Chapter Seven

Nicolas

Nicolas and the Taxman

Two sons of Jehan and Alix, Nicolas and Jehan, refused to pay the Taille. Even today anyone who doesn't pay his taxes might get his name in the papers. It's not surprising then to find them in the archives. The Taille was the name of the principal direct tax in nearby France. It was levied almost solely on the peasants. Now the main appeal of being raised to the nobility was the prestige that went with it but for a penny-less new noble, another attraction could overshadow this; nobles were excused from paying the Taille.

On the 20 October 1494, the assizes of Mirecourt dealt with their summons. The defendants were Nicolas de Tizal and Jehan, his brother. This court dealt with matters of property holdings and the rights of the people. Leading the prosecution against the defendants was Didier Roussel, of Martinvelle. He appeared for the mayor and the inhabitants of Martinvelle. Jean and Nicolas de Tizal, brothers and noblemen, were the defendants. Records show that the sitting was about a property which translates as the Tenure of the Monk, at Martinvelle. This was where Nicolas and Jehan lived. Didier Roussel opened for the prosecution. He said, *all who hold and possess inheritances in the proclamation of Martinvelle pay an amount according to* size of the *inheritance they hold*. Didier added that, *in the past, those who held the aforementioned Teneur la Moine paid fourteen sols d'or of royalties*. He reasoned because of this precedent, the brothers, the defendants, should pay at this rate. *As they hold one half of the holding, they should therefore pay one half of the fourteen sols d'or, which is seven sols d'or*.

Our glassworkers did not waste their time with lengthy speeches. They had a simple defence: the papers record their words. "On the contrary," say the brothers of Tizal, "we are not held to pay seven sols d'or, knowing that we are nobles ". 1

¹ Archives Departementales de Meurthe et Moselle, B 380, folio 204; Bibl. Nat. Coll. Lorraine, number 60; folio 359-360

Their defence baffled the assembled sitting. It made no decision on that day. They referred the case to a more senior authority. They left it until a following sitting when Henri, the bailiff of the Vôge, was the judge.

On 18th November 1494, Henri of Lignéville, bailiff of Vosge passed sentence at the assizes of Mirecourt. Alas we have the build up to the story but the punch line, undoubtedly contained in document number 29, is lost! We shall never know whether Nicolas and Jehan won their case.1 We know Nicolas was still living in Martinvelle in 1499 because then d'Etienne Marguelon, esquire, did homage and pledged faith, for fiefs he held from Nicolas de Tysoir, who was dwelling in the glassworks of Martinvelle. This would be the Grand Catherine Glassworks 2. Jehan, the defendant in the earlier case, and son of Jehan and Alix de Barisey, married Jehanne de Chastenay.

Nicolas de Thysac and Lichecourt

Nicolas de Thysac of Lichecourt was the son of Jehan, the first builder of Lichecourt. He inherited the fief from his father. Over the years, the ownership was split many ways by sharing with the siblings in the family.

Four kilometres north-west of Darney and one kilometre south-west of Relanges, between magnificent forests and cultivated lands, stands the Château of Lichecourt. It is in the middle of an important estate and just a few metres from the flowing stream of Belmont.

Lichecourt glassworks functioned for less than one hundred and fifty years. The agricultural and forest area around the estate and strong house became the nursery that gave an impetus to the glass industry of the area. In future, the successive owners, until the Revolution, would be well to do Lords, with the pecuniary advantages conferred by their privileges.

Their château differed from many other glassworks; it exploited its agricultural potential besides its glass output. Both its desolate location, in an under populated and poorly defended area, and its grain harvests, required a strong storehouse. Consequently, Lichecourt's builders constructed a fortified tower with thick walls, small barred windows and three floors. Picture Chapter One.

The documents in the archives, especially those held at the departmental Archives in Meurthe-et-Moselle at Nancy, lead us rapidly into the world of secrecy of the glassworker. They act as our guide to Lichecourt.

¹ Archives Departementales de Meurthe et Moselle, B 851, number 108, 29: loss

² Rose-Villequey, pp III; 158 number 25; 751

In 1524 Nicolas de Tisal was granted the right to build a further glassworks at Boyvin, in the wood of Gendremont. The lease said that this new glassworks was in enlargement of the glassworks business at Lichecourt. Indeed it was situated quite close to Lichecourt, although over the border. Nicolas had supported his request by pointing out that he "*did not have the whole glassworks in the duchy of Bar,* (that is, Lichecourt). *Moreover he only made glass on the table not coloured.*" Nicolas had learned to make glass in the glassworks of his uncle Guillaume where in 1488 Nicolas jointly held a glassworks at Attigny with Guillaume.

