as not to waste time getting there. ... They are normally put to ditch digging, but as the waters are still high they are to be put to cleaning rubbish from the streets instead.<sup>36</sup>

The term *pauvres valides* primarily applied to men who were physically capable of work, but who were seen as preferring to live the life of the roguish, idling thief whose unholy existence robbed the honest poor of their alms and undermined the social and moral order of the city.<sup>37</sup> France's governing men saw it as part of their civic responsibility to protect their city from the corrupting influence of the unemployed and unruly vagrant poor, who were perceived to be roaming the country in great numbers.<sup>38</sup> They had to control the vagrants, a term which generally implied young, single, male paupers.<sup>39</sup> Mirroring the ordinance of the *Bureau de la Ville* quoted above, Martin assures his readers that the *Grand Bureau's* officers, like other local authorities, ensure that all those identified as *pauvres valides* are referred to the town council where they are

employed and enlisted by the Police chiefs of the poor ... with ditch digging, [building] fortifications, ramparts and public works of the aforesaid city *at the expense of the city* ... and each paid daily by ordinance of the Provosts of the Merchants and Magistrates of Paris, according to want and command of the King and his Parliament of Paris, more to prevent that such idle people do not beg and devote themselves to stealing ... and to keep them from begging.<sup>40</sup>

Martin's own experience in the Parliament familiarized him with the language and processes of government, which he uses in his detailed outline of the *Grand Bureau's* structure and function. The business of the *Grand Bureau*, he says, 'is carried out by the good political order of the elected ministers in the

<sup>36</sup> 'Ordonnance faite par Messrs de la Ville sur le gouvernement desd. vaccabons après qu'ils seront livrez à la ville', 26 février 1516 in F. Bonnardot, *Registres des délibérations du Bureau de la Ville de Paris, 1499–1526* (Paris, 1883), tome 1, p. 228.

<sup>37</sup> See Mollat, *The Poor in the Middle Ages*, ch. 12; Geremek, *Poverty*, ch. 4.

<sup>38</sup> Mollat, *The Poor in the Middle Ages*, pp. 247, 290, 295.

<sup>39</sup> O.P. Grell, 'The Religious Duty of Care and the Social Need for Control in Early Modern Europe', *Historical Journal*, 39/1 (1996), p. 262.

<sup>40</sup> Martin, *La Police et Règlement du grand Bureau*, pp. 18–9.

administration and governance'.<sup>41</sup> Part 4 had been composed for presentation to Parliament, which conferred upon Martin an authority from the highest secular power in France. His professional experience as a parliamentary prosecutor and *Grand Bureau commissaire honoraire* enabled Martin to place the *Grand Bureau* within the governing framework of the city, thus offering the 'citizens of Paris' his professional assurance that their active support of the *Grand Bureau* would not be in violation of their civic responsibilities as citizens of Paris.

The *Grand Bureau* of 1577 was similar in design and function to other French municipal institutions, with a mission — to control the pauper population of Paris — in line with official parliamentary and civic policy. In light of the criticisms levelled at the *Grand Bureau* in the years immediately after its establishment, Martin's treatise seeks to demonstrate that the *Grand Bureau* is securely run by experienced secular and religious governors, who have volunteered their time and professionalism with the intent of fulfilling their civic responsibilities with 'dexterity ... for the grace of God' and the benefit of 'the poor members of God'. By inclusion of the reform document, Martin hoped to inspire his readers to support the *Grand Bureau* by offering funds, participating in its management, or, most likely, recognizing the institution as a worthy and legitimate component of the administrative landscape of Paris.

#### Charity and the Christian Governing Man's Religious Obligations

In the last three parts of his treatise, Martin endeavours to promote the value of the 'faithful Christian virtue of charity'. The generation of such towards the *Grand Bureau* is the ultimate goal behind the publication of his treatise. Having established the official nature of the governance of the *Grand Bureau* in part 4, in the latter half of his treatise Martin demonstrates how being a good citizen requires not only performing one's civic duties but also one's Christian duties, and that far from being mutually exclusive, these roles go hand in hand. Drawing upon the religious authority conferred upon him by Doctor Regent Huart and Master Rose of the Faculty of Theology, having established the knowledge he obtained after years of dedicated study,<sup>42</sup> Martin illustrates his treatise with examples of Christian leaders who successfully combined their civic responsibilities and Christian obligations and performed regular acts of charity. However, Martin's suggestion throughout this part of his treatise is that the lack of charity in 'some noblemen', 'the Church', and 'rich men' derives from avarice rather than any sense of divided obligations. Martin is drawing upon the concern of the French Catholic reformists that the avarice of many Christians was leading to the neglect of God's poor. As we shall see, Martin employs the method of instruction favoured

