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BEADMAKING DURING THE 17TH AND 18TH CENTURIES IN EU COUNTY, NORMANDY

Guillaume Klaës

Translated by Brad Loewen

This paper reconstructs the history of a family of French beadmakers in Eu County, Normandy, from 1687 to 1747, as well as the context of their migration from the urban beadmaking center of Rouen. While Normandy had produced windowpane and bottles since the Middle Ages, artisans who made “crystal” soda glass – the glass of beads – were newcomers from Italy and Languedoc. They founded glassworks in Paris and Rouen in the late 16th century. Conflicts with Rouen artisans and merchants led the Mediterranean glassworkers to migrate to Eu County in 1634, where their crystal factories spun off a rural beadmaking trade. The present research builds on 19th-century archaeological reports of beads and beadmaking wasters in the villages of Aubermesnil-aux-Érables and Villers-sous-Foucarmont. We have identified three generations of the Demary family of beadmakers in the Eu Forest. Using genealogical methods, we have traced their migration from Rouen, their family history, and their links to Mediterranean crystal glassmakers. The example of the Demary patenôtriers sheds light on a transitional period of beadmaking in Normandy, characterized by its ruralization and its proximity with forest glassmaking in the second half of the 17th century.

INTRODUCTION

Glass beadmaking is known in Paris from about 1560 to 1610 (Vanriest 2020) and in Rouen from about 1590 to 1660 (Karklins and Bonneau 2019). Many family and professional ties welded the Paris and Rouen trades into a common industry. In each city, the trade was organized around one or two furnaces that made soda “crystal” glass, including one founded by Italian artisans under royal privilege, and a loose community of *patenôtriers* who transformed colored glass tubes and rods into small objects in their home workshops. Some of these artisans made large quantities of rosary and trade beads for export (Loewen 2019; Vanriest 2020, 2021). In the 1630s, following conflicts related to the royal privilege, some Mediterranean soda-glass makers migrated from Rouen to a rural forested area of northeastern

Normandy, inland of Dieppe, where a potash or forest glass (*Waldglas*) industry flourished since the 15th century. In their new setting, they recruited other crystal glassworkers from Italy, and attracted experienced beadmakers from Rouen. This paper, based on historical sources, documents crystal glassmaking and beadmaking in Eu County during the late 17th and early 18th centuries.

The tradition of forest glassworking in Eu County, northeastern Normandy, arose in the late Middle Ages, with the first records of glassworks in the Lower Eu Forest appearing in the 15th century.¹ The Eu counts governed this industry by granting privileges to manufacture window glass, known as *gros verre*, to four noble families.² Windowpane accounted for most of the county’s glass production until the French Revolution, and only a few furnaces in Eu Forest produced crystal glass for tableware and other fine objects.³ In this context, 19th-century authors mention beadmaking in three villages grouped in a four-kilometer stretch of the upper Yères valley, at Foucarmont, Villers-sous-Foucarmont, and Aubermesnil-aux-Érables. These authors described “archaeological” findings of beads and an oral tradition of their origin, but found no historical record of their producers. While glass beadmaking clearly relates to the presence of glassworks in the Eu Forest, many questions remain unanswered: when did this production occur and how can we explain the presence of these beads in the upper Yères valley?⁴

ROUEN AND THE ORIGINS OF CRYSTAL (SODA) GLASSMAKING IN NORMANDY

Beadmakers used a particular quality of soda glass called crystal, and the origins of crystal glassmaking in Normandy lie in Rouen. In his 1873 history of glassmaking in Normandy, Onésime Le Vaillant de la Fieffe mentions a glassworks at La Mailleraye, in the Brotonne Forest west

of Rouen, which produced glass for use by *patenôtriers* or beadmakers. The establishment existed in the 16th century but later information is lacking (Le Vaillant 1873:266). We know much more about a crystal glassworks located in Rouen itself. In 1598, two Italian artisans received authorization to build a plant in the suburb of Saint-Sever, on the left bank of the Seine. Vincent Buson and Thomas Bartholus of the duchy of Mantua obtained an exclusive privilege to make “crystal glass, gilded glass, enamels, and other works like those made in Venice and other foreign places and countries, and others that they could invent themselves.”⁵ Buson and Bartholus worked under Jacques Sarode and Horace Ponte, master glassmakers from Altare in northwest Italy who also ran a crystal plant in Paris (Vanriest 2020:161-163). The Saint-Sever privilege included a monopoly over crystal glassmaking throughout Normandy, which quickly became a source of jealousy and conflict.

In 1605, the Norman parliament abruptly transferred the privilege to François de Garsonnet, *gentilhomme provençal*, who would operate the Saint-Sever plant until 1619, though not without difficulties.⁶ In 1613, he sued a Rouen beadmaker, Mathieu Delamare, who operated a small furnace in the Cauchoise suburb to make soda glass for use by *patenôtriers*. In his request to the Norman parliament, Garsonnet demanded that the furnace be demolished, arguing that he alone had the right to make glass and enamel tubes (Le Vaillant 1873:278). Delamare, supported by the *patenôtriers*' guilds of Rouen and Paris, countered with the guild's patent letter from 1595 that stated, “the masters of the said *métier* can make beads and buttons from enamel and glass, chains, necklaces and bracelets, using fire and a furnace.”⁷ The case exposed a legal rift between Rouen beadmakers and the Saint-Sever glassworks, obliging the Norman parliament to issue a statute to reconcile the belligerents. Delamare could keep his furnace, provided he used it only to make enamels (opacified colored glass) for use by Rouen *patenôtriers*, and forbade him from selling his products outside the city (Le Vaillant 1873:278).