This is an unusual reference because in the original, it uses the term *verre en tables*. This was the term used to describe broad as opposed to crown glass, which was *verre en plats (or sometimes grande verre rond)*. Most of the records simply claim



Modern expert demonstrates the Normandy disc technique. that grand verre was made. That term however, covers both methods of manufacture.

By 1499, when he must have been about thirty years old, he was a wealthy man. Besides the glassworks at Attigny, where he was still mentioned in 1495, he made a return for Lichecourt. But it was at Martinvelle that he dwelt, probably at the Grand Catherine. There in 1499 he reported that he possessed some properties and that he held fiefs at Passavant, Grignoncourt and Martinvelle. Another author also reports the 1524 grant. In the wood of Gendremont, at Lichecourt, Nicolas de Thizac, grandfather of Christophe, built the additional factory of Boyvin to augment the output of Lichecourt. It functioned only a short time. 1

By 1535, Count, the receiver of Darney recorded that Nicolas de Ligecourt owed one franc each year in tax for what he held at Connyere2. Fief holders could not cut down the trees on a fief at a whim. So, on 5th March 1535, we find letters from the Duke Anthony of Lorraine that authorise Nicolas de Layecourt, glassworker, dwelling in the glasshouse Layecourt, to cut and take the necessary wood to fire the oven of his glassworks. Duke Anthony allows him to take it here and there throughout the wood of Gendremont, where Nicolas finds that it is most suitable, and to take as necessary for the supply of his oven 3.

In February 1538, the grant of Lichecourt to the late Jehan de Thisac was renewed to Nicolas de Thisac his son 4. In earlier times, the original grantee only held the fief during his lifetime. In later times it nominally reverted to the Lord but was, by custom, regranted to the heir. Thus much activity followed the death of Jehan. Following the new grant to Nicolas, on 20th February 1538, Jehanne de Chastenay, widow of the late Jehan de Monstreul, (alias Thisac), made a return to the king of France. She was the mother of Jehan's daughters, the noble Mary and Anne and as their guardian she looked after some inheritances that they possessed in Passavant and in Martinvelle 5.

Jehan's son Nicolas de Thisac married Jeanne de Courtellery, and they had at least three children, Claude Anthony, Elisabeth and Nicol e.

The lord of the manor acted as judge or at least chief witness in many disputes concerning his property. So on the 24th December 1545, Nicolas de Thisal, Lord of Lichecourt, held his court. Cases would naturally concern the problems that were most pressing to the locals. Here it was the damage caused by all the pigs roaming in the woods. The Prior of Relanges made an agreement with the inhabitants of Attigny on the burden of his pigs in the wood. Attigny is about two and a half miles from Lichecourt 6.

On Jehan's death he left property to more than one of his children so in 1549, Catherine de Thisac, his daughter, and wife of Christophe de Hennezel, esquire, Lord of Bonvelet, Belruz, also took over part of Lichecourt. This was her due through the death of her father. She shared it with Nicolas her brother. 7

¹ Rose-Villequey, Page 777

² Archives Departementales de Meurthe et Moselle, B 5067

³ Dufourny, t. 7, Page 499

⁴ Rose-Villequey, Page 743

⁵ Arch. Dep. de Meurthe et Moselle, B 851, number 107, 10

⁶ Rose-Villequey, Page 163, number 60

⁷ Dufourny, Page 11, 832 and 921

The ownership of the fief began to get ever more complicated as the various children got involved. Thus on 13th February 1549 a return of the fiefs Lichecourt was made for Nicolas. But what's this??? It was not made by a Thysac, but by Nicolas Dardenet, the son of Jacques Dardenet that François Tisac had introduced into the art of glassmaking some years before (See Chapter Three). Nicolas Dardenet became involved because he married Nicole de Tisac, the daughter of Nicolas de Tisac, in her second marriage. Maybe Nicolas Dardenet, by making the return, was only trying to be helpful. But the record says that the surname of Tizac "*suffered of a great illness*". 1

Just two weeks later it seems that old Nicolas Tisac discovered all these goings on, by others, (particularly someone introduced by François), signing in his name, and decided to put matters right. On 27th February 1549, Nicolas de Thizac, esquire, dwelling in Lichecourt, submitted another account. He declared that he held the deed, property, and land called Lichecourt. "Of which deed and place of Lichecourt has only three houses with occupants, and the territory of itself as decreed and formed holds the quantity of 230 acres of land consisting mostly of boundaries, gardens, meadows, living or old oaks, ploughable lands with hedges and bushes. This land and buildings connect with the border of Nonville where it touches Belmont. On the other side they connect with the wood of Bois de Comté". This belonged to the duke of Lorraine.

