

A Fragile Authority: Power and the Religious Life in the Congrégation de Notre-Dame of Montreal, 1693-1796

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Abstract

Michel Foucault has exerted a pervasive influence on the concept of power in the twentieth century. By expanding the definition of power, and its horizons, beyond the state or organized institutions, he has bestowed power upon the weak as well as the strong, reconceptualized it from a one-dimensional, to an all-pervasive entity.

This thesis has adopted this expansive view of power and applied it to a study of the religious life within the Congrégation de Notre-Dame of Montreal between 1693 and 1796. On a general level, the study, working within the framework of other research that has attempted to broaden the perception of female religious institutions, firmly links the congrégation to the cultural, spiritual, political and economic life of its surrounding society. More precisely, it establishes the Congrégation de Notre-Dame, within the Canadian historical context, as an institution not primarily founded, developed and centred solely on the work of one sanctified individual – Marguerite Bourgeoys - but one which, from its inception, owed its establishment and its existence to the network of linkages it formed through its mission. On a more specific level, the thesis moves to focus upon the relationship of power to the religious life in terms of three individual convent superiors – Marie Barbier, Marie-Josèphe Mauge-Garreau and Marie Raizenne – and it explores these women as agents within their own social, political and spiritual frameworks.

In the process of this entire examination, this thesis set out to widen the perspective of much research surrounding the religious life. It has endeavoured to view the religious existence outside of the traditional dichotomies separating its active and contemplative dimensions, and to explore and give integrity and empowerment to its entirety. The study has also attempted to avoid depicting the existence of these women in terms of binary oppositions, of oppressed vs. the oppressor, and endeavoured to analyze them in terms of exchange. However, in spite of substantial evidence establishing these women as agents in their own right, the thesis inevitably returned, in one form or another, to the conclusion that, in the end, theirs was, indeed, a fragile authority.

Resumé

Michel Foucault a exercé une profonde influence sur la notion de pouvoir au XX^e siècle. En élargissant sa définition, et ses horizons, au-delà de l'État ou des institutions organisées, il a conféré le pouvoir aux faibles aussi bien qu'aux forts, et remplacé le concept d'un pouvoir unidimensionnel par celui d'un pouvoir omniprésent.

La présente thèse a retenu cette vision élargie du pouvoir pour l'appliquer à une étude de la vie religieuse au sein de la Congrégation de Notre-Dame de Montréal entre 1693 et 1796. De manière générale, ce travail, en s'inscrivant dans le cadre d'autres recherches qui ont tenté d'élargir notre perception des communautés religieuses féminines avaient été vouées dans les documents historiques, relie solidement la Congrégation à la vie culturelle, spirituelle, politique et économique de la société de l'époque. Plus précisément, la Congrégation de Notre-Dame est présentée dans le contexte historique canadien, non pas comme une institution qui doit sa fondation, son développement et son renom à l'œuvre d'une seule personne sanctifiée – Marguerite Bourgeoys – mais comme une institution dont l'établissement et l'existence ont dès le départ été attribuables à un réseau de liens formés par le biais de sa mission. Plus spécifiquement enfin, la thèse s'intéresse ensuite à la relation entre le pouvoir et la vie religieuse, en se concentrant sur trois supérieures du couvent – Marie Barbier, Marie-Josèphe Maugue-Garreau et Marie Raizenne – et examine ces femmes comme agents dans leurs propres contextes social, politique et spirituel.

Tout au long de cette analyse, la thèse s'efforce d'élargir la perspective de bon nombre des recherches qui ont porté sur la vie religieuse. Elle a pour but d'examiner l'existence religieuse en dehors des dichotomies traditionnelles qui distinguent ses dimensions active et contemplative, et de lui redonner toute son intégrité et toute sa force en la considérant dans son ensemble. L'étude a également cherché à éviter de décrire l'existence de ces femmes en ayant recours à des oppositions binaires, en opposant opprimés et oppresseurs, et tenté plutôt de l'analyser en termes d'échanges. En dépit de preuves solides attestant le rôle de ces femmes en tant qu'agents à part entière, la thèse en est inévitablement revenue, d'une manière ou d'une autre, à la conclusion qu'il s'agissait, en fin de compte, d'une autorité fragile.

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I walked into Professor Louise Dechêne's office more than ten years ago, shy, uncertain and very self-conscious, wondering, if I had, indeed, at last landed at the right place. I had heard much about Louise's reputation, not only as a scholar, but also through many legends surrounding her formidable personality. I was quite surprised to encounter a rather diminutive woman. Well past middle age, her slightly greying hair was rather hastily gathered into a bun, of sorts, at the back of her head, exposing a surprisingly smooth and still recognizably beautiful face. She greeted me warmly, but those blue eyes were penetrating, and I thought, also wondering.

In retrospect, my meeting with Professor Dechêne proved to be a decisive moment. Almost from the outset, she embraced me as an M.A. student, and then, against my better judgement, and for which I was destined very often in the future to rue the day, convinced me to undertake this doctoral dissertation, offering her incisive advice, guidance, very often much-needed prodding and even ruthless pressure, almost to the final moments of her life. Adieu Louise. I remain forever grateful. I miss your laughter, your anger, your friendship, your intellectual generosity, your humanity. You were a rare breed – a true scholar, a warm, caring, and devoted explorer. Your legacy survives your untimely passing.

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**A Fragile Authority: Power and the Religious Life in the Congrégation
de Notre-Dame of Montreal, 1693-1796**

Introduction

"In a word, the superior is the torch which must be the source of light for her community."¹

These words, written by Marguerite Bourgeoys, foundress of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame of Montreal, and superior of the institution during its formative years to 1693, can be found among her collected writings in a larger section entitled "Notes on Many Subjects," under the heading "Portrait of a Superior." In a few short pages, Bourgeoys outlines her views concerning the requisite qualities for a superior of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame. According to these passages, a congrégation superior is primarily expected to be a "spiritual teacher and leader." Her principal concern is to "help the soeurs to advance in the way of perfection." A "gentle and firm disciplinarian," she must not yield to tepidity or laxity, and in her own spiritual life, "remain very close to God through her continual prayer."²

The above extracts conjure up an image of a gentle, firm and pious, ideal individual that Marguerite Bourgeoys undoubtedly believed a superior should be. However, the most evocative aspect of Bourgeoys's portrait is her association of the superior with the image of light, for light within the Judeo-Christian tradition possesses powerful associations: in the Old Testament, God created light and then separated light from darkness; from thence forward, light illuminates the darkness and without light there

¹ Marguerite Bourgeoys, *The Writings of Marguerite Bourgeoys*, translated by Sister Mary Virginia Cotter, CND (Montréal : Congrégation de Notre-Dame, 1976), 88.

² Ibid., 86-7.

can be no growth. Christ is the light, essential to life. It is an image associated with power and religiosity.³

On the one hand, the imagery used by Marguerite Bourgeoys reveals just how powerful a contemporary viewed certain religious women in the early modern period to be. On the other, it provides an ideal jumping off point for advancing the discussion of power as the central theme of this study. This thesis then, through an examination of three individual superiors, who assumed the mantle of the superiorship from Marguerite Bourgeoys, Marie Barbier (1693-1739), Marie-Josèphe Mauge-Garreau (1720-1785), and Marie Raizenne (1735-1811), intends to explore power in order to deepen our understanding of the religious life of women in the seventeenth and eighteenth century Canadian colonial context.

But why study the Congrégation de Notre-Dame? Why, in particular, the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and these three specific individuals? Why concentrate on the religious life, and most importantly, what is meant by power? The following shall attempt to answer these questions, firstly, within their appropriate historiographical, and secondly, their pertinent theoretical frameworks. The introduction

³ *The New Jerusalem Bible: Reader's Edition*, edited by Alexander Jones (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1968). For example, Genesis 1: 3-4: God said, "Let there be light," and there was light. God saw that light was good, and God divided light from darkness.; Isaiah 9:2-4: "The people that walked in darkness/ has seen a great light;/ on those who live in a land of deep shadow/ a light has shone."; Isaiah 60: 1-6: "Arise, shine out, for your light has come,/ the glory of the Lord is rising on you,/ though night still covers the earth/ and darkness the peoples."; John 1 :6-8 : "A man came, sent by God./ His name was John./He came as a witness,/ as a witness to speak for the light,/ so that everyone might believe through him./ He was not the light,/ only a witness to speak for the light."; John 1:4-5: "All that came to be had life in him/ and that life was the light of men,/ a light that shines in the dark,/ a light that darkness could not overpower."; and finally, John 8: 12: "When Jesus spoke to the people again, he said: 'I am the light of the world;/ anyone who follows me will not be walking in the dark;/ he will have the light of life.'"

will then terminate with a brief outline of the foundation and development of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame in its seventeenth- and eighteenth-century European and Canadian contexts.

I. Historiographical Framework

Historians of New France have neither ignored the Congrégation de Notre-Dame - whose presence, to this day, remains powerful and pervasive, both pedagogically and architecturally, in contemporary Montreal - nor certain individuals within it. Early in the history of the institution, predominantly hagiographical works venerated not only Marguerite Bourgeoys,⁴ but also Soeur Marie Barbier,⁵ mystic and Bourgeoys's immediate successor as the congrégation's superior in 1693, and the famous recluse, Jeanne Le Ber.⁶ More recent scholarship has turned to examine other facets of the community's foundress: Lorraine Caza's *La vie voyageuse conversante avec le prochain* placed Marguerite Bourgeoys's theology within its Catholic Reformation context, and

⁴ Charles de Glandelet, *Life of Sister Marguerite Bourgeoys*, translated by Florence Quigley, CND (Montreal : CND, 1994; François Ransonnet, *La Vie de la soeur M. Bourgeoys, institutrice, fondatrice et première supérieure d'une communauté de filles séculières établie en Canada sous le nom de la Congrégation de Notre-Dame* (Avignon and Liège: Barnabé, 1728); Etienne de Montgolfier, *La Vie de la vénérable Marguerite Bourgeoys dite Saint-Sacrement* (Ville Marie: William Gray, 1818); Michel-Etienne Faillon, *Vie de la Soeur Bourgeoys, fondatrice de la Congrégation de Notre-Dame de Ville-Marie en Canada, suivie de l'histoire de cet institut jusqu'à ce jour* (Ville-Marie: CND, 1853); Albert Jamet, *Marguerite Bourgeoys, 1620-1700*, 2 vols. (Montréal: La Presse catholique panaméricaine, 1942), 2 vols.

⁵ ASQ, ms. 198, Charles de Glandelet, Recueil touchant la S[œur Marie Barbier], fille séculière de La Congrégation de Notre-Dame; ASSP, ms 1233, Etienne de Montgolfier, ed., Mémoires sur la vie de la soeur l'Assomption recueillis par Mr Glandelet prêtre du séminaire de Québec et son principal directeur; R. Rumilly, *Marie Barbier: Mystique canadienne* (Montréal: A. Lévesque, 1936).

⁶ ASSP, ms 1216, François Vachon de Belmont, La Vie de la venerable soeur Jeanne Le Ber fille recluse dans la maison des Soeurs de la Congrégation de Notre-Dame Decedée En Odeur de Sainteté à Montréal le 13 oct 1714, edited by Montgolfier; Etienne-Michel Faillon, *The Christian Heroine of Canada or, Life of Miss Le Ber*, translated from the French (Montréal : J. Lovell, 1861); Françoise Deroy-Pineau, *Jeanne Le Ber: La recluse au cœur des combats* (Montréal: Bellarmin, 2000).

underlined the importance of such figures as Bossuet, de Sales and Olier to her thought,⁷ while Patricia Simpson's biography of Marguerite Bourgeoys emphasized the strict spiritual devotion of this woman and her followers.⁸

Other scholars have set out in other directions. With the advent of the "new history" - a phrase often used to describe developments in the discipline over the past thirty years whereby scholars turned away from an examination of élites and *histoire événementielle* to focus upon popular culture and ordinary, hitherto excluded individuals,⁹ such as women - the field of women's studies burgeoned and researchers began to examine religious women.¹⁰ Concomitantly, certain Canadian scholars explored specific

⁷ Loraine Caza, *La vie voyageuse conversante avec le prochain* (Montréal: Cerf, 1982).

⁸ Patricia Simpson, *Marguerite Bourgeoys and Montreal, 1640-1665* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997). Other recent biographies include: Soeur Saint-Damase-de-Rome, CND, *L'Intendante de Notre-Dame: La bienheureuse Marguerite Bourgeoys et son administration temporelle* (Montréal: CND, 1958) and Lucienne Plante, CND, *Marguerite Bourgeoys, fille de France: 1620-1653* (Montréal: CND, 1978).

⁹ Peter Burke ed., *New Perspectives on Historical Writing* (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992), 1-12, and especially the article by Giovanni Levi, "On Microhistory," in *ibid.*, 93. For a more recent collection reflective of advances in this field see *Through a Glass Darkly: Reflections on Personal Identity in Early America*, edited by Ronald Hoffman, Mechal Sobel, and Fredrika J. Teute (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997). Certain historians, however, protested against what has been termed the "tyranny of the history of popular culture," whereby a vicarious relationship to the oppressed of the past serves as a pretext for contemporary pretensions to dominance." Dominique La Capra, "Is Everyone a *Mentalité* Case?" in *Rethinking Intellectual History: Texts, Contexts and Language* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983), 72.

¹⁰ John Nicols and Lillian Thomas Shank, *Medieval Religious Women* (Michigan: Cistercian Publications, 1984); Kathryn Norberg, "The Counter Reformation and Women: Religious and Lay," in *Catholicism in Early Modern History*, edited by John W. O'Malley (Saint Louis, Missouri: Centre for Reformation Research, 1988); Penelope D. Johnson, *Equal in Monastic Profession: Religious Women in Medieval France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); Jo Ann McNamara, *Sisters in Arms: Catholic Nuns Through Two Millenia* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996). These works built upon earlier general studies of medieval religious women, beginning with Lina Eckenstein, *Women Under Monasticism. Chapters on Saint-Lore and Convent Life Between 500 and 1500 A.D* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922); Eileen Power, *Medieval English Nunneries, 1275-1535* (Cambridge: The University Press,

facets of the congrégation, either alone, within wider contexts, or within the comparative framework of other Canadian religious institutions.¹¹ In 1984, for example, A. J. B. Johnston in his work, *Religion and Life in Louisbourg*, included the congrégation in his wider study of religion in eighteenth-century Louisbourg. In 1986, Emilia Chicoine's work, *La métairie de M. Bourgeoys à la Pointe Saint-Charles*, outlined the foundations and growth of the community's farm property and mission at Maison Saint-Gabriel in Montreal. In the same year, Micheline d'Allaire's socio-economic study of dowries, *Les dots des religieuses au Canada français, 1639-1800*, included the congrégation among the Ursulines, the Hôtel-Dieu of Québec and Montréal, and the Hôpital-Général de Québec, while in 1993, the congrégation appeared in Louis Pelletier's wider demographic inquiry into the religious orders of New France.¹²

1922); and David Knowles, *The Religious Houses of Medieval England* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1940).

¹¹ Some of these studies of religious institutions in Europe and the United States focussed upon specific institutions, certain facets of a number of religious orders, and examined their functions, their finances or their socio-economic compositions. See, for example, R. Devos, *La vie religieuse féminine et société. L'origine sociale des Visitandines d'Annecy aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles* (Annecy: Académie Salesienne, 1973); Marie-Andrée Jegou, *Les Ursulines du Faubourg St. Jacques à Paris, 1607-1662. Origine d'un monastère apostolique*, in *Bibliothèque de l'école des hautes études, section des sciences religieuses*, vol. LXXXII (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1981); C. Jones, *The Charitable Imperative: Hospitals and Nursing in the Ancien Régime and Revolutionary France* (New York, 1988); Paulette L'Hermite Leclercq, *Le monachisme féminin dans la société de son temps: Le Monastère de La Celle (XIe-début du XVIe siècle)* (Paris: Editions Cujas, 1989); Elizabeth Rapley, "Profiles of Convent Society in Ancien Regime France," in *De France à Nouvelle-France: société fondatrice et société nouvelle*, edited by Hubert Watelet (Ottawa: Les Presses de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1994).

¹² A.J.B. Johnston, *Religion in Life at Louisbourg, 1713-1758* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987), 86-108; Emilia Chicoine, CND, *La métairie de M. Bourgeoys à la Pointe Saint-Charles* (Montreal: Fides, 1986); Micheline D'Allaire, *Les dots des religieuses au Canada français, 1639-1800: Étude économique et sociale* (Montréal: HMH Hurtubise, 1986); Louis Pelletier, *Le clergé en Nouvelle-France: Étude démographique et répertoire biographique* (Montréal : Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1993).

Other historians included the congrégation in the wider debate surrounding the position and power of women of the past.¹³ In 1987, Marta Danylewycz's, *Taking the Veil*, examined the congrégation and the Soeurs of Misericorde within the context of the unprecedented growth of entrants into female religious orders in nineteenth-century Quebec. Her view of the vocation of a nun as a "profession" was echoed in Elizabeth Rapley's work, *The Dévotes*, which included the congrégation within the confines of a larger study exploring the proliferation of *dévotes* and *filles séculières* within the seventeenth-century Catholic reform movement. Leslie Choquette in "Ces amazones de grand Dieu," conveyed an idealized portrait of the congrégation soeurs among the Chanoinesses hospitalières de Saint-Augustin, the Ursulines, the Hospitalières de Saint-Joseph, as well as lay "devout" women, in late seventeenth century Canada, as powerful women who enjoyed greater freedom as religious women in the more "liberated" atmosphere of the New World than did their European counterparts. Mary Ann Foley's 1991 thesis, however, somewhat mitigated this perspective. By focussing upon the 1698 constitutional foundations of the institution, she demonstrated the constraints imposed upon the congrégation soeurs by the bishop of Quebec, whose proposed constitution

¹³ Formative works in this area include Gerda Lerner, *The Creation of Patriarchy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986) and *The Creation of Feminist Consciousness: From the Middle Ages to Eighteen-Seventy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993). See, also for example, Jan Noel, "New France: Les femmes favorisées," *Atlantis* 6, 2(1981): 80-98 and Micheline Dumont, "Les Femmes de la Nouvelle-France: Étaient-elles favorisées?" *Atlantis* 8, 1(1982): 118-24, as well as her more recent works *Les religieuses, sont-elles féministes* (Montréal: Bellarmin, 1995), and *Découvrir la mémoire des femmes: Une historienne face à l'histoire des femmes* (Montréal: éditions du remue-ménage, 2001). Other works include, Nicole Laurin and Danielle Juteau, *Un métier et une vocation: Le travail des religieuses au Québec de 1901 à 1971* (Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1997). For a detailed discussion of the issue of power and a nun's position, see chapter four.

altered the way of life they had established during the first forty years of their existence in Canada.¹⁴

While many of these studies offered important insights into certain facets of the congrégation, I believed that certain lacunae remained. For example, no single work focussed upon the institution in the eighteenth century. This is not to contend, however, that this thesis intends to be an institutional history per se. However, by devoting two chapters to the examination of the institution within its public and private dimensions, this study not only establishes the wider context for the subsequent exploration of power and the institution's superiors, but also, in the process, casts light upon certain aspects of its administrative and economic way of life.

Furthermore, it also appeared that certain previous studies had passed over the essential spiritual mission not only of the congrégation, but also of both Canadian colonial religious men and women. Many studies have concentrated primarily upon the functional or socio-economic aspects of Canadian religious institutions,¹⁵ often neglecting

¹⁴ Marta Danylewycz, *Taking the Veil: An Alternative to Marriage, Motherhood and Spinsterhood* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987); Elizabeth Rapley, *The Dévotes: Women and Church in Seventeenth-Century France* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990); Leslie Choquette, "Ces Amazones du grand Dieu: Women and Mission in Seventeenth-Century Canada," in *French Historical Studies* 17(1992): 627-55; Mary Ann Foley, CND, "Uncloistered Apostolic Life for Women: Marguerite Bourgeoys' Experiment in Ville-Marie," Ph.D. Thesis, Yale University, 1991.

¹⁵ Micheline D'Allaire, *L'Hôpital-général de Québec, 1692-1764* (Montréal: Fides, 1971); *ibid.*, *Les dots religieuses*, and most recently, *ibid.*, *Les communautés religieuses de Montréal, I. Les communautés religieuses et l'assistance sociale à Montréal, 1659-1900* (Montréal: Méridien, coll. Corsus Universitaire, 1997). Johnston, *Religion in Life at Louisbourg*; Micheline Dumont, *Girl's Schooling in Quebec, 1639-1960* (Ottawa: CHA, 1990); Roger Magnuson, *Education in New France* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992); Andrée Dufour, *Histoire de l'éducation au Québec* (Montréal: Boréal, 1997). See also Michel Allard, *L'Hôtel-Dieu de Montréal, 1642-1973* (Montréal: HMH Hurtubise, 1973). Most recently, Claire Gourdeau's work, *Les Délices de nos coeurs: Marie de l'Incarnation et ses pensionnaires Amérindiennes, 1639-1672* (Sillery:

to draw upon the rich religious heritage of Quebec, or take advantage of advances made by historians who, under the influence of anthropologists, began to examine Christianity from an anthropological point of view.¹⁶ Such scholars, in their depiction of medieval Christianity, approached aspects of Catholicism as, for example, the catechism, prayers, devotions, images, statues, sermons, and saints' lives as if they were artifacts from a distant culture.¹⁷ In the area of female spirituality, Carolyn Walker Bynum was a notable influence: her detailed analysis of many of the biographies of medieval holy women gave integrity to the often-extreme spiritual experiences of these individuals.¹⁸

Assuredly, Marie-Aimée Cliche's¹⁹ ground-breaking quantitative examination of lay spirituality in New France did establish a solid foundation for more detailed inquiries

Septentrion, 1994), has reconstructed a detailed and vivid portrait of the material conditions of the daily lives of the Ursulines.

¹⁶ For a more detailed discussion of the influence of anthropology upon the study of religion see below.

¹⁷ Two excellent examples of the use of this methodology are Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, translated by Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984) and Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991). See also J. Chiffolleau, "La religion flamboyante, 1320-1520," in t. 2, *Histoire de la France religieuse*, edited by Jacques Le Goff and René Rémond (Paris: Seuil, 1988-92).

¹⁸ Carolyn Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987). Other historians concentrating upon saints' lives include: Rudolph Bell and Donald Weinstein, *Saints and Society: The Two Worlds of Western Christendom* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982); André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, translated by Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), originally published 1981; Michael Goodich, *Vita Perfecta: The Ideal of Sainthood in the Thirteenth Century* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1982); R. Kieckhefer, *Unquiet Souls: Fourteenth-Century Saints and their Religious Milieu* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984); and Rudolph M. Bell, *Holy Anorexia* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1985).

¹⁹ Marie-Aimée Cliche, *Les Pratiques de dévotion en Nouvelle-France. Comportements populaires et encadrement ecclésial dans le gouvernement de Québec* (Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1988).

into the religious heritage of the colony.²⁰ Pioneering the area of female religious, Dominique Deslandres utilized the writings of Marie de l'Incarnation of the Ursulines and Soeur Juchereau of the Hospitalières de Québec, to explore the pedagogical techniques and ideology of these women in the education of both natives and Canadians. In the end, she affirmed their deep religious conviction, as well as their intact transmission of the Catholic reformation mission from the ancien régime to the new world.²¹ Since this study, Deslandres has contributed prodigiously to the field, most notably and recently with her examination of female Canadian missionaries within the wider context of French missionary project in the seventeenth century, and her exploration of female holiness in New France.²² Also groundbreaking in this regard is the research of Allan Greer on the

²⁰ For a study of lay spirituality in a later period see Christine Hudon, "Des Dames chrétiennes: La spiritualité des catholiques québécoises au XIX siècle," *Revue d'histoire de l'amérique française* 49(2) (automne 1995): 169-94 and Ollivier Hubert, *Sur la terre comme au ciel : La gestion des rites par l'Église catholique du Québec : Fin XVIIe-XIXe siècle* (Sainte-Foy, Québec : Presses de l'Université Laval, 2000).

²¹ In particular, Dominique Deslandres, "Femmes missionnaires en Nouvelle-France: Les débuts des Ursulines et les Hospitalières à Québec," in *La Religion de ma mère*, edited by Jean Delumeau (Paris: Cerf, 1992). However, she has published numerous articles surrounding the female missionary enterprise. See, for example, "La femme et la mission française," *Cahiers d'histoire* 6, 1(1985):105-33; "L'éducation des Amérindiennes d'après la correspondance de Marie Guyart de l'Incarnation," *Sciences religieuses-Religious Studies* 16, 1:91-110.

²² Dominique Deslandres, *Croire et faire croire: Les missions françaises au XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 2003); and "In the Shadow of the Cloister: Representations of Female Holiness in New France," in *Colonial Saints: Discovering the Holy in the Americas*, edited by Allan Greer and Jodi Bilinkoff (New York: Routledge, 2003), 129-52. Françoise Deroy-Pineau has explored many of the colony's holy women. See, for example, *Marie de l'Incarnation: Marie Guyart, femme d'affaires, mystique, mère de la Nouvelle France* (Paris: Éditions Robert Laffont, 1989); *Madeleine de La Peltrie, amazone du nouveau monde: Alençon, 1603- Québec, 1671* (Montréal: Bellarmin, 1992); *Jeanne Mance: de Langres à Montréal, la passion de soigner* (Montréal: Bellarmin, 1995). Her most recent biography, *Jeanne Le Ber: La recluse au coeur des combats* (Montréal: Bellarmin, 2000), attempts to understand why this woman embraced the extraordinary life of a recluse.

life and the texts surrounding the Canadian native holy woman, Catherine Tekakwitha.²³

Other scholars throughout the 1990s, influenced by the wider interest in women, their spirituality and their writings, turned to examine texts left behind by religious women, and these studies - particularly those surrounding Marie de l'Incarnation - have flourished.²⁴ My intention in this thesis was to build upon these foundations and to ensure that the spirituality of the congrégation became an integral feature of a much broader work.

The congrégation offered an ideal opportunity to undertake such a project. As stated above, no comprehensive examination of the congrégation in the late seventeenth and throughout the eighteenth century existed. Moreover, despite the fact that several fires devastated this community throughout the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the extant sources appeared promising indeed. The community's, *Histoire de*

²³ Allan Greer, "Iroquois Virgin: The Story of Catherine Tekakwitha in New France and New Spain," *Colonial Saints*, 235-50 and "Colonial Saints: Gender, Race and Hagiography in New France," *William and Mary Quarterly* 3d Series, Vol. LVII, no.2 (April 2000): 323.

²⁴ See, for example, the numerous studies by Chantal Théry: "Entre humilité et héroïsation: Des femmes de plume et de tête en Nouvelle-France," in *Critique et littérature québécoise : Critique de la littérature/Littérature de la critique*, edited by A. Hayward and Agnès Whitfield (Montréal: Triptyque, 1992); *ibid.*, "Femmes missionnaires en Nouvelle-France : dans la balançoire de la rhétorique jésuite," in *Rhétorique et conquête missionnaire: Le jésuite Paul Lejeune*, edited by M. Réal Ouellet and Alain Beaulieu (Sillery, Québec: Septentrion, 1993); "Marie de l'Incarnation, intimée et intime, à travers sa correspondance et ses écrits spirituels," in *Discours et pratique de l'intime*, edited by M. Brunet and S. Gagnon (Québec: Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture, 1993). These studies were followed by Dominique Deslandres, "Qu'est-ce qui faisait courir Marie Guyart? Essai d'ethnohistoire d'une mystique après sa correspondance," *Laval Théologique et Philosophique* 53, 2(June 1997): 285-300; Marie Florine Bruneau, *Women Mystics Confront the Modern World: Marie de l'Incarnation (1599-1672) and Madame Guyon (1648-1717)* (Albany: State of New York University Press, 1998); Carla Zecher, "A New World Model of Female Epistolarity: The Correspondence of Marie de l'Incarnation," *Studies in Canadian Literature* 21, 2 (1996): 89-103, and *ibid.*, "Life on the French-Canadian Hyphen: Nation and Narration in the Correspondence of Marie de l'Incarnation," *Quebec Studies* 26(automne 1998/hiver 1999), 38-50.

la Congrégation de Notre-Dame, is an invaluable repository of printed primary sources.²⁵

The community's *Registre général* (1658-1907), a compendium of information concerning the geographical origin, dates of birth and death, kin, and profession of father of each entrant,²⁶ the necrologies (biographies of each individual),²⁷ the population register of the Programme de recherche en démographie historique (PRDH),²⁸ genealogical works by Godbout, Tanguay and Jetté,²⁹ held out the possibility that the social composition of the institute could be reconstructed. The community's account books,³⁰ notarial records tracing the institution's growth and business transactions,³¹ its constitution³² and its coutumier;³³ convent plans;³⁴ an extensive correspondence spanning almost the entire eighteenth century between the institution's superiors and the individuals

²⁵ Soeur Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire de la Congrégation de Notre-Dame*, vols. 1-7 (Montreal: CND, 1910-13).

²⁶ ACND, *Registre général*.

²⁷ Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, vols. 1-7.

²⁸ A comprehensive data base located at the Université de Montréal, it has systematized the entire population of the colony to the eighteenth century.

²⁹ A. Godbout. *Nos ancêtres au XVIIe siècle: dictionnaire généalogique et bio-bibliographique des familles canadiennes* (Québec: s.n., 1955-60); Cyprien Tanguay, *Dictionnaire généalogique des familles canadiennes depuis la fondation de la colonie jusqu'à nos jours*, 7 vols. (Montréal: B. Sénécal, 1871-90); René Jetté, *Dictionnaire généalogique des familles du Québec* (Montréal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1983).

³⁰ ACND, 3/02, *Registre des dépenses et recettes générales*, 1753-1793; 3A/03, *Registre d'inventaires*, 1723-1891; 3A/04, *Registre de comptes de la fabrique de Ville-Marie*, 1759-1843; 3A/07, *Registre de comptes des engagés à la maison mère et sur nos terres et Pointe Saint-Charles*, 1740-1763; 3A/08, *Registre de comptes des engagés à la maison mère et sur nos terres*, 1740-1856.

³¹ ANQM, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

³² AAM, 525.101, 698-1, *Règlements des Soeurs Seculières de la Congrégation de Notre-Dame établie à Ville-Marie pour honorer la très Ste Vierge et imiter ses vertus*.

³³ The only surviving coutumier – a document describing the daily practices of the nuns after 1768 – can be found in Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 5:131-5. This document was collected and revised by Soeur Marie-Josèphe Mauge-Garreau.

³⁴ A comprehensive collection of convent plans for numerous religious institutions in Montreal can be found in Robert Lahaise, *Les édifices conventuels du Vieux Montréal: Aspects ethno-historique* (Lasalle, Québec: Éditions Hurtubise, HMH, Limitée, 1980).

who managed the community's investments in France,³⁵ as well with certain bishops of Quebec³⁶ made an institutional reconstruction of the community feasible. And finally, numerous primary sources depicted the religious practices and beliefs of these women. The most important avenue into the congrégation's spirituality, however, proved to be two biographies of Marie Barbier, one, written by Charles de Glandelet, priest of the Séminaire de Québec, and the other, an edited version of it, by Étienne de Montgolfier, superior of the Sulpician seminary at Montreal.³⁷ The life of Jeanne Le Ber by François Vachon de Belmont, also edited by Montgolfier³⁸ provided valuable insights. Moreover, the *papiers intimes* of Marie-Josèphe Maugue-Garreau,³⁹ reflecting as they do some of the tenets of the writings of Marguerite Bourgeoys (see appendix 1), validated utilizing the works of the institution's foundress as a pathway into the central religious beliefs of these women.⁴⁰ Moreover, within the congrégation's archives, lists of books read by the soeurs,⁴¹ prayers, chants, inventories describing religious objects,⁴² the constitution,⁴³ the necrologies, with their numerous descriptions of some of the soeurs' devotions and the legends and miracles they believed in and experienced throughout the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, all promised to shed light on the nuns' religious practices and beliefs.⁴⁴

³⁵ Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, vols. 2-6.

³⁶ AAM, 525.101.

³⁷ ASQ, ms. 198, Recueil touchant la S[oeur Marie Barbier]; ASSP, ms 1233, Mémoires sur la vie de la soeur l'Assomption.

³⁸ ASSP, ms. 1216, La Vie de la venerable soeur Jeanne Le Ber.

³⁹ Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 5: 106-9.

⁴⁰ Bourgeoys, *Writings*.

⁴¹ ACND, Series D, Livres Anciens.

⁴² ACND, 3A/03, Registre d'inventaires, 1723-1763.

⁴³ AAM, 525.101, 698-1, Réglemens.

⁴⁴ Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, vols. 1-7.

The religious and cultural heritage of the city of Montreal also proved to be a rich supplementary resource. Maison Saint-Gabriel at Pointe Saint-Charles provides a meticulously maintained reconstruction of life at an early mission school and the day-to-day material objects these women must have used and worked with; the church of Notre-Dame de Bonsecours, a reflection of the nuns' spirituality; while exhibits depicting early Canadian life at the Marguerite Bourgeoys Museum, the McCord Museum and Château de Ramezay offer a window into the world outside of the convent walls, the world from which these women emerged, and with which they interacted. Recently, historians appear to be demonstrating a growing interest in material culture, and the cultural implications of material objects. My thesis does not intend to analyze systematically extant artifacts from the institution, its existing buildings or many of the exhibits on display in Montreal's museums. However, as demonstrated by chapters one and two, which utilize convent plans and paintings to attempt to understand the relationship of these women to their surrounding society, this study did utilize material objects as sources to explore certain facets of the life of the nuns and form a mental picture of them and their milieu, a methodology which hopefully reflects itself in the texture of some of the thesis.⁴⁵

And finally, the fact that many of the sources - letters, spiritual biographies, and testaments - were clustered around certain superiors, enabled me to take a more focussed, individualized approach to the congrégation, and draw upon advances in the field of

⁴⁵ See, for example, Barbara G. Carson and Cary Carson, "Things Unspoken: Learning Social History from Artifacts," in *Ordinary People and Everyday Life: Perspectives on the New Social History*, edited by James B. Gardner and George Rollie (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1983); Ann Smart Martin, "Material Things and Meanings," *William and Mary Quarterly*, vol. LIII, no.1 (Jan. 1996); Brian Young, *The Making and the Unmaking of a University Museum: The McCord, 1921-1996* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000).

socio-cultural biography.⁴⁶ Most influential to my study is the work of Natalie Zemon Davis. In her book, *Women on the Margins*, Davis utilized a wide variety of sources to represent three individual women - among whom was Marie de l'Incarnation, the French Ursuline nun. Through an in-depth exploration of these individuals, and by exposing the richness of their lives, she questioned the marginalization of women in the seventeenth century.⁴⁷ But, of course, Davis has not been my sole mentor in this area. Many other historians, in search of the "voices" of women of the past, turned to texts left behind by "writing women" in order to hear and understand the otherwise silent voices of these "marginalized" individuals.⁴⁸ These studies naturally researched literate, educated women. Recently, Dava Sobel's work utilized the letters of Galileo's daughter to her famous father to reconstruct their relationship, to portray the mind of this highly intelligent nun, as well as to demonstrate conflict between belief and scientific conviction in seventeenth-century Italy.⁴⁹ Other historians have undertaken analyses of more better-

⁴⁶ Formative works in this area include: Carlo Ginzburg, *The Cheese and the Worm* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1980); Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Return of Martin Guerre* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983). For more recent biographies within this genre see, for example, Craig Harline, *The Burdens of Sister Marguerite: Inside a Seventeenth-Century Convent* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000) and Linda Pollack, *With Faith and Physic: The Life of a Tudor Gentlewoman, Lady Grace Mildmay, 1552-1620* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995).

