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THE LIFE AND TIMES OF
AMBROISE PARE

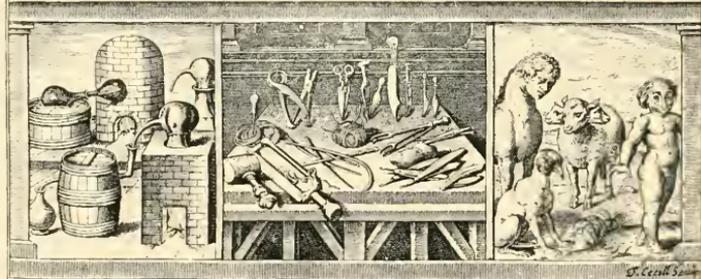


*Humana, & MEMBRIS II. vnde ait: parvus PARÆI
 Et Hæmorrhoides, sed Un us continet & Ambrosium.*

THE
 WORKES
 of that famous
 Chirurgion
 Ambrose Paréy
 Translated out of
 Latine and compar'd
 with the French.
 by
 Th. Johnston.

*Non fallere vide, non que erunt parva salutis
 Curat in exitum non silet tota morbosus*

London,
 Printed by Th: Cotes
 and R. Young
 Anno 1654



TITLE PAGE OF JOHNSTON'S TRANSLATION
 (First edition.)

LIFE AND TIMES OF AMBROISE PARE

[1510—1590]

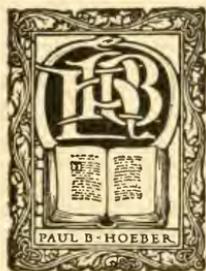
*With a New Translation of his Apology and an
Account of his Journeys in Divers Places*

BY

FRANCIS R. PACKARD, M.D.

Editor of ANNALS OF MEDICAL HISTORY, New York

WITH TWENTY-TWO TEXT ILLUSTRATIONS, TWENTY-SEVEN FULL PAGE PLATES
AND TWO FOLDED MAPS OF PARIS OF THE 16TH AND 17TH CENTURIES



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PAUL B. HOEBER

1921

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TO MY WIFE
TO WHOM I OWE MY INTEREST IN
FRENCH HISTORY

FOREWORD

THE object of this book is to present a complete English translation of Ambroise Paré's famous "Apology," accompanied by a brief account of the author's life, which it is hoped may stimulate readers to a further study of his works and of the thrilling times in French history in which he was such an active participant. The close contact into which the English-speaking peoples were brought with the French during the late war has led to an awakening of interest in both England and America in the history and traditions of our Gallic allies. Modern France can only be appreciated by a study of its glorious past, a retrospect which will be found to amply justify the Frenchman's national pride.

An effort has been made to translate as literally as possible the old French in which Paré wrote, the French of Montaigne and Rabelais. The task has been difficult because of the many idiomatic expressions, now disused, which abound on every page. Nevertheless those who are familiar with Florio's translation of Montaigne much prefer its many crudities to the more flowing language of subsequent translations. Johnson, the

earliest English translator of Paré, more nearly approaches the original text than those who have followed him, yet his old English is in many instances too crude for modern readers. It has been well said that translation may be compared to pouring honey from one jar into another; there is always some of the sweetness lost in the transfer. Therefore the translator would humbly suggest that those who wish to read the real Paré get an edition of his works in the original tongue and learn for themselves what fascinating reading his writings are.

FRANCIS R. PACKARD.

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AMBROISE PARE



THE LIFE AND TIMES OF AMBROISE PARE

CHAPTER I



AT the beginning of the sixteenth century France was experiencing the beneficial results of the well directed efforts of Louis XI and his immediate successors to overcome the power of the great feudal houses and concentrate all government in the hands of the king. François I ascended the throne in 1515, and though the Guises tried to secure the succession to the crown for their family under his grandchildren, the effort was a failure and when at the close of the century Henri IV gained Paris by a mass, the Bourbon line was established to rule supreme until the Revolution.

From the accession of François until the accession of Henri the country passed through some of the most

remarkable episodes in its history. Cruel civil and religious wars, expensive foreign wars—accompanied by some barren successes but also by stupendous national disasters, especially that of Pavia in 1525, when François I and the flower of his nobility were defeated and made prisoners or slain—sound projects of reform counteracted by the worst political and religious persecution, splendid projects for the prosperity of the land checked by wicked waste of public funds in debauchery and foolish prodigality to royal favorites. Across the scene pass the figures of some of the noblest and of some of the basest persons known to history. Catherine de Medici, the vile Italian, with her incredible bigotry, craft and wickedness; her three degenerate sons, François II, Charles IX and Henri III; the family of the Guises, able, unscrupulous, ready to sacrifice anything to fulfil their ambitions, anxious to destroy by any means, no matter how wicked, every Huguenot, and finally committing the frightful crime of St. Bartholomew in order that they might do so; Admiral Coligny, the chief antagonist of the Guises, with his brothers; Anne de Montmorenci, the harsh old soldier; Montaigne, the most human of philosophers; Rabelais, the doctor and priest, who under the grossest sort of allegory, attacked abuses which he dared not touch otherwise; and hosts of lesser figures, including among them Marguerite of Navarre, a royal blue stocking; Mary



L'Italie crèine Encor, o Grand Roy tes Sèrnes :
Les Monts trèublent encor, au bruit de ton grand Nom :
Mais L'univers entier, Cherit ton grand Renom :
Grand Pere, et Grand Support, des Lettres, et des Armes.

Thomas de Leu. Fe: et excudit.

Queen of Scots, whose tragic fate serves to obscure her wicked life; Diane de Poitiers, the elderly but fascinating object of the love of Henri II, who marked with their combined initials the palaces with which he delighted to please her.

Among them lived and worked one whose fame as a human benefactor will last until the race is no more, who from the humblest origin rose to high station solely as the result of his own genius, and who in the course of his long life, passed largely at the court or in camps, came to know intimately most of the great figures in the social, military and political life of his country. Ambroise Paré was more than a great surgeon; his reputation for honesty and sagacity was such, that he became the confidant and counsellor to many of the courtiers and soldiers with whom he came in daily contact. As the Duc de Savoie said of him, "he knew other things than surgery." His kindly, genial nature coupled with his good sense, make it easy to comprehend how popular he was in surroundings where feelings of mutual distrust and hatred predominated. In an age when religious hatred was at the reddest heat, we find him attending Coligny for his wound and a few hours later being sheltered by the King, who had ordained or at least connived in the massacre of Coligny and his friends. Although frequently accused of Huguenotism, he was surgeon successively to Henri II, François II, Charles

IX, and Henri III, and the Queen mother, Catherine de Medici, was not only his patient but his friend.

There is a voluminous literature available on the life and labors of Ambroise Paré. First we have his own writings, especially the "Apologie et Traité Contenant les Voyages Faits en Divers Lieux," which he wrote in 1585, five years before his death. Scattered throughout his other writings are many autobiographic details.

In 1840 Malgaigne published his splendid edition of Paré's complete works, prefaced by a résumé of the history of surgery and a life of Paré. For facts unearthed since Malgaigne's time, based on documents not available to him, Le Paulmier's "Ambroise Paré d'après de Nouveaux Documents découverts aux Archives Nationales et des papiers de famille," published in 1884, is invaluable. Dr. Le Paulmier has collected a large number of legal documents, processes, and other papers, which clear up many points hitherto obscure in Paré's life. There are also innumerable addresses, discourses, and essays on Ambroise Paré, none of them, however, presenting any evidence of original research on the part of their authors. Le Paulmier discredits the publications of Bégin, which the latter claimed were based on an unpublished journal of Paré. As Bégin never exhibited this journal nor published satisfactory proofs

of its authenticity, I think Le Paulmier's doubts were justified.

In the early part of the nineteenth century, there was a great revival of interest in the history of Paré among his countrymen, probably because of the interest in military surgery awakened by the Napoleonic wars. Much was written about him, but very little possessed historic value.

For those who do not read French, the translation of Paré's works entitled, "The Works of the Famous Chirurgien Ambroise Paré, translated out of Latin and compared with the French, by T. Johnson," first published in 1634, and subsequently in 1649, 1665, and 1678, is contained in most large medical libraries, and copies are comparatively easy to obtain. Malgaigne directs attention to the fact that at the end of the advertisement announcing his book Johnson says, "An Apologie and Voyages, being not in the Latine, but translated out of the last French edition, whom also I have followed in the number of the Books, least any should think some wanting, finding but twenty-six in the Latin, and twenty-nine in the French." In 1897 Stephen Paget published his delightful book "Ambroise Paré and His Times," in which he reprints the most interesting portions of the "Journeys in Divers Places," adding historical and biographical details, in such a way as to make a most excellent life of Paré.

For contemporary sidelights on the life and times of Paré the "Memoirs - Journaux" of Pierre de L'Estoile are invaluable. A complete edition of this interesting book was published at Paris in 1875. There is also the "Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris sous le Regne de François I," which is available in an edition published by Picard at Paris in 1910. These two books are mines of information on the years they cover.

From what we have gleaned concerning Paré, from his own writings and from the writings of his contemporaries, we are able to form what is probably as correct a mental portrait of the great surgeon as is possible at a distance of over three hundred years. Of his physical characteristics we know but little, save that he must have been of robust physique to endure the continuous hard labor which he sustained for so many years, up to within a short time before his death, at the advanced age of eighty. Not only did he attend to the harassing duties of an enormous practice but he also was a voluminous writer and found time for much scientific study and research. His labors were but little interfered with by illness, his most serious complaint having been the fractured leg which he sustained by the kick of a horse. He was bitten by a viper but, as he tells us, without serious consequences, because of the prompt treatment he administered himself. An attack of plague was his only grave medical illness and

from it he recovered with nothing more serious than a large scar left by a sore.

His writings speak for the verve and esprit of his mind. He was a Frenchman, a Frenchman writing scientific works with a logical incisiveness and art which make their perusal a pleasurable as well as a profitable pursuit. The relations of his discoveries and experiences are all narrated in the simplest language and bear the imprint of exact observation and truthful explication. Paré loved a good story and his works are full of them. He loved his fellowmen with a broad, gentle humanity and liked to foregather with them. From the references to good living which he lets fall from his pen he was probably of a convivial turn but there is certainly no reason to believe that this genial spirit ever led him to excesses.

Although disputes have raged as to whether he was a Catholic or Protestant, there can be no doubt of his sincere piety. In all his writings there are constant references to God and one of his most quoted sayings is that in which he attributes the recovery of his patients to a divine providence.

His benevolence and charity are shown under many different circumstances, to his relations, to his friends, to his patients of all classes, but especially to the poor common soldiers, who on many occasions showed their appreciation of it. Contrast the kindly irony with

which he attacks "mon petit maitre" Gourmelen, after the latter had assailed him in the bitterest fashion, with the invectives hurled by others at the heads of those who differed from them on scientific or other matters.

Paré accumulated a large estate. He owned a group of houses near the Pont St. Michael and a vineyard at Meudon, in addition to much personal property. He made generous use of it, aiding his own poor relatives and the relatives of his wife, and giving aid to many who had no such claim upon him.

At a time when political or religious antagonism led to personal attacks against any adversary, and when the vilest libels were circulated about any prominent personage who had incurred enmity on account of his actions or opinions it is an added testimony to the worth of Paré's character that the only attacks made upon him were due to professional jealousy. Though inspired by the blackest malice, the authors of these maledictions could find no reproach with which to blacken the personal character of the high-souled man who was the object of their hatred.

Sully, the great prime minister of Henri IV, refers to Paré in his memoirs, and the two men were probably thrown together at various times in the course of the long periods which both passed in connection with the court. In the preface to his "Chronique du Regne de Charles IX," Prosper Merimee says it is not in Mez-

eray, but in Montluc, Brantôme, d'Aubigné, Tavannes, La Noue, etc., that one forms an idea of the Frenchman of the sixteenth century. To these names he might well have added that of Paré.



Foot soldier in the sixteenth century.

(Lacroix.)

CHAPTER II

AMBROISE PARE was born at Bourg Hersent, a little village which now forms part of the city of Laval, in the old province of Maine. No trace of Paré or of his family now remains there. In 1840 a bronze statue of Paré by David was erected in Laval by public subscription. At that time the statement was made that a house, still standing, bore an inscription stating that Paré was born within it. The year of his birth has been the subject of much dispute. Malgaigne, after a careful consideration of all the facts available to him, was inclined to place it in 1517, but Le Paulmier proves, I believe conclusively, that he was born in 1510. This assertion is based partly on the internal evidence of certain passages in his writings, partly on the dates borne on authentic portraits, and lastly on the distinct assertion of Pierre L'Estoile, who wrote, "Thursday, twentieth of December 1590, the eve of Saint Thomas, died at Paris in his own house, Master Ambroise Paré, surgeon to the King, aged eighty years, a learned man and the chief of his art."

His father was, according to some, a cabinet-maker,

but others, on probably better traditional evidence, state that he was valet de chambre and barber to the Sieur de Laval. Several of his near relatives were in medical occupations. Thus his sister Catherine married Gaspard Martin, a master barber-surgeon of Paris. He died following an amputation of the leg performed upon him by Paré. In a pamphlet written by a surgeon named Comperat, Paré was accused of having been more or less responsible for his brother-in-law's death, because he had used the method of ligation of the vessels to check the hemorrhage at the operation, instead of cauterizing the stump.

A brother, Jean, whom Paré greatly praises for his skill in detecting the frauds of beggars who shammed diseases and deformities, was a master barber-surgeon at Vitré, and Paré is supposed to have studied with him at any rate for a time.

He had another brother, also named Jean, who was a cabinet-maker in Paris. Paré adopted his daughter Jeanne, giving her a handsome dot when she married Claude Viart, a surgeon of Paris, who had lived twenty years in Paré's house as his pupil.

There is very little reliable information regarding Paré's early years. According to one of the traditions given by Percy, Paré's father put him to board with a chaplain in order that he might learn Latin. The priest, however, made Ambroise perform menial tasks

in his garden and stable, troubling himself but little about his education. On leaving this ecclesiastical fraud Paré was apprenticed, the report runs, to a surgeon of Laval named Vialot, who taught him the art of bleeding. While with Vialot, the story goes, Lawrence Colot came to Laval to perform a lithotomy. Paré assisted at the operation and was so thrilled with enthusiasm that he determined to go at once to Paris and study surgery under the best masters obtainable. Malgaigne knocks out this pretty legend, however, by showing that Colot was taught the art of operating for stone by Ottaviano da Villa, an itinerant lithotomist, who had learned the method of operating by the "Grand Appareil" from Mariano Sancto, and did not impart it to Colot until after Mariano's death which did not occur until 1543. It is improbable that Colot would in 1530 have been called to operate anywhere, and he certainly at that time knew nothing about the operation by which he was subsequently to attain such fame.

All that we know definitely about Paré during this period may be gathered from a few statements of his own, which have been interpreted as indicating that he began the study of surgery first at Angers, or possibly at Vitré with his brother Jean. In his book on "Monsters" Paré tells of seeing at Angers in 1525 a beggar who was at the door of the "temple," as Huguenot chapels were then called, seeking alms because of a sup-

posedly diseased arm which he exposed to the view of the passers-by. In reality the impostor had cut an arm from a man who had been recently executed and, hanging it around his neck so that it projected from under his cloak, had made it appear that the decomposing member was one of his own. Unfortunately for him it became detached and fell to the ground, and when he tried to pick it up he was seen to have two good arms of his own. He was taken before a magistrate who had him publicly whipped, with the criminal's arm hanging around his neck, and then banished from the town.

In the same book of "Monsters" Paré tells how he saw his brother, Jean, "a surgeon dwelling in Vitré," detect a beggar woman, who stood "at the door of the temple one Sunday," feigning that she had a cancer of the breast by exposing to public view what seemed to be a hideous sore. Jean Paré observed her carefully and, noting that she was fat and well-nourished, with a healthy color, had her taken before a magistrate, who in turn sent her with Paré's brother to his office for a thorough examination. He found that she had a sponge under her armpit soaked in some animal's blood mixed with milk. When she squeezed the sponge the mixture was conducted by a small tube over her breast. She also was whipped for her wickedness.

One year later Ambroise saw, as he tells us in his "Monsters," his brother Jean once more display his

skill as a detector of such impostors. This time the beggar counterfeited leprosy at the door of a "temple." Suspecting the man to be an impostor he took him before a magistrate, who sent him to his house for a more thorough examination. When the imposture was thereby proved, the beggar was whipped. The spectators, evidently aware of the anesthesia which accompanies certain forms of leprosy, yelled to the executioner to whip him hard, saying, "He does not feel it, he is a leper." Thus encouraged the executioner went at his work with such vigor that the beggar died as the result of the whipping.

The three references to the "temple" in the above stories have been taken as evidence that Paré, at any rate during one period of his life, was a Huguenot.

Le Paulmier conjectures that the year which elapsed between the two detections which he states he saw his brother make was passed by Ambroise at Vitré studying with Jean. Although this brother Jean is generally spoken of as a "barber-surgeon," it should be noticed that Paré speaks of him distinctly as a "surgeon." It is presumed that Paré's master in the provinces was a barber-surgeon because in the address to the readers of his anatomy, published in 1552, he distinctly states that he knew neither Greek nor Latin, as would have been required of a surgeon. When he came to

Paris in 1532 or 1533 he was certainly apprenticed to a barber-surgeon.

When Paré came to Paris the medical profession of that city was sharply divided into three classes. First came the physicians, members of the *Faculté de Médecine* who held their heads very high. They arrogated to themselves the right of control over all who attempted to practice the healing art in any of its branches. The second class was composed of the surgeons, incorporated in the *Confrérie de Saint Côme*, and ordinarily termed surgeons of the long robe because of the garment they were authorized to wear. The community of the barber-surgeons held third place. Malgaigne gives in his introduction to Paré's works a long and learned account of the controversies which raged for generations between these three bodies.

The surgeons were ground between the upper and the nether millstone, the physicians constantly checking them in any attempt to practice medicine and the barber-surgeons frequently encroaching on the field of surgical practice. The surgeons of the long robe would not condescend to operate. They confined themselves to the treatment of surgical conditions by the application of plasters and ointments, the use of the cautery, and the treatment of wounds and abscesses. The barber-surgeons practiced venesection, cupping and leeching, and were constantly extending their field by attempting

operations, dressing wounds, etc. There were several groups of empirical practitioners who did much real surgery. Thus the "incisors" cut for stone and operated for hernia. They were tolerated rather than authorized to practice. In many instances they were very skillful as well as daring. At a later period we find in this class the two celebrated monks, Frère Jacques and Frère Côme, who were most expert lithotomists. Others in this group operated for cataract. The treatment of fractures and dislocations was largely in the hands of the "rabouteurs" or bonesetters. All these empirics were peripatetics, wandering from city to city, generally having to leave each place after a time because of the jealousy excited in the regular faculty by their skill. Obstetrics was left in the hands of midwives, some of whom attained great renown for their ability.

Malgaigne shows us the facilities for learning possessed by barber-surgeons at this time and the good use they made of their opportunities, in marked contrast to the laziness and ineptitude of the surgeons of St. Côme at Paris. While the Faculty of Medicine and the surgeons of Montpellier translated the works of the ancients, Hippocrates, Galen, and Paul of Ægina into French, and published them so that they might be available to the barber-surgeons, men unlearned in Latin and Greek, the Faculty of Medicine

and the surgeons of Paris confined themselves entirely to Latin in such works as they put forth.

From 1534 to 1537, when Jean Tagault served as dean of the Faculty of Medicine of Paris, he was charged with the duty of reading the course of lectures on the works of Gui de Chauliac, which was the meager surgical pabulum afforded by the Faculty of Medicine to those who studied surgery under its auspices. He had already conceived the idea of publishing these lectures when he was further stimulated to do so by the following circumstance.

François I had been led by the frequency of the wars in which he was involved to a realization of the necessity for the improvement of surgery in his realm. One day as he dined at Cardinal du Bellai's, having behind him, according to etiquette, his three physicians, he expressed his intention of establishing a course of surgery in Paris to be conducted by one or two qualified physicians. This intention was conveyed to Jean Tagault and he hastened to complete his work in the hope that he might be chosen to fill the new position. But his haste was in vain. His "Institutiones Chirurgicales" was published in 1543, but in 1542 the King had already appointed Vidus Vidius, of Florence, *Premier Médecin du Roi* and lecturer on surgery in the College de France. Malgaigne explains the ap-

pointment of this foreigner instead of Tagault as follows:

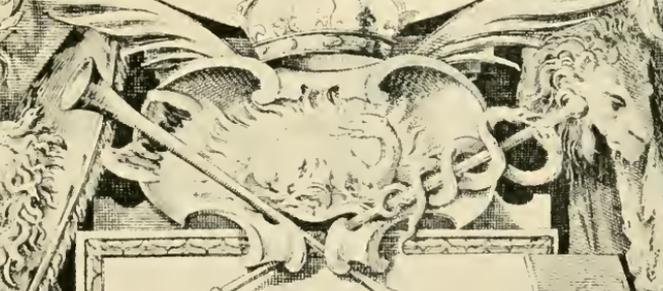
Vidus Vidius had a patron, Cardinal Rodolpho, who had discovered a Greek manuscript containing the commentaries of Galen on the surgical works of Hippocrates in much more complete form than any hitherto known. This manuscript had been translated into Latin by Vidus Vidius, who had carefully collated it with such other manuscripts as were accessible in Rome, and supplied commentaries of his own on such works of Hippocrates as were not commented upon by Galen. The book was published with a dedication to François I, and the Cardinal also presented the original Greek manuscript to the King. Vidus Vidius was, therefore, summoned to Paris to fill the chair, which he held from 1542 to 1547. On the death of François I he returned to Florence. Poor Tagault had died in 1545.

The Latin works of Vidus Vidius and Tagault, however much they might aid surgery, were of little use to the unlettered barbers who were ignorant of that tongue. Nevertheless, these barber-surgeons were almost the only practitioners doing real surgery in Paris, except the unauthorized empirics. Thus the barbers were prosectors to the anatomical lecturers of the Faculty of Medicine, thereby acquiring some practical knowledge of anatomy, which they used in dress-



IN TRISCO

CHRISTIANISS. FRANCIS I. DEI. MAJESTATE



FRANCOIS I ROY DE FRAY
LVII

Tiré d'un Tableau de Raphael
Ordon Coujéru a Fontainebleau.

ing wounds and fractures, practicing bleeding and performing many operations, while the surgeons of Saint Côme, not deigning to actually dissect the body and standing aloof from all surgical procedures except the application of plasters and ointments, had developed into a set of useless drones who hindered the progress of real surgical science.

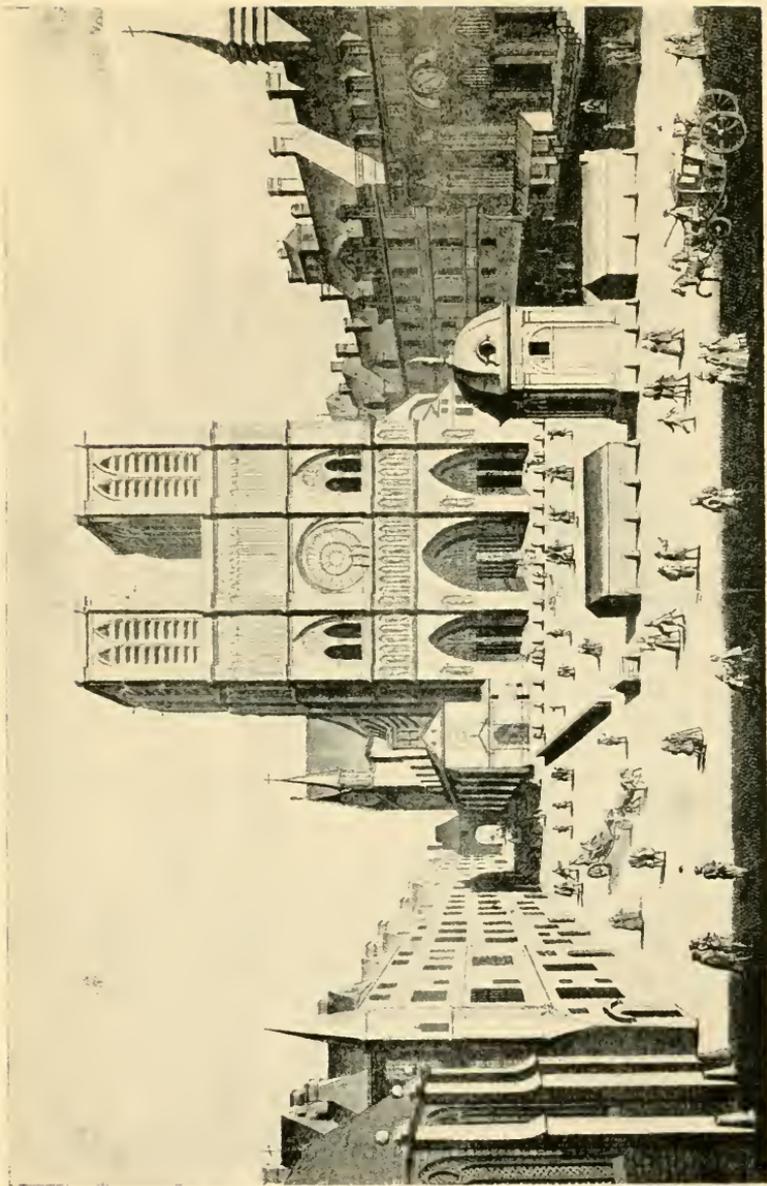
As textbooks Paré used the works of Gui de Chauliac and Jean de Vigo, both of which had been translated from Latin into French, especially for the benefit of students of surgery. As a barber-surgeon's apprentice he had, no doubt, to perform many of the tasks falling to the lot of such unfortunates, but we have absolutely no authentic light on this part of his career. Probably the fact that he does not refer to it subsequently was because it was not all beer and skittles and left an unpleasant impression on his mind. There has recently been published a most interesting little book on the life of the medical students of the sixteenth century in Paris,¹ in which there is a fascinating picture of the turbulent life led by the medical student of that time, with side glimpses of the barber-surgeons. Paré, however, did not remain long in the barber's shop. He very soon became, in what manner or through what influence is not known, *compagnon chirurgien* at

¹Les Étudiants en Médecine de Paris au XVI Siècle Essai Historique, par le Docteur Henri de Boyer de Choisy.

the Hôtel Dieu, a position similar to a modern internship or resident surgeency. Until the reign of Henri IV, the Hôtel Dieu was the sole public hospital in Paris. Accordingly, it admitted not only the injured and those sick of ordinary diseases, but also the sufferers who fell victims to the various epidemic diseases which invaded Paris from time to time.

The Hôtel Dieu, founded in the seventh century by Saint Landry, was under the supervision of the chapter of Canons of Notre Dame in Paré's time. The care of the sick was in the hands of a number of lay brothers and sisters. One of the lay brothers had the direction of the management of the hospital with the title of Master of the Hôtel Dieu. In 1505 owing to a condition of disorder and neglect of the sick the Parliament of Paris nominated a commission of eight citizens of Paris to manage the temporal affairs of the hospital. About a year after Paré terminated his residency in the Hôtel Dieu a grand row occurred. Certain monks and nuns objected to measures for the reform of the hospital and it was found necessary to remove them from its service. Some scholars sided with them and were so rebellious that the authorities committed them to prison.

It is very difficult to ascertain just what were the duties and privileges of the students admitted to the Hôtel Dieu. In 1327 Charles IV had ordered that



THE HÔTEL DIEU AND NOTRE DAME
(From a sixteenth-century engraving.)

two of the sworn surgeons of the Chatelet should visit the sick at the Hôtel Dieu and had provided that a certain number of students should be employed in dressing wounds and other duties.

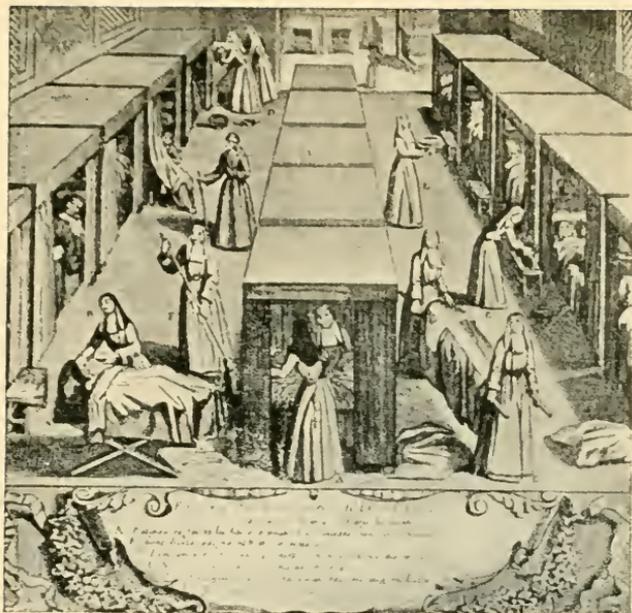
Malgaigne conjectures that the students treated the sick and injured and had the opportunity to perform autopsies and dissect cadavers. When mentioning his life there, Paré certainly speaks as though he had obtained plenty of such invaluable experience during his connection with the hospital. In the occasional references contained in his works to his residency we detect the pleasure and pride with which he looked upon it in retrospect. Paré left the Hôtel Dieu about 1536 after serving within it, he tells us in one place, for three years, and in another, for four years, and acquiring a large fund of practical knowledge.

It is curious that Paré nowhere in his writings makes the slightest allusion by which we can discover the names of any of his teachers or masters during his apprenticeship or while living at the Hôtel Dieu. What renders this circumstance especially odd is the freedom with which he alludes by name to the surgeons and physicians and even barber-surgeons, with whom he came in contact during the rest of his career.

The long life of Paré covers a most interesting period in the history of France. He was born towards the close of the life of Louis XII, and his death

occurred after the death of Henri III, and shortly before Henri IV was crowned King of France. Three crowned heads kept the European world in a turmoil throughout a large part of the first half of the sixteenth century—Charles V, Emperor of Germany, Henry VIII, King of England, and François I, King of France—all coming to the throne when young and vigorous, gifted with intellect and force of character, and imposing their personalities on the affairs and peoples of their domains. François I was fired with ambition to rule over certain parts of Italy, of which he claimed the inheritance, and his desires in this respect brought him into direct conflict with the Emperor. Henry VIII allied himself first with one and then with the other, on whichever side he thought would best serve his own interests.

Another source of conflict was the claim of Charles to the Duchy of Burgundy and the Kingdom of Navarre, former appanages of the French crown. After many fruitless Italian campaigns in which a few brilliant military successes only served to involve the French more hopelessly in the toils, came the final disaster at Pavia, February 24, 1525. A splendid French army commanded by the King in person was overwhelmingly defeated by the Imperial troops under Lannoy and Charles of Bourbon, the former Constable of France, who had become a traitor and left his coun-



A WARD IN THE HÔTEL DIEU
(From a seventeenth-century engraving.)

try to serve against it under Charles V. Ten thousand French were slain, among them many of the nobility and numerous officers of high rank. The King of France, the King of Navarre, the Count of St. Pol, the Mareschal Anne de Montmorenci, and many other nobles and leaders were made prisoners. The King passed six months of captivity in Spain before he secured his release on the most humiliating terms, having to send two of his sons, one of them the future Henri II, to take his place as hostages, before he could return to his kingdom. Once among his subjects François declared that he did not consider himself bound by the terms of the treaty which had been agreed to while he was a prisoner at Madrid because it had been made while he was under constraint. War was resumed and kept up until 1529, when the Peace of Cambrai was negotiated by Louise of Savoy, mother of the French King, with the Archduchess Marguerite, the aunt of the Emperor, for which reason it is often known as the "Paix aux Dames."

The years immediately following this, however, were spent by François in cementing alliances and strengthening his forces for another conflict with the Emperor. He allied himself with Henry VIII, and in 1534-5 even entered into a treaty with the Turks. In 1535 Francisco Sforza, Duke of Milan, died and the

King of France at once put forth his claims to the Duchy, sending an expedition into Italy to back them up. Charles V in return led a large army into Provence. Anne de Montmorenci commanded the army which defended France against this invasion. He contented himself with retreating before the imperialists, devastating the country as he went. The large towns, such as Marseilles, were too strongly fortified and garrisoned to be taken by the Emperor and in consequence he was compelled to retire with his army, lest it should starve in the wasted country. When the imperialists retreated Anne de Montmorenci carried the war into Italy, passing the Alps after a successful engagement at the Pas de Suze. After some more or less desultory fighting peace was declared in November, 1537.

It was in this campaign that Paré began his career as a military surgeon, crossing the Alps with the army and finally sojourning for some time at Turin. Though he had not yet passed his examinations to be admitted to the community of the barber-surgeons he went in the capacity of surgeon to Mareschal de Montejan, colonel-general of the French Infantry. As he did not take his examinations for admission as a barber-surgeon until 1541, Le Paulmier thinks that owing to the narrowness of his resources he went with the army as the only means open to him. He could not legally

practice in Paris until he had passed the barber-surgeons' examination.

From now on we know much of his life and personality from his own writings, especially from the "Apologie et Traité contenant les Voyages faits en divers Lieux, par Ambroise Paré, de Laval, Conseiller et Premier Chirurgien de Roi," published at Paris in the fourth edition of his collected works in 1585, five years before his death. This book was written as an answer to one published in 1580 by Etienne Gourmelen, in which he attacked Paré and brought to bear all the opinions of the ancients to prove that his treatment of wounds and his use of the ligature in amputations was wrong.

This is the book of which we offer here a new and complete translation. Paget has given a most delightful rendering of the most interesting portions of the "Apology," but he omits the first portion in which Paré quotes from many of the ancients to prove that the merit of his discovery lay not in the use of the ligature but in its application to amputations. As so many persons continue to refer to Paré as "the discoverer of the ligature," it is well for all to learn from his own writings that he distinctly disclaims any such title to fame. The racy style in which the book is written reveals very little trace of its author's advanced years, although he occasionally waxes somewhat garrulous

in his stories. He continually refers to his opponent as *mon petit maitre* and he garnishes the margin of his pages with charming notes, many of them exhibiting a naïve vanity and a *bonhomie* which is most delightful.



Cavalryman in the sixteenth century.
(*Lacroix.*)

CHAPTER III

ON his very first campaign Paré made the great discovery that boiling oil was not only of no use, but actually hurtful in gunshot wounds. All the authorities on gunshot wounds prior to this had taught that they were poisoned, envenomed by the powder, and that in order to counteract the poison they should be treated with burning oil. The French troops after a bloody fight had captured the castle of Villaine. Paré dressed the wounded in the accepted fashion with boiling oil, stating that he had read in John of Vigo that gunshot wounds were venomous because of the powder and must be cauterized with boiling oil to destroy the poison. But, owing to the great number to be dressed, "at length my oil lacked and I was constrained to apply in its place a digestive made of yolks of eggs, oil of roses and turpentine. That night I could not sleep at my ease, fearing that by lack of cauterization I would find the wounded upon which I had not used the said oil dead from the poison. I raised myself very early to visit them, when beyond my hope I found those to whom I had applied the digestive medicament

feeling but little pain, their wounds neither swollen nor inflamed, and having slept through the night. The others to whom I had applied the boiling oil were feverish, with much pain and swelling about their wounds. Then I determined never again to burn thus so cruelly the poor wounded by arquebuses."

A curious light on the life of the soldier of the time is given by Paré in his narrative of this campaign. Seeking a stable in which to put the horses of his man and himself, he came upon the bodies of four dead and three wounded soldiers lying against a wall. The wounded were terribly disfigured, unconscious, and their clothing yet burning from the powder. An old soldier came up and regarding them with pity asked Paré if there was anything he could do for them. Paré replied in the negative, whereupon the soldier proceeded to cut their throats "*doucement et sans cholere.*" Watching the action Paré exclaimed that the seasoned veteran was a bad man. The old soldier replied to the young surgeon that he prayed to God if he were ever in a similar case he would find someone to do the same for him rather than that he should languish miserably.

On this journey Paré illustrates the persistence with which he sought any information which could be of value in his work. While at Turin he met a surgeon who claimed to possess an invaluable balm for dressing wounds made by arquebuses. Paré pursued

him for two years with persuasions and gifts to elicit his secret. Finally the surgeon confided to him that his wonderful recipe consisted of newborn puppies boiled in oil of lilies, mixed with earthworms prepared with oil of Venice. He was willing to derive knowledge from every source, no matter how unlearned or humble it might be. Having met an old woman who advised him to apply raw onions and salt to burns, he promptly tried the remedy, and, finding it useful, continued its application in such cases. Throughout his life he lost no opportunity thus to study the methods employed by empirics, quacks, and laymen, considering no source of information unworthy of his notice if thereby he could acquire knowledge that might be of value.

Paré often tells of how his services were sought on every side by the wounded. Finally Monsieur de Montejan fell ill of an hepatic flux which ultimately proved fatal. He sent for a distinguished physician of Milan to come to Turin and treat him. Paré lost no opportunity of working with this learned doctor, who in his turn was a witness of the skill and hard work of the young surgeon. "So much so that one day the doctor said to the Marshal, 'You have a surgeon youthful in age, but old in knowledge and experience; regard him well for he will be of service and honor.' But the good

man did not know that I had lived three years at the Hôtel Dieu de Paris, to heal the sick there." After the death of de Montejan, the Mareschal d'Annebaut, who succeeded him in command of the soldiers, besought Paré to remain as his surgeon, but Paré refused his offer and returned to Paris in 1539, where he studied hard, especially anatomy, in order that he might be admitted as a barber-surgeon. In 1541, as stated above, he passed his examination and became a master barber-surgeon. As Le Paulmier shows, Paré underwent two examinations for his admission to the Community of the Barber-Surgeons. Possibly he failed to pass the first time he was examined, thus necessitating the second examination. Le Paulmier says that he had his first examination at the end of the year 1540 or the commencement of 1541, and he gives the following extract from the records of the Faculté de Médecine regarding his second examination which took place later in 1541:

"A Rasoribus de novo examinatis:

A duobus rasoribus qui anno praeterito examinati fuerant, videlicet, ab

Ambrosio Parré (sic), 72 sols 6 deniers parisisis.

Theodorico de Héri, 72 sols 6 deniers parisisis."

The examinations for admission to the Barber-Surgeons were at that time conducted under the auspices of the Faculty of Medicine. This document was unknown

to Malgaigne who thought that Paré had been received into the Barber-Surgeons in 1536.

Theodore, or Thierry de Héry, like Paré, had studied at the Hôtel Dieu, and had then accompanied the French army as surgeon during the Italian campaign. He and Paré studied anatomy together. Paré frequently refers to him as a skilful surgeon and a good man. In 1552 he published a book on the treatment of venereal diseases. He died about 1561.

In 1541 Paré married Jeanne Mazelin, daughter of Jean Mazelin, a deceased "valet chauffe-cire de la Chancellerie de France." Her mother, née Jeanne de Prime, had remarried with one Etienne Cléret, a merchant and bourgeois of Paris. The witnesses on the side of the bride were the widow of Odo de Prime, master barber surgeon of Paris, and Méry de Prime, merchant and bourgeois of Paris. Jeanne's dot consisted of six hundred *livres tournois*, with her *habillements filleaulx*. Paré¹ settled two hundred *livres tournois* on the bride. On the back of his copy of his marriage contract Paré wrote, "Traité de mon mariage premier."² It is curious to notice that Paré had two daughters who bore the name of Catherine, one by his first wife, the other by his second, although the first

²This, with many other invaluable documents bearing on Paré, was unearthed by Le Paulmier among the archives of the Château de Paley in the possession of Madame la Marquise Le Charron. Her husband was a direct descendant of the great surgeon by his daughter Catherine, the child of his second wife, who married Claude Hédelin.

Catherine was living when the second was born. The identity of names has given rise to some confusion.

Paré and his wife lived on the left bank of the Seine near the end of the Pont Saint Michel in the parish of St. André des Arts. In the course of his life Paré acquired quite a few houses in this neighborhood near what is now the Quai des Grand Augustines and he also owned a house and vineyard in Meudon. The church of St. André des Arts and the houses of Paré have all disappeared in the course of modern improvements. Rabelais was curé of Meudon at the time when Paré had his vineyard there and it would be curious if they had not met, for Rabelais had studied medicine as well as theology and we owe to him a translation of some of the works of Hippocrates. However, as there is no reference made by either of them in his writings to the other, and as no other evidence of any connection between them exists, we cannot know that they foregathered together.

A contemporary of Paré with whom one feels he had much in common was Montaigne (1533-1592). Montaigne was on intimate terms with many of the courtiers and nobles of his time and he and Paré must have had mutual acquaintances. Furthermore they were both officers of the court of Henri III, Paré being his chief surgeon, and Montaigne one of the gentlemen of his bedchamber. In Chapter xx, Book 1, of Mon-

taigne's "Essays" he tells how once when he was at Vitry-le-François he "happened to see a man whom the Bishop of Soissons had in confirmation named Germaine, and all the inhabitants thereabout have knowne and seene to be a woman-child until she was two and twentie years of age, and called by the name of Marie. He was, when I saw him, of good years, and had a long beard, and was yet unmarried. He saith, that upon a time leaping, and straining himselfe to overleape another, he wot not how, but where before he was a woman he suddenly felt the instrument of a man to come out of him; and to this day the maidens of that towne and countrie have a song in use, by which they warne one another, when they are leaping, not be straine themselves overmuch, or open their legs too wide, for feare they should be turned to boys, as Marie Germaine was." Paré in his book on "Monsters," in the seventh chapter, says that when he was at Vitry-le-François in the suite of King Charles IX, he also saw Marie Germaine. He tells practically the same story as Montaigne, except that the change of sex occurred, according to his informant, in the fifteenth year. It is possible that both were travelling with the Court at the time when this prodigy was seen.