From this deed, it can be seen that Nicolas de Tisac held 15 parts of the 16 shares, including much of the houses, paths, barns, and parks. Others had part share inheritances, like Christophe de Hennezel because of Catherine de Thisac his wife. Glassworks and territory of Ligecourt were taxable in the sum of five small florins per year. But even with this new version Nicolas himself did not sign. Claude de Thisat signed this account in his father's name. 2

Now we can discover what was going on because Claude de Thisat signed the deed on behalf of his father Nicolas de Thisac, "*because of the light that glowed (in the furnace)*". Nicolas had been blinded by the glare from glassmaking and so all these deeds were being signed for him by others. Maybe he knew only some of what was in them. 3

At the death of Nicolas de Thisac, the lordship of Lichecourt passed to two sons-inlaw Nicolas Dardenet and Philippe le Brun and to Claude. Other relatives involved were Hennezel, Thiétry and Massey descendants of the Thysac ladies. Philippe le Brun was involved because he had married another of Nicolas de Tisac's daughters, Elizabeth. 4

¹ Arch. Dep. de Meurthe et Moselle, B 26, folio 123, and B 753, no. 28

² Arch. Dep. de Meurthe et Moselle, B 352, folios 368-69, and 753, No. 30, with seal.

³ Ladaique, Page 321

⁴ Ladaique, Page 199

Nicole de Thysac, mother of Balthazar de Hennezel, (more of whom later), and Nicolas Dardenet, Lord of Mandeure, made a return of fiefs of the Lordship of Lichecourt and of the Glasshouse of Boyvin in 1562. They then possessed the other half of Lichecourt.

The original great house, constructed by Jehan de Thysac and Alix de Barisey, his wife, was burned down and rebuilt several times. The present château, its higher tower and the chapel, date from the middle of the 16th century. Their builder was Nicolas de Thysac, son of Jehan de Thysac and brother-in-law of Christophe de Hennezel by his wife Catherine de Thysac. The signature and the seals showing a coat-of-arms of the two brothers-in-law are on the bottom of the deeds of faith and homage that they rendered to the duke Charles III in 1552.

By 1560, Lichecourt stopped producing glass. Master glassworkers then were Christophe de Tissac, son of Claude, and Balthazar de Hennezel, of Grandmont. Balthazar was the son of Nicole de Tisac and Nicolas de Hennezel. The glassworks in Lichecourt stopped presumably for economic reasons or a shortage of local wood. So it was not too difficult a decision for them to decide in 1567 to go to England, to manufacture grand verre. 1

We don't know much about the life of Claude Anthony de Thisac, apart from his being the father of Christophe. He quit the Lorraine abandoning the estate of Lichecourt to his two sisters. One daughter of Claude Anthony de Thysac is known. She was Claudine de Thysac who married George Mitry, son of Jacques and of Mary de Savigny. George Mitry, ordi nary master of household of the Duchess of Lorraine, and his wife Claudine dwelt in 1618 at Monthureux-sur-Saône. They had a daughter, Charlotte, born in 1620.

An account of 1574 assigns Nicolas's share of Lichecourt, to his two daughters, Elisabeth and Nicole de Thisac, equally. Elisabeth de Thisac married twice. First she married Geoffroy de Certain. Then later she married Philippe le Brun "*Lord of Mons in Quercy, Brulley, Xeverey, Marvoisin, Draittemont, Xenrey, Vellayne, Villey le Secq, Joyey l a Coste and master of the town and château of Capdenac*". Philippe le Brun and Elisabeth de Thisac were intent on increasing their share of the family home. So they bought from Pierre de Hennezel and Jeanne de Thiétry his wife, what they had inherited of Lichecourt. This inheritance came with Jeanne de Thiétry who had been married to Adam de Hennezel, the son of Christophe and of Catherine de Thisac. To add complication, (if any more were needed), Adam de Hennezel had also bought a part of Lichecourt from Claude de Thysac, on the 10 August 1568. Thus the pair became owners of a full half of Lichecourt. The sale was made on the 17th March 1572. It concerned one sixth "of all the land of Lichecourt" for 2,500 francs barrois. 2

¹ Rose-Villequey, Page 745

² B.N. Inv. Dufourney - mss. fr 4883 folio 6212

The Duke of Lorraine did not authorise the assignment made in 1572 by Pierre de Hennezel and Jeanne de Thiétry to Philippe le Brun until the 20th July 1574. No reason is known for the delay. 1

We have another reasonably good description of the layout the site. This was the acc ount given in 1574 by Philippe le Brun. Lichecourt comprises "*three houses, with their occupants*". The territory amounts to "*four hundred arpens, (about 230 acres), consisting of buildings, gardens, meadows, glassworks, ploughed lands then hedge and bushes*".