⁴⁷ Natalie Zemon Davis, *Women on the Margins: Three Seventeenth-Century Lives* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995).

⁴⁸ For an excellent discussion of this silence, as well as the problems involved in reconstructing these female voices see D. Bohler Regnier, "Literary and Mystical Voices," in *History of Women in the West*, vol.2, *The Silence of the Middle Ages*, edited by Christiane Klapisch-Zuber (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1992).

⁴⁹ Dava Sobel, *Galileo's Daughter: A Drama of Science, Faith and Love* (London: Fourth Estate, 1999).

known nuns such as Saints Catherine of Siena, Theresa of Ávila and Hildegard of Bingen, and studies of these individuals have proliferated.⁵⁰

II. Theoretical Background

This thesis touches upon three theoretical issues in contemporary postmodern scholarship: the representation of the individual, power and religion. The following shall attempt to present my perspective on these matters within the current theoretical debates.

Representation and the Individual

It is perhaps an understatement to declare that the representation of the individual has become a contentious issue in postmodern theoretical scholarship. Beginning with the 1960s, French philosophers, as, for example, Gilles Deleuze, Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault and Jean-François Lyotard, rejected what were, for the time, the radical philosophies of the past, such as Marxism, existentialism, phenomenology and psychoanalysis. Many of these philosophies were concerned with contemporary alienation, the human self and how it and human society developed over time, and they included in their analysis an attempt to understand how modern civilization had gone wrong. For Marxists, then, their chief concern was the reconstruction of society; for

⁵⁰ Suzanne Noffke, *Catherine of Siena: Vision Through a Distant Eye* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1996) and most recently, Catherine of Siena, *The Letters of Catherine of Siena*, vols. 1&2, translated by Suzanne Noffke (Tempe: Arizona Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2000, 2001); Sabina Flanagan, *Hildegard of Bingen, 1098-1179: A Visionary Life*, 2nd edition (London: Routledge, 1998), and for a comprehensive review of the works of this saint see Madeline Caviness, "Hildegard of Bingen: Some Recent Books," *Speculum* (Jan. 2002): 113; Christopher Abbott, *Julian of Norwich: Autobiography and Theology*, in *Studies in Medieval Mysticism*, 2 (Woodbridge, England: Boydell and Brewer, 1999).

Freudians, moral culture; and for existentialists and phenomenologists, the authentic human experience.⁵¹

The new French philosophers of the 1960s, on the other hand, turned away from this concern with the self and its historical development, and, under the influence of structuralism as developed by the theoretical linguist, Ferdinand de Saussure, and implemented by the anthropologist, Claude Lévi-Strauss, they turned to structures such as language, ritual and kinship as the creators of selfhood.⁵² In a word, and quite suddenly, the human self no longer existed as a unified whole, a rational autonomous being producing meanings and values and possessing an essential identity. Rather, the individual was viewed quite simply as a construct;⁵³ a depthless self emerged, possessing neither internal coherence, autonomous existence, nor means for self-knowledge, "dispersed in multiple texts, discursive formations, fragmentary readings and signifying practices"⁵⁴

In conjunction with these critiques, there arose an intense scrutiny of the very methodology of representation itself. The most extreme critic of the representation of the subject proved to be the French philosopher, Michel Foucault, who contended that the

⁵¹ Lawrence E. Cahoon, *From Modernism to Postmodernism: An Anthology* (Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers, 1996), 4, 5.

⁵² Ibid., 5.

⁵³ Linda Alcoff, "Cultural Feminism versus Post-Structuralism: The Identity Crisis in Feminist Theory," in Sherry Ortner, *Culture/Power/History: A Reader in Contemporary Social Theory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 103.

⁵⁴ Ortner, "Introduction," in *Culture/Power/History*, 12. Certain scholars have argued, however, that the so-called "death of the subject" is an illusion and that postmodernism has "celebrated" a particular kind of subject, "constructed under the regime of postmodernism." See Dick Hebdige, "After the Masses," in *ibid.*, 222.

subject could only be dominated by the researcher/writer.⁵⁵ Clifford Geertz, in particular, in *Writing Culture* and *Works and Lives*, validated this argument in the field of anthropology by challenging the view that anthropologists were detached, scientific objective, reporters of other cultures. Geertz postulated that anthropologists were, in fact, writing mere representations that served the interests of colonialism, imposing order on the chaos of voices, perspectives and structures.⁵⁶ The Palestinian-American philosopher, Edward Said, broadened both Foucault's and then Geertz's contentions, demonstrating how either literary, historical or anthropological representations are tied to western colonialism.⁵⁷

Scholars from a wide variety of disciplines have attempted to come to terms with these threats to the foundations of traditional scholarship, and they have engaged in an endeavour not only to tie their particular fields to some type of theoretical foundation, but also to justify the social science enterprise itself.⁵⁸ The field of anthropology, in particular, pertinent to this discussion by way of its seminal influence upon cultural

⁵⁵ Ortner, *Culture/ Power/ History*, 13. Michel Foucault, "The Subject and Power," in *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*, edited and translated by H. Dreyfus and P. Rabinow (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982).

⁵⁶ Ortner, *Culture/ Power/ History*, 36. Clifford Geertz, *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography: A School of American Research Advanced Seminar*, edited by James Clifford and George E. Marcus (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986); *Works and Lives: The Anthropologist as Author* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988), 208-9. But Geertz had reached this conclusion as early as 1973. See, for example, "Thick Description: Towards an Interpretive Theory of Culture," in *The Interpretation of Culture: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 15. For a recent exposition of this view see Adam Kuper, *Culture: The Anthropologists' Account* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999), esp. 113: "...the ethnographer not only reads that fragmentary and fleeting text over the shoulder of his informants, he also fabricates a text of his own."

⁵⁷ Ortner, *Culture/Power/History*, 38. Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1979).

⁵⁸ See most recently, Joan W. Scott and Debra Keates ed., *Schools of Thought: Twenty-Five Years of Interpretive Social Science* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).

history, to be discussed below, appears to have suffered more than most other disciplines from the shockwaves produced by the poststructural critique, and certain scholars have engaged in formulating various ways of grappling with a challenge which has had such a paralysing effect on the discipline of anthropology that, in the words of one anthropologist, it often left young people hesitant to venture into the field itself.⁵⁹

Poststructural currents invalidating the individual have also had enormous implications for feminist theory. On one end of the spectrum, are "cultural feminists" who steadfastly believe in the female nature, or the female essence, and that a valid woman's world can be represented.⁶⁰ This was a view held by early feminists, such as Mary Daly and Adrienne Rich,⁶¹ and has been under vehement scrutiny by certain poststructural feminists, such as Joan Scott⁶² who, claim that as the category of woman is a construct, a construction of human discourse without an essential identity, the experience of women cannot be captured.⁶³ While for some feminists, poststructuralism has liberated the field

⁵⁹ Adam Kuper, "Brave New World," in *Culture: The Anthropologists' Account*, 223. For a good discussion of the "politics" of postmodernism in terms of the discipline of anthropology, see *ibid.*, 201-9.

⁶⁰ This discussion has been taken from Linda Alcoff, "Cultural Feminism versus Post-Structuralism: The Identity Crisis in Feminist Theory," in Ortner, *Culture/Power/History*, 96-122.

⁶¹ Mary Daly, *Gyn/Ecology* (Boston: Beacon, 1978); Adrienne Rich, *Of Woman Born* (New York: Bantam, 1977). For a notable recent work in women's religious history reflecting this point of view see, Elizabeth Rapley, *A Social History of the Cloister: Daily Life in the Teaching Monasteries of the Old Regime* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001).

⁶² Joan Scott, "Women's History," in *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 15. See also her "Introduction," 1-11.

⁶³ Alcoff, "Cultural Feminism," 103-5, in Ortner, *Culture/Power/History*. Many poststructuralist feminists have been influenced by Lacan, Derrida and Foucault who together agree that the "self-contained authentic subject conceived by humanism to be discoverable below a veneer of cultural and ideological overlay" is a construct of humanist discourse. According to Alcoff, Lacan uses psychoanalysis, Derrida, grammar and Foucault, "the history of the discourses," to attack the idea that the subject has an "essential identity" that has been repressed by society (103).

by promising increased freedom for women by eliminating gender identity, ultimately, for others, it deconstructs the female subject to the point where the concept of gender and, therefore, "woman" is almost invisible and the formulation of an active political agent virtually impossible.⁶⁴

Other scholars' reactions to the postmodern critique have not been compliant. Certain scholars, such as the American anthropologist Henry Louis Gates, contended that theory itself is the language of power, intimidating its audiences and creating an elite. In view of this situation, he advocated the development of a specifically black theory.⁶⁵ At the opposite extreme is Keith Windschuttle's,⁶⁶ *The Killing of History*. This book launched a vehement attack upon any school of thought or scholar who dared to apply theory to history. And, most recently, Victor E. Taylor, in a poetic and literary critique of postmodernism, expressed a most bleak view, warning, of its "terrible consequences: death without redemption."⁶⁷

Fortunately for this study and the future of academic research, some scholars have attempted to rescue the scholarly endeavour. Sherry Ortner, in an heroic effort to refocus the discipline of anthropology, contended what may to some appear to be the obvious:

⁶⁴ Ortner in *ibid.*, 14-15. For a good discussion of the issues surrounding the concept of "woman," as advanced by Denise Riley and Joan Scott, see Mariana Valverde, "Poststructuralist Gender Historians: Are We Those Names?" in *Labour/Le Travail* 25(Spring 1990): 227-36.

⁶⁵ Henry Louis Gates, Jr., "Authority, (White) Power and the (Black) Critic; It's All Greek to Me," in Ortner, *Culture/Power/History*, 247.

⁶⁶ Keith Windschuttle, *The Killing of History: How Literary Critics and Social Theorists are Murdering Our Past* (New York: Free Press, 1997). Other works grappling with these issues include: Philippe Carrard, *Poetics of History: French Historical Discourse from Braudel to Chartier* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992); Joyce Appleby and Lynn Hunt, *Telling the Truth About History* (New York: Norton, 1994); Robert Berkhofer Jr., *Beyond the Great Story: History as Text and Discourse* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995).

⁶⁷ Victor E. Taylor, *Para/Inquiry: Postmodern Religion and Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2000).

"historians and anthropologists still embrace the need to explore other worlds and other modes of being," and, because of this, the anthropological project should not be put aside. And although affirming the existence of hierarchical relations between "us" and "them," as well as the creation of the "other," she also defended the integrity of the "anthropological project" which, she claimed "must be recuperated," and engaged in with "critical awareness," not only of colonial discourse, but also of master narratives pretending to tell grand stories of world history.⁶⁸

But Ortner's stance - to get on with the task - echoes outside of the confines of the discipline of anthropology. In the field of history, certain historians admit that they quite simply want to "write history."⁶⁹ And while few contemporary feminists would argue that, at least on a theoretical level, the concept of "woman" does exist, many would agree with Denise Riley. She concluded that although "women" do not exist on a theoretical level, oppression, and discrimination do, and for this reason "we must act politically as though they do," and presumably write women's history.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Ortner, *Culture, Power, History*, 39-40.

⁶⁹ For example, Jeffrey F. Hamburger, *The Visual and the Visionary: Art and Feminine Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany* (New York: Zone Books, 1998), 185: "...finding real women's voices...calls for a tenable middle ground, one that admits the impossibility of unmediated communication from past to present but nonetheless allows women to speak from the silence within enclosure..."; Kenneth Charlton, *Women, Religion and Education in Early Modern England* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 4-5: "...there remains the far from completed task of recovering the lived experience of women, of retrieving and making visible that particular part of the human race whose existence has for so long failed to find a place on the pages of books written..."; Shulamith Shahar, *Women and a Medieval Heretical Sect: Agnes and Huguette the Waldensians*, translated by Yael Lotan (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2001). "...[her] aim is one shared by feminist theologians and church historians, to make the stories and lives of women, especially those forgotten by conventional historiography, visible. *Feminist Theology* no. 29 (Jan. 2002): 119.

⁷⁰ Denise Riley, *'Am I That Name': Feminism and the Category of 'Women' in History* (London: The Macmillan Press, Ltd., 1988), 112. For a good exposition of this view in

I agree with Ortner and believe that scholars must “get on with the task.”

Moreover, like Ortner and others, I also contend that the current theoretical debates cannot be ignored. It is perhaps an understatement to argue that these dilemmas have posed powerful conceptual and methodological challenges to the researching and writing of this thesis, challenges that anyone who has spent any time in the archives must have experienced: the very real and not so theoretical moment of encountering dissonant and scattered voices resonating from dispersed incomplete documents, disillusionment with ultimately fragmented and incomplete syntheses of documentary material, as well as facing, in the end, one's own arrogant power in shaping it. It was this arrogant power that reared its ugly head with respect to this particular study of religious women: did my act of historical reconstruction empower these women in a way that may have run counter to their religious values? And, by reconstructing them, was I not according them a distinction and renown that may have been repugnant to them, these women to whom self-effacement lay at the very heart of their spiritual beliefs? And would it not have been more respectful to have left them where they were - as fragmented voices, scattered in the archives? These proved to be serious issues, and they arose repeatedly throughout this study, leaning not only upon its methodology, but more fundamentally pertaining to my position as an historian and my own relationship to power.

Power

Inarguably, Michel Foucault has exerted the most pervasive influence on the concept of power in the twentieth century. Post-Foucauldian scholarly research has had to acknowledge a very different view of power, for power in this post-structural world no

Canadian history see Joan Sangster, *Earning Respect: The Lives of Working Women in Small-Town Ontario, 1920-1960* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995).

longer belongs just to the state or organized institutions. Rather power is seen as being everywhere; it belongs to the weak as well as the strong. Power is not a one-dimensional entity, but a relation - there is always power over someone or something, and nothing is exempt from it.⁷¹

Foucault's expansive view of power opened up scholarship in many ways, endowing researchers with new tools and methods of viewing it. No longer the preserve of the state or a few individuals, power relations are omnipresent in a vastly expanded political realm that does not merely involve kings and high-ranking political officials, but ordinary individuals.⁷² Arguably, this reconceptualization of power, as well as the

⁷¹ Ortner, *Culture/Power/History*, 3-8. Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, vol. 1, translated by Michael Hurley (New York: Pantheon, 1978), and *ibid.*, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1977-1984*, edited and translated by Colin Gordon (New York: Pantheon, 1980).

⁷² Ortner, *Culture/Power/History*, 5. Merry Wiesner, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, 2nd edition (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000). A most noteworthy landmark in this area is the research of the German critical theorists, Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry Into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, translated by Thomas Burger (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1991). Habermas identified the emergence, development, institutionalization of a bourgeois "public sphere" in seventeenth and eighteenth-century Europe. In his view, this "public sphere" consisted of private individuals, "who joined in a debate of issues bearing on state authority," and which led to the idea of a "society separate from the ruler (or the state) and of a private realm separate from the public." Craig Calhoun, "Introduction," *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (Cambridge Mass.: the MIT Press, 1992), 1-42 and esp. 7. According to Dena Goodman, essentially Habermas isolated the existence of two public spheres: the inauthentic public sphere of state authority and the authentic public sphere in the private realm, "the public face of the private realm." The latter was described as a place where private people came together and formed a public sphere in the political realm, which, with the use of rational discourse, would eventually confront the state. Dena Goodman, "Public Sphere and Private Life: Toward a Synthesis of Current Historiographical Approaches to the Old Regime," *History and Theory* 31(1992), 1-20, but particularly 5-6. In this article, Goodman also discusses and reviews the representation of the public and private spheres by Habermas and the French historian Philippe Ariès. Philippe Ariès, *A History of Private Life*, vol. 3, *Passions of the Renaissance*, edited by Roger Chartier, translated by Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1987). Habermas did not include women

concomitant widening of our understanding of its broader dimensions, has been particularly fruitful with respect to expanding our comprehension of the role of religious women within their own respective milieux, and has enabled me to venture beyond the private world of the convent and to look at diverse ways these women participated, or were influential in the society surrounding them.

Although this thesis explores these women within a wider context beyond the convent, it also raises an issue closely related to power - that of the extent of their agency within the broader male-dominated Church structure. But what is an agent or agency? This work understands an agent as "a person or thing that exerts power or produces an effect," and agency as "the duty or function of an agent."⁷³ In this respect, the work of Michel de Certeau, which explores the workings of the power structure with respect to the realities of every day life,⁷⁴ has provided a useful framework for my examination of the agency of these women - the opportunities as well as the limitations they faced as historical individuals.

Religion

The study of religion has proliferated, particularly in the past two decades, and has assumed a prominent place in contemporary scholarship.⁷⁵ This is hardly surprising, for

within this public sphere, but subsequent historians have secured a place for them within this broader realm. See, for example, most recently, Joan Landes, ed., *Feminism, the Public and the Private* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998) and Susan Dalton, "Engendering the Republic of Letters: Reconnecting Public and Private Spheres in Eighteenth-Century Europe," Ph.D. Thesis, University of Montreal, 1999.

⁷³ *The Canadian Oxford Dictionary* (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 1998).

⁷⁴ Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), xiii, xiv, xix.

⁷⁵ Scholars in many disciplines are viewing religion as key to understanding the past. See Donald C. Swift, *Religion and the American Experience* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1998). This proliferation of interest in religion is particularly true in the realm of feminist studies in religion, beginning with the call for scholars to examine religion from a female point of

the foundations for serious studies of religion are deeply rooted in the social sciences, and extend back into the nineteenth century. In spite of the dismissal of religion by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels,⁷⁶ other scholars, such as Max Weber, Émile Durkheim and William

view. Rosemary Radford Ruether, for example, in *God Talk: Towards a Feminist Theology* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1983), endeavoured to explore Christianity from a female perspective, while Anne Carson's *Feminist Spirituality and the Feminine Divine: An Annotated Bibliography* (New York: The Crossing Press, 1986) attempted to penetrate the roots of female spirituality. By 1990, feminist theologians such as Ann Loades, ed., *Feminist Theology: A Reader* (Great Britain: SPCK, 1990), 2, 10, were seeking to "eliminate androcentric fallacy and rely on themselves for understanding God,"; and Ruether, "The Liberation of Christology from Patriarchy," in *ibid.* 2. This endeavour is reflected, most recently, in Joy Morny and Eva K. Neumaier-Dargay, *Gender, Genre and Religion: Feminist Reflections* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press for the Calgary Institute for the Humanities, 1995) and Jordan Paper, ed., *Through the Earth Darkly: Spirituality in Comparative Perspective* (New York: Continuum, 1997); Silvia Artz, "Reading the Bible is a Gendered Act," *Feminist Theology*, no. 29 (Jan. 2002): 32-9; and has manifested itself in a call to include religion in studies of race, gender, history, and sexuality. See, for example, Angela Berlis and Charlotte Methuen, *Feminist Perspectives on History and Religion* (Leuven: Peeters, 2000) and Laura E. Donaldson and Kwok Pui-lan, *Postcolonialism, Feminism and Religious Discourse* (London: Routledge, 2002). In other areas, scholars are attempting to formulate a feminist philosophy of religion. See Pamela Sue Anderson, *A Feminist Philosophy of Religion* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998); or simply to trace the story of women and religion in America: Susan Hill Lindley, *You Have Stept Out of Your Place: A History of Women and Religion in America* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1996). For an examination of the relationship of French feminists to religion, see Joy Morny, Kathleen O'Grady and Judith Poxon, *French Feminists on Religion: A Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2002).

But neither has the endeavour been confined to studies in Christianity. See, for example, Karla Goldman, *Beyond the Synagogue Gallery: Finding a Place for Women in American Judaism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000) and Patricia Jung-Beattie, Mary E. Hunt and Radhika Balakrishnan, *Good Sex: Feminist Perspectives from the World's Religions* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2001).

⁷⁶ Karl Marx, *Marx and Engels on Religion* (New York: Schocken Books, 1964). This is not to argue that anti-religious sentiments have been eradicated by the burgeoning scholarly interest in religion. See, for example, William E. Hart ed., *Edward Said and the Religious Effects of Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000). In this volume, Said asserts Marx's claim that "the criticism of religion is the premise of all criticism," 39. For a discussion of anti-religious sentiments with respect to feminism see Michelle, M. Lelwica, "From Superstition to Enlightenment to the Race for Pure Consciousness: Antireligious Current in Popular and Academic Discourse." *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* 14, no. 2 (Fall, 1998).

James,⁷⁷ for example, viewed religion as an integral component of human existence. For Weber and Durkheim it was the relationship between society and religion that was important, while William James focussed upon the religious experience of the individual.

In the early years of the twentieth century, anthropology was the main discipline to engage in the study of religion, but it would be the work of Clifford Geertz in the 1970s that would most profoundly influence its exploration within the historical profession.⁷⁸ For Geertz, religion was an integral component, the highest expression of culture.⁷⁹ In his view, religion, like culture, consists of symbolic signs that could be read by an ethnographer as a text - in a word, everything became a text. Geertz's methodology opened up the study of culture and religion for historians, enabling them to utilize a vast array of documents hitherto not considered particularly useful to the historical endeavour. It also liberated historians from positivist history which had dominated the field since the 1970s,⁸⁰ and profoundly influenced my approach, not only to archival documents surrounding the individuals I have chosen to examine, but also broadened my understanding of what actually was meant by their religious life. It was, in particular, Geertz's contention that the religious individual should be studied "as a man moving more

⁷⁷ Max Weber, *The Sociology of Religion*, translated by Ephraim Fischoff, introduction by Talcott Parsons (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964); Émile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, translated by Carol Cosman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); William James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (New York: The Modern Library, 1929).

⁷⁸ Beginning with the ground-breaking work, Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*. William Sewell, "Geertz, Cultural Systems and History," in *The Fate of Culture: Geertz and Beyond*, edited by Sherry B. Ortner (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 39. Of course, Geertz was not the sole scholar to explore this area. The work of Victor Turner remains very important for those scholars engaged in the study of ritual. See Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (New York: Aldine Publishing Co. 1969).

⁷⁹ Kuper, "Clifford Geertz: Culture as Religion and as Grand Opera," in *Culture*, 100-1.

⁸⁰ Sewell, "Geertz, Cultural Systems and History," in *Fate of Culture*, 38-9.

or less easily and very frequently between radically contrasting ways at looking at the world which are not continuous with one another but separated by cultural gaps across which Kierkegaardian leaps must be made in both directions,"⁸¹ that caught my attention and bolstered my resolve to attempt to explore these women outside of the traditional dichotomy separating the contemplative and active life.⁸²

III. Historical Background

The European Context

At the time this thesis begins, in the year 1693, when Marguerite Bourgeoys handed over the superiorship of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame to her successor, Marie Barbier, Soeur de l'Assomption, Catholic Europe had been in the throes of a spiritual revival for more than a century. The Catholic Reformation was not only a reaction to the challenges posed by Luther and his Protestant followers; it also stemmed from an impulse deeply rooted with the humanistic reforming tradition of the Church, particularly Christian humanism of the late fifteenth century.⁸³ It expressed itself on two levels: between 1545 and 1562, within the changes instituted by the Council of Trent, the heir to a conciliar tradition originating in the second century, whereby synods or councils had

⁸¹ Geertz, "Religion as a Cultural System," in *Interpretation of Cultures*, 119-20. And elsewhere in *ibid.*, 119: "But no one, not even a saint, lives in the world religious symbols formulate all of the time, and the majority of men live in it only at moments. The everyday world of common-sense objects and practical acts is...the paramount reality in human experience - paramount in the sense that it is the world in which we are most solidly rooted, whose inherence actuality we can hardly question...and from whose pressures and requirement we can at least escape...Religion is sociologically interesting not because, as vulgar positivism would have it, it describes the social order..., but because, like environment, political power, wealth, jural obligation, personal affection and a sense of beauty, it shapes it."

⁸² As exemplified in Henri Brémond, *Histoire littéraire du sentiment religieux en France depuis la fin des guerres de religion jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris : A. Colin, 1967-8), and manifesting itself in many of the works in Canadian religious history discussed above.

⁸³ Pierre Janelle, *The Catholic Reformation* (Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1963).

congregated periodically to define Church discipline and doctrine,⁸⁴ and a deep-seated spiritual revival in the secular and religious world of the day. Within this context, the council equipped the Church with a solid body of defined doctrine and a code of reform⁸⁵ which provided the essential inspiration for the French Catholic Reformation.

This reform spread into every sphere of human activity,⁸⁶ and in certain respects, it altered the face of the European medieval world. Art, always a tool for teaching, as well as an outlet for the passionate expression of religious feelings, became more ornate.⁸⁷ Gothic arches, so characteristic of so many medieval churches, which had led so many individual souls to transcendence, were retained, but a more sombre atmosphere, concentrating upon the passion of Christ, pervaded places of worship. They became more of this world than the next: the pulpit occupied a central position; the sanctuary became more visible; and the stained glass windows not as didactic or transcendent, but more transparent, severe and practical, a vehicle to permit the entrance of light by which an individual could read.⁸⁸ The Virgin Mary, once a flamboyantly beautiful noble, a crowned and sceptred Queen with flowing garments, with the infant Jesus in her arms, was transformed into a mature woman, fully clothed from head to toe in sombre black,

⁸⁴ Joseph Lynch, *The Medieval Church: A Brief History* (New York: Longman, 1992) 15; Michael A. Mullet, *The Catholic Reformation* (London: Routledge, 1999), 2.

⁸⁵ Mullet, *The Catholic Reformation*, 68.

⁸⁶ Pierre Janelle, *Catholic Reformation*, 138.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 196.

⁸⁸ The differences between a gothic and baroque cathedral taken from Janelle, *Catholic Reformation*, but modified by visits to the thirteenth-century cathedral, Notre-Dame-de-Paris, and then other sixteenth-century churches, for example, Saint-Sulpice and Saint-Etienne-de-Mont in Paris.

the Mother of Sorrows.⁸⁹ Images of martyrs and suffering covered the walls of these churches, representations of death, and visions and ecstasy of the mystics.⁹⁰

Spiritual life among the regular clergy deepened, and turned to focus upon reform. Rooted in medieval Christian humanism,⁹¹ particularly the *devotio moderna*⁹² and the principles laid down by the Council of Trent, it began with the perfection of the self through pious exercises, prayer, exhortation, frequent confessions, communion and charity, and celebrated the prospect of man and the fruitfulness of his actions. Reform spread, at first, throughout the religious orders, the Dominican, Franciscan, the Theatines, and in the wake of this impulse, new religious orders such as the Jesuits in the sixteenth century, and the Oratorians, in the seventeenth century, were established⁹³ - individuals dedicated to work in this world,⁹⁴ and whose prime task was the apostolate.⁹⁵ Mystics, such as Saint Ignatius of Loyola, Saint Theresa of Avila and Saint John of the Cross, left

⁸⁹ For a good concentrated collection of medieval virgins in painted wood, stone or ivory of various sizes and grouped together see Musée National du Moyen Age, especially salle 14. The contrast between the two periods is obvious and immediately exemplified in the Church of Saint-Sulpice, the statue, Mary the Mother of Sorrows by Edme Bouchardon. For more on the Virgin Mary, see chapter two.

⁹⁰ Janelle, *Catholic Reformation*, 206, 202.

⁹¹ Most scholars would agree to the Christian humanist roots of this movement. See, for example, A.G. Dickens, *The Counter Reformation* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1969); Delumeau, *Catholicism*, 2; Janelle, *Catholic Reformation*, 111.

⁹² Pierre Debongnie, "Dévotion Moderne," *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, 3: 727-47. The *devotio moderna* was a spiritual movement founded by Gérard Groote (1340-1384) in the Low Countries. It developed over the course of the fifteenth century, eventually taking the form of two religious institutions: the Brothers and Sisters of the Common Life and the Regular Canons of the Congregation of Windesheim. See also Joseph Lynch, *The Medieval Church: A Brief History* (New York: Longman, 1992), 340-1, who identifies this movement as a "school."

⁹³ Janelle, *Catholic Reformation*, 111, 112, 225, 113, 115. See Dickens, *Counter Reformation*, for a perspective which does not focus upon Jesuit domination of the early movement.

⁹⁴ Mullett, *Catholic Reformation*, 23.

⁹⁵ Janelle, *Catholic Reformation*, 119.

behind writings which, with the advent of the printing press and the concomitant increase in literacy, encouraged a greater number of individuals to focus upon the interior life, the strengthening of the spirit.⁹⁶

In France, Catholic reform followed a similar pattern. In the first half of the fifteenth century, even before the promulgation of the decrees of Trent, historians have documented an increase in religiosity, manifesting itself in, for example, church construction, synodal statutes calling for reform, and an increase in devotional literature.⁹⁷ Moreover, although the French state did not formally adopt the decrees of the Council of Trent until 1615, research clearly reveals that the bishops openly supported Trent throughout the latter part of the sixteenth century.⁹⁸ The work of the Jesuits, who were granted official entry into France in 1561,⁹⁹ was most influential: they established schools for the education of the clergy and the young, initially in Paris, and then throughout the provinces, and fortified their example with works of charity in favour of the destitute, the sick and prisoners. After 1600, Jesuits continued their work, opening up colleges, reforming older orders and encouraging the foundation of new ones. However, by the seventeenth century other individuals were clearly engaged in the work of reform. Men such as Pierre Bérulle,¹⁰⁰ who founded the French Oratory, the mainspring of the Catholic reform in France, aimed to restore dignity to the priesthood, but his work also had far more far-reaching influence. Other individuals - Saint François de Sales, priest (1567-

⁹⁶ For more on this see especially Roger Chartier, *A History of Reading in the West*, translated by Lydia Cochrane (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1999).

⁹⁷ Marc Venard, "La grande cassure", in *Histoire de la France religieuse*, vol. 2, edited by Jacques Le Goff and René Rémond (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1991), 195, 204-5, 207, 220, 221.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 298, 301.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 309.

¹⁰⁰ Janelle, *The Catholic Reformation*, 236-42.

1622),¹⁰¹ Saint Vincent-de-Paul,¹⁰² Jean-Jacques Olier, founder of the Sulpicians (1608-57),¹⁰³ and Jean Eudes (1601-80)¹⁰⁴ - followed in Bérulle's footsteps and became reformers in their own right. Missions and schools spread throughout the French countryside, designed either to reform the education of the clergy, to remedy social ills or to catechize the populace. This endeavour involved individuals such as Pierre Fourier, co-founder of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame (1565-1640),¹⁰⁵ Antoine Yvan, founder of l'Ordre de Notre-Dame de Miséricorde (1576-1653),¹⁰⁶ Michel le Nobletz, Jesuit priest, noted for his work in Brittany (1577-1652),¹⁰⁷ Jean Le Jeune, Oratorian (1592-1672),¹⁰⁸ and the Jesuit Saint-François Régis (1597-1640), who devoted his life to organizing charities, rooting out prostitution, and converting Huguenots¹⁰⁹

Needless to say, women were not left untouched by the energy unleashed by this movement. In France, lay women offered themselves to the cause of Catholic reform in unprecedented numbers, setting out to catechize the faithful and to do good works. Initially, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, there was a movement of lay individuals and groups who lived outside of the "traditional" cloistered religious communities. However, these women - *filles séculières*, as they were called - over the course of the century became the first active uncloistered congregations living in an intermediate state, part religious and part secular. This was an arrangement that enabled

¹⁰¹ Pierre Serouet, "Saint François de Sales," *Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique: Doctrine et histoire*, edited by Marc Valler, F. Cavallera and J. de Guibert (Paris: Beauchesne, 1932-95), 5: 1057-97.

¹⁰² André Dodin, "Saint Vincent de Paul," *ibid.*, 16: 841-63.

¹⁰³ Irénée Noye et Michel Dupuy, "Jean-Jacques Olier," *ibid.*, 11: 737-50.

¹⁰⁴ Paul Milcent, "Saint Jean Eudes," *ibid.*, 8: 488-501.

¹⁰⁵ Paule Sagot, "Pierre Fourier," *ibid.*, 12, pt. 2: 1590-1600.

¹⁰⁶ Marcel Bernos, "Antoine Yvan," *ibid.*, 16: 1543-51.

¹⁰⁷ Grégoire Ollivier, "Michel Le Nobletz," *ibid.*, 9: 594-6.

¹⁰⁸ Paul Auvray, "Jean Le Jeune," *ibid.*, 9: 561-2.

¹⁰⁹ Janelle, *Catholic Reformation*,

them to work outside of the cloister, and yet adhere to the religious life. By the end of the seventeenth century, the new secular orders included, among others, the Filles de la Charité, Filles de Sainte-Geneviève, Filles de la Providence, Dames de Saint-Maur, Soeurs du Saint-Enfant Jésus of Reims, and, of course, the Congrégation de Notre-Dame.¹¹⁰

"Without Veil or Wimple"¹¹¹

It is from within this wider evolving context and tradition that Marguerite Bourgeoys, a candlemaker's daughter from Troyes, France and foundress of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame, must be understood. At the age of twenty she experienced a spiritual transformation when, in front of the town church during a procession in honour of the rosary, she became deeply moved by the sight of a statue of the Virgin Mary.¹¹² This vision altered her life. She became a member of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame of Troyes in 1647, an association of young women who met together regularly under the direction of a fellow soeur, a spiritual director and a prefect selected from among their own number, and whose aim was to teach any children who presented themselves for instruction.¹¹³ However, in spite of this activity, she appears to have still been in search of a vocation: she applied for entry to the Carmelites, and she was refused.¹¹⁴ On the advice

¹¹⁰ Rapley, *The Dévotes*, 78, 95, 120, 126, 130, 100.

¹¹¹ Marguerite Bourgeoys to M. Tronson, *The Writings of Marguerite Bourgeoys*, 142.

¹¹² Ibid., *Writings*, 19, 141; Charles de Glandelet, *The True Spirit of the Institute of the Secular Sisters of the Congregation de Notre-Dame Established in Ville Marie on the Island of Montreal in Canada*, translated by Frances McCann, CND (Montreal: CND, 1977), 333.

¹¹³ Bourgeoys, *Writings*, 36; Glandelet, *The True Spirit*, 40, 38; Simpson, *Marguerite Bourgeoys*, 34.

