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Family, property, and negotiations of authority: Francoise Brulart and the estate management of noble women in early modern Burgundy

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By Amy K. Rogers Dean

Entitled

FAMILY, PROPERTY, AND NEGOTIATIONS OF AUTHORITY: FRANÇOISE BRULART AND
THE ESTATE MANAGEMENT OF NOBLE WOMEN IN EARLY MODERN BURGUNDY

For the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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08/04/2014

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Date

FAMILY, PROPERTY, AND NEGOTIATIONS OF AUTHORITY:
FRANÇOISE BRULART AND THE ESTATE MANAGEMENT OF NOBLE WOMEN
IN EARLY MODERN BURGUNDY

A Dissertation
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of
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by
Amy K. Rogers Dean

In Partial Fulfillment of the
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of
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ABSTRACT

Dean, Amy K. Rogers. Ph.D. Purdue University, December 2014. Family, Property, and Negotiations of Authority: Françoise Brulart and the Estate Management of Noble Women in Early Modern Burgundy. Major Professor: James R. Farr.

There is no question that early modern France was a patriarchal society. In fact, during this period, there was an increase in legislation further subordinating women under the authority of their fathers and then of their husbands. The legal identities of women as daughters and wives was officially negligible. However, this dissertation argues that in practice, family needs trumped the constricting legal prescriptions placed upon women. In examining the estate accounts, contracts, and family papers of the Saulx-Tavanès, Brulart, Le Goux, Joly, Marmier, and Baissey families, it is abundantly clear that women of both the *noblesse de robe* and *noblesse d'épée* were actively engaged in estate management which required negotiations of the legal hurdles placed in front of them. At least unofficially noblemen expected their wives to enter marriage armed with a cadre of managerial skills to be employed for the good of the family during their marriage and if necessary after. Furthermore, noble husbands, many of whom were legists themselves, seemed to have fully embraced women's negotiations of familial authority as commonplace.

Françoise Brulart was a member of the *noblesse de robe* in Burgundy, albeit of the highest echelon, who married a prominent member of the *noblesse d'épée*, Claude de Saulx-Tavanes. From the onset of their marriage, Françoise and Claude worked together in a sort of collaborative partnership, one in which he clearly depended on her to take an active role in co-managing the estate and family economy. Upon his death, rather than naming a male relative as the trustee over his properties, he left Françoise in charge. In her widowhood, she increased her assiduous estate administration while successfully continuing to promote and defend the family rights and assets. Françoise's experiences and agency were far from singular. Through the analysis of documents involving not only Françoise Brulart, but also those of Louise Joly, Anne de Marmier and Anne de Baissey, it is clear that both in marriage and in widowhood, family success and advancement relied on the ability of noble women to administer the estates frugally, and to sustain, and if possible to grow, the family assets.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Early modern French society was both hierarchical and patriarchal. Across all levels of society, women theoretically occupied a subordinate position to men, living under the authority first of their fathers and then of their husbands.¹ This was true of early modern Burgundy. In the sixteenth century, Burgundian legal emendations actually increased parental and patriarchal authority in hopes that establishing order in the home would help to combat the instability occurring in France due to the Wars of Religion.² As a result, the Burgundian wife was formally barred from taking legal actions, bestowing goods, or entering into contracts without the consent of her husband. Women were “theoretically excluded . . . from power and authority within the family and as a result, in public life as well”.³ The family structure attempted to mirror society, and therefore, since women held no authority in the public space, in theory, they had no power within the realm of the family either.

However, in recent years, scholars have begun to reexamine the roles and position of women in early modern Europe and France, determining that often prescriptions were

¹ James R. Farr, *Authority and Sexuality in Early Modern Burgundy (1550-1730)* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995). According to Farr, in order to legitimize male domination within the family and therefore within society in general, this gender hierarchy was made to seem natural and divinely ordained (24).

² Christopher R. Corley, “Parental Authority, Legal Practice, and State Building in Early Modern France” (Ph.D. diss., Purdue University, 2001), 80 & 90. Corley writes, “Household order was one of the top priorities of the French monarchy, since its leaders believed that social order could only begin in the home where every man was, in fact, his own king” (85).

³ Corley, “Parental Authority,” 46.

dramatically different from daily realities. Instead of purely domestic roles, women were acting publicly in ways that contradicted custom and even law.⁴ In practice, women held an essential position within the family as well as within Burgundian society in general and as a result held great influence within their communities, regardless of the restrictive prescriptions placed upon them. Additionally, some historians have offered a more egalitarian picture of early modern marriage as a partnership in which women held a respected position as well as influence within the family.⁵ In the seventeenth century, women of the *noblesse de robe* (the nobility of the robe was the office-holding or judicial class in France) in the Duchy of Burgundy were challenging patriarchal boundaries. They were actively participating in realms closed to them by law and by custom, which increasingly had tried to strengthen the authority of the husband. Research on the *noblesse de robe* has tended to focus on the men within this class, neglecting the central roles played by their wives and daughters in garnering power and wealth for their families.⁶

⁴ On the agency of women: Natalie Zemon Davis, *Women on the Margins: Three Seventeenth-Century Lives* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001); Julie Hardwick, *The Practice of Patriarchy: Gender and the Politics of Household Authority in Early Modern France* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998); Sara Mendelson and Patricia Crawford, *Women in Early Modern England, 1550-1720* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).

⁵ For a somewhat egalitarian picture of early modern marriage: Steven Ozment, *Magdalena and Balthasar: An Intimate Portrait of Life in Sixteenth-Century Europe Revealed in the Letters of a Nuremberg Husband and Wife* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).

⁶ On nobility: Jonathan Dewald, *The European Nobility, 1400-1800*, New Approaches to European History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Franklin L. Ford, *Robe and Sword: The Regrouping of the French Aristocracy after Louis XIV* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962); *The European Nobilities in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: Western and Southern Europe*, ed. H.M. Scott, vol. 1, 2nd ed. (Hampshire, England: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007); J. Russell Major, *From Renaissance Monarchy to Absolute Monarchy: French Kings, Nobles, and Estates* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997); Donna Bohanan, *Old and New Nobility in Aix-en-Provence 1600-1695: Portrait of an Urban Elite* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992). Bohanan does an excellent job of analyzing the roles that noble women played in marriage strategies and inheritance patterns (45-78).

The majority of my research was done in the Archives Départementales de la Côte-d'Or (ADCO), in Dijon, France. I relied heavily on the "Titres de Famille," a subdivision of Series E ("Féodalité, communes, bourgeoisie et familles"), from which I examined between 85 and 100 different folders containing innumerable documents involving the Saulx-Tavanes, Brulart, Le Goux, Marmier, and Baissey families, as well as others. I also delved into the notary records by fief where I located the contracts from both Beaumont (Series 4E40 from 1637-1664 less six years) and Arc-sur-Tille (Series 4E2 from 1638-1665 less three years) made during the lifetime of Françoise Brulart. I also collected several documents from Series B, the Justice Files ("Chambre des comptes de Dijon"), focusing on *reprise de fiefs* involving women. All told, I digitized perhaps 2,000-3,000 documents (from these three collections I have over 1,100 separate folders and many contain more than one document). I then culled through the vast majority of these documents, and narrowing my focus, translated about 380. I selected the estate of Beaumont as the primary research area for my paper because of the richness of resources involving this fief, including the survival of 23 account books involving Françoise Brulart's estate administration.⁷ I analyzed all 23 of these accounts for this dissertation, and for comparison I looked at eight account books from the Seigneuries of Bourberain and Til-châtel that were administered by Anne de Marmier,⁸ two that were managed by

⁷ Archives Départementales de la Côte-d'Or (ADCO), E1808: 1629-1631; ADCO, E1809: 1632-1636. In order to determine the exact nature and the division of household and estate responsibilities of both Françoise and Claude, I have examined the eight years of surviving accounts that preceded Claude's death in 1638, in the county of Beaumont, dating from 1629-1636. ADCO, E1810: 1646-1651; ADCO, E1811: 1652-1657; ADCO, E1812: 1659, 1660, 1662. I was unable to locate the accounts from Beaumont for the years 1658 and 1661. Additionally, while working in the archives, I discovered 15 postwar accounts documenting the revenues and expenditures of the county of Beaumont spanning from 1646 to 1662. These accounts fell under the supervision of Françoise Brulart as a widow.

⁸ ADCO, E1837: 1579-80; ADCO, E1838: 1590-91, 1592-93, 1598-99, 1599-1600, 1601-02, & 1602-03; ADCO, E1968: 1598-99 (acquisitions).

her daughter Anne de Baissey,⁹ and one administered by both of them together.¹⁰ I was unable to locate any account books involving Louise Joly; however, I translated a rich group of contracts involving the Seigneurie of Pouilly-sur-Saone from the Le Goux family files to demonstrate her agency.¹¹ I also analyzed additional contracts involving Françoise Brulart, some from Beaumont and some from Arc-sur-Tille and a few involving the two Anne's in order to enrich my comparisons. Finally, I incorporated several printed sources, mostly from the nineteenth century, in order to complete any genealogical gaps.

Through an examination of the annual accounts for the Seigneurie of Beaumont, as well as the contracts involving estate and familial transactions, belonging to the influential Brulart and Saulx-Tavanès families, these women held an indispensable position within both their family economy as well as within the Burgundian economy, demonstrating great authority within the public and private spaces regardless of the legal constraints placed upon them. In theory, the men of the *noblesse de robe* families as officeholders upheld male authority and the restrictions that subsumed women to a non-public position, and yet the female members of their own families were actively negotiating their authority within the public realm by collecting Seigneurial dues, renting and selling properties, leasing Seigneurial rights, dispensing charity, issuing loans and engaging in the credit market, conducting sales and making purchases, and paying for services rendered. Women of the *noblesse de robe* in Burgundy, first as wives and then as widows, challenged patriarchal boundaries in their daily activities. Moreover,

⁹ ADCO, E1838: 1611-12 & 1612-13.

¹⁰ ADCO, E1837: 1584-85.

¹¹ ADCO, E1111; ADCO, E1142; ADCO, E1143; ADCO, E1144. For Louise Joly, I examined multiple contracts from the Le Goux family files.

something of a partnership appears to have existed between noble husbands and wives in the responsibilities of estate management. Furthermore, it is evident that robe widows were expected to assume full responsibilities of estate administration until the male heir reached majority age, and sometimes beyond. These noble families depended on the wives to have the well-developed skills to manage the estates, as well as to protect, and even to grow the family interests in the absence of their husbands. Through this crucial public role, robe families acknowledged the centrality of robe wives as well as the value of the administrative skills they brought with them to marriage.

The Duchy of Burgundy and the Backdrop of War:

Early Modern Burgundy was not a cohesive province, but rather two provinces consisting of the Duchy of Burgundy and the County of Burgundy that were divided between France and the Habsburgs through a tenuous series of treaties.¹² In fact, the region had been widely contested for centuries, with the County of Burgundy moving in and out of French control. According to Jean Richard, with the Treaty of Senlis in 1493, the contested area was divided and “la séparation des deux Bourgognes était définitive” (the separation of the two Burgundies was definitive).¹³ However, this accord did not stop the quarrelling over these lands.¹⁴ The two Burgundies were loosely divided by the river Saône.¹⁵ The land on the west of this river belonged to the Duchy of Burgundy as part of the kingdom of France. Most of the land on the east of the river lay in the

¹² Jean Richard, ed. *Histoire de la Bourgogne* (Toulouse: Edouard Privat, 1978), 207-210. Arthur Kleinclausz, *Histoire de Bourgogne*. 2nd ed. (Paris: Champion, 1987), 211-212.

¹³ Richard, *Histoire*, 208.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 210.

¹⁵ Richard, *Histoire*, 213. The County of Burgundy came under the permanent control of France in 1678 during the reign of Louis XIV.

boundaries of the County of Burgundy, also known as the Franche-Comté. From 1493 to 1678, the County of Burgundy was controlled by the Habsburg Dynasty. Initially, it belonged to the Austrian Habsburgs culminating in the rule of Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (Charles I of Spain) who bestowed the County (and the Spanish monarchy) to his son Phillip II of Spain at the time he partitioned his possessions in 1556, thus beginning the rule of the county by the Spanish Habsburgs.¹⁶ According to Jean Richard, the division of the two Burgundies could have been disastrous owing to the fact that the people of the two provinces had become connected over two centuries through alliances, marriages, and shared properties.¹⁷ This was a bond that the residents of both provinces wished to maintain. As an answer to this concern, a treaty of neutrality was concluded in 1508.¹⁸ This law forbade acts of hostility between the two provinces and allowed the “habitants des deux territoires de poursuivre leurs relations commerciales, de percevoir les revenus de leurs domaines . . . situés dans le ressort de l’autre souveraineté” (inhabitants of the two territories to pursue their commercial relationships, to collect the revenues from their lands . . . situated in the boundary of the other sovereignty).¹⁹ In theory, with this neutrality the residents of these two provinces would avoid losing their revenues in the event that their sovereigns began fighting again. With a few exceptions, this treaty managed to be upheld until 1636.²⁰

Early modern France, and particularly the period encompassing the late sixteenth century and the seventeenth century, was fraught with violence. The Reformation arrived

¹⁶ Richard, *Histoire*, 207-211; Merry Wiesner-Hanks, *Early Modern Europe, 1450-1789*, The Cambridge History of Europe (Cambridge, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 291.

¹⁷ Richard, *Histoire*, 210.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 210-211.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 211.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 211-213.

in Dijon between 1529 and 1530 and with it religious friction which culminated in acts of violence committed by both Protestants and Catholics.²¹ Between 1562 and 1598, France was divided by a series of civil wars between Catholics and Protestants collectively known as the French Wars of Religion.²² These wars began when Catherine de Medici issued an edict of toleration towards Protestants, which was rejected by the Catholic majority.²³ According to Philip Benedict, Catholics outraged over royal toleration of the Reformed religion determined that “if the crown could not fulfil its duty to punish such dangerous and depraved souls, ordinary Christians [Catholics] had to do it for them, by violence if necessary.”²⁴ Protestants responded in kind. And so, there began a deadly cycle of violence and retaliation on both sides that lasted more than three decades. In the Duchy of Burgundy, as elsewhere in France, the early days of these religious wars were plagued with the Catholic destruction of Protestant literature, and many Protestants were arrested or expelled from the region.²⁵ Protestants responded by destroying Catholic iconography and vandalizing Catholic churches and convents in anger over Catholic intolerance and persecution. Some Protestant communities emerged during this period in places like Dijon, Beaune, Macon, and Is-sur-Tille, but the vast majority of Burgundians remained hostile to the Reformed religion.²⁶ In fact, very quickly the relations between the two religions turned violent with both sides moving armies across the countryside to massacre one other.²⁷ In the process, towns were occupied, villages were pillaged and

²¹ Ibid., 221.

²² Philip Benedict, “The Wars of Religion, 1562-1598,” in *Renaissance and Reformation France*, The Short Oxford History of France, edited by Mack Holt (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 147-175.

²³ Benedict, “The Wars,” 147.

²⁴ Ibid., 148.

²⁵ Richard, *Histoire*, 221-222; Kleinclausz, *Bourgogne*, 228-229.

²⁶ Kleinclausz, *Bourgogne*, 233.

²⁷ Richard, *Histoire*, 222-224; Kleinclausz, *Bourgogne*, 234-239.

burned, and many people died.²⁸ When Henri IV renounced the Protestant faith in 1593, most of the Catholic opposition acquiesced to his sovereignty.²⁹ Moreover, most cities pledged loyalty to the king within a year.³⁰ The people of France were war weary and longed for peace.³¹ The religious wars officially ended in 1598, when Henri IV issued the Edict of Nantes solidifying Protestants' freedom of conscience and right to worship.³² According to Mack Holt, the goal of the Edict of Nantes was not to create permanent religious toleration, but rather, "it allowed for temporary religious co-existence, but its ultimate goal was religious . . . unity—rather than the toleration of differing confessions."³³ This was not meant to be a long-term policy of toleration, but rather as a means to end the violence.

During the early modern period, though there were periods of quiet between the two Burgundies, there were also periods when the frontier erupted with great violence. One of the worst episodes occurred of fighting between these two provinces from 1635 to 1642 during what has become known as "la Guerre de Dix Ans" (the Ten Years' War)—a war within the Thirty Years' War.³⁴ In 1636, France invaded the County of Burgundy, and in doing so, joined the Protestants against the Habsburgs in the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648). According to Merry Wiesner-Hanks, the reason that Louis XIII decided to elevate his aggressions towards the Franche-Comté was because "The prospect of a strong Empire under Habsburg domination frightened not only Protestants in Europe, but

²⁸ Richard, *Histoire*, 222-224; Kleinclausz, *Bourgogne*, 234-239.

²⁹ Kleinclausz, *Bourgogne*, 247-249.

³⁰ Benedict, "The Wars," 172.

³¹ Kleinclausz, *Bourgogne*, 247-248.

³² Kleinclausz, *Bourgogne*, 258; Benedict, "The Wars," 173.

³³ Mack Holt, *The French Wars of Religion, 1562-1629* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) 163.

³⁴ Richard *Histoire*, 213.

also Catholic opponents of Habsburg power, especially France.”³⁵ In 1636, the prince of Condé on behalf of France tried to besiege the Comtois city of Dôle but retreated in the face of the approaching Imperial army.³⁶ However, the devastation inflicted by the French in the County led to retaliation by the Imperial Army under the leadership of Gallas. The Imperial troops crossed into the Duchy and attacked frontier villages (including Arc-sur-Tille and Beaumont), destroying properties and livelihoods and killing many.³⁷ Next Gallas ferociously attacked Mirebeau, which was sacked by the Imperial army after a short of resistance.³⁸ The village of Mirebeau was hit particularly hard. According to Kleinclausz, only 35 out of 2500 inhabitants in Mirebeau remained. The villages surrounding Dijon were largely annihilated.³⁹ However, Dijon was too well protected by French soldiers under Cardinal de la Valette, as well as Swedish allied soldiers, so Gallas turned his attack towards Saint-Jean-de-Losne where he was halted by a small yet determined resistance, that forced his retreat.⁴⁰ Fighting continued intermittently for several years, disrupting attempts to rebuild their lives, villages and the economy. After much devastation, the two sides signed a truce in 1642, although the

³⁵ Merry Wiesner-Hanks, *Early Modern Europe*, 291.

³⁶ Kleinclausz, *Bourgogne*, 269.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 270.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 270-272.

³⁹ Noël Garnier, *Arc-sur-Tille: Les familles seigneuriales et quelques familles bourgeoises*, with a preface by François Maugé (Domois France: Imprimerie l’Union Typographique, 1930. Reprint, Paris: Le Livre d’histoire-Lorisse, 2006); According to Garnier, the census taken in 1644 in Arc-sur-Tille stated that before the fighting there were 262 *feux* (hearths) in the village; at the time of the survey, there were only 30 inhabited houses (187); Robert Forster, *The House of Saulx-Tavanes: Versailles and Burgundy 1700-1830* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1971), 2-7. According to Forster, 800 villagers in the Seigneurie of Beaumont were killed due to the sacking of the village by the Comtois in 1636, or as a result of illness and starvation that followed the path of destruction; ADCO C4735. In the proces-verbal taken by J. Morin in 1634 in the village of Beaumont there were 73 *feux*; ADCO C4737. In the census taken by G. Richard in 1656-1658, there were only 60 *inhabitants*; ADCO C4736. This was greatly improved from the 1644-45 census by P. Comeau in which there was only a widow and a servant of Galiet who himself was in Selongey because “tout le village estant ruiné”.

⁴⁰ Kleinclausz, *Bourgogne*, 270-272; Pierre Gras, ed., *Histoire de Dijon*, Univers de la France et des pays francophones (Toulouse: Privat, 1981), 112.

Thirty Year's War continued until the Peace of Westphalia in 1648.⁴¹ The devastation caused by the Ten Years' War left the Burgundian countryside in ruins. Aside from the destruction of property, many of the frontier estates were depopulated as a result of dislocation or even death due to the fighting or to the opportunistic diseases that accompanied the troops.⁴² Not only were crops stolen or ruined, but also the ground was left fallow everywhere. People on both sides of the frontier border suffered immensely, and there were long-lasting consequences to these hostilities. According to Kleinclausz, nine years after Gallas troops had attacked, many of the villages around Dijon remained in ruins, and some 40 villages had been completely deserted.⁴³

All of the Seigneuries and their dependents upon which my research is centered are within the Duchy of Burgundy. Moreover, many of the entries from 1635 and 1636 provide a glimpse at the roles and responsibilities of both Françoise and Claude in preparation for war. Evidence of this regional fighting peppered the receipts and expenditures in the account books at Beaumont. Additionally, after the fighting ended, Françoise (now a war-widow) was left to pick up the pieces and rebuild the family economic base. In fact, this frontier tension and resultant fighting during the Ten Years' War in particular greatly affected Françoise Brulart and her family. Several of the Saulx-Tavanés estates, including Beaumont and Arc-sur-Tille were pillaged and burned, leaving little but ruins. The Imperial army destroyed their properties, crops and revenues, and

⁴¹ Richard, *Histoire*, 213. According to Forster, the violence on the frontier actually continued to be spread by disbanded troops intermittently pillaging the countryside until 1678 when the Franche-Comté became part of France (3).

⁴² Richard, *Histoire*, 233.

⁴³ Kleinclausz, *Bourgogne*, 281. For a detailed look at the devastation caused in Burgundy by the Thirty Years' War, see Gaston Roupnel, *La Ville et la Campagne au XVIIe Siècle: Étude sur les Populations du Pays Dijonnais* (Paris: Éditions Ernest Leroux, 1922), 19-50. According to Roupnel, the devastation continued with sporadic invasions for 20 years (21).

many villagers perished. Two of Françoise's sons were taken as prisoners of war along with the receiver of Beaumont, and her husband Claude died returning from battle.

On the heels of the Thirty Years' War, the *Fronde* (1648-1653) was a series of revolts across France by various nobles and members of Parlement in reaction to royal excesses during the ministerial reign of Cardinal Mazarin during the minority of Louis XIV.⁴⁴ The Fronde was driven by the displeasure over the fiscal policies adopted by the Regent, Anne of Austria, and her advisor Mazarin. Magistrates and nobles particularly disliked the creation of more new offices, which diminished their own privileges and authority.⁴⁵ Moreover, because of the costs of war, their wages had gone unpaid for years. At first, the Burgundians were too weary and devastated by war to participate.⁴⁶ But in 1650, they were willing to support the resistance when Mazarin had their governor and lieutenant general, the grand Condé, arrested.⁴⁷ Soon, however, the Duchy of Burgundy was divided into two camps siding either with Condé or Mazarin. Although much of Parlement initially backed Condé, he was unable to maintain the support he needed to defeat Mazarin and the king, and the Fronde ended with the restoral of monarchical authority.⁴⁸ Once again, however, much of the population was dislocated and forced to experience scarcity and inflation which were exacerbated by these revolts.⁴⁹

Aside from the great loss of life and the destruction of property caused by this warring, these armies spread disease, destroyed crops leading to scarcity and starvation,

⁴⁴ Mack Holt, "Redrawing the lines of authority," in *Renaissance and Reformation France*, edited by Mack Holt, 202-228, *The Short Oxford History of France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 225-227; Robin Briggs, *Early Modern France, 1560-1715*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 122-136; Merry Wiesner-Hanks, *Early Modern Europe*, 298-299.

⁴⁵ Holt, "Redrawing," 226.

⁴⁶ Kleinclausz, *Bourgogne*, 272-281.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 273.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 274-277.

⁴⁹ Briggs, *Early Modern*, 132.

and generally disrupted the lives of the people of France for the better part of a century. This culture of violence and destruction was pervasive in the lives of all people living in France, and it is against this backdrop that Françoise and other noblewomen fought to safeguard the wealth and properties of their families.

Demographics and the Economy:

Around 20 million people lived in France between the mid-sixteenth century and the early eighteenth century.⁵⁰ According to Pierre Gras, throughout the eighteenth century the population of Dijon, which was considered to be an average sized city, fluctuated between 22,000 and 23,000 residents.⁵¹ However, France was still very much a rural society in the mid-seventeenth century, and so the vast majority of the population lived in the countryside.⁵² According to Philip Hoffman, about “80 to 90 per cent of the population lived in the countryside, and 60 to 80 per cent of French adults toiled in agriculture.”⁵³ In correlation, France was indeed a predominately-agricultural society. In reality, the population was just one or two bad harvests away from scarcity and price inflation. A decline in grain output often led to starvation, making people more vulnerable to the rampant diseases, which in turn often led to death. According to Hoffman, France was “vulnerable to subsistence crises which struck the country

⁵⁰ Briggs, *Early Modern*, 33.

⁵¹ Pierre Gras, *Dijon*, 143.

⁵² Jonathan Dewald, “Social Groups and Cultural Practices,” in *Renaissance and Reformation France*, ed. Mack Holt, *The Short Oxford History of France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 27-61. According to Dewald, “In 1650 as in 1500, France remained a rural society; only about one French subject in twenty lived in a city of at least 10,000, and probably 90 per cent lived in communities of a few hundred” (32).

⁵³ Philip T. Hoffman, “Rural, Urban, and Global Economies,” in *Renaissance and Reformation France*, ed. Mack Holt, 62-98, *The Short Oxford History of France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 65.

repeatedly in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.”⁵⁴ Some of the worst of these crises occurred in 1628-32, 1649-54, and 1693-94.⁵⁵ Jack Goldstone argues, however, that these subsistence crises “accelerated deaths, but did not necessarily increase them.”⁵⁶ Grain was used to make bread, which was the staple food in early modern France. In fact, according to Robin Briggs, “Grain prices were the crucial element in the market economy for most people.”⁵⁷ They lived within an “économie céréalière.”⁵⁸ Because of their complete dependency on the harvest for sustenance, people lived in a constant state of anxiety over the success of crop yields. It was a struggle during the good years, but in times of dearth and scarcity, famine occurred. Many factors were simply out of their control. For instance, harvests could be damaged or destroyed by inclement weather, pests, mold, and troops.⁵⁹ Early modern France experienced subsistence crisis, made worse by the inflation that plagued France during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁶⁰

Given these struggles, it should not be a surprise to learn that death was pervasive in early modern France.⁶¹ Sickness and epidemics were a part of everyday life.

According to Gras, “les épidémies se succèdent à un rythme assez effrayant” (epidemics

⁵⁴ Hoffman, *Rural*, 65-66.

⁵⁵ Jack Goldstone, “Demography,” in *The Oxford Handbook of The Ancien Regime*, ed. William Doyle, 201-218 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012) 203; Pierre Gras, *Dijon*, 138. According to Gras, the 1630 harvest was bad due to dryness and it caused a great deal of misery .

⁵⁶ Goldstone, “Demography,” 204. The reason behind his argument is because those who died in a harvest crisis were often the young and old, who were likely to die within a few years anyway (204).

⁵⁷ Robin Briggs, *Early Modern France, 1560-1715*, 42.

⁵⁸ Richard, *Histoire*, 243-244.

⁵⁹ Richard, *Histoire*, 232-233; Pierre Gras, *Dijon*, 138. According to Gras, the 1630 harvest was bad due to dryness and caused a great deal of misery.

⁶⁰ Hoffman, *Rural*, 62-63.

⁶¹ Goldstone, “Demography,” 202. According to Jack Goldstone, between 1400 and 1750 both the birth and death rates were about three per cent annually.

were succeeding themselves at a frightening pace).⁶² Children were disproportionately affected by disease and death. In fact, only half of the children in France reached the age of ten.⁶³ Although infants were vulnerable regardless of the economic status of their family, according to Hoffman, “after the age of one their deaths correlated with poverty.”⁶⁴ If, however, a person could make it into their mid-twenties, there was a good chance they might live into their fifties.⁶⁵ Jack Goldstone added, however, that since about half the population was dead by 16, the average life-expectancy was actually only around 30 years old.⁶⁶

From about 1630 to 1720, a depression plagued the economy of France and the Duchy of Burgundy.⁶⁷ Most of the population during this period lived in poverty.⁶⁸ In fact, the biggest economic change during this period was the monetary policies of the monarchy.⁶⁹ In order to meet the enormous costs of war, the monarchy feverishly raised taxes, enacted forced loans, and engaged in the selling of offices.⁷⁰ According to Philip Hoffman, the stagnation of the French economy can be blamed mostly on the monarchy for failing to invest in infrastructure by creating better roads and investing in canals, which would have reduced the cost of long-distance trade and strengthened the economy.⁷¹ Instead, not only did the monarchy spend enormous sums of money to fight

⁶² Pierre Gras, *Dijon*, 138.

⁶³ Hoffman, “Rural,” 69.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 69-70.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ Goldstone, “Demography,” 202.

⁶⁷ Richard, *Histoire*, 240.

⁶⁸ Hoffman, “Rural,” 62.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 86-88.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 63.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 96-97.

battles, these wars destroyed harvests, property, and lives, which further damaged the economy.

Trade in France was stifled by the cost of transporting goods. Most products were sold in local markets because the cost of transport either by land or by water was prohibitive.⁷² Another hindrance to the expansion of trade in France was an aversion and distrust towards intermediaries.⁷³ Moreover, given that almost all goods were purchased on informal credit, long-distance trading seemed ominous. Trading with unknown people was risky because they could not be counted on to fulfill their obligations.⁷⁴ However, despite the problems associated with long-distance trade, the exchange of goods occurred regularly at local markets. Most households were not self-sufficient, and therefore relied on local and regional markets to purchase goods and products they could not make or grow themselves.⁷⁵ Trading at the local level was much less risky because everyone knew each other, and if a debt went unpaid, they usually knew where to find the offender. According to Hoffman, this emphasis on trust in the marketplace extended to nobles and proprietors who often patronized the same families repeatedly when they knew that in the past they had furnished them with good workers.⁷⁶ He emphasized that “the same paradoxical mix of loyalty and mistrust characterized landlords dealings with their tenant farmers.”⁷⁷ Moreover, given the difficulties caused by a bad renter, when a landowner found a good tenant, they wanted to keep them, and to do so they might be willing to

⁷² Ibid., 74.

⁷³ Ibid., 75.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 75-77.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 76-77.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

forgive part of their obligation; for instance, if the leaseholders crops were destroyed by the weather.⁷⁸

Noblesse de Robe:

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, France experienced the emergence of a new social class of nobles. These newcomers were “administrative” nobles known as the *noblesse de robe*, a title that referred to “the long robes usually worn by early modern judges and officials.”⁷⁹ There were very few of these nobles in France until the sixteenth century when government growth required the expansion of judicial courts to the provinces creating thousands of openings for judges who had been trained at universities. Administrative nobles came from both the old nobility and from the bourgeoisie illustrating the ability to move above one’s social class.⁸⁰ These parliamentary positions were conveyed either by appointment or through purchase.⁸¹ During the early modern period, the purchasing of offices became a major source of income for the crown. According to Sarah Hanley, the *noblesse de robe* emerged from a system of venality in which administrative and judicial offices were sold by the monarchy to generate funds, and in doing so they created a “political-professional” elite.⁸² Judicial officers received exemptions from paying taxes and from military service for them as well as their sons. Many of these positions were also hereditary, and thus could be passed to their sons,

⁷⁸ Ibid., 77.

⁷⁹ Dewald, *European Nobility*, 36-38.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 40.

⁸¹ Kleinclausz, *Histoire*, 217-218.

⁸² Sarah Hanley, “Family and State in Early Modern France: The Marriage Pact,” in *Connecting Public Spheres: Women in the Western World, 1500 to the Present*, eds. Marilyn Boxer and Jean Quataert 53-63 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 55.

grandsons, and so on. Membership in this robe nobility increased dramatically over the next two centuries. According to Jonathan Dewald, “In 1515 France counted one royal official for every 4,700 inhabitants; by 1665, there was an official for every 380 inhabitants.”⁸³ He emphasized that robe nobles could not be categorized as bourgeoisie because of the status tied to their position. Dewald argued that “Their power of judgment over the lives and properties of those around them compelled recognition that these were not mere bourgeois.”⁸⁴ Kleinclausz called attention to the growth of this new nobility in Burgundy during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries referring to it as a “phénomène social considérable” arguing that it was a sort of “féodalité parlementaire” (parliamentary feudalism) that eclipsed the longstanding “féodalité militaire” (military feudalism).⁸⁵

In the past, historians had argued that the emergence of this new nobility created a “crisis of aristocracy,” with the old and new nobles vying against one another for authority, wealth, and privileges.⁸⁶ However, more recently, historians like Donna Bohanan have argued that the sword nobility, descending from the medieval warrior aristocracy, and the newer robe nobility, who had gained their positions through venality or letters of ennoblement, were not as divided and dissimilar as previously thought. Through her research, she uncovered a sort of adaptability among the old nobility that reflected their ability to change.⁸⁷ Moreover, she emphasized that the differences in ancestry between the two nobilities were not usually reflected in their occupations, and

⁸³ Dewald, *European Nobility*, 37.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Kleinclausz, *Bourgogne*, 323.

⁸⁶ Dewald, *European Nobility*, 51.

⁸⁷ Donna Bohanan, “The Sword as the Robe in Seventeenth-Century Provence and Brittany,” in *Society and Institutions in Early Modern France*, ed. Mack Holt 51-62 (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1991), 52.

that both nobilities began purchasing judicial positions in the early sixteenth-century.⁸⁸ She believed that “it was the availability of venal offices that subsequently facilitated the assimilation of old and new families into essentially one urban nobility.”⁸⁹ Her research in Aix also suggests that both groups held the desire to pursue an education.⁹⁰ Thus, without an “aristocratic crisis,” the hypothesis that the disunity between the two nobilities encouraged the expansion of royal authority, is smashed.⁹¹ Furthermore, many members of the *noblesse d’épée* (sword nobility) were enticed by the large dowries attached to the daughters of *noblesse de robe* families. This resulted in the creation of many advantageous marriages and in the formation of political, economic, and social alliances between the old and new nobilities during this period. In fact, although he does not mention names, Richard provided an example in parenthesis of one such couple: “une Brulart, épousant un Saulx-Tavanes, lui permet de redorer son blason” (a Brulart [Françoise], marrying a Saulx-Tavanes [Claude], allows him to restore his prestige).⁹²

Noble women:

Although women in early modern France faced strict legal limitations on their familial authority based on their gender, in reality, a general pattern has emerged showing that women often failed to adhere to these prescriptions, focusing in practice on the real needs of their family. Moreover, this seems to have been not only *accepted* by the men in their families, but also *expected* by them.

⁸⁸ Bohanan, “Sword,” 52.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 54.

⁹¹ Ibid., 51-52.

⁹² Richard, *Histoire*, 241.

In the sixteenth century, legislators passed reforms intended to reduce women's familial influence. According to Christopher Corley, "Royal laws promulgated in 1560, 1567, and 1579 were designed to limit female choices and access to property by privileging the rights of males and the family group over women."⁹³ These reforms appeared to particularly be aimed at widows as women-heads of households.⁹⁴ In fact, these laws were enacted during a period in which more women were stepping into this leadership role.⁹⁵ However, Corley emphasizes that these attempts to limit the authority of women within the family concerning guardianship were unsuccessful in practice because these widows, aided by maternal relatives, continued to exert their influence.⁹⁶ He argued that the "study of guardianship substantiates and extends this line of argument, because it shows that despite extensive legal changes that favored the patrilineal family, most families continued to empower women as guardians."⁹⁷ According to Sarah Hanley, family legislation was not only attempting to formally limit women's authority in the family by increasing that of the husband, but also to limit the church's authority while increasing that of the state.⁹⁸ The robe nobility as a result of venality was largely loyal to the monarchy, and thus they protected French laws from church encroachment.⁹⁹ For instance, they enacted marriage laws that stressed the authority of the parents (insert father). These laws outlawed clandestine marriages, placing marriage in the control of the both the family and the state. Controlling the marriage process meant safeguarding

⁹³ Chris Corley, "Gender, Kin, and Guardianship in Early Modern Burgundy," in *Family Gender and Law in Early Modern France*, eds. Suzanne Desan and Jeffrey Merrick 183-222 (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009), 185.

⁹⁴ Corley, "Gender," 185.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 190-191.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 185.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ Hanley, "Family," 55-56.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 56-57.

family assets. By doing this, they were choosing to promote the state over the desires of the church. In a time when successful marriage alliances were central to the success of the family, it is not surprising that the robe nobles enacted legislation that required paternal marriage consent.¹⁰⁰ Hanley also highlighted the “quasi-public nature of the family—a familial state within a political state, where family rules, written into law, were enforced.”¹⁰¹ James Collins emphasized women’s central role in the household despite these legal restrictions. He argued that her agency “. . . was effectively disguised behind her public powerlessness” but that her “private importance” was acceptable because it did not threaten the established patriarchy.¹⁰²

Kristen Neuschel also addresses this relationship between practice and theory. In her study on the roles of noblewomen in the creation of war, Neuschel argued that “making war in sixteenth-century France was a less gendered activity than has been assumed.”¹⁰³ Women’s real roles and responsibilities often failed to adhere to a gender-specific category or identity. She emphasized that “the disjuncture between prevailing ideologies about gender . . . and the lived experience of women and men no longer surprises us.”¹⁰⁴ Moreover, her research demonstrated that noblewomen were adept property managers integral to their families. Although married women could not transfer property on their own, they could do so with *procurations* (proxies) permitting them to act on behalf of their husbands.¹⁰⁵ With such a document, “noblewomen purchased land,

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 58.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 62.

¹⁰² James B. Collins, “The Economic Role of Women in Seventeenth-Century France,” *French Historical Studies*, 16:2, 436-70 (Fall 1989), 467.

¹⁰³ Kristen Neuschel, “Noblewomen and War in Sixteenth-Century France,” in *Changing Identities in Early Modern France*, ed. Michael Wolfe 124-144 (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996), 125.

¹⁰⁴ Neuschel, *Noblewomen*, 124.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 125.

negotiated credit, paid off debts, collected tenants' dues, and carried out virtually any other task that safeguarding the family's property required."¹⁰⁶ Moreover, Neuschel recognized that the extent of their agency suggested that when *procurations* were just formalities. She also noted that more work needs to be done to fully understand the property management undertaken by noblewomen which seems to have been treated as a routine expectation by contemporaries.¹⁰⁷ In the accounts that Neuschel examined, there did not seem to be a defined gender division in the responsibilities of noblewomen and noblemen.¹⁰⁸ She also argued that their ability to share the workload and tasks regardless of traditional gender conventions illustrated the unique "blend of public and domestic life that distinguished this class and power within it."¹⁰⁹

In practice, married couples' roles in the home were much more fluid and less gender-rigid than a patriarchal society would suggest.¹¹⁰ Barbara Diefendorf also emphasizes that women of the nobility were responsible for managing the estates when their husbands were away.¹¹¹ Moreover, she recognizes that in order to successfully manage the domestic economy, women had to have had a specialized knowledge.¹¹² She wrote that "Men showed the confidence they had in their wives' practical intelligence in the frequency with which they chose them, rather than male relatives, to administer their estates and oversee their children's inheritances if they died."¹¹³ Diefendorf noted that this pattern spread to middle rungs of society who were also amassing estates in the

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 125 & 141n.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 126.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Barbara Diefendorf, "Gender and the Family," in *Renaissance and Reformation France*, ed. Mack Holt, The Short Oxford History of France, 99-118 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 101.

¹¹¹ Diefendorf, "Gender," 106.

¹¹² Ibid., 106.

¹¹³ Ibid., 101.

countryside. She stated that “the wives of magistrates and even bourgeois had to assume many of the same responsibilities as the wives of country gentlemen.”¹¹⁴

Wendy Gibson concurred that upon marriage, seventeenth-century noblewomen were expected to possess certain practical skills to effectively handle all aspects of managing a household.¹¹⁵ But how were these skills transmitted, and what exactly were they taught? According to Gibson, there were three main types of education available to women in France in the seventeenth century: domestic, formal, and informal.¹¹⁶

Traditionally, girls were educated in the home by their mothers. Often the skills imparted were a mixture of “housewifery and morals.”¹¹⁷ However, she noted that the problem with domestic education was that it required that the mother extremely dedicated and that she “conscientiously” assume the role of instructor. Instead, often this instruction was passed off to a female servant whose intelligence and behavior did not emulate the example desired for a noble daughter.¹¹⁸ Moreover, private tutors were unknown males and therefore risky to bring into your home.¹¹⁹ Thus, Gibson found domestic education to be too inconsistent to be successful. Within formal education, there were three different avenues: the charity, the *petite*, and the convent boarding schools.¹²⁰ The latter was the favorite choice of the nobility if they opted not to educate their daughter in the home. Although the fundamentals of reading and writing were imparted, in boarding schools they took second place to religious instruction and an emphasis was placed on

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 106.

¹¹⁵ Wendy Gibson, *Women in Seventeenth-Century France* (New York: St. Martin's Press: 1989), 20.

¹¹⁶ Gibson, *Women*, 20.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 21.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 21-22.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 23.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 25.

rote memorization.¹²¹ However, Gibson notes that they did sometimes use legal and business documents to teach students how to read and write.¹²²

For Gibson, it was the third kind of education, the informal instruction, that she believed was the most successful because it offered a practical education.¹²³ She stressed the benefits of a knowledge “gained informally from day-to-day experience and conversation, from private reading, and from the use of various educational facilities placed at the disposal of the public.”¹²⁴ Of course, this training was mainly available to the more comfortable classes. According to Gibson, “Active involvement in a business, or the running of a large middle-class or aristocratic household, a task traditionally delegated to the wife, necessitated the development of managerial and mathematical talents if accounts were to be properly balanced, transactions advantageously made, estates and domestic personnel overseen.”¹²⁵ Therefore it was integral for women to have a basic understanding of things like the domestic industries, medicine, and the law in order to defend their family possessions and to advance their situation. This additional knowledge might be attained through a variety of means such as in the salons, through books or magazines, public conferences or even scientific laboratories.¹²⁶

Martine Sonnet argued that during the early modern period, the educational curriculum for most girls was focused on the domestic skills they would need in their own households as future wives and mothers. She stated that “daughters of all strata of society were relegated to learning skills useful around the home: things that a girl could

¹²¹ Ibid., 26-28.

¹²² Ibid., 27.

¹²³ Ibid., 29.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Ibid., 29-40.

learn from her mother and that were useful in Christian households.”¹²⁷ Furthermore, they often received this domestic education within their homes. Sonnet emphasized that “between 1500 and 1800, the home remained the primary site for the education of women.”¹²⁸ The home environment as the site of a girls’ instruction proves extremely difficult for the historian to access because, particularly before the eighteenth century, so few records exist that shed light on education inside the home. However, most girls were taught by example. For instance, they learned by watching and imitating their mothers while she did her chores.¹²⁹ Depending on their social level, this might include: “cooking, child care, washing, mending, sewing, weaving.”¹³⁰

During the early modern period, both boys and girls were increasingly taught the “three R’s” (reading, writing, and arithmetic), but that is where the similarities ended.¹³¹ Boys had many more options regarding schooling and thus more access to knowledge.¹³² In contrast, “what girls were allowed to study was limited and closely scrutinized.”¹³³ In wealthy households, if girls were sent to convent schools it was often only for a short period of time, and most of these schools emphasized obedience and prayer rather than education.¹³⁴ The instruction of girls was characterized by “the brevity of the treatment of certain subjects, the curtailment of the curriculum to the bare essentials, and a general

¹²⁷ Martine Sonnet, “A Daughter to Educate,” in *A History of Women in the West: III. Renaissance and Enlightenment Paradoxes*, eds. Natalie Zemon Davis and Arlette Farge, 101-131 (Cambridge, Mass: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1993), 101.

¹²⁸ Sonnet, *Daughter*, 111.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 124.

¹³² *Ibid.*

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 102.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 123.

attitude of toleration rather than encouragement.”¹³⁵ However, by the end of the seventeenth century, debates on the education of women had become more practical.¹³⁶ According to Sonnet, this change can be attributed to a sort of population shift in which “widows, of whom there were great many, needed to be able to take care of business affairs.”¹³⁷ Women had to learn to read, write, and count to succeed in their domestic role.

According to Sonnet, Notre Dame in Paris had a *petite école*, an elementary school, run by the cathedral, which offered a practical education for girls from the commercial and artisan classes.¹³⁸ Though these were fee-charging schools, they were affordable enough for urban residents of modest income.¹³⁹ In school, students were supposed to learn how to read and write, but since girls often did not stay long, writing lessons were sometimes sacrificed. However, the writing patterns used to teach the students in these schools were supposed to mirror the skills that they would be use later in life. Sonnet emphasized that according to a 1690 manual regarding the school at Notre Dame, the children there were trained to write by copying “the formulas of promissory notes, receipts, acknowledgements of merchandise delivered, and other such acts as may be useful for them to know in different walks of life.”¹⁴⁰ Moreover, the education of a girl at convent boarding school was supposed to prepare her to run a large household. For instance, the education at the prestigious convent boarding school of Abbaye-aux-Bois had nine “obediences” for girls to master: “the church, the sacristy, the parlor, the

¹³⁵ Ibid., 124.

¹³⁶ Ibid., 106.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ Ibid., 104.

¹³⁹ Ibid., 118.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 126.

apothecary, the laundry, the library, the dining hall, the kitchen and the sisterhood.”¹⁴¹

These convent schools were supposed to prepare aristocratic girls for “a life of managerial responsibility.”¹⁴²

According to Bonnie Anderson and Judith Zinsser, noblewomen were expected to fulfill a multitude of responsibilities in the role of “helpmate.”¹⁴³ According to their research, from the ninth to the seventeenth century, “noblewomen were the companions and trusted surrogates for their warrior fathers, husbands, and sons.”¹⁴⁴ Moreover, part of her responsibility was as a defender of feudalism.¹⁴⁵ For example, it was the responsibility of noble woman to oversee a transfer of household and to transport the “movable” properties for safekeeping in times of war.¹⁴⁶ Noblewomen “tended to the needs of their men in peacetime and acted for them in their absence during war.”¹⁴⁷ Furthermore, the noble wife administered the land and harvests in order to protect the family livelihood, but also to provision her husband on the battlefield.¹⁴⁸ In the fifteenth century, Margaret Paston, the wife of a parliamentary member¹⁴⁹ protected her family property against an advance, all while participating in legal cases over land contestations, as well as “settling disputes among tenants, hiring laborers, supervising the bailiff, marketing the crops, buying weapons, selling timber, and arranging to borrow money.”¹⁵⁰

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 128.

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ Bonnie Anderson and Judith Zinsser, *A History of Their Own: Women in Europe From Prehistory to the Present*, vol. 1 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 274.

¹⁴⁴ Anderson & Zinsser, *A History of Their Own*, 272.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., 285.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 287.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 274.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 288.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 289-290.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

Anderson and Zinsser argued that a noblewoman “. . . more or less ran the family’s estates all of the time.”¹⁵¹

The Case of Françoise Brulart:

Françoise Brulart exemplifies the authority wielded by women of the *noblesse de robe* in seventeenth-century Burgundy. Françoise was born in 1598 into a family deeply entrenched in the Burgundian Parliament and politics.¹⁵² She was the second of four children, and the first daughter, born to Nicolas Brulart (the first of this name), who would become the First President of the Parliament of Burgundy in 1610, and Marie Bourgeois, whose father Claude Bourgeois was a President in the Parliament of Burgundy as well.¹⁵³ Both families were powerful members of the *noblesse de robe* in Dijon. With this pedigree, it is not surprising that on August 14, 1613, an extremely advantageous marriage was contracted between Françoise Brulart and Claude de Saulx, Comte de Tavanès.

To the marriage, Françoise brought a sizeable dowry of 120,000 *livres*;¹⁵⁴ Claude brought the title of count as well as mounting debts. The Saulx-Tavanès family had

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 289.

¹⁵² James Farr, *A Tale of Two Murders: Passion and Power in Seventeenth-Century France* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005). According to Farr, “alliances—blood, marriage, friendship, patronage, godparenthood—wove the families of Burgundy together in networks through which they exerted political influence”(65); François-Alexandre Aubert De La Chenaye-Desbois and Jacques Badier, *Dictionnaire de la Noblesse*, 3rd ed., vol. 4 (Paris: Schlesinger Frères, 1863-1876), 368-370 & 996 ; Félix-Victor Goethals, *Dictionnaire Généalogique et Heraldique des Familles Nobles du Royaume Beligique*, vol. 2 (Bruxelles: Polack-Duvivier, 1849) on the Bourgeois Family.

¹⁵³ Aubert De La Chenaye-Desbois and Badier, *Dictionnaire*, 368; A.S. Des Marches, *Le Parlement de Bourgogne: Depuis Son Établissement* (Chalon-sur-Saône: J. Dejussieu, 1857), 211-14.

fallen on difficult times financially, and so this influx of wealth coupled with an alliance with one of the most powerful robe families in Dijon was good business and allowed him and his family to pay off many debts.¹⁵⁵ This infusion of cash into the Saulx-Tavanes family was only the beginning of the gains made through this alliance.

Between 1616 and 1638, Françoise and Claude had at least twelve children: seven sons and five daughters.¹⁵⁶ Their first child, Marie, was born in January, 1616, and she was quickly followed by her brother Gaspard in December of 1616.¹⁵⁷ Denise was born in 1617 and Charlotte in 1618. Jacques was born in 1619, Noel in 1620, and Nicolas in 1621.¹⁵⁸ Next came Joachim, Rose, and then Madeleine in 1627. They were followed by Louis and Charles Roger. This last child was born in 1638 “posthume” and

¹⁵⁴ Archives Départementales de la Côte-d’Or (ADCO), E 1666; Bibliothèque Municipale de Dijon (BMD): Ms 1457, M. le baron de Juigné, *Fatras Généalogiques*, vol. XV (s.d.), 99-103; Françoise’s dowry was extremely large. See Farr, *Two Murders*, 62, 204, & 205. This dowry was comparable to the 150,000 livres given by Françoise’s aunt, Marguerite Brulart, to her daughter Marie on the occasion of her marriage to Giroux (62). According to Farr, Henri de Bourbon, the Prince of Condé received 300,000 livres as a dowry when he got married in 1609 (204). What is telling is that “the average dowry of a master artisan for his daughter between 1600-1650” was 357 livres (205).

¹⁵⁵ Robert Forster, *The House of Saulx-Tavanes*, 2-7; Gaston Roupnel, *La Ville et la Campagne*, 291-92; ADCO E1666. 90,000 livres were paid at the time of the marriage (almost two-thirds of which was used to pay off their debts) and the remaining 30,000 livres was paid after the death of Françoise’s parents. From Claude’s mother’s “biens maternels,” they received three-quarters of the land of Beaumont and purchased the remaining quarter from his father for 25,000 livres also to be put towards his debts; B10712 : A few days before their marriage contract was signed, Claude submitted a *reprise de fief* for Beaumont which was accepted on August 13, 1613; ADCO : E1764. The same year as their marriage (1613), with the help of President Brulart, Claude was able to get letters of patent establishing Beaumont as a County (and himself as a count).

¹⁵⁶ Robert Forster, *The House of Saulx-Tavanes*, 7; Juigné, *Fatras Genealogiques*, 99-103; Noël Garnier, *Arc-sur-Tille*.

¹⁵⁷ Juigné, *Fatras Genealogiques*, 99-103. Juigné lists 12 children, however, he does not mention Denise (d. 1620). He includes someone called Philippe. Moreover, he lists the names of the children that Claude listed as “leaving behind” in his testament: Gaspard, Marie, Charlotte, Jacques, Noel, Nicolas, Joachim, Rose, Madeleine, Philippe, and an unborn son (Charles Roger). Factoring in that Denise died when she was a child, that makes 12 children; ADCO: E1845. However, we know from Françoise’s will that a son named Louis receives property; Noël Garnier, *Arc-sur-Tille*, 191-194. According to Garnier, there are 12 children, listing Philippe, but not Louis; Léonce Pingaud, *Les Saulx-Tavanes: Études sur l’ancienne société française, lettres et documents inédits* (Paris: Librairie de Firmin-Didot, 1876) 363-4. Pingaud lists 11 children skipping Denise altogether and including Louis but not Philippe. My suspicion is that Louis and Philippe are the same person.

¹⁵⁸ ADCO: E1666. According to surviving baptismal records, at least the first four children were born at the château of Beaumont where Françoise spent most of her time prior to the wars.

died “sans alliance” (born after his father had passed and died without alliances in the form of godparents, implying death before baptism). Françoise was widowed (and pregnant) in 1638 when Claude fell ill and died at Bayonne, returning from the siege of Fontarabie during the Thirty Years’ War.¹⁵⁹ Rather than appointing a male family member to manage the estates until his heir reached majority, Claude trusted Françoise to fulfill this role. During the early modern period, it was not unusual for women of noble and even middling families to gain additional financial power and freedoms upon the death of their spouses at least until their male children reached the age of majority at the age of 25.¹⁶⁰ At the time of Claude’s death, his second eldest son, Jacques, who inherited the title of Comte de Tavanès, was only 19.¹⁶¹ Revealingly, instead of portioning the inheritance and the corresponding responsibilities of managing the estates in 1644 when Jacques got married at the age of 25, Françoise retained control of the estates of Beaumont and Arc-sur-Tille and actively engaged in economic activities to benefit, safeguard, and increase the wealth of the family until her death on June 19, 1663.¹⁶² According to Diefendorf, even when a child came of age to receive their paternal inheritance, “. . . in practice some widows retained control of the paternal estate

¹⁵⁹ Juigné, *Fatras Généalogiques*, 99; Pinguad, *Les Saulx-Tavanès*, 363-64.

¹⁶⁰ Lucien Bely, “Majorité,” in *Dictionnaire de l’Ancien Régime: Royaume de France XVIe-XVIIIe siècle*, ed. Lucien Bely (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1996). According to Bely, during the ancien régime, the age of majority was 25 in most circumstances--kings excluded (788); Donna Bohanan, *Old and New Nobility*, 63-78. Bohanan discusses similar inheritance patterns in Provence with the eldest son inheriting two-thirds portion. In Provence, the noble widow often acted as universal heir until her son reached the majority age of 25; ADCO: E1727. Claude’s testament dated September 12, 1638 instituted Françoise as his *heritier universel* for usufruct.

¹⁶¹ ADCO, E1666. Gaspard, the oldest son, renounced Seigneurial succession in favor of a religious life. It is not known if there were additional reasons for the renunciation of his Seigneurial rights; Juigné, *Fatras Généalogiques*, 101; Pinguad, *Les Saulx-Tavanès*, 363.

¹⁶² ADCO: E1743. The process of placing the seals occurred the next day at Arc-sur-Tille (June 20, 1663).

throughout their lives.”¹⁶³ The integral role played by Françoise within the family economy is evident in the estate account books and contracts that she handled until her death. In fact, the annual accounts for the estate of Beaumont were for the first time delivered to Jacques de Saulx-Tavanes only in 1662, the year before his mother died.¹⁶⁴

Based on the extent of their responsibilities and authority as widows, it is evident that Claude as well as the noble husbands of her contemporaries had great trust in their wives’ administrative skills. In fact, that they should have these skills appears to be almost un-noteworthy in the documents. Noble husbands were counting on their wives to enter into marriage possessing a substantial knowledge of estate management as well as the law. This expectation was met by both robe and sword noblewomen. This suggests that on a widespread level, the education of aristocratic women across all levels of the nobility may have been more extensive so as to address any administrative issues they might face.

The accounts prior to Claude’s death demonstrate the central role Françoise played running the estate, indicating that something of a partnership existed between the couple. It is clear that Françoise had worked alongside Claude in administering the estate with few gender divisions. In her viduity, Françoise handled every aspect of estate administration, continuing those she did during her marriage while taking over the responsibilities left by her late husband. In managing the family estates, Françoise applied the frugal characteristics associated with robe nobility, which she attained through her formative years growing up in a *noblesse de robe* household. She so successfully incorporated these prudent values into her married life as Comtesse de

¹⁶³ Diefendorf, “Gender,” 101.

¹⁶⁴ ADCO, E1812.

Saulx-Tavanes that first her husband and then her sons entrusted her with the majority of the family business affairs on the estates of Beaumont and Arc-sur-Tille while, they occupied themselves fighting wars.¹⁶⁵ Françoise was assisted in estate administration by her *intendant* (estate agent) who appears infrequently in the accounts, but slightly more frequently in the contracts acting on behalf of Françoise in her absence for the estate. On the other hand, the *receveur* (receiver) was the accountant for the estate and he and Françoise were in constant contact over estate revenues and expenditures. It seemed almost daily, the receiver was given orders from *Madame* either directly or via a letter. His primary job was to receive payments from the annual Seignorial obligations, annuities, leases, and to make purchases, distribute grains, and make payments on debts of goods and services on behalf of Françoise. However, he also appears to have served as a sort of bank, sending money to the Seigneur upon his or her request. Though the receiver kept the books, Françoise was the person directing the flow of money and grains. According to Diefendorf, “Even if a hired manager oversaw the daily labors of the peasants on the estate, the lady of the manor needed to insure that both he and the peasants were serving her well.”¹⁶⁶

The actions of Françoise Brulart fall outside of the prescribed activities of women in France during the early modern period. She negotiated her position within Burgundian society and held great influence and power within her community regardless of the

¹⁶⁵ Robert Forster, *The House of Saulx-Tavanes*, 2-8. Though the central focus of Forster’s work is on the noblemen in the Saulx-Tavanes family during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Forster does recognize the value of Françoise’s managerial skills, emphasizing that in marrying Françoise, Claude had received “an unexpected bonus in the administrative acumen of his new wife” (6); Roupnel, *La Ville*, 219. Roupnel refers to a deal that Françoise made with her uncle to repurchase Arc-sur-Tille as being possible “grâce à sa sage administration” (thanks to her wise administration) (219).

¹⁶⁶ Forster, *Saulx-Tavanes*, 2-8.

restrictive prescriptions placed upon her. Moreover, the examination of the family documents of other noble families in sixteenth and seventeenth-century Burgundy reveals that Françoise's example was not singular, but rather her case was representative of the experiences and responsibilities shared by other women in this social category both in marriage and in widowhood. Moreover, from these examples, there was little if any differentiation in the expectations and experiences of women in robe and sword families. The court documents and family papers of Louise Joly as a member of the *noblesse de robe*, and the estate accounts of Anne Marmier and her daughter Anne de Baissey as members of the *noblesse d'épée* indicate that they were engaged in the family economy in similar manners as Françoise Brulart.

CHAPTER 2: A COLLABORATIVE MARRIAGE

Through the examination of Françoise Brulart's responsibilities as witnessed in the accounts of Beaumont, it is clear that she skillfully participated in the management of household affairs alongside her husband Claude de Saulx-Tavanes, indicating that women of the *noblesse de robe* were also aware of the expectations awaiting them in a noble marriage. Françoise demonstrated both frugality and diligence in her transactions, and it is evident that she not only played a crucial role in maintaining the household, but also assisted in the running of the estates. Thus, knowledge of estate management also appears to have been a valued skill amongst women of the nobility. Such knowledge was practical given that noble husbands were often occupied with other business affairs, with campaigns of war, or were taken by an early death, as was often the case.

Through an examination of the accounts for the estate of Beaumont, it would appear that at least on the surface Françoise and Claude had a harmonious marriage. They worked in a sort of partnership, in which they effectively and even symbiotically managed the affairs of the household and the estates while at the same time promoting the needs of their family. Although there is little evidence speaking to their personal relationship,¹⁶⁷ their actions in the accounts suggest that they worked in complement with

¹⁶⁷ Though we know little about their private relationship, the fact that in 23 years they had 12 children that survived birth, suggests that they could at least tolerate each other's presence.

one another. Given the patriarchal nature of the society in which they lived, Françoise as the wife was subsumed under the authority of her husband. This was by no means an equal partnership. Nonetheless, Claude depended on Françoise as his companion in marriage and in running the family business.

The Structure of the Account Books:

During his lifetime, as Seigneur, all of these accounts were formally rendered to Claude (or intended to be presented to him as was the case of those accounts closed after his death) as was documented in the beginning of each of these accounts. Most of the ledgers began with an introduction indicating the person to whom the account was yielded along with the appropriate acknowledgement of the person's status. For example, the 1629 account began by announcing that it was rendered to the “. . . haut et puissant Seigneur Messire Claude de Saulx Chevalier Comte de Tavanès et dudit Beaumont . . .” (high and powerful Lord, Sir Claude de Saulx, Knight, Count of Tavanès and of the aforementioned Beaumont).¹⁶⁸

All eight of the accounts from 1629-1636 were divided into two main sections: receipts and expenses. The receipts section of each account followed the calendar year; however, the expenses section followed a fiscal year. For example, in the 1630 account the receipts section covered revenues from January 1, 1630 to December 31, 1630. However, the expenses section for that account encompassed expenses from August of 1630 to August of 1631. Moreover, not all transactions were completed, collected, or paid, during the parameters of the account or fiscal year. Therefore, most accounts were

¹⁶⁸ ADCO E1808 1629.

not rendered immediately at the closure of the account year. For example, the 1630 account was not settled until December 15, 1631. There was an even larger gap in the completion of the 1631 account. The receipts section closed on December 31, 1631 and the expenses section in August of 1632, but it was not rendered until March 8, 1634. Within each of these two main sections, there were further divisions. The receipts section was divided according to the different communities within the fief, and within these communities, it was further divided according to the type of payment collected. In contrast, the expenses section was not separated by community, only by the form of payment.

In most cases, both during this period and after Claude's death, the accounts were organized and rendered individually. The accounts from 1629-1631 followed this format. In each of the accounts, the receiver was discharged of all responsibility, with the acceptance of the person in control of the estate, which was signaled by the signature of Claude de Saulx-Tavanes. Even though all formal control over the county of Beaumont was held by Claude as Seigneur of this fief, and even though these accounts were formally maintained and reconciled on his particular behalf, each one of these accounts was also signed by his wife, Françoise Brulart. Each of these three accounts contained the signatures of Claude, Françoise, the notary Denis Janvier who was the *receveur* (agent of the Seigneur who acted as a receiver, an accountant and a tax collector) of the account, and the *intendant* (agent or steward of household and estate affairs within the Seigneurie), Jacques de Baignard, *écuyer* (squire), Seigneur de Fontennes.¹⁶⁹ The presence of all four of their autographs signified their contributions to estate and

¹⁶⁹ E1808 Jacques de Baignard held the position of "*intendant de maison et affaires*" of the *Seigneurie*. Within the accounts, his name, Fontennes is interchangeably spelled Fontennes and Fontaines.

household expenditures which included the purchasing of food and other goods and the payment for services rendered, as well as the revenues generated from the leasing of Seigniorial rights, properties, and from the sale of grains and grasses. By signing, they also indicated their acceptance of the summation and closure of the account, with each of them serving as witnesses to its accuracy. Perhaps symbolic of the importance of Françoise's role in the success of the estate, after the closing statements in all three of these accounts, her signature followed immediately after her husband's autograph. Her presence at their conclusion, even though she was not named in the closure (the other three men were mentioned in the closing statement) seems to serve as recognition that even though legally these accounts were Claude's charge, in practice, Françoise shared that responsibility.¹⁷⁰ Her signature seems to indicate a financial partnership with her husband, one that is fully supported by the actual transactions within the accounts themselves.

The five accounts from 1632-1636 were configured in a slightly different manner than the preceding three years. They were organized in the same combination of calendar and fiscal year. However, unlike the previous years, they were bound together, and rendered as a group rather than individually, and not until over four years later. The receipts sections were grouped consecutively ascending according to year, followed by the expenses sections, which were also grouped consecutively by year. The reason for the delayed closure of the accounts, as well as the manner in which they are presented, can be attributed to the fact that in 1636, war ravaged the region, resulting in the loss of

¹⁷⁰ Claude, the intendant and the receiver are mentioned in the closure of these three accounts, therefore, Françoise is the only person who signed this account who is not mentioned in its' rendering or closure, though she is everywhere within it.

many records. According to the 1636 account, many of the family records, especially those from that year, were lost in the fires set by enemy troops that left most of the county of Beaumont in ruin. In fact, the 1636 account is conspicuously thin compared to the other years because of the disruptions caused by war and because of the lack of surviving records. The transactions listed in 1636 were based primarily on the *memoires* (notes and/or memories) of the receiver, Janvier, who rescued as many documents as he could before he was taken prisoner.¹⁷¹ Because the majority of the papers and receipts concerning the 1636 account were lost and because Janvier was extremely ill, Claude and Françoise “très humblement” (very humbly) beseeched him to reconcile the accounts. Consequently, six days before he died from the contagion that seemed to accompany the bloodshed of war, the children of Janvier recorded what he had received and the deals he had negotiated in 1636 based on his memories of the transactions and the few records he had salvaged, and aided by the accounts from preceding years. As a result, the accounts for the years 1632-1636 were compiled together and closed together in 1641. It was the family of the receiver who, in a collective effort, completed and rendered these five accounts as a group to Françoise in April of 1641. A war-widow since 1638, it was Françoise’s signature that accepted this group of accounts and discharged the receiver’s family of all responsibility. On behalf of the Saulx-Tavanes family, Françoise acknowledged the accounts for those years as *fidei* (faithful) and discharged the Janvier family from any future attempts against them regarding these counts, emphasizing that she was content and satisfied with the finished results.

¹⁷¹ *Memoires* could indicate more specifically, bills or summaries of transactions.

The county of Beaumont included the village of Beaumont-sur-Vingeanne as well as the dependent communities of Lœuilley, Bessey, Dampierre, Champagne-sur-Vingeanne, Blagny-sur-Vingeanne, Oisilly, Renève, and Cheuge. Theoretically, the receipts and expenses sections encompassed every debt paid and every debt made within these landholdings during the account year. Revenues were collected in cash and in kind, including in grains such as *froment* (wheat) and *avoine* (oats), as well as in *cire* (wax). However, there were also payments made in poultry such as *chapons* (capons, or roosters castrated to increase their size) and *poules* (hens), as well as in fish such as pikes and carps. Fish and fowl payments were noted by the receiver but not credited as revenues because these types of payments were usually delivered directly to the château of Beaumont for use in the Seigneur's household without passing through the hands of the accountant.¹⁷²

Receipts:

During their marriage, the majority of the transactions within the receipts section of the accounts involved estate management and fell under the authority of Claude as Seigneur of these lands. Sometimes these transactions demonstrated Claude's active role by mentioning him directly as the architect of the specific contracts or mentioning his involvement in various agreements or sales that resulted in revenues. Occasionally, we even see Claude receiving a portion of the rental payments himself. For example, in 1632, the receiver recorded that Claude was given 100 *livres tournois* (a *livre* was worth 20 *sols* but was not a coin; rather it existed for accounting purposes and had the same

¹⁷² Although the receiver did not directly handle these payments in fish or fowl, he did note them in the accounts.

value as a franc coin) at the time of the transaction he made with Jean Verney, in partial payment of 200 *livres* due for the right to the revenues of the mill in Dampierre.¹⁷³ Other times, the accounts mentioned Claude's role indirectly. In fact, more often than not, if the Seigneur was mentioned in an entry in the receipts section, it was in a passive sense, emphasizing that the property or revenues belonged to the Seigneur, rather than showing his agency in creating or executing those agreements. For example, in the 1632 account, the entry involving the *curé* (parish priest) of the local chapel in Beaumont mentions that he owed the Seigneur five *boisseaux* (a *boisseau* was a bushel, or ancient cylindrical measure of dry volume for solids such as grains; in Beaumont as well as other parts of Burgundy 24 *boisseaux* equaled one *émine*)¹⁷⁴ of oats each year for his house.¹⁷⁵ The Seigneur was also mentioned passively when a rental contract included animals as part of the obligation. In the 1632 account, when discussing the details of the *Rente de Richebourg*, the receiver collected the grain obligations, emphasizing that the two capons due each year were taken directly to the château for use in the Seigneur's household. There are also many entries involving Seigneurial revenues in this section that do not refer to the Seigneur at all. However, it is critical to remember that although many of these entries do not highlight his direct involvement, nearly all of these revenues were Seigneurial rights tied to the fief that was controlled by Claude. His seeming passivity can be attributed both to the brevity of the entries when compared to the actual contracts,

¹⁷³ ADCO E1809: 1632 & 1633. This renter paid off his remaining debt in two installments: 39 livres in 1632 and 61 livres in 1633.

¹⁷⁴ Jacques Savary Des Bruslons, *Dictionnaire Universel de Commerce*, vol. 1 (Waesberge, Amsterdam : Les Jansons, 1726-1732), 393-394. According to Savary des Bruslons, a *boisseau* varied greatly from place to place. It was a measure of dry volume, but a *boisseau* was also used to identify the wooden container used to measure out the grains

¹⁷⁵ ADCO E1809: 1632.

and to the fact that Claude was rarely directly involved in the collection of revenues. Regardless of Claude's cited involvement in these account entries, this section is closely linked to him as the fief-holder—name or no name.

During Claude's lifetime, the receipts section mostly involved the collection of Seigneurial revenues from tithes and dues, as well as from the leasing of property and rights. Revenues were also generated from the sale of grains, grasses, and wood originating within the Seigneurie. However, Claude did not engage every year in the leasing of each of his properties or his Seigneurial rights. His decisions as to whether to retain or lease out his property or his rights in any given year varied from community to community and depended on established contractual obligations and familial needs.

As mentioned, some of the family revenues came from *rentes foncière* (regular revenues generated from the rental of properties)¹⁷⁶ on property belonging to the Seigneur that he leased to tenants for an established amount of time for a fixed amount of money or for a certain portion of the harvest. The types of properties contracted through such *rentes* in the Seigneurie of Beaumont included farmland, pastures, meadows, glades, ponds, and even an orchard. In 1631, a portion of farmland in Beaumont was rented. This portion of land, referred to as the *Rente de Plantenay*, was rented to Marguerite Aubert and her son Claude Joliot from Blagny for nine *émines* (ancient measure of volume for grains; in Beaumont and other parts of Burgundy one *émine* equaled 24

¹⁷⁶ Paul Delsalle, *Vocabulaire Historique de la France Moderne, XVIe-XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Armand Colin, 2007), 102; Laurent Bourquin, *La noblesse dans la France Moderne (XVIe-XVIIIe siècles)*, La Collection Belin SUP Histoire (Paris: Belin, 2002), 251. According to Bourquin, these types of rents were also called *rente foncière*, which was a type of rent on land paid, by the tenant or farmer of the land to the owner who leased the property in exchange for annual revenues.

boisseaux)¹⁷⁷ 12 *boisseaux* of wheat and the same amount of oats plus six capons in revenues.¹⁷⁸ In Beaumont, a *verger* (orchard) was rented out for money. In 1632, the large orchard in Beaumont was rented to two men for the sum of 20 *livres* per year. In the Seigneurie, les *étangs* (ponds) were rented out for a substantial amount of money and fish. In 1635, a *marchand* (merchant) in Bèze rented the ponds in the Seigneurie for the sum of 800 *livres*, plus 100 carps and 12 pikes caught by fishing. Attached to this rental of the ponds was the rental of a little oven for use as a metal foundry built by the grand pond in Bessey.¹⁷⁹ The money was collected by the receiver and the fish were taken directly to the château to put in the reservoir for the provision of the Seigneur's house. On one occasion, Claude also rented out artisanal tools. For example, Claude bought a blacksmith's forge, anvil, bellows, and tools for 50 *livres*, and then rented them to Antoine Patron, a *mareschal* (blacksmith) in Beaumont, on April 30, 1634 for three *livres* per year.¹⁸⁰

Claude also received revenues in the form of interest collected on a few *rentes constituées* which were annuities resulting from a loan of money on which an annual interest was due to the Seigneur. Interest on these *rentes* was due each year from the inhabitants and community of Beaumont who as a group owed the Seigneur the sum of 15 *livres* for a year of *arrerages* (interest) on the principal *rente* (annuity) of 300

¹⁷⁷ Joseph-Antoine Pons, *Nouveau Dictionnaire Classique de la Langue Française* (Paris, Garnier Frères, 1865), 400. The term *émine* or *ésmine* was used in Burgundy instead of the word *hémine*; Savary des Bruslons, *Commerce*. These three words meant the same thing. He noted that the *émine* was a sort of accounting measure or a composite of other measures (346).

¹⁷⁸ ADCO E1808: 1631.

¹⁷⁹ ADCO E1809: 1635.