It was the custom of Nicolas de Thisac to dwell there, in the high tower. The account, says of Lichecourt and Boyvinne that by 1574, it was only making drinking vessels and no longer making window glass.

¹ M. M. Reg. L.P. B 44 folio 119 V.

On 20 December 1574 Philippe le Brun, esquire, Lord of Lichecourt in part and Master of the town and castle of Capdenac gave account of what he owned in Lichecourt.

Philippe also asked for the right to take wood from the duke of Lorraine. He was to pay a tax for the dead wood taken for use in his lodgings at the above place. He obtained permission to take "*flawed round wood*", from the woods for the glassworks and in the season any herbs needed to make glass. Finally, he won the permission of the duke to carry the glass made at Lichecourt, and to sell in any part of his country, without having to pay for any passage nor from Boyvin, which was "*leased to the late honoured Sir Nicolas de Thisac, my father-in-law, by his Eminence for increase of the fiel of the glasshouse of Lichecourt.*" 1

In mid December 1576 Balthazar de Hennezel, after returning from England, swore homage to Charles III for his part of Lichecourt, which his mother Nicole left to him.

But Balthazar had some debts, probably arising from his trip to England. The following year, a merchant of Lamarche, Grégoire Musnier, one of his creditors, threatened to seize his part of Lichecourt. During the summer, he hatched a plot with his father-in-law, Nicolas Dardenet. They planned a scheme to keep the purchase in the family. In September 1578, the public sale took place in Lamarche by the ministry of the sergeant of the bailiwick of Bassigny2. The first bid was 2000 francs barrois put up by the provost of Lamarche. In the second cry, Master François of the Vosges, notary of C lermont-In-Argonne raised the bid by 500 frs in the name of Nicolas Dardenet, captain of the aforesaid Clermont. The candle died out without another out-bidder presenting himself.

There followed a delay imposed by the conditions of the sale. Six weeks later, Dardenet, brought cash to the clerk of Larmarche amounting to the price of his acquisition. It was in the most varied types of coin that would make any modern numismatist pale with envy. The new Lord of Lichecourt laid out on the lawyer's table: pistoles of Spain, ecus soleil and ecus of the Queen, ducats of Castile and Henri ducats, polonnais, angelots, viels and imperial d'or, Philippe Tallards and Tallards crusaders, teston of Lorraine, berlingues of Guelstres, carrelins and Jules, all told, except for errors of calculations, amounting to 2500 frs barrois.

The mind boggles to imagine all the mattresses, cupboards and hiding places that Balthazar and Dardenet had turned out to find their horde of cash!

By 1579 Nicolas Dardenet again reported to the authorities. On 1st May 1579, the account of Nicolas Dardenet, esquire, said he was Lord of Gorrey, Lichecourt in part, captain lieutenant to the government of Clermont in Argonne. He made a return to the duke for Lichecourt, and showed Balthazar de Hennezel, by acquisition as heir to the

^{1~} Arch. Dep. de Meurthe et Moselle, B $754,\,n^\circ\,14$

^{2~} Arch. Dep. de Meurthe et Moselle, B $754,\,n^\circ\,23$

lady, Nicole Thisac, his "late wife". (After Nicole died, Nicolas Dardenet had married, Jeanne Errard in his second wedding.)

So about 1580, something approaching half of Lichecourt belonged to the two brothers-inlaw, Le Brun and Dardenet. By 1595 and for fifty years following the Thirty Years war, that is until about seventeen hundred, the marriages of the children of Le Brun and Dardenet plunged Lichecourt into partitioning arguments.

Emigration

Due to the coming together of several factors there was a considerable emigration of glassworkers from the Lorraine from about 1568.