¹¹⁴ Simpson, *Marguerite Bourgeoys*, 32 intimates that perhaps she was refused entry into another order. Marguerite's writings imply that she was turned down by numerous orders: "But the Carmelites refused me even though I was strongly drawn to them. I went to others, but this did not succeed either." Bourgeoys, *Writings*, 164.

of her confessor, Father Antoine de Gendret, she established a new congrégation to honour the ambulatory way of life of the Blessed Virgin Mary,¹¹⁵ for, as he had counselled, Martha was represented by cloistered women who served their neighbour, and Mary Magdalene by recluses.¹¹⁶ Gendret, with the assistance of a theologian of Troyes, "drew up some rules which they had approved by the Sorbonne in Paris," and Marguerite and two other women were brought together to live according to their precepts. However, this early community did not succeed, as one of the three women died and the other married.¹¹⁷

Marguerite then became prefect of a group of secular assistants who worked among the poor, under the supervision of Louise de Chomedey, the sister of Paul de Chomedey, Sieur de Maisonneuve and governor of the colony of New France.¹¹⁸ De Maisonneuve's sister had, on numerous previous occasions, unsuccessfully requested that he take along with him, on one of his trips to Montreal, three or four women. However, only in 1652 did he relent, when he accepted Marguerite. Initially hesitant to undertake such a dangerous journey alone with a man, she eventually consented due to, on the one

¹¹⁵ Bourgeoys, *Writings*, 164. Very little is known about the de Gendret. Albert Jamet in *Marguerite Bourgeoys, 1620-1700*, 2 vols. (Montréal: La Presse catholique panaméricaine, 1942), identifies him as the spiritual director of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame of Troyes. Gendret "was associated with a movement of clerical reform and renewal led by Adrien Bourdoise and introduced into the diocese of Troyes by Bishop René de Breslay. Between 1623 and 1629, the priest was associated with the parish of Saint-Nizier, in the lowest part of the city behind the cathedral, where his office was to instruct altar boys of the cathedral in grammar. From about 1640 to at least 1653 he was chaplain of the Carmelites at the monastery of Notre-Dame-de-Pitié in the suburb of Croncels, and then in 1656 he was back at Saint-Nizier as priest-catechist." Quote taken from Simpson, *Marguerite Bourgeoys*, 43.

¹¹⁶ Bourgeoys, *Writings*, 142; Glandelet, *The True Spirit*, 43, 44.

¹¹⁷ Bourgeoys, *Writings*, 142, 14.

¹¹⁸ Rapley, *The Dévotes*, 101. Marie-Claire Daveluy, "Paul de Chomedey de Maisonneuve," *DCB*, 1:212-22. De Maisonneuve (1612-1676), an officer and the founder of Ville-Marie, was a member of the Société Notre-Dame de Montréal and the first governor of the island of Montreal.

hand, the advice and encouragement of her confessor, but particularly, on the other, after experiencing a vision of a "tall woman dressed in a robe as of white serge," who told her clearly: "Go, I will never forsake you." In 1653, Marguerite set out alone for Canada, "without a stitch, without a penny, with only a little package that I could carry under my arm."¹¹⁹

Marguerite's journey to Canada should not be viewed as the isolated act of a few men and women. Rather it was part of a broader movement of individuals and nations who either for commercial or religious purposes, for fish or furs or to convert the infidel, set out for the New World.¹²⁰ By the seventeenth century, and the time of Marguerite's first journey in 1653, Jesuits, Récollets and Capuchins, during varying intervals, had engaged in evangelical activity in the new world.¹²¹ Moreover, specifically in Montreal, in 1642, the Société de Notre-Dame, had established itself; also in 1642, Jeanne Mance, a French dévote, had founded the Hôtel-Dieu;¹²² and in 1658, Marguerite Bourgeoys

¹¹⁹ Bourgeoys, *Writings*, 143.

¹²⁰ For an examination of the broader context of this movement see Deslandres, *Croire et faire croire*.

¹²¹ Deslandres, *ibid.*, 204-5 has isolated three periods in the early missionary history of New France. The first period (1603-13) focussed upon Acadia and involved secular priests, followed by Jesuits. The second period (1615-29) included initially Récollets, and then Jesuit missionaries, mainly in the Saint Lawrence Valley, but also in Acadia. This era was terminated by the English conquest of Quebec by the Kirke brothers in 1629. The final period (1632-50), which takes us to the time just before Marguerite Bourgeoys arrived in Montreal, comprised the Jesuits, who focussed their efforts primarily on the Algonquin natives of the Saint Lawrence and the horticulturalist Hurons, and the Capuchins, who replaced the Récollets in Acadia.

¹²² Luca Codignola, "Competing Networks: Roman Catholic Ecclesiastics in French North America, 1610-58," *Canadian Historical Review* 80 (1999): 540-1, 544-5, 558, 565, 563. Marie-Claire Daveluy, "Jeanne Mance," *DCB*, 1: 483-7. Jeanne Mance (1606-1673), after a series of celestial experiences and with the financial aid of Madame de Buillion and supported by Jérôme Le Royer de La Dauversière, who established the Société Notre-Dame de Montréal, this woman founded the Hôtel-Dieu of Montreal in 1642.

established the first Montreal school for girls in a stable.¹²³ By 1693, the year this thesis begins, various other religious institutions had established themselves at Montreal and were engaged in either teaching, evangelical work or tending to the ill: these included the Sulpicians in 1657, the Récollets and the Jesuits, in 1692, and finally the Hôpital Général founded by François Charon de la Barre.¹²⁴ The latter institute was destined to become, in 1747, l'Hôpital Général de la pauvreté, the third Montreal female religious order, under the direction of Mère Marguerite d'Youville.¹²⁵

Marguerite's subsequent journey to Canada, her remarkable fortitude in the face of Iroquois attacks in a lonely and isolated colony, the acquisition of the stone stable to serve as her first school, her numerous return journeys to France to recruit teachers and acquire official recognition for her endeavours from the king, are well known and are the stuff of historical documentation as well as legend.¹²⁶ Suffice it to say that by 1693, the year this thesis begins, in Montreal alone, Bourgeoys had established a school and a *pensionnat*, as well as a workshop for poor girls at Pointe Saint-Charles. Permanent missions, outside of the mother house, had sprung up throughout the colony: at the Mountain, Château-Richer, Pointe-aux-Trembles, Montreal, Lower Town and Sainte-Famille, Quebec, (see map 1), and her followers were engaged in ambulatory missions in the outlying parishes

¹²³ There is no record of this transaction in ANQM but a printed copy appears in Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 1: 55-6, gr. Basset, Donation, 22 Jan. 1658. Marguerite Bourgeoys also refers to this acquisition in Bourgeoys, *Writings*, 26: "Four years after my arrival [1658], M. de Maisonneuve decided to give me a stone stable to make into a house to lodge the persons who would teach there."

¹²⁴ In collaboration with Albertine Ferland-Angers, "François Charon de la Barre," *DCB* 2: 132-5. Charon (1654-1719) was a merchant and founder of the Brothers Hospitallers of the cross and St Joseph as well as the Hôpital Général of Montreal.

¹²⁵ Lahaise, *Les édifices conventuels*, 27, 103, 223, 329, 363, 387, 423. Claudette Lacelle, "Marie-Marguerite Dufrost de Lajemmerais," *DCB* 4: 234-8. Madame d'Youville (1701-1771) was the foundress of the Congregation of the Sisters of Charity of the Hôpital Général of Montreal.

¹²⁶ See above and, most recently, Simpson, *Marguerite Bourgeoys*.

throughout the colony. These permanent missions, albeit on a smaller scale, were replicas of the school at Montreal, and as chapter four shall demonstrate, professed soeurs were sent to them to teach both native and French girls. With the exception of the Mountain mission, for the most part, it is impossible to discern from the sources the actual composition - whether French or native - of the remaining mission schools. It is known that the Mountain mission was supported by a gift from the king, in specific recognition of the soeurs' work with native girls. As part of the wider Sulpician missionary work with the natives, it was subsequently transferred to Sault au Récollet in 1701 and then Lac des Deux Montagnes in 1721.¹²⁷ What is clear, however, is that for the soeurs of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame, going out into these missions meant more than just teaching school. Mission work was an integral facet of their spiritual journey, an endeavour considered "holy and blessed,"¹²⁸ a work that enabled them to gather drops of the precious blood of Christ, lost due to the ignorance of individuals.¹²⁹ In many of these missions, located in outlying, undeveloped areas, a soeur met with hardship and difficulty.¹³⁰ These hardships represented an integral component of the mission experience, for they offered a soeur an opportunity not only to suffer, but in this suffering,

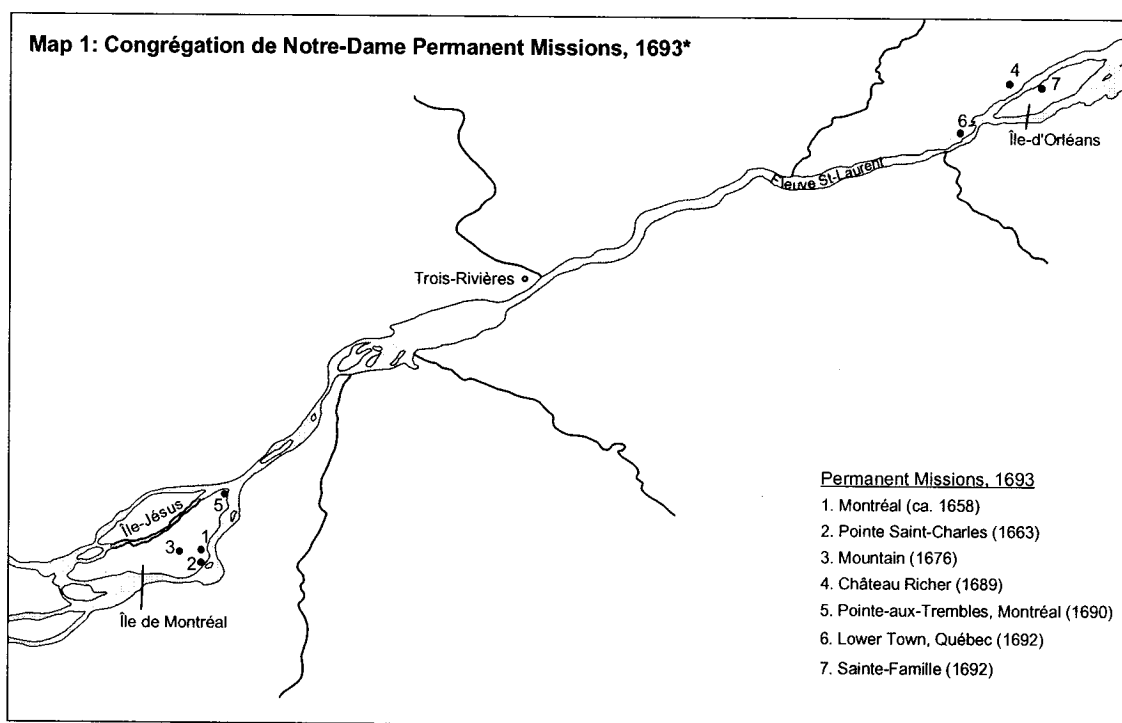
¹²⁷ Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 1: 265; 3: 311. Louise Tremblay, "La politique missionnaire des Sulpiciens au XVIIe et début du XVIIIe siècle, 1668-1735," M.A. Thesis, University of Montreal, 1981. Tremblay advances the argument that economic considerations played a crucial role in the Sulpician's decisions to repeatedly move this mission to new locations.

¹²⁸ Montgolfier, *La Vie de la venerable Marguerite Bourgeoys*, 248. "un employ si saint et sanctifiant."

¹²⁹ Ibid. "Allez, ma fille, disoit elle (Marguerite Bourgeoys) quelque fois à ses Soeurs en les envoyant en Mission, allez et pensez que vous allez recueillir des gouttes précieuses du sang du Sauveur, qui se perdent par l'ignorance des peuples."

¹³⁰ Ibid., 249. "...une Soeur ne trouvera jamais rien du dur et de difficile;..."

to imitate Jesus Christ and to serve God.¹³¹ Marie Barbier, most poignantly revealed the passionately personal spiritual meaning of the mission in a letter to her spiritual director, Charles de Glandelet: for her, going out to the mission at Champlain was a "secret desire," in order to be "alone with God, alone."¹³²



Sources: 1: Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 1: 55-6, gr. Basset, Donation, 22 Jan. 1658; 2: *ibid.*, 1: 327; 3: *ibid.*, 1: 265; 4: *ibid.*, 1: 302; 5: *ibid.*, 1: 275; 6: *ibid.*, 1: 304; 7: *ibid.*, 1: 295, ANQM, gr. Chambalon, Donation, 5 Sept. 1692.

*Does not include ambulatory missions, but only those with permanent and legal status at the designated period.

Bourgeoys's establishment of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame was accomplished in just forty years, upon the solid foundations of her simple belief in the active uncloistered life. She steadfastly adhered to and advocated an existence for women devoted to poverty, chastity and obedience, modelled on the life of the Virgin Mary, that

¹³¹ *Ibid.* "...et plus elle aura à souffrir dans l'exercice de son état, plus elle se trouvera heureuse d'avoir occasion d'imiter notre Seigneur Jésus-Christ et de rendre en quelque façon service à son Dieu."

¹³² ASQ, ms. 198, *Receuil touchant la S[œur Barbier]*, 197. For example, she wrote to her director: "J'ay eu quelque Secret desir d'aller en mission a Champlain pour être Seule avec Dieu Seul..."

"living water, crystal clear, springing up from the fountains of the Saviour and refreshing all who come to it."¹³³ For the Virgin Mary was, like the soeurs who followed her, a humble and poor teacher of children, chaste, despite her marriage to Saint Joseph, and obedient to the wishes of the apostles, whose work, in the name of Christ, the seminaries and priests perpetuated, and whom the soeurs, in their turn, obeyed. It was an existence deeply embedded in Catholic reform spirituality, cultivating an interior strengthening solitude that would enable the individual to go out into the world and do the work of God.¹³⁴

Into the New Century

The institution Marguerite Bourgeoys passed on to her successor, Marie Barbier, in 1693, soon found itself engaged in a confrontation, with Bishop Saint-Vallier,¹³⁵ over its rules (see chapter one). After this somewhat tumultuous encounter with the bishop, by 1698, the soeurs of the congrégation had approved a written constitution, and, thus formally established, the institution entered the eighteenth century. By 1715, the main outlines of the institute were consolidated and they would change very little during the French regime (see maps 2 and 3). Even the most dramatic historical event of the century, the Conquest, barely altered the institution. The Conquest did usher in British political rule. It initially disrupted the economy and eventually, by the 1780s, displaced many French merchants from the fur trade.¹³⁶ And yet many aspects of the colony were to remain intact. In October 1763, the Royal Proclamation aimed to establish British

¹³³ Bourgeoys, *Writings*, 47-51, 64.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 69-70.

¹³⁵ Alfred Rambaud, "Jean-Baptiste de La Croix Chevrères de Saint-Vallier," *DCB*, 2:328-34. Saint-Vallier (1653-1727) was the second bishop of Quebec.

¹³⁶ John A. Dickinson and Brian Young, *A Short History of Quebec: A Socio-Economic Perspective*, third edition (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002), 78-9.

institutions and laws in the colony, but the subsequent Quebec Act of 1774, which conformed somewhat more closely to the realities of this conquered people, permitted the continuation of French civil law, language, the seigneurial system and above all, enabled the Catholic Church to maintain its position and its properties, albeit without royal subsidies.¹³⁷ The bishops also survived the Conquest. Although now officially nominated by the British crown, they managed an often-uneasy relationship with their conquerors, whose professed religious beliefs were opposed to their own and the Church they represented.¹³⁸ The parishes, placed under the bishop's jurisdiction by the French Council of State in 1699,¹³⁹ endured the political turmoil brought on by the Conquest, and continued to expand into the newly developed areas as the population grew and shifted outward.¹⁴⁰ Moreover, the pastoral work of the Church continued: with the exception of the Jesuits, the religious orders after the Conquest kept their properties. They continued to work, as many had during the previous one hundred years, caring for the ill and the dejected and teaching the young. The secular priests, for their part, ministered to the spiritual needs of their people, baptizing and marrying their children, as well as burying their dead.¹⁴¹ And the majority of these parishioners continued to eke out a living either, on the seigneuries, which would not disappear until 1854,¹⁴² or as merchants or artisans,

¹³⁷ Ibid., 59-60; Allan Greer, *The People of New France* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 117.

¹³⁸ For an insight into the position of the bishop see, for example, André Vachon, "Jean-Olivier Briand," *DCB*, 4:94-102 and Gilles Chaussé, "Jean-François Hubert," *ibid.*, 370-4.

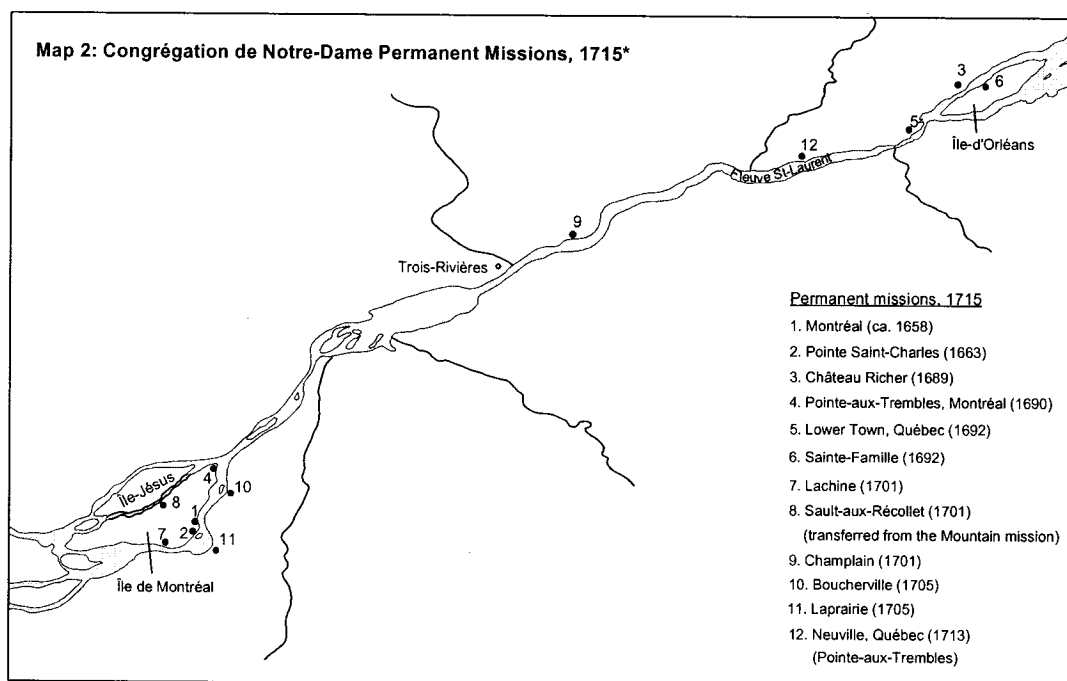
¹³⁹ Dale Miquelon, *New France, 1701-1744. "A Supplement to Europe."* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987), 233-4.

¹⁴⁰ Allan Greer, *Peasant, Lord, and Merchant: Rural Society in Three Quebec Parishes, 1740-1840* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), 14-16.

¹⁴¹ Young, *A Short History*, 74.

¹⁴² R. Cole Harris, ed., *Historical Atlas of Canada*, vol. 1, *From the Beginning to 1800* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), plate 51.

in the villages, which became more common as the commercial economy expanded in the eighteenth century¹⁴³ - in Quebec, the colony's political hub, or in Montreal, the centre of the fur trade.¹⁴⁴

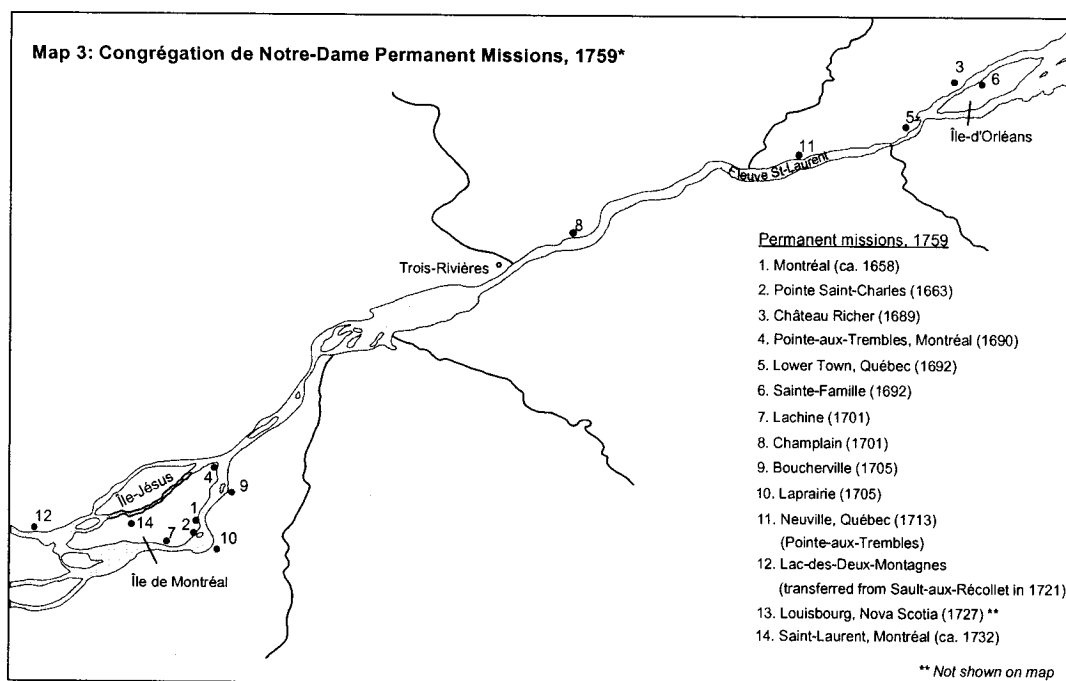


Sources: 1: Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 1: 55-6, gr. Basset, Donation, 22 Jan. 1658; 2: *ibid.*, 1: 327; 3: *ibid.*, 1: 300; 4: *ibid.*, 1: 275; 5: *ibid.*, 1: 304; 6: *ibid.*, 1: 295, ANQM, gr. Chambalon, Donation, 5 Sept. 1692; 7: Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 1: 281, 3:42-4, ANQM, gr. Pottier, Donation, 3 Dec. 1701; 8: *ibid.*, 3: 311; 9: 3: 46; 10: ANQM, gr. Tailhandier, Concession d'un emplacement, 7 Mar. 1705; 11: Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 3: 56; 12: *Ibid.*, 232, ANQM, gr. Dubreuil, Donation, 5 Oct. 1713.

*Does not include ambulatory missions, but only those with permanent and legal status at the designated period.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, plate 53.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, plates 49, 50.



Sources: 1: Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 1: 55-6, gr. Basset, Donation, 22 Jan. 1658; 2: *ibid.*, 1: 327; 3: *ibid.*, 1: 302; 4: *ibid.*, 1: 275; 5: *ibid.*, 1: 304; 6: *ibid.*, 1: 295, ANQM, gr. Chambalon, Donation, 5 Sept. 1692; 7: Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 1: 281, 3:42-4, ANQM, gr. Pottier, Donation, 3 Dec. 1701; 8: *ibid.*, 3: 46, ANQM, gr. Adhémar, Donation, 6 Oct. 1701; 9: ANQM, gr. Tailhandier, Concession d'un emplacement, 7 Mar. 1705; 10: Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 3: 56; 11: *ibid.*, 3: 232, ANQM, Dubreuil, Donation, 5 Oct. 1713; 12: Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 3: 311; 13: *ibid.*, 3: 353; 14: *ibid.*, 4: 35.

Within this setting, the congrégation experienced and then absorbed the shocks perpetrated by war, conquest and famine. The War of the Spanish Succession (1701-13) strained Canadian finance,¹⁴⁵ and the concomitant disruption reverberated throughout the institution. A letter from François Leschassier,¹⁴⁶ the Sulpician superior-general in Paris, to the institution's superior, Marguerite Le Moyne, Soeur du Saint-Esprit, in 1706, speaks of the general desolation of the colony due to the taking of ships during the war in the previous year, and encourages the soeurs to remain steadfast.¹⁴⁷ In 1711, a few years

¹⁴⁵ Dale Miquelon, *New France: "A Supplement to Europe,"* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987), chap.4.

¹⁴⁶ François Leschassier (1641-1725) succeeded Louis Tronson as superior-general of the Sulpicians in 1700. He continued his predecessor's work in regularizing the order's rules. He also edited a life of Jean-Jacques Olier, founder of the Sulpicians, and wrote "l'Abrégé," from "Mémoires de M. Olier." Pierre Boisard, *La Compagnie de Saint-Sulpice* (S.I.: s.n., 194-), 63-9.

¹⁴⁷ Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 3:29, M. Leschassier to Soeur Saint-Esprit, 1706: "Je suis sensiblement touché...de l'état où je sais qu'est la Nouvelle-France, et de la part que vous

later, the war occasioned more fear and uncertainty: at the news of a potential British invasion, the soeurs and their Congrégation of Externes¹⁴⁸ made a vow pledging to build a Church in the name of Notre-Dame-de-la-Victoire, amidst prayers and appeals to the Holy Virgin.¹⁴⁹ And although the Treaty of Utrecht of 1713 was followed by a long, albeit often uneasy peace,¹⁵⁰ the community's records speak of periods of famine and hardship throughout this period.¹⁵¹ The first British siege at Louisbourg in 1745 provoked much uncertainty about this already precarious mission, which, since its inception in 1727, had experienced chronic financial distress. Due to the uncertain situation, the Louisbourg soeurs were evacuated and forced to spend four years at La Rochelle before they were allowed to return to the colony.¹⁵² But in 1758, Louisbourg capitulated for a final time to the British, and the congrégation soeurs fled to France - this time permanently, and their presence in that country placed a burden of worry upon a community unable to support these exiled women.¹⁵³ But it was the Seven Years' War (1754-63) that exacted the greatest toll on the colony. It devastated the Canadian economy: the blockade, in addition to a series of short harvests, produced a shortage of food, as well as fear of attack.¹⁵⁴ More specifically, it disrupted the congrégation mission at Sainte-Famille, Île d'Orléans, and totally destroyed the convent in Quebec's Lower

avez à la désolation générale de la colonie... Dans les nécessités les plus pressantes, c'est alors que nous devons redoubler notre confiance en Lui." See also *ibid.*, 3:39.

¹⁴⁸ The confraternity associated with the congregation. For more on this association, see chapter two.

¹⁴⁹ Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 3: 154.

¹⁵⁰ Miquelon, *New France*, 165.

¹⁵¹ For example, Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 4:71.

¹⁵² Johnston, *Religion in Life at Louisbourg*, 98.

¹⁵³ The fate of these soeurs haunted many superiors, almost to the end of this study. The concerns of these superiors appear in many of their letters to their correspondents in France. See Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, vols. 5 and 6.

¹⁵⁴ Greer, *The People of New France*, 110; Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 4: 296.

Town, and the missions at Champlain and Château Richer. The latter mission was never rebuilt.¹⁵⁵ Shortly after the Conquest, in 1768, fire completely devastated the community's mother house in Montreal, and once again in 1775, invaders - this time American - demolished the institution's mission at Neuville.¹⁵⁶ Between 1780 and 1783, the community's historian again records general economic misery, and at the end of the following decade, growing distress appears in the correspondence of Marie Raizenne, Soeur Saint-Ignace, concerning the institution's finances, caught within the tumult of the French Revolution.¹⁵⁷

And yet, the institution survived. With the exception of Louisbourg and Château Richer, the missions disrupted by the Conquest - Champlain, Neuville, Sainte-Famille and Lower Town in Quebec City - were all re-established, as was the mother house in Montreal rebuilt following the fire. In the latter case, it was constructed as an enlarged version of the previous convent, completed within six months after the original structure had burned down.¹⁵⁸ The Neuville, Quebec mission, demolished by the American troops in 1775, also was quickly rebuilt. Fundamentally, but for a few exceptions, by 1796, the year this thesis terminates, the congrégation mission enterprise had not changed its main outlines from its consolidation in the first decade and one half of the eighteenth century -

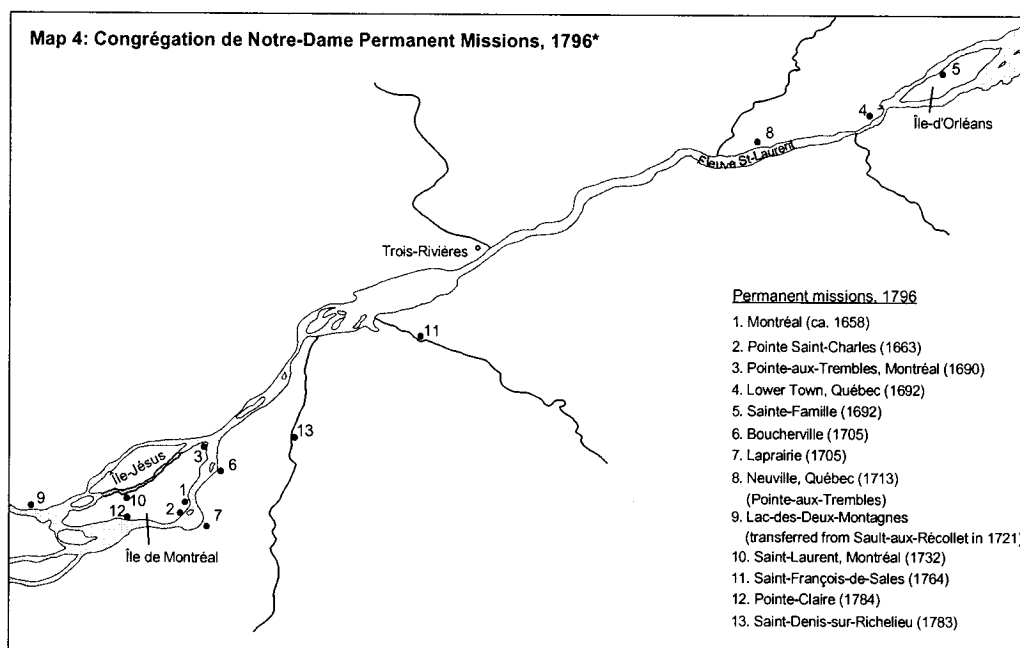
¹⁵⁵ Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 4: 378, 381, 385.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 5:122-5; 279, 294.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 5:336. And, for example, ibid., 6: 19, Soeur Saint-Ignace to M. Périnault, 9 Oct. 1792: "Nous n'avons eu aucune lettre de M. Maury, et nous ne savons où en sont nos petites affaires...Je vous supplie, Monsieur, de vouloir bien nous faire la charité de voir M. Maury."

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., 5:179, 209-10. The fire occurred in April 1768, and by 20 September of the same year, the presiding superior, Marie-Josèphe Mauge-Garreau, Soeur de l'Assomption, would write: "Nous sommes dans une partie de Notre Maison Nous faisons Continuer deux Etages Ce n'est pas sans peines et sans Sollicitudes..." AAM, 525.101, 768-2, Marie-Josèphe Mauge-Garreau to Bishop Briand, 20 Sept. 1768. Lahaise, *Les édifices conventuels du Vieux Montréal*, 137.

only Champlain and Lachine would close their doors, but these missions would be replaced by schools at Saint-Denis-sur-Richelieu and Pointe-Claire (see map 4).



Sources: 1: Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 1: 55-6, gr. Basset, Donation, 22 Jan. 1658; 2: *ibid.*, 1: 327; 3: *ibid.*, 1: 275; 4: *ibid.*, 1: 304; 5: *ibid.*, 1: 295, ANQM, gr. Chambalon, Donation, 5 Sept. 1692; 6: ANQM, gr. Tailhandier, Concession d'un emplacement, 7 Mar. 1705; 7: Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 3: 56; 8: *Ibid.*, 3: 232, ANQM, Dubreuil, Donation, 5 Oct. 1713; 9: Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 3: 311; 10: *Ibid.*, 4: 35; 11: *Ibid.*, 5: 39, ANQM, gr. Lévesque, 13 May 1764; 12: Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 5: 368; 13: Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 5: 415.

One real potential threat to the stability of the institution did emerge by the middle of the eighteenth century, and this was a marked diminution in the number of soeurs in the convent, as well as a decided increase in their ages (see tables 1 and 2). This decline in individuals entering religious institutions was not confined to the congrégation alone, but remained a feature of all religious institutions – both male and female - in the colony.¹⁵⁹ A number of factors have been cited to account for this situation. Undoubtedly, the uncertain political climate ushered in by the Conquest, as well as the tenuous position of the Church thereafter, would not have made the religious vocation attractive. But even before the Conquest, enrolment in religious institutions had begun to diminish. The

¹⁵⁹ Pelletier, *Le clergé*, 21-30

official increase in the dowry requirement by the royal government in 1722 would have made it more difficult for women to enter into religious institutions.¹⁶⁰ However, one must also consider that perhaps the eighteenth century witnessed a decline in religious fervour. Of course, religious fervour is difficult to measure. Although scholars, such as Marie-Aimée Cliche, with respect to New France, have demonstrated that the Church's efforts at evangelizing the colonists were effective, their research cannot tell us much about the intensity of the actual religious beliefs of the colonists themselves. It is possible to speculate, however, that fervent evangelical activity, as represented by such an exceptional woman as Marguerite Bourgeoys, became a feature of a passing frontier world, losing some of its intensity in a more practical society, that set aside religious vocations for few individuals.¹⁶¹

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., 28.

¹⁶¹ Marie-Aimée Cliche, *Les pratiques de dévotion*. Elizabeth Rapley, *The Dévotes*, 106, observed a decided transformation in the comportment of the soeurs of the congrégation - "a slackening of fervour," particularly after Marguerite Bourgeoys stepped down as superior in 1693. Louis Pelletier also attributes the greater numbers entering religious institutions in the seventeenth century to the effects of the religious fervour of the early period. Pelletier, *Le clergé*, 32.

Table 1 - Congrégation de Notre-Dame, Sœurs in Convent, 1700, 1725, 1750, 1775, 1796^a

	1700	1725	1750	1775	1796
Professed Nuns ^b	35	45	59	60	61
Probable Professed Nuns ^c	20	33	12	0	0
Total	55	78	71	60	61

^a Compiled from App. 7, Congrégation de Notre-Dame, Professed Nuns, 1693-1796

^b Refers to women for whom profession contracts could be found.

^c Refers to women for whom profession contracts could not be found.

Table 2 - Congrégation de Notre-Dame Sœurs, 1700, 1725, 1750, 1775, 1796: Average Ages^a

	1700	1725	1750	1775	1796
Average Age	30	39	48	44	50

^a Compiled from App. 7, Congrégation de Notre-Dame, Professed Nuns, 1693-1796

Nevertheless, this situation only threatened the stability of the institution, for no mission closed its doors due a lack of personnel. However, it could be argued that these circumstances did force its administrators to think twice about engaging in new ventures, and this manifested itself in a reluctance to open new missions at l'Assomption in 1775 and at Detroit in 1782.¹⁶² In spite of these conditions, continuity was to remain the institute's most distinctive characteristic: this is true with respect to the size of its mission enterprise, as demonstrated above, the composition of its members (see chapter three), but also in its basic way of life. The constitution, its formal backbone, the sacred document regulating the institution's daily existence remained virtually unchanged throughout the

¹⁶² Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 5: 272, 296 and 350-3.

eighteenth century,¹⁶³ as convent life continued within the framework of an orderly day, a rhythm that unfolded day in and year out.

This thesis, intent on studying power and the religious life within this historical context, is divided into two sections. Part I, chapters one and two, will establish the institutional background of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame in seventeenth and eighteenth-century colonial society. Part II will focus upon the superiors, assuming, due to the nature of the sources, a thematic, rather than a chronological approach. Chapter three will examine the superiors as a group, attempting to identify the requisite qualities demanded of a superior of this institution. Chapter four will explore the extent of a superior's power, as well as her view of it, while chapters five and six will take a focussed look at the agency of these women, first within a political, and then a spiritual context. The final chapter will be devoted to conclusions.