Again, Montaigne³ writes of a mountebank whom he saw "being a child, that with the bending and wind-

³Essays, Book I, Chapter xxii, Florio's translation.

ing of his necke, (because he had no hands) would brandish a two-hand-sword, and manage a Holbard, as nimbly as any man could doe with his hands: he would cast them in the aire, then receive them againe, he would throw a Dagger, and make a whip to yarke and lash, as cunningly as any Carter in France." And in another place: "Not long since in mine owne house, I saw a little man, who at Nantes was borne without armes, and hath so well fashioned his feet to those services, his hands should have done him, that in truth they have almost forgotten their natural office. In all his discourses he nameth them his hands, he carveth any meat, he chargeth and shoots off a pistole, he threads a needle, he soweth, he writeth, puts off his cap, combeth his head, plaieth at cards and dice; shuffleth them and handleth them with a great dexteritie as any other man that hath the perfect use of his hands: the monie I have sometimes given him, he hath carried away with his feet, as well as any other could doe with his hands."

In the 1573 edition of his works, Paré writes in his book on "Monsters" of seeing when in Paris a man, about forty years old, who had no arms, yet was able to crack a whip by means of his shoulder and neck and could play cards or throw dice with his feet. He mentions that he eventually turned out to be a thief and a murderer, who was hanged and broken on the wheel.

This may have been the man seen by Montaigne



FIGURE OF A MAN WITHOUT ARMS.
(Paré, Edition 1585.)

for the descriptions of the feats these men performed are very similar. Apparently there were a number of such prodigies, however, because Malgaigne shows that Rueff in his book "De Conceptu et Generatione," published in 1554, describes one, and Lycosthenes in 1557 copied Rueff's picture and added to it the hatchet and whip. Lycosthenes refers his case to the year 1528. Pierre l'Estoile saw such a man in Paris on February 10, 1586. He says this man was a native of Nantes, and was about forty years old.

The only incident Paré records of his life at Meudon is in Chapter xix of his "Monsters." In this place he mentions that he had ordered some large stones broken up, and in the middle of one of them was found a big live frog. As Paré found no opening in the stone, he regarded this as a proof of the possibility of spontaneous generation. The incident may be regarded as indicative of an interest in his little country place. We may imagine Paré seeking rest from his arduous work in the pleasures of country life on the property which he had been able to purchase by his life of self-sacrificing labor.

Le Paulmier gives a small map of the territory near the end of the Pont Saint Michel, showing the houses which were owned by Paré, and occupied by him or his relatives. He acquired these one by one, first purchasing the Maison de la Vache in 1550. Some of these

August, 1549, because in signing a legal document on that date the Parés state that they are childless.

Fourteen years later a second son, appropriately named Isaac, was born to Paré. He was baptized on August 11, 1559. His godfathers were Antoine Mazelin, his uncle, and Nicole Lambert, ordinary surgeon to the king. His godmother was Anne du Tillet, wife of Etienne Lallemand, *conseiller du Roy*. This child lived less than one year, his funeral occurring on August 2, 1560.

About a year after the death of this son a daughter was born who was baptized Catherine, on September 30, 1560. Her godfather was Gaspard Martin, the barber-surgeon who had married Paré's sister. One of her godmothers was Catherine Briou, wife of Loys de Prime, wine merchant. The other godmother was Marguerite Cléret, widow of Etienne Cléret, and the third was Jehanne de Prime. This daughter grew up, married François Rousselet, the brother of her father's second wife, and died September 21, 1616.

Although Paré himself gives 1543 as the date of his journey to Perpignan, he is evidently in error as the siege of Perpignan occurred in the autumn of 1542. The town was occupied by Spanish soldiers. Paré went as a surgeon with Monsieur de Rohan and rode so hard to reach his post that he suffered an attack of hæmaturia. At Perpignan he displayed his astuteness in the

case of Monsieur de Brissac, Grand Master of the Artillery. De Brissac received an arquebus shot in his shoulder. Three or four of the best surgeons of the army sought in vain to locate the ball. Paré was summoned to his bedside. He at once made de Brissac assume the position in which he was at the time he received the wound. Paré then after a brief search located the ball and it was easily removed. This narrative has appended to it one of the charming little marginal notes with which Paré annotated his book and which display the naïveté and simpleness of heart of the author. Thus to the statement that he made the patient assume the posture in which he was wounded, Paré appends the note "adresse de l'Auteur." The French broke camp at Perpignan and Paré returned to Paris.

In 1543, Paré resumed his military career, again as surgeon to Monsieur de Rohan at Marolles and in Lower Brittany. The English had sent a fleet designed to land in Brittany, but the French gathered in such force that they did not attempt a landing but sailed away. The French remained a short time in camp and Paré tells us of the rough sports with which they whiled away the time. Monsieur d'Estampes got the Bretons to come into camp where they displayed their dances and other sports. A wrestling match was held in which one of the participants was killed;

Paré opened the body of the dead wrestler. Finally Paré left the camp and returned to Paris. Monsieur de Laval gave him a horse for his man servant and Monsieur d'Estampes presented him with a diamond worth thirty ecus. In 1544 he was with the army sent by François I to victual Landrecy but saw no actual fighting.

Le Paulmier shows that Malgaigne was wrong in his supposition that it was not until after his return from Perpignan that Paré had his famous interview with Sylvius. Le Paulmier states that it was in 1539 that Jacobus Sylvius (Jacques Dubois) professor of medicine at Paris and memorable as the ardent supporter of Galen against the school of anatomists led by his former pupil Vesalius, sought out the young army surgeon who had already achieved an honorable reputation and was held in much esteem. Sylvius asked him to dine with him and was so much impressed with the importance of Paré's views on the treatment of arquebus wounds, particularly as to placing the patient in the position in which he was at the time he received his wound, that he urged him to publish them. The young man followed his advice, but it was not until 1545 that he published his first book entitled, "La methode de traicter les playes faictes par hacquebutes et aultres bastons à feu: et de celles qui sont faictes par flèches, dardz, et semblables: aussi des com-

bustions specialement faictes par le pouldre à canon: composé par Ambroyse Paré, maistre barbier-chirurgien à Paris." This book was dedicated to M. de Rohan and made the fame of its author. It was reprinted in 1552 and again in 1564, and subsequently, with additions based on the author's experiences in later years, was included as part of his surgery in his collected works.

In 1545 Paré was with the army at the siege of Boulogne, during which the Duc François de Guise received a severe wound. He received the nickname Balaféré from the terrible scar. Although most writers state that Paré was the surgeon who attended Guise on this occasion, Paré himself relates the story without stating that he had any part in it. A lance entered the head of the Duke above the right eye, passed down through the nose and emerged between the nucha and the ear on the opposite side. The iron head of the lance with a portion of its wooden shaft remained in the wound. Paré states, "in such fashion that it could not be withdrawn without great violence, even with a blacksmith's pinchers." Malgaigne believed that if Paré had himself been the surgeon who accomplished the cure, he certainly would have mentioned the fact. The belief that it was Paré who performed the operation and cure is based on the narrative of the occurrence given in an anonymous "Life of Admiral Coligny," published at

Paris in 1686, nearly a century and a half after the accident, in which the author states that Paré, "surgeon to the king," withdrew the lance head with smith's pincers. Malgaigne in transcribing the story as given by the anonymous author points out that at that time Paré was not "surgeon to the king" and directs attention to the fact that Paré wrote his first account of the case in 1552, and repeated it in all the subsequent editions of this book, and again in his "Apology" in 1585, without once implying that he had any professional connection whatever with it.

After his return from Boulogne, Paré resumed his practice in Paris and also devoted himself to the study of anatomy. Malgaigne conjectures that he was prosector for Sylvius. If so it was a curious conjuncture for the most enlightened and advanced surgeon of his age to serve the most conservative and unenlightened anatomist, for Sylvius was Galenical to the core, announcing that if the anatomical discoveries of Vesalius and the other anatomists of his time were true, the anatomical structure of man must have altered since the time of Galen. Be that as it may, in conjunction with his friend Thierry de Héry, another barber-surgeon, Paré dissected many bodies and in 1549 published as the result of his labors a little work on anatomy.⁴ There

⁴Briefue collection de l'administration anatomique: avec la manière de conjoindre les os: Et d'extraire les enfans tant morts que viuans du ventre de la mère, lorsque nature de soy ne peult venir à son effet.

is nothing very remarkable about the anatomical portion of this book, but that part which dealt with obstetrics contained within it the first published reference to the use of podalic version. This little book may be regarded as the germ of his much larger and more elaborate treatise on obstetrics in his book on the generation of man, which was published in 1573.

François I died in 1547 and was succeeded by his son Henri II, who proved a most valuable friend to Paré. Henri II possessed many most attractive qualities. Of robust health, fond of outdoor life, a great horseman and a mighty hunter, he was likewise a man of keen intellect and judgment and during his reign by his wise choice of counsellors and by his firm, prudent management he did much to repair some of the evils into which France had fallen. His wife, Catherine de Medici, and he were married for ten years before they had a child, then their hopes were more than realized for in thirteen years Catherine gave birth to ten children, three of whom lived to be kings of France.⁵ Henri and Catherine's ménage was a curious one. She appears to have been devotedly attached to

⁵Many curious stories have been told to account for the barrenness of Catherine's early married life, most of them attributing its source to impotence on Henri's part. Some state it was due to his having a hypospadias which was cured by operation. His responsibility is negatived by the fact that before marrying Catherine he had had an illegitimate daughter (Diane de France) by an Italian girl. It is generally conceded that the counsels of Fernel, the court physician, led to the happy result. He is said to have advised the royal pair to have connection during Catherine's menstrual periods.



HONORI ET BENE

FRANCO-R. REX. INVICTISS. ✠ HENRICVS. II. DEI. GRATIA.

HENRY · II · ROY · DE · FRANCE · LVIII ·

him, and he in turn always treated her in public with apparent affection and esteem; but the King's love was really bestowed on Diane de Poitiers, and she probably had more influence over him than any other person. She was nineteen years older than Henri, a widow with two children, who had been on intimate relations with his own father. Some have tried to prove that their relations were purely platonic, but it is hard to believe this in view of the loverlike gallantry with which Henri treated her.

In 1552 Paré republished his book on wounds made by arquebuses, dedicating this edition to King Henri II, at the suggestion of Monsieur de Rohan to whom the first had been dedicated. In the same year (1552) Paré made his "Journey to Germany," once more accompanying Monsieur de Rohan. During the trip he had occasion to display the genuine kindness of his heart in the performance of an act of charity which won him the love of the private soldiers, men whom the cruelty of the warfare of that time had little accustomed to acts of that nature. After one of the humble soldiers had been terribly wounded, his comrades dug a ditch in which it was proposed to bury him before they resumed their march in order to save him from the savagery of the peasants, whose just hatred of the soldiers for the devastation of their lands led them to perpetrate barbarous brutalities on such fighting men as fell into

their hands. Therefore the soldiers, like the old soldier whom Paré tells us cut the throats of three wounded comrades on his campaign in 1537, were wont to put one another out of misery rather than be captured alive. Paré persuaded them to take the wounded man along on one of the army wagons. He himself performed for him the "offices of physician, apothecary, surgeon and cook" and finally cured him of his wounds. To this narrative Paré in all naïveté appends the note "Charité de l'Auteur." The soldiers appreciated his charity so greatly that at the first opportunity each man-at-arms gave him an écu and each archer a demi-écu.

Returning from this campaign in Germany in 1552, at the siege of Danvilliers, Paré amputated an officer's leg by his new method, using the ligature instead of hot irons to check the hemorrhage. "I dressed him and God healed him. He returned home gaily with a wooden leg, saying that he had got off cheaply without being miserably burned to staunch the bleeding, as you write in your book, *mon petit maistre*." Malgaigne notes that only a short time before, in the second edition ^{6a} (1552) of his book on wounds, Paré had still adhered to the use of the cautery to stop hemorrhage after

^{6a} La Maniere de Traicter les playes faites tant par hacjuebutes que par fleches: et les accidentz d'icelles, comme fractures et caries des os, gangrene et mortification: avec pourtraictz des instrumentz necessaires pour leur curation. Et la methode de curer les combustions principalement faites par la pouldre à canon. Paris, 1552.

amputation. But he had discussed with Etienne de la Rivière and François Rasse, two of the surgeons of Saint Côme, the question as to whether the ligature, applicable to other forms of hemorrhage, could not be used just as well in amputation wounds. They all agreed that it was worth trying and here at the first opportunity which offered Paré tried it, with success. In his "Dix Livres de La Chirurgie," 1564, Paré first published his method of ligating the vessels in amputations, stating candidly that in doing so he entirely ignored the method of stopping bleeding by cauterization which he had recommended in his book, published in 1552. He advises his reader in 1564 to forego the use of the cautery altogether.

His fame had reached the ears of Antoine de Bourbon, Monsieur de Vendome, who was later King of Navarre, and he sent for Paré and asked him to go with him as surgeon on an expedition he was leading into Picardy. Paré sought to be excused, alleging that his wife was ill and required his presence in Paris. But Monsieur de Vendome insisted, stating that he had left his wife, who was of as good a house as Paré's, and that there were other doctors in Paris besides her husband to treat her. Paré yielded and went on the campaign. He won the confidence and affection of Monsieur de Vendome to such an extent that he brought Paré to the attention of King Henri II. The King was so impressed

that he took Paré into his own service, appointing him one of his surgeons in ordinary.

Paré's account of his experiences at the siege of Metz in 1552 is one of the most graphic of his relations. The Emperor Charles V laid siege to Metz in the late autumn of 1552. The Duc de Guise, d'Enghien, Condé, and many other nobles were in the city and determined to hold out to all extremities. There was great mortality among the wounded in the town and Guise sent word to the King requesting him to send Ambroise Paré with a fresh supply of drugs for him as he feared those they had were poisoned. Paré states that he does not believe the drugs were poisoned but that the wounded died because of the severity of their wounds and the extreme cold of the weather. The King arranged to have Paré smuggled through the enemies' lines by an Italian captain who got 1500 écus for conveying him. Paré arrived within the walls of Metz at midnight. He was taken to the bedside of the Duc de Guise who greeted him warmly. The very next morning Paré set to work. After he had brought the greetings of the King to the various nobles and gentlemen who were so bravely defending the city and had distributed his load of drugs to the surgeons and apothecaries, he fell to dressing the wounded who kept sending for him from all quarters. He set one seigneur's leg, which had been broken by a cannon shot four

days before, and treated only by a man who used certain spells and did not reduce the fracture. Another gentleman whom he treated had been unconscious fourteen days, after having been hit on the head by a stone cannon ball. The patient had vomited and bled from the nose, mouth and ears, and had convulsive tremors. He was trephined. Paré modestly concludes his history of the case, "I dressed him with other surgeons, and God healed him; and to-day he is yet living, thank God." Read in his story the many picturesque details of the siege, the desperate straits to which both besiegers and besieged were reduced, and the fierce fighting. Finally the plague began to ravage the Emperor's camp and realizing the hopelessness of his efforts he gave up the siege and returned with his army on the day after Christmas. Paré took leave of the Duc de Guise and returned to the King at Paris, by whom he was honorably received and given 200 écus, besides the 100 écus he had received on going forth.

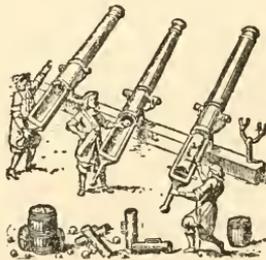
In 1553 Paré was captured by the enemy when the town of Hesdin fell into their hands. He had been sent to Hesdin by the King. The French made a desperate defense but were finally obliged to capitulate. Paré, addressing *mon petit maistre*, says that if he had been there he would have lacked charcoal to heat his hot irons and would have been killed like a calf (*comme un veau*) for his cruelty if he had attempted to use

them. Also he would have lacked the jellies and dainties which he was wont to feed his patients. At the council of the officers Paré gave his voice for a surrender. Before the enemy entered Paré disguised himself by giving his velvet coat, satin doublet and cloak to a soldier in exchange for the latter's ragged doublet with a frayed leather collar, a bad hat and a short cloak. Paré then went to Monsieur de Martigues who had been under his care with a shot wound of the lungs and arranged that he should stay with him and dress him when they were both prisoners. This was a risky scheme of Paré's because although by disguising himself he might escape paying the ransom which would be demanded for his release, he ran the chance of meeting the fate allotted to common prisoners of that time, namely being shot or cut down without mercy and with no regard to the terms of surrender, a fate which actually befell most of those who surrendered at Hesdin. Monsieur de Martigues, however, being a prisoner of importance asked that Paré be allowed to accompany him to the camp of his enemies and the Spaniards granted his request. His captors sent some of their own surgeons and physicians to see Monsieur de Martigues. Paré resolved to appear ignorant and not let them know they had captured the King's surgeon and yet he wished them to see that he had taken good care of the wounded man as otherwise they might cut his

throat. After Paré had told the visitors the nature of the wound and what he had done for it, they all agreed with him in his unfavorable prognosis but stated in their opinion he had been well dressed and cared for. At this conjuncture a Spanish impostor came forward and avowed that he could cure de Martigues, if he was given entire charge of him. The Duke of Savoy gave orders that no physician or surgeon should interfere with the Spaniard, and Paré was forbidden on pain of death to go near him. This rejoiced Paré because he feared that when de Martigues should die the Spaniards would blame him and kill him. The Spaniard's treatment consisted in spells, and in permitting the wounded man to eat and drink whatever he pleased, while the Spaniard dieted himself rigorously. The patient died and the Spaniard ran away. Paré was requested by the Emperor's surgeon to embalm the body which he did in the presence of the surgeon, and of many other physicians and surgeons and a large number of gentlemen. Paré not only embalmed the body but delivered to those assembled a learned discourse on anatomy. The Emperor's surgeon was so impressed that he tried to persuade Paré to remain with him, offering to clothe him and give him a horse. But Paré declined, saying that he had no desire to serve foreigners. To this patriotic statement Paré naïvely appends the marginal note "Brave response." The surgeon told him he was a

fool. But Paré had occasion to make the same reply again to the Duke of Savoy himself, when that Prince, having been told by the Emperor's physician of Paré's skill, sent to ask him to enter his service. Paré sent back his thanks but stated that he would never serve a stranger. The Duke of Savoy was very angry and said the surgeon deserved to be sent to the galleys. Subsequently Monsieur de Vaudeville asked the Duke of Savoy to send Paré to him to see if he could cure a leg ulcer from which he had suffered for six or seven years. Savoy sent him and de Vaudeville promised to set him free if he succeeded in curing him. This Paré did and thereby secured his freedom.

Paré hastened to King Henri II. The King received him gladly, gave him 200 écus and told him that when he had heard of his capture he had sent word to his wife that she need not be unhappy that he would pay his ransom.

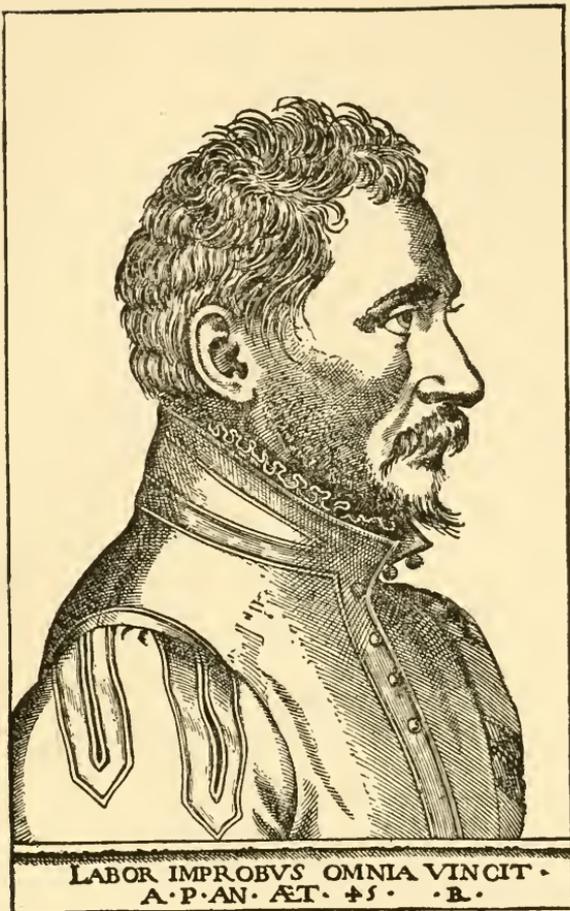


CHAPTER IV

IN 1554, when he was forty-four years old, Paré was made a member of the Collège de Saint Côme, and thereby became a master surgeon, a surgeon of the long robe, instead of a barber-surgeon. The surgeons of Paris were anxious to number among themselves a man of such prominence and weight at Court. Paré knew no Latin and his examination for admission was so conducted as to render it a farce. He was given his letter of reception to the mastership without being required to pay the customary fees. Twenty-three years later, in 1577, Jean Riolan, professor of anatomy at Paris, wrote a pamphlet in which he ridiculed the manner in which Paré had been received into the College of Surgeons. However that may be, the surgeons certainly showed much practical wisdom in thus serving him because it was probably due to Paré's influence that the Faculté de Médecine attempted no more interference with their affairs throughout the reign of Paré's firm friend and patron Henri II.

Paré's elevation to membership in the Collège de Saint Côme furnishes an interesting chapter in the his-

tory of the controversy by which the Confrérie de Saint Côme succeeded in elevating itself to the rank of a college, securing thereby the privileges accruing to its affiliation with the Université de France on an equal basis with the Faculté de Médecine. The chief factor in bringing about this improvement in the condition of the French surgeons was one Etienne de la Riviere, a native of Paris, and a warm friend of Paré's, who was one of the witnesses on his part at his first marriage, and was also associated with him in many other affairs both professional and social. La Riviere began his professional career as a barber-surgeon. He worked as prosector for the anatomical demonstrations given by Charles Etienne, a physician belonging to the Faculté de Médecine. In 1539 Charles Etienne announced his intention of publishing a book on anatomy based on these demonstrations for which Etienne de la Riviere had made the dissections. The latter claimed recognition of his share in the work and laid his claims before the Parliament of Paris. After an investigation by a commission composed of physicians and surgeons, the Parliament acknowledged, in 1541, the justice of the claim. The Confrérie de Saint Côme was so glad of a victory won over its opponents of the Faculté de Médecine that it proceeded to make the barber-surgeon de la Riviere a member of its august self. Thus when the book was finally published in



AMBROISE PARÉ, AT THE AGE OF FORTY-FIVE.
(*Anatomie Universelle*, 1561.)

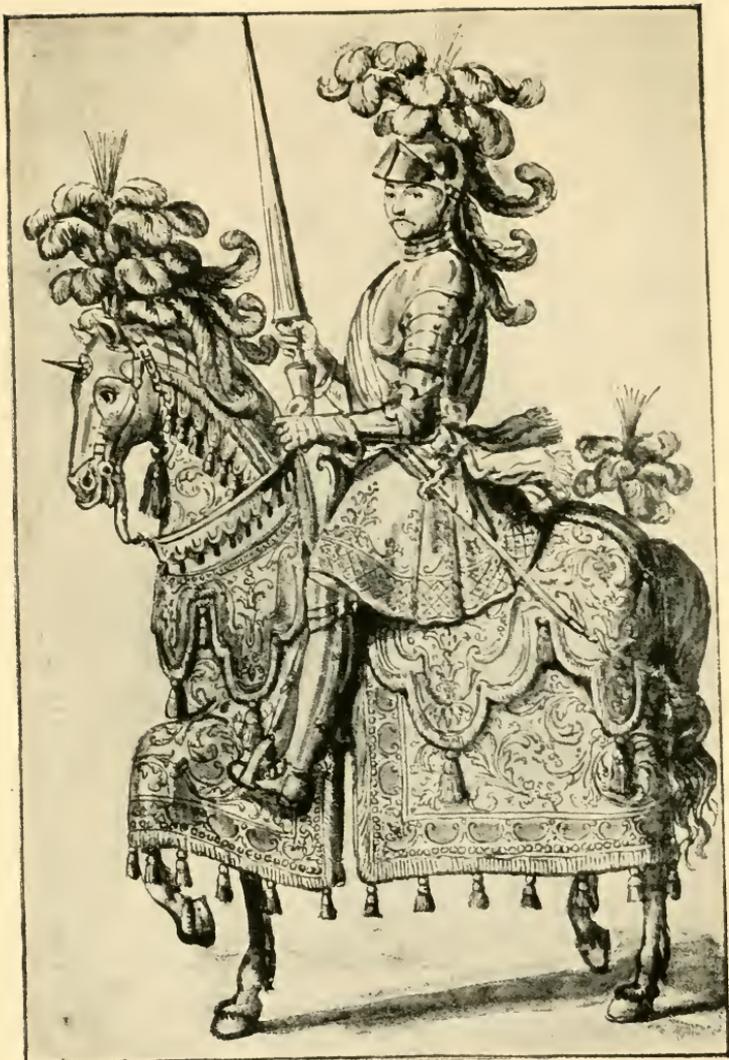
1545, Etienne de la Riviere figures as its author, with the proud title of surgeon, instead of barber, appended to his name. La Riviere became surgeon to the King, and sworn surgeon to the Chatelet. Throughout his career he lost no opportunity to advance the affairs of the Collège de Saint Côme, and it was largely at his instigation and by his influence that Paré was brought into its fellowship. Thus through its wisdom or policy the Collège de Saint Côme drew from the despised barbers two members who not only did much to advance its own interests, but also its standing in the world as the exponent of French surgery.

Paré passed several years in Paris, working hard at anatomy in preparation for a new edition of his book. In 1557 the French army was defeated by the Spaniards in the battle of St. Quentin. The Constable, Anne de Montmorency, was wounded and taken prisoner. Henri II wished to send Paré to treat him but the Duke of Savoy remembered him from the days of Hesdin and refused to allow him access to the Spanish camp, saying that there were plenty of surgeons to look after the Constable, and that he knew Paré was privy to other things than surgery and therefore might convey information. Paré stayed at La Fere, whither the French had retreated, and there dressed many of the wounded in the battle.

In 1558 he was sent by the King to Dourlan

(Doullens) which was being besieged by the Spaniards. Paré changed places with his man servant and disguised as a menial finally succeeded in entering the town.

In 1559 Paré met with a great loss by the death of his master and steadfast friend Henri II, who was wounded June 29, 1559. The fatal lance blow was accidentally given during a tournament by Gabriel de Montgomery, Comte de Lorges, captain of the Scotch guard, who had been persuaded against his will to enter the lists with the King. Paré was one of the surgeons in attendance on the King and Vesalius was sent for from Brussels. The King lived eleven days. The surgeons could not find the lance splinters which had penetrated the King's brain although they secured the heads of four criminals that had been beheaded and experimented upon them with a lance in order to ascertain the probable course of the splinters. The lance struck the king above the right eye. Paré says, "the muscular skin of the forehead, over the bone, was torn across to the inner angle of the left eye, and there were many little fragments or splinters of the broken shaft lodged in the eye; but no fracture of the bone. Yet because of such commotion or shaking of the brain, he died on the eleventh day after he was struck. And after his death, they found on the side opposite to the blow, towards the middle of the commissure of the occipital bone, a quantity of blood effused between the dura mater and the



GABRIEL DE LORQUES, COMTE DE MONTGOMERY, ARRAYED
FOR THE TOURNAMENT



HENRI II RECEIVING HIS FATAL WOUND IN THE JOUST WITH MONTGOMERY.

pia mater: and alterations in the substance of the brain, which was of a brownish or yellowish colour for about the extent of one's thumb: at which place was found a beginning of corruption: which were causes enough of the death of my lord, and not only the harm done to his eye."

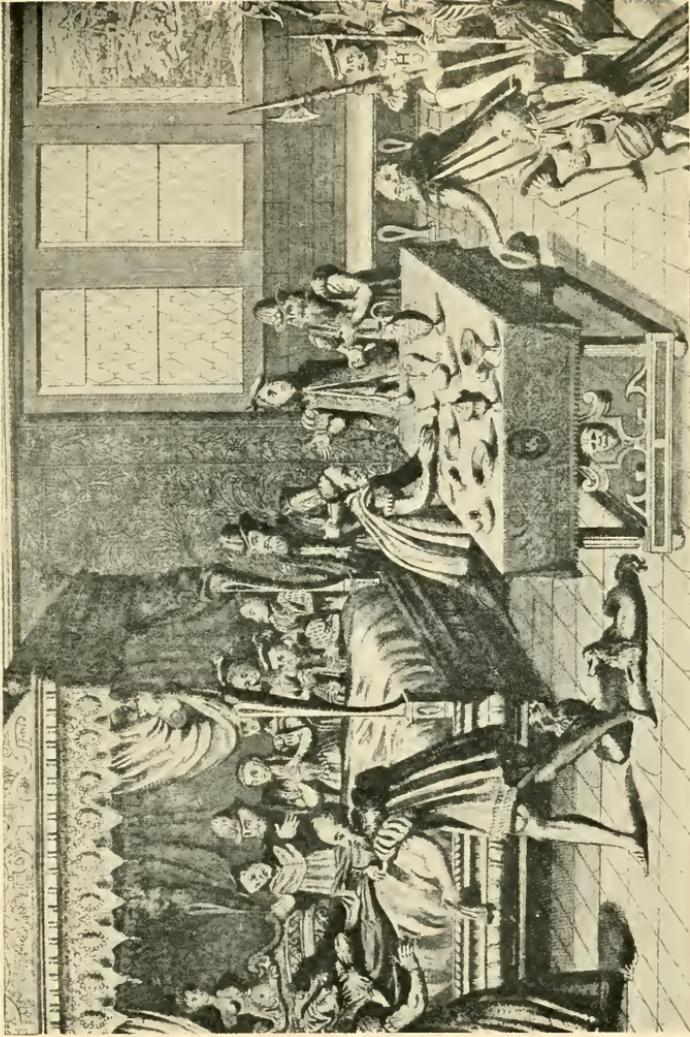
Henri's successor, François II, retained Paré in his position of *chirurgien ordinaire du Roi*. This prince reigned but eighteen months. He was the husband of Mary Queen of the Scots; had his life been preserved her fate would probably have been very different. There is a vague tradition that the young Queen was a friend of Paré's and frequently conversed with him.

Balzac in his "Catherine de Medici" gives a vivid though entirely imaginative picture of the deathbed of François II, in which he makes it appear that Ambroise Paré wished to trephine the King and thought thereby he could save his life. According to the tale Catherine de Medici backed up by three court physicians refused to allow him to perform the operation, as she wished the young King, her own son, to die. Knowing that he was completely under the influence of the Guises the Queen hoped to regain her power by acting as regent for her other son, Charles, who would succeed to the throne.

François II died on the fifth of December, 1560, at Orleans. Paré was brought into unenviable promi-

nence by his death. Malgaigne quotes the following relation from an anonymous life of Admiral Coligny, published in 1686, apparently based on family records. It will be recalled that the Guises were at this time all powerful in France. The Queen was their niece. They had arrested Condé, the leader of the Huguenots, and were seeking his death by legal forms.

When it was least thought of, the king suddenly felt a great pain in his head, which obliged him to put himself to bed. One would have thought that the trial of the Prince de Condé would have been deferred, but the Guises, seeing how things would change if they lost their hold of the Prince, hastened the judgment against him so that he was condemned to lose his head. When the Admiral (Coligny) heard of this order, he sent for Ambroise Paré, surgeon of the king, under the pretext that he was sick, and as he was one of his friends, and he knew that he professed secretly the same religion, and demanded of him in confidence what he thought of the illness of the king. Paré told him that he thought he was in great peril, but that he had not dared to say so because he feared making harm at court. On which the Admiral told him he had done very wrong, because he would have prevented the judgment of the Prince de Condé, that he should go and publish this news, otherwise their religion would lose the most firm support that it had. Paré promised to repair his fault, which he did at once. All the court was surprised, which had believed to the contrary that the illness was nothing, especially because it had begun to suppurate by the ear, that which made them think that nature discharged itself there. The Chancellor, hearing the news,



THE DEATH OF HENRI II



PORTRAIT OF FRANÇOIS II

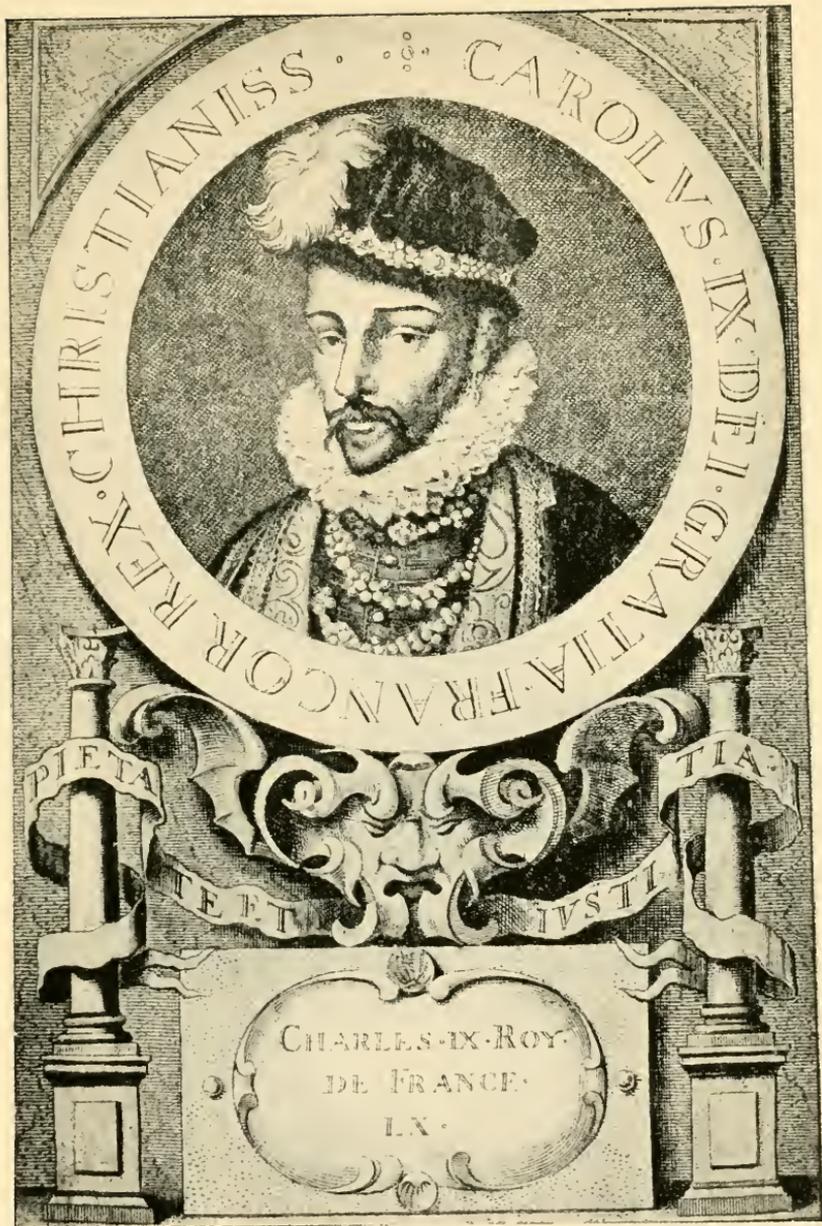
sent for Paré to know if it was true, and he having confirmed it, the other became ill from fear of signing the order. This feigned illness lasted until one saw that the condition of the king was desperate. Then he talked in a different manner to the Queen Mother (Catherine de Medici), saying that the Guises commenced to hold them in contempt, and urged her to unite with the princes of the blood. She was disposed to believe this. Paré, having told this to the Admiral, whom he continued to see whenever he did not have to be with the king, the Admiral charged him with the negotiation.

Meanwhile the king died a few days later and the intrigues during his illness made everyone believe his days had been hastened. They suspected Paré of having put poison in his ear when he dressed him, by order of the Queen Mother, who saw no other means of assuring her authority.

As Malgaigne says this suspicion does not warrant attention. It is given the lie by many circumstances besides the character of Paré. Charles IX, François' successor, again appointed him *chirurgien ordinaire du Roi*, and took him into intimate confidence and esteem. One of the stories concerning the two which is often repeated is that of the bezoar stone, and as it is generally told as a reflection on Paré, I shall give his own version of it, as narrated in his book on poisons. I must confess that I can see no reason why any blame should be attached to him in the matter. Experimentation on criminals was a common practice even many years later. When Lady Mary Wortley Montagu

introduced inoculation for smallpox into England, the method was tried first on certain criminals who were to be given their liberty if they survived. This was in 1721, over one hundred and fifty years after Paré's exploit. Charles IX had been presented with a bezoar stone. These so-called stones are concretions which are found in the intestinal tracts of certain animals. Introduced into medicine by the Arabs, they were held in great esteem as universal antidotes.

Charles IX was very proud of his bezoar stone. He spoke of it to Paré who told him that there was no such thing as a universal antidote. Paré suggested that its efficacy could easily be tested on some rascal who had been sentenced to be hung. The king sent for his provost and asked him if he had any prisoner who merited hanging. "He told him that he had in his prison a cook, who had stolen two silver plates from his master, and that the next day was to be hung and strangled. The King told him he wished to experiment with a stone which they said was good against all poisons, and that he should ask the said cook after his condemnation if he would take a certain poison, and that they would at once give him an antidote; to which the said cook very willingly agreed, saying that he liked much better to die of said poison in the prison, than to be strangled in view of the people. And then an apothecary gave him a certain poison in a drink and at once the bezoar



CHRISTIANISS. CAROLVS. IX. DEI. GRATIA. FRANCOR. REX.

PIETA TIA
IUSTITIA

CHARLES. IX. ROY. DE FRANCE. LX.

stone. Having these two good drugs in his stomach he took to vomiting and purging, saying that he was burning inside, and calling for water to drink, which was not denied him. An hour later, having been told that the cook had taken this good drug, I prayed Monsieur de la Trousse (the provost) to let me to see him, which he accorded, accompanied by three of his archers, and found the poor cook on all fours, going like an animal, his tongue hanging from his mouth, his eyes and face flaming, retching and in a cold sweat, bleeding from his ears, nose and mouth. I made him drink about one half sextier of oil, thinking to aid him and save his life, but it was no use because it was too late, and he died miserably, crying it would have been better to have died on the gibbet. He lived about seven hours." Paré performed an autopsy which showed that he had died of a gastroenteritis from corrosive sublimate poisoning.

In 1561 Paré published two important books, his book on wounds of the head and his "Anatomie Universelle."⁶

Sir William Osler⁷ has recently described a copy

"La Methode Curative des playes, et fractures de la teste humaine, avec les portraits des instruments necessaires pour la curation d'icelles," and "Anatomie Universelle du corps humain, composée par A. Paré, chirurgien ordinaire du roy et juré à Paris: revue et augmentée par le dit auteur, avec I. Rostaing du Bignose Provençal aussi chirurgien juré à Paris." The latter owes much to plates from the French edition of Vesalius, which had appeared in 1559, but, as Malgaigne states, Paré's book was long esteemed as a textbook of anatomy for surgeons.

⁷*Ann. Med. Hist.*, i, 424.

of the "Anatomie Universelle" which he had procured in Paris. As he states the book is so rare that Malgaigne knew of but two copies, one in the Bibliotheque Sainte Genevieve, the other in private hands in Bar-le-Duc. Neither the Library of the Surgeon General in Washington, the British Museum, nor the Bodleian Library has a copy of this book. It is accompanied by a copper plate engraving of a portrait of the author, at the age of forty-five, which Sir William thought was by far the most pleasing which has descended to us.

In the same year, 1561, Paré had his leg broken by the kick of a horse, which confined him to bed for several months. He describes his accident and the treatment of it at length in his book on fractures. He was making a professional call on horseback, as was his custom, in company with Richard Hubert and Antoine Portail, to a small village near Paris. In attempting to make the horse get on the boat to cross the ferry, Paré switched him, whereupon the horse kicked him upon his leg, causing a compound fracture of both bones. Portail and Hubert set his leg and applied the first dressing. He prayed them to forget their old friendship and treat his leg just as they would that of an ordinary patient. Hubert and Portail were barber-surgeons. When they had brought him back to Paris he was cared for "de mes compagnons Chirurgiens de Paris," especially Etienne de la Riviere. It is sad to

ANAT IE
VNIVERSELLE DV

Corps humain, compofée par A. Paré
Chirurgien ordinaire du Roy, & juré à
Paris : reueuë & augmentee par ledit au-
theur avec I. Rostaing du Bignofc Pro-
uençal aufsi Chirurgien Juré à Paris.



A PARIS.

De l'Imprimerie de Jehan le Royer, Imprimeur du Roy *ès*
Mathematiques ; demurant en la rue S. Jacques, à
l'enseigne du Vray Potier, pres les Mathurins.

AVEC PRIVILEGE DV ROY.

1563.

find that subsequently he and Portail had some kind of a quarrel, and in the later editions of his works Paré does not mention his name as having helped him.⁸ Both Hubert and Portail later advanced from the rank of barber-surgeons to master surgeons.