They came from some of the oldest glassworks of the Vôge. These factors included the actions of Phillip of Spain. Duke Alva was busy enforcing Phillip's policy aimed at eradicating heresy. He and his troops operated in the Spanish Netherlands. This was Jean Carré's homeland. These policies encouraged the Calvinist Jean Carré to emigrate to England, where he could exploit the shortage of native glass manufacturers. The glassworks in Lorraine and particularly Lichecourt, had hit an unusually bad patch and were at least temporarily closed down. Inflation at that time, due to an influx of silver from Spanish America, may have provoked this. There was also continuous pressure on those glassworkers who espoused the reformed religion, with periods of liberalisation being interspersed with threats to abjure or else. The "else" meant such persecution as confiscation of all the recusant's property. Consequently, in this political, economic and religious climate, Balthazar de Hennezel was interested when he heard of the plans of Jean Carré. After most likely being persuaded by Jean Chevalier, a partner of Carré's and the local receiver, Balthazar signed a contract of nine years. He signed to go to England with others to make window glass. By contract, Thomas and Balthazar de Hennezel hired four companions including a Thiétry and a Thisac from Lichecourt, to come to England, towards the end of the year 1568 or little later. As Christophe de Thysac had been operating the glassworks of Lichecourt with Balthazar when it closed down in 1560 it seems quite likely that he was the Thysac. The three Lorrainers became partners in this undertaking. The glassworks at Lichecourt had functioned without interruption from 1487 to 1560. This glassworks, which then belonged to Balthazar de Hennezel and Christophe Thizac, was closed and its ovens went out. That would not have been done if other glassworks were thriving. So Balthazar did not have any difficulty in coaxing other glassworkers, his cousins, one Thiétry and Thomas de Hennezel from Ormois, to leave the glassworks of Lichecourt and Grandmont. 1 Six glassworkers altogether were required by the contract. This fits well with the three per chair known to be used as a team later. Balthazar de Hennezel, son of Nicole de Hennezel née Thysac, signed his agreement with Jean Chevalier, lord and receiver of Fontenoy-le-Château and Jean Carré, a merchant from Anvers. He agreed to go to England to make window glass, both white and coloured.

¹ Rose-Villequey, Pages 444 to 447

The life of Balthazar de Hennezel, Lord of Grandmont and of Lichecourt was particularly hectic, in 1568. Jean Carré of Anvers had specified that he should depart to England "*when he will be needed to and a request made*", there to manufacture the glass for windows in two ovens to make big glass. The glassworkers, in this instance Balthazar and Thomas de Hennezel, had to produce every day, thirty cases of white glass or coloured. Some doubt should be exercised on this figure however; it seems high for two chairs of three. For example Paul Tyzack reckoned to produce eighteen cases per week at Colemans with one chair in 16171 whilst Pierre Bongard made three cases of Normandy glass per day when he worked for Jean Carré, around 15702. However in 1561 the whole La Rochére glassworks produced 50 cases per day!

Balthazar stayed in England only a short while. He had a row with the partners of Carré and immediately, "*departed owt of the realme and would no further meddle in the said works*". 3 We have proof of when Balthazar went home.

On the 29th June 1570, we have a record that shows he was in Lorraine and shows his parentage. Balthazar certainly came back to France for elsewhere in 1579, there is also the record of his murder. He may have had the added incentive of claiming his inheritance. He showed no fears over his religion. Balthazar was the son of Nicole de Tisac, wife of Nicolas de Hennezel, and daughter of Nicolas de Tisac. Balthazar also made a return of the land of Lichecourt in his name and as attorney representative of Claude de Thysac. He made this return for the fief of Lichecourt the 13 December 1576. 4 In 1578 he sold all his properties of Lichecourt to Nicolas Dardenet, his step-father, for two thousand five hundred francs barrois, which was paid in cash, (as described above). This sum was of scarcely any benefit to his interests. Some months after the sale, he was killed "at the lodgings of the vicar of Senonges" by Christophe de Tisal, son of Claude de Tisal of Lichecourt. The letters of remission agreed in 1580 accused Balthazar of having provoked Christophe "by some sour subject" in disparaging his wife. Perhaps there had been an over consumption of alcohol? Anyway after this family drama, Christophe de Tisal hurriedly left for England. Despite the forgiveness agreed by the Duke, neither he, nor his heirs returned to resettle or to claim property in Lorraine. Letters of remission for Christophe de Thysac evoke the drama with remarkable vigour. They reproduce the vividness of dialogue: The two first cousins lived in Lichecourt. Although each was married, they both decided to go to a feast at Senonges (1st October 1579). This was the village feast of Saint-Rémy. After plentiful libations and because there were matters of interest between them, some very insulting remarks were exchanged. They drew swords. Christophe de Thysac killed his cousin and fled to England

¹ D.R.Guttery page 8.

² G.H.Kenyon page 111

³ Loseley House, Loseley MSS., 18th August 1569, folio 3/108

⁴ M. M. Reg. L.P. B 46 folio 119

leaving his wife and his children at Lichecourt. He didn't return to Lorraine and died there in 1595.

Today Senonges is a grey and lifeless town. Nothing at all was happening there on the rainy day that I visited it in 1994. However in places the houses still lie well back from the road, see picture. One can still let one's imagination conjure up the thronging crowds of that feast day in 1579.