¹⁸⁰ ADCO E1809: 1633 & 1635.

livres.¹⁸¹ Another 15 *livres* was owed to Claude by an individual, a *laboureur* (prosperous peasant)¹⁸² in Beaumont, for a year of *arrerages* on the principal *rente* of 250 *livres*.¹⁸³

Additional revenues were generated when Claude leased out some of his numerous *Seigneurial* rights, and conserved others. Each year, Claude elected to reserve his right to the *colombier* (dove house) of Beaumont. He chose not to receive revenue from the *colombier* so as to reserve the doves for his household.¹⁸⁴ Although in these eight accounts, this right was never leased. During the conflicts in 1636, the receiver recorded that dozens of doves were sold on several different occasions that year for a total in revenues of 27 *livres* 10 *sols* (a *sol tournois* was a small piece of money worth 12 *deniers*).¹⁸⁵ Claude regularly chose to rent out his rights to *banalités*, which were feudal obligations, owed by the inhabitants of a Seigneurie for the use of the Seigneur's mills, ovens, as well as other communal installations.¹⁸⁶ By leasing out these rights in

¹⁸¹ ADCO E1808: 1631; ADCO E1809: 1632 & 1633. These *rentes* were contracted by a *bail* (*baux*), by *amodiation*, or by *ferme*; Antoine Furetière, *Dictionnaire Universel, contenant généralement tous les Mots François tant vieux que modernes, et les Termes des Sciences et des Arts*, 2nd ed., vols. 1-3 (The Hague: Arnoud et Reinier Leers, 1701). According to Furetière, a *bail* was a rental contract on a *héritage* (inherited property) or a *droit* (right). However, the *bail* only transferred the rights of usage of the property or right; the Seigneur maintained ownership. An *amodiation* was a type of *bail* on a property in exchange for which the Seigneur was paid in money or with a portion of the harvest. A *ferme* was also a type of *bail* on property or rights. According to Furetière, interest could only be charged on *rentes constituées* for 5 years; Briggs, *Early Modern France, 1560-1715*, 231. According to Briggs, this type of *rente* was within “a system of concealed borrowing at interest (accepted as lawful by the Church), under which fixed annual or quarterly payments were sold for cash.”

¹⁸² Briggs, *Early Modern France, 1560-1715*, 231. According to Briggs, a *laboureur* could afford to have a plough-team. In southern France, however, a *laboureur* simply meant peasant.

¹⁸³ ADCO E1809: 1635.

¹⁸⁴ ADCO E1809: 1632.

¹⁸⁵ Furetière, *Dictionnaire Universel*, Vols. 1-3. A *sol* was also called a *sou* (*sols/sous*).

¹⁸⁶ Jean Gallet, “Droits Feodaux et Seigneuriaux,” in *Dictionnaire de l’Ancien Régime: Royaume de France XVIe-XVIIIe siècle*, ed. Lucien Bely (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1996), 437-445.

exchange for a portion of the revenues generated from the usage of these things, the Seigneur was assured a yearly payment based on his contract with the renter, and at the same time, he removed himself and his agents from the responsibility of overseeing the administration and collection of these communal obligations.¹⁸⁷ The renters paid the yearly contracted amount in exchange for the remaining revenues generated from controlling the usage of the shared oven, mill, and even river. When the Seigneur chose not to rent these rights, the receiver usually provided his reasons. An examination of these accounts reveals that in Beaumont, Claude often chose not to lease his rights to the *rivière banale* (common river). These river rights included the privilege of fishing the river Vingeanne within Beaumont, and by reserving these rights, he maintained a monopoly over fishing, albeit at the sacrifice of revenues. Certain years, the estate took in no revenues from the *rivière banale* in Champagne or in Renève because Claude also kept these rights in reserve for his own use, but in other years such as in 1633, Claude did allow the leasing of these river rights in this case for the sum of 18 *livres* in Champagne and 6 *livres* in Renève. In Beaumont, Dampierre, Champagne, Blagny and Renève he often leased out his rights to the *four banal* (common oven). In Beaumont in 1630, for example, the oven was leased out for 8 *émines* 12 *boisseaux* of wheat and two capons, plus the cutting of a *journal* (the measure of land that a man could work in one day, and varied according to terrain and place) of wood to be used in its heating. In 1633, he allowed the oven in Dampierre to be leased for 164 *livres*, plus some cut wood and some *fagots* (bundles of small pieces of wood or branches tied together) for the heating of the

According to Gallet, in many cases, the inhabitants were required to use the Seigneur's installations or they had to pay a fine for using their own.

¹⁸⁷ For the most part, it appears that the Saulx-Tavanès maintained the responsibility for reparations on these installations.

oven. In Champagne, in 1629, the oven was leased for 2 *émines* 6 *boisseaux* of wheat and two capons. However, the rights to the oven in Champagne began to pose some problems for the Seigneur. In 1633, even though the communal oven in Champagne was leased, no revenues were collected because all of the inhabitants in the village had built ovens in their homes. With no revenues coming in, the renter renounced his agreement with Claude. In Beaumont, Dampierre and Champagne he also often leased out his rights to the *moulin banal* (common mill). In Champagne in 1631, the receiver collected 19 *émines* 12 *boisseaux* of wheat and six capons for the lease of the mill. In 1635, the mill in Beaumont was rented out along with a meadow and a hemp-field for 12 *émines* and 3 *boisseaux* of wheat plus six capons each year.

In certain years, Claude also leased out his quarry and mining rights. In Beaumont and Dampierre, he sometimes leased out the rights to the revenues from the *perrières* (rock quarries).¹⁸⁸ In 1632, he rented out the rock quarry of Plantenay in Beaumont to two *maçons* (masons) from Champagne for 7 *livres* 5 *sols* per year. In 1634, he rented the rock quarry of Dampierre to the *perrier* (quarry-worker) for the sum of six *livres*. In some cases, he waved these rents in exchange for jobs or supplies. In the 1629 account, no revenue was collected on the rental of the rights to the *perrière* of Plantenay in Beaumont in exchange for the work done on the new common oven in Beaumont by the renters of this right who were *maçons*.¹⁸⁹ That same year, no revenue was recorded for the rental of the rights to the *perrière* in Dampierre because the renter of

¹⁸⁸ The words *perrier* and *perrière* are obsolete. They have been replaced by the words *carrier* and *carrière*, respectively.

¹⁸⁹ ADCO E1808: 1629.

this right, the *perrier*, had purchased the *laves* (roofing shingles made of flat stones called schist) used in the roofing of the common oven in Dampierre.¹⁹⁰

In 1635, no revenues were collected from the *perrière* in Dampierre because Claude left it in the possession of the two *perriers* in Dampierre for three years in exchange for them furnishing the stone that would be necessary for the construction of a vaulted stable and *greniers* (granaries) that he wanted to build new at his château in Beaumont.¹⁹¹ In Champagne, Claude also held transport and mining rights. He held the right of *tirage* (the imposition charged for the hauling or transporting of goods, in this case iron) and the right of *traite de mine* (the imposition on exporting mined metals out of the region), though this right was rarely leased out during this period. For example, in 1629, the right to *tirage* and *traite de mine* in Champagne was rented for 120 *livres* to the *maître des forges* (master of the forges) of Bèze, but this contract fell apart in 1630 and no revenues were collected that year.

Claude held the right to all levels of justice within the Seigneurie—*haute, moyenne, et basse* (high, medium, and low). He delegated this authority through the renting out of offices as well as leasing the rights to make pecuniary punishments. He made revenues from the leasing out of several positions of authority within his fiefs. For example, he leased out the *greffes* (the offices of clerk or *greffier*) of Beaumont. In 1633, he rented these for 36 *livres* in revenues. Claude also rented out his right to half of the *messerie* (office of *messier* whose job was to guard the vines) in Beaumont and Bessey.¹⁹² In 1633, this right was rented out for six *livres*, of which the estate received

¹⁹⁰ ADCO E1808: 1629. Lave in Burgundy; Lauze or Lause elsewhere.

¹⁹¹ ADCO E1809: 1635.

¹⁹² The other half of the *messerie* belonged to the inhabitants of Beaumont.

three *livres* in revenues and the remaining half was paid to the inhabitants of Beaumont. In Dampierre, he rented out the *mairie* (office of mayor), collecting 33 *livres* in 1631. Additionally, he leased out the right to issue *exploits* (acts of summons, judgments, or seizures done by a *sergent*) and the right to collect *amendes* (penalties or fines) up to 3 *livres 5 sols*. These rights were leased out in the justices of Beaumont, Bessey, Champagne, Blagny, and Renève. In 1629, in Champagne the rights to *exploits et amendes* were leased for the sum of 67 *livres*, and for 63 *livres* in Blagny the same year. In Beaumont this right to *exploits et amendes* was contracted with the right to *péage* (a toll for passage on the roads and rivers) and the right of *minage* (a fee due to the Seigneur on grains sold in the market).¹⁹³ In 1632, this package of rights was leased for the sum of 66 *livres* in revenues. In Renève, in 1633 these rights were bundled together with the right to *péage* and leased for the sum of 40 *livres*. Claude also had the right to levy *amendes* over 3 *livres 5 sols*, but this was rarely adjudged in these accounts. For example, in 1630, large (and unsatisfied) *amendes* were levied against the accused parties in the Pavelet criminal trial.¹⁹⁴ In 1631, 10 *livres* were credited to the account in the profit of the Seigneur for *amendes* plus interest adjudged against a man from Fontenelle for having taken cuttings from the woods in Bessey that belonged to the Seigneur.¹⁹⁵

The Seigneur rented out some of his *droits* (rights) while reserving others. In Beaumont, he did however lease out his rights to *banvins* (periods during the year in which only the Seigneur could sell wine in his land, unless he leased the right to another).

¹⁹³ These accounts also used the word *esminage*, which was a regional adaption of the word *minage*.

¹⁹⁴ This trial will be discussed later in this chapter.

¹⁹⁵ ADCO 1808: 1631.

This prohibition usually occurred following the completion of the vinification process.¹⁹⁶ Such a right ensured that the Seigneur would have the first chance to sell his vintage, or that he would receive revenues from the person who rented this right.¹⁹⁷ For example, in 1634, in Beaumont, the right to *banvins* was leased for 12 *livres* by Guillemette Guenard and Didier Voillot.¹⁹⁸ Although the Seigneur did not lease out his rights to *lods et ventes* (a tax due to the Seigneur by the buyer of inherited property, transferred or sold in the Seigneurie) he did collect these revenues.¹⁹⁹ To avoid additional fees the *lods et ventes* had to be paid within 40 days of the acquisition. In 1631, he collected *lods et ventes* on six different inherited properties sold in Bessey for a total of 9 *livres* 7 *sols* 11 *deniers* (small piece of money made from copper valued at one-twelfth of a *sol*) at a tax of 20 *deniers* for every *livre* spent.²⁰⁰ Closely tied to the rights of *lods et ventes* was the right of *retenue*, which was the right of a Seigneur to retain property, sold in his fief, if the Seigneur reimbursed the buyer for the price of the sale. Essentially, this is retention of certain non-inherited possessions. Claude did not employ this right during these eight years, but it was mentioned as his right within the accounts when his rights to the collection of *lods et ventes* were discussed.

The estate also collected revenues by leasing out Claude's rights to collect a *dixme* (a tithe of one tenth of the fruits produced on an inherited property owed to the church or to the Seigneur).²⁰¹ Dixmes were often paid in *gerbes* (sheaves or bundles of cut wheat). In Beaumont, depending on the year, there was either a *double dixme* or two

¹⁹⁶ Jean Gallet, "Droits Feodaux et Seigneuriaux," 437-445.

¹⁹⁷ ADCO E1809: 1632.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid. In this Seigneurie, this was a charge of 20 *deniers* per *livre* (40).

²⁰⁰ Furetière, *Dictionnaire Universel*, Vols. 1-3. One *sol tournois* is equal to 12 *deniers*.

²⁰¹ Often the full 10th was not enforced.

double dixmes (in some regions one paid the tithe of one tenth of the harvests to the church as well as to the Seigneur). In Beaumont, one of the two *double dixmes* belonged to Claude for 29 years, and the other belonged to Madame de Senecey whose portion he held the right to rent for six years. In 1633, these two *double dixmes* at the rate of 10 *gerbes* each were rented to a merchant in Beaumont for 50 *émines* of wheat and 50 *émines* of oats. There were also *double dixmes* in Blagny and in Dampierre. The *double dixme* of Blagny, levied at the rate of 13 *gerbes*, was rented in 1631 for the quantity of 31 *émines* of wheat and 31 *émines* of oats. There was a singular and apparently secular *dixme* on all inherited properties in Bessey that were sown. This *dixme* levied at the rate of 13 *gerbes*, in 1634, for example, was leased for 17 *émines* 15 *boisseaux* of wheat and the same amount of oats. There was also a *dixme* in Renève and in Cheuge. In Cheuge, the *dixme* was collected at the rate of nine *gerbes* of which the Seigneur's portion was seven *gerbes* and the two other *gerbes* belonged to another group of people. In 1632, the Seigneur rented out his share of this *dixme* for the sum of 2 *émines* 20 *boisseaux* of wheat.

Claude also had the rights of *corvée* which was the obligatory, unpaid labor service owed to the Seigneur by a tenant. It was a form of servitude owed to the Seigneur by his subjects.²⁰² The right to the *corvée* was extremely unpopular among the peasantry. In this Seigneurie, there were only a few *corvées personnelles*, or *corvées* owed because a person resided in the Seigneur's territory.²⁰³ In 1629, the account mentions that the heirs

²⁰² Furetière, *Dictionnaire Universel*, Vols. 1-3.

²⁰³ Joseph Renaudon, *Traité Historique et Pratique des Droits Seigneuriaux* (Paris: Despillly, 1765), 3-35.

of the late Baltazard Monin each owed the Seigneur one *corvée de bras*²⁰⁴ in Beaumont during the *vendanges* (grape harvests/wine production).²⁰⁵ There is no mention of property in these *corvées*. The receiver noted in the ledger that this agricultural work on the Seigneur's land had been satisfied for that year, and no financial receipt was credited to the account. Nicolas Guenard owed the same *corvée de bras*, which he also completed. In 1631, Monsieur Pierre Daultrey and his neighbors, the heirs of the late Baltazard Monin of Beaumont, owed a *corvée de bras* during the *vendanges*; a debt which was satisfied by them for that year according to the receiver. Additionally, within the Seigneurie, the Saulx-Tavanes family leased out various parcels of land that had *corvées* attached to them. Even though these lands were rented out by the Seigneur, it seems that the right to the *corvée* followed these lands indicating that these were *corvées réelles*, or *corvées* owed because of the possession of inherited land to which the right of *corvée* was attached.²⁰⁶ This was servitude attached to a property, rather than to a person. For example, in Beaumont in 1633, Claude rented out the *corvée des habrotz* which contained 45 *journaux* (plural for *journal* which was the measure of land that a man could work in one day, and varied according to terrain and place) of arable land, 15 *journaux* for each of the three harvest seasons, for a total of five *émines* of wheat, five *émines* of oats, and two capons in revenues for the Seigneurie.²⁰⁷ This contract also included a meadow. Another example was the *rente of Richebourg* in Beaumont, which

²⁰⁴ Eusèbe De Laurière, *Glossaire du Droit François*, rev. ed. (Niort: L. Favre, 1882). The *Corvée de bras* (arms) signified that the laborer owed a physical service.

²⁰⁵ ADCO E1808: 1629.

²⁰⁶ Renaudon, *Traité Droits Seigneuriaux*, 3-35 and 207-217. There is no mention as to the *corvée* actually being performed when these lands were rented out; However, there is a reference to "*fermiers*" (leaseholders) of the *corvée*, indicating that it was indeed possible to rent lands with a *corvée* attached. However, the *fermier*, could not use the person who owed the *corvée* for his own affairs. The *corvée* had to be used in the service of the Seigneurie.

²⁰⁷ ADCO E1809: 1632 & 1633.

included 4½ *journaux* of arable land taken in the *corvée de la garenne*.²⁰⁸ It was rented for 7 *émines* 12 *boisseaux* of wheat, 7 *émines* 12 *boisseaux* of oats, and two capons in 1632. No mention of labor was made in these entries.

The revenues of the estate also included the collection of taxes and obligations. Claude only collected a few *tailles* (direct taxes).²⁰⁹ For example, the inhabitants and community of Blagny owed Claude the sum of 30 *livres* each year for the *taille abonée* (fixed direct tax).²¹⁰ A total of 11 *livres* were owed for the *taille abonée* each year from those in Renève.²¹¹ Claude maintained his Seigneurial right to collect various *cens* (a small perpetual debt or charge due to the Seigneur). The *cens* was often not financially significant to the revenues of the Seigneur, but rather served as confirmation of the obligations of the inhabitant to the Seigneur. Various forms of payment were accepted for the *cens*, including money, grains, wax, and hens. The *cens* was waged annually on many different types of properties in the Seigneurie, including houses, gardens, orchards, inherited land, and even privies. In every community in the Seigneurie, Claude collected at least one *cens*. Some *cens* were collected on individual properties; others were communal obligations. Examples of the *cens* in grains received in Beaumont in 1633 included a *cens* of one *boisseau* of wheat on a portion of meadow lands, a *cens* of five *boisseaux* of oats on the house of the *curé*, and a *cens* of 6 *boisseaux* of oats on a *meix* (farm with a farm house). In 1634, he also collected 3 other *cens* in money on inherited properties in Beaumont: one for 3 *livres*, one for 40 *sols*, and one for 30 *sols*. In

²⁰⁸ A *garenne* is a rabbit warren.

²⁰⁹ There is no mention of these *tailles* being collected for the king, but since the nature of *tailles* was a tax for the king, it could have been implicit that the reader would understand this. However, these *tailles* were counted as revenues for the estate.

²¹⁰ ADCO E1808: 1630; ADCO E1809: 1632 & 1633.

²¹¹ ADCO E1809: 1632 & 1633.

Beaumont, the Seigneur also maintained two communal *cens*. He procured a *cens* in money from the inhabitants of Beaumont as well as those possessing inherited property there. In 1634, this *cens* equaled 23 *livres* 13 *sols* 6 *deniers*. Additionally, there was another *cens* in money owed by all of the inhabitants of Beaumont based on if they had either a wagon or a chariot. Those who had such a vehicle owed one loaf of white bread valued at two *deniers*; those without such a vehicle owed half a loaf of bread valued at one *denier*. In addition, each inhabitant owed one additional *denier*. This entire *cens* was collected only in *deniers*, rather than a combination of bread and *deniers*. In Beaumont in 1634, this *cens* added up to 9 *sols* 3 *deniers*. In addition to the *cens* in grains and *deniers*, he collected a *cens* in wax in Beaumont for a total of ten and a half pounds of wax in 1633.

The dependencies within the Seigneurie also provided revenues through various *cens*. There was a communal *cens* in grains owed by those that possessed inherited properties in Dampierre and in Renève. In 1634, he collected a total of 1 *émine* 1 *boisseaux* of wheat and 19 *boisseaux* of oats in Renève. There was a communal *cens* in money due on all arable lands in Bessey coming to 59 *livres* 7 *sols* 6 *deniers* in 1632. In the villages of Blagny and Renève, there was a communal *cens* in money due by the inhabitants who possessed inherited lands within these communities. In 1634, this *cens* came to 15 *livres* 6 *sols* 3 *deniers* in Renève. Inhabitants of Dampierre owed a *cens* in money for the lands they possessed totaling 12 *sols* 6 *deniers* in 1633. In Champagne and Cheuge, a *cens* in money was due by each of the inhabitants in these two communities. In Champagne, each of the inhabitants owed 3 *sols* 6 *deniers* annually as a communal *cens* to the Seigneur for a total of 11 *livres* 11 *sols* in 1634. There was also a

cens in wax and a *cens* in hens collected from the communities of Dampierre and Renève. In 1633, there was a *cens* in wax in Renève collected from members of the community based on certain properties for the sum of two pounds three and a half ounces. In Dampierre, there was a communal *cens* in *poules*, one hen per inhabitant, which were collected by agents of the estate for use in the kitchen of the château. Many of these communities also had individual *cens* including Lœuilley and Oisilly. There were individual *cens* in Oisilly on some farms and houses belonging to two families totaling 8 *sols* 4 *deniers* in revenues in 1634. In Renève, there was a *cens* charged on two men for the right of *passage au bateau* (passage by boat) on the river Vingeanne totaling 3 *livres* and two capons in 1634.

The estate also made revenues from the sale of grains, grasses, and wood from the surpluses of the estate. For example, in Beaumont in 1633, a total of 30 *émines* of oats were sold throughout the year to various members of the community for the sum of 300 *livres*. Additional revenues were collected on the sale of wood known as *fagots* cut in the woods of the Seigneurie for use in the château. In 1630, the amount collected from the sale of wood was 35 *livres* 10 *sols*. In 1632, the total sale of wood amounted to 27 *livres* 11 *sols* 8 *deniers* from 28 different transactions. The estate also took in revenues for the rent of certain pieces of lands for their *herbes des prés* (meadow grasses) as well as profits from the actual sale of cut grasses. In 1633, Guillemette Guenard paid 71 *livres* for the annual rent of the *herbes des prés* in the meadow of Beaumont. In 1633, grasses cut in the pasture in Champagne were sold to various people for the sum of 300 *livres*. The estate also sold grasses in Blagny, amassing a total sum of 280 *livres* in 1633. In Renève, several pieces of land were rented for their *herbes des prés*, collecting revenues

totaling 178 *livres* in 1632. Portions of these meadows and grasses were often set aside by Claude for his horses. For example, in 1633, a portion of the grasses from the *grand* pasture in Blagny was retained and stored in the château in Beaumont for the nourishment of Claude's horses.²¹²

As discussed above, because the receipts section of the accounts focuses primarily on Claude's Seigneurial rights within the estates, evidence of Françoise's involvement in estate management as well as the family economy is somewhat quiet in this section of the accounts. However, there are some examples in the ledgers of Françoise's involvement in Seigneurial transactions during her marriage including collecting payments, managing land and making sales. Not all of these revenues were credited to the accounts as receipts because Françoise kept the money from these dues and payments, for reasons unknown. In 1629, on a few occasions, Françoise intervened in the collection of certain Seigneurial dues. That year the *banvins* from Beaumont were not credited as revenues to the account because the rent of this right, amounting to 15 *livres*, was paid to Françoise.²¹³ Additionally, no revenues were recorded from the common oven in Dampierre for the first four months of that year, because they were paid to Madame.²¹⁴ In the 1632 account, the receiver collected a portion of a rent due in money, but the renter stated that Françoise had recovered from him the remaining *émine* of wheat that he had owed.²¹⁵ It also appears that Françoise maintained some control over the *chènevière* (hemp field) in Beaumont. Both the 1629 and 1630 accounts mention the rental of a portion of land in a

²¹² ADCO E1809: 1633.

²¹³ ADCO E1808: 1629.

²¹⁴ Ibid.

²¹⁵ ADCO E1809: 1632.

hemp field that was sown according to the orders of Madame.²¹⁶ Moreover, in the entry discussing the rent of the mill in Beaumont for 1635, the receiver mentioned that this contract excluded the *chènevière* which was reserved by Françoise.²¹⁷ There were also a few examples of Françoise receiving payments from the sale of wood and wine. On October 9, 1629, she received a payment for the sale of some wood cut in Beaumont that was sold to two *laboureurs* in Dampierre.²¹⁸ No revenues were recorded. In the 1636 account, on the written orders of Françoise, wine from the cave of the château was sold for the sum of 211 *livres* to several people in Beaumont when it was surrounded by the enemy.²¹⁹ In the 1632 account, Françoise paid a worker using cut wood from the forests belonging to the Saulx-Tavanes family. By her command, “par commandement de Madame,” a *journal of fagots* was measured and cut, and given to a *charpentier* (carpenter) as payment for work that he had done.²²⁰ These examples of estate management show that even though Françoise was not prolifically involved in the structuring of Seigneurial obligations, she did at times participate in Seigneurial affairs of the estate.

Expenses:

Shifting focus to the expenses sections of the accounts for the years 1629-1636, it is evident that both Françoise and Claude were active in managing the household as well as the estates. From the detailed entries in the ledgers, it is apparent that they worked in a

²¹⁶ ADCO E1808: 1629.

²¹⁷ ADCO E1809: 1635.

²¹⁸ ADCO E1808: 1629.

²¹⁹ ADCO E1809: 1636.

²²⁰ ADCO E1809: 1632. Furetière, *Dictionnaire Universel*, Vols. 1-3; <http://artfl-project.uchicago.edu/content/dictionnaires-dautrefois>.

sort of partnership to support the local and regional economies as seen through the payment of services that were rendered by local artisans and laborers as well as those in surrounding communities. Moreover, their emphasis on purchasing goods from local and regional communities and markets also helped to sustain these economies. Sustenance was closely tied to maintaining peace. Providing jobs to inhabitants supported the local economy, which supported the Seigneurie. As discussed above, the inhabitants of the Seigneurie in turn contributed to the estate through Seigneurial dues, *rentes*, and tithes, as well as through the purchase of grains, wood, and grasses. Additionally, both Françoise and Claude distributed charity and exhibited generosity within the estates and across the region. They also promoted the kinship alliances with members of their families and other nobles, and they attempted to promote the future success of their children. Overall, these expenses were made with an absence of frivolity and an emphasis on frugality, always with the intent of keeping the accounts out of the red and if possibly of growing their resources. Although there appears to be somewhat of a division of labor indicated by some of the expenditures, these boundaries were not sharp, and we find both Françoise and Claude crossing them as needed. Some of their responsibilities conformed to the notion of public versus private spaces. In fact, many of the services that Françoise oversaw appeared to involve the interior of the château. However, this is not to say that Claude's actions were focused completely outside of the château, or that Françoise's responsibilities were totally fixed within. When it came to the procurement and payment of workers, both Françoise and Claude were actively involved.²²¹ In fact, Françoise's purchases and payments were often similar in nature to those made by Claude, indicating

²²¹ In some cases, the reasons for these payments were not specified. Even if their occupation was listed, we cannot know for certain, for what specific service they were paid.

that to some extent they assumed similar responsibilities. As is clear from the accounts, on a regular basis, they both issued verbal and written commandments to the receiver requesting that he send money, authorizing the reimbursement or payment for services provided or for goods purchased by them or on their request or behalf.²²² These requests led to a large portion of the transactions within the ledgers, and serve to illustrate the pragmatic partnership that existed between Françoise and Claude that resulted in the successful management of both their households and their estates.

Although both Claude and Françoise shared the responsibility of managing the household, Françoise most often issued directives for the payment of workers whose jobs involved handling food. On at least one occasion, Françoise authorized payment to a *pourvoyeuse* (female provider of food and provisions, especially meat, to the house). According to the accounts, on March 6, 1634, the sum of 10 *livres* was paid to Michele the *pourvoyeuse* according to a written directive from Madame.²²³ On several occasions, Madame authorized payments to butchers. In one case, she sent a mandate to pay the butcher in Fontaine-Française. According to the accounts, the sum of 132 *livres* 11 *sols* was paid to a *boucher* (butcher) in Fontaine-Française in accordance with the written directive of Madame from September 19, 1629.²²⁴ Most of her interactions involving food, however, were with the butcher in Beaumont. In accordance with written orders from Françoise, Didier Voillot, the *boucher* in Beaumont, was paid the sum of 60 *livres*

²²² The intendant of Beaumont was authorized to act on behalf of Claude and Françoise in the interest of the family, and therefore he had some similar expenditures as Françoise and Claude. The accountant also received commands from the intendant, though on a much less frequent basis. Additionally, there are many entries that do not provide the name of the person who initiated the purchase or payment. In most cases, I did not include these in my discussion so as to avoid inaccurately attributing these activities to the wrong person.

²²³ ADCO E1809: 1633.

²²⁴ ADCO E1808: 1629.

in March of 1632 and in February of 1633, 96 *livres* in January of 1634, and another 73 *livres 9 sols* in October 1634.²²⁵ In one case, instead of money, this butcher received grains. On July 21, 1634, following Madame's verbal command, 1 *émine* 1 *boisseaux* of oats were delivered to Voillot, with her promise to the receiver that she would provide him with a written directive that supported this order, presumably for his record-keeping.²²⁶ On at least one occasion, Françoise also sanctioned the payment of a cook. As noted in the accounts, the receiver paid 6 *livres* to Jean Febvret, a *cuisinier* (cook) for his wages in accordance with the written orders of Madame from March 14, 1630.²²⁷ In these eight accounts, there were no credited transactions between Claude and the *pourvoyeuse*, the *boucher*, or the *cuisinier*. However, there are examples of both Claude and Françoise interacting with the baker. During each account year, a substantial amount of wheat was delivered to the baker. For example, in accordance with the directive of the Seigneur, 69 *émines* 2 *boisseaux* of wheat were delivered between August 14, 1631 and August 14, 1632 to the Seigneur's *boulangier* (baker) for reasons that included the nourishment of the Seigneur's household and the nourishment of other workers.²²⁸ On a different occasion, according to Claude's written orders from November 16, 1633, the sum of 31 *livres* was paid to the Seigneur's *boulangier*, Jean Petreau.²²⁹ Françoise also sanctioned the payment of this baker. On November 19, 1631, the receiver paid 16 *livres* to Petreau following the written orders of Françoise from that day.²³⁰ Moreover, at least once, Françoise had wheat delivered to a local widow for the purpose of baking bread.

²²⁵ ADCO E1808: 1631; ADCO E1809: 1633 & 1634.

²²⁶ ADCO E1809: 1633.

²²⁷ ADCO E1808: 1629.

²²⁸ ADCO E1808: 1631.

²²⁹ ADCO E1809: 1633.

²³⁰ ADCO E1808: 1631.

On December 30, 1634, Madame had one *boisseau* of wheat delivered to Marie, the widow of the late *mareschal* in Beaumont, Vivant Jacquinot, for her to attempt to make bread.²³¹ Aside from employing and paying the *boulangier*, Françoise was largely responsible for expenditures involving food.

It was Françoise who initiated the payments to both the laundress and the midwife; positions historically held by women. In one entry, we see Françoise sanctioning a payment to a laundress. On August 18, 1634, the receiver furnished 13 *livres 8 sols* to Michele, the *buandiere* (laundress), following the written command of Madame.²³² According to the accounts, on at least two occasions, Françoise employed a mid-wife for unstated reasons. It is not surprising that Françoise was responsible for the payment of mid-wives given that this occupation was performed by women for women.²³³ During this period, childbirth was under the purview of women, and as such was a space that men seldom entered. On June 19, 1631, the equivalent of 12 *livres 18 sols* was paid to a *matrone* (matronly woman; also, can indicate mid-wife) on the orders of Madame.²³⁴ Several years later, on March 11, 1635, two *boisseaux* of wheat was given to Anne, a *Sage Femme* (mid-wife) following the written directive of Madame.²³⁵ It is possible that Françoise employed the services of these women for herself during childbirth. She was still having children during this period. Regardless, Françoise was responsible for overseeing tasks typically assigned to women.

²³¹ ADCO E1809: 1634.

²³² ADCO E1809: 1634.

²³³ Merry Wiesner, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, New Approaches to European History, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 78-85.

²³⁴ ADCO E1808: 1630.

²³⁵ ADCO E1809: 1635.

In conflict with the concept of separate realms of responsibility, Claude and Françoise both managed the household staff. They both engaged in authorizing payments to the domestic servants for wages as well as services. Quite often, these servants were sent on errands for the family. Françoise commanded that the sum of 16 *livres* be delivered to the *cuisinier* in order to give to the Seigneur's *homme de chambre* (male servant who serves in the Seigneur's bedroom) who was going to Dijon on November 2, 1629.²³⁶ On August 23, 1634, St. Bartholomew's Day, on the orders of Françoise, La Fortune, a *laquais* (base domestic servant who makes deliveries and who follows his master/mistress on foot), was paid 8 *sols* for going to stay overnight in Bèze in order to fish for trout.²³⁷ Claude also got involved in paying the staff. On November 21, 1630, the sum of 10 *livres* was paid to the Seigneur's *valet de chambre* (male servant who serves in the Seigneur's bedroom), Jean Armerey, for his wages, in accordance with the orders of the Seigneur. Another four *livres* was paid to Armerey for him being in Dijon on November 23, 1630.²³⁸ In one case, it appears that the Seigneur even bailed out a servant who had a creditor on his heels. On November 27, 1630, the receiver delivered the sum of 100 *livres* to Claude so that he could send the money to his *valet de chambre* in Dijon, so as to pay the debt that Armerey owed to a merchant in Dijon who was pursuing him for payment.²³⁹

In other cases, both Françoise and Claude authorized payments to servants, but did not specify the reasons for these payments. For instance, the servant Didiere was paid the sum of 34 *livres* following the written orders of Madame from October 24,

²³⁶ ADCO E1808: 1629.

²³⁷ ADCO E1809: 1634.

²³⁸ ADCO E1808: 1630.

²³⁹ ADCO E1808: 1630.

1629.²⁴⁰ On June 22, 1631, a servant named Estienette was paid 18 *livres 15 sols 6 deniers* by commandment of Madame.²⁴¹ Adhering to the written instructions of Madame dated November 28, 1633, Guillemette Guenard, the widow of the Honorable Suplis Denis, was paid the sum of 10 *livres 7 sols*.²⁴² Following two written directives from Madame, in November 1634, the sum of nine *livres* was paid to the servant Michele, and in December 1634, she was paid another 15 *livres 16 sols*.²⁴³ On two occasions in 1631, Claude paid a stableman for unspecified reasons. A total sum of 6 *livres 4 sols* was paid to Prudent Simonnet, *valet d'écurie* (stableman),²⁴⁴ in accordance with written orders from the Seigneur in July and again in September of 1631.²⁴⁵

On many occasions, Françoise and Claude requested that money be given to their servants. It is unclear, however, if this money was in payment for services, regular wages, to make purchases, to give reimbursements for purchases made, or if it was simply to be carried back to the person who issued the order. For instance, 16 *sols* were given to the *laquais* of Madame on her written directive from December 31, 1629.²⁴⁶ On April 24, 1631, 32 *sols* were given to the servant Estienette on the command of Madame.²⁴⁷ On multiple occasions, Françoise ordered that money be given to the servant Michele. In accordance with four written orders from Françoise, in October 1631, the sum of 31 *livres 14 sols* was delivered to the servant Michele plus an additional 25 *livres*

²⁴⁰ ADCO E1808: 1629.

²⁴¹ ADCO E1808: 1630.

²⁴² ADCO E1809: 1633.

²⁴³ ADCO E1809: 1634.

²⁴⁴ It is difficult to pin down the profession of Prudent Simonnet because he seems to have changed or simply added occupations as the years passed. In 1629, he was noted to be a *vigneron* (winemaker) in Beaumont. In 1631, he was said to be a *valet d'écurie* (stableman). Finally, in 1633, he was listed as a *palefrenier* (horse-groom). None of the entries used above indicated a profession.

²⁴⁵ ADCO E1808: 1630 & 1631.

²⁴⁶ ADCO E1808: 1629.

²⁴⁷ ADCO E1808: 1630.

in November 1631, 12 *livres 4 sols* in February 1632, and 17 *livres 14 sols* in November 1634.²⁴⁸ None of these entries provided explanations. Additionally both Françoise and Claude gave the horse-groom money and grains with no accompanying details. On May 23, 1634, Prudent Simonnet was given 4 *livres 4 sols* following the orders of Madame.²⁴⁹ A total of three *émines* of wheat was delivered to Prudent Simonnet based on the written orders of Monsieur from December 16, 1634.²⁵⁰

In other cases, both Claude and Françoise clearly intended their servants to “fetch” money from the receiver.²⁵¹ In these cases, the receiver was used like a modern day bank; holding their money until they needed it. In some entries, the reason for their request of this money is mentioned; in other cases, however, no specifics are given. For example, on January 26, 1630, Madame sent one of the Seigneur’s *laquais* to fetch one *pistole d’Espagne* (gold coin minted in Spain) worth 7 *livres 18 sols*.²⁵² On October 24, 1633, Madame sent her daughters’ servant, Françoise, to fetch four *quarts d’écus* (a *quart d’écu* was a silver coin worth 15 to 16 *sols*)²⁵³ amounting to 3 *livres 4 sols* from the receiver.²⁵⁴ Claude also utilized the receiver as a sort of depository. On April 5, 1631, the Seigneur sent Madame’s *laquais*, Nicolas, to fetch 3 *livres 4 sols* from the receiver who rendered this amount in eight *demi-quarts d’écus* (a *demi-quart d’écu* was a silver

²⁴⁸ ADCO E1808: 1631; E1809: 1634.

²⁴⁹ ADCO E1809: 1633.

²⁵⁰ ADCO E1809: 1634.

²⁵¹ As mentioned, the receiver was an accountant. The ledgers occasionally reference that an expense was allowed by the accountants in the plural. Therefore, it is possible that some of the expenditures were made by other accountants working under the receiver. Often, the entries do not mention that the receiver was the one to purchase something or to provide a payment; instead speaking in the passive voice and not identifying a subject. Other times, the receiver is most definitely the person making the expenditures, referring to himself in the first person.

²⁵² ADCO E1808: 1629.

²⁵³ Furetière, *Dictionnaire Universel*, Vols. 1-3. An *écu* (a crown) was a silver coin valued at 60 *sols*. A *quart d’écu* was a silver coin that was supposed to be valued at a quarter of an *écu*, or 15 *sols*, but sometimes was valued at 16 *sols* as was the case in these accounts.

²⁵⁴ ADCO E1809: 1633.

coin valued at half a *quart d'écu*, or about 8 *sols*).²⁵⁵ On September 17, 1631, the Seigneur again sent Nicolas to the receiver to fetch money, four *testons* (a *teston* was a silver coin worth 15 *sols* 6 *deniers*) worth 3 *livres* 2 *sols*.²⁵⁶ On February 7, 1633, the Seigneur sent a La Fortune, a *laquais*, to fetch four *livres*, and the next day he sent the him back to the receiver to fetch a *pistole d'Espagne* valued at 8 *livres* 8 *sols*.²⁵⁷ Regardless of whether or not an explanation was provided, these requests for money were always satisfied, with the receiver recording them as expenses.

Both Françoise and Claude were involved in ensuring the upkeep of their properties in the form of gardening, reparations, and construction, which included the purchasing of the necessary materials and the payments for services rendered. However, stepping outside of the château, Claude took a more active role in the upkeep of the property. He handled most of the payments involving gardening and groundskeeping. Following the directive of the Seigneur, a gardener was paid 32 *sols* for the *marché* (agreement setting the price and conditions of a transaction) made by him for working a year in the garden of Beaumont beginning on July 25, 1631.²⁵⁸ Not all of the work in the garden was completed by the gardener; sometimes gardening was completed by day laborers. On November 14, 1631, on the order of the Seigneur, the receiver paid 18 *sols* 4 *deniers* to the widow of Antoine Signet for the 11 days that she worked in the garden of the château.²⁵⁹ On January 23, 1631, Mathieu Gayet, a *manouvrier* (day laborer), was

²⁵⁵ ADCO E1808: 1630; <http://artfl-project.uchicago.edu/content/dictionnaires-dautresfois>.

²⁵⁶ ADCO E1808: 1631.

²⁵⁷ ADCO E1809: 1632.

²⁵⁸ ADCO E1808: 1630.

²⁵⁹ ADCO E1808: 1631.

paid 3 *livres* in accord with the orders of the Seigneur.²⁶⁰ On May 29, 1634, following the command of Monsieur, three men were paid a total of 45 *sols* for a day's work having mowed the reeds in the grand park.²⁶¹ Sometimes officers of the estate were employed to help with horticulture and groundskeeping. In September 1632, Monsieur commanded that Richard Bonnier, *garde des vignes* (guard and caretaker of the grapevines) in Beaumont, be paid 30 *sols* for working six days in the garden of the château.²⁶² Following Monsieur's commandment on January 27, 1634, Louis Lespine, *sergent forestier et garde des bois* (officer forester and guard of the woods) of the Seigneurie, was paid 15 *sols* for the days that he helped to cut wood for the water pump to draw water from the well and the pond for the garden.²⁶³ Following Monsieur's orders, on February 12, 1634, the receiver gave 16 *sols* to Lespine for going to fetch some young apricot trees in order to plant in the new garden at the château.²⁶⁴ Moreover, in May of 1634, Monsieur was given a *quarteron*²⁶⁵ of wax in order to help the apricot trees as well as other trees.²⁶⁶ At least once Françoise got involved in horticulture. Although there are no specifics given, on September 6, 1634, four *livres* were paid to a gardener following the written command of Madame.²⁶⁷ When it came to plants, Claude took a more active role on the exterior of the château.

For the most part, Françoise was in charge of keeping the home fires burning, literally. Based on the accounts, she was responsible for many of the wood provisions for

²⁶⁰ ADCO E1808: 1630.

²⁶¹ ADCO E1809: 1633.

²⁶² ADCO E1809: 1632.

²⁶³ ADCO E1809: 1633.

²⁶⁴ ADCO E1809: 1633.

²⁶⁵ <http://artfl-project.uchicago.edu/content/dictionnaires-dautrefois>. A *quarteron* was a quarter of a *livre* (pound in weight consisting of 16 ounces).

²⁶⁶ ADCO E1809: 1633; Wax is often used in the grafting process.

²⁶⁷ ADCO E1809: 1634.

the household. On July 16, 1632, Leonard Roche, the *coupeur* (woodcutter) was paid 32 *livres* following the written directive of the *intendant* from that day, besides the one *pistole d'Italie* (gold coin minted in Italy) worth eight *livres* furnished to the woodcutter by Françoise.²⁶⁸ The sum of 43 *livres* 15 *sols* was paid to Roche, according to the written commandment of Madame from March 8, 1635.²⁶⁹ At least once, Claude authorized the payment of the woodcutter. According to the accounts, the *coupeur* was paid the sum of 26 *livres* 12 *sols* 6 *deniers* following the written order of Monsieur from July 12, 1634.²⁷⁰ Although, Claude was responsible for most of the horticulture and landscaping, Françoise was in charge of most of the wood-cutting in their Seigneurie.

Françoise employed artisans in the woodworking and glass industries more often than Claude did. It is also clear from these expenditures, that for the most part, these artisans were local or from neighboring communities. On a few occasions, Françoise can be seen employing a joiner. For example, on March 6, 1632, following the command of Françoise, the receiver paid 22 *livres* to a *menuisier* (joiner) living in Maxilly for works of carpentry that he had furnished to Madame.²⁷¹ On the day of the festival of Notre Dame, September 8, 1632, Madame sent Nicolas, a *laquais*, to fetch 40 *livres* 4 *sols* so that he could buy some wood from a *menuiserie* (joiner's workshop) in Bonnevey.²⁷² Françoise later provided a *quittance* (receipt showing that a financial obligation was met) from the transaction to the receiver for accounting purposes. On at least one occasion, Claude employed a *charpentier*. On August 13, 1634, on the orders of the Seigneur, 16

²⁶⁸ ADCO E1808: 1631.

²⁶⁹ ADCO E1809: 1635.

²⁷⁰ ADCO E1809: 1633.

²⁷¹ ADCO E1808: 1631.

²⁷² ADCO E1809: 1632. Bonnevey is the exception here. It is over 100 miles away in the department of Rhône.

sols were given to Claude Villame, a *charpentier* in the Seigneurie, for the *vins du marché* (wine used to toast and thus to seal an agreement or bargain that has been made), for the carpentry of the *greniers* of Petit Bessey.²⁷³ Françoise was responsible for purchasing and replacing glass. According to the accounts, she paid for window repairs as well as for drinking glasses. On January 10, 1631, a *vitrier* (glazier) from Fontaines was paid 24 *sols* for repairing the windows in the chapel of Saint Bartholomew in accordance with the directive of Madame.²⁷⁴ On February 3, 1634, Madame sent Françoise, the servant of her young sons, to fetch 12 *sols* from the receiver in order to give to a *verrier* (glassmaker).²⁷⁵

Both Françoise and Claude frequently employed and paid the local roofer. Sometimes these payments are specified as to their nature, whereas others mention no reason for payment. There are several examples of Françoise authorizing payments to the local roofer. Nicolas Bobet, nicknamed Vaillant *couvreur* (roofer), was paid 40 *sols* on the orders of Madame from March 21, 1631 in accordance with the *marché* that he made to whitewash the chapel of Saint Bartholomew. He was given another 21 *sols* for purchasing some clean animal hair used to make the whitewashing plaster.²⁷⁶ On January 11, 1635, the receiver furnished three *boisseaux* of wheat to this same *couvreur* as requested in the written orders of Madame.²⁷⁷ Claude also employed the roofer and made directives for his payment. On May 22, 1631, Vaillant the *couvreur* was paid 25 *sols* by

²⁷³ ADCO E1809: 1633.

²⁷⁴ ADCO E1808: 1630.

²⁷⁵ ADCO E1809: 1633.

²⁷⁶ ADCO E1808: 1630.

²⁷⁷ ADCO E1809: 1635.

order of the Seigneur for a *monstre au soleil* (sundial)²⁷⁸ made by him against the gable of the *grenier* of Bessey.²⁷⁹ Later that month, another three *sols* were paid to a *mercier* (peddler of small wares) for the paint for the sundial, and three *sols* for the oil put in the paint.²⁸⁰ On October 2, 1634, following the orders of Claude, Vaillant *couvreur* was paid a total of nine *sols* for having repaired the grand *lanterne* (type of open tower or turret) of the stable and for providing 250 nails.²⁸¹ Jean Febvret, a *couvreur*, was paid 10 *livres* 8 *sols* for the roofing of the *greniers* of Petit Bessey in accordance with the written command of the Seigneur from December 15, 1634.²⁸²

In contrast to sharing the responsibilities of employing a roofer, most of the stone and tile-work appears to have been commissioned by Claude. On one occasion, Claude reimbursed a mason for fines he was charged when he was apparently surveying a community oven in the Seigneurie. According to the ledgers, 20 *sols* were paid to Humbert Lambelot, a *maçon* from Giey-sur-Aujon, following the fine he incurred for having visited the community oven in Beaumont, appointed to these purposes by the Seigneur in November 1629.²⁸³ Claude was also responsible for hiring masons to make reparations to the château and to other buildings in the Seigneurie. By order of the Seigneur, Toussaint Parisey, a *maçon*, was paid 45 *sols* for the *marché* from June 5, 1634 that he made with the Seigneur to repair the break from the courtyard of the château to the entrance staircase.²⁸⁴ In 1634, two *boisseaux* of wheat were delivered to Jean

²⁷⁸ Today a sundial is called a *cadran solaire*.

²⁷⁹ ADCO E1808: 1630.

²⁸⁰ ADCO E1808: 1630.

²⁸¹ ADCO E1809: 1634.

²⁸² ADCO E1809: 1634.

²⁸³ ADCO E1808: 1629.

²⁸⁴ ADCO E1809: 1633.

Pescheur, a *maçon*, on the command of Monsieur, in payment for repairing the entrance staircase in the courtyard of the château.²⁸⁵ On June 29, 1634, the receiver paid nine *livres 17 sols 4 deniers* to Toussaint Parisey, a *maçon*, for the remainder owed to him for his work building walls, as was legitimized by the *quittance* that Monsieur gave the accountant from that day.²⁸⁶ On August 13, 1634, Pierre D'Arc, a *maçon*, was paid three *quarts d'écus* worth 48 *sols* for the *vins du marché*, for the construction of vaulted stables, according to the orders of Monsieur as seen in their contract.²⁸⁷ In August of 1634, the sum of 61 *livres 12 sols* was paid to several *maçons*, including Humbert Lambelot from Giey-sur-Aujon, for stonework they completed on buildings in Petit Bessey following Monsieur's written orders.²⁸⁸ Claude was also responsible for paying for building supplies. The sum of 12 *livres* was paid to Jean Pescheur, a *maçon*, for 64 carts full of *laves* that he had furnished for the roofing of the new *greniers* of Petit Bessey following the written orders of the Seigneur from December 10, 1634.²⁸⁹ Additionally, on September 29, 1634, 1 *émine 1 boisseau* was delivered to Claude Chastron, a *perrier* in Dampierre, for furnishing stone for the stables started at the château de Beire,²⁹⁰ following the *marché* he made with Claude.²⁹¹ There is only one example of either Claude or Françoise dealing directly with a tile-maker. The sum of nine *livres* was delivered to the Seigneur in order to pay the *tuilier* (tile-maker) of Mirebeau-sur-Bèze following the written command of the Seigneur from November 20, 1634.²⁹² Although

²⁸⁵ ADCO E1809: 1633.

²⁸⁶ ADCO E1809: 1633.

²⁸⁷ ADCO E1809: 1633.

²⁸⁸ ADCO E1809: 1633.

²⁸⁹ ADCO E1809: 1634.

²⁹⁰ Although, it is spelled *Bere* in the document, it is likely the *Château Beire-le-Châtel*.

²⁹¹ ADCO E1809: 1634.

²⁹² ADCO E1809: 1634.

most of the transactions involving stone and tile were made by Claude, on at least one occasion Françoise was involved in paying a mason for his services. In the 1634 account, two *boisseaux* of wheat was delivered to a *maçon* according to the orders of Madame for compensation for the work that he had done in Petit Bessey.²⁹³ Even though many of these entries do not identify where these masons worked, their regular employment suggests that most of them were from the region and some even from the Seigneurie.

Although both Françoise and Claude employed artisans in metallurgy, Claude handled most of the expenditures involving locksmiths. Throughout the years, Claude issued many payments to the locksmith from the village of Mirebeau. Sometimes, the entries do not specify the reason for these payments. For example, On May 29, 1631, the sum of 3 *livres* 10 *sols* was paid to Claude Poliot, the *serrurier* (locksmith; maker of keys and other works of iron) from Mirebeau, on the orders from the Seigneur.²⁹⁴ Sixteen *sols* were given to Poliot by the order of Claude for compensation of his *parties* (bill, charge, or contract indicating debt) from December 16, 1631.²⁹⁵ Other times, the ledger entries offer specific details behind these expenses. On February 15, 1632, by the order of Claude, the receiver paid Poliot 40 *sols* for two horse-combs and two keys that he had furnished.²⁹⁶ The last day of February 1632, following the orders of Claude, the receiver paid the same *serrurier* 30 *sols* for another two horse-combs.²⁹⁷ According to the directive of Claude, the receiver paid Poliot 100 *sols* on May 16, 1633, for three new

²⁹³ ADCO E1809: 1634.

²⁹⁴ ADCO E1808: 1630.

²⁹⁵ ADCO E1808: 1631.

²⁹⁶ ADCO E1808: 1631.

²⁹⁷ ADCO E1808: 1631.

locks with keys that he had furnished for two of the gates at the château.²⁹⁸ There was at least one example of Françoise employing a locksmith. A total of two *quarts d'écus* worth 32 *sols* were given to Poliot in accordance with the orders of Madame from August 1, 1632.²⁹⁹

The expenditures on other types of metal works seem to have been more evenly shared between the couple. On one occasion, Françoise ordered the payment of an artisan who worked in tin. On February 15, 1634, the receiver paid 12 *sols* to a *potier d'étain* (a potter who made tin vessels), according to the wishes of Madame.³⁰⁰ Both Françoise and Claude were very active in the employment and payment of several local blacksmiths. On March 26, 1632, the receiver paid 12 *sols* to Vauthelin Regnaudot a *mareschal* in Blagny for a brush hook (iron axe with curved tip and wooden handle used in forestry and gardening) that he had sold to the Seigneur.³⁰¹ According to the directive of Monsieur, in May of 1633, Vauthelin Regnaudot, the *mareschal* of Blagny, was paid 24 *sols* for two iron rakes for the garden.³⁰² According to Monsieur's written orders from February 7, 1634, 27 *livres* 1 *sol* 8 *deniers* was paid to Antoine Patron, a *mareschal*.³⁰³ According to Monsieur's written orders from July 3, 1634, 1 *émine* 1 *boisseau* of oats was delivered to Nicolas Leger, a *mareschal* in Selongey.³⁰⁴ Françoise was also responsible for employing and compensating blacksmiths. On January 5, 1631, the receiver paid Vivant Jacquinet, a *mareschal* in Beaumont, 30 *livres* as directed by

²⁹⁸ ADCO E1809: 1632.

²⁹⁹ ADCO E1808: 1631.

³⁰⁰ ADCO E1809: 1633.

³⁰¹ ADCO E1808: 1631.

³⁰² ADCO E1809: 1632.

³⁰³ ADCO E1809: 1633.

³⁰⁴ ADCO E1809: 1633.

Madame, for the work that he had done at the château as seen in her *quittance*.³⁰⁵ On March 6, 1632, the receiver paid Vauthelin Regnaudot, a *mareschal* in Blagny, 3 *livres* 10 *sols* by the ordinance of Françoise for many tools that he sold for the gardener.³⁰⁶ The quantity of six *boisseaux* of wheat was delivered to Antoine Patron, a *mareschal*, according to Madame's written orders from April 17, 1635.³⁰⁷ On a couple of occasions, Françoise even paid the debt owed by a blacksmith. On February 18, 1634, the receiver gave Madame a *pistole d'Espagne* to pay a debt of seven *livres* that Antoine Patron, a *mareschal*, owed to Marie, the widow of the late *mareschal* in Beaumont, Vivant Jacquinot. She deducted this from an earlier payment mandated to Patron.³⁰⁸ Madame was short 30 *sols* to pay off his debt, so the receiver paid it off and charged that amount against the estate. The sum of 12 *livres* was paid to the honorable François Agnus, a merchant in Beaumont, for the *acquit* (having paid the debt of a person, discharging him/her of the debt) of Antoine Patron, a *mareschal*, in accordance with the written orders of Madame from November 27, 1634.³⁰⁹

Expenses on armaments were essential for the protection of the estates, and thus the family fortune. During their marriage, Claude was responsible for purchasing munitions in the form of guns and gunpowder. On several occasions, he employed a regional gun-maker. According to the written orders of the Seigneur from March 11, 1630, 12 *boisseaux* of wheat was delivered to the *arquebusier* (gunsmith) from

³⁰⁵ ADCO E1808: 1630.

³⁰⁶ ADCO E1808: 1631.

³⁰⁷ ADCO E1809: 1635.

³⁰⁸ ADCO E1809: 1633.

³⁰⁹ ADCO E1809: 1634.

Mirebeau.³¹⁰ On March 10, 1632, the receiver paid 6 *livres* 12 *sols* to an *arquebusier* from Mirebeau in following the wishes of Claude.³¹¹ On February 24, 1633, following the directive of the Seigneur, the gun-maker Pierre Chaponnet, who was also the *armurier* (person that makes and sells armor and firearms) in Mirebeau, was paid six *livres*.³¹² Claude also issued a payment to this artisan for gun repairs. According to the orders of Monseigneur, on November 15, 1633, the receiver paid 7 *livres*, 7 *sols* to Pierre Chaponnet, the *arquebusier* in Mirebeau, for repairing his harquebuses as shown in the *quittance*.³¹³ Claude also authorized payments for gunpowder. On December 28, 1632, according to the command of Monsieur, the receiver paid 12 *livres* 16 *sols* to a man who brought 16 pounds³¹⁴ of *poudre d'arquebuse* (gunpowder) from Minot. Another 16 *sols* were paid for expenses incurred by the messenger who brought this delivery.³¹⁵ On March 12, 1633, Claude sent his lackey to fetch one *quart d'écu* valued at 16 *sols* in order to give to a *salpêtrier* (saltpeter man) who brought him some *poudre d'arquebuse*.³¹⁶

Claude also controlled the vast majority of the expenditures involving horses. This was true when it came to authorizing payments to the stablemen. A *valet d'écurie*, Jean Laithier, was paid nine *livres* for his wages in accordance with the written orders of the Seigneur from October 24, 1629.³¹⁷ On September 25, 1631, Prudent Simonnet, a

³¹⁰ ADCO E1808: 1629.

³¹¹ ADCO E1808: 1631.

³¹² ADCO E1809: 1632.

³¹³ ADCO E1809: 1633.

³¹⁴ <http://artfl-project.uchicago.edu/content/dictionnaires-dautrefois>. In French, the word for pound of weight is *livre*, which was about 16 ounces. In order to avoid confusion with the money, *livre tournois*, I have not written the French word *livre* for pounds of weight.

³¹⁵ ADCO E1809: 1632.

³¹⁶ ADCO E1809: 1632.

³¹⁷ ADCO E1808: 1629.

valet d'écurie, was paid three *livres* per the command of the Seigneur.³¹⁸ Claude also handled payments for his horse-grooms. Lespine, a *palefrenier* (horse-groom) was given one *pistole d'Espagne* worth 7 *livres* 16 *sols* following the written orders of the Seigneur from December 16, 1629.³¹⁹ The sum of nine *livres* was paid to Jean Laithier, now employed as a *palefrenier* following the written directive of the Seigneur from October 11, 1630.³²⁰ Françoise occasionally got involved in the compensation of the horse-grooms. On one of these occasions, she gave a *palefrenier* an advance on his wages. According to the accounts, on November 27, 1633, Prudent Simonnet, now employed as a *palefrenier*, was paid 10 *livres*, which Madame deducted from his wages.³²¹ In another case, she authorized payment to a horse-groom. Following the written orders of Madame from October 30, 1634, Jean Laithier, a *palefrenier*, was paid 13 *livres* 10 *sols*.³²²

Claude was also involved in the employment of those who made horse tack including the cord-maker, the saddler, and the spurrier. On several occasions, Claude purchased ropes from the cord-maker. On April 1, 1632, the *cordier* (rope-maker) from Fontaine was paid 12 *sols* for a rope used in horse training and three horse bridles in following with the orders of Claude.³²³ A total of 12 *sols* were paid to the *cordier* from Bèze for five horse bridles that Monsieur had purchased May 14, 1634.³²⁴ Claude also employed a saddler and a spurrier. Unlike most other purchases made and services rendered in this Seigneurie, these two artisans were not located in the villages, but in the

³¹⁸ ADCO E1808: 1631.

³¹⁹ ADCO E1808: 1629.

³²⁰ ADCO E1808: 1630.

³²¹ ADCO E1809: 1633.

³²² ADCO E1809: 1634.

³²³ ADCO E1808: 1631.

³²⁴ ADCO E1809: 1633.

city of Dijon. According to the written orders of the Seigneur from March 11, 1630, 50 *boisseaux* of wheat were delivered to the *éperonnier* (spurrier) of the Seigneur in Dijon.³²⁵ On March 12, 1630, the receiver gave 25 *sols* to the Seigneur in order to provide him with the 100 *livres* that he wanted to send to a *sellier* (saddler) in Dijon.³²⁶ Following orders from the Seigneur, 1 *émine* 1 *boisseau* of wheat were delivered to the Seigneur's *éperonnier* in Dijon on February 18, 1631.³²⁷ In this same directive from the Seigneur, 2 *émines* 17½ *boisseaux* of wheat were delivered to the *sellier* in Dijon.

In contrast, Claude and Françoise both appear to have been involved in expenses accrued from employing the horse-collar maker. For example, following the written instructions of Madame from July 15, 1634, a total of 26 *livres* 6 *sols* was paid to Nicolas Nicolardot, nicknamed Carré *bourrelier* (horse-collar maker) from Champagne, and to Hector Bauldin, a *charron* (wagon-maker) from Beaumont.³²⁸ Carré *bourrelier* was also paid 11 *livres* 4 *sols* according to the written directive of Madame from March 29, 1635.³²⁹ Claude also paid this horse-collar maker. Following the written directive of Monsieur dated September 25, 1634, the sum of 4 *livres* 8 *sols* was paid to Carré *bourrelier*.³³⁰

Françoise was often responsible for expenditures associated with travelling by horse and carriage. On one occasion, because of poor conditions, additional horses had to be rented to carry her to Dijon. According to the accounts, the sum of 4 *livres* 16 *sols* was paid to two men from Dampierre for the rental of three horses that helped lead the

³²⁵ ADCO E1808: 1629.

³²⁶ ADCO E1808: 1629.

³²⁷ ADCO E1808: 1630.

³²⁸ ADCO E1809: 1633.

³²⁹ ADCO E1809: 1635.

³³⁰ ADCO E1809: 1634.

carriage of Madame travelling to Dijon on February 7, 1630, because the roads were very bad.³³¹ At least four times, Françoise was directly involved in payments to the wagon-maker. In accordance with orders from Françoise, in June 1632, the receiver gave one *pistole d'Espagne* worth 8 *livres* 4 *sols* to Hector Bauldin, a *charron* in Beaumont. Following the written directives of Françoise, in June 1633, Bauldin was paid 9 *livres* 14 *sols*, in November 1634 he was paid 5 *livres* 7 *sols*, and in March 1635, he was paid 5 *livres* 11 *sols*.³³²

Along with overseeing the care of the horses, Claude was usually in charge of purchasing and selling them. On several occasions, Claude spent large amounts of money and grains to buy horses. For example, two merchants from Beaumont were paid the sum of 180 *livres* for a carriage horse they sold to the Seigneur, along with another 33 *livres* for some cast iron work, for a total expense of 213 *livres* as witnessed in their *quittance* from April 3, 1630.³³³ As seen in Claude's written directive from May 2, 1630, six *émines* of wheat was delivered to Sieur Agnus from Gray for a horse he sold to the Seigneur.³³⁴ According to the written order from Monsieur from October 16, 1633, Sieur Agnus from Beaumont was paid 30 *livres* for a *bidet* (small horse) that Monseigneur had purchased from him.³³⁵ There was also an entry for the expenses incurred by a servant sent to a fair by the Seigneur to sell some horses. In October 1631, seven *sols* was paid to the inn for the lunch of the *homme de chambre* of the Seigneur who went to the fair of

³³¹ ADCO E1808: 1629.

³³² ADCO E1808: 1631; ADCO E1809: 1632, 1634, & 1635.

³³³ ADCO E1808: 1629.

³³⁴ ADCO E1808: 1629.

³³⁵ ADCO E1809: 1633.

Saint-Seine to sell two carriage horses.³³⁶ There are also many examples in the accounts that focus on the care and upkeep of the horses. Although only a few indicate the person who authorized these expenditures, the regularity of these costs illustrates the importance of these beasts of burden. On January 23, 1632, Claude sent his *homme de chambre* to the receiver to fetch six *livres* in order to give to a *mareschal* from Is-sur-Tille who came to care for a sick horse.³³⁷ On April 11, 1634, Monsieur sent La Fortune, a *laquais*, to fetch three *livres* in order to pay a man who gelded two of his horses.³³⁸ The cost of the horses and the often-detailed discussion of their care, indicates their profound importance in the lives of the early modern nobility.

When it came to apparel, Françoise oversaw the majority of the purchases and payments down to the tiniest of details. However, Claude also took on this responsibility, especially when it came to his servants. On a few occasions, Françoise authorized payments to a regional artisan for shoes and a local artisan for shoe repairs. The sum of 54 *livres* 18 *sols* was paid to a *cordonnier* (shoemaker) in Mirebeau following the written command of Madame from November 29, 1629.³³⁹ On December 8, 1631, the receiver paid 104 *sols* to a *savetier* (cobbler) in Dampierre following the written orders of Françoise from that day.³⁴⁰ There was one example of Claude requesting money from the receiver in order to pay a man for some boots. On May 13, 1633, Claude sent Blaise, a *jardinier* (gardener), to fetch two *quarts d'écus* worth 32 *sols* to give to a man who

³³⁶ ADCO E1808: 1631.

³³⁷ ADCO E1808: 1631

³³⁸ ADCO E1809: 1633.

³³⁹ ADCO E1808: 1629.

³⁴⁰ ADCO E1808: 1631.

brought him some leather riding boots.³⁴¹ On one occasion, Claude authorized the payment of a shoemaker. Following the written orders of Monsieur from September 22, 1634, 50 *sols* were given to a *cordonnier*.³⁴²

Regarding clothing, Françoise was primarily in charge of acquiring the fabric as well as employing various local and regional tailors. Sometimes these payments did not specify the exact nature of the services provided. In December 1629, Etienne Perron a *tailleur d'habits* (tailor of clothes) in Blagny was given the sum of 30 *livres* in accordance with the written directive of Madame.³⁴³ Other times, these purchases and payments were very specific. Françoise often purchased cloth rather than ready-to-wear clothing. In December 1630, a total of 55 *sols* was paid to a *marchand* in Champlitte for one *aune* (one *aune* equals 3 feet 8 inches in length) of yellow serge (a twill fabric) that he sold to Madame.³⁴⁴ On January 9, 1631, the receiver gave two *quarts d'écus* worth 32 *sols* to Madame in order to pay for some serge that she had purchased from a *marchand* at the market in Beaumont.³⁴⁵ Following the command of Madame, on April 5, 1633, the receiver paid Henry Ignoit, a *tailleur d'habits* in Blagny, the sum of 4 *livres* 10 *sols* for cloth that she had purchased from him.³⁴⁶ On April 6, 1635, per the command of Madame, the sum of 61 *livres* 12 *sols* was paid to a *tisserand* (weaver) in Selongey for some cloth that he sold to Madame.³⁴⁷ Françoise also purchased other materials necessary to make clothing. In May of 1632, the sum of 7 *sols* 6 *deniers* was spent on

³⁴¹ ADCO E1809: 1632.

³⁴² ADCO E1809: 1634.

³⁴³ ADCO E1808: 1629.

³⁴⁴ ADCO E1808: 1630.

³⁴⁵ ADCO E1808: 1630.

³⁴⁶ ADCO E1809: 1632.

³⁴⁷ ADCO E1809: 1635; The account used the word *tixier*, which is a form of *tissier*, which means the same as *tisserand*: weaver.

three dozen silk buttons purchased by the wife of François Bauldin, the *greffier* (court clerk) in Mirebeau, on the orders of Françoise.³⁴⁸ Much less often, Françoise bought clothing already made. On March 12, 1634, the receiver paid Jean Iquart, a *tailleur d'habits*, 35 *sols* for seven pairs of stockings following the orders of Madame.³⁴⁹

When it came to clothing the servants, however, Claude was much more involved, and issued most of the orders.³⁵⁰ He authorized purchases for cloth and for clothing. In July, 1633, according to the demands of the Seigneur, a total of 17 *sols* 6 *deniers* was spent on 3½ *aunes* of thick cloth furnished to Marie, the widow of the late *mareschal* in Beaumont, Vivant Jacquinet, for her to make a long outdoor coat for one of the *serviteurs* (male servants) at the château.³⁵¹ On February 17, 1635, on the orders of the Seigneur, a *tailleur d'habits* in Lœuilley was given 50 *sols* for two long outdoor coats that he furnished to some of the *laquais*.³⁵² In the year 1634, a great deal of money was spent by the Seigneur on the outward appearance of one particular servant called Tartret.³⁵³ Per the command of Monsieur, in May 1634, 15 *sols* were paid to the wife of Didier Marie, a *tisserand*, for three *aunes* of cloth purchased to dress Tartret.³⁵⁴ The next four entries in the expenses also focus on dressing Tartret, and though they do not specifically mention Monsieur, these expenses stem from his initial commandment. That same month, 43 *sols* 4 *deniers* were paid to Eglantine Guiotet for 6½ *aunes* of additional cloth in order to

³⁴⁸ ADCO E1808: 1631.

³⁴⁹ ADCO E1809: 1633.

³⁵⁰ Jean Gallet, "Droits Feodaux et Seigneuriaux," 437-445. Often, clothing was provided to certain servants as part of their contracts. Although these purchases do not specify contractual obligations, this was often the case.

³⁵¹ ADCO E1809: 1632.

³⁵² ADCO E1809: 1635.

³⁵³ Not once is Tartret's profession mentioned. However, in these accounts, servants were the ones usually introduced with only one name.

³⁵⁴ ADCO E1809: 1633.

make some shirts and leggings for Tartret.³⁵⁵ Another 21 *sols* was paid to the wife of Claude Milan for three *aunes* of better cloth to complete the wardrobe of Tartret. Finally, a *tailleur d'habits* in Lœuilley was paid 10 *sols* for making breeches and a long outdoor coat for Tartret, and Marie, the widow of Vivant Jacquinot, the late blacksmith in Beaumont, was given 7 *sols* 6 *deniers* for making three shirts and some leggings.³⁵⁶ Later that month, there were additional clothing expenses for Tartret. The widow of Claude Poillenot was given 21 *sols* for three *aunes* of cloth that she sold in order to make a doublet (man's fitted button jacket) for Tartret, and a man from Dampierre was paid nine *sols* for the thread, the buttons, and for making this doublet.³⁵⁷ Later that same year, more money was spent on Tartret's presentation.

The Seigneur, as the holder of justice within the Seigneurie, oversaw the legal realm through the appointments of officials of justice who rendered sentences and doled out punishments. Françoise had little involvement in this legal space until Claude's death. As a result, most of the entries regarding judicial matters in the estates were tied to Claude. In most cases, it was Claude who authorized payments involving the officials who provided services on behalf of the Seigneurie. Although, under *Gages Ordinaires* (ordinary wages) in the expenses sections, most of the wage payments failed to specify the person who authorized them, the majority of these payments to officials within the Seigneurie would have been solidified through a contract with the Seigneur. However, there was one example in this subsection of these accounts, which did state that the wages were sanctioned by the Seigneur. When the receiver recorded his own annual payment,

³⁵⁵ ADCO E1809: 1633.

³⁵⁶ ADCO E1809: 1633.

³⁵⁷ ADCO E1809: 1633.

he always emphasized that he had the approval of the Seigneur to take his cut. In the 1629 account, Janvier, the accountant, was paid 100 *livres* each fiscal year in wages for his position of receiver in the Seigneurie as was authorized by the Seigneur.³⁵⁸ On another occasion, Claude directly authorized the payment of his notary for the completion of an important Seigneurial document. According to the accounts, the notary, Monsieur Galiet, was paid the sum of 48 *livres* for making a *terrier* (tax roll) of Beaumont “suivant le mandement” (following the written order) issued by Claude on August 29, 1632.³⁵⁹

Additionally, the Seigneur worked closely with local officers of justice to ensure that his Seigneurial obligations and contracts were satisfied. In August, 1630, a total of 10 *sols* 8 *deniers* were paid to François Rouhier *sergent royal* (base officer of justice in a royal jurisdiction who executes orders) in Mirebeau for an *interpellation* (summons) and *assignation* (a subpoena) given at the request of the Seigneur to a man from Mirebeau concerning the *dixme* on his inherited properties within the boundaries of Renève.³⁶⁰ On January 30, 1631, two *pistoles d’Espagne* worth 16 *livres* were paid to Nicolas Gibelot, a *sergent général* (base officer of justice who executes orders) in Saint-Seine, for the *criées* (justice proclamations announcing the impending seizure and sale of goods) that he made on the properties of Jean Verney in Orain, as well as for other business that he handled for the Seigneur.³⁶¹ On October 1, 1631, François Rouhier, a *sergent général* in Mirebeau was paid 48 *sols* for his salaries for having gone quickly to Dampierre to force three merchants, Berthelemy Daultrey, Claude Bauldin, and François Agnus, to pay the

³⁵⁸ ADCO E1808: 1629.

³⁵⁹ ADCO E1809: 1632.

³⁶⁰ ADCO E1808: 1630.

³⁶¹ ADCO E1808: 1630; In these accounts, the offices of *sergent général* and *sergent royal* appear to be held by the same people in the given community. For example, Nicolas Gibelot is referred to as the holder of both of these offices in Saint-Seine.

money that they owed to the Seigneur for the oats which had been sold to them.³⁶² On December 8, 1631, Nicolas Gibelot, a *sergent général*, was paid two *quarts d'écus* worth 32 *sols* for an *assignation* on a default that was given to an *opposante* (female challenger) to the decree made against the properties of Jean Verney from Orain.³⁶³ At least once, although the services rendered were not discussed, Françoise did issue a payment to an officer of justice. On December 27, 1634, adhering to Madame's written directive, 1 *émine 1 boisseau* was sent to Sieur Dodun, *huissier* (officer of the court who acted as doorkeeper and messenger who also enforced justice) in Dijon.³⁶⁴

Claude also authorized trial expenditures within his Seigneurie. In the 1630 account, a great deal of money was spent on a criminal trial in Beaumont. Most of the financial transactions surrounding the trial and sentencing were carried out directly by the receiver.³⁶⁵ However, given the intense involvement by Claude and Françoise in the daily minutia of overseeing the purchases of buttons and butter, it is highly unlikely that they were not privately directing the procedures. In support of this notion, the account states that the receiver, on the ordinance of the Seigneur, furnished all of the payments and fees surrounding this case.³⁶⁶ The trial expenditures began with the dispatch of three midwives to the jail, presumably to perform a physical examination on the accused. On November 4, 1630, 45 *sols* were paid to three *femmes matrones* for their expenses for having visited Girarde Pavelet, a prisoner accused of having "perdu un enfant" (lost a

³⁶² ADCO E1808: 1631.

³⁶³ ADCO E1808: 1631.

³⁶⁴ ADCO E1809: 1634.

³⁶⁵ It is possible that due to the unpleasantness of this case, the Saulx-Tavanes family distanced themselves from these events, at least publicly.