By 1562 Paré was again fit to undertake his journeys and he accompanied Charles IX to the sieges of Bourges and Rouen. At the latter the mortality among the wounded from infection was very great. Paré attributed it to the malignity of the air. Among those who died was the King of Navarre, Paré's good friend. He was one of the surgeons who dressed the King's wound, and the latter bequeathed him six thousand livres. The surgeons had been unable to extract the ball from the wound which was in the shoulder. Paré performed an autopsy, and in the presence of many witnesses removed the ball from the middle of the bone, where he had said it was lodged.

This siege of Rouen marks another epoch in Paré's surgical experiences for from this time he found the use of the oil made from puppies as a dressing for gunshot wounds did not give as good results as the dressing of the wounds with *Egyptiacum*, a preparation made with honey and alum, much commended by John of Vigo. Later he used a dressing of turpentine and

⁸He was related to Paré through his marriage with Jacqueline de Prime.

brandy. The campaign of 1562 was the first in which we find Paré accompanying the Royal army in its campaign against the Huguenots. Condé and Paré's friend Coligny were the active leaders of the party upon which Charles IX was waging war. After the victory won by the Royalists at Dreux, in December 1562, Paré dressed many of the wounded. Condé was taken prisoner by the Royalists, but the Huguenots captured Anne de Montmorenci. The Peace of Amboise was signed shortly after the murder of Guise in 1563.

The year 1564 witnessed the publication of Paré's surgery.⁹ It will be noticed that the author now bears the title, *premier chirurgien du Roi*. He took the oath as first surgeon to the King at Saint-Germain-en-Laye on January 1, 1562, succeeding the deceased Nicole Lavernot.

In 1564, Paré started with Charles IX, the Queen Regent (Catherine de Medici) and the entire court on a royal progress through France. This journey lasted nearly two years and was undertaken as a political campaign against the Huguenots. In its course Paré visited most of the large cities and towns of France and picked up a great amount of curious, interesting information. While at Montpellier he was bitten by a viper. He was watching an apothecary who was mak-

⁹Dix livres de la Chirurgie avec le magasin des instruments necessaires à icelle, par Ambroise Paré, premier chirurgien du roy et juré à Paris.



THE CONSTABLE ANNE DE MONTMORENCI
(From a painting in the Louvre by Léonard Simonsin.)



CUTTING UP A WHALE.
(Paré, Edition 1585.)

ing some theriaca, the universal antidote for poisons. This mixture contained amongst its many ingredients vipers, and Paré was looking at those which the apothecary was going to use when one of them bit him beneath the nail of his first finger. Paré tied the finger around tightly above the wound, then moistened some old theriac ointment in brandy, and soaking some cotton in it applied it over the wound. He experienced no ill-effects. He had an opportunity to study the plague, from which he himself once suffered an attack, and of which his observations and experiences enabled him to write an excellent treatise. At Biarritz he learned how the inhabitants caught whales, and procured a whale's vertebræ which he treasured as a curiosity.

When the Court returned to Paris the city was in the throes of an epidemic of smallpox. Paré, although a surgeon, treated many cases. Many of the nobility suffered from the disease, among them Charles IX and his sister Marguerite de Valois, who married Henri of Navarre. Paré treated Charles IX for a contracture of the arm which followed a venesection said to have been made by Antoine Portail during the king's attack of smallpox. Portail had wounded a nerve. "The king remained three months and more without power to flex or extend his arm; nevertheless (*graces à Dieu*) he recovered without the slightest impairment of motion."¹⁰

¹⁰ Malgaigne's edition of Paré, ii, 115.

CHAPTER V

THE religious wars broke out again and once more Paré was busy with the armies. After the battle of St. Denis, in 1567, he dressed many of the wounded, most of whom were removed to Paris. The Constable, Anne de Montmorenci, had received a fatal pistol shot wound in the spine. Paré was sent by the king to attend him at the request of Madame de Montmorenci. The surgeon was at Plessis le Tours with the Court in 1569, when news was brought that the Royal army had won the battle of Moncontour. Many of the wounded were brought to Tours where Paré and other surgeons dressed them. The Count of Mansfield, who had fought valiantly for the King, received a bad shot wound of the elbow. He was taken to Borgueil, from whence he sent to the King requesting him to send one of his surgeons to his aid. The Mareschal de Montmorenci told the King and the Queen Mother that as Mansfield had done so much to secure the victory, they should send Paré to dress him, but the King flatly refused, saying that he did not wish Paré to go from him. Catherine de Medici, however, explained to Charles that Paré

would but go and come right back, and that as the Count of Mansfield was a foreigner who had come to their aid, having been sent with the Spanish troops by command of the King of Spain, they should do their best for him. Charles finally consented and Paré was sent to the Count with a letter from the King and Queen Mother. At Borgueil Paré found many other wounded noblemen whom he dressed. The Count Rhingrave died of a wound similar to that which killed the King of Navarre at Rouen; Monsieur de Bassompierre was wounded in the same manner as the Count of Mansfield, "whom I dressed and God healed him" (*que je pensay et Dieu la guarist*). "God blessed so well my work, that in three weeks I sent him to Paris, where it was yet necessary to make some incisions in the arm of the Count of Mansfield, to extract the bone which was greatly splintered, broken and carious. He recovered by the Grace of God and made me a worthy present, of a sort that I was well contented with him and he with me."

Mansfield wrote to Monsieur le Duc d'Arshot telling him how well Paré had treated him, with the result that the Duc d'Arshot sent one of his gentlemen to the King to beseech him to send Paré to see what he could do for his brother, the Marquis d'Auret, who was lying at the Château d'Auret, near Mons, suffering from a gunshot wound of the leg, received seven months pre-

viously and still unhealed. The King consented to send Paré who thereupon set out for d'Auret. He gives a lengthy description of his management of the case, which occupied him two months, during which he stayed at the château with the Marquis. The result was fortunate for both Marquis and surgeon. The former recovered entirely. Paré was fêted and made much of. At parting Madame la Duchesse d'Arschot drew a diamond ring, worth more than fifty écus, from her finger, and presented it to him, and the Marquis gave him a present of great value. While in attendance on the Marquis, Paré made a little tour of Flanders going to Antwerp, Malines, and Brussels, in all of which places the principal citizens showed him much honor.

In 1567 Paré made an attempt to bring all those who should undertake to practice surgery in France under the jurisdiction of the premier surgeon to the king, an office then held by himself. Heretofore the premier barber-surgeon to the King had been the ostensible head of not only the barber-surgeons but also the surgeons. Le Paulmier says that the Faculté de Médecine had connived at this arrangement as an aid in maintaining its own superiority over the surgeons. Paré supplicated the King (Charles IX) to this effect, and he in turn referred the matter to the Faculté de Médecine, ordering them to consult with some of the surgeons and give him their advice. Paré's request was that he as

premier surgeon should be placed over all those practicing surgery, and that no one should be allowed to practice that profession in France without his authorization or the authorization of certain persons to be named by him, with whom should be associated two physicians. This last promise was obviously intended as a sop to the Faculté de Médecine. Paré had already secured the assent of the physicians to the King, but Camusat, the premier barber-surgeon and the sworn surgeons were quick to take alarm. Such a strong opposition was developed that Paré's project was defeated. As Le Paulmier states it remained for Felix Fagon, premier surgeon to Louis XIV, to finally free the surgeons from their subjection to the premier barber-surgeon of the King.

After 1559 Paré no longer followed the armies but lived and labored in Paris, the city for which he expresses his love in so many places throughout his works. He seems to have passed all his life in Paris in the house or houses which he owned near the Pont Saint Michel. Here he gathered around him various relatives. Most of them lived in houses which Paré had acquired from time to time. He was very generous and charitable, and not only adopted a nephew and niece, but also gave much financial assistance to other persons with whom he had no blood relationship. In 1568 Paré published his treatises on the plague, smallpox, and

measles,¹¹ based on his personal observation of these diseases. This little book treating of subjects appertaining more to medicine than surgery was written at the suggestion of the Queen Mother, Catherine de Medici.¹² Paré says that he had seen many plague-stricken patients during his service at the Hôtel Dieu and subsequently, and that he had himself suffered from the disease. He states his belief that the plague is sent directly by God as a manifestation of his wrath but he warns the surgeon "not to neglect the remedies approved by physicians both ancient and modern: for as by the will of God this disease is sent among men so by His holy will He gives us methods and remedies, to use them as instruments for His glory." His practical measures in regard to hygiene and quarantine are excellent in most respects, although he followed the generally prevalent idea that bonfires of aromatic woods, such as juniper and pine, should be made

¹¹Traicté de la Peste, de la petit verolle et. rougcolle avec une briefue description de la lepre.

¹²It is curious to study the different views which prevail among contemporary writers as well as among the modern concerning Catherine de Medici. Brautome, in his "Vies des Dames Illustres," pictures her as a beautiful woman, full of grace and amiability, praising especially the beauty of her complexion and her hands. He says she was devoted to her husband, her father-in-law, and her children, a good queen who loved France and only wished for peace. Henri IV, in 1600, spoke of her in the following terms, remarkable when one considers the relations existing between them during the queen's life. "But, I pray you, what could a poor woman do, having by the death of her husband five small children in her arms, and two families who thought to seize the crown, mine and the Guises? It was necessary that she should use *d'étranges personnages* to deceive the one and the other, and meanwhile guard, as she did, her children, who have successively reigned by the sage conduct of a woman so wise. I am astonished she did not do worse."



CATHARINE DE MEDICI

(From an unsigned engraving in Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève.)

throughout the streets to purify the air. He humanely urges that, "The magistrates must have all sick folks attended by physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries, good men, of experience: and must treat them that are attacked and isolate them, sending them to places set apart for their treatment, or must shut them up in their own houses (but this I do not approve, and would rather they should forbid those that are healthy to hold any converse with them) and must send men to dress and feed them, at the expense of the patients, if they have the means, but if they are poor, then at the expense of the parish. Also they must forbid the citizens to put up for sale the furniture of those who have died of the plague." He recommended that surgeons called to attend patients should first be purged and bled, and then have two issues made, one on the right arm, another on the left leg, as those who have such open sores do not contract the plague. They should use an aromatic compound mixed with theriac as a wash to purify their bodies, and wear a little sachet containing an aromatic powder, also compounded with theriac, over the heart. Paré gives a vivid description of the cruelty engendered in the inhabitants of plague-stricken cities by the panic which prevailed in them. Let us give Catherine de Medici credit for one good deed in her dark life and consider ourselves beholden to her for having caused Paré to write a book of so much value. In the edi-

tions of the book which appeared in 1568 and 1575 Paré concluded with a long dissertation breathing the most profound piety in which with many scriptural quotations he describes life as a constant warfare and misery and death as in most instances a blessed relief, and urges all to prepare their minds, and help others in their last days to prepare theirs to meet the righteous Judge. He makes no mention of the aids afforded by the priesthood and the whole discourse has a very strong tinge of the Religion (as the faith professed by the Huguenots was termed) in contrast with Catholicism. In the edition of 1575 (three years after the massacre of St. Bartholomew) he added the following as though he might have been admonished in the interval:

ADVERTISEMENT OF THE AUTHOR

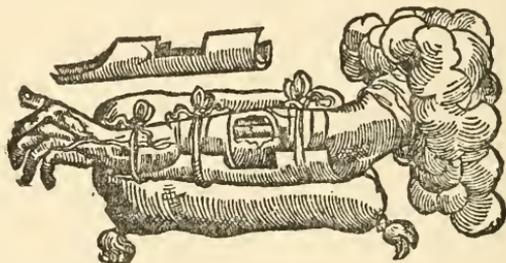
The author has made this little admonition for the young surgeon, finding himself sometimes in places where there are no priests, nor any other men of the church at the death of poor plague stricken. As I have seen when the King Charles being at Lyons during the great mortality, where they enclosed in the houses of the rich a surgeon for the treatment of those who were plague stricken, without being able to be succoured by anyone to console them in the extremity of death; and the said surgeon having been instructed by this little admonition, will be able to serve at necessity instead of a greater cleric than he. And I wish not here to pass the limits of my vocation but only to aid the poor plague stricken in the extremity of death.

*Death is the fear of the rich,
The desire of the poor,
The joy of the wise,
The fear of the wicked,
End of all miseries,
Commencement of the life eternal,
Fortunate to the elect,
Unfortunate to the reprobates.*

In this treatise on "The Pest," Paré makes the first reference Malgaigne was able to find in medical literature to the discovery at autopsy of metastatic abscesses of the internal organs following wounds. Paré states that they occur in the liver and lungs and are due to corruption in the blood.

Paré was living in Paris when the thunderbolt of the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew was launched on the heads of the French Protestants. Although many believe that the plot to massacre the Protestants had been conceived in 1565, seven years before, at the interview between the Queen Mother and Alva at Bayonne, there are some who think it occurred as the result of a sudden panic among the Catholics of the Court on the night of the massacre itself. Throughout the short reign of François II and that of his successor, Charles IX, there had been constantly increasing warfare between the Catholic party led by the Duc de Guise, the Cardinal of Lorraine, and Anne de Montmorenci, and

the Protestants led by the Prince de Condé, Admiral Coligny, and the latter's brothers. In August, 1572, the marriage which had been arranged between Henri of Navarre and Marguerite de Valois, sister of Charles IX, was to be celebrated in Paris. Henri being a Huguenot the marriage ceremony was held just in



PARÉ'S OPEN SPLINT FOR COMPOUND FRACTURES OR GUNSHOT WOUNDS OF THE FOREARM.

front of, but not within the Cathedral de Notre Dame. All Henri's friends, the chief leaders of the Huguenot party, had come to Paris, under special passports and safeguards, for the occasion. The Guises and their adherents were, of course, with the Court. Admiral Coligny was made much of by the King and he and his party felt themselves secure in the Royal protection. On August 22 about eleven o'clock in the morning, as Coligny was walking from his house to the Louvre, a shot was fired at him from a window, cutting off the index finger of his right hand and then ploughing up through his left arm to the elbow. His followers dashed



GASPAR-DE-COLIGNY. S.^r. DE-CHASTILLON-CHLR. DE-L'ORDRE.
DV-ROY. GOV.^r. DE-PARIS. ISLE-DE-FRANCE. PICARDIE. ET.
ARTOIS. COLONEL. GNAL. DE-L'INFANTERIE. FR. AMIRAL. DE.
FR. LE-XI-NOV. 1552. MORT. LE-XXIV. AOVST. 1572. A. 57. ANS.

into the house from whence the shot had come but the scoundrel who had fired made his escape from the rear on horseback. He was a servant of the Guises named Maurevert, the house belonged to that family, and the horse on which he escaped had come from their stables. Paré was sent for and dressed Coligny's arm, amputating the injured finger. The same day the King and the Queen Mother went with solemn hypocrisy to pay a visit of sympathy to the wounded Admiral. Meanwhile the excitement in Paris was intense. The Huguenots threatened reprisals for the injury to their chief, and a rumor spread among the Catholics that the Huguenots were going to storm the Louvre, carry off the King and Queen Mother, and massacre all the Guises and their adherents. A conference between the King and the Queen Mother and the Catholic leaders resulted in a determination to anticipate any hostile action on the part of the Huguenots by a general massacre of them. The signal was to be given by sounding the bell on the Church of Saint Germain L'Auxerois. It is said that Charles IX held out against the final decision of the conference as long as possible, finally giving way with the exclamation that they might kill the Huguenots, but that if they started the massacre they must continue it until they had exterminated all the Huguenots, so that not one should remain to reproach him afterwards. The conspirators did their best to ful-

fill his desire. De Thou, the historian, estimates the number killed in Paris at 2,000, but other estimates are much larger. Coligny was murdered in his bed-chamber, and his body, thrown from the window on to the pavement below before life was extinct, landed at the feet of the Duc de Guise who had personally led the soldiers who sought him. The thrill of horror which went through England, the Low Countries, and the rest of the Protestant world was counterbalanced by the joy and exultation of the Catholics. His Holiness the Pope Gregory XIII ordered a Te Deum and a medal struck to commemorate this triumph of Holy Church. Philip II said it was the greatest joy of his life and added quite correctly that it would be the greatest title to the glory of Charles IX in the eyes of posterity.

The subject of Paré's religious belief has been most vehemently discussed. Malgaigne decides that he was a Catholic, and he certainly conformed externally to that faith. He was twice married by the rites of that church, once at St. André des Arts, and the second time at St. Severin; his children were baptized in that faith, and he was buried in it. He passed most of his life at a bigoted Catholic court, during the heat of the wars of religion, and was the personal attendant of kings who were bent on repressing the Religion at all costs; nevertheless there are several reasons which can



THE MURDER OF ADMIRAL COLIGNY.

be advanced in support of the belief that he was of the Religion. In the life of Coligny, compiled from family archives but published, as Malgaigne points out, more than a century after the event, the statement is made that he was "secretement huguenot."

In the memoirs of Sully, the great Prime Minister of Henry IV: ^{12a}

Of all those near the prince (Charles IX) there was no one so much in his confidence as Ambroise Paré. This man, who was only his surgeon, had taken with him so great familiarity, although he was Huguenot, that this prince having said to him on the day of the massacre, that this was the hour when it was necessary for everybody to make themselves Catholic, Paré responded, without being moved, "By the light of God, Sire, I believe that you will remember having promised never to demand of me four things, to wit, to enter again into the womb of my mother, to take care of myself on the day of battle, to quit your service, and to go to mass." The king took him aside and opened to him the trouble with which he felt himself agitated: "Ambroise," said he to him, "I know not what has come over me since two or three days, but I find my spirit and body so much shaken as if I had the fever. It seems to me at every moment, waking as much as sleeping, that these massacred bodies present themselves to me, their faces hideous and covered with blood. I only wish they did not comprise among them imbeciles or innocents." The order that was published the following days to stop the killing was the fruit of this conversation.

^{12a} Memoires de Maximilian de Bethune Duc de Sully, ed. 1768, i, 65.

Malgaigne discounts this conversation because Sully, although in Paris at the time of the massacre, was but twelve years old; that he fled from the city immediately afterwards and did not return for twenty years; and because of the foolishness (*niaserie*) of Paré's statement to the king. However that may be, the prime minister of Henry IV was certainly *au fait* with the history of the Huguenot movement and some weight must be attached to his positive statements in the matter. Again, Brantome in his memoirs, writing of Coligny's death, states that Paré "was very huguenot" (*estoit fort huguenot*), and that Charles IX "crying incessantly: 'kill, kill' wished to save no one, except Master Ambroise Paré, his first surgeon, and the first of the Christianity; and he sent to seek him and for him to come that evening into his chamber, and dressing room, commanding him not to budge from it, and said it was not right that one who could save so many poor people should be thus massacred, and that he would not press him to change his religion any more than he would his nurse."

One other very significant story is told by Paré himself. In the 1575 edition of his works, he tells how after the siege of Rouen, in 1562, he was dining in the company of some "who hated me to death for the Religion" (*qui me hayoyent a mort pour la Religion*), when he was suddenly taken violently ill after taking

a mouthful of cabbage. He asserts that it contained either corrosive sublimate or arsenic. He caused himself to vomit, drank a quantity of oil and milk, and ate some eggs, whereby he relieved himself. This narrative is omitted from subsequent editions of his works published in his lifetime.

Le Paulmier¹³ is convinced that Paré was a Huguenot and as a proof brings forward a statement made by Paré himself in a memoir written by him in 1575 in response to the attack made upon his works by the Faculté de Médecine. In its course Paré states that he belonged to "the Religion" and that this fact had been made use of by his enemies. This memoir was unknown to Malgaigne. It was referred to by Turner,¹⁴ but was first published by Le Paulmier, who unearthed it from the Bibliothèque Nationale and printed it in full at the end of his book.

Malgaigne's opinion was that at least so far as the external forms of religion went Paré was undoubtedly Catholic, but he was tied by friendship to Coligny and his sympathies were with the persecuted sect. We cannot figure a man of his kind disposition as a bigoted fanatic on either side of a religious controversy, but I believe Le Paulmier's discovery has cleared up the whole matter and that we must take Ambroise's own

¹³Ambroise Paré d'après de nouveaux Documents, 80.

¹⁴*Gaz. heb. de méd.*, 1879, no. 24.

statement as the truth of it. Possibly after the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew he decided that it was wiser to become reconciled to the Catholic party than to publicly profess a religion which would have meant the loss of his peace of mind and prosperity in his profession.

There are two other great figures in sixteenth-century France, one of them the ordained priest Rabelais, the other the courtier Montaigne, whose writings show that they disapproved of the measures adopted by the leaders of the faith which they externally professed. Both of them could be truthfully styled *un peu huguenot*. Paré, as so many of his profession in all ages, was profoundly impressed with the internal verities of religion, but was above the pettiness of the ecclesiastical squabbles which hamper so much real religion. Montaigne, Rabelais, and Paré were probably all of them disgusted with the cruelties practiced in the name of religion, and especially were they revolted by the opposition of dogma to the free thought which was bursting forth in their age. Paré was not a man to busy himself with foolish subtleties. His was a practical life, full of hard work, much of it of a most self-sacrificing character. He could well afford to stand aloof and, occupied in his own sphere, follow his life in his own way. His life was at any rate a refutation of the statement common in his time as in others "ubi tres medici, duo athei."

Villaume reports a curious conversation between Catherine and Paré, which Malgaigne rejects because he was unable to find its original source. The Queen Mother asked Paré one day if he expected to be saved in the next world. Paré replied, "Yes, certainly, Madame, for I have done that which I could to be a brave man in this, and God, who is merciful, understands well all tongues, and is even as content that one should pray to him in French as in Latin."

One other point about his treatise on the plague. In the first edition Paré had stated that antimony was of service in certain cases of the plague. But the Faculté de Médecine had solemnly decreed against it as a poison and ordered the expulsion from their midst of anyone who should prescribe it. When he first re-published the treatise in his collected works in 1575, he let the passage stand as in the separate treatise, but in the second edition of his collected works (1579) he deferred to the Faculty and in place of what he had written before he wrote that "some approve and greatly recommend antimony, alleging many experiences they have had with it. As, however, the use of it is reproved by messieurs of the Faculté de Médecine, I will refrain from writing anything of it in this place."

In 1572 Paré published another work on surgery¹⁵

¹⁵Cinq Livres de Chirurgie. Although this book is known to have been published by Paré and is mentioned by Haller in his *Bibliotheca Chirurgica*, there is no known copy of it in existence at the present time.

in which he wrote of tumors and also attacked the book published by Le Paulmier in 1569. The writer after plagiarizing largely from Paré's book on wounds, had the audacity to attribute to him the frightful mortality which prevailed among the wounded at Rouen and after the battles of Dreux and St. Denis. Le Paulmier was a member of the Faculté de Médecine and it made a great scandal to see such a contest between the greatest of the surgeons of Saint Côme and a member of the faculty.

The year 1573 marked an epoch in Paré's life. At this time he published another surgical work¹⁶ which contained his book on "Monsters" with the treatise on obstetrics. It will be recalled that in 1549 Paré had published a little work on anatomy to which was appended a short treatise on obstetrics. In the "Deux livres de chirurgie," published in 1573, the part entitled, "De la generation de l'homme, et maniere d'extraire les enfants hors du ventre de la mère," is a much more elaborate work on obstetrics. In this Paré, however, omitted any mention of what we must regard as his greatest claim to distinction as an obstetrician, namely, the induction of artificial labor by manual means, when

¹⁶Deux Livres de Chirurgie I. De la generation de l'homme, et maniere d'extraire les enfants hors du ventre de la mère, ensemble ce qu'il faut faire pour la faire mieux et plustost accoucher, avec le cure de plusieurs maladies qui lui peuvent survenir. II. Des Monstres tant terrestres que maras avec leurs portraits. Plus un petit traité des plaies faites aux parties nerveuses.

the mother's life is in peril. Malgaigne has proved conclusively that the credit of this innovation in obstetric practice should be ascribed to Paré, although it has been erroneously ascribed to others. Thus Louise Bourgeois, the celebrated French midwife, in her book published in 1609 claims the discovery for herself, although by her own evidence she had never put it in practice before the year 1602, whereas Guillemeau, in his book "L'heureux accouchement," published very shortly after that of Louise Bourgeois, tells how in 1599 he delivered Paré's own daughter by inducing labor in the manner which, he states, he had seen practiced by Paré twenty-five years before. Curiously Paré only says that potions, baths, suffumigations with sternutatories, emetics, and the application of various medicaments within the vagina, should be used if the mother's strength is sufficient to bear them. Why Paré should have thus omitted mention of the method which he himself had used with success remains a complete mystery.

The book on monsters should be read in its entirety as it illustrates the extent to which a scientific mind, such as Paré's, was yet trammelled by the ignorance and superstition of his age. Thus among the causes of monsters he enumerates the glory of God, His ire, and the activities of demons and devils. He quotes the restoration of sight to the blind by Jesus Christ, as given in the Gospel of St. John, as an instance of a man

who was made blind for the glory of God. Monstrous births which result from God's anger are those which result from disobedience of the laws of sexual hygiene such as are laid down by Moses in Leviticus. Paré states that no one can doubt the existence of sorcerers, since it is witnessed by many learned men both ancient and modern, and by the enactment of laws against them (which would not be decreed if sorcerers did not exist); Moses also, he mentions, expressly condemns them in Exodus and Leviticus. Likewise there certainly are demons and devils in the air, on the earth, and within man himself. Paré says he himself saw a sorcerer, possessed of a devil, who did marvelous things in the presence of Charles IX and his nobles. He writes with becoming awe of the succubi and incubi, although he does not claim to have any personal knowledge of their doings. In the 1585 edition he added a paragraph in which he said, "As for me, I believe that this cohabitation is imaginary, proceeding from an illusory impression of Satan."

Paré states that he himself has seen cures wrought by spells. "I have seen the jaundice disappear from the surface of the body in a single night by means of a little cachet suspended to the neck of the patient." He also mentions having seen a hemorrhage checked by certain words spoken in Latin. After recounting many cures on hearsay by magical spells he says: "It is cer-

tain that sorcerers cannot cure natural diseases, nor physicians the diseases caused by sorceries.”

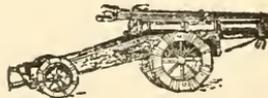
The book on monsters contains the description of two specimens of monstrous births which Paré had in his own house. He presents them as might any modern teratologist without reverting to any supernatural explication as to their etiology. Paré was a firm believer in the powerful effects of prenatal impressions and he gives instances in support of his opinion. Clubbed feet or hands he attributes to the mother, believing that she either sat in a faulty position or laced her abdomen too tightly during pregnancy.

Paré wrote at length on a topic which occupied much attention among his contemporaries, namely, the changing of sex, whereby according to the current belief individuals who were, apparently, girls or women became changed from the female to the male sex. The explanation of these cases is probably to be found in the delayed descent of the testicles. Paré, as stated before, relates the case of Marie Germain, whom he saw at Vitry-le-François. This child was regarded as a girl until at the age of fifteen, when she was running hard, the true sexual characteristics suddenly developed. Montaigne in his “Essays” (Chapter XX, Book I), tells how he also saw Marie at Vitry-le-François, but he gives the date of the change of sex as the twenty-second year.

Paré recites the histories of several cases of vesical calculus, operated upon by one or the other of the Colots and gives pictures of the specimens of the stones which were presented to him by these doctors. Malgaigne directs attention to the fact that Paré himself had never operated for stone in the bladder until after this book appeared. He speaks in the highest terms of the skill of the Colots.

Paré tells some excellent stories of the tricks practiced by beggars to feign injuries and diseases. His brother Jean, the surgeon at Vitré, as mentioned previously, was especially expert at the detection of these cozeners.

As an instance of the wit with which the writings of Paré sparkle, the following may be cited. In writing of alopecia Paré says, "If it is due to syphilis, the patient should be rubbed (with mercurial ointment) until he enters the kingdom of Bavaria," (jusque a ce qu'il entre an royaume de Baviere) a play on the French word, *baver*, to salivate.



CHAPTER VI

ON November the fourth, 1573, Paré's wife, Jeanne Mazelin, died and was buried on the same day in the Church of St. André des Arts. She was fifty-three years old and was survived by one daughter, Catherine, aged thirteen years. The two sons died in infancy. Paré had also living with him at this time Jeanne Paré, the daughter of his brother Jean, the cabinet maker, whom he had adopted. Only three months after his first wife's death on January 18, 1574, Paré married Jacqueline Rousselet, whose father, Jacques Rousselet, was *chevaucher ordinaire* of the stables of the king. His wife, Marie Boullaie, was of good family. The bride's witnesses were all persons of good estate, namely, Robert Boullaie, secretary of the *premier president* of Dauphiné and François Bouterone, advocate in the court of Parlement. Paré's sole witness was Hilaire de Brion, master-apothecary, grocer, and bourgeois of Paris. Jacqueline Rousselet brought Paré five thousand *livres tournois* as her dot, and he settled an annual income of five hundred *livres tournois* on her. Paré subsequently took but two thousand *livres tournois* of Jacqueline's dowry.

Some days before the marriage Paré bestowed on his niece, Jeanne Mazelin, a house near the Pont Saint Michel. He also gave her one hundred *livres tournois* of rent with the sole condition that he reserved the usufructs from the house and the rental during his life and that, if Jeanne died without leaving children, the gifts should revert to him. By his second wife Paré had six children, although he was sixty-four years old at the time of his marriage.

Through Le Paulmier's researches we are able to follow somewhat the lives of Paré's children and his other relatives. His niece Jeanne, daughter of his brother Jean, married Claude Viart on the twenty-seventh of March, 1577. Viart had lived for twenty years in Paré's house as his assistant. He was a master surgeon of Nantes, and had served as surgeon in the army. The match evidently pleased the bride's uncle who, in addition to the house and money which he had already bestowed on Jeanne and now gave her outright, presented the bridegroom with his long black robe with velvet trimmings, all his surgical instruments, the surgical plates which had been published in his last book (the complete edition of 1575), costing more than one thousand écus, and most of his books published or to be published. He reserved for himself only the usufruct of these gifts during his life. Viart was in very good circumstances as he was able to give his wife a

dowry of one hundred and fifty *livres tournois*. Claude Viart was living in June 1582 when he assisted with Paré at an operation by a master barber-surgeon named Charbonnel, as related by Paré in his "Apology," but he had died before March 1584, as Le Paulmier found a quittance of that date given by his widow. Jeanne was married again on January 11, 1588, to François Forest of Orleans, by whom she had a son also named François.

Paré's daughter Catherine, by his first wife, married on March 28, 1581, François Rousset, the brother of her stepmother, by whom she had eight children. Paré had a quarrel with this dual relative, François Rousset, concerning money matters, but it was settled out of court. After the death of both her husband and father, Catherine came back to live in Paré's old house and died there in 1616.

Anne, Paré's eldest daughter by his second wife, Jacqueline Rousset, was baptized at the church of Saint André des Arts on July 16, 1575. It is interesting to note that her godparents were all persons of the highest rank. Her godmother was Anne d'Esté, the first wife of François de Lorraine, Duc de Guise, by whom that noble lady had two sons, the famous Henry, Duc de Guise, and the Cardinal de Guise. After the death of the duke Anne d'Esté married Jacques de Savoie, Duc de Nemours. The godfather of Paré's daugh-

ter Anne was Charles Emanuel de Savoie, Duc de Nemours, the son of her godmother. In 1596 Anne married Henri Simon, a government official. She nearly lost her life in childbirth in 1599, being saved by Guillemeau and Haultin who used the method taught them by Ambroise Paré. As stated above Louise Bourgeois is often said to have originated the practice of inducing labor to save the life of the mother. She tells in her "Observations diverses sur la sterilité, perte de fruit," which was published in 1609, how she had used it, stating that it was a means "of saving the mother and giving baptism to the infant." She speaks also, however, of her regret that she had not practiced it before she attended the Duchess of Montbazon. Now that lady died in 1602, in childbirth. In the following year (1603), we know from the report of a case by Guillemeau that Louise did not use it on a case in which they were both in attendance.

The story of the delivery of Paré's daughter in 1599 is told by Guillemeau in his "L'heureux accouchement." She was attended by a midwife named Charonne, and by Drs. Haultin and Rigault. When she was near her term she was seized with a terrific hemorrhage, causing syncope. Guillemeau and his son-in-law, Marchant, were called in consultation. Guillemeau advised that labor be immediately induced, as he had seen the patient's father do it in a similar case. This advice

was followed and the mother and child were both saved. Guillemeau's book, "L'heureux accouchement," was published in 1609, just after the book of Louise Bourgeois. He states in it that he had seen Paré and Hubert induce labor twenty-five years before in these cases—that is in 1584.¹⁷ None of her other children survived. She and her husband were still living but childless in 1616.

Paré's second child of his second marriage was a boy, named for his father, Ambroise. He was baptized on May 30, 1576, having as grand an array of godparents as his sister. His godmother was Phillippe de Montespédon, duchesse de Beaupreau, who had first been the wife of Mareschal de Montejan, with whom Paré had made his first campaign. After the death of Mareschal de Montejan she had married the Prince de la Rochesur-Yon. One of the godfathers was Charles, Comte de Mansfield, and the other Charles de Lorraine, Duc d'Elboeuf. This child died while yet an infant.

Another daughter, Marie, was baptized on February 6, 1578. Her godfather was Jean Camus, notary and secretary to the king and registrar of the Council. He was wealthy enough to be able to loan the king 25,000 *livres tournois* on one occasion, which was prob-

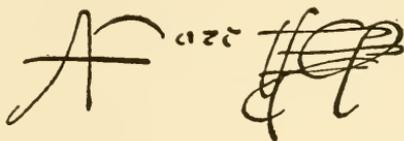
¹⁷My information is derived from Malgaigne's notes to Paré's book on generation. He quotes from an article by M. Guillemot entitled: "Remarques historiques relatives a l'art des accouchements, et particulièrement a l'accouchement forcé," *Archiv. gén. de méd.*, Par., 1837, xv, 554.

ably the reason why he was subsequently appointed intendant of finances. One of Marie's godmothers was Marie du Tillet, wife of Pierre Segulier, *lieutenant civil de la prevoté de Paris*. The other godmother was her grandmother, Madame Rousselet. This child lived only a short time.

On October 8, 1579, another daughter, Jacqueline, was baptized. Her godfather was Jean Lallemand, seigneur de Voussé, a man very prominent in the official life of his time, being *maitre des Comptes à Paris* and *grand audencier de la chancellerie*. One of the godmothers was his sister, the wife of Claude Denbray, *seigneur de Bruyeres le Chastel, prevost des marchands de Paris*. The other was Antoinette Lallemand, wife of M. Pierre Charles, *auditeur du Roy* and *conseiller en la chambre des Comptes*. Jacqueline died when she was not quite three years old, being buried in the cemetery of Saint André des Arts on September 13, 1582.

Another daughter was baptized Catherine on February 12, 1581. Paré's daughter Catherine, by his first wife, was still living and one would think that the similarity of names might have occasioned some confusion. Her godfather was M. Vincent Mousseley, *conseiller au Parlement*. One of her godmothers was Barbe Rousselet, wife of Didier Martin, *archer de la garde du corps du Roy* and the other was her half-sister Catherine.

The second Catherine, as her sister of the same name, survived her father. She was married in the church of Saint André des Arts on September 29, 1603, to Claude Hédelin, *conseiller en la chambre du trésor*, an advocate of good family and ample means. He was also a poet and Latin scholar of no mean ability. Hédelin died April 18, 1638. His widow survived him until November 11th, 1659. They had



AUTOGRAPH OF AMBROISE PARÉ.

(Reproduced by Le Paulmier from a quittance in the Bibliothèque Nationale, *Pièces originales* 2195.)

twelve children. Some of their descendants yet live and to Madame le Marquise Le Charron, whose husband was a direct descendant of Catherine Paré and Claude Hédelin, Le Paulmier expresses his indebtedness for permission to utilize documents among the archives of the family, documents which were of the greatest importance in elucidating the life of Paré. Among other things, he found the only authentic writing with an autograph and a picture of the great surgeon.

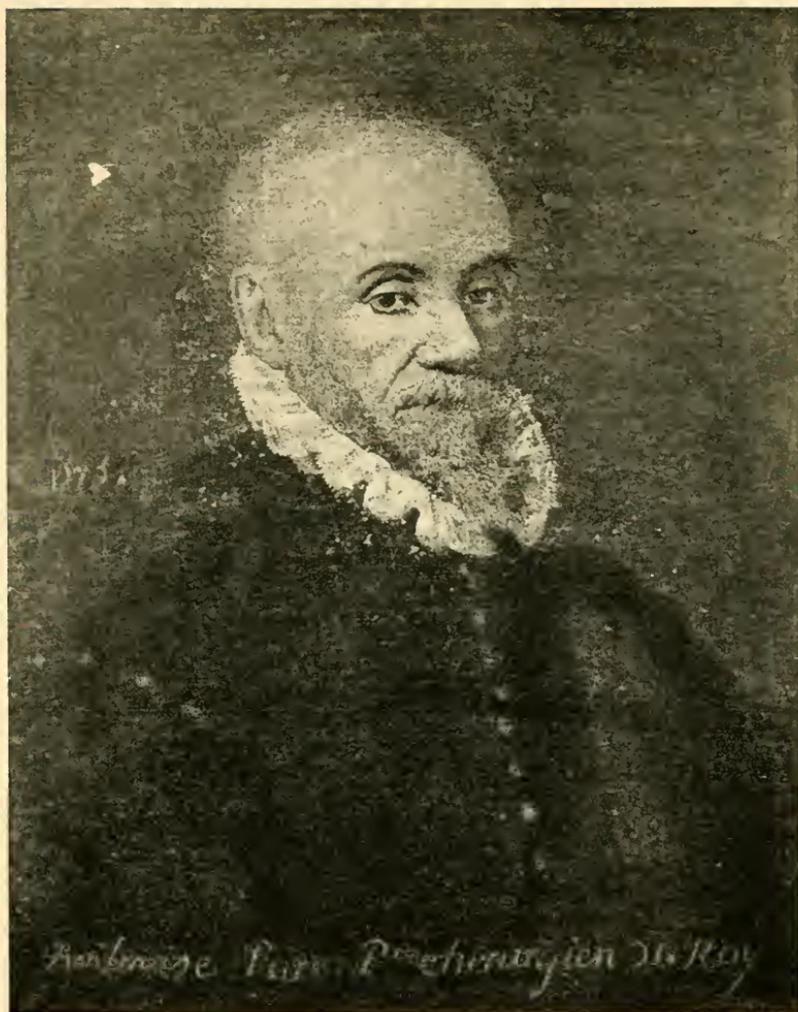
One other son was born to Paré, once more named Ambroise. He was baptized on November 8, 1583. One of the godfathers was Jacques Mareschal, *conseiller du Roy*, the other, Jacques Guillemeau, the king's

surgeon. The godmother was Anne de Navières, daughter of an advocate to the grand council. This boy was destined to the same fate as the other male children of Paré. He died when less than a year old and was buried on August 19, 1584, in the church of Saint André des Arts.

Paré also took into his house and helped support Bertrand Paré, son of his brother Jean, the barber-surgeon of Vitré, after the latter's death which occurred before the year 1549.

On the fifth of August, 1549, by a legal document in which Bertrand's father is referred to as deceased, Ambroise Paré and his wife conferred on Bertrand Paré an annuity of forty *livres tournois*. Paré also entered his nephew as a student in the Collège de Saint Côme, from which it was necessary to remove him as he would not work. Paré then apprenticed him to an apothecary, Jean de Saint Germain. In this position he again failed to prove satisfactory. No trace is left of this ne'er-do-well and with this act of generosity of his uncle he passes out of view.

But to return to the recital of Paré's own exploits. Charles IX died of phthisis in May, 1574. To Paré fell the duty of performing an autopsy and embalming the body. Henri III, who succeeded his brother, not only retained Paré as his surgeon but also appointed



AMBROISE PARÉ

(An unsigned portrait in the possession of his descendants. Le Paulmier.)

him *valet de chambre du roi*. To two anecdotes, apropos of Paré at the court of Henri III, Malgaigne does not give credence because he could not find the original sources from which they descended to the narrators who gave them out some two hundred years later. One is that the courtiers used to call the ptisans administered by Paré "Ambrosia," and that Saint-Maigrin, one of the mignons of Henri III, told the King one day that he was living on "Ambrosia," being under treatment at the time by Paré for some venereal trouble.

The other story relates how one day Bussy d'Amboise, a most popular courtier, upon hearing a court usher calling out what he thought was his name, answered the summons to go to the King, only to find that it was Ambroise (Paré) that the King had wished called. The courtiers all laughed at him for his mistake, but Bussy d'Amboise turned them off by saying, "If I was not d'Amboise, I would wish to be Ambroise, for there is no man whom I hold in more regard."

In 1575 Paré published the first collected edition of his works.¹⁸ It was written in French and contained a portrait of the author, and a dedication to the King. The royal privilege to print the work had been signed

¹⁸Les Oeuvres de M. Ambroise Paré, conseiller et premier chirurgien du roy, avec les figures et portraits tant de l'anatomie que des instruments de chirurgie et de plusieurs monstres. The illustrations for this book were taken from the fourth and last edition of this work published during Paré's lifetime (1585).

at Avignon, September 30, 1574. The printing of it was finished April 22, 1575. On May 5, at a meeting of the Faculté de Médecine, those present formulated a demand that before being put on sale the works of Ambroise Paré, "homme très impudent et sans aucun savoir," should be submitted to them for their approval.