For the purpose of brevity, while at the same time in an endeavour to be respectful to these women, I have utilized the soeurs' given names throughout the thesis, providing their religious names on first mention within each chapter. For further information, detailed biographies of all nuns within the institution between 1693 and 1796 can be located in appendix 7. All translations are, as far as possible, true to the original, and have not been standardized.

¹⁶³Bishop Dosquet made certain minor changes to the constitution with respect to the labouring soeurs. AAM, 525.101, 770-3, Précis d'ordonnance de Monseigneur Dosquet, 7 Mar. 1731. Apparently the rules concerning these individuals plagued the community, and controversy appears surrounding them throughout the century, with Bishops Briand and Hubert. Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 5: 412-13, Letter of Mgr Hubert to Soeur Sainte-Rose, 19 Apr. 1790. For more on these labouring soeurs, see chapter 4.

Part One - The Institution

Chapter One: The Private World

I. Introduction

Extant architectural plans¹ of the 1768 convent of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame depict the institute as a private entity, secluded from the outside world (see figure 1.1). Enclosed behind walls lining its entire property, the convent itself lay deeply recessed within this terrain, protected from the busy streets of rue Notre-Dame and rue Saint-Paul by a recreational area for its boarders to the north and the convent's private gardens to the south. Sheltered by the property of the Hôtel-Dieu to its west, only the convent's lavatories, the storeroom for its laundry, the bed chambers for some elderly nuns, unable to access the chapel from the sleeping quarters on the second floor, and most appropriately, the office of the procure, a room reserved for settling worldly matters, overlooked the nearby rue Saint Jean-Baptiste aligning its eastern edge. But the heart and soul of the communal life of the convent, - its chapel, the dining area, and the communauté - lay deeply protected within its walls.

An extant painting of the eighteenth-century convent appears to confirm this impression of privacy and isolation.² (see figure 1.2). Painted by Soeur Saint-Michel (née Henriette Dufresne), during the nineteenth century, we encounter a somewhat pastoral scene in spite of the institution's essentially urban location. In this painting, distant black-garbed nuns are tending students set in the foreground of a lush courtyard, replete with trees and bushes in full bloom, obscuring the outline of a convent set against a distant and sketchy sky.

¹ As found in Robert Lahaise, *Les édifices conventuels du Vieux Montréal: Aspects ethno-historiques* (LaSalle, Québec: Éditions HMH Hurtubise Limitée, 1980), 136.

² Ibid., 119.

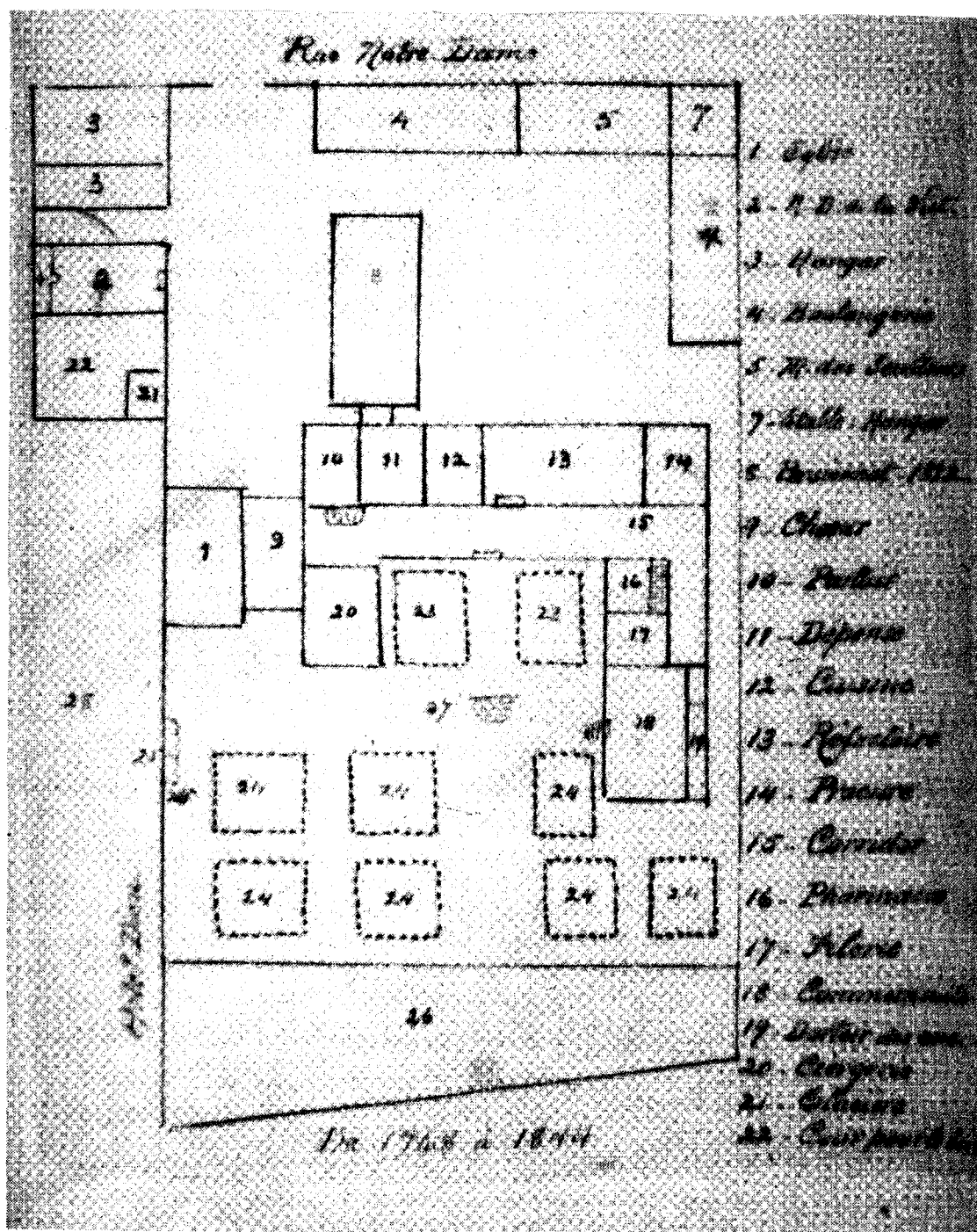


Figure 1.1 - Congrégation de Notre-Dame Convent, 1768-1836

Source: ACND, Plans et contrats, I:6-10, II: 11. Found in Robert Lahaise, *Les édifices conventuels du Vieux Montreal* (LaSalle: Editions Hurtubise HMH, 1980), 136.

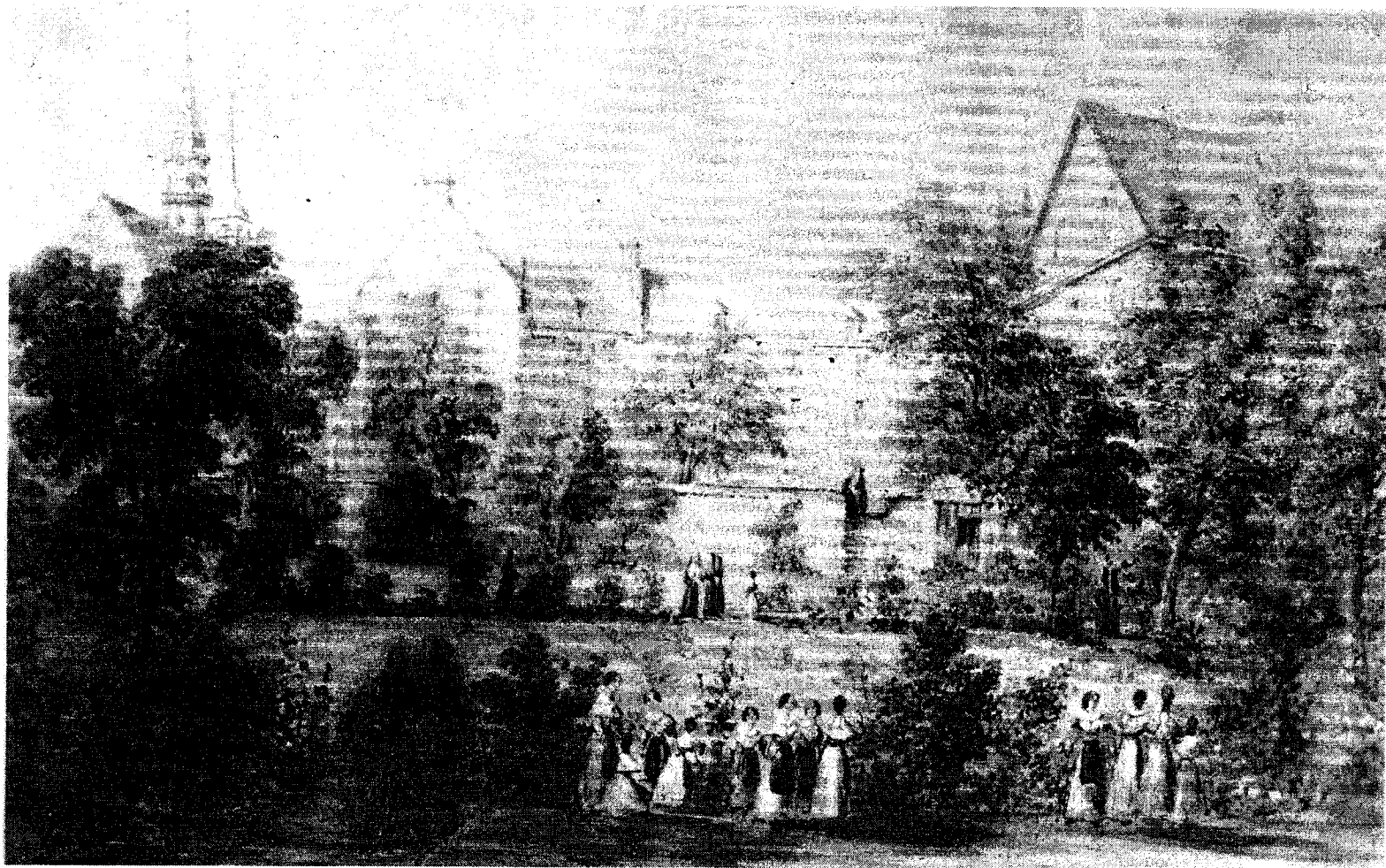


Figure 1.2 - Painting of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame, by Henriette Dufresne

Source: ACND, *Maison mere, 1684-1768*, by Soeur Saint-Michel (nee Henriette Dufresne, 1823-1873). Found in Robert Lahaise, *Les edifices conventuels du Vieux Montreal* (LaSalle: Editions Hurtubise HMH, 1980), 119.

Both representations - the map as well as the painting - inspired by reminiscences of individual nuns from a later period, conjure up a vision of the convent as an isolated, pastoral entity. On another plane, this view of the sequestered convent continued to be propounded by historians into the early twentieth century, with Eileen Power³ as its strongest advocate. More contemporary historians, however, have decisively challenged the perception of the convent as a remote and isolated place, rigidly confined to the specific purposes of teaching and nursing for the active orders, and the saying of prayers and masses for contemplatives engaged in saving souls, and have demonstrated its inextricable links with the external world. Bruce Venarde's work, *Women's Monasticism and Medieval Society: Nunneries in France and England, 890- 1215*, argued that women's monasticism can only be understood by examining its broadest possible context.⁴ One of Michel de Certeau's masterpieces, *The Possession at Loudun*,⁵ while a profoundly disturbing study of the psychological dimensions of religion, at the same time offered insight into the convent as a stage whereby diverse elements of French society, such as Jesuits, church officials, academic, physicians, interested spectators, and tourists - converged to witness and were invariably touched in one way or another by the writhings of Ursuline nuns said to have been possessed by the devil.

Research into convents outside of France, while perhaps not as dramatic as the latter citation, has also decisively demonstrated the complexity of the convent's links with

³ Eileen Power, *Medieval English Nunneries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922).

⁴ Bruce L. Venarde, *Women's Monasticism and Medieval Society : Nunneries in France and England, 89-1215* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997).

⁵ Michel de Certeau, *The Possession at Loudun*, translated by Michael B. Smith (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000).

the external world. Marilyn Oliva's work has tied medieval English nuns to their diocese in Norwich between 1350 and 1540.⁶ With respect to a later period, and focussing upon Italy, Jutta Gisela Sperling's book has dealt with the relationship of the convent and the body politic in late Renaissance Venice, illustrating vividly the symbolic importance of convents in the republic's attempt to affirm a vision of itself as virtuous and inviolable, as well as its role as a battleground among the papacy, the Venetian patriarch and the government.⁷ Mary Peckham Macgray has placed Irish nuns at the centre of the creation of a bourgeois Catholic culture between 1750 and 1900.⁸ And finally, with respect to colonial Latin America from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, Kathryn Burns has demonstrated the close ties of three strictly cloistered Franciscan convents in Cuzco, Peru to the city within a spiritual economy involving family linkages, prayers and masses, as well as substantial sums of money.⁹

The following two chapters intend to examine the two worlds of the convent of the *Congrégation de Notre-Dame* - the private and the public, as well as the significance of the links between them - in order to establish the foundations of the institution's power within the Canadian colonial context.

⁶ Marilyn Oliva, *The Convent and the Community in Late Medieval England: Female Monasteries in the Diocese of Norwich, 1350-1540* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1998).

⁷ Jutta Gisela Sperling, *Convents and the Body Politic in Late Renaissance Venice* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999). See also Sharon T. Strocchia, " 'Sisters in Spirit': The Nuns of Sant'Ambrogio and Their Consorority in Early Sixteenth-Century Florence," *Sixteenth-Century Journal* XXXIII, no. 3 (2002). This article advanced the understanding of convents as resources for women and demonstrated the interdependence between nuns and laywomen.

⁸ Mary Peckham Macgray, *The Transforming Power of the Nuns: Women, Religion and Cultural Change in Ireland, 1750-1900*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).

⁹ Kathryn Burns, *Colonial Habits: Convents and the Spiritual Economy of Cuzco, Peru* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999).

II. Cloistering

In 1698, after a somewhat tempestuous confrontation, the soeurs of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame reluctantly accepted the "réglements"¹⁰ imposed upon them by Bishop Saint-Vallier.¹¹ Historians have generally agreed that the réglements cloistered the institute far more than either Marguerite Bourgeoys or her congrégation envisioned.¹² In particular, Mary Ann Foley has described the first forty years of the soeurs' existence in the colony in terms of relative freedom from strict institutionalisation. According to Foley, the early congrégation soeurs were religious women who did not pronounce solemn vows; they shared their lives with each other and, taking their rule from the Virgin Mary, who was their heavenly protector and foundress, they remained deeply engaged in parish life. This relative freedom, she argued, was severely curtailed by the réglements, which shaped the congrégation into a more structured monastic institution.¹³

In order to understand this issue, this section intends to explore the way of life of the soeurs after the acceptance of the 1698 réglements.¹⁴ It will begin by precisely

¹⁰ The term "réglements" refers here, and throughout this chapter, to the rules of the constitution as accepted by the soeurs of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame in June 1698.

¹¹ Alfred Rambaud, "Jean-Baptiste de La Croix Chevrères de Saint-Vallier," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), 2:328-34. Saint-Vallier (1653-1727) was the second bishop of Quebec.

¹² Elizabeth Rapley, *The Dévotes: Women and Church in Seventeenth-Century France* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990), 110, 111. Mary Ann Foley, "Uncloistered Apostolic Life For Women: Marguerite Bourgeoys' Experiment in Ville-Marie," Ph.D Thesis, Yale University, 1992.

¹³ Foley, "Uncloistered Apostolic Life," 43-88; 203-10. Leslie Choquette, "'Ces Amazones du Grand Dieu,' Women and Mission in Seventeenth-Century Canada," *French Historical Studies*, vol. 17, no. 3 (Spring 1992): 627 has also advanced a view of religious women in seventeenth-century New France as being generally more liberated than their continental counterparts. For a critique of this article, see below.

¹⁴ AAM, 525.101, 698-1, Réglements des Soeurs Séculières de la Congrégation de N.D. établie à Ville-Marie pour honorer la Très Ste Vierge et imiter ses vertus.

defining the word "cloistering" and then move to examine its implications for the private existence within the eighteenth-century convent.

To begin, certain historians have portrayed the cloistering of women in a somewhat unfavourable light. On the one hand, the historian Jo Ann McNamara has viewed cloistering, particularly in the twelfth century, with the imposition of the rule of Saint Benedict and Saint Augustine, as the struggle of the secular clergy and monastic orders - who sincerely believed that the contemplative vocation most suited women - to control women's spiritual lives.¹⁵ On the other hand, other scholars, such as Paulette L'Hermite Leclercq, have viewed it as a reflection of patriarchal concerns over female sexuality ingrained in the Christian tradition and exemplified by the works of, for example, Saint Paul, Saint Jean Chrysostome and Saint Augustine¹⁶

Strictly speaking, however, what is cloistering? How can it be defined? Technically speaking, the cloister is the private space reserved for the religious within an institution, and prohibited to outsiders. Canonically speaking, however, the term assumes a much wider scope. In this sense, cloistering is the ensemble of ecclesiastical laws that limit or restrict the entrance of strangers into the space reserved for the religious.¹⁷ In this view, its ideal fundamental purpose is not entirely concerned with the guarding of chastity, but to protect the prayerful way of life, which was essentially designed to

¹⁵ Jo Ann McNamara, *Sisters in Arms: Catholic Nuns Through Two Millennia* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), 298.

¹⁶ See Paulette L'Hermite Leclercq, *L'Église et les femmes dans l'Occident chrétien des origines à la fin du Moyen Age* (France: Brepols, 1997) for extracts from the writings of the above writers concerning cloistering.

¹⁷ Émile Jombart and Marcel Viller, "Clôture," *Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique : doctrine et histoire*, edited by Marcel Viller, F. Cavallera and J. de Guibert (Paris: Beauchesne, 1932-95), 2 : 979.

encourage union with God and to shelter the religious from the agitations and the spirit of the external world. The idea of cloistering, then, is deeply embedded within Catholic tradition as one of the strongest bulwarks of the religious life for both men and women, based not only upon the erection of physical, but also spiritual barriers against secular society.¹⁸

Cloistering has had a lengthy history within the Catholic Church.¹⁹ Pertinent to this discussion were the monastic reforms promulgated by the sixteenth-century Council of Trent, which confirmed cloistering as the cornerstone of the religious life of monks and nuns, and it remained at the basis of all of the council's monastic reforms. Complicating the situation, were groups of women who lived a holy life apart from convents and who did not want to take solemn vows. Although the Council of Trent did not deal directly with these women, Pope Pius V, in the encyclical, *Circa pastoralis* in 1566, invited all of these groups of women to pronounce solemn vows and accept strict monastic cloistering. Due to the French crown's reluctance to accept the canons of Trent, this papal pronouncement was not rigidly enforced, and local bishops in this country continued to tolerate women who were not strictly cloistered.²⁰

Caught inevitably, however, in the path of the Church's wider institutionalization mission, initiated by the Council of Trent and continuing in Canada through to the nineteenth century,²¹ these women leading a religious life eventually had to submit to a

¹⁸ Ibid., 2: 979-80.

¹⁹ Ibid., 2: 980-99. Elisja Schulte van Kessel, "Virgins and Mothers Between Heaven and Earth," in *A History of Women in the West*, vol. 3, edited by G. Duby and M. Perrot (Paris: Plon, 1991), 150-6.

²⁰ Jombart and Viller, "Clôture, *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, 2: 1002-3.

²¹ Ollivier Hubert, *Sur la terre comme au ciel: La gestion des rites par l'Église catholique du Québec : fin XVIIe-mi-XIX- siècle* (Québec: Les Presses de l'Université de Laval), 2.

more rigidly defined existence.²² The Congrégation de Notre Dame's experience of this process in the late seventeenth century manifested itself in the 1690s in the form of a confrontation with Bishop Saint-Vallier over their rules. This confrontation did not arise because either Marguerite Bourgeoys or the soeurs did not want to accept a formal set of rules. On the contrary, the congrégation nuns firmly believed that rules would strengthen their status as a permanent institution in the eyes of the community and thus attract both students and recruits alike. Notably, Marguerite Bourgeoys, by the time she handed over the superiorship of the institution to Marie Barbier, Soeur de L'Assomption, in 1693, had succeeded in regularizing the congrégation's position within the Church and state. In 1671, she obtained formal legal status for the community. Five years later, in 1676, official church approval was forthcoming when Bishop Laval²³ extended his approbation to the institution on the condition that in the future it would have to accept formal rules as prescribed by the Church. Bishop Laval never did formulate these rules, and almost twenty years passed before Bishop Saint-Vallier, in 1694, presented the soeurs with a constitution. This was not exactly the type of constitution the soeurs had expected. Consequently, they reacted with shock and disapproval to this document, convinced that it defined the congrégation as more of a traditional monastic institution than they themselves had either lived during their previous forty years of existence in Montreal, or, indeed, visualized for the future.²⁴

²² Rapley, *Dévotes*; see also van Kessel, "Virgins and Mothers between Heaven and Earth," 150-6.

²³ André Vachon, "François de Laval," *DCB*, 2: 358-72. Laval (1623-1708) was the first bishop of Quebec between 1674-88.

²⁴ Foley, "Uncloistered Apostolic Life for Women" 45, 46, 89-90 and especially chapter four which compares the Saint-Vallier version of the 1694 constitution, the soeurs' subsequent objections to it, as well as the final version, which became the 1698 "Réglements."

The soeurs appealed to Louis Tronson, superior-general of the Sulpician Seminary in Paris,²⁵ to intercede on their behalf and asked him to convince Bishop Saint-Vallier to modify the constitution. On receiving the appeal, Tronson requested that the soeurs send him a list of those articles that were offensive to them, and the reasons for their objections. This they did, with a response, "Remontrance qui est entre les mains de M. Belmont,"²⁶ which clearly outlines the soeurs misgivings about certain articles of the 1694 constitution. Fundamentally, their objections revolved around three main areas: the increased assertion of the bishop's authority; the nature of their consecration, specifically concerning the taking of solemn vows which included a promise of obedience to the bishop; and the more specific challenges to their secular status posed by the inclusion of the Rule of Saint Augustine, as well as terminology and practices reminiscent of cloistered life, including, in particular, the imposition of the dowry.²⁷

Following Tronson's intervention with the bishop in 1695-6, and the consultations of his assistant, François Leschassier,²⁸ with other individuals in France, the bishop

²⁵ Louis Tronson (1622-1700) superior of the Sulpician Seminary at Paris from 1676, was known for his work in regularizing the order's rules. His voluminous spiritual writings reached both laity and religious alike. Pierre Boisard, *La Compagnie de Saint-Sulpice: Trois siècles d'histoire* (S.I.: s.n., 194-), 1:55-63.

²⁶ Jacques Mathieu, "François Vachon de Belmont," *DCB*, 2:641-2. Belmont (1645-1732) was a "Sulpician priest, missionary, schoolmaster, priest of the parish of Ville-Marie, seigneur of Montreal Island, superior of the Sulpician seminary between 1701-1732, and vicar-general of the bishop of Quebec."

²⁷ Foley, "Uncloistered Apostolic Life," 90, 97-103, 105-14, 115-25.

²⁸ François Leschassier (1641-1725) succeeded Louis Tronson as superior-general of the Sulpicians in 1700. He continued his predecessor's work with the order's rules. He also edited a life of Jean-Jacques Olier, founder of the Sulpicians, and wrote "l'Abrégé," from "Mémoires de M. Olier." Boisard, *La compagnie de Saint Sulpice*, 63-9.

slightly modified some of the proposed rules of the constitution, which the soeurs accepted and signed in June 1698.²⁹

How did these *règlements* affect the soeurs' way of life? On a general level, as previously mentioned, it is known that the *règlements* represented a compromise to, and a modification of, certain aspects of their manner of living, or at least their view of it. Although the bishop's position was mitigated, his powers were clearly left intact. As far as the soeurs were concerned, like cloistered women, they were obliged to take permanent, simple vows and, through the addition of the vow of stability, they lost their freedom to leave the institution at their own will, thus creating a hierarchy within the community based upon those who had made such a vow and those who had not. They also accepted the imposition of a mandatory dowry, a concession that prevented women without means from freely entering the institution. And finally, although the rule of Saint Augustine was eliminated from the final version, and the word "cloister" was deleted from the text, the soeurs, nonetheless, relinquished a certain flexibility in their spiritual and aesthetic practices, by accepting, for example, the precept that they remain as much as possible behind convent walls.³⁰

²⁹ Foley, "Uncloistered Apostolic Life," 95-6. There is very good reason to suspect that financial incentives contributed towards the soeurs' eventual capitulation to Bishop Saint-Vallier's constitution. Beginning in 1688, this bishop donated a convent in Quebec City to the institution, and three annuities, one in 1693, just one year before he presented them with their rules, another in the same month - June 1698 - that the soeurs signed their constitution, and a final one in 1720. ANQM, gr. Genaple de Bellefonds, Donation d'une maison située en la haute ville de Québec à la Congrégation de Notre-Dame...1688; gr. Adhémar, Fondation d'une rente par Jean-Baptiste de La Croix de Saint Vallier..., 7 Sept. 1693; gr. Adhémar, Fondation et don d'une rente annuelle et perpétuelle par Jean-Baptiste de Lacroix de Saint Vallier..., 14 June 1698; gr. Dubreuil, Donation de rentes constituées, 11 June 1720.

³⁰ Foley, "Uncloistered Apostolic Life," 102-3, 110-11, 113, 121, 122. The soeurs' objection to the dowry regulation is curious given the fact that Marie Barbier could not enter the institution in 1678 until financial aid was forthcoming from one of her brothers.

More precisely, however, what were the specific implications of the 1698 réglemens, and how did they structure the soeurs' world as they entered the eighteenth century? To begin with, although the réglemens did impose restrictions upon the institute, they did not cloister the soeurs in the strict sense of the word. Fundamentally, individuals in truly cloistered orders were prohibited from ever leaving the convent, and although they could receive visitors, they met them in clearly designated areas, from behind an iron grille, through which they could not be seen, and through which they spoke.³¹

This is, of course, not to argue that all cloistered female religious orders were uniformly restricted, for the degree of restraint depended upon the institution, as well as the historic period. In Renaissance Italy, for example, Jutta Sperling has demonstrated that despite "clausura" prohibitions, very often convents could assume a salon-like atmosphere, serving as gathering places for males, musicians and often women of dubious repute.³² Moreover, although the reforms of the Council of Trent aimed at regulating the lax behaviour that appears to have invaded some monasteries, the stipulations proved difficult to enforce, and marked variations in restrictions were widespread. In France, for example, in one convent, the parloir could resemble a Renaissance salon, on the one hand, or, on the other, even a prison, with visitors forced to speak to the nuns through an opening covered with two grilles, one reinforced with long points and the other with a thick curtain.³³ However, whatever the variations, the reality is that strict rules for

ASQ, ms. 198, Charles de Glandelet, *Recueil touchant la S[œur Marie Barbier], fille séculière de La Congrégation de Notre-Dame*, 6, 8

³¹ Jombart and Viller, "Clôture," *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, 2: 993-1002.

³² Sperling, *Convents and the Body Politic*, 14.

³³ Geneviève Reynes, *Couvents de femmes: La vie des religieuses cloîtrées dans la France des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles* (Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1987), 205. Leslie Choquette's article, " 'Ces Amazones du Grand Dieu,' examines cloistering in New France in the late seventeenth century. Choquette has argued that the more flexible

cloistered women remained intact and, it might be added, were always potentially enforceable.

While it is true that many facets of the réglemens of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame proved restrictive, they did, nevertheless, permit many freedoms officially denied truly cloistered orders. This was reflected most obviously in the distinctly visible public presence of the soeurs outside of the convent. For example, the soeurs taught in and travelled to and from the mission schools spread throughout the colony's parishes (see introduction, maps 1-4). Moreover, they supplemented the institute's income by decorating and caring for altars in parish churches,³⁴ and they interacted with the public on many occasions. The soeurs participated with the community in rogations and other religious festivities.³⁵ They led their students to these parish churches for mass during

conditions of a frontier society bestowed advantages upon female religious in New France, in particular, with respect to the "lax" way in which cloistering was enforced. Choquette's article, while providing a lively if somewhat impressionistic overview of the nascent experiences of cloistered female religious orders in New France, tends to exaggerate the agency of these women, as well as the nature of their experiences. To Choquette, religious women in New France were engaged in a "running war" against the Church, with the nuns eager to take "full advantage of these fortuitous opportunities for socializing" (642). Her evidence, based on a few documentary accounts, does not attempt to decide whether or not the examples she is citing, which illustrate the freedoms of New World nuns, are applicable to a mother superior, who must do business outside of the convent, or the general body of nuns; whether freedoms occur on exceptional occasions or are the general rule. Moreover, Choquette exaggerates the homogeneous and restrictive nature of cloistering in France, and ultimately misses not only the essential spiritual rationale behind cloistering, but also the very real existence of the legal strictures surrounding cloistering, which were always in place, and, whatever the exception, were therefore always enforceable.

³⁴ Based upon a document written by Marie-Josèphe Mauge-Gareau detailing "certains petits usages de la Communauté," in Soeur Sainte-Henriette, CND, *Histoire de la Congrégation de Notre-Dame* (Montréal : CND, 1910-13), 5: 133. Evidence of the soeurs working in local churches also appears throughout ACND, 3A/02, *Registre des Dépenses et recettes générales*, 1753-1793.

³⁵ Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 5:133, 132.

Lent and, although they possessed their own chapel after 1695,³⁶ they attended special services at the parish church of Notre-Dame in Ville-Marie on Christmas, Good Friday and during the Octave of the Holy Sacrament. Moreover, until 1800, they buried their dead in this church, in the chapel of the Infant Jesus, a privilege conferred on them initially by the Sulpician priest Dollier de Casson³⁷ in 1700 and, subsequently renewed by his successor, François Vachon de Belmont.³⁸ On less solemn occasions, the nuns were allowed to leave the convent to go on errands to local shops.³⁹ They washed their laundry down the street in the river,⁴⁰ and they were allowed to visit individuals in the community.⁴¹ Moreover, the soeurs did not receive visitors from within an enclosure behind a grille, but in the community's parloir, where they were permitted to sit on the benches aligning the walls and interact with their kin or other individuals, face to face.⁴²

While it is true that the congregation soeurs were not cloistered in the precise sense of the word, many facets of their existence, however, were deliberately structured to distance them from the external world. This chapter's introductory remarks concerning the convent's architecture serve only as a metaphor for other aspects of institutional life clearly setting the community apart, beginning most notably with a ritual of separation from the outside world from the moment an individual entered the institution as a

³⁶ ANQM, gr. Basset, Convention entre Jeanne Leber de Villemarie, et la Congrégation Notre-Dame de Montréal, 4 Aug. 1695.

³⁷ Jacques Mathieu, "François Dollier de Casson," *DCB*, 2:190-6. Dollier (1636-1701) was a man of many talents. Not only was he a "cavalry captain, priest, Sulpician, chaplain, explorer," he was also an architect and a historian, superior of the Sulpicians in New France, seigneur of Montreal Island, parish priest of Trois-Rivières, then of Ville-Marie, and vicar-general of the diocese of Quebec.

³⁸ Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 3: 4.

³⁹ AAM, 525.101, 698-1, Réglements, art 24: 49-51.

⁴⁰ Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 5: 134. But they also utilized the laundry room within the convent. Lahaise, *Les édifices conventuels*, 146.

⁴¹ AAM, 525.101, 698-1, Réglements, art. 24: 49; art.31: 61-6.

⁴² Lahaise, *Les édifices conventuels*, 143. AAM, 525.101, 698-1, Réglements, art. 25: 51.

novice.⁴³ Immersed in a formal ceremonial ritual spanning two years, a novice would be immediately placed in the institution's novitiate, a room, after the 1768 fire, located on the second floor of the convent, removed from the active internal life of the convent on the first floor, and only a corridor away from the sleeping chambers of the professed nuns. Here this novice would, during the first year, wear secular clothing, and, under the care of a mistress of novices, learn how to adhere to the institute's routine. After one year, if this individual decided to take the habit, the garb worn by a professed nun, she would inform her superior, who would convene a meeting open only to those nuns who had taken their vow of stability (a vow in which they promised to spend the rest of their life in the institution). This assembly would examine the individual's conduct during her first year in the novitiate and decide if she was a suitable candidate to progress to the next stage. If deemed worthy, the novice would remain in the novitiate for a subsequent year, and if, at the end of this period, she remained resolved to enter the institution, the deliberative process would be repeated. If, at this time, the assembly judged her candidature favourably, preparations would be made for her to take the veil and pronounce her vows. From the outset, the seriousness of this commitment would be compounded in both stages by an examination of the novice by either the bishop, or an individual chosen by him, with an accompanying signed document attesting to her worthiness to enter the institution.⁴⁴

What did it mean to take the veil? To pronounce vows? The taking of the veil as well as the pronouncement of vows have had long histories deeply rooted within Catholic

⁴³ For a view of the process whereby an individual enters a religious institution and definitively relinquishes the world of the "profane" for the "sacred," see Émile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, translated by Carol Cosman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 38-9.

⁴⁴ AAM, 525.101, 698-1, Réglements, art. 35: 84.

church tradition, extending back to ancient times, and both decisively signify separation from the world. For example, traditionally, a novice, by taking the white veil, removed herself symbolically from the path of ordinary women by becoming a bride of Christ, while the black veil of the professed nun, also dating from Roman antiquity, connotes seclusion from the world.⁴⁵ Moreover, although poverty, chastity and obedience were prescribed modes of behaviour for all Christians, and to varying degrees held a place within their lives, when pronounced by religious individuals as vows, they denoted not only a conviction, but an entirely separate way of life.⁴⁶

This tradition of separation pervading the rituals surrounding the taking of the veil, as well as the pronouncement of vows within the congrégation, formalized the sacred path these women had chosen to take - to teach children and to follow and model themselves after the poverty, the chastity and the obedience of the Virgin Mary.⁴⁷ Not only were these rituals enshrined within the community's constitution - the document they promised to obey at their profession⁴⁸ - they were confirmed within the framework of the "profession contract." This contract was itself formalized within a solemn, legal ceremony in the convent's procure, involving the novice, her parents or guardian, a notary, the community's priest, the superior of the community, and often members of the entire administrative council. In the course of this ceremony, the novice would sign a document. This document confirmed her vows of poverty, chastity and obedience and

⁴⁵ A. Donahue, "Veil," in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 14: 590.

⁴⁶ Michel Mollat, "Pauvreté chrétienne," *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, 12, 1: 614-58; Alexandre Willwoll, "Chasteté," *ibid.*, 2: 777-809; Jean-Marie-R. Tillard, "Obéissance," *ibid.*, 11: 555.

⁴⁷ Marguerite Bourgeoys, *The Writings of Marguerite Bourgeoys*, translated by Sister Mary Virginia Cotter, CND (Montreal: CND, 1976), 70, 97, 67.