³⁶⁶ ADCO E1808: 1630.

child).³⁶⁷ The receiver also paid various officers of justice for their services. According to the ledgers, the significant sum of 52 *livres* 15 *sols* was paid for the expenses amassed by the officers of Beaumont and others between November 22-24, 1630, for carrying Girarde Pavelet to Dijon in order to assess the criminal trial made against her and her accomplices in the justice of Beaumont.³⁶⁸ For example, the equivalent of 26 *livres* was paid to Monsieur Joly, *greffier* in the Parliament of Dijon, for the *arrêts* (judgments) rendered against the accused calling for the sentence of death against Girarde Pavelet and Nicolas Martin as witnessed in his certificate from December 16, 1630.³⁶⁹ In addition, the sum of 3 *livres* was paid to the *procureur syndic* (attorney of community affairs) of Dijon and to a deputy in the clerk's office of the Parliament for having assisted in the execution of the judgments as seen in their *quittance* from December 16, 1630.³⁷⁰ The receiver also paid those involved in the actual performance of execution. In December 1630, a trumpeter in Dijon was paid 20 *sols* for his assistance in the execution of these judgments. Another three *livres* was paid to a painter for the painting of Nicolas Martin, as noted in his *quittance* from December 16, 1630.³⁷¹ The executioner of high justice in Dijon was paid 20 *livres* for having executed Girarde Pavelet by hanging, and for having hung Nicolas Martin in effigy as recorded in his *quittance* from December 16, 1630.³⁷² The two other accomplices, Jeanne Le Borgne and Guillemette Pavelet were banished

³⁶⁷ ADCO E1808: 1630. I was not able to locate the trial records in the Beaumont files, and therefore, I was unable to determine the exact nature of her crime: abortion, infanticide, abandonment, etc.

³⁶⁸ ADCO E1808: 1630.

³⁶⁹ ADCO E1808: 1630.

³⁷⁰ ADCO E1808: 1630.

³⁷¹ ADCO E1808: 1630.

³⁷² ADCO E1808: 1630. André Laingui, "Effigie," in *Dictionnaire de l'Ancien Régime: Royaume de France XVIe-XVIIIe siècle*, ed. Lucien Bely (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1996), 472. An execution by effigy occurred when a fugitive criminal was sentenced to death in absentia.

from the region.³⁷³ Unfortunately for Claude, the *amendes* owed by the condemned of 100 *livres* each from Girarde Pavelet and Nicolas Martin, and 20 *livres* each from their two accomplices, were impossible to collect owing to the fact that none of them had any possessions or property worth confiscation.

Françoise was responsible for purchasing many of the goods for the household. Through her purchases, it is also possible to observe the financial contributions she made to the local economy. For the most part, the Comtesse bought locally.³⁷⁴ The ledgers are chockablock with examples of purchases made at local and regional markets. On an almost daily basis, she bought or ordered to be purchased anything from fruits and vegetables, fish and meat, to textiles and household goods. Sometimes Françoise sent for the money to make payments herself. She spent some of this money on foodstuffs. On September 6, 1631, the receiver gave 10 *sols* 8 *deniers* to Madame in order to give the servants of Sieur Perrot, a merchant in Renève, who had brought some fruits.³⁷⁵ On October 10, 1631, Madame sent her servant, Michele, to fetch from the receiver 6 *livres* 4 *sols* in order to pay for some butter that she had purchased from a renter in Bessey. On August 21, 1633, the receiver gave Madame six *livres* in order to pay the wife of Philibert Portier from Lœuilley for two wicker cases of salt.³⁷⁶ On March 6, 1634, Madame sent for two *quarts d'écus* valued at 32 *sols* to give to the wife of man named Bourgaudet from Renève who brought her a large pike fish. Françoise also requested money to pay

³⁷³ ADCO E1808: 1630.

³⁷⁴ Although occasionally goods in the Saulx-Tavanes household were purchased from foreign markets or even from Paris, the vast majority of their purchases came from communal or regional markets. This serves in great contrast to the family inventories from the eighteenth century which indicate many trips to Paris, and have a definite foreign flavor.

³⁷⁵ ADCO E1808: 1631.

³⁷⁶ ADCO E1809: 1633.

for non-edible household goods. On September 1, 1632, Madame sent her *laquais* to fetch 51 *sols* from the receiver in order to pay for some drinking glasses that she purchased.³⁷⁷ On July 14, 1633, Madame was given 21 *sols* to pay for some more drinking glasses that she had purchased. On January 27, 1634, Madame sent La Fortune, a *laquais*, to fetch a *pistole d’Espagne*, worth 8 *livres* 10 *sols*, in order to pay for some merchandise that she had bought from *merciers* passing through Beaumont at the time Monsieur le Baron of Valmey was at the château.³⁷⁸ Her financial diligence was particularly magnified on the occasion when she sent her servant to return currency whose quality she found unacceptable. On December 31, 1633, Françoise sent her servant Michele to fetch a *demi-pistole d’Espagne* in order to send her to buy some peas in La Rochette.³⁷⁹ This servant also brought with her a *pistole* for the receiver to exchange for Madame owing to the fact that she declared it to be too “light”, which meant that its value was depreciated. Portions of these coins were often shaved off, thus reducing the value of the coin to cheat the recipient from receiving its’ true worth. In response, the receiver sent her a replacement *pistole* along with the *demi-pistole* for the peas, charging the account the sum of 4 *livres* 5 *sols* for the *demi-pistole*.³⁸⁰ This incident highlights her meticulous financial management of family assets as well as her economic support of the local and surrounding communities. Claude also occasionally sent for money in order to pay for provisions. On October 26, 1634, the receiver gave six *sols* to

³⁷⁷ ADCO E1809: 1632.

³⁷⁸ ADCO E1809: 1633.

³⁷⁹ ADCO E1809: 1633.

³⁸⁰ ADCO E1809: 1633.

the groom of the *carrossier* (coach-maker) that Monsieur had sent to fetch money to pay for two *picotins* (a *picotin* is a quarter of a *boisseau*) of oats that he had purchased.³⁸¹

On several occasions, the receiver paid the debts for provisions purchased according to Françoise's orders. Most of these expenditures do not specify what was purchased, but all of them seem to support the fact that Madame ordered these items and paid later—indicating that she often bought on credit.³⁸² On many occasions, the wife of François Bauldin, *greffier* of Mirebeau, purchased the requested provisions for Madame. On November 18, 1631, the sum of 8 *livres* 11 *sols* was paid to the wife of François Bauldin for some provisions that she purchased in Mirebeau on the orders of Françoise who confirmed this transaction by providing a written directive to the receiver on November 23, for the purpose of accurate recordkeeping.³⁸³ The wife of François Bauldin was paid 6 *livres* 8 *sols* for some provisions that she purchased in Mirebeau by the order of Madame according to her *parties* from May 17, 1633.³⁸⁴ She made additional purchases on behalf of Madame that day at the fair in Mirebeau that included three *bouchons* (stoppers or corks) for 10 *sols*, two earthen pitchers for three *sols*, and three wooden plates for 3 *sols* 9 *deniers*. Françoise also deferred payment to merchants. The sum of 57 *livres* 10 *sols* was paid to Sieur Agnus, a merchant in Gray, for 50 pounds of sugar that he sold to Madame, as reported in the *intendant's quittance* from May 29,

³⁸¹ ADCO E1809: 1634. <http://artfl-project.uchicago.edu/content/dictionnaires-dautrefois>; Furetière, *Dictionnaire Universel*, Vols. 1-3. A *picotin* is a small measure used to give oats to horses. A *picotin* is the equivalent of ¼ of a *boisseau*. Furetière, *Dictionnaire Universel*, Vols. 1-3.

³⁸² Clare Crowston, "Family Affairs: Wives, Credit, Consumption, and the Law in Old Regime France." In *Family, Gender, and Law in Early Modern France*, ed. by Suzanne Desan and Jeffrey Merrick (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009), 62-100. Clare Crowston looks at women's ability "to create and transmit debt". She focuses on "trade credit" and how women with restricted legal capacities still had a access to credit, and thus some financial autonomy.

³⁸³ ADCO E1808: 1631.

³⁸⁴ ADCO E1809: 1632.

1631.³⁸⁵ The Honorable Jacques Boilland, a merchant from Auxonne, was paid 15 *livres* 18 *sols* following the written order of Madame from July 29, 1632.³⁸⁶ Additionally, in September of 1632, the receiver was sent by Madame to the fair in Gray to make purchases, and to give one *demi-pistole d'Espagne* and two *quarts d'écus* valued at 5 *livres* 15 *sols* to Sieur Agnus of Gray for some *perdreaux* (young partridges) that he had sent to the château.³⁸⁷ Although Claude did not make nearly as many purchases as his wife, he also bought on credit and had the receiver pay these debts on his behalf. The sum of 40 *livres* was paid to Philibert Moniot, a *marchand* from Blagny, according to his *quittance* dated October 14, 1630 located at the bottom of the written order from the Seigneur from March 29, 1629.³⁸⁸ In 1631 account, the receiver paid 400 *livres* to Sieur Agnus, a merchant in Beaumont, for *acquittement* (paying off a debt) of equal value that was owed him by the promise made to him by the Seigneur on April 20, 1629.³⁸⁹ In July 1634, seven *sols* were spent on a sheet of white iron that the Seigneur sent for from Issur-Tille via a man from Lœuilley.³⁹⁰ A man was paid 13 *livres* 12 *sols* for 136 feet of chain that he furnished following the written directive of the Seigneur from February 17, 1635.³⁹¹

Other times, the receiver, or an authorized party, purchased the goods requested by Madame outright. Sometimes she demanded the purchase of fish and fowl. In April 1630, the receiver sent someone to the festival of the pasture in Cheuge to fetch nine

³⁸⁵ ADCO E1808: 1630.

³⁸⁶ ADCO E1808: 1631.

³⁸⁷ ADCO E1809: 1632.

³⁸⁸ ADCO E1808: 1630.

³⁸⁹ ADCO E1808: 1631.

³⁹⁰ ADCO E1809: 1633.

³⁹¹ ADCO E1809: 1635.

chickens for 40 *sols* following the orders of Madame.³⁹² On January 19, 1634, Madame decreed that two *amodiateurs* (renters) of the *étangs* of Beaumont be paid 40 *livres*.³⁹³ Although the reason for this payment is not specified, these two men, who were also merchants in Beaumont, were identified in this entry as the renters of the ponds in Beaumont, indicating that this expenditure was made for fish. Other times, the specific supplies were unspecified. The servant Michele was given the sum of 9 *livres* 9 *sols* in order to purchase some provisions following the written directive of Françoise from March 10, 1632.³⁹⁴ In one instance, Françoise requested the purchase of a home improvement item. Following the orders of Madame from June 9, 1633, some cord was purchased for four *sols* in order to keep some doors closed in the antechamber.³⁹⁵ Many times, however, these demands were for foodstuffs. At the fair of Saint-Seine, on October 18, 1634, during the festival of St. Mathieu, 100 pears were purchased for eight *sols* for Madame.³⁹⁶ An additional 200 pears were purchased for Madame later that month for 13 *sols* 8 *deniers*.³⁹⁷ On November 15, 1633, 20 *muids* (a vessel containing about 288 French pints) of wine were purchased for the provision of the château from six different sellers for the sum of 160 *livres*.³⁹⁸ Retroactively, Françoise provided a written order for the wine dated December 5, 1634 to the receiver. Additionally, the sum of 244 *livres* was paid for 30 *muids* and 1 *fillette* (half a *muid*) of wine bought for “la maison de mondit Seigneur” (the house of my aforementioned Seigneur) following the written

³⁹² ADCO E1808: 1629.

³⁹³ ADCO E1809: 1632.

³⁹⁴ ADCO E1808: 1631.

³⁹⁵ ADCO E1809: 1632.

³⁹⁶ ADCO E1809: 1634.

³⁹⁷ ADCO E1809: 1634.

³⁹⁸ ADCO E1809: 1633.

directive of Françoise from December 5, 1634.³⁹⁹ Besides this amount, Jean Grassot, a *laboureur* in Beaumont, was paid 8 *livres* for a *muid* of white wine that he furnished to the château.⁴⁰⁰

On a few occasions, Claude also had the receiver or others make payments for purchases that he made. A few of these authorizations were for food. On April 23, 1632, following the orders of Claude, three *sols* were paid to the daughter of Martin Monin, a *sergent forestier et garde des bois* for having brought some small mushrooms to the kitchen.⁴⁰¹ On February 11, 1634, by the commandment of Monsieur, the receiver paid 19 *sols* to some people from Bèze who brought some fish and some crayfish to Beaumont when “Messieurs les Marquis et Baron de Chastelet” were at the château.⁴⁰² However, Claude had payments made for non-foodstuffs much more often. According to the orders of Monsieur, on November 27, 1633, a man from Lœuilley was paid 40 *sols* for five *bonnets de jour* (day bonnets) that he sold at the château and 24 *sols* for three additional day bonnets that he sold there later that month.⁴⁰³ On January 12, 1634, by order of Monsieur, the receiver paid four *livres* to the *cordier* of Fontennes for a large fishing net.⁴⁰⁴ In August 1634, eight wicker baskets⁴⁰⁵ were bought for 16 *sols* 8 *deniers* on behalf of Monsieur for the purpose of clearing the grounds of the buildings in Petit Bessey, and for use in the garden.⁴⁰⁶

³⁹⁹ ADCO E1809: 1634.

⁴⁰⁰ ADCO E1809: 1634.

⁴⁰¹ ADCO E1808: 1631.

⁴⁰² ADCO E1809: 1633.

⁴⁰³ ADCO E1809: 1633.

⁴⁰⁴ ADCO E1809: 1633.

⁴⁰⁵ Charpagne: small wicker basket used for grasses and gleaning.

⁴⁰⁶ ADCO E1809: 1634.

Additionally, Madame had people paid for delivering goods. On the orders of Madame, a *charretier* (wagon-maker) was given 16 *sols* for having brought 12 large carps from Sieur Mariotte on April 17, 1631.⁴⁰⁷ On January 24, 1632, by order of Françoise, eight *sols* were given to a boy who brought the salt sold by Sieur Agnus of Gray.⁴⁰⁸ In February 1635, on the orders of Madame, eight *sols* were given to a man who had brought some carps from Sieur Mariotte.⁴⁰⁹ In November 1631, by the orders of Françoise, a man from Maxilly was paid eight *sols* for having brought a chest of candles from the share of Sieur Perrot from Maxilly.⁴¹⁰

Sometimes, it is clear that the receiver himself made the purchases that Françoise requested. By the commandment of Madame, on September 21, 1632, the receiver went to the fair in Gray to make purchases on her behalf. There, he bought nine wicker cases of salt using three *pistoles d'Italie* worth 24 *livres* 12 *sols*.⁴¹¹ He also purchased two *fromages* (cheeses) in Gray that together weighed 38 pounds and cost 7 *livres* 12 *sols*, as well as 7½ pounds of *vieil graisse* (wheel grease) for 4 *quarts d'écus* 1 *sol* and 8 *deniers* worth 3 *livres* 5 *sols* 8 *deniers*. The expenses for the journey and stay in Gray were also charged to the account. For the lodging of the *carrossier*, the accountants, and their horses, as well as tips given to the grooms and servants at the inn, the receiver settled the tab for 45 *sols*. Additionally, he had to pay another 1 *sol* 3 *deniers* at the gates of Gray so that their coach, filled with these goods, would be allowed to exit the town.⁴¹² On another occasion, the receiver purchased fish for Madame. February 26, 1635, on the

⁴⁰⁷ ADCO E1808: 1630.

⁴⁰⁸ ADCO E1808: 1631.

⁴⁰⁹ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁴¹⁰ ADCO E1808: 1631.

⁴¹¹ ADCO E1809: 1632.

⁴¹² ADCO E1809: 1632.

orders of Madame, the receiver bought 68 pike from Brother Bernard Leculier, a monk in Collonge, in order to put in the reservoir of the Seigneur. He paid seven *pistoles d'Espagne* worth 60 *livres* plus 13 *sols* and 4 *deniers*.⁴¹³ The *pêcheurs* (fishermen) of the ponds were also paid eight *sols* for their wine.⁴¹⁴

Both Claude and Françoise intervened in collecting payments from Seigneurial debts. On many occasions, Françoise accepted money for these obligations. Moreover, these transactions were normally charged against the accounts as expenses, because for unspecified reasons Françoise kept most of these payments. For example, Madame received 123 *livres* from two *amodiateurs* of the rights to the community oven of Dampierre for what they owed, from which Madame gave the receiver the *quittance* from January 2, 1630 as proof of their payment for their records.⁴¹⁵ Madame received 33 *livres* from Jean Chevalier Clerotet, the *fermier des amendes* (renter of the rights to levy fines) of Dampierre, for one year of the *ferme* (lease agreement) from which the receiver also received a *quittance* from Madame from January 2, 1630.⁴¹⁶ In the 1630 account, one *émine* of wheat was owed to the Seigneur for part of the *amodiation* (rental contract) of the *corvée* (obligatory, unpaid labor service owed to the Seigneur by a tenant) of Blagny by two *amodiateurs*. They paid 63 *livres*, which was the value of the grains in money, to Françoise and the one *émine* of wheat was charged as an expense against the account.⁴¹⁷ Claude also interceded, though less often, in the collection of Seigneurial obligations. In the 1630 account, the receiver charged 3 *émines* 23 *boisseaux* of wheat

⁴¹³ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁴¹⁴ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁴¹⁵ ADCO E1808: 1629.

⁴¹⁶ ADCO E1808: 1629.

⁴¹⁷ ADCO E1808: 1630.

against the account for the amount owed by Jean Galefrenet, a *laboureur* from Beaumont, on the rest of the *amodiation* of the community oven, because the Seigneur decided instead to draw cash payments from this debtor at 60 *livres* per *émine*.⁴¹⁸

Additionally, there were numerous unspecific *quittances* provided by both Françoise and Claude to the receiver in exchange for money. It appears that the estate, via the receiver, reimbursed them for certain purchases once proof of payment was established. Often, there are no details given for these expenditures. It appeared that Françoise was responsible for requesting many of these reimbursements, further supporting that she indeed was in charge of making the majority of the estate and household purchases. Sometimes these reimbursements were on the small scale. For example, Madame was given 14 *livres* in accordance with her *quittance* from December 10, 1629.⁴¹⁹ Another time Claude was paid four *testons* worth 3 *livres* 2 *sols* according to his *quittance* from August 13, 1634.⁴²⁰ However, for the most part, these *quittance* reimbursements tended to be for larger amounts. According to the accounts, 10½ *pistoles d'Espagne* and seven *quarts d'écus* worth the sum of 88 *livres* 11 *sols* were furnished to the Seigneur following his *quittance* from March 11, 1630.⁴²¹ For instance, the receiver paid and delivered 467 *livres* to Madame following her *quittance* from October 27, 1630.⁴²² Another time, the receiver delivered 603 *livres* to Madame following her *quittance* from August 18, 1634.⁴²³

⁴¹⁸ ADCO E1808: 1630.

⁴¹⁹ ADCO E1808: 1629.

⁴²⁰ ADCO E1809: 1633.

⁴²¹ ADCO E1808: 1629.

⁴²² ADCO E1808: 1630.

⁴²³ ADCO E1809: 1633.

Both Françoise and Claude also requested that the receiver give them money with no explanation given. On May 31, 1632, the wife of the receiver gave 3 *livres* 4 *sols* to the Seigneur, the receiver being in Lyon at the time.⁴²⁴ On May 26, 1634, the receiver gave the Seigneur a *sequin* (Venetian gold coin normally worth about 7 *livres*)⁴²⁵ and eight *sols* valued together at five *livres* following Claude's written command from May 24 in which he requested 4 *livres* 12 *sols*.⁴²⁶ On July 7, 1634, Madame was given four *quarts d'écus* equivalent to 3 *livres* 4 *sols* following her written directive.⁴²⁷

On a regular basis, Françoise was involved in the sale of grains originating from the collection of Seigneurial debts. However, Claude was much less involved in selling grains. Numerous entries indicate that Françoise received payments in the form of money from the sale of these grains, which were charged as expenses by the receiver, indicating that she kept the payments. These grains were often sold to merchants and inhabitants from local villages. On February 7, 1630, 53 *émines* 6 *boisseaux* of wheat was sold and delivered to a merchant in Maxilly on Madame's ordinance.⁴²⁸ These grains were charged against the account indicating that Françoise kept the revenues. The quantity of 4 *émines* 15 *boisseaux* of wheat from the *dixme* of Cheuge was sold to several *amodiateurs* of this *dixme* for the sum of 270 *livres* which was received by Madame according to her *quittance* from January 5, 1631.⁴²⁹ These grains were also charged as an expense. On March 30, 1635, the receiver, on the command of Madame, went to Selongey to sell 50 *émines* of oats to the *marchand*, Thibault Camus, and to settle on the

⁴²⁴ ADCO E1808: 1631.

⁴²⁵ <http://artfl-project.uchicago.edu/content/dictionnaires-dautrefois>.

⁴²⁶ ADCO E1809: 1633.

⁴²⁷ ADCO E1809: 1633.

⁴²⁸ ADCO E1808: 1629.

⁴²⁹ ADCO E1808: 1630.

price of some cloth that she wanted to purchase. The receiver charged the account 12 *sols 6 deniers* for his and his horse's expenses.⁴³⁰ On April 2, 1635, Madame was paid the sum of 122 *livres 8 sols* for the sale of these 50 *émines* of oats as is evident in her *quittance*.⁴³¹ This time, the money received by Françoise was charged as the expense. Françoise also sold grains in large cities such as Dijon and Lyon. In April 1631, a total of 54 *émines* of wheat were taken from the *greniers* of the château in Beaumont and carried to the *maison de ville* in Dijon after having been sold to the *messieurs* of Dijon by a *marché* from February 21 signed by the *secrétaire de la ville*. Madame received an unspecified amount of *deniers* from this sale and these 54 *émines* were charged as an expense.⁴³² In the Spring of 1632, the receiver charged 182 *émines* of wheat and 76 *émines 1 boisseau* of oats removed from the *greniers* in Beaumont in order to take to Lyon, May 9-11, 1632, following the *marché* made with a *batelier* (boatman) staying in Pontailier. Françoise accepted the revenues from this sale of grains and the grains were charged as expenses.⁴³³ Claude was also involved in the sale of grains, albeit on a much smaller scale than Françoise. The Seigneur also kept these payments. The quantity of 52 *émines 2 boisseaux* of wheat and 52 *émines 2 boisseaux* of oats was sold and delivered to a merchant in Maxilly as evident in the *quittance* made by the Seigneur to the receiver from May 2, 1630.⁴³⁴ These grains were charged to the account. In 1631, on the orders of the Seigneur, the receiver deducted 9 *émines 12 boisseaux* of oats from the account as an expense because these grains were loaned to the Honorable François Agnus merchant

⁴³⁰ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁴³¹ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁴³² ADCO E1808: 1630.

⁴³³ ADCO E1808: 1631.

⁴³⁴ ADCO E1808: 1629.

in Beaumont, as well as to Berthelemy Daultrey and Claude Bauldin, merchants in Dampierre who were condemned to repay this debt in *deniers*.⁴³⁵ On April 25, 1632, 20 *émines* 20 *boisseaux* of oats were sold and delivered to Claude Lamonnet, *maître du logis de l'ecu* (proprietor of this inn) from Dijon, for an undisclosed amount of money that was received by the Seigneur. These grains were also charged to the account.⁴³⁶ In most of these transactions, the receiver charged the grains as expenses against the estate, indicating that Françoise and Claude kept the payments. However, they also made sure that the receiver absolved the buyers and himself of these debts.

Both Claude and Françoise demonstrated the importance of fostering and maintaining relationships with extended family and friends through social, legal, and educational expenditures. It was integral to the success of the family to preserve and reinforce these alliances. Sometimes they took on different responsibilities to achieve these means; other times they engaged in similar activities. Always, however, they worked towards the common goal of promoting familial interests.

Several of the social expenses incurred by Claude involved sending for money when guests were at the château. Often, he sent for money specifically to play games with family as well as visitors. According to Wendy Gibson, playing games was an important part of socialization and political networking.⁴³⁷ Although, the accounts do not mention gambling, the fact that Claude sends for money from the receiver when games were underway, indicates that betting was likely involved. According to the accounts, on October 22, 1629, on the Seigneur's commandement, his *homme de chambre* was given

⁴³⁵ ADCO E1808: 1630.

⁴³⁶ ADCO E1808: 1631.

⁴³⁷ Gibson, *Women*, 10.

one *pistole d'Espagne* worth 7 *livres* 16 *sols* for playing tennis with the *curé* of Champagne and Sieur Rougeot.⁴³⁸ On March 14, 1633, the Seigneur sent Sieur Berthault to fetch three *quarts d'écus* worth 48 *sols* so that Claude could play (a game) with his brother, Monsieur le Marquis of Arc-sur-Tille.⁴³⁹ On June 18, 1633, Claude sent his brother, Monsieur de Beaumont, to fetch from the receiver one *pistole d'Espagne* worth 8 *livres* 8 *sols*, because he was playing a bowling game called *quilles* (ninepins or skittles) with Monsieur Laisné.⁴⁴⁰ On August 24, 1633, on the feast of St. Bartholomew, by commandment of Monsieur, the receiver gave Claude's brother, Monsieur de Beaumont, one *quart d'écu* valued at 16 *sols* in order to play tennis with the guests who were coming to the feast.⁴⁴¹ The receiver added this amount to the eight *sols* that he had given him the preceding day, for a total of 24 *sols* charged against the account. On September 17, 1633, the receiver gave two *quarts d'écus* valued at 32 *sols* to the Seigneur who was playing *quilles* (ninepins or skittles) with his brother Monsieur le Marquis of Arc-sur-Tille and Monsieur le Chevalier Laisné.⁴⁴² Other times, the receiver was asked to send money to the château while family or associates were visiting, though no gaming was mentioned. For example, four *quarts d'écus* worth 3 *livres* 4 *sols* was given to the Seigneur on August 14, 1630, when Monsieur le Marquis of Arc-sur-Tille, his brother, was in Beaumont.⁴⁴³ Another example of networking occurred on August 8, 1632, when the

⁴³⁸ ADCO E1808: 1629.

⁴³⁹ ADCO E1809: 1632.

⁴⁴⁰ ADCO E1809: 1632.

⁴⁴¹ ADCO E1809: 1633.

⁴⁴² ADCO E1809: 1633.

⁴⁴³ ADCO E1808: 1630.

Seigneur sent Nicolas, one of Madame's *laquais*, to fetch three *quarts d'écus* worth 48 *sols* because Messieurs de Brion and d'Arcelot were at the château.⁴⁴⁴

Other times, the Seigneur's expenditures shed light on the importance of assisting in family promotions. On August 22, 1630, the receiver gave to the Seigneur four *quarts d'écus* worth 3 *livres* 4 *sols* for some messengers sent by him to the camps when his brother, Monsieur le Marquis of Tavanès, received the charge of Lieutenant in the government of Burgundy.⁴⁴⁵ On April 19, 1633, following the directive of Claude, the receiver paid 100 *sols* to Nicolas Gibelot *sergent général* in Saint-Seine for having gone to Arc-sur-Tille to appoint Monsieur de Tavanès to the "Requêtes du Palais à Paris" (a tribunal of the Parliament in Paris) as requested by Monsieur de Tonnecharente.⁴⁴⁶

The transactions generated from Françoise's interactions with her family did not surround gaming or aiding in official appointments, but instead indicate that she was often expected to fulfill the role of caregiver within the family. At least twice, Françoise was in charge of procuring medical attention for family members. On May 1, 1634, the receiver gave Madame a *demi-pistole d'Espagne*, 5 *quarts d'écus* and 5 *sols* worth a total of 8 *livres* 10 *sols* on the day that the *chirurgien* (surgeon) bled the foot of Mademoiselle de Tavanès.⁴⁴⁷ Presumably, Madame used this money as payment to the surgeon for coming to the aid of her daughter. On November 3, 1630, on the command of Madame, the receiver paid three *pistoles d'Espagne* worth 24 *livres* to a *medecin* (doctor) in Dijon

⁴⁴⁴ ADCO E1808: 1631.

⁴⁴⁵ ADCO E1808: 1630.

⁴⁴⁶ ADCO E1809: 1632.

⁴⁴⁷ ADCO E1809: 1633.

for his expenses for coming to examine Monsieur Roger de Saulx.⁴⁴⁸ Aside from summoning the doctor, none of the funeral provisions made for Roger can be directly attributed to either Claude or Françoise. However, it is likely that despite their lack of visibility, they were giving directions to the receiver from behind the scenes. For instance, it is hard to imagine that the family would not have been involved in the details of selecting the stone for the tomb and choosing the inscription. In November 1630, the sum of 27 *livres* was paid to a merchant in Auxonne as reimbursement for the same amount that he had paid to a sculptor from Auxonne who had furnished, engraved, and fashioned a tomb in stone from Sampans that was placed over the body of the late Sieur Roger in the church of Dampierre.⁴⁴⁹ Other expenses handled by the receiver included the payments for the masses celebrated and alms given in Roger's honor. He also paid the priests and vicars for the services, funeral, and burial rites they performed, as well as the churchwardens for ringing the bells and for digging the grave. A man from Beaumont was also paid for transferring Roger's tomb from Auxonne to Dampierre. Aside from the tomb, these expenses amounted to the sum of 15 *livres* 12 *sols* 20 *deniers*.

With the marriage of Françoise Brulart and Claude de Saulx-Tavanés and the resulting children, two families already aligned politically, became connected by blood. From the account transactions involving the Brulart family, it is evident that these kinship ties were preserved and reinforced by Françoise and Claude. The Brularts and Saulx-Tavanés appear to have been partners in wine production in Morey. In the 1631 account,

⁴⁴⁸ ADCO E1808: 1630. It is unclear how Monsieur Roger de Saulx was related to Claude and Françoise. Claude did not have a brother named Roger. The 1630 account does mention that 24 *sols* were given to a few men including the "maîtres d'écoles de Dampierre et Champagne" indicating that perhaps Roger was school-age at the time of his death.

⁴⁴⁹ ADCO E1808: 1630.

the receiver furnished 29 *livres* 15 *sols* 8 *deniers* for the fees for the *vendanges* made in Morey, of which sum Françoise's brother, Monsieur le President Denis Brulart, owed a quarter, and the *vigneron* (winemaker) of Morey a half, from which half Claude got the share of wine from the winemaker.⁴⁵⁰ On November 3, 1631, the receiver left from Beaumont in order to go get the wine in Morey. However, he was forced to stay in Dijon in order to wait for a man sent by Françoise's brother Monsieur le President Denis Brulart to share the wine. The expense for the receiver's lunch and lodging in Dijon was 50 *sols*.⁴⁵¹ On February 22, 1632, the receiver made a trip to Sombornon on the orders of Claude in order to find Françoise's uncle, Monsieur Noel Brulart *maître des requêtes* (master of requests was a senior counselor in Parliament), from which assignment the receiver accrued expenses amounting to 6 *livres* 7 *sols* for going to and staying in Dijon as well as for returning to Beaumont, and paying to pass through the waters at Is-sur-Tille.⁴⁵² On April 15, 1632, two messengers were sent for five *sols*, one to Mirebeau and the other to Bèze, in order to have some trout during the stay of Monsieur le President Denis Brulart in Beaumont.⁴⁵³ Françoise also attempted to nurture relationships with members of the Saulx-Tavanés. On September 27, 1634, Madame was given four *sols* in order to pay for two wicker baskets for the *vendange* for her brother-in-law, Monsieur le Marquis of Arc-sur-Tille.⁴⁵⁴

Both Claude and Françoise were also involved in positioning their eldest son, Monsieur Gaspard de Saulx-Tavanés, towards a future career in the religious sector. On

⁴⁵⁰ ADCO E1808: 1631.

⁴⁵¹ ADCO E1808: 1631.

⁴⁵² ADCO E1808: 1631.

⁴⁵³ ADCO E1808: 1631.

⁴⁵⁴ ADCO E1809: 1634.

several occasions, Gaspard's parents gave financial directives for the benefit of his religious education. In 1632, Claude sent the receiver to the college in Dôle, but Françoise was responsible for Gaspard's tuition. On July 16, 1632, on the wishes of the Seigneur, the receiver went to Dôle with the *carrossier* to fetch Gaspard, who was a student at the College of Jesuits in Dôle, and also to pay Father de Laval, *procureur des pensionnaires* (the monk in charge of the boarders) of the college, the sum of 101 *livres* 10 *sols* for the portion of Gaspard's tuition that was due. For his tuition, Françoise had given the receiver 10 *pistoles d'Espagne* worth 92 *livres* 10 *sols*, and the receiver covered the remaining amount, valued at 8 *livres* in Beaumont.⁴⁵⁵ On July 16, 1632, the receiver paid 25 *sols* for lunch in Moissesey on the way to Dôle, for the coachman, himself, and the horses.⁴⁵⁶ Also, 5½ *quarts d'écus* worth 4 *livres* 8 *sols* were charged against the account that day for dinner and lodging at an inn in Dôle, and for breakfast the next day for Gaspard, the coachman, the receiver, and the horses.⁴⁵⁷ Finally, the receiver paid another five *sols* in tips to the servants of the lodging, and 21 *sols* for lunch in Vonges on July 17, 1632.⁴⁵⁸

In 1634, the receiver was sent again to Monsieur Gaspard's college in Dôle. On April 20, 1634, by commandment of the Seigneur, the receiver returned to Dôle to set up the pension of their eldest son, Gaspard, who was in boarding school there. The receiver was also ordered to bring the money owed to Madame de Senecey as payment for Monsieur's *amodiation* of her portion of the two *double dixmes*.⁴⁵⁹ The receiver charged

⁴⁵⁵ ADCO E1808: 1631.

⁴⁵⁶ ADCO E1808: 1631.

⁴⁵⁷ ADCO E1808: 1631.

⁴⁵⁸ ADCO E1808: 1631.

⁴⁵⁹ ADCO E1809: 1633.

the account four *livres* for his expenses during his two days spent in Dôle. Moreover, when making the payment of 14 *pistoles* to cover Claude's debt to Madame de Senecey, the receiver had to shell out an additional 14 *sols* to cover the debasement of the *pistoles* because the woman collecting the debt, *Demoiselle* (female of noble heritage; a gentlewoman) Parise, refused to accept them as being worth the full value.⁴⁶⁰ Then on May 9, 1634, Gaspard left again for Dôle to go to boarding school. The receiver accompanied him, and reported the detailed expenditures incurred along the way. Passing through Champagne, the women of the village gave Gaspard bouquets and were given 3 *sols* in thanks.⁴⁶¹ En route, they stopped in Auxonne and bought 12 *aunes* of twill fabric from Chartres for 21 *livres* to make a monk's habit and hood for Gaspard, as well as an ounce of black silk and six buttons for 22 *sols*.⁴⁶² In Auxonne, the receiver also paid 10 *sols* to the *tambours* (drummers) who came to their lodgings to give some *aubades* (dawn serenades).⁴⁶³ The receiver spent four *livres* on the lunches of Sieur Gaspard, the monk Frere Bernard from Collonges, the coachman, himself, and the four horses of the coach.⁴⁶⁴ While there, Gaspard was also presented with flowers by some women there who were compensated with two *sols*.⁴⁶⁵ In Auxonne, the receiver gave three *sols* to a stable boy and servants at their inn, he paid a *mareschal* 10 *sols* for two horseshoes for the coach's horses, and he paid another 3 *sols* 4 *deniers* to a guide to conduct their coach along a *beau chemin* (scenic route).⁴⁶⁶ Once in Dôle, he paid a

⁴⁶⁰ ADCO E1809: 1633.

⁴⁶¹ ADCO E1809: 1633.

⁴⁶² ADCO E1809: 1633.

⁴⁶³ ADCO E1809: 1633.

⁴⁶⁴ ADCO E1809: 1633.

⁴⁶⁵ ADCO E1809: 1633.

⁴⁶⁶ ADCO E1809: 1633.

pistole d'Espagne valued at 8 *livres* 10 *sols* for their lodgings and lunch, another five *sols* to the servants at the inn, and 10 *sols* to the *tambours* (drummers) and *fifres* (fifers) who came to their lodgings to give Gaspard *aubades*.⁴⁶⁷ The receiver also bought a rosary for Gaspard for 7 *sols* 6 *deniers*.⁴⁶⁸ Aside from the Seigneur's initial request to the receiver to attend to Gaspard's pension, until this point in the account, the expenditures on this trip have no Seigneurial stamp of authority from Claude or Françoise, and so, it is unclear which one of them authorized each of these costs. However, the next two entries were commanded by Madame, which suggests that she was more involved in this adventure than the other entries reveal. Following the orders of Madame, the receiver left four *quarts d'écus* worth 3 *livres* 4 *sols* with Gaspard and gave two *quarts d'écus* valued at 32 *sols* to the servant of Monsieur *le directeur* of the school.⁴⁶⁹ Since it was unlikely that Françoise went along on the journey, given that there are no expenses incurred for her room and board, etc., it is evident that for at least some of the trip expenses, there had been specific prearranged instructions given by Madame to the receiver before they departed. This indicates that although she was not directly noted as the driving force behind the other expenses, she was nonetheless involved in this send off. At the end of this trip, the receiver left another 30 *sols* with Seigneur Gaspard specifically to pay a tailor who would make his monk's habit and hood, and he also paid 2 *sols* 6 *deniers* to a poor man who guided their coach through the streets of Dôle.⁴⁷⁰ On his return trip, the receiver stopped in Auxonne where he paid 40 *sols* for lunch for himself, the coachman,

⁴⁶⁷ ADCO E1809: 1633.

⁴⁶⁸ ADCO E1809: 1633.

⁴⁶⁹ ADCO E1809: 1633.

⁴⁷⁰ ADCO E1809: 1633.

and the horses, as well as three *sols* to the servants at the inn and for more bouquets.⁴⁷¹ The next month, Françoise issued orders for the payment of Gaspard's tuition. On June 18, 1634, on the command of Madame, five *pistoles d'Espagne* valued at 42 *livres* 10 *sols* were given to Frere Bernard Leculier, a monk in Collonges, towards Gaspard's boarding school tuition.⁴⁷² On August 6 1634, again on the orders of Madame, five *pistoles d'Espagne* worth 42 *livres* was paid to Frere Bernard Leculier in order to complete the payment for half of the year of Monsieur Gaspard de Saulx's tuition in Dôle (which cost 180 *livres* per year), as well as to cover the cost of the necessities outlined in Frere Bernard's *quittance*.⁴⁷³ Though Claude was involved in authorizing these trips to Dôle, for the most part, Françoise was responsible for the specific expenditures as well as for the tuition payments.

In contrast to these detailed records illustrating the efforts and money spent on Gaspard's schooling, there are few examples that directly show either Françoise or Claude overseeing the daily care of their children. On one occasion, Françoise orders that Mademoiselle d'Arcenay be paid. On November 29, 1633, on the order of Madame, 16 *sols* were given to Mademoiselle d'Arcenay on the day that the Dame's sons, "Messieurs les enfan(t)s," were taken to Dijon.⁴⁷⁴ Though the details are not discussed in this entry, presumably the Mademoiselle played some role in escorting Madame's sons to Dijon.⁴⁷⁵ It is possible that she was one of Françoise's ladies in waiting. There was a tradition among the nobility to send their daughters to live in other noble homes to serve

⁴⁷¹ ADCO E1809: 1633.

⁴⁷² ADCO E1809: 1633.

⁴⁷³ ADCO E1809: 1633.

⁴⁷⁴ ADCO E1809: 1633.

⁴⁷⁵ ADCO E1809: 1633.

the mistress of the household and in doing so develop the skills necessary to carry out their future responsibilities as noble wives. It was something of an apprenticeship for these young women. On at least one occasion, Françoise was mentioned as having authorized the payment of her youngest son's wet-nurse. According to the documents, on December 17, 1633, the sum of 9 *livres*, 16 *sols* was paid to the husband of the *nourrice* (wet-nurse) of the “Petit Monsieur” as was commanded by Madame.⁴⁷⁶ Françoise also authorized the payment of a tutor for her sons. On October 27, 1634, Madame sent the *percepteur* (tutor) of her male children to fetch 40 *sols* from the receiver.⁴⁷⁷ This entry is vague as to the reasons for this payment, but it is important because it reveals that she employed a tutor for her sons.

Additionally, throughout the accounts, there are regular expenditures that illustrate the charity and generosity of both Françoise and Claude, which seemed to be a priority to both of them. At least once, Claude and Françoise distributed charity together. On December 21, 1631, by commandment of both Claude and Françoise, the receiver gave 5 *sols* in alms to a young soldier at the chapel of Saint Bartholomew.⁴⁷⁸

There are numerous examples of Françoise providing poor relief within the community. In at least one instance, she clothed a local boy. Following a letter from Madame from December 7, 1632, the wife of François Bauldin, *greffier* in Mirebeau, was given 3 *livres* 12 *sols* for having bought some cloth to dress a poor boy named Piroteau.⁴⁷⁹ Françoise also gave gifts to the less fortunate. In the spring of 1632, the receiver charged the account six *boisseaux* of wheat that Madame had given to Thomas, a

⁴⁷⁶ ADCO E1809: 1633.

⁴⁷⁷ ADCO E1809: 1634.

⁴⁷⁸ ADCO E1808: 1631.

⁴⁷⁹ ADCO E1809: 1632.

laquais of the *intendant*, when he got married.⁴⁸⁰ On February 1, 1633, at the wedding feast of Monsieur Dupuis, their *procureur d'office* (the attorney of the Seigneurie), the receiver gave Madame two *quarts d'écus* worth 32 *sols* in order to give to the *filles de Dampierre* (daughters of Dampierre).⁴⁸¹ On April 19, 1634, Madame was given eight *sols* in order to give alms to a poor *Demoiselle* who was at the château.⁴⁸² On February 4, 1635, a poor boy was given one *sol* on the orders of Madame.⁴⁸³ There is also evidence that she helped those in need who were passing through the community. On June 28, 1633, the receiver gave Madame five *sols* so that she could give it to an *Egyptienne* (a female vagabond or gypsy thought to have originated from Bohemia).⁴⁸⁴

Françoise also exhibited a great deal of religious and secular generosity within the community and beyond. Sometimes religious assistance was given in money. On March 23, 1630, two *quarts d'écus* worth 32 *sols* were given to Madame to give the nuns in Auxonne.⁴⁸⁵ Other times, her religious generosity was exhibited through donations in grains. In the spring of 1632, 12 *boisseaux* of wheat were given in alms to the *Pères Capucins* (Capuchin monks) of the convent of Is-sur-Tille in accordance with Madame's directive.⁴⁸⁶ This appears to have been a standing gift from Madame given that these monks were given one *émine* of wheat in September 1633 and one *émine* of wheat in September 1634.⁴⁸⁷ On April 10, 1635, one *émine* of oats was delivered to the *Pères Capucins* of Champlitte in accordance with the directive from Madame as noted in a

⁴⁸⁰ ADCO E1808: 1631.

⁴⁸¹ ADCO E1809: 1632.

⁴⁸² ADCO E1809: 1633.

⁴⁸³ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁴⁸⁴ ADCO E1809: 1632.

⁴⁸⁵ ADCO E1808: 1629.

⁴⁸⁶ ADCO E1808: 1631.

⁴⁸⁷ ADCO E1809: 1633 & 1634.

letter from these fathers.⁴⁸⁸ Françoise also provided wax to meet the needs of the church during religious ceremonies. For instance, in February 1633, Madame commanded that five quarters of a pound of wax be delivered to the *curé* of Beaumont in order to make some religious candles in the chapel of Saint Bartholomew for Candlemas.⁴⁸⁹ Again, in April 1634, by order of Madame, the receiver gave this same *curé* a pound of wax for the festival of *cierges* (large religious candles) in the chapel of Saint Bartholomew.⁴⁹⁰ These religious donations also illustrated the religiosity of Françoise. Moreover, Françoise's gifts were not limited to religious orders; on at least one occasion, she also gave money to a secular order. On June 10, 1633, she gave the receiver 15 *pistoles d'Espagne* to take on her directive to La Romagne where the *Chevaliers de Malte* (military order called the Knights of Malta)⁴⁹¹ was located, in order to convey the sum of 129 *livres* to the receiver of the order. However, once there, it was determined that the 15 *pistoles d'Espagne* were valued at only 126 *livres*.⁴⁹² So as to complete the payment, the receiver paid 3 *livres* from his own pocket, and charged the account accordingly. The value of the money that Madame personally gave to him, however, was not charged to the account. Although, Françoise gave no specific reason to justify this payment, her son Nicolas would become a member of this order in 1640.⁴⁹³

⁴⁸⁸ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁴⁸⁹ ADCO E1809: 1632.

⁴⁹⁰ ADCO E1809: 1633.

⁴⁹¹ <http://artfl-project.uchicago.edu/content/dictionnaires-dautrefois>. La Romagne was a *commanderie* (fortress and headquarters of a military order) belonging to the *Chevaliers de Malte* (headquarters of the Order of the Knights of Malta). It was located in Saint-Maurice-sur-Vingeanne.

⁴⁹² ADCO E1809: 1632.

⁴⁹³ Pingaud, *Les Saulx-Tavannes*, 363. According to Pingaud, in 1631, at the age of 10, Nicolas became a knight of the *Prieure* of Champagne; Juigné, *Fatras Genealogiques*, 99-103. According to Juigné, he became a *Chevalier de Malte* in 1640.

Claude also demonstrated a charitable nature. In fact, he focused a lot of his generosity towards ensuring the survival of one particular boy. Although there was at least one case in which Françoise provided charity to this child, Claude seemed to take a special interest in seeing to his well-being. In October 1631, 3 *livres* 10 *sols* was spent on 2 $\frac{1}{3}$ *aunes* of gray woolen cloth purchased at the fair of Saint-Seine by order of the Seigneur in order to dress a poor little boy named Piroteau.⁴⁹⁴ In addition, another 27 *sols* was spent on 4½ *aunes* of cloth to make some shirts for Piroteau and to line his long outdoor coat.⁴⁹⁵ That same month, seven *sols* was spent on some thread and ornamental wool braid for the long outdoor coat, and 20 *sols* for the making of this coat with a hood and for three additional shirts.⁴⁹⁶ In October 1634, on the orders of Monsieur, five *aunes* of cloth was purchased for 35 *sols* in order to make some more shirts for Piroteau.⁴⁹⁷ In certain circumstances, Claude also acted charitably toward those having difficulties meeting their Seigneurial obligations. In the 1630 account, the receiver charged 6 *émines* 19 *boisseaux* of wheat and 3 *émines* 8 *boisseaux* of oats to the account for the remaining debts owed on the *amodiation* of Saint Bartholomew and other lands, as well as the debt on half of the community oven in Beaumont, due by the widow, Françoise Lorge, and the heirs of the late Claude Fleuriot who had made the contract with the Seigneur.⁴⁹⁸ These lands were remitted back to the Seigneur who *charitablement* (charitably) forgave this remaining debt because of their poverty, and with the return of these lands on which the renters had planted wheat, the Seigneur was able to collect harvests in 1631.

⁴⁹⁴ ADCO E1808: 1631.

⁴⁹⁵ ADCO E1808: 1631.

⁴⁹⁶ ADCO E1808: 1631.

⁴⁹⁷ ADCO E1809: 1634.

⁴⁹⁸ ADCO E1808: 1630.

There were also numerous occasions in which both Françoise and Claude requested money from the receiver during or immediately preceding religious holidays. Although, the exact reasons for these requests are uncertain, one can speculate that this was to use in a charitable fashion. On November 1, 1629, All-Saint's Day, Madame sent her *laquais* to fetch 16 *sols* from the receiver.⁴⁹⁹ On April 9, 1632, Good Friday, Claude sent Françoise's *laquais*, Nicolas, to fetch 20 *sols* from the receiver.⁵⁰⁰ On Christmas Day, 1632, Monsieur sent La Fortune, one of his *laquais*, to fetch three *livres*.⁵⁰¹ April 13, 1634, during *la Semaine Sainte* (the week proceeding Easter), the receiver gave Madame the sum of six *livres* and on April 15, the Saturday before Easter Sunday, Madame was given another five *sols* in the church of Saint Martin.⁵⁰²

On many occasions, the receiver provided provisions or money to the family when they were departing or returning from their travels. Though there is no discussion as to who directed these actions, these items were likely requested. The receiver gave one *pistole d'Espagne* to the Seigneur on December 26, 1629, bringing it to his stable as he was getting ready to leave by horse to go to La Romagne.⁵⁰³ On August 23, 1631, salt was purchased for 16 *sols* for Monsieur and Madame to take with them to La Borde.⁵⁰⁴ On June 15, 1632, the receiver gave four *quarts d'écus* worth 3 *livres* 4 *sols* to Madame when her and Monsieur were leaving to go to Auxonne.⁵⁰⁵ On June 25, 1632, five pounds of butter and four dozen eggs were bought for 30 *sols* 6 *deniers* on the return of

⁴⁹⁹ ADCO E1808: 1629.

⁵⁰⁰ ADCO E1808: 1631.

⁵⁰¹ ADCO E1809: 1632.

⁵⁰² ADCO E1809: 1633.

⁵⁰³ ADCO E1808: 1629.

⁵⁰⁴ ADCO E1808: 1631.

⁵⁰⁵ ADCO E1808: 1631.

the Seigneur.⁵⁰⁶ Moreover, there were many instances when the receiver sent provisions to the Seigneur and Dame when they were out of town. These items were also likely requested, but we do not know who asked for them. During their stay in Dijon in April of 1630, the receiver sent many things to Dijon. A total of 16 *sols* were given to the *charretier* who took some provisions to Dijon when the Seigneur and Madame were there for the arrival of the king.⁵⁰⁷ Hilaire Garlois, a *vigneron*, was paid 4 *livres* 5 *sols* for the sale of a mutton sent to Dijon.⁵⁰⁸ Another six *livres* was paid to Claude Monin, a *marchand* in Beaumont, for the sale of one veal, plus four *sols* for salt, and 15 *sols* for a quarter of a mutton purchased from the *boucher* in Dampierre.⁵⁰⁹ The total of 100 *sols* was paid to a *boucher* for a quarter of beef that the butcher bought in Mirebeau of which half was carried to Dijon.⁵¹⁰ On May 3, 1632, the receiver gave five *sols* to Jean au Bier from Blagny in order to pay for his lunch in Maxilly when he took one *émine* of the grains of the Seigneur.⁵¹¹ Other times, the receiver was given instructions from Françoise to send provisions while she was away from the Seigneurie. For example, the receiver sent four *émines* of wheat and two *émines* of oats to Dijon to Madame following her letter from May 4, 1634.⁵¹²

⁵⁰⁶ ADCO E1808: 1631.

⁵⁰⁷ ADCO E1808: 1629.

⁵⁰⁸ ADCO E1808: 1629.

⁵⁰⁹ ADCO E1808: 1629.

⁵¹⁰ ADCO E1808: 1629.

⁵¹¹ ADCO E1808: 1631.

⁵¹² ADCO E1809: 1634.

War time:

Beginning in the spring of 1635, there was a shift in expenditures in the Seigneurie. With war looming in the region, this shift resulted in a large number of provisions being sent to Dijon, where Madame established her new household headquarters. In fact, the expenses section from the 1635 accounts is over twice as dense as the next largest year. During her sojourn in Dijon, Françoise continued to direct the household and the estates. She even maintained her reliance on the local and regional artisans and laborers, as well as agricultural goods produced in the Seigneurie or in the neighboring villages. From the point of view of these accounts, there is very little purchasing of products within the city of Dijon. Most of the food was transported into the city as needed by what appeared to be an army of servants. Additionally, Françoise also had the responsibility of physically shifting the household in Beaumont to Dijon. There are numerous entries that focused on her commanding various pieces of furniture to be shipped out of the war zone to Dijon. Even though the Seigneur was spending most of his time in army camps outside of Dôle, and Françoise's headquarters had shifted to Dijon, the receiver was expected not only to continue to follow the orders given to him, but also to maintain the château in Beaumont including providing for those who stayed behind.

In many cases, the transferring of property was the direct result of orders given by Françoise to the receiver. This movement of property generated a good deal of expenses not seen the other years. Towards the end of April, 1635, a total of 48 *sols* was paid to two men from Blagny to cover their expenses for transporting household possessions belonging to Françoise to Dijon under the strict instructions that they would leave

Beaumont for Dijon at the exact same instant as Madame and her coach because she wanted the possessions that they were carrying to leave when she did.⁵¹³ In April 1635, Thomas Brulebault was paid 16 *sols* for going to Dijon to bring a *cabinet d'Allemagne* (a Standish, or inkstand: small cabinet containing writing instruments and accessories) to Madame which she had sent for.⁵¹⁴ In May of 1635, Elisabet Janvier “*l'une des comptables*” (one of the accountants), the daughter of the receiver, paid 4 *livres* 16 *sols* to the *charretiers* who brought Madame’s coffers (chests) to Dijon in accordance with Madame’s letter.⁵¹⁵ In September 1635, one *sol* was paid by the notary Claude Janvier, the son of the receiver, at the gate of Dijon in order to enter the city with some of Françoise’s possessions.⁵¹⁶ The receiver paid five *livres* to two men from Champagne for carrying in two wagons some rapeseed, some cases of candles, some kitchen utensils, and many other household items from the château in Beaumont to Madame in Dijon on July 20, 1636.⁵¹⁷ On July 23, 1636, the receiver paid five *livres* to Isabe Babin from Champagne for having taken to Madame in Dijon 18 tapestry chairs and many other possessions from the château in Beaumont following the orders of Madame.⁵¹⁸ There were also a few cases in which Claude’s possessions were sent to Dijon, though no authorization was noted. The receiver paid three *livres* to Jean Aubert from Blagny for having taken a wagon full of possessions belonging to the Seigneur from Beaumont to Dijon in August 1636.⁵¹⁹ On August 19, 1636, the receiver paid two men from

⁵¹³ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁵¹⁴ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁵¹⁵ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁵¹⁶ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁵¹⁷ ADCO E1809: 1636.

⁵¹⁸ ADCO E1809: 1636.

⁵¹⁹ ADCO E1809: 1636.

Champagne six *livres* for having taken two *muids* of wine and some possessions to the lodgings of the Seigneur in Dijon.⁵²⁰ Occasionally, Françoise requested money. The receiver brought 304 *livres* 10 *sols* to Madame in Dijon in accordance with her *quittance* from June 25, 1635.⁵²¹ The account was also charged 3 *livres* 10 *sols* for the express voyage made by the receiver to bring this money as well as some possessions to Madame.⁵²²

Moreover, there were copious amounts of food and other provisions shipped to Dijon from the provinces that were also often the result of Françoise's instructions to the receiver. During her wartime stay in Dijon, Françoise maintained her devotion to austerity, demanding that most of her consumables be sent to Dijon from the estates. In this manner, she continued to support the local and regional markets, and she continued to maximize the usage of products grown on their estates as well as the grains generated from Seigneurial debts. In this way, for the most part, she avoided spending frivolous amounts of money in Dijon.

All manner of foodstuffs were shipped to Françoise as a result of her directives. The largest number of these requests included grains. On May 28, 1635, the quantity of 10 *émines* 10 *boisseaux* of wheat and 12 *émines* of oats was sent to Dijon via *charretiers* to Madame following her request.⁵²³ On November 15, 1635, following two letters from Madame, the quantity of 1 *émine* 1 *boisseau* of wheat and 1 *émine* 1 *boisseau* of oats was sent via Nicolas Patris from Dampierre to Madame in Dijon.⁵²⁴ Sometimes orders of

⁵²⁰ ADCO E1809: 1636.

⁵²¹ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁵²² ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁵²³ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁵²⁴ ADCO E1809: 1635.

grains were combined with other foodstuffs. On January 8, 1636, following the directive of Madame, Jean de la Cave, a *palefrenier*, was given six *sols* for his expenses related to taking one *émine* of wheat, six capons, and six hens to Dijon.⁵²⁵ On one occasion, Françoise not only requested grains, but also a summary of household and estate expenditures from the receiver. On February 14, 1636, Jean de la Cave, a *palefrenier*, returned to Dijon by command of Madame to bring to her a *compte* (summary of accounts) and a *boisseau* of *navette* (rapeseed), for which journey he was compensated with 6 *sols*.⁵²⁶ For the purchase of the *navette*, the account was charged 26 *sols*.⁵²⁷ Sometimes these grain requests were quite large. On May 15, 1636, following the letter of Madame dated from May 13, 53 *émines* 6 *boisseaux* of wheat were taken to Dijon.⁵²⁸ The next day, May 16, 1636, the receiver sent another 25 *émines* of wheat to Madame in Dijon brought by the subjects of Champagne as was supported by a certificate from Madame.⁵²⁹

Françoise also sent orders for all manners of meats and animal products from the provinces. Françoise requested deliveries of animals including doves, hens, chickens, mutton, veal, as well as lard, butter, and eggs. On September 22, 1635, the *boulangier* and the *jardinier* were given eight *sols* for going to Dijon to bring some young doves and some meat from the butcher's shop for Madame in accordance with her orders.⁵³⁰ On November 27, 1635, the receiver paid two men 30 *sols* for their pains of having brought mutton, six hens, six capons, as well as some lard, to Dijon in accordance with the orders

⁵²⁵ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁵²⁶ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁵²⁷ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁵²⁸ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁵²⁹ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁵³⁰ ADCO E1809: 1635.

of Madame.⁵³¹ On December 22, 1635, according to the orders of Madame, half of a veal comprising of the head and the feet, eight hens, and eight capons was sent to her in Dijon. A *valet du château* (male domestic servant at the castle) was given six *sols* for his expenses for taking these provisions to Dijon.⁵³² On January 21, 1636, Polagne, a *valet* (male domestic servant), was paid three *sols* in order to cover his expenses incurred at the lodgings of Didier Voillot when he arrived from Dijon at night carrying letters from Madame requesting six hens, six capons, and other provisions. He found that he could not enter the château for supper.⁵³³ On January 22, 1636, the next day, Polagne was given six *sols* for his expenses for going back to Dijon to bring Madame her provisions.⁵³⁴ On April 6, 1636, from Dijon Madame wrote to the receiver for him to send her some chickens to what end he bought fourteen chickens for 56 *sols* and sent them to Madame through La Roche, a *laquais*.⁵³⁵ On August 19, 1636, he paid Mathieu Gayet, a *manouvrier*, 16 *sols* for having brought some young doves to the lodgings of the Seigneur in Dijon following the directive of Madame.⁵³⁶ Françoise also requested and was shipped a great deal of butter and eggs. The receiver paid 14 *livres* 12 *sols* 6 *deniers* for 58½ pounds of butter that he bought on November 29, 1635 from many people in order to send to Madame in Dijon following her directive.⁵³⁷ Additionally, he paid Jean Bauldin from Beaumont 15 *sols* for his expenses of having brought the butter to Madame in Dijon along with a *marmiton* (kitchen boy) who was paid three *sols* for his trip

⁵³¹ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁵³² ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁵³³ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁵³⁴ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁵³⁵ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁵³⁶ ADCO E1809: 1636.

⁵³⁷ ADCO E1809: 1635.

expenses.⁵³⁸ On December 20, 1635, the receiver sent eight pounds of butter for 36 *sols* to Madame in Dijon in response to her orders, as well as eight dozen eggs for 36 *sols*.⁵³⁹ Plus, he paid six *sols* to a *valet du château* in order to drink en route to bring these provisions to Madame.⁵⁴⁰

Wine was also shipped to Dijon in great quantities on Madame's command. On November 21, 1635, the sum of 12 *sols* was paid to two servants, Claude Roche and Toussaint Poinot, for their lunch on the way to Dijon to take two *muids* of wine to Madame following her directive.⁵⁴¹ On December 3, 1635, following the command of Madame, Toussaint Poinot, a servant, took a *muid* of wine to her in Dijon. The receiver gave him 20 *sols* in order to pay for the entrance of the wine at the gate of Dijon and 10 *sols* for his expenses along the roads, for a total of 30 *sols*.⁵⁴²

Françoise also requested other consumables, including fruits and salt. On February 11, 1636, eight *sols* were paid to *Demoiselle* Robert from Fontaine-Françoise for two pounds of dried plums in accordance with the letter of Madame.⁵⁴³ On February 11, 1636, Jean de la Cave, a *palefrenier*, was given six *sols* for his expenses en route to Dijon carrying one *boisseau* of *orge* (barley) and the plums to Madame.⁵⁴⁴ On May 15, 1636, the receiver bought from Jean Paporet from Lœuilley three wicker cases of salt for 10 *livres* 10 *sols*, whereby he sent to Madame 1½ wicker cases as supported in Madame's certificate of sale from May 16, 1636.⁵⁴⁵ On May 23, 1636, following an express letter

⁵³⁸ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁵³⁹ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁵⁴⁰ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁵⁴¹ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁵⁴² ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁵⁴³ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁵⁴⁴ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁵⁴⁵ ADCO E1809: 1635.

from Madame, the receiver bought from Jean Paporet from Lœuilley twelve wicker cases of salt from Salins⁵⁴⁶ whereby part was sent to Madame in Dijon and the rest retained for the household in Beaumont for a total of 39 *livres*.⁵⁴⁷ In studying the accounts, Françoise purchased very few things herself during wartime. In one instance, the sum of 3 *livres* 12 *sols* was spent on six pints of honey sold to Madame on July 7, 1635.⁵⁴⁸

On top of the goods directly requested by Françoise, there were also numerous deliveries that were sent to Dijon by the receiver with no notation as to whether or not Françoise specifically requested these provisions. However, even if Françoise did not send individual requests for every item shipped from the provinces by the receiver, in the least she and the receiver must have prearranged some sort of shipping schedule that anticipated the needs of the family as well as those of the estates and households.

On many occasions, the receiver appears to have sent meat and poultry provisions to Madame in Dijon without her directive. A few times, Françoise was sent hares. On June 12, 1636, Claude Foustelet from Beaumont was paid 15 *sols* for bringing two young hares to Madame in Dijon.⁵⁴⁹ Once, the receiver even sent a boar to Françoise. On April 15, 1636, Pierre Esmidey took a wild boar to Dijon on a wagon and had to re-shoe one of the horses pulling the wagon who threw a shoe en route, for which the receiver paid six *sols* for the shoeing.⁵⁵⁰ The receiver also sent veal on a few occasions. On December 8, 1635, five *sols* was paid to Pierre Monin, a *laquais* called Judas, for his lunch having

⁵⁴⁶ This is most likely Salins-les-Bains in the Jura.

⁵⁴⁷ ADCO E1809: 1636.

⁵⁴⁸ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁵⁴⁹ ADCO E1809: 1636.

⁵⁵⁰ ADCO E1809: 1635.

gone to Dijon to bring to Madame half of a veal, specifically, the head and the feet.⁵⁵¹ More often, Françoise received poultry in the form of doves, hens, chickens, capons, woodcocks, and even a duck. On May 19, 1635, the day before Easter, 28 chickens were purchased for 4 *livres* 4 *sols*; 25 were sent to Dijon to Madame and the rest were kept for those at the château in Beaumont.⁵⁵² The sum of seven *sols* was given to Jacques Cotin, the *jardinier*, in order to bring to Madame in Dijon a duck and some butter on October 27, 1635.⁵⁵³ On November 12, 1635, the *marmiton* was given three *sols* for going to Dijon to bring to Madame some hens and some woodcocks.⁵⁵⁴ On February 3, 1636, six *sols* was delivered to the *palefrenier*, Jean de la Cave, for his expenses for going to Dijon to bring to Madame six hens and two capons.⁵⁵⁵ On May 5, 1636, five *sols* were paid to one of the receiver's servants, Claude Roche, for drinks en route to Dijon carrying some doves.⁵⁵⁶

The receiver also sent large quantities of eggs and butter to Françoise, seemingly without her decree. In fact, between May 1635 and May 1636, more than 120 pounds of butter and more than 1,800 eggs were purchased in the provinces.⁵⁵⁷ Some of these animal byproducts were kept to feed those at the château in Beaumont, but the overwhelming majority was sent to Françoise in Dijon. These eggs and butter were purchased from a variety of inhabitants in the Seigneurie. On May 11, 1635, the quantity of eleven pounds of butter was purchased for 55 *sols* from the renter of Bessey and five

⁵⁵¹ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁵⁵² ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁵⁵³ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁵⁵⁴ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁵⁵⁵ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁵⁵⁶ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁵⁵⁷ This excludes the eggs and butter that in the entries that show they were sent because of a directive made by Françoise.

dozen eggs were bought from the *maire* (mayor) for 10 *sols* to be sent to Madame in Dijon.⁵⁵⁸ That same month, eight pounds of butter was bought from the wife of Claude Monin, a *marchand* in Beaumont, for 40 *sols*. Inhabitants from the estates were also paid to carry these provisions to Dijon. On November 2, 1635, the wife of Philibert Moniot, a *marchand* from Blagny, was paid 50 *sols* for ten pounds of butter, and three other women were paid 65 *sols* for 13 additional pounds of butter.⁵⁵⁹ Jacques Cotin, the *jardinier* who carried this butter to Madame in Dijon, was paid six *sols* to drink en route. On February 7, 1636, the receiver sent Françoise six dozen eggs and three pounds of butter for a total cost of 27 *sols*.⁵⁶⁰ The receiver gave three *sols* to a *marmiton* to cover his cost of drinking and for passage across the waters in Arc-sur-Tille en route to Dijon to carry these eggs and butter to Dijon. On a couple of occasions, the receiver bought baskets to carry these provisions. For example, in October 1635, five *sols* were spent on a wicker basket carried on the back, which was purchased in order to carry eggs and butter to Madame in Dijon.⁵⁶¹

The receiver also sent products generated from the estates to Françoise in Dijon, including grains, wood, and hay. None of these shipments showed an explicit demand from Françoise. On March 4, 1636, the receiver paid two men with four horses 12 *sols* for their expenses en route to Dijon to take two *émines* of wheat to Madame.⁵⁶² Then on March 8, 1636, these same two men were given another 12 *sols* for going to Dijon to take

⁵⁵⁸ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁵⁵⁹ ADCO E1809: 1635,

⁵⁶⁰ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁵⁶¹ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁵⁶² ADCO E1809: 1635.

some oats.⁵⁶³ The receiver sent 52 *boisseaux* of wheat to Madame in Dijon on August 14, 1636.⁵⁶⁴ On August 16, 1636, the receiver sent another 7 *émines 7 boisseaux* of wheat from Beaumont to Madame in Dijon. This shipment of grains was deposited in the *greniers* of the *Cordeliers* in Dijon, where Madame was storing her grains. On a few occasions, the receiver also sent hay and wood to Madame in Dijon. The quantity of three *sols* were given to Bidet, a *laquais*, who came to Beaumont on November 16, 1635, in order to carry to Dijon one *émine* of wheat, one *émine* of oats, a wagon of hay and one of wood.⁵⁶⁵ On December 6, 1635, two men drove two wagons of hay to Dijon for which the receiver gave them 16 *sols* for their expenses.⁵⁶⁶ On February 26, 1636, the receiver sent two of his servants to take two wagons of wood to Madame in Dijon, paying them 12 *sols* for their lunch en route.⁵⁶⁷

The receiver sent additional foodstuffs to Françoise in Dijon without evidence of her command, including honey, fruit, fish, salt, and wine. On a few occasions, he sent her honey. The widow of Thibault de Precigny was paid 12 *sols* for a pint of honey sent to Madame in Dijon on October 9, 1635.⁵⁶⁸ In October 1635, 16 *sols* were paid to Mathieu Gayet, a *manouvrier*, for having taken the honey, six hens, and a quarter pound of quinces to Madame. In October, 1635, the sum of 12 *sols* was spent on another pint of honey purchased from the widow of Thibault de Precigny and sent to Madame. He also sent wine to Françoise in Dijon. On December 27, 1635, two men were given 12 *sols* for their expenses for taking to Dijon two *muids* of wine, 12 hens, half of a veal, and four

⁵⁶³ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁵⁶⁴ ADCO E1809: 1636.

⁵⁶⁵ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁵⁶⁶ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁵⁶⁷ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁵⁶⁸ ADCO E1809: 1635.

teals (ducks).⁵⁶⁹ On January 28, 1636, the sum of 12 *sols* were furnished to two men for their lunch for going to Dijon with four horses to carry two *muids* of wine.⁵⁷⁰ In one case, the receiver sent salmon and salt, amongst other provisions. On December 31, 1635, Toussaint Poincot, a servant, was given six *sols* for his expenses going to Dijon to take one *émine* of wheat, three dozen salmon, some salt, and some poultry.⁵⁷¹

During wartime, there were few examples of purchases made by or on the command of the Seigneur. It is likely that these purchases occurred when Claude was on leave from the army. These expenditures illustrate the continued contributions that the Seigneur made to the local and regional economies even during the fighting. Several of these purchases involved food. In April 1635, some small mushrooms were bought from the laquais Judas for two *sols* for the Seigneur.⁵⁷² In June 1635, Claude MaistreJean, a *charron* in Beaumont, was paid 10 *sols* for a pike on the orders of the Seigneur.⁵⁷³ On February 27, 1636, by the order of the Seigneur, a *cuisinier* was paid 15 *sols* to go to Mirebeau in order to buy some olive oil.⁵⁷⁴ On March 17, 1636, following the orders of the Seigneur, some herrings were bought for the château for 24 *sols*.⁵⁷⁵ On another occasion, the Seigneur ordered construction materials and provisions for the care of a horse. On June 4, 1635, per the command of the Seigneur, three ounces of olive oil and two ounces of *d'eau de vie* (brandy, distilled from wine) for a horse called Prine, plus three sheets of tin-plate and one-thousand roofing nails, were purchased in Mirebeau for a

⁵⁶⁹ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁵⁷⁰ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁵⁷¹ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁵⁷² ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁵⁷³ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁵⁷⁴ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁵⁷⁵ ADCO E1809: 1635.

total cost of 3 *livres* 3 *sols*.⁵⁷⁶ Claude also commanded that a *tithe* be collected and that baskets be purchased to clean the grains from this Seignorial obligation. On August 1, 1635, forty-five *sols* were spent on two *vans* (wicker scallop-shaped basket with two handles used to toss grain in the air in order to separate it from the chaff, thus cleaning it) purchased at the fair of Saint-Seine in order to winnow the grains from the *double dixme* that the Seigneur had ordered to be collected.⁵⁷⁷

Although neither Françoise nor Claude were in regular residence in Beaumont during the fighting, prior to the siege the château in Beaumont continued to function as normally as possible, albeit at a more limited capacity. Services from inhabitants of the community and region were still required. These services still had to be paid for, and purchases necessary to provide for the remaining members of the household had to be made. Both the Seigneur and the Dame continued to issue orders for the payment of essential services, including the payment of their servants. The sum of 47 *livres* was paid to a *coupeur* in accordance with the written directive of Madame from July 15, 1635.⁵⁷⁸ In the late fall of 1635, three *sols* were given to a *marmiton* for going to Dijon to bring to Madame three woodcocks given by the parish priest of Beaumont.⁵⁷⁹ On March 22, 1636, two *sols* were given to Pierre Monin, a *laquais* called Judas, on the orders of the Seigneur.⁵⁸⁰ On April 20, 1636, the receiver reimbursed the *intendant* one *pistole d'Espagne* and one *quart d'écu* that he had lent to the Seigneur in Bar-le-Duc for which the *intendant* made *quittance* for a total of 10 *livres* which was charged against the

⁵⁷⁶ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁵⁷⁷ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁵⁷⁸ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁵⁷⁹ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁵⁸⁰ ADCO E1809: 1635.

account.⁵⁸¹ Just as before the fighting began, both Françoise and Claude continued to issue payments to the baker. On May 29, 1635, a *boulangier* at the fair of Mirebeau was paid one *pistole d'Italie* worth 8 *livres* 8 *sols* for his wages per the Seigneur's orders.⁵⁸² On September 22, 1635, a *boulangier* was given 40 *sols* for his wages as Madame had commanded at her departure to go to Dijon.⁵⁸³ On May 31, 1636, one *émine* of wheat was delivered to the *jardinier boulangier* (gardener-baker) for the château, in order to make some bread to send to the Seigneur following his orders.⁵⁸⁴ On one occasion, Claude ordered payment to the cook. Before the war, it was primarily Françoise who was responsible for paying the cook. However, on March 21, 1636, following the written directive of the Seigneur, the *cuisinier* was paid one *pistole d'Espagne* worth nine *livres*.⁵⁸⁵ On at least a couple of occasions, Françoise was responsible for paying a wagon-maker. On July 4, 1635, 4 *livres* 4 *sols* were sent to Madame via the servant Gabrielle in order to give a *charretier* who was coming from Dijon.⁵⁸⁶ Hector Bauldin, a *charron*, was paid 4 *livres* 10 *sols* following the written orders of Madame from August 13, 1635.⁵⁸⁷ Additionally, in one instance, Françoise ordered that a kitchen boy be fired. On December 20, 1635, following the orders of Madame, the receiver dismissed a *marmiton*, giving him five *sols* on his removal.⁵⁸⁸

Maintenance of the château and grounds did not cease until the siege of Beaumont destroyed most of the village. Some of these payments were made to workers for

⁵⁸¹ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁵⁸² ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁵⁸³ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁵⁸⁴ ADCO E1809: 1636.