Etienne Gourmelen, the dean of the Faculté de Médecine, thought he saw a good opportunity to hit a hard blow at the former barber-surgeon who had been created master surgeon by the royal favor against the will of the Faculté and without all the customary formalities. He revived a decree of Parlement, which had been made in 1535, prohibiting the publication of any book on medicine without permission having been previously given by the Faculté de Médecine of Paris. In Paré's works there was a book on fevers and much else bearing on strictly medical (non-surgical) topics, also Paré was absolutely ignorant of Latin and Greek, even of the elements of grammar, and his book was written in French. The Faculté notified the Collège de Saint Côme and asked its cooperation in their attack on this edition of the works of this upstart who had so well feathered his nest by the most obvious breaches of propriety. Gourmelen also tried to secure the support of the Université by complaining to its representatives that the works of Paré contained many abominable things very injurious to the morals of the community.

M. ANET VLTIZ

MA COELI



HENRY III. ROY DE FRAN.
ET DE POLOGNE
LXI.



When the case came up on July 14, 1575, before the Parlement de Paris the physicians demanded the confirmation of the decree of 1535 ordaining that no work on medicine should be published without previous authorization by the Faculté de Médecine. The surgeons appeared for the Collège de Saint Côme against Paré notwithstanding his fellowship in that body. The pre-vost of the merchants and the aldermen of Paris were represented by an advocate who demanded that the book should be burned because it contained indecencies and things hurtful to morals in the state. Added to this André Malzieu brought a charge that Paré had been guilty of plagiarism from his translation of a book by Gourmelen. Paré addressed a little pamphlet in justification of himself and his works to the Parlement. This memoir was not known to Malgaigne, and Le Paulmier, who publishes it in full, says that he knows of no mention of it by any author except M. Turner.¹⁹ It bears the title "Réponse de M. Ambroise Paré, premier Chirurgien du Roy, aux calomnies d'aucuns Médecins et Chirurgiens, touchant ses œuvres," without date, although obviously written during the progress of the action against Paré in 1575, and begins as follows:

Messieurs, for more than thirty years I have had printed many treatises on surgery; to which not only no man opposed himself, but on the contrary each one was received with favor

¹⁹*Gaz. hebd. de méd.* 1879, no. 24.

and applause—which made me think that if I gathered them in a body it would be a thing very agreeable to the public. Which I having accomplished and with expense unbelievable, when I thought to make them see the day, behold, Messieurs, the physicians and surgeons opposing themselves to obscure and extinguish them, for no other reason than because they are put in our vulgar tongue, and in very intelligible terms, because they feared that those into whose hands they should come, thinking themselves sufficiently provided with counsel to rule them in their sickness, would not deign to summon them. And the surgeons doubted lest the barbers receiving full instruction by the reading of my works in all the operations of surgery, would come to be as skilful as themselves, and by this means trespass on them. For the rest and others in general, they were piqued by wilful hate, envy, and jealousy to see Ambroise Paré in some reputation, a man well esteemed in his estate; and to give color to their act they dismembered at the outset some half-sentences of my works, taken from ancient authors put into French by themselves; thinking by such means to abuse your good will so as to render my cause more odious. Therefore to answer them I have willed to put this word in writing in advance to serve for my salvation; to let them understand that I have wherewith to pay them. Praying you, Messieurs, to consider that it is one thing to treat of the civility of manners in moral philosophy for the instruction of tender youth, and another thing to talk of natural matters as a true physician and surgeon for the instruction of grown men.

Paré then devotes a number of pages to proving that the portions of his book which his opponents had claimed were indecent contained nothing more than had been written of before in much the same terms by physicians of both ancient and modern times, concerning the generation of man, without even causing criticism on the grounds of indecency or being subversive of public morals. He defends himself and Charles IX for their administration of corrosive sublimate to a criminal,

stating that it was the best way in which to prove the worthlessness of bezoar stone as an antidote. He states that some attacked him because he had narrated that he had been given poison in his food by some who hated him because he was Huguenot, thereby implicating the Catholics in the crime. He denies that he had told this story with any intention to cast aspersions on the Catholics, but that he had wished his readers to understand that the crime was attempted against him solely from religious or political motives, and not because he had been guilty of any wrong doing to any one. As to the monsters described and pictured in his book he says that he had collected many of them from the works of Rondelet, Gesner, Cardan, and Boistnau, books which are ordinarily found in the hands of ladies and girls; moreover of such monsters he says: "Is it not permissible to see them every day in the flesh and bone in this city of Paris and elsewhere?" Paré then defends himself against the charge of blasphemy and of lack of charitableness toward the poor, by stating that his stories regarding the detection of beggars were meant to aid in the detection of impostors, not to injure the worthy poor, and that his remarks on diseases named for the saints were not intended as reflections on those holy personages. He defends his use of antimony. The statement had been made in his derogation that he had served but two kings. Paré pointed

out that he had been surgeon to the King of Navarre, Henri II, Charles IX, and was at present serving Henri III. It is curious that he makes no reference to his service as surgeon to François II. Possibly he did not wish to stir up recollections of the fact that he had been accused of causing this king's death by poisoning him. He asserts his firm belief that the kings of France possess the power of curing scrofulous sores by the royal touch. He says he has seen them do so many times, and the fact is so notorious that for that reason he did not write about it in his book.

Paré concludes, "For my part I esteem nothing in my book pernicious because it is written in our vulgar tongue. Thus the divine Hippocrates wrote in his language, which was known and understood by women and girls, talking no other language than that. As to me I have not written except to teach the young surgeon, and not to the end that my book should be handled by idiots and mechanics, even if it was written in French."

The edition of Paré's works published in 1575 is notable also for the treatise contained in it "of poisons and the bites of mad dogs, and other bites and stings of venomous beasts." This treatise is most interesting. It discusses the subject very fully from the sixteenth-century point of view, giving directions, for instance, as to the best way prelates and other holders of ecclesias-

tical preferment may guard themselves against being poisoned. Such persons should refrain from eating highly seasoned food, as sauces when prepared by any who could be suspected of such designs. Each morning they should take a little of one of the universal antidotes, either mithridatium or theriaca, with a little conserve of roses, then drink some good wine or malvoisie, or eat of the leaves of the rue, with a nut and some dry figs. In case the poison has been swallowed he recommends emetics, enemata, and the administration of oil internally. Paré refers to the story currently told that Pope Clement VII, uncle of Catherine de Medici, was poisoned by the vapor of an envenomed torch, and to other cases of poisoning by the odors of substances. It will be recalled that perfumers as a class were frequently suspected of killing people by means of poisoned perfumes. The Queen Mother's own perfumer was quite generally suspected of such acts. Paré concludes: "The true remedy for these envenomed perfumes, is never to smell them, and to flee such perfumers as the plague, and chase them out of the kingdom of France, sending them to live with the Turks and infidels."

The only result of the proceeding was that the Parlement de Paris reaffirmed the decree of 1535 requiring all medical books to be submitted to the Faculté de Médecine for its approval before publication. Paré's

book was already on sale and in wide circulation, and no further steps were taken against its author.

Malgaigne reviewing the meager surgical literature preceding this publication of Paré's truthfully states that it marks an epoch in surgery. It was the first real surgical treatise which had appeared since that of Guide Chauliac, and what a difference there is between the two authors—one writing at the time when the Arabian influence was predominant, the other at the epoch of the Renaissance! Malgaigne also directs attention to the attempt made by Paré in introducing the part on fevers, etc., to bring medicine and surgery once more into their proper relationship to one another, proving thereby the necessity for medical training on the part of the surgeons. This, as Malgaigne says, was a really great and valuable innovation. Paré's works immediately assumed the position to which they were justly entitled, and opened a new era for surgery by revealing to the surgical world the value of personal experience combined with a knowledge of the science of surgery, as contrasted with the slavish submission to traditional dogma which had heretofore prevailed. He did for surgery what his great contemporary Vesalius did for anatomy, and what, intermixed with lamentable charlatanry, his other contemporary, Paracelsus, strove to do for medicine.

In the second edition of his collected works which

was published in 1579, Paré, evidently in deference to the Faculté de Médecine, did away with his separate book on fevers, scattering the material of which it was composed throughout the book on tumors. He added to this edition a treatise on animals, a discourse on distillations, and one on embalmment. In this edition he also suppressed the passage on antimony which first appeared in his treatise on the plague and was reprinted in the collected edition of 1575. This was also a measure intended to placate the Faculté de Médecine. Paré added a paragraph to his chapter on operations for cataract which would indicate a tendency to bow before the astrological influence still prevailing to some extent with his contemporaries. He states that one should not operate for cataract except at the waning of the moon, at a time when there is no thunder or lightning in the sky, and when the sun is not in Aries, which is concerned with the head. Since these astrological precautions were not advised in the editions of 1561 nor 1575, there may have been some influence brought to bear on Paré which caused their insertion, as one gathers from other portions of his works that he had but little, if any, belief in the direct influence of the heavenly bodies on human ailments. It may be recalled that Catherine de Medici believed absolutely in the astrological predictions of her official astrologer, Ruggieri, and took but few important steps without

first consulting him as to what the stars revealed on the project. The book on fevers concluded with an apologetic paragraph in which Paré protests that it was not ambition to show off his learning that prompted its composition, because, he says, all that is good in the book was "compiled by me from good physicians, from whom, after God I hold what little learning I have in medicine and surgery."

In 1580, Monsieur Christophe Juvenal des Ursins sustained a fall from his horse and was badly injured. Paré was seventy years old but when sent for promptly mounted his horse and rode out in the country to the place where the injured man was lying. When the patient had recovered, he asked Paré why he had not given him mummy for his wound. This request prompted Paré to write his discourse on mummy and unicorn's horn,²⁰ in which, although upwards of seventy years old, he displays a vigor and esprit fully equal to that of his very best work. These two remedies were held in the highest esteem. Mummy was a resinous substance which purported to be made from Egyptian mummies. Unicorn's horn was supposed to be derived from the animal. As a matter of fact it was generally made from elephant's or rhinoceros' tusks. It was sold for a most enormous price and its use was chiefly in consequence confined to the noble or wealthy. When

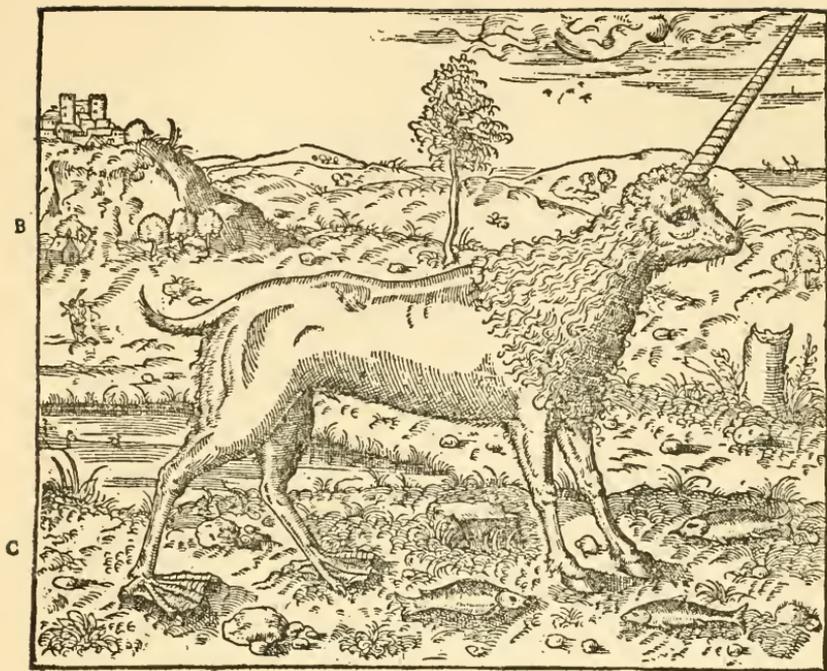
²⁰Discourse de la Mumie et de la Licorne, Paris, 1582.

Henri II was married to Catherine de Medici, the bride's uncle, Pope Clement VII, presented François I, the bridegroom's father, with a piece of the horn of a unicorn, beautifully mounted by a Milanese goldsmith. This horn was said to possess the power of destroying the effects of poison mixed with food. In 1557 when Elizabeth, daughter of Henri II, had small-pox, the Constable, Anne de Montmorenci, sent to Madame d'Humeires, who had charge of her, "a piece of the horn of a unicorn," with the directions that it was to be dissolved "but not in warm water," and administered.

Mummy was greatly sophisticated, being made from all sorts of resinous substances. Paré says that, according to some, mummies were sometimes made "in our France" from the bodies stolen from gallows; but he adds, "Nevertheless I believe that they are as good as those brought from Egypt; because they are none of them of any value. Thereupon we will send them back to Egypt, as we will the unicorn to inaccessible deserts." Paré says that it is inconceivable that decomposed bodies are of any use as remedies, even if the true mummy were obtainable. As to unicorn's horn, he reports that there is no proof that such an animal exists, that the horn on the market may be any kind of ivory, and that whatever it is, there is absolutely no medicinal value in a substance so perfectly inert. He

quotes ancient authority, Hippocrates and Galen, to show that these men made no use of it, and that the modern physicians of whom he inquired were also sceptical. He asked Chapelain, first physician to Charles IX, to use his authority to abolish the custom which prevailed at the court of dipping a piece of unicorn's horn in the king's cup before he drank as a precaution against possible poison in his drink. Chapelain replied that although he did not believe that unicorn's horn possessed any virtue, he dared not stop the practice as the belief was rooted in the minds of both princes and people, adding that if it did no good it certainly did no harm except to the purse of those who purchased it.

This discourse on mummy and unicorn's horn produced an answer from an anonymous author, but bearing the statement that it had been "seen and approved by M. Grangier, Dean of the School of Medicine." The author advises Paré to confine himself to surgery as when he goes beyond his confines the little children mock at him, and he reproaches him with inserting pictures of monsters in his surgery which would only serve to amuse children. He adds that the mere fact that they conserved at St. Denis a unicorn's horn for which the King had refused one hundred thousand crowns sufficed to convince him of its usefulness, and that Paré wronged the King by his skepticism.



THE CAMPHUR, A VARIETY OF THE UNICORN, SAID TO HAVE
BEEN FOUND IN ETHIOPIA.
(*Paré, Edition 1585.*)

Paré condescended to answer his anonymous critic in a little pamphlet,²¹ in which, while not adding anything new to his arguments, he concludes with what Malgaigne calls this charming supplication, "Only I pray him, if he desires to oppose any argument to my reply, that he will quit his animosities and treat more kindly *le bon viellard*." ²²

²¹ "Replique d'Ambroise Paré, premier chirurgien du roy, a la response faicte contre son discourse de la licorne," 1584.

²²Sir Thomas Browne in his "Pseudodoxia Epidemica or Vulgar Errors," Book III, chap. xxiii, writes at length of unicorn's horn. Although he states his belief in the existence of such an animal, he then proceeds to mention that the substances in general sold for it are derived from an innumerable variety of sources and not solely even from horns. He ascribes to Thomas Bartholinus of Copenhagen and Olaus Wormius the credit of pointing out that many of the specimens were the teeth of the narwhale, and continues, "that some antidotal quality it may have, we have no reason to deny; for since elk's hoofs and horns are magnified for epilepsies, since not only the bone in the hart, but the horn of the deer is alexipharmical (antidotal to poisons), an ingredient into the confection of hyacinth, and the electuary of Maximilian, we cannot without prejudice except against the efficacy of this."

Sir Thomas concludes: "Since, therefore, there be many unicorns; since that whereto we appropriate a horn is so variously described, that it seemeth never to have been seen by two persons, or not to have been one animal; since though they agreed in the description of the animal, yet is not the horn we extol the same with that of ancients; since what horns so ever they may that pass among us, they are not the horn of one, but several animals; since many in common use and high esteem are no horn at all; since if they were true horns, yet might their virtues be questioned; since though we allowed some virtues, yet were not others to be received; with what security a man may rely on this remedy, the mistress of fools hath already instructed some, and to wisdom (which is never too wise to learn), it is not too late to consider." Sir Thomas mentions the horn of St. Denis, saying "that famous horn which is preserved at St. Denis, near Paris, hath wreathy spires, and cochleary turnings about it, which agreeth with the description of the unicorn's horn in Elian."

The "Encyclopedia Britannica," XIIth Edition (Art. *Unicorn*), states that the earliest description of the unicorn is given by Ctesias, who says that there were in India white wild asses celebrated for their fleetness of foot, and having on the forehead a horn a cubit and a half in length, colored white, red and black, and from this horn were made drinking cups which were antidotal to any poison put in them. A belief in its antidotal properties lingered in England until the reign of Charles II, when a cup made of rhinoceros horn was given to the Royal Society to investigate its properties. This investigation resulted in completely proving its uselessness.

In 1582 Jacques Guillemeau published a Latin edition of Paré's collected works. It was printed in Germany. The Faculté de Médecine tried to throw obstacles in the way of it but their opposition came to naught.

In 1585 Paré published the fourth collected edition²³ of his works, the last to appear in his lifetime, containing the invaluable addition of his "Apology and Journeys." The latter book was written because of an attack made on Paré by Etienne Gourmelen in his book on surgery. Gourmelen especially attacked Paré for his use of the ligature in amputations. We have seen how Paré demolished him and we should be devoutly thankful to the stupid dean of the faculty who provoked him to reply.

Gourmelen, in return for Paré's counter-attack, had one of his pupils, Comperat, write an answer to Paré. It consisted chiefly in vituperation but it also contained some serious aspersions. He was accused of having plagiarized all that was good in his book from Gourmelen! As he did not know Latin he was accused of "never having put his nose in a notable author." The case of his brother-in-law, Gaspard Martin, master barber-surgeon of Paris, who had died after Paré had amputated his leg, was cited as an instance of the failure

²³Les Oeuvres d'Ambroise Paré, conseiller et premier chirurgien du roy, divisée en vingt-huit livres avec les figures—Revue et Augments par l'auteur. Quatrième édition, à Paris, chez Gabriel Buon. 1585.



Auty

THE REDUCTION OF DISLOCATIONS OF THE SHOULDER.
(*Paré, Edition 1585.*)

of the ligature. Comperat also accused Paré of having stated in his book on "Generation" that he had removed the uterus of a patient, when after her death, six months later, the uterus was found intact at the autopsy. Comperat gives the names of the physician and surgeon present at the autopsy and states that Paré had never been able to deny the facts. Malgaigne comments that it is impossible to now ascertain the truth about the case. It is, of course, possible that Paré was in error in believing that he had removed the uterus, but it is impossible to believe that he deliberately lied. Paré disdained to reply to this veiled attack by Gourmelen feeling doubtless that he had said enough in his "Apology."

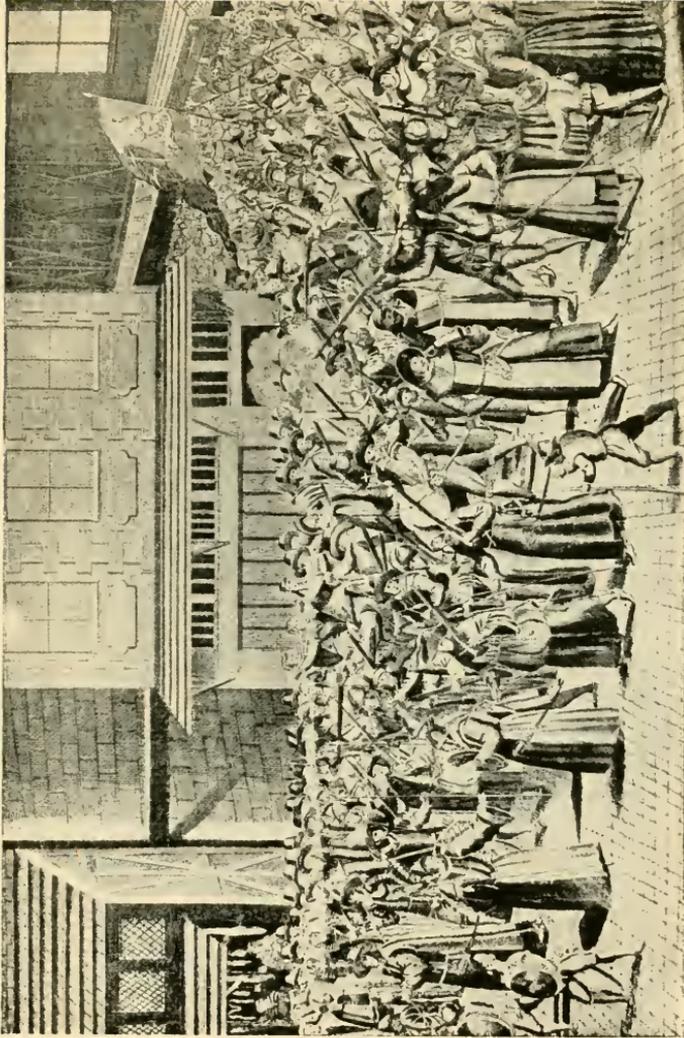
On the first of August, 1589, Henri III was stabbed to death by Jacques Clement, a monk. The court was at Saint Cloud whither Paré had not accompanied it, so that although he still held the position of *premier chirurgien du Roy*, he was not in attendance on the king. Antoine Portail was with the wounded man in his last moments.

Paré was in Paris when that city was besieged by Henri IV in 1590. Conditions within its walls were horrible. Famine prevailed. As many as two hundred dead bodies were found in the streets daily. The Leaguers, the name by which the Catholic party was known, were resolved to hold out against the King of Navarre



THE REDUCTION OF DISLOCATION OF THE SHOULDER
(*Paré, Edition 1585*)

until the last gasp. The city was blockaded, rather than besieged. Henri did not wish to shed the blood of his subjects even when they were rebelling against him. The pages of L'Estoile's journal reveal the frightful ravages which the lack of food produced in the city. The Spanish ambassador, Mendoza, said in public that when there was no more flour to make bread, which threatened to be the case in a few days, they should grind up the bones of the dead in the charnel houses of the cemeteries, soak the powder in water, and cook it. A month later this expedient was actually tried but all those who ate this bread made from bone dust, died. One episode during this famous siege of Paris created great excitement and even furnished some amusement. On May 14, 1590, all the religious orders of Paris paraded under arms, bishops, priors, abbots, monks, and seminarians, singing hymns and every now and then firing their guns. So untrained were they in the management of their weapons that several innocent bystanders were killed by these manifestations of holy zeal. Many pictures are extant representing various incidents in the parade. In these straits we get our last glimpse of Ambroise Paré, striving as always to help others. In his journal Pierre de L'Estoile gives the following account of a meeting between the Archbishop of Lyons, one of the chief Leaguers, and Paré:

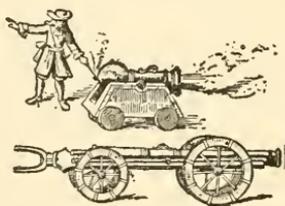


PROCESSION OF THE LEAGUERS IN PARIS
(From an old drawing made during the siege of the city.)

“I remember that about eight or ten days at most before the raising of the siege, M. de Lyon, passing at the end of the Pont Saint Michel, as he found himself besieged by a crowd of mean people, dying of hunger, who cried to him, demanding bread or death, and he not knowing how to despatch them, encountered Master Ambroise Paré, who said loudly to him, ‘Monseigneur, these poor people whom you see here about you are dying of the cruel rage of hunger, and demand pity of you. For God’s sake, Monsieur, give it to them, if you would have God countenance you, and think a little of the dignity in which God has placed you, and that the cries of these poor people which mount to Heaven, are a warning that God sends you, to think of the duties of your charge, for which you are responsible to Him. Therefore, according to this, and by the power which we all know that you have, procure us peace, and give us wherewith to live, because the poor people can no longer do so. See you not that Paris perishes at the will of the villains who wish to prevent the peace which is the will of God? Oppose them firmly, Monsieur, taking in hand the cause of the poor afflicted people, and God will bless and repay you.’ Monseigneur, the Archbishop, said nothing or next to nothing, except that, contrary to his custom he was patient to hear him out without interruption, and he said afterwards that this good man had altogether astonished

him; and again that this was a different sort of politics than his own, but that he had awakened him and made him think of many things."

This is the last we know of Paré until L'Estoile writes, "Thursday, twentieth of December, 1590, the eve of Saint Thomas, died at Paris, in his own house Master Ambroise Paré, surgeon to the king, aged eighty years, a learned man and the chief of his art; who, in spite of the times, had always talked and talked freely for peace and for the good of the people, that which made him as much loved by the good as he was wished evil and hated by the wicked." Paré's body was laid to rest in the church of Saint André des Arts at the foot of the nave near the tower.



THE
APOLOGY AND TREATISE



THE APOLOGY AND TREATISE

CONTAINING

THE VOYAGES MADE INTO DIVERS PLACES

By AMBROISE PARÉ of Laval

Councillor and Surgeon to the King.



TRULY I have not put my hand to the pen to write in such a manner, had it not been that some have impudently taxed and insulted me, and disgraced me, more by particular hate, than by any good zeal they should have to the public, concerning my manner of tying the veins and arteries, writing that which follows:

Male igitur et nimium arroganter, inconsultus et temerarius quidam, vasorum ustionem post emortui membri resectionem, a veteribus omnibus plurimum commendatam, et semper probatam, damnare ausus est: novum quemdam deligandi vasa modum, contra veteres

*Of What
the Adver-
sary Ac-
cuses the
Author*

*Words of
the
Adversary*

omnes medicos sine ratione, experientia et iudicio, docere cupiens, nec animadvertit majora multo pericula ex ipsa nova vasorum deligatione (quam acu partem sanam profunde transfigendo administrari vult imminere, quam ex ipsa ustione: Nam si acu neurosam aliquam partem vel nervum ipsum pupugerit, dum ita novo et inusitato modo venam absurde conatur constringere, nova inflammatio necessario consequetur, a qua convulsio et a convulsione cita mors. Quorum symptomatum metu Galenus non ante transversa vulnera suere audebat (quod tamen minus erat periculosum) quam musculorum aponeuroses denudasset. Adde quod forcipes, quibus post sectionem iterum carnem dilacerat, cum retracta versus originem vasa se posse extrahere somniat, non minorem afferunt dolorem, quam ignita ferramenta admota. Quod si quis novum hunc laniatum expertus incolumis evaserit, is Deo optimo maximo cuius beneficentia, crudelitate ista et carnificina liberatus est, maximas gratias habere, et semper agere debet.¹

Which is to say: "Badly then and too arrogantly, indiscreetly, and temerarily, a certain personage has wished to condemn and blame the cauterization of the vessels after the amputation of a corrupt and rotten

¹Malgaigne states that this Latin text is copied from page 124 of Gourmelen's book "Stephani Gourmeleni Curiositæ Parisiensis medici Chirurgicæ artis, ex Hippocratis et aliorum veterum Medicorum decretis, ad rationis normam redactæ. Libri 111."

member, much praised and recommended by the ancients, and always approved, wishing and desiring to show and teach us, without reason, judgment or experience, a new way of tying the vessels, against the opinion of all the ancient physicians, giving no caution nor advice that there frequently happen many more great perils and accidents from this new fashion of tying the vessels (which he wishes to be done by a needle piercing profoundly the healthy part) than by burning and combustion of the said vessel. Because, if with the needle one should prick some nervous part, to wit even the nerve itself, when he wishes by this new and untried means, grossly to constrain the vein in tying it, necessarily there will follow a new inflammation, from the inflammation a convulsion, from the convulsion, death: for fear of which accidents Galen never dared to stitch transverse wounds (that which is always less dangerous) before uncovering the aponeuroses of the muscles. Moreover, this the forceps with which, after the section, he once more tears the flesh, while he thinks it possible to draw forth the vessels which are drawn back towards their origin, brings no less pain than the hot iron. And if anyone having experienced this new fashion of cruelty, has recovered from it, he should render thanks to God forever, by the goodness of whom he has escaped such cruelty, feeling rather

his executioner than his methodical chirurgion."²

Oh, what beautiful words! for an aged man, who calls himself a wise doctor. He does not remember that his white beard admonisheth him not to say anything unworthy of his years, and that he should put off and drive out from him all envy and rancor conceived against his neighbor. But, now I wish to prove to him by authority, reason, and experience, that the said veins and arteries should be tied.

*Response
of the
Author*

*Authorities*³

As to authorities I will come to that of that grand man Hippocrates, who wills and commands the recovery of fistulas of the fundament by ligature, as much to absorb the callosity as to avoid hæmorrhage.

Galen, in his "Method," speaking of a flow of blood made by an external cause, of whom see here the words: It is (saith he) most sure to tie the root of the vessel, which I understand to be that (part) which is most near to the liver or to the heart.

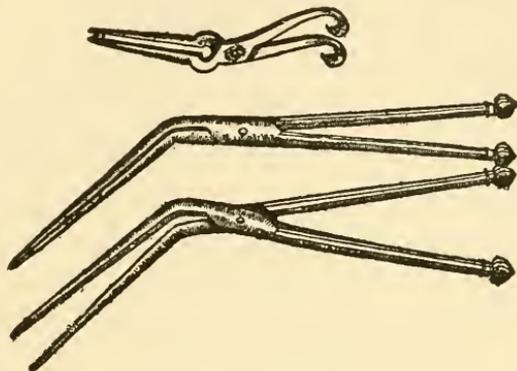
Avicenna commands to tie the vein and the artery, after having uncovered it towards its origin.

²Malgaigne points out that Paré did not recommend ligature by means of a needle, although he mentions it as a means which could be employed in some cases. Curiously Paré does not point out this fact in reply to Gourmelen.

³Paré gives in marginal notes the exact references to his citations. I have omitted these references in most instances as he does not state the edition from which they were taken and hence they are of no particular value to the text.

Gui de Chauliac, speaking of wounds of the veins and arteries, enjoins the surgeon to make the ligature on the vessel.

Monsieur Hollier in Book III, chapter 5, of his "Matiere du Chirurgie," speaking of the flow of blood, commands expressly to tie the vessels.



BEC DE CORBIN

Calmetheus, in his chapter on the "Wounds of Veins and Arteries," treats of a very sure means of arresting the flow of blood by ligature of the vessels.

Celsus, from whom the said physician hath taken the greater part of his book, recommends expressly to tie the vessels in the flow of blood following wounds as a very easy and very sure remedy.

Vesalius, in his "Surgery," directs that the vessels be tied in a flow of blood.

Jean de Vigo, treating of hæmorrhage from recent wounds, commands to tie the vein and artery.

Tagault, treating of the means of arresting a flow of blood, commands to pinch the vein or artery with a crow beak, or a parrot beak,⁴ then to tie it with a strong enough thread.

Pierre de Argellata of Boulogne, discoursing of flow of blood and the manner of arresting it, gives a fourth means expressly, which is done by ligature of the vessels.

John Andreas à Crucé, a Venetian, makes mention of a method of arresting the flow of blood by ligature of the vessels.

D'Alechamp commands to tie the veins and arteries.

Now there see, mon petit bonhomme, the authorities who command you to tie the vessels. As for the reasons, I wish to discuss them.

Hæmorrhage is not so much to be feared (say you) in the section of the epiploon, as in that of varices, and in incision of the temporal arteries as after the amputation of a member. But you yourself command that in cutting varices, one arrest the flow of blood by ligature of the vessel. You command the same speaking of the suture with the amputation and section of the epiploon, altered by the surrounding air. Here are your words: "After that it is necessary to advise as to the epiploon, that if there is any part corrupted, putre-

⁴*Bec de Corbin ou de Perroquet*—instruments very like our modern hemostats.

fied, withered or blackish: first having tied it for fear of a flow of blood," and the rest. You do not say, "after having cauterized it," but to tell the truth you have your eyes shut and all your senses dulled, when you have wished to speak against so sure a method, and this is but by anger and ill-will; because there is nothing which has more power to chase the reason from its seat, than anger and ill-will. Moreover, when we come to cauterize the amputated part, most frequently when the eschar comes to fall off, there follows a new flow of blood, as I have seen many times, not having been yet inspired by God with so sure a means then when I used the fire. What if you have not discovered or understood this method in the books of the ancients, you should not thus trample it under your feet, and speak evil of one who all his life has preferred the profit of the public to his own particular. Is it not more than reasonable to found it on the saying of Hippocrates, of the authority of whom you serve yourself, which is this: "That what the medicament cureth not, the iron doth; and that which the iron amendeth not, the fire extermineth"? It is a thing which savoureth not of Christianity to burn all at the first blow, without staying oneself to more gentle remedies, as you yourself write in Book I, page 5, speaking of the conditions required in a surgeon to cure well, which passage you borrow from elsewhere; for that which may be done

gently without fire, is much more commendable than otherwise. Is it not a thing which all schools hold as an axiom, that we shall always commence with the most easy remedies? And if they are not sufficient then one will come to extremes, following the doctrines of Hippocrates. Galen recommends as much in the place before alleged, to treat the sick quickly, safely, and with as little pain as one can.

Let Us Come Now to the Proof

Because one knows not how to apply the hot irons but with an extreme and vehement pain, in a sensitive part, free from gangrene, which would be the cause of convulsion, fever, yea oftentimes of death. And moreover it would be a long time afterwards before the poor patients would be cured, because by the action of the fire there is made an eschar, which is formed from the flesh subjected to it, which being fallen off, it is necessary that Nature regenerates another new flesh in place of that which has been burned, in addition the bone remains bare and uncovered, and in this way there remains very often an incurable ulcer. Again there is another accident, this is, that oftentimes the eschar falls, the flesh not being well reformed, the blood flows from it, as much as or more than before. But when one has tied them [the vessels] the ligature will fall off only when the flesh has first recovered them [the vessels].

*Of What
the Eschar
is Made*

Which is proved by Galen in the fifth book of his Method, saying that escharotic medicaments, which form crusts [eschars] whensoever they fall away leave the part more bare than its natural habit requires, for the generation of the eschar is from the parts under and around it which are half burned, so to speak; wherefore by as much as the part is burnt by so much it loseth its natural heat.

Now, tell me, when is it necessary to use escharotic medicaments, or cauterizing irons? It is when the flow of blood is caused by erosion, or by gangrene or putrefaction. But is this so regarding recent wounds where there is neither gangrene nor putrefaction? Ergo, the cauteries should not be applied to them. And when the ancients have commanded to apply hot irons to the mouth of vessels, it is not only to arrest blood, but chiefly to correct the malignity or gangrenous putrefaction which might damage the neighboring parts. And it is necessary to note here that if I had known such accidents happen, as you have declared in your book, in drawing forth and tying the vessels, I would never have been twice deceived, and would not have wished to leave to posterity by my writings any such manner of arresting the flow of blood. But I have written it after having seen it done, and that many times with the most happy success. See that which could result from your inconsiderate counsel, [given] without

*Words
of the
Adversary*

examining or arresting itself on the ease of tying the said vessels. For see, here is your aim and proposition: *Proposition of the Adversary* "To tie the vessel after amputation is a new remedy," say you, "therefore it should not be used." This is badly argued for a doctor.

As to that which is necessary (say you), "to use fire after amputations of the members, in order to consume and check the putrefaction which is common to gangrenes and mortifications," that in truth hath no place here because the practice is to amputate always the part above that [portion] which is mortified and corrupted, as wrote and commanded Celsus, to perform the amputation on that which is healthy, rather than to leave any of the putrefied. I would willingly demand of you, if when a vein is cut transversely and has retracted itself very much towards its origin, you would not scruple to burn until you had found the orifice of the vein or artery, and if it is not more easy with only a crow beak to seize and draw forth the vessel and tie it? In which you show openly your ignorance, and that you have your mind possessed with a great animosity and anger. We see practiced every day with the happiest success, the said ligature of the vessel, after the amputation of a part; that which I wish now to verify by experiences and histories of those on whom the said ligature hath been made and [the] persons yet living.

Experience

The sixteenth day of June, 1582, in the presence of Master Jean Liebault,⁵ doctor in the Faculty of Medicine of Paris, Claude Viard,⁶ sworn surgeon [*chirurgien juré*], Master Mathurin Huron, surgeon of Monsieur de Souvray, and myself, Jean Charbonnel, master barber-surgeon of Paris, well informed in the theory and practice of surgery, with great dexterity amputated the left leg of a woman, who had suffered more than three years day and night from extreme pain, because of an extensive caries, which was in the os astragalus, cuboide, the great and little focol, and through all the nervous parts. She was named Marie d'Hostel—aged twenty-eight years or thereabouts, wife of Pierre Hervé, esquire of the kitchen of Madame the Duchess of Uzés, dwelling in the rue des Verbois, beyond Saint Martin des Champs, at the sign of the Head of Saint John—from whom the said Charbonnel cut the

*Operation
performed
by Char-
bonnel*

⁵Liebault was admitted to the doctorate at Paris in 1561. He married a daughter of Charles Estienne, the publisher, and seems to have shared in some of his father-in-law's enterprises and to have been affected by the latter's ruin when he failed. Liebault retired to Dijon where he died June 21, 1596. He wrote a book on diseases of women, and another entitled "Quatre Livres de secrets de médecine." Liebault was one of the committee appointed by the Faculty of Medicine of Paris in 1573 to examine the works of Paré when he applied to that body for permission to publish the second edition. The publication was authorized but none too graciously.

⁶Viard or Viart was Paré's pupil and assistant for twenty years. In 1577 he married Jeanne Paré, the orphan daughter of Paré's brother Jean, who had been adopted by Ambroise Paré and who lived in his house. Viard died about 1583, and five years later his widow married François Forest.

leg at four large finger-breadths below the knee; and after he had incised the flesh and sawn the bone, he gripped the vein with the crow's beak, then the artery, then tied them: of which I protest to God (as the company which were there can testify) that in the whole operation, which was quickly done, there was not lost a porringer of blood, and I directed the said Charbonnel to let it bleed more, following the precept of Hippocrates, that it is good to let the blood flow in all wounds and ulcers, even inveterate, as by this means the part is less subject to inflammation. The said Charbonnel continued to treat and dress her, who was cured in two months, without there ever supervening any hæmorrhage or flow of blood, nor any other evil accident, and she went to see you in your house, being perfectly recovered.

Another history of recent memory of a singing man of Notre Dame, named Monsieur Paulain, who broke both bones of the leg; these were crushed in many pieces in such a manner that there was no hope of curing him. To avoid gangrene and mortification and by consequence death, Monsieur Helin, doctor regent in the Faculty of Medicine, a man of honor and good skill, Claude Viard, and Simon Pietre,⁷ sworn surgeons of

⁷Pietre was the father-in-law of Jean Riolan. He was a Protestant and escaped the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew only because he received timely warning from Riolan and was able to conceal himself in the abbey of Saint Victor. He was present when Paré performed the autopsy on Charles IX. He died in 1584.

Paris, men much experienced in surgery, and Balthasar de Lestre and Leonard de Leschenal, master barber-surgeons, also much experienced in the operations of surgery, were all of the opinion, that to obviate the aforesaid accidents, it was necessary to make entire amputation of the leg, a little above the broken and splintered bones, and lacerated nerves, veins and arteries. The operation was dexterously performed by the said Viard, and the blood staunched by the ligature of the vessels, in the presence of the said Helin, and of Monsieur Tonsard, Grand Vicar of Notre Dame. He was constantly dressed by the said Leschenal, and I went occasionally to see him. He was happily cured without the application of hot irons, and went his way gaily on a wooden leg.

*Operation
by Viard*

In the year 1583,⁸ the tenth day of December, Toussaint Posson, native of Roinville, at present dwelling at Beauvais near Dourdan, having his leg all ulcerated, and all the bones carious and rotten, besought me that for the honor of God I would amputate his leg, because of the great pain which he could no longer bear. After being prepared, I had his leg amputated four fingers below the rotula [patella] of the knee, by Daniel Poulet, one of my servitors, to teach him and embolden him to do such work, where he tied very dex-

*Another
history*

⁸Le Paulmier directs attention to the date of this operation as indicating that even at his then advanced age of seventy-three years Paré was yet in active practice.

terously the vessels in order to staunch the blood, without the application of hot irons, and in the presence of Jacques Guillemeau,⁹ surgeon in ordinary to the king, and Jean Charbonnel, master barber-surgeon in Paris. During his cure he was seen and visited by Messieurs Laffilé and Courtin,¹⁰ doctors regent in the Faculty of Medicine of Paris.

The said operation was performed in the house of Jean Gohel, innkeeper, dwelling at the sign of the White Horse in the Grêve.¹¹

I do not wish to forget to say here that Madame la Princesse de Montpensier, knowing that he was poor, and that he would be in my hands, gave him the money to pay for his chamber and nourishment. He was well cured, thank God, and returned to his home with a wooden leg.

⁹Jacques Guillemeau was born at Orleans in 1550, according to Le Paulmier, of a family of surgeons. He was a favorite and worthy pupil of Paré's, living in his house for many years. Guillemeau had a distinguished career. He was *chirurgien ordinaire* to Henri III, Henri IV, and Louis XIII. He died March 13, 1612. He was a faithful adherent of Ambroise Paré in his several quarrels with the surgeons. In 1581 he published the works of Paré translated into Latin, which involved him in a dispute with the surgeons on his own account as he was accused by them of using a translation made by a physician, and not by himself, as claimed on the title page. Guillemeau in the preface states that the translation was in fact made by a friend who did not wish his name to appear. Gui Patin says the translator was Hautin.