Tensions remained high between Rouen beadmakers and the Mediterranean operators of the Saint-Sever glassworks. In 1619, Garsonnet ceded his privilege to Jean and Pierre d'Azémar, glassworkers from Languedoc.⁸ The newcomers partnered with a Rouen merchant, Antoine Girard, who looked after sales while the Azémar brothers manufactured glass items (Le Vaillant 1873:279). After Girard's death in 1624, the brothers ran the enterprise on their own. The Norman parliament renewed their privilege in 1627, then granted it in perpetuity to their descendants in 1635 (Le Vaillant 1873:285). In the meantime, the brothers ceded the Saint-Sever works to a Rouen merchant named Nicolas de Paul in 1634, while retaining their monopoly for

the rest of Normandy. The brothers died a few years later, leaving the privilege to Pierre's widow, Anne Girard, who used it to suppress prospective crystal producers outside of Rouen. This was the case for a glassworks set up by Nicolas de Paul and a certain Delamare at Petite-Couronne, about 5 km downstream of the city (Le Vaillant 1873:287). It is not known if the plant's co-owner was Mathieu Delamare or a member of his family. This restricted period ended when a court ruled against the Saint-Sever monopoly in 1659, confirmed by an appeals court in 1664. In the wake of these rulings, several crystal glassworks sprang up in rural Normandy (Le Vaillant 1783:290). As a subsidiary trade of soda glassmaking, beadmaking in Normandy followed a similar course (Loewen 2019).

The turbulence at Rouen led to the founding of crystal glassmaking in Eu County, which lay outside the territory of the Saint-Sever monopoly. The instigators were two artisans, the sieur de Barniolles and Henri de Virgille, who had worked under the Azémar brothers at Saint-Sever since the 1620s (Le Vaillant 1873:285). The Barniolles were an Italian family from Altare; a relative named Bernardin de Barniolles worked at the Paris glassworks as early as 1602 (Vanriest 2020:170). As for Henri de Virgille, he was from Languedoc, like the Azémar brothers. Barniolles and Virgille left Saint-Sever in 1634, and the Azémar brothers helped them to found crystal glassmaking in Eu County.

THE GLASS INDUSTRY IN EU COUNTY

Glassworks making flat or window glass appeared in Eu County in the 14th and 15th centuries. They produced forest glass using potash or mixed alkali as a flux, and five are known to have operated in the Eu Forest in the 16th to 18th centuries. Called *grosses verreries* (Figure 1), these establishments and their privileges belonged to members of four noble families – Brossard, Bongars, Caqueray, and Le Vaillant – who alone enjoyed the right to produce windowpane and bottles in Normandy.⁹ These five plants formed the traditional glassmaking industry of the Eu Forest (Figure 2).

The oldest operation was at Saint-Martin-au-Bosc, run as early as 1441 by Richard Brossard and his son Colart. Another glassworks existed in the 15th century in the hamlet of Grand-Val in Rétonval parish. In 1676, its owner, François de Bongars d'Apremont, relocated the operation to Val-d'Aulnoy in the Commune of Saint-Riquier-en-Rivière (Le Vaillant 1873:163).

Next in age is Varimpré, at the edge of the Lower Eu Forest, run in 1582 by Jean Le Vaillant de Sainte-Beuve (Le Vaillant 1873:140).¹⁰ This *gentilhomme* previously operated



Figure 1. A grosses verrerie at Guerville, Eu Forest, apparently built in the 18th century. This view likely dates to the late 19th century.

a glassworks at Sainte-Beuve-aux-Champs, in Landes parish (now within the commune of Caule-Sainte-Beuve), whose

origin was said to date to the reign of Philippe de Valois in 1328-1350 (LeVaillant 1873:140).

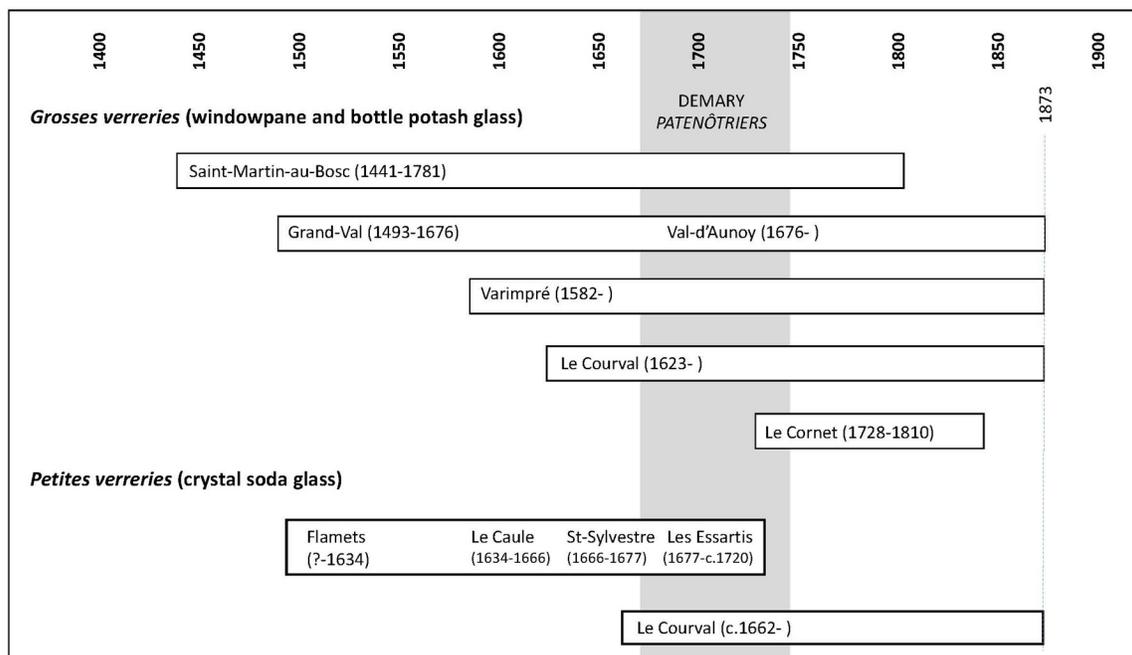


Figure 2. Chronology of potash and soda (crystal) glassworks in the Eu Forest (graphic: Brad Loewen).

In 1623, François Le Vaillant, sieur du Courval, obtained permission to establish a glassworks in the Lower Eu Forest at a place called Le Courval, near Guimerville parish (Le Vaillant 1873:184). This plant would later expand to include crystal making. Finally, a glassworks founded in 1728 in the Upper Eu Forest, in the hamlet of Le Cornet in Rieux parish, was operated in 1731 by Nicolas-Robert de Caqueray, sieur de Valolive (Le Vaillant 1873:203).

In addition to making windowpane, these *grosses verreries* produced bottles in a commoner’s workshop using the same furnace but a different crucible. Window glass required special raw materials to ensure its transparency, as opposed to bottle glass that had a dark tint. None of these *grosses verreries*, however, produced colored soda glass for beads. Thus, beadmakers in the upper Yères valley would have used glass made by smaller crystal glassworks that arrived in the region in the 17th century.