⁵⁸⁵ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁵⁸⁶ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁵⁸⁷ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁵⁸⁸ ADCO E1809: 1635.

unknown reasons. Several of these expenses came from maintaining the grounds of the château. Many of these expenditures continued to be handled by Claude. On May 31, 1635, by orders of the Seigneur, two men were paid 48 *sols* for having mowed the reeds in the Petit Park.⁵⁸⁹ On June 1, 1635, another 10 *sols* was paid to these two men for having mowed the low-lying pasture in the Grand Park and for making a path to the Grand Park in order to pull the hay from the Petit Park without destroying the grass. On May 28, 1635, on the orders of Claude, Mathieu Gayet, a *manouvrier*, was paid 32 *sols* for having mowed the reeds of the meadow in the Grand Park. Claude also issued orders for the payment of gardeners and for gardening services. On June 18, 1635, 32 *sols* were given to Jacques Cotin, the *jardinier*, for his wages, on the orders of Claude.⁵⁹⁰ On April 6, 1636, following the order made by the Seigneur before he left Beaumont, the receiver paid 50 *sols* to Pierre Esmidey for 15 days that he worked to remove stones from the garden. On April 27, 1636, 56 *sols* 8 *deniers* was paid to Pierre Esmidey for 17 days of work in the garden and other places, and since that day, he was retained as a *portier* (doorman) at the castle by order of the Seigneur.⁵⁹¹ One time, Françoise paid a laborer for unspecified reasons. The sum of 13 *livres* 13 *sols* 4 *deniers* was paid to Jean Galefrenet *laboureur* per the written orders of Madame from April 22, 1635.

Additionally, there were many services required for the continued upkeep of the château. Both Françoise and Claude appear to have been responsible for tending to this maintenance from a distance. The Seigneur employed a glazier and a mason to make repairs to buildings on the estate. In May of 1635, according to the orders of Claude, the

⁵⁸⁹ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁵⁹⁰ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁵⁹¹ ADCO E1809: 1635.

sum of 3 *livres* 15 *sols* was paid to the *vitrier* from Fontaine for having remounted a new pane of glass in the green bedroom, another pane in the bedroom of the pages, and for having replaced many small diamond shaped panes and other windows that the storm had broken.⁵⁹² In May of 1635, 50 *sols* were paid to a *maçon* for having plugged the hay-chute from the hayloft in the gable of the stables, and for having remade a hay-chute in the same gable according to the orders of the Seigneur.⁵⁹³ Additionally, the Seigneur employed some men to remove scaffolds that could have been used by the enemy to breach the château. On May 6, 1635, six *sols* were paid to three men for removing the scaffolds of the *maçons* that were placed against the wall that serves as a closure to the tower fearing the approaching army of Duke Charles of Lorraine.⁵⁹⁴ Both Françoise and Claude shared the responsibility of paying the roofer. The sum of 8 *livres* 8 *sols* was paid to Vaillant, the *couvreur*, following his *parties* and the written orders of Madame from September 4, 1635.⁵⁹⁵ On September 19, 1635, Madame departed for Dijon having left at the château two painters, the *jardinier boulanger* as well as the Valliant *couvreur* and his wife, who had been whitewashing the château for four days. For their nourishment, they were given 8 dozen eggs and 3 pounds of butter valued at 33 *sols* 6 *deniers*. On November 11, 1635, Valliant, the *couvreur*, was paid 27 *sols*, which completed the debt due him of 100 *sols* to which Madame had bargained with him for the whitewashing of the château. On May 14, 1636, another five *sols* were paid to Vaillant, the *couvreur*, by order of the Seigneur for having plastered some lime and cement in the large stable in front of the horses' trough.

⁵⁹² ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁵⁹³ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁵⁹⁴ ADCO E1809: 1635

⁵⁹⁵ ADCO E1809: 1635.

During the war years, both Claude and Françoise maintained shared responsibilities concerning remuneration of the smithies. In one case, the Seigneur employed a locksmith. On March 13, 1636, following the orders of the Seigneur, the receiver paid a *serrurier* in Mirebeau 22 *sols* for having replaced the wards of the lock of a door and for making two keys.⁵⁹⁶ Claude and Françoise shared the responsibility of paying the blacksmiths. The receiver sent 25 *boisseaux* of oats to Nicolas Leger, a *mareschal* in Selongey, in accordance with the command of the Seigneur from June 9, 1635.⁵⁹⁷ Following his *parties* and the written orders of the Seigneur from May 24, 1635, Antoine Patron, a local *mareschal*, was paid 13 *livres* 13 *sols*. Following two written commands from Madame in August 1635, one *boisseau* of wheat was delivered to Patron and he was paid the sum of 12 *livres* 16 *sols* 3 *deniers*.⁵⁹⁸ On at least one occasion during war, Claude authorized a payment to a gunsmith. In the 1635 account year, by the command of the Seigneur, 12 *boisseaux* of wheat was sent to an *arquebusier* in Mirebeau according to this written order and *quittance*.

Claude continued to oversee most of the payments and responsibilities involving horses. He directed the compensation of the horse-grooms, the cord-maker, the horse-collar maker, as well as the purchasing of horses. Several times, Claude paid horse-grooms. On July 3, 1635, per the command of Monsieur leaving for Dijon, the sum of 17 *livres* was paid to a *palefrenier*, for his wages.⁵⁹⁹ The sum of 8 *livres* 12 *sols* was paid to another *palefrenier* in accordance with the written directive of the Seigneur from January 16, 1636. On March 2, 1636, following the orders of the Seigneur, the receiver paid 20

⁵⁹⁶ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁵⁹⁷ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁵⁹⁸ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁵⁹⁹ ADCO E1809: 1635.

sols to Pierre Esmidey for a day that he worked in the garden and for caring for the horses when the *palefreniers* were not there. Claude also ordered most of the horse tack. On March 8, 1635, by orders of the Seigneur, three horse bridles and two pairs of the ropes that run between the horses pulling a wagon were bought from the *cordier* of Bèze for 28 *sols*. On August 17, 1635, Nicolas Nicolardot, called Carré, the *bourrelier*, was paid 3 *livres* 6 *sols* following the written directions of the Seigneur. The sum of 17 *livres* 16 *sols* was paid to Carré *bourrelier*, in accordance with the *parties* settled by the Seigneur on March 22, 1636. The Seigneur also held on to the responsibility of buying horses. On May 7, 1636, 15 *sols* was paid to Vaillant, the *couvreur*, for having gone to Mirebeau, Renève, and Essertenne by order of the Seigneur to fetch some horses that he wanted to buy.⁶⁰⁰ On May 27, 1636, the Seigneur gave a written directive to the receiver to pay Didier Voillot, the *boucher* in Beaumont, the sum of 120 *livres* for a horse that he sold to the estate.⁶⁰¹

For the most part, Claude maintained the responsibility of overseeing the care of the horses even during the war. In May 1635, eight *sols* were paid to Pierre Monin, a *laquais* called Judas, for having gone to Selongey to fetch the *mareschal* on the command of the Seigneur in order to heal a sick horse.⁶⁰² On March 24, 1636, by order of the Seigneur, the receiver paid Nicolas Leger, a *mareschal* in Selongey, 1 *pistole d'Espagne* worth nine *livres*, plus another 20 *sols*, for drugs that he had furnished for the horse called L'Italien, and for having cared for and applied the medicine to the horse.⁶⁰³ At least once Françoise was responsible for overseeing the care of a horse. In September 1635,

⁶⁰⁰ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁶⁰¹ ADCO E1809: 1636.

⁶⁰² ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁶⁰³ ADCO E1809: 1635.

following the directive of Madame, 25 *sols* were paid to Claude Paporet, called *Le Carnie*, for five days that he served at the château to care for the horses while the *carrossier* was sick from a dislocated leg, and for Paporet's voyages to Autrey and to Arc-sur-Tille.⁶⁰⁴ The accounts are peppered with entries involving the care of sick horses, which is understandable given the expense of and dependence on horses in early modern society.

Both Claude and Françoise shared the responsibility of purchasing apparel during the war. Françoise continued to purchase fabric and clothing locally. In fact, the day she moved households, rather than purchasing cloth when she arrived in Dijon, she told the receiver to buy some cloth in Beaumont and send it to her. On May 19, 1635, a *tixier* (weaver) in Beaumont was paid 7 *livres* 10 *sols* for having made 50 *aunes* of cloth according to the orders given to the receiver by Madame when she left for Dijon where the cloth was later sent.⁶⁰⁵ Another time, she ordered the receiver to pay a shoemaker in Dampierre. The sum of 30 *sols* was paid to a *cordonnier* in Dampierre in accordance with the written orders of Madame from August 12, 1635.⁶⁰⁶ In one case, Françoise got involved in purchasing shoes from a regional shoemaker for a servant. A *cordonnier* in Bèze was paid 23 *sols* for a pair of shoes bought for the *marmiton* following the orders of Madame in her letter from October 22, 1635.⁶⁰⁷ In one case, the Seigneur authorized the payment of a regional shoemaker for unspecified reasons. The sum of 25 *livres* 16 *sols* 6 *deniers* was paid to the *cordonnier* in Mirebeau, following the written orders of the Seigneur from March 16, 1636.

⁶⁰⁴ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁶⁰⁵ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁶⁰⁶ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁶⁰⁷ ADCO E1809: 1635.

Claude maintained his pre-war penchant for overseeing the clothing of his servants. He also continued to buy locally. He authorized the purchase of leather soles and shoes for two servants. On July 27, 1635, 16 *sols* were paid to a *cordonnier* for having put leather soles on the boots of a *palefrenier* per the orders of the Seigneur.⁶⁰⁸ On December 6, 1635, 35 *sols* were paid to a *cordonnier* in Bèze for a pair of shoes sold to Lestrille, a *valet d'écurie*, returning from the army with the Seigneur. Claude also ordered shirts and stockings for three of his *laquais*. On May 29, 1635, a shirt and two stockings were purchased at the fair in Mirebeau for 30 *sols* for Petit Jean, a *laquais*, according to the directive of the Seigneur.⁶⁰⁹ On January 17, 1636, 50 *sols* was spent on two shirts and linen stockings for Normant, *laquais* of Monsieur of Beaumont, furnished by orders of the Seigneur. On March 6, 1636, in accordance with the orders of the Seigneur, Marguerite Geugnet was paid three *livres* for two shirts that she made for Pierre Monin, a *laquais* called Judas. Additionally, the Seigneur took special care to see to the apparel of one particular horse-groom. On February 14, 1636, following the command made by the Seigneur before he left for Paris, the receiver bought three *aunes* of grey woolen cloth for nine *livres* for a garment for a *palefrenier* called Lantiniome. For the outfit, he also purchased silk thread and buttons for 24 *sols* 3 *deniers*.⁶¹⁰ That same day, the receiver paid an additional 25 *sols* for five *aunes* of cloth to serve as canvas and for the lining. He also paid 35 *sols* to a *tailleur* (tailor) for making the garment, 40

⁶⁰⁸ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁶⁰⁹ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁶¹⁰ ADCO E1809: 1635.

sols for two shirts, 13 *sols* for three collars, and 14 *sols* for leather soles to be put on Lantiniome's shoes.⁶¹¹

Despite these troubling times, official business continued to include summons and seizures. For example, on July 6, 1635, the Seigneur sold 400 *émines* of wheat to Henry Camus as *vivres* (provisions) for the armies of the King, whereupon the Seigneur received 40 *pistoles* at the time the bargain was struck. However, because this man failed to take and accept these grains (thus neglecting to complete the payment), it was necessary to attain the copy of the *marché* in order to make an appeal against him.⁶¹² The account was charged 20 *sols* for the summary from this *marché*. The receiver also sent two messengers to Langres to summon Camus at his residence.⁶¹³ He paid 30 *sols* to a notary in Langres for making the *interpellation* and another 25 *sols* to a messenger sent from Beaumont to Dijon to Madame with the above mentioned *marché* as well as the *interpellation*.

In addition to this judicial business, there was an increase in the messengering of correspondence. There are many examples of servants and laborers acting as messengers on behalf of the Seigneur. In April 1635, 16 *sols* were paid to Jean Febvret, a *couvreur* from Beaumont, for going to Dijon to find the Seigneur and to bring him some letters.⁶¹⁴ In May of 1635, 16 *sols* were paid to Mathieu Gayet, a *manouvrier*, to go to Dijon to carry some letters to the Seigneur from Monseigneur le Marquis of Arc-sur-Tille at the Camp of Clermont.⁶¹⁵ The sum of 16 *sols* was given to Monseigneur de Beaumont by

⁶¹¹ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁶¹² ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁶¹³ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁶¹⁴ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁶¹⁵ ADCO E1809: 1635.

command of the Seigneur in order to give to a *laquais* of Monseigneur le Marquis of Arc-sur-Tille who had brought some letters from the Marquis who was staying with the company of gendarmes (men of arms) of Monseigneur le Prince on July 6, 1635.⁶¹⁶ On January 17, 1636, by ordinance of the Seigneur, 16 *sols* was paid to Nicolas GrandJean, a *cordonnier*, who had taken some letters to Sacquenay, Bessey, and other places, as well as 10 *sols* for his return.⁶¹⁷

Both Françoise and Claude were involved in the protection, distribution, and selling of grains during wartime. In preparation for war, Françoise was responsible for transferring grains. On October 20, 1635, she wrote to the receiver from Dijon in order to have 131 *émines* 12 *boisseaux* of wheat transported by water from Maxilly-sur-Saône to Auxonne.⁶¹⁸ The account was charged four *livres* for the initial expenses incurred by the notary Claude Janvier (son of the receiver) for having gone to Auxonne in order to prepare some *greniers*, to bargain with a *batelier*, and to secure some *charretiers* from Maxilly, in order to transport the Seigneur's grains to Auxonne in accordance with Françoise's letter.⁶¹⁹ Another time, Françoise and Claude worked together to relocate grains. On June 9, 1636, in accordance with Françoise's letters, the receiver sent 41 *émines* of wheat to Auxonne, which were unloaded into the *greniers* of two women, *Demoiselle* Jacob and Dame Boilland, for nine *livres* per month as commanded by Monsieur passing through Auxonne during the siege of Dôle.⁶²⁰ The receiver charged these 41 *émines* as an expense against the account. On another occasion, the receiver's

⁶¹⁶ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁶¹⁷ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁶¹⁸ According to the receiver, when these grains were transferred, they were not charged as an expense because they were mentioned in the expenses from another year.

⁶¹⁹ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁶²⁰ ADCO E1809: 1636.

son was dispatched to Dijon to consult with Françoise over the sale of some grains. On February 26, 1636, the receiver's son, Claude Janvier, went quickly by horse to Dijon to find Françoise to inform her that two men, one from Maxilly and one from La Chassagne, were coming to Beaumont to see the grains in order to buy them, and also to determine from Madame how much she wanted to sell to them.⁶²¹ The receiver's son was paid 3 *livres* 15 *sols* for the expenses of the voyage. Françoise also continued to receive payments for grains sold. A total of 47 *émines* 13 *boisseaux* of wheat was sold and delivered to a merchant in Beaumont whereby Madame received the payment according to her *quittance* from April 9, 1636.⁶²² The quantity of 20 *émines* 20 *boisseaux* of wheat and 20 *émines* 20 *boisseaux* of oats was sold by Françoise and delivered to Gabriel Denis, a *marchand* in Beaumont, in accordance with her letter dated May 14, 1636. These grains were charged as expenses in the accounts indicating that she kept the revenues.⁶²³ On June 3, 1636, in virtue of a letter from Madame, the receiver sold 6 *émines* 6 *boisseaux* of wheat to Didier Voillot, the *boucher* from Beaumont, for 168 *livres*.⁶²⁴ On June 6, 1636, the receiver gave this money to *Demoiselle*⁶²⁵ d'Arcenay who was in Beaumont handling some of Françoise's affairs.⁶²⁶ As promised, Françoise sent a *quittance* for this sum to the receiver dated June 11, 1636.⁶²⁷

The Seigneur was also involved in selling and moving grains during this turbulent period. Claude also kept the revenues from these grain sales. On June 8, 1635, 16

⁶²¹ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁶²² ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁶²³ ADCO E1809: 1636.

⁶²⁴ ADCO E1809: 1636.

⁶²⁵ <http://artfl-project.uchicago.edu/content/dictionnaires-dautrefois>.

⁶²⁶ Though the accounts do not specify, *Demoiselle* could have been handling certain business affairs for Françoise because of her pregnancy.

⁶²⁷ ADCO E1809: 1636.

émines of wheat were delivered to a man from Venère according to the orders of the Seigneur who received the payment of 45 *pistoles d'Espagne* for this sale, as supported in his *quittance* from June 9, 1635.⁶²⁸ On January 16, 1636, the receiver delivered six *émines* of wheat, three *émines* of barley, and five *émines* of oats to Jean Maçon from Cusey, sold to him by the Seigneur who received from him the *deniers* in accordance with his written directive.⁶²⁹ In May, 1636, the receiver paid the sum of 10 *livres* to three men for the days they worked and their expenses when they measured and delivered 200 *émines* of wheat from the Seigneur to Sieurs Perrot and Camus following the sell made by the Seigneur to these men.⁶³⁰

During this tumultuous period, Claude and Françoise did not cease their familial responsibilities nor did they neglect their kinship alliances. In one case, Claude sent his notary to Spoy regarding the pension of one of his family members. On June 19, 1635, following the directive of the Seigneur, the notary, Sieur Galiet, was paid 12 *livres* for the fees of the voyage that he had made to Spoy to find Madame de Tavanès, a nun, in order to handle her pension.⁶³¹ Claude and his brother prepared for war together. On January 11, 1636 the receiver paid Antoine Patron, a *mareschal*, 7 *livres 7 sols 9 deniers* for wagon repairs and for 43 horseshoes that he furnished for the horses of the Seigneur and the Marquis of Arc-sur-Tille following the *marché* made with the *mareschal* by the Seigneur on January 8, 1636.⁶³² When one of his relatives was coming to Beaumont, Claude ordered that the horses kept in Arc-sur-Tille be brought back to Beaumont.

⁶²⁸ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁶²⁹ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁶³⁰ ADCO E1809: 1636.

⁶³¹ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁶³² ADCO E1809: 1635.

During the war, Claude kept some of his and a relative's horses in Arc-sur-Tille, possibly to avoid the line of fire. On January 19, 1636, following the orders of the Seigneur, the receiver paid 30 *sols* to a man called Poivre from Couternon for his help retrieving the horses at the time in Arc-sur-Tille, particularly as Monsieur de Tavanès was coming to Beaumont. Françoise also maintained her family alliances. On one occasion, she demonstrated familial connectedness and support when she donned mourning clothes for her brother-in-law. In November of 1635, Jacques Cotin, the *jardinier*, was paid six *sols* for going quickly to Dijon to take some mourning clothes to Madame following the death of Claude's brother, Joachim, the Marquis of Arc-sur-Tille.⁶³³ This also serves as an example of Françoise's thriftiness. Rather than spending money on new mourning clothes in Dijon, Françoise sent for clothes she already owned. Additionally, for unspecified reasons, Françoise made a large purchase on her uncle's behalf. In accordance with the letter from Madame from May 13, 1636, the receiver paid 36 *livres* to the *fondeur* (worker in a foundry) at the little oven in Lœuilley for several works of pottery that he made for *Monsieur le Maître des Requêtes* Noël Brulart.⁶³⁴ This payment illustrates the familial connectedness that continued to exist between the Saulx-Tavanès and the Brularts.

Although Françoise retreated to Dijon in fear of impending war, her children did not accompany her for the duration of her stay there. Even if parents' relationships with their children were more practical than those between parents and children today, it is impossible to accept that Françoise would play willy-nilly with the lives of her children, especially given that she risked her life to bring them into the world, and that she worked

⁶³³ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁶³⁴ ADCO E1809: 1636.

so hard to promote their welfare and to secure their futures.⁶³⁵ Although, it is difficult to reconcile that Françoise left some of her children in the provinces, but transported her possessions as well as grains away from Beaumont, she must have felt that her children were safe in the hands of their employees and officers. Moreover, it was quite normal to employ a wet-nurse in the country and to leave one's baby with that wet-nurse for at least a year.

In many cases, the receiver was responsible for supplying provisions to Claude and Françoise's infant daughter. On November 2, 1635, 5 *sols* were paid for a pound of butter bought for the *petite Demoiselle* and the *nourrice* both being at the château.⁶³⁶ The next day, another two *sols* was given to the *nourrice* for buying some soap in order to wash the clothes of the *petite Demoiselle*. On November 26, 1635, 1 *sol* 8 *deniers* was spent on a loaf of white bread purchased for the *petite Demoiselle*. The sum of 16 *sols* was paid to the wife of Jacques Frignet, a *mercier* in Beaumont, for having furnished some milk for the *petite Demoiselle* from November 1 to December 20, 1635.⁶³⁷

Françoise did continue to act on behalf of her infant daughter when it came to larger expenditures. For example, Françoise authorized the compensation of the wet-nurse for services that she provided for a good portion of a year. On January 22, 1636, following a letter from Madame, the receiver paid Claudine Jaillot (the wife of Adan Caillet) from Renève the remaining 21 *livres* 12 *sols* owed to her out of 31 *livres* 12 *sols* 6 *deniers* for feeding the *petite Demoiselle* for 8½ months. The other portion of this payment was handled directly by Madame who had given the wet-nurse one *pistole*

⁶³⁵ Wiesner, *Women and Gender*, 78-89.

⁶³⁶ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁶³⁷ ADCO E1809: 1635.

d'Italie valued at 8 *livres* 8 *sols* and delivered two *boisseaux* of wheat to her in Renève.⁶³⁸ Additionally, Françoise ordered the payment of wages to the wet-nurse. On April 30, 1636, according to the orders given by Madame who was in Dijon, the receiver paid 6 *livres* in wages to a *nourrice* staying at the château. This entry also implies that Madame had not handled this payment herself because she was in Dijon.

While Françoise and Claude were away, the receiver saw to the needs not only of their infant daughter, but also to the needs of all of their children that remained behind. Many of these expenditures focus on the nourishment of the Saulx-Tavanes children. On June 14, 1635, Didier Voillot, a *boucher*, was paid 16 *sols* for a quarter of mutton bought for “Messieurs les enfan(t)s” and for the Sieur Chanteret coming from Dijon who would arrive after supper.⁶³⁹ On March 22, 1636, 35 *sols* was paid to Jacques Frignet, a *mercier*, for some milk that his wife had furnished to the château for the table of the Seigneur and also for the little *Messieurs*.⁶⁴⁰ He also paid this peddler five *sols* for some laces, some soap, and some pins for the boys. In early June 1636, two pounds of butter were purchased for 6 *sols* 8 *deniers* plus two dozen eggs for seven *sols*, for the nourishment of “Messieurs et Mademoiselle les enfan(t)s” as well as for the servants who were at the château.⁶⁴¹ In one case, the receiver even paid the wages of the wet-nurse who apparently was involved in the care of all of the young children remaining at the château. On June 12, 1636, the receiver delivered two *boisseaux* of wheat as wages to the *nourrice* from Renève who had charge of the children of Madame.⁶⁴² The receiver

⁶³⁸ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁶³⁹ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁶⁴⁰ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁶⁴¹ ADCO E1809: 1636.

⁶⁴² ADCO E1809: 1636.

also continued to intervene on behalf of the family to handle the tuition and expenses of their son Gaspard, as well as to pay his debts. The receiver paid 17½ *pistoles*, 16 *sols*, 8 *deniers*, valued at 149 *livres* 11 *sols* 8 *deniers*, to Father Potheleret Selerier at the seminary in Dôle for the tuition of Gaspard and for other provisions included in his *parties* from May 20, 1635.⁶⁴³ Also, a total of two *pistoles d'Espagne* 33 *sols* 4 *deniers* worth 18 *livres* 13 *sols* 4 *deniers* was paid to Brother Bernard Leculier, a monk in Collonges. This payment was in reimbursement for the same amount of money given to Gaspard so that he could rent a bed, pay his laundress, and purchase other necessities.⁶⁴⁴ Moreover, another three *livres* was paid to a student in Dôle named Barbizot for money that he had lent Gaspard. The receiver was also in Dôle to make preparations to bring Gaspard home. The account was charged five *livres* for the expenses of the receiver, a servant named Moustache, and two horses who went to Dôle to find Gaspard. Additionally, 19 *sols* were spent on 2½ *aunes* of thick cloth bought in Dôle in order to pack the clothes and belongings of Gaspard. Another 20 *sols* were given to Moustache for the expense of going from Dôle to Dijon via a horse and wagon carrying the baggage of Gaspard. Finally, on May 21, 1635, Sieur Agnus brought Gaspard to the château of Beaumont at which time, on the orders of the Seigneur, the receiver gave him the equivalent of 20 *livres* 2 *sols* 6 *deniers* as reimbursement for money that he had lent to the Seigneur so that he could send messengers to the camps, for expenses that he incurred by bringing Gaspard, and for the rental of the horse on which Gaspard came. On this occasion, the receiver was charged with the responsibility of caring for the Saulx-Tavanes children while their parents were away.

⁶⁴³ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁶⁴⁴ ADCO E1809: 1635.

During the fighting, there are no examples recorded of Françoise's generosity or charity; however, Claude continued his visible role of benefactor in the community. This could be attributed to the fact that during this period, it seems that Claude visited Beaumont more often than Françoise did. One example of Claude's charity occurred when he decided to forgo the collection of a debt from the widow of a blacksmith who was killed while in the army. Following the written orders of the Seigneur from January 12, 1636, the sum of 41 *livres* was charged against the account and deducted from the unsettled debt owed by the widow of the late *mareschal*, Aldof Perronne, on her husband's rental of the *prévôté* (office of judge that held some power to administer justice such as levying tolls and charge over the courts in a given jurisdiction) of Champagne.⁶⁴⁵ The Seigneur erased this debt in charity because her husband was dead as a consequence of his service in the army.

Claude also continued his charity towards the poor boy named Piroteau to ensure that he had adequate food and clothing. In June 1635, 24 *sols* 6 *deniers* were spent on 3½ *aunes* of cloth bought on the orders of the Seigneur in order to dress Piroteau. An additional four *sols* was paid for the making of the clothes.⁶⁴⁶ On January 9, 1636, by the commandment of the Seigneur, six *aunes* of fabric was bought for 50 *sols* to dress a poor little boy called Piroteau who was fed charitably at the château.⁶⁴⁷ Additionally, on January 17, 1636, the receiver paid 38 *sols* for a long outdoor coat, stockings, garment linings, and two shirts made for Piroteau, all on the orders of the Seigneur. When Piroteau died from contagion, the estate paid for his grave. Although it does not mention

⁶⁴⁵ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁶⁴⁶ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁶⁴⁷ ADCO E1809: 1635.

Claude as the architect of this decision, based on his continuous care of this poor child, it is likely that he delegated this order. According to the accounts, in late September 1636, the receiver paid 25 *sols* to Aubry de la Tour for digging the grave of Piroteau who the Seigneur had nourished through alms at the château, and for burying him with the others in the cemetery of the chapel of St. Catherine, at the château in Beaumont, where he had interred more than 800 bodies during this misery.⁶⁴⁸

Claude also continued to give alms to others in need within his Seigneurie. On June 3, 1635, the day of the festival of the Trinity, the Seigneur was given 5 *sols* in order to make some alms.⁶⁴⁹ On January 9, 1636, the Seigneur sent Gabrielle, a servant, to fetch 16 *sols* from the receiver in order to make some alms to the poor. At the end of March, 1636, one *sol* was given to a poor man on the orders of the Seigneur. On July 21, 1635, the Seigneur gave 1 *boisseau* of wheat in alms to a poor woman named Chequille.⁶⁵⁰ On March 22, 1636, Holy Saturday, the Seigneur commanded that the receiver give 1 *boisseau* of wheat as alms to a poor, old man, who was his subject.⁶⁵¹ That day, the Seigneur also had 15 *boisseaux* of wheat delivered to the poor widows of Beaumont. On one occasion, he gave a donation to a servant so that he could receive communion. On March 20, 1636, Maundy Thursday, on the wishes of the Seigneur, the receiver paid 5 *sols* to a *palefrenier* “faisant son bon jour” (to receive Holy Communion).

There were many occasions when the receiver arranged for provisions to be purchased on the impending return of the Seigneur from the army. On November 27,

⁶⁴⁸ ADCO E1809: 1636.

⁶⁴⁹ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁶⁵⁰ ADCO E1809: 1635. In this entry, as well as the two that immediately follow it, there is a margin note that states that these charges were included in a previous article. This may be the case as far as the amount, but no other entries note these recipients.

⁶⁵¹ ADCO E1809: 1635.

1635, the baggage of the Seigneur having arrived from the army, two dozen and four eggs were bought for 13 *sols* in order to feed the *valets*.⁶⁵² Additionally, 3½ pints of white wine were purchased for 10 *sols* 6 *deniers* in order to make some *breuvages* (drinks) for the horses of the Seigneur arriving from the army.⁶⁵³ On January 9, 1636, the receiver sent someone to La Rochelle to buy eight pounds of cheese at 25 *sols* 6 *deniers* because the Seigneur was arriving from Dijon.⁶⁵⁴ Additionally, the wife of Michel Bertot was paid 14 *sols* for a pig and three links of Andouille sausage that she sold at the time the Seigneur was arriving since nothing was prepared. On April 6, 1636, one pound of candle was purchased for 6 *sols* because the Seigneur had returned. When the Seigneur was in Beaumont on May 23, 1636, the receiver furnished 8 pounds of butter and 8 dozen eggs to his kitchen, charging 40 *sols* to the account.⁶⁵⁵

In the 1635 and 1636 accounts, there are several entries that deal with war expenditures. Claude accumulated numerous expenses for provisions he needed in preparation for deployment. On August 17, 1635, the day that the Seigneur left to go into the army, two pairs of the ropes that run between the horses pulling a wagon were purchased for the baggage wagon for 20 *sols*.⁶⁵⁶ Another 20 *sols* was paid to Jean Sebille, a *boulangier* in Beaumont, for a hatchet that he sold to the *charretiers* who were driving the wagon. That day, in accordance with the command of the Seigneur, the sum of 8 *livres* 10 *sols* in wages was paid to the wife of Aldof Perronne, *mareschal*, who was going into the army with the Seigneur. Additionally, the receiver paid 400 *livres* to two

⁶⁵² ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁶⁵³ ADCO E1809: 1635. It is spelled *bruvages* in the ledgers.

⁶⁵⁴ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁶⁵⁵ ADCO E1809: 1636.

⁶⁵⁶ ADCO E1809: 1635.

merchants in Dampierre for two horses that they had sold to the Seigneur in order to put on his baggage wagon at the time when he went into the army. The next year, on May 8, 1636, the Seigneur bought two cheeses weighing 52 pounds for 10 *livres* 8 *sols* from Jean Feuret from Jumeaux in order to take to the army near Dôle. That same day, the sum of 4 *livres* 10 *sols* was spent on 15 *aunes* of canvas purchased in order to make six sacks to bring to the army as ordered by the Seigneur, plus 14 *sols* was given to a *couturière* (seamstress) who made the sacks. On May 17, 1636, the receiver gave six *livres* to the Seigneur riding by horse to go to see his company.⁶⁵⁷ On May 26, 1636, 12 *sols* were paid to Carré *bourrelier* in Champagne, for having made and re-stuffed the horse-collars for the horses of the baggage wagon carried in the army to Lorraine where the Seigneur decreed the *arrière-ban* (proclamation for assembly of all vassals for military service to the Prince) of the *bailliage* (jurisdiction) of Dijon.⁶⁵⁸ The provisions in this wagon going to the army included two cheeses for six *sols*, 80 nails for 10 *sols*, and a piglet for 10 *sols*.

Although the 1636 account does contain some receipts and expenses, a good portion of this account tells the story of Janvier's experiences when Beaumont was sacked by the enemy. Both Claude and Françoise seemed to have been on the same page when it came to how to handle the increasingly tumultuous situation in the region. In fact, the receiver was given an express order from them to remain diligent in the château—a demand that quickly became impossible to accomplish. On June 18, 1636, 30 *sols* were paid to a man from Beaumont for having gone to the siege of Dôle to inform the Seigneur that his house had been seized that day by the enemies, and that the *intendant*, the *receveur*, the lieutenant of Beaumont, and other principal inhabitants

⁶⁵⁷ ADCO E1809: 1635.

⁶⁵⁸ ADCO E1809: 1636.

including two of his male children, had been taken prisoner.⁶⁵⁹ According to the ledgers, these prisoners were conducted to Gray and detained there for four days. The receiver was forced to pay a hefty ransom of 1,500 *livres*, for which he implored the Saulx-Tavanes family to reimburse him. According to the account, Françoise assured Janvier of this reimbursement. For the receiver, Françoise's promise meant that the Seigneur could not refuse to repay him.⁶⁶⁰ The enemy Colonels actually took nothing from "Messieurs les enfan(t)s" presupposing that it would have the same result simply to charge all of the ransom to the receiver of the Seigneur, their father, whom they thought would reimburse him later.⁶⁶¹

Following the sack of Beaumont, there was an effort by both Claude and Françoise to respond with reinforcements, as well as to transfer additional grains out of the region. On June 19, 1636, lead powder and other munitions were purchased in Mirebeau for 17 *livres* for the defense of the château in Beaumont, and delivered to the *jardinier* by the wife of the receiver.⁶⁶² Françoise took efforts to reestablish security at the château in Beaumont by installing new locks. At the end of August 1636, following the directive of Madame, six *boisseaux* of wheat were delivered as payment to Antoine Patron, the *mareschal-serrurier* (blacksmith-locksmith) in Beaumont, for having made many locks in the *château* after the attacks on Beaumont and Clinchamp in accordance

⁶⁵⁹ ADCO E1809: 1636.

⁶⁶⁰ ADCO E1809: 1636.

⁶⁶¹ This entry was actually marked through, indicating that the ransom was not charged against the estate of Beaumont. However, this does not negate the events that took place, nor does it mean that the receiver was not reimbursed.

⁶⁶² ADCO E1809: 1636.

with the written orders of Madame.⁶⁶³ Françoise and Claude both attempted to salvage the grains that had not been pillaged by the enemies. This meant finding alternate storage granaries. On June 22, 1636, in accordance with a letter from Madame sent to the wife of the receiver, the quantity of 50 *émines* of wheat, coming from the receipt of grains and from those left behind by the enemies in the *greniers* at the château of Beaumont, were delivered to the *charretiers* of Arc sur Tille.⁶⁶⁴ On June 23, 1636, by orders from both the Seigneur and the Dame, 22 *émines* 12 *boisseaux* was charged against the *greniers* of Beaumont and taken to Auxonne to the *greniers* of *Demoiselle* Jacob by the *charretiers* of Mirebeau.⁶⁶⁵ That same day, the Seigneur arrived in Beaumont with several cavaliers, and war preparations continued. In fact, Claude sent workers to camp at Dôle to build a small lodging for him. On July 1, 1636, on the Seigneur's orders, a *charpentier* along with some of Claude's *valets* went to the camp near Dôle to make a small hut for the Seigneur, for which the receiver paid him four *livres*. During August and September of 1636, the enemy in large numbers having taken up residence in neighboring villages, on September 4, the Seigneur sent a *sergent* and 19 soldiers to guard the *château* of Beaumont. For their nourishment, the receiver delivered one *émine* of wheat to the baker of the château. On September 4, 1636, 18 *sols* were spent on three pounds of butter and 12 *sols* on four dozen eggs for the servants of the château and for the soldiers that the Seigneur had sent to guard the château. On September 21, 1636, the receiver paid 30 *sols* to the soldiers at the *château*, according to the command of the Seigneur who was passing

⁶⁶³ ADCO E1809: 1636. Most of the entries regarding Antoine Patron indicate that he was the *mareschal* of Beaumont. However, in the 1632 account he is also referred to as the *serrurier*, and the 1636 account he is referred to as the *mareschal* and in this one case, the *mareschal-serrurier*.

⁶⁶⁴ ADCO E1809: 1636.

⁶⁶⁵ ADCO E1809: 1636.

through Beaumont with his company. From September 19 until October 23, 1636, the receiver continued to furnish grains to those at the *château* of Beaumont, but because of contagion and the disorder caused by the war, he was finally forced to withdraw to Dijon when Mirebeau was seized.⁶⁶⁶

Conclusion:

An examination of these accounts reveals the extensive contributions made by both Claude and Françoise to the success of the Seigneurie. Françoise's diligent household and estate management prior to Claude's death, suggests that *noblesse de robe* families promoted collaborative marriages in which wives were expected to work in partnership with their husbands. Françoise's frugality and assiduous administration of the household and estates were highly valued. In fact, such skills were expected from her as a wife from the start of her marriage. Therefore, her education would have necessarily included knowledge of accounting, the marketplace, and the law, amongst many other areas. Such expertise allowed her to effectively administer the estate as was evident from the quantity and diversity of responsibilities that she took on, and from the authority she wielded. From these accounts, in regards to the estate and household, Claude and Françoise were not only husband and wife, but also partners sharing a common goal of promoting and protecting their family and financial interests, while maintaining the peace within their Seigneurie.

⁶⁶⁶ ADCO E1809: 1636.

CHAPTER 3: THE WIDOW'S LIFE

Through the examination of these accounts from Beaumont following the death of Claude and the end of the regional fighting, it is immediately evident that Françoise had taken over the realms of control. Not only are the accounts rendered to and examined by her, but she had also taken possession of the role of “Seigneur” from Claude in the sense that the Seigneurie, with its lands, rights and obligations, was now referred to as belonging to Françoise. Unfortunately, these accounts are less detailed regarding household expenses such as food and clothing. In fact, Françoise spent less time in Beaumont after the fighting ended, which can be attributed to the ruined state of the county and its villages. However, her directives and involvement did not cease. Instead, she delved into every aspect of estate administration, regularly sending written orders to the receiver to communicate her instructions. These postwar accounts continue to illustrate Françoise’s highly developed administrative skills and business acumen, abilities which in her youth were channeled towards the complete management of the estate as well as other the promotion of other family interests. It is clear that this was a role for which she had been training her entire life.

The Structure of the Account Books:

At the beginning of each of these accounts, the receiver formulaically introduced that he kept these ledgers in order to yield them to the powerful and highly titled Françoise Brulart. With few variations, the introductions identified that these accounts were created for the “. . . haute et puissante Dame Madame Françoise Brulart Comtesse de Tavanés et de Beaumont, Baronne de Bonnencontre, Courcelles, Le Pailly, Prangey, Vesvres, Dame et Marquise d’Arc-sur-Tille . . .” (high and powerful Lady, My Lady Françoise Brulart, Countess of Tavanés and of Beaumont, Baroness of Bonnencontre, Courcelles, Le Pailly, Prangey, Vesvres, Lady and Marquise of Arc-sur-Tille).⁶⁶⁷ The accountant also related Françoise’s identity to that of her late husband and his titles stating that she was the “relicte de haut et puissant Seigneur Messire Claude de Saulx, Chevalier, Comte de Tavanés et de Beaumont, Baron et Seigneur desdits lieux, Bailli de Dijon, Capitaine Lieutenant de la Compagnie d’Ordonnance de Monseigneur le Prince . . .” (widow of high and powerful Lord, Sir Claude de Saulx, Knight, Count of Tavanés and of Beaumont, Baron and Lord of the aforementioned places, royal officer of justice of Dijon, Captain Lieutenant of the Company of Gendarmes of my Lord the Prince”. Although, part of Françoise’s introduction in these accounts always included her title of widow, there was no reference in the accounts to her acting as a regent or placeholder of these lands on behalf of her under-aged sons. These Seigneurial dues were referred to as belonging to her, rather than another male family member. In fact, even once her sons reached majority age, she still maintained control of these estates.

⁶⁶⁷ ADCO, E1810, 1650.

The receiver emphasized that the receipts were made by him for Françoise. All of the accounts following Claude's death were presented to Françoise for examination. According to the receiver, each account was "mis en audition" (presented for examination) to Françoise as well as Bénigne Desnoyers, the *Intendant en affaires et maison* of Françoise and *avocat* (lawyer) in Parlement, and occasionally others.⁶⁶⁸ Galiet presented the accounts to Françoise to be legitimated as accurate, so as to be discharged of the responsibility of the revenues from that account year. Each of these accounts was settled and closed in Françoise's presence. Moreover, hers is the first signature at the end of each account, indicating her position of authority. It is also interesting to note that although the handwriting in her signature appears to be the same as in the accounts that she managed alongside her husband, the spelling of her name changed from *Françoise* to *Fransoise* in the accounts that fell under her sole authority.⁶⁶⁹

Annual Account Reconciliation:

Françoise went to great efforts to attempt to finish each account year in the black. In the majority of the accounts, the estate received more grains than it spent. However, most years the estate spent more money than it received. Françoise intervened regularly in order to ensure a balanced budget, and when possible to guarantee the accumulation of

⁶⁶⁸ ADCO, E1810, 1648. Françoise employed Monsieur Desnoyers as her *intendant des affaires*. He operated as a surrogate or proxy, standing in for Françoise, acting in her interests and carrying out her directives. For example, the 1648 account was placed under examination on October 30, 1651 before Françoise, "assistée du Sieur Desnoyers" (assisted by Sieur Desnoyers), her intendant and lawyer at court.
⁶⁶⁹ In the 1629, 1630, and 1631 accounts, Françoise's name in her signature was spelled with a "ç". In the accounts settled after Claude's death, including those from 1632-1636, the "ç" in her name was replaced with an "s" in her signature. However, the receivers maintained the "ç" in the spelling of her name, both before and after Claude's death.

surpluses. In fact, she often relied on the sale of surplus grains to clear a monetary deficit.⁶⁷⁰

The account for the year 1646 (closed on August 9, 1647) appears to be the first formal post-war account of revenues recorded in Beaumont.⁶⁷¹ The detrimental effects of the war both on the properties as well as on the population are evident from the limited number of transactions chronicled that year. Not surprisingly, the 1646 account is markedly shorter than the accounts that follow it. In fact, the account only incorporated the revenues and expenses from the villages of Beaumont, Dampierre, and Blagny. This ledger was Bernard Galiet's first account as the new receiver of the county of Beaumont and its dependencies. In this account year, the Seigneurie received 12 *émines* 12 *boisseaux* of wheat, and spent 11 *émines* 18 *boisseaux*. Therefore, the accountant owed Françoise the difference, which was a surplus of 18 *boisseaux* of wheat.⁶⁷² However, two of these *boisseaux* of wheat remained in the *greniers*, leaving the receiver to owe 16 *boisseaux* of wheat valued at 8 *livres* 16 *sols*. The estate received 10 *émines* 19 *boisseaux* of oats, and spent 8 *émines* 11½ *boisseaux* of oats. Since the estate received

⁶⁷⁰ It is difficult to determine the deficits and surpluses of the accounts from 1632 to 1636 because of the war destruction, but it is possible to look at the totals for the years before that. ADCO, E1808: 1630. Beaumont ended the 1630 account year in the red in everything except for wax. 253 *émines* 13 *boisseaux* of wheat was received versus 261 *émines* 10 *boisseaux* of wheat expenses. They received 186 *émines* 18 *boisseaux* of oats but they spent 190 *émines* 7 *boisseaux* of oats. In money, the estate received 2,432 *livres* 1 *denier* but spent 2,459 *livres* 1 *sol*. They received 15 pounds of wax but only spent 8¼ pounds. The receiver owed the estate for the surplus wax in the amount of 6¾ pounds. But the estate owed the receiver 7 *émines* 9 *boisseaux* of wheat, 3 *émines* 13 *boisseaux* of oats, and 140 *livres* 1 *sol* 6 *deniers*; ADCO, E1808: 1631. In 1631, all areas brought in surpluses. They received 278 *émines* 5 *boisseaux* of wheat but only spent 268 *émines* 23 *boisseaux* giving a surplus of 9 *émines* 6 *boisseaux* of wheat. In oats, they collected 203 *émines* 6 *boisseaux* and spent 194 *émines* 1 *boisseaux*, leaving a surplus of 9 *émines* 5 *boisseaux*. The estate received 2,979 *livres* 5 *sols* 4 *deniers* and spent 2,903 *livres* 18 *sols* 9 *deniers*, leaving a surplus of 65 *livres* 6 *sols* 8 *deniers*.

⁶⁷¹ ADCO, E1810, 1646.

⁶⁷² It is important to understand that the accountant was held responsible for all receipts and expenses when the account was settled. If more grains were received than spent, the surplus in grains would be due back to Françoise. However, if more money was spent than was received, the deficit in money would be owed back to the receiver to repay him for what he must have paid out of his personal reserve.

more than it spent, there was a surplus of 2 *émines* 7½ *boisseaux* of oats due from the accountant to Françoise. However, the accountant had furnished 3 *livres* 8 *sols* to a mason which when subtracted from his debt of 8 *livres* 16 *sols*, gave him a debt of 5 *livres* 8 *sols*, on top of which was added another 6 *livres* for the *prévôté* of Blagny, giving him a total debt of 11 *livres* 8 *sols*. However, Françoise initially forgave this debt. In regards to this balance, the receiver stated that “Madame a remis gratuitement au comptable” (My Lady forgave freely to the accountant, with no hope of return). She also forgave him 1½ *émines* of oats from the receipt of oats, leaving him in the end with a debt to her of 19½ *boisseaux* of oats. Yet, an addendum to the account stated that although Françoise intended to forgive his debt of 11 *livres* 8 *sols*, she received 6 *livres* from Galiet. It is unclear whether she also received the remaining 5 *livres* 8 *sols* from Galiet. Moreover, there is no mention of Galiet paying Françoise his debt in oats. In the 1647 account, the accountant repaid most of the portion of his debt that was derived from grain loans. A total of 8 *émines* 23 *boisseaux* of wheat was owed in 1646 from borrowed grains; in 1647, a total of 8 *émines* 4 *boisseaux* of wheat was paid. We do not have record of the repayment of the remaining 13 *boisseaux* of wheat. Ultimately, however, this debt appears to have been cleared because when the 1647 transactions were tallied, no debt was carried over from the 1646 account.

Revenues were somewhat better in the 1647 account (closed December 9, 1648).⁶⁷³ Even with all of the reductions and losses still in effect from the destruction of the wars, some profits were made that year. Moreover, Françoise creatively eliminated her deficit in money through an exchange of surplus grains. In wheat, 51 *émines* 12

⁶⁷³ ADCO, E1810, 1647.

boisseaux were received and 49 *émines* 20 *boisseaux* were spent creating a surplus of 1 *émine* 16 *boisseaux* of wheat. In oats, 35 *émines* 11 $\frac{1}{3}$ *boisseaux* were received, and only 4 *émines* 11 *boisseaux* were spent, providing a surplus of 31 *émines* $\frac{1}{3}$ of a *boisseau*. However, in money, 92 *livres* 15 *sols* were received compared to 154 *livres* 19 *sols* spent, which left a deficit of 61 *livres* 5 *sols*. Françoise received from the receiver 100 *livres* 12 *sols* for the sale of 12 *émines* of oats, therefore reducing the surplus of oats to 19 *émines* $\frac{1}{3}$ of a *boisseau*. However, she kept this money and it did not go back into the account. Instead, in order to satisfy her deficit of 61 *livres* 5 *sols* that she owed to the receiver, Françoise reduced the surplus that he owed in oats by 7 *émines* $7\frac{1}{2}$ *boisseaux* which matched the deficit in money. Therefore, Galiet only owed Françoise the remaining surplus in oats amounting to 11 *émines* 17 *boisseaux* plus the abovementioned surplus in wheat. He paid this debt in oats in full in the 1648 account but there was no record of him fulfilling his debt of wheat.⁶⁷⁴

In the 1648 account year (closed November 6, 1651), the receipts were much better.⁶⁷⁵ Françoise negated the deficit in money through the sale of oats. That year, the receipt in wheat came to 77 *émines* $6\frac{3}{4}$ of a *boisseau*, and the expense in wheat came to 76 *émines* $16\frac{3}{4}$ *boisseaux*, giving a surplus of 14 *boisseaux*. The receipt in oats came to 65 *émines* $5\frac{1}{2}$ *boisseaux*, and the expense in oats only amounted to 5 *émines* 10 *boisseaux*, which left a large surplus of 59 *émines* $19\frac{1}{2}$ *boisseaux*. However, the receipt in money came to 549 *livres* 5 *sols* 6 *deniers*, but the expense in money was greater at 974 *livres* 3 *sols* 6 *deniers*, which left a deficit of 424 *livres* 18 *sols*. To address this cash deficit, Françoise verbally ordered Galiet to sell her entire surplus in oats. In response to

⁶⁷⁴ ADCO, E1810, 1648.

⁶⁷⁵ ADCO, E1810, 1648.

her directive, these were sold to various individuals by the accountant, generating another 478 *livres 10 sols*, thus covering the deficit and leaving a cash surplus. As a result, the accountant owed back to the estate the surpluses that he received in the form of 14 *boisseaux* of wheat as well as the extra 53 *livres 12 sols* remaining after the deficit in money had been subtracted from the profits from the sale of oats. At the closure of this account, the receiver paid this money debt, but not his debt in wheat. Once again, Françoise kept the estate out of the red by selling her some of her grain surpluses.

For the 1649 account year (closed May 8, 1654), Françoise had to sell all of her grain surpluses in order to cover the substantial deficit in money.⁶⁷⁶ Moreover, her involvement in the sale of grains included determining the prices at which to sale these grains. That year, the receipt in wheat came to 43 *émines 4 boisseaux*, and the expense in wheat amounted only to 13 *émines 11 boisseaux*, leaving a surplus of 29 *émines 17 boisseaux*. The receipt in oats came to 48 *émines 23 boisseaux*, and the expense in oats only came to 19 *émines 10 boisseaux*, giving the estate a surplus of 29 *émines 13 boisseaux*. However, the receipt in money came to 719 *livres 1 sol 10 deniers*, but the expense in money came to a sizable 1,940 *livres 19 sols 10 deniers*, leaving a deficit of 1,221 *livres 18 sols*. To take care of this substantial deficit, the surplus in wheat was sold at 40 *livres* per *émine* by Sieur de Fontennes following the orders of Françoise from June 7, 1650, which resulted in a profit of 1,188 *livres 6 sols 8 deniers*. From this same directive from Françoise, the surplus of oats was sold at 12 *livres* per *émine* for a yield of 354 *livres 10 sols*. The deficit in money was then deducted from the profits made from the sale of the surplus from the receipt of wheat and oats, leaving the accountant with a

⁶⁷⁶ ADCO, E1810, 1649.

debt to the estate of 320 *livres* 18 *sols* 8 *deniers*. This debt was carried over to the account of 1650 and added to the surplus owed by the accountant to Françoise from that year.⁶⁷⁷

In the 1650 account year (closed May 11, 1654), Françoise once again had to sell all of her grain surpluses in order to get out of the red.⁶⁷⁸ The receipt in wheat came to 94 *émines* 19 *boisseaux* versus the expense in wheat that amounted only to 15 *émines* 8½ *boisseaux*, giving the estate a surplus of 79 *émines* 10½ *boisseaux*. The receipt in oats came to 68 *émines* 20 *boisseaux*, and the expense in oats came to 39 *émines* 15½ *boisseaux*, providing a surplus of 29 *émines* 4½ *boisseaux*. However, the receipt in money came to 769 *livres* 8 *sols*, whereas the expense in money was enormous at 4,058 *livres* 5 *sols* 9 *deniers*, leaving a whopping deficit of 3,288 *livres* 17 *sols* 9 *deniers*. To reconcile this shortfall, on June 1, 1651, Françoise sent an order to the accountant to sell the excess of wheat at the rate of 45 *livres* per *émine*, which yielded a profit of 3,574 *livres* 13 *sols* 6 *deniers*. She also ordered the surplus of oats to be sold at 13 *sols* per *boisseau*, which amounted to a yield of 455 *livres* 6 *sols* 6 *deniers*. These two grain profits together totaled 4,030 *livres* from which the cash deficit of 3288 *livres* 17 *sols* 9 *deniers* was deducted, leaving a surplus of 741 *livres* 2 *sols* 3 *deniers*. On top of which was added the sum of 320 *livres* 18 *sols* 8 *deniers* that the accountant owed from the 1649 account was added, leaving Galiet with a total debt to the estate coming to 1,062 *livres* 11 *deniers*.

⁶⁷⁷ ADCO, E1810, 1650.

⁶⁷⁸ ADCO, E1810, 1650.

In the 1651 account year (closed May 20, 1654), Françoise again authorized the sale of grains to put the estate back in the black.⁶⁷⁹ That year, the receipt in wheat came to 45 *émines* 14 *boisseaux*, and the expense in wheat came to 36 *émines* 2 *boisseaux*, thus creating a surplus of 9 *émines* 12 *boisseaux*. The receipt of oats came to 43 *émines* 18 *boisseaux*, and the expense in oats came only to 3 *émines* 18 *boisseaux*, leaving a surplus of 40 *émines*. However, the receipt in money came to 578 *livres* 11 *sols* compared with the expense in money, which came to 1,217 *livres* 5 *sols* 9 *deniers* and created a deficit of 638 *livres* 14 *sols* 9 *deniers*. In the spring of 1652, Françoise sent two orders to the accountant for him to sell the excess wheat at the rate of 50 *livres* per *émine*. The accountant on his oath declared that he sold 4 *émines* of wheat at 50 *livres* per *émine* which came to 200 *livres*, and the remaining 5½ *émines* of wheat at the rate of 60 *livres* per *émine* coming to 330 *livres*, yielding a total of profit of 530 *livres*. Moreover, the surplus of 40 *émines* of oats was sold, by the accountant in accordance with Françoise's order, at the rate of 25 *livres* per *émine* for 1,000 *livres*. These two profits from the sale of the surpluses from the receipts in wheat and oats together came to 1,530 *livres*, from which sum the cash deficit of 638 *livres* 14 *sols* 6 *deniers* was deducted, creating a surplus of 891 *livres* 5 *sols* 6 *deniers* owed to Françoise. This surplus when added with the 1,062 *livres* 11 *deniers* that Galiet owed from his preceding account created a debt owed by the accountant of 1,953 *livres* 6 *sols* 5 *deniers*. However, an addendum was added on November 18, 1654, in Beaumont, regarding the sale of the surplus from the receipt of wheat in 1650, which totaled 79 *émines* 10½ *boisseaux*. The accountant declared that this wheat was recorded as having been sold at the rate of 37 *sols* 6 *deniers*

⁶⁷⁹ ADCO, E1810, 1651.

per *boisseau* coming to 45 *livres* per *émine*. However, he actually sold 27 of those *émines* of wheat at the higher rate of 42 *sols* per *boisseau*, creating an additional 4 *sols* 6 *deniers* per *émine* not noted in the 1650 account. To that end, Galiet voluntarily tried to satisfy this ambiguity in the 1651 account by charging himself an additional 145 *livres* 16 *sols* generated from this correction. Therefore, besides the sum of 1,953 *livres* 6 *sols* 5 *deniers* above, Galiet owed another 145 *livres* 16 *sols*, for a total debt of 2,099 *livres* 2 *sols* 5 *deniers*. This miscalculation was corrected in the presence of the Comtesse and others, with the consent of Sieur Galiet, and with the signatures of all parties involved.

In the 1652 account (closed at the end of May 1655), Françoise would have been unable to climb out of the red had it not been for the fact that Galiet still owed the estate a large monetary debt which acted as reserves for the estate.⁶⁸⁰ The receipt in wheat was 92 *émines* 9 *boisseaux*, and the expense in wheat was a close 89 *émines* 6¼ *boisseaux*, leaving only a small surplus of 3 *émines* 2¾ *boisseaux*. The receipt in oats came to 51 *émines* 20½ *boisseaux*, and the expense in oats was a close 50 *émines*, leaving an even smaller surplus of 1 *émine* 20½ *boisseaux*. In contrast, the receipt in money was only 503 *livres* 13 *sols* 4 *deniers* compared to the expense in money, which came to 991 *livres* 17 *sols* 7 *deniers*, creating a deficit of 488 *livres* 4 *sols* 3 *deniers*. However, from the 1651 account, the receiver was in arrears to the estate in the amount of 2,099 *livres* 2 *sols* 5 *deniers* from which sum was deducted the Françoise's deficit this account year of 488 *livres* 4 *sols* 3 *deniers*, leaving the remaining debt owed by Galiet as 1,610 *livres* 18 *sols*

⁶⁸⁰ ADCO, E1811, 1652. The closure date of this account is unclear. The accountant stated that it was put under examination, which comes before the closure, on May 22, 1655. However, at the end and on the archivist's cover page it stated that this account was closed on May 25, 1652. Based on the other accounts, it is highly unlikely that this account was closed in 1652.

2 *deniers*, excluding the small amounts of wheat and oats that he owed from the present year's surpluses.

In the 1653 account (closed August 2, 1657), the estate finished in a deficit in oats.⁶⁸¹ The receipt in wheat came to 78 *émines* 4 *boisseaux* and the expense in wheat was 10 *émines* 5 *boisseaux*, leaving a surplus of 67 *émines* 23 *boisseaux*. The receipt in oats came to 61 *émines* 19 *boisseaux*, but the expense in oats was higher at 78 *émines* 7 *boisseaux*, leaving a deficit of 16 *émines* 12 *boisseaux*. The receipt in money totaled 571 *livres* 13 *sols* 4 *deniers*, but the expense in money was significantly larger at 1,343 *livres* 9 *sols*, leaving a deficit of 771 *livres* 15 *sols* 8 *deniers*. From the 1652 account, the receiver still owed the estate 3 *émines* 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ *boisseaux* of wheat, 1 *émine* 20 $\frac{1}{2}$ *boisseaux* of oats, and 1,610 *livres* 18 *sols* 2 *deniers*. Therefore, Galiet owed in wheat the surpluses from 1652 and 1653 which came to 71 *émines* 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ *boisseau*. He owed in money the surplus from last year less the deficit from this year, which came to 839 *livres* 2 *sols* 6 *deniers*. Plus, he owed six *quarteranches* of barley from the present account. However, Galiet was owed in oats the surplus from last year deducted from the deficit from this year, which came to 14 *émines* 14 $\frac{1}{2}$ *boisseaux*.⁶⁸² For unknown reasons, Françoise did not sell her wheat in order to pay for her debt in oats.

In the 1654 account (August 10, 1657), Françoise once again landed in the black when her deficits were absorbed by the debts owed by the receiver, which once again acted as reserves for the estate.⁶⁸³ That year, the receipt in wheat came to 67 *émines* 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ *boisseaux* but the expense in wheat was much higher than usual at 110 *émines* 3

⁶⁸¹ ADCO, E1811, 1653.

⁶⁸² My calculations show that the accountant was owed 14 *émines* 15 $\frac{1}{2}$ *boisseaux*.

⁶⁸³ ADCO, E1811, 1654.

boisseaux, leaving a deficit of 42 *émines* 22³/₄ *boisseaux*. The receipt in oats came to 54 *émines* 13 *boisseaux* and the expense in oats was only 2 *émines* 4 *boisseaux*, giving a surplus of 52 *émines* 9 *boisseaux*. The receipt in money came to 546 *livres* 3 *sols* 4 *deniers* and the expense in money added up to 601 *livres* 14 *sols* 8 *deniers*, creating a deficit of 55 *livres* 11 *sols* 4 *deniers*. When taking into account the debts owed by the accountant to the estate from the 1653 account, as well as the debt in oats owed by Françoise to the account, Galiet's new debts amounted to 28 *émines* 3 *boisseaux* in wheat (last year's surplus less this year's deficit), 37 *émines* 18¹/₂ *boisseaux* in oats (this year's surplus less last year's deficit), 783 *livres* 11 *sols* 2 *deniers* (last year's surplus less this year's deficit), as well as the same six *quarteranches* in barley.

In the 1655 account (closed January 9, 1659), for the first time there was a deficit in both grains, but a surplus in money.⁶⁸⁴ The receipt in wheat came to 76 *émines* 10 *boisseaux*, and the expense came to 79 *émines* 17 *boisseaux*, creating a deficit of 3 *émines* 7 *boisseaux*. The receipt in oats came to 45 *émines* 7 *boisseaux*, and the expense in oats totaled 47 *émines* 7 *boisseaux*, causing a deficit of 2 *émines*. The receipt in money however came to 682 *livres* 2 *sols* 4 *deniers*, whereas the expense in money came to 652 *livres* 5 *sols*, creating a surplus of 29 *livres* 17 *sols* 4 *deniers*. Moreover, another 175 *livres* remained to be paid from a sale made to Claude Bauldin, the elder, giving the accountant a debt in money from this year's surplus totaling 204 *livres* 17 *sols* 4 *deniers*. In addition, the accountant was still in arrears from the 1654 account. Therefore, in all, he owed to the estate a total of 24 *émines* 20 *boisseaux* of wheat (last year's surplus minus this year's deficit), 35 *émines* 18¹/₂ *boisseaux* of oats (last year's surplus minus this

⁶⁸⁴ ADCO, E1811, 1655.

year's deficit), and 988 *livres 8 sols 6 deniers* (the surplus from last year and the surplus from this year plus the outstanding payment owed by Bauldin). In the end, Françoise finished in the black, with Galiet's debts (the retained earnings of the estate) absorbing her shortages.

In 1656 (closed January 9, 1659), for the first time under Françoise's administration, the estate achieved surpluses in all three revenues prior to figuring in the debts of the accountant.⁶⁸⁵ That year, the receipt in wheat came to 90 *émines 5 boisseaux*, whereas the expense in wheat was only 17 *émines 7 boisseaux*, creating a surplus of 72 *émines 22 boisseaux*. The receipt in oats totaled 57 *émines 8 boisseaux*, whereas the expense in oats came to 18 *émines 21 boisseaux*, creating a surplus of 38 *émines 11 boisseaux*. The receipt in money equaled 880 *livres 14 sols 6 deniers*, whereas the expense in money was much less coming to 285 *livres 2 sols 6 deniers*, which left a surplus of 595 *livres 12 sols*. Therefore the accountant owed the estate the surpluses from last year plus the surpluses from this year which came to 97 *émines 18 boisseaux* in wheat, 74 *émines 5½ boisseaux* in oats and 1,584 *livres 6 deniers*.

In the 1657 account (closed January 10, 1659), the deficits in grains were absorbed by the surpluses owed by Galiet, allowing the estate to remain in the black.⁶⁸⁶ The receipt in wheat totaled 88 *émines 13½ boisseaux*, and the expense in wheat came to 96 *émines 23 boisseaux*, creating a deficit of 8 *émines 9½ boisseaux*. The receipt in oats came to 60 *émines 15 boisseaux*, and the expense in oats totaled 74 *émines 11 boisseaux*, causing a deficit of 13 *émines 20 boisseaux*. However, the receipt in money totaled 1,707 *livres 7 sols 10 deniers*, whereas the expense in money came to 1069 *livres 4 sols 6*

⁶⁸⁵ ADCO, E1811, 1656.

⁶⁸⁶ ADCO, E1811, 1657.

deniers, creating a surplus of 638 *livres* 3 *sols* 4 *deniers*. Therefore, when taking into account the debts owed by the accountant to the estate from the 1656 account, Galiet's new debts to the estate amounted to 89 *émines* 8½ *boisseaux* in wheat (this year's deficit in wheat subtracted from last year's surplus), 60 *émines* 9½ *boisseaux* of oats (this year's deficit in oats deducted from last year's surplus), and 2,222 *livres* 3 *sols* 10 *deniers* (the surplus from last year plus the surplus from this year).⁶⁸⁷

The 1659 account (closed January 15, 1662) is the first account of the receipt of revenues from the county of Beaumont rendered to Françoise by Claude Michel, the new receiver of the county.⁶⁸⁸ Once again, Françoise authorized the sale of grains in order to get her out of the red in money receipts. In the 1659 account year, the receipt in wheat came to 112 *émines* 4 *boisseaux* and the expense in wheat came to 84 *émines* 6 *boisseaux*, creating a surplus of 27 *émines* 22 *boisseaux*. The receipt in oats came to 73 *émines* 5 *boisseaux* and the expense in oats was only 5 *émines* 21 *boisseaux*, creating a large surplus of 67 *émines* 8 *boisseaux*. However, the receipt in money totaled 994 *livres* 14 *sols* 6 *deniers*, but the expense in money came to 1,312 *livres* 11 *sols*, creating a deficit of 317 *livres* 16 *sols* 6 *deniers*. On Françoise's orders, Michel sold 36 *émines* 11 *boisseaux* of oats to Sieur Bauldin, the elder, and other members of the community for the sum of 350 *livres*. Therefore, by deducting 36 *émines* 11 *boisseaux* of oats from the surplus in oats above, as well as deducting the deficit in money above from the 350 *livres*

⁶⁸⁷ The 1657 account was the twelfth account made by Bernard Galiet of the receipt of revenues from the county of Beaumont. I was not able to find the account from 1658, which was the last account made by Galiet. Therefore, it is impossible to know the details of the resolution of his 1657 debts. However, when looking at the 1659 account, there are no mentions of Galiet's debts as being received or as being written off. Instead, a few entries indicate that Galiet was reimbursed for expenditures such as advancing money for the wine harvests that year, as well as for other services. It would be unusual for Galiet to be paid, if he still owed Françoise large quantities of grains and huge sums of money.

⁶⁸⁸ ADCO, E1812, 1659.

accrued from the sale of these oats, the accountant owed 30 *émines* 21 *boisseaux* in oats, 32 *livres* 3 *sols* 6 *deniers*, as well as the surplus of 27 *émines* 22 *boisseaux* in wheat. A note attached to end of the account reemphasized that Michel sold these oats for 350 *livres* on the verbal order of Françoise, and that he used this sum on repairs that Françoise had ordered to be done in her château, on the *moulin* in Beaumont, and on the *metairie* of Bessey. He reported these expenditures as cash expenses, since they exceeded the receipt in money.

In the 1660 account year (closed on January 15, 1663), for only the second time, there was a surplus at the onset in all three revenues.⁶⁸⁹ The receipt in wheat came to 126 *émines* 17 *boisseaux* and the expense in wheat came to 27 *émines* 9 *boisseaux*, creating a large surplus of 99 *émines* 8 *boisseaux*. The receipt in oats came to 82 *émines* 22 *boisseaux*, and the expense in oats came to 76 *émines* 17 *boisseaux*, which generated a surplus of 6 *émines* 5 *boisseaux*. The receipt in money totaled 1069 *livres* 8 *sols*, whereas the expense in money came to 973 *livres* 1 *sol* 4 *deniers*, which also created a surplus of 96 *livres* 6 *sols* 8 *deniers*. When adding the surpluses from this year to the surpluses from last year of the accountant owed to the estate 127 *émines* 6 *boisseaux* in wheat, 37 *émines* 2 *boisseaux* in oats, and 128 *livres* 3 *sols* 6 *deniers*.

The 1662 account was the last account involving Françoise.⁶⁹⁰ This account fell under the supervision of both Françoise and her son, Jacques de Saulx, Comte de Tavanès

⁶⁸⁹ ADCO, E1812, 1660. The 1660 account was the second rendered by Claude Michel to Françoise. I was unable to locate his third account from the year 1661. Even though the account for 1661 is mislaid, we know that it was settled by Françoise because in the 1662 account, the receiver stated that the 1661 account was yielded by Michel to Françoise.

and de Beaumont. Therefore, there was an overlap of authority. Françoise remained active during the 1662 account year, but she died on June 19, 1663, before the account was examined and closed, which took place in Dijon on October 26, 1663. Therefore, Jacques initiated some of the expenditures. He was the one to whom the account was rendered, and it was his signature that accepted and closed the account in 1663. This account maintained a similar introductory format, except that Michel rendered it to Françoise's son, Jacques. Since this account was closed after her death, Françoise was referred to as the *défunte* Madame (late Madame). More so than in the other accounts, many of the entries in this account failed to identify the person from whom the directive for action initiated. Thus, there are only a few expenses in the 1662 account that can be associated with certainty to Françoise and only one that can be associated with Jacques. When discussing the wheat that the receiver furnished annually for the horses as well as to the various harvesters, the accountant referred to feeding the late Françoise's horses, but in the same entry, he referred to the vines as belonging to the "Seigneur" instead of belonging to "Madame". For example, the receiver referred to the doves as belonging to the Seigneur, but the directive indicating how much to feed the doves came from the late Françoise. Michel stated that he furnished 2 *émines* of oats for the nourishment of the doves of the Seigneur from his *colombier* in Beaumont beginning November 6, 1662 at the rate of half a *boisseau* per day, following the order that the late Françoise had given

⁶⁹⁰ ADCO, E1812, 1662. Given that Françoise died before this account was settled, I focused on those entries directly attributed either to Françoise or to Jacques. Otherwise, it would have been too difficult to determine which revenues were collected prior to this transference of power. Moreover, given that Françoise completed her will on August 3, 1662, and that Jacques was clearly responsible for some of the transactions in this account, it is possible, that Françoise was already turning over the reins of estate management to Jacques in the year prior to her death. Therefore, it could prove inaccurate to attribute agency to either of them simply based on transaction dates that occurred during Françoise's lifetime.

him. Additionally, there were a few expenditures authorized by Françoise in this account. One of the entries referenced a theft in one of the greniers that Françoise had leased and the account noted the resultant expense that she had allowed. The accountant stated that he wished to be discharged from the 6 *émines* 13 *boisseaux* of wheat that had been stolen from a small grenier that Françoise had leased along with some other greniers, from the honorable Baltazard Denis, which discharge was granted by the late Françoise. Apparently, Françoise remained engaged in her management role well into the spring of 1663. There was a quittance from Françoise dated in April of 1663, indicating that she was active in running the estate, at least to some extent, two months before her death. According to the accountant, he delivered 550 *livres* to the late Françoise as it appeared in her signed quittance dated April 2, 1663. A quittance from Jacques indicates that he had assumed his new position as early as July of 1663. According to Michel, he paid 401 *livres* to the Seigneur as it appeared in his signed quittance from July 18, 1663.

There is no marked difference in the 1662 account summary when compared to the preceding years. In 1662, the receipt of wheat came to 130 *émines* 19 *boisseaux* and the expense in wheat came to 15 *émines* 5 *boisseaux*, creating a surplus of 115 *émines* 14 *boisseaux*.⁶⁹¹ The receipt of oats came to 83 *émines* 1 *boisseau* compared to the expense in oats, which only came to 6 *émines*, creating a surplus of 77 *émines* 1 *boisseau*. However, the receipt of money came to 1,077 *livres* 18 *sols* 6 *deniers* whereas the expense in money came to 1,315 *livres* 7 *sols*, creating a deficit of 237 *livres* 8 *sols* 6 *deniers*. The surpluses from the 1661 account put the accountant in debt to the estate in

⁶⁹¹ ADCO, E1812, 1662.

the amount of 111 *émines* 17 *boisseaux* in wheat, 72 *émines* 12 *boisseaux* in oats, and 618 *livres*. When adding these surpluses from 1661 with those from the grains this year, the new debts owed by the accountant were 227 *émines* 7 *boisseaux* in wheat and 149 *émines* 13 *boisseaux* in oats. When subtracting the deficit in money this year from the surplus in money from 1661, the total owed by the accountant in money came to 380 *livres* 11 *sols* 6 *deniers*. However, there were two notes added to the end of the account. The first note indicated that the sum of 380 *livres* 11 *sols* 6 *deniers* owed to the estate by the accountant was paid by Michel as seen in his quittance from November 7, 1663. The second note stated that Jacques himself eventually received 204 *émines* 4 *boisseaux* of wheat and 140 *émines* of oats owed from the present account, indicating that Michel had fulfilled most of his debt to the estate from this account year.⁶⁹²

Estate Administration:

Following the wars, Françoise continued to receive *rentes* regularly on the land and properties in the county of Beaumont. In fact, Françoise was often involved directly, contracting the leases herself or issuing orders for her employees to do so, and even sometimes receiving the payments for these *rentes*. In the 1650 account, the *rente* Sainte Catherine was leased for 1 *émine* of wheat and 1 *émine* of oats to Claude Maîtrejean from Beaumont by Monsieur de Fontennes who was given this charge by Françoise.⁶⁹³ This was the third year of a six-year lease. According to the 1659 account, Françoise contracted the new lease for this *rente*. As stated in the account, the accountant received

⁶⁹² ADCO, E1812, 1662. The second note was in the same handwriting as Jacques' signature earlier in the closure of the account. He also signed this note in the same handwriting.

⁶⁹³ ADCO, E1810, 1650.

17 *boisseaux* of wheat and 17 *boisseaux* of oats from Jean Gueniot and Andre Larcher from Beaumont for the *amodiation* that Françoise made with them for the *rente* Sainte Catherine, whereby 1659 was the first year of six.⁶⁹⁴

During the recovery years following the wars, Françoise often had to lower her *rentes* in order to entice people to lease properties and rights, as well as to encourage them to return to the region. According to Galiet, the *rente* of the *château* was customarily leased annually for 11 *émines*, half wheat and half oats, plus two capons, and the *rente* of the *armendaire* was normally rented annually for six *émines*, half wheat & half oats plus two capons.⁶⁹⁵ In 1649, as the accountant learned, the two *rentes* of the *château et armendaire* that were rented separately before the wars were leased together by Françoise to Pierre Villotet, a *laboureur* from Beaumont, for 10 *émines*, half wheat and half oats. Moreover, the leaseholder was required to pay the rent directly to Françoise. Villotet was required to yield and to pay these grains to Françoise in the *greniers* of her *château* of Arc-sur-Tille. The margin note confirmed that Françoise had received the grains directly from Villotet, and therefore, the accountant was discharged of the responsibility for these grains.⁶⁹⁶ These combined *rentes* regularly generated revenues for the estate. Beginning in the 1653 account, Françoise contracted another long-term lease with Villotet. According to Galiet, he received four *émines* of wheat and four *émines* of oats for the *rentes* of the *château et armendaire*, leased to Pierre Villotet,

⁶⁹⁴ ADCO, E1812, 1659.