¹⁰Germain Courtin lectured on surgery in the Faculty of Medicine of Paris. He would not seem to have been liberally inclined towards the surgeons as, according to Le Paulmier, he caused a decree to be issued forbidding them to give courses on anatomy.

¹¹Place du Grêve.

Another History

A gangrene occurred in half of the leg of one named Nicolas Mesnager, aged seventy-six years, dwelling in the Rue Saint Honoré at the sign of the Basket, which happened to him from an internal cause so that one was constrained to amputate the leg to save his life. It was amputated by Antoine Renaud, master barber-surgeon of Paris, the sixteenth day of December 1583, in the presence of Messieurs Le Fort¹² and La Noüe,¹³ sworn surgeons of Paris. And the blood was staunched by ligature of the vessels, and he is at present recovered, and in good health, walking with a wooden leg.

Gangrene following antecedent cause

Another History

A waterman at the Porte de Nesle, dwelling near Monsieur de Mas, controller of Posts, named Jean Bousserau, with whom an arquebus broke in his hand, which entirely shattered the bone and tore all the other parts, in such a way that it was needful and necessary to make an amputation of the arm. Which was done by Jacques Guillemeau, at present surgeon in ordinary to the king, who was dwelling then with me. The

History

Operation by Guillemeau

¹²Rodolphe Le Fort was distinguished for the zeal with which he stood up for the rights of the surgeons. He died in 1606.

¹³Jerome La Noüe, son of Mathurin La Noüe, a distinguished surgeon, was one of the most eminent surgeons of his day. He served in this capacity Catherine de Medici, Charles IX, Henry III, and Henry IV. He died in 1628. Le Paulmier states that he left a manuscript containing the most valuable material relating to the history of surgery which is preserved in the library of the Faculty of Medicine at Paris.

operation was likewise dexterously performed, and the blood staunched by ligature of the vessels, without the burning irons. He is still at present living.

Another History

A merchant grocer, living in the rue Saint Denis, at the sign of Le Gros Tournois, named Le Juge, who fell upon his head where was made a wound near the temporal muscle, where he had an artery opened, from which the blood poured forth very impetuously, in such a manner that the ordinary measures for staunching the blood would not serve. I was called thither where I found Messieurs Rasse, Cointeret,¹⁴ Viard, sworn surgeons of Paris, staunching the blood; where promptly I took a threaded needle and tied the artery for him, and there was no bleeding afterwards and he was soon cured. Witness for it will be Monsieur Rousselet, not long since dean of your faculty, who treated him with us.

Another History

A sergeant of the Chatelet, dwelling near Saint Andre des Arts, who had a sword thrust in the throat at the Pré Aux Clercs,¹⁵ which cut completely through the external jugular vein, as soon as he was wounded

¹⁴Jean Cointeret, a native of Paris, was one of the sworn surgeons of the king at the Chatelet. He was present when Paré made an autopsy on the body of Charles IX. He died May 13th, 1592.

¹⁵Meadow of the Clerks. This was a great place for duels and brawls. It was located near Saint Germain Aux Pré.

he placed his handkerchief on the wound and sought me at my house. When he lifted his handkerchief, the blood spouted forth with great impetuosity. I at once tied the vein towards its root. By this means it was staunched and he was cured, thanks to God. But if one had followed your manner of staunching the blood by the cauteries, I leave it to be thought if he would have recovered. I believe he would have died in the hands of the operator.

If I wished to recite all those on whom one has tied the vessels to stay the blood, which have been cured, I should not have ended this long time, but meseems that here are enough of histories recited to make you believe that one can surely stay the blood from veins and arteries without applying the actual cauteries.

*He who doth strive against experience
Is not worthy to discourse of high science.*¹⁶

DU BARTAS.

But, *mon petit maistre*, as to that that you reproach me, that I have not described in my works, all the operations of surgery which the ancients wrote of, I would be very sorry for it if I had done so, for then you could with good right call me *carnifex*. I have left them because they are too cruel, and have wished to follow the moderns who have moderated such cruelty, that which notwithstanding you have followed step by step as ap-

¹⁶Celuy la qui combat contre l'experience,
N'est digne du discours d'une haute science.

pears from the operations here written, extracted from your book which you have drawn here and there from certain ancient authors, such as follow, and which you have never practiced nor seen.

First Operation

For inveterate fluxions of the eyes and for migraines, Paulus Aegineta as also Albucasis command to make arteriotomy, of which Aegineta see here the words: "It is necessary to mark the arteries which are behind the ears, then sever them cutting down to the bone, and make a great incision (the breadth) of two fingers"; that which also ordains Aetius but (directs) that the incision should be made transversely cutting or incising the length of two large fingers, until one has found the artery, as you command to be done in your book. But I holding with Galen who commands to dress the sick quickly, safely, and with as little pain as possible, teach the young surgeons the means of remedying such evils by opening the arteries behind the ears and those of the temples, with only one incision as in letting blood, and not to make a great incision and (thereby) cut out work for a long time.

Second Operation

For fluxions which are made for a long time on the eyes Paulus Aegineta and Albucasis order an in-

cision made which they call periscythismos, or angiology of the Greeks, and here are the words of Paul: "In this operation first the head is shaved, then guarding against touching the temporal muscles, a transverse incision is made commencing at the left temple and finishing at the right." This you have put in your book word for word, without changing anything, which shows openly that you are a true plagiarist, as one can see in your chapter which you call the "crown" cut, which is made in a demicircle under the coronal suture, from one temple to the other, down to the bone. But I do not teach any remedy so cruel, but teach the operator by reason, authority, and notable proofs, of a sure means of remedying such affections without thus butchering men.

Third Operation

In the cure of empyema Paulus Aegineta, Albucasis, and Celsus command to apply some thirteen cauteries, others fifteen cauteries to give issue to the pus contained in the thorax, as the said Celsus in the aforesaid place, ordered for asthmatics; which is a thing (saving their honor), beyond all reason, since the surgeon's aim is to give issue to the matter contained therein, there is no other question but of making an opening to evacuate the matter in the most inferior part. I have shown the young surgeon the method of doing this safely without tormenting the patient for nothing.

Fourth Operation

For breasts that are too large, Paulus Aegineta and Albucasis command to make a cruciform incision, to take out all the fat, then join the wound by suture: Briefly this is to slay a man alive, that which I have never practiced nor counsel it to be done by the surgeon.

Fifth Operation

Albucasis and Paulus Aegineta would cauterize the liver and spleen with hot irons, which the modern have never practiced, for indeed reason manifestly repugns it.

Sixth Operation

In the paracentesis which is made in the third kind of dropsy called ascites, Celius Aurelianus commandeth to make many openings in the belly. Albucasis applies nine actual cauteries, to wit four about the navel, one on the stomach, one on the spleen, one on the liver: two on the back near the vertebræ, one of them near the breast, the last near the stomach. Aetius is likewise of the same will to open the belly with many cauteries. Paulus Aegineta commands to apply five actual cauteries to make the said paracentesis. But abhorring such a manner of burning of which you speak much in your third book, I show another kind of practice which is done by making a simple

incision in the said belly, as may be seen in my works with happy success. I do not show young men in my works the manner of burning which the ancients have called infibulare, because that is not practiced although Celsus writes of it.

Seventh Operation

In the sciatica proceeding from an internal cause inasmuch as the mucosities (vicious humors) displace the bones from their place, Paul directs to burn the said joint down to the bone. Dioscorides commands the same, which I do not find expedient taking indication from the subjacent parts, for there, where one would burn, it is in the place of four twin muscles, beneath which passeth the great nerve descending from the sacrum, which being burnt, I leave it to you to think what would happen, as Galen remarked, expressly talking of the ustion which it is necessary to make on the humerus.

Eighth Operation

In outward dislocation of the vertebræ, Hippocrates commands to bind the man straight on a ladder, the arms and legs tied and bound, then after having raised the ladder to the top of a tower, or the ridge of a house, with a great cable in a pulley, let the patient fall like lead on the firm pavement, which Hippocrates said

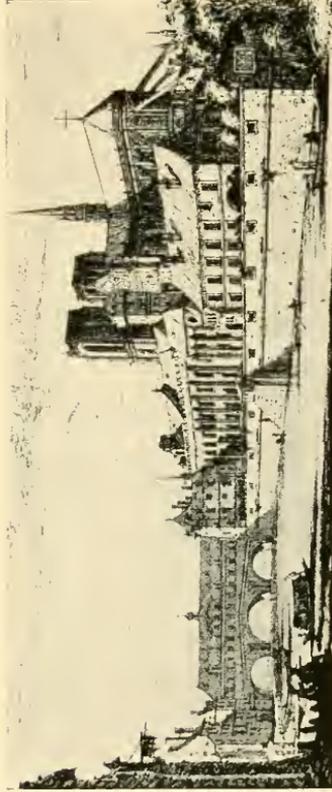
was done in his time. But I do not teach any such way of giving the strappado to men, but I show to the surgeon in my works, the method of reducing them safely and without great pain.

Moreover, I would be sorry to follow the saying of the said Hippocrates in the third book of "De Morbis," where he directs that in the disease called volvulus it is necessary to blow up the belly with a bellows, putting the nozzle in the rectum, then blowing until the belly becomes much stretched, afterwards giving an emollient clyster, and stopping the fundament with a sponge. Such practice is not made to-day, therefore marvel not that I have not cared to speak of it.

And you not being content with rhapsodizing the operations of the aforesaid authors, have also taken much from my works as every man may know, which showeth openly that there is nothing of your invention in your "Guide to Surgeons."

I leave aside another infinity of useless operations which you quote in your book, without knowing how stupid they are, never having seen them practiced, but because you have found them written in the books of the ancients, you have put them in your book.

Moreover, you say that you will show me my lesson in the operations of surgery. It seems to me that you will not know how, because I have not learned them only in my study and by hearing through many and divers



NOTRE DAME AND THE HÔTEL DIEU

years the lectures of doctors in medicine, but, as I have written before in my "Epistle to the Reader," I had made my residence in the Hôtel Dieu of Paris for the space of three years, where I had the means to see and learn many of the works of surgery on an infinity of sick, together with anatomy on a great number of dead bodies, as I have oftentimes made very sufficient proof publicly in the schools of medicine of Paris. My good fortune has made me see yet much more. For being called to the service of the kings of France (four of whom I have served) I have found myself in company in battle skirmishes, assaults and sieges of cities and fortresses, as also I have been shut up in cities with the besieged, having charge of treating the wounded. Moreover, I have dwelt long years in this great and famous city of Paris, where, thanks be to God, I have always lived in very good reputation with all men, and have never held the last rank among those of my estate, seeing that there was never found any cure, was it never so difficult nor great, that my hand and my counsel have not been required, as I make seen by this work. Now dare you (these things being understood) say that you will teach me the works of surgery, seeing that you have never gone forth from your study?

The operations of the same are four in general (as we have heretofore declared) where you make of them but three; to wit, to join the separated, to separate the

continuous, and to remove the superfluous: and the fourth that I make is as necessary as a useful invention, to adjust that which is in default, as I have demonstrated heretofore.

Also you wish that the surgeon should only perform the three operations aforesaid, without undertaking to order a simple cataplasm, saying it is that which comes to your part of Medicine, and that the ancients (in the discourse which you have made to the reader) have divided the followers of medicine into three groups, to wit, the dieticians, the apothecaries, and the surgeons. But I would gladly ask of you who hath made the partition, and [decided] where anything should be done, who are those which are content with their part, without some enterprise on the other? For Hippocrates, Galen, Aetius, Avicenna, in brief all the physicians, as well Greeks, Latins, and Arabians, have never treated of the one but that they have treated of the other, for the great affinity and tie that there is between the two, and it would be very difficult to do otherwise. Now when you wish to put surgery so low, you contradict yourself, for in your prefatory epistle that you dedicated to the late Monsieur de Martigues, you say that surgery is the most noble part of physick, as well by reason of its origin, antiquity, necessity, as by the certainty in its actions, because it operates "luce operta," as learnedly writes Celsus at the commence-

ment of the seventh book. Therefore, it is to be believed that you have never gone from your study except to teach the theory (if you have been able to do it).

The operations of surgery are learnt by the eye and by the touch.

I will say you are like a young lad of Low Brittany, plump buttocked and thickset, who demanded leave of his father to come to Paris to learn French. When he arrived, the organist of Notre Dame found him at the gate of the Palace, and took him to blow the organ, where he was three years. Finding he could speak French somewhat,¹⁷ he returned to his father telling him that he spoke good French, and, moreover, that he knew how to play well on the organ. His father received him very joyfully, because he was so wise in so short a time. He went to the organist of their great church, and prayed him to permit his son to play on the organ, to the end that he might know if his son was as good a master as he said he was. Which the master organist accorded willingly. Coming to the organ he threw himself with a great leap to the bellows. The master organist bade him play and that he would blow for him. Then this good organist said to him that he knew nothing else than how to blow. I believe likewise,

*Good
similitude*

¹⁷The Low Bretons speak a Celtic patois very dissimilar to French as spoken in Paris. In the time of Paré the difficulty of communication between the different parts of France made the difference even more marked than at a later period.

mon petit maistre, that you know nothing else but to cackle in a chair, but I will play on the keys and make the organs resound, that is to say that I will perform the operations of surgery, that which you know not at all how to do, because you have not budged from your study and the schools, as I have said. And likewise as I have before written in the "Epistle to the Reader," that the laborer talks in vain of the seasons, discoursing of the manner of cultivating the earth, to show what seeds are proper to each soil, but all that is nothing if he put not his hand to the tools and couples not the oxen together, and harnesses them to the plough. However, this would be no great thing if you know not the practice, because a man may do good surgery, although he had no tongue, as Cornelius Celsus hath well noted (in book I) when he says, "*Morbos non eloquentia, sed remediis curari: quæ si quis elinguis, usu discretus benenorit, hunc aliquanto majorem medicum futurum, quam si sine usu linguam suam excoluerit.*" That is to say Cornelius Celsus said, "Diseases are cured not by eloquence, but by remedies well and duly applied, which if any sage and discreet man, though he have no tongue, know well the proper usage, he shall become a greater physician, than if without practice, he ornamented well his language." Which you yourself confess in your said book by a quatrain which is thus:

*Ce n'est pas tout en Chirurgie
De jargonner: mais le plus beau
Est que les bandes on manie,
Le feu, les las, et les ciseaux.¹³*

Aristotle in the first chapter of the first book of his "Metaphysics" says experience is almost like science, and by it art and science have been invented, and in fact we see those who are experienced attain sooner to that which they intend, than those who have reason without experience, because the said experience is a knowledge of things singular and individual, and science on the contrary a knowledge of things universal. But that which is individual is more healable than that which is universal. Therefore those who have experience are more sage and more esteemed, than those who are in default of it, because they know that which they do. Moreover, I say that

*Science without experience
Yields not great assurance.*

Alciat, a Milanese doctor, boasted one day that his glory was greater and more illustrious than that of counsellors, presidents, and masters or requests because he said he made them and that it was by him that they

¹³As rendered by Johnson:

To talk's not all in Chirurgeons Art,
But working with the hands;
Aptly to dresse each greeved part,
And guide, fire, knife and bands.

Malgaigne in a footnote points out that Paré is mistaken in attributing this quatrain to Gourmelen. It was after the title of the book in Courtin's translation of Gourmelen's work, and is accompanied by the statement "*Quatrain du Translateur.*"

came to be such. A counsellor responded to him that he was like a whetstone which made the knife sharp and ready to cut not being able to do so itself, and quoted to him verses of Horace:

. . . *fungebatur vire cotis, acutum*
Reddere quae ferum valet, exors ipsa secandi.

But see, *mon petit maistre*, my response to your calumnies, and pray you, if you have the good grace to be willing (for the public) to review and correct your book as soon as you can, not to hold young surgeons in this error by the reading of the same where you teach them to use hot irons after the amputation of limbs to staunch the blood, seeing that there is another means not so cruel and more safe and easy. Moreover, if to-day after an assault of a city where many soldiers have had arms and legs broken and carried off by cannon-shots, or cutlasses, or other instruments of war, to staunch the flow of blood if you should use hot irons, it would be needful to make a forge and much coal to heat them; and also the soldiers would have you in such horror for this cruelty, that they would kill you like a calf, as was formerly done to one of the chief surgeons of Rome.¹⁹ Which you will find written before in chapter 3 of the "Introduction to Surgery." Now

¹⁹Paré here refers to the story of Archagelus, whom in the text of his "Introduction to Surgery," he calls Arcabuto, who was held in such horror for the cruelty of his operations by the people of Rome, that they dragged him from his house and stoned him to death on the Field of Mars.

for fear lest the sectators of your writing should fall into such inconvenience, I pray them to follow the aforesaid method, which I have showed to be true and certain, and approved by authority, reason, and experience.



Cavalryman of the fifteenth century.
(*Lacroix.*)

*The Journey to Turin in 1536*²⁰

MOREOVER, I will here show to my readers the towns and places where I have been enabled to learn the art of surgery, always the better to instruct the young surgeon.

And first in the year 1536 the great King François sent a great army to Turin to recover the cities and castles which had been taken by the Marquis de Guast,²¹ lieutenant-general of the emperor.

²⁰The campaign in which Paré made his début as an army surgeon was in 1537, not in 1536 as Paré dates it in the text. The peace of Cambrai had been made between François I and the Emperor Charles V in 1529. During the intervening years François had been constantly making preparations to strengthen himself for another struggle with his redoubtable adversary. He had made a treaty with Henry VIII of England and in 1534 had shocked all Catholic Europe by entering into an alliance with the Sultan of Turkey. He had also betrothed his son, afterwards Henri II, to Catherine de Medici, niece of Pope Clement VII, in order to secure the friendship of Italy. In 1535, Charles V sent a strong force to attack the Turks whose piratical fleets preyed on the commerce of the Mediterranean. This expedition captured Tunis and set free thousands of Christians held in slavery by the Turks. In 1536 a secret agent of François I at the court of Sforza, Duke of Milan, was put to death by the Duke at the instigation of the Emperor. This served as a pretext to François for the invasion of Italy. Montaigne in chapter ix of book i of his "Essays" tells how he confounded the ambassador sent by Sforza to explain his servant's death. While François advanced into Italy the Emperor sent his army into Provence. The French instead of resisting, devastated the country; lack of food and forage caused the failure of his expedition. In 1537 the French again advanced into Italy and it was at the Pass of Suze near Mont Cenis that Paré saw his first fight. The Dauphin, subsequently Henri II, accompanied the expedition. The Imperial troops occupied the Pass in great strength but the French surprised them by climbing above their position on some apparently inaccessible heights and won a great victory.

²¹Marquis du Guast, or del Guasto, a very able general, nephew of the famous general Pescara.

Where Monsieur the Constable,²² then grand master, was lieutenant-general of the army, and Monsieur de Montejan²³ was colonel general of the infantry, to whom I was then surgeon. A great part of the army having arrived at the Pass of Suze, we found the enemy holding the passage and having made certain forts and trenches insomuch that to make them dislodge and quit the place, it was necessary to fight, where there were many killed and wounded, as many on one side as the other, but the enemy were constrained to retire and gain the castle, which was taken in part by Captain Le Rat, who climbed with many soldiers from his company on a little hill, from whence they fired directly

*Retreat of
the enemy*

²²Anne de Montmorenci (1492-1567), one of the great figures of French history. He was an uncle of Admiral Coligny. In 1541 the hatred of the Duchesse d'Etampes, mistress of François I, succeeded in getting him into disgrace and he was dismissed from the court. Henri II restored him to favor. Brantome's "Vies des Dames Illustres" gives another version of his disgrace. He says that the Constable once told François I that if he wished to exterminate the heretics in his kingdom he should commence at the court and with his nearest relatives, naming his sister, Marguerite of Navarre, as one of the chief heretics. This was a dangerous step on the part of Montmorenci because François dearly loved his sister. The latter naturally vowed to be revenged on the Constable and was very influential in bringing about his fall. The day that her daughter, a mere child, was married to the Duc de Cleves, when the time came to go into the church the child could not walk because of the weight of her robe of gold and silver and jewels. François I ordered the Constable to pick her up and carry her in, which astonished the court and infuriated the Constable. Marguerite said, "See the man who wished to ruin me with my brother now serving to carry my daughter to church." The Constable in a fury said, "My favor is ended and I bid it adieu." He left the court that night. He was killed at the battle of St. Denis.

²³René de Montejan, a gallant soldier who had been taken prisoner at Brignolles in the preceding year. He was appointed Governor of Piedmont in 1537, and made a marshal of France in 1538. He married Philippe de Montespedon. She subsequently married Charles de Bourbon, Prince de La Roche-sur-Yon. She was godmother at the baptism of Paré's son, Ambroise, on May 30, 1576, a little touch showing how Paré's early attachments continued throughout his long life.

on the enemy. He received a shot from an arquebus in the ankle of his right foot, wherewith he suddenly fell to the ground and then said, "Now the Rat is taken." I dressed him, and God healed him.²⁴

We thronged into the city and passed over the dead bodies and some that were not yet dead, hearing them cry under the feet of our horses, which made a great pity in my heart, and truly I repented that I had gone forth from Paris to see so pitiful a spectacle. Being in the city, I entered a stable thinking to lodge my horse and that of my man, where I found four dead soldiers and three who were propped against the wall, their faces wholly disfigured, and they neither saw, nor heard, nor spake, and their clothes yet flaming from the gunpowder which had burnt them. Beholding them with pity there came an old soldier who asked me if there was any means of curing them. I told him no. At once he approached them and cut their throats gently and without anger. Seeing this great cruelty, I said to him that he was a bad man. He answered me that he prayed God that when he should be in such a case, he might find someone who would do the same for him, to the end that he might not languish miserably.

And to return to our discourse, the enemy was summoned to surrender, which they did, and went forth,

²⁴Malgaigne directs attention to this as the first example of the famous phrase which has justly added such great honor to the modesty of Paré.

their lives only saved, and a white staff in their hands, but the greater part went to gain the Château de Villaine, where there were about two hundred Spaniards. Monsieur le Connestable would not leave them in his rear in order to render the road free. The Château is seated upon a little mountain, which gave great assurance to those within that we could not place the artillery so as to bear upon them. They were summoned to surrender themselves, or they should be cut in pieces, which they flatly refused, making answer that they were as good and faithful servants of the Emperor, as Monsieur le Connestable could be of the King his master. Their answer heard, we mounted two great cannon by night with ropes drawn with the strength of arms by the Swiss and Lansquenets when as ill-luck would have it, the two cannon being placed, a gunner by inadvertence, set fire to a sack full of gunpowder, by which he was burned together with ten or twelve soldiers, and further the flame of the powder was the cause of discovering our artillery, which caused those in the Château to fire all the night many arquebus shots at the place where they had been able to discover the two cannon, which killed and wounded a number of our men. The next day, early in the morning, we fired with the battery, which in a few hours made a breach; which being done, they demanded a parley, but it was too late for in the meantime our French infantry,

*Brave
response
of soldiers*

seeing them surprised, mounted in the breach, and cut them all in pieces, except a very pretty, young lusty girl of Piedmont, whom a great seigneur wished to have to keep him company in the night for fear of the greedy wolf (*loupgarou*). The captain and ensign were taken alive but soon after hung and strangled on the battlements of the gate of the city, to the end that they might give example and fear to the imperial soldiers not to be so rash and foolish, as to wish to hold such places against so great an army.

*Exemplary
punishment*

Now all the said soldiers at the Château, seeing our men coming with a great fury, did all they could to defend themselves, and killed and wounded a great number of our soldiers with pikes, arquebuses, and stones, where the surgeons had much work cut out for them. Now I was at that time a freshwater soldier, I had not yet seen wounds made by gunshot at the first dressing. It is true that I had read in Jean de Vigo, first book, "Of Wounds in General," chapter eight, that wounds made by firearms participate of venosity, because of the powder, and for their cure he commands to cauterize them with oil of elder, scalding hot, in which should be mixed a little theriac and in order not to err before using the said oil, knowing that such a thing would bring great pain to the patient, I wished to know first, how the other surgeons did for the first dressing which was to apply the said oil as

*Counsel of
de Vigo*

hot as possible, into the wound with tents and setons, of whom I took courage to do as they did. At last my oil lacked and I was constrained to apply in its place a digestive made of the yolks of eggs, oil of roses and turpentine. That night I could not sleep at my ease, fearing by lack of cauterization that I should find the wounded on whom I had failed to put the said oil dead or empoisoned, which made me rise very early to visit them, where beyond my hope, I found those upon whom I had put the digestive medicament feeling little pain, and their wounds without inflammation or swelling having rested fairly well throughout the night; the others to whom I had applied the said boiling oil, I found feverish, with great pain and swelling about their wounds. Then I resolved with myself never more to burn thus cruelly poor men wounded with gunshot.

*Experience
renders a
man hardy*

*Happy
success*

Being at Turin, I found a surgeon who was famous above all for good treatment of gunshot wounds, into whose grace I found means to insinuate myself, to have the recipe which he called his balm, with which he treated gunshot wounds, and he made me court him for years before I could draw his recipe from him. At last by gifts and presents he gave it to me, which was to boil in oil of lilies, little puppies just born, with earthworms prepared with Venetian turpentine. Then I was joyful and my heart made glad, to have understood

*Recipe for
an excellent
balm for
arquebus
wounds*

his remedy, which was like to that which I had obtained by chance.

See how I learned to treat wounds made by gunshot, not from books.

Monsieur le Marechal de Montéjan remained lieutenant-general for the King in Piedmont, having ten or twelve thousand men in garrison in the cities and châteaux, who often fought among themselves with swords and other weapons, and even with arquebuses; and if there were four wounded, I had always three of them, and if it was a question of cutting off an arm or a leg, or to trepan, or to reduce a fracture or dislocation, I brought it well to an end. The said Lord Marshal sent me sometimes this way, sometimes that way to dress the designated soldiers who were wounded in other cities besides Turin, insomuch that I was always in the country, one way or the other.

Monsieur le Marechal sent to Milan to get a physician who had no less reputation than the deceased Monsieur le Grand for success in practice, to treat him for an hepatic flux, whereof at last he died. This physician was some time at Turin to treat him, and was often called to visit the wounded, where he always found me, and I would consult with him and some other surgeons, and when we had resolved to do any serious work of surgery, it was Ambroise Paré that put his hand thereto, where I did it promptly and dexterously,



REDUCTION OF SHOULDER DISLOCATION.
(*Paré, Edition 1585.*)

and with great assurance, insomuch that the said physician wondered at me being so ready in the operations of surgery, seeing my youth. One day discoursing with the said Lord Marechal he said to him: "Signor, tu hai un Chirurgico giovane di anni, ma egli é vecchio di sapere é di esperientia; Guardalo bene, perche egli ti fara servizio et honore." That is to say, "Thou hast a young surgeon in age, but he is old in knowledge and experience: Guard him well for he will do thee service and honor." But the good man knew not that I had dwelt three years in the Hôtel Dieu de Paris to treat the sick there.

*Witness to
the dexter-
ity of the
Author*

At last Monsieur la Marechal died of his hepatic flux. Being dead the King sent Monsieur le Marechal d'Annebaut²⁵ to be in his place who did me the honor to pray me to remain with him, and he would treat me as well or better than Monsieur le Marechal de Montejan. Which I would not do for the grief that I had for the loss of my master, who loved me infinitely, and I him in the same way; so I came back to Paris.

²⁵Claude d'Annebaut, Baron de Retz, counsellor, chamberlain of the King, etc., had been a prisoner at Pavia in 1525. He commanded the French army in Piedmont and captured Turin. He was lieutenant-general in Normandy with Admiral Chabot in 1536. In 1538 he was made a marshal of France. In 1539 he was governor-general of Piedmont and ambassador to Venice. He was made admiral of France in 1544, and died at la Fere in 1552.

The Journey to Marolles and Low Brittany, 1543 ²⁶



WENT to the Camp of Marolles with deceased Monsieur de Rohan ²⁷ where I was surgeon of his company, where was the King in Person. He was advertised by Monsieur d'Estampes, ²⁸ Governor of Brittany, that the English had made sail to descend on Lower Brittany and prayed him that he would be willing to send to his succor Messieurs de Rohan and de Laval ²⁹ because they were the seigneurs of that country, and by their favor those of that country would repulse the enemy and guard against their landing. Having re-

²⁶Paré had returned to Paris early in 1539. The next few years, while he remained there, were of great importance in his career. He talked to Sylvius (Jacques du Bois), the famous professor in Paris, of his discovery that by placing the patient in the attitude in which he was at the time the wound was received the course of the bullet could be more easily gauged, and Sylvius made him promise to publish his discovery. He passed his examinations and was admitted to the Barber's community. He was married to Jeanne Mazelin in 1541. The journey to Marolles was really made subsequent to that to Perpignan, which occurred in 1542, but in his book, Paré placed that to Marolles first. Marolles, or Maroilles, was a village about thirteen kilometres west of Avesnes.

²⁷René de Rohan, known as Viscomte de Rohan, and by many other titles, had married Isabelle d'Albret, daughter of Jean, King of Navarre, in 1534. He was killed November 4th, 1552, at Saint Nicholas near Nancy. Paré's first book "La Methode de traictes les playes faictes par haquebutes et aultres bastons a feu: et de celles qui sont faictes par fleches, dardz, et faictes par la pouldre a canon, composée par Ambroise Paré, maistre Barbier Chirugien a Paris" was dedicated to Monsieur de Rohan.

²⁸Jean de Brosse. He married Anne de Pisseleu, a mistress of François I.

²⁹Claude, called Guy, sixteenth of the name, Comte de Laval, son of Guy XV and Anne de Montmorenci, married Claude de Foix, daughter of Odet de Foix, Seigneur de Lautrec and Charlotte d'Albret. He died in 1547. His widow married Charles de Luxembourg, Viscomte de Martigues.

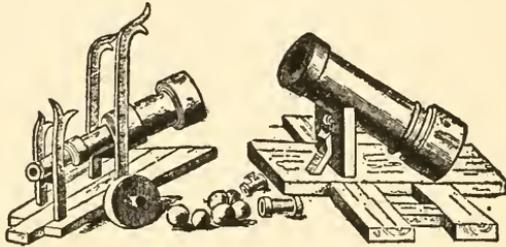
ceived this advertisement he [the King] despatched the said seigneurs to go in haste to the succor of their country; and to each was given as much power as to the governor, in such fashion that they were all three lieutenants of the King. They willingly took this charge (upon themselves) and set forth promptly posting and they took me with them as far as Landreneau. There we found everyone in arms, tocsin sounding from all sides, yea, for five or six leagues about the harbors, to wit, Brest, Couquet, Crozon, le Fou, Doulac, Laudanec, each well furnished with artillery, as cannon, demi-cannon, bastards, musquets, passe-volants, field-pieces, culverins, serpentines, basilisks, sakers, falcons, falconneaux, flutes, orgues, arquebuses à croc: briefly all who came together were well-furnished with all sorts and fashions of artillery, and many soldiers, as well Breton as French, to prevent the English from making their descent as they had resolved at their going forth from England.

*Good
munitions*

The army of the enemy came within cannon-shot, and when we saw them wishing to land, we saluted them with cannon-shot, and discovered our soldiers together with our artillery. They fled to sea again, where I was right joyous to see their vessels making sail, which were in good number and in good order, and seemed to be a forest marching on the sea. I saw also a thing whereat I marvelled much, which was that the balls from the

great cannon made great bounds and grazed upon the water as they do on the land. But to make short, our English did us no hurt, and returned into England, safe and whole, and we left in peace, remained in this country in garrison, until we were well assured that their army was dispersed. In the meantime our horse-

*The English
retire*



BOMBARDS ON WHEELS AND A PLATFORM.
(*Lacroix.*)

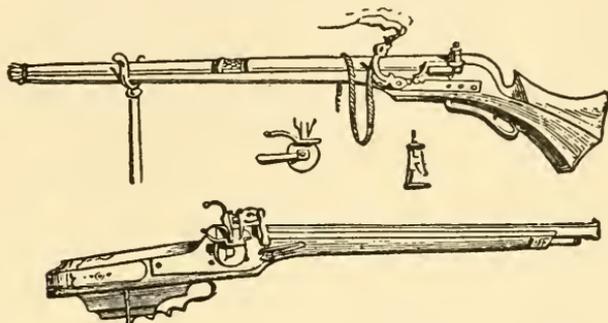
men exercised themselves often in running at the ring, combating with swords (fencing) in such sort that there was always someone in trouble, and I had always something to exercise me. Monsieur d'Estampes in order to give pastime and pleasure for the said Seigneurs de Rohan and de Laval and other gentlemen, made a great number of village girls come to the sports to sing songs in Low Breton, where their harmony was like the croaking of frogs when they are in love. Moreover, he made them dance the *triari* of Brittany, without moving the feet and hips. He made them hear and see much (that was) good. At other times he made the wrestlers come from the towns and villages, when there

*Dances of
village girls*

Wrestlers

would be a prize, the play was not ended but that some had an arm or a leg broken, or the shoulder or hip dislocated.

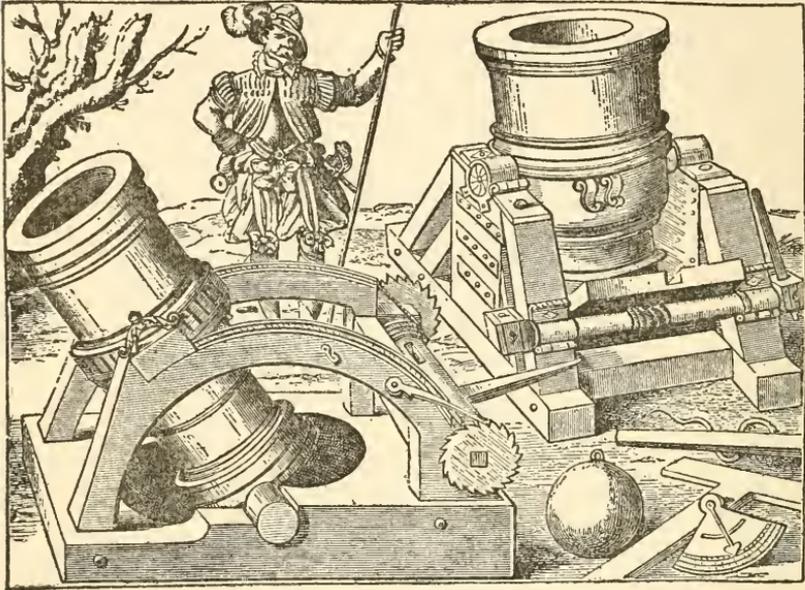
There was a little man of Low Brittany, square bodied and well set, who held a long time the credit of the field, and by his skill and strength threw five or six *A little Breton who was a good wrestler*



ARQUEBUS À ROUET AND ARQUEBUS À MÈCHE.
(Lacroix.)

to the ground. There came a great Dativo, master of a school, who was said to be one of the best wrestlers of all Brittany. He entered into the lists, having cast aside his long jacket, in hose and doublet, and being near the little man it seemed that if he had been attached to his belt he could not have hindered him from running. Notwithstanding when each of them took collar to collar, they were a long time without doing anything, and we thought they would remain equal in strength and skill; but the little square man cast himself with an ambling leap under this great Dativo, and cast

him on his shoulder, and threw him on the ground on his back, all spread like a frog: and then everyone commenced to laugh at the strength and skill of the little



BOMBARDS, OR MORTARS, ON MOVABLE CARRIAGES.
(*Lacroix.*)

square man. The great Dativo was furious to have been thus thrown to earth by such a small man: he got up in great anger, and wished to have his revenge. They took hold again of their necks, and were again a long time at their hold, not being able to put to ground: at last the big man let himself fall on the little one, and in falling put his elbow in the pit of his stomach, and burst his heart and killed him stark dead. And know-

ing he had given him his death's blow he took up his long jacket and went away with his tail between his legs, and hid himself. Seeing that the heart returned not to the little man, for wine or vinegar nor any other thing that was presented to him, I approached him and felt his pulse, which did not beat at all: then I said that he was dead. At which the Bretons who had witnessed the wrestling, said loudly in their patois, "Andraze meuraquet enes rac un bloa so abeudeux henelep e barz an gouremon enel ma hoa engoustun." That is to say, "that is not in the sport." And someone said that this great Dativo was accustomed to do thus, and it had been but a year that he had done the same thing in a wrestle. I wished to open the dead body to know what had been the cause of this sudden death: I found much blood in the thorax and in the lower part of the belly. I sought to find out any opening in the place from whence could come forth such a quantity of blood, that which I could not, for all the diligence that I knew how to use. Now, I believe, it was *per Diapedesin* or *Anastomosin*, that is to say, "the opening of the mouths of the vessels, or by their porosities." The poor little wrestler was buried. I took leave of Messieurs de Rohan, de Laval and d'Estampes; Monsieur de Rohan made me a present of fifty double ducats and a horse for my man, and Monsieur d'Estampes of a diamond of the value of thirty écus. Thus I returned to Paris.

*The little
Breton
killed*

*His body
opened by
the Author*

*I would
have been
pleased to
see you,
Mon petit
Maitre,
know how
to find the
opening*

*The Journey to Perpignan, 1543*³⁰



SOMETIME after Monsieur de Rohan took me posting with him to the camp at Perpignan. Being there the enemy made a sortie and surrounded three pieces of our artillery, where they were beaten back to the gates of the city. Which was not done without many being killed and wounded, among the others, Monsieur de Brissac,³¹ who was then grand master of the artillery, with an arquebus shot in the shoulder. Returning to his tent, all the wounded followed him, hoping to be dressed by the surgeons who would dress him. Being come to his tent, and laid on his bed, the bullet was sought by three or four surgeons, the most expert

³⁰This journey was made in 1542, one year before the date which Paré placed at the head of his account, and in the year previous to his sojourn at Marolles. Perpignan was a considerable town on the Gulf of Lyons. It was held by the Spaniards. On this occasion it was besieged by the French under the Dauphin and Annebaut from August 26 to October 4, when the siege had to be raised because of lack of provisions, an epidemic of dysentery which caused many deaths and an inundation of the camp, which was in the valley of the Têt. In removing their camp, the French lost much baggage and some of their men were drowned in the flood. Paré posted to the siege from Paris with Monsieur de Rohan, and as a result of his long ride on horseback, he suffered an attack of haematuria when they reached Lyons.

³¹Charles de Cossé, Comte de Brissac, called "le beau Brissac," was successively named colonel of the infantry, grand master of the artillery, marshal of France, and governor of Picardy. In spite of his warlike career, he died of gout in 1563, aged 57 years. He married Charlotte d'Esquetot, and one of his daughters by her married Charles, Comte de Mansfield.

of the army, who could not find it, but said it had entered into his body.

In the end, he called me to know if I could be more skillful than they, because he had known me in Piedmont. I at once made him rise from his bed that he should put himself in the same position that he was when he was wounded, which he did, and took a javelin in his hands, just as when he had a pike to fight. I placed my hand about his wound, and found the ball in the flesh, making a little swelling under the shoulder blade. Having found it, I showed them the place where it was and it was taken out by Nicole Lavernault,³² surgeon of Monsieur le Dauphin, who was lieutenant of the King in this army; nevertheless, the honor remained with me for having found it.

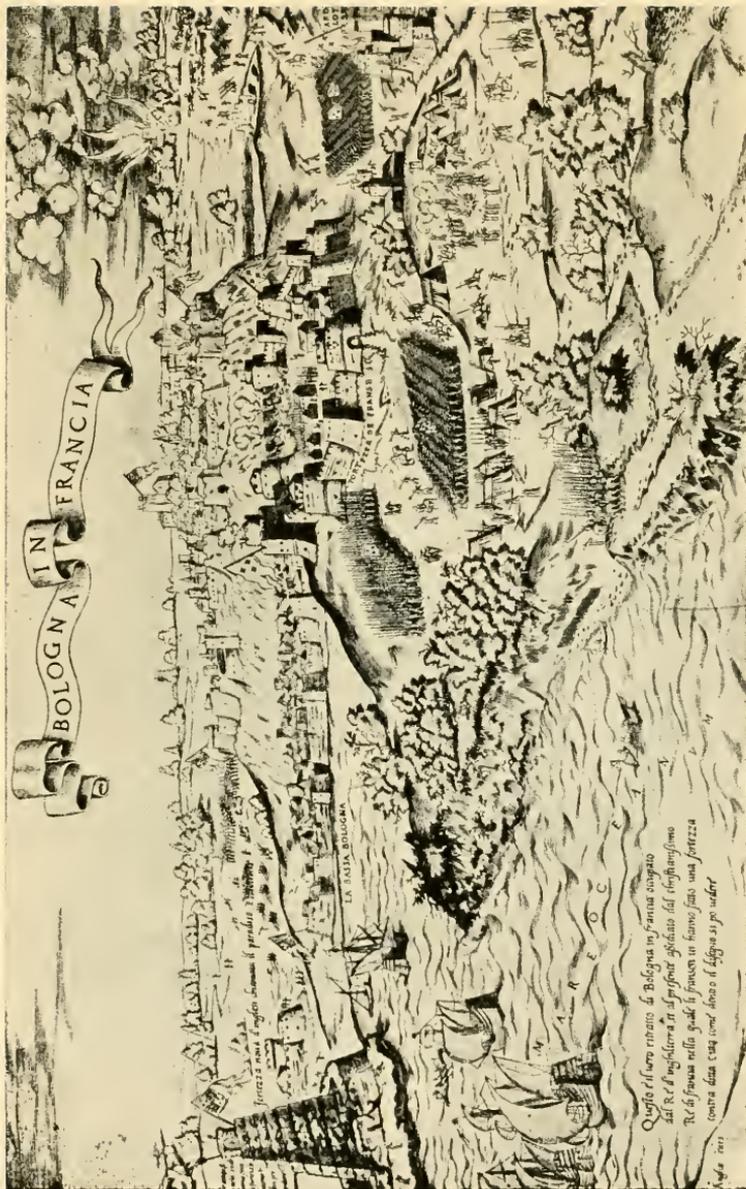
*Address of
the Author*

I saw one thing of great remark, which was this: a soldier in my presence gave one of his companions a blow on the head with a halberd, penetrating even to the left ventricle of the brain, without that he fell to the ground. He that struck him said, he had heard that he had cheated at dice, and he had taken from him a great sum of money, and was accustomed to cheat. They called me to dress him, which I did, as it were finally, knowing that he would very soon die. Having

³²Nicolas Lavernault was one of the surgeons who was given mourning for the funeral of François I. He was surgeon-in-ordinary to Henry II and to François II and in 1559 became premier surgeon to Charles IX. He died towards the end of 1561 and Paré succeeded him as premier surgeon to the King.

dressed him, he returned all alone to his quarters, which were at least two hundred paces distant. I said to one of his companions that he should send for a priest, to dispose of the affairs of his soul. He procured him one who stayed with him to the last breath. The next day the patient sent for me by his wench, habited as a boy, to dress him; which I would not, fearing he would die in my hands; and to be quit of it, I told her the dressing must not be removed until the third day, the rather that he might die without being touched. The third day he came to find me, staggering to my tent, accompanied by his wench, and prayed me affectionately to dress him, and showed me a purse wherein might be an hundred or six-score pieces of gold, and (said) he would content me to my desire; notwithstanding for all that I deferred taking off his dressing, fearing lest he should die at the same instant. Certain gentlemen desired me to go to dress him, which I did at their request; but in dressing him, he died in my hands, in a convulsion. Now the priest stayed with him until death, who seized upon the purse, for fear that another should take it, saying that he would say masses for his poor soul, moreover, he possessed himself of his clothes and everything else.