Only two crystal glassworks or *petites verreries* (Figure 3) are known in Eu County in the 17th century (Figure 4). They belonged to Italian and Languedocien

artisans previously associated with crystal glassworks in Paris and Rouen (Vanriest 2021). Their arrival in northern France was part of a larger movement of migrant glassmakers from Altare, near Savona, that set up soda or crystal glassworks at various locations in France (Maitte 2012). The oldest crystal privilege in Eu County, according to Le Vaillant de la Fieffe, was exploited in four successive locations under different but closely related holders. The original privilege existed since the 15th century for a location at Flamets (now Flamets-Frétils). It was likely dormant when François de Barniolles acquired it in the early 17th century, along with the right to make crystal (Le Vaillant 1873:194). Barniolles transferred the privilege to Henri de Virgille and Jean d’Azémar, the glassmakers from Languedoc who operated the Rouen plant. The owners built a new factory in 1634 at Le Caule, at the edge of the Lower Eu Forest (Le Vaillant 1873:193). In 1666, Henri de Virgille exploited the same privilege at Saint-Sylvestre in the parish of Saint-Riquier-en-Rivière, in the heart of the Upper Eu Forest (Le Vaillant 1873:195). His son Charles and son-in-law Jean de la Mérye held the privilege in 1673. Four years later, the plant relocated to a

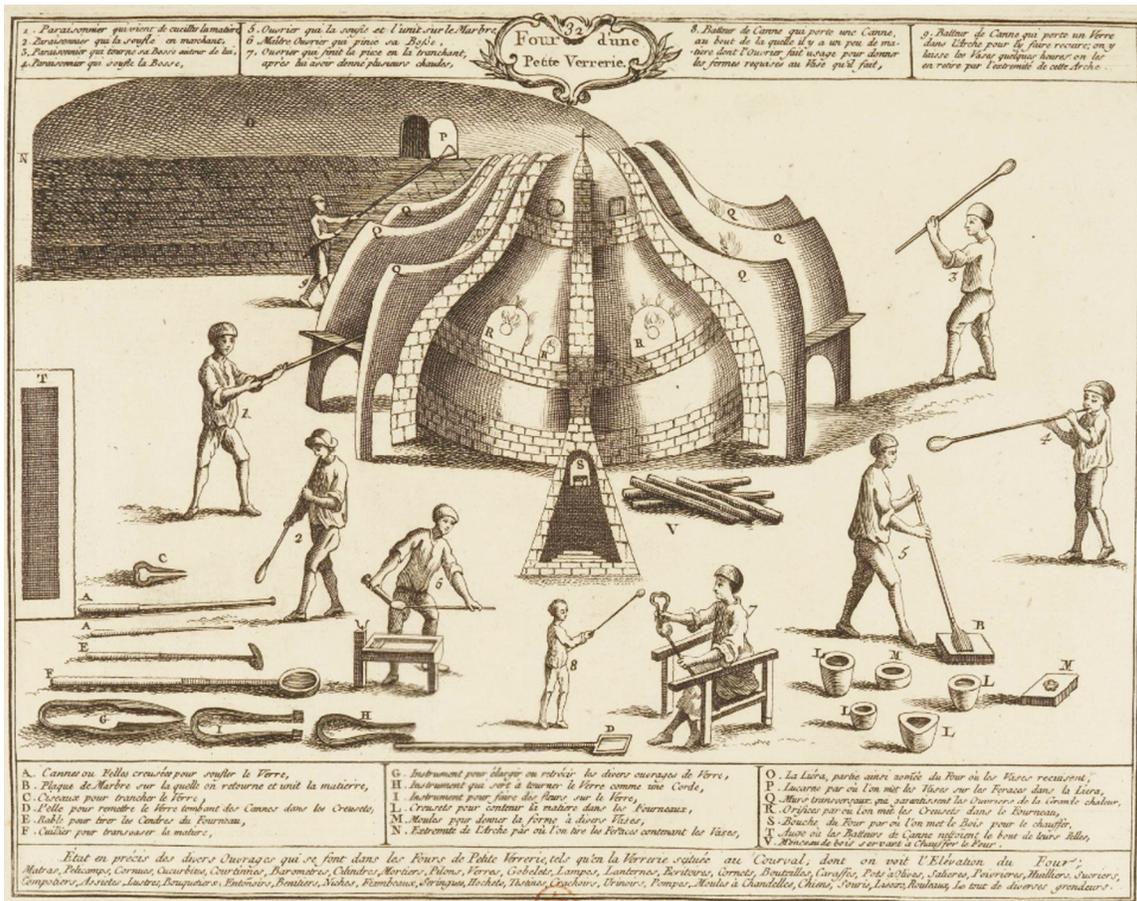


Figure 3. Glass furnace (*petite verrerie*) (Estancelin 1768).

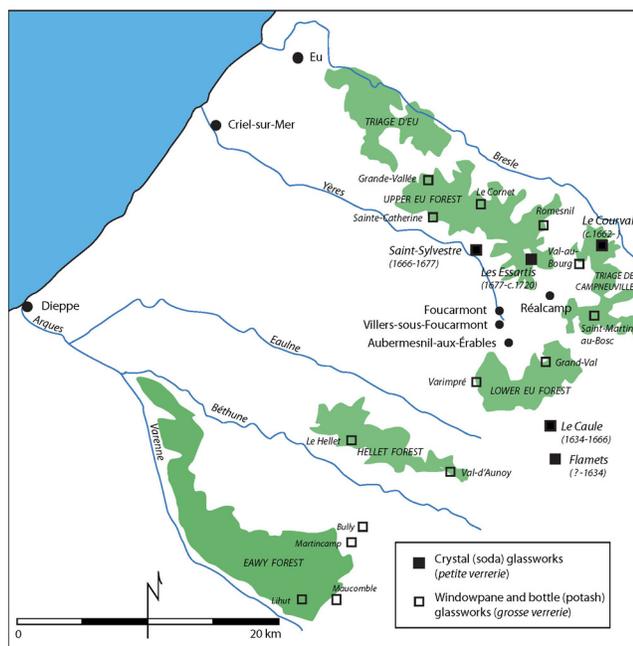


Figure 4. Potash and soda (crystal) glassworks in Eu County prior to 1873, based on Le Vaillant (1873) (graphic: Brad Loewen).

clearing called Les Essartis near Réalcamp parish, where Charles de Virgille and his brother François operated it (Le Vaillant 1873:195). Operations at Les Essartis ceased at an unknown date between 1716 and 1723.