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., p. 19.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., p. 39.

by Catholic reformist preachers — that is, to instruct by example — to encourage Christian charity, in this case, towards the poor of the *Grand Bureau*.<sup>43</sup>

Martin opens the religious section of his treatise with a poem, *Charité Malade aux Riches Terriens* (Ailing Charity among the Wealthy), in which 'your humble sister Charity' laments the deficiency of charity in France. 'Charity sleeps, one does not give anything', she cries. By opening the religious half of his treatise with a poem, Martin is able to use the potential affect of the poetic form to arouse the religious sensibilities of and 'faithful charity' in his superior and fellow governing men. The poem marks a shift from the secular, administrative discourse of the first half of the treatise to the more emotive religious tone of the second half in which ideals of Christian leaders, both from the religious and secular realms, are offered as inspiration to Martin's readers. In the poem, Charity bemoans that in 'days of old' men acted charitably, but not now. Now not only is 'the Church slow with charitable works' but nobles are also living avaricious lives and neglecting their Christian duty towards the poor.

Avarice is my mortal enemy  
Who without cessation holds so many people, alas!  
In its subtle inevitable snares.  
Avarice is the mother of all controversies,  
Destruction of the various nations:  
Avarice is the source of all evils,  
Making war with human animals ...  
Leave avarice and its enticing vices  
Which will make the Christian church  
Revoke a little old charity.  
... Simple, miserable people,  
Change your hearts, become charitable.<sup>44</sup>

The poem depicts noble and bourgeois men leading their city into war and poverty due to their avaricious lifestyles and a Church that preaches charity but fails to lead by example. Given that at the time of publication France was in the throes of religious civil war, Martin is taking the opportunity to advocate a course of peaceful demonstration of one's Catholicism. He advocates a 'charity is mightier than the sword' solution to demonstrating one's allegiance to the true faith.

Such rhetoric was not uncommon in late-sixteenth-century France. In a 1577 speech, the Duke of Montpensier lamented that the state in which the French poor found themselves after years of religious conflict was one that could only be

<sup>43</sup> M. Senior, 'The Pulpit and the Confessional: Sacred Speech and Collective Fervor in Counter-Reformation France', in N. Buford (ed.), *Formes et formations au dix-septième siècle: Actes du 37e congrès annuel de la North American Society for Seventeenth-Century French Literature, University of South Carolina, Columbia, 14-16 avril 2005* (Tübingen, 2006), p. 237.

<sup>44</sup> Martin, *La Police et Règlement du grand Bureau*, 'Charité Malade aux Riches Terriens'.

relieved 'by means of peace'. Peace, he said, was 'the only remedy and best cure I know of for the evil that has spread all over France'.<sup>45</sup> The Duke and Duchess of Nevers employed a similar rhetoric in presenting their charitable foundation for 60 poor girls. They desired that in 'these times so turbulent and full of heresies, divisions and impiety', their foundation of 'good and Holy intent' would be a peaceful means of fighting heresy by promoting the true 'Catholic Apostolic and Roman religion' amongst all those involved, from the administrators to the recipients of their 'perfection of Christian charity'.<sup>46</sup>

The commencement of part 6, the *Traite de l'Aumosne* (Treatise on Alms), continues with the gloomy rhetoric of France as 'this dark world' where not only avaricious noble, rich, and church men neglect the poor, but 'scoundrels and robbers lurk in shadows, floods and other calamities impoverish the cities and people are consumed by lust and embroiled in peril', their actions unchecked by civic and religious authorities.<sup>47</sup>

[It] will be well to say that our God is to preserve in this Kingdom of France and more especially in this town of Paris, for continual alms and more virtuous works by the good government of this most creditable police force of this *Grand Bureau des Pauvres*, true school of charity, by which I desire that these people so callous and intolerant toward the poor in times past that they do not profit so much in Christian charity.<sup>48</sup>

Could Martin be suggesting that this neglect on the part of his superior and fellow governing men has forced him, an urban, middle-class, bourgeois professional, to speak out on the issue on behalf of the *Grand Bureau* and its poor? Such accusations were not new and had been levelled at the Church and the French elite throughout the sixteenth century.<sup>49</sup> Martin echoes these accusations and calls upon

<sup>45</sup> Duke of Montpensier, speech to his deputies, 28 February 1577, quoted in M.P. Holt, *The French Wars of Religion, 1562–1629* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 108.