⁶⁹⁵ ADCO, E1810, 1647.

⁶⁹⁶ ADCO, E1810, 1649.

for six consecutive years whereby 1653 was the first, as it appeared in the lease contract that was made by Françoise and that remained in her hands.⁶⁹⁷

The *rente* Saint Barthélemy was leased most account years under Françoise's administration. Once again, this *rente* was drastically reduced when Françoise took over full management of the accounts. According to the records, before the wars, this *rente* was leased at 10 *émines*, half wheat and half oats, plus two capons. However, in the account of 1648, it was relinquished to Anthoine Poinot and Thibault Paporet of Beaumont for four *émines*, half wheat and half oats.⁶⁹⁸ Although this *rente* was leased by Sieur Fontennes, he was given this task by Françoise.⁶⁹⁹ In the 1654 account year, this *rente* was not leased. That year, no revenues were collected that year for the *rente* St. Barthélemy because there were no parties interested in leasing it, and thus it remained uncultivated, despite being duly published in the notices of the parish churches of Beaumont and Dampierre.⁷⁰⁰ However, in 1655, it was once again leased albeit for an even smaller profit. The accountant received 1 *émine* 12 *boisseaux* of wheat and the same amount of oats for the *rente* Saint Barthélemy leased for 6 years, whereby this was the first, to Jean Boisselier and Nicolas Roussot, *vignerons* in Beaumont.⁷⁰¹

The *rente* of Plantenay in Beaumont was also leased under Françoise's management, but not every year. Once again, the price was reduced in order to deal with the fall-out from the fighting that had taken place. The *rente* of Plantenay customarily was rented at 19 *émines*, half wheat and half oats, plus six capons annually. In the 1648

⁶⁹⁷ ADCO, E1811, 1653.

⁶⁹⁸ ADCO, E1810, 1648.

⁶⁹⁹ ADCO, E1810, 1649.

⁷⁰⁰ ADCO, E1811, 1654.

⁷⁰¹ ADCO, E1811, 1655.

account year, it was rented for six years to Claude Joliot, a *laboureur* in Beaumont, for eight *émines*, half wheat and half oats. This entry mentions that the contract was in the hands of Françoise.⁷⁰² Moreover, that year, Françoise gave Joliot the use of some of the land bordering this property for no additional charge. The receiver did not collect any revenues for 1½ *journaux* sown with oats by Joliot in the *contour* (land bordering) Plantenay. According to the receiver, Joliot explained to him that Françoise had relinquished this *heritage* (inherited property) to him in exchange for clearing the land, making it arable, and sowing it with oats.⁷⁰³ The 1649 account indicated that this long-term lease with Joliot was indeed contracted by Françoise. Additionally, she received the monetary equivalent directly from the leaseholder for the wheat due, and the accountant received the oats. According to this entry, the *rente* of Plantenay was leased by Françoise to Joliot for the quantity of eight *émines*, half wheat and half oats. The accountant received the four *émines* of oats due from Joliot, but was discharged from receiving the wheat because Françoise had received 160 *livres* for these four *émines* of wheat.⁷⁰⁴ Françoise also contracted this property in the year 1656. Messire François Paporet, *sergent royal* in Beaumont, and François Val, a *mareschal* there, explained to the accountant that in the closing of 1656 they had leased from Françoise for 6 years, all the lands and *prés* (meadows or pastures) depending on the *rente* of Plantenay for eight *émines*, half wheat and half oats annually.⁷⁰⁵ In 1657, Galiet successfully received these grains from them. However, there were also years in which limited revenues were made from this property. For example, in the 1654, no receipt of wheat was made from the

⁷⁰² ADCO, E1810, 1648.

⁷⁰³ ADCO, E1810, 1648.

⁷⁰⁴ ADCO, E1810, 1649.

⁷⁰⁵ ADCO, E1811, 1657.

rente of Plantenay because it had only been implanted with oats by Claude Joliot. Despite being published in the notices of the parish churches in both Beaumont and Dampierre many times, Galiet found no *fermier* for this property, and therefore made no receipt of wheat and was discharged of this responsibility.⁷⁰⁶ He did, however, collect the four *émines* of oats from Joliot.⁷⁰⁷ In the 1655 account year, Galiet received the wheat, but no oats. In this entry, he respectfully reminded Françoise that no one was found to lease this *rente* in 1654, which Joliot promised to sow with wheat for one season in 1654 and to pay four *émines* of wheat in 1655. This agreement was established by a verbal contract between Françoise and Joliot. Galiet collected the four *émines* of wheat, but was released by Françoise from receiving the oats.⁷⁰⁸

In contrast to the other annual *rentes*, in most of these accounts controlled by Françoise, the *rente* of Richebourg in Beaumont often remained unleased. For example, in 1648, according to the accountant, no revenues were collected from this *rente* due to the effects of the wars. Galiet stated that he collected nothing from the *rente* of Richebourg, which was customarily rented annually for 15 *émines*, half wheat and half oats, as well as two capons, because it had been abandoned as a result of the wars and had not been rented since.⁷⁰⁹ Even once Beaumont had been somewhat restored, it proved difficult to lease this property. According to Galiet, he received no rent in wheat or oats from the *rente* of Richebourg because it had not been leased since the reestablishment of Beaumont and the cessation of arms between the two provinces, despite the proclamations and publications that he had had made in the parishes of Beaumont and

⁷⁰⁶ ADCO, E1811, 1654.

⁷⁰⁷ ADCO, E1811, 1654.

⁷⁰⁸ ADCO, E1811, 1655.

⁷⁰⁹ ADCO, E1810, 1648.

Dampierre.⁷¹⁰ However, in the 1659 account year, Françoise finally leased this property. The entry stated that Michel collected 3 *émines* 6 *boisseaux* of wheat and the same amount of oats for which the lands and *prés* of the *rente* of Richebourg were leased by Françoise for six years, whereby this was the second year, to Remy Roger of Beaumont.⁷¹¹

Françoise also received some *rentes* from leasing *heritages* in small parcels, as well as other properties. Rather than large portions of land, these properties were divided up and rented by various individuals on a much smaller scale. These properties were normally leased on a short-term basis and often came from larger annual *rentes* that were broken up because they could not be leased *en masse* in a given year. The estate received *rentes* in wheat and oats from these lands sown in Françoise's *heritages* by many individuals. The profits from these piecemeal leases varied greatly from year to year. For example, in the 1648 account, the receiver received 8½ *boisseaux* of oats from Didiere Galiet, his sister, for the lease of a *heritage* containing 10 *boisseaux* of oats.⁷¹² In the 1652 account year, received 14½ *boisseaux* of oats from Messire Jacques Dupuis for the lease of a *heritage* containing 3½ *journaux* in Beaumont, sown by him with oats.⁷¹³ In 1656, he received a total of 2 *émines* 6 *boisseaux* of wheat for the *amodiations* made to eight men of 18 *journaux* from the lands that were not leased *en masse*.⁷¹⁴ Sometimes revenues were not received from leasing land in piecemeal, but for leasing the use of things on these parcels of land. For example, in 1660, Michel received 3 *livres* from

⁷¹⁰ ADCO, E1810, 1650.

⁷¹¹ ADCO, E1812, 1659.

⁷¹² ADCO, E1810, 1648.

⁷¹³ ADCO, E1811, 1652.

⁷¹⁴ ADCO, E1811, 1656.

Etienne Chameroy for the *amodiation* made to him of some gardens.⁷¹⁵ That same account year, he received 50 *sols* from Claude Poincot, a vigneron in Beaumont, for the *amodiation* made to him of the garden of the basse-court of the château of Beaumont.⁷¹⁶ That year, Michel also received 10 *livres* for the *amodiation* made to Nicolas Jacotot from Beaumont of the house that normally belonged to the heirs of Osseret.⁷¹⁷

Françoise also made some revenues from the lease of the *grange et metairie* (barn and farm with farmhouse) of the Seigneurie of Bessey, a dependent of the county of Beaumont. In the early years under her administration, she faced issues of insolvency involving the lessees of these properties. Beginning in 1653, Françoise contracted a new, more successful lease of the *grange et metairie* for 9 years for 18 *émines*, half wheat and half oats, annually. According to Galiet, in 1654, he received nine *émines* of wheat and the same amount of oats from Jean Mongenet and Laurent Raze, *laboureurs* in Bessey, leaseholders for nine years whereby the present was the second, of the *grange et metairie* of Bessey, which was leased to them by Françoise.⁷¹⁸

Most account years, Françoise received revenues from the *rente* of Champagne. Once again, there was a reduction on the price of this lease because of the wars. According to Galiet, the *rente* of Champagne before the wars came to 5 *émines* 6 *boisseaux*, half wheat and half oats. In 1647, the accountant collected no revenues from this property because no *heritages* had been leased in Champagne that year because of the wars.⁷¹⁹ However, Françoise contracted a lease that year to begin in 1648.

⁷¹⁵ ADCO, E1812, 1660.

⁷¹⁶ ADCO, E1812, 1660.

⁷¹⁷ ADCO, E1812, 1660.

⁷¹⁸ ADCO, E1811, 1654.

⁷¹⁹ ADCO, E1810, 1647.

According to Galiet, in 1650, he received 1 *émine* 12 *boisseaux* of wheat and 1 *émine* 12 *boisseaux* of oats from Jean-Baptiste Le Foullet, a *laboureur* from Champagne, for the *amodiation* of the *rente* of Champagne made with him by Françoise for three years, this being the last.⁷²⁰

Under the administration of Françoise, annual profits continued to be accrued from leasing the *prés* and from the sale of *herbes* (grasses) grown in these meadows of Beaumont and Lœuilley. The revenues from these grasses varied from year to year. In 1647, the profit in grasses came to 74 *livres* 15 *sols*. That year the accountant received 4 *livres* 5 *sols* from Claude Bellot, a *vigneron* in Beaumont, for the grass of 1 *soiture* (the amount of meadow that can be mowed by a person in one day) of meadow in the *grand pré* of the park.⁷²¹ Moreover, he received 3 *livres* 10 *sols* from Baltazard Denis for the grass of 1 *faux* (the amount of meadow that can be mowed by a person in one day) of meadow taken by him during the hay harvests of the present year.⁷²² The accountant did not collect all of the revenues this year; some were received by Françoise. Moreover, she was also involved in contracting these leases and making these sales. The *grand pré* of the park of Beaumont was rented by Françoise to Claude Bauldin the younger, a *marchand* residing in Bèze, at the reserve of two *faux* for Françoise, for the sum of 60 *livres* which Bauldin paid directly to Françoise.⁷²³ Nor did the accountant credit the account the seven *livres* for the grass from six quarters of meadow, delivered to Jeanne

⁷²⁰ ADCO, E1810, 1650.

⁷²¹ ADCO, E1810, 1647.

⁷²² ADCO, E1810, 1647. E. Bailly, "Notice sur les Anciennes mesures de Bourgogne," in *Société D'Histoire, D'Archéologie et de Littérature de L'Arrondissement de Beaune: Mémoires année 1902* (Beaune: Arthur Batault, 1903), 153-193. The words *soiture*, *faux* and *fauchée* were used to indicate the same measure used for the evaluation of *prairies* which included *prés*, *patûres*, and *vergers* (190).

⁷²³ ADCO, E1810, 1647.

Renard residing in Beaumont, because Françoise had settled the obligation with Renard herself.⁷²⁴ Additionally that year, the accountant raised and took the grass from four *faux* of meadow whereby he offered to pay Françoise. However, there is no credit recorded in the account, but instead a note was made in the margin stating, “Remis au comptable” (released to the accountant), indicating that Françoise did not accept payment from Galiet for these meadow grasses.⁷²⁵ It is impossible to know if she forgave him this debt because he employed the hay for uses involving the functioning of the estate, or if it was payment in reward for services that he provided the estate. The revenues from these meadow grasses increased as the years passed. In 1655, the accountant collected significantly higher revenues totaling 245 *livres* 10 *sols* from grasses leased in the *prés* of Beaumont and Lœuilley. Françoise was also involved in contracting some of these leases as well. For example, Galiet received 70 *livres* for the meadows leased by Françoise for six years, whereby this was the first, to Messieurs Claude Bauldin, the elder and the younger, brothers.⁷²⁶ He also received 110 *livres* from Claude Bauldin, the younger, for the *amodiation* made to him by Françoise, of the meadow called the large park, for two years whereby this was the first.⁷²⁷ In 1655, he also received 20 *livres* from François Mongeot and Faulle Sauvageot for the six year *amodiation* made to them of the largest part of the meadows belonging to Françoise in the *prairie* (prairie or meadow) of Lœuilley.⁷²⁸ As for the hay that came from the meadows in the *prairie* of Beaumont, this year it was locked up and stored in order to be used for the nourishment of Françoise’s

⁷²⁴ ADCO, E1810, 1647.

⁷²⁵ ADCO, E1810, 1647.

⁷²⁶ ADCO, E1811, 1655 & 1656.

⁷²⁷ ADCO, E1811, 1655.

⁷²⁸ ADCO, E1811, 1655.

horses when she came to Beaumont, and therefore Galiet received no revenues from these grasses.⁷²⁹

The grasses of the *prés* of Blagny and Renève were also leased to various people annually. In the 1647 account year, parts of these revenues in Blagny were received by Françoise, parts by the receiver, and parts were not received at all. According to the account, the receiver did not collect the 30 *livres* due to Françoise by Baltazard Denis of Beaumont for the rental of the *grand pré* in Blagny containing 20 *soitures* of meadow because Denis had conveyed the debt from it to Françoise.⁷³⁰ That same year, however, the receiver collected 9 *livres* from Denis Henry and Gerard Vaussot, *laboureurs* in Blagny, for the sell and deliverance made to them of the grasses of 6 *soitures* of meadow in the *grand pré* of Blagny.⁷³¹ Furthermore, the remainder of the *grand pré* of Blagny had no revenues because no one was found to buy the rest of the grasses from this *pré*.⁷³² Françoise engaged in contracting some of these leases in Blagny. In 1649, the receiver collected a total of 20 *livres* for 15 *soitures*, not including an additional 8 *livres* in revenues generated from the remainder of this *pré* leased by Françoise to Messire François Aubert, *praticien* (practitioner of the law) in Blagny.⁷³³ Moreover, in 1651, Françoise contracted a three-year lease with this same *praticien*, but this time for all of the *prés* of Blagny. According to the 1651 account year, for the second year, all of the *prés* in the *prairie* of Blagny were leased by Françoise to Aubert for three years at 36 *livres* annually, at the reserve of 5 *soitures* given to Claude LeBlanc through his lease of

⁷²⁹ ADCO, E1811, 1655.

⁷³⁰ ADCO, E1810, 1647.

⁷³¹ ADCO, E1810, 1647.

⁷³² ADCO, E1810, 1647.

⁷³³ ADCO, E1810, 1649.

the *corvées*.⁷³⁴ In 1656, Françoise contracted the lease of this *grand pré* for 9 years. Galiet received 60 *livres* from Claude and Adrien Michel of Beaumont for the *amodiation* made to them by Françoise for 9 years, whereby this was the first, of the *grand pré* in the *prairie* of Blagny.⁷³⁵ The lease terms changed, however, because in 1659 and 1660, these grasses were leased by Françoise only to Claude Michel, the accountant, for 100 *livres*.⁷³⁶ The grasses of the *prés* of Renève belonging to Françoise were also leased annually for varied revenues. However, Françoise was not involved in these transactions. In 1653, Galiet received 45 *livres* for all of the grasses of *prés* belonging to Françoise in the *prairie* of Renève, leased for three years, this being the first, to Martin Jacquinot, mareschal in this place.⁷³⁷ Michel received 126 *livres* from Monsieur François Paporet of Beaumont for the *amodiation* to him made for the present year of the *prés* in the *prairie* of Renève.⁷³⁸

Some years, revenues were also made from the grasses of the *prés* of Dampierre. For example, for the years 1650 – 1653, all of the *prés* situated in the *prairie* of Dampierre were leased to Messire Jacques Dupuis, procureur d'office in the county of Beaumont, by Desnoyers for the sum of 4 *livres* annually.⁷³⁹ Then beginning in 1657, no revenues were collected independently for the grasses of the *prés* of Dampierre because this lease was subsumed within that of the *corvée* of the *garenne*.

⁷³⁴ ADCO, E1810, 1650 & 1651; E1811, 1652.

⁷³⁵ ADCO, E1811, 1656 & 1657.

⁷³⁶ ADCO, E1812, 1659 & 1660.

⁷³⁷ ADCO, E1811, 1653, 1654, & 1655.

⁷³⁸ ADCO, E1812, 1659.

⁷³⁹ ADCO, E1810, 1650 & 1651; E1811, 1652 & 1653.

Under the administration of Françoise, some revenues were received from portions of land leased and sown in the *corvées* in the Seigneurie.⁷⁴⁰ These *corvées* were parceled out and farmed by various individuals for a portion of the grains produced. According to the 1647 account, the *corvée des abrots* containing 45 *journaux*, was leased customarily at eight *boisseaux* per *journal*, but was not rented that year, except that 2 *journaux* 18 *perches* (a *perche* is a measure of 18 or 20 feet) were ploughed and sowed by Anthoine Poinot at the rate of four *boisseaux* of wheat per *journal*, which came to a total receipt of eight *boisseaux* of wheat.⁷⁴¹ Additionally, Galiet received 23 *boisseaux* of oats from Poinot both for land that he had sown in the *corvée des abrots* and in a *heritage* belonging to Françoise on the route from Mirebeau. Beginning in 1657, three long-term leases were established for the *corvée des abrots*; at least one of which was overseen by Françoise. For example, in the 1659 account Michel received 12 *boisseaux* of wheat and 12 *boisseaux* of oats from Jean Floriot, a *vigneron* in Beaumont, for the *amodiation* made by Françoise of 12 *journaux* of arable land implanted by him, 4 *journaux* in each of the three seasons. This account year was the third of six years, and this land was sown in the *corvée des abrots*.⁷⁴² That same year, Michel received 1 *émine* of wheat and 1 *émine* of oats from Claude Gremeau, a *laboureur* in Beaumont, for the *amodiation* made to him for six years, whereby this was also the third, of eight *journaux*

⁷⁴⁰ Jean Gallet, “Droits Feodaux et Seigneuriaux,” 437-445. Originally, the term *corvée* indicated obligatory, unpaid labor service owed to the Seigneur by a tenant. However, these *corvées* made no mention of labor attached except that done by the leaseholder in order to meet his contractual obligation. It is unknown, but seems unlikely that these were *corvées réelles*, owed because of the possession of inherited land to which the right of *corvée* was attached. Instead, it seems that these lands retained the name *corvée*, but that the only labor expected was that performed by the lessees, sowing the land in these *corvées* in exchange for a percentage of the harvest.

⁷⁴¹ ADCO, E1810, 1647.

⁷⁴² ADCO, E1811, 1657; ADCO, E1812, 1659.

of land taken in the *corvée des abrots*, in each of the three seasons, for a total of 24 *journaux*, along with the *pré* of the little park.⁷⁴³

The *corvée de la garenne* was also broken up and leased in a similar manner as the *corvée des abrots*. Before the wars, the *corvée de la garenne* was normally leased at eight *boisseaux* per *journal*, but in 1648, it was not rented despite published proclamations in the parish churches, except that some *journaux* had been sown in it by individual inhabitants from Beaumont at the rate of five *boisseaux* per *journal*.⁷⁴⁴ Through these individuals, Galiet received revenues in 1648 totaling 50 $\frac{1}{3}$ *boisseaux* of wheat. For example, he received 17½ *boisseaux* of wheat from François Val, a *mareschal* in Beaumont, for 3½ *journaux* and 20 *perches* sown by him with wheat in the *corvée de la garenne*.⁷⁴⁵ In 1659, these *corvées* continued to be parceled out to individuals in order to be sown with grains. For example, Michel received 1 *émine* 3 *boisseaux* of wheat and the same amount of oats from Pierre Du Saulce, Nicolas Perrot, and Etienne Bellot, for another *amodiation* made to them in June 20, 1657 for 27 *journaux* of land taken in the *corvée de la garenne*.⁷⁴⁶

The *grand et petit corvées* of Blagny also continued to be rented out for revenues most of the years following the wars. However, this was not the case in 1647. The *grand et petit corvées* of Blagny consisting of 45 *journaux* or more were rented annually before the wars at eight to nine *émines*, half wheat and half oats, but were not leased in 1647 because no one wanted to rent them.⁷⁴⁷ This was the same case in 1648. According to

⁷⁴³ ADCO, E1812, 1659.

⁷⁴⁴ ADCO, E1810, 1648.

⁷⁴⁵ ADCO, E1810, 1648.

⁷⁴⁶ ADCO, E1812, 1659.

⁷⁴⁷ ADCO, E1810, 1647.

Galiet, that year, these *corvées* of Blagny were not leased as a whole or in parts despite many publications made.⁷⁴⁸ In 1650, the accountant received 45 *boisseaux* of wheat and 45 *boisseaux* of oats for the rental of the *grand et petit corvées* of Blagny relinquished by Françoise for six years, this being the first, to Claude LeBlanc from Blagny, along with five *soitures* of meadow taken in the *grand pré* of Blagny.⁷⁴⁹ In 1656, Françoise made a verbal contract with several individuals for these *corvées* coupled with some *prés*. That year, Galiet received 45 *boisseaux* of wheat and 45 *boisseaux* of oats for the *grand et petit corvées* in Blagny that were verbally leased by Françoise for the present year to many individuals from Blagny along with some *prés* of abundant hay. However, the hay was granted to them without making them pay for it.⁷⁵⁰ The next year, Françoise once again contracted a long lease for these *corvées* joined with a *pré*. In 1657, Galiet received 2 *émines* 2 *boisseaux* of wheat and the same amount in oats from Claude and Adrien Michel, brothers, for the *amodiation* made to them by Françoise for 6 years whereby this was the first, of the *grand et petit corvées* of Blagny.⁷⁵¹

In most of the account years under Françoise's administration, revenues were also collected from the *rente* of the *corveotte* and the *chènevière* within the *corveotte*.⁷⁵² In the past, the dependent lands of the *corveotte* had been rented for one *émine* of wheat and one *émine* of oats, reserving the hemp-field for Françoise. Although this land remained divided into two sections, both of these parcels of land were often rented by the same

⁷⁴⁸ ADCO, E1810, 1648.

⁷⁴⁹ ADCO, E1810, 1650 & 1651; E1811, 1652, 1653, 1654, & 1655.

⁷⁵⁰ ADCO, E1811, 1656.

⁷⁵¹ ADCO, E1811, 1657; ADCO, E1812, 1659, 1660, & 1662.

⁷⁵² Although there is no definition available for "corveotte," this word appears to be a combination of the word "corvée" and the diminutive ending "otte". This would indicate that this property was a little *corvée*. Like the other *corvées* in the *Seigneurie*, it does not appear to have a labor imperative either.

man. In 1648, Françoise leased and received the revenues from this property herself. That year, it was leased by Françoise to Pierre Villotet at the rate of 12 *boisseaux* of wheat for the hemp-field and 4 *boisseaux* of wheat per journal for the rest of the *corveotte* comprising of 6 *journaux*. The accountant received no revenues because Villotet paid these grains directly to Françoise in the greniers of her château in Arc-sur-Tille.⁷⁵³ In the 1653 account year, the accountant himself received all of the grains due from the lease of this property. He received one *émine* of wheat for the dependent lands of the *corveotte* and 12 *boisseaux* of wheat for the *chènevière*, which were leased by Françoise to Villotet, as seen in the lease contract in her hands. The annual *rente* that year came to 1 *émine* 12 *boisseaux* of wheat.⁷⁵⁴

Under the supervision of Françoise, the *four banal* of Beaumont was leased every year, though the price for this right varied. Often, Françoise was directly involved in these transactions. In the 1647 account year, the common oven in Beaumont was leased by Sieur de Fontennes on behalf of Françoise. According to this account, 3½ *émines* of wheat were received from Jeanne Renard, widow of Nicolas Friand, as *amodiatrice* (female leaseholder) of the *four banal* of Beaumont, as it appeared in the lease contract stipulated by Sieur de Fontennes for Françoise.⁷⁵⁵ In the 1656 account year, Galiet received 6 *émines* 12 *boisseaux* of wheat for the *four banal* of Beaumont leased for three years, this being the first, to Anthoine Foustelet and Pierre Du Saulce of Beaumont, following Françoise's directive from November 1, 1655.⁷⁵⁶ Additionally, these lessees were forced to purchase wood to use in the oven as part of their contract. Galiet also

⁷⁵³ ADCO, E1810, 1648.

⁷⁵⁴ ADCO, E1811, 1653.

⁷⁵⁵ ADCO, E1810, 1647.

⁷⁵⁶ ADCO, E1811, 1656.

received an additional 10 *livres* from Foustelet and Du Saulce, as the leaseholders of the common oven, for the sale made to them annually, during their lease contract, of the cut and area of a *journal* of Françoise's woods for the heating of the oven.⁷⁵⁷

In the initial years following the war, the *four banal* of Dampierre was in disrepair and as a result could not be leased. According to the 1648 account, the *four banal* of Dampierre was customarily leased for 164 *livres* and more before the wars but was discharged the present year. In fact, it had not been leased since the cessation of arms between the two provinces because it was in need of repairs; specifically, it was necessary to rebuild the arch in the oven without which it could not heat or bake the dough of the inhabitants of Dampierre.⁷⁵⁸ However, beginning in the 1651 account, this common oven was once again leased. For example, in 1653, Galiet received 2 *émines* 20 *boisseaux* of wheat for the revenues of the *four banal* of Dampierre leased to Sulpice Chastron, a *laboureur* there, at the guarantee of the honorable Claude Bauldin, the younger.⁷⁵⁹

The rights to the revenues of the *four banal* of Blagny were leased annually under Françoise. The price of this lease decreased greatly following the wars. In the past, the common oven of Blagny was normally rented for 8½ *émines* of wheat and two capons per year. However, in 1647 it was rented to Pierre Garinot who presented the highest offer of 2 *émines* 20 *boisseaux* of wheat.⁷⁶⁰ In the 1656 account, Galiet received 2 *émines* 12 *boisseaux* of wheat from Marceau Bouillot, a *laboureur* in Blagny, for the *amodiation* of

⁷⁵⁷ ADCO, E1811, 1656.

⁷⁵⁸ ADCO, E1810, 1647, 1648, 1649, & 1650.

⁷⁵⁹ ADCO, E1811, 1653.

⁷⁶⁰ ADCO, E1810, 1647.

the revenues from the *four banal* of Blagny.⁷⁶¹ Moreover, he received 5 *livres* from Bouillot for the sale of half of a *journal* of wood for the heating of the *four banal* of Blagny.⁷⁶² In 1660, Michel received a much higher profit of 4 *émines* 6 *boisseaux* of wheat from Bouillot for the revenues of the *four banal* of Blagny that he leased that year.⁷⁶³

During Françoise's control of the accounts, there were no revenues at all collected from the *four banal* of Renève or from the *four banal* of Champagne. This loss in profits was due to damages caused to these ovens during the wars. Neither oven could be leased until the necessary repairs were made which did not happen during Françoise's administration of the Seigneurie. For example, in the 1647 account, the *four banal* of Renève that was rented normally at 2 *émines* 15 or 16 *boisseaux* of wheat, was not rented this account year because it had been burned and ruined by the enemies of the state. Because of the wars, it was left in disrepair, and thus brought in no revenues.⁷⁶⁴ In the 1648 account, the receiver did not receive any revenues from the *four banal* of Champagne which was in the past leased annually for 2 *émines* 6 *boisseaux* of wheat and two capons, but during this present account year could not be leased because it was in need of repairs.⁷⁶⁵ In 1649, the accountant emphasized that Françoise was aware of its destruction, which bolstered his request to be discharged again from this obligation. According to Galiet, that year, the *four banal* of Champagne was entirely ruined and had

⁷⁶¹ ADCO, E1811, 1656.

⁷⁶² ADCO, E1811, 1656.

⁷⁶³ ADCO, E1812, 1660.

⁷⁶⁴ ADCO, E1810, 1647, 1648, 1649, & 1650.

⁷⁶⁵ ADCO, E1810, 1648.

not been repaired nor leased since the wars, something which Françoise was cognizant of, and therefore the accountant was discharged of the responsibility of these revenues.⁷⁶⁶

The rights to the *moulin banal* of Beaumont and the *moulin banal* of Dampierre were also often leased under the leadership of Françoise. Initially, because of the postwar circumstances, Françoise granted these rights in exchange for repairs. Both of these mills were damaged during the wars. Estate revenues were tight because of the devastation and depopulation of the region, which led to fewer and lower *rentes* as well as fewer obligations being collected. To remedy this cash flow situation Françoise made a judicious business arrangement in order to achieve the restoration of these mills at no cost to the estate except for a temporary disruption of the revenues generated by leasing the rights to these mills. According to Galiet, prior to the regional troubles the mill in Beaumont was rented for 11 *émines* 18 *boisseaux* of wheat and 6 capons and the mill in Dampierre was leased for 11 *émines* 1 *boisseau* of wheat and 6 capons annually. However, in the 1640s the mill in Dampierre and the mill in Beaumont were relinquished together by Françoise to Pierre Perriquet, residing in Beaumont, in exchange for his labor. According to the 1649 account, which was the last year of this contract, Perriquet was to enjoy the rights attached to these mills for five years at no charge in exchange for thoroughly rebuilding and repairing them as seen in the contract made and held by Françoise. In light of this, Perriquet held these rights, but did not owe anything aside from labor.⁷⁶⁷ Therefore, the accountant was discharged from collecting the revenues from these mills during this period.⁷⁶⁸ Once repaired and the terms of the contract were

⁷⁶⁶ ADCO, E1810, 1649.

⁷⁶⁷ ADCO, E1810, 1647, 1648, & 1649.

⁷⁶⁸ ADCO, E1810, 1647 & 1649.

over, Françoise would once again have fully functioning mills and could renew the collection of revenues for the rights to these *banalités*. Perriquet fulfilled his debt of repairing the mill in Dampierre, because from 1650 to 1652 these mills were leased separately again. However, this independence was short lived, and from 1653 to 1657 the mill of Dampierre and that of Beaumont were adjoined again under one lease contract.⁷⁶⁹ According to Galiet, in 1653, the terms of the lease of the rights to the common mill of Beaumont altered to incorporate the rights to the moulin banal of Dampierre. That year, he received 11 *émines* of wheat from Jean Musard for the lease of the mills of Beaumont and Dampierre, for 6 years, whereby 1653 was the first year. Musard carried the capons directly to Françoise in her château in Arc-sur-Tille, as noted in the contract.⁷⁷⁰ Therefore, the receiver was only held responsible for the grains. Beginning in 1659, at the completion of this six-year contract, once again these two mills were leased independently. According to Michel, he received nine *émines* of wheat from Vincent Nicolle, *fermier* of the moulin of Beaumont, for six years whereby this was the first, for the *amodiation* made by Françoise in Arc-sur-Tille, which she held in her hands.⁷⁷¹ In 1660, he received 7 *émines* 6 *boisseaux* of wheat from Anthoine Minard for the *amodiation* of the moulin banal of Dampierre for five years, this being the first.⁷⁷²

In the accounts controlled by Françoise, the moulin banal of Champagne also consistently produced revenues. Françoise was very involved in contracting and receiving the profits directly from leasing the rights to this mill. According to the 1647 account, before the wars, the moulin banal of Champagne was rented for 19½ *émines* of

⁷⁶⁹ ADCO, E1811, 1653.

⁷⁷⁰ ADCO, E1811, 1653.

⁷⁷¹ ADCO, E1812, 1659.

⁷⁷² ADCO, E1812, 1660.

wheat. However, that year, the accountant did not collect much revenue from the mill of Champagne, stating that Françoise rented these rights to Simon Petit, held the contract in her hands, and received these revenues. The accountant did receive 1 *émine* 12 *boisseaux* of wheat from Petit on the orders of Desnoyers.⁷⁷³ In 1649, the moulin banal of Champagne was leased by Françoise to Simon Petit on the condition of delivering the grains from this contract to the *greniers* of the château in Arc-sur-Tille. Although the accountant did not receive any of these grains this year and was discharged, he noted that he would be held responsible for these revenues in the future.⁷⁷⁴ Beginning in 1654, it was the accountant who received the grains, but the capons were sent directly to Françoise's household. Galiet stated that he received 7 *émines* 12 *boisseaux* from Pechinot for the *amodiation* of the *moulin banal* in Champagne, whereby this was the first of six years. However, the capons were delivered to the kitchen of Françoise in Arc-sur-Tille.⁷⁷⁵

Under the supervision of Françoise, the Seigneurie leased the rights to all of the *rivières banales* in the county of Beaumont, which included the rivers of Beaumont, Champagne, and Renève. Françoise was the architect of the contracts involving the rights to these common rivers. Most of the time, the receiver collected the revenues; however, in the 1647 account, Françoise received the payment. According to the accountant, the rights to the *rivières banales* in the county were leased by Françoise for 50 *livres* as well as an unstated number of ducks. This amount, however, was not factored into the account because Françoise received the payment directly from the

⁷⁷³ ADCO, E1810, 1647.

⁷⁷⁴ ADCO, E1810, 1649.

⁷⁷⁵ ADCO, E1811, 1654, 1655, 1656, & 1657; ADCO, E1812, 1659.

lessee.⁷⁷⁶ In 1648, the receiver collected the monetary revenues from the rental of this right, but the ducks went straight to Françoise's household. According to Galiet, he collected 50 *livres* from Michel Goujon from Bèze staying in Beaumont, to which Françoise had leased all the *rivières banales*, dependents of her county of Beaumont, for six years, whereby this was the first, for 50 *livres* and 12 *canards* (ducks) annually. She maintained the contract in her hands. Goujon was to furnish these ducks directly to Françoise's kitchen; hence, these ducks were not recorded as received by the receiver.⁷⁷⁷ In 1651, a new long-term rental contract specified that this lease came with the right to fish, but ducks were no longer part of the payment obligation. According to the document, Galiet received 40 *livres* annually for the *amodiation* made by Françoise for six years, whereby this was the first, to Etienne Mongeot, resident in Champagne, of the fish of all the dependent rivers of the county of Beaumont.⁷⁷⁸ Throughout Françoise's administration of the estates, these river rights remained joined under one lease contract.

In the accounts controlled by Françoise, initially the *droit de passage et péage* on the *rivière* of Renève was not a revenue maker. In the 1647 account, Galiet did not receive any revenues from the *droit de passage et péage* on the river of Renève. According to Galiet, Jean Humbelot, called Floeur Despine, had leased this right from Françoise. The accountant asked to be discharged from the responsibility of collecting these revenues, emphasizing that it was up to Françoise to act against Humbelot if it pleased her to do so.⁷⁷⁹ He wrote, “. . . c'est à madite Dame d'en ordonner contre ledit Humbelot ce qu'il lui plaira . . .” (it's left to my lady to order against Humbelot as she

⁷⁷⁶ ADCO, E1810, 1647.

⁷⁷⁷ ADCO, E1810, 1648.

⁷⁷⁸ ADCO, E1810, 1651; ADCO, E1811, 1652.

⁷⁷⁹ ADCO, E1810, 1647.

pleases). Nor were there any revenues collected the following year. Beginning in 1652, this right provided a steady stream of small revenues to the estate. In 1653, Galiet received 3 *livres* for the *amodiation* made to Noel Cavillet for six years, this being the second, of the right of passage by boat on the river of Renève. The two capons also due annually in consequence of this lease contract were sent directly to Françoise in Arc-sur-Tille.⁷⁸⁰ However, in 1659 and 1660, the receiver received no revenues from this right because no one leased it.⁷⁸¹ Nor did he receive any revenues from this right in 1662, but for different reasons. In 1662, Françoise relinquished these rights in exchange for labor. That year, the right of passage by boat on the river of Renève generated no revenues because the late Françoise had released this right at no cost to Sieur Lapeche of Mirebeau in exchange for him rebuilding the bridge of Renève.⁷⁸²

Under Françoise's administration of the estates, revenues continued to be generated from most of the *dixmes* belonging to Françoise in the county of Beaumont. In 1646, the only revenues recorded that year came from the three *dixmes* of Beaumont, Dampierre, and Blagny. These *dixmes* owed to Françoise in 1646 were leased by local inhabitants for a combined total of only 12½ *émines* of wheat and 12 *émines* 18 *boisseaux* of oats. The receiver collected all of the wheat that was owed, along with 10 *émines* 19 *boisseaux* of the oats. In order to fulfill the remaining debt of oats due for these three *dixmes*, the *fermiers* (leaseholders) owed Françoise an additional 43 *boisseaux* of oats. In this case, Françoise intervened herself to collect partial payment of this debt. According to Galiet, this debt had been reduced from 47 *boisseaux* of oats because on Françoise's

⁷⁸⁰ ADCO, E1811, 1652, 1653, 1654, 1655, 1656, & 1657.

⁷⁸¹ ADCO, E1812, 1659.

⁷⁸² ADCO, E1812, 1662.

command, one of these renters furnished 4 *boisseaux* of oats to her for her horses when she was in Beaumont.⁷⁸³

Revenues from the *double dixme* of Beaumont were only collected for a few years during Françoise's administration. According to the accountant, the *double dixme* of Beaumont was normally rented at 50 *émines*, half oats and half wheat yearly, but was leased for less following the wars. For instance, in 1650, the *double dixme* of Beaumont was leased by Monsieur de Fontennes, under commission from Françoise, to Claude Paporet of Beaumont for 31 *émines* 18 *boisseaux*, half wheat and half oats, of which the receiver collected this obligation in full.⁷⁸⁴ However, according to Galiet, this *dixme* was not leased in 1651 because it expired in 1650, according to the contract in the hands of Françoise.⁷⁸⁵ Therefore, under the management of Françoise, the *double dixme* was no longer leased after 1650.

In contrast, the *double dixmes* of both Dampierre and Blagny continued to be received annually under the management of Françoise. The *double dixmes* of Dampierre and Blagny belonging to Françoise were perpetual and established on the inhabitants of Dampierre and Blagny respectively. The profits from these *dixmes* were greatly reduced when compared with pre-war revenues. Before the declaration of war between the two provinces, the *double dixme* on the inhabitants of Dampierre was rented for 44 or 45 *émines*, half wheat and half oats. In 1648, however it was leased for 17½ *émines*, half wheat and half oats, to Claude Gauffinet and Louis Bornet, *laboureurs* in Dampierre

⁷⁸³ ADCO, E1810, 1646.

⁷⁸⁴ ADCO, E1810, 1650.

⁷⁸⁵ ADCO, E1810, 1651.

under the guarantee of the honorable Claude Bauldin, a *marchand* there.⁷⁸⁶ The *double dixme* of Blagny was leased before the wars for more than 63 *émines*, half wheat half oats. However, in 1648 it was only leased for 23 *émines*, half wheat and half oats, to Jean Bernard and Jean Poitet from Blagny.⁷⁸⁷ This right was delivered to them as the highest bidders of this *dixme*.⁷⁸⁸ The revenues did gradually increase under Françoise's supervision. For example, in 1657, the *double dixme* of Blagny was leased to Nicolas Roussot and Jean Petitjean of Beaumont for the harvests of the present year for 10 *émines* of wheat and 10 *émines* of oats annually.⁷⁸⁹ By 1660, the revenues from the *double dixme* of Dampierre had increased dramatically to near pre-war levels. Michel received 20 *émines* 12 *boisseaux* of wheat and the same amount of oats from the honorable Claude Bauldin, the elder, *maître de forge* in Lœuilley, for the *amodiation* of the *double dixme* of Dampierre for 3 years whereby this was the first.⁷⁹⁰

Revenues from the *dixme* of Bessey were received every year, though the profits there were also greatly diminished. Before the wars, the *dixme* of Bessey had been leased for more than 36 *émines*, half wheat and half oats. However, in 1647, this *dixme* was rented to Thomas Brulebault of Beaumont for only 42 *boisseaux*, half wheat & half oats.⁷⁹¹ In 1649, the price of the *rente* had increased. The accountant received 3 *émines* 6 *boisseaux* of wheat and the same amount of oats for the *dixme* of Bessey leased that year by Claude Bellot, a vigneron in Beaumont, under the guarantee of Anthoine Poinot,

⁷⁸⁶ ADCO, E1810, 1648.

⁷⁸⁷ ADCO, E1810, 1648.

⁷⁸⁸ ADCO, E1810, 1648.

⁷⁸⁹ ADCO, E1811, 1657.

⁷⁹⁰ ADCO, E1812, 1660.

⁷⁹¹ ADCO, E1810, 1647.

boucher in Beaumont.⁷⁹² In 1660, Michel received a substantially larger *rente* in the amount of 10 *émines* 12 *boisseaux* of wheat and the same amount in oats for the *dixme* of Bessey leased that year to François Girard and Chrétien Foutoillet.⁷⁹³

Depending on the account year, the *dixmes* of Renève and Cheuge were leased both independently and jointly under Françoise's authority. Initially, once again the revenues from these *dixmes* were greatly reduced because of the destruction caused by the wars. The *dixme* of Renève was normally rented for 18 and 20 *émines*, half wheat and half oats, and yielded in the greniers of Françoise in Beaumont. However, in the 1647 account year, this *dixme* of Renève was rented for 2 *émines* 18 *boisseaux*, half wheat and half oats, to Claude Bourgaudet from Renève who presented the highest offer.⁷⁹⁴ The *dixme* of Cheuge, which customarily rented for four *émines* or 4 *émines* 15 *boisseaux*, was reduced this same account year because the place was not yet repopulated, and as such, it was rented by Sieur de Fontennes to Laurent Savet from Cheuge for only eight *boisseaux*, half wheat and half oats.⁷⁹⁵ These two *dixmes* were leased together from 1649 through 1651. For instance, in 1650, the accountant received 3 *émines* 13 *boisseaux* of wheat and the same amount of oats for the *dixmes* belonging to Françoise within the borders of Renève and Cheuge, which were leased by Monsieur de Fontennes for the harvests of this year to Claude Perron from Renève.⁷⁹⁶ Beginning in 1652, however, these *dixmes* were once again leased separately. For example in 1655, he received 3 *émines* 12 *boisseaux* of wheat and the same amount in oats for the *dixme* of

⁷⁹² ADCO, E1810, 1649.

⁷⁹³ ADCO, E1812, 1660.

⁷⁹⁴ ADCO, E1810, 1647.

⁷⁹⁵ ADCO, E1810, 1647.

⁷⁹⁶ ADCO, E1810, 1650.

Renève delivered to Prudent Clairdelois, Simon Galas, and Claude Bourgaudet from Renève.⁷⁹⁷ That same year, Galiet received three *émines* of wheat and three *émines* of oats for the *amodiation* of the *dixme* of Cheuge leased to Nicolas Villeminot and Claude Bonneret of Cheuge.⁷⁹⁸

The collection of most of the *cens* in the county was temporarily halted due to the wars. According to Galiet, initially, he received very few *cens* that were owed to Françoise in the county of Beaumont and its' dependencies because of the death, poverty and absenteeism that resulted from the regional turmoil.⁷⁹⁹ This affected all of the communities under Françoise's authority, which included Beaumont, Lœuilley, Bessey, Dampierre, Blagny, Champagne, Renève, Cheuge, and Oisilly. For example, in Blagny, the accountant required to be discharged from collecting the *cens* seeing that those recognized in the *terrier* of Blagny as owing a *cens* or possessing inherited properties with a *cens* attached were either dead or unknown to the receiver.⁸⁰⁰ In Lœuilley in 1648, Galiet was discharged of collecting an individual *cens* because it had been abandoned. According to the document, the heirs of Martin Poillenet owed 20 *deniers* of *cens* annually to Françoise; however, that year, no heirs were known and the land attached to this *cens* had been abandoned.⁸⁰¹ Moreover, Galiet did not record receipt of the *cens* due in Renève which customarily came to 24 *boisseaux* of wheat, 3¼ pounds of wax, and 16 *livres 2 sols 1 denier*; nor did he record the receipt of the *cens* on the lands and inherited

⁷⁹⁷ ADCO, E1811, 1655.

⁷⁹⁸ ADCO, E1811, 1655.

⁷⁹⁹ ADCO, E1810, 1647 & 1649.

⁸⁰⁰ ADCO, E1810, 1648.

⁸⁰¹ ADCO, E1810, 1648.

properties of Bessey due at 20 *deniers per journal*.⁸⁰² Despite the temporary suspension in *cens* collection allowed by Françoise, the receiver did make efforts to identify and collect these obligations. For example, in 1648 the receiver required to be discharged from the collection of the *cens* after having received nothing despite many proclamations made in the parish churches in the county announcing that all these subjects would have to pay these *cens* and *redevances* from the year 1636 until the present.⁸⁰³ In the 1651 account, Galiet stated that he had done all that he could to collect the *cens* owed throughout the county from before the wars through the present account; however, he still could not be paid, except by a very small number of individuals.⁸⁰⁴

After the regional fighting ended, it is evident that Françoise did not order immediate action against those who had not paid their *cens*. Instead, throughout these early accounts, it was noted that in the future, the receiver would be held accountable for past and present *cens* when Françoise decided to resume collection of these debts. In the 1647 account, Galiet noted that it was left to Françoise to mandate the levying and receiving of these *cens*, which would resume in the future.⁸⁰⁵ Françoise had to make the decision to enforce these obligations again. Additionally, there was a new emphasis that the payments of these *cens* would be logged into a separate ledger also to be yielded to Françoise. According to Galiet, Françoise ordered him to make an independent record of the *cens* owed and received by the subjects of the county.⁸⁰⁶ For example, in 1649, the receiver recorded no revenues in *cens*, but noted that he would create an individual record

⁸⁰² ADCO, E1810, 1647 & 1648.

⁸⁰³ ADCO, E1810, 1648.

⁸⁰⁴ ADCO, E1810, 1651.

⁸⁰⁵ ADCO, E1810, 1647.

⁸⁰⁶ ADCO, E1810, 1650.

henceforth devoted to the *cens* due both from the past years and from the present year that he would collect in the future when Françoise commanded him to do so.⁸⁰⁷ It is possible that Françoise instructed that a separate ledger be created for *cens* revenues because it proved difficult to collect these overdue obligations. This is also possibly the reason why she employed an additional person to assist in pursuing these debts.

According to Galiet, the receipts recorded in the individual account of the *cens* that had been collected, would come both from his pursuits and from those made by Messire Claude Moniot in accordance with the treaty that was made between Françoise and Moniot.⁸⁰⁸ Just like the primary accounts, the *cens* record would be rendered to Françoise to be examined and settled, unless she authorized others to do this on her behalf.⁸⁰⁹

In fact, the accountants only recorded a few *cens* as received in these accounts. In 1648, although Galiet received none of the *cens* due in Beaumont in money, hens, grains and corvées, he did receive 6 pounds of new wax from Jean Borne, the husband of Marie Guenard, who was the daughter of Jean Guenard, the late *mareschal* in Beaumont. The *cens* was for the house that had been the residence of the late Guenard and at that time was occupied by Borne. A *cens* of half a pound of new wax was due annually on this property; therefore, this payment of 6 pounds of wax covered twelve years of debt.⁸¹⁰ The receiver recorded some of these *cens* payments due annually by each *feu* (hearth) of Champagne. For example, in the 1659 account year, Michel received 5 *livres* 15 *sols* 6 *deniers* from the inhabitants holding “*feu et lieu*” (hearth and home) in Champagne for

⁸⁰⁷ ADCO, E1810, 1649.

⁸⁰⁸ ADCO, E1811, 1653 & 1654.

⁸⁰⁹ ADCO, E1811, 1655.

⁸¹⁰ ADCO, E1810, 1648.

the *cens* that each owed of 3 *sols* 6 *deniers* annually to Françoise in penalty of three *sols* fine against each non-payer.⁸¹¹

In effect, the only *cens* that continued to be collected regularly and recorded by the receiver in the primary estate accounts were the *cens* of *poules* in Dampierre and in Renève. Most of the time, these hens were sent directly to Françoise in Arc-sur-Tille on her orders, and so were not recorded as revenues in the account. In 1650, the accountant requested to be discharged of responsibility of the *poules de cens* owed to Françoise by the inhabitants of Dampierre, which were collected by Messire Jacques Dupuis, *procureur d'office* in Dampierre, under orders from Françoise, who had them sent to her in her château in Arc-sur-Tille.⁸¹² Regarding the *cens* of *poules* due in Renève, the inhabitants of Renève owed annually, without exception, one hen each to Françoise under threat of a penalty of three *sols*. Normally, these hens were also sent directly to Françoise in Arc-sur-Tille as she directed.⁸¹³ For example, in 1651, the *poules* of *cens* owed to Françoise in Renève were collected by Claude Bourgaudet from Renève who sent them to Arc-sur-Tille through Martine Jacquinet, one of Françoise's domestic servants, as ordered by Françoise.⁸¹⁴ Therefore, nothing was received by the accountant that year. In 1657 and 1659, Françoise sold the hens originating from her *cens* in Renève for cash revenues. In 1657, Galiet received 7 *livres* from Nicolas Belvallot for the sale made to him by Françoise of all of the hens from the *cens* owed that year in Renève at the rate of

⁸¹¹ ADCO, E1812, 1659. This *cens* was tied to the family possessing "feu et lieu" in the Seigneurie. In Furetière, *Dictionnaire Universel*, vols. 1-3, a vagabond has "ni feu, ni lieu".

⁸¹² ADCO, E1810, 1650.

⁸¹³ ADCO, E1810, 1649, 1650, & 1651; ADCO, E1811, 1652, 1653, 1654, 1655, & 1656; ADCO, E1812, 1660.

⁸¹⁴ ADCO, E1810, 1649 & 1651.

7 *sols* apiece.⁸¹⁵ In 1659, Michel received 15 *livres* 1 *sol* for 43 hens from the *cens* in Renève, which Françoise sold to the *hôtesse de L'arbre d'Or* (hostess or innkeeper of the Golden Tree) of Dijon at the rate of 7 *sols* per hen.⁸¹⁶

Members of the communities of Blagny and Renève also owed Françoise a *taille abonnée* annually. In the 1647 account year, Françoise received this *cens* in Blagny herself. The inhabitants of Blagny as a community owed a *taille abonnée* to Françoise each year in the sum of 30 *livres*. However, the receiver collected nothing that year and was cleared of responsibility. Instead, Françoise was directly paid the *taille abonnée* for the preceding 11 years.⁸¹⁷ Most years, however, it was the accountant who collected this obligation in Blagny. For example, in 1653, Galiet received 30 *livres* from Mathieu Maclot, one of the inhabitants of Blagny, for the *taille abonnée* due each year by them to Françoise.⁸¹⁸ A *taille abonnée* was also owed annually by the residents of Renève. In 1647, this *cens* was not received, and the receiver declared that it was up to Françoise to appeal judicially for this debt to be fulfilled. According to Galiet, the inhabitants of Renève owed a *taille abonnée* to Françoise each year amounting to 11 *livres*, but he had not received this tax, emphasizing instead that it was up to Françoise to appeal before a judge in order to get the payment from them from the preceding years.⁸¹⁹ In contrast, the accountant successfully received this *taille* of Renève during the other years.⁸²⁰ In 1652, Galiet received 11 *livres* through the hands of François Guinot, resident and *maître*

⁸¹⁵ ADCO, E1811, 1657.

⁸¹⁶ ADCO, E1812, 1659.

⁸¹⁷ ADCO, E1810, 1647.

⁸¹⁸ ADCO, E1811, 1653 & 1654.

⁸¹⁹ ADCO, E1810, 1647.

⁸²⁰ ADCO, E1810, 1648, 1649, 1650, & 1651; ADCO, E1811, 1652, 1653, 1654, 1655, 1656, & 1657; ADCO, E1812, 1659 & 1660.

charpentier in Renève, for the *taille abonnée* owed by the inhabitants of Renève annually, at penalty of 3 *sols*, according to Françoise's terrier.⁸²¹

In Bessey, Françoise held the right to collect *lots et ventes*. However, most of the account years under the administration of Françoise did not generate any revenues in the form of *lots et ventes* in Bessey.⁸²² This indicated that there was little property changing hands during this period following the wars. For example, in 1648, the accountant did not collect any revenues from the *lots et ventes* that belonged to Françoise because no sales or acquisitions were made on *heritages* situated in Bessey during that account year.⁸²³ The only exception in this group of accounts occurred in the 1660 account during which revenues from the *lots et ventes* were received on an acquisition.

According to Michel, he received 25 *livres* from Monsieur Arnoult, *conseiller du Roy* (counselor of the king; title of honor taken by almost all officers of the kingdom) and *conseiller des mortes-paies* in Burgundy and Bresse, for the *lots et ventes* generated from the lands that he had purchased in Bessey and then resold to Michegault of Fontenelle, which lands were estimated at the sum of 150 *livres* per sell made of them.⁸²⁴

Under Françoise's management, the collection of revenues from the lease of the *banvins* continued.⁸²⁵ In Beaumont, this right customarily lasted from Christmas Eve to

⁸²¹ ADCO, E1811, 1652.

⁸²² ADCO, E1811, 1652. *Lots et ventes* were paid at the rate of 20 *deniers* per *livre* based on the price of the sale.

⁸²³ ADCO, E1810, 1648.

⁸²⁴ ADCO, E1812, 1660. <http://artfl-project.uchicago.edu/content/dictionnaires-dautrefois>. A *morte-paie* has more than one definition. It was a soldier kept in a garrison in times of war and peace. As counselor *morte-paie*, could perhaps be the officer assigned over these men. *Mortes-paies* in the plural were also those who could not pay their taxes. In this case, as counselor, he could perhaps be the officer assigned to handle these cases.

⁸²⁵ Gallet, "Droits Feodaux et Seigneuriaux," 437-445.

Candlemas Day (December 24 - February 2).⁸²⁶ Before the wars, this right was leased for 15 *livres* annually.⁸²⁷ After the fighting had ceased, the revenues were significantly less for the duration of Françoise's administration of the estates. In 1649, Galiet received six *livres* from Nicolas Roussot of Beaumont for the banvins in Beaumont that year.⁸²⁸ In 1650, these revenues increased slightly. Galiet received 7 *livres* 10 *sols* from Jeanne Renard for the lease of the banvins of Beaumont.⁸²⁹ However, the revenues plummeted in 1653. Galiet received only four *livres* for the *amodiation* of the banvins made to the honorable Baltazard Denis, *marchand* in Beaumont, as highest bidder in the year 1653.⁸³⁰ These revenues remained well below the pre-war revenues. In fact, the highest postwar revenue collected during Françoise's administration for the rental of this right was only slightly more than half of the pre-war price. In 1659, Michel received 8 *livres* from Laurent Thomas and François Valle from Beaumont, for the lease of the banvins that year.⁸³¹

Most years, the accountant did not collect any revenues from the sale of wine produced from the grapes in Françoise's vineyards in Beaumont. This lack of profits can be attributed to the fact that Françoise used most of the wine produced on her estates in her household. For example, in the 1648 account year, Galiet requested to be absolved of accountability for two *muids* of wine produced that year from vines belonging to Françoise in Beaumont. He cited that two *fillettes* were brought to Françoise in her château in Arc-sur-Tille and the remaining wine was used at the table of Françoise in

⁸²⁶ ADCO, E1810, 1647 & 1649.

⁸²⁷ ADCO, E1810, 1648.

⁸²⁸ ADCO, E1810, 1649.

⁸²⁹ ADCO, E1810, 1650.

⁸³⁰ ADCO, E1811, 1653.

⁸³¹ ADCO, E1812, 1659.

Beaumont.⁸³² In fact, most years it was carried to Arc-sur-Tille following directives issued by Françoise.⁸³³ For example, in 1654, there was no receipt of revenues from the vines that year since the wine that came from them was conducted to the château of Arc-sur-Tille by commandment of Françoise.⁸³⁴

However, in three of these account years, revenues were made from the sale of wines produced in the Seigneurie as ordained by Françoise. In 1649, Françoise initiated the sale of wine for cash revenues. Galiet did not receive the wine coming from Françoise's vineyards that year which came to about 6 $\frac{2}{3}$ muids. Following a written order from Françoise, Monsieur de Fontennes sold 4 of these muids to Jean Moreau. This money was not received by the accountant; instead, it was paid to Françoise. The remaining 2 $\frac{2}{3}$ muids of wine were distributed according to additional instructions from Françoise. One *fillette* was given to a *portier* from Lœuilley, one *fillette* was sent to Françoise in Arc-sur-Tille, and the surplus was used to replenish the wines drunk at Françoise's table during her visits to Beaumont.⁸³⁵ In 1657, Françoise ordered the sale of some of her wine. On the orders of Françoise, Galiet collected 120 *livres* from the sell that he made of 10 *muids* of wine from the 13 that were left in his cellar, the wine originating from Françoise's vineyards that year.⁸³⁶ In 1660, Michel collected money from the sale of spoiled wine. He received 24 *livres* from Jean Larceneur, Pierre Coimet, Pierre Villotet, and Etienne Bellot for four *muids* of wine that were pierced and spoiled.

⁸³² ADCO, E1810, 1648.

⁸³³ ADCO, E1810, 1649, 1650, & 1651.

⁸³⁴ ADCO, E1811, 1652, 1653, 1654, 1655, & 1656; ADCO, E1812, 1659.

⁸³⁵ ADCO, E1810, 1649.

⁸³⁶ ADCO, E1811, 1657.

The remaining wine that came from Françoise's vines that year was sent to her château of Arc-sur-Tille on her order and the accountant was discharged of this surplus.⁸³⁷

From 1647 until 1654 there were no revenues received from the *colombier* in Beaumont because of the war.⁸³⁸ Apparently, there were simply no doves remaining. According to the 1648 account, there was no profit received from the *colombier* in Beaumont in which Françoise had ordered some doves to be placed in August of 1648 in an effort to reestablish the *colombier*.⁸³⁹ In 1651, the accountant did not receive any revenues because the few young doves in the *colombier* were sent to Françoise in Arc-sur-Tille and the others he let go in order to replenish the population.⁸⁴⁰ However, in 1655, the first post-war revenues from the *colombier* manifested themselves in the form of a sale authorized by Françoise. According to Galiet, he received 67 *livres 4 sols* from Nicolas Belvallot, *vivandier* (army-camp follower who sold food/provisions) who was residing in Beaumont, for the sale made to him that year by the accountant of 48 dozen little doves taken from this *colombier* and sold at the rate of 28 *sols* per dozen, a price that followed the verbal directive given to the accountant by Françoise.⁸⁴¹ Additional revenues were collected in 1656 and 1657 from the sale of doves also directed by Françoise.⁸⁴² In 1656, Galiet received 58 *livres 17 sols 6 deniers*, and in 1657, he collected 59 *livres 3 sols 10 deniers* from the sales and distributions, made by his wife to many individuals, of the little doves that were found in the *colombier* of Beaumont in

⁸³⁷ ADCO, E1812, 1660.

⁸³⁸ ADCO, E1810, 1647, 1648, 1649, 1650, & 1651; E1811, 1652, 1653, & 1654.

⁸³⁹ ADCO, E1810, 1648.

⁸⁴⁰ ADCO, E1810, 1651.

⁸⁴¹ ADCO, E1811, 1655.

⁸⁴² ADCO, E1811, 1656 & 1657.

accordance with the orders of Françoise.⁸⁴³ In the 1660 and 1662 accounts, some of the doves were sold while others were provided to Françoise for use in her household. In 1660, Michel received 8 *livres 8 sols*, and in 1662, he received 20 *livres 9 sols 6 deniers* for the sales and distributions of the little doves in the colombier in Beaumont sold to various individuals, apart from those that were sent to the kitchen of the late Françoise.⁸⁴⁴

The rights to and profits from the *greffes* of the county of Beaumont were leased most years under Françoise's administration. However, in 1647 and 1648 Françoise granted this right to be exercised by a community member without charge for unknown reasons.⁸⁴⁵ According to the accounts from these two years, the revenues from the *greffes* had been discharged for several years. The accountant received nothing from these *greffes* because they had not been leased since the cessation of fighting between the two provinces. Instead, Françoise had permitted Messire Pierre Daultrey, a *praticien* in Beaumont, to enjoy the rights of the *greffes gratis*. Although before the wars they were rented for 36 *livres* annually, beginning in the 1649 account, Daultrey leased all of the *greffes* of the county of Beaumont for six years for the sum of 16 *livres* annually as contracted by Françoise in December 4, 1648.⁸⁴⁶ In 1655, under new contract, the price for these rights increased dramatically. That year, Galiet received 42 *livres 5 sols* for the contract made December 28, 1654 for the *greffes* of the county of Beaumont for six years, 1655 being the first, to Messire Anthoine Trouvé, *praticien* in Beaumont.⁸⁴⁷

⁸⁴³ ADCO, E1811, 1656 & 1657.

⁸⁴⁴ ADCO, E1812, 1660 & 1662.

⁸⁴⁵ ADCO, E1810, 1647 & 1648.

⁸⁴⁶ ADCO, E1810, 1648 & 1649.

⁸⁴⁷ ADCO, E1811, 1655.

During the years that Françoise was solely in charge of the management of the Seigneurie, there were no revenues received from the rental of the right of the *messerie* of Beaumont and Bessey. According to the documents, the right to this *messerie* was customarily leased for 6 to 8 *livres*, half of this right and these revenues belonged to Françoise and the other half belonged to the inhabitants of Beaumont. However, this right had not been leased out because of the wars. In contrary, the inhabitants of Beaumont had been forced to pay wages to men employed to guard their fruits.⁸⁴⁸ After 1652, there were no longer even any references to this right much less to the revenues associated with it.

The rights of *prévôté* were leased in most of the account years under the supervision of Françoise.⁸⁴⁹ This office gave the right to its holder to issue *exploits* and collect *amendes* within the justices in the county of Beaumont. Under Françoise's administration, *prévôtés* were leased in Beaumont, Bessey, Dampierre, Champagne, Blagny, and Renève. The accountant emphasized that prior to the regional fighting these rights in Beaumont were joined with the right of *péage* and the right of *minage* for 66 *livres* annually.⁸⁵⁰ However, in 1648, the accountant collected only 20 *livres* from the lease of the rights of *exploits et amendes* that were adjudged in Beaumont that year, which were rented to the highest bidder, one Andre Larcher, a vigneron in Beaumont. Before the wars, the lease of the rights of *exploits et amendes* of Bessey were rented for 40 to 41 *livres* annually.⁸⁵¹ However, in 1647, this office in Bessey was leased to Larcher for 10 *livres*, which was the highest bid. Beginning in 1649, the *prévôté* of

⁸⁴⁸ ADCO, E1810, 1647, 1648, 1649, & 1650; ADCO, E1811, 1652.

⁸⁴⁹ The right of *prévôté* was interchangeably referred to the lease of the *exploits et amendes*.

⁸⁵⁰ ADCO, E1810, 1647 & 1648.

⁸⁵¹ ADCO, E1810, 1647 & 1648.

Beaumont was leased jointly with the *prévôté* of Bessey. For example, the 1650 account stated that Galiet collected 31 *livres* for the *prévôtés* of Beaumont and Bessey from Larcher, who leased these offices for a period of 3 years, this being the second.⁸⁵² Moreover, that same year, in his role as *prévôté* in Beaumont, Larcher levied a fine on a man for property damages. Jean Gueniot, from Beaumont, was condemned for degradations of wood in the woods of the Seigneurie, and was issued an *amende* in the amount of 10 *livres* plus the damages that had been received by Françoise. The receiver recorded the receipt of 6 *livres* 15 *sols*. The remaining 3 *livres* 5 *sols* were received by the leaseholder of this *prévôté* who collected this portion of the fine in accordance with his contract.⁸⁵³ These offices continued to be leased jointly through the 1656 account year. In Dampierre, the right of the *mairie* was eclipsed by the right to the *prévôté*. Before the war, the *mairie*, which included the right of *exploits et amendes* that were adjudged in the justice of Dampierre, was leased at 33 to 34 *livres* annually.⁸⁵⁴ In 1650, Galiet received only 10 *livres* for the right of the *mairie* of Dampierre leased for three years, this being the first, to Louis Bornet, a *laboureur* in Dampierre.⁸⁵⁵ However, in 1651 and 1652, the second and third year of Bornet's contract, this lease changed without explanation from the right of the *mairie* to the right of *prévôté*. In Dampierre, the position of *mairie* was phased out in exchange for the similar position of *prévôté*. According to Galiet, in 1652, he received 10 *livres* for the right of *prévôté* and of the *défauts* (penalties for failure to fulfill an obligation) and *amendes* of Dampierre, which

⁸⁵² ADCO, E1810, 1650.

⁸⁵³ ADCO, E1810, 1650.

⁸⁵⁴ ADCO, E1810, 1648.

⁸⁵⁵ ADCO, E1810, 1650.

were leased to Bornet for three years, this being the last.⁸⁵⁶ In 1657, the *prévôté* of Dampierre was attached to the lease of the *prévôtés* of Beaumont and Bessey. For example, in 1659, Michel received 28 *livres* from Nicolas Roussot of Beaumont for the *amodiation* that year of the *prévôtés* of Beaumont, Bessey, & Dampierre, which encompassed the lease of the *exploits*, *defaults*, and *amendes* that were adjudged in those three places.⁸⁵⁷ In 1660, once again these three *prévôtés* were leased independently from one another.⁸⁵⁸

In Champagne, the lease of the right of the *prévôté* and lease of the *prés* in Champagne were rented both independently and jointly, depending on the account year. The lease of the *prévôté* with the rights to the *exploits et amendes* in Champagne was also drastically reduced because of the wars. Before the war, the *exploits et amendes* in Champagne were customarily rented for 67 *livres*. However, in 1647, the accountant received 20 *livres* from Adrien Guillaume and Nicolas Nicolardot his guarantor, as the highest bidders of the *rente* of the right to the *prévôté* and *exploits of amendes* up to 3 *livres 5 sols* that were adjudged within the justice of Champagne.⁸⁵⁹ The lease of the *prés* of Champagne also continued after the wars. In the 1647 account year, Françoise received payment for the revenues from one of these *prés*. That year, Galiet made no collection of revenues from a *pré* in Champagne, which had been rented during this account year to Jean Moreau, a *laboureur* in Champagne, for 30 *livres*, which he paid directly to Françoise.⁸⁶⁰ Beginning in the 1649 account year, the right of the *prévôté* was

⁸⁵⁶ ADCO, E1811, 1652.

⁸⁵⁷ ADCO, E1812, 1659.

⁸⁵⁸ ADCO, E1812, 1660.

⁸⁵⁹ ADCO, E1810, 1647.

⁸⁶⁰ ADCO, E1810, 1647.

leased jointly with the rights to the *pasquier* (name in Bourgogne for rough pasture ground) of Champagne. Françoise contracted this first combined lease. In 1649, Galiet received 60 *livres* for the *prévôté* and for the grass and cuttings from the *pré* called the *pasquier* of Champagne, which were leased to Moreau, for three years, this being the first, according to the *amodiation* made by Françoise.⁸⁶¹ These two revenues were once again separated beginning in 1656. For example, in the 1659 account, Françoise made an independent contract for the grasses of the *prés*. According to Michel, he received 220 *livres* from the honorable Claude Bauldin, the elder, *maître de la forge* of Lœuilley, for the *amodiation* that year of the grasses of a *pré* in Champagne. Françoise made this contract with him on June 3, 1659.⁸⁶² On top of this, Michel received an independent payment of 20 *livres* from Jean Moreau for the *amodiation* that year of the *prévôté* and *défauts et amendes* adjudged in Champagne.⁸⁶³

The rights to the office of *prévôté* in Blagny and in Renève were also leased regularly for revenues under Françoise. For instance in 1647, the *prévôté* of Blagny was leased to George Genret of Blagny, from whom the accountant received the 10 *livres*, in accordance with his contract for the *exploits et amendes* adjudged that year in the justice of Blagny up to 3 *livres 5 sols*.⁸⁶⁴ In 1657, Galiet received 20 *livres* from Marceau Bouillot of Blagny for the *amodiation* made to him the present year for the lease of the *prévôté* of Blagny.⁸⁶⁵ The right to the *prévôté* which included the right to the *défauts* and *amendes* adjudged in Renève was leased annually under the administration of Françoise.

⁸⁶¹ ADCO, E1810, 1649, 1650, & 1651; ADCO, E1811, 1652, 1653, 1654, & 1655.

⁸⁶² ADCO, E1812, 1659 & 1660.

⁸⁶³ ADCO, E1812, 1659 & 1660.

⁸⁶⁴ ADCO, E1810, 1647.

⁸⁶⁵ ADCO, E1811, 1657; ADCO, E1812, 1659.

In 1648, Françoise contracted the lease for this right in Renève. That year, Galiet collected the sum of 8 *livres* from Claude Bourgaudet for the lease of the *prévôté* of Renève in the present account as supported by the lease contract from January 27, 1648, as signed by Françoise.⁸⁶⁶ That same year, the *pré* in Renève known as the *grand cour* (large courtyard) was independently leased to Bourgaudet for 3 *livres*.⁸⁶⁷ However, beginning in 1649, the right to the *prévôté* and the *pré* of the *grand cour* were leased together. In 1656, Galiet received 26 *livres* from Claude Didier for the *amodiation* that year and the two following years, of the *prévôté* of Renève with the *pré* of the *grand cour*.⁸⁶⁸ These two forms of revenue continued to be leased jointly for the remaining years controlled by Françoise. On a couple of occasions when the right of *prévôté* went unleased, the accountant paid for reports of misuse in the county. In the 1655 account year, Galiet paid 10 *livres* to Jean Petitjean for having accepted the burden of sergent, and for reporting the misuse that he had seen committed in Beaumont that year during which time the office of *prévôté* had not been leased.⁸⁶⁹ In 1655 and 1656, he paid a combined sum of 12 *livres* to Denis Floriot of Dampierre for accepting this same charge of sergent and for making a report of the misuse committed in Dampierre when the office of *prévôté* remained unleased.⁸⁷⁰

In most of the years that fell under the administration of Françoise, there were no revenues generated from *amendes*, *épaves* (stray livestock), confiscations, or abandoned properties that exceeded 3 *livres 5 sols* adjudged in the county of Beaumont. For

⁸⁶⁶ ADCO, E1810, 1648.

⁸⁶⁷ ADCO, E1810, 1648.

⁸⁶⁸ ADCO, E1811, 1656 & 1657; ADCO, E1812, 1659 & 1660.

⁸⁶⁹ ADCO, E1811, 1655.

⁸⁷⁰ ADCO, E1811, 1655 & 1656.

example, in 1648, Galiet stated that there were no revenues from *épaves* or confiscations, and there were no *amendes* adjudged that exceeded 3 *livres 5 sols* that year pronounced in any part of the county of Beaumont.⁸⁷¹ However, in 1653, there were damages pronounced against a resident for failing to mow. Françoise provided the quittance showing payment of the indemnity. According to Galiet, he received the sum of 8 *livres* from Jean Moreau of Champagne for the damages adjudged against him for not having suitably mowed the *pasquier*⁸⁷² of Champagne leased to him, as seen in the *quittance* given to the accountant by Françoise November 8, 1654.⁸⁷³

When it came to leasing the rights to the *étangs* of Bessey and Beaumont, Françoise handled the majority of these substantial transactions herself. In most cases, she not only contracted the leases for the ponds, but also received the payments directly from the leaseholders. In fact, while Françoise was in control, the receiver only assisted in collecting the revenues from these ponds on one occasion. As a result, the accountant frequently requested to be discharged from the responsibility of these revenues. According to Galiet, before the troubles, the ponds of Bessey were leased customarily for 550 *livres* annually, but in 1648, they were held by the Sieurs Beruchot and Petitjean, residents in Is-sur-Tille, for an unknown, yet reduced amount. According to Galiet, since he received no revenues and since Françoise made and held the contract in her hands, he requested and was cleared of the responsibility of those profits from that year.⁸⁷⁴ In the 1649 account, no revenues were received by the accountant because these ponds were

⁸⁷¹ ADCO, E1810, 1648, 1649, 1650, & 1651; ADCO, E1811, 1652, 1653, 1654, 1655, 1656, & 1657; ADCO, E1812, 1659 & 1660. <http://artfl-project.uchicago.edu/content/dictionnaires-dautrefois> Droit des *épaves* is the right that a Seigneur had to seize and appropriated stray livestock found on his lands.

⁸⁷² <http://artfl-project.uchicago.edu/content/dictionnaires-dautrefois>.