The second *petite verrerie*, associated with the forest glassworks of Le Courval, began operations in 1662. It belonged to Jean de la Mérye, the former co-owner of the other crystal glassworks while it was at Saint-Sylvestre, and two Barniollles brothers – Honorat, sieur de Drizancourt, and Léonard, sieur de Blains (Le Vaillant 1873:187-188). Honorat and Léonard were likely descendants of François de Barniollles, who had acquired the Flamets privilege. The 1660s rejuvenated crystal glassmaking in the Eu Forest. Construction of Le Courval and Saint-Sylvestre in 1662 and 1666, respectively, followed the dissolution of the Saint-Sever monopoly and formed part of the rural expansion of crystal glassmaking in Normandy.

Many of the artisans associated with these crystal glassworks were noble *gentilhommes*, but none had any ancestral relation to the four Norman glassmaking dynasties. The Virgille and Azémar families came from Languedoc, while the Barniolle (Bormioli) clan originated in Altare, a major glass center near Savona in northwest Italy (Maitte 2012:127). Other Altarese also worked at Les Essartis. Parish records show the Ponte, Perrot, and Massary families who formed a tightly knit community. In 1716, the plant master, François de Virgille, became the godfather of François-Auguste Ponte (Ponta), son of François-Vincent Ponte and

Marguerite-Anthoinette Perrot (Perrotti), both of whom had noble titles.¹¹ These titles likely came with hereditary glassmaking privileges granted by the counts of Eu. Several such titles were on display at the wedding (14 June 1715) of François de Virgille esquire, sieur de Romesnil, son of dame Marie de Monsure and the late master François de Virgille of Les Essartis hamlet. The bride was demoiselle Marguerite Alexis de Massary of Réalcamp parish, daughter of dame Anne de Beaulieu and Jean-Baptiste de Massary esquire, sieur de Grands-Maisons.¹² The bride's name, Massary, was a francization of Massaro, a line of Altarese glassworkers like the Bormioli, Ponta, and Perrotti (Maitte 2012:125-127). Few artisans in Eu County were able to make soda glass or crystal in the Venetian manner, and most were Italians from Altare (LeVaillant 1873:277). This cell of Altarese crystal glassmakers was one of about a dozen that set up operations in various places in France in the 16th and 17th centuries, greatly abetting the northward spread of soda glassmaking. Altarese cells had hereditary members who reinforced the inheritance of glassmaking privileges. Thus, the Eu Forest cell was the same that had founded works in Paris and Rouen in 1598. While Altarese cells initially set up near urban markets, in the 17th century, many moved to rural locations where fuel and living costs were lower. In this ruralization phase, they targeted traditional forest glassmaking regions where they adroitly identified dormant privileges that they could request and reactivate, as in the case of Flamets (Maitte 2012; Vanriest 2020). The presence of Altarese glassmakers in Eu County in the late 17th and early 18th centuries is significant in that they could have produced soda glass tubes and rods for fabricating beads.

This background suggests that the most likely source for the tubes and rods used by beadmakers in the upper Yères valley was the crystal glassworks at Les Essartis, located 5-6 km from Foucarmont, Villers-sous-Foucarmont, and Aubermesnil-aux-Érables.

BEADMAKING IN EU COUNTY: THE LITERARY SOURCES

Several 19th-century publications mention the discovery of glass beads within the village limits of Aubermesnil-aux-Érables and Villers-sous-Foucarmont, located within 10 km of all the 17th-century crystal glassworks (Figure 5). This literature appears to stem from a local historian, the abbot Jean-Eugène Decorde, who published a history of Blangy canton in 1850.¹³ He mentions the finding of a considerable number of glass beads in Aubermesnil-aux-Érables, and later adds that beads also peppered the soil of Villers-sous-Foucarmont and Foucarmont communes (Decorde 1850:20, 25). The beads were yellowish and blue,

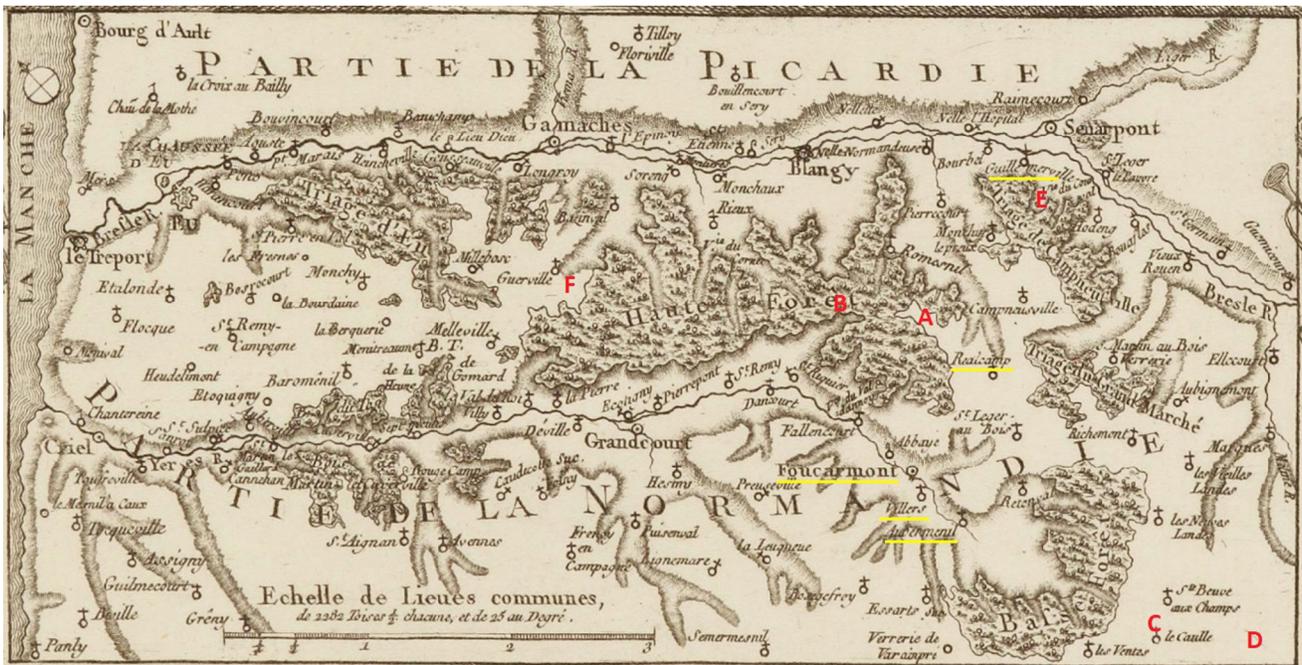


Figure 5. Glassworks and villages in Eu County, 1768: A) Les Essartis, B) Saint-Sylvestre, C) Le Caule, D) Flamets, E) Le Courval, and F) La Grande Vallée (Estancelin 1768).