⁴⁸ AAM, 525.101, 698-1, Réglements, art. 24: 50.

also sealed financial arrangements between the family and the institution in the form of an arranged dowry, with terms of payment precisely laid out in the contract.⁴⁹

By becoming a professed nun, then, a woman legally, spiritually, and morally permanently left one world behind and entered another. But what was this world like? Dedicated either to teaching children or, if deemed unsuitable for this task, to performing the institution's heavy labour, a professed nun would spend her entire life enacting her duties within a monastic-like routine, circumscribed by a daily ritual revolving around mass and confession, prayers, spiritual readings and conferences, reflections, and the recitation of the rosary. It was a routine demanding lengthy silences, constant self-examination and prolonged periods of prayer, allowing little time for leisure or recreation.⁵⁰

A nun had to adhere to strict rules guarding the convent's silence and its daily rituals, but also when she exited the convent and entered into contact with the outside world, and these would surely have compounded a sense of detachment. Although it is true that the *soeurs*, unlike strictly cloistered nuns, were allowed to leave the convent, precise regulations, as mentioned above, guided their conduct. On these occasions, no outings were permitted without the express permission of the superior, or, if at all possible, without the company of another *soeur*; nor could a nun speak to an individual on the street without reporting her conversation on her return to the convent to her superior.⁵¹ But this maintenance of a clear-cut distinction between the internal and external world was not confined to outings, but pervaded many dimensions of the convent world itself. Students and servants did reside within the walls of the convent property, but only at a

⁴⁹ As found in numerous profession contracts, ANQM.

⁵⁰ AAM, 525.101, 698-1, *Réglements*, art. 3: 2-6; art. 15: 32-5.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, art. 24: 49-51

good distance away from the convent proper. This was also true of members of the Congrégation of Externes - females who came to the community for instruction; they attended meetings at their church of Notre-Dame de la Victoire, located at the far end of the property, aligning rue Notre Dame (see fig. 1.1). Moreover, the presence of visitors, who were allowed to enter the convent building, such as the notary, the doctor, the surgeon, priests, engagé labourers, mendicants,⁵² was strictly controlled, beginning with their knock on the parloir door. The community's portière would peer through an opening cut into this door in order to assess the visitor, before either permitting or denying entry.⁵³

It is difficult to determine from convent plans precisely which areas of the convent would have been closed off to visitors. Priests used the chapel to say mass and to hear confessions, as presumably did female retreatants, who also slept on the third floor of the 1768 convent, which they shared with novices.⁵⁴ The presence of these retreatants may have broken down some of this cloistered reserve. On at least one recorded occasion, a Madame Boucherville, for example, paid for a retreat in the convent during an unspecified period between December 1753 and March 1754. We know very little about this woman, but suspect that her kin could have been Marie-Louise Boucher de Boucherville, Soeur Sainte-Monique, a professed nun at this time. In view of this linkage, there is reason to believe that these retreats, perhaps made by other relatives of other nuns, served not only spiritual but familial purposes as well, enabling individuals to meet with their kin over a longer period of time than that allowed by the constitution in the community's parloir. But to view the convent as an extension of the family is not unusual. A more extreme example of this practice would be that of the Franciscan nuns of

⁵² Ibid., art. 24: 49-51.

⁵³ Lahaise, *Les édifices conventuels*, 143.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 152-3.

Cuzco, Peru, documented by Kathryn Burns: this historian discovered that certain nuns in these convents even raised surrogate children within the convent walls.⁵⁵

To return, however, to the community's chapel, we do know that its privacy was not inviolable: in 1768, when the church of Notre-Dame de la Victoire burned down, the nuns permitted the Congrégation of Externes to hold their traditional Sunday meetings in the area reserved only for nuns.⁵⁶ Nor were other areas completely off limits to outsiders. The priest also ate in the communauté on feast days. The notary as well as the priest were allowed into the procure for the signing of legal documents, and to get there one had to traverse the long corridor on the convent's first floor, which sliced through the community's living quarters and bypassed the kitchen and the dining hall. The doctor and the surgeon attended to the ill, and to do so, they were allowed into the infirmary on the convent's second floor. Repairs to the convent had to be made, lavatories cleaned, and this meant that workers had access to whatever part of this building needing the application of their particular skills. In the end, however, no matter who entered the convent, for

⁵⁵ ACND, 3A/02, Registre des Dépenses et recettes générales, 1753-1793: Dec. 1753-27 Mar. 1754. See Burns, *Colonial Habits*, especially 101-31, "Reproducing Colonial Cuzco," for an illustration of nuns adopting and raising children inside the cloister, thereby reproducing, within the convent, external familial structures. But then again, it is also possible to view the institution's practice of taking in New England captives and raising them until the time they could marry and leave the convent as representative of this phenomenon. This was certainly true of Esther Sayward (baptized as Marie-Josèphe), who was captured by the natives in 1692 at the age of seven, taken to the congrégation convent, where she remained with her sister, also a captive, until she married Pierre de Lestage, a Quebec merchant. Her sister, Marie Sayward, became an officially professed nun in 1700, and took the religious name Soeur des Anges. On the death of her husband, Marie-Josèphe returned to the convent as a pensionnaire perpetuelle. Hélène Bernier, "Mary Sayward," *DCB*, 601-2. For more on Marie-Josèphe de Lestage, see chapter two. The practice of raising New England children to adulthood within convents was also prevalent among the Ursulines at Quebec, as was taking in pensionnaires perpétuelles. See, for example, Dom Guy-Marie Oury, *Les Ursulines de Québec, 1639-1953* (Sillery: Septentrion, 1999), 129, 130, 131, 132, 133.

⁵⁶ Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 5:171.

whatever reason, the movement of outsiders was strictly controlled, first by the portière who assessed them, and then by two soeurs who would accompany visitors to their appropriate destination and remain with them for the duration of their stay.⁵⁷

III. Conclusion

Although not "cloistered" in the strict sense of the term, the private life of the soeurs of the Congrégation de Notre Dame was undeniably protected, not only by the architectural structure of the convent, a clearly defined rite of passage involving isolation, vows and distinctive ways of dress, but also by strict rituals and rules governing its daily life, as well as the penetration of the secular world.

What were the implications of this cloistered existence? On the one hand, while it is true, as historians have argued, that it restrained the soeurs' freedom as women of the parish by shaping their lives according to traditional monastic strictures,⁵⁸ it is important to ask to what extent or whether this seclusion disempowered them at all?

The functionalist approach to the role of religion, as propounded by Émile Durkheim in his *Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, provides a useful theoretical framework for comprehending the existence of these women. According to Durkheim, "belief and particularly ritual reinforce the traditional social ties between individuals," and surely did not the convent serve that role? The convent was an entire cultural world in itself, possessing its own rules and rituals, self-perpetuating, doctrinally unthreatened and supported by the larger church structure and society. It offered these women, both collectively and individually, an image of an ordered meaningful world, which, in turn,

⁵⁷ AAM, 525.101, 698-1, Réglemens, art.25: 51-3; art. 24:50.

⁵⁸ Foley "Uncloistered Apostolic Life"; Rapley, *The Dévotes*. Rapley mitigated this view of the convent in her most recent work, *A Social History of the Cloister: Daily Life in the Teaching Monasteries of the Old Regime* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001).

strengthened the structure of the group by encouraging ties among individuals, and fortifying them in their work.⁵⁹

But this existence empowered the nuns in another sense, for not only did cloistering erect physical barriers against the external world, ideally it was also designed to protect the inner prayerful life. This is not to argue that a rich spiritual existence either could or did not flourish outside of the cloister, or among the pre-1698 *soeurs*. On the contrary, at least since the Middle Ages and in large measure due to the influence of the spiritual movement known as the *devotio moderna*, silent individualized prayer had thrived outside of the monastery.⁶⁰ And while the Church, after the Council of Trent, sought to emphasize the importance of collective piety, the influence of the sixteenth-century Spanish, as well as the seventeenth-century French mystics, placed personal piety

⁵⁹ Émile Durkheim, in Clifford Geertz, "Ritual and Social Change: A Javanese Example," in *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 142. Subsequent scholars would advance Durkheim's recognition of the importance of ritual, beginning with Arnold Van Gennep, *Les rites de passage* (Paris: É Nourry, 1909). One of the most important contemporary anthropologists who focussed upon ritual is Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (New York: Aldine Publishing Co. 1969). For Turner, ritual was an inherent need in human beings and plays a significant role in human life. Studies recognizing the importance of ritual to human beings are not confined to social scientists. Research in biogenetics has discovered that the need for ritual is rooted in the human brain. See, in particular, Nathan Mitchell, "Revisiting Roots of Ritual," *Liturgy Digest* 1 (1): 4-36; Colwyn Trevarthen, "Neurological Development and the Growth of Psychological Functions," *Development Psychology and Society*, edited by J. Sants (London: Macmillan Publishers, 1980); and finally, the work of Edith Turner, "Encounter with Neurobiology: The Response of Ritual Studies," *Zygon* 21(3): 219-32. With respect to Canadian history, Ollivier Hubert, *Sur la terre comme au ciel: La gestion des rites par l'Église catholique du Québec: Fin XVIIe-mi-XIXe siècle* (Sainte-Foy, Québec: Presses de l'Université de Laval, 2000) has explored ritual as an instrument of power in Quebec from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries.

⁶⁰ Pierre Debongnie, "Dévotio Moderne," *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, 3: 727-47. The *devotio moderna* was a spiritual movement founded by Gérard Groote (1340-1384) in the Low Countries. It developed over the course of the fifteenth century, eventually taking the form of two religious institutions: the Brothers and Sisters of the Common Life and the Regular Canons of the Congregation of Windesheim. See also Joseph Lynch, *The Medieval Church: A Brief History* (New York: Longman, 1992), 340-1, who identifies this movement as a "school."

in the forefront of the church's endeavours.⁶¹ Influential in the theology of Marguerite Bourgeoys - along with Pierre de Bérulle, founder of the French oratory, the mainspring of the Catholic reformation in France,⁶² Jean-Jacques Olier, founder of the Sulpician order,⁶³ and Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet⁶⁴ - were the works of Saint François de Sales, who re-introduced piety into daily life. This individual advocated a mystical theology that did not confine union with God to learned theologians or isolated gifted individuals, but to everyone willing to follow precisely delineated steps.⁶⁵ In her writings, Marguerite Bourgeoys, like de Sales, emphasizes the important role of focussed prayer in centering an individual.

It seems to me, that we do not pay enough attention to prayer, for unless it arises from the heart, which ought to be its centre, it is no more than a fruitless dream. Prayer ought to carry over into our words, our thoughts and our actions. We must strive as much as we can to reflect on what we ask or promise. We do not do this if we do not pay attention to our prayers...⁶⁶

⁶¹ François Lebrun, "The Two Reformations: Communal Devotion and Personal Piety," in *A History of Private Life*, vol. 3, *Passions of the Renaissance*, edited by Roger Chartier (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1989), 71.

⁶² Pierre Janelle, *The Catholic Reformation* (Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1963), 236-42.

⁶³ Irénée Noye et Michel Dupuy, "Jean-Jacques Olier," *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, 11: 737-50.

⁶⁴ Lorraine Caza, *La Vie voyageuse, conversante avec le prochain* (Montréal: Cerf, 1982), 82. P. Dudon, "Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet," *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, 1: 1874-83; Louis Cognet, *Post-Reformation Spirituality* (New York: Hawthorn Books), 131-6. Bossuet a Sulpician priest, advocated a mystical experience that was to be confined to a few exceptional cases. He is perhaps best known, for his battle against the mysticism of François de Salignac de la Mothe Fénelon in the final years of the seventeenth century, a battle which essentially "saw the complete rout in France of Catholic mysticism" (Cognet, *Post-Reformation Spirituality*, 136).

⁶⁵ Pierre Serouet, "Saint François de Sales," *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, 5: 1057-97. Saint Francis de Sales, *The Love of God: A Treatise*, translated and introduced by Vincent Kearns (Westminster: Newman Press, 1962), especially chapter 6, "Concerning the Exercises of Holy Love in Prayer." For a discussion of collective and personal piety see Lebrun, "The Two Reformations," in Chartier, ed., *A History of Private Life*, vol. 3, 69-109.

⁶⁶ Bourgeoys, *Writings*, 169; as well as, for example, the section entitled, "Primacy of the Interior Rule," 93.

Moreover, some evidence does confirm that the congrégation soeurs, before the acceptance of the 1698 réglemens, engaged in this rigorous type of prayer. Marie Barbier, Soeur de l'Assomption, for one, in her work at the ambulatory mission at Sainte-Famille, lamented the lack of privacy at the widow Gaulin's house, which hindered the practice of her private devotions.⁶⁷ In fact, according to Charles Taylor's recent discussion of William James, different forms of devout humanism - personalized religion of the heart, as he terms it - persisted for centuries both within and outside of Catholicism, after its full flowering in the seventeenth century,⁶⁸ and there is no reason to believe that within this convent it did not. The precepts of the community's constitution set aside significant periods of time on a daily basis to be devoted to individual meditation and prayer,⁶⁹ and convent inventories reveal that the soeurs continued to read the works of de Sales, Louis Bourdaloue⁷⁰ and Bossuet well into the eighteenth century.⁷¹

But in the end, one's view of the congrégation as a cloistered institution depends upon one's perception of the cloistered monastic life: was its chief purpose to repress and control women, or to enable them to flourish as spiritual beings? If we subscribe to the latter precept, then, concomitantly, we must also accept that monasticism must have fortified the spirituality of at least some of the most truly devout of these women. But then again, this should not be surprising. In many cultures, whether in the east or west,

⁶⁷ ASQ, Ms. 198, Glandelet, Recueil, 38 "Je me trouvay comme dans un Enfer me voyant obligée d'être continuellement avec des hommes et des femmes" On the following page (39), Glandelet explains how the crowded conditions of the widow Gaulin's house made it very difficult for the soeurs to engage in their "exercises" without restraint.

⁶⁸ Charles Taylor, *Varieties of Religion Today: William James Revisited* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002), 17, but especially chapter one.

⁶⁹ AAM, 525.101, Réglemens, art. 15 : 32-5.

⁷⁰ R. Daeschler, "Louis Bourdaloue," *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, 6: 1901-5. Louis Bourdaloue (1632-1703) was known for his ministry surrounding confession in French court circles as well as for his spiritual direction of various religious communities.

⁷¹ Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 3:239 and 5:275. See also ACND, Series D, Livres Anciens.

Tibetan Buddhism or Christianity, it has been recognized that spiritual power grows from religious self discipline,⁷² and that monastic environments have produced, and continue to do so, individual testaments to the power of the personal, spiritual experience, from Julian of Norwich to Theresa of Avila and right into the twentieth century with Edith Stein and Saint Thérèse of Lisieux.⁷³ In this sense then, there is little reason to believe, on the whole, that the acceptance of the more restrictive rules by soeurs of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame in 1698 deprived them of the potential power inherent in the religious way of life.

⁷² Sherry Ortner, "Thick Resistance: Death and the Cultural Construction of Agency in Himalayan Mountaineering," in *The Fate of Culture: Geertz and Beyond* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 155. "It is by disciplining themselves through meditation and other practices that the lamas gain the powers that allow them to control the gods."

⁷³ Julian of Norwich, *Revelations of Divine Love*, translated by Clifton Wolters (London: Penguin Books, 1966); Saint Theresa of Avila, *The Interior Castle*, translated and edited by Allison Peers (New York: Doubleday, 1944); Edith Stein, *Essential Writings*, edited by John Sullivan (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 2001); Saint Thérèse of Lisieux, *The Little Way of Saint Thérèse of Lisieux: Readings for Prayer and Meditation*, compiled and introduced by John Nelson (Liguori: Liguori, 1997).

Chapter Two: The Public World

I. The Spiritual Mission

The Pedagogical Mission

" à instruire...les personnes de leur sexe..."

...la fin principale et la première intention des filles séculières de la Congrégation de N.D. établie à Ville-Marie est que sous l'aide, faveur et protection de la très Ste Vierge, qu'elles se proposent pour leur modèle, elles se consacrent avec la grace de N.S.J.C. à instruire tant dans les villes que dans les autres lieux du pays, les personnes de leur sexe, et sur tout les jeunes filles pensionnaires ou externes à la piété, perfection de vie et bonnes moeurs, à lire, écrire, travailler en diverses sortes d'ouvrages honnêtes...¹

This extract, taken from the community's constitution, while describing the paramount purpose of the institution as the instruction of individuals of the female sex,² belies the extent, complexity and influence of their pedagogical mission, which focussed not only upon developing practical skills and piety within the students, but extended beyond the congrégation classroom into the wider cultural, social, and political spheres of the colony.

Very few sources remain surrounding the pedagogical mission of the soeurs in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Unlike the correspondence of the Ursulines and the Hôtel-Dieu, which has been utilized to form a picture of their teaching methods, congrégation sources are almost totally silent in this respect.³ Concomitantly, the ensuing description of a congrégation education was derived from less direct sources, primarily

¹ AAM, 525.101, 698-1, Réglemens des Soeurs Séculières de la Congrégation de N.D. établie à Ville-Marie pour honorer la Très Ste Vierge et imiter ses vertus. art 1:1. "...elles se consacrent avec la grace de N.S.J.C. à instruire, tant dans les villes que dans les autres lieux du pays, les personnes de leur sexe..."

² Ibid.

³ Dominique Deslandres, "Femmes missionnaires en Nouvelle-France: Les débuts des Ursulines et les Hospitalières à Québec," in *La Religion de ma mère*, edited by Jean Delumeau (Paris: Cerf, 1992).

the community's constitution and secondary material describing girls' schooling in the early modern period.⁴

What then did the Congrégation de Notre-Dame education entail? Congrégation students received a very basic education, suitable to girls of their station, comprising religion, reading, writing, elementary arithmetic and the domestic arts.⁵ Some of the students attended *La Providence* in Pointe Sainte-Charles, and here they acquired primarily an education in domestic skills.⁶ Like students of the Ursuline nuns, congrégation students received their education free of charge, although pensionnaires, as they were called, or boarders, in both institutions, were required to pay a small stipend to cover their room and board.⁷

As in all educational institutions during this period, religion resided at the heart of a congrégation education. The basic pedagogical text utilized by the soeurs, after 1702, was Bishop Saint Vallier's,⁸ *Catéchisme du Diocèse de Québec*,⁹ a very precise document

⁴ See Micheline Dumont, *Girls Schooling in Quebec, 1639-1960*, translated by Carol Élise Cochrane, Canadian Historical Association Booklet, no. 49 (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1990).

⁵ AAM, 525.101, 698-1, Réglemens, art.7:14. "Leur premiere obligation sera de les instruire dans leurs écoles des vérités fondamentales de la Religion et leur apprendre en même temps à lire, à écrire, à comter et à travailler à diverses sortes d'ouvrages de la main."

⁶ Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 1:327.

⁷ AAM, Réglemens, art.7 :15. Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 5 : 191, 331.

⁸ Alfred Rambaud, "Jean-Baptiste La Croix de Chevières de Saint-Vallier," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), 2:328-34. Bishop Saint-Vallier (1653-1727) descended from among the best noblemen in Dauphiné France. He was bishop of Quebec from 1688 to 1727.

⁹ Bishop Saint-Vallier, *Catéchisme du Diocèse de Québec* (Montréal : Les Éditions Franciscaines, 1958). There are few studies dealing with the catechism in Quebec in the pre-Conquest period. See, for example, Nelson-Martin Dawson, "La législation sur l'enseignement du catéchisme, en France, aux XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles : Rencontre de diverses volontés," in Raymond Brodeur et Brigitte Caulier, *Enseigner le catéchisme: Autorités et institutions, XVIe-XXe siècles* (Québec : Les Presses de l'Université Laval,

outlining the basic tenets of Catholic faith. This emphasis upon religious education persisted throughout the eighteenth century, as the following directive to the congrégation from the Sulpician priest, Étienne Montgolfier,¹⁰ the vicar-general of Montreal and ecclesiastical superior of the congrégation, written on behalf of Bishop Briand¹¹ in 1783, clearly reveals:¹²

But that all of the soeurs, in general, should never forget that all arithmetical exercises must be the least part of their teaching: and that they must always give precedence to the science of the principles of religion, by the practice of the pure maxims of a Christian life."¹³

Naturally, Montgolfier meant that congrégation students had to conform to the religious way of life, and this entailed the performance of domestic chores, silence, prayer, discipline and the practice of frugality.¹⁴ Fundamentally, their pedagogy, like that of all female teaching institutions in France and the colony during this period, was influenced by an increased interest in the education of women. The Council of Trent and the Catholic Reformation gave momentum to this development, and education became a tool to counteract heresy and to reinstate both lay and clerical church discipline. One of the leading influences upon the congrégation's pedagogy was François de Salignac de la

1997) and Raymond Brodeur, *Catéchisme et identité culturelle dans le diocèse de Québec de 1815* (Québec : Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1998).

¹⁰ Lucien Lemieux, "Étienne Montgolfier," *DCB*, 4: 542; Henri Gauthier, *La Compagnie de Saint-Sulpice au Canada* (Montréal : Séminaire de Saint-Sulpice, 1912), 119, 120.

Étienne de Montgolfier (1712-1791) was a Sulpician priest, superior of the Sulpicians of Montreal and vicar-general of Montreal. For more on this priest, see below.

¹¹ André Vachon, "Jean-Olivier Briand," *DCB*, 4: 95-102. Bishop Briand (1715-1794) was bishop of Quebec from 1766 to 1784.

¹² Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 5 : 355-60. Etienne Montgolfier, "Ordonnance au sujet de l'arithmétique qui doit être enseignée dans les écoles de la Congrégation," Montreal, 12 June 1783.

¹³ Ibid., 5:357. "Mais que toutes les Soeurs, en général, n'oublient jamais que tous ces exercices d'arithmétique ne doivent être que la moindre partie de leur enseignement: et qu'elles doivent toujours les faire précéder par la science des principes de la religion, par la pratique des pures maximes de la vie chrétienne."

¹⁴ AAM, 525.101, 698-1, Réglemens, art.7:13-16.

Mothe Fénelon's¹⁵ *De l'éducation des filles*. This manual advocated teaching girls reading, writing, practical arithmetic, and, as long as they were taught with discernment, literature, history, Latin, music, painting and the reading of secular books, these latter in small doses and under strict supervision.¹⁶ While, as previously mentioned, the congrégation curriculum remained far more basic, its focus upon religious values placed it squarely in the centre of traditional French schooling for girls. Extolling Christian manners and morals, obedience and piety, it was designed to form hearts and souls in orthodox Catholicism, to lead individuals away from disorder and debauchery, and to prepare them for their future roles as wives and mothers.¹⁷

The orthodoxy of the education received at the congrégation, of course, is difficult to measure. Marie-Aimée Cliche's study of the role of religion in the colony to 1755 concludes that the religious establishment was able to inculcate successfully orthodox spiritual practices in the colonists, and undoubtedly the congrégation, as part of this structure, did contribute to this endeavour.¹⁸ However, even within the congrégation, periodic evidence of a less strictly orthodox spirituality does appear. Anchored in ancient convictions, which the Tridentine Church accepted only hesitantly,¹⁹ beliefs in premonitions, dreams and miracles do surface in the sources, albeit rarely. In the late seventeenth century, for example, it was claimed that Marie Barbier, Soeur de l'Assomption, who served as a congrégation superior between 1693-8, could heal the ill,

¹⁵ Louis Cognet, "François de Salignac de la Mothe Fénelon," *Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique: doctrine et histoire*, edited by Marcel Viller, F. Cavallera and J. de Guibert (Paris: Beauchesne, 1932-95), 5: 151-70. Fénelon was a Sulpician priest, and perhaps best known for his defence of the mysticism of Madame Guyon, as well as his involvement in the Quietist controversy in late seventeenth-century France.

¹⁶ M. Sonnet, *L'Éducation des filles au temps des Lumières* (Paris : Editions du Cerf, 1987), 15, 16.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 16, 264, 287 and especially chapter 6.

¹⁸ Marie-Aimée Cliche, *Les Pratiques de dévotion en Nouvelle-France: Comportements populaires et encadrement ecclésial dans le gouvernement de Québec* (Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1988), 26.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 26.

interfere with the elements and increase food supplies.²⁰ As well, more than half a century later, a premonition by Élisabeth Prud'homme, Soeur Sainte-Agathe, predicted the fire that devastated the community in 1768.²¹ And fantastic legends surrounded the community's priest, François-Auguste Magon de Terlaye at Lac-des-Deux-Montagnes in 1777, involving the increase of food supplies and the sudden appearance of a spring.²² We have no way of knowing if these less orthodox beliefs remained as only whispers among the soeurs, or if they also filtered down to their students.

What would have been the implications of this education? Some research indicates that a congrégation education was, indeed, effective. Allan Greer's study of literacy in Quebec from 1745-1899, utilizing parish registers for the early period, found that literacy rates were high in areas where there were congrégation schools, as, for example, Boucherville, and that, before 1760, in general, they were higher among women than men.²³ A subsequent study by Roger Magnuson, *Education in New France*, based on an examination of the ability of women in the parishes of Lachine, Sainte-Famille, Champlain and Pointe-aux-Trembles, to sign the marriage register,²⁴ also supported the success of a congrégation education. However, in the absence of more widespread studies of literacy rates or even diaries or letters, throughout the eighteenth century, it is not possible to draw more precise conclusions.

²⁰ Ms. 198, Recueil touchant la S[œur Marie Barbier], fille séculière de La Congrégation de Notre-Dame, by Charles de Glandelet, for example, 19, 21, 26-9, 51-3, 54, 55. For more on the spirituality of Marie Barbier, see chapter six.

²¹ Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 5: 123.

²² Ibid., 5: 292-4. J. Bruno Harel, "Françoise-Auguste Magon de Terlaye," *DCB*, 4:506-7. Magon de Terlaye (1724-1777) was a Sulpician priest and missionary. He served in the Seven Years' War and subsequently at the Lac-des-Deux-Montagnes mission. See also Henri Gauthier, *La Compagnie de Saint-Sulpice au Canada* (Montréal: Séminaire de Saint-Sulpice, 1912), 70.

²³ Allan Greer, "The Pattern of Literacy in Quebec, 1745-1899," *Social History/Histoire Sociale* 11, no. 1 (May 1978), 297-300, 331-2.

²⁴ Roger Magnuson, *Education in New France* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), 141.

To be sure, contemporaries from the "elite sectors of the enlightened nobility in France," as well as modern scholars,²⁵ have criticized the quality of female education during this period. However, in spite of these critiques, for some women, at least, an efficacious education it must have been, for the institute did produce, over the course of its history, an elite cadre of skilled women - superiors and council members - who capably ran this complex and demanding institution (for more on the administration of this institution, see chapter four). More generally, beyond these exceptional individuals, one can only conclude that a congrégation education produced generations of literate women, who were armed with a basic knowledge of domestic skills, and who could, to varying degrees, read, write, and perform elementary arithmetical calculations. But this education also inculcated these women in the heart of Catholic Reformation ideology. Endowed with a sense of an ordered world, surrounded by the sacraments,²⁶ and steeped from an early age in the virtues of stability, self-control, and discipline, the qualities and skills, imbued by the congrégation made the institution a useful tool not only in the Church's mission in the New World, but also of royal governments consolidating the nation-state and populating and developing a distant colony.

²⁵ See Christine Fauré, *Democracy Without Women: Feminism and the Rise of Liberal Individualism in France*, translated by Claudia Gorbman and John Berks (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), 60. Fauré (60-1) observes that female education in the seventeenth and eighteenth century was not universally supported, and that "many attacks came from the elite sectors of the enlightened nobility," as the following quote by Mme de Sévigné to her daughter clearly reveals: "Ah my daughter! Keep your child with you. Do not believe that a convent can provide an adequate education either on religious subjects, which the sisters hardly know anything about, or on other things. You will do much better at Grignan when you have the time to apply yourself. You will have her read good books...and discuss them with you...I firmly believe that this is better than a convent."

²⁶ Jean Delumeau, *Catholicism Between Luther and Voltaire* (London: Burns & Oates, 1977), 194.

The congrégation mission, however, extended far beyond its classrooms. As central as the pedagogical mission may have been, it only partly reflects the direct and active spiritual role that the institution played outside of the convent school. Some of this influence stems from the Church's role in medieval and early modern society: in its external congregations, its confraternities, in intercession and retreats.

Congrégation des externes

A congrégation education did not often terminate when a girl - at the age of eighteen for a pensionnaire or, if her mother had died, and with the permission of the bishop, at twenty-two²⁷ - had completed her studies at the convent and returned to her family. Rather, the documents show that many former students retained their connection to the congrégation and joined the Congrégation des externes, a confraternity established in the colony by Marguerite Bourgeoys in 1658. Modelled on a gathering of women that Bourgeoys had attended, and, perhaps, as a prefect, led in Troyes, France, the confraternity spread throughout the colony as congrégation teaching missions became established in the parishes.²⁸

The Congrégation des externes was an association which had originated in France and was among a group of similar confraternities in New France that had been established by ecclesiastics. In all, there were eight confraternities in Quebec during the French regime, and eleven in Montreal.²⁹ With respect to these confraternities, three of them, the confraternities of Scapulaire de Notre-Dame-du-Mont-Carmel, Rosaire, and Sacré-Coeur,

²⁷ AAM, 525.101, 698-1, Réglemens, art.28: 58.

²⁸ Cliche, *Les pratiques de dévotion*, 166. Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 1: 322-4. Bourgeoys's confraternity was the first confraternity to be established in the colony. Brigitte Caulier, "Les Confréries de dévotion à Montréal du 17e au 19e siècle," Ph.D. Thesis, Department of History, University of Montreal, 1986, 24.

²⁹ Caulier, "Les Confréries," 24, 137.

focussed upon popular devotions; while the remaining three, the Congrégation des externes, the Congrégation de la Vierge and the Confrérie de la Sainte-Famille, were more specialized.³⁰

In general, post-Tridentine confraternities bore little resemblance to their medieval counterparts. Although medieval confraternities had also been devoted to prayer and good works, their activities, particularly their feast days in honour of their patron saints, had, at times, provided the occasion for a mixture of boisterous and often uncontrollable celebrations and pious exercises. Post-Tridentine confraternities in France differed from the earlier ones because they came under the more direct management of the clergy: local bishops suppressed some of the more unruly confraternities, strictly supervised others and placed new ones under exacting and permanent episcopal supervision. The clergy in New France transplanted this post-Tridentine confraternity tradition to the New World, and in this new environment, they came firmly under ecclesiastical authority.³¹

What was the nature of the confraternities' activities? In general, colonial confraternities were a means to encourage a special devotion to Christ and certain saints. Individuals entered an association in honour of a specific patron saint, and by doing so, they placed themselves under his or her special protection. But the saint became more than simply a protector: members were encouraged to model their lives after the particular saint and to imitate his or her virtues, to frequently partake of the sacraments of Penance and the Eucharist, and to attend masses and processions in a special chapel often built and maintained by the members at their own expense. Confraternity members also

³⁰ Cliche, *Les pratiques de dévotion*, 136. Caulier, "Les Confréries," 24.

³¹ Caulier, "Les Confréries," esp. 137.

engaged in charitable works. In return for their devotion, they received not only the protection of their patron saint, but also papal indulgences, which endowed them with remission from their sins. But the confraternities also provided important social outlets, and spiritual support for their members.³²

As mentioned previously, the *Congrégation des externes*, founded by Marguerite Bourgeoys, belonged to a group of specialized confraternities. They were more strict than the devotional confraternities, which accepted individuals of both sexes of good morals and reputation, and encouraged them in the practise of very simple pious exercises. The *Congrégation des externes* made more demands on its members, and entry into it was selective and involved a period of probation. As well, it only admitted girls who were living at home with their parents, and who were known to be modest, devout and reserved towards individuals of the opposite sex.³³ And finally, members of the *Congrégation des externes* had to be willing to serve as role models in their daily lives, to practise frequent and precise pious exercises, such as prayer in the morning and evening, spiritual readings, and the examination of their conscience, and express a willingness to encourage the spread of Christian virtues.³⁴

Within colonial society, the *Congrégation des externes* played a precise and important role. The confraternity served the broader mission of the Church well, for it gave the *soeurs* of the *congrégation* the opportunity, through these girls, to widen the influence of the Church beyond the classroom and to spread the Catholic Reformation ideology of discipline, piety and obedience to the families and friends of its members. Moreover, the confraternity also endowed the nuns with a chance to consolidate their

³² Cliche, *Les pratiques de devotion*, 138-43.

³³ *Ibid.*, 166.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 166-7.

influence among their former students, girls possibly in a transition period of their lives between the convent school and marriage. In doing so, they either encouraged individuals to enter the convent, if they had a calling, or, if they chose to marry, to stream them into the female branch of the Confraternity of Sainte-Famille, an association with similar aims, activities and rituals as the congrégation.³⁵

On the social plane, the Congrégation des externes offered young girls, who had left the convent and were still living with their parents, the opportunity to return to an institution where perhaps they had spent several years of their lives as boarders, and where they felt comfortable. It enabled them to socialize outside of this domestic sphere with other young women with whom they studied and grew up in the convent school, and endowed them with a separate space to reflect upon their future. Membership in this confraternity also gave these young girls an opportunity to develop and express their piety in private as well as within the wider more public spiritual life of the colony. The externes, for instance, engaged in devotions to the Holy Sacrament, the Virgin Mary, the Holy Angels and the Holy Family. These same devotions were also widespread among other colonial confraternities.³⁶ Moreover, on at least one occasion, during the War of the Spanish Succession, the externes' piety assumed a very public profile. In 1711, with the colony under threat of invasion from the English fleet, the externes pledged to, and did, indeed, after the English fleet ran aground in the Gulf of Saint-Lawrence, build a chapel on congrégation property in honour of "Notre-Dame de la Victoire," commemorating the event. This vow linked the externes to the much larger French colonial effort to obtain

³⁵ Ibid., 166, 167-8. Caulier, "Les Confréries," » 62. According to Caulier, it is difficult to state precisely when the female branch of the confraternity of Sainte-Famille was established. The confraternity itself was founded at Montreal in 1663, and at Quebec the following year, in 1664.

³⁶ Cliche, *Les pratiques de dévotion*, 167.

God's assistance against the English enemy, and took the form of both personal and public vows, special masses, and public penance.³⁷

The confraternity also gave girls the opportunity to engage in activities to which they could apply, maintain and develop skills they had previously learned in the convent school. Unfortunately, very little information remains concerning the administrative hierarchy of this confraternity, or the nature of decision making within it. What is known is that a soeur did serve as a director until 1768, after which time a Sulpician priest acted in that capacity.³⁸ Did the soeurs administer the entire confraternity themselves or did they delegate some of the responsibility to its members? Judging from the few sources that remain, it is possible to speculate that some of the externes were indeed responsible for the administration of at least part of the confraternity's finances. Most colonial confraternities, for example, raised funds for the construction and maintenance of their chapels,³⁹ activities requiring, albeit on a very small scale, organization, the delegation of authority, and the utilization of basic arithmetic.

However, the congrégation's spiritual influence was not confined only to former students and their associates. It also branched out beyond their circle and touched and attracted other individuals through its role in intercessions and retreats.

Intercession

For centuries, European society had turned to religious institutes for intercessory prayers and masses. Indeed, throughout the middle ages and the early modern period,

³⁷ Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 3 :154-5.