<sup>46</sup> Archives de l'Assistance publique, Paris [AP-HP], Hôtel-Dieu, liasse 1397–1411, côté 6349, *La Fondation faite par Mes-seigneur et Dame, les Duc, et Duchesse de Nivernois et de Rethelois: Princes de Manthoue, &c., Pairs de France. Pour marier d'orsnavant par chacun an à perpetuité, en leurs terres et Seigneuries, jusques au nombre de soixante pauvres filles, destituées de toutes facultez et moyen. Bien heureux est celui qui entend au pauvre et indigent: car Dieu le delivrera en la perilleuse journée. Pseaume 40. L'An MDCV* (1605), pp. v, xxi–xxii. See also L.K. Elliott, 'Charitable "Intent" in Late-Sixteenth-Century France: The Nevers Foundation and Single Poor Catholic Girls', to appear in a proposed publication titled "Poverty and the Poor: Early European Experience," arising from the conference 'Poverty and the Poor: Medieval and Early Modern Experience' held at The University of Western Australia, 11–12 June 2010.

<sup>47</sup> Martin, *La Police et Règlement du grand Bureau*, p. 33 (paraphrased).

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 37v–38.

<sup>49</sup> 'Assemblée faite ou parquet du Plaidoyer de la Court de Parliament pour et ou lieu de la Chambre du Conseil, pour adviser de plusieurs affaires, mesmement sur le fait des pauvres mandicans, et aussi des pestiferez de ceste ville de Paris, 13 August 1533', in A. Tuetey, *Registres des délibérations du Bureau de la Ville de Paris, 1527–1539* (Paris,

his fellow governing men to take charge of the situation, to demonstrate good Christian governance and be 'watchful' as did 'our saviour Jesus Christ', the first exemplar of masculine governance Martin offers his readers as an inspiration.<sup>50</sup> Martin positions himself as 'a true and faithful child' of God and through the authority invested in him by the Faculty of Theology, intends to instruct his superiors and fellows in the 'holy word' with examples of saints and their charitable lives. Following the trend of Catholic preachers in this time, Martin informs his readers that this method of instruction is the most beneficial way of inspiring charity in his own readers as 'examples move more than words'.<sup>51</sup> Martin sets out to emotively illustrate his point that one's Christian duty can run hand in hand with one's civic responsibility. He cites the example of Christian men who were not only governors within their community but also led 'faithful Christian' lives of charity and 'through this received God into their hearts'. Saint Patrick, Martin writes, was charitable to his family, friends, neighbours, and strangers, whilst Saint Paul, the 'Prince of Charity, worked with his own hands to nourish the poor'.<sup>52</sup> Martin demonstrates that like these Christian leaders of the past, Paris's leading citizens can combine their civic responsibilities and Christian obligations, and presents supporting the 'holy work' of the *Grand Bureau* as an excellent way of doing so.

Martin brings his argument closer to the homes, and hearts, of the 'citizens of Paris' by reminding them of the example set by their very own saintly king, Louis IX. Martin reminds his readers how Saint Louis abandoned his life of avarice and warring, embraced the Christian virtues of piety, chastity, and humility and performed many acts of charity 'to preserve God's people'. Saint Louis is the perfect example of a governing man who was able to successfully combine his duties as sovereign with his obligations as a 'faithful Christian'. The examples Martin chooses, men from the highest to the lowest ranks of both the secular and religious realms, are a deliberate attempt to demonstrate the need for all civic-minded men to come to the fore and actively pursue their civic and religious responsibilities. His treatise is addressed to the 'citizens of Paris', suggesting that the time has come for all privileged Parisian men to acknowledge their obligations as civic leaders and join together to aid the *Grand Bureau* in its work for the benefit of the poor and the good of the city, with the added bonus of uniting true Christians against the heretics within the 'safety' of Christian brotherhood.<sup>53</sup> Those who follow such a path, Martin writes, 'never lose battles, because charity holds

1886), tome 2, p. 169; Geremek, *Poverty*, pp. 17–18, 147; Mollat, *The Poor in the Middle Ages*, pp. 245, 268. In his extensive research on the Paris Hôtel-Dieu, Coyecque illustrates how abuses by the religious and secular governors and staff of the hospital led not only to major reform in 1505, but further reforms throughout the century. Coyecque, *L'Hôtel-Dieu de Paris au Moyen-Âge*, pp. 40, 180–81.