Here is a free translation of a text that requests Christophe's pardon: -28 June 1580. Remission and forgiveness of Duke Charles III of Lorraine for Christophe Tisal, absent, dwelling in England, son of Claude Tisal of Lichecourt, for homicide at Senonges on Balthazar de Hennezel, also called Grandmont, of Glasshouse by Darney: "Receive this humble plea and request from Christophe Tisal, now dwelling in England, son of Claude Tisal of Lichecourt in our Precinct of March: Then follows an account of how the murder occurred. It is written to appear almost an accident.



The scene is set during the day of the celebrations of Saint Rémy, on the day of the feast in the village of Senonges, near Darney. Balthazar de Hennezel known as Grandmont was in the lodgings of the local priest near the scene. He was provoked by some distasteful remarks, that his wife looked like Father Christmas. The others said they were going to look at her. As Grandmont came out of the lodgings, he was in a state of emotion. In the road in front of the lodgings he accosted Christophe. Then he started to fuss with his hat and threw it on the ground. He picked up some stones, while provoking and taunting Christophe. He called him a thief, a cuckold, and

stretcher of nets of traps on the high road. Christophe must die or he deserved to have a fit and die. Being the Grandmont he took his dagger in his hand. This made Christophe defend himself by holding his sword towards Grandmont, for fear of being attacked. Christophe defended himself against some strikes by the dagger and implored him to stop. Without otherwise taking the offensive Christophe withdrew towards the Church of Senonges close by a small elm tree, where there were several persons gathered with whom he paused to talk. He gave no more thought to Grandmont. Sometime afterwards Grandmont mounted his horse, holding a dagger in his hand, and galloped violently straight at Christophe. "Where is he? Where is this cuckold, this thief, this trapper on the high road?" Grandmont wanted to make use of the cruel dagger in offence. However, already having his naked sword, Christophe pointed it to ward off Grandmont, who lunged away. In so doing the horse was pricked. It reared up and Grandmont fell onto the sword. He fell to ground, from the blow. Christophe, fearing the rigours of justice, left our country. Subsequently he wouldn't dare to ret urn without obtaining your letters of forgiveness and remission on this homicide. We implore you very humbly, please to grant them. [It be known we do that. He obtains his wish. He may return, is acquitted and forgiven.]" 1

The letters of remission for Christophe de Thysac signed by the duke Charles III did not provoke a return. He definitely quit Lorraine and reached England, where by 1595 he had died. The glasshouse did not function anymore for a long time 2.

Lichecourt was lost thus forever by the Tyzacks, with the murder. The property stayed in the family for the daughter of Christophe de Thysac, Gérarde de Thysac, married Francis Massey. Heirs to part of Lichecourt, they had two children Pierre and Nicolas Massey, who became owners of Lichecourt. On their deaths, the heritage was again the object of further partition. The most important share, the château, returned to Salomon de Hennezel, the younger Grandmont, who had married Anne, the daughter of Nicolas Massey. The second share, less significant, returned to the heirs of Pierre Massey.

Deeds of the domain of Lichecourt contain the contracts that were part of the marriage settlements. They give the name of the owners. Several documents show where these families lived in it. Dardenet lived in the castle or tower. His brother-in-law Le Brun lived in the villa that he built against the chapel. It was near an old glasshouse oven, which belonged to Pierre de Hennezel and Nicolas de Thiétry, nephews and heirs to his wife Elisabeth. At the end of the sixteenth century, the Thysac family regained the fief of Lichecourt into its hands. The account is given in 1595 by Jean de Thisac, son of the late Claude de Thysac. There is much in his name and in that of his sister and in those of his English nephews and nieces, children of the late Christophe Thisac, his brother. Tantalisingly, and most unfortunately, the names of the English children of Christophe are not given. (The actual document is written as

¹ Arch. Dep. de Meurthe et Moselle, B 49, folios 165 to 167

² M.M. Reg. L.P. B 66 folio 2

"*Infana de feu Xtophe Thisac*".) It says that the Lordship of Lichecourt is held by several individuals between them and Francis Massey.

On 4 January 1595, there is a return for Jean de Thisac. Duke Charles III confirms that his friend, the faithful Jean de Thisac of Lichecourt, has so much in his name because of Marguerite de Thisac his sister, and the children of the late Christophe de Thisac his brother. This they take over from him and it is supported by the faith, homage and vow of fidelity that they themselves owe. They also hold lands in dependencies of Lichecourt, by the death of Elisabeth de Thisac their aunt. 1

In another account given on 4th July 1595, it is reported that Claude de Thysac of Lichecourt also resided in England.