³⁸ Ibid., 5: 171-4. This alteration in the administrative structure of the confraternity occurred after the destruction of the chapel of the Congrégation of Externes in the 1768 fire. The soeurs, preoccupied with rebuilding their convent and in straightened financial circumstances, permitted Monsieur Jollivet, the parish curé, to assume the direction of its reconstruction.

³⁹ Cliche, *Les Pratiques des dévotion*, 138-43.

most Christians believed that the prayers of one person could be beneficial to another. Furthermore, it was held that God listened to the prayers of religious individuals far more than he did to those of a laity tainted by sin. Thus, daily or in exceptional circumstances, individuals in society appealed to religious for intercessory prayers for themselves or for souls in purgatory.⁴⁰

It does appear from the scant, remaining sources, that the congrégation did play an intercessory role in colonial society, both for individuals and as part of the larger Church structure. No comprehensive list survives of those colonists who requested intercession from the congrégation, but some notarial records reveal that certain people of varying economic circumstances and stations did believe strongly enough in the intercessory powers of the soeurs to endow the congregation, with sums of money or in kind, often quite generously. In 1695, Jeanne Le Ber, the institution's recluse and a daughter of wealthy merchant, Jacques Le Ber, for example, financed the construction of a chapel for the soeurs, within which she established for herself a reclusoir, in exchange for their promise to pray for the repose of her soul and those of her family.⁴¹ In 1718, a wealthy widow, Madame Biron, created a foundation in the congrégation's church in honour of the Holy Sacrament and the Sacred Heart of the Virgin Mary. She established this foundation with a sum of 700 livres, on the condition that the soeurs not only announce the mass to the general populace, but also that they pray for souls in purgatory: specifically, for individuals who had been devoted in their lifetime to the Sacred Heart of Mary, Madame

⁴⁰ Joseph. Lynch, *The Medieval Church: A Brief History*. (New York: Longman, 1992), 131-2.

⁴¹ ANQM, gr. Basset, Convention entre Jeanne Leber, de Villemarie, et la Congrégation Notre-Dame de Montréal, 4 Aug. 1695. Cornelius Jaenen, "Jeanne Le Ber," *DCB*, 2:376-7. For more on Jeanne Le Ber, see below.

Biron's family, and the deceased soeurs of the congrégation.⁴² Seigneurs, such as François Berthelot of Île St-Laurent⁴³ and Nicolas Dupont of Neuville,⁴⁴ in 1694 and 1713, respectively, donated land in their seigneuries for the building of congrégation convents in exchange for masses in their honour, as did two habitants in 1764 from the parish of Saint-François-du-Sud.⁴⁵ Moreover, when Bishop Dosquet⁴⁶ retired to France in 1735, he donated paintings to the institution in the hope that "this small token of my remembrance will give you reason to think of me before our Lord."⁴⁷ And finally, even humble engagés, individuals such as "Le bon homme Pierre Main," Pierre Guyon, Sansoussie, Baptiste Giare, who worked on the community's farms at Pointe Saint-Charles, on occasion, offered their labour for spiritual favours.⁴⁸

But the congrégation also played a role in collective intercessions. Throughout the 1750s, during the Seven Years' War, when the colony was threatened by invasion from the British, the congrégation, along with all of the colony's other religious institutions,

⁴² ANQM, gr. Lepailleur, Donation d'une somme d'argent; par Marie-Jeanne Dumouchel, veuve de Pierre Biron, marchand bourgeois, de la ville de Villemarie, à la Congrégation Notre-Dame de Montréal, 6 Feb. 1718.

⁴³ ANQM, gr. Chambalon, Acception et obligation entre la Congrégation Notre-Dame de Montréal et François Berthelot, seigneur de l'île et comté St-Laurent, 13 Oct. 1694.

⁴⁴ ANQM, gr. Dubreuil, Donation de terre en la seigneurie de Neuville, 5 Oct. 1713.

⁴⁵ Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 5: 38-9.

⁴⁶ Jean-Guy Pelletier, "Pierre-Herman Dosquet," *DCB*, 4:220-2. Bishop Dosquet (1691-1777), a Sulpician, priest of the Missions Étrangères, was the fourth bishop of Quebec between 1733 and 1739.

⁴⁷ Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 4:12, Bishop Dosquet to Soeur Sainte-Barbe, 13 Oct. 1735: "...J'espère que cette petite marque de mon souvenir vous donnera lieu de penser à moi devant Notre-Seigneur."

⁴⁸ See, for example, ACND, 3A/06, Recettes et Dépenses de nos terres: Pointe Saint Charles, Verdun, Laprairie, 1742-1780: Le bon homme Pierre Main, 1765: 45; Pierre Guyon, 1766: 65; Sansoussie, 1768:77; Bourguignon, 1770:104; Baptiste Giare, 1770:106.

was included in Bishop Pontbriand's⁴⁹ comprehensive campaign to bolster the population's morale with prayers and special services designed to petition God to aid the French in their war against their enemy. These masses were part of a larger effort that included the entire populace in public prayers, processions, novenas, and adorations of the Holy Sacrament.⁵⁰

The congrégation's role in intercessory prayer is, of course, difficult to evaluate, for it is impossible to know just how many other individuals appealed to the institution for intercession, how many actually attended the public prayers, or how efficacious they believed these to be. Whatever the case, not only did the institute on some level play an intercessory role for certain individuals, it also participated in collective services. For devout Catholics, these services provided consolation, for the congrégation, donations as well as an enhancement of their own and the Church's spiritual influence, and for the government, an institution acting in conjunction with the larger church structure during tumultuous times, bolstering the morale of a people who were in distress.

Retreat

The congrégation also offered individuals both temporary and permanent retreats from the secular world, a function that could serve diverse personal, social or political purposes.

a) Temporary Retreatants

⁴⁹ Jean-Guy Lavallée, "Henri-Marie Dubreuil de Pontbriand," *DCB*, 3: 192-99. Bishop Pontbriand (1708-1760) was the fourth bishop of Quebec.

⁵⁰ Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 4:249-5; 306.

Officially, the soeurs accepted temporary retreatants into their convent as part of their larger mission of reforming the morals of women in the community.⁵¹ However, this description belies the potentially more far-reaching repercussions of a retreat.

What was a retreat? Retreats have had a long history in the Catholic Church, but they became widespread for the laity in the sixteenth century with the publication of the *Spiritual Exercises of Ignatius Loyola*.⁵² By the seventeenth century, in Europe, the spiritual exercises became a general practice, a means of achieving sanctity, and of ordering all aspects of an individual's life according to the will of God. Widespread in France, Italy, Germany, the Low Countries and Portugal, retreats were centered in Jesuit colleges where priests supervised a laity engaging in these practices. By the second half of the seventeenth century, under the influence of Catherine de Francheville,⁵³ these retreats quickly spread throughout many parts of France and became more accessible to women.⁵⁴

As stated earlier, offering a place of retreat to women was integral to the congrégation mission, and it was enshrined in its constitution. The institution encouraged individuals to leave the secular world behind, and, for a suspended period of time, adhere to its routine and rules by engaging in prayer and spiritual conversations with a director.⁵⁵

⁵¹ AAM, 525.101, 698-1, Réglemens, art.30: 61. Money received from retreatants appears on a very irregular basis throughout the extant community's account book, ACND, 3A/02, Registre des Dépenses et recettes générales, 1753-1793.

⁵² Saint Ignatius of Loyola, *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius of Loyola*, translated by Elisabeth Meier Tetlow (Lanham: University Press of America, 1987).

⁵³ Paul Brotin, "Catherine de Francheville," *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, 5:1004-1007. Catherine de Francheville (1620-1689), as part of a larger spiritual movement in Brittany throughout the seventeenth century, devoted her life and her fortune to retreats for women. She founded a community of women who dedicated themselves to retreats at Vannes, France.

⁵⁴ Manuel Ruiz Jurado, "Retraites spirituelles," *ibid.*, 13 : 423-34.

⁵⁵ AAM, 525.101, 698-1, Réglemens, art. 21 :43.

Once again, it is impossible to precisely identify most of the individuals who turned to the congrégation for retreats because they appear on such an irregular basis in the community's account book.⁵⁶ Suffice it to say, however, that these retreats, while broadening the matrix of the soeurs' spiritual influence, on the one hand, also provided the retreatants with an escape from domestic or other worldly concerns to a quiet secluded female-centred environment in which they could reflect and refresh their energies or, as mentioned previously, spend a sustained period of time with kin,⁵⁷ before returning to secular society.

b) Permanent Retreatants - Jeanne Le Ber

Lone women entered the congrégation and remained as retreatants on a permanent basis. One of the most famous permanent retreatants in the congrégation, and perhaps the colony's religious history (mentioned previously with respect to her donations to the community) was the recluse, Jeanne Le Ber, daughter of the wealthy Montreal merchant, Jacques Le Ber.⁵⁸

What was a recluse? In medieval and early modern society, a recluse could assume many different forms. In general, a recluse entered an enclosed cell, usually

⁵⁶ ACND, 3A/02, Registre des Dépenses et recettes générales, 1753-1793. It is very possible that the community kept a separate book recording the retreats of these individuals, which was destroyed by fire. It is certain that the community's accountant used a separate book to register the community's boarders, as one accountant, in ACND, 3A/08, 313:87, Registre de comptes des engages à la maison mère et sur nos terres, 1740-1856, refers to another book registering these girls. However, it too must have been destroyed in one of the community's fires.

⁵⁷ See chapter one for a discussion of "cloistering."

⁵⁸ Jaenen, "Jeanne Le Ber," in *DCB*, 2: 376-7. Yves Zoltvany, "Jacques Le Ber," *ibid.*, 2:374-6. Biographies of this recluse include: Etienne-Michel Faillon, *The Christian Heroine of Canada or, Life of Miss Le Ber*, translated from the French (Montreal: J. Lovell, 1861), and most recently, Françoise Deroy-Pineau, *Jeanne Le Ber: La recluse au coeur des combats* (Montréal: Bellarmin, 2000). See also Dominique Deslandres's discussion of the holiness of this woman, "In the Shadow of the Cloister: Representations of Female Holiness in New France," in *Colonial Saints: Discovering the Holy in the Americas* (New York: Routledge, 2003).

attached to a local church and, like the women centuries earlier in the deserts of Egypt, completely left the world behind in a ceremony resembling a funeral. From that time forth, the individual would live out her life in this enclosure, barely speaking, and, through prayer and fasting, expiate the sins of individuals and society at large.⁵⁹

Although not a contemplative order, the congrégation agreed to allow Jeanne Le Ber to enter their community in 1695 as a recluse and live in a cell attached to the church she had donated to the soeurs.⁶⁰ Within this enclosure, for almost twenty years, this woman fulfilled her desire to live a holy, ascetic life. She wore shoes made of straw and ragged clothing; she prayed, fasted and engaged in the art of fine embroidery, speaking only to Anne Barrois, Soeur Saint-Charles,⁶¹ the individual she chose to care for her needs.⁶² Although almost no information remains surrounding the extent of her intercessory activity in the daily lives of individual colonists, evidence demonstrates that she did play a public role in colonial society during the War of the Spanish Succession: she composed prayers for the defeat of the enemy and attempted to assure the colonists that the Virgin would not permit the colony to be defeated.⁶³

What was the significance of Jeanne Le Ber to the community? On the one hand, by associating with her, by permitting her to fulfil her spiritual destiny and enter the

⁵⁹ Marie-Christine Chartier, "Reclus," *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, 13:222-7; Bruce L. Venarde, *Women's Monasticism and Medieval Society : Nunneries in France and England, 89-1215* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997), 178

⁶⁰ ANQM, gr. Basset, Convention entre Jeanne Leber, de Villemarie, et la Congrégation Notre-Dame de Montréal, 4 Aug. 1695.

⁶¹ Linda Breuer Gray has challenged Anne Barrois's identity as cousin of Jeanne Le Ber, and made a strong case establishing this woman as a New England captive, who was originally baptized in the Dutch Reformed church at Albany. See Linda Breuer Gray, "Narratives and Identities in the Saint-Lawrence Valley, 1667-1720," Ph.D. Thesis, Department of History, McGill University, 1999, 193-205.

⁶² Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 3: 261-71, Necrology of Jeanne Le Ber.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 3: 154-6.

congrégation as a recluse, by allowing her to be buried in their chapel, Sacré-Coeur de Jésus, the soeurs must have enhanced their spiritual profile within the colony, for Jeanne Le Ber's legacy outlived her own lifetime. At her death in 1714, her clothing and straw shoes were distributed as relics to the community. Colonists travelled to the church of Notre-Dame, where according to the memoirs of Jeanne Françoise Juchereau de la Ferté, the annalist of the Hôtel-Dieu de Québec, her corpse was on display for public adoration, and the ill touched it, expecting to be healed.

It (her body) was exposed for two days for the devotion and consolation of all of Montreal and its surrounding areas, from which people flocked to admire the holy corpse of this virgin....people distributed her ragged clothing and her shoes made of straw... and revered them as relics. Many people afflicted by diverse maladies, approached her coffin, touching it with confidence and faith...assured that they would be healed. After this grand demonstration, her body was carried to the parish church where a magnificent funeral was held.⁶⁴

François Vachon de Belmont,⁶⁵ superior of the Sulpician seminary of Montreal, praised her in his public eulogy at the parish church in Montreal. Linking her to the anchoress tradition, in place since the time of the Old Testament, he venerated her for renewing this ancient tradition in the New World, extolling her as the ultimate role model

⁶⁴ Taken from the memoirs of Mère Juchereau in *ibid.*, 3:187-8. "On l'exposa pendant deux jours, pour la dévotion et la consolation de tout Montréal et des environs, d'où l'on vint en foule regarder et admirer le saint corps de cette vierge. On l'invoqua alors avec confiance; on distribua ses pauvres haillons et jusqu'à ses souliers de paille. Tous ceux qui purent avoir quelque chose d'elle, s'en estimèrent heureux, et le révèrent comme des reliques. Plusieurs personnes, affligées de diverses maladies, s'approchèrent de son cercueil et la touchèrent avec beaucoup de confiance et de foi; on assure qu'elles ont été guéries. Après ce grand concours, le corps de la défunte fut porté à l'église de la paroisse, où on lui fit de magnifiques obsèques." See also *Les annales de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Québec, 1637-1716* (Québec : Hôtel-Dieu de Québec, 1939).

⁶⁵ Jacques Mathieu, "François Vachon de Belmont," *DCB*, 2:641-2. Belmont (1645-1732), was a "priest, Sulpician, missionary, schoolmaster, priest of the parish of Ville-Marie, seigneur of Montreal island, superior of the Sulpician seminary from 1701-1732 and vicar-general of the bishop of Quebec."

for women of the entire community for her sacrifice, her virginity, purity, innocence and her intercessory powers.⁶⁶

c) Permanent Retreatants - Pensionnaires perpétuelles

The congrégation, in exchange for negotiated sums of money, provided retreat opportunities for other less exceptional women to enter the institution on a permanent basis. These women were usually widows or other females who, due to disability could not otherwise enter the religious life. Called pensionnaires perpétuelles, they took simple vows and wore plain clothing. Although they were not allowed to teach, these women performed other unspecified duties in the convent, and were expected to adhere strictly to the rules of the institution.⁶⁷ Marguerite Bouat⁶⁸ (née Marguerite de Névellet), for example came to the colony in 1659 from Troyes. She stayed at the congrégation, where she worked for a time with "les filles du roi," women who had been sent to the colony from France in the 1660s as part of the royal government's efforts to increase the Canadian population.⁶⁹ In 1670, she married Abraham Bouat, a Montreal merchant, and gave birth to four children. After her husband's death, she returned to the congrégation in 1709 to live among former friends and associates as a pensionnaire perpétuelle.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 3:189-201, Oraison funèbre de Mlle Le Ber. See also ASSP, ms. 1216, La Vie de la venerable soeur Jeanne Le Ber, fille recluse dans la maison des Soeurs de la Congrégation de Notre-Dame decedée en odeur de sainteté à Montréal, by François Vachon de Belmont, 13 Oct. 1714.

⁶⁷ AAM, 525.101, 698-1, art. 38: 90-1.

⁶⁸ Jean Blain, "François-Marie Bouat," *DCB*, 2: 81-2. Marguerite Bouat was the mother of François-Marie Bouat who would become the "lieutenant general at the court of royal jurisdiction at Montreal, seigneur of Terrebonne and a merchant."

⁶⁹ For a detailed analysis of the composition of this group of women see Yves Landry, *Orphelines en France, pionnières au Canada: Les filles du roi au XVIIe siècle; suivie un répertoire biographique des filles du roi* (Montréal : Leméac, 1992).

⁷⁰ ANQM, gr. Adhémar, Convention entre Marguerite Nevellet, veuve de Abraham Bouat, bourgeois de la ville de Villemarie, et la Congrégation Notre-Dame de Montréal, 6 Oct. 1709. For a good study of the options open to widows in New France, see Josette

Marie-Josèphe de Lestage (or Esther Sayward as she had been known in the English colonies before her Catholic baptism), a New England captive, also became a pensionnaire perpétuelle. Captured by the Abenakis on 25 January 1692 at the age of seven, from her native York in the American colonies,⁷¹ she and her sister were taken to Montreal. She left the convent and married Pierre de Lestage,⁷² a wealthy Quebec merchant. Upon her husband's passing away in 1744, she returned to the institution, where she lived until her death in 1770, among the nuns, one of whom was her niece, Marie-Anne de Lestages, Soeur Saint-Luc.⁷³

Marie-Josèphe de Lestage, however, was not the only New England captive to be harboured by the congrégation.⁷⁴ Rather, almost from its founding, the institution had served as a refuge for the stranger, and in the process, very often either officially or unofficially, assisted the political intentions of the French royal government. This was, indeed, the case, as pointed out above, with "les filles du roi," but this applied equally and perhaps more indirectly to the New England captives. Much ink has been devoted to these

Brun, "Le veuvage en Nouvelle-France: genre, dynamique familiale et stratégies de survie dans deux villes coloniales du XVII^e siècle, Québec et Louisbourg," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Montreal, November 2000. See also Kathryn, A Young, "...sauf les perils et fortunes de la mer': Merchant Women in New France and the French Transatlantic Trade, 1713-1746," in *Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women's History*, edited by Veronica Strong-Boag, Mona Gleason and Adele Perry (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2002).

⁷¹ Hélène Bernier, "Mary Sayward," *DCB*, 2: 601.

⁷² Dale Miquelon, "Pierre de Lestage," *ibid.*, 3:393-4. Pierre de Lestage (1682-1743) was a wealthy merchant, who engaged not only in the fur trade, but also dealt with general merchandise. In addition to these activities, he acted as an agent for the treasurer of the Marine, and although he purchased the seigneurie of Berthier-en-Haut in 1718, he continued to live in Montreal, where he owned considerable property.

⁷³ Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 4: 73.

⁷⁴ Other captives associated with the congrégation include: Elisabeth Price, Martha French, Elisabeth Nims, Sarah Tarbel, Marie Adélaïde Sylver. In *ibid.*, 3: 28, 35, 41, 45, 139. For Anne Barrois see above.

captives.⁷⁵ In particular, James Axtell, in *The Invasion Within*, has argued that the attractions of Catholicism and French culture convinced fully 45% of the individuals of English descent captured by the French throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to remain in New France.⁷⁶ There also is good reason, however, to suspect that hard political motives fuelled the French effort behind the captives' conversions, and also to view these conversions as an attempt to bolster not only the colony's population, but also the morale of a distressed populace at war. It is interesting to note, at least with respect to captives harboured by the congrégation, how many distinguished individuals, beyond church officials, were involved in their abjuration and baptismal ceremonies. Many were highly placed government officials, officers or their kin and wives of wealthy merchants⁷⁷ - individuals such as Marie Elisabeth Lemoyne, daughter of Charles Le Moyne, baron of Longueuil, officer and holder of the cross of Saint Louis;⁷⁸ Marguerite

⁷⁵ Recent works pertaining to the captives include: Michelle Burnham, *Captivity and Sentiment: Cultural Exchange in American Literature, 1682-1861* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1997); James D. Hartman, *Providence Tales and the Birth of American Literature* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999); Pauline Turner Strong, *Captive Selves, Captivating Others: The Politics and Poetics of Colonial American Captivity Narratives* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1999); and Joe Snader, *Caught Between Worlds: British Captivity Narratives in Fact and Fiction* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2000).

⁷⁶ James Axtell, *The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 289. See also Alden Vaughan and Daniel Richter, "Crossing the Cultural Divide: Indians and New Englanders, 1605-1763," in *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 90 (1980): 23-99. John Demos, *The Unredeemed Captive: A Family Story from Early America* (New York: Knopf, 1994), xii, investigated one particular female captive, Eunice Williams, and her family, quite simply to tell a story and to explore the "larger business of 'contact'" and "encounter" between different human groups.

⁷⁷ For a more complete list of prominent individuals involved in the conversions of captives see Gray, "Narratives and Identities in the Saint Lawrence Valley," Appendix A.

⁷⁸ Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 3:28, Abjuration of Elisabeth Price, 25 Aug. 1705. Céline Dupré, "Charles Le Moyne de Longueuil," *DCB*, 2:401-3. Charles Le Moyne de Longueuil (1656-1729) was the only native Canadian to be made a baron in New France.

Bouat, wife of Antoine Pascaud, a French shipper, who engaged in business with the congrégation, and daughter of Marguerite Bouat, the community's pensionnaire perpetuelle discussed above⁷⁹; Charlotte Denis, wife of Claude de Ramezay, seigneur as well as governor of the district of Montreal;⁸⁰ Clairambault d'Aigremont, commissioner of the marine and the Intendant's subdelegate at Montreal;⁸¹ Jacques-Urbain Roberet de la Morandière, the Intendant's secretary;⁸² and Philippe de Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil, holder of the cross of Saint Louis and governor-general of New France⁸³ - people whose better interests undoubtedly were better served by a stable and well-populated colony.

But merely listing the individuals involved does not do justice to the potential theatrical effect these baptisms must have exerted upon an unsettled and insecure

He was also an officer, "a delegate of the French to the Indians, governor of Trois-Rivières and later Montreal."

⁷⁹ Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 3: 35, 45, Baptismal certificate of Martha French, 23 Jan. 1707; Abjuration of Sarah Tarbel, 1 May 1708. Marguerite Bouat's connections found in *ibid.*, 4: 16. Miquelon, "Pierre de Lestage," *DCB*, 3: 393-4. Antoine and Marguerite Pascaud were engaged in the Compagnie de la Colonie with Pierre de Lestage, mentioned above. After the collapse of the company, they moved their business to La Rochelle, and, "as metropolitan exporters, they were...at the most powerful position in the structure of the colonial trade." In 1710, they formed a partnership with Pierre de Lestage and Jean-François Martin de Lino, which lasted until 1739.

⁸⁰ Yves F. Zoltvany, "Claude de Ramezay," *DCB*, 2: 545-8. Claude de Ramezay (1659-1724), perhaps best known for the Montreal landmark, the Château de Ramezay, was lieutenant and captain in the colonial regular troops, commander, seigneur, a knight of the order of Saint-Louis, governor of Trois-Rivières and then Montreal, and acting governor of New France from 1714-16. Marie-Charlotte Denys was a member of one of New France's leading families. Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 3: 139, Baptismal certificate of Marie Sylver, 2 Feb. 1710.

⁸¹ Étienne Raillemite, "François Clairambault d'Aigremont," *DCB*, 2: 146-7 Clairambault lived between 1659 and 1728. Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 3: 35, Baptismal certificate of Martha French, 23 Jan. 1701.

⁸² Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 3:45, Baptismal certificate of Sarah Tarbel, 23 July 1708.

⁸³ Yves F. Zoltvany, "Philippe de Rigaud de Vaudreuil," *DCB* 2: 565-74. Vaudreuil (1643-1725), in addition to being governor of New France, had many distinctions: chevalier and a marquis, musketeer and commander of the troops, a naval captain, governor of Montreal, governor of Revel in Languedoc. He was also a knight, commander and holder of the cross of Saint Louis. Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 3: 139, Baptismal certificate of Marie Sylver, 2 Feb. 1710.

populace at war.⁸⁴ A case in point is the baptismal ceremony of Mary Rishworth Plaisted, the mother of two New England captives who would remain closely associated with the congrégation : the above-mentioned pensionnaire perpétuelle, Marie-Josèphe de Lestage and Mary Sayward, who would become a congrégation nun under the religious name of Soeur des Anges. It is not too difficult to imagine the effect of this ceremony presented to the assembled town at the parish church of Notre-Dame in Montreal - the touching sight of a mother and her two young daughters, recently torn from their homes in New England, the latter sheltered and schooled by women devoted to the service of the Virgin Mary, all dressed in the traditional white baptismal garb. Attending this ritual were Mary Rishworth Plaisted's godparents, Jean-Baptiste Juchereau, the lieutenant-general of the Royal Baliwick of Montreal, and his wife Madeleine Louise, but it is also recorded that Mary Louise Pittman, who had been taken by the natives in 1689 and adopted by Louis-Hector de Callière, the governor-general of New France, was also present.⁸⁵ Within the ritual of baptism - one of the seven holy sacraments of the Catholic Church - not only were these individuals purified of their sins, they were making a much larger statement.

⁸⁴ Gray, "Narratives and Identities in the Saint Lawrence Valley," has commented upon the multiple meanings of these conversions. Specifically, her section, "Religious Symbolism as Borderland Discourse" (291-8), discusses their psychological and symbolic value.

⁸⁵ Accounts of the baptism of Mary Rishworth Plaisted vary. Gray, "Narratives and Identities in the Saint Lawrence Valley" (22), contends that the girls were baptized among the Abenakis, where they initially lived after their captivity. However, other accounts claim that they were baptized at the parish church of Notre-Dame at Ville Marie. Whatever the case, the girls were undoubtedly present and on display at their mother's ceremony - either renewing their baptismal vows, as do all of the baptized during this ceremony, or actually being baptized themselves. See, for example, Charlotte Baker, *True Stories of New England Captives Carried to Canada During the Old French and Indian Wars* (Greenfield Mass.: E. Hall, 1897), 79, 82 ; Bernier, "Mary Sayward," *DCB*, 2: 601 and Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 3: 277. Yves F. Zoltvany, "Louis-Hector de Callière," *DCB*, 2: 112-17. In addition to holding the position of governor-general of New France, Callière (1648-1703) was a chevalier, captain in France, governor of Montreal and knight of the order of Saint Louis.

Participating within a ceremony symbolizing the death and the resurrection of Christ, they were also stepping out from the realm of the enemy Protestant and heretic, and with the aid of some of the most illustrious members of the colony, into the community of believers in the mysteries of the Incarnation and the Holy Trinity amidst war and invasion.⁸⁶

Links to Heaven

The above description of the role of the congrégation in colonial society belies a more subtle and, therefore, less readily identifiable dimension of its influence in New France. Historians such as Jutta Sperling have opened up the field by exploring the symbolic role of the convent in early modern Europe, and her work, in particular, has inspired the following examination of the wider symbolic significance of the congrégation in Canadian colonial life.⁸⁷

To understand this symbolic role, we must initially examine the actual meaning of the physical space of the convent, as well as the individuals within it. In the minds of some colonists at least, the convent must have represented a sequestered holy world, harbouring virgins, women who had devoted their lives to following the example of the Virgin Mary.⁸⁸ Representative of a tradition of renunciation and removal, extending back for centuries within European society, the convent co-existed with and yet, as we have seen, remained distinctly apart from the profane every day reality of life in the colony. Within the confines of this world, as has already been pointed out, these virgins offered to their students not only practical mundane skills, but access to the holy, the comforting stability of the sacraments, as a frame of reference for the here and now and a pathway to

⁸⁶ R. Daeschler, "Baptême," *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, 1: 1218-40.

⁸⁷ Sperling, *Convents and the Body Politic*.

⁸⁸ For more on the significance of the Virgin Mary see below.

the hereafter. But they also offered the colonists prayers for their own souls and for those of their loved ones, living or departed.

Within the convent, and undoubtedly enhancing the holiness of this sacred space, was the congregation's chapel, Sacré-Coeur de Jésus. A holy site by itself,⁸⁹ it was one among other sacred sites within the colony with which the congrégation was also associated. For example, the soeurs maintained the chapel of Notre Dame de Bonsecours, which was constructed in 1676,⁹⁰ that of Sainte-Anne,⁹¹ built by Pierre Le Ber⁹² in 1698, and their chapel at Pointe Sainte-Charles, which became a temporary sanctuary of the Holy Sacrament in 1723.⁹³

But Sacré-Coeur de Jésus, the community's chapel, possessed a particular significance. Considered one of the nine tabernacles of the colony, it was also one of the permanent sites of the Blessed Sacrament,⁹⁴ as well as the remains of two of the colony's holy women, the body of Jeanne Le Ber and the heart of Marguerite Bourgeoys.⁹⁵ We have already witnessed the intense veneration of the recluse, Jeanne Le Ber, at her

⁸⁹ For a discussion of regional or local shrines in France, which attracted a steady stream of pilgrims, see François Lebrun, "The Two Reformations," in *A History of Private Life*, edited by Chartier, vol. 3: 89-93.

⁹⁰ Sainte Henriette, *Histoire*, 1: 311-21; 3: 154-8. For a discussion of the foundations of this chapel, see below.

⁹¹ Ibid., 5: 82. Sainte-Anne's chapel was demolished in the eighteenth century due to vandalism. Ibid., 5: 71.

⁹² Jules Bazin, "Pierre Le Ber," *DCB*, 2:377-8. Pierre Le Ber (1669-1707) was the brother of the recluse Jeanne Le Ber. Along with Charon and Fredin, he was one of the founders of the Brothers Hospitallers of the Cross in 1688, and the painter of the famous portrait of Marguerite Bourgeoys, now hanging in the Marguerite Bourgeoys museum in Old Montreal. Other works are attributed to him, notably an "Enfant Jesus," reputedly painted for Soeur Barbier.

⁹³ Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 5:82-3. The other tabernacles of the colony included chapels at: the Fort (1642); l'Hôpital-Général (1644); the first parish church (1656); and the Jesuit (1692) and Récollet seminaries.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 5: 82-3.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 3:188, 2:178. Another less well-known holy woman was Marie Barbier, whose spirituality and significance will be discussed in another context in chapter six.

death,⁹⁶ but this was no less true of Marguerite Bourgeoys. When Bourgeoys died in 1700, people flocked to her funeral, seeking relics that belonged to her or touching her corpse with objects of devotion. It is also noteworthy that the colony's highest political figures attended her funeral, individuals such as Louis-Hector de Callière, the governor-general of Canada, and Philippe de Rigaud de Vaudreuil, the governor of Montreal.⁹⁷

Church officials did not ignore the intense devotion surrounding these two women. Very soon after the death of Marguerite Bourgeoys, Charles de Glandelet,⁹⁸ a priest at the Séminaire de Québec, began writing her biography,⁹⁹ extolling her virtues and setting her apart from other women. Chapter six, with respect to Glandelet's biography of Marie Barbier, will examine in more detail this tradition whereby priests wrote about holy women. Suffice it to say that it was a sacred tradition, extending back to medieval times. The genre evolved over time, as did its purposes, which could be either didactic, devotional, hagiographical, or simply inspired by priestly admiration for these women.¹⁰⁰ Of course, Glandelet was not the only Canadian priest to engage in this

⁹⁶ Ibid., 3: 189-201.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 2: 176-8.

⁹⁸ Charles de Glandelet was born in Vannes (Brittany) in 1645. He held numerous titles and offices in the Church until his death in 1725, including assistant and then superior of the seminary of Quebec; Canon of the Cathedral Chapter and first theologian for the Chapter; procurator for the bishop and the Chapter. He was also the ecclesiastical superior for the Ursulines of Trois-Rivières, Quebec and the soeurs of the Hôtel-Dieu of Quebec. "Introduction," Charles de Glandelet, *The Life of Sister Marguerite Bourgeoys* (Montreal: CND, 1994), 14-15.

⁹⁹ This priest completed two biographies of Marguerite Bourgeoys: Charles de Glandelet, *The True Spirit of the Institute of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame Established in Ville-Marie on the Island of Montreal in Canada*, translated by Francis McCann, CND (Montreal: CND, 1977) and *Life of Sister Marguerite Bourgeoys*, translated by Florence Quigley, CND (Montreal: CND, 1994).

¹⁰⁰ E. McDonnell, *The Beguines and Beghards in Medieval Culture With Special Emphasis on the Belgian Scene* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1954), esp. chap. 2; Richard Kieckhefer, *Unquiet Souls: Fourteenth-Century Saints and Their Religious Milieu* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 4, 5.

activity. For example, by the time of the death of Jeanne Le Ber in 1714, François Vachon de Belmont had linked this holy woman with Marguerite Bourgeoys, enthusiastically praising them as role models for female colonists: Jeanne Le Ber represented the holy life of the recluse, Marguerite Bourgeoys, the sanctity of the active life.¹⁰¹

Enhancing the holiness of the institution's physical site was the predominance of the image of the Virgin Mary, who was associated with the institution in various ways. The Virgin Mary was patron of the institute and the soeurs had devoted their lives to following her; the congrégation's confraternity, Notre-Dame de la Victoire, was named after the Virgin Mary, as was their chapel, which was built upon congrégation soil in 1711 to commemorate the French victory over the British during the War of the Spanish Succession,¹⁰² and the chapel, Notre-Dame de Bonsecours, which, although external, in a physical sense, to the institution, remained linked with the congrégation through Marguerite Bourgeoys, who initially advocated its construction in 1657 in recognition of the protection she received from the Virgin Mary during her early years in the colony. From its foundation, this chapel became associated with healing miracles perpetrated by the Virgin Mary to individuals, such as its benefactor, Baron de Fancamp. Although annexed to the parish when it was finally constructed in 1675, the soeurs, thereafter, remained associated with it—in legend, with respect to the miracles surrounding its foundations by Marguerite Bourgeoys, as well as practically, by maintaining its interior

¹⁰¹ Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 3: 305-8, “Éloges de quelques personnes mortes en odeur de sainteté à Montréal, en Canada,” by Vachon de Belmont.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 3 : 157.

for the parish. It became a sacred shrine to the Virgin Mary, and people flocked to it, to perform their devotions and offer the Virgin Mary their prayers.¹⁰³

But what did the image of the Virgin Mary mean to the colonists during this period? The image of the Virgin Mary has been the centre of much recent historical research. Donna Spivey Ellington,¹⁰⁴ for example, has argued that the Virgin Mary underwent a decisive transformation in the late medieval period, and that she became less revered for her intercessory role and more worshipped as a model of virtue. On the other hand, French historian, Jean Delumeau, has argued that religious beliefs and practices from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries, in general and the Marian devotion, in particular, reflected a need for security and for sustenance in times of distress.¹⁰⁵ This issue of the evolution and the nature of Marian devotion is worthy of further exploration

¹⁰³ Ibid., 1: 311-21; 3:154-8. According to Marie Morin, "On y dit tous les jours la sainte messe, et même plusieurs fois le même jour, pour satisfaire la dévotion et à la confiance des peuples, qui sont grandes envers Notre-Dame de Bon-Secours. On y va aussi en procession pour les besoins et les calamités, avec bien du succès. C'est la promenade des personnes dévotes de la ville, qui y vont tous les soirs en pèlerinage; et il y a peu de bons catholiques qui, de tous les endroits du Canada, ne fassent des vœux et des offrandes à cette chapelle, dans tous les périls où ils se trouvent. Je dis ceci pour faire connaître que l'origine de cette dévotion est due à la piété et au zèle de la soeur Bourgeoys. In *ibid.*, 1: 317-18. For an account of the construction of another chapel named Notre-Dame de Bon-Secours at the institution's Champlain mission as early as 1683, see *ibid.*, 1: 290-2.