I have recited this history as a monstrous thing, that the soldier, having received this great stroke, fell

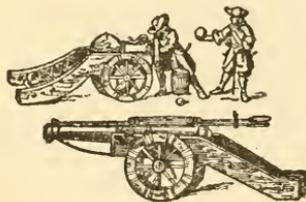


BOULOGNE

(From a sixteenth-century engraving.)

not to the ground, and that he kept his reason until his death.

Soon after the camp was broken for divers reasons; one was that we were advertised that four companies of Spaniards had entered Perpignan: the other, that the plague began to be much in our camp, and it was told us by the people of the country that shortly there would be a great overflowing of the sea, which might drown us all. And the presage which they had was a very great wind from the sea, which rose in such sort that there remained not one tent which was not broken and thrown to earth, for all the strength and diligence we could put forth: and the kitchens being all uncovered the wind raised the dust and sand, which salted and powdered our meat in such fashion that we could not eat it, so that it was necessary to boil it in pots and other covered vessels. Now we did not decamp so early, but that there were many carts and carters, mules and muleteers drowned in the sea with great loss of baggage. The camp broken, I returned to Paris.



*The Journey to Landrecies, 1544*³³

KING FRANÇOIS raised a great army to victual Landrecies. On the other side the Emperor had not less men, indeed many more to wit, eighteen thousand Germans, ten thousand Spaniards, six thousand Walloons, ten thousand English, and thirteen or fourteen thousand horse. I saw the two armies near one another, within cannon-shot, and it was thought they would never part without giving battle. There were some foolish gentlemen who would approach the enemy's camp. There were fired at them some shots from passe-volants.³⁴ Some remained dead on the place, others had their arms and legs carried away. The King having accomplished that which he desired, which was to victual Landrecies, retired with his army to Guise, which was the day after All Saints, 1544, and from there I returned to Paris.

³³Landrecies is a town on the Sambre. It was besieged by the Emperor's army in 1543 and it was in October, 1543 (not as in the text 1544) that the King made his expedition to bring supplies to the people shut up in it.

³⁴Field-guns.



DUC DE GUISE, FRANÇOIS DE LORRAINE
(From a portrait in the Louvre attributed to François Clouet.)

The Journey to Boulogne, 1545



LITTLE while after we went to Boulogne, where the English, seeing our army, abandoned the forts which they held, to wit, Moulambert, le petit Paradis, Monplaisir, the fort of Chastillon, le Portet, the fort of Dardelot. One day, going through the camp to dress my wounded, the enemy who were in the Tour d'Ordre, fired a piece of ordnance, thinking to kill two men-at-arms who had stopped to talk together. It happened that the ball passed very close to one of them, which threw him to the ground, and it was thought the said ball had touched him, which it did not at all, but only the wind of the said ball, in the middle of his doublet, with such force, that all the exterior part of his thigh became livid and black, and he could only stand with great difficulty. I dressed him, and made many scarifications to let out the bruised blood, which the wind of the said bullet had made, and the rebounds which it made on the earth killed four soldiers, who remained stark dead on the place.

I was not far from this shot, in such manner that I felt somewhat the moved air, without doing me any harm except a fright which made me stoop my head

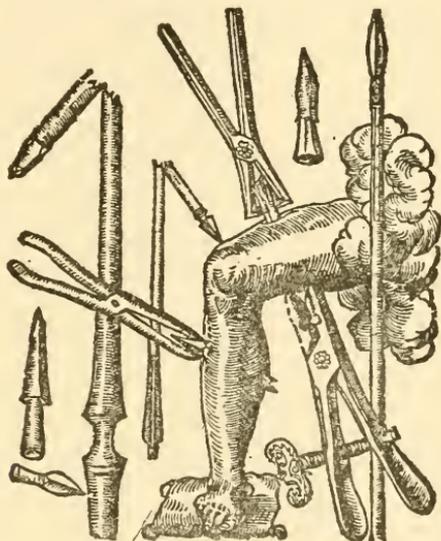
very low, but the bullet was already far away. The soldiers mocked me of having fear of a ball which had already passed. *Mon petit maistre*, I believe if you had been there, that I had not been afraid all alone, and that you would have had your part of it.

What shall I say more? Monseigneur le Duc de Guise, François de Lorraine³⁵ was wounded before Boulogne with a thrust of a lance which entering above the right eye declining towards the nose, passed through on the other side between the ear and the nucha with so great violence that the head of the lance, with a portion of the wood, was broken and remained within [the wound], in such sort that it could not be drawn out, but with great force, even with a smith's pincers. Yet, notwithstanding this great violence, which was not without fracture of bones, nerves, veins

*Wound of
the Duc
de Guise*

³⁵François, Duc de Guise and Prince de Joinville, was head of the Guise family and their great party of adherents, whose power was almost as great as that of the royal family in France. His sister, Marie de Lorraine, who was the mother of the unfortunate Mary Queen of Scots, married James V of Scotland. He was the father of Henri, Duc de Guise, and of the Cardinal de Guise who were murdered at Blois by Henri III on December 23, 1588. The Duke was born in 1519, and was murdered by Jean de Poltrot, Sieur de Meré, February 18, 1563. He was generally known as "le Balafre" in consequence of the scar left by this terrible wound which he received at Boulogne. Malgaigne points out that in this account of the treatment of the Duke, as in the first account which he published in 1552, and in the intervening accounts in the several editions of his work, Paré never stated that he was the surgeon who extracted the lance. It seems to have been a tradition that Paré was the surgeon, but the first definite statement to that effect which Malgaigne was able to find is contained in an anonymous life of Admiral Coligny, published in 1686, nearly a century and a half after the event. It is certainly curious that Paré should not have desired to attach his name to so notable a cure if he had anything to do with it.

and arteries, and other parts torn and broken, the said seigneur by the grace of God, was healed. The said seigneur went always to fight with his face uncovered; that is why the lance passed out on the other side.



Removal of Lance and Arrow Heads.
(*Paré, Edition 1585.*)

*The Journey to Germany, 1552*³⁶

I WENT on the expedition to Germany in the year 1552, with Monsieur de Rohan, captain of fifty men-at-arms, where I was surgeon of his company, as I have said before. In this expedition, Monsieur le Connestable³⁷ was general of the army; Monsieur de Chastillon,³⁸ since the admiral, was chief and colonel of the infantry, having four regiments of lansquenets under the conduct of Captains Recrod and Ringrave, having each two regiments, each regiment being of ten ensigns and each ensign of five hun-

³⁶For some years after the death of François I, in 1547, France was at peace with the Emperor, but Charles V in his overgrown power was a constant menace to France. In 1551, trouble began. Early in 1552, the King of France, Henri II, assembled an army at Chalons, war having been declared, and started on an expedition in the course of which he secured possession of Toul, Metz, and Verdun, thus securing Alsace and Lorraine. He captured Danvilliers, and threw a large army into Metz under the command of François, Duc de Guise (le Balafré) to defend it against the army of the Emperor, which under the famous general Alva was advancing to besiege it. The siege of Metz began on October 19, and was ended a few days before Christmas, its failure being due as much to the inclemency of the weather and disease among the Emperor's soldiers, as to the valor of the defenders. Paré, as his narrative shows, took an active part in many of the events of the campaign.

³⁷Anne de Montmorenci.

³⁸Gaspard de Coligny, one of the greatest of Frenchmen, chief of the Huguenot party, was born in 1517. On August 22, 1572, two days before the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, he was shot in the hand, as he was leaving the Louvre, by a man named Maurevel, an adherent of the Guises. Paré dressed his wound, and amputated the index finger of his right hand. During the massacre, two days later, Coligny was one of the first victims, being assassinated in l'Hotel Ponthieu, with some of his friends who had gathered there with him. His mother Louise de Montmorenci, to whom he owed his education as a Protestant, was a sister of the Connestable, Anne de Montmorency.

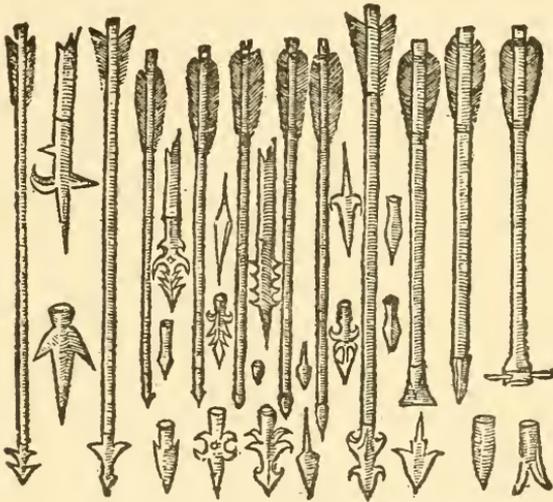
dred men. And besides these there was Captain Chartel, who conducted the troops that the Protestant princes had sent to the King. This infantry was very fine, accompanied by fifteen hundred men-at-arms, each with a following of two archers, which would make four thousand five hundred horse, and further two thousand light horse, and as many arquebusiers on horseback, of whom Monsieur d'Aumalle³⁹ was general, besides a great number of the nobility who came for their pleasure. Moreover, the King was accompanied with two hundred gentlemen of his household, some commanded by the Sieur de Boisy, the others by Sieur de Ganappe and likewise by many princes. In his suite he had yet to serve as his escort the French, the Scotch, and the Swiss guards, amounting to six hundred soldiers; and the companies of Monsieur le Dauphin, Messieurs de Guise, d'Aumalle, and of Marechal Saint Andre,⁴⁰ which mounted to four hundred lances; which was a marvellous thing to see, such a fair company; and with this equipage, the King entered into Toul and Metz. I must not omit to say, that it was ordered that the companies of Messieurs de Rohan, le Comte de Sancerre and de Jarnac which were each of fifty men-at-arms, marched on the wings of the camp, and God

³⁹Monsieur le Duc d'Aumalle was younger brother of François, Duc de Guise.

⁴⁰Jacques d'Albon was made Marshal of France in 1547. He was killed at the battle of Dreux in 1562.

knows we had scarcity of victuals, and I protest to God that three divers times I thought to die of hunger, and it was not for lack of money, for I had enough of it, but we could not get victuals by force, by reason that the peasants withdrew them into the towns and castles. One of the servants of the captain-ensign of the company of Monsieur de Rohan, went with others to enter into a church whither the peasants had retired, thinking to find victuals by love or force; but among the rest this man was well beaten, and came back with seven sword cuts on the head, the least penetrating to the second table of the skull; and he had four others on the arms, and one on the right shoulder, which cut more than one-half of the omoplate or shoulder blade. He was brought back to his master's lodging, who seeing him so wounded, and that they were to depart thence the next morning at daybreak, and not thinking that he could ever be cured, made dig a grave, and would have cast him therein, saying that otherwise the peasants would massacre and kill him. Moved by pity I said to him that he could yet recover if he were well dressed. Divers gentlemen of the company begged his master to let him be brought along with the baggage, since I had the will to dress him, which he granted, and after I had had him clothed, he was put in a cart on a bed well covered and well accommodated, which was drawn by a horse. I did him the office of physician, apothecary, surgeon, and cook.

I dressed him to the end of his cure and God healed him; insomuch that all those of the three companies wondered at this cure. The men-at-arms of the company of Monsieur de Rohan, the first muster that was made, gave me each an écu, and the archers a half an écu.



Different Kinds of Arrow Heads.
(*Paré, Edition 1585.*)

The Journey to Danvilliers, 1552

ON his return from the camp in Germany, King Henri besieged Danvilliers, and those within would not render themselves. They were well beaten. Our powder failed us, meanwhile, they shot continually at our people. There was a shot from a culverin which passed through the tent of Monsieur de Rohan, and hit a gentleman's leg who was of his suite, which I had to finish cutting off, which I did without applying the hot irons. The King sent for powder to Sedan. Being arrived, we began a greater battery than before, in such sort that they made a breach. Monsieur de Guise and the Constable being in the chamber of the King, told him, and they concluded that the next day they would give the assault, and were assured they would enter within, and it was necessary to keep this secret, for fear the enemy should be advertised of it, and each of these promised not to speak of it to anyone. Now there was a groom of the King's chamber, who being laid under his camp-bed to sleep, heard that they had resolved to give the assault the next day. He presently revealed it to a certain captain, and told him that for certain they would give the assault the next day, and he had heard it from the King and prayed the said captain

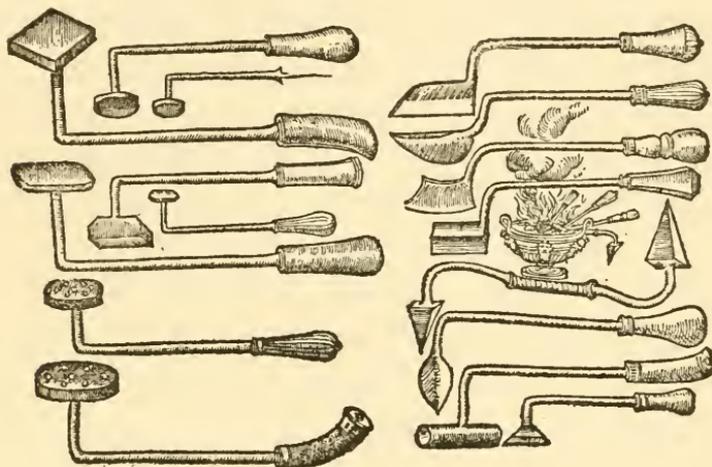
to talk of it to no one, which he promised; but his promise did not hold, so at the same instant he went and told it to a captain, and this captain to a captain, and the captains to some of their soldiers, saying always, say not a word of it, and it was so well hid that the next morning very early there was seen the greater part of the soldiers with their bucklers and their hose cut loose at the knees for the better mounting of the breach. The King was advertised of this rumor which ran through the camp, that they should give the assault, whereof he was much astonished, seeing that there were but three in this advice, who had promised one another to talk of it to no one. The King sent to seek Monsieur de Guise to know if he had not talked of this assault; he swore and affirmed to him that he had declared it to no man, and Monsieur le Connestable said as much, who said to the King it must be known expressly who had declared this secret counsel, seeing they were but three. Inquisition was made from captain to captain. In the end they found the truth for one said, "It was such an one told me." Another said as much, till at last they came to the first, who declared he had learned it from a groom of the King's chamber, named Guyard, native of Blois, son of a barber of the late King Francis. The King sent for him into his tent, in the presence of Monsieur de Guise and Monsieur le Connestable, to understand from whence he had it, and who had told

him the assault was to be made. The King told him that if he did not tell the truth, he would have him hanged. Then he declared he laid down under his bed thinking to sleep, and having heard it, he told it to a captain, who was one of his friends, to the end that he might prepare himself with his soldiers to go the first to the assault. Then the King knew the truth, and told him that he should never serve him again, and that he deserved to be hanged, and that he should never come again to the Court.

My groom of the chamber went away with this nightcap (*bonnet de nuit*) and couched with a surgeon-in-ordinary of the King, named Master Louis of Saint André. That night he gave himself six stabs with a knife, and cut his throat, without that the said surgeon perceived it until the morning, when he found his bed all bloody and the dead body by him. He was very much astonished to see this spectacle on his awakening, and was afraid that they would say that he was the cause of this murder, but he was soon discharged, knowing the cause, which was despair at having lost the good friendship which the King bore to him. The said Guyard was buried.

And those of Danvilliers, when they saw the breach sufficient for us to enter, and the soldiers prepared for the assault, rendered themselves at the discretion of the King. The chiefs were kept prisoners, and the soldiers

sent away without their arms. The camp broken, I returned to Paris, with my gentleman whose leg I had cut off; I dressed him and God cured him. I sent him to his house, merry, with a wooden leg, and he was content saying that he had got off cheap, not to have been miserably burned to stop the blood, as you write in your book, *mon petit maistre*.



Different Sorts of Cauteries.
(Paré, *Edition 1585.*)

The Journey to Château le Comte, 1552

SOMETIME after King Henri raised an army of thirty thousand men, to go and lay waste the country about Hesdin. The King of Navarre ⁴¹ was chief of the army, and lieutenant of the King. Being at Saint Denis de France, waiting while the companies passed, he sent for me to Paris to come speak with him. Being there, he prayed me (his request was to me a command), that I would follow him on this expedition; and wishing to make my excuses, saying that my wife was sick in bed, he answered that there were physicians in Paris to treat her, and that he as well had left his own, who was of as good a house as mine, promising that he would use me well, and forthwith commanded that I should be lodged as one of his train. Seeing this great desire which he had to take me with him, I durst not refuse him.

I went to find him at Château le Comte, within three or four leagues of Hesdin, where there were Imperial soldiers in garrison, with a number of peasants

⁴¹Antoine de Bourbon, Duc de Vendome, who in 1548 became King of Navarre, by his marriage with Jeanne d'Albret, Queen of Navarre. He was the father of Henri IV. Paré attended him on his deathbed at the siege of Rouen in 1562. Jeanne was married at the age of twelve to Guillaume de la Marck, duc de Cleves, but after the latter's surrender to Charles V in 1543 the marriage was annulled.

*The King
of Navarre
prays the
Author to
follow him*

from the surrounding country. He summoned them to render themselves. They answered that he should never have them save in pieces, and let them do their worst, and they would do their best to defend themselves. They trusted in their fosses which were full of water, but in two hours, with a great number of fascines and some casks we made a way for the footmen to pass, when they had to go to the assault, and they were attacked with five cannon, and a breach was made large enough to enter in, where those within received the assault very valiantly, and not without killing and wounding a great number of our men with arquebuses, pikes, and stones. In the end when they saw themselves forced, they set fire to their powder and munitions, which was the cause of burning many of our men, and of them likewise, and they were nearly all put to the sword. Notwithstanding, some of our soldiers had taken twenty or thirty hoping to have ransom for them. This was known, and it was ordered by the council, that it should be proclaimed by trumpet through the camp, that all soldiers who had Spanish prisoners were to kill them, on pain of being hanged and strangled; which was done in cold blood.

*A History
of desperate
men*

From there we went and burnt many villages of which the barns were full of grain, to my very great regret. We went as far as Tournahan, where there was a very large tower, where the enemy retired, but no

one was found in it: all was pillaged, and they blew up the tower with a mine of gunpowder, which turned it upside down. After that the camp was broken up and I returned to Paris.

I will not yet forget to write, that the day after Château le Comte was taken, Monsieur de Vendome sent a gentleman individually to the King to make report to him of all that which had passed, and among other things he told the King, I had greatly done my duty in dressing the wounded, and that I had shown him eighteen bullets, which I had taken from the bodies of the wounded, and that there were yet more that I had not been able to find nor take out, and said more good of me than there was by half. Then the King said that he wished that I was in his service, and commanded Monsieur de Goguiet, his first physician, to write me that he would retain me in his service as one of his surgeons-in-ordinary, and that I should go to meet him at Rheims, within ten or twelve days; which I did, when he did me the honor to command me, that I should dwell near him, and that he would use me well. Then I thanked him very humbly for the honor it pleased him to do me, in calling me to this service.

*Taking of
Château
le Comte*

The Journey to Metz, 1552

THE Emperor having besieged Metz with more than six score thousand men, and in the worst winter, as everyone knows, of recent memory, and there were in the city from five to six thousand men, and among the others seven princes, to wit: Monsieur le Duc de Guise, lieutenant of the King, Messieurs d'Enghien,⁴² de Conde,⁴³ de Montpensier,⁴⁴ de la Roche-sur-Yon,⁴⁵ Monsieur de Nemours,⁴⁶ and many other gentlemen, with a number of

*Names of
the Princes
who were at
the siege of
Metz*

⁴²Jean d'Enghien, Comte d'Enghien, Comte de Soissons, brother of Antoine de Bourbon, King of Navarre and of Louis de Bourbon, Prince de Condé, killed at the battle of Saint Quentin, August 10, 1557.

⁴³Louis de Bourbon, Prince de Condé, chief in rank of the Huguenot leaders, brother of the King of Navarre. Killed at the battle of Jarnac, 1569. He married Eleanor de Roye, whose mother was a half-sister of Coligny.

⁴⁴Louis de Bourbon, Duc du Montpensier, brother of Charles, Prince de la Roche-sur-Yon.

⁴⁵Charles de Bourbon, Prince de la Roche-sur-Yon, second son of Jean II of Bourbon and Isabelle de Beauvau, was made lieutenant-general of the armies of the King on August 14, 1557, governor of Dauphiné in 1562. He died October 10, 1565. He married the widow of Paré's first great friend, the Marshal René de Montejan, by whom he had three children. In 1564 the King sent Paré to Biarritz to attend him.

⁴⁶Jacques de Savoy, Duc de Nemours was the hero of a famous scandal a few years later. Françoise de Rohan, daughter of René de Rohan and Isabelle d'Albret, accused him of seducing her under promise of marriage. He deserted her and married Anne d'Este, the widow of François of Lorraine. Mademoiselle de Rohan gave birth to a son. She brought suit against the Duc de Nemours and Paré was called as one of the witnesses. He testified that he had known her for ten or twelve years. One morning he was sent to bleed her at the palace of the Louvre where she lived; but when he arrived he was met by Salon, first physician to Catherine de Medici, who forbade him to bleed her although he would give no reason for not allowing him to do so. Paré learned later that it was because she was pregnant by the Duc de Nemours. Mademoiselle de Rohan lost her suit. So long as the Duc de Nemours lived she refused to marry,

old captains and soldiers, who often made sallies on the enemy (as we shall tell hereafter) which was not without many slain as well on one part as the other. Almost all our wounded men died, and it was thought the drugs wherewith they were dressed were poisoned. Wherefore Monsieur de Guise and Messieurs les Princes, went so far as to demand of the King that if it were possible, he would send me to them with drugs, for they believed that theirs were poisoned, seeing that of their wounded few escaped. I do not believe that there was any poison: but that the great strokes of the cutlasses and arquebuses and the extreme cold were the cause of it. The King wrote to the Mareschal Saint André, who was his lieutenant at Verdun, that he should find means to make me enter Metz, whatever way it was. Monsieur le Mareschal Saint André and Monsieur le Mareschal de Vielleville⁴⁷ found an Italian captain who promised them to get me in there, which he did, and for it had fifteen hundred crowns. The King having heard the promise which the Italian captain had made, sent for me and commanded me to take from his apothecary, named Daigne, so many and such drugs as I should deem necessary for the besieged wounded, which I did, as much as a post horse could carry. The King gave

considering herself his legitimate wife. At his death in 1586, she espoused François le Felle, Seigneur de Guébriant. She died in December, 1591.

⁴⁷François de Seipieaux, Seigneur de Vielleville et de Duretal, was made marshal of France in 1562. He died November 30, 1571.

me charge to talk to Monsieur de Guise and to the princes and captains who were in Metz.

Being arrived at Verdun some days after, Monsieur le Mareschal de Saint André got horses for me and my man, and for the Italian captain, who spoke very good German, Spanish, and Walloon, with his natural tongue. When we were within eight or ten leagues of Metz, we went only by night, where, being near the camp, I saw more than a league and a half of fires lighted around the city, seeming as if the whole earth had been on fire, and I was of advice that we could never pass through those fires without being discovered, and, by consequence, hung and strangled, or cut in pieces, or be obliged to pay a great ransom. To say the truth I had well and gladly wished to be again in Paris, for the great danger that I foresaw. God conducted our affair so well that we entered into the city at midnight, by means of a certain signal which the captain had with another captain of the company of Monsieur de Guise, which Lord I found in his bed, who received me with good grace, being very glad of my coming. I did my mission of all that which the King had commanded me to say to him. I told him that I had a little letter to give him, and that the next day I would not fail to deliver it to him. That done he commanded that they should give me quarters, and that I should be well used, and told me I should not fail the

next day to be upon the breach, where I would find all the princes and lords, and many captains. Which I did, and they received me with great joy, doing me the honor of embracing me, and saying to me that I was welcome, adding that they had no more fear of dying, if it should happen that they should be wounded.

Monsieur le Prince de la Roche-sur-Yon was the first that feasted me, and asked what they said at court of the city of Metz. I told him all that I was willing. Then presently he prayed me to go see one of his gentlemen, named Monsieur de Magnane, now chevalier of the order of the king, and lieutenant of His Majesty's guards, who had his leg broken by a cannon-shot. I found him in bed, his leg bent and crooked, without any dressing on it, because a gentleman promised to cure him, having his name and his girdle with certain words on it, and the poor gentleman wept and cried of the pain which he felt, sleeping neither day or night for four days past. Then I mocked much at this imposture and false promise. Quickly I set and dressed so skilfully his leg, that he was without pain and slept all the night, and since, thanks be to God, was cured, and is yet at this present living, serving the King. The said Seigneur de la Roche-sur-Yon sent me a cask of wine to my lodging larger than a pipe of Anjou, and told me when it was drunk he would send me another. That was how he treated me, making me all good cheer. This

done Monsieur de Guise gave me a list of certain Captains and seigneurs, and commanded me to tell them that which the King had given me in charge, which I did; which was to make his commendation and thanks for the duty which they had done and were doing in guarding his town of Metz, and that he would recognize it. I was more than eight days in acquitting my charge, because they were many. First to all the princes and others, as the Duke Horace,⁴⁸ the Comte de Martigues,⁴⁹ and his brother Monsieur de Baugé,⁵⁰ the Seigneurs de Montmorenci, and d'Anville, now Marshal of France, Monsieur de la Chapelle aux Ursins,⁵¹ Bonnivet, Carouge, now governor of Rouen, the Vidame de Chartres,⁵² the Comte de Lude, Monsieur de Biron, now

⁴⁸Horace Farnese, Duc de Castro, married Diane d'Angouleme, a natural daughter of Henri II.

⁴⁹Charles de Luxembourg, Viscomte de Martigues, son of François II of Luxembourg and Charlotte de Brosse. He was mortally wounded at the siege of Hesdin in 1553, and Paré, who attended him, tells the story of his last days in his account of that expedition, *vide infra*.

⁵⁰Monsieur de Baugé was made a prisoner at Therouanne and Paré tells more of him in his narrative of the journey to Hesdin.

⁵¹Christophe des Ursins, Seigneur de la Chapelle-Gautier, de Doue et d'Armenonville, Marquis de Traisnel, governor of Paris, and lieutenant-general of the Ile de France. He was the oldest of six children of François Jouvenal des Ursins and of Anne l'Orfevre, Dame de Armenonville. He married Madeline de Luxembourg in 1557. In 1580 he fell from his horse and injured himself most seriously. Paré attended him along with many other surgeons. When he recovered he wished to know why he had not been given any mummy during his illness, and also asked Paré his opinion of the value of unicorn's horn. These questions induced Paré to write his famous discourse on those two substances in which he clearly proved their uselessness as medicines. Christophe des Ursins died in 1588.

⁵²François de Vendome, son of Louis de Vendome, was the Vidame de Chartres. Diane de Poitiers wished to marry her second daughter to him. He refused the match, thereby winning the favor of Catherine de Medici, of whom Diane was the hated rival. Catherine and he conspired

marshal of France, Monsieur de Randan, la Rochefoucault, Bordaille, d'Estres, the younger, Monsieur de Saint Jean en Dauphiné, and many others who it would be too long to recite, and even to many captains who had all done their duty well in defence of their lives and of the town. Afterwards, I asked Monsieur de Guise what it pleased him I should do with the drugs that I had brought. He told me that I should part them among the surgeons and apothecaries, and especially to the poor wounded soldiers who were in great number at the Hôtel Dieu, which I did and can assure you that I could not so much as go and see the wounded, who sent for me to visit and dress them. All the besieged lords besought me to care most solicitously above all the rest for Monsieur de Pienne, who had been wounded when on the breach by a fragment of stone shot from a cannon, on the temple with fracture and depression of the bone. They told me that suddenly as he received the blow, he fell to the ground as dead, and cast blood out of his mouth, nose and ears, with great vomiting, and was fourteen days without being able to speak or reason, also there came upon him tremors almost like spasms, and all his face was swollen and very livid. He was trepanned at the side of the temporal muscle, on the frontal bone, I dressed him, with other surgeons, and

*Wound of
Monsieur
de Pienne*

*Monsieur
de Pienne
trepanned
and cured*

after Henri's death against the Guises. The latter forced Catherine herself to order his commitment to the Bastille. He died a few months later on the very day of his release from prison.

God cured him, and to-day he is still living, thank God.

The Emperor caused battery to be made with forty double cannons, where the powder was spared neither by day or night. Presently when Monsieur de Guise saw the artillery seated and pointed to make a breach, he made the nearest houses to be pulled down to make ramparts, and the posts and beams were put end to end, and between them fascines of earth, beds, and bundles of wool, then they put again upon them other beams and joists. Now, much of the wood of the houses of the suburbs, which had been thrown to the ground, (for fear the enemy should lodge themselves there in cover, and that they should not avail themselves of the wood) served very well to repair the breach. Everybody was busy carrying earth day and night to repair the breach. Messieurs the princes, seigneurs, captains, lieutenants, ensigns, were all carrying the baskets to give example to the soldiers and citizens to do the like, which they did, yea, even to the ladies and gentlewomen, and those who had not baskets, made use of caldrons, panniers, sacks, sheets, and all else which they could to carry the earth; in such sort that the enemy had no sooner beaten down the wall, but he found behind it a stronger rampart. The wall being fallen, our soldiers cried to those outside, "Fox, fox, fox" and they called a thousand insults to one another. Monsieur de Guise forbade under pain of death, that any man should talk to those outside,

for fear that there should be some traitor who would give them advertisement of that which was being done in the city. This prohibition made, they attached live cats to the ends of their pikes, and put them on the walls, and cried with the cats, "Miaut, miaut, miaut." Truly the Imperialists were much enraged, having been so long a time making a breach, at so great expense, which was four-score paces in width, that fifty men in a front could enter, where they found a rampart stronger than the wall. They threw themselves on the poor cats, and shot at them with arquebuses, as they shoot at a popinjay. Our men often made sorties, by command of Monsieur de Guise. The day before there was a great press to enroll themselves among those who should go forth, and principally the young noblemen, led by veteran captains, in so much that it was a great favor to permit them to sally forth and run upon the enemy. And they would sally forth always to the number of one hundred or six score, well armed with bucklers, cutlasses, arquebuses, and pistols, pikes, partisans, and halberds; who went even to the trenches to awaken them by surprise. Then an alarm would be given through all their camp and their drums would sound, *plan, plan, ta ti ta, ta ta ti ta, tou touf touf*. Likewise their trumpets and clarions roared and sounded, *boutte selle, boute selle, boutte selle, monte à cheval, monte à cheval, boute selle, monte à cheval, à cheval*, and all their sol-

diers would cry "Arm, arm, arm, to arms, to arms, to arms, arm, to arms, arm, to arms, arm:" as they cry after wolves, and in all divers languages, according to their nations, and one saw them going forth from their tents and little lodgings, as thick as ants when one uncovers their ant hills to succor their companions, who had their throats cut like sheep. The cavalry, likewise came from all sides at a great gallop, *patati, patata, patati, patata, pa, ta, ta, patata, pata, ta*, and eager to be in the *melé*, where the strokes were falling, to give and receive them. And when ours saw themselves pressed, they returned to the town, always fighting, and those who pursued them were repulsed by the artillery, which they had charged with stones and great pieces of iron, square and three-sided, and our soldiers who were on the wall, would fire a volley, and rain their bullets on them thick as hail, to send them back to bed, but many remained on the fields of combat, and our men also did not all return with whole skins, and there remained behind always some for the tax, which were joyful to die on the bed of honor. And then if there was a horse wounded he was skinned and eaten by the soldiers, instead of beef and bacon, and it was for me to run to dress our wounded. Some days afterwards they made other sorties, which greatly vexed the enemy, that we would not let them sleep a little in surety. Monsieur de Guise made a stratagem or ruse of war, which was he sent a

peasant, who was none of the wisest, with two pairs of letters to the King, to whom he gave ten écus and promised that the King would give him one hundred, provided that he delivered the letters to him. In one of them he told him that the enemy made no sign of retiring, and with all his forces had made a great breach, which he hoped to defend even to the loss of his life and that of those who were within, and that if the enemy had so well placed their artillery in a certain place which he designated, with great difficulty could he have kept them from entering in, seeing that it was the weakest place in all the city, but very soon he hoped to repair it in such sort that they could not enter. One of these letters was sewed in the lining of his doublet, and he was told that he should guard against speaking of it to anyone. And another was given to him in which Monsieur de Guise told the King that he and all the besieged hoped to guard the town well, and other things which I leave here unsaid. He made the peasant go forth in the night, and he was taken by a sentinel, and brought to the Duke of Alva, to learn what they did in the town, and he was asked if he had letters: He said "yes," and gave them one; and they having seen it asked him on oath if he had not another, he said he had not. Then he was searched, and the one was found which was sewed in his doublet, and the poor messenger was hung and strangled.

The said letters were communicated to the Emperor, who called his Council, where it was resolved, since they had not been able to do anything at the first breach, that quickly the artillery should be brought to the place which they thought the weakest, where they made great efforts to make another breach, and sapped and mined the wall, and sought to surprise la Tour d'Enfer, yet they durst not come to the assault.

The letters communicated to the Emperor and his Council

The Duke of Alva represented to the Emperor that every day his soldiers were dying, even to the number of more than two hundred, and that there was little hope of entering the town, seeing the weather and the great number of soldiers who were in it. The Emperor demanded what men they were who were dying, and if they were gentlemen and men of mark. He was answered that they were all poor soldiers. Then he said it was no matter if they did die, comparing them to caterpillars, grass-hoppers, and cockchafers, which eat the buds and other good things of the earth, and that if they were men of worth they would not be in his camp for six livres a month, and therefore there was no harm if they died. Moreover, he said he would never go forth from before that town, till he had taken it by force or by famine, although he should lose all his army; because of the great number of princes who were enclosed there, with the greatest part of the nobility of France, whom he hoped would pay his expenses four times over, and he

Remonstrance of the Duke of Alva to the Emperor

would go yet once more to Paris, to visit the Parisians, and to make himself King of all the kingdom of France.

Monsieur de Guise, with the princes, captains, and soldiers, and in general all the citizens of the town, having heard the intention of the Emperor, which was to exterminate us all, then it was not permitted to the soldiers, and citizens, and even to the princes and seigneurs, to eat fresh fish, or venison, likewise no partridges, woodcocks, larks, plovers, divers and other game, for fear that they had acquired some pestilent air, which might give us a contagion. So they had to content themselves with the munition (army) fare, to wit, biscuit, beef, salted cows, bacon, sausage, Mayence hams: likewise fish, as molluscs, haddock, salmon, shad, tunny, whale, anchovy, sardines, herrings, also peas, beans, rice, garlic, onions, prunes, cheeses, butter, oil and salt; pepper, ginger, nutmeg, and other spices, to put into our confections, mostly of horses, which without them would have had a very bad taste. Many citizens having gardens in the town had planted them with great radishes, turnips, carrots, and leeks, which they guarded well and dearly for the extreme necessity of hunger. But all these supplies were distributed by weight, measure, and justice, according to the quality of the persons, because we knew not how long the siege would last. But having heard from the mouth of the Emperor that he would never part from before Metz until he had taken it by

force or by famine, then the victuals were retrenched, in such sort that what had been distributed for three soldiers, was given to four, and it was forbidden to them to sell what remained of their repast, but it was permitted to give it to the camp followers. And they rose always from table with an appetite for fear they should be subject to take medicine. And before rendering ourselves to the mercy of the enemy, we had determined rather to eat the asses, mules, and horses, dogs and cats, and rats, even to our boots, and collars and other leathers which we could have softened and fricasseed. In general all the besieged were determined to valorously defend themselves with all the instruments of war; to wit, to point, and charge the artillery (at the point of the breach) with bullets, stones, cart-nails, bars and chains of iron; also all sorts and kinds of artifices of fire, as boëttes, barricades, grenades, pots, lances, torches, and fusees, circles surrounded by caltrops, burning faggots: boiling water, melted lead, and quick lime to put out their eyes. Also they had made holes through the houses from one side to the other, to lodge arquebusiers, to fight them on the flank, and hasten their going, or make them remain there forever. Likewise they had commissioned the women to pull up the streets, and to throw at them from their windows loaves of St. Stephen (stones), billets, tables, trestles, benches and stools, which would dash out their brains. Moreover,

there was a little more in advance a great guardhouse filled with carts and palisades, casks and barrels, and barricades of earth to serve as gabions, interlaid with falconnets and falcons, field-pieces, arquebuses with a rest,⁵³ arquebuses, and pistols, and artifices of fire, which would break their legs and thighs, in such manner that they would be attacked at the head, in the flank, and in the rear; and had they forced this guardhouse, were yet others at the crossings of the streets, at every hundred paces, which would have been as bad boys [mauvais garçons] as the first, or worse, and would have made many widows and orphans, and if fortune had been so much against us, that they had stormed and broken our guardhouses, there would yet have been seven great battalions drawn up in square and in triangle, to fight all together, each one accompanied by a prince to give them boldness to fight better and die all together, even to the last breath of their souls. Moreover, they had all resolved that each would carry, his treasure, rings and jewels and his best, richest, and most beautiful furniture, and burn them in the great square, and put them in ashes for fear the enemy should prevail and make trophies of them. Likewise there were men who were charged to set fire to and burn all the munitions also to break in the vessels of wine in the cellars, others were

⁵³The arquebus *à croc* was one which had a crutch on which it was rested when being fired.

to set fire to each house to burn our enemies and us together. The citizens had accorded all this, rather than see the bloody knife at their throats, and their wives and daughters ravished and taken by force by the cruel and inhuman Spaniards.

Now we had certain prisoners that Monsieur de Guise sent away on their parole, who, tacitly we had wished, would conceive our final resolution and desperation, who being arrived in their camp, lost no time in announcing it, which was the cause of restraining the great impetuosity and desire of the soldiers, so that they no more wished to enter into the town to cut our throats, and enrich themselves by our pillage. The Emperor, having heard the resolution of this great warrior Monsieur de Guise, put water in his wine, and restrained his great anger, saying that he could not enter the town without making a great butchery and carnage, and shedding much blood, both of the defendants and of their assailants, and they would be all dead together, and in the end he would not have got anything but ashes, and that afterwards men would say that this was a like destruction to that of the city of Jerusalem, made in former times by Titus and Vespasian.

*The soldier
only goes
to war for
pillage*

The Emperor thus having heard our last resolve, and seeing how little he had advanced by his battery, saps and mines, and the great plague which was in all his camp, and the inclemency of the weather, and the

lack of victuals and money, and how his soldiers were disbanding themselves and going away in great troops, decided at last to retire, accompanied by the cavalry of his advance guard, with the greater part of the artillery and the battalia (engines of war.) The Marquis of Brandenburg was the last who decamped, sustained by some bands of Spaniards and Bohemians, and his companies of Germans, and he remained there for a day and a half, to the great regret of Monsieur de Guise, who sent forth from the town four pieces of artillery, which he made fire on him at random to hasten his going; which he did soon enough with all his troops. Being a quarter of a league from Metz, he was taken with fright, fearing that our cavalry would fall on his rear, which caused him to set fire to his munition powder, and abandon some pieces of artillery, and much baggage, which he could not take with him, because the advance guard, the battalia and the great cannon, had broken and torn up the roads. Our cavalry wished with all their force to go forth from the town to attack him in the rear, but Monsieur de Guise would never permit it, but on the contrary said, that we should rather smooth the roads, for them, and make bridges of gold and silver to let them go, like a good pastor and shepherd who did not wish to lose a single one of his flock.