⁸⁷³ ADCO, E1811, 1653.

⁸⁷⁴ ADCO, E1810, 1647 & 1648.

leased jointly with the ponds in Arc-sur-Tille, and the leaseholders were to pay their obligation to Françoise. According to Galiet, he did not receive any revenues from the *étangs* situated in the boundaries of Bessey and Beaumont, leased by Françoise with those of Arc-sur-Tille, to the Sieurs Beruchot and Petitjean who were charged with paying the price of this lease to Françoise at her château in Arc-sur-Tille. Galiet also emphasized that the lease contract remained in her hands.⁸⁷⁵ This joint lease of the ponds continued in the 1650 account, however, for unknown reasons one of the lessees paid a portion of the *rente* directly to the accountant. That year, by order from Françoise, Galiet received from Petitjean the sum of 280 *livres* in deduction from the price of the *amodiation* of these ponds.⁸⁷⁶ Aside from 1650, however, no revenues were received by Galiet from these ponds in the accounts controlled by Françoise.

While Françoise ran the estates, there were only a few years in which revenues were generated from the lease of the right to the *glandée des bois Seigneuriaux* (acorn harvest of the Seignorial woods) of Beaumont. According to the 1648 account, the right to this harvest of acorns was leased and delivered under the *halles* (market-hall) of Beaumont to Claude Joliot at that time *procureur* (attorney) and *échevin* (officer elected by the inhabitants of a community to take care of their common affairs such as maintaining order) of the community of Beaumont. This transaction was enacted in the presence and with the consent of most of the inhabitants of Beaumont, who gave charge to Joliot to make this bargain for the sum of 10 *livres*, which was received by Galiet.⁸⁷⁷ In 1656, Galiet received 11 *livres* for the deliverance of the *glandée* in the woods of

⁸⁷⁵ ADCO, E1810, 1649.

⁸⁷⁶ ADCO, E1810, 1650.

⁸⁷⁷ ADCO, E1810, 1648.

Françoise made to the inhabitants of Beaumont through Nicolas Roussot, one of their *échevins*.⁸⁷⁸ In the majority of the account years, however, there were no revenues because there were no acorns.⁸⁷⁹ For example, in 1650, Galiet asked to be discharged of responsibility of collecting revenues from the glandée of the Seigneurial woods of Beaumont because there were no *glands* (acorns) this year and thus the glandée was not leased.⁸⁸⁰

The *grand verger* in Beaumont was leased annually under Françoise's direction. Initially Françoise contracted the terms of the lease to adjust to post-war living. In fact, at first it was leased together with the common mills of Beaumont and Dampierre. According to the 1647 account, the grand verger of Beaumont, ordinarily rented for 24 *livres* annually, was included that year in the lease contract for the mills of Beaumont and Dampierre that Françoise made with Pierre Perriquet, leaseholder of these mills. As noted in that agreement, no revenues were collected in exchange for repairs made by Perriquet to these mills.⁸⁸¹ In 1650, the orchard appeared to be leased again independently from these mills. According to this account, the grand verger was leased for four years, this being the first, to Andre Vaultier, called La Prune, from Beaumont, for the sum of 15 *livres* annually, which was received by the accountant.⁸⁸² In 1655 and 1656, a temporary new payment stipulation was added in the form of *noix* (walnuts) for Françoise. That year, the grand verger was leased for three years whereby this was the first, to Claude Michel, *marchand* in Beaumont, for 13 *livres* and one *boisseaux* of

⁸⁷⁸ ADCO, E1811, 1656.

⁸⁷⁹ ADCO, E1810, 1649 & 1651; ADCO, E1811, 1652, 1653, 1654, 1655, & 1657; ADCO, E1812, 1659.

⁸⁸⁰ ADCO, E1810, 1650.

⁸⁸¹ ADCO, E1810, 1647.

⁸⁸² ADCO, E1810, 1650.

walnuts annually. The money was received by the accountant, but the walnuts were to be delivered to the servants of Françoise.⁸⁸³

During Françoise's administration of the estates, the *perrières* of Plantenay and Dampierre in the county of Beaumont were initially leased individually, but were later combined under one lease. These rights to the rock quarries were rented by masons residing in the county or within the surrounding region. For instance, in 1650, Pierre D'Arc from Dampierre paid the accountant the sum of six *livres* for the *amodiation* of the *perrière* that had been leased to Jean Martin, *maître maçon* residing in Fley, for three years, this being the second. For unknown reasons, this contract was surrendered to D'Arc who became the new leaseholder.⁸⁸⁴ In 1651, Galiet received three *livres* from Pierre D'Arc, *maçon* residing in Dampierre, for the *amodiation* made to him of the rock quarry of Plantenay.⁸⁸⁵ Beginning in the 1653 account year, these two quarries were contracted together under one lease. For example, in 1660, Michel received 18 *livres* from Pierre Coimet, *maître maçon* residing in La Ferté below Beaumont, for the *amodiation* made to him for 3 years, whereby this was the first, of the *perrières* of Dampierre and Plantenay.⁸⁸⁶

During Françoise's management of the accounts, no revenues were collected for the lease of the right of *traite de mine* of Champagne because since the wars this right had not been leased due to damages to the founding ovens. For example, in 1650, Galiet was discharged from receiving the revenues for the right of *traite de mine* customarily taken in Champagne because this right had not been leased. Galiet stressed that

⁸⁸³ ADCO, E1811, 1655 & 1656.

⁸⁸⁴ ADCO, E1810, 1650 & 1651.

⁸⁸⁵ ADCO, E1810, 1651.

⁸⁸⁶ ADCO, E1812, 1660.

Françoise was cognizant that all of the *fourneaux à fonte* (little founding ovens) had been ruined by the wars.⁸⁸⁷

On a handful of occasions, Françoise granted debt deferments to some of her leaseholders. Usually, her bargains required that the debtors pay their postponed obligations in full on a designated date the following account year. In a time of such hardship, by allowing leaseholders a temporary postponement in the payment of their debts, Françoise avoided possible defaults by her debtors, providing them with an extension that would hopefully allow them the time to successfully meet their debt, and thus remain productive members within the community. Thus, this strategic generosity was a mutually beneficial approach that revealed a perspicacious administrator with a long-term goal of rebuilding the estate. However, Françoise was their creditor, and to maintain and protect family interests, it was imperative that she treat the estates as one would a business. Therefore, in most cases, Françoise attached a small amount of interest to these deferments. Usually, the debtors were required to pay an extra *boisseaux* per *émine*. Instead of 24 *boisseaux* per *émine*, Françoise would receive 25 *boisseaux* per *émine*, which was the equivalent of four per cent interest. For unknown reasons, these deferments were clustered between 1650 and 1652.

The lessee of the *moulin banal* in Beaumont received two debt deferments from Françoise. As noted in the 1650 account, Galiet received 5 *émines* 12 *boisseaux* of wheat from Thevenin Petit on behalf of Simon Petit, his brother, for the *amodiation* made to him of the *moulin banal* of Beaumont for six *émines* annually for three years, whereby this was the first year. As for the half *émine* of wheat outstanding from the price of this

⁸⁸⁷ ADCO, E1810, 1650.

rente, the accountant agreed to receive it in 1652 in accordance with written orders from Françoise.⁸⁸⁸ Furthermore, in the 1651 account, the common mill of Beaumont continued to be leased to Simon Petit, *charpentier* residing at the moulin of Champagne, for six *émines* of wheat annually. However, following the orders from Françoise from November 4 1652, Galiet made no receipt of revenues from this mill in 1651. Instead, Françoise promised Thevenin Petit, Simon's brother, to defer payment until after the harvests of 1652, in exchange for Petit paying 25 *boisseaux* per *émine* of wheat instead of 24. As a result, the receiver collected nothing from this *rente* in 1651, having been ordered to report the receipt of this obligation in 1652.⁸⁸⁹ These postponed obligations from 1650 and 1651 were finally reconciled in the 1652 account year. In 1652, Galiet received a total of 12 *émines* 18½ *boisseaux* of wheat from Simon Petit. Galiet stated that six *émines* of this total came from the obligation owed that year for the mill. The rest of this receipt came from Petit's debts of a half *émine* of wheat from 1650 and six *émines* of wheat from 1651. Françoise charged an extra *boisseaux* per *émine* as interest for both of these deferred debts. Therefore instead of an outstanding debt of 6 *émines* 12 *boisseaux* of wheat, Petit paid 6 *émines* 18½ *boisseaux* in arrears, which when added to the receipt of six *émines* made from the current year, amounted to the total of 12 *émines* 18½ *boisseaux* of wheat received by the accountant in 1652.⁸⁹⁰

In the 1651 account year, when the leaseholder of the *château et armendaire* was short on his payment, Françoise ordered the accountant to accept a deferment of the outstanding debt until the next account year. These two *rentes* were leased by Françoise

⁸⁸⁸ ADCO, E1810, 1650.

⁸⁸⁹ ADCO, E1810, 1651.

⁸⁹⁰ ADCO, E1811, 1652.

to Pierre Villotet residing in Beaumont for 10 *émines*, half wheat and half oats, payable annually at the château of Arc-sur-Tille. However, that year Galiet had only received 3½ *émines* of wheat from Pierre Villotet. Instead, he was ordered by Françoise on November 4, 1652, to receive the other 1½ *émines* of wheat in kind in the year 1652, after the harvests that year.⁸⁹¹ Moreover, according to the directive, he was given the charge to receive the remaining wheat at the rate of 25 *boisseaux* per *émine* instead of 24 *boisseaux*.⁸⁹² This slight increase of one *boisseaux* per *émine* was a form of interest for the extra year he was given to meet this obligation. That year, the accountant did collect Pierre Villotet's full obligation in oats. In 1652, Villotet paid off his arrears from these two *rentes* within the extra time allotted to him by Françoise. That year, the receiver received 37½ *boisseaux* of wheat from Pierre Villotet, which was the equivalent of his debt of 1½ *émines* of wheat calculated at the rate of 25 *boisseaux* per *émine*. Thus, Pierre Villotet fulfilled his deferred debt from these two *rentes* from 1651, which Françoise had promised him she would wait for.⁸⁹³ Françoise also granted an extension to the leaseholder of the *rente* of Champagne. She granted this deferment with the expectation that the lessee would pay his debt in full the following year. Moreover, once again she stipulated that interest would be charged. According to the 1651 account, the *rente* of Champagne was leased to Nicolas Villotet from Champagne for 1½ *émines* of wheat and the same amount of oats. However, Galiet only received a half *émine* of wheat, leaving Villotet in arrears by one *émine* of wheat. This deferment was allowed on the condition that in the place of 24 *boisseaux* per *émine* Villotet would pay Françoise 25 *boisseaux* per

⁸⁹¹ ADCO, E1810, 1651

⁸⁹² ADCO, E1810, 1651.

⁸⁹³ ADCO, E1811, 1652

émine. Françoise granted him this extension in exchange for this 4 per cent increase to his outstanding wheat debt. Thus, in 1651, the accountant was held responsible for only a half *émine* of wheat, knowing that he would receive the remaining in the 1652 account.⁸⁹⁴ Additionally, that same year, he only received one *émine* of oats from Nicolas Villotet, who was allowed to defer payment on the remaining half an *émine* until 1652 at no additional charge.⁸⁹⁵ Indeed, both sides kept their bargain. Françoise waited on these payments until 1652, as she had promised, and Villotet paid his debts in the allotted amount of time with interest, as he had pledged. According to the 1652 account, Galiet received one *émine* of wheat containing 25 *boisseaux*, plus 12 *boisseaux* of oats, which Nicolas Villotet owed from 1651 for his lease of the *rente* of Champagne.⁸⁹⁶

According to a written certificate signed by Françoise and dated October 30, 1652, Françoise granted debt deferments to the leaseholders of both the *double dixme* of Dampierre and the *four banal* of Dampierre. In 1651, Françoise granted the leaseholder of the *double dixme* of Dampierre permission to delay payment of a portion of his debt until the following account year. According to Galiet, he received 7 *émines* 12 *boisseaux* of wheat out of the 10 *émines* of wheat due that year on the lease of the *double dixme* of Dampierre by Anthoine Foustelet, a *laboureur* in Beaumont, under the guarantee of Messire Pierre Daultrey. As for the unresolved 2½ *émines*, Françoise promised a debt deferment to Foustelet until after the harvests of the year 1652 in exchange for him paying 25 *boisseaux* per *émine*, instead of 24, as seen in her certificate from October 30, 1652 and her directive from November 4, 1652. Galiet was charged with receiving the

⁸⁹⁴ ADCO, E1810, 1651.

⁸⁹⁵ ADCO, E1810, 1651. There was no interest charged on this half *émine* of oats for unknown reasons.

⁸⁹⁶ ADCO, E1811, 1652.

deferred debt in his 1652 account.⁸⁹⁷ Additionally, Galiet received seven *émines* of oats from Anthoine Foustelet from the 10 *émines* of oats that he owed that year for this *dixme*. As for the outstanding three *émines* remaining for him to pay, this obligation was postponed until 1652.⁸⁹⁸ Moreover, unlike the wheat, Françoise charged no interest on these overdue oats. In 1652, the accountant successfully received the remainder owed from the *dixme* of 1651.⁸⁹⁹ That year, Galiet recorded receiving from Foustelet 2 *émines* 12 *boisseaux* of wheat containing 25 *boisseaux* per *émine* which amounted to 2 *émines* 14½ *boisseaux* of wheat, for the outstanding portion of his obligation plus interest, from the *double dixme* of Dampierre in 1651. Additionally, he received the three *émines* of oats that were overdue from the *amodiation* of this *dixme*.⁹⁰⁰ As promised, Françoise waited an extra year for these grains, and Foustelet kept his end of the bargain by paying his debt off in 1652.

According to Galiet, the *four banal* of Dampierre was leased to Denis Daultrey from Dampierre for 41 *boisseaux* of wheat annually. However, Galiet received nothing from Denis Daultrey in 1651 because Françoise had granted him a postponement under the same conditions as given to the lessee of the *dixme* of Dampierre.⁹⁰¹ Thus, Denis Daultrey was allowed to delay the payment of his obligation on the condition that these 41 *boisseaux* of wheat would be repaid in 1652 at the increased rate of 25 *boisseaux* per *émine*, instead of 24. As such, Galiet was released of the collection of this debt in 1651; instead, he was charged with reporting it in the 1652 account. The following year the

⁸⁹⁷ ADCO, E1810, 1651.

⁸⁹⁸ ADCO, E1810, 1651.

⁸⁹⁹ ADCO, E1811, 1652.

⁹⁰⁰ ADCO, E1811, 1652.

⁹⁰¹ ADCO, E1810, 1651.

accountant effectively collected what was overdue from the previous year. In 1652, Galiet collected from Denis Daultrey the deferred debt plus four per cent interest for a total of 42½ *boisseaux* of wheat that he owed from his lease of this oven in 1651.⁹⁰² Thus, through such deferments, Françoise exhibited generosity in allowing leaseholders more time to pay their debts, rather than face the seizure of their possessions. But by charging a small interest, she did so without sacrificing the financial well-being of the estate.

In addition to allowing debt deferrals to certain leaseholders, in 1646 Françoise expanded her role as creditor by offering a new type of credit in the form of borrowed grains. In a few instances, early in the recovery period following the regional unrest, Françoise allowed the receiver to lend grains to various inhabitants. According to the ledger, “Galiet a prêté pour et au nom de madite Dame aux particuliers cy après qui ont promis rendre et payer lesdits grains froment . . . en greniers de madite Dame . . .” (Galiet loaned for and in the name of my aforementioned Dame to the individuals hereafter who promised to return and to pay the aforementioned wheat grains . . . in the granaries of my aforementioned Dame).⁹⁰³ These grains that were lent to various inhabitants originated from the grains received in the 1646 account by Galiet on behalf of Françoise. They were to be repaid on the next festival of Saint Rémi (October 1) in good condition and fully processed to the extent of being sifted clean and ready for sale. These inhabitants borrowed the actual grains from Françoise, and as such, she expanded her role as creditor to include the issuance of grains loans. For example, in 1646, one *émine* of wheat was lent to Claude Paporet with the agreement that these grains would be returned to the

⁹⁰² ADCO, E1811, 1652.

⁹⁰³ ADCO, E1810, 1646.

greniers of Françoise in good condition on the fixed date. Moreover, at the request of Paporet, 16 *boisseaux* of wheat were lent to his tenant Pierre Bertrand, called Pied Ferré. Paporet promised to repay these 16 *boisseaux* of wheat in the agreed upon condition.⁹⁰⁴ Galiet lent two *émines* of wheat to Mademoiselle de Fontennes with the charge of returning the grains untainted and unadulterated, and in saleable condition.⁹⁰⁵ An additional 12 *boisseaux* of wheat were delivered and loaned to Baltazard Denis, *marchand* in Beaumont, on the condition that when he repaid them they must be clean.⁹⁰⁶ Another four *boisseaux* of wheat were lent to Nicolas Roussot, *vigneron* in Beaumont, charged with returning the grains sifted and without *ébrun* (fungus).⁹⁰⁷ In all, fourteen grain loans were issued that year to 15 individuals. This “blé prêté” (wheat loaned) amounted to 8 *émines* 23 *boisseaux* of wheat.⁹⁰⁸ It is likely that Françoise allowed these types of debt transactions to be executed because she was keenly aware of the hardships, caused by the years of regional fighting, faced by the inhabitants in her Seigneurie. These grain loans represented another facet of Françoise’s strategic generosity. Such loans benefited the community, allowing the inhabitants to rebuild their lives, which in turn would eventually benefit Françoise in the form of greater revenues and would aid in reestablishing a more stable economic base. With the repayment of these grains in 1647, it is clear that it was indeed Françoise who had directed Galiet to make these loans. From the 1646 account, Galiet was *redevable* (in debt) to Françoise for the grain loans from that year. Therefore, when the 1647 account opened, Galiet recorded the receipt of 8

⁹⁰⁴ ADCO, E1810, 1646.

⁹⁰⁵ ADCO, E1810, 1646.

⁹⁰⁶ ADCO, E1810, 1646.

⁹⁰⁷ ADCO, E1810, 1646.

⁹⁰⁸ ADCO, E1810, 1646.

émines 4 *boisseaux* of wheat from which quantity he had loaned to many individuals “par l’ordre de madite Dame” (by the order of my aforementioned Lady).⁹⁰⁹

Over the years, Françoise faced a number of cases of insolvency and poverty involving her leaseholders. Sometimes she attempted to recover these debts through the seizure and sale of the debtor’s possessions or even by taking control of their implanted grains and leasing them out to another inhabitant. In these cases, the right to issue *exploits* against a member of the community served to enforce Françoise’s authority and to ensure that obligations to her, and thus to the Seigneurie, were met. In many of these circumstances, it is clear that Françoise was closely monitoring and supervising the various steps to debt recovery. In the end, these strategies often led to in the least a partial recuperation of profits.

In the early years under her administration, Françoise faced many problems involving the insolvency of the leaseholders of the *grange et metairie* of the Seigneurie of Bessey. In the 1647 account, Françoise contracted the lease of the *grange et metairie* at a reduced price. According to Galiet, the *grange et metairie* of Bessey was rented before the regional turmoil for 24 *émines*, half wheat and half oats, annually, but that year it was leased at 20 *émines* to Pierre Gillebert and neighbors, in accordance with the contract that Françoise made with them. However, Galiet only received two *émines* of wheat and 29 *boisseaux* of oats because of an accidental fire that burned down the buildings attached to this *rente* in 1646, and because Guillaume Beugnot, one of the lessees, was gone. The accountant asked not to be held responsible for the unpaid remainder, stating that

⁹⁰⁹ ADCO, E1810, 1647.

Françoise had made the lease contract, and in consideration of the insolvency of the leaseholders.⁹¹⁰ Françoise granted him a discharge of the remaining debt in 1647.

Under the same lease contract, the *grange et metairie* of Bessey continued to be rented unsuccessfully by Gillebert and neighbors in 1648 and 1649. In 1648, the receiver collected five *émines* of wheat and five *émines* of oats from Gillebert but none from the other lessees due to the ongoing poverty, insolvency, and abandonment. Therefore, the accountant was cleared from the responsibility of receiving the remaining grains that year.⁹¹¹ That same year, Rouhier, *sergent general* in Mirebeau, was owed 3 *livres* 10 *sols* for his salaries, for having gone from Mirebeau to Bessey to seize some grains sown by Guillaume Beugnot, a former co-leaseholder in this place, as well as to seize some of the livestock belonging to Beugnot, which he sold in order to recover part of the debt that Françoise had against Beugnot. This exploit was issued on June 1, 1647, and these financial restrictions were carried out on the orders of Françoise.⁹¹² The amount of this payment (but not the entry) was actually marked out with a note stating that Rouhier would appeal to Françoise for payment, and consequently, there was no salary recorded here. No details were provided as to the amount recovered from Beugnot's seized possessions, but it is evident that Françoise authorized this debt recovery strategy. In 1649, once again Françoise allowed a discharge to the accountant from the unpaid debts owed by Gillebert who was only able to pay a portion of his obligation, and for Beugnot who paid none. The receiver collected from Gillebert four *émines* of wheat and 4 *émines* 16 *boisseaux* of oats. Despite efforts, Galiet could not collect payment for the remaining

⁹¹⁰ ADCO, E1810, 1647.

⁹¹¹ ADCO, E1810, 1648.

⁹¹² ADCO, E1810, 1648.

one *émine* of wheat and eight *boisseaux* of oats owed by Gillebert citing his poverty and that Gillebert left nightly in order to go to stay in the County of Bourgogne. He emphasized that Françoise was aware of Gillebert's status. Françoise also cleared the accountant of Beugnot's part of the *rente* that year.⁹¹³

The saga of debtor insolvency continued to plague the *grange et metairie* through the 1652 account year. Françoise even chased down property that had been taken out of the Duchy of Bourgogne into the County of Bourgogne. She also established a new lease in an attempt to re-stabilize this *rente*. In the 1650 account, the accountant received no grains from Gillebert and as a result, Françoise was forced to recover the plow that he had taken with him to the County of Bourgogne, which was retrieved by Sieur Baullard, an *avocat* in Grey. The other half of the *rente* that was held by Beugnot was leased anew by Françoise to Pierre and Chrétien Maire for 12 *émines* half wheat and half oats. The Maire brothers agreed to provide the wheat in 1651 to the château of Arc-sur-Tille, as they were obliged by their lease contract held by Françoise.⁹¹⁴ The accountant did however receive 1 *émine* 19 *boisseaux* of oats from them in 1650.

In 1651 and 1652, Françoise once again endorsed the seizure and sale of possessions as well as the lease of implanted grains in order to recuperate some of the outstanding debt attached to this *rente*. In 1651, with the arrival of the harvests, the grains implanted by Gillebert were leased to Pierre Paporet of Beaumont for 3 *émines* 3 *boisseaux* of wheat and 4 *émines* 8 *boisseaux* of oats, along with the *dixme* of Bessey for seven *émines*, half wheat and half oats. However, Galiet only received 2 *émines* 9

⁹¹³ ADCO, E1810, 1649.

⁹¹⁴ ADCO, E1810, 1650.

boisseaux of wheat and 7 *émines* 9 *boisseaux* in oats from Paporet for these two *rentes*.⁹¹⁵ From the Maire brothers, he collected only 1 *émine* 2 *boisseaux* of oats, and no wheat. Instead, Galiet received 100 *livres* from the sell made to Aubert Gueland, *mareschal* of Blagny, of a blind horse and a little mare with red twists of hair, which along with their saddlery, their horse-collars, and wagon, were seized from Paporet in deduction from the grains that he owed to Françoise. In regards to the remaining debt owed by Paporet, Galiet emphasized that Françoise was aware that Paporet was poor, indigent, and insolvent, and for these reasons, he required to be discharged, especially in light of the pursuits that he had already made against this debtor.⁹¹⁶ He stated that it was left to Françoise to appeal before a judge against Paporet for the remaining debt.⁹¹⁷ Although, in 1652, Pierre and Chrétien Maire had abandoned the *grange et metairie*, the grains of wheat that they had implanted were leased by Desnoyers to Philibert Guenard. However, since Guenard went to live in Arc-sur-Tille to work in Françoise's vineyards, these grains that he had stored in the *grange* (barn) of Bessey were threshed by Thibault Paporet according to the order and agreement made by Françoise. After Paporet was paid, seven *émines* of wheat were recovered and received by the accountant. Galiet was discharged of the remaining debt owed by the Maire brothers seeing that they had been expelled due to indigence and insolvency. Once again, he noted that it was left to Françoise to appeal before a judge for the remainder.⁹¹⁸ By 1653, however, Françoise had successfully stabilized this property under a new long-term lease.

⁹¹⁵ ADCO, E1810, 1651.

⁹¹⁶ ADCO, E1810, 1651.

⁹¹⁷ ADCO, E1810, 1651.

⁹¹⁸ ADCO, E1811, 1652.

There were also complications regarding the leaseholder of the *droit de passage et péage* on the river of Renève that resulted in the seizure and lease of implanted fruits. In 1648, the receiver asked to be released from the responsibility of revenues from this lease because the leaseholder was unable to pay and had fled, and there had been no boats since the wars. According to Galiet, he received no revenues that year from the *droit de passage et péage* on the river of Renève leased by Desnoyers to Jean Humbelot who was insolvent, impoverished, and had abandoned Renève. Galiet requested to be discharged for these reasons as well as for the fact that there was neither a boat nor a flat-bottomed boat, seeing that those belonging to Françoise were lost during the wars.⁹¹⁹ In 1650, Galiet claimed that he had made every effort to extract some of these lost revenues from Humbelot, including seizing the fruits implanted by Humbelot within the borders of Renève. These fruits were leased to Claude Laurand, a resident in Cheuge, for the sum of 13 *livres*, for which he made obligation to Françoise on July 27, 1650. However, in the end, Galiet only received 10 *livres*, and he was discharged from the remaining three *livres* and six capons because Laurand had also become insolvent.⁹²⁰

On several occasions, Françoise made special payment arrangements due to the extreme poverty experienced by certain members of her community. At the end of the expenses section of the 1649 account, there is an entry titled, money counted but not received. This is because earlier in the account, Galiet recorded as received the sum of 50 *livres* for the price of the rivers of the county leased by Françoise to Michel Goujon from Bèze. In the meantime, however, the accountant had only received 3 *livres* 6 *sols* from Goujon. Therefore, instead of paying 16 *livres* in wages to Goujon for working in

⁹¹⁹ ADCO, E1810, 1648, 1649, & 1650.

⁹²⁰ ADCO, E1810, 1650.

the vineyards, Galiet withheld that amount and recorded it in the expense section as having been paid to Goujon for his labor. Therefore, of the 50 *livres* owed, 19 *livres* 6 *sols* had been deducted from that debt. Galiet asked to be discharged of the outstanding debt of 30 *livres* 14 *sols* because Goujon paid this sum to Françoise in the form of a sale of merchandise that he made to her on March 8, 1651. This sale included one fishing net for the sum of 50 *livres*, a small wooden cask for 10 *livres*, and some other fishing instruments for 48 *sols*.⁹²¹ In 1650, Françoise continued to work to resolve the debt situation incurred by Goujon. According to Galiet that year, once again he did not receive anything towards the *amodiation* due in the amount of 50 *livres* for the *rivières* of the county of Beaumont, which were relinquished to Goujon by Françoise. As a result, Françoise was forced to dissolve this contract with Goujon for reason of his extreme poverty. To address his debt that year, Françoise applied the remaining profits generated from the goods sold to her by Goujon, and then she had these items resold to Etienne Mongeot who became the new leaseholder of the rights to these *rivières*.⁹²²

Françoise could be assiduous in her efforts to resolve delinquent *rentes*. For example, regarding the *four banal* of Blagny, she was diligent in her attempts to garner payments in order to whittle away at a debt owed to her. In 1649, Galiet only received a portion of the grains that were due to the estate for the lease of the common oven in Blagny. That year, the *four banal* of Blagny was leased by Desnoyers to Pierre Garinot of Blagny for three years, whereby this was the first, for four *émines* of wheat annually, of which Galiet only received 2 *émines* 6 *boisseaux* of wheat. Initially, Françoise

⁹²¹ ADCO, E1810, 1649. Even though the term “sold” was employed here, it appears that Goujon actually “gave” her these items, which she then “resold” for cash, much like when possessions were seized and sold.

⁹²² ADCO, E1810, 1650.

intervened by converting the remaining debt of grains into money. She priced the outstanding 1 *émine* 18 *boisseaux* of wheat at 70 *livres* in an agreement with Garinot made on November 3, 1651.⁹²³ However, Galiet only received 5 *livres* 18 *sols* out of Garinot's obligation of 70 *livres*.⁹²⁴ In 1650, Garinot still could not fully meet his obligations. That year Galiet received 2 *émines* 17 *boisseaux* of wheat from Garinot out of the four *émines* of wheat due for the lease of this oven, leaving a debt of 31 *boisseaux*. This 1650 debt of 31 *boisseaux* of wheat plus the leftover debt from 1649 of 1 *émine* 18 *boisseaux* of wheat, together with the four *émines* unpaid by Garinot in 1651, created a total debt of 7 *émines* 1 *boisseau* of wheat.⁹²⁵

With Françoise's authorization, over the next few years, there were additional attempts made to recover Garinot's remaining debt. In all, these additional endeavors at debt recovery garnered another 2 *émines* 6 *boisseaux* for the estate. Part of this debt was repaid through the seizure of grains aided by the establishment of a trusteeship over these grains. According to the 1651 account, Françoise ordered the seizure of some of the grains that Garinot had implanted in 1651 which would be gathered in 1652. She also authorized the establishment of Claude LeBlanc of Blagny as trustee over these grains. From this seizure of grains, Galiet received one *émine* of wheat through the hands of LeBlanc, in consequence of the agreement made between Françoise and Garinot on November 3, 1651. The recovery of one *émine* of wheat from this seizure of grains was recorded in the 1651 account. In the 1652 account year, the receiver was able to make up additional lost revenues by leasing out the rest of the grains implanted by the debtor. In

⁹²³ ADCO, E1810, 1649.

⁹²⁴ ADCO, E1810, 1649.

⁹²⁵ ADCO, E1810, 1650.

1651, the fruits pledged to Françoise by Garinot as security for his debt were leased to Denis Henry of Blagny by Desnoyers for 32½ *boisseaux* of wheat to be gathered and paid during the harvests of 1652. In 1652, the receiver collected 30 *boisseaux* of wheat from Henry for these grains implanted by Garinot and mortgaged by Françoise through their agreement.⁹²⁶ According to the account, only 30 *boisseaux* of wheat was collected because a reduction of 2½ *boisseaux* was given to Henry in response to a measurement of the wheat.⁹²⁷ Galiet asked to be discharged of the outstanding grains owed by Garinot. He felt this request was reasonable since Françoise was cognizant that Garinot was impoverished, insolvent, and absent from Blagny, and it is clear that Françoise agreed with Galiet because she absolved him of the uncollected portions of Garinot's debt. Although it is unknown whether any more of his debt was recovered, in 1652, under new leaseholders, the accountant finally successfully received the full *rente* for this oven.⁹²⁸

When the leaseholder of the *moulin banal* of Champagne died, Françoise authorized the seizure of property in order to recover this money. Françoise had leased the common mill of Champagne to Simon Petit for six *émines* of wheat annually to be yielded directly to the greniers at her château in Arc-sur-Tille. However, because Petit was dead as of the 1653 account year, Messire Jacques Dupuis, Françoise's *procureur d'office*, seized at her request, all of the grains and possessions left by Petit, and established Jean Lasins, a *laboureur* in Champagne, as trustee. Through the hands of Lasins, Galiet received from the seizure 3 *émines* 16 *boisseaux* of wheat and eight *quarteranches* of barley, as well as 10 *livres* for possessions that were sold to Ives

⁹²⁶ ADCO, E1811, 1652.

⁹²⁷ ADCO, E1811, 1652.

⁹²⁸ ADCO, E1811, 1652.

Pechinot, the new leaseholder of the mill.⁹²⁹ Moreover, Françoise gave charge to Dupuis to pursue the remaining debt.

In one instance, Françoise exhibited kindness in the midst of trying to recover an overdue debt. When one of Françoise's leaseholders became impoverished and later died, after issuing exploits to recuperate some of her obligations, she generously granted his widow a temporary *retenue* on some of their possessions, presumably so that this woman would not be left in destitution. In the 1656 account, Galiet recorded a receipt of 30 *boisseaux*, half wheat and half oats, for the *rente* of Sainte Catherine leased for 6 years to the now deceased Pierre Paporet, *huissier* from Beaumont.⁹³⁰ However, the receiver could not get any payment from Paporet, emphasizing that Françoise had been cognizant for a longtime that Paporet had become insolvent, and that no payment could be pulled from him for the properties that she had leased him.⁹³¹ In order to satisfy his responsibilities to the estate, immediately after Paporet's death, the receiver ordered, in the name of Françoise, the seizure of all the personal effects and possessions left by Paporet. These possessions were to serve as security for his outstanding debts from his past leases and for the *rentes* of 1656, as seen in the exploits from December 9 and 30, 1656 issued by the *sergent*, Guillemintot. However, in response to these seizures, the widow of Paporet went to find Françoise in her château of Arc-sur-Tille seemingly to appeal to her for assistance. Apparently, her entreaties to Françoise were successful because Desnoyers instructed the accountant to give the widow a *retenue* on the possessions noted in these exploits.

⁹²⁹ ADCO, E1811, 1653.

⁹³⁰ ADCO, E1811, 1656.

⁹³¹ ADCO, E1811, 1657.

In 1657, the receiver once again recorded a receipt of 30 *boisseaux* of grains, half wheat and half oats, which he never received. An additional exploit was enacted as well as the seizure of implanted grains in order to address this mounting debt. According to another exploit by Guillemillot in October of 1657, Galiet ordered the sale of some small possessions seized at his request from the widow, which fetched the price of 28 *livres* 10 *sols*.⁹³² These possessions sold were not included in those that the widow had taken in *retenue* from Françoise. Additionally, on November 8, 1657, a *sergent* seized the grains that the late Paporet had implanted.⁹³³ Lastly, on December 6, 1657, after an order from Desnoyers, Jean Gueniot and Andre Larcher of Beaumont took over the *rente* of Sainte Catherine. All the possessions included in the *retenue* of the widow Paporet, such as the horse, mare, and newborn horses, were relinquished to these new leaseholders under the conditions of this new contract made by Françoise.⁹³⁴ In the end, the accountant was held responsible for all 60 *boisseaux* of grains, half wheat and half oats, that were counted but not actually received for the 1656 and 1657 account years; however, the seizures of grains that were implanted before Paporet's death, as well as the seizure and sale of his possessions, compensated for these non-received grains.

Despite many acts of generosity exhibited in Françoise's administration of the Seigneurial lands and properties, in all of the post-war accounts from Beaumont, there was only one outright charitable donation. In 1650, Galiet charged one *boisseau* of wheat as an expense that Françoise had ordered to be delivered to a poor man from Lacey in

⁹³² ADCO, E1811, 1657.

⁹³³ ADCO, E1811, 1657.

⁹³⁴ ADCO, E1812, 1659.

accordance with her directive from May 31, 1650.⁹³⁵ A reduction in recorded charitable donations however, does not indicate that her kindnesses ended with the wars. It is possible that small acts of charity continued on a less formal and non-recorded basis, which likely occurred before as well. Moreover, after the wars, Françoise spent less time in Beaumont given the destruction of the château and the communities. More importantly, Françoise did exhibit a great deal of generosity in the form of grain loans, in the acceptance of alternative forms of payment, through debt deferments, and even through the extensive efforts undertaken by her to repair and rebuild her estates and communities following the fighting in the region. Françoise also demonstrated a sense of fairness when releasing the receiver of the responsibility of revenues when his pursuits to lease a property or to collect an outstanding debt had failed. This sense of fairness extended to her leaseholders when mother nature interfered.

Françoise exhibited fair-mindedness when it came to the loss of crops due to weather. In 1647, Françoise leased the *double dixme* of Beaumont at a reduced price, and on top of that, she subtracted an additional amount due to the effects of inclement weather on the crops produced on these properties. According to the accountant, the *double dixme* of Beaumont was normally rented at 50 *émines*, half oats and half wheat yearly, but that year it had only been rented for 22 *émines*, half oats and half wheat, to Anthoine Poinot, Anthoine Foustelet and Pierre Quillery from Beaumont.⁹³⁶ Moreover, Françoise deducted an additional 12 *boisseaux* of oats from this obligation because that year hail had fallen in Beaumont causing damage to these crops. Therefore, Galiet received the full 11 *émines* of wheat, but only 10½ *émines* of oats. Weather problems

⁹³⁵ ADCO, E1810, 1650.

⁹³⁶ ADCO, E1810, 1647.

were also taken into account the following year. In the 1648 account, she forgave a portion of a debt owed from the rental of a *dixme* that could not be paid in full because inclement weather had destroyed some of the crop. That year, Galiet recorded the full receipt of the obligation from the rental of the *double dixme* of Blagny made by Jean Bernard in the amount of 11 *émines* 12 *boisseaux* of wheat and 11 *émines* 12 *boisseaux* of oats. However, what he actually received was 30 *boisseaux* of oats less than that. These 30 *boisseaux* of oats were deducted from his debt because of the damages claimed by him as a result of the hail that fell on the crops of Blagny. This deduction was allowed by Françoise who made and signed a *remise* (release) and diminution of this portion of his debt on February 1, 1649, as seen from the minutes recorded from the examination made of these crops. Therefore, since Galiet had already recorded the full debt as received, he was allowed to correct this receipt by recording the damaged grains as an expense.⁹³⁷ For the same reasons, the obligation owed by the leaseholder of the *dixme* of Renève was also reduced. That year, the *dixme* of Renève was leased with that of Cheuge for only 5 *émines* 8 *boisseaux*, half wheat and half oats, by Claude Bourgaudet, a resident in Renève, as the highest bidder of this right.⁹³⁸ Galiet recorded receiving the full obligation of 2 *émines* 16 *boisseaux* of wheat and the same amount of oats. However, in the expenses section of the account, 16 *boisseaux* of these oats were deducted as a loss because Bourgaudet was given a reduction of 16 *boisseaux* on his obligation of oats because of hail damage.⁹³⁹

⁹³⁷ ADCO, E1810, 1648.

⁹³⁸ ADCO, E1810, 1648.

⁹³⁹ ADCO, E1810, 1648.

Françoise also removed debts in the face of other disasters. In the 1651 account year, the receiver was unable to collect the entire debt from the lease of the right of prévôté due to a fire. The accountant received only 14 *livres* 1 *sol* from Gerard Vaussot of Blagny out of the 20 *livres* that he owed that year for his lease of the *exploits et amendes* of Blagny. He was unable to pay the remainder of his debt because there was a fire in the house where he resided in Blagny in which all of his properties and possessions were lost.⁹⁴⁰ Due to the notoriousness of the fire, his payment was accepted and the remaining debt discharged from the accountant. However, the margin now emphasized that the balance of 5 *livres* 19 *sols* remained due to Françoise.⁹⁴¹ Although there was no follow up on this unpaid portion of this obligation, in 1652, Vaussot once again paid the full 20 *livres* for this lease.

Françoise also forgave obligations when grains were unintentionally spoiled or stolen. In one case, she cleared the debt of 10 *boisseaux* of wheat guarded by the receiver because it was found not fit for human consumption. According to the 1650 account, Galiet recorded 10 *boisseaux* of wheat as a loss because these grains found in the greniers were dregs that could not be sold. Françoise did not punish the receiver for this loss, but instead took practical measures to ensure that it was not a total loss. She released Galiet from accountability and ordered these 10 *boisseaux* of scraps to be carted to Arc-sur-Tille for the nourishment of her poultry.⁹⁴² On another occasion, spoiled grains were given to Françoise's doves in Beaumont, and the accountant was allowed to enter this as a loss, and so was not held responsible for these grains. According to the 1653 account, every

⁹⁴⁰ ADCO, E1810, 1651.

⁹⁴¹ ADCO, E1810, 1651

⁹⁴² ADCO, E1810, 1650.

week for nine weeks the accountant furnished four *boisseaux* of spoiled wheat to the doves of the colombier of Beaumont following a letter from Françoise, amounting to an expense of 1 *émine* 12 *boisseaux* of wheat.⁹⁴³ Nor was the accountant punished when a re-measurement of grains under his care showed an expense after it had been resifted. Galiet was allowed to record a loss of 3 *émines* 22 *boisseaux* of wheat, which was a *déchet* (diminution), discovered after Françoise's grains were resifted and re-measured. Galiet was allowed to charge this as a loss, rather than to shoulder this expense himself as seen in the discharge from Françoise from May 28, 1655.⁹⁴⁴ In the case of theft, Françoise also allowed the accountant to be absolved of the responsibility of revenues. In 1650, Françoise released the accountant of the responsibility of certain revenues pending investigation. According to the accountant, three-half soitures of *prés* in the *prairie* of Lœuilley were relinquished by Desnoyers to the honest Didiere Galiet, the receiver's sister, for five *livres*. However, the accountant had received no payment from his sister because some individuals from Lœuilley supposedly carried away the grasses in this portion of the meadow. Naturally, his sister did not want to pay for grasses she was unable to use.⁹⁴⁵ Thus, the transaction was placed in suspension and discharged until this report could be verified. In March of 1652, some grains were stolen from Françoise's greniers, but Galiet was not held responsible for this loss. That month, the padlocks and locks on the doors of the greniers of the *tour rouge* of the château were broken by unknown criminals who removed at least 12 *boisseaux* of wheat, as witnessed in the

⁹⁴³ ADCO, E1811, 1653.

⁹⁴⁴ ADCO, E1811, 1653.

⁹⁴⁵ ADCO, E1810, 1650.

verbal process issued in a court of justice that same month. Therefore, these grains were charged as a loss.⁹⁴⁶

Moreover, Françoise made fair and appropriate deductions to leaseholder obligations when the property she had leased out ceased to be operational. In the 1649 account, the *four banal* of Beaumont had been leased, but stopped functioning during part of the lease term. Françoise intervened, granting the leaseholder a reduction in his debt. That year, the community oven of Beaumont was leased to Anthoine Robert, a *laboureur* there, under the guarantee of Anthoine Poinot also from Beaumont, for 3½ *émines* of wheat. However, since the oven was found in ruins and was unable to heat for part of the year while the arch was being repaired, Françoise granted these leaseholders a reduction in the amount of 22 *boisseaux* of wheat, as it appeared in the letter sent to the accountant from Desnoyers. As a result, the receiver collected the reduced *rente* of 2 *émines* 14 *boisseaux* of wheat.⁹⁴⁷ In the 1656 account year, the leaseholder refused to pay his entire debt, claiming that for a period during his lease the oven of Dampierre failed to work. According to Galiet, he received only 2 *émines* 3 *boisseaux* of wheat from Sulpice Chastron out of the 2 *émines* 12 *boisseaux* that were owed for the lease of the *four banal* of Dampierre that year. Chastron withheld his outstanding debt of nine *boisseaux* of wheat claiming that this amount had been deducted from his obligation for the time that the oven had ceased to heat, and therefore would not cook, until the arch was repaired.⁹⁴⁸ This reduction in obligation was recorded, indicating that Galiet discovered that Chastron was indeed granted this diminution. The necessary repairs appear to have been made,

⁹⁴⁶ ADCO, E1810, 1650.

⁹⁴⁷ ADCO, E1810, 1649.

⁹⁴⁸ ADCO, E1811, 1656.

and as a result, the oven continued to be leased to various people over the next few account years.

Françoise had the ultimate say over all aspects of estate management after Claude died. Even when her name was not mentioned in an entry as directing a payment or purchase, she had the authority to authorize or deny an expense when settling the account. Therefore, even when Galiet and Desnoyers contributed to amassing expenditures, their actions were based on Françoise's past conclusions, on directives received from her, or on their own informed judgment of what Françoise would want done. In fact, even a few transactions illustrate attempts made to contact Françoise quickly in order to discover her wishes concerning various important transactions or to alert her to important occurrences in the Seigneurie. For example, in 1650, the sum of 20 *sols* was paid to Thomas Brulebault for having been express to Dijon in order to give intelligence to Françoise that the Swedish army was on the river Vingeanne.⁹⁴⁹ Françoise responded to this information on February 9, 1650. Although we do not know what order Galiet received back from Françoise, or whether it related to the protection of property or more specifically to the grains, this example serves to show that Françoise's authority was sought in times of danger. In a similar vein, Françoise's control over the dissemination of grains was supreme. For example, when trouble appeared on the horizon, Françoise was quickly alerted in order to learn her wishes for the preservation of her grains. In 1651, once again, Galiet paid 20 *sols* to Brulebault for two express trips that he made to Arc-sur-Tille in order to give notice to Françoise of the arrival of a

⁹⁴⁹ ADCO, E1810, 1650.

regiment from Streffe in this province, in order to get her orders for the removal and conservation of her grains.⁹⁵⁰

It is not surprising that Françoise was involved in the protection of grains given that they provided for the nutrition of her animals and her household, and the sale of these grains generated a great deal of annual revenues. On one occasion, she even directed that her some of her grains be moved to safer storage. According to Michel, he paid 50 *sols* to Pierre Coimet, *maître maçon* residing in La Ferté below Beaumont, both for having furnished the lime and the cement, and for having mended the grenier of Mademoiselle Fleuriot where Françoise had commanded the wheat to be stored that fell from the grenier of Baltazard Denis.⁹⁵¹

After Claude's death, Françoise maintained her extensive involvement in the sale of surplus grains that were received by the estate. In fact, she often sent directives regarding the sale of grains to the receiver. Sometimes Françoise appears to have negotiated or even made these sales herself, sending orders to Galiet to carry out her arrangements or to make the appropriate records of these transactions; other times she sent blanket orders to the receiver to simply sell some grains.

In some cases, she held onto the money from these grain sales. On one occasion, the accountant received the money from the buyer, but instead of recording it into the receipts of the account, he gave the money to Françoise. According to Galiet, in the 1646 account, he asked to deduct seven *émines* of oats from the account because he sold these oats at the rate of 10 *sols* per *boisseaux* for the sum of 84 *livres*. According to Galiet, he should have been allowed this deduction because this transaction was made at

⁹⁵⁰ ADCO, E1810, 1649.

⁹⁵¹ ADCO, E1812, 1660.

Françoise's behest, and was supported by her quittance from April 30, 1647 in which she confessed that she had received the above-mentioned sum of money from Galiet.⁹⁵² This money was not returned to the account as a receipt, however, indicating that Françoise kept this money.

In most of the cases in which Françoise kept the money from the grain sales, she herself received the money directly from the buyer. Moreover, when she kept the money herself, she was often the architect of the transaction. In the 1650 account, according to written orders from Françoise dated May 12, 1651, Galiet delivered two *boisseaux* of wheat to Pierrette Quirot, who was the widow of a *marchand* in Beaumont named Claude Monin, but at the time of the transaction was the wife of Jean Larceneur, a *laboureur* there. According to the entry, this wheat was delivered to Quirot because she had paid the price from these grains to Françoise.⁹⁵³ Because there is no receipt of this money into the account, it appears that Françoise retained the money from this sale. This entry also indicates that she herself had made this arrangement with the purchaser. That same year, Galiet delivered four *émines* of wheat and 19 *émines* of oats to Sieur Jean Juret, *amodiateur* of Fontaine-Françoise, in accordance with the written demand of Françoise from May 25, 1651, which indicated that Françoise arranged the sale of these grains.⁹⁵⁴ Juret paid Françoise directly for these grains, which were recorded as expenses. However, since no money was received back into the account, it seems that Françoise kept this money. In the 1654 account, in accordance with the letter that Françoise wrote to the accountant on August 28, 1656, Galiet delivered to Sieur Claude Cournault,

⁹⁵² ADCO, E1810, 1646.

⁹⁵³ ADCO, E1810, 1650.

⁹⁵⁴ ADCO, E1810, 1650.

marchand in Maxilly-sur-Saone, the quantity of 103 *émines* of wheat at the rate of 25 *boisseaux* per *émine* following the orders of Françoise. Since these grains were received from the leaseholders at the Beaumont rate of 24 *boisseaux* per *émine*, the expense was logged as 107 *émines* 7 *boisseaux* of wheat.⁹⁵⁵ Given that there was no receipt in money from Cournault in this account, the profits from the sale appears to have been kept by Françoise. In the 1657 account, Galiet delivered another 60 *émines* of wheat to Cournault in accordance with the letter from Françoise from May 2, 1658. Cournault informed Galiet that he had paid the money from the price of the sale of these grains to Françoise.⁹⁵⁶ Françoise acknowledged having been paid directly for these 60 *émines*, but with no receipt of this money recorded, it appears that she retained the money generated from this sale.⁹⁵⁷ Thus, in many cases, Françoise stipulated the terms of the grain sales with the purchasers herself while keeping the money she generated from negotiating these sales.

In one instance, Françoise sold future grains based on Seigneurial obligations that were owed to her. She also kept the profits from this transaction. According to Galiet, Françoise once again made a sale of grains to the honorable Claude Bauldin, the elder, a *marchand* in Dampierre. This time the sale she engineered included all of the grains, both wheat and oats, that were due or fell due to her through the end of December, 1655, in accordance with the order and certificate that Françoise gave to the accountant December 1, 1655. In consequence of this plan, Galiet delivered to Bauldin an accurate list of the debtors of these grains from the present year so that Bauldin could make them

⁹⁵⁵ ADCO, E1811, 1654.

⁹⁵⁶ ADCO, E1811, 1657.

⁹⁵⁷ ADCO, E1811, 1657.

pay, conforming to the *marché* from this sale dated November 29, 1655 made between him and Françoise.⁹⁵⁸ According to their bargain, Françoise sold Bauldin all of the grains from her receipt of Beaumont for the year 1655, except those grains from the *dixme* of Blagny and the *rente* Saint Barthélemy, which Françoise had reserved in this negotiation. This sell was made at the rate of 24 *livres* for one *émine* of wheat plus one *émine* of oats, with the wheat at the rate of 16 *livres* per *émine* and the oats at the rate of eight *livres* per *émine*. In total, Bauldin received 74 *émines* 14 *boisseaux*, half wheat and half oats, plus an additional 31 *émines* 3 *boisseaux* of wheat, in exchange for 1,473 *livres*. From this profit, 1,298 *livres* were submitted into the hands of Françoise by Desnoyers, which left Bauldin in debt 175 *livres*, for which Galiet remained responsible. In fact, Galiet added this 175 *livres* to his own debt to the estate, which would carry over into the next account year. The *marché* from this agreement was remitted to him in order to assist in making Bauldin pay.⁹⁵⁹ Since there was no receipt in money from any of these grains in the account, Françoise must have retained the profits from this presale. Therefore, all of these grains were recorded both as having been received and spent in the amount of 68 *émines* 10 *boisseaux* of wheat and 37 *émines* 7 *boisseaux* of oats.

On a few occasions, the accountant recorded grains as received, but then deducted the same grains as expenses when the leaseholders purchased their grain obligations back in money, which they paid to Françoise who retained it. For example, in the 1655 account, Galiet had given discharge of 6 *émines* 12 *boisseaux* of wheat and 6 *émines* 12 *boisseaux* of oats to Jean Girardot and Thibault Paporet of Beaumont, *amodiateurs* of the *dixme* of Blagny, for having bought these grains from Françoise following the order from

⁹⁵⁸ ADCO, E1811, 1655.

⁹⁵⁹ ADCO, E1811, 1655.

November 19, 1655 given to the accountant by Françoise.⁹⁶⁰ The same amounts of grains recorded here as deductions in the expense section had also been recorded in the same account as received from the leaseholders. These transactions cancelled each other out, and since there was no receipt in money recorded, Françoise must have retained the money. That same year, Galiet also discharged 1 *émine* 12 *boisseaux* of wheat and 1 *émine* 12 *boisseaux* of oats, in response to another order from Françoise from that day, to Nicolas Roussot and Jean Boisselier of Beaumont, *amodiateurs* of the *rente* of Saint Barthélemy, for the sale of grains that Françoise made to them.⁹⁶¹ These grains were also first charged as received which was negated when the grains were later charged as an expense. Again, there was no receipt in money recorded in the account. Essentially, the leaseholders purchased their crop obligations back from Françoise, who appeared to have kept the money.

In other circumstances, the receiver deducted grains that were sold, and recorded the receipt of money generated from these sales, all of which was directed by Françoise. In these cases, Françoise did not keep the profits received from these sales. Occasionally, Galiet himself orchestrated these sales at the behest of Françoise. In the 1648 account, Galiet received the sum of 168 *livres* 3 *sols* for the sale of 6 *émines* 2³/₄ *boisseaux* of wheat that he made to many individuals following a written directive from Françoise from July 18, 1649.⁹⁶² When sold, these grains were deducted from the grain supply and thus treated as an expense in wheat. In fact, according Galiet, there were actually 11 different transactions. For example, Galiet delivered to Andre Vaultier, called La Prune,

⁹⁶⁰ ADCO, E1811, 1655.

⁹⁶¹ ADCO, E1811, 1655.

⁹⁶² ADCO, E1810, 1648.

1 *émine* 1 *boisseaux* of wheat, which was recorded as an expense in grains, in exchange for the receipt of 25 *livres* recorded in the received section.⁹⁶³ Galiet made five of these sales to three different women. According to Galiet, the wife of Baltazard Denis purchased wheat from him on three different occasions. In one case, she bought four *boisseaux* of wheat at the rate of 22 *sols* per *boisseau*, totaling 4 *livres* 8 *sols*. These grains were recorded as expenses, whereas the money from their sales was documented as received.

However, most of the time, Françoise arranged the grain sales with the buyers herself even when she did not retain the profits from these sales. According to the 1648 account, the receiver recorded the receipt of 30 *livres* for the sale of the surplus of 1 *émine* 16 *boisseaux* of wheat that Galiet carried over as a debt from the 1647 account. According to Galiet, Françoise sold this surplus of grains to Sieur Cournault of Maxilly and to others.⁹⁶⁴ Sometimes the transactions that Françoise commanded were quite large. In 1657, Galiet received 412 *livres* from the Sieurs Bauldin, elder and younger, for the sell made to them on the orders of Françoise of 36 *émines* of oats, with 20 of these *émines* at 11 *livres* per *émine* and 16 *émines* at 12 *livres* per *émine*. Additionally, he received the sum of 333 *livres* 10 *sols* from Sieur Thibault Camus for the sale made to him of 27 *émines* 18 *boisseaux* of oats at 25 *boisseaux* per *émine* completed in response to the same order from Françoise. These two transactions engineered by Françoise generated a total of 745 *livres* 10 *sols* that Galiet recorded in the account as received.⁹⁶⁵ He also recorded these grains, when sold, as expenses. According to Galiet, he delivered

⁹⁶³ ADCO, E1810, 1648.

⁹⁶⁴ ADCO, E1810, 1648.

⁹⁶⁵ ADCO, E1811, 1657.

20 *émines* of oats to Sieur Claude Bauldin, the younger, in accordance with the letter from Françoise from May 5, 1658, plus an extra 20 *boisseaux* of oats owing to the fact that each *émine* sold contained 25 *boisseaux* rather than 24.⁹⁶⁶ On the order from Françoise dated June 22, Galiet delivered 16 *émines* of oats to the elder Sieur Bauldin who had purchased these grains, plus an extra 16 *boisseaux* of oats owing to the fact that each *émine* sold contained an extra *boisseau*.⁹⁶⁷ Finally, on Françoise's command, Galiet delivered to Sieur Camus the 27 *émines* 18 *boisseaux* of oats that he had purchased, which at 25 *boisseaux* per *émine*, came to an expense of 28 *émines* 21 *boisseaux* of oats.⁹⁶⁸ Although Françoise was the architect of these transactions, Galiet handled the receipt and distribution of the grains.

Although Françoise directed most of the grains sales in the estate, the accountant appeared to have handled the daily supervision of the grains as well as the upkeep of the greniers. In fact, the receiver held the position of *garde et déchet* (conservation and diminution) of the grains.⁹⁶⁹ The accountant was responsible for the protection of the grains that he received, and was compensated by Françoise for guarding them. For example, in 1648 for the *garde et déchet* of 66 *émines* of wheat that Galiet had received, he was paid 36 *boisseaux* of wheat according to the price determined by Françoise.⁹⁷⁰ That same year, he was also paid 33 *boisseaux* for guarding 66 *émines* of oats.⁹⁷¹ In the 1650 account, for the *garde et déchet* of 84 *émines* 19 *boisseaux* of wheat which the

⁹⁶⁶ ADCO, E1811, 1657.

⁹⁶⁷ ADCO, E1811, 1657.

⁹⁶⁸ ADCO, E1811, 1657.

⁹⁶⁹ According to <http://artfl-project.uchicago.edu/content/dictionnaires-dautrefois>, there was always a loss when guarding wine and wheat.

⁹⁷⁰ ADCO, E1810, 1648.

⁹⁷¹ ADCO, E1810, 1648.

accountant guarded during a 1½ year period, he was paid 4 *émines* 18 *boisseaux* of wheat.⁹⁷² For guarding the oats received that year, the accountant received 25 *boisseaux* of oats in payment for his services.⁹⁷³ Moreover, the accountant was in charge of hiring day laborers regularly to stir and aerate the grains that he had received that year and which were under his guard. Most years, there was an expense allowed to reimburse the accountant for paying for these services throughout the year. For example, in the 1649 account, Galiet was allowed the sum of seven *livres* for the nourishment and days worked by two men who stirred the grains belonging to Françoise on 10 different occasions that year.⁹⁷⁴ In addition to hiring men to stir the grains, the accountant was also reimbursed for paying for the upkeep of the greniers. For example, Galiet was allowed the sum of 20 *livres* for having many different times employed men to stir both the wheat and the oats from his receipts during the years 1656 and 1657, as well as to close many holes and replace some boards and tiles in the greniers where these grains were housed.⁹⁷⁵ He also appears to have employed masons to make small repairs to the granaries without direct evidence of Françoise's supervision. In 1653, he paid 50 *sols* to Jean Cocquillon, a *maçon* residing in Beaumont, for having repaired and re-plastered with lime the greniers where the grains were kept.⁹⁷⁶ Michel paid three *livres* to Pierre Coimet, *maître maçon* residing in La Ferté both for having mended and paved the grenier of the *tour rouge* of the château and for having furnished the lime and the cement.⁹⁷⁷ There are even a few examples of the accountant paying yearly rental fees for *greniers* in which to store

⁹⁷² ADCO, E1810, 1650.

⁹⁷³ ADCO, E1810, 1650.

⁹⁷⁴ ADCO, E1810, 1649.

⁹⁷⁵ ADCO, E1811, 1657.

⁹⁷⁶ ADCO, E1811, 1653.

⁹⁷⁷ ADCO, E1812, 1660.

Françoise's grains. For example, in the 1660 account year, Michel paid 20 *livres* to Monsieur Anthoine Trouvé for the rental of his grenier and 24 *livres* to Monsieur Baltazard Denis for the rental of his greniers.⁹⁷⁸

Aside from orders involving the sale of grains, the accountant received regular directives from Françoise that generated expenditures. Sometimes the specifics of these directives were divulged, but many times the accountant simply stated that Françoise had issued an order for something to be paid or delivered to a person without explaining if this was in exchange for money she received from a sale made by her, as payment for something she had purchased, or as payment for services or wages.

On several occasions in the accounts, Françoise issued orders concerning the care of her doves. Following the wars, she gave many instructions regarding food allocations to assist in the repopulation and reestablishment of her dove-house in Beaumont. As a result, the accountant regularly furnished grains to Françoise's doves. According to the 1651 account, Galiet furnished and delivered 42 *boisseaux* of oats from November 15, 1651 to the end of February 1652 for the nourishment of the doves in Françoise's *colombier* in Beaumont. These birds were fed three *boisseaux* of oats per week according to specific orders from Françoise.⁹⁷⁹ The population in her *colombier* in Beaumont was gradually expanding. By the 1659 account year this grain allocation had increased to 3½ *boisseaux* per week. According to Michel, that year he furnished and distributed two *émines* of oats for the nourishment of the doves in the *colombier* in Beaumont, beginning on December 6, 1659 through March 11, 1660, at the rate of half a *boisseau* per day, in accordance with the orders that Françoise had previously given to

⁹⁷⁸ ADCO, E1812, 1660.

⁹⁷⁹ ADCO, E1810, 1651.

Sieur Galiet.⁹⁸⁰ Even when Françoise's name was not cited as having directed these actions, the importance she placed on the well-being of her doves suggests that the accountant made informed decisions based on her previous instructions. In fact, in the 1656 account, Galiet furnished and distributed 42 *boisseaux* of oats from November 15, 1656 to the end of February 1657 for the nourishment of the doves in Françoise's colombier as he had been allowed to do in the preceding accounts.⁹⁸¹

When Françoise went to Beaumont, she often issued directives to the accountant requesting money and grains during her visits. Sometimes the reasons for these requests were given such as grains for the sustenance of her horses and her household. For example, in June of 1650, the receiver furnished 18 *boisseaux* of oats to give to Françoise's horses, plus five *boisseaux* of wheat for the nourishment of her servants during her stay in Beaumont in accordance with her note from June 8, 1650.⁹⁸² In 1655, he delivered eight *boisseaux* of wheat, 3 *livres* 16 *sols*, as well as 44 *boisseaux* of oats for the horses of Françoise on another trip that she made to Beaumont following her *quittance* and her *memoire* of this deliverance from December 1, 1655.⁹⁸³ Other times she ordered provisions for unspecified reasons. For example, during Françoise's stay in Beaumont in May of 1651, the accountant provided 24 *boisseaux* of wheat, 1 *émine* 22 *boisseaux* of oats, and the sum of 7 *livres* 3 *sols* as it was commanded and settled by Françoise in her *memoire* and *quittance* from May 31, 1651.⁹⁸⁴ However, there were also several entries that did not indicate if it was Françoise who requested provisions to be

⁹⁸⁰ ADCO, E1812, 1659.

⁹⁸¹ ADCO, E1811, 1656.

⁹⁸² ADCO, E1810, 1649.

⁹⁸³ ADCO, E1811, 1653.

⁹⁸⁴ ADCO, E1810, 1650.

delivered while she was in Beaumont, or if the accountant and Desnoyers simply anticipated her needs based on experience. For example, Galiet delivered six *boisseaux* of wheat during the stay that Françoise made in Beaumont from July 25 to August 16, 1657.⁹⁸⁵ He furnished 1 *émine* 13 *boisseaux* of wheat, 2 *émines* 19 *boisseaux* of oats, and one *boisseau* of barley during the stay made by Françoise in Beaumont from October 14 to December 13, 1657 following the *parties* settled by Desnoyers.⁹⁸⁶

For unstated reasons, the accountant regularly made deliveries to inhabitants in the community in response to directives from Françoise. Sometimes these commands directed the receiver to deliver grains. For example, the accountant delivered one *émine* of oats to Chrétien Portier from Lœuilley along with eight *boisseaux* of wheat and 13 *boisseaux* of oats to Denis Daultrey from Dampierre in accordance with the written command from Françoise from July 11, 1649.⁹⁸⁷ In 1652, Galiet furnished four *boisseaux* of wheat to Martin Jacquinot of Renève following orders Françoise made on May 26, 1652.⁹⁸⁸ On several occasions, she issued orders to the receiver to make payments in money to various people for unspecified reasons. For example, Galiet paid 19 *livres* to Etienne Mongeot from Champagne in response to a written order from Françoise from May 18, 1651.⁹⁸⁹ He paid six *livres* to Edme Gueniot from Beaumont in accordance with the directive from Françoise from November 27, 1654.⁹⁹⁰ Regardless of the reasons behind these transactions, it is clear that Françoise was actively involved in a business relationship with the inhabitants of the Seigneurie.

⁹⁸⁵ ADCO, E1811, 1656.

⁹⁸⁶ ADCO, E1811, 1657.

⁹⁸⁷ ADCO, E1810, 1648.

⁹⁸⁸ ADCO, E1810, 1650.

⁹⁸⁹ ADCO, E1810, 1650.

⁹⁹⁰ ADCO, E1811, 1653.

Sometimes when Galiet distributed a payment, the recipient's profession was mentioned. However, it cannot be assumed that the payment was made for services tied to the occupation of the person, as many inhabitants did odd jobs as needed. For example, in the 1648 account year, the sum of 20 *livres* was paid to Nicolas Rousot, one of Françoise's *vignerons* in Beaumont, in accordance with her written letter from July 9, 1649.⁹⁹¹ Rousot could have been paid for innumerable reasons such as for making a purchase for Françoise, as part of his wages, as fulfillment for purchasing goods from the estate, or for other services provided to the estate. On another occasion, the receiver delivered 18 *boisseaux* of wheat to Mathieu Maclot, a *couvreur* in Blagny, according to the orders from Françoise on May 15, 1651.⁹⁹² Another time, Galiet paid 90 *livres* to Sieur Claude Bauldin, the elder, *marchand* in Dampierre, according to the quittance and following the commandment from Françoise from November 27, 1654.⁹⁹³ In another instance, he paid 7 *livres* 12 *sols* 6 *deniers* to Jacques Roc, *boucher* in Mirebeau, in response to the command of Françoise from May 25, 1655.⁹⁹⁴ It cannot be assumed that this roofer, merchant, and butcher were paid for reasons associated with their professions. Although we can only speculate the reasons for these payments, what is certain is that in a region recovering from the ravages of war, Françoise continued to foster transactions at the local and regional level.

In many cases, Françoise presented *quittances* to the accountant, from which the accountant responded by sending cash, and occasionally grains, to her or to a named recipient. These *quittances* were possibly receipts for items purchased by Françoise, for

⁹⁹¹ ADCO, E1810, 1648.

⁹⁹² ADCO, E1810, 1650.

⁹⁹³ ADCO, E1811, 1653.

⁹⁹⁴ ADCO, E1811, 1654.

Françoise, of from Françoise, which she then submitted to the accountant as proof of payment and reimbursement. However, it is also possible that these quittances were issued for recordkeeping purposes as proof of a completed transaction that occurred between the receiver and Françoise. Most of these entries do not specify what these quittances, or the transactions they represented, entailed. Sometimes when the quittance was issued, Françoise was paid. For example, on August 5, 1650, Galiet delivered 280 *livres* to Françoise in Arc-sur-Tille based on her quittance for that amount.⁹⁹⁵ In another instance, the accountant paid 1001 *livres 5 sols 8 deniers* to Françoise through her quittance from May 27, 1651.⁹⁹⁶ In both cases, these amounts were given to Françoise and then recorded as expenses. Sometimes the accountant reimbursed the quittances in grains. For example, Michel furnished five *boisseaux* of oats to Françoise following her *reçu (quittance)* from September 6, 1660.⁹⁹⁷ In some cases, however, Françoise provided a quittance to the accountant with the instructions that various individuals identified in the quittance should be paid. For example, in 1653, Galiet paid 4½ *boisseaux* of wheat and 4 *livres 15 sols* to Bellot, one of Françoise's *vignerons* in Arc-sur-Tille, following the order and quittance from Françoise from May 23, 1653.⁹⁹⁸ In 1657, he delivered 16 *émines 3 boisseaux* of wheat and the same amount of oats to Sieur Claude Bauldin, the younger, *marchand* in Dampierre, following the order and the quittance from Françoise from July 25, 1657.⁹⁹⁹ Additionally, inhabitants also provided their own *quittances* from conventions made with Françoise. For example, Galiet paid 25 *livres* to Michel Borne,

⁹⁹⁵ ADCO, E1810, 1649.

⁹⁹⁶ ADCO, E1810, 1650.

⁹⁹⁷ ADCO, E1812, 1659.

⁹⁹⁸ ADCO, E1811, 1652.

⁹⁹⁹ ADCO, E1811, 1656.

tuilier in Bèze, in accordance with the letter from Françoise from July 27, 1653 and as follows in the quittance from Borne at the bottom of her letter.¹⁰⁰⁰ In 1652, he paid 36 *livres* to Claude Maîtrejean, a *laboureur* in Beaumont, following his quittance from December 17, 1655 for the causes noted in the *marché* made between Françoise and him on May 26, 1652.¹⁰⁰¹ We do not know the terms of their convention, just that Maîtrejean provided a *quittance* in order to be reimbursed for dealings he had with Françoise. No details were included in these entries as to the reason behind the quittances.

Aside from these rather vague quittance disbursements, there were some specific acquisitions authorized or purchased by Françoise. However, only a few of these sanctioned expenditures focused on household provisions. For example, one *boisseaux* of wheat was delivered by the order of Françoise to Dame Catherine for 10 *sols* in payment for a mixture of feed for birds that she sold to Madame.¹⁰⁰² On one occasion, Michel paid 50 *sols* for a ream of paper that he sent to Françoise in Arc-sur-Tille following her directive.¹⁰⁰³ Most of these household purchases, however, involved food. For example, in 1653, Galiet sent 5 *livres* 15 *sols* with an unnamed individual to Pontailler to purchase some quails, which were sent, along with some other game, to Françoise in Arc-sur-Tille in response to her letter from September 14, 1653.¹⁰⁰⁴ In 1660, Michel paid 28 *livres* to Sieur du Clot from Fontaine-Françoise for 50 carp and three small pikes that he sent to Françoise in accordance with her letter and as seen

¹⁰⁰⁰ ADCO, E1810, 1651.

¹⁰⁰¹ ADCO, E1811, 1653.

¹⁰⁰² ADCO, E1810, 1646.

¹⁰⁰³ ADCO, E1812, 1660.

¹⁰⁰⁴ ADCO, E1811, 1652.

through the quittance of Du Clot.¹⁰⁰⁵ That year, Michel also paid 48 *sols* for three pints of honey and a clay pot to put it in, which he purchased from Jean Guigniot on March 15, 1661 on the orders of Françoise.¹⁰⁰⁶ The paucity of household expenses was most likely because Françoise spent less time in Beaumont after the wars.

There were also a few examples in which the accountant purchased items to be sent to Françoise, often in Arc-sur-Tille. Although we cannot know if she authorized these purchases, these expenses were very specific indicating that the accountant was following instructions. On one occasion, Galiet bought fish and sent it to Arc sur Tille. He paid 20 *sols* to Etienne Mongeot, a *pêcheur* in Champagne, for a barbel fish, two chub fish, and one perch sent to Arc-sur-Tille following the letter from Sieur Agnus from August 13, 1654.¹⁰⁰⁷ Another time Galiet purchased feed for the doves. In 1654, he paid 10 *livres* to the honorable Chrétien Portier, a *marchand* in Lœuilley, for a mixture of feed for birds sent to Françoise in Arc-sur-Tille in order to put in her colombier.¹⁰⁰⁸ In 1659, Michel paid 10 *livres* to Laurent Thomas, *maître boucher* residing in Beaumont, for 40 pounds of tallow delivered to Françoise in response to the quittance from Thomas on September 7, 1660.¹⁰⁰⁹ Additionally, Desnoyers occasionally sent directives for purchases to be made on behalf of Françoise. For example, through the letter of Desnoyers from November 16, 1650, addressed to Barbe Bryois, wife of the accountant, Galiet sent to Françoise in her château at Arc-sur-Tille, 15 pounds of butter purchased by Bryois for 3 *livres* 16 *sols* 6 *deniers*. In addition to reimbursing himself, he also paid 12

¹⁰⁰⁵ ADCO, E1812, 1660.

¹⁰⁰⁶ ADCO, E1812, 1660.

¹⁰⁰⁷ ADCO, E1811, 1652.

¹⁰⁰⁸ ADCO, E1811, 1652.

¹⁰⁰⁹ ADCO, E1812, 1659.

sols to Thomas Brulebault for taking this butter to Françoise, in total charging the account 4 *livres 9 sols 6 deniers*.¹⁰¹⁰

As a widow, Françoise became quite involved in the production of wine. In fact, some of the purchases she made herself or authorized were connected to tending the vines and to the *vendanges*. For example, Galiet recorded the expense of seven *livres* that he delivered to Nicolas Roussot, one of Françoise's *vignerons*, to use in the purchase of 10,000 stakes that Roussot and the accountant bought in Lœuilley in order to underprop the vines in one of Françoise's vineyards in accordance with Françoise's letter from March 25, 1647.¹⁰¹¹ In 1648, Galiet furnished 50 *sols* to Pierre Gillebert, *fermier* of the *grange* of Bessey, for the sale made by him to Françoise of 100 stakes in order to underprop her vines in Beaumont in response to the written orders signed by Françoise from December 10, 1648.¹⁰¹² In the 1649 account year, Galiet paid 4 *livres 10 sols* to Nicolas Roussot for five empty *muids* furnished by him during the *vendanges* that year in accordance to the written directive from Françoise on June 6, 1650.¹⁰¹³ In the 1660 account, Michel paid 66 *livres 13 sols 4 deniers* to Pierre Modret, *maître tonnelier* (master cooper) in Champlitte, for the deliverance that he made of 20 new large wine vessels that the accountant had purchased in accordance with the instructions in the letters from Françoise.¹⁰¹⁴

Françoise also became very involved in overseeing the *façon des vignes* (tending of the vines) which took place most years in Beaumont. She often authorized payment or

¹⁰¹⁰ ADCO, E1810, 1649.