¹⁰⁴ Donna Spivey Ellington, *From Sacred Body to Angelic Soul: Understanding Mary in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 2001), 249, 250, 263. Ellington disagrees with Carolyn Walker Bynum's contention that female medieval spirituality focused more on the suffering body of Christ than the image of the Virgin Mary. Rather, she argues that both "Mary's birth-giving and bodily unity with Jesus were always a central, forceful and positive force." Both Gail Murray Gibson, *The Theatre of Devotion: East Anglian Drama and Society in the Middle Ages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989) and Theresa Coletti, "Purity and Danger: The Paradox of Mary's Body and the En-gendering of the Infancy Narrative in the English Mystery Cycles," in *Feminist Approaches to the Body in Medieval Literature*, edited by Linda Lomperis and Sarah Stanbury (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993) also maintain that Jesus and the Virgin Mary were both positive influences in female medieval spirituality. See also Elisja Schulte Van Kessel, "Virgin Mothers Between Heaven and Earth," in *A History of Women in the West*, vol. 3, edited by G. Duby and M. Perrot (Paris: Plon, 1991).

¹⁰⁵ Jean Delumeau, *Rassurer et protéger: Le sentiment de sécurité dans l'Occident d'autrefois* (Paris: Fayard, 1989), esp. 261-80, "La Vierge au grand manteau."

in terms of the Canadian colonists. With respect to the congrégation, and at least one nun, Marie Barbier, the devotion to the Virgin Mary was intensely personal, a devotion which, as a teacher, she must have passed on to her students. For Soeur Barbier, the Virgin Mary was her protector, who enabled her to perform miracles,¹⁰⁶ and who played a vital intercessory role between herself and Jesus. Her advocate and refuge, the Virgin Mary presented to her "Divine Son," "the offering and sacrifice" that Marie, in the form of a solemn vow, had made of her will.¹⁰⁷ The Virgin Mary was a very real presence for Marie. She appeared to her in the form of numerous visions,¹⁰⁸ and her disappearance, on one occasion, proved to be a cause for violent mourning.¹⁰⁹

But the devotion to the Virgin Mary in the colony also transcended these very personal dimensions and pervaded the collective political sphere - for religious authorities and the laity viewed the Virgin Mary, the patron saint of Ville-Marie, as the saviour of the colony from its enemies - both native and British alike.¹¹⁰ The importance of this

¹⁰⁶ ASQ, ms. 198, Recueil touchant la S[œur Barbier], fille séculière de La Congrégation de Notre-Dame, by Charles de Glandelet, 87. For a more detailed examination of Marie Barbier, see chapter six.

¹⁰⁷ For example, *ibid.*, 87. "Tres Ste vierge, prosternée humblement a vos piez, Je vous supplie, comme vous êtes ma digne Supre et mon avocate, et refuge, n'ozant paroître devant [word unclear] Divin fils. Je m'adresse a vous afin que vous luy presentiez l'offrande et le sacrifice que Je vous fais de ma volonté..."

¹⁰⁸ For example, *ibid.*, 104-5.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 105. "ce qui m'affligea d'une maniere que Je n'ozerois y penser sans verser deslarmes en abondance...Je suis maintenant a cherchez La Ste Vierge, et Je ne Say quand elle me fera la grace de la recouvrer."

¹¹⁰ For example, Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 1: 320-1, Louis Tronson, superior of the Sulpician Seminary at Paris to Jean Frémont, Sulpician missionary, n.d. : "Vous avez raison, d'attribuer à la très sainte Vierge la conservation du Canada. Continuez de bien implorer son secours; vous savez que c'est particulièrement sous ses auspices que l'on a entrepris l'établissement de Montréal." "Louis Frémont," (1624-1694), in Gauthier, *La Compagnie de Saint-Sulpice*, 51. Louis Tronson (1622-1700) superior of the Sulpician Seminary at Paris from 1676, was known for his work in regularizing the order's rules. His voluminous spiritual writings reached both laity and religious alike. Pierre Boisard, *La Compagnie de Saint-Sulpice: Trois siècles d'histoire* (S.I.: s.n., 194-), 1:55-63.

spiritual devotion within the political world of the colony, is best illustrated by the actions of Charles Le Moyne, baron of Longueuil, during the War of the Austrian Succession. At this time, Le Moyne asked his cousin, Jeanne Le Ber, the congrégation's recluse, to compose the following prayer to the Holy Virgin Mary and write it upon her image, painted upon a flag:

Our enemies place all of their confidence in their arms, but we place ours in the Queen of Angels, whom we invoke. She is as fierce as an army in battle: under her protection, we hope to vanquish our enemies.¹¹¹

In a solemn ceremony, in the presence of the entire parish, Vachon de Belmont, the Sulpician superior at the time, blessed the standard, placing it into the hands of Le Moyne in the parish church of Notre-Dame.¹¹² In light of this incident, as well as the previous discussion, it becomes possible to argue that the institution's association with the Virgin Mary more deeply tied it to the surrounding society, embedding it more profoundly in the spiritual and political life of the colony.

But the holy space of the convent, compounded by this association with the Virgin Mary, may have possessed yet a wider significance. As Clifford Geertz has observed, the holy "bears within it everywhere a sense of intrinsic obligation; it not only encourages devotion, it demands it."¹¹³ And surely would not the existence of this sacred presence, as well as the soeurs' engagement with the holy within it, have narrowed the purportedly irreconcilable gap, characteristic of the human condition, between the sacred and the

¹¹¹ Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 3:156. "Nos ennemis mettent toute leur confiance dans leurs armes, mais nous mettons la nôtre au Nom de la Reine des Anges, que nous invoquons. Elle est terrible comme une armée rangée en bataille : sous sa protection, nous espérons vaincre nos ennemis."

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Clifford Geertz, "Ethos, World View and the Analysis of Sacred Symbols," in *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 126.

profane as described by Durkheim,¹¹⁴ vicariously linking the colonists, who believed in it, to a more distant, accessible heaven?

Conclusion

More than a cloistered institute solely dedicated to the education of poor girls of the colony, the Congrégation de Notre Dame played a vital role in the spiritual, social, political and symbolic life of the colony. A useful arm of the Church, it inculcated in its young students, its externes, and the individuals who turned to it for retreat, the Catholic Reformation message of piety and obedience. But its mission was also supportive of the policies of the French and British royal governments, and it provided stability to colonial society, both in times of war and peace.

In the process of engaging in its mission, the institute, of course, also served the pedagogical and spiritual needs of the settlers. Not only did it educate young girls and offer them, once they had left the convent, opportunities for socialization, reflection and the consolidation of skills in its confraternities, it provided prayers for the souls who petitioned for them, shelter for the spiritually hungry, widows and the aged, and room for the realization of the destiny of a holy woman. And finally, on a wider, symbolic level, it served as a sanctified place, representing not only the sacred, but also linking this sacred world to the more profane spiritual, political and cultural reality of the colonists.

II. The Economic Mission

Introduction

The previous discussion has established that the spiritual mission of the congrégation penetrated beyond the walls of the convent's classroom, benefiting society,

¹¹⁴ Émile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, translated by Carol Cosman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 36-40

the Church and the government in a number of diverse ways. This section intends to deepen the discussion of the institution's engagement in the public world, and the relationships it forged, through the following case study of the community's acquisition of the seigneurie of Île Saint-Paul.

Île Saint-Paul

The Congrégation de Notre-Dame comprised only a small group of women teaching children in a humble stable school, given to them by in 1658 by Governor de Maisonneuve,¹¹⁵ when on 1 January 1664, Jean de Lauzon, an intendant of Vienne in Dauphiné, ceded Île Saint Paul, in what was then the seigneurie of La Citière, to three citizens: Claude Robutel de la Noüe,¹¹⁶ grandfather of Anne-Suzanne Robutel de la Noüe, Soeur Sainte-Cécile, a woman who would become a congrégation nun in 1690, Jacques Le Ber, father of the Jeanne Le Ber who would become the institution's recluse, and Jean de la Vigne.¹¹⁷ In that same year, on 14 November 1664, the island was officially and equally divided among the three concessionaires into three separate fiefs, each owing distinct feudal obligations to the seigneur of la Citière.¹¹⁸ Three years after the partition of the island, on 9 October 1667, Jean de la Vigne entered the order of the Brothers of Charity in Saint-Germain-de-Prés in Paris and, being unable to own property, donated his

¹¹⁵ There is no record of this transaction in ANQM but a printed copy appears in Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 1: 55-6, gr. Basset, Donation, 22 Jan. 1658. Marguerite Bourgeoys also refers to this acquisition in Bourgeoys, *Writings*, 26: "Four years after my arrival [1658], M. de Maisonneuve decided to give me a stone stable to make into a house to lodge the person who would teach there." Marie-Claire Daveluy, "Paul de Chomedey de Maisonneuve," *DCB*, 1:212-22. De Maisonneuve (1612-1676), an officer and the founder of Ville-Marie, was a member of the Société Notre-Dame de Montréal and the first governor of the island of Montreal.

¹¹⁶ Nive Voisine, "Zacharie Robutel de la Noue," *DCB*, 2: 581. Claude Robutel de la Noue was father of Zacharie Robutel de la Noue, mentioned below.

¹¹⁷ Act cited in Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire* 3: 63-4, Paris, France, 1 January 1664.

¹¹⁸ Reproduced in *ibid.*, 3: 64-6, De Mouchy, 14 Nov. 1664, Montreal.

portion to Marie Le Ber, the sister of Jacques Le Ber, the proprietor of one of the fiefs.¹¹⁹

Marie, in turn, entered the Ursulines the following year and ceded her portion to her brother, Jacques, who, in 1668, as a result, became owner of two-thirds of Île Saint-Paul.¹²⁰

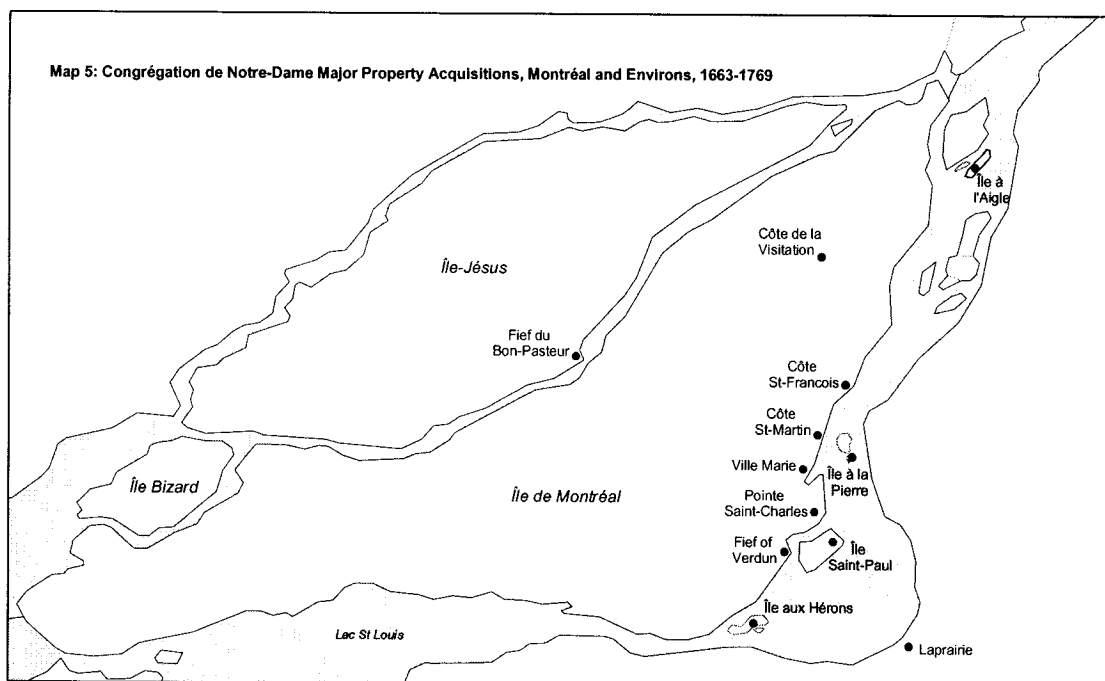
Some forty years would pass before the congrégation's first involvement with the Île Saint-Paul property (see map 5 for the following discussion). Through a series of two transactions, in 1706 and 1707, the institution acquired the Robutel portion of the island from Catherine Robutel and Zacharie Robutel de la Noüe,¹²¹ father of Anne-Suzanne Robutel de la Noüe, by this time a professed congrégation soeur, and the brother-in-law of Marguerite Le Moyne, Soeur du Saint-Esprit, the superior who presided over the official negotiations.¹²²

¹¹⁹ In *ibid.*, 3 : 68, gr. Vallon, Donation de partie de l'île Saint-Paul à Marie Le Ber par Sieur Jean de la Vigne, 14 Feb. 1669.

¹²⁰ Reproduced in *ibid.*, 3: 67-8, gr. Becquet, Donation par Marie Le Ber à Jacques Le Ber, son frère, 11 Oct. 1668.

¹²¹ Nive Voisine, "Zacharie Robutel de la Noue," *DCB*, 2:581. Zacharie Robutel de la Noue (1665-1733) was a lieutenant and then a captain. In 1706, he purchased the seigneurie of Châteauguay from the heirs of Charles Le Moyne.

¹²² ANQM, gr. Adhémar, Echange d'une terre entre la Congrégation Notre-Dame et Zacharie de Robutel..., 16 July 1706; gr. Adhémar, Vente du tiers du fief appelé de Lanoue situé dans l'île St Paul... à la congrégation Notre Dame..., 25 May 1707. Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 3 :82.



Sources: See notes to discussion pp. 97-107.

However, in the years before and indeed, following this acquisition, the congrégation had been engaged in establishing a visible presence in and beyond the vicinity. In 1673, the congrégation acquired, by way of a donation from Zacharie Dupuy, the fiefs of Verdun, Île aux Herons and Bon Pasteur on Île Jésus, north of Montreal.¹²³ Between 1672 and 1706, they obtained land at Côte Saint-Martin and Côte Saint-François,¹²⁴ and in 1718, through a donation on the part of Jean Cailloud, father of Marie-Gabrielle Caillou-Baron, Soeur de la Nativité, they received land at La Prairie de la Madeleine, the faubourg Saint-Anne, a town property and Île à la Pierre.¹²⁵ The

¹²³ ANQM, gr. Basset, Donation de biens meubles et immeubles; par Zacharie Dupuy, écuyer et major de l'île de Montréal et Jeanne Groisard, 12 Nov. 1673.

¹²⁴ Émila Chicoine, CND, *La métairie de Marguerite Bourgeois à la Pointe Saint-Charles* (Montréal : Fides, 1986), 117.

¹²⁵ ANQM,, gr. Lepailleur, Donation de biens d'héritage mobiliers et immobiliers; par Jean Cailloud dit Baron et Marie-Marguerite Touchard, 11 Mar. 1715; gr. Lepailleur,

congrégation also came into possession of Côte de la Visitation in 1726, through the dowry of Marie-Angélique Lefebvre-Angers, Soeur Saint-Simon¹²⁶ and they purchased, in 1731, Ile à l'Aigle from Charles-Gaspard Piot de Langloiserie,¹²⁷ father of Marguerite, Soeur Saint-Hippolyte and Charlotte-Angélique, Soeur Sainte-Rosalie.¹²⁸

In view of what would transpire in the future, however, the community's acquisition of the property at Pointe Saint-Charles, during this period, is most impressive. The soeurs were first conceded land in the area of Pointe Saint-Charles in 1662, and managed, through a series of purchases of neighbouring properties and strategic exchanges, to consolidate a remarkable piece of river-front property, which, by 1723, was estimated at between 183-212 arpents of prime agricultural land, separated from Île Saint-Paul by only a narrow channel of only one-half a kilometre wide.¹²⁹

The purchase of the fief, La Noüe, as it was now called,¹³⁰ on Île Saint-Paul, although only comprising one-third of the island (the other two-thirds being held by Jacques Le Ber), was important, for it endowed the institution with a 300-arpent foothold on the island that faced the river on two fronts.¹³¹ It was also in close proximity to their growing farm at Pointe-Saint Charles, and only a short canoe ride from the Montreal convent. Certainly the institution viewed this acquisition as significant: not only were

donation de biens meubles et immeubles; par Marie Touchard, veuve de Jean Cailloud dit Baron, 8 Mar. 1718.

¹²⁶ ANQM, gr. Raimbault, 20 Nov. 1730, Convention portant obligation par Jean-Baptiste Lefevre dit Angers, 20 Nov. 1730.

¹²⁷ Nive Voisine, "Charles-Gaspard Piot de Langloiserie," *DCB*, 2:526-7. Piot de Langloiserie (1655-1715), in addition to being made a knight of the order of Saint-Louis, was a soldier, town major and lieutenant at Montreal and Quebec.

¹²⁸ ANQM, gr. Raimbault, Vente d'une île dite a Laigle, 17 Apr. 1731.

¹²⁹ For the progression of this and other acquisitions at Pointe Saint-Charles, see Chicoine, *La métairie de Marguerite Bourgeoys*, esp., part two, chaps. one and two.

¹³⁰ Act reproduced in Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 3: 71-3, Titres du fief La Noüe comprenant un tiers de l'île Saint-Paul, 18 July 1676.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 5: 214

they willing to part with, among others, their river-front property in Côte Saint-Martin on the island of Montreal to obtain it, they paid a total of 3000 livres in cash to complete the transaction.¹³²

As sole proprietors of the fief La Noüe, the soeurs invested very little money on the property: a man was hired to watch over the land and tend the thirty or forty head of livestock grazing there. At the time of planting and harvesting, the community's *dépositaire* sent engagé labourers to work on the island, and these individuals were supervised by the soeurs working just across the narrow channel at Pointe Saint-Charles.¹³³

This ostensibly negligent approach to their fief, however, belies an attitude that was not at all casual. Indeed, on a number of occasions, the nuns petitioned the government to protect their acquisition from habitants who, on the pretext of gathering wild fruits and nuts, were, they claimed, damaging their property.¹³⁴ Moreover, in at least two instances, the colony's intendants willingly obliged them by issuing edicts concerning Île Saint-Paul. These forbade trespassing on the island and established fines for those who did so.¹³⁵ It is also noteworthy that between 1707 and 1717, for example, the government, with the assistance of the intervention of Bishop Saint-Vallier¹³⁶ and the Sulpician superior, Vachon de Belmont, who made petitions on their behalf, also facilitated the institution's retention of this property by absolving payment of seigneurial dues on the

¹³² ANQM, gr. Adhémar, Echange d'une terre..., 16 July 1706; gr. Adhémar, Vente du tiers du fief appelé de Lanoue..., 25 May 1707.

¹³³ Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 5 :74, 215.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 3:80-1; 4:394.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 3: 80; 4:394, Ordinance of Jacques Raudot, Intendant, 29 July 1708, Montréal; Ordinance of Gilles Hocquart, Intendant, Montreal, 27 June 1730.

¹³⁶ Alfred Rambaud, "Jean-Baptiste de La Croix Chevrères de Saint-Vallier," *DCB*, 2:328-34. Saint-Vallier (1653-1727) was the second bishop of Quebec.

purchase of their portion of Île Saint-Paul. This was a privilege accorded not only the congrégation, but other religious institutions, such as the Hôtel-Dieu, in recognition of their services to the colony.¹³⁷

The soeurs must have watched carefully as the other two-thirds of the seignury of Île Saint-Paul changed hands over the course of the eighteenth century. Jacques Le Ber of Senneville had retained possession of his two-thirds of the island until 1735, when it passed on to his son, Joseph-Hippolyte Le Ber of Senneville.¹³⁸ By 1758, in view of the uncertain political situation in the colony resulting from the war with the British, Joseph-Hippolyte's son, Jean-Baptiste Le Ber, decided to seek refuge in France. On 11 August 1758, he sold the seignury to Ferdinand Feltz,¹³⁹ an army surgeon, for 75,000 livres.¹⁴⁰ Six years later, in 1764, Feltz sold the property for 41,000 livres - at a considerable loss - to an Englishman, named Thomas Lynch.¹⁴¹ Finally, on 16 August 1769, five years after Thomas Lynch had purchased the property, and on the year following the fire that devastated their convent, the soeurs of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame purchased the remaining two-thirds of Île Saint-Paul for 16,650 livres from Thomas Lynch. With this

¹³⁷ Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 3 : 228-32, Letter of Mgr de Saint-Vallier à Messieurs les Directeurs de la compagnie des Indes, n.d.; Réponse de Messieurs les Directeurs du Domain d'Occident à Mgr de Saint-Vallier, 10 June 1717, Paris; and Réponse de Messieurs les Directeurs du Domaine d'Occident à M. de Belmont, n.d., n.p.

¹³⁸ Ibid., 4: 393.

¹³⁹ Gilles Janson, "Charles-Elemy-Joseph-Alexandre-Ferdinand Feltz," *DCB*, 4:264-5. Feltz (1710-1776) was a German immigrant who became surgeon-major of Montreal after 1742. He prospered in the colony. In addition to two-thirds of Île Saint-Paul, he was able to purchase numerous other properties on the island of Montreal. He was also known to mingle with such socially prominent individuals as Madame Bégon.

¹⁴⁰ Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 4: 395, Vente par M. Jean-Baptiste le Ber de Senneville à M. Ferdinand Feltz, 11 Aug. 1758.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 5: 211.

acquisition, the Congrégation de Notre-Dame became the sole proprietors and seigneurs of Île Saint-Paul in its entirety.¹⁴²

Theirs was indeed a shrewd and magnificent purchase: 400 arpents of rich land, some of it cultivated, the rest either forest or plain, it had, as its centerpiece, a large stone house, a stable, and a barn with a cleared yard and garden.¹⁴³ Their possession of the entire island, in conjunction with their property at Pointe Saint-Charles, made them proprietors of "a vast agricultural complex."¹⁴⁴

Understandably, the acquisition of the entire island did manage to raise more than a few eyebrows. Soon after the sale had been made public, numerous disgruntled citizens, unaware that the existing superior, Marie-Josèphe Maugue-Garreau, Soeur de l'Assomption, had obtained verbal permission from Governor Carlton¹⁴⁵ to purchase the property, journeyed to Quebec to protest the transaction. The governor, however, promptly supported the community's acquisition by ratifying his verbal consent with an official letter approving the sale.¹⁴⁶ Secure in their ownership of the island, the soeurs proceeded to make repairs to the house and barn, and hired an overseer, Zacharie Boyer,

¹⁴² ACND, 4A/04, Contrat de Vente...d'une partie de l'Île St Paul Aux soeurs, 25 Aug. 1769. Selling price was found in ACND, 3A/02, Registre des Dépenses et recettes générales, 1753-1793: Sept.-Dec. 1769: the congregation paid 16,650 livres for the property, spending an additional 258 livres for legal expenses, as well as a voyage for Soeur Maugue-Garreau to Quebec. For the devastation of the Canadian economy following the Conquest, see Allan Greer, *The People of New France* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), esp. 116.

¹⁴³ Act reproduced in Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 3 : 73-4, gr. Basset, Aveu et dénombrement de partie de l'île Saint-Paul par M. Jacques Le Ber, 16 Sept. 1676.

¹⁴⁴ Andrée Désilets, "Marie-Josèphe Maugue-Garreau," *DCB*, 4: 530.

¹⁴⁵ G.P. Browne, "Guy Carlton," *ibid.*, 5: 141-54. Guy Carlton, the first Baron Dorchester (1724-1772) was a British army officer and colonial administrator. In 1766, he was named "Lieutenant Governor and Administrator" of Quebec, replacing Governor James Murray. He continued in this position until 1778, when he was succeeded by Frederick Haldimand.

¹⁴⁶ Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 5:214, Letter of Guy Carlton, governor of the province of Quebec, 20 Oct. 1769, Quebec. Also *ibid.*, 5: 212, 213-4.

to supervise the entire farming operation, including the house, property, livestock and the engagé.¹⁴⁷

Although a strategic and opportune purchase, the timing of the acquisition was most surprising, occurring as it did on the heels of the convent fire, a period when the nuns claimed extreme poverty and sacrifice. Bereft of a convent for many months following the fire of April 1768, the soeurs lived and continued to teach in a room sectioned off by curtains in the neighbouring Hôtel-Dieu. In their spare time, they returned to their convent to salvage whatever they could from the wreckage - nails, stones, anything that would be useful towards the construction of a new building.¹⁴⁸ In the ensuing three years, in order to pay off the debt incurred for the rebuilding of their convent, and I might add, to purchase Île Saint-Paul, they were forced to borrow money and sell numerous pieces of property acquired over the past century. These included "terre du bas de notre jardin,"¹⁴⁹ the farm properties at La Prairie,¹⁵⁰ Verdun,¹⁵¹ the acquisitions of Île à l'Aigle, Côte de la Visitation,¹⁵² and Île à la Pierre.¹⁵³ In addition, destitute times obliged them to part with some of the community's valuables and

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 5: 215. And, for example, ACND, 3A/02, Registre des Dépenses et recettes générales, 1753-1793 : Mar.-June 1770 : "Pour avoir fait faire une cloture dans Lisle St Paul."

¹⁴⁸ Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 5: 126.

¹⁴⁹ ACND, 3A/02, Registre des Dépenses et recettes générales, 1753-1793 : June 1768-Sept. 1768.

¹⁵⁰ ANQM, gr. Panet de Méru, Vente d'une terre située à La Prairie, 18 Feb. 1769; and ACND, 3A/02, Registre des Dépenses et recettes générales, 1753-1793: Mar.- June 1769: "Recue sur la vente de notre terre de La Prairie La Somme de... "

¹⁵¹ ANQM, gr. Panet de Méru, Vente d'une terre nommée Verdun... la Congrégatio..., 20 Dec. 1769.

¹⁵² Île à l'Aigle : ANQM, gr. Panet de Méru, Vente d'une île dite à l'aigle..., 23 Oct. 1771; Côte de la Visitation: gr. Panet de Méru, Vente d'une terre située à la côte de la Visitation, 18 Nov. 1773. Other properties sold at this time include, Montreal: ANQM, gr. Panet de Méru, Vente d'une terre située en la ville de Montréal, rue Notre Dame..., 1 Aug. 1768.

¹⁵³ Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 5: 196-7.

dispense, for a time, with the doctor's services.¹⁵⁴ And, to add to their difficulties, the Lower Town mission, at Quebec, which had been revived after its destruction during the Conquest, with the assistance of a generous loan from Jean-Baptiste Amyot,¹⁵⁵ a local merchant, was subsequently threatened with extinction when he summarily passed away, and his inheritors demanded immediate repayment of his 8000 livres loan.¹⁵⁶

Timely assistance from the wider community, however, beginning from the moment the convent burned to the ground, appears to have facilitated the stabilization of the institution's financial situation. The legacy bequeathed to the convent by the community's pensionnaire perpetuelle, Mary-Josèphe de Lestage,¹⁵⁷ at her death in 1769, must have proved opportune. Étienne Montgolfier's generous series of loans would, by 1781, be forgiven.¹⁵⁸ The transfer of funds supplied, on a regular basis, by the Sulpician priest, Magon de Terlaye, ordinarily earmarked for girls without means to enter the congrégation, helped to finance the rebuilding of the convent, the re-establishment of the mission at Quebec and to purchase Île Saint-Paul.¹⁵⁹ But other individuals within and

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., 5: 174-5.

¹⁵⁵ José Igartua, "Jean-Baptiste Amiot (Amyot)," *DCB*, 3: 13-14. Amyot (1717-1769) was a merchant of considerable wealth. Himself a church warden in the parish council of Notre-Dame de Quebec, he was involved, with a number of other merchants after the Conquest, in rebuilding the colony's religious institutions.

¹⁵⁶ The only information concerning the revival of this mission appears in Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 5: 209-10. However, Soeur Sainte-Henriette cites September 1769 as the date that the inhabitants of the town requested the revival of the mission. This is not possible, given that on the following page, Marie Raizenne, Soeur Saint-Ignace, succeeded Marthe Drouin, Soeur Sainte-Hélène and Charlotte-Ursule Adhémar de Lantagnac, Soeur Sainte-Claire, at the mission on 29 June 1769. Whatever the case, the money owed to the inheritors of the merchant Amyot would have been due during the unstable period following the fire.

¹⁵⁷ ANQM, gr. Panet de Méru, Donation d'une somme d'argent..., 8 Aug. 1769.

¹⁵⁸ Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 5:140, 337.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 140, 291.

outside of the Church came to the institution's rescue. These included Bishop Briand,¹⁶⁰ the superior of the Jesuits in Montreal, Pierre-René Floquet,¹⁶¹ and Father de Ligneris, the curé of Laprairie,¹⁶² from the Church, and, from the laity, ordinary citizens, merchants and even Governor Carlton.¹⁶³

During the remaining years of the eighteenth century, the soeurs carefully maintained the seigneurie of Île Saint-Paul, as well as the neighbouring property at Pointe Saint-Charles, and the community's account book provides a rich litany of the wealth these properties contributed to the institution on a regular basis: beef, poultry, duck, cows, veal, sheep, eggs, butter, wheat, peas, oats.¹⁶⁴ No matter what the state of their finances may have been, money could always be found to maintain these properties. Even if the soeurs at the Neuville mission in Quebec suffered such severe deprivation after the American invasion in 1775 that they incurred a reprimand from the bishop for concealing their situation from him;¹⁶⁵ or despite the fact that Marie Raizenne, Soeur Saint-Ignace,

¹⁶⁰ André Vachon, "Jean-Olivier Briand," *DCB*, 4:94-102. Briand (1715-1794), the progeny of a humble peasant family, was bishop of Quebec between 1766 and 1784.

¹⁶¹ Joseph Cossette, "Pierre-René Floquet," *DCB*, 4: 270. Floquet (1716-1782), arrived in Canada in 1744. He taught at the Jesuit college in Quebec, served at the Sault-Saint-Louis mission, and eventually became the superior of the Jesuits in Montreal. He became known for his relations with the Americans during the occupation of Montreal in 1775-6, which eventually forced Bishop Briand to place him under interdict.

¹⁶² Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 5:135, 140.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 140. Evidence of the generous support of religious officials, merchants and anonymous donors or lenders of money appears throughout the community's account book in the post-fire period. See ACND, 3A/02, *Registre des Dépenses et recettes générales*, 1753-1793, beginning June 1768.

¹⁶⁴ ACND, 3A/02, *Registre des Dépenses et recettes générales*, various years after 1770.

¹⁶⁵ Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 5: 294-6. "Ce ne fut pas sans que les Soeurs de la Pointe-aux-Trembles s'imposassent les privations les plus pénibles. Il paraît qu'elles manquaient de provisions et qu'elles furent obligées de mendier leur pain...leurs cornettes et leurs mouchoirs étaient tellement rapiécés qu'on ne voyait plus le premier morceau. Un jour, Mgr Briand s'étant aperçu de leur pauvreté, les interrogea. Elles lui dirent qu'elles s'étaient bien donné de garde d'informer Sa Grandeur de la situation où elles étaient... Monseigneur leur reprocha cette extrême réserve..."

the community's superior in 1792, would write that "our community cannot subsist without the annual rentes,"¹⁶⁶ funds were always available to invest in their properties - whether it be to build a house for hens or engagé, stables for livestock, repairs to roofs and chimneys¹⁶⁷ - even if property had to be sold,¹⁶⁸ loans obtained, payments delayed or even forgiven.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁶ Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire* 6: 20, Soeur Saint-Ignace to Monsieur Maury, 9 Oct. 1792: "Notre Communauté ne pourra subsister sans le secours de ces rentes annuelles..."

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 5: 296-7: Métairies: 27 June 1773; 10 Aug. 1774; 4 June 1777. Ibid., 5:372: Extrait des délibérations du chapitre: 10 July 1782; 13 July 1783. Ibid., 5: 423: Métairies : 23 Apr. 1787; 31 May 1789; 3 Jan. 1790. Ibid., 6: 39-40: Île Saint-Paul and Pointe Saint-Charles: 1 Aug. 1790; 31 Aug. 1790, 1791; 1792-1793; 8 May 1794.

For the period surrounding Marie Raizenne's laments, ACND, 3A/05, Registre de Dépenses en construction: églises, batisses, 1693-1860. This document demonstrates that in spite of the community's straightened circumstances, the institution found money, during this period, to pay workers to make many repairs and additions to the Île Saint-Paul and Pointe Saint-Charles properties: this included carpenters, joiners, labourers and building supplies such as nails, beams, and wood. See also Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 6:39-4, "NOTE," which summarizes work completed at Île Saint-Paul and Pointe-Saint Charles during this period: "En 1789, on avait fait les fondements de la maison de l'île St-Paul, trois pieds hors de terre; en 1790, elle fut achevée; en 1792, elle était payée, ainsi que la grange. On fit transporter auprès de l'étable, c'était la 2^e, la petite maison que l'on fit refaire; entourer la cour de la Pointe-Saint-Charles en planches, crépir la maison et plusieurs des autres bâtiments, renouveler tous les contrevents... On fit la bergerie à l'île, le poulailler à la Pointe. 1793....Couverture de la boulangerie, 200 l., grange de St.-Charles en bardeaux, 1400l.

¹⁶⁸ Sainte Henriette, *Histoire*, 5: 372, Extrait des délibérations du chapitre, circa 1783, "Proposé de vendre, par emplacements, notre terrain près de la ville, nommé parc à Baron. La Communauté y consent, à condition que les emplacements, qui seront d'un arpent en superficie, seront vendus 1000 livres, et à rente jusqu'au parfait paiement." See also, ibid., 6 :40, Emplacements divers: "Le Parc au Baron vendu, 14 mai 1793, à la demande de M. McCord, 600 l;" and "On décide de vendre l'emplacement au faubourg Québec, provenant de la dot de Soeur Saint-Gilbert."