Confirmation of the marriage of Gérarde de Thysac with François Massey is found on 6th July 1595. An investigation was held by the Provost of La Marche, at the place of Bleurville. This was for the verification of the account of François Maxe, esquire, Sire of Lichecourt, in part, in the name of Gérarde de Thisat his wife, for the possessions that he held in Lichecourt. 2

By the year 1603 Lichecourt was again in ruins and not producing glass. The receiver of La Marche, clearly thought the fief holders might be holding out on him, they might have other income. So he seized property to get his way.

On the 31st December 1603 the Count Claude Jacquin, receiver of Lamarche, was there collecting the royalties from the glassworkers in the Provostery of Larmarche. A request was made to "the heirs of late Nicolas Lichecourt for five small guilders for the grant of the fief made to the late Jehan de Thisac and to Alix de Barisey". There was "*difficulty to pay, for the aforesaid glassworks is in ruins and demolished*". He ordered "*seizure as an example so that he will get his way*" 3 ----swine!!!.

Taxation was becoming oppressive and brutal methods were used to enforce payments. So here we find another reason for emigration.

Then came the Thirty Years War bringing much misfortune. Lichecourt was robbed as were the other villages and one tower suffered serious damage. Few of the glassworks families maintained their right to manufacture glass. By absence of the owners the control of the estate of Lichecourt was jeopardised. Afterwards all the families of Fourot-Toignart, de Mussey, de Ardenet -Laudinot, Gauthier, du Houx, disputed the inheritance of Thysacs and of Masseys for the title "Sire of Lichecourt". The disputes and lawsuits all demanded a strong personality. This was the work of Salomon le Jeune, Sire of Grammont, "*master of the household of the King*".

¹ Arch. Dep. de Meurthe et Moselle, B 66, folio 2

² Dufourny, t. 6, Page 327

³ Rose-Villequey, Page 660

The Lordship of Lichecourt by this time belonged to individuals, such as Bisval, de Mussey, de Massey, and du Houx. They all sold their shares to Salomon Le Jeune, Sire of Grammont. Thus as the eighteenth century opened Lichecourt was surrendered to a family which was without an interest in the glass industry of Darney. 1

The Gloucester Connection

From the Lichecourt branch several persons went to England. Certainly Christophe did in 1579, also Claude his father. There is also no further mention in Lorraine of Jean or his sister Marguerite after the return they made in 1595.

In England there is no trace of a Christophe de Thysac. There was of course a Catherine Sysacke, who was buried at Eccleshall in Staffordshire in 1585. Catherine however, was a common Thysac forename. What we do have in England are several records of the name Liscourt. On 29th October 1599, Abraham Tyzack was baptised at Newent Gloucestershire. His father, said the register, was a Frenchman.

Woodchester had a glassworks, in the Gloucester area. There are few records of it. One is a very short book by J. Stuart Daniels called "*The Woodchester Glasshouse*". Daniel's book implies that it was not a Lorrainer oven! Another site nearby, at St. Weonards, is also described. It also is not of Lorraine design. Both furnaces are round. Fortunately, in 1961, N. P. Bridgewater did some further excavations. He describes these in "*Glasshouse Farm, St. Weonard's: A Small Glass working Site.*" 2 This paper reveals the discovery of a rectangular furnace, together with crucibles and fragments of window and vessel glass of Lorrainer type. So all was not lost in Gloucester. The parish registers and at least one of the remains of a furnace site, tie up!

Parish records that have associated these furnaces with Lorrainers were those of Newent. There was another glass oven at Newent. We do not know its shape. It may be this was worked by the Lorrainers. Later the name of Abraham Liscourt appears, at the same place.

Now the thing that associates Abraham Tyzack son of a Frenchman, with Abraham Liscourt, is another document from the Gloucester archives. It is a deposition to the Consistory Court at the Diocese of Gloucester, dated 1608 3. This deposition is by a lady who gives her name as Magdalene Liscourt, **alias Tizarke**. She is claiming against John Hooke for deformation of character. John Hooke had been putting it about that she was less than she ought to be. There appears to be no record of the

¹ Raymond George "Lichecourt", Page 28

² Trs. Woolhope Na turalists' Field Club, XXXVII (1963), 300-15

³ Gloucester Diocesan Archives, B4/1/1788, 5th July, 1608

outcome but another note elsewhere suggests she was later excommunicated. It has been suggested that this may have been done because she showed contempt of the Consistory Court at some stage. The script in this deed is extremely difficult to read!

Abraham Liscourt, was therefore an alias for Abraham Tyzack. He was a supporter of Isaac Bunger and others in the glassmakers' attempts to have the effects of the Mansell patent removed.