¹⁰¹¹ ADCO, E1810, 1647.

¹⁰¹² ADCO, E1810, 1648.

¹⁰¹³ ADCO, E1810, 1649.

¹⁰¹⁴ ADCO, E1812, 1660.

employed laborers herself to work in her vineyards in her Seigneurie. For example, in the 1648 account year, Galiet paid 16 *livres* to Nicolas Perrot, a *vigneron* in Beaumont, for the *façon* of a *journal* of vines that he restored for Françoise in the *vignoble* (vineyard) called the *herbvees* as granted to him in the written orders from Françoise July 9, 1649.¹⁰¹⁵ That same account year, he also paid 16 *livres* to Michel Goujon for one *journal* of vineyard that he restored for Françoise in the *vignoble* called *Montureul* of Beaumont in accordance with the *marché* made by Françoise with Goujon.¹⁰¹⁶ In 1655, we see that Françoise made contracts with four different *vignerons* to tend the vines in her three vineyards in Beaumont called the *herbvees*, *Montureul*, and the *deux curtillots*. First, Galiet paid 15 *livres* to Vincent Nicolle, a *vigneron* in Beaumont, for having worked this year 1½ *journal* in Françoise's vineyard called the *herbvees*, following the *marché* that he had made for three years with Françoise on November 22, 1654, under the condition that Nicolle would also take half of the fruits produced.¹⁰¹⁷ That year Galiet also paid 20 *livres* to Nicolas Perrot, a *vigneron* in Beaumont, for the two *journaux* remaining in the vineyard of the *herbvees* that he worked under the same conditions as Nicolle for six years. He also paid 20 *livres* to Thibault Paporet, a *vigneron* in Beaumont, for two *journaux* that he worked for six years and under the same conditions as Nicolle and Perrot in the vineyard of *Montureul*. Finally, he paid Nicolas Roussot, a *vigneron* in Beaumont, 25 *livres* for having worked the vines of the vineyard of the *deux curtillots*, that year as he had done in the past, plus 6 *livres* 19 *sols* for the stakes that he furnished

¹⁰¹⁵ ADCO, E1810, 1648.

¹⁰¹⁶ ADCO, E1810, 1648.

¹⁰¹⁷ ADCO, E1811, 1655.

to use in these vineyards, amounting to an expense of 31 *livres* 19 *sols*.¹⁰¹⁸ Moreover, in at least one instance, Françoise made orders concerning the processing of wine. In 1654, the receiver paid seven *livres* to Jean Gueniot and Jean Petitjean, *tonneliers* in Beaumont, for having re-hooped the wine vats and barrels following the commandement from Françoise from November 24, 1654.¹⁰¹⁹

There are also many transactions involving the labor of the vines, both expenses and services, which do not specifically mention Françoise as the director. However, even if she did not issue a specific order regarding each expenditure that occurred, transactions were made with her wishes in mind. In 1649, the accountant paid Nicolas Rousot 4 *livres* 10 *sols* for five empty *muids* that he had provided to put Françoise's wine in, plus 41 *livres* 10 *sols* for the labor of the vines that he did for Françoise in Beaumont.¹⁰²⁰ In 1653, the sum of 26 *livres* was paid to Sebastien Perdu and Pierrette Poitet, widow of Michel Dubois, for having labored one *journal* of vines in Beaumont in the vineyard of *Montureul* that year, and for the stakes and fasteners they provided for this vineyard.¹⁰²¹ Moreover, additional expenses that involved purchasing or repairing equipment necessary for growing and harvesting the grapes as well as for making the wine did not always mention Françoise's authorization. On a few occasions, the receiver paid for barrels repairs. In 1655, he paid 40 *sols* to Claude Maîtrejean from Beaumont for having re-hooped the barrels, and for providing the hoops and the willow reeds to bind the hoops, in order to use to place the wine coming from the vines.¹⁰²² He paid Jean Petitjean, a

¹⁰¹⁸ ADCO, E1811, 1655.

¹⁰¹⁹ ADCO, E1811, 1654.

¹⁰²⁰ ADCO, E1810, 1649.

¹⁰²¹ ADCO, E1811, 1653.

¹⁰²² ADCO, E1811, 1655.

tonnelier, four *livres* for having re-hooped the barrels in 1656 and 1657, into which to put Françoise's wine.¹⁰²³ Galiet also purchased containers in which to put the finished wine. In 1649, the accountant was reimbursed 30 *sols* for two empty *fillettes* and one empty *muid* furnished by him in order to put Françoise's wine in.¹⁰²⁴ He paid 50 *sols* to Denis and Philippe Merceret, *cercliers* (workers who made metal cask hoops) in Renève, for four large vat hoops purchased from them and sent to Arc-sur-Tille in order to re-hoop Françoise's vats.¹⁰²⁵ There were also many purchases involving the stakes and fasteners used to secure and support the vines so that they would not fall over. In 1652, Galiet was reimbursed six *livres* for 8,000 new stakes and 15 *sols* for three heaps of fasteners purchased by him for use in the *Montureul* vineyard.¹⁰²⁶ Galiet was reimbursed 18 *livres* 10 *sols* for 403 bundles of stakes and 15 heaps of fasteners purchased by him for Françoise's vines, which sum included the portage of these stakes to Beaumont.¹⁰²⁷

There were also yearly food expenditures for those employed in the wine harvests as well as in the winemaking process. Most of these expenditures did not mention the express involvement or authorization of Françoise. In most years, the receiver provided wheat in order to make bread for the workers. Most years, Galiet furnished two *boisseaux* of wheat in order to make bread to feed the *ouvriers* and *ouvrières* (male and female workers) who harvested Françoise's grapes and made her wine in Beaumont.¹⁰²⁸ Additionally, the accountant often provided money for wine and meat to supplement the bread given to these workers. This sum gradually increased from four to seven *livres*

¹⁰²³ ADCO, E1811, 1656.

¹⁰²⁴ ADCO, E1810, 1649.

¹⁰²⁵ ADCO, E1811, 1656.

¹⁰²⁶ ADCO, E1811, 1652.

¹⁰²⁷ ADCO, E1811, 1654.

¹⁰²⁸ ADCO, E1810, 1648, 1649, 1650, & 1651; ADCO, E1811, 1652 & 1654.

annually. In 1653, the accountant spent four *livres* for wine and meat for the workers who carried the grapes from the grape harvests of that year, and who stamped and pressed the wine coming from the grapes.¹⁰²⁹ In 1657, he was reimbursed seven *livres* for having nourished with wine and meat, the male and female workers employed in the grape harvests that year, to those having made and pressed the wine, put it into vessels, furnished the candle, the grapes coming from Françoise's vines.¹⁰³⁰ Although Françoise was not cited as having authorized each of these expenses, she had the ultimate approval over the expenses once the account was rendered. Moreover, since these expenditures occurred consistently, it can be concluded in the least that she concurred with these expenses.

Throughout these post-war accounts, Françoise's authority was observable in her employment of workers. In fact, one of Françoise's key roles continued to involve contracting and authorizing work to be done throughout her estates, and directing the payment of workers for these services. Much of these services involved construction, which was the result of general upkeep as well as repairs necessary because of the regional fighting. By overseeing these construction projects, she maintained the tradition of supporting the local and regional economies through the employment of artisans and laborers from the estates or the surrounding villages, rather than from the city of Dijon, thus bolstering and rebuilding the local economy, as well as encouraging regrowth and stabilization in the region after years of warring.

Aside from the grape harvests and tending to the vines, Françoise authorized additional work to be done on the grounds of her properties. On a couple of occasions,

¹⁰²⁹ ADCO, E1811, 1653.

¹⁰³⁰ ADCO, E1811, 1657.

these earthworks appear to have been for defensive purposes. In 1652, the accountant paid 10 *livres* 10 *sols* to Jean Bourgeois and Guillaume Compaignot, *terrillons* (diggers or workers that remove earth and clear grounds) in Rozières, from the *marché* that they made with Françoise on May 26, 1652 in order to clear and to restore the *terrail* (bulwark of earth) and the *fossé* (moat or ditch) of the *prés* of the grand park.¹⁰³¹ In 1655, Françoise ordered some men to make some earthworks to protect one of her vineyards. Galiet paid 10 *livres* to Clement Gaudet and Andre Larcher for some *terrails* that they made in the vineyard called the *deux curtillots* following the commandement of Françoise from December 1, 1655.¹⁰³² On another occasion, she contracted *terrillons* to do earthworks in the *prés* of Beaumont. In the 1653 account year, she once again employed *terrillons* to work in the *prés* of Beaumont and Champagne. Galiet paid 96 *livres* 3 *sols* to Claude Pacquelet, *terrillon* in Lœuilley, for the works of *terrillonage* (earth removal and ground clearance) that he did for Françoise in her *prés* of the grand park in the *prairie* of Beaumont and in the *pasquier* of Champagne.¹⁰³³

On several occasions, Françoise was directly involved in the employment of *couvreurs* in order to provide roofs to various structures within the county, many of which had been damaged by war or because of disuse resulting from the depopulation caused by the wars. These roofers were employed to reroof common structures as well as other buildings on the estates. In the 1647 account year, Françoise authorized the construction of a roof for the *four banal* of Blagny. According to Galiet, he paid five *livres* to Mathieu Maclot, *couvreur* residing in Oisilly, in deduction of six *livres* that were

¹⁰³¹ ADCO, E1810, 1651.

¹⁰³² ADCO, E1811, 1655.

¹⁰³³ ADCO, E1811, 1653.

owed to him by Françoise for the roofing of the oven of Blagny.¹⁰³⁴ In the 1649 account, Françoise contracted work to be done on one of the *tours* at her château in Beaumont. According to Galiet, the remaining 11 *livres* were paid to Maclot, *maître couvreur* residing in Blagny, out of 21 *livres* granted to him by Françoise through the *marché* that Maclot had made with her on June 6, 1650. According to this agreement, Maclot was to re-cover the *tour de la porterie* and the entrance of her château of Beaumont in the fashion of the *tour rouge*.¹⁰³⁵ In the 1659 account, Françoise also contracted roofs to be made for various structures in Bessey. According to Michel, he paid 120 *livres* 11 *sols* to Sebastien Febvre, *couvreur* in Vars, for construction that included the roofs that he made at the château, *moulin*, and *metairie* of Bessey in accordance with the *marché* made by Françoise May 25, 1660.¹⁰³⁶ Additionally, on several occasions, the accountant paid for roofing services that did not specifically mention Françoise's supervision. In the 1647 account, the receiver paid a roofer to put roofs on the oven in Blagny and on the colombier in Beaumont. According to Galiet, the remaining eight *livres* were paid to Mathieu Maclot, a *couvreur* residing in Beaumont, out of the 20 *livres* owed to him for roofing the oven in Blagny and for having cleaned and re-covered Françoise's *colombier* in Beaumont.¹⁰³⁷ In 1656, he paid 7 *livres* 10 *sols* to Edme Gueniot, a *couvreur*, for having reroofed the *four banal* of Beaumont and the chapel of Saint Barthélemy.¹⁰³⁸

Françoise was also quite involved in contracting and authorizing works of carpentry to be completed across her estates. In 1647, by verbal order from Françoise,

¹⁰³⁴ ADCO, E1810, 1647.

¹⁰³⁵ ADCO, E1810, 1649.

¹⁰³⁶ ADCO, E1812, 1659.

¹⁰³⁷ ADCO, E1810, 1647.

¹⁰³⁸ ADCO, E1811, 1656.

Galiet delivered eight *boisseaux* of wheat to Pierre Signet in order to pay him half of the *marché* made by Françoise for 6 *livres* 10 *sols* on June 15, 1647 with Signet and Pierre Perriquet, both *charpentiers* in Beaumont. This agreement and payment was for repairs that they made to the *hôpital* (hospital) and for making a ladder for the colombier.¹⁰³⁹ In 1648, Françoise ordered a carpenter to be paid for shingles that he made for the *four banal* of Blagny. Galiet paid 50 *sols* to Gilles Beuchot, a *charpentier* in Blagny, for making 2, 500 wooden shingles used on the roof of the oven of Blagny in response with the written order from Françoise on May 24, 1648.¹⁰⁴⁰ That same year, she contracted with a carpenter to make the wooden frames for the barns in Bessey. According to the accounts, the receiver paid 54 *livres* to Simon Petit, *charpentier* in Champagne, for making and constructing the wooden frames of the barns, *metairie* and stables of Bessey from the *marché* that Petit had made with Françoise for this construction on May 22, 1648.¹⁰⁴¹ She also contracted the shingles for covering these buildings. For example, Galiet paid 22 *livres* to Claude Petit, a *manouvrier* staying in Champagne, for the wooden shingles that he provided to roof the *metairie et grange* of Bessey, in accordance with a *marché* that he made with Françoise and following her letters from July 23, 1647.¹⁰⁴² In 1652, Françoise hired a carpenter in Beaumont to make repairs to the market of Beaumont. Galiet paid the sum of 38 *livres* to Thevenin Petit, a *charpentier* residing in the moulin of Beaumont, for the works of carpentry that he made in the *halles* of Beaumont following the *marché* made by Françoise with him on May 26, 1652.¹⁰⁴³ In

¹⁰³⁹ ADCO, E1810, 1646.

¹⁰⁴⁰ ADCO, E1810, 1647.

¹⁰⁴¹ ADCO, E1810, 1647, 1648, & 1649.

¹⁰⁴² ADCO, E1810, 1647 & 1648.

¹⁰⁴³ ADCO, E1811, 1652.

1655, she negotiated a contract with a carpenter along with his workers for carpentry needed in the château at Beaumont. Galiet paid and advanced 41 *livres 4 sols 6 deniers* to François Guinot, *maître charpentier* in Mirebeau, and to the workers that he employed, for the works of carpentry that he began in the *château* of Beaumont in accordance with the *marché* that he made with Françoise, December 2, 1655.¹⁰⁴⁴ In a few instances, the receiver paid for carpentry that was done in the county but that gave no indication that it was directed by Françoise. In 1659, Michel paid 18 *livres 10 sols* to Blaise Clessis, *maître charpentier* in Beaumont, for the construction of a ladder, planks and rungs, in order to climb to the tower of the *porterie* from the keep of the château, and for having replaced the wood and tiles from the *halles* of Beaumont, as seen in the *marché* from December 20, 1659.¹⁰⁴⁵

Françoise also regularly authorized or contracted laborers to repair works of masonry on the estates. According to Galiet, in the 1646 account, he delivered two *boisseaux* of wheat to the wife of the *maçon* who had worked on repairing the *hôpital* to which Françoise had made a *marché* for the sum of 4 *livres 10 sols*.¹⁰⁴⁶ Galiet fulfilled this contract by paying the *maçon* 3 *livres 8 sols* for the remaining repairs that he made at the *hôpital* in accordance with the same *marché*. Françoise also authorized the payment for the repairs made to the two *tours* of the château in Beaumont. In the 1649 account, the sum of 11 *livres 10 sols 10 deniers* was allowed for the beams that the accountant purchased in Fontaine-Françoise from Claude Braleret from that place. These beams measuring a total of 277 *pieds de Roy* (each *pied de Roy* is a 12 inch foot) were used in

¹⁰⁴⁴ ADCO, E1811, 1657.

¹⁰⁴⁵ ADCO, E1812, 1659.

¹⁰⁴⁶ ADCO, E1810, 1646.

the greniers that Françoise had ordered to be repaired in the *tours* (towers) *rouge et porterie* of her château in Beaumont.¹⁰⁴⁷ In 1660, Michel paid 26 *livres* to Jean Gueniot from Beaumont for having pulled and carried 130 tipcarts of soil both for the repairs that Françoise had ordered to be done in her mill of Beaumont and for having disassembled and reassembled three vats in the *tour rouge*.¹⁰⁴⁸

In the year 1649 and 1650, Françoise spent a great deal of money on various masonry projects in the Seigneuries of Beaumont and Bessey. According to Galiet, Françoise made several *marchés* with Leonard Petit, *maître maçon*, for both masonry repairs and new construction. Initially, Petit repaired and made anew one of the *gutterots* (exterior walls that supported the gutter at the base of a roof) of the *metairie* of Bessey as well as completed small masonry works in the chimney and additional spots in the barns of the *metairie*, for a total payment of 40 *livres 8 sols*.¹⁰⁴⁹ Beyond this, Françoise made four additional *marchés* with Petit that account year. The first of these four agreements was for him to construct some residences for lodging Françoise's *rentiers* (leaseholders) in the *metairie* of Bessey as seen in the *marché* passed by Françoise with Petit on July 6, 1649 for the sum of 350 *livres* plus an additional three *livres* paid to Petit for the *vins de marché*.¹⁰⁵⁰ However, since Françoise had already paid the sum of 57 *livres 15 sols* to Petit through Desnoyers, Galiet deducted that amount from the principal sum, instead recording an expenditure of 295 *livres 5 sols* for the construction of these houses.¹⁰⁵¹ The second *marché* dated September 28, 1649, was for

¹⁰⁴⁷ ADCO, E1810, 1649.

¹⁰⁴⁸ ADCO, E1812, 1660.

¹⁰⁴⁹ ADCO, E1810, 1648 & 1649.

¹⁰⁵⁰ ADCO, E1810, 1648 & 1649.

¹⁰⁵¹ ADCO, E1810, 1649.

the reestablishment of the arch of the *four banal* of Beaumont for which Petit was paid the sum of 90 *livres*. The third *marché* involved the construction of the second barn built in the *metairie* of Bessey according to the *marché* from October 12, 1650 for the sum of 120 *livres*, also paid to Petit. The fourth and final *marché* in this series was made to reestablish anew a *pignon* (exterior wall known as a gable that ends in a point at the roof creating a triangle) and another *goutterot* in the second barn of Bessey, as well as to pave the floors of two *greniers* in the château of Beaumont, all for a total of 154 *livres* paid to Petit according to the *marché* of June 16, 1650.¹⁰⁵² The prices of these five *marchés* added up to 699 *livres* 13 *sols* that was paid to Petit and recorded as expenses across the 1648 and 1649 accounts. On a few occasions, the receiver paid for masonry work that was done in the Seigneurie but made no mention of Françoise. For example, in 1657, Galiet paid 52 *sols* to Leonard Roussot, a *maçon* in Beaumont, for having remade a large breach appearing in the wall of the vineyard of Montureul.¹⁰⁵³ For instance, the sum of 55 *sols* was paid by Galiet to Leonard LeGros, *maçon*, for the repairs of the breaches of the vineyard of the *petit curtillet* in accordance with the written orders from Desnoyers on January 29, 1648.¹⁰⁵⁴ In 1660, Michel paid three *livres* to Pierre Coimet, *maître maçon*, for having repaired the foundation of the colombier of Beaumont and for having mended the *greniers* above the *porterie* of the château, as seen in the quittance from December 18, 1660.¹⁰⁵⁵

She also authorized many payments for masonry work to be done on the *banalités* across the Seigneurie. In accordance with the *marché* made by Desnoyers on May 12,

¹⁰⁵² ADCO, E1810, 1649.

¹⁰⁵³ ADCO, E1811, 1657.

¹⁰⁵⁴ ADCO, E1810, 1647.

¹⁰⁵⁵ ADCO, E1812, 1659.

1651, the late Jean Martin, *maître maçon* in Dampierre, was owed the sum of 80 *livres* for the repair of the arch and other necessary stonework on the *four banal* of Dampierre. With the completion of these services, the accountant paid the late Martin and his workers in wheat at the rate of 45 *livres* per *émine* following the orders that he had received from Françoise.¹⁰⁵⁶ In 1656, Françoise contracted extensive work to be done on the *four banals* of Dampierre and of Beaumont. For instance, Galiet paid one *émine* of wheat and 85 *livres* to Jacques Gachon, *maçon*, in accordance with the *marché* that Françoise had passed with him on May 30, 1656 for reestablishing anew the arch of the *four banal* in Beaumont.¹⁰⁵⁷ That same year, Galiet paid Gachon 80 *livres*, plus 20 *sols* for the wine granted to him for the *vins de marché*, for a total of 81 *livres* and one *émine* of wheat, for having remade anew the arch of the *four banal* of Dampierre, in accordance with the *marché* made with him on the orders of Françoise.¹⁰⁵⁸ In 1660, Françoise employed a mason in La Ferté to make masonry repairs to the mill of Beaumont. Michel delivered and paid 235 *livres* 16 *sols* and 9 *boisseaux* of wheat to Pierre Coimet, *maître maçon* residing in La Ferté, in accordance with two *marchés* from March 5, 1660 and May 20, 1660 respectively, which were made with Françoise for the stonework repairs in the *moulin banal* of Beaumont.¹⁰⁵⁹ It was beneficial to Françoise to ensure the smooth functioning of her communal installations; otherwise, revenues would be lost.

Although Françoise very carefully supervised the incessant repairs and construction that occurred in the county, only a few of her purchases reflected this focus. For example, in 1654, Galiet paid 60 *livres* to Sieur Moniot, a *marchand*, for half of the

¹⁰⁵⁶ ADCO, E1810, 1650.

¹⁰⁵⁷ ADCO, E1811, 1655.

¹⁰⁵⁸ ADCO, E1811, 1655.

¹⁰⁵⁹ ADCO, E1812, 1659.

price of the millstone that he delivered to the mill of Champagne following the order from Françoise from November 27, 1654 and the quittance from Moniot.¹⁰⁶⁰ In contrast, there were a number of purchases related to upkeep and construction made by the accountants that do not specifically mention Françoise's supervision. For instance, in 1649, Galiet purchased a cord for 8 *sols* 6 *deniers* in order to place in the pulley of the portcullis (gate) of Françoise's colombier in Beaumont.¹⁰⁶¹ He paid 25 *livres* to Chrétien Portier from Lœuilley for 50 oak planks used in the greniers of the two towers of the château.¹⁰⁶² He paid 30 *sols* to Faulle Guillemot for six wagons of roofing shingles that he furnished in order to employ in the roofing of the barns in Bessey.¹⁰⁶³ Michel furnished 3 *livres* 10 *sols* for six *boisseaux* of cement, a *fillette* of lime, and a tipcart of sand.¹⁰⁶⁴ That same year, he purchased 100 nails for 10 *sols* in order to make a ladder.¹⁰⁶⁵ The accountants also purchased locks and keys to protect Françoise's property, including her grains, her wine and the château in Beaumont itself. In 1648, Galiet paid 56 *sols* to Pierre Quantin, a *mareschal* in Bourberain, for 16 pounds of iron fashioned into long narrow hinges, bolts and nails for the ironworks of two large doors in order to enter in the kitchens from the houses of Bessey in response to the verbal orders of Desnoyers.¹⁰⁶⁶ In 1649, he paid 20 *sols* for 4 pounds of lead used to solder the bars that he had ordered installed in the red tower of the château of Beaumont, as well as to solder the attachment of the padlock and the hinges of the doors of the residences of the

¹⁰⁶⁰ ADCO, E1811, 1653.

¹⁰⁶¹ ADCO, E1810, 1649.

¹⁰⁶² ADCO, E1810, 1649.

¹⁰⁶³ ADCO, E1811, 1655.

¹⁰⁶⁴ ADCO, E1812, 1659.

¹⁰⁶⁵ ADCO, E1812, 1659.

¹⁰⁶⁶ ADCO, E1810, 1648.

barn of Bessey.¹⁰⁶⁷ In the 1651 account, Galiet paid four *livres* to Gaspard Couroy, *serrurier* in Fontaine-Françoise for two padlocks and one lock for the greniers in the château.¹⁰⁶⁸ Michel was reimbursed 25 *sols* for a lock that he purchased in order to put in the door of the château of Beaumont.¹⁰⁶⁹ He paid six *livres* to François le Seuret, *maître serrurier* in Mirebeau, for mending two padlocks and one lock, and for making some new keys, both for the greniers and for the cave of the château.¹⁰⁷⁰

As in the pre-war accounts rendered to Claude, many of the wage payments that were made in the accounts rendered to Françoise do not identify the Seigneurial authorization. However, as Françoise had ultimate control over expenditures in her lands, wages also fell under her authority, regardless of whether her name was mentioned or not. However, Françoise's name was regularly identified as authorizing wage payments to a few different positions within the county of Beaumont. For instance, on a few occasions, she directed payments to be made to her forester. In the 1654 account, Galiet paid Faulle Guillemot, Françoise's *forestier des bois*, 21 *livres* in wages which when added with the 12 *livres* of wages paid to him in 1653, came to a total of 33 *livres* in wages paid to this forester for having held this position, as it pleased Françoise, from April 20, 1653 until June 30, 1656.¹⁰⁷¹ Françoise also approved wage payments for the receiver of the county revenues, as Claude did until his death. Almost every year in these accounts, the receiver acknowledged that he had been paid wages for his services, and that these wages had been authorized by Françoise. According to his accounts, Bernard

¹⁰⁶⁷ ADCO, E1810, 1649.

¹⁰⁶⁸ ADCO, E1810, 1651.

¹⁰⁶⁹ ADCO, E1812, 1660.

¹⁰⁷⁰ ADCO, E1812, 1660.

¹⁰⁷¹ ADCO, E1811, 1654.

Galiet was paid 40 *livres* as it pleased Françoise to grant him each year for receiving the revenues for the county of Beaumont.¹⁰⁷² Additionally, in many of these accounts, he was also allowed another 10 *livres* for making the account in double as the previous receivers had also done. Claude Michel was approved 60 *livres* of wages annually when he took over as receiver in 1659.¹⁰⁷³ He was also paid an additional 10 *livres* granted by Françoise for making in double the account. Moreover, occasionally, Françoise authorized additional payments to the accountant for the extra efforts he expended distributing the grains that she had sold. In the 1654 account, Françoise granted Galiet a lump sum of 20 *livres* for this service spanning several account years. According to the entry, this payment was for the extraordinary efforts that Galiet had provided in the sale and distribution of grains mostly by piecemeal that he did in accordance with the orders from Françoise. According to Galiet, he very humbly beseeched Françoise to provide payment to him for his assistance, as it would please her.¹⁰⁷⁴

Despite Françoise's occasional mention in the supervision of wage distribution, most of the officer wages were paid without reference to the person directing it. None of the entries involving the positions of judge, *procureur d'office*, or *bailli* (royal officer of justice) mentioned Françoise's authorization, though it would have been implicit given that she controlled the Seigneurie. For example, almost every year, the wages for the position of royal judge in the county of Beaumont were paid out at 10 *livres* annually. Initially, Claude Galiet, the receiver's father, held this position.¹⁰⁷⁵ In 1652, this job appears to have been taken over by the receiver himself, Bernard Galiet, for the same

¹⁰⁷² ADCO, E1810 & E1811.

¹⁰⁷³ ADCO, E1812.

¹⁰⁷⁴ ADCO, E1811, 1654.

¹⁰⁷⁵ ADCO, E1810.

amount of wages for the office of judge and lieutenant of the county.¹⁰⁷⁶ Additionally, most years, the wages for the position of *procureur d'office* in the county, a position held consecutively by Jacques Dupuis, were paid at 10 *livres* annually, once again with no reference to Françoise's involvement.¹⁰⁷⁷ The same was true of the job of *bailli* of the county, which also paid 10 *livres* annually, and held by Desnoyers.¹⁰⁷⁸ None of the wages for these positions referenced the approval of Françoise.¹⁰⁷⁹

Conclusion:

Following Claude's death, Françoise accepted full responsibility of the Seigneurie. In addition to overseeing the administration of her Seignorial rights and lands, she also controlled the purse strings of the estate. As a widow, she expanded her already active role by delving into every aspect of estate management. Moreover, following the regional turmoil, she faced the obstacle of reestablishing an impoverished and depopulated community with an unstable economy. She creatively employed a sort of strategic generosity in which she displayed understanding regarding the suffering of her inhabitants, while maintaining efforts to generate revenues and to restore economic stability to the Seigneurie. To carry out this plan, she employed various tactics such as allowing residents to borrow grains at the cost of repaying them in kind in saleable condition, she granted debt deferments on obligations at a low interest rate, she postponed the collection of most of the *cens*, and she reduced the rent prices on her

¹⁰⁷⁶ ADCO, E1811 & E1812.

¹⁰⁷⁷ ADCO, E1810, E1811, & E1812.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷⁹ ADCO, E1763: 1645 & 1650. There are only two surviving accounts from Arc-sur-Tille that were administered by Françoise as a widow. There is a great deal of similarity in structure, administration, and content in these accounts when compared to those of Beaumont.

properties and rights to encourage inhabitants to once again lease them. Françoise also made great efforts to assure that each account year closed in the black. To achieve this end and in order to garner more revenues for the estate, she increased her participation in grain sales, often brokering the deals herself. She also devoted a great deal of money and time to physically rebuilding the county which encouraged repopulation as well as created employment for the inhabitants of the local and regional communities who she continued to patronize. In fact, she was often the architect of these labor contracts. Thus, in widowhood, Françoise assumed leadership of the Seigneurie with the same frugality and diligence she had demonstrated during marriage.

CHAPTER 4: DEFENDERS OF THE FAMILY; BENEFACTORS OF THE COMMUNITY

Despite legal restrictions, noble widows were actively engaged in the promotion and protection of family interests, property, and Seigneurial rights for their families. These women faced and fought challenges over their Seigneurial rights from the inhabitants of the estates. Not only did they seek to protect their existing rights, these women also sought to expand familial authority. At the same time, alongside their defense of their Seigneurial privileges and their familial assets, there are also numerous examples of these noble women practicing a type of practical benevolence as the patrons of their estates.

Françoise Brulart:

In 1642, Françoise Brulart expanded the landholdings and economic power of her family when she repurchased land that was previously held by the Saulx-Tavanes family, but was lost due to financial debt. The reintegration of the land and Seigneurie of Arc-sur-Tille back into the Saulx-Tavanes properties, was extremely beneficial to the preservation of their Seigneurial privileges and to the economic base of the family. It was Henry of Bourbon, the Prince of Condé, Governor and Lieutenant General in

Bourgogne, who had acquired Arc-sur-Tille on December 29, 1640.¹⁰⁸⁰ He had purchased it from the Sieur Commissioner des Requêtes of the Palais in Dijon as a result of a decree made against the land for the debts accrued by the late Guillaume de Saulx-Tavanès (Claude's father) and by his parents, Gaspard de Saulx-Tavanès and Françoise de La Baume-Montreuil.¹⁰⁸¹ However, Condé's possession of Arc-sur-Tille was short-lived. On December 31, 1641, Condé ceded and transferred Arc-sur-Tille to Noble Sieur Noel Brulart, Conseiller of the King and Maître Ordinaire des Requêtes of his Palace in Paris, Seigneur of Somberton, Mâlain, and Couches. Noel Brulart also happened to be Françoise's uncle. In fact, according to the contract, this "reprise de fief" was initiated at the request of Noel Brulart, though the transaction also pleased the prince. When Condé had acquired Arc-sur-Tille the previous year, he paid 65,000 livres. He ceded it to Noel for a reimbursement in the exact same amount plus 4,300 livres for fees and interests. Arc-sur-Tille was now in the hands of the Brularts, Françoise's family and allies of the Saulx-Tavanès. This reprise of Arc-sur-Tille was strategically organized by Françoise and Noel Brulart, and carried out by Sieur Brulart in order to restore the wealth, property and privileges attached to Arc-sur-Tille both for his niece and her children.

If there was any question as to Françoise's participation in the recovery of Arc-sur-Tille by her uncle, it was put to rest by another "reprise de fief" transacted on January 8, 1642 at which time Noel Brulart transferred this property to his niece Françoise. This retrocession of Arc-sur-Tille back to the Saulx-Tavanès family was achieved by Françoise for the sum of 69,310 livres—the exact amount paid by her Uncle plus 10

¹⁰⁸⁰ ADCO, E1742; Gaston Roupnel, *La Ville et la Champagne*, 219n. The Prince of Condé was a Premier Prince du Sang, Premier Pair of France, the Duke of Enghien, of Châteauroux, of Montmorency. Condé was also Governor of Bresse, Berry, and Languedoc.

¹⁰⁸¹ ADCO E1742. At Guillaume's death, he had accrued a debt of 679,935 livres!

livres for the cost of executing the initial reprise. At the time of the contract, Françoise paid her uncle 11,310 livres, which satisfied him. For the surplus of 58,000 livres, Françoise sold the annual *rente* of 3,222 livres 4 *sols* to her uncle which was payable each year by her to his creditors. This annual *rente* was divided between 8 creditors, three of whom were noble women, Demoiselle Catherine Jure, widow of Monsieur le Conseiller Bouhier, Demoiselle Elisabeth de la Mare, widow of Monsieur le Conseiller Jaquotot, and Demoiselle Marthe Jaquotot, widow of Sieur Maître des Comptes Fleutot. Upon payment, Françoise promised to present the *quittances* from the creditors to her uncle annually. This purchase was an enormous financial gain for the Saulx-Tavanes family. Just a few years after the death of her husband Claude, Françoise had increased the family landholdings, and thus their wealth.

There are also several cases in which Françoise demonstrated her compassion by attaching provisos to contracts of sale to benefit the community. As we have seen, both Claude and Françoise used their financial power to relieve the burden of the poor, by providing donations to the impoverished within the community. Generous action and compassionate thinking were important to the stability of the community, as charitable institutions were few, and the majority of the people were unable to share in the burden of providing for the poor, when they could barely provide for themselves.¹⁰⁸² This charity was motivated by more than their religion and their consciences; there was also a practical imperative to their generosity. It is probable that giving alms as well as endeavoring to better the lives of those within their Seigneuries also served as a means to discourage theft and to thwart community hostility towards the poor and resentment

¹⁰⁸² Bohanan, *Old and New Nobility*, 92-6. According to Bohanan, during the seventeenth century, nobles were founding and running hospitals that provided charity to their communities.

towards the Seigneur. The account ledgers and notarial contracts suggest that through charitable actions, Françoise was able to fulfill her religious obligations, while safeguarding the estate against acts of resentment. It was sound business for Françoise to help those in need. A charitable action or gift given to the impoverished on your estates boded well for maintaining peace.

On April 11, 1657, Françoise applied an altruistic and practical condition on the sale of some land. That day, Françoise contracted a large *vente* (sale) of the *marais* (marshland) and its many dependent heritages within the Seigneurie of Arc-sur-Tille.¹⁰⁸³ This sale was made to Messire Jean Corné, Chevalier and Seigneur de La Valère, for the price of 20,000 livres. However, this property also came with a construction stipulation. La Valère had to build at his expense, a *levée* (*levée* or dike) in Arc-sur-Tille within a three-year period, and he had to promise to maintain it in perpetuity. According to Françoise, one of the reasons that she wished to have this dike built was in order to benefit her community. According to the contract, this *levée* was “faciliter le passage des *levées* dudit Arc-sur-Tille et donner cette satisfaction au publique, à toute la province et voisinage . . .” (to facilitate the passage from the *levées* of the aforementioned Arc-sur-Tille and to give this satisfaction to the public, to all the province and neighborhood . . .). A dependable crossing for the villagers would make their lives a little easier. La Valère would enjoy most of the Seigneurial rights attached to the properties in this sale, but not the rights of justice, which Françoise reserved for herself. Additionally, Françoise included the clause of maintaining this *levée*. In fact, she gave very specific stipulations that the dike should be maintained “en sorte qu’en tous temps et saison l’on puisse

¹⁰⁸³ ADCO: E1745.

commodément passer à pied à cheval avec chariot charrette . . . et carrosse . . .” (in a way that in all times and seasons one could conveniently cross it by foot, by horse, with cart, carriage . . . and coach . . .). To make up for the maintenance expenses, Françoise wished to allow La Valère the right to the *péage* of this *levée* with the exception of enforcing this right on Madame, her household, her officers or her successors.

The payment of 20,000 *livres* owed to Françoise was to be paid in two increments, and her plan was to use this money towards the payment of part of the mortgages accrued by her when she reclaimed Arc-sur-Tille, which was due to the creditors of her late uncle Noel Brulart.¹⁰⁸⁴ Both parties signed the contract in agreement of the terms. At the time, what seemed like a masterful plan to provide infrastructure that would make travel easier for the locals at no cost to the Françoise, while also reducing her debts from the repossession of the Seigneurie, turned out to be a misadventure. In fact, La Valère failed to meet his very first payment, which was followed by an onslaught of *exploits* of which a few have survived. For example, on December 17, 1658, at Françoise’s request, an exploit was issued to La Valère to pay his debt to his creditor, Françoise.¹⁰⁸⁵ Her efforts to retrieve payment from him continued at least until 1660. However, the issue was not completely resolved until after her death. Her son Jacques inherited this conflict that was finally settled through a transaction in 1666 in which La Valère would cede the land back to Jacques in a *reprise*.¹⁰⁸⁶ Although neither the payment nor the *levée* came to fruition at this juncture, Françoise’s benevolent pragmatism is evident.

¹⁰⁸⁴ ADCO: E1745

¹⁰⁸⁵ ADCO: E1745

¹⁰⁸⁶ ADCO: E1745. In the 1666 contract, Jacques demonstrated a desire to end their differences and recognized the difficulties that La Valère had experienced attempting to drain the marsh.

In 1660, Françoise once again used her financial power to attach altruistic conditions to the sale of a piece of property.¹⁰⁸⁷ She combined her business acumen with her penchant for charity when she sold a property in Beaumont to one of her *vignerons*, Vincent Nicolle, and with his authority, to his wife, Simone Raclet.¹⁰⁸⁸ This property included a house and its' belongings, the ruins of another house, a vineyard, a garden, and a privy, all enclosed within walls. The price for the sale was 600 *livres* in principle along with some wine, and 37 *livres*, 10 *sols* of *rente* to be paid each year beginning in 1661 to Françoise or her successors in perpetuity. If these leaseholders paid their annual *arrerages* as stated, Françoise promised to eventually reduce them to 30 *livres* annually. If, however, Vincent or Simone failed to pay the yearly rent for two consecutive years, the property would revert to Françoise or her successors so that they could rent it to someone else. Thus, if these lessees were found in default Françoise would recover the property with unrestricted use and without involving the justice system. Moreover, Françoise upheld the condition previously attached to this property which stated that one room in this house be set aside to provide lodging for indigent people who passed through the village of Beaumont. This was not meant to overburden the leaseholders, and so the stipulation limited the shelter to only one night. According to the contract, this property was sold “à condition de loger en une chambre d’icelle, les pauvres passant audit Beaumont une nuit seulement” (on condition of lodging in a room of this place, poor passersby in the aforementioned Beaumont one night only). As a result of the stipulations of the contract of this sale, Françoise wielded her economic power to

¹⁰⁸⁷ ADCO, E 1776.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Upon examination of the notarial contracts from Beaumont and Arc-sur-Tille, there are many instances in which both the husband and the wife have co-signed contracts together.

encourage charity, and created a sort of halfway house for transients in need, thus reducing the burden on the community. Moreover, through Françoise's sale and rental of this property, it was re-inhabited and once again providing revenues to the Seigneurie.¹⁰⁸⁹

The integral role played by Françoise within the family economy is evident from the estate account books. As we have seen in these accounts, keeping records of expenses and revenues was only part of her job. Françoise was also the architect of numerous contracts involving estate and family affairs. Although some of the contracts were completed in her absence, these transactions were either made with her direct mandate or based on the expectations that she had communicated with the Intendant. In fact, many of these contracts she actually signed herself. The large majority of these documents were amodiations of property and rights, as well as sales of land, grains, grasses generated from the estates.¹⁰⁹⁰ However, there were also many contracts involving the preservation and protection of Seigneurial rights. On several occasions,

¹⁰⁸⁹ ADCO: E1776. In 1677, several years after Françoise's death, three questions came before a judge in the justice of Beaumont concerning this same property. The longtime inhabitants were asked if they were aware that under the annual *cens* of 20 *deniers* the Seigneurs of Beaumont had relinquished, by "un esprit de devotion et de pieté", a small house under the condition of keeping two beds in order to accommodate poor passersby. These residents were also asked whether this house had always depended on the Seigneurie of Beaumont, and finally, whether it had ever been qualified as a hospital. This document also stated that the person to whom it had been left under the condition of the *cens* had abandoned it because he did not have the revenue to maintain and support the expenses. According to this document, since its abandonment, the wars occurred and the house fell into ruin. Moreover, after the wars, Beaumont remained uninhabited for many years. Françoise had been forced to reclaim the house as belonging to her and as a dependent of the Seigneurie of Beaumont. In response to these questions, several principal members of the community swore an oath that by contract, this house had two beds to receive poor travelers, that it had always been dependent on the Seigneurie of Beaumont, and that it had never been considered a hospital.

¹⁰⁹⁰ ADCO, 4E art. 2232, 4E art. 2235, 4E art. 2246, & 4E art. 2257. Between the years of 1648 and 1663, in just these notarial records of the Saulx-Tavanes fief of Arc-sur-Tille, Françoise was involved in making 66 contracts. ADCO: 4E40 art. 64, 4E40 art. 65, 4E40 art. 66, 4E40 art. 67, 4E40 art. 68, 4E40 art. 69, & 4E40 art. 70. Between the years 1640 and 1663, from the remaining records of Beaumont held in this section of the archives, there are 46 contracts involving Françoise Brulart. Her signature is found on 22 of these contracts. Neither of these figures include the numerous contracts administered by Françoise and held in the family papers. Her signature is found on 22 of these contracts.

Françoise was confronted with the imperative to defend the privileges that belonged to her and that would be passed on to her children.¹⁰⁹¹

In 1658, Françoise's Seigneurial rights were directly challenged by a resident of one of the dependent villages in the county of Beaumont. On December 1, 1658, the process of placing the seals took place in the house of Hugues Cocquet procureur of Champagne-sur-Vingeanne following the death of his wife, Jeanne Adam.¹⁰⁹² Upon the death of a person, it was customary to lock up their property and to affix seals in the house of the deceased to preserve their possessions until the heir could be established. Additionally, a sergent was often placed to guard the seals. At the end of the process, however, the officers from the county of Beaumont were confronted by an angry Cocquet. According to Françoise's officers, Cocquet responded with a "violence et mépris de justice" (violence and contempt of justice). He tore off the seals they had placed at the closures of the house, and had chased the sergent from his house, claims that Cocquet denied. He was insolent that they had attempted to impose justice in his house in Champagne, which he believed was actually situated in the County of Bourgogne and not in the kingdom of France, and therefore not subject to the justice of the County of Beaumont. These officers along with Françoise argued that this was simply "chicane" (trickery), that he displayed a "témérité condamnable" (condemnable foolhardiness), and that there was no truth to his claim.

¹⁰⁹¹ ADCO: E1845. Françoise's generous side can also be seen in her testament. After distributing lands and money to her children, she also doubled the wages of her domestiques, she gave 4,000 *livres* to Desnoyers in hopes he would continue his loyal services, and she gave 300 *livres* to the "pauvres" of the hospital in *centre ville*, and 240 *livres* to 12 "pauvres femmes veuves" (poor widow-women). Finally, she made her nephew, Premier President Nicolas Brulart II the executor of her will, reinforcing their family's alliance and asking that he keep things harmonious after her passing.

¹⁰⁹² ADCO: E2166-63.

In response to this challenge, Françoise presented a request to the court of the Parlement of Dijon which included paperwork containing details of her rights and possessions proving that Champagne was a “possession immémorial” (longstanding possession) of the Saulx-Tavanes family.¹⁰⁹³ Her goal was to maintain her rights of justice in Cocquet’s house and to see him condemned to pay the Seigneurial benefits due by him and from his *rente* to Françoise. She also emphasized that no one had ever claimed this before and that according to the old and new *terriers*, the rights of justice in Champagne belonged to her. Moreover, those who previously lived in this same residence had always paid Seigneurial benefits, royal taxes, and had utilized the justice system of the County of Beaumont and that of the Parlement of Dijon.

Her request was followed by a request taking up Cocquet’s argument presented to the court by the officers in the justice of Autrey in the County of Bourgogne.¹⁰⁹⁴ Françoise responded with several *remonstrances* (protestations) to the court of the Parlement of Dijon providing a large quantity of evidence in order to challenge Cocquet and the officers of Autrey who she believed were induced to join him in his challenge to the authority of Françoise and to the kingdom of France itself. Again, through her written protests and mountains of evidence she hoped to maintain her right to justice and the *cens* arguing that Coquet did not have the right to choose his Seigneur. In this document, Françoise protested that Coquet “n’a pas droit de choisir un Seigneur et une justice a sa fantaisie, ni moins mettre sa maison en une autre souveraineté que celle dont elle depend naturellement et visiblement” (does not have the right to choose a Lord and a justice at his whim, nor less to place his house in another Kingdom than this whereby it

¹⁰⁹³ ADCO: E2166-63.

¹⁰⁹⁴ ADCO: E2166-63.

depends naturally and obviously). Françoise was convinced that he would be found in the wrong and condemned to pay her the interests and expenses.

This protest began by acknowledging Françoise's surprise that the officers of Autrey, without the support of their Seigneur, would submit a manifest against her, and without any foundation, attempt to usurp her legitimate right to justice in Champagne as well as her right to collect a yearly *cens* of 3 *sols* 6 *deniers* from residents.¹⁰⁹⁵ The protest emphasized that "elle est seul Dame à l'exclusion de tous autres, en tous droits. . ." (she is alone Dame at the exclusion of all others, in all rights). At this point in her protest, Françoise then tried to substantiate her claims with a large body of evidence beginning with a terrier from Champagne from 1543 that referred to a document from 1333 in which Eudes IV, the Duke of Bourgogne at the time, mentioned Champagne as a dependent of his fief in the Duchy of Bourgogne. Next, she presented evidence that the residents of the house in question had always paid their Seigneurial dues and royal *tailles* in the Duchy of Bourgogne, and that the residents there in Champagne had always abided by and utilized the justice system of the County of Beaumont, including the former residents of that specific house. Moreover, she provided 28 *roules* (registers or rolls) made in the parish of Champagne that survived the wars of 1636 and which proved that Champagne was included in these *roules* as subjects of the King of France and subject to the justice of the Seigneur, Comte of Beaumont. It was also emphasized that these opponents had not been paying the King of Spain. Moreover, Sieur Baignard, Monsieur de Fontennes, who had been a resident in this house, was a subject of France and when taken prisoner of war from his house in Champagne in 1636, he had been forced to pay

¹⁰⁹⁵ ADCO: E2166-63.

ransom to the County of Bourgogne and his house had been pillaged, neither of which would have happened if he had been a dependent of the County of Bourgogne.

Furthermore, Champagne was not listed by the County of Bourgogne as among the villages or towns within its sovereignty. Moreover, in the past Cocquet had paid the royal *taille* to the kingdom of France, which he would not have done if he truly believed that his house was in the County of Bourgogne.¹⁰⁹⁶ With the conclusion of the presentation of these and other supporting documents, Françoise signed her name to the protest.

The decision came from the Parlement of Dijon in an *avis du conseil* (opinion of the council) on March 7, 1660. They found in Françoise's favor against the officers of the Baronnie of Autrey.¹⁰⁹⁷ Based on the evidence, it was adjudged that these officers and Cocquet were "suffisamment contredit" (sufficiently contradicted) by the volume of evidence produced by Françoise. They adjudged that the house in question was indeed in the justice and sovereignty of France, and that the officers of the County of Beaumont would maintain their rights to administer justice in this house because it was subject to the justice and *censive* of Françoise Brulart as Dame Comtesse de Beaumont. Through perseverance, Françoise successfully warded off this challenge to her authority and retained the Seigneurial rights and revenues in Champagne for herself and her successors. The importance of her success in attaining this judgment continued into the next century when it was used as evidence by a descendant *émigré* to prove his rights to the Seigneurie of Champagne.

¹⁰⁹⁶ ADCO: E2166-63. Another document emphasized that whereas a previous resident of the house in dispute had been exempt from the royal *taille* because of noble status, that exemption did not apply to the house, but to the status of the person within it.

¹⁰⁹⁷ ADCO: E2166-63.

There are also many examples of exploits in which Françoise Brulart as creditor authorized collection notices and even the seizure of various forms of property belonging to inhabitants of her estates for failure to pay their debts to her. There were more than 50 exploits issued in Arc-sur-Tille between 1648-1652.¹⁰⁹⁸ The vast majority of these exploits were authorized by Françoise herself. They were issued and delivered to the offender “à requête de haute et puissante Dame Dame Françoise Brulart. . .” (at the request of high and powerful Lady Dame Françoise Brulart . . .). For example, on November 24, 1648, on Françoise’s entreaty, an exploit was issued by a *sergent* in the justice of Arc-sur-Tille to Bonaventure Brion to advise him to promptly pay 2 *sols* 7 *deniers* for *tailles* that he owed the *Seigneurie* plus 21 *deniers* as his father’s heir, 4 *livres* 10 *sols* for grass, cuttings and three *soitures* of *prés*. He owed a total of 4 *livres* 13 *sols* 3 *deniers* to Françoise, but had no money at that time to pay her, so he acknowledged his debt and promised to pay when he could. As of the February 18, 1649 Brion had paid for 4 *livres* 10 *sols*, still owing the *taille* as his father’s heir. On September 3, 1649, on the orders of Françoise, a *sergent général* in Dijon went express to Arc-sur-Tille and seized around 2,000 *gerbes* of wheat, barley, and oats from the *grange* of Arthur de Vienne to put towards the debt he owed to Françoise of five *émines* of wheat for leasing the *four banal* of Arc-sur-Tille. On March 22, 1650, at Françoise’s request, a *sergent gesneral* in Dijon went express to Arc-sur-Tille to seize all of the furniture, grains, and other possessions that he could in the home of Julien Le Rat, a *laboureur* in Rémilly, for his debt to Françoise on a *rente* in the amount of two *émines* of wheat. On June 17, 1651, Françoise ordered that the *sergent general* in Dijon issue an exploit to Julien Raillard,

¹⁰⁹⁸ ADCO: E1743.

substitute to her procureur d'office advising him to promptly pay by delivering to Françoise's greniers the quantity of 20 *émines* of wheat, one fat pig, six capons, and 20 *livres* of money, which he owed because of the admocation he made with Madame of the moulins banals of Arc-sur-Tille. Raillard acknowledged that he was a *debteur* (debtor) to Françoise, but admitted that he did not have the grains or the money to pay her promptly, but declared that he would make payments to her continuously until his debt was paid off. On August 20, 1651, she requested that the sergent general in Dijon go to Arc-sur-Tille to issue an exploit to Jean Armerey, a *laboureur* there, to encourage him to pay his creditor Françoise the sum of 68 *livres 5 sols* for causes listed in his exploit from earlier in 1651, plus 8 *livres 12 sols 4 deniers* that he owed for his *tailles* and *cens*. Armerey also recognized these obligations acknowledging that he was a *debteur* (debtor) to Madame, that he did not have the money, but promised to pay incessantly until his debt was paid in full. On August 28, 1652, Françoise asked that the sergent general residing in Dijon go to Arc-sur-Tille to issue an exploit and to seize all the money, grains, and anything else that he could from Demoiselle Bénigne Bourguignon, widow of Messire Pierre Cassotte, a marchand in Dijon, who owed 5 *livres 17 sols 6 deniers* for the *tailles* on the lands that she possessed in Arc-sur-Tille in 1650 plus 17 *sols 8 deniers* remaining to pay from the *taille* of 1649.

Louise Joly:

Like Françoise Brulart, Louise Joly de Blaisy was raised in a *noblesse de robe* household. Moreover, like Françoise, Louise became a Comtesse, who in her viduity embraced the role of Seigneur over an estate in order to preserve family interests. Aside

from their similar backgrounds and experiences growing up in robe households, in their widowhood, these two contemporary cousins also engaged in many similar activities and responsibilities. For example, Louise also made great efforts to promote and protect the wealth, property and Seigneurial privileges of her family. With both women, this goal sometimes led to a court battle with their children's wealth and rights hanging in the balance. Moreover, Louise also engaged in benevolent pragmatism.

Louise was the daughter of Antoine Joly, Baron de Blaisy and d'Écutigny, *greffier* in chief of the Parlement and *secrétaire* of the Estates of Bourgogne, deputy in the Estates-General in 1614, and of Claude Jacquot who was the daughter of Antoine Jacquot, a conseiller in the Parlement.¹⁰⁹⁹ Unlike Françoise, who married into a sword nobility family, Louise married into another robe household—but a very prestigious one. According to the *Histoire Générale de Languedoc*, the Le Goux family was “une des plus anciennes et des plus riches maisons de la Bourgogne” (one of the most old and one of the most wealthy houses of Burgundy).¹¹⁰⁰ The Le Goux' and the Joly's were families with a long and close relationship.¹¹⁰¹ Antoine Joly Baron de Blaisy and Seigneur d'Écutigny simultaneously held the positions of conseiller du roi and *greffier en chef* of the Parlement and of the Estates of Bourgogne”. J.B. Le Goux and Antoine Joly had a friendship based on reciprocal respect and so they wanted to formalize their connection

¹⁰⁹⁹ Aubert De La Chenaye-Desbois and Badier, *Dictionnaire de la Noblesse*, vol. 11, 99-100; Antoine Joly De Blaisy, “Souvenirs d'un Président au Grand Conseil sous Louis XIV Joly de Blaisy (1649-1725), with an introduction by Ernest Petit, in *Mémoires de la Société Bourguignonne de Géographie et d'Histoire*, 351-453, vol. 15. (Dijon: Darantière, 1899), 361; L'Abbé Bissey, “Précis Historique sur les Legoux de la Berchère, et en particulier sur Pierre Legoux, Comte de LaRocheport,” in *Société d'Histoire, d'Archéologie, et de Littérature de l'arrondissement de Beaune: Mémoires année 1886* (Beaune: Arthur Batault, 1887), 223. Claude Jacquot's paternal grandfather, Barthélemy Joly (the second of that name) was a *greffier en chef* of the Parlement of Dijon.

¹¹⁰⁰ Dom Devic and Dom Vaissete, *Histoire Générale de Languedoc*, vol. 1 (Toulouse: Edouard Privat, 1872), 18 & 19.

¹¹⁰¹ L'Abbé Bissey, “Précis Historique sur les Legoux de la Berchère,” 222.

through marriage. According to L'Abbé Bissey, they wanted to "cimenter leur amitié par le mariage du jeune conseiller de La Berchère avec Mademoiselle Louise Joly" (to cement their friendship through the marriage of the young consessor de La Berchère with Mistress Louise Joly).¹¹⁰² Moreover, Louise Joly was known to be a person of "grand mérite" (worthy of great praise).¹¹⁰³ Their design came to fruition on August 5, 1627 with the whole town of Dijon taking part in the festivities celebrating the union of Louise Joly and Pierre Le Goux, Chevalier, Seigneur de La Berchère, Boncourt, Marquis of d'Inteville, Comte de la Rochepot, Baron of Thoisy and of Cypierre.¹¹⁰⁴ The Le Goux and Joly families were also intertwined and allied politically, as well as through marriage, to the Brularts. For example, Françoise Brulart and Pierre were first cousins through Françoise's Aunt, Marguerite Brulart, who married Jean-Baptiste Le Goux de la Berchère.

Without question, the Brulart, Joly and Le Goux families were political powerhouses in Burgundy. According to the L'Abbé Bissey, the Brulart family was well known throughout Europe. Their reputation was attributed to having "donne à la France des premiers magistrats, des chanceliers, des secretaries d'état et des premiers presidents au Parlement" (given to France some of the first magistrates, chancellors, clerks of State and first presidents in the Parlement).¹¹⁰⁵ Marguerite Brulart was surrounded by family members who belonged to the political aristocracy. In truth, "elle avait été fille, sœur,

¹¹⁰² Ibid., 223.

¹¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹¹⁰⁴ Aubert De La Chenaye-Desbois et Badier, *Dictionnaire de la Noblesse*, vol. 9, 558-560. Pierre was born in Dijon on March 31, 1600. In 1634, Pierre acquired the fief of Thoisy-Cypierre, which came to be called Thoisy-la-Berchère. He acquired the land of La Rochepot in 1645; L'Abbé Bissey, "Précis Historique, 292-293. Apparently, Louise enjoyed this second acquisition. It was said that she spent summers there and that she made large gifts to the church.

¹¹⁰⁵ L'Abbé Bissey, "Précis Historique sur les Legoux," 200.

femme et mère des premiers presidents de Bourgogne” (she had been daughter, sister, wife and mother of the first presidents of Burgundy).¹¹⁰⁶ Moreover, brokering these marriage mergers helped to cement their political alliances and friendships and thus to increase their political power. For instance, in 1626, Pierre’s uncle, Nicolas Brulart, premier president of the Parlement, and Pierre’s father, second president, procured the vacant position of premier president of Requêtes for Pierre when he was only 26. When Nicolas Brulart died in 1627, Jean-Baptiste Le Goux de La Berchère was promoted to first president.¹¹⁰⁷ In 1630, Jean-Baptiste Le Goux, Pierre’s Father, obtained the charge of Premier President of Parlement for his son from Louis XIII when the position became vacant, which with his death the following year, it did.¹¹⁰⁸ Marriage alliances were taken very seriously and were extremely beneficial to a family if they selected well.

With the death of his father in 1631, Pierre became Premier President of the Parlement of Bourgogne. However, after a falling out with the Prince of Condé, Pierre was exiled to Saumur from 1637 until 1644. According to L’Abbé Bissey, when the Imperial Army was threatening Burgundy during the Thirty Years’ War, Condé failed to uphold his promises to protect the city of Dijon.¹¹⁰⁹ The Parlement of Dijon then refused to pass several edicts for him for money. When the Imperial Army was on their doorsteps, Pierre stepped up declaring himself head of the militia and went about protecting the city. According to Précis, he pressured the nobility in the neighborhood of Dijon, and with “leur aide et à ses frais, il réunit une troupe bien équipé. Par ses ordres, des agents sur parcourent les villes de la province, pour engager les habitants à rester fidèles au roi”

¹¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 209.

¹¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 222.

¹¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 208.

¹¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 229-233.

(their assistance and at his expense, he gathered a well-equipped troop. By his orders, agents roamed the towns of the province, in order to sway the inhabitants to pledge to remain loyal to the King).¹¹¹⁰ Pierre then led a small army to the village of Saint-Jean-de-Losne under siege by Gallas, and with the aid of the villagers there, he routed the Imperial army of 40,000 men and saved Burgundy. Without Condé's assistance, Dijon was saved, but Condé could not ignore Parlement's conduct, so on April 2, 1637, he dissolved Parlement and expelled the meetings under the force of his army. Moreover, Condé saw to it that Pierre, the premier presidente, was exiled. Pierre was lauded with respect and gratefulness by those in the region, which ultimately led to his exile due to the jealousy of Condé who accused Pierre of usurping his power. According to *Précis*, "Ces actes courageux de la Berchère excitèrent la jalousie du Prince du Condé . . . Il se plaignit au roi, accusant la Berchère d'avoir usurpé ses fonctions et méprise son autorité" (These acts of bravery from la Berchère ignited jealousy from the Prince of Condé . . . He pleaded to the king, accusing la Berchère of having usurped his office and disregarding his authority). Pierre's heroic leadership and resultant praises led to his expulsion from Dijon. According to a contemporary, in this war, Pierre had demonstrated qualities "des anciens consuls Romains qui avaient le pouvoir de distribuer la justice et de commander les armées" (of the ancient Roman consuls who had the power to dispense justice and command the armies).¹¹¹¹ The court in Paris and the king

¹¹¹⁰ Ibid., 233.

¹¹¹¹ L'Abbe Bissey, "Precis Historique sur les Legoux," 234 & 238. When Pierre was called to Paris regarding his exile, Louise did not accompany him because she was bedridden following an arduous labor and the loss of her newborn daughter.

supported Condé's jealous claims of usurpation, and Pierre was exiled to Saumur, a town in Anjou.¹¹¹²

Shortly after the sentence of exile was issued, Louise received a letter from Pierre praying that she would come join him as soon as she could manage to do so.¹¹¹³ She immediately began making preparations. According to L'Abbé Bissey, of her 5 children at the time (all girls), she initially only wanted to take her second daughter, Claude, and her fourth daughter, Louise, with her. The eldest, Marguerite at six years old went to stay with her paternal grandmother, Marguerite Brulart. The third daughter, Marie at 4 years old was entrusted to her paternal aunt, Madeleine Le Goux, Madame Abbess of Malaise. And her youngest child, Madeleine who was about 2 years old went to stay with her maternal grandmother, Claude Jacquot, Madame Joly. The placement of her children with women from both sides of the families indicated the strong alliance between the families as well as the fortitude of these women who took on the care of these young girls. With all measures taken, before she left, she went to her father to ask for his blessings. Then she left her life in Dijon and everyone she knew behind.

From all accounts, it is evident that Louise was a very pious person. According to Précis, Pierre and Louise finished each day together in prayer. He wrote, "Une heure avant son coucher, il retournait à son cabinet d'études. Puis, réuni à sa jeune épouse, ensemble ils terminaient la journée par la prière" (One hour before his bedtime, he returned to his study . Then, reuniting with his bride, together they ended the day with prayer).¹¹¹⁴ Upon arrival in Saumur, Louise immediately engaged in a pious act.¹¹¹⁵

¹¹¹² Bissey, "Precis Historique," 233.

¹¹¹³ Ibid., 239.

¹¹¹⁴ Ibid., 226.

According to L'Abbé Bissey, she went to the church of Notre-Dame des Ardilliers in order to give thanks to God for safe travels. In Précis, he even referred to Louise as a "pieuse épouse" and "vertueuse épouse".¹¹¹⁶ According to this source, there were many tears and much sadness between them, but they were comforted by their faith and by each other. Aside from the relief of the pain that their "foi Chrétienne" (Christian faith) gave them, "la plus grande consolation des deux exiles était de se retrouver et de pouvoir confondre leurs larmes" (the greatest consolation of these two exiles was to come together again and to be able to mingle their tears).¹¹¹⁷ Louise's brother had accompanied Pierre from Dijon to Paris and then into exile from Paris to Saumur indicating the devotion and depth of the alliance of these two families. It also seems that Louise and Pierre had a companionable relationship. Her piety and his penchant for charity and uprightness seemed to complement each other. According to Précis, when amongst the peasants, Pierre always dispensed charity. He "ne manquait jamais de leur laisser quelque souvenir de sa charité généreuse" (never failed to leave them some token of his generous charity). His juridical knowledge and his integrity were so well-known that contemporaries surnamed him "l'Incorruptible" (the incorruptible).¹¹¹⁸

During their seven-year exile, the couple found things to occupy their time. Despite his banishment, Pierre still had many notable visitors, and Louise took pleasure in enumerating these illustrious visitors in her memoirs. Apparently, their visitors often remarked that Pierre never complained or was negative regarding his situation, which

¹¹¹⁵ Bissey, "Précis Historique," 239-240. Much of what was known of their stay in Saumur can be attributed to some memoirs of Louise Joly. According to Bissey, these were at one point in the Bibliothèque de Troyes.

¹¹¹⁶ Bissey, "Précis Historique," 251 & 279.

¹¹¹⁷ Ibid., 241.

¹¹¹⁸ Ibid., 242 & 249.

further endeared him to his company.¹¹¹⁹ Pierre and Louise also used the time to expand their family to include four more children, three boys and one girl.¹¹²⁰ With the death of Richelieu and Louis XIII, Anne of Austria became Regent of France in the name of her five-year-old son, Louis XIV.¹¹²¹ This Regent Queen remembered the unwarranted exile of Pierre and in August of 1644 he received patent letters from the king naming him Premier President of the Parlement in Grenoble a position he held for nine years.¹¹²² In 1653, Pierre became quite ill. Louise and the family surrounded his bedside.¹¹²³ Feeling the end was near, Pierre consulted with Louise over household affairs. According to Précis, “il fit appeler la présidente son épouse bien aimée, pour conférer avec elle des affaires de sa maison, lui recommander sa famille et prendre conge d’elle pour la dernière fois” (he summoned the first lady his beloved wife, in order to discuss with her some estate business, recommending his family to her and taking leave from her for the last time).¹¹²⁴ He died on November 29, 1653.¹¹²⁵

¹¹¹⁹ Bissey, “Precis Historique,” 275-276. He became known for his charity in the province of Dauphiné. He had a compassionate heart from which “charité Chrétienne” flowed. When the region was overcome with floods, the harvests were destroyed and many homes were submerged, reducing the inhabitants to a miserable state. Pierre became their savior. He called on wealthy and affluent residents which they responded to with numerous alms. In fact, according to this author, his house was besieged by large numbers of poor people who came to claim relief. He was “leur providence” (their salvation). He even opened hospices to care for the sick,

¹¹²⁰ Bissey, “Precis Historique,” 250-251 & 266. In 1638, they had a boy they named Jean-Baptiste whose godparents were two poor peasants. In 1639 she had a daughter named Anne. In 1641, Louise lost an infant son followed by an infant daughter in 1642. Both lost children were born premature at 7 months, and both were quickly baptized by the doctor present at the delivery. Then on August 30, 1643, a third son was born and named Urbain.

¹¹²¹ Bissey, “Precis Historique,” 259.

¹¹²² Ibid., 260-261, 266.

¹¹²³ Ibid., 281.

¹¹²⁴ Ibid., 282.

¹¹²⁵ Ibid., 283.

Louise and Pierre had a total of nine children that lived past childbirth; three sons and six daughters.¹¹²⁶ The four children that married were partnered with prestigious families. Two of these marriages took place during Pierre's lifetime. The other two children married after the death of Pierre, and thus their marriages were handled by Louise. When their oldest son died at the age of 22, their second son, Urbain, became the heir to the titles and much of the wealth of his parents. He was a conseiller in the Parlement of Metz followed by Maître des Requêtes in 1674. On July 21, 1675, he married Antoinette Le Fèvre d'Eaubonne, daughter of Jean Le Fèvre, Seigneur d'Eaubonne and de Boisbouzon and Maître des Comptes. According to Louise's nephew, Antoine Joly, this was a well-matched couple.¹¹²⁷ Mademoiselle d'Eaubonne had 100,000 *écus* and was always very virtuous. According to Antoine, as a couple they were highly esteemed, and behaved with honor and selflessness. In 1683, Urbain became Intendant of Moulins, of Riom in 1684, of Montauban the same year, of Rouen in 1691 and Honoraire in 1698.¹¹²⁸ Three of their daughters married; two of these marriages occurred during Pierre's lifetime. In 1650, Claude-Catherine (1632-1657) married Joachim, Comte d'Estaing, Marquis of Murols. That same year, Louise-Charlotte (1634-1699) married Jean-Francois le Coq, Marquis de Goupillières, Seigneur de Corbeville, Conseiller in the Parlement of Paris.¹¹²⁹ Her youngest daughter, Anne (1639-1715),

¹¹²⁶ Ibid.; Aubert De La Chenaye-Desbois et Badier, *Dictionnaire de la Noblesse*, vol. 9. According to this volume, there were eight, failing to mention Madelaine who was their fifth child according to Bissey.

¹¹²⁷ Joly de Blaisy, "Souvenirs d'un President," vol. 15 (Dijon: Darantiere, 1899).

¹¹²⁸ Aubert De La Chenaye-Desbois et Badier, *Dictionnaire de la Noblesse*, vol. 9, 559. He died on August 31, 1721.

¹¹²⁹ Aubert De La Chenaye-Desbois et Badier, *Dictionnaire de la Noblesse*, vol. 9, 559; Edmond Maignien, "Bibliothèque de Charles Le Goux de la Berchère, in *Petite Revue des Bibliophiles Dauphinois*, vol. 2 (Grenoble: Allier Frères, 1908), 79; L'Abbé Debrie, "Un mariage Dijonnais," in *Bulletin d'histoire et d'archéologie religieuses du Diocese de Dijon*, vol. 17 (Dijon: J. Mersch, 1899), 183-184. Louise Charlotte married Francois le Coq in 1657.

married Emmanuel de Pellevé, Marquis de Boury in 1663.¹¹³⁰ These marriages linked together prestigious families in mutually beneficial alliances. According to Louise's nephew, Antoine Joly, her three daughters had married "très noblement et richement avec de grandes dots" (very nobly and richly with large dowries).¹¹³¹

A large portion of the family documents that involved Louise Joly as a widow, reveal that she spent a great deal of time safeguarding and promoting the future of her youngest child, Charles, who was born in 1647.¹¹³² At his baptism, he was named Charles by Jean-Baptiste Le Goux and Demoiselle Claudine-Catherine Le Goux on behalf of his godparents in absentia, Messire Charles de Stainville, Baron of Pouilly in the Duchy of Bourgogne and of Pierre's sister Reverende Dame Madame Magdelaine Le Goux, Bernadine Abbess in the abbey of Notre Dame of Malaise.¹¹³³ Her two other daughters, Marguerite and Marie, became Carmelite nuns in Dijon.¹¹³⁴

It is clear from the documents as well as nineteenth-century texts written about various members of the Le Goux family, that Louise fully supported Charles' religious endeavors. After the death of her husband, Pierre Le Goux, Louise returned to Dijon to be near to her family.¹¹³⁵ Charles was only six when his father died. It was at this time

¹¹³⁰ Aubert De La Chenaye-Desbois et Badier, *Dictionnaire de la Noblesse*, vol. 9, 559.

¹¹³¹ Antoine Joly de Blaisy, "Souvenirs d'un President."

¹¹³² L'Abbé Debrie, "Un mariage Dijonnais," 183-184; Maignien, "Bibliothèque de Charles Le Goux de la Berchère," 78. Charles, born in Vif near Grenoble, he was the last child born of this couple.

¹¹³³ Maignien, "Bibliothèque de Charles Le Goux de la Berchère," 79.

¹¹³⁴ It is unknown what happened to her fifth child, Madaleine.

that she took up the task of directing Charles' education, helping him take his first steps towards a long and successful religious career. She undertook this duty with great care. According to the *Histoire Générale de Languedoc*, Louise carried out this duty "avec la sollicitude d'une mere aussi éclairée que tendre" (with the care of a mother as enlightened as [she was] gentle). In the biography of her nephew, *Vie du Vénérable Bénigne Joly: Le Père des Pauvres*, Louise was described as a strong, Christian woman who focused her cares and concerns as well as her fondness on her young son Charles.¹¹³⁶ According to this tribute, Bénigne shared a mutual fraternal affection towards Charles. He also portrayed Louise as an attentive mother. The biographer wrote that Bénigne and one of his brothers would knock on Charles' door so that they could walk together to college. According to this source, Louise Joly would stop on the threshold of the residence and watch them walk away with "une complaisance maternelle" (a maternal kindness).

Louise also ensured that Charles' religious endeavors would be possible by granting him a yearly inheritance in order to pursue his goals of taking holy orders. In her support of Charles' religious calling and career, Louise established a *patrimoine* (inheritance or livelihood coming from a parent) of 300 livres annually. On August 19,

¹¹³⁵ Dom Devic and Dom Vaissete, *Histoire Générale de Languedoc*, 19. Louise had a very close relationship with her family; According to *Église Catholique Bulletin*, when Louise returned to Dijon, she spent her viduity living in the Hôtel de Lantenay in the Place Saint-Jean which belonged to her brother Georges Joly (183); Joly de Blaisy, "Souvenirs d'un President," 366. In widowhood Louise lived with her brother George. According to George's son Anthoine, Charles and he were near the same age and were always raised like brothers. According to Louise's nephew, Louise and her brother George lived in "une si grande union que ces deux personnes, des premiers de la ville, y donnaient un exemple d'une vertu et d'une modestie rare, qui font le bonheur des familles" (so great a union that these two people, of the most notable of the town, gave there a rare example of virtue and of modesty, that creates the happiness of families) (366).

¹¹³⁶ Étienne Bavard, *Vie du Venerable Bénigne Joly le Père des Pauvres* (Paris: Poussielgue Freres, 1878), 36. This biography was written with the hopes of achieving canonization for Bénigne Joly. Therefore, the author's intent was to provide a positive, idyllic image of his family.

1670, based on Charles' disposition towards religion, Louise Joly, in goodwill and in approval of the good intentions of her son gave him the perpetual rente of 300 livres annually during his natural life. This inheritance was to be taken each year from the revenues of the lands and Seigneuries of La Villeneuve and Chilly belonging to Louise.¹¹³⁷ According to the contract, Louise fully supported the “bonnes inclinations de . . . son fils qui s'est destine à prendre les ordres sacres” (good inclinations of . . . her son who was destined to take holy orders).

It was in Dijon that Charles began his studies of philosophy.¹¹³⁸ His education prepared him for a prestigious religious career, which began with his studies at the Sorbonne. At the age of 15, Louise accompanied him to Paris and placed him in the college of Harcourt where he spent two years studying philosophy culminating in the rank of doctor of the Sorbonne.¹¹³⁹ Charles was studious and enjoyed the regulated and austere lifestyle, which led him to the seminary of Saint-Sulpice. Initially he wanted to adopt monastic life, but his mentors deterred this, encouraging him to remain in the world so that he could use his talents in the service of God and the Catholic Church.