mixed with vitreous slag, and accompanied by drawn rods of various lengths and the same colors as the beads (Decorde 1850:25). The abbot's precise description suggests he had examined the beads and, in fact, he pinpointed their location on three properties at Aubermesnil-aux-Érables (Decorde 1850:20).¹⁴ He initially presumed they were Merovingian, but a comparison with examples held at the Musée des Antiquités de Rouen, and conversations with residents of Aubermesnil-aux-Érables, convinced him of their production in the 16th or possibly the 15th century (Decorde 1850:25). He ultimately submitted his questions to André Pottier, curator at the Musée départemental des Antiquités de Rouen, who suggested the beads were destined for the slave trade (Decorde 1850:26). An elderly man of the region told Decorde (1850:25) that the beads were made in very small ovens that occupied two or three persons, usually a father and his children.

In 1871, the abbot Jean Cochet published an archaeological inventory of Seine-Inférieure Department and included a notice on Aubermesnil-aux-Érables.¹⁵ He wrote that yellow and blue glass beads could be found in “many gardens and yards” along with vitreous slag and drawn rods (Cochet 1871:175). Like Decorde, he wrote that the beads likely emanated from workshops in village houses, but he dated their production slightly later, to the 16th and 17th centuries. A tireless field researcher, Cochet doubtlessly saw some of these artifacts.

The most frequently cited source on beads in the Eu Forest is the history of the Normandy glassworks and glassmakers by Onésime Le Vaillant de la Fieffe (1873).¹⁶ Himself one of a noble line of glassmakers, Le Vaillant (1873:235-236) describes the work of *gentilhomme* glassmakers in the Eu Forest who made tubes and rods that certain inhabitants of Aubermesnil-aux-Érables and Villers-sous-Foucarmont fashioned into *patenôtres* (beads) around the middle of the 18th century. The beadmakers worked with small ovens set in the fireplaces of their houses. That the tubes and rods came from crystal glassworks is important since it greatly limits the number of glassworks in Eu County that could have supplied them. Finally, Le Vaillant (1873:236) states that the *patenôtres* corresponded to the *rocaille* that, according to Jean Haudicquer de Blancourt (1697, II:132-134), were traded into the Indies and Africa.

Comparison of these sources makes it clear that abbot Cochet and Le Vaillant de la Fieffe knew about the information collected by abbot Decorde. Taken together, these sources allow us to define three aspects of beadmaking in Eu County. First, this production took place in the upper Yères valley at Foucarmont, Villers-sous-Foucarmont, and Aubermesnil-aux-Érables. Second, beadmaking occupied several families working in their homes at some time between the 16th and the mid-18th century. Third, as reported by Le Vaillant, beadmaking directly related to the presence of crystal glassworks in Eu County – an important detail since the great majority of glassworks in the county were *grosses verreries* that made window glass.

A BEADMAKER'S MOVE FROM ROUEN TO EU COUNTY

The details presented above guided our research in the parish registers in the upper Yères valley, resulting in the identification of three generations of Demary beadmakers who lived in these villages and were associated with nearby crystal glassworks. A key reference is the burial record of Jean Demary who died at Les Essartis on 29 June 1707 at the age of 88. The record identifies him as a bourgeois of Rouen and *maître patenostrier*, meaning that he owned real estate in Rouen, and that he operated a workshop and could train and supervise employees.¹⁷

Combing through the Rouen archives, we find Jean Demary in Saint-Maclou parish on 26 November 1646 at his marriage to Anne Le Vaillant, along with his parents Élie Demary and Marie Girel and the bride's mother Marguerite Fontaine.¹⁸ Jean was about 27 years old. The couple had 13 children from 1647 to 1665, all born and baptized in Saint-Maclou. Parish records reveal little else about Jean Demary or his parents, and nothing about his profession. He must have practiced the art of beadmaking in Rouen, where a Rue des Patenôtriers ran through Saint-Maclou parish. This dead-end street, extending from Rue du Ruissel, disappeared in the 19th century with the construction of Rue d'Amiens.¹⁹ Its name confirms the importance of beadmaking in Rouen. To ply this trade, Jean Demary and possibly his father Élie, must have obtained their tubes and rods from a crystal plant near the Norman capital, so they doubtlessly knew Henri de Virgille who worked at Saint-Sever and built the *petite verrerie* at Le Caule in 1634.

Just when Jean Demary joined the Virgille glassworks in the upper Yères valley remains unclear. He may have become associated with the enterprise at Saint-Sylvestre as early as 1666, when he was 48 years old and his known children ranged in age from one to nineteen years. However, records mentioning Demary and his children as adults only confirm his presence at Les Essartis beginning in 1687, when he was already 68 years old. Moreover, we find only three of Demary's 13 known children in parish records of the upper Yères, including two of the youngest born in 1660 and 1665, suggesting that the older children may have remained in Rouen or returned there. We find Élisabeth, christened on 1 April 1660 at Saint-Maclou, who was 33 years old when she died at Les Essartis in September 1693, and was buried in the abbey cemetery at Foucarmont.²⁰ Jean-Baptiste, baptized as Jean on 4 May 1665 at Saint-Maclou, also moved to Eu County with his parents.²¹ After his marriage in 1700, he settled at Villers-sous-Foucarmont. Finally, a woman named Angélique Demary lived at Réalcamp in the late 17th century; while her name is not among the baptized

children of Jean Demary and Anne Le Vaillant, we know she was Jean's daughter. Possibly, she was baptized as Marie on 5 November 1651, or was born after the family left Saint-Maclou parish in Rouen. Angélique married Jacques Grignard, a furnace stoker at Les Essartis, and their first son, Simon, arrived in 1687.²² Her brother Jean-Baptiste was godfather of another son born in 1695.²³ Jean-Baptiste Demary and his father Jean attended Jacques Grignard's funeral in 1701 at Foucarmont.²⁴ Parish records thus show three of Jean Demary's children established in the Eu Forest by 1687.