That is how our dear and well-beloved Imperials

went away from before Metz, which was the day after Christmas, to the great contentment of the besieged, and the praise of the princes and seigneurs, captains, and soldiers, who had endured the travail of this siege for the space of two months. Notwithstanding they did not all go, there lacked more than twenty-thousand who had died, as well by artillery and the sword, as by the plague, cold and hunger (and from spite and great rage that they could not get into the town to cut our throats and have the pillage of it), and there also died a great number of their horses, of which they had eaten the greater part in place of beef and bacon. We went where they had camped, where we found many dead bodies not yet buried, and the earth all dug up as we see in the Cemetery of the Holy Innocents during some great mortality. In their tents, pavilions, and lodgings, they had likewise left many sick; also bullets, arms, carts, wagons, and other baggage, with a great quantity of munition bread, spoiled and rotted by the snows and rains; yet the soldiers had it only by weight and measure. And likewise they left great provision of wood, the remains of houses which they had demolished and thrown down in the villages for two or three leagues about; likewise many other pleasure-houses [villas] belonging to citizens, with gardens and fine orchards, filled with divers fruit trees, as without this they would all have

been numbed and dead of the cold, and would have been compelled to raise the siege sooner.

The said Monsieur de Guise caused the dead to be buried and the sick to be cared for. Likewise the enemy left in the Abbey of Saint Arnold many of their wounded soldiers, whom they had no means of taking away. Monsieur de Guise sent them all a sufficiency of food, and commanded me and other surgeons to go and dress and treat them, which we did with a good will, and I believe that they would not have done the like for ours, because the Spaniard is very cruel, perfidious, and inhuman, and therefore the enemy of all nations, which is proved by Lopez the Spaniard, and Benzo the Milanese, and others who have written the history of America and the West Indies, who have had to confess that the cruelty, avarice, blasphemy, and wickedness of the Spaniards, have altogether alienated the poor Indians from the religion that the said Spaniards are said to hold. And all write they are worth less than the idolatrous Indians, for their cruel treatment of the said Indians. And after some days, we sent a trumpet to Thionville, to the enemy, that they should send for their wounded in safety, which they did with carts and wagons, but not enough. Monsieur de Guise gave them carts and carters to help bring them to Thionville. Our carters having returned, told us that the roads were all paved with dead bodies, and they never

brought back the half, because they died in the carts, and the Spaniards seeing them at the point of death, before they had cast forth their last breath, threw them out of the carts, and buried them in the mud and mire, saying that they had no order to bring back the dead. Moreover our carters said they had found by the roads many carts stuck in the mud, laden with baggage, which the enemy had not dared to send for, fearing that those in Metz would run upon them.

I will again return to the cause of their mortality, which was principally from hunger, plague and cold; because the snow was on the ground to the height of more than two feet, and they were lodged in caves under the earth covered only with a little thatch. Nevertheless each soldier had his camp-bed and a coverlet all sewn with stars, glittering and brilliant, brighter than fine gold, and every day they had white sheets, and lodged at the sign of the Moon, and made good cheer when they had the wherewithal, and paid their host so well overnight, that in the morning they went away quits, shaking their ears, and they needed no comb to detach the down and the feathers from their beards and hair, and they found always a white tablecloth, losing good meals for want of victuals. Also the greater part had neither boots, nor half-boots, slippers, hose nor shoes, and many would rather have none than have them, because they were always in the mud up to the

*Causes of
the Mortality
of the
Imperialists.*

mid-leg, and because they went barefoot, we called them the Emperor's Apostles.

After the camp was entirely broken up, I distributed my sick in the hands of the surgeons in the town, to finish dressing them; then I took leave of Monsieur de Guise and returned to the King, who received me with a good countenance, and asked of me how I had been able to enter the city of Metz. I told him entirely all that I had done. He gave me two-hundred écus, and one hundred that I had at setting out, and said he would never leave me poor. Then I thanked him very humbly for the good and the honor that he was pleased to do me.



The Tree Which Bears the Incense.
(*Paré, Edition 1585.*)

The Journey to Hesdin, 1553

THE Emperor Charles besieged the city of Theroüenne, where Monsieur le Due de Savoie⁵⁴ was general of the whole army. It was taken by assault, where there were a great number of our men killed and made prisoners. The King wishing to prevent the enemy from besieging the city and château of Hesdin, sent Messieurs the Duc de Bouillon, the Duc Horace, the Marquis de Villars, and a number of captains, and about eighteen hundred soldiers, and during the siege of Theroüenne, these seigneurs fortified the château of Hesdin, in such sort that it seemed to be impregnable. The King sent me to these seigneurs to aid them with my art, if peradventure they should have need of it. Now soon after the taking of Theroüenne, we were besieged with the army. There was a quick, clear, spring within cannonshot, where there were about four score or a hundred camp followers and wenchcs of the enemy who were about the spring to draw water. I was on a rampart watching them place the camp, and seeing this crowd of idlers about the fountain, I prayed

⁵⁴Emmanuel Philibert, called "Tete de Fer" (Iron head) was born in 1528. He was a great soldier. In 1557, he commanded the victorious troops at the battle of Saint-Quentin. In 1559, he married Marguerite de France, daughter of François I, and retired from active life. He died in 1580.

Monsieur du Pont, commissary of artillery, to fire a cannonshot at this rabble. He made me a flat refusal, remonstrating with me that all this kind of people were not worth the powder that one would spend on them. Again I begged him to point the cannon, telling him "The more dead, the fewer enemies," which he did at my request, and by this shot were killed fifteen or sixteen of them, and many wounded. Our soldiers sallied forth on the enemy before their trenches were made where there would be many killed and wounded by arquebus shots and by the sword as many on one side as on the other, where I had much work cut out for me of such sort that I had no rest neither day nor night for dressing the wounded.

And I would tell this in passing, that we had put many of them in a great tower, laid on a little straw; and their pillows were stones, their coverlets were their cloaks of those that had them. When the artillery was active, as often as the cannon fired, the wounded said they felt pain in their wounds, as if one had given them blows with a stick, the one cried his head, the other his arm, and so with the other parts, and with many their wounds bled afresh, even in greater quantity than at the time they were first wounded, and then it was I must run to staunch them. *Mon petit maistre*, if you had been there, you would have been much hindered with your hot irons. You would have had need of much char-

coal to redden them, and I believe they would have killed you like a calf for your cruelty. Now by this devilish tempest of the echo of these cannon engines, and the great and vehement agitation of the collision of the air, resounding in the wounds of the injured, many died; and others, because they could not rest by reason of the clamors and cries which were made day and night, and also for lack of good food, and other things necessary for the wounded. Now, *mon petit maistre*, if you had been there you could have ordered them jellys, restoratives, gravies, pressed meat, broth, barley water, almonds, blanc-mange, prunes, damsons, and other viands proper for the sick, but your ordinance would only have been accomplished on paper, for in effect there was nothing to have but the flesh of old tainted cows which were taken around Hesdin for our munition, salted and half-cooked, in such sort that he who would eat it, must tear it with the strength of his teeth, as birds of prey do their food.

I would not forget the rags with which they were dressed, which were only rewashd every day and dried at the fire, and therefore were as hard as parchment. I leave you to think how their wounds could do well. There were four big, fat prostitutes to whom was given charge of the washing of the linen, who acquitted themselves of it to the strokes of a stick, and likewise they had no water at their command, and less soap. That is how

the poor sick died for lack of food and other necessary things.

One day our enemies feigned to give us a general assault to draw our soldiers on the breach, to the end that they might reconnoitre our strength. Everybody ran there. We had made great provision of artifices of fire to defend the breach. A priest of Monsieur le Duc de Bouillon took a grenade, thinking to throw it on the enemy, and put fire to it sooner than he should. It exploded and set fire to our artifices which were in a house near the breach; which was a marvellous disaster to us because it burned many poor soldiers; it even caught the house, and we had all been burned, had it not been for succor which put it out. There was only one well with any water in it in our château, which was nearly all dried up, and instead of water they took beer to extinguish it. Thereafter, there was a great dearth of water and to drink that which was left, it was necessary to strain it through napkins.

Now the enemy seeing the explosion and the tempest of the artifices, which made a marvellous flame and thundering, thought that we had put the fire on purpose for the defense of the breach, to burn them and that we had many others. This made them change their mind to have us some other way than by assault. They made mines and sapped the greater part of our walls; so much so that it would throw down entirely our château upside

down; and when the sappers had finished their task, and their artillery was fired, all our château shook under us, as an earthquake, which amazed us much. Moreover, they had directed five pieces of artillery which they had placed on a little hill to play on our backs, when we went to defend the breach.

Duc Horace had a cannon-shot on the shoulder which carried away the arm one side, the body to the other, without his being able to speak a single word. His death was a great disaster to us, because of the rank which he held in this place. Likewise Monsieur de Martigues had a bulletshot which pierced his lungs. I dressed him as I shall tell hereafter.

*Death of
Duc
Horace*

Then we demanded a parley, and a trumpet was sent to the Prince of Piedmont to know what terms it would please him to give us. His answer was that all the chiefs, as gentlemen, captains, lieutenants, and ensigns, should be held for ransom, and the soldiers should go forth without their arms, and that if they refused this fair and honest offer the next day we could be assured they would take us by assault or otherwise.

*Monsieur
de Mar-
tigues
wounded*

A council was held where I was summoned, as many captains, gentlemen, and others, to know if I would sign that the place should be surrendered. I answered that it was not tenable, and I would sign with my own blood, for the little hope I had that we could resist the forces of the enemy, and also for the great

longing I had to be out of this hell and great torment, for I slept neither day or night for the great quantity of wounded, which might be in number about two hundred. The dead yielded a great putrefaction, being heaped up on one another like faggots, not being covered with earth because we had none; and if I entered into a lodging, there were soldiers awaiting me at the door when I went forth, for me to dress others; it was which should have me, and they carried me like a holy body, not touching foot to earth in spite of one another, and I could not satisfy so great a number of wounded, joined to which I had not that which was necessary to treat them. For it is not enough that the surgeon should do his duty towards his patients, but the patient must also do his, and the assistance and external things. See Hippocrates, "The First Aphorism."

Now having heard the resolution for the surrender of the place, I knew that our affair did not go well, and for fear of being known I gave a velvet coat, a satin doublet, a cloak of fine cloth lined with velvet to a soldier, who gave me a sorry doublet all torn and frayed with use, and a collar of leather well worn, and a miserable hat, and a short cloak. I smeared the neck of my shirt with water with which I had mixed a little soot. Likewise I rubbed my hose with a stone at the knees and above the heels as if they had been worn a long time. I did as much to my shoes, in such sort that I had

sooner been taken for a chimney sweep than for a surgeon to the King. I went in this guise to Monsieur de Martigues and I prayed him that he would arrange it so that I should remain with him to dress him, which he accorded willingly, and had as much wish that I should remain with him as I had myself.

Soon after the commissioners who had charge of selecting the prisoners entered the château, the seventeenth day of July, 1553, where they took Messieurs le Duc de Bouillon, le Marquis de Villars, de Roye, le Baron de Culan, Monsieur du Pont, the commissary of the artillery, and Monsieur de Martigues; and me with him (because of the prayer which he made them to do it); and all the gentlemen whom they knew were able to pay any ransom, and the greater part of the soldiers and chiefs of companies, having so many and such prisoners as they wished. Afterwards the Spanish soldiers entered by the breach without any resistance, our men thinking that they would hold their faith and agreement, that they should have their lives saved. They entered in a great fury to kill all, to plunder, and to sack. They retained some men, hoping to have ransom for them; they tied them by their genitalia with their arquebus cords, which were thrown over a pike that two held on their shoulders, then they would pull the cord, with great violence and derision, as if they had wished to sound a chime, telling them that they must put them-

selves to ransom, and to tell of what houses (family) they were, and if they saw they would have no profit from them, they killed them cruelly in their hands, or soon after their genitalia would have fallen into a gangrene and total mortification. But they killed them all with their daggers and cut their throats. See then their great cruelty and perfidy; let him trust them that will.

Now to return to my discourse. Being led from the château into the city with Monsieur de Martigues, there was a gentleman of Monsieur de Savoie who asked me if the wound of Monsieur de Martigues could be cured; I told him no, that it was incurable. He promptly went away to tell it to Monseigneur le Duc de Savoie. Now I thought that he would send physicians and surgeons to visit and dress Monsieur de Martigues. Meanwhile I discussed with myself if I should play the simpleton, and not let myself be known as a surgeon, for fear that they should keep me to dress their wounded, and that in the end I should be known to be surgeon to the King and they would make me pay a large ransom. On the other side I feared that if I did not show myself to be a surgeon, and to have well dressed Monsieur de Martigues, they would cut my throat. Forthwith I resolved to show them that he would not die for want of having been well dressed and succoured. Soon after, behold, there came many gentlemen, accompanied by a physician and a surgeon of the Emperor, and those of the

said Seigneur de Savoie, with six other surgeons of the army, to see the wound of the said Monsieur de Martigues, and to know of me how I had dressed and treated him. The Emperor's physician bade me declare the essential nature of the wound and how I had treated it. Now all the spectators had a very attentive ear to know if the wound was mortal or not.

I commenced to discourse to them, how Monsieur de Martigues looking over the wall, to reconnoitre those who were sapping it, received a shot from an arquebus through the body, where presently I was called to dress him. I saw that he cast out blood by his mouth and his wound; moreover he had great difficulty on inspiration and expiration, and cast wind by the said wounds with a whistling, insomuch that it would blow out a candle, and he said he had a very great stabbing pain at the entrance of the bullet. I thought and believed that this could be some splinters of bone which pricked the lungs when they made their systole and diastole. I put my finger within where I found the entrance of the ball had broken the fourth rib in the middle, and splinters of bone which the said ball had forced in, and the going forth of it had likewise broken the fifth rib with splinters of bone which had been driven from within, outwards. I drew out some but not all because they were very deep and adherent. I put in each wound a tent, having the head large enough, attached by a

thread, for fear that by the inspiration they should be drawn into the cavity of the thorax, which has been known by experience to the detriment of the poor wounded, because having fallen within, one cannot withdraw them, which is the reason that they engender putrefaction, as a thing contrary to nature. The said tents were anointed with a medicament made of the yellow of eggs and Venice turpentine, with a little oil of roses. My intention in putting in the said tents was to arrest the blood and to guard against the exterior air entering the chest, which had been able to chill the lungs and by consequence the heart. The said tents were put there also so that they would give issue to the blood diffused in the thorax. I put on the wounds a large plaster of diachylon⁵⁵ in which I had mixed oil of roses and vinegar, for the purpose of avoiding inflammation, and then I applied large compresses soaked in oxycrate⁵⁶ and bandaged him, but not too hard, so that he could breathe easily. That done I drew from him five porringers of blood, from the basilic vein of the right arm, so as to make revulsion of the blood, which ran from his wounds into his thorax, having first taken indication from the wounded parts, and chiefly, his qualities

⁵⁵Diachylon plaster was the invention of Menecrates, who was physician to the Emperor Tiberius. It was described by Galen. This plaster was a mucilaginous mass made chiefly from mucilaginous seeds and roots, such as marshmallow and linseed. The term was applied to mucilaginous plasters in general down to very recent times.

⁵⁶Oxycrate was a mixture of which the chief ingredients were vinegar and saffron.

considering his youth and his sanguine temperament. Soon after he went to stool, and by his urine and stool evacuated a great quantity of blood. And as to the pain, which he said he felt at the entrance of the bullet, as if he had been pricked with a bodkin, that was because the lungs, by their movements, beat against the splinters of the broken rib. But the lungs are covered with a tunic coming from the pleural membrane, having issue with the nerves of the sixth conjugation from the brain which was the cause of the pain which he felt.

Likewise he had great difficulty in inspiring and expiring, which came from the blood diffused in the cavity of the thorax, and on the diaphragm, the chief agent in respiration, and from the laceration of the muscles which are between each rib, which aid also in inspiration and expiration; and likewise because the lungs were wounded, and torn, and lacerated by the ball, which had caused him to spit black and putrid blood in coughing.

Fever seized him soon after he was wounded, with weakness of the heart. The said fever seemed to me to come from the putrid vapors arising from the blood which was outside its vessels, which had flowed and will flow more. The wound of the lungs has grown larger and will grow larger [yet], because it is in perpetual movement both in sleeping and waking, and expands and compresses itself to attract the air to the heart and

*Why the
wound of
the lungs
grew larger*

throw the fuliginous vapors out. By the unnatural heat is made inflammation; then the expulsive quality forces out by cough that which is obnoxious to it. But the lungs themselves cannot purge but by coughing, and in coughing the wound is enlarged, and grows yet more, from which the blood goes forth in greater abundance, which blood is drawn from the heart by the arterial vein,⁵⁷ to give them (the lungs) their nourishment, and to the heart by the vena cava. His food was barley broth, prunes with sugar, at other times bread soup; his drink was a ptisan. He could lie only on his back, which showed that he had a great quantity of blood diffused in his thorax, which spreading itself along the vertebræ did not compress the lungs as much as it would lying on his sides or seated. What more shall I say, but that my said Seigneur de Martigues never had a single hour's rest after he was wounded, and always evacuated bloody urine and stools. These things considered, Messieurs, one can make no other prognosis, except that he will die in a few days, to my great grief.

*Prognosis
of death*

Having ended my discourse, I dressed him, as I was accustomed. Having uncovered his wounds, the physicians and surgeons, and other witnesses present, knew the truth of that which I had said to them. The physicians having felt his pulse, and knowing his forces were almost prostrated and depressed agreed with me that in

⁵⁷Pulmonary artery.

a few days he would die. And directly they went to the Duc de Savoie where they said that the said Monsieur de Martigues would die in a short time. He answered them that possibly if he had been well dressed, he could have escaped. Then they all said with one voice he had been very well dressed and cared for with all things appertaining to the curing of his wounds, and it could not be better, and that it was impossible to cure him, and that his wound was necessarily mortal. Then Monsieur de Savoie showed himself very much displeased, and wept, and asked them again if for certain they all held him for lost; they answered only yes.

Then a Spanish impostor presented himself, and promised on his life that he would cure him, and that if he failed to cure him they should cut him in a hundred pieces, but he would have no physicians, surgeons, nor apothecaries with him; and at once Monsieur de Savoie said to the physicians and surgeons that they should go no more to see Monsieur de Martigues. Also he sent a gentleman to me bidding me on pain of my life not to touch Monsieur de Martigues. Which I promised not to do of which I was very glad seeing that he would not die in my hands. And he commanded this impostor to dress Monsieur de Martigues, and that he should have no other physicians nor surgeons but him. He arrived very soon after with Monsieur de Martigues, to whom he said, "*Senor Cavallero el senor Duque de Saboya me*

*Great
temerity of
a Spanish
Impostor*

*Prohibition
made to the
Author*

ha mandado que viniessen a curar vostra herida, yo os jura a Dios, que antes dei ocho dias yo'os haga subir a cavallo con la lansa, en puno con tal que no ayo que yo qu'os toque. Comereis y bebereis todas comidas que fueren de vostro gusto, y yo hare la dieta pro v. m. y desto' os de veis aseguirar sobre de mi: yo he sanado muchos que tenian mayores heridas, que la vostra."

That is to say, "Senor Cavallero, Monseigneur le Duc de Savoi has commanded me to come and dress your wound. I swear to you by God that before eight days I will make you mount on horseback, lance in hand, provided that no one touches you but me. You shall eat and drink all the viands which are to your taste. I will be dieted instead of you; and of this you may be assured on my promise, I have cured many who had greater wounds than yours." He asked for a shirt of the said Monsieur de Martigues and he tore it in little strips, which he placed like a cross, murmuring and muttering certain words over the wounds; and having clothed him, permitted him to eat and drink all that he would saying to him that he would diet for him; which he did, eating but six prunes and six morsels of bread for his repast, drinking only beer. Nevertheless, two days afterwards the said Monsieur de Martigues died, and my Spaniard, seeing him in his agony, hid himself and got away without saying goodbye to anyone; and I believe that if he had been taken, he would have been hanged and stran-

gled for the false promise which he had made to Monseigneur le Duc de Savoï, and to many other gentlemen. He died about ten o'clock in the morning; and after dinner Monseigneur de Savoï sent again the physicians and surgeons, and his apothecary, with a quantity of drugs to embalm him. They came accompanied by many gentlemen and captains of the army.

The surgeon of the Emperor approached me and prayed me very kindly to make the opening, which I refused, telling him that I was not worthy to carry his instrument case after him. He prayed me again to do it for love of him, and that he would be very glad of it. I would yet again have excused myself, that since he had not the wish to embalm him, he would give the charge to another surgeon of the company. He answered me again that he would it should be I, and that if I would not do it, I might have to repent it. Knowing this his desire, for fear that he should do me some displeasure, I took the razor, and presented it to all individually, telling them that I was not well-practiced to do such an operation; which they all refused.

The body being placed upon a table, verily I proposed to show them that I was an anatomist, declaring to them many things which would be too long to recite here. I commenced by telling all the company that I held it assured that the ball had broken two ribs, and had passed through the lungs, and that one would find

the wound much enlarged, because they are in perpetual movement, both sleeping and waking, and by this movement, the wound was more torn; also that there was a great quantity of blood diffused in the chest and on the diaphragm, and of splinters of bone from the fractured ribs, which the entrance of the ball had pushed within, and the going out had forced without. Now truly all that I had told them was found in this dead body.

One of the physicians asked which way the blood could pass to be cast out by the urine, being contained in the thorax; I answered him that there was a visible conduit, which is the azygos vein, which having nourished all the ribs, its remainder descends under the diaphragm, and on the left side is conjoined with the emulgent vein, which is the way by which the matter of the pleurisy, and the pus of empyemas, empties itself manifestly by the urine and stools; as one sees likewise the pure milk from the breasts of women recently accouched, descend by the mammary veins, and be evacuated downwards by the neck of the womb without being mixed with blood,⁵⁸ and such a thing is done (as by a miracle of nature) by her expulsive and sequestering virtue which is seen in the experiment of the two vessels

⁵⁸For this, of course, erroneous statement Paré gives as authorities, Galen, "De Decretis," and Hippocrates, "De Locis Affectis." It should be remembered that Paré died in 1590 and that Harvey's demonstration of the circulation of the blood was not published until 1628.

of glass, called monte-vins, the one of which should be filled with water, and the other with claret wine; and they are placed one upon the other, to wit, that which shall be filled with water on that which is full of wine, one sees apparently the wine mount to the height of the vessels right through the water, and the water descend across the wine and go to the bottom of the vessels without mixture of the two; and if such a thing accomplishes itself exteriorly and openly to the sense of sight, by inanimate things, it is necessary to believe in our understanding, that Nature can make pus and blood to pass having been outside their vessels, by the veins, even through the bones unless they be mixed with the good blood.

*A good
annotation
to the
Surgeon*

Our discourse finished, I embalmed the body; and it was placed in a coffin. After that the surgeon of the Emperor drew me apart and said that if I would remain with him he would treat me well, and that he would clothe me anew, also that he would make me go on horseback. I thanked him very much for the honor he did me, but said that I had no desire to serve foreigners to my country. Then he told me that I was a fool, and that if he was a prisoner like me, he would serve a devil to be put at liberty. In the end I told him flatly that I did not wish to stay with him.

*Brave
Answer*

The physician of the Emperor returned to Seigneurs de Savoie, where he declared the cause of the death

of Seigneur Martigues, and that it was impossible for all the men in the world to have cured him, and confirmed to him again that I had done all that it was necessary to do, and prayed him to take me into his service, and said to him more good of me than there was.

Having been persuaded to take me in his service, he gave charge to one of his maîtres d'hôtel, named Monsieur du Bouchet, to tell me that if I wished to remain in his service he would use me well. I answered him that I thanked him very humbly, but that I had decided not to remain with any foreigner. This my answer being heard by the Duc de Savoï, he was greatly angered and said I ought to be sent to the galleys.

Monsieur de Vaudeville, governor of Gravelines, and colonel of seventeen ensigns of infantry, prayed him to give me to him to dress an old ulcer that he had had on his leg for six or seven years. Monsieur de Savoï told him that for what I was worth he was content, and that if I put the fire to (cauterized) his leg, it would serve him right. He answered that if he perceived anything like it, he would cause my throat to be cut.

Soon after Seigneur de Vaudeville sent four German halberdiers of his guard to seek me which astonished me very much, not knowing whither they led me, they not speaking any more French than I did German. Being arrived at his lodging, he told me that I was wel-

come and that I belonged to him, and that, as soon as I had cured him of an ulcer which he had on his leg, he would give me my freedom (cong ) without taking any ransom of me. I told him that I had no means of paying any ransom.

Then he called his physician and surgeon-in-ordinary to show me his ulcerated leg. Having seen and considered it we retired apart in a chamber, where I commenced by saying to them that the said ulcer was annular, not being simple, but complicated, to wit, of a round form and scaly, having the borders hard and callous, hollowed out and filthy, accompanied by a large varicose vein which continually steeped it, besides a great swelling and phlegmonous distemperature, very painful throughout the leg, in a body of very choleric temperament, as the hair of his face and his countenance indicated. The method of curing it (if cured it could be) is that it would be necessary to commence with things universal, to wit, with purgation, with bleeding, and with his manner of living, that he should not use any wine, nor salted meats, nor highly seasoned, and in general those which would heat the blood. After that it was necessary to commence the cure by making divers scarifications about the said ulcer, and cutting away altogether the callous borders, to give it a shape long or triangular, because the round [ulcer] can hardly be cured, as the ancients have left it in writing, which one

sees by experience. That done it would be necessary to cleanse the filthy and rotten flesh from the ulcer, which should be done with unguentum aegyptiacum,⁵⁹ and over it a compress soaked in the juice of plantain and of nightshade, and oxycrate; and it was necessary to bandage his leg, beginning at the foot and finishing at the knee, and not forgetting to put a small compress on the varicose vein, to the end that no superfluities should flow to the ulcer. Moreover, that he should keep himself at rest in his bed, which is ordered by Hippocrates, who said that those who have sore legs should not hold themselves upright nor seated, but lying down. And after these things were done, and the ulcer well cleaned, one should apply over it a plate of lead rubbed and whitened with quicksilver. These are the means by which Monsieur de Vaudeville can be cured of his ulcer. All which they found good. Then the physician left me with the surgeon and went away to Seigneur de Vaudeville to tell him that he was sure I could cure him, and told him all I had resolved to do for the cure of his ulcer of which he was very glad. He sent for me and asked me if I thought to cure his ulcer; I told him yes, provided that he was obedient and did that which was needful. He promised me that he would do entirely

⁵⁹An escharotic ointment dating back at least as far as the ninth century, when it is found described by the Arabian Mesue. Its chief ingredients were vinegar and verdigris. It retained its place in some pharmacopeias into the nineteenth century.

what I wished and ordered, and that so soon as his ulcer was cured, he would give me liberty to return without paying any ransom. Then I prayed him to come to a better settlement with me, remonstrating that the time would be too long to be out of liberty, until he should be entirely cured, and that within fifteen days I hoped to do so that his ulcer would be diminished more than one-half, and would be without pain, and for that which remained his surgeon and physician could finish the cure. He granted this. Then I took a piece of paper to take the size of his ulcer, which I gave him, and kept another by me. I prayed him that he would keep his promise, when he knew the work was done. He swore to me on the faith of a gentleman that he would do it. Then I resolved to dress him well, according to the method of Galen, which was that after having taken all foreign matters from the ulcer, and that there remained nothing but filling in with flesh, I dressed him only once a day, and he found that very strange, and likewise his physician who was but freshwater [green] who wished to persuade me, with the patient, to dress him two or three times a day. I prayed him to let me alone, that what I did was not to prolong the cure, on the contrary to shorten it, for the desire that I had to be at liberty, and that if he would look in Galen, in the fourth book, "Of the Composition of Medicaments according to their kinds," that if a medicament does not remain a

long time on the part, it does not profit so much as when it is left a long time, a thing which some physicians have ignored, and have thought that it is better to change the plasters often, and this bad custom is so inveterate and rooted that patients even often accuse the surgeons of negligence that they change not more often the plasters; but they are deceived. For, as you have understood and read in divers places in my works, the qualities of all bodies which touch one another act the one against the other, and both suffer something, where one of them is much stronger than the other, by means thereof the said qualities are united and they become familiarized with time, although they be very different; such way the quality of the medicament unites itself with and sometimes becomes like that of the body, which is a very useful thing. Therefore, one should much praise him who first discovered the practice of not using so frequently fresh plasters; moreover, we know by experience that this discovery is good. Moreover, it is again a great fault in dressing ulcers frequently to wipe them very hard, because one takes away not only the useless excrement which is the pus or sanies of the ulcer, but also the matter from which the flesh is formed. Therefore, for the above stated reasons, it is not necessary to dress ulcers so often.

The Seigneur de Vaudeville would understand if that which I alleged from Galen was true, and com-

*Why it is
not neces-
sary to
change
plasters
frequently*

manded his physician to look there for it, and as he wished to know it for himself. He caused the book to be put on the table, where my words were found true, and the said physician was made ashamed, and I very glad. The Seigneur de Vaudeville desired no more to be dressed more than once a day, of such sort that within the fifteen days his ulcer was nearly all cicatrized. The agreement being made between us, I began to be merry. He made me eat and drink at his table, when there were no more men of rank than he and me.

He gave me a great red scarf which he commanded me to wear. I can say I was as glad of it as a dog to which they give a clog, for fear that he will go to the vines to eat the grapes. The physician and surgeon led me through the camp to visit their wounded, where I took notice what our enemies were doing. I saw that they had no more great pieces of artillery, but only twenty-five or thirty fieldpieces.

Monsieur de Vaudeville held prisoner Monsieur de Baugé, brother of Monsieur de Martigues, who died at Hesdin. The said Monsieur de Baugé was prisoner at the Château de la Motte au Bois, belonging to the Emperor. He had been taken at Theroüenne by two Spanish soldiers. The Seigneur de Vaudeville having held him concluded he should be some gentleman of a good house (family). He had his stockings pulled off, and seeing his shoes and feet clean, with his socks

very white and thin, such things confirmed him further that he was a man to pay some good ransom. He demanded of the soldiers if they would take thirty écus for their prisoner and that he would give it to them at once; to which they agreed willingly, because they had no means of guarding him, and less of nourishing him, joined to which they did not know his value, therefore they delivered their prisoner into the hands of Monsieur de Vaudeville, who at once sent him with a guard of four soldiers to the Château de la Motte au Bois, with others of our gentlemen who were prisoners. The Seigneur de Baugé did not wish to reveal who he was, and endured much, being on bread and water, and couched on a little straw. Seigneur de Vaudeville, after the capture of Hesdin, sent word to Seigneur de Baugé and the other prisoners that the place of Hesdin had been taken, and the list of those who had been killed and among the others Monsieur de Martigues; and when Monsieur de Baugé heard sounds in his ears, that his brother Monsieur de Martigues was dead, he began crying, weeping, and lamenting. His guards demanded of him why he made so many such piteous lamentations, he told them it was for the love of Monsieur de Martigues, his brother. Having heard this the captain of the château despatched quickly a man to announce to Monsieur de Vaudeville that he had a good prisoner, who having received this news rejoiced greatly

*Monsieur
de Baugé,
prisoner,
sold for
thirty écus*

and the next day sent me with four soldiers and his physician to the Château de la Motte au Bois to know if his prisoner would give him fifteen thousand crowns for ransom, and he would send him free to his own house, and for the present he demanded only the security of two merchants of Antwerp whom he should name. The said de Vaudeville persuaded me that I should make his prisoner agree to this; that is why he sent me to the Château de la Motte au Bois. He ordered the captain of the château to treat him well and put him in a tapestried room, also that they should reinforce his guard and from now on make him good cheer at his expense.

The answer of Monsieur de Baugé was that he could not put himself to ransom, and that it would depend on Monsieur d'Estampes, his uncle, and Mademoiselle de Bressure, his aunt, and he had no means of paying such a ransom. I returned with my guards to Seigneur de Vaudeville and made to him the answer of the prisoner, who told me that possibly he would not go forth at so good a bargain; which was true, because he was found out, whereof forthwith the Queen of Hungary and Monsieur le Duc de Savoie sent word to Monsieur de Vaudeville that this morsel was a little too big for him, and that he must send him to them (which he did) and that he had enough other prison-

ers without this one. He was put to ransom at forty thousand écus besides other expenses.

Returning to Monsieur de Vaudeville I passed by Saint Omer where I saw their great pieces of artillery, whereof the most part were fouled and broken. I re-passed likewise Theroüenne, where I saw not one stone left on another, except a vestige of the great church, for the Emperor had ordered the peasants for five or six leagues about, that they should remove and carry away the stones so that now you can drive a cart over the town. As was likewise done at Hesdin (leaving) no vestige of the château or fortress. See the misfortune which wars bring. And to return to my discourse: soon after Monsieur de Vaudeville was very well of his ulcer, and it was nearly cured which was cause that he should give me leave to go, and he caused me to be conducted with a passport by a trumpet as far as Abbéville, where I took post, and sought the King Henri my master at Aufimon who received me gladly and with good grace.

He sent for Messieurs de Guise, the constable, and d'Estres to hear from me that which had passed at the taking of Hesdin, and I made them a faithful report of it, and assured them I had seen the great pieces of artillery they had taken to Saint Omer; of which the King was glad, because he had feared the enemy would come further into France. He gave me two hundred écus to take me home, and I was glad to be at liberty,

and out of the great torment and noise like thunder of the devilish artillery and far from the soldiers, blasphemers and deniers of God. I wish to say that at the taking of Hesdin the King was told that I was not killed but that I was a prisoner. He made Monsieur du Gouguier, his first physician, write to my wife that I was living and that she should not be troubled. and that he would pay my ransom.



Grenadier Lighting His Grenade.
(*Lacroix.*)

*The Battle of Saint Quentin, 1557*⁶⁰



AFTER the battle of Saint Quentin, the King sent me to la Fere-en-Tardenois, to Monsieur le Mareschal de Bourdillon, to give me a passport to the Duc de Savoie to go dress Monsieur le Connestable,⁶¹ who had been greatly wounded by a pistol shot in the back, whereof he was like to die and remained a prisoner in the enemy's hands. But the Duc de Savoie would not consent that I should go to the said Seigneur le Connestable, saying that he would not remain without a

*The
Constable
wounded in
the back*

⁶⁰The town of Saint Quentin was very inadequately fortified by ancient walls which had fallen down in many places. It was garrisoned by a mere handful of troops. When it was learned that the troops of Charles V were going to attack it Admiral Coligny with a few hundred men threw himself into the city and determined to make an obstinate defence. The Duc de Savoie commanded the Spanish troops which marched to the attack. The Constable Anne de Montmorenci hastened to the rescue as the fall of St. Quentin would imperil Paris, and the great importance of holding the town was fully realized. As the enemy were much superior in the number and quality of their troops, the Constable had intended merely to cover a force under Andelot, the brother of Coligny, which was to be thrown into Saint Quentin to reinforce the garrison. The attempt failed, as the boats necessary to get the French across the Somme were not ready at the critical time. Only a very few under Andelot succeeded in entering. As the Constable was returning with his main body, he was intercepted by the Imperialists and was forced to fight on August 10, 1557. The result was a terrible defeat for the French. The Constable, Mareschal Saint-André, and many other French noblemen were made prisoners, with 7,000 others; and over six hundred gentlemen, and 2,500 men were killed. The Spanish lost the great advantages which might have accrued from their victory because they determined to stay and besiege the town. Under Coligny's leadership it held out for fifteen days, when it was finally taken by assault and sacked. Coligny was made prisoner. He had, however, saved Paris by the delay he caused to the Imperial army as it afforded time for Henri II to organize its defence.

⁶¹Anne de Montmorenci.

surgeon, and that he doubted very much if I was going solely to dress him but rather to give some message to the said Monsieur le Connestable, and that he knew that I knew very well how to do other things than surgery, and that he knew me for having been his prisoner at Hesdin. Monsieur le Mareschal de Bourdillon notified the King of the refusal the Duc de Savoie had made. He [the King] wrote to Seigneur de Bourdillon, that if Madame la Connestable would send some one of her household who was a clever man, that I would give him a letter, and that I had also something to say to him by word of mouth which the King and Monsieur le Cardinal de Lorraine⁶² had entrusted to me. Two days after there arrived a valet de chambre of the said Monsieur le Connestable, who carried to him shirts and other linen, to whom Seigneur le Mareschal gave a passport to go to Seigneur le Connestable. I was very glad and gave him my letter, and gave him his lesson of that which his master should do being prisoner.

I thought having finished my mission, to return to the King; but Seigneur de Bourdillon prayed me to remain at la Fere with him, to dress a great number of wounded who had retired there after the battle; and that he would write to the King the cause of my re-

⁶²Charles Cardinal of Lorraine, brother of François, Duc de Guise, was made Archbishop of Rheims when fifteen years old. He died in 1574.

maining, which I did. The wounds of the injured were very putrid, and full of worms, with gangrene and rottenness so that it was necessary for me to use the knife to amputate that which was corrupt, and it was not done without cutting off arms and legs, and also many trepannings. But they found no medicaments at la Fere, because the surgeons of our camp had carried them all away. I found out that the artillery wagons remained at la Fere, and that they had not yet been touched. I told the said Seigneur le Mareschal that he should cause to be delivered to me a part of the drugs which were in them; which he did, and I was given the half only at one time, and five or six days after it was necessary for me to take all the rest; and yet there was not half enough to dress the great number of wounded. And to correct and arrest the putrefaction, and kill the worms which were in their wounds, I washed them with aegyptiacum dissolved in wine and brandy, and did all which I could for them; nevertheless, with all my diligence, many of them died.

There were at la Fere gentlemen who had charge to find the dead body of Monsieur de Bois-Dauphin, the elder, who had been killed in the battle; they prayed me to be willing to go with them to the camp to pick him out from among the dead, if possible to recognize him; seeing that the bodies were all disfigured and destroyed by putrefaction. We saw more than a half a

*The corpse
of Bois-
Dauphin,
the elder,
could not
be found*

league about us the earth all covered with dead bodies; and we could scarcely remain there because of the great cadaverous stench which raised itself from the bodies as much of men as of the horses, and I believe that we were the cause of making rise up from these bodies a great number of big flies which had procreated themselves from the humidity of the dead bodies and the heat of the sun, having their tails green and blue, that being in the air they made a shadow in the sun. We heard them buzzing with great wonder; and I believe that there where they settled it would render the air pestilent and cause the plague.

Mon petit maistre, I wish you had been there, as I was, to discern the odors and also to make report thereof to them that were not there.

I was very much wearied there. I prayed Monsieur le Mareschal to give me leave to go away, and was afraid of remaining there sick, by reason of my too great work, and the stench of the wounded, who almost all died, whatever diligence I could use. He made surgeons come to finish the treatment of the wounded, and I went away with his good grace. He wrote a letter to the King of the pains that I had taken for the poor wounded. Then I returned to Paris, where I found again many gentlemen who had been wounded, who had retired there after the battle.

The Journey to the Camp at Amiens, 1558

THE King sent me to Dourlan⁶³ and caused me to be conducted by Captain Gouast with fifty men-at-arms, for fear that I should be taken by the enemy, and seeing that we were always in alarms, by the way, I caused my man to dismount, and made that he should be master; for I got on his horse, which carried my bag, and would foot it well if it were necessary to fly, and took his cloak and hat, and gave him my mount which was a beautiful little hackney mare. My man being up, one would have taken him for the master and me for his valet. Those in Dourlan, seeing us from afar, thought we were enemies and fired cannon-shot at us. Captain Gouast, my conductor, made a sign to them with his hat that we were not enemies; at length they ceased firing and we entered Dourlan with great joy.

*Ruse of
the Author*

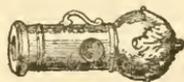
Those in Dourlan had made a sortie on the enemy five or six days before; who killed and wounded many of our captains and good soldiers, and among the others, Captain Saint Aubin, valiant as the sword, whom Monsieur de Guise loved much, and for whom principally the King had sent me there. Who, being in an access of

⁶³Dourlan is now called Doullens.

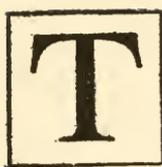
quartan fever, would go forth to command the greater part of his company. A Spaniard, seeing that he commanded, perceived him to be a captain, and shot him with an arquebus right through the neck. My Captain Saint Aubin thought he was dead of this shot and from the fright; I protest to God he lost his quartan fever and was delivered altogether from it. I dressed him with Antoine Portail,⁶⁴ surgeon-in-ordinary of the King, and many other soldiers. Some died, the others escaped, quits for an arm or a leg, or the loss of an eye, and these said they had got off cheap, those that could escape. When the enemy had broken their camp, I returned to Paris.

Here I say nothing to *mon petit maistre*, who was more at his ease in his house than I at the wars.

⁶⁴Antoine Portail was born at Bearn in 1530. He came in the suite of Jeanne d'Albret to Paris, where he studied and became a barber-surgeon. He married a relative of Paré's first wife. He became surgeon-in-ordinary to Henri II, Charles IX, and Henri III. Henri IV made him his premier surgeon. He once injured a nerve in the arm of Charles IX while bleeding him. He was closely associated with Paré over a period of years. In 1561 he dressed Paré's leg when it was fractured. The exact date of his death is unknown. Peyrilhé says he died on April 20, 1607, but Le Paulmier proves this statement to be erroneous because he was still premier surgeon to the King in 1608.