Louise was integral in promoting his ecclesiastical vocation both through supporting this career choice and through providing finances to help finance her support.¹¹⁴⁰ In fact, Louise's nephew, Anthoine, was critical of his father George Joly. As Louise's nephew, Anthoine remembered his father offering counsel to Louise regarding Charles' future career, questioning her intentions of a religious-centered career. Instead, George believed that he should join the “family business” by becoming a

¹¹³⁷ ADCO: E1111.

¹¹³⁸ Edmond Maignien, “Bibliothèque de Charles Le Goux de la Berchère,” 79.

¹¹³⁹ Devic and Vaissete, *Languedoc*.

¹¹⁴⁰ Antoine Joly de Blaisy, “Souvenirs d'un President, 389-391.

conseiller in the Parlement of Bourgogne. Louise's nephew accused his father of being too reserved and too timid regarding the establishment of his family. George was also worried about displeasing his own father who he believed would disapprove of Charles' vocation. However, Antoine saw Louise as "courageuse et de resolution" (courageous and resolved). When his father questioned Louise's efforts to promote Charles into a religious career, both Charles and Louise demonstrated courage standing up to this advice. According to her nephew, Louise, "quoique petite . . . avait une elevation et une grandeur d'âme très compatible néanmoins avec une extreme modestie et une extreme piété" (though small, had an elevation and a magnanimity very compatible meanwhile with an extreme modesty and an extreme piety). She did not listen to her brother's advice. Instead, in 1677, the question of Charles' career was resolved through the compromise of purchasing a charge of *aumônier du roi*.

Louise was instrumental in defending his career to her family and of attaining his position of *aumônier du roi* (chaplain of the king).¹¹⁴¹ According to the *Histoire Générale de Languedoc*, he was named to this station "grâce au credit de sa mère" (thanks to the credit of his mother).¹¹⁴² In this position, Charles acquired a reputation for attentiveness to his duties, exhibiting diligence and "une exactitude charmante auprès du roi" (a charming accuracy around the king). Apparently, his strength of character had impressed Louis XIV on his campaigns in Flanders.¹¹⁴³ In no time, he received a promotion. According to the *Histoire Générale de Languedoc*, his piety, modesty and

¹¹⁴¹ Devic and Vaissete, *Languedoc*; Maignien, "Bibliothèque de Charles Le Goux de la Berchère, 80. This charge was granted Charles in 1677, the bishopric of Lavaur was awarded to him in 1678, in 1689 archbishop of Aix, 1687 as archbishop of Albi, and 1703 in Narbonne; Antoine Joly de Blaisy, "Souvenirs d'un President," says that he became archbishop of Aix in 1683.

¹¹⁴² Devic and Vaissete, *Languedoc*, 19.

¹¹⁴³ *Ibid.*

accuracy in his duties and ministry distinguished him to the king who awarded him the position of bishopric of Lavaur in 1677.¹¹⁴⁴ In 1685 he became archbishop of Aix, followed by archbishop of Albi in 1687. Then in 1703, the king awarded him the prestigious position of Cardinal of Narbonne for his apostolic virtues, “son caractère droit et ferme, tempéré par un esprit de moderation et de bienveillance, et son mérite comme savant...” (his character righteous and steadfast, tempered by a spirit of moderation and of kindness, and his merit as scholar).¹¹⁴⁵ According to Louise’s nephew Antoine, this charge of archbishop of Narbonne was a giant step into the second highest clergy position of the kingdom. Hinting at the narrow-mindedness of his father, Antoine gloated that Charles’ accomplishments in his chosen career were on a very different level than that of a conseiller in the Parlement of Dijon. He emphasized that this success came through courage and perseverance. He stated that “il n’y a rien de tel que d’avoir du courage, et de bien suivre un bon chemin sans se détourner” (There is nothing like having the courage, and of following well a good path without diverting).¹¹⁴⁶

In addition to promoting the education and religious career of her son Charles, Louise also worked to safeguard his Seigneurial wealth and privileges. In a surprise turn of events, Louise’s son Charles became the “substitute” heir to the Baronnie of Pouilly-sur-Saône.¹¹⁴⁷ In the testament of his godfather, Charles de Stainville, Baron of Pouilly and Villeneuve, Charles Le Goux de La Berchère would inherit Pouilly if the Baron’s

¹¹⁴⁴ Devic and Vaissete, *Languedoc*, 19. Antoine Joly de Blaisy, “Souvenirs d’un President au Grand Conseil sous Louis XIV, Joly de Blaisy (1649-1725),” 391. Bishop of Lavaur in the bishopric of Languedoc.

¹¹⁴⁵ Devic and Vaissete, *Languedoc*, 19.

¹¹⁴⁶ Antoine Joly de Blaisy, “Souvenirs d’un President,” 391. Aubert De La Chenaye-Desbois et Badier, *Dictionnaire de la Noblesse*, vol. 18, 681-82.

¹¹⁴⁷ ADCO: E1142.

nephew and universal heir, Antoine de Stainville, Marquis de Couvonges, died without a legitimate male heir. Charles de Stainville died in 1652, at which point his nephew Anthoine became Baron of Pouilly until his death on July 4, 1657.¹¹⁴⁸ The result was that Charles Le Goux de La Berchère became the Baron of Pouilly before his 10th birthday. Louise Joly wrote to the *Lieutenant Civil* in the bailliage of Nuits requesting that her son Charles be placed in possession of the Baronnie of Pouilly.¹¹⁴⁹ On August 16, 1657, several officials met Louise at the château of Pouilly, at her request in the name and as “*mère et baliste*” (mother and administrator) of her son Charles Le Goux de La Berchère, *écuyer*. In accordance with their ordinance they placed him in possession of the Baronnie of Pouilly following the testament of the late Charles de Stainville, Baron de Pouilly and La Villeneuve, dated September 25, 1651. So that no one could claim ignorance, in addition to requiring them to put her son in actual possession of this land and its dependents, Louise had them assemble the inhabitants to hear the news, so that they would officially recognize Charles Le Goux de La Berchère as their new and legitimate Seigneur, and that they would pay their Seigneurial dues to Louise Joly or her agent. On November 26, 1657 an act of recognition was requested by Louise’s procureur on her behalf to officially grant and recognize this *reprise de fief* of the Baronnie of Pouilly to Charles on the condition that Louise provide the king the appropriate *dénombrement* (survey of properties, goods, rentes, names, etc. in the Seigneurie) within the designated amount of time.¹¹⁵⁰

¹¹⁴⁸ He too died without having any legitimate male heirs.

¹¹⁴⁹ ADCO: E1142.

¹¹⁵⁰ ADCO: E1142.

As acting Seigneur of Pouilly, on several occasions Louise was forced to thwart threats against the Seigneurie so as to preserve the rights and revenues of her son. In 1667, Louise Joly received two challenges to her Seigneurial rights involving the sale of wine. Louise, as *mère et baliste* of her son Charles, the Baron of Pouilly, issued exploits against these threats in order to protect her right to banvins.¹¹⁵¹ In both instances, residents of Pouilly sold wine without Louise's permission. It was necessary to punish these usurpers to safeguard the Seigneurial rights of her son. Represented by her procureur, Louise took both of these cases before Parlement. The first case appeared at the Palais in Dijon on July 16, 1667. In this incident, an exploit had been issued in November 1666 against Jean Dorgon, a *manouvrier* in Pouilly for selling wine without her permission in the years 1665 and 1666. Dorgon was found in default of payment and condemned to pay the *amendes* (penalties) of 3 *livres 5 sols*. The other case came before Parlement of Bourgogne on September 19, 1667. Once again, an exploit had been issued for the penalties and interests of having sold wine in Pouilly without the Seigneur's (Louise's) permission in 1666 and 1667. This charge was against Jean Belin, a *laboureur*, and Jean Chefot, a *vigneron*, both from Pouilly. Once again, the case was resolved in Louise's favor, condemning both defendants of paying the penalty of 3 *livres 5 sols* each for their infractions. Although these transgressions and their financial remunerations might seem rather small, this was about authority and power. Louise Joly as Dame de Pouilly, acting on behalf of her son, could not allow these challenges to her Seigneurial rights to remain unpunished. These served as examples to others not to attempt to usurp rights, and to respect Louise Joly and her son as the Seigneurs of

¹¹⁵¹ ADCO: E1143.

Pouilly. Moreover, by formalizing these incidents in the Parlement of Bourgogne, she also legally bolstered these Seigneurial rights as belonging to her and her son, regardless of his being the “substitute” heir.

On several occasions, Louise Joly had to defend her droits de *péage* (toll rights) in Pouilly that were raised on the river Saône. In the mid-1660s, Louise was challenged by the *marchands* and *voituriers* on the river Saône and by the *prévôt des marchands* (lord mayor) and *échevins* (officer elected by the inhabitants of a community to take care of their common affairs such as maintaining order) of Lyon. To accomplish this, Louise ordered the research and collection of titles and papers concerning the *péage* rights in Pouilly as far back as they could find including terriers, sentences, a *patente* from Henry IV, a lease contract from the *péage*.¹¹⁵² Because of this substantial evidence, but especially because of the *pancarte* (public placard containing the rights and rates of tolls due to the Seigneur of the land) of 1406 establishing the rights of the Seigneurs of Pouilly, Monsieur de Champigny, the Intendant of the provinces of Lyonnais and Dauphine gave his opinion in April of 1665 of maintaining and guarding Louise in her possession and usage of the *péage* of Pouilly. This judgment was supported by an *arrêt du conseil* on June 13, 1665 in which the king found in Louise’s favor, maintaining that she had possession and enjoyment of the *péage* of Pouilly, and that these challengers to her authority would be forced to pay these tolls. Moreover the decision included the requirement of inscribing in large writing a plaque of copper or white iron large enough to be seen by the *marchands* and *voituriers* so that no one could claim ignorance again.

¹¹⁵² ADCO: E1144.

On May 16, 1665 Louise Joly via her procureur placed a formal complaint before the Parlement of Bourgogne in her quality as *mère et baliste* of Charles Le Goux de La Berchère, Seigneur of Pouilly in all justice regarding the portal of *pontonage* (right of toll placed in certain places on people or merchandise who cross a river whether on bridge or in a ferry) of Seurre. In her request from April 27, 1665 she complained that certain people were passing freely and without paying 35 *queues* (a queue is a wine vessel containing 1½ *muids*) of wine with the men that conducted them on the river Saône in the portal of Pouilly and Seurre. The three defenders, Jean Pochon, Pierre Gautiere, and Claude Sauvage were all three *hôteliars* (innkeepers) and *marchands* in Seurre.

On June 3, 1665, an *arrêt de conseil* was issued on this matter. Before a decision could be determined the king required a verbal process be made by Champigny containing the evidence submitted by Louise of her titles concerning the rights of *péage* in Pouilly, together with the contestations of the prévôt des marchands and échevins of Lyon as well as the opinion Champigny gave on March 6, 1664. Louise presented a substantial amount of evidence including the pancarte of 1406 with the tariff of *péage* of Pouilly-sur-Saône, and a 1486 sentence stating that the inhabitants of Pouilly, their families, horses, possessions, merchandise passing on the river of the Sieur of Pouilly would be held to pay the *péage* to the Seigneur of Pouilly or to his fermiers of this right just as any other people passing by this river would. A 1590 patent from Henry IV, a lease contract from 1622, and a terrier rounded out the evidence tipping the scale of justice in favor of Louise and her son. As a result, on June 3, 1665, the king in his counsel maintained that Louise Joly had possession and usage of the *péage* of Pouilly on the river Saone. She had the right to levy it in Pouilly according to the pancarte of 1406.

He also reasserted that the pancarte would be inscribed on a piece of copper or white iron and posted with details of the *péage* and Louise's defenses such as arrests and exploits to ensure payment of these tolls. The marchands and voituriers were to be forced to pay the rights they owed from their offences. Moreover, this arrest signified to all that they could not claim ignorance of these tolls owed to the Seigneurs of Pouilly. Moreover, to force these payments Louise could take any defenses necessary including exploits. The marchands and voituriers on the river Saone were condemned to pay all unpaid tolls for merchandise they had carried in Pouilly. Finally, Louise wished to avoid any possible offenses by assuring Monseigneur le Prince of Condé that she did not wish to make any claims against Condé in the expanse of his jurisdiction and Marquisat of Seurre, and that she did not wish to change the title of her right in the portal but only to conserve it as the Seigneurs of Pouilly had always enjoyed which right included all justice in the limits of the portal both by land and by water.¹¹⁵³ Moreover, she stressed that this conflict was against the officers and inhabitants of Seurre and not with him.

In the late 1660s, Louise was once again forced to defend her rights of péage. This time it specifically involved the right for her to collect a toll on the *moules de bois*.¹¹⁵⁴ Once again Louise Joly, through her procureur, sought to protect her son's rights and revenues in her quality as his *mère et baliste*. This time, their Seigneurial rights were challenged by George Plasson, a *marchand* on the river Saone, in the name of all marchands and voituriers on that river, along with the *prévôt des marchands* and *échevins* of Lyon. Their claim was that the 1406 pancarte did not mention anything regarding toll charges on the *moules de bois*, and therefore they did not have to pay tolls

¹¹⁵³ ADCO: E1144.

¹¹⁵⁴ In general, there were around 16 logs per moule.

to transport this firewood. According to the document, Plasson refused to pay the six *deniers* for each *moule de bois* that had been due to the Seigneurs of Pouilly for the *péage* of the river Saone for generations. Louise's defense also made mention that until this point, the *marchands* and *voituriers* on this river had been satisfied with this fee at the reserve of Plasson who was attempting to find a loophole in this *pancarte*. Louise's *procureur* emphasized that all things that travelled the river owed the right of *péage* except those things stated as exempt in the *pancarte*, and *moules de bois* were not included in the exception. Therefore, Louise and her *procureur* were confident that he owed the tolls on this wood, and that he refused to pay without reason. On October 5, 1668, Louise received a judgment in her favor once again against the *marchands* and *voituriers* on the river Saone and the *prévôt des marchands* and *échevins* of Lyon. Referencing once again to the *pancarte* of 1406, the *intendant* and *commissioner* upheld the *arrêt du conseil* from June 3, 1665 maintaining Louise in the possession and enjoyment of the *péage* of Pouilly on the river Saone, including on *moules de bois*. Thus, Plasson and the other *marchands* and *voituriers* on the river were condemned to pay to Louise the tolls they withheld for her rights of *péage* for this firewood as well as any other merchandise carried by them on the river.

Louise wished to ensure this time that there were no questions regarding this verdict. Therefore, the day after the ruling, October 6, 1668, at her request, the sentence was delivered in person to the *prévôt des marchands* and *échevins* of Lyon in the house of their *procureur* in Lyon, and to George Plasson and the *marchands* and *voituriers* named in the sentence in the house of their *procureur* in Lyon. A copy of the present sentence

and an exploit was left for them. Therefore, no lack of knowledge regarding the judgment would serve as an excuse to further delay payments to Louise.

Regardless of her efforts to legally fortify her rights, challenges continued. On December 30, 1669, Louise via her procureur addressed the commissioners once again regarding her rights to the péage. They made the same arguments resting on the same evidence to emphasize that the Seigneurs of Pouilly had long been in possession the rights of *péage* on all merchandise passing in the port of Pouilly. Louise's defense stressed that this right was upheld by the *arrêt du conseil* of State of the King on June 3, 1665 and by their own judgment yielded on Oct 5, 1668. Both these verdicts condemned the challengers to pay the péage. Meanwhile, Claude Bachelard, a *marchand-voiturier* on the Saône river residing in Glanon, claimed the moule de bois was not subject to the rights under the pretext that it was not specifically mentioned in the pancarte. Louise's *procureur* argued that Bachelard had maliciously ignored and contested the recent judgments and evidence presented, contesting not only the right of *péage* on the *moule de bois* but also that the price of six *deniers* per *moule*. Plus, he emphasized that until this instance, Bachelard himself had always paid this toll. Louise and her procureur believed that it was easy for Louise to stifle these challenges. Once again Louise verified through evidence that for decades it had cost six *deniers* for each *moule de bois* in the *péage* of Pouilly. Faced with this mountain of evidence, on January 25, 1670, in the presence of the Lieutenant of the Bailliage of Nuits, Bachelard, in his "bonne volonté" (good will), renounced his protest recognizing that this right had always been levied and paid to the Seigneur of Pouilly. Moreover, he promised to pay his unpaid tolls for the wood that he transported on the river Saone in Pouilly since his dispute, as well as any expenses that

Louise had suffered. In the end, this process was settled amicably between these two parties.¹¹⁵⁵

Louise Joly also had to fight to maintain her son's Seigneurial right to nominate chaplains in the chapels of Pouilly. On several occasions, Louise made nominated chaplains without contestation. She simply notified the Reverend Bishop of Chalon or his Vicar General that as *mère et baliste* of Charles Le Goux de La Berchère, Baron of Pouilly in their diocese, she had nominated a chaplain for one of the chapels in her Seigneurie. For instance, on September 15, 1661, she informed the officials of the diocese that she had nominated and was presenting them Maître Francois Teurlot, the prêtre curé of Pouilly, as the new chaplain of the chapel of Saint Jean des Os built and founded in the *motte* (mound) Saint Jean joining the château of Pouilly. This chapel was vacant by the death of the preceding chaplain. Louise vouched for his capabilities to possess and manage this chapel, its rights, fruits and revenues, and asked that the diocese continue to employ half of the obligations received annually in order to maintain the chapel.¹¹⁵⁶ On February 12, 1662, Louise Joly once again wrote to the officials of the diocese with the nomination of a prêtre for the chapel Saint Jean l'Évangéliste in the town of Givry in the Chalonnais. In order to fill a vacancy left by the deaths of the two previous two chaplains, she nominated Monsieur Jean Quillot, prêtre et concuré in Givry as capable of performing all of the functions alone associated with this position and

¹¹⁵⁵ ADCO: E1143. In a quittance from August 1, 1670, Bachelard's *procureur* confessed to having received from him the sum of 100 *livres* 6 *sols* 8 *deniers*, which included 75 *livres* owed on 3,000 *moules de bois* at 6 *deniers* per *moule*, 16 *sols* 8 *deniers* for 100 *bichets* of wheat at 2 *deniers* per *bichet*, 3 *sols* 4 *deniers* from 5 *queues* of wine at 8 *deniers* per *queue* (wine vessel containing 1½ *muids*), 24 *livres* for the *bateaux* and rudders at 4 *sols* per *bateau*, and 25 *deniers* for the rudder that Bachelard carried within the *péage* of Pouilly since January 1, 1667.

¹¹⁵⁶ ADCO: E1143.

chapel.¹¹⁵⁷ On July 12, 1666, Louise nominated for the *oratoire* (private chapel) of the *pourpris* (enclosed grounds) of the Seigneurial house of Pouilly, Monsieur Pierre Monin, the *prêtre chanoine* (canon) in the *église collégiale* (chapter of canons without a bishopric) Saint Jean-Baptiste in Dijon. Through this position he was given the power to do the *desserte* (services and functions) for two years in this oratoire.¹¹⁵⁸

However, in 1670, Louise's right to nominate chaplains in her Seigneurie was challenged. In response to this threat, she sent a letter to the bishop of Chalon. According to Louise, as the Dame and Baronne of Pouilly she had an oratoire (domestic or private chapel) that the preceding Seigneurs of Pouilly had built for their individual conveniences within the property of their Seigneurial home on the mound of land called la motte Saint Jean without endowment as is explained in the 1520 terrier of Pouilly.¹¹⁵⁹ The chaplain position in this oratoire had always been filled by the Seigneurs, such as the Sieur Monin who was at the time handling the functions of the chapel through the permission of Louise. The letter went on to claim that Sieur Germain, the Curé of Pouilly at the time, had wanted to trouble Louise by claiming that the oratoire had been provided him by the bishop conjointly with the Curé of Pouilly as a chapel "en titre de benefice." Louise argued that this was not possible because this chapel had never been endowed. It was simply for a domestic chapel in which the Seigneurs of Pouilly had always celebrated the Masse by the *prêtres* of their choosing. For these reasons, Louise requested that the Bishop permit her the continuation of celebrating the Masse in her oratoire by such *prêtres* that she would like to choose.

¹¹⁵⁷ ADCO: E1142; <http://artfl-project.uchicago.edu/content/dictionnaires-dautrefois>. A *concuré* is a *prêtre* who exercises the charge of *curé* concurrently with other charges.

¹¹⁵⁸ ADCO: E1143

¹¹⁵⁹ ADCO: E1143.

Upon receipt of this request from Louise, the Bishop of Chalon decided that before a decision could be made, it was necessary for an official of the diocese to make a visit to evaluate this private chapel.¹¹⁶⁰ This visit took place on August 1, 1670 under the investigation of Andre Arthaud, the prêtre of Saint Martin of Seurre. Upon this visit it was noted that it was constructed by the Seigneurs and the land was sown by their *fermiers*. Moreover, above this *motte* (mound), near the chapel was a *maisonnette* (small house) covered in straw where a poor widow lived. When questioned how she came to be living in this little house, Françoise Boulrier, widow of Thuilland Pagert, stated that it was Dame de La Berchère who had given her permission to stay there in order to open, close and sweep the chapel. The official judged the chapel to be clean and in decent condition for *Masse*. According to the report, Louise's secretaire believed that the *curé* was just upset by the fact that any offerings collected went to the upkeep of the chapel rather than to the profits of the Curé. Moreover, the curé of Pouilly himself argued that the offerings made there in the oratoire in the parish that belonged to him could not be disposed of by the Seigneur of Pouilly without his input. The response was made that the *curé* of Pouilly could not claim offerings in this private chapel because they were only casual and voluntary and thus did not fall under the rights of the *curé*, but instead should go to the chaplain that said the Masse under the permission of the Sieur of Pouilly. The Bishop ruled that Louise and her successors could continue celebrating the Masse in their oratoire, by a prêtre of their choosing, at the charge of continuing to maintain the place.

In addition to nominating the chaplains, Louise was also responsible for paying their annual salaries. There are several surviving quittances showing payments made by

¹¹⁶⁰ ADCO: E1143.

Louise to these chaplains. For example, on July 14, 1674 Quillot as chaplain of the chapel of Saint Jean l'Évangéliste in Givry provided a quittance in which he confessed to having received from Louise Joly, patron of this chapel, the sum of 80 livres, 40 livres for 1672 and 40 livres for 1673. Quillot went on to emphasize that he was named to this position by Louise as his *nominatrice* (woman who appoints or is entitled to appoint).¹¹⁶¹

There is also evidence that Louise was responsible for some of the mundane transactions that occurred on the estate, which she managed as Dame of Pouilly. For example, on September 1, 1658 Louise Joly and Monsieur Anatoire de la Folie, *avocat* in the Parlement in Seurre, made an exchange of property. Louise relinquished a half journal of land in the *roture* (non-noble land) in exchange for another half journal in the *roture* that contained a grove. Thus, Louise made this land acquisition by exchange.¹¹⁶² On May 15, 1674, Louise Joly acquired additional land in the *roture*. This time it was sold to her by residents in Pouilly for the sum of 12 livres, which the sellers confessed they had received. This land acquired by Louise consisted of a half journal partially in the woods of the *roture*.¹¹⁶³ We also see Louise issuing orders for exploits to be expedited when payment of rentes fell short or failed to be received according to the terms of the contract. For example, on August 2, 1661 at the request of Louise, a sergent general issued an exploit commanding on her behalf that a resident of Pouilly promptly

¹¹⁶¹ ADCO: E1142.

¹¹⁶² ADCO: E1142.

¹¹⁶³ ADCO: E1142.

pay Louise the sum of 1,301 *livres* 10 *sols* that he owed her out of his initial debt of 2,000 *livres* for one year of the admodiation.¹¹⁶⁴

Louise was not always successful in protecting family properties, but she always went to great efforts to do so. When Charles Le Goux inherited the *Baronnie* of Pouilly, Louise was faced with many claims against her son from *légataires* listed in the will of the late Charles de Stainville. An appeal had been made by some of these *légataires* to challenge a sentence yielded on July 30, 1659 in the *Requêtes* of the Palais in Dijon.¹¹⁶⁵ Contrary to Louise's arguments for not paying these legs, these *légataires* argued that the land of Pouilly should be included in the same decree and mortgaged with the other lands in order to pay off their legs. Louise's defense referred to the appeal as unsustainable and "une chicane pure" (a clear trickery). Her defense emphasized that this claim was untenable because Louise's son was not the universal heir. Her son become substitute heir to the *Baronnie* of Pouilly only when the universal heir, Seigneur Antoine de Stainville, Marquis of Couvonges, died without legitimate male heirs. According to this *Factum* (a statement of the facts of the case), made and printed in favor of Louise Joly, her son Charles was the godson of Charles de Stainville, the late Baron of Pouilly, and his inclusion in the contested will was due to the affection and kinship that the late Baron received from Monsieur le Premier President de La Berchère, Charles' father. Moreover, Louise's defense argued that Antoine had inherited and enjoyed his inheritance for seven years and had even contracted a marriage during that time. Instead of another *héritier* (heir), Louise's team argued that her son was a simple *légataire* and therefore should not be responsible for these legs. Moreover, Antoine had received all of the properties

¹¹⁶⁴ ADCO: E1142.

¹¹⁶⁵ ADCO: E1142.

making him an heir *universal*, whereas Charles had only received Pouilly which made him an heir *particulier* which was equivalent to a simple *légataire*. Furthermore, it was the express intention of the late Baron of Pouilly that his godson Charles would receive the land without any charges or diminutions.

In an *avis du conseil* of Paris deliberated on December 22, 1659, it was determined that since most of the legs were assigned to the land of Villeneuve, not inherited by Charles, and that since Charles only received the land of Pouilly, he could not possibly succeed Antoine as universal héritier, but was simply a légataire. Thus, these other légataires had no recourse or claim against Louise or her son.¹¹⁶⁶ However, the court of Rouen overturned this decision in an *arrêt* issued on May 23, 1661, deciding that the Baronnie of Pouilly was indeed responsible for paying a portion of the legs as well as the unpaid interests.¹¹⁶⁷

Some of these were legs were relatively small. For example, Oudinet Liniep, called La Fontaine, had been a servant to Charles de Stainville.¹¹⁶⁸ In a quittance from October 30, 1670, he confessed to having received 120 livres from Louise Joly. This encompassed 100 livres amounting to the légat and 20 livres for a year of wages that the Seigneur also ordained in his testament. With this quittance, Louise was absolved of all responsibility towards this légataire. There were also several legs owed to religious institutions. For instance, in a quittance from July 25, 1661 involving Louise Joly and the *religieuses* (nuns) in the *monastère* (convent) of Sainte Claire in Besançon, the procureur

¹¹⁶⁶ ADCO: E1142.

¹¹⁶⁷ ADCO: E1142.

¹¹⁶⁸ ADCO: E1143.

of the nuns confessed to having received on their behalf, 500 livres.¹¹⁶⁹ This money was paid by Louise Joly as *mère et baliste* of her son who was responsible for paying the legs bequeathed to these nuns in the will of the late Baron of Pouilly. Moreover, Louise was made their *procuratrice* (woman who has the authority to act for others). The late Baron de Pouilly had also bequeathed money to l'hôpital de la Charité (hospital of charity) in Beaune.¹¹⁷⁰ The procureur of the directors of this charity received 2,500 livres from Louise Joly. The sum of 1600 livres was for the principal of the *rachat* (repurchasing or recovering a thing sold) and *amortissement* (dissolution) perpetual in the amount of 100 livres from their annual rente bequeathed by the late Sieur of Pouilly plus the sum of 900 livres for interests and expenses. The principal sum of 1600 livres was to be used to benefit the poor. Moreover, they established Louise as the *procuratrice* of the hospital Charity in Beaune. On September 11, 1661, a quittance was made acknowledging that Louise Joly had also paid the legs bequeathed to the hôpital et Hôtel de Dieu of Chalon.¹¹⁷¹ The sum of 2300 livres was paid by Louise to the procureur on behalf of the directors of this establishment. Of this amount, 1600 was the principal of the annual and perpetual rente of 100 livres that the late Sieur of Pouilly had given through his testament to the poor of the hospital for the capital of the *rachat* (repurchasing or recovering a thing sold) and *amortissement* (dissolution) perpetual of 100 livres of rente bequeathed by the late Sieur of Pouilly to this house of charity.¹¹⁷² The remaining 700 livres was for the 7

¹¹⁶⁹ ADCO: E1142.

¹¹⁷⁰ ADCO: E1142.

¹¹⁷¹ ADCO: E1142. <http://artfl-project.uchicago.edu/content/dictionnaires-dautrefois>. According to this dictionary, a *hôtel de Dieu* indicated a place to receive the sick, whereas a hospital was a home founded to receive not only the sick, but to give lodging and to nourish the poor and passersby and to treat them through charity.

¹¹⁷² ADCO: E1142.

years of interest accrued between the late Charles de Stainville's death and Charles' accrual of this title and land via substitution. Moreover, Louise was established as *procuratrice* of the hospital and hotel de Dieu. Once again, they had to promise to use the principal amount of 1600 livres to benefit the poor. Earlier in the negotiations of the terms of this payment, the community directors accepted her offer of 1600 livres plus interest. Although it is not mentioned in this quittance, Louise also stated that she would donate another 200 livres in favor of the poor of the hospital.

Before this case was completely settled, Louise did have an intense encounter with one of the légataires. Monsieur Etienne Bossuet, conseiller du Roi in the Parlement of Dijon demanded payment from her of the sum of 600 livres plus the interests accrued over 8 to 9 years.¹¹⁷³ On November 8, 1660 after examining the evidence and consulting judicial experts, a sort of arbitration attempt was made between Louise Joly and Bossuet. A deliberation was delivered in Dijon that suggested that Louise would lose her case and that she should settle. Louise argued that her son did not owe the legs of the late Charles' testament because the land of Pouilly was attained by substitution. However, there were few reasons given as to why Louise should accommodate Sieur Bossuet's request. First, after speaking with the most powerful avocats in the Parlements of Paris, Dijon, and Rouen, her success in this case was doubtful. The other reason to consider settling with Bossuet was because it was well known that he had "grandes habitudes" (grand acquaintances) in the Parlement of Rouen and that many parties might relate to his plight as légataires themselves. Moreover, according to this arbiter, if Louise settled, Bossuet had promised her son alliances in Rouen. Bossuet reportedly said that "si ladite Dame

¹¹⁷³ ADCO: E1142.

Premiere Presidente sort de ce process par la voie amiable avec lui, il donnera a Monsieur son fils tous les amis qu'il peut avoir audit Rouen, ainsi elle agira en bonne mère et tutrice en faisant pour son mineur ce qu'on estime qu'elle devoit faire si elles y etaient interessés en son propre et privé nom" (if the aforementioned Dame First President left from this case in a way amicable with him, he will give to Monsieur her son all the friends that he can have in the aforementioned Rouen, thus she will be a good mother and guardian in making for her under-aged son what is considered that she should do if they were interested in his individual name). As a result of this determination, there was a quittance issued on November 14, 1660, which stated that Louise had paid Bossuet a total of 750 livres.¹¹⁷⁴ The sum of 600 livres was for the légat to him made by the late Baron of Pouilly and another 150 livres for part of the interests over 10 years.

Although most of these records above have focused on Louise's relationship with Charles, we do know that Louise and Pierre provided substantial dowries to their daughters based on their prominent marriage partners alone. There is also evidence that Louise Joly assisted her son, Urbain Le Goux de la Berchère, financially in achieving an illustrious marriage. On November 21, 1675, Urbain received the lands and Seigneurie of la Berchère, Comte de La Rochepot, Censerey, Thoisy-la-Berchère, the Baronnie de Saint-Romain and the Seigneurie of Murchaut through a reprise de fief. These lands were given to him as a donation made by his mother in favor of his marriage with Demoiselle La Fleure d'Eaubonne on July 19, 1675.¹¹⁷⁵ He was able to receive this reprise de fief due to the death of his father, but also through his mother who selected him as her *donataire* (beneficiary).

¹¹⁷⁴ ADCO: E1142.

¹¹⁷⁵ ADCO: B10832.

In the November 1681 issue of the *Mercure Galant*, Louise Joly's death was announced.¹¹⁷⁶ According to this obituary, everyone who knew her was extremely saddened. This memorial went on to characterize her as a servant to the poor. The eulogizer wrote that "Tous ceux qui la connaissaient l'ont fort regretté, et particulièrement les Pauvres qu'elle secouerait par des charités continuelles" (All those who knew her strongly regretted it [her death], and especially the poor which she aided through her continuous charity).¹¹⁷⁷

Anne de Marmier & Anne de Baissey:

In the accounts for the Seigneurie of Bourberain and Til-châtel left by Anne de Marmier, and even the few left by her daughter Anne de Baissey, there are a great deal of similarities in their administrative roles and those of Françoise Brulart. The accounts are organized in a similar manner opening with the receipts, followed by the expenses, and closing with a brief summary of the deficits and surpluses from the given year. All three women shared similar expenses involving payments for services rendered, construction costs, charitable donations, as well as similar receipts in the form of *rentes* on lands, *tailles*, *censes*, and the leasing out of their rights for additional revenues. Moreover, just

¹¹⁷⁶ "Mort de Madame la Présidente de la Berchère," *Mercure Galant*, Novembre 1681 (Paris: G. De Luyne, 1681), 126-129. She died in Dijon.

¹¹⁷⁷ "Mort de Madame," 126-129. The memorial acknowledged her illustrious familial status in relation to her roles as widow, sister, and mother. This tribute mentioned that she was the widow of Messire le Goux de la Berchère, Premier President of Parlement of Bourgogne and then of Dauphiné, and the sister of the late Messire Georges Joly, Chevalier, Baron de Blaisy, Second President à *Mortier* au Parlement of Dijon. She is also mentioned in her role as mother of Messire le Goux de la Berchère, Maître des Requêtes, Marquis d'Inteville, Comte de la Rochepot, and Baron de Thoisy, of Messire Évêque de Laval, of the late Madame la Comtesse d'Estaing, of Madame le Coq de Goupillières, and of Madame la Marquise de Boury. The author then mentions her father's status and that the house of Joly was one of the oldest and best allied in the province. He goes on to say that her father, Messire Antoine Joly, was one of the most respected counselors of State of the Duchy of Burgundy.

like Françoise, both Anne's were involved in the sale of grains, and both made efforts to safeguard their properties and wealth.

The Marmier family, who had emigrated from England, had been established in Burgundy since the fourteenth century.¹¹⁷⁸ Anne de Marmier was the product of the marriage of Hugues de Marmier who was a Chevalier, Baron of Longwy, "libre" Seigneur de Gatey and Échevannes, Seigneur of Moissey and of Betoncourt, chef du conseil of Marguerite of Austria, Comtesse de Bourgogne, conseiller of State of the Emperor Charles V.¹¹⁷⁹ His first marriage produced no children, but his second marriage to Anne de Poligny produced 6 children, four boys and two girls. Anne de Poligny was also from a very old, very illustrious family in Burgundy.¹¹⁸⁰ She was the daughter of Charlotte de Montconis and Pierre de Poligny, known also as Pierre de Coges, Seigneur of Châtillon sur l'Oue, of Lisine, of Palantine, of Gommerans, and of Coges.¹¹⁸¹ Their youngest daughter, Anne de Marmier, was married twice.¹¹⁸² In her first marriage, Anne married Jean de Baissey, Seigneur of Til-châtel, son of Jeanne du Châtelet and Engelbert de Baissey, Baron of Til-châtel.¹¹⁸³ Jean de Baissey and Anne de Marmier had only one child, a daughter, also named Anne, Dame Baronne of Til-châtel and Bourberain. The exact year of Jean's death is uncertain, but based on the documents, Anne de Marmier

¹¹⁷⁸ Aubert De La Chenaye-Desbois et Badier, *Dictionnaire de la Noblesse*, vol. 13, 271-272.

¹¹⁷⁹ He made his will in 1553. He was very committed to the affairs of the State of the County of Bourgogne, and after having been Premier President of Parlement in 1517, on the Emperor's orders, he was assigned to many important ambassadorships.

¹¹⁸⁰ Aubert De La Chenaye-Desbois et Badier, *Dictionnaire de la Noblesse*, vol. 16, 35.

¹¹⁸¹ François-Félix Chevalier, *Memoires Historiques sur la Ville et Seigneurie de Poligny*, vol. 2 (Lons-le-Saunier: Pierre Delhorme, 1769), 258.

¹¹⁸² Aubert De La Chenaye-Desbois et Badier, *Dictionnaire de la Noblesse*, vol. 13, 271-272.

¹¹⁸³ Aubert De La Chenaye-Desbois et Badier, *Dictionnaire de la Noblesse*, vol. 13, 271-272; Anatole Huguenin, "Til-Châtel: St. Florent et St. Honoré," vol. 14 (Dijon: Imprimerie de l'Évêché, 1896), 124-26. When Jean de Baissey reached the age of majority, he repurchased from his sisters all of their rights on Til-Châtel for 9000 livres in 1558.

was a widow in February 1562.¹¹⁸⁴ Anne de Marmier's second husband was Pierre de D'Orsans of Bourgogne, chevalier, Seigneur de Lomont and La Neuville, Senoncourt, Noconcourt, Vaucouleurs, Val de Montmartin, hereditary Marshall of the Empire, and Governor of Gray.¹¹⁸⁵ From this second marriage to Pierre, Anne had another daughter named Lucrece.¹¹⁸⁶ Although the date of Anne's second marriage is uncertain, we do know that she became a widow again on September 1, 1574.¹¹⁸⁷ From the engraving on her tombstone, we know that Anne Marmier died on April 6, 1608.¹¹⁸⁸

On October 27, 1574, Anne's oldest daughter, Anne de Baissey, married Henry de Vienne, Baron de Chevreaux, mareschal de camp of the army of the King of Spain, colonel of the regiment of Burgundy.¹¹⁸⁹ Anne de Baissey and Henry de Vienne had two children. Their son, Henry, died young, and their son Francois de Vienne, Baron and Seigneur de Chevreaux, died in 1596 in the "fleur de l'âge" (prime [of his life]).¹¹⁹⁰

¹¹⁸⁴ ADCO: E1817.

¹¹⁸⁵ Aubert De La Chenaye-Desbois et Badier, *Dictionnaire de la Noblesse*, vol. 13 (272). Dom Augustin Calmet, *Histoire Généalogique de La maison du Châtelet, branche puînée* (Nancy: La Veuve de Jean-Baptiste Cusson, 1741), 102-3.

¹¹⁸⁶ Calmet, *La maison du Châtelet*, 102-4.

¹¹⁸⁷ Académie des Sciences, Belles-Lettres et Arts de Besançon, *Procès-Verbaux et Memoires, année 1897* (Besançon: Paul Jacquin, 1898), 376. I have been unable to find a historical document that provides the date of their marriage.

¹¹⁸⁸ Paul Delsalle, *La Franche-Comté au temps des Archiducs Albert et Isabelle: 1598-1633* (Besançon: PUF, 2002), 165.

¹¹⁸⁹ Louis Lautrey, "La Baronnie de Chevreau: ses revenus vers l'année 1625," in *Memoires de la Société d'Emulation du Jura*, 7d ed., vol. 1 (Lons-le-Saunier: Lucien Declume, 1901), 3-5; Anatole Huguenin, "Une Procédure de mise en décret d'une Terre Feodale au XVIIe siècle," in *Memoires de la Société Bourguignonne de Géographie et d'Histoire*, vol. 12 (Dijon: Darantier, 1896), 155-163. Augustin Déchaussé Anselme and Honoré Du Fourny, *Histoire Généalogique et Chronologique de la Maison Royale de France*, 3rd ed., vol. 7 (Paris: La Compagnie des Libraires Associez, 1733), 805.

¹¹⁹⁰ Anselme and Fourny, *Maison Royale de France*, 805. Francois-Ignace Dunod de Charnage, *Memoires pour servir à l'histoire du Comté de Bourgogne* (Besançon: J.B. Charmet, 1740), 191-193; Louis Lautrey, "La Baronnie de Chevreau," 3-5. Just four years before, he had still been under the guardianship of his maternal grandmother, Anne de Marmier, Dame de Bourberain and Til-châtel. He left to Anne de Baissey, his mother, and Anne de Marmier, his grandmother, the fruits and revenues of all of his properties, moveable and immobile.

Anne de Baissey became a widow when her husband Henry died in August of 1582.¹¹⁹¹ On April 2, 1587, Anne de Baissey married Charles Comte d'Escars, from Limousin, Baron d'Aix, chevalier of two orders of the King, his counselor in both his private counsel and state, Capitaine of 50 men of arms of his ordinances, Baron de La Mothe, Aix, Til-châtel, and Chevreux.¹¹⁹² According to her marriage contract from 1587, Anne de Baissey was accompanied and supported in this marriage, by her mother Anne de Marmier and by the husband of her half-sister Lucrece d'Orsans, her brother in law, Érard du Châtelet.¹¹⁹³

Although Anne de Bessey had no surviving children from her first marriage, and no children from her second marriage, she made a generous donation to benefit her sister's family. On September 25, 1584, her younger sister Lucrece d'Orsans had married Érard VI du Châtelet, chevalier, Baron de Thons, Bonney, and Bulgnéville, Gentilhomme de la chambre du roi, gouverner of Gray, counselor of the State.¹¹⁹⁴ On April 23, 1618, Anne de Baissey donated 160,000 livres to her brother-in-law, Érard.¹¹⁹⁵ From this donation, the sum of 50,000 livres was to go to the mortgage creditors, 60,000 livres to his wife, Lucrece as her half-sister, and 50,000 livres to Lucrece's daughter

¹¹⁹¹ ¹¹⁹¹ Louis Lautrey, "La Baronnie de Chevreau," 3-5; Anatole Huguenin, "Terre Féodale au XVIIe siècle," 155-163; Anselme and Fourny, *Maison Royale de France*, 805.

¹¹⁹² Huguenin, "Til-Châtel," 124-26, 125; ADCO: E1968. According to their marriage contract, Charles d'Escars was the son of Francois d'Escars, chevalier of two orders of the king, Capitaine of 100 armed men and of his gendarmes. His paternal uncle was the Reverend Seigneur and prelat Charles d'Escars Bishop, Duke of Langres and Pair of France.

¹¹⁹³ ADCO: E1968. Marriage contract of Anne de Baissey and Charles d'Escars.

¹¹⁹⁴ A. David de Saint-Georges, *Biographies Foreziennes. Achille-Francois de Lascaris d'Urse, Marquis du Chastellet* (Dijon: Darantiere, 1896), 140. Érard was the fourth to hold this name in his family. The title "Gentilhomme" indicates that Érard was born of noble blood.

¹¹⁹⁵ Huguenin, "Terre Feodale," 159-160.

Gabrielle du Châtelet for the purposes of serving as a dowry.¹¹⁹⁶ Through this donation, when Anne de Baissey died in 1622, her brother-in-law gained the titles of Seigneur of Til-châtel, Lomont, La Neuville, Échevannes, Véronnes, the forest of Velours, part of Marcilly, the close of Gemeaux, and Baron of Bourberain, amongst his other titles.¹¹⁹⁷

The transactions in the accounts administered under both Anne de Marmier and Anne de Baissey are remarkably similar to Françoise Brulart's expenditures and revenues. These three women were engaged in comparable activities. For example, both of the Anne's leased out various Seigneurial rights to garner revenues for their Seigneuries of Bourberain and Til-châtel. This included leasing the right to the revenues of the four banal in Bourberain. In the 1611-1612 account, the common oven belonging to Anne de Baissey was leased to Francois Jannin for 135 livres.¹¹⁹⁸ In 1601-02, the right of *paisson* (collective name for cattle and other animals grazing wild in the forest) and *panage* (right paid to the owner of a forest in order to have permission to put one's pigs there to feed on the acorns, etc.) of the woods of Bourberain belonging to Anne de Marmier produced no revenues. In fact, Anne de Marmier chose not to lease it that year because her pigs and those of Madame d'Aix (her daughter) were feeding there at the time. The next account year, however, the *paisson* and *panage* of the woods of Bourberain belonging to Anne Marmier were leased to the highest bidders, Messire

¹¹⁹⁶ Calmet, *La maison du Châtelet*, 105. According to this source, Gabrielle married Anne de Baissey's widower, Charles d'Escars.

¹¹⁹⁷ Anselme and Fourny, *Maison Royale de France*, 805; Huguenin, "Terre Feodale," 160-161; Calmet, *La maison du Châtelet*, 105; According to Calmet, Énard and Lucrece had 11 children, 4 sons and 7 daughters (105); Edmond Des Robert, "Mémoires: Une Séquestration au XVIe siècle," in *Bulletin mensuel de la Société d'Archéologie Lorraine et du Musée Historique Lorrain*, 169-181 (Nancy: Société d'Archéologie Lorraine, 1909), vol. 58, 173. Lucrece was dead by 1635. Énard died on December 13, 1648 (104). Anatole Huguenin, "Til-Châtel," 125. Charnage, *Memoires pour servir a l'histoire du Comté de Bourgogne*, 191-193.

¹¹⁹⁸ ADCO: E1838 1611-12.

Philibert Buvée and Adam de Cutigny from Bourberain, for 10 livres.¹¹⁹⁹ These also leased out their Seignorial rights to offices of justice. In the 1584-85 account year, the *prévôté* of Bourberain which belonged to Anne de Marmier, was leased to Prudent Broichon of Bourberain for 36 *écus*.¹²⁰⁰ In 1612-1613, the rights connected to the office and revenues of the *prévôté* of Bourberain were leased to Odet Sauvageot from Chaseul for 100 *livres*.¹²⁰¹ Closely related to the office of *prévôté*, both Anne de Baissey and Anne de Marmier also had the right to enforce justice within their Seigneuries. One way to do this was to issue *exploits* to those who were tardy with their payments. According to the 1584-85 account, regarding the exploits adjudged in the justice of Bourberain, Anne de Marmier took one-third of the money collected, and the person who rented the right to the office of *prévôté* took two-thirds of the revenues generated from the seizure of property.¹²⁰²

Both mother and daughter also collected revenues from *censes*, *tailles*, and *corvées*. In 1601-02, Richard Boeuf paid the sum of 16 *sols* owed to Anne de Marmier for the annual and perpetual *cens* on two *fauchées* of *prés* in Bourberain.¹²⁰³ In 1612-1613, the receiver collected eight *sols* for Anne de Baissey from the heirs of the late Prudent Guindey for the *cens* assigned on a house and oven.¹²⁰⁴ There was also a perpetual *cens* owed each year on 14 *journaux* of land in a glade in Bourberain. In 1612-13, this *cens* was leased to Guillaume Vanhouynet for 10½ *boisseaux* of *couseau* and

¹¹⁹⁹ ADCO: E1838 1602-03.

¹²⁰⁰ ADCO: E1837 1584-85.

¹²⁰¹ ADCO: E1838 1612-13.

¹²⁰² ADCO: E1837 1584-85.

¹²⁰³ ADCO: E1838 1601-02.

¹²⁰⁴ ADCO: E1838 1612-13.

10½ *boisseaux* of oats.¹²⁰⁵ They also collected a *taille* raised on the inhabitants each year in the amount of 30 *livres*.¹²⁰⁶ They also received revenues from *corvées*. According to the 1601-02 account, the inhabitants of Bourberain with horses or milking livestock owed each year to Anne de Marmier the *corvée* of one cart-full of wood which was to be taken to the *château* of Til-châtel.¹²⁰⁷ If they did not deliver the wood, they would be obligated to pay to Anne Marmier 4 *sols* 2 *deniers* for a *chariot* and 2 *sols* 6 *deniers* for a *charrette* as established between the inhabitants and the late Baron de Chevreaux and Til-châtel. Anne de Baissey acknowledged the receipt of this *corvée*.

Additionally, each account reconciled the total receipts with the total expenses. In the least, the basic goal was to achieve a balance in the accounts, but ideally, it was also to grow their profits. As in the Saulx-Tavanes accounts, if the expenses exceeded the receipts, the Seigneurie had to reimburse the accountant. However, if the receipts topped the expenses, the receiver had to reimburse the Seigneurie. For instance, in 1601-1602, the receiver repaid the surpluses that he owed to Anne de Marmier from the year before. He was found to be *reliquataire* (one who owes a balance) to her at the closure of the previous account. For example, he paid 8 *émines* 8 *boisseaux* of barley, 5 *émines* 23 *boisseaux* of oats, 6 *émines* of wheat and 50 hens to Madame to clear his debt.¹²⁰⁸ That year Anne was in debt to the receiver from the previous account year for which she reimbursed him 4 *émines* 10 *boisseaux* of *bled couseau*.¹²⁰⁹

¹²⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁰⁶ ADCO: E1838 1611-12.

¹²⁰⁷ ADCO: E1838 1601-02.

¹²⁰⁸ ADCO: E1838 1601-02 .

¹²⁰⁹ ADCO: E1838 1601-02.

Furthermore, there are very few distinct differences between Anne de Marmier's estate management as a widow, and the estate management of her daughter as a married woman. Although Anne de Marmier's administrative role prior to the death of her first husband, Jean de Baissey, is unclear, her role in the estate management of the Seigneuries of Bourberain and Til-châtel in her widowhood largely resembles that of Françoise Brulart. Moreover, based on Françoise's experiences both as a wife and a widow, compared to the experience of Anne de Baissey's as a wife, marital status appears to have had much less of an impact on the roles of these noble women in regards to the administration of the estates. Therefore, it is likely that Anne de Marmier was very involved in estate transactions as a wife. As the widow of Jean de Baissey, the late Seigneur de Til-châtel and Bourberain, Anne de Marmier took over estate administration of the Seigneurie of Bourberain, and from her *douaire* (a widow's dower) half of the domain of Til-châtel after the death of husband.¹²¹⁰ Several account years that fell under her authority have survived, offering a glimpse into estate management by a noble woman in the late sixteenth century. As was the case with Françoise, as a widow, all of the lands and rights were referred to as belonging to Anne de Marmier. For instance, the 1584-85 account stated that the *rentes* of Bourberain, belonging to Madame, were leased for 16 *émines* 16 *boisseaux* of *bled* plus 33 *émines* 8 *boisseaux* of wheat and 50 *émines* of oats.¹²¹¹ That year, the *rentes* of Chaseul, also belonging to Anne de Marmier, were leased to three labourers from Chaseul for 36 *émines* of *bled*, 36 *émines* of oats, and 36 pounds of new wax.

¹²¹⁰ ADCO: E1968, 1598-99 (acquisitions).

¹²¹¹ ADCO: E1837 1584-85.

Anne de Marmier was also involved in leasing properties in exchange for revenues. In 1598-99, the rentes of the *grange rouge* (red barn) belonging to Anne de Marmier, were leased to the highest bidders, Richard le Douz and Pierre Grissert, both *laboureurs* living in Bourberain, for 6½ *boisseaux* of oats.¹²¹² In the 1602-03 account, the rentes of Fontaine-Françoise belonging to Anne de Marmier were leased to Estienne Guichard from Fontaine for 2 *émines* 4 *boisseaux* of wheat, 1 *émine* 2 *boisseaux* of *bled couseau*, 1 *émine* 2 *boisseaux* of barley, 2 *émines* 4 *boisseaux* of oats, and 3 *livres* 1 *quarteron* of new wax.¹²¹³ The rentes of Sacquenay belonging to Anne de Marmier were leased the same year to the highest bidder, Jean Guerin from Sacquenay, for two *émines couseau*.¹²¹⁴ She was often the architect of the contracts and transactions. In the 1598-99 account, Anne leased the arable lands in the grove to her *grangers*, Antoine and Chrétien Maître.¹²¹⁵ That same year, no revenues were collected by the receiver for the étangs leased by Anne to Etienne Paris called Jaillot because she had received the money directly from him.¹²¹⁶

Moreover, like Françoise Brulart, Anne de Marmier was also very involved in the sale of grains. Sometimes she directed the transactions through the receiver, and sometimes she was directly involved in them. For example, in the 1584-85 account, the receiver sold and distributed 73 *émines* 21¼ *boisseaux* of *bled* on the command of Anne de Marmier.¹²¹⁷ In 1598-99 she asked the receiver to deliver 7 *émines* 2 *boisseaux* of wheat to some *marchands* from Fontaine in order to carry to Chalon-sur-Saone. In the

¹²¹² ADCO: E1838 1598-99.

¹²¹³ ADCO: E1838, 1602-03.

¹²¹⁴ ADCO: E1838, 1602-03.

¹²¹⁵ ADCO: E1838, 1598-99.

¹²¹⁶ ADCO: E1838, 1598-99.

¹²¹⁷ ADCO: E1837, 1584-85.

1601-1602 account, 4 *émines* 4 *boisseaux* of wheat were sold on Anne de Marmier's orders. She received the payment from this sale.¹²¹⁸ In the *acquisitions* of 1598-99, on the command of Anne de Marmier, the receiver delivered 10 *émines* 5 *boisseaux* of *bled couseau* and 4 *émines* 7 *boisseaux* of wheat to some marchands from Fontaine-Françoise in order for them to take these grains to sell. Anne also requested that one *boisseau* of the *couseau* be set aside and delivered to a woman from Bourberain.¹²¹⁹ In the 1602-03 account year, Anne sold 30 *émines* of wheat, 37 *émines* of *bled couseau*, 10 *émines* of barley, and 60 *émines* of oats to the receiver on credit.¹²²⁰

Anne de Marmier also was very involved in the distribution of grains and payments. In many of these instances, no specifics are provided as to the reasons behind these deliveries. For example, in 1598-99, she had the receiver deliver six *boisseaux* of wheat to the *jardinier* to carry to Gray. She also ordered the receiver to deliver 10 *boisseaux* of *couseau* to the mother of her servant.¹²²¹ Neither of these transactions mentioned why the person merited these grains. In other cases, however, the reasons behind the payments are clear. For instance, on one occasion Anne gave five directives to the receiver instructing him to make various payments on her behalf. According to her instructions, he paid three *écus* at the forge of Til-châtel, 2 $\frac{2}{3}$ *écus* to a man from Selongey for some meat that he had furnished to Madame, two *écus* for a message from Gascoigne, and 13 *sols* for two other messages.¹²²² On Anne's command, the receiver delivered 12 *boisseaux* of oats to the *jardinier* in order to take to Grey for the nourishment

¹²¹⁸ ADCO: E1838, 1601-02.

¹²¹⁹ ADCO: E1968 1598-99 (acquisitions).

¹²²⁰ ADCO: E1838 1602-03.

¹²²¹ Ibid.

¹²²² ADCO: E1838 1598-99.

of her horses.¹²²³ On her directive, the receiver paid 3 $\frac{1}{3}$ *écus* to Pierre Lopinet, *geôlier* (the concierge of the prison) of the royal prisons of Langres for the expense of *geôlage* (right that one pays the prison concierge on the entry and the exit of each prisoner) of a man named Pahnot.¹²²⁴ On the orders of Anne de Marmier, the receiver paid 50 *écus* to Demoiselle Presidente Noblet on the *arrérages* (unpaid remainder of a debt) that Anne owed her.¹²²⁵

Like Françoise Brulart, Anne de Marmier had a significant impact on the local and regional economies through her employment of various workers to make repairs to the estate. In the acquisitions account from 1598-99, the receiver delivered six *boisseaux* of *bled couseau* on the orders of Anne de Marmier, to the *blanchisseur* who plastered the château of Til-châtel.¹²²⁶ In the 1599-1600 account, she ordered the receiver to sell two *émines* of oats in Is-sur-Tille for four *écus* which was distributed to the *maçon* who did the restoration of Anne's château in Bourberain.¹²²⁷ In the 1602-03 account, on the orders of Madame, the receiver paid 49 *livres* 10 *sols* to Ives Danin and Jean Charles, for their *labourage* (tillage) of 33 *journaux* of land following the accord that they made with Madame.¹²²⁸ That same year, the receiver paid 3 *livres* 12 *sols* to Estienne Galoche of Bourberain for the repair work that some *maçons* had done in Anne's house, an expense that Anne allowed.¹²²⁹ Anne de Marmier also bolstered the local economy in terms of

¹²²³ ADCO: E1968 1598-99 (acquisitions).

¹²²⁴ ADCO: E1838 1599-1600.

¹²²⁵ ADCO: E1838 1601-02.

¹²²⁶ ADCO: E1968, 1598-99 (acquisitions).

¹²²⁷ ADCO: E1838, 1599-1600.

¹²²⁸ ADCO: E1838, 1602-03.

¹²²⁹ ADCO: E1838, 1602-03.

goods and services. In 1584-85, she granted five *écus* of wages to the receiver for making the account that year.¹²³⁰

As with Françoise Brulart and Louise Joly, Anne de Marmier also attempted to safeguard her property and rights. When her assets were threatened Anne employed local officers of justice to issue exploits and assignations when one of her debtors defaulted on a payment. For example, there was a conflict over the rights of the *paisson* and *panage de bois* in Bourberain, which belonged to Anne Marmier. That year no revenues were received by Anne because the 6 *écus* 5 *sols* for which it was leased to the highest bidder, Jean Maître, had been paid to the agent of her son-in-law, Monsieur the Baron d'Aix, instead, who claimed that the *paisson* belonged to him. The margin note stated that this transaction was under investigation with Anne de Marmier claiming that this right was hers and that she had been in possession of it for more than 35 years without any problems. In response, on Anne's consent, the receiver charged 20 *sols* as an expense, which he paid to sergent Garnier Lazare in Bourberain for the exploit he delivered to Jean Maître. In the 1601-02 account, the receiver paid sergent Mithouard 40 *sols* for having delivered an assignation to Jean Marie le Suel of Chaseul on Anne's request.¹²³¹ She also requested that her procureur be paid 23 *sols* to convey this assignation given to Marie.¹²³²

Occasionally in the accounts overseen by Anne de Marmier, there were transactions involving her son-in-law and her daughter. For instance, Anne Marmier and her daughter sometimes worked in partnership in their estate management. In the 1598-99 account, 10 *écus* were collected by the receiver from the inhabitants and tenants

¹²³⁰ Ibid.

¹²³¹ ADCO: E1838, 1601-02.

¹²³² ADCO: E1838, 1601-02.

possessing heritages, farms, and houses for their *tailles* according to the *abonnement* (agreement of terms and rates) prepared by Anne de Marmier and her daughter Madame d'Aix.¹²³³ On another occasion, she authorized the receiver to furnish her son-in-law four *boisseaux* of oats when he made an official visit of the woods.¹²³⁴ Moreover, there were certain expenses shared by Anne and her son-in-law. For instance, Anne de Marmier authorized the payment of 1 $\frac{2}{3}$ *écu* to Monsieur Regniet, the *bailli* of Til-châtel and Bourberain, for the half of his wages; the remainder was owed by Monsieur le Baron d'Aix. The same went from Monsieur Billocard, the *procureur* of Til-châtel and Bourberain, whose wages were divided in the exact same manner.¹²³⁵ On one occasion, Anne authorized the receiver to send six hens to her in Grey, and to deliver one hen when Madame du Châtelet, her daughter by her second marriage, was in Bourberain February, 15, 1599.¹²³⁶ On the orders of Anne de Marmier, the receiver delivered 1½ *émines* of *couseau* to Madame d'Aix to cover the household expenses she had accrued when she was in Til-châtel.¹²³⁷ In the 1601-1602 account, 10 *émines* of wheat were approved by Anne de Marmier as an expense which had been delivered by the receiver to her daughter Madame d'Aix who had commanded him to do so.¹²³⁸ Additionally, the receiver paid the sum of 3 $\frac{1}{3}$ *écus* to Simon Valler, *recouvreur* (mender of roofs) living in Dijon out of the 20 *écus* from work that he was doing at the *château* of Til-châtel according to the

¹²³³ ADCO: E1838, 1598-99.

¹²³⁴ ADCO: Ibid.

¹²³⁵ ADCO: E1838, 1598-99.

¹²³⁶ ADCO: E1838, 1598-99.

¹²³⁷ ADCO: E1838, 1599-1600.

¹²³⁸ ADCO: E1838, 1601-02.

marchés he made with Monsieur le Baron, Anne's son-in-law.¹²³⁹ Anne de Marmier allowed this transaction to be passed as an expense.

In her accounts, there are a few recorded examples of the charitable impetus held by Anne de Marmier. In the 1579-1580 account, for instance, by Anne's orders, 17 *boisseaux* of *couseau* was delivered as alms.¹²⁴⁰ In the 1592-93 account, on the orders and with the consent of Anne, the receiver delivered alms to the poor. In April 1592, he gave 16 *boisseaux* of *bled* to the poor women and orphans of Til-châtel and 15 *boisseaux* to the poor women and orphans of Bourberain.¹²⁴¹ There are also a few examples of religious generosity exhibited by Anne de Marmier. In 1590-91, on her orders the receiver delivered one *boisseau* of *bled* to the soldiers of the *château* of Til-châtel for Lent¹²⁴² That same year, on the command of Anne de Marmier, the receiver paid 3 $1\frac{1}{3}$ *écus* to Messire Nicolas Dousin, *prêtre vicair*e (parish priest and vicar) in Til-châtel for the foundation of a Masse. In the 1602-1603 account, the receiver paid 20 *livres* to Messire Prudent Verchy for two years of the Masse said for of the late Monsieur.¹²⁴³

Unlike her mother, the two accounts involving Anne de Baissey were administered by her while she was married to her second husband Messire Charles d'Escars. Just like in the accounts administered by both Claude and Françoise, much of the receipts section in Anne de Baissey's accounts mentioned the rights attached to the Seigneurie as belonging to her husband, Charles d'Escars. However, Anne de Baissey, did not share the administration of the expenditures. In fact, nearly all of the expenses

¹²³⁹ ADCO: E1968, 1598-99 (acquisitions).

¹²⁴⁰ ADCO: E1837, 1579-80.

¹²⁴¹ ADCO: E1838, 1592-93.

¹²⁴² ADCO: E1838, 1590-91.

¹²⁴³ ADCO: E1838, 1602-03.

took place with the *consentement* (consent) of Anne de Baissey herself. Both of the accounts were formally rendered to Anne's husband, Charles. However, the 1611-12 account was presented for examination and closed in the presence of both Anne and Charles. Although, only Charles' signature is present at the initial settlement of this account, the participation by both of them in the review of the account suggests that Anne de Baissey was very involved in the administration of the estate.¹²⁴⁴ In contrast, although the 1612-13 account was rendered to Charles, it was closed and signed by only Anne. The pervasive appearance of Anne's activities in the accounts suggests that somewhat of a partnership existed between Anne de Baissey and her husband in regards to the management of the Seigneurie of Til-châtel. In fact, there is one example of a *procuration* from October 3, 1595 obtained by Charles in order to give Anne de Baissey formal power to manage their properties and affairs while he was travelling.¹²⁴⁵ Although this document concerned a specific voyage that he "espère faire" (hopes to make), through this mandate he ensured that she would have all the necessary power to "régir, gouverner, et négocier" (to rule, to govern, and to negotiate) the affairs of their communities and properties in his absence. This act indicates not only that he expected her to fulfill the role of Seigneur in his absence, but also that he trusted her administrative skills to do so in a way that benefited their family. Although, this is the only example that I have found, from the accounts it is evident that Anne de Baissey recognized this as within the realm of her responsibilities at all times regardless of the existence of a formal *procuration* or not.

¹²⁴⁴ At the end of this account, there are two addendums regarding payments added to this account after its formal closure. The first is signed by Charles d'Escars. The second is signed by Anne de Baissey.

¹²⁴⁵ ADCO: E1968.

In both accounts administered by Anne de Baissey, the rights and the properties were referred to as belonging to the Seigneur. For example, the *cens* of 15 *sols* was due each year by the heirs of Gerard Grot to “Monseigneur” for one *fauchée* of *pré* in Bourberain.¹²⁴⁶ Although there were transactions that directly involved the Seigneur, there were many more that simply referred to his role as possessor of the rights. In the 1612-13 account, on the ordinance of Anne de Baissey, this receipt of the *dixme* of wine that was raised annually on the vines of Bourberain was discharged because the five *muids* of wine which this *dixme* was leased for had been conducted to the caves of the Seigneur and Dame.¹²⁴⁷ That same year Anne also relinquished the receiver from responsibility of the hens owed annually by the inhabitants of Bourberain.¹²⁴⁸ Instead, Anne received these hens herself—one per individual. According to the 1611-12 account, the abbot and nuns of the convent of Bèze owed a *prunier* (plum tree) each year to the Seigneur, which was uprooted and transplanted to Bourberain.¹²⁴⁹ According to Anne, she had the plum tree planted in their garden. When it came to the expenses, almost every expenditure was authorized by Anne.

Like in the Saulx-Tavanès estate records as well as the accounts administered by her mother, the payments authorized by Anne de Baissey were often issued to people for vague or unknown reasons. For example, in the 1611-12 account, Anne commanded the receiver to deliver one *émine* of *bled couseau* to a man named Etienne Galoche. No other details regarding the reasons for this transaction were provided. Another time, Anne ordered the receiver to give one *émine* of *bled couseau* to the *maître d'école* of

¹²⁴⁶ ADCO: E1838 1611-12.

¹²⁴⁷ ADCO: E1838 1612-13.

¹²⁴⁸ ADCO: E1838 1612-13.

¹²⁴⁹ ADCO: E1838 1611-12.

Bourberain. We do not know if this was payment for services rendered in his charge of schoolmaster, if it was in response to other services he provided, or if it was reimbursement for goods purchased. On other occasions, the reason behind the transaction is stated. That same year on Anne's orders, the receiver delivered 8 *émines* 18 *boisseaux* of *bled couseau* and 6 *émines* 18 *boisseaux* of *bled froment* to the Sieur Avocat Febvrier which Anne de Baissey had sold to him.

Anne de Baissey was involved in a number of transactions in her Seigneurie like her mother and the other women. In the 1612 account, the receiver collected 259 livres from the sale of wood by Florent Curt as seen in the contract made between him and Madame.¹²⁵⁰ That year, by the orders of Anne, the receiver sold 15 *émines* of oats to many individuals for a total revenue of 150 *livres*.¹²⁵¹ According to the 1612-13 account, on five different occasions between November 1612 and July 1613, Anne gave the receiver the orders to pay Prudent Pierferret, the *boulangier*, a total of six *émines* of wheat.¹²⁵² In June 1613, Anne also gave orders for one *boisseaux* of wheat to be given to the *pâtissier* (pastry chef), and three *boisseaux* of wheat to be given to "la petite femme" for her wages.¹²⁵³ She also gave orders for the receiver to give the *palefrenier* two *boisseaux* of wheat in July 1613 for the horses. In August, she gave the receiver another command to pay "la petite femme" one *boisseau* of wheat for making some *pates* (dough). The accountant, on Anne's ordinance, also gave one *émine* of wheat to the *procureur* Vienne from Bourberain to reimburse for the grains that he had given to some nuns from Auxonne. During the month of February 1613, Anne authorized the receiver

¹²⁵⁰ ADCO: E1838 1612-13.

¹²⁵¹ Ibid.

¹²⁵² Ibid.

¹²⁵³ Ibid.

to provide one *émine* of barley to the dogs. Additionally, she ordered oats totaling 14 *boisseaux* several times for the sick cows and calves in Bourberain.¹²⁵⁴

Conclusion:

The actions of Françoise Brulart, Louise Joly, Anne Marmier, and Anne de Baissey fell outside of the prescribed activities of women in France during the early modern period. They negotiated their positions within Burgundian society and held great influence and power within their communities regardless of the restrictive prescriptions placed upon them. The examination of Anne Marmier and Anne de Baissey's estate account books from Bourberain and Til-châtel indicate that they, as members of the nobility of the sword, were engaged in nearly identical roles as Françoise who was raised in a nobility of the robe household. Moreover, Louise Joly, who also grew up in the robe nobility, was engaged in similar efforts as Françoise to safeguard and grow the property of her family. These similarities demonstrate that Françoise was not singular in her authority, that women were actively engaged in the credit market in similar activities, and these examples also suggests a blurring of boundaries regarding the education and expectations of noble women in the two nobilities. From these estate and family records, it is evident that *noblesse de robe* and *noblesse d'épée* women in seventeenth-century Burgundy were expected to bring administrative skills with them to marriage. Moreover, based on additional research which I have collected, and on the inventories of the archival collections at the ADCO, it seems that this level of responsibility was rather commonplace, and that aside from these four noble women, many other s in this social

¹²⁵⁴ Ibid.

category were engaged in the economy in similar manners that challenged patriarchal prescription.¹²⁵⁵

¹²⁵⁵ Just glancing through the Inventaire Sommaires of Series E, which is organized by family and lists the key documents held in each folder, it is apparent that noble women were extremely involved in the family economy through contracts and estate management.

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- E1111: Le Goux de la Berchère Family.
 E1142: Le Goux de la Berchère Family, Seigneurie of Pouilly-sur-Saône.
 E1143: Le Goux de la Berchère Family, Seigneurie of Pouilly-sur-Saône.
 E1144: Le Goux de la Berchère Family, Seigneurie of Pouilly-sur-Saône.
 E1145: Le Goux de la Berchère Family, Seigneurie of Pouilly-sur-Saône.
 E1661: Saulx-Tavanès Family.
 E1666: Saulx-Tavanès Family.
 E1667: Saulx-Tavanès Family.
 E1674: Saulx-Tavanès Family.
 E1727: Saulx-Tavanès Family.
 E1742: Saulx-Tavanès Family, Marquisat of Arc-sur-Tille.
 E1743: Saulx-Tavanès Family, Marquisat of Arc-sur-Tille.
 E1744: Saulx-Tavanès Family, Marquisat of Arc-sur-Tille.
 E1745: Saulx-Tavanès Family, Marquisat of Arc-sur-Tille.
 E1746: Saulx-Tavanès Family, Marquisat of Arc-sur-Tille.
 E1749: Saulx-Tavanès Family, Marquisat of Arc-sur-Tille Map.
 E1763: Saulx-Tavanès Family, Marquisat of Arc-sur-Tille Accounts: 1645, 1650.
 E1764: Saulx-Tavanès Family, Beaumont-sur-Vingeanne.
 E1776: Saulx-Tavanès Family, Beaumont-sur-Vingeanne.
 E1800 (ter): Saulx-Tavanès Family, Comté de Beaumont.
 E1808: Saulx-Tavanès Family, Comté de Beaumont Accounts: 1629-1631.
 E1809: Saulx-Tavanès Family, Comté de Beaumont Accounts: 1632-1636.
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 E1812: Saulx-Tavanès Family, Comté de Beaumont Accounts: 1659-1660, 1662.
 E1837: Saulx-Tavanès Family, Baronnie of Bourberain.
 Anne de Marmier Account: 1579-80.
 Anne de Marmier & Anne de Baissey Account: 1584-85.
 E1838: Saulx-Tavanès Family, Baronnie of Bourberain.
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 1602-03.
 Anne de Baissey Accounts: 1611-12, 1612-13.
 E1845: Saulx-Tavanès Family, Seigneurie of Cheuge.
 E1968: Saulx-Tavanès Family, Marquisat of Til-châtel.
 Anne de Baissey & Anne Marmier contracts & acquisitions (1598-99).
 E2166-2, 3, 4: Brulart Family (supplements).
 E2166-61, 62, 63: Saulx-Tavanès Family (supplements).
 E2966: Saulx-Tavanès Family, Beaumont Map.

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 - Dissertation Title: "Family, Property, and Negotiations of Authority: Françoise Brulart and the Estate Management of Noble Women in Early Modern Burgundy"
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- Master of Arts, History, 2003, Purdue University, West Lafayette, Indiana
 - Major Field: Early Modern Europe
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- Bachelor of Arts, 1998, Texas Christian University, Fort Worth, Texas
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TEACHING EXPERIENCE

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PROFESSIONAL SERVICE AND RESEARCH

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- Conducted Dissertation Research in Dijon, France in the Archives Départementales de la Côte d'Or, March - April 2010
- Presentation: “Negotiating Authority: The Economic Role of Women of the *Noblesse de Robe* in Seventeenth-Century Burgundy,” The Western Society for French History, University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado, October 2009

- Conducted Dissertation Research in Dijon, France, September 2007- June 2008
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- Panel Chair, Purdue History Graduate Student Association Conference, April 2007
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- Presentation: “‘The Frenchman Blabs Everything’: French Stereotypes and Identity formation in Early American Print Culture,” Indiana Association of Historians Meeting, Hanover College, Hanover, Indiana, February 2006
- Member of the Graduate Committee, 2005-2006, Department of History, Purdue University
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 - Secretary/Treasurer, 2004-2006 (2 terms)
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- Graduate Student Coordinator for European hiring committees, Spring 2004 and Spring 2006
- Phi Alpha Theta History Honor Society Treasurer, T.C.U. chapter, 1997-1998

HONORS AND AWARDS

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