Jean Demary and Anne Le Vaillant still resided in Les Essartis hamlet at the end of their lives.²⁵ Anne died on 9 October 1696, three years after Angélique, and her burial record at Foucarmont names her husband as "Master Jean De Mary, bourgeois of Rouen, master *patenôtrier* residing at the glassworks of Les Essartis."²⁶ Jean Demary died at Les Essartis on 29 June 1707 at the age of 88. At his burial the next day in Foucarmont, the priest again recorded that he was a bourgeois of Rouen and *maître patenostrier*.²⁷ Having begun his career in Rouen, Jean Demary moved to Eu County at an unknown time between 1665 and 1687, and lived in the glassmaking hamlet of Les Essartis for at least 20 years before his death. Two of his sons would settle in the nearby village of Villers-sous-Foucarmont. The Rouen *patenôtrier's* migration to Eu County thus followed the breakup of the Saint-Sever monopoly between 1659 and 1664, and coincided with the ensuing ruralization of crystal glassmaking in Normandy.

BEADMAKERS IN THE EU FOREST

The study of parish registers and tax rolls reveals additional information about glassworkers and beadmakers in Eu County. Tax rolls for Réalcamp parish in 1694, 1695, and 1696 shed light on people and activities at the Les Essartis crystal glassworks.²⁸ François de Virgille was the master and his brother-in-law, Jean de La Mérye, co-owner of the glassworks at its previous location, had a house in Les Essartis hamlet. Jacques Grignard, Alexandre Tuterel, and Jacques Varlet were employed as furnace stokers (*tiseurs au four*). François Leroux and Guillaume Armand worked as yardman (*manouvrier*) and assistant (*valet*), respectively. We also find a certain Jean Demary, "rosary worker" (*ouvrier de chapelet*), who rented a house at Les Essartis taxed at 115 sols, confirming the presence of a beadmaker in the Eu Forest at the end of the 17th century.²⁹

Parish records show Jean Demary and his family in the social life of Réalcamp parish, and provide glimpses of his beadmaking activity in the upper Yères valley. On 13 December 1691, he was in Réalcamp at the funeral of

Anthoinette Moret, wife of Alexandre Tuterel who worked as a stoker at Les Essartis.³⁰ On 26 November 1697, he and his son “Baptiste” witnessed the wedding of Jacques Frete and Marie Pruvost, daughter of a Réalcamp shoemaker.³¹

On 23 March 1700, Jean Demary attended the wedding of his son Jean-Baptiste at Villers-sous-Foucarmont, an event that reveals the following generation of beadmakers in Eu County.³² The parish record identifies the groom as a 30-year-old enameller residing at Les Essartis, and the bride, Anne, as the daughter of the late Hugues Louiller, a plowman at Villers-sous-Foucarmont.³³ Thus, we learn that a son of Jean Demary worked as an enameller at Les Essartis glassworks, presumably trained and supervised by his father.³⁴ The young couple’s first child was born on 15 December 1700 at Villers-sous-Foucarmont in the home of the bride’s mother, Marie Vassel. Baptized Marie-Anne on 20 December, the infant’s godparents were Marie-Françoise de Bongard and chevalier Joseph de Virgille, son of François de Virgille, master of Les Essartis glassworks.³⁵ At this time, Jean-Baptiste Demary still lived in Les Essartis. Another child arrived on 15 January 1702. Jean-Baptiste junior’s godfather was his grandfather Jean, “enameller residing at Les Essartis,” and his godmother was Marie-Charlotte Roussel of Villers-sous-Foucarmont parish.³⁶ Four more children followed, whose names widen our knowledge of the Demary family: 1) Nicolas (1703-1713), whose godparents were Nicolas Lhuillier and Angélique Demary, his aunt; 2) François-Joseph, born in 1706, whose godparents were messire François de Bongard, Sieur du Val-Danois, master of the Val d’Aulnoy glassworks (Le Vaillant 1873:169), and demoiselle Marie-Anne-Charlotte de Virgille;³⁷ 3) Antoine-Élie, born in 1708, whose godparents were the parish priest and demoiselle Marie-Marguerite Poultier;³⁸ and 4) Marie-Rose, born about 1716, known from her marriage in 1735 at Villers-sous-Foucarmont to Nicolas Lecompte of Dancourt parish, witnessed by her parents and brothers Jean-Baptiste and François-Joseph.³⁹

Around the time his second child was born in 1702, Jean-Baptiste Demary moved from Les Essartis hamlet to Villers-sous-Foucarmont. He may have equipped his residence with an enameling workshop, which would explain the archaeological discovery of glass rods and beads in this village. We know that two of his sons, Jean-Baptiste junior and François-Joseph, attended their sisters’ marriages in Villers-sous-Foucarmont, Marie-Anne’s in 1732 and that of Marie-Rose in 1735.⁴⁰ While Jean-Baptiste junior remained single, François-Joseph married Elisabeth Varambault at Dieppe in 1733 and Marie-Catherine Delagrave at Croixdalle in 1736.⁴¹ At his second marriage, François-Joseph was identified as a merchant, his wife as an innkeeper, and both lived at Foucarmont. Jean-Baptiste

junior attended the wedding and signed as a merchant enameller residing at Villers-sous-Foucarmont.⁴² Thus, we know three generations of Demary *patenôtriers*: Jean who lived at Les Essartis, his son Jean-Baptiste who lived and worked at Villers-sous-Foucarmont, and Jean-Baptiste junior who doubtlessly worked with his father. As for François-Joseph, the marriage act only identifies him as a merchant and we do not know if he specialized in beads or other enamelware. Jean-Baptiste senior died on 16 May 1741 at Villers-sous-Foucarmont, and his son François-Joseph two years later in 1742 at Foucarmont at the age of 36.⁴³ Jean-Baptiste Demary junior witnessed both funerals and died on 16 May 1747 without leaving any descendants, marking the end of the Demary line of *patenôtriers* at Villers-sous-Foucarmont.⁴⁴

THE END OF BEADMAKING IN THE EU FOREST

By 1725, the crystal-making furnace at Les Essartis had fallen into disuse and no longer produced beadmaking tubes (Le Vaillant 1873:197). Joseph de Virgille was therefore the last to make glass at Les Essartis before retiring to his estate of La Vicogne in Picardie. His son and inheritor, François-Ovide de Virgille, was at Réalcamp in 1740, but he seems not to have restarted the plant. François-Ovide died at La Vicogne in 1748.⁴⁵ Thus, from the closure of Les Essartis prior to 1725 until the death of Jean-Baptiste Demary junior in 1747, we have no indication of the production of crystal beadmaking tubes in the Eu Forest.