<sup>50</sup> Martin, *La Police et Règlement du grand Bureau*, 33v.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39v (my emphasis).

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 38v–39, 43.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 37, 40.

like a strong lance against our enemy'; that is, being faithful and charitable are the greatest tools of a true Christian governor.

Throughout part 6, Martin salts the language of religion with the language of governance, positioning his fellow Christian governing men as soldiers standing side by side, doing battle against poverty, social disorder, and heresy by means of charity rather than war. Moreover, never forgetting his primary endeavour to encourage charity to the *Grand Bureau*, his fellow officers, those 'good and honest' men, are positioned as willing and able to assist in the fight against poverty and correctly employ the charity of faithful Christian 'citizens of Paris' towards only those worthy and deserving of their benefaction. As he states in his introduction to part 6, Martin relies on examples to illustrate the virtue of charity, and he does not neglect to remind his readers where these examples come from. These examples come not from Martin but from the 'holy word of God' and have been entrusted to him, whose religious education enables him to share with his superior and fellow governing men the 'many good and holy laws and ordinances' of the ultimate religious authority, God himself, to reawaken and inspire their true, and charitable, Christianity.<sup>54</sup>

Jean Martin's treatise was targeted at the male 'citizens of Paris' from whom he sought support to establish the *Grand Bureau*, a then unfamiliar institution, as a legitimate and professionally-managed part of the administrative and charitable landscape of Paris. He signified his intention within the title of his work, which he addressed to the 'citizens of Paris' and went further in his opening epistles to target his readership specifically within the secular and religious authorities of Paris, that is, to his superior and fellow governing men. Gender theory conceptualizes masculine authority as complex and diverse, and coming equipped with a toolbox containing various discourses, skills, and resources for men to use to negotiate their position within the professional, social, and, in Martin's case, religious hierarchies of their world. Martin used many of these tools to gain the support of his superior and fellow governing men for Paris's *Grand Bureau*. He adopted a tone of humility that implied an acknowledgement on his part of the inferiority of his position in relation to many of his readers and a 'humble' apology for the potential over-reaching assertions he had to make in order to present an effective defence of the *Grand Bureau* and its officers. At the same time, his 'humble salute' was also part of his endeavour to establish authoritative credentials for his treatise, a formal compliment to his readers through which he sought their acquiescence to his assertion of his own professional authority and experience; for 'who can see better than I ... [who has] attended the *Grand Bureau des Pauvres* of this great city for the last 15 to 16 years' of the cooling of the charity towards the poor of the city and the lack of cooperation with the *Grand Bureau* in its efforts to control and aid the city's poor.<sup>55</sup> His decision to include the paper he composed and presented to Parliament in 1577 is evidence of his desire not only to address the leading men of

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., p. 44v.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid, 1st Epistle (paraphrasing Martin).

Paris but also to place the *Grand Bureau* firmly within the legal and administrative framework of the city.

Martin repositions the tone of his treatise and the nature of his own governing authority effortlessly from secular to religious, signifying this shift with the inclusion of the emotive poem 'Ailing Charity Among the Wealthy'. Martin expresses his wish only to share with his superiors and peers the fruits of his religious studies and the knowledge he has discovered therein. He assures his readers that this knowledge he shares is recognized by France's highest religious authorities and provides certification of the authenticity and soundness of his learning. He formulates his treatise in the language of those authorities, both secular and religious, once again drawing upon his own experience and learning, excusing any unintentional insubordination or offence by reiterating his honest Christian desire to only 'benefit the public' and 'the poor members of God, whom you can see and contemplate in such great number ... in this Parisian city'.<sup>56</sup> In using his own and his borrowed masculine authority, Martin assures his readers of the official nature of this 'creditable ... true school of charity' (the *Grand Bureau*) and of the importance of fulfilling their civic obligations not only as men of influence but also as true Christian citizens involved in 'this virtue of Charity' for the good of Roman Catholic France. To 'voluntarily contribute ... to a so holy work ... and very necessary charity', he writes, is not only 'for the honour of God and for the many poor and the public health of the aforesaid city', but could greatly benefit the true charitable Christians of Paris.<sup>57</sup> Martin believed, and deftly demonstrated in his treatise, that the governing male could be the perfect combination of secular governor and charitable Christian, each role enhancing the other for the benefit of all. 'Virtue is the beginning of merit', he wrote, 'and the perfection of the power of the man'.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 2nd Epistle.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., p. 23v (the page is labelled 13 in the manuscript).

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 2nd Epistle.