Eleanor Godfrey in her excellent book "Development of English Glassmaking 1560-1640", refers repeatedly to Abraham Liscourt. For example she says, "The only other claims during the Parliamentary investigation were made by another glassmaker, Abraham Liscourt, representing the scattered glasshouses in the west. He asserted that Claude and Ambrose Hensey made glass with "sea coal and pit coal" in Staffordshire and that he himself and <u>Paul</u> <u>Tysack1</u> did the same. (Commons Debates, 1621, iii. 195.) She goes on to say that, "----- Liscourt himself, under cross examination in the patent case against Mansell, admitted that he "gave over, being sent for by the patentees", this was probably in about 1618, when he seems to have moved to Newcastle-on-Tyne and to Mansell's employ. "

Further evidence is given by a connection with the Tittery family. Daniel Tittery, alias Rusher, (a name probably originating from Rochère), married Ann Liskoe at All Saints, Newcastle upon Tyne, on 1st January 1619. He was a glassmaker and gentleman who worked with Samuel Tyzack under licence from Sir Robert Mansell. Now the interesting thing about this marriage is that their first child, who was baptised on 15th October 1620, was christened Christopher, maybe after grandad. He also became a glassmaker and his father, Daniel died on 26th December 1621.

It is a fair assumption from the alias used by Magdalene Liscourt that Ann Liskoe was from the Tyzacks of Lichecourt.

It seems probable then that Christopher Tyzack of Lichecourt, having come to England to escape justice for the murder he committed on Balthazar de Hennezel, would use his alias Lichecourt. Ann, who married Daniel Tittery, would be one of his children who named her offspring Christopher in memory of her father. Almost certainly they came to Newcastle from the group in the Gloucester region at the request of Sir Robert Mansell. That would have included Abraham Liscourt, referred to above.

Thus although not surprising, Liscourt is an alias for Tyzack. References to the Liscourt name can be taken to be Thysacs descended from the Christophe/Claude/Jean/Marguerite group, from Lichecourt. We therefore have some evidence of our third branch coming to England but this time turning up a little later than the other two, and in the Gloucester region.

¹ My emphasis.

Subsequently Mansell appeared anxious to get skilled glassmakers to operate his furnaces in Newcastle. He was willing to hire glassmakers at the going rate or even to finance them as licensees, in semi-independent concerns. Liscourt, although he had testified against Mansell in 1621, was later employed by him at Newcastle after the appeal against the patent failed. This is presumably the meaning of the phrase that he *"gave over, being sent for by the patentees."* There were many records of Liscourt in All Saints, Newcastle-on-Tyne, parish registers, many with the label glassmaker.

Two others who reached Newcastle about that time were Timothie Teswicke, a Frenchman, who baptised his son John there in 1619 with Abraham Teswicke as a godfather, and Samuel Tisick who baptised his son Robert. When Timothy Teswicke was at Northchapel in Sussex he had been indicted on 30th Nov. 1614¹ to appear before the officers of the Privy Council for infringing the patent of Sir Edward Zouch. Indicted with Timothie were Thomas Teswicke also of Northchapel, together with Edward Henzey of Northchapell, Edward Henzey, alias Booas of Westbarow Greene, Peregrine Henzey, Tobias Henzey of Auford in Surrey, Joseph Henzey, and Daniel Henzey. Subsequently all except Joseph and Daniel were reported as appearing but were required to appear again. Clearly several of them, including Timothie gave up making glass on their own account after that and left Sussex to work for Sir Robert in Newcastle.

A few years ago I actually found a piece of a glass-furnace in Northchapel under the roots of a tree which had just been blown down in a gale. It was by a small stream on the west of the A283.

Favoured courtiers received the monopolies granted at the time. It is not clear that they or their associates invented the coal-fired method of heating glass furnaces, in spite of their being awarded a patent for so doing. Dr Eleanor Godfrey writes off Paul Tyzack's claim on the grounds that he did not protest in person at the hearings. However he may well have thought that the odds were so heavily stacked against him that it would be a waste of time. The Lorrainers led a vigorous defence of their having been first. Sir Robert was totally unsuccessful until he press-ganged some Lorrainers to work for him in Newcastle. If Sir Robert could not establish his method by himself, surely his invention did not work. There was no success at any of the official patentee's furnaces until they had stopped the Lorrainers by legal means and left them no alternative but to go and work for Sir Robert. Lorrainers' essential contribution may well have been the skill of heating glass with coal. Maybe all Sir Robert really had was a monopoly granted by his position in court more than technological knowhow. His harassment of these individuals and their relocation to work for him, were the basis of Sir Robert's success at Newcastle.

¹ Acts of the Privy Council Vol. XXXIII f252 & 658.