Possibly, the small crystal works at Le Courval, near Guimerville, supplied tubes and rods for fashioning beads. This plant still operates today. A descendant of Italian glassmakers, François-Vincent Ponte, who was at Les Essartis in 1716, worked at Le Courval in 1723.⁴⁶ Two glassmakers from Languedoc, Louis de Gabet of Aix-en-Provence and a certain sieur de Virgille des Fieffes, worked at Le Courval in 1727.⁴⁷ Some employees from Les Essartis gravitated toward Le Courval. Simon Grignard, son of Angélique Demary, worked at Le Courval as a laborer after Les Essartis shut down, while Jean-Baptiste Demary junior was at Guimerville in 1742 for the marriage of Simon Grignard’s daughter.⁴⁸ In 1769, the daughter of François-Ovide de Virgille de la Vicogne obtained permission to transfer the dormant Les Essartis privilege to a place called La Grande Vallée in the Upper Eu Forest. Marie-Louise-Angélique de Virgille built a new furnace that began producing bottles in 1778, but for unknown reasons she did not exercise her hereditary right to make crystal (Le Vaillant 1873:198). Other small glassworks appeared in the last quarter of the 18th century, but evidence of beadmaking in the upper Yères valley ceases in 1747 with the death of Jean-Baptiste Demary junior, without any descendants to pursue his *métier*.

CONCLUSION

While this study is limited to a single beadmaking family, it has greater significance for the history of this craft in northern France. Beadmaking was dependent on crystal or soda glassmaking, an industry contested by Mediterranean and Norman artisans within the restricted privilege system. The Saint-Sever crystal works may have supplied materials for Rouen *patenôtriers*, but its monopoly for all of Normandy prevented crystal making and beadmaking from expanding outside of Rouen. A change of ownership in 1634 pushed the former staff of glassmakers from Languedoc and Altare out of Normandy. These artisans founded a crystal glassworks in Eu County, outside the monopoly territory, in the Altarese tradition of setting up soda glassmaking cells in France. About 30 years later, in 1659-1664, the breakup of the Saint-Sever monopoly and the ensuing expansion of crystal glassmaking into rural Normandy rejuvenated crystal glassmaking in Eu County. The same ruralization may have affected Rouen *patenôtriers* and motivated Jean Demary's move from Rouen to Eu County, where he joined the Altarese cell which left Saint-Sever in 1634.

Three generations of Demary beadmakers and enamellers worked in the Eu Forest from the late 17th century to the middle of the 18th century. Jean Demary, a master beadmaker and Rouen bourgeois, moved to Eu County at some time between 1665 and 1687. He lived for at least 20 years at Les Essartis where he made tubes, rods, and beads. In migrating to Eu County, Jean Demary may have followed the advice of Henri de Virgille, a former glassmaker at Saint-Sever who founded a crystal glassworks in the Eu Forest in 1634. The Virgille family still owned this plant at its later locations at Saint-Sylvestre and Les Essartis. Jean Demary's son Jean-Baptiste made beads after 1702 in his own workshop at Villers-sous-Foucarmont, likely using tubes and rods from Les Essartis. After this crystal works closed around 1723, Jean-Baptiste may have obtained his materials from a new plant at Le Courval until his death in 1741. Finally, Jean-Baptiste junior continued the *métier* in Villers-sous-Foucarmont until 1747.

The activity of Jean-Baptiste Demary senior and junior at Villers-sous-Foucarmont elucidates the mystery of glass beads and tubes found in this village in the 19th century. Nevertheless, questions remain about the origin of beads reported at Aubermesnil-aux-Érables and Foucarmont by abbot Decorde.⁴⁹ As well, we do not know if there were other beadmaking or enameling workshops in the Eu Forest, e.g., at Le Courval glassworks for which we have no material evidence. Finally, we may ask whether beadmaking took place in Eu County before the last quarter of the 17th century. According to Onésime Le Vaillant de la Fieffe, the Flamets glassworks began producing crystal in the 15th

century and beadmaking could have occurred by the late 16th century. Unfortunately, we have no archival sources for this period, and only archaeological study can verify this hypothesis.

ENDNOTES

ADSM: Archives départementales de la Seine-Maritime, Rouen.

ADS: Archives départementales de la Somme, Amiens.

1. Onésime Le Vaillant de la Fieffe cites the cession of the Saint-Martin-au-Bosc glassworks in 1441 to Richard and Colart Brochart (Brossard) (Le Vaillant 1873:154).
2. Glassworks that made window glass.
3. Commonly called *petites verreries* as opposed to *grosses verreries*.
4. The Yères River flows into the Channel, and rises in the Lower Eu Forest in the territory of Aubermesnil-aux-Érables.
5. Vincenzo Buzzone and Tommaso Bertoluzzi (Maitte 2012:105); "...*verre de cristal, verres dorés, émaux et autres ouvrages qui se font à Venise et autres lieux et pays étrangers, et autres qu'ils pourront de nouveau inventer*" (Gerspach 1885:234).
6. François de Garsonnet, esquire (*écuyer*) of Aix, officer of the Master of Ports, Bridges, and Passages of Provence, ceded his office to his brother Charles in 1599 and learned the art of glassmaking. He then left for Rouen where he obtained royal letters on 27 April 1605, granting him permission to found a crystal glassworks in the Saint-Sever suburb. Destroyed by fire the following year, the establishment was quickly rebuilt. Garsonnet ceded his enterprise on 19 January 1619 for the amount of 7,500 *livres tournois* and 22,000 *livres* of material, and returned to Aix where he died in 1638.
7. Edouard Gerspach (1885:234): "*les maistres du dict mestier pourront faire patenostres et boutons d'esmail et de verre, chaisnes, colliers et braceletz passantz par le feu et fourneau.*"
8. Jean and Pierre were the sons of Thibault d'Azémar and Jeanne des Roys in Uzès diocese. They belonged to an old noble family of Languedoc, a branch of the Viscounts of Toulouse (Aubert and Badier 1863:145-153).
9. Glass blown *en couronne* or *en plateau*, also known as the Norman technique.