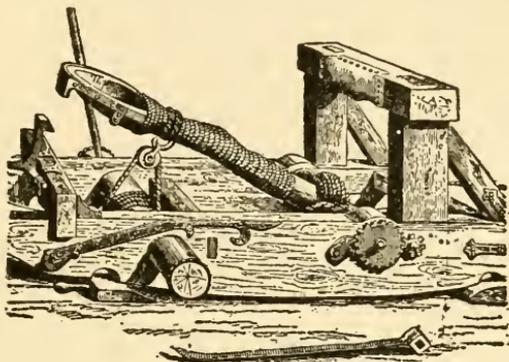
The Journey to Bourges, 1562⁶⁵



HE king with his camp remained but a short time at Bourges until those within should surrender themselves; and they went forth with their jewels saved. I know nothing worthy of memory, save that a boy of the King's privy kitchen having approached to the walls before they had entered into an agreement, cried out with a loud voice "Huguenot, Huguenot, shoot here." Having his arm raised and his hand extended, a soldier shot his hand right through with a bullet. Having received the shot, he came to find me to dress him. Monsieur le Connestable seeing this

⁶⁵I have followed Paget's example in placing the Journey to Bourges, the Journey to Rouen, and Paré's account of the Battle of Dreux in their chronological sequence, in the year 1562, and placed after them his account of his Journey to Havre de Grace, which took place in 1563. The year 1562 has been termed, by the historian Batifol, one of the most lamentable in the history of France. The war between the Huguenots and the Catholics was at its height; Charles IX was King, but his mother, Catherine de Medici, was regent, and with the Guises she had determined to exterminate Protestantism in France. Led by Condé and Coligny, the Huguenots were putting up a desperate fight for existence. Many cities including Rouen and Bourges were occupied by the Huguenots, accompanied by English troops, which Elizabeth had sent to aid their cause. The garrison was under command of Gabriel de Montgomeri, Comte de Lorges. He had been captain of the Scottish Guards of Henri II. At a tournament which was held at Paris in 1557, he had had the misfortune to accidentally kill the King while jousting with him. He fled to England, became a Protestant, and was thenceforth prominent among the Huguenot leaders. Catherine de Medici never forgave him for the death of her husband, and when he was captured, after surrendering under promise that his life would be spared, at Domfront in 1574, he was taken to Paris, tried for high treason, found guilty and beheaded and quartered. Catherine witnessed the execution.

boy, having his hand all bloody, and in tears, asked him who had wounded him: then there was a gentleman who having seen him shot, said that it was well deserved, because he had cried "Huguenot, strike here, aim



MANGONNEL OR MANGONNEAU.

(*Lacroix.*)

here." Then Seigneur le Connestable said that this Huguenot was a good arquebusier, and had a good conscience, because it was very likely if he had wished to shoot him in the head, he could have done it yet more easily than in the hand. I dressed the cook, who was very sick. He recovered, but with loss of the use of his hand, and ever since his companions call him "Huguenot"; he is yet living.

The Journey to Rouen, 1562

NOW as for the taking of Rouen, they killed many of ours before and at the assault: the next day, even, after we had entered into the city, I trepanned eight or nine of them who had been wounded in the breach by blows with stones. There was so malignant an air that it caused many deaths, even from very little wounds, in such sort that some thought that they had poisoned their bullets. Those within said the same of us: for though they had been well-furnished for their necessities within the city, they died just as those without.

The King of Navarre⁶⁶ was wounded some days before the assault by a bullet shot in the shoulder. I visited him and aided in dressing him with his surgeon, named Maitre Gilbert, one of the chief [surgeons] of Montpellier, and others. They could not find the ball. I searched for it very exactly. I perceived by conjecture that it had entered by the head of the bone at the top of the arm, and that it had run into the cavity of the bone, which was the cause that they could not find it. The greater part said it had entered and was lost

⁶⁶Antoine de Bourbon, brother of the Prince de Condé, was born in 1518. He was first Duc de Vendome, but became King of Navarre in 1548, by his marriage with Jeanne d'Albret. He had been a supporter of the Huguenot cause but had gone over to the Catholics.

in the body. Monsieur le Prince de la Roche-sur-Yon, who loved intimately the King of Navarre, drew me apart and asked if the shot was mortal. I told him yes, because all wounds made in the great joints, and especially contused wounds, were mortal, according to all the authors who had written of them. He inquired of the others what they thought, and chiefly of the said Gilbert who told him he had great hope that the King, his Master, would recover; and the Prince was very glad.

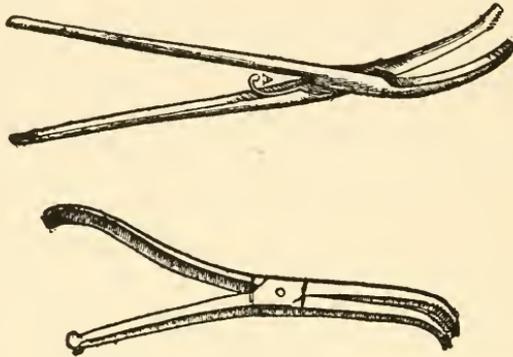
Four days later the King⁶⁷ and the Queen Mother,⁶⁸ and Monsieur le Cardinal de Bourbon, his brother, and Monsieur le Prince de la Roche-sur-Yon, and Monsieur de Guise, and other grand personages, after we had dressed the King of Navarre, wished us to hold a consultation in their presence, where there were many physicians and surgeons. Each said that which he thought, and there was not one of them but had good hope (they said) that the King would recover, and I persisted always to the contrary. Monseigneur le Prince de la Roche-sur-Yon, who loved me, drew me apart, and told me that I was alone against the opinion of all the others, and prayed me not to be obstinate against so many men of worth. I answered him, that when I saw good signs of recovery, I would change my advice.

*Consulta-
tion for the
King of
Navarre*

⁶⁷Charles IX.

⁶⁸Catherine de Medici.

Many consultations were held, where I never changed my word, and the prognosis which I had made at the first dressing, and I said always that the arm would become gangrenous, which it did, whatsoever great



BULLET FORCEPS.

diligence they had used to it; and he rendered his spirit to God, the eighteenth day after his wound.

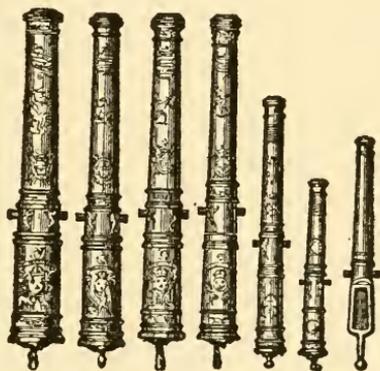
*Death of
the King of
Navarre*

Monsieur le Prince de la Roche-sur-Yon, having heard of the death of the said King, sent to me his surgeon and physician named le Fevre,⁶⁹ now physician-in-ordinary to the King and the Queen Mother, to tell me that he wished to have the ball, and that we should search for it in whatever place it was. Then I was glad, and told them that I was well-assured of finding it very soon; which I did in their presence and that of many gentlemen; it was just in the middle of the cavity of the bone

⁶⁹Charles le Fevre was physician-in-ordinary to Charles IX, Henry III, and Catherine de Medici.

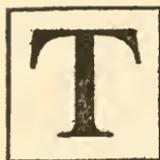
at the top of the arm. The said Prince having it, showed it to the King and the Queen, who both said that my prognosis was found true. The body was put at rest in the Château Gaillard, and I returned to Paris, where I found many sick, who had been wounded at the breach of Rouen, and principally Italians, who desired me very much to dress their wounds, which I did willingly. There were many who recovered; the rest died.

I believe, *mon petit maistre*, that you were called to dress some of them, for the great number that there were.



Different Types of Cannon.
(Sixteenth Century.)

*The Journey to the Battle of Dreux, 1562*⁷⁰



THE day after the battle at Dreux, the King commanded me to go and dress Monsieur le Comte d'Eu ⁷¹ who had been wounded by a pistol shot in the right thigh, near the hip joint, which had shattered and broken the femoral bone in many splinters, to which many accidents supervened, and at last, death; which was to my very great sorrow. The day after I arrived, I wished to go to the camp where the battle had taken place, to see the dead bodies. I saw for a great league about, the whole earth covered, where they estimated of them twenty-five thousand men or more; all which were despatched in less than two hours. I wish, *mon petit maistre*, for the love that I bear you, that you had been there to tell it to your scholars and to your children.

Now while I was at Dreux I visited and dressed a

⁷⁰During the summer and autumn of 1562, Condé with a large army had threatened Paris, while the King and Queen Mother were at Rouen. But seeing that he could do nothing in that direction, he had fallen back in order to make a junction with the English in Normandy. At Dreux he encountered the Catholic forces under the Constable Montmorenci, the Marshal Saint André, and the Duke François de Guise. The battle took place on November 19, 1562, and was most sanguinary. The Catholics won a decisive victory although Marshal Saint André was killed and the Constable taken prisoner by the Huguenots.

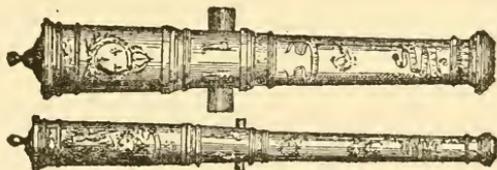
⁷¹François de Cleves, Duc de Nevers, Comte d'Auxerre, d'Reheth, and d'Eu, Seigneur d'Orval, Governor of Champagne, born in 1538, was accidentally wounded on the morning of the battle of Dreux by Monsieur des Bordes, one of his gentlemen. He died of his wound on January 10, 1563.

great number of gentlemen and poor soldiers, and among the others, many Swiss captains. I dressed fourteen of them in a single room, all wounded by pistol shots and other devilish firearms, and not one of the fourteen died. Monsieur le Comte d'Eu being dead, I did not make a long stay at Dreux. There came surgeons from Paris who did their duty well to the wounded, as Pigray,⁷² Cointeret,⁷³ Hubert,⁷⁴ and others. I returned to Paris, where I found many wounded gentlemen who had retired there after the battle to have their wounds dressed, where I was not without seeing many of them.

⁷²Pierre Pigray, born at Paris in 1531, was a pupil of Paré. He was received as master surgeon in 1564. He was surgeon in ordinary to Charles IX, Henri III, and Henri IV. He died October 16, 1613.

⁷³Jean Cointeret was sworn surgeon to the King at the Chatelet. He died May 13, 1592.

⁷⁴Richard Hubert was surgeon to Charles IX. He died September 7, 1581.



French Cannon.
(Sixteenth Century.)

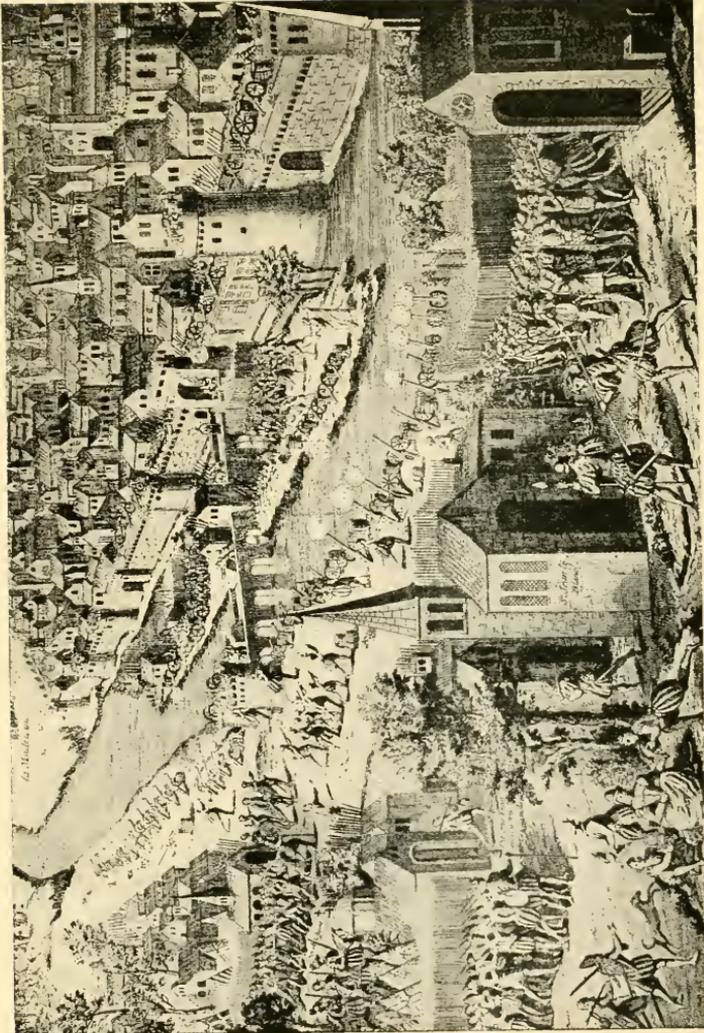
The Journey to Havre de Grace, 1563

Y

ET I do not wish to omit to speak of the camp at Havre de Grace. When they made the approaches to place the artillery, the English,⁷⁵ who were within, killed some of our soldiers and many pioneers who were placing gabions; whom, when they were seen to be so badly wounded that there was no hope of recovery, their companions stripped, and put them still living with the gabions, which served them for so much filling. The English seeing that they could not sustain an assault, because they were much attainted with disease, and chiefly with the plague, rendered themselves, saving their valuables. The King let them have vessels to return to England, very glad to be out of this place infected with the plague. The greater part of them died of it; and they carried the plague into England, which since then has never been free from it. Captain Sarlabous, master of the camp, was left in garrison with six ensigns of infantry, who had no fear of the plague, and who were very glad of entering there, hoping to make good cheer.

Mon petit maistre, if you had been there, you would have done as they did.

⁷⁵As stated in a previous footnote, there were English auxiliaries with the army of the Huguenots.



BATTLE OF ORLEANS, 1563

*The Journey to Bayonne, 1564*⁷⁶

NOW I say again, moreover, that I made the journey to Bayonne, with the King, where we were two years and more touring nearly all this kingdom, where in many towns and villages I was called in consultation in divers sicknesses with the late Monsieur Chapelain,⁷⁷ first physician to the King, and Monsieur Castellan,⁷⁸ premier physician to the Queen Mother, men of honor and very learned in medicine and surgery. Making this journey I always asked of surgeons if they had remarked anything rare in their practice, to the end of learning something new.

*Curiosity
and
Diligence
of the
Author*

Being at Bayonne, there happened two things of remark for young surgeons. The first is, I dressed a Spanish gentleman who had a great and enormous abscess in his throat. He came to be touched by the late

⁷⁶In Paré's book this narrative is misplaced chronologically, and I have again thought it proper, as did Pagët, to place it in proper sequence. In 1564 the Queen Mother and King Charles IX began a long progress, lasting two years, throughout the kingdom ending at Bayonne, where they met Alva and where it is said the plans were laid for the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew. Paré accompanied the court as surgeon to the King.

⁷⁷Jean Chapelain was physician in ordinary to François I, and premier physician to Henri II, and Charles IX. He died in 1569, at the siege of Saint Jean D'Angely. Paré, in 1562, dedicated to him his book "*La Methode curative des playes et fractures de la teste humaine.*"

⁷⁸Honore du Chastel, called Castellanus or Castellan, was physician-in-ordinary to Henri II, François II, and Charles IX, and premier physician to Catherine de Medici. He died on November 4, 1569, at the siege of Saint Jean d'Angely, of the same disease and in the same house as his colleague Chapelain.

History King Charles for the King's evil. I opened his abscess, where there was found a great quantity of worms, all creeping, big as the point of a spindle having the head black and there was a great quantity of rotten flesh. Moreover, he had under his tongue a swelling called "ranula," which hindered him in speaking, and chewing or swallowing his food. He prayed me with clasped hands to open it for him, if it could be done without peril to his person; which I did promptly and found under my lancet a solid body which was five stones, like those which we take from the bladder. The greatest was the size of a small almond, and the others like little long beans which numbered five. In the swelling was contained a glairy humor, of a yellow color, in quantity more than could be held in four silver spoons. I left him in the hands of a surgeon of the town to finish his cure.

Another history Monsieur de Fontaine, knight of the order of the king, had a great continued fever, pestilent, accompanied with many inflammatory swellings [charbons] in divers parts of his body, who was two days without stopping bleeding from the nose, nor could it be staunched; and by this flux, the fever ceased with a very great sweat and soon after the swellings suppurated; and he was dressed by me and cured by the grace of God.



1



2



3



4

TYPES OF FRENCH SOLDIERS IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

- | | |
|---------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Captain of musketeers. | 3. Musketeer. |
| 2. Garde du corps. | 4. Swiss of the Royal Guard. |

The Battle of Saint Denis, 1567⁷⁹



AND as for the battle of Saint Denis, there were many killed as well on one side as on the other. Our wounded retired to Paris to be dressed, together with the prisoners taken, of whom I dressed a great part.

The King commanded me at the request of Madame la Connestable to go to her house to dress Monsieur le Connestable who had a pistol shot in the middle of the spine of his back; whereby he suddenly lost all sensation and movement of the thighs and legs, and his excrements were retained, not being able to pass his urine, nor anything by the rectum, because the spinal cord, from which proceed the nerves, to give feeling and movement to the inferior parts, was crushed, broken, and torn, by the force of the ball. He lost likewise understanding, and reason, and in a few days he died. The surgeons of Paris were a long time troubled to dress the said wounded. I believe, *mon petit maistre*, you visited some of them. I pray the great God of victories that we may never (again) be employed in such a misfortune and disaster.

⁷⁹The battle of Saint Denis was fought on November 10, 1567. The Huguenot forces were led by the Prince de Condé. The Constable Anne de Montmorenci led the Royalists. The Huguenots were defeated but the old Constable died as Paré tells us. Paré was with the Royalists in Paris.

The Journey of the Battle of Moncontour, 1569 ⁸⁰

DURING the battle of Moncontour, King Charles was at Plessis-les-Tours, where he heard it had been won. A great number of gentlemen and soldiers retired into the city and suburbs of Tours, wounded, to get themselves dressed and treated; where the King and Queen Mother commanded me to do my duty to them, with the other surgeons who were then in quarters, as Pigray, Du Bois,⁸¹ Portail, and one named Siret, surgeon of Tours, a well-informed man in surgery, being the surgeon of Monseigneur, brother of the King; and for the multitude of wounded we had scarcely any rest nor the physicians likewise.

Monsieur le Comte de Mansfeld,⁸² Governor of the Duchy of Luxembourg, chevalier of the order of the king of Spain, was greatly wounded in the battle, in the left arm, by a pistol shot which broke a great part of his elbow; and he had retired to Bourgueil near Tours. Being there he sent a gentleman to the King, begging him very affectionately that he would send one of his sur-

⁸⁰The Battle of Moncontour took place October 3, 1569. The Huguenots under Admiral Coligny were utterly defeated by the Duc d'Anjou and Marshal Tavannes.

⁸¹Guillaume du Bois, surgeon in ordinary to Charles IX.

⁸²Peter Ernest de Mansfield married a sister of François de Bassompierre, the father of Christophe de Bassompierre, and grandfather of the famous Maréchal de Bassompierre.

geons to succor him of his wound. Council was held what surgeon should be sent there. Monsieur le Marechal de Montmorenci told the King and Queen that it would be best to send his premier surgeon, and declared to them that Monsieur de Mansfeld had been a great part of the cause of the gaining of the battle.

The King said flatly that he would not that I should go, and wished that I should remain near him. Then the Queen Mother said to him that I would but go and come, and that he must consider that this was a foreign lord who had come on the part of the King of Spain to his succor. Then he permitted me to go there provided that I should return very soon. Then he sent to seek me, and likewise the Queen Mother, and they commanded me to go and find the said Seigneur Comte de Mansfeld, wherever he should be, to serve him in all that I could for the cure of his wound. I went and found him, having with me a letter from their Majesties. Having seen it, he received me with good-will, and thenceforth discharged three or four surgeons who had dressed him; which was to my very great regret, because his wound seemed to me to be incurable.

Now at the said Bourgueil, there were retired many gentlemen, who had been wounded in the said battle knowing that Monsieur de Guise was there, who had also been much wounded by a pistol shot through one leg, and being well assured that he would have good

*Death of
Count
Ringrave*

surgeons to dress him, and that he was kindly and very liberal, and that he would assist them in a great part of their necessities. Which truly he did willingly, as much for the eating and drinking as for other necessaries; and for my part they were solaced and aided by my art; some died, others recovered, according to their wounds. Le Comte Ringrave,⁸³ who had a shot in the shoulder like to that which the King of Navarre had before Rouen, died. Monsieur de Bassompierre,⁸⁴ colonel of twelve hundred horse, was likewise wounded by a like shot in the same place as Monsieur le Comte de Mansfeld; whom I dressed and God healed. God blessed my work so well that in three weeks I sent them back to Paris, where it was necessary to yet make some incisions in the arm of the Comte de Mansfeld to extract the bone which was greatly splintered, broken and carious. He was cured by the grace of God, and he made me a handsome present; of such sort that I was well contented with him and he with me, as he has shown me since. He wrote a letter to Monsieur le Duc d'Ascot,⁸⁵ how he was cured of his wound, and likewise Monsieur de Bassompierre of his, and many others that I had dressed after the battle of Moncontour, and coun-

*Monsieur
de Bassom-
pierre*

⁸³Jean Philippe II, Comte Ringrave was born in 1545. In 1566 he married Diane de Dommartin, daughter of the Comte du Fontenay, and cousin-german of Christophe Bassompierre.

⁸⁴Father of the famous Maréchal François de Bassompierre. He was a colonel in the army at the age of 18.

⁸⁵Phillippe III, Duc d'Arsehot, Prince de Chimay, was born July 10, 1526, and died December, 1595.

selling him to beg the King of France to permit me to go see Monsieur le Marquis d'Auret,⁸⁶ his brother; which he did.⁸⁷

⁸⁶Charles Philippe de Croy was born September first, 1549, he married Dianne de Dommartin, the widow of the Comte de Ringrave, whose death has just been mentioned by Paré.

⁸⁷In the memoirs of the Maréchal de Bassompierre there is an interesting account of the wounding of these three colonels. Christophe de Bassompierre had previously at the battle of Jarnac been wounded in his left elbow by a pistol shot which had crippled him. At Moncontour all three relatives were wounded at the same place in the same arm and were all dressed in the same room by the same surgeon, Ambroise Paré. The Marshal unfortunately shows a tendency to detract from the credit due to the latter by attributing the recovery of the two Bassompierres to the use of a water given to them by Monsieur de Guise, and the death of Le Comte Ringrave to a lack of it. The Marshal says Paré told his father and uncle that, the elbow joint being destroyed, they could choose whether they would have the arm dressed straight or bent. The Marshal's father, Christophe, had his dressed in the extended position and ultimately got very good use of it. His uncle had his dressed in the curved position and it was afterwards of very little service to him.



Wounded Soldiers.
(Lacroix after J. Callot.)

The Journey to Flanders

MONSIEUR LE DUC D'ASCOT did not fail to send a gentleman to the King with a letter to pray him humbly that he would do him so much good and honor as to permit and command his premier surgeon to come to see Monsieur le Marquis d'Auret, his brother, who had received an arquebus shot near the knee, with fracture of the bone, about seven months ago, and that the physicians and surgeons of those parts were much troubled to cure. The King sent for me, and commanded me to go to see the said Seigneur d'Auret, and to help him by all that which I could for the cure of his wound. I told him that I would use all the little knowledge which it had pleased God to give me.

I went away, accompanied by two gentlemen, to the Château d'Auret,⁸⁸ where the Marquis was. As soon as I arrived, I visited him and told him that the King had commanded me to come to see him and dress his wound. He said to me that he was very glad of my coming, and was greatly beholden to the King, having done him so much honor in sending me to him. I found him with great fever, his eyes very much sunken, with a moribund and yellowish face, his tongue dry and

⁸⁸The château was about a league and a half from Mons in Hainault.

parched, and all his body very emaciated and thin, his voice low as of a man very near to death; then I found his thigh much swollen, abscessed and ulcerated, discharging a greenish and fetid sanies. I probed it with a silver probe. By it I found a cavity near the groin, ending in the middle of the thigh, and others around the knee, sanious and caniculate; also certain splinters of bone, some separated and others not. The leg was very swollen, and imbued with a pituitous humor, cold and humid and flatulent (in such sort that the natural heat was by way of being suffocated and extinguished) and bent and drawn towards the buttocks; the buttocks ulcerated of the size of the palm of the hand; and he said he felt there extreme heat and pain, and likewise in his loins; in such sort that he could not rest day or night, and had no appetite to eat, but to drink enough. It was told me that he often fell with weakness of the heart, and sometimes as in epilepsy, and had often desired to vomit, with a trembling such that he could not carry his hands to his mouth. Seeing and considering all these great complications, and the forces much abated, truly I had a very great regret to have gone to him, because it seemed to me there was little appearance that he could escape from death. Notwithstanding, to give him courage and good hope, I told him I would soon set him up right, by the grace of God, and the help of his physicians and surgeons.

Having seen him I went away to walk in a garden, and there I prayed God that he would do me this grace that he should recover, and that he would bless our hands and the medicaments to fight against so many complicated maladies. I discussed in my mind the means it would be necessary for me to hold to do this. They called me to dinner; I entered by the kitchen, where I saw taken out of a great pot, half a sheep, a quarter of veal, three great pieces of beef, and two fowls and a very great piece of bacon, with abundance of good herbs; then I said to myself, that this broth of the pot was succulent and of good nourishment. After dinner, all the physicians and surgeons assembled; we entered into consultation in the presence of Monsieur le Duc d'Ascot and some gentlemen who accompanied him. I began by saying to the surgeons that I was greatly astonished that they had not made openings in the thigh of Monsieur le Marquis, which was all abscessed, and the pus which went forth from it very fetid and stinking, which showed it had been stagnant there a long time, and that I had found with the probe caries of the bone, and splinters of bone which had already separated. They answered me that he never would consent to it, and, indeed, that it was near two months that they had not been able to get leave to put clean sheets on his bed; and they scarcely dared to touch the coverlet, so great was his pain. Then I said that

to cure him it was necessary to touch other things than the coverlet of the bed. Each said that which he thought of the sickness of the said seigneur, and for conclusion held it altogether hopeless. I said to them there was yet some hope, because of his youth, and that God and Nature sometimes do things which seem to physicians and surgeons to be impossible. My advice was that the cause of all these accidents came by [reason of] the bullet hitting near the joint of the knee, which had broken the ligaments, tendons, and aponeuroses of the muscles, which bound the said joint together with the femoral bone; as well as the nerves, veins, and arteries, from which had followed pain, inflammation, abscess formation, and ulceration, and that we must commence the cure by that of the disease, that was the cause of all the aforesaid accidents, to wit, to make openings to give issue to the sanious matter retained in the spaces between the muscles, and in their substance; likewise to the bone (sequestra) which caused a great corruption in the whole thigh, from which the vapors arose and were carried to the heart, which caused syncope and fever, and from the fever a universal heat in all the body, and by consequence depravation of the economy. Likewise the said vapors were communicated to the brain, which caused the epilepsy and tremors, and nausea of the stomach, and prevented it from performing its functions, which are chiefly to digest and concoct the

*Advice of
the Author*

viands and convert them into chyle which if they are not well concocted it ingenders crudities and obstructions, which makes that the parts are not nourished and in consequence the body dries and becomes emaciated, and likewise because it gets no exercise. And as to the edema of his leg, that had come because of lack of aliment, and of the arrest of the natural heat through all the thigh, and also because it had no power of movement, because every part which is incapable of movement remains languid and atrophied, because the heat and [vital] spirits are not sent nor drawn hither, from which ensues mortification. And to nourish and fatten the body it is necessary to make universal frictions with warm linen cloths, above, below, on the right and on the left, and round about, for the purpose of drawing the blood and [vital] spirits from within outwards; and to disperse any fuliginous vapors retained between the skin and the flesh, thus the parts shall thereafter be nourished and restored (as I have said before in Book nine, treating of arquebus wounds). And it is necessary to stop when we see heat and redness in the skin, for fear of dispersing that which has been drawn out, and by consequence make it more emaciated. Now the bedsore on his buttock has come from having been too long a time lying on it, without moving himself, which has been the cause that the [vital] spirits have not been able to shine in it. From this cause there has been in-

*Why a part
becomes
atrophied*

flammation, from the inflammation abscess, then ulceration, even with loss of substance of the flesh subjected, with very great pain, because of the nerves which are disseminated in this part. It is necessary, likewise, that we should put him in another bed, very soft, and give him a clean shirt and sheets, otherwise all the things which one could do for him would be of no service, because that the excrements and vapors of the discharges retained for so long a time in his bed, are drawn in by the systole and diastole of the arteries, which are disseminated by the skin, and cause the [vital] spirits to change and acquire a bad diathesia or quality, and corruption, which is seen in those who lie in a bed whereon a smallpox patient has lain and sweat, who get the smallpox by the putrid vapors, which are imbued and remain in the sheets and coverlets. Now the reason that he cannot sleep, and is almost in a consumption, is because he eats little and takes no exercise, and is vexed with great pains; because there is nothing which lowers and prostrates the [body] forces more than pain. The cause of his parched dry tongue comes from the vehemence and heat of the fever, by the vapors which ascend from all the body to the mouth, for as is said in a common proverb, "When an oven is well heated, the mouth feels it." Having discoursed of the causes and complications I said that it was necessary to cure them by their contraries; and first to ease the pains,

*Why he
could not
Sleep.*

making incisions in the thigh to evacuate the retained pus, not letting it out all at a time, for fear that by a sudden great evacuation it would cause a resolution of the [vital] spirits, which would greatly debilitate the patient and shorten his days. Secondly, having regard to the great swelling and coldness of the leg, fearing lest it should fall into a gangrene, and that it would be necessary to apply actual heat [the actual cautery], because the potential could not reduce the *intemperature de rotentia ad actum*; for this reason we should apply about it hot bricks, on which should be sprinkled a decoction made of nerval herbs boiled in wine and vinegar, then wrapped in napkins, and to his feet an earthenware bottle filled with the said decoction, corked and wrapped in linen. Also it is necessary to make fomentations on the thigh and the whole of the leg of a decoction made of sage, rosemary, thyme, lavender, flowers of camomile, and melilot, red roses boiled in white wine, and a desiccant made of oak ashes, and a little vinegar, and a half a handful of salt. This decoction has the property to subtilize, attenuate, incise, resolve, wither and dry up the thick, viscous humor. The said fomentations should be kept up a long time to the end that the resolution should be greater because being thus made for a long time, more is resolved than is attracted, because as one liquefies the humor contained in the part the skin and the flesh of the muscles are rarefied.

Thirdly, that there must be applied on the buttock a large plaster made of desiccative red ointment,⁸⁹ and unguentum comitissae,⁹⁰ equal parts mixed together for the purpose of easing his pain and drying the ulcer; also we should make him a little pillow of down to keep his buttock in the air, without his being supported on it. Fourthly, to refresh the heat of his loins, we should apply over them the refrigerant ointment of Galen,⁹¹ freshly made, and over it fresh leaves of the water-lily, and then a napkin soaked in oxycrate, frequently sprinkled and renewed. And to support the heart, we must apply over it a refrigerant medicament, made of oil of water-lilies, ointment of roses, and a little saffron, dissolved in rose-vinegar and theriaca,⁹² spread on a piece of scarlet cloth. For the syncope, which proceeded from the exhaustion of the natural forces, troubling also the brain, it was necessary to use good succu-

⁸⁹Unguentum Desiccativum Rubrum contained litharge, bole armeniac, calamine, and camphor. It was much used to dry up sores.

⁹⁰Unguentum Comitissae was an ointment composed chiefly of various vegetable astringents, such as oak and chestnut bark, chelidonia, and myrtle.

⁹¹Unguentum Refrigerans, sometimes called Ceratum Refrigerans, was practically identical with our "cold cream." Its invention was attributed to Galen.

⁹²Theriaca, or treacle as it was known in English, was the invention of Andromachus, physician to the Emperor Nero. It was supposed to be the universal antidote, besides being useful in the greatest variety of diseases and pathological conditions. It contained an immense number of ingredients, including vipers. Its manufacture and preparation was a matter of great ceremony. In the seventeenth century the best theriaca was supposed to be made in Venice. In 1646 John Evelyn was in Venice and he writes, "Having pack'd up my purchases of books, pictures, casts, treacle (the making and extraordinary ceremonies whereof I had been curious to observe, for 'tis extremely pompous and worth seeing) I departed from Venice."

*Soup of the
great pot*

lent food, as soft-boiled eggs, plums stewed in wine and sugar, also broth of the juice of the great pot (of which I have spoken before); with the white meat of capons, wings of partridges, minced small, and other roasted meats, easy to digest as veal, kid, pigeons, partridges, thrushes, and the like. The sauce should be oranges, verjuice, sorrel, bitter pomegranates; and he should likewise eat them boiled with good herbs as sorrel, lettuce, purslain, chicory, bugloss, marigolds, and the like. At night he can take barley-water, with the juice of sorrel and water-lilies, of each two ounces, with four or five grains of opium,⁹³ and of the four cold seeds bruised of each a half an ounce, which is a nourishing and medicinal remedy, and will make him sleep. His bread should be that of the farm, neither too stale nor too fresh. And for the great pain in his head, it would be necessary to cut his hair, and to rub it with oxyrrhodium, a little warm, and to leave on it a double cloth soaked in it; also on his forehead one with oil of roses and water-lilies and poppies, with a little opium and rose-vinegar, with a little camphor, renewed at times. Moreover, he should smell flowers of henbane and water-lilies, bruised with vinegar and rose-water, with a little camphor wrapped together in a handkerchief, which should be held for a

⁹³This dose seems somewhat large. As Paget points out, in Paré's time the grain was literally "a barleycorn or grain, and that such as is neither too dry, nor over-grown with mould, nor rancid, but well-conditioned, and of an indifferent bigness."

long time against the nose, so that the odor can communicate itself to the brain; and these things should be continued only until the great inflammation and pain shall be passed, for fear of refrigerating too much the brain. Furthermore, one should make artificial rain, by making water run from some high place into a cauldron, that it may make such a noise that the patient can hear it; by these means sleep will be provoked in him. And as to the retraction of his leg there was hope of correcting it, when one should have made evacuation of the pus and other humors contained in the thigh, which by their extension (made by repletion) have drawn back the leg, which would remedy itself by first rubbing all the knee joint with ointment of althea,⁹⁴ and oil of lilies, and a little brandy, and putting above it black wool with the grease in it, likewise by putting under the knee a feather pillow, folded double, and little by little we shall extend his leg.

This my discourse was well approved by the physicians and surgeons.

The consultation ended we went to the patient, and I made three openings in his thigh, from which went forth a great quantity of pus and sanies, and at the same time I took from him some little splinters of bone, but did not wish to let go forth too great a quantity of the said sanies for fear of too much exhaustion of his

⁹⁴Ointment of mallows.

[vital] forces. Two or three hours afterwards I had a bed made for him near his own, on which were clean white sheets; then a strong man placed him in it and he was glad to be taken out of his dirty stinking bed. Soon after he asked to sleep, which he did for near four hours; whereat everybody in the house commenced to rejoice, and especially Monsieur le Duc d'Ascot, his brother.

The following days I made injections into the depth and cavities of the ulcers, composed of aegyptiacum dissolved sometimes in brandy, other times in wine. I applied compresses to the bottom of the sinuses, to cleanse and dry the spongy soft flesh, and tents of lead cannulas, for the purpose of always giving issue to the sanies; and over them a large plaster of diacalctheos,⁹⁵ dissolved in wine. Likewise I bandaged him so dexterously that he had no pain, which ceasing the fever began to diminish very much. Then I made him drink wine moderately tempered with water, knowing that it restores and quickens the [vital] forces. And all the things that we had ordered in the consultation were accomplished according to their time and order; and his pains and the fever ceased, he began always to grow better. He discharged two of his surgeons and one of his physicians so that we were but three with him.

Now I remained there about two months, and was

⁹⁵Emplastrum diacalctheos was made with oil, litharge and vitriol. It was astringent and detergent.

not without seeing many patients, some rich, some poor, who came to see me from three or four leagues about. He gave food and drink to the needy, all of whom he commended to me that I should aid them as a favor to him. I protest I refused not one, and did for them all that it was possible, of which he was glad. Then when I saw that he commenced to be well, I told him he must have viols and violins and some comedian to make him merry, which he did. In one month we had so wrought that he could sit up in a chair, and had himself carried to and fro in his garden, and to the gate of his château to see the people pass. The peasants for two or three leagues about, knowing that they could see him, came on fête days to sing and dance, men and women, pell-mell for a frolic, rejoicing at his good convalescence, being all glad to see him, and not without much laughing and much drinking. He always caused a hogshhead of beer to be given to them, and they drank all merrily to his health. And the citizens of Mons in Hainault, and other gentlemen, his neighbors, came to see him in wonder, as a man coming forth from the grave; and from then that he was so well, he was never without company, and as one went forth, another would enter to visit him; his table was always well covered. He was greatly loved by the nobility and by the common people, as well for his liberality, as for his beauty and honesty, having a kind look and a gracious speech,

in such sort that those who saw him were constrained to love him.

The chief persons of the city of Mons came one Saturday to ask him to permit me to go to Mons where they had the good will to feast me and make me good cheer for their love of him. He told them he would pray me to go, which he did, but I answered him that such great honor was not due to me, adding also that they could not give me better cheer than his. And again he prayed me very affectionately to go there, and that I would do it for his sake, to which I agreed. The next day they came to fetch me with two coaches; and having arrived at Mons we found the dinner ready, and the chief men of the city with their wives, who awaited me with good will. We put ourselves at table, and they placed me at the upper end and all drank to me and to the health of the Marquis d'Auret, saying that he was very fortunate, and they likewise, to have found me to put him on his legs, and to let it be known in this company how greatly he was honored and loved. After dinner they brought me back to the Château d'Auret, where Monsieur le Marquis awaited me with great affection to tell him that which we had done at our banquet, where I told him that all the company had drunk many times to his health.

In six weeks he began to support himself a little on crutches, and to grow fat, and get a live and natural

color. He wished to be taken to Beaumont, which is the dwelling of Monsieur le Duc d'Ascot, and had himself carried there in a chair with arms, by eight men in relays, and the peasants of the villages through which we passed, knowing he was Monsieur le Marquis, fought with one another to carry him, and constrained us to drink, but it was only beer, but I believe if they had wine, even hypocras, they would have given it to us with a good will. And all were glad to see the Marquis, and all prayed God for him. Having arrived at Beaumont all the people came to meet us, to do him reverence, and they prayed God he would bless him and keep him in good health. We entered the château where there were more than fifty gentlemen that Monsieur le Duc d'Ascot had asked to come make good cheer with Monsieur his brother; and for three whole days he kept open house. After dinner the gentlemen would run at the ring, and fight one another with sword arms [fence] and they rejoiced greatly to see Monsieur d'Auret, because they had heard that he would never leave his bed and be cured of his wound. I was always at the upper end of the table, where everybody drank carouses to him and to me, thinking to make me drunk, which they could not do, for I drank only as I was accustomed to do. Some days after we returned from there and I took leave of Madame la Duchesse d'Ascot, who took a diamond from her finger, which she gave me in recognition of

*How they
tried to get
the Author
drunk by
making
good cheer*

*Gift of
Madame
la Duchesse
d'Ascot*

my having so well cared for her brother, and the diamond was worth more than fifty crowns. Monsieur d'Auret was getting better and better, and walked alone about his garden on crutches. I asked leave of him divers times to return to Paris, showing him that which remained to do for his wound could be done by his physician and surgeon. And to begin to get myself away from him, I begged him to permit me to go to see the city of Antwerp, which he granted me willingly, and ordered his maître d'hôtel to conduct me there, accompanied by two pages. We passed through Malines and Brussels, where the chief men of the city prayed the maître d'hôtel to let them know when we should return, and that they wished to feast me, as had those of Mons. I thanked them very humbly, saying to them that such honor was not due to me. I was two days and a half visiting the city of Antwerp, where some merchants, knowing the maître d'hôtel, prayed him he would let them have the honor of giving us a dinner or a supper. It was who should have us, and they were all very glad to hear of the good health of Monsieur d'Auret, making me more honor than I asked. At last we came back to find Monsieur le Marquis making good cheer, and five or six days after I demanded leave to go from him, which he granted me, with great regret (so he said) and gave me a worthy present of great value, and had

*Good will
of the
citizens
of Brussels*

me again conducted by the maître d'hôtel with two pages to my house in Paris.

I have neglected to say that the Spaniards have since ruined and demolished his Château d'Auret, and sacked, pillaged, and burned all the houses and villages belonging to him, because he would not be of their wicked party in their assassinations and ruin of the Low Countries.⁹⁶

I have published this Apology, to the end that everyone should know on what footing I have always marched, and I think there is no man so touchy that he cannot take in good part that which I have said, since my discourse is true, and that the effect is to show the thing to the eye, the reason being my guaranty against all calumnies.

⁹⁶ In the edition of his works published in his lifetime Paré places after this the accounts of the Journey to Bourges, the Battle of Saint Denis, and the Journey to Bayonne. I have thought it better to give them in their chronological sequence.

End of the Apology & Journeys

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