10. The former village of Essarts-Varimpré, within the commune of Challengeville.
11. ADSM, 3E-111, parish registers of Réalcamp, 1710-1721.
12. ADSM, 3E-111, parish registers of Réalcamp, 1710-1721.
13. Jean-Eugène Decorde (1811-1881) was a priest in the diocese of Rouen (ordained in 1835), at Bures (1836-1870), and at Notre-Dame-d’Aliermont (1870-1881). Blangy-sur-Bresle is the *chef-lieu* of the canton of Aubermesnil-aux-Érables and Villers-sous-Foucarmont.
14. Decorde cites the names of MM. Cahingt, Dubois, and Desvaux. The 1846 census of Aubermesnil-aux-Érables names a certain Cahingt, farmer, owner of lot number 93, and Joseph Déveaux, owner and annuitant at number 124. ADSM, 6M-76, population census of Aubermesnil-aux-Érables, 1846.
15. Jean-Benoît-Désiré Cochet (1812-1875) was a priest assigned to Saint-Jacques de Dieppe, but notably an archaeologist, prehistorian, and inspector of historic monuments. Many consider him a founder of archaeology as a scholarly discipline in France.
16. Onésime Le Vaillant de la Fieffe (1802-1875), royal notary, descended from the families of *gentilhomme* glassmakers who enjoyed the right to make flat glass.
17. ADSM, 3E-999, parish registers of Fromental abbey, Foucarmont, 1700-1709.
18. ADSM, 3E-999, parish registers of Rouen Saint-Maclou, marriages, 1646-1650.
19. The City of Rouen declassified the Impasse des Patenôtriers in 1853 (Tanguy 2013).
20. ADSM, 3E-999, parish registers of Rouen Saint-Maclou, baptisms, 1660-1662; ADSM, 3E-999, parish registers of Fromental abbey, Foucarmont, 1680-1693.
21. The name Baptiste certainly served to differentiate him from his father; ADSM, 3E-999, parish registers of Rouen Saint-Maclou, baptisms, 1665-1667.
22. The stokers were in charge of the furnace. A team of four worked under the master stoker. The under-stoker (*sous-tiseur*) assisted the master, while the stoker (*tiseur*) looked after the smelting of glass raw materials. The day stoker (*tiseur de journée*) and the relay stoker (*tiseur de relais*) controlled the furnace’s heat, the former during the day and the latter at night. ADSM, C-2095, tax rolls of the parish of Réalcamp 1695-1696.
23. ADSM, 3E-111, parish registers of Réalcamp, 1691-1698.
24. ADSM, 3E-999, parish registers of Rouen Saint-Maclou, baptisms, 1700-1703.
25. The name seems common in Normandy and we find no relation between Anne Le Vaillant and the glassmaking family.
26. ADSM, 3E-999, parish registers of Fromental abbey, Foucarmont, 1695-1699: “*Maître Jean De Mary, bourgeois de Rouen, maître patenôtrier demeurant en la verrerie des Essartis.*”
27. ADSM, 3E-999, parish registers of Fromental abbey, Foucarmont, 1700-1709.
28. ADSM, C-2400, tax rolls of the parish of Réalcamp, 1694; ADSM, C-2095, tax rolls of the parish of Réalcamp, 1695-1696.
29. ADSM, C-2095, tax rolls of the parish of Réalcamp, 1695-1696.
30. ADSM, 3E-111, parish registers of Réalcamp, 1691-1698.
31. ADSM, 3E-111, parish registers of Réalcamp, 1691-1698.
32. Jean-Baptiste also appears as Baptiste or Jean in the acts.
33. ADSM, 4E-1410, parish registers of Villers-sous-Foucarmont, 1700-1709.
34. Denis Diderot (1765:168) defines *patenôtrier* as follows: “Patenotrier, s. m. (Enameler). Worker who makes & sells *patenôtres*. In Paris there are three different communities of *patenôtriers*, one of which is called *patenôtriers* and button makers in enamel, glass & crystal; they are ordinarily called enamellers; in 1706 they joined the community of master glassmakers and faience merchants” (our translation).
35. ADSM, 4E-1410, parish registers of Villers-sous-Foucarmont, 1700-1709.
36. ADSM, 4E-1410, parish registers of Villers-sous-Foucarmont, 1700-1709.
37. Known as Charlotte de Virgille, wife of Jean de La Mérye.
38. ADSM, 4E-1410, parish registers of Villers-sous-Foucarmont, 1700-1709.
39. ADSM, 4E-1410, parish registers of Villers-sous-Foucarmont, 1730-1739.

40. ADSM, 4E-1410, parish registers of Villers-sous-Foucarmont, 1730-1739.
41. ADSM, 3E-999, parish registers of Dieppe Saint-Rémy, 1733; ADSM, 3E-230, parish registers of Croixdalle, 1723-1739.
42. ADSM, 3E-230, parish registers of Croixdalle, 1723-1739.
43. ADSM, 4E-1410, parish registers of Villers-sous-Foucarmont, 1740-1751.
44. ADSM, 4E-964, parish registers of Foucarmont, 1736-1769; ADSM, 4E-1410, parish registers of Villers-sous-Foucarmont, 1740-1751.
45. ADS, 5MI_D664, parish registers of La Vicogne, 1602-1768.
46. ADSM, 3E-109, parish registers of Guimerville, 1722-1739.
47. ADSM, 3E-109, parish registers of Guimerville, 1722-1739.
48. ADSM, 3E-109, parish registers of Guimerville, 1740-1750.
49. Due to the Covid-19 epidemic, many Departmental Archives in France interrupted their service in 2020-2021, making it impossible to carry out the complementary research needed to fully develop some of the points raised in this paper.

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