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 5: 297-8, Métairies: 17 Dec. 1775 : "Emprunt de 1000 livres à M. Augé pour payer les employés des métairies et pour acheter du bois;" 4 June 1777: "La Communauté propose de faire couvrir et fermer les murs que M. Augé veut bien faire, à ses frais en pur don, à notre métairie de Saint-Charles, et d'acheter du bois pour faire un second grenier à notre maison de l'île Saint-Paul, en même temps que pour le plancher du troisième étage au milieu de cette maison-ici.. ." And in ibid., 5:423, Métairies : "Sieur Joseph Perrault demande seize cents livres (1600), pour la charpente, la planche et les clous. La Communauté a consenti, vu qu'il nous accorde un délai de 3 mois pour le paiement." And finally, ibid., 6 :39, État des établissements: Île Saint-Paul, 1 Aug. 1790: "Marguerite

This exposé of the institution's acquisition of the seignury of Île Saint-Paul and the Pointe Saint-Charles property is useful on two levels. The first advances the inquiry into the institution's engagement in the public world, offering insights into the nature of its behaviour as an "actor" within a wider economic milieu.¹⁷⁰ It also broadens the view of the congregation's economic activities,¹⁷¹ and reveals it to have been an institution that possessed assets, invested capital and substantial pieces of property, from which it collected rentes. It engaged in business transactions, negotiated contracts, hired labour, paid seigneurial dues, borrowed and invested money. Moreover, as the above case study has demonstrated, it astutely acquired and then retained not only the island, but also its Pointe Saint-Charles property over the course of almost a century, pursuing strategies to do so with all of the shrewdness and acumen of any other business. It made investments that proved to be profitable. It watched over the Île Saint-Paul property, and then acquired it at the appropriate moment, when prices were deflated. The institution protected and prioritised property, at times making sacrifices for it. And last but not least, it

Augé, esclave de M. Etienne Augé, mise en liberté, nous prête 700 l. pour que nous puissions entrer en paiement avec le Sieur Lapalme et les autres ouvriers qui ont travaillé à la bâtisse de la maison de l'île St-Paul;" and 22 Nov. 1795: "Joseph Landry, contremaître depuis 26 ans, se donne à la Communauté, lui abandonnant 200 l. qu'elle lui doit. Approuvé par M. Brassier, notre supérieur."

¹⁷⁰ For works pertaining to the economic activities of convents see, for example, Jane Tibbets Schulenburg, "Women's Monastic Communities, 500-1110: Patterns of Expansion and Decline," in *Sisters and Workers in the Middle Ages*, edited by Judith M. Bennett, Elizabeth A. Clark, Jean T. O'Barr, B. Anne Vilen and Sarah Wesphal-Wihl (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984); Paulette L'Hermite Leclercq, *Le monachisme féminin dans la société de son temps: Le monastère de la elle (XIe-début du XVIe siècle)* (Paris: Editions Cujas, 1989); Elizabeth Rapley, "Profiles of Convent Society in Ancien Regime France," in *De France à Nouvelle France: Société fondatrice et société nouvelle* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1994); Venarde, *Women's Monasticism and Medieval Society*; and especially, most recently, Kathryn Burns, *Colonial Habits: Convents and the Spiritual Economy of Cuzco, Peru* (Durham N.C.: Duke University Press, 1999).

¹⁷¹ Rapley, *The Dévotes*, esp. 105. "...But the chief source of income was sewing."

comprehended and took advantage of valuable political, religious and social connections - whether they were with government, the Church, and even individual colonists - in order to obtain, and then retain it.

But the case of Île Saint-Paul also underlines the crucial role of the institution's links to the external world; that is, the part played by government, the colonists and the Church all of whom, as the previous section has demonstrated, benefited to one degree or another from the congrégation's spiritual mission. In this sense, then, Île Saint-Paul serves as an ideal starting point for deepening the discussion of these links and for exploring how these ties worked to sustain the institution.

Government

The case study of Île Saint-Paul has depicted the colonial governments, both French and British, as fundamentally supporting the institution, and this, undoubtedly, was a reflection of the benefits they derived from its activities: the French royal government came forward at times, remitting the soeurs from their feudal obligations and issuing edicts to protect their property; the British, too, assisted the soeurs in their purchase of the island, offered aid after the community's fire and remitted them from the payment of some of their feudal dues.

It should be remembered, however, that these governments did not consistently offer unfaltering support to the colonial Church. It has been documented that the French royal government did not always encourage the economic development of the colony's religious institutions, never mind that of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame. Although it is true that before 1663, both the Jesuits and the Sulpicians had acquired important pieces of property throughout the colony, after the institution of royal government in Canada, French authorities, concerned that the religious establishment would become a financial

burden, instituted a series of laws restricting the proliferation of religious establishments in Canada as well as gifts and sales of land to them. These laws, however, only went so far, for, as we have seen, this restrictive comportment did not prevent the institution from acquiring property both on the island of Montreal and its environs.¹⁷²

At times, the government's reticent support of the Church did impact negatively upon the congrégation. For example, in the early years of the eighteenth century, Rigaud de Vaudreuil and Jacques Raudot,¹⁷³ disapproving of Bishop Saint-Vallier's plan to make the congrégation into a cloistered community, attempted to obtain from the crown formal interdiction of this project. The king's minister, however, misinterpreting the concern of these officials, forbade the soeurs from taking vows. This interdiction occasioned much distress and instability throughout the superiorship of Marie-Catherine Charly Saint-Ange, Soeur du Saint-Sacrement (1708-11; 1717-19), as the taking of vows were viewed as essential for maintaining the prestige and stability of the institution in the eyes of the community. This issue was only finally solved on the death of the king and the departure of Pontchartrain¹⁷⁴ from his position as Minister of the Marine in 1717.¹⁷⁵ The

¹⁷² Cornelius Jaenen, *The Role of the Church in New France* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1976), esp. 69-73. For a good discussion of the detrimental influence of royal policy upon female religious institutions in France in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries see Elizabeth Rapley, "The Shaping of Things to Come: The Commission des Secours, 1727-1788," in *French History*, vol. 8, no. 4: 420-41.

¹⁷³ Donald J. Horton, "Antoine-Denis Raudot," *DCB*, 2: 549-54. Raudot (1679-1737), in addition to his position as intendant of New France between 1705 and 1710, was at various times, "commissary and inspector general of the Marine, an economist, advisor on colonial affairs at the French court, expert on the North American Indians, chief clerk of the royal household, director of the Compagnie des Indes, administrator of Louisiana, and councilor of the Marine."

¹⁷⁴ Jérôme Phélypeaux Pontchartrain, as Secretary of State for the Marine Department from 1699 to 1715, and in this position, "presided over the destinies of Canada." Dale Miquelon, *New France, 1701-1744. "A Supplement to Europe"* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987), 9.

community's Louisbourg mission, established at the instigation of Bishop Saint-Vallier in 1727,¹⁷⁶ represents another case in point. Although the French government did marginally support this chronically ailing mission with funds in 1730,¹⁷⁷ 1737 and 1740,¹⁷⁸ this assistance did little to alleviate the soeurs' financial difficulties. Moreover, funding was immediately withdrawn in 1740, when the institution received a legacy from Isaac-Louis de Forant,¹⁷⁹ the former governor of Île-Royale.¹⁸⁰ Thereafter, numerous pitiful appeals on the part of the soeurs and supportive church and Île-Royale authorities for royal assistance were rebuffed before, during and after the final invasion of the island by the British in 1758.¹⁸¹

And yet, in spite of its restrictive policies, the French royal government did, at times, subsidize the colonial Church. The intendant, at the king's command, distributed gratifications¹⁸² to the religious orders on the basis of the value of their work, and until the Conquest, the congrégation received regularly a 3000 livres royal subsidy for its native mission at the Mountain soon after its establishment in 1676.¹⁸³ This money built them a convent when the mission moved to Sault-aux-Récollet in 1701, and eventually

¹⁷⁵ Hélène Bernier, "Marie-Catherine Charly Saint-Ange," *DCB*, 2: 132. The correspondence concerning this issue appears in Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 3: 108-137.

¹⁷⁶ Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 3: 348-55.

¹⁷⁷ A. B. J. Johnston, *Religion in Life at Louisbourg, 1713-1758* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), 96-7.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*.

¹⁷⁹ In Collaboration, "Isaac-Louis de Forant," *DCB*, 2: 224-6. Forant (mid 1680s-1740), a naval officer and knight of the order of Saint-Louis, was the third governor of Île-Royale.

¹⁸⁰ Copies of documents concerning this foundation appear in Sainte Henriette, *Histoire*, 4: 94-9. See also Johnston, *Religion and Life at Louisbourg*, 97.

¹⁸¹ Johnston, *Religion in Life at Louisbourg*, 99-102. This correspondence appears in Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 4:142-8, 267-8; 368-9; 371-5.

¹⁸² Jaenen, *Role of the Church*, 72.

¹⁸³ Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 3: 25, 41. This subsidy was replaced in 1772 with an agreement between the soeurs and the Sulpicians at this mission. See *ibid.*, 5: 288-91, *Conventions entre les Messieurs du Séminaire et les très honorées Sœurs de la Congrégation du Lac*, 14 July 1772.

sustained the Lac-des-Deux-Montagnes mission after its establishment in 1721.¹⁸⁴ And while the royal government may have offered insufficient financial support for the Louisbourg mission, local government officials on Île-Royale, on numerous occasions, not only lobbied the minister on behalf of the soeurs' economic plight, but worked to establish sources of income to mitigate the poverty of this mission.¹⁸⁵

After the Conquest, in keeping with Bishop Pontbriand's¹⁸⁶ directives, the congrégation cultivated friendly relations with the new British government, and this began with the protection the convent received, under the auspices of Father Brassier,¹⁸⁷ the Sulpician priest, from the invading British army at Lachine. By 1766, the community's account book reveals that the institution had begun to accept the daughters of English colonists as pensionnaires,¹⁸⁸ and at least, on one occasion, in the same year, the institution even transacted business with "deux Marchands anglois."¹⁸⁹

As pointed out in the introduction to this thesis, the institution's position remained safeguarded by the colonial Church's alliance with the new regime. Not only was the Church, and thus the congrégation protected, but so too were their properties. And although the relationship between the colonial Church and British government proved to

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 1: 257, 267; 3:41; 5:42.

¹⁸⁵ Johnston, *Religion and Life at Louisbourg*, 96, 99, 100, 100-1.

¹⁸⁶ Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 4: 328; 5: 78-9.

¹⁸⁷ Lucien Lemieux, "Gabriel-Jean Brassier," *DCB*, 4: 89-90. Brassier (1729-1798) would, in 1791, become superior of the Sulpicians of Montreal and vicar-general of Montreal.

¹⁸⁸ The names of English girls sent to the convent appear sporadically from the 1760s-1790s throughout ACND, 3A/02, *Registre des Dépenses et recettes générales*, 1753-1793. For example, *ibid.*, Sept.-Dec. 1766: "Dune petite angloise a compte de sa pen..."

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 1766: 134, "deux marchands anglois pr marchandises a nous fournis."

be, at times, uneasy,¹⁹⁰ the new government, as we have seen previously, facilitated the congrégation's acquisition of the Île Saint-Paul property, donated funds to help rebuild the convent after the fire,¹⁹¹ and granted it, and other religious institutions, remission from seigneurial feudal dues.¹⁹²

Society

The case study of Île Saint-Paul also has demonstrated the existence of an ambivalent attitude on the part of certain colonists towards the congrégation. On the one hand, many could rise to the occasion, and generously donate funds to rebuild the institution's convent. On the other hand, however, the congrégation filed complaints against some colonists, who, in their view, were wilfully destroying their property on the island; in the post-Conquest period, certain disgruntled citizens did not hesitate to take to the government at Quebec to protest the soeurs' acquisition of valuable property they themselves may have wished to have purchased; and the successors of the Quebec merchant Amyot, whatever the consequences for the institute, demanded immediate and full repayment of this merchant's generous loan after his death.¹⁹³

The existence of hostility towards the congrégation on the part of the colonists is neither unusual, nor, given the wider historical context, is it surprising. For centuries, European society had been fractured by rifts within the Church and revulsion without

¹⁹⁰ Brian Young and John A. Dickinson, *A Short History of Quebec: A Socio-Economic Perspective*, 3rd edition (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002), 59-60; 78-9; Allan Greer, *The People of New France*, 117. See also André Vachon, "Jean-Olivier Briand," *DCB*, 4:94-102 and Gilles Chaussé, "Jean-François Hubert," *DCB*, 370-4.

¹⁹¹ Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 5: 140.

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, 5:339-40. Also, *ibid.*, 5: 341, Frédéric Haldimand, Remise du droit d'amortissement...pour l'acquisition...du fief Saint-Paul, 20 Feb. 1781, Québec.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, 4: 395; 5:179, 213-14, 209. Throughout the 1720s and 1730s, another individual, François César, refused to pay rent money to the institution at Boucherville. *Ibid.*, 3: 389-93.

occasioned by great wealth and the political entanglements of monasteries in the secular world.¹⁹⁴ However, in spite of this conflict between spiritual and temporal concerns, the Church also recognized the need for religious establishments to support themselves. Responding to this requirement, the Council of Trent, therefore, endowed all monastic orders with the right to possess immoveable property.¹⁹⁵

Although it has been established that colonists were, on the whole, supportive, of the nascent Canadian Church,¹⁹⁶ incidents indicative of hostility and resentment did appear, in both the pre and post-Conquest periods, manifesting themselves most notably in a refusal to pay tithes.¹⁹⁷ But, with regard to the congrégation, what could have been the root of this hostility? Surely if one examines the correspondence of the superiors throughout the eighteenth century, it is not too difficult to conclude that the institution did experience real difficulty in making ends meet.¹⁹⁸ However, as the case of Île Saint-Paul has demonstrated, penurious or not, the institution also did possess enviable ready assets, connections and associations of which it could and did take advantage - many of which were beyond the reach of the ordinary colonist. In this sense, then, it can be argued that the institution did hold a privileged, and I might add, potentially enviable, place within

¹⁹⁴ Lester K. Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1978), chaps. 5-8.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid. Many of the reforms touch upon and are designed to protect church property. Theodore Alois Buckley, trans., *The Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent* (London: George Routledge and Co., 1851), for example, Session XXIV, chap XI; Session XXII, chap XIV and especially Session XXV, chap III: "All Monasteries which are not herein excepted may possess real property."

¹⁹⁶ Dechêne, *Habitants and Merchants*, 269.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., 268-9; Allan Greer, *Peasant, Lord and Merchant: Rural Society in Three Quebec Parishes, 1740-1840* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), 133.

¹⁹⁸ Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, vols. 2-6.

Canadian colonial society.¹⁹⁹ And this situation was not confined to the congrégation alone. For example, another female religious order, L'Hôpital-Général de Québec, like the congrégation, experienced constant financial difficulties. In this case, the order relied on donations for its survival. However, it did possess the seigneurie of Saint-Vallier. While this property only furnished the institution with wood and wheat, its administrators viewed it important enough, in spite of its debts, to construct on its property a water-generated mill to replace the old windmill.²⁰⁰ But the ultimate example is offered by the Sulpicians and what Brian Young has termed as their "corporate empire" of the nineteenth century. This "empire," established in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and occasioned by the order's close links with government and the ruling elite - connections duly transferred to the British following the Conquest - comprised the seigneuries of Montreal, Two Mountains and Saint-Sulpice.²⁰¹

However, as enviable as the institution's economic position may have been, colonists, in turn, often did benefit from it. Parishes hired the soeurs to decorate their church altars; they also made communion hosts, which were utilized in religious ceremonies, and religious objects, which colonists duly purchased.²⁰² Many individuals were involved in close and apparently undisturbed economic exchanges with the

¹⁹⁹ For a moving and vivid description of the monumental effort and hardships involved in establishing a farm by individuals without connections in seventeenth-century Montreal, see Dechêne, *Habitants and Merchants*, 152-96.

²⁰⁰ Micheline d'Allaire, *L'Hôpital-général de Québec, 1692-1764* (Montréal: Fides, 1971), 44-5.

²⁰¹ Brian Young, *In Its Corporate Capacity: The Seminary of Montreal as a Business Institution, 1816-1876* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1986), xii.

²⁰² Evidence supporting the existence of these activities appears throughout ACND, 3A/02, *Registre des Dépenses et recettes générales*, 1753-1793.

congrégation, many of them for prolonged periods of time.²⁰³ Certain merchants, individuals such as Jean-Baptiste Le Compte Dupré,²⁰⁴ Pierre Guy,²⁰⁵ Étienne Augé,²⁰⁶ Jacques Hervieux²⁰⁷ and Luc Lacorne,²⁰⁸ had complex and multi-dimensional economic exchanges with the institution: not only did they sell goods to the congrégation, they also rented properties from it, and, at some point, even sent their relatives to the institution's pension.²⁰⁹ Many of these individuals must have valued the congrégation as a steady customer who paid its bills for a wide variety of goods, year in and year out, for the nuns purchased, on a regular basis, such items as wine, oil, coffee, sugar, molasses, salt, fish, eggs, meat, sugar, tobacco, oats, wheat, peas, beans, butter, rum, building supplies, cloth, paper and ribbon.²¹⁰

²⁰³ For example, transactions with Étienne Augé began in 1730 and continued to 1768; Mon Guy's account began in 1733 and persisted after his death in 1748, into the 1760s, with his wife; A Mon. Cardinal appears before 1742 and continues into the 1770s. ACND, 3A/07, *Registre de comptes des engagés à la maison mère et sur nos terres et Pointe Saint-Charles, 1740-1763* and ACND, 3A/08, *Registre de Comptes des engagés à la maison mère et sur nos terres, 1740-1856*.

²⁰⁴ Probably Jean-Baptiste Le Comte Dupré. A. J. H. Richarson, "Jean-Baptiste Le Comte Dupré," *DCB*, 3: 367. Le Comte Dupré (1689-1765), a Montreal merchant, took over the family business in the fur trade in 1715, and by the 1720s was devoting his energies to the role of "merchant-outfitter."

²⁰⁵ José Iguarta, "Pierre Guy," *ibid.*, 3:271. Guy (1701-1748), a militia officer at Montreal, was also a well-known merchant involved in the import of general merchandise through François Havy and Jean Lefebvre, his principal correspondents at Quebec.

²⁰⁶ José Iguarta, "Étienne Augé," *ibid.*, 4:34-5.

²⁰⁷ Possibly the brother of Louis-François Hervieux who "carried on a large part of his business...with his brother Jacques and his fathers-in-law, Jacques Quesnel and Joseph-Jacques Gamelin." José Iguarta, "Louis-François Hervieux," *ibid.*, 3:290.

²⁰⁸ Pierre Tousignant and Madeleine Dionne-Tousignant, "Luc de La Corne, known as Chaptas de La Corne," *ibid.*, 4: 425-8. Luc de La Corne (1711-1784) took advantage of his military career to build a successful enterprise as a merchant-outfitter in the fur trade. Among the richest Canadians at the Conquest, as a distinguished citizen, he became a member of the Legislative Council under the British regime.

²⁰⁹ ACND, 3A/02, in *Registre des Dépenses et recettes générales, 1753-1793*.

²¹⁰ These items appear throughout ACND, *Livre des recettes et depenses, 1753-93*

Étienne Augé, a Montreal merchant and trader, had a long history of dealings with the institution, extending over a period of more than fifty years, and he represents a good example of apparently harmonious economic exchanges between the institution and the external world. Augé's relationship with the nuns first appears in what remains of the community's records in 1730, and re-appears sporadically throughout until 1781.²¹¹ Not only did he sell diverse goods to the institution throughout this period, he also rented a property from the congrégation, and, in the 1740s, he paid the boarding fees for at least one unidentified individual at the convent school.²¹² Augé proved his loyalty to the institution, and perhaps his gratitude for his business dealings with it by first lending it money after the fire, and finally, on the occasion of his death in 1780, leaving the soeurs, among other individuals, a legacy of 3000 livres from his extensive fortune.²¹³ One of these colonists, to whom he left a legacy, was Marguerite Augé, his native slave: loans from this woman in the 1790s to the congrégation helped to ease the institution's financial distress, occasioned by the loss of much of its investment income due to the French Revolution.²¹⁴ But other individuals, besides merchants, benefited from transactions with the institution. Between 1752 and 1772, an individual identified as Belaire, the tanner, dealt with the community: he supplied it with hides for making shoes, as well as other

²¹¹ ACND, 3A/07, Registre de comptes des engagés à la maison mère et sur nos terres et Pointe Saint-Charles, 1740-1763: 1406: 194; ACND, 3A/02, Registre des Dépenses et recettes générales, 1753-1793: Mar - June 1781 : "de feu Mon. Augé pour leg pieux, 3000 l."

²¹² ACND, 3A/07, 1406: 194, Registre de comptes des engagés à la maison mère et sur nos terres et Pointe Saint-Charles, 1740-1763.

²¹³ ACND, 3A/02, Registre des Dépenses et recettes générales, 1753-1793: Sept.- Dec. 1769; June -Sept. 1770; June - Sept. 1771; Sept.-Dec. 1771; Mar.- June 1781. Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 5: 297-8.

²¹⁴ ACND, 3A/02, Registre des Dépenses et recettes générales, 1753-1793: Sept.-Dec. 1790, "Emprunter a Marg. Augé..."

goods.²¹⁵ But he also sent both his niece and his daughter to the pension, and even rented property from the institution.²¹⁶ Many other colonists experienced less complex, but nonetheless, often beneficial and often flexible exchanges with the institution: one individual, referred to as "Sr." Dumay, sent his daughter to the convent for her education, paying her boarding fees in instalments.²¹⁷ This appears also to be true of people like "Sr." Racine, who rented properties from the institution, on what appears to be flexible terms and conditions.²¹⁸

Other individuals linked to the congrégation were the engagé who laboured at the mother house itself and on the institution's farms. Many of these workers, such as, for example, Jacques Le Macon (1728-45), the soldier, Pierre Dussault (1728-49), Nicolas Binet (1729-49), who also became the community's overseer, and Pierre Main (1738-58), retained close and long-term connections with the institution.²¹⁹ Although it appears as if the congrégation very often treated these individuals in a ruthlessly precise and exacting manner, recording to the finest minutia painstaking details of every exchange,²²⁰ no recorded labour disputes arose between these individuals and the congrégation. But it is not surprising that disagreements did not arise. In reference to seventeenth-century Montreal, Louise Dechêne has argued there there was "an easily available pool" of labour,

²¹⁵ ACND, 3A/08, 1392, *Registre de Comptes des engagés à la maison mère et sur nos terres*, 1740-1856; ACND, 3A/02, *Registre des Dépenses et recettes générales*, 1753-1793: June-Sept. 1767: "Du Sieur Bélair pour une année de rente..."; Dec. 1771-Mar. 1772.

²¹⁶ ACND, 3A/02, *Registre des Dépenses et recettes générales*, 1753-1793: Mar.- June 1779; June-Sept. 1779; Sept.-Dec. 1780; Dec.1780-Mar. 1781.

²¹⁷ Such entries as, for example, *ibid.*, June-Sept. 1788: 316: "Du Sr dumay pour reste de pension de sa niece," pertain to other individuals throughout this document.

²¹⁸ For example, *ibid.*, June-Sept. 1788: "Sr Racine pour reste de sa rente."

²¹⁹ ACND, 3A/07, *Registre de comptes des engagés à la maison mère et sur nos terres et Pointe Saint-Charles*, 1740-1763; ACND, 3A/08, *Registre de Comptes des engagés à la maison mère et sur nos terres*, 1740-1856.

²²⁰ For more on the engagé within an administrative context, see chapter four.

which militated against the formation of a specific group of farm labourers who could set their own terms or demands.²²¹ Moreover, in all likelihood, the relationship between the engagé and the institution was, once again, somewhat mutually beneficial. Engagé workers must have been essential to the institute's functioning, so they had to be treated fairly. They performed tasks either beyond the expertise or physical capacity of the nuns, or for which their teaching duties left them little time: building, repairing, baking, cleaning, planting and harvesting. But, at the same time, the congrégation offered these colonists, often at the lowest end of the social spectrum,²²² much-needed employment in an economy unsettled by war, poor harvests, and Conquest.²²³

Ultimately, the institution's privileged economic position did not impede the colonist from openly embracing its mission. This can only be attributed, on the one hand, to the generally supportive attitude of the colonists towards the Church, which as Louise Dechêne has argued, represented for them their religious identity, while on the other, and more specifically, as previously established, to the benefits they reaped from the institution's mission itself.²²⁴ Many colonists did recognize and appreciate the congrégation: not only did they part with their daughters and allow them to enter the institution, they also handed over to the convent the 2000 livres dowry that became mandatory after 1698. This support replenished the institute's personnel, and endowed the congrégation with resources that helped to sustain it, as is evidenced by the community's records, which are replete with testimonials of annuities, cash payments, and

²²¹ Dechêne, *Habitants and Merchants*, 196.

²²² *Ibid.*, 225-6.

²²³ *Ibid.*, 188-9; Greer, *The People of New France*, 116.

²²⁴ Dechêne, *Habitants and Merchants*, 269. Also Cliche, *Les pratiques des dévotions*, for an affirmation of the success of the Church's mission in the colony.

property, derived from dowries, which could be utilized at the appropriate moment.²²⁵

And the case study of Île Saint-Paul has demonstrated how, during the period following the fire, the institution sold many properties that had come into its possession over the course of the eighteenth century from the dowries of professed nuns, some of which, again, proved useful during the economic crisis of the 1790s.²²⁶

But the citing of this support serves only as an introduction to the wider sustenance the institution received from colonists. From its formative years in the seventeenth century, colonists housed the soeurs as they engaged in their ambulatory missions throughout the colony, and this tradition continued into the eighteenth century.²²⁷ Many individuals were also responsible for establishing missions in certain parishes. In 1685, for example, anonymous colonists at Sainte-Famille contributed money towards the acquisition of land for a congrégation convent in this parish, while the local seigneur, Berthelot, donated both land and money for the same purpose, while at the same

²²⁵ For example, ANQM, gr. Basset, Donation d'un emplacement situé en la ville de Montreal et d'une somme d'argent pour servir de dot à Marie Barbier, 20 Dec. 1684; gr. Lepailleur de LaFerté, Constitut de rente annuelle et perpétuelle; par Pierre Boucher, 13 Sept. 1723; gr. Raimbault de Piedmont, Constitution de rente annuelle et perpétuelle par François de Berey-Dessard, 5 Nov. 1730; gr. Raimbault, 8 Nov. 1730, Constitution de rente annuelle et perpétuelle, 8 Nov. 1730; gr. Raimbault, Donation d'une terre située proche de la ville de Montréal, 9 Dec. 1730; gr. Raimbault, Constitution de rente annuelle et perpétuelle par Marguerite Daneau de Muy, 4 June 1732; gr. Raimbault, Constitution de rente annuelle et perpétuelle par François de Berey-Dessard, 12 Dec. 1736; gr. Simonnet, Cession d'une somme d'argent par François Bleau, 26 July 1739; gr. Janvrin dit Dufresne, Constitution de rente annuelle et perpétuelle, 22 Dec. 1740.

²²⁶ See discussion above in "Île Saint-Paul."

²²⁷ For the seventeenth century: ASQ, ms. 198, Recueil touchant la S[œur Marie Barbier], 39: "...elle a déjà dit qu'elle alla loger avec sa compagne dans une maison qui étoit un peu éloignée de l'église..."; Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 1: 257-8; and for the eighteenth century, Pointe Claire: *ibid.*, 5: 417. "Soeurs Sainte-Marie et Saint-Amable...allèrent loger dans une maison appartenant à M. Joseph Lacroix..."

time remitting the soeurs from the payment of feudal dues.²²⁸ In another parish, in 1701, the churchwardens at the parish of Lachine donated land and buildings to the soeurs on the condition that they maintain the parish chapel;²²⁹ in 1707, the fabrique at Pointe-aux-Trembles donated land to the community;²³⁰ and in 1705 and 1713, the seigneurs of Boucherville²³¹ and Neuville respectively, contributed property to the establishment of a congrégation school in these two parishes.²³² This tradition of contributing towards the establishment of congrégation missions continued as new missions appeared throughout the colony in the latter part of the eighteenth century. In 1764, at Saint-François-du-Sud, habitants contributed their labour free of charge towards the building of a convent on property donated to the community, and in 1771, they augmented this earlier donation with another piece of land.²³³ In 1774, the local seigneur, Claude-Pierre Pécaudy de

²²⁸ ANQM, gr. Chambalon, Acceptation et obligation entre la Congregation..., 13 Oct. 1694. Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 1:295-6.

²²⁹ Act reproduced in Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 3: 42-4, Compte-rendu d'une assemblée, 25 Sept. 1701, Lachine. ANQM, gr. Adhémar, Dépôt d'une donation d'un terrain dépendant de la Fabrique de la paroisse des Saint anges de Lachine; par la Fabrique de la paroisse Sts-Anges-de-Lachine, à la Congrégation Notre-Dame de Montréal, 23 Feb. 1702.

²³⁰ ANQM, gr. Senet, Donation de terre située au bourg de la Pointe au Tremble, 24 July 1707.

²³¹ Raymond Douville, "Pierre Boucher," *DCB* 2:82-7. Boucher (1662-1717) was "interpreter, soldier, governor of Trois-Rivières, royal judge, and the founder and seigneur of Boucherville."

²³² ANQM, gr. Tailhandier, Concession d'un emplacement situé dans le bourg de Boucherville par Pierre Boucher...à la Congrégation Notre-Dame de Montréal, 7 Mar. 1705; gr. Dubreuil, Don de terre, 5 Oct. 1713.

²³³ ANQM, gr. Levesque, Fondation d'un circuit de terrain situé à St. Fran de Salle de la Riv Sud par Joseph Morice dit l'arrivee et Marie Josephe Boutin son epouse, de la seigneurie de Bellechasse, paroisse St. Fran de la Riv sud a la CND de Montréal, 13 May 1764; gr. Rousseau, Donation de terre située en la paroisse de St Francois, 7 Apr. 1771. Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 5 :40. "Sœurs Sainte-Hélène et Sainte-Scholastique...mirent elles-mêmes la main à l'oeuvre;...Un tel dévouement de leur part excita l'émulation de plusieurs habitants, qui voulurent contribuer par le travail de leurs mains..."

Contrecoeur,²³⁴ donated property to establish a congrégation mission in the parish of Saint-Denis.²³⁵ Moreover, sources repeatedly record the generous efforts of colonists who, when faced with the extinction of congrégation missions in their parishes due to fire, war, or Conquest, banded together and demanded a return of the nuns, donating either land or labour to help rebuild the battered or destroyed missions.²³⁶

Other individuals left legacies to the institution, consisting of property, money, labour, and even in one case a slave²³⁷ (see appendix 2.1). Some of this assistance came from anonymous individuals in the form of alms,²³⁸ or endowments, such as the one left by the Louisbourg officer, Issac-Louis de Forant.²³⁹ Merchants offered much assistance

²³⁴ Fernand Grenier, "Claude-Pierre Pécaudy de Contrecoeur," *DCB*, 4: 617-18. Contrecoeur (1705-1775), was an officer, seigneur and member of the Legislative Council in the British regime.

²³⁵ ANQM, gr. Jehanne, Concession d'un emplacement situé en la paroisse et seigneurie de St Denis; par Pierre-Claude Pecaudy de Contrecoeur...à François Cherrier, prêtre curé, de la paroisse St Denis..., 8 Apr. 1774. This act was accompanied by the following observation: "Cet emplacement est concédé pour bâtir une maison de mission pour les soeurs de la congrégation pour l'instruction des jeunes filles de la rivière." Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 5: 366-8.

²³⁶ Lachine: Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire* 1:281-2, Extract of a letter written by the Lachine parish assembly following the return of the soeurs to Montreal after the destruction of the fort by the Iroquois in 1689: "Rien ne peut être plus avantageux à cette paroisse, dissient-ils dans leur requête, que d'y voir cette mission bien établie, ferme, et en état de se soutenir..."; Sainte-Famille (1761): *Ibid.*, 4: 378-80; Lower Town (ca. 1766): 5: 209; Neuville (Pointe-aux-Trembles, Quebec) (1761 and 1775): 4: 386-88 and 5: 294-6.

²³⁷ ANQM, gr. Foucher, Donation d'une esclave nommée Diane negresse de nation...par Jacques Finger, 20 Apr. 1784.

²³⁸ Appearing sporadically throughout ACND, 3A/02, *Registre des Dépenses et recettes générales*, 1753-1793: for example: Sept.-Dec. 1766: 134: de deux per en aumone;" June-Sept. 1778: 277; Mar.-June 1779: 234; June-Sept. 1786: 298: "de la quête des aumônes fait a notre eglise;" and Dec. 1784-Mar. 1785, 283: "en aumone."

²³⁹ Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 4: 92. For example, Issac-Louis de Forant, the former governor of Louisbourg, established eight places for officers' daughters at the congrégation school, stipulating that in the absence of these individuals, the money would return to the congrégation. Johnston, *Religion and Life*, 97.

to the institution. We have already mentioned the merchant Augé's bequest in 1781,²⁴⁰ but even before this time, in 1744, Pierre de Lestage, as one example, had left a generous donation to the community on his death.²⁴¹ The institution also benefited from its association with Madame de Lestage, his wife, the community's pensionnaire perpetuelle: she advanced money in the form of loans or donations on a regular basis,²⁴² until her death in 1770. In addition to this assistance,²⁴³ the widow also paid a generous amount of money for her yearly board - far greater than that of the payment of the ordinary boarder,²⁴⁴ and, on her death, she left a final generous legacy to the community.²⁴⁵ But then again, the community's account book bears witness to other merchants²⁴⁶ who also came forward with loans as they were needed, enabling the institution to pay off debts, purchase food in times of shortages, or make repairs to their farm properties.²⁴⁷

²⁴⁰ ACND, 3A/02, Registre des Dépenses et recettes générales, 1753-1793: Mar-June 1781.

²⁴¹ Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 4: 74-5, Extrait des registres du conseil Supérieur de Québec, 7 Jan. 1744, Montréal.

²⁴² These appear periodically in ANCD, 3A/02, Registre des Dépenses et recettes générales, 1753-1793, beginning Dec. 1754- Mar.1755.

²⁴³ Ibid. For example, Dec. 1754-Mar. 1755; Mar.-June 1755; Sept.-Dec. 1755; Mar.-June 1756; June-Sept. 1756; Dec. 1769-Mar. 1770; Mar.-June 1770.

²⁴⁴ For example, Madame de Lestage paid 599 livres, presumably for her boarding fees for the period of Mar.-June 1768, while the widow L'Esperance paid only 56 livres and 10 deniers for the same period. Ibid. The entry, *ibid.*, Mar-June 1757, fixes Madame de Lestage's yearly board at 1500 livres.

²⁴⁵ ANQM, gr. Panet de Méru, Donation d'une somme d'argent; par Esther Sayer, veuve de Pierre lestage, de Montréal, à la Congrégation Notre-Dame de Montréal, 8 Aug. 1769.

²⁴⁶ For example, a Madame Prud'homme proved to be most generous following the fire and the purchase of Île Saint-Paul : ACND, 3A/02, Registre des Dépenses et recettes générales, 1753-1793: Sept.-Dec. 1769; Mar.-June 1770; June-Sept. 1770; Dec. 1770-Mar. 1771. This generosity was also demonstrated by the above-mentioned Marguerite Augé, the former slave of the merchant Étienne Augé, during the financial crisis of the 1790s: *ibid.*, Sept.-Dec. 1790 and June-Sept. 1791.

²⁴⁷ See the above discussion of, for example, Étienne Augé.

The Church

The case study of Île Saint-Paul has also demonstrated the Church's role in the congrégation's economic mission: church officials such as the bishops and the Sulpicians, for example, often acted as intermediaries with government to obtain remission from seigneurial obligations, rising to the occasion in emergencies, proffering loans and donations. This is, of course, not meant to argue that the institution never clashed with other religious establishments. For example, the congrégation engaged, over a period of time, in often bitter property disputes with the Jesuits over the fief of Bon Pasteur on Île-Jésus, until the matter was finally settled in 1701;²⁴⁸ with the soeurs of the Hôtel-Dieu in 1694 and 1706²⁴⁹; and with Charles-Marie-Madeleine d'Youville Dufrost,²⁵⁰ priest of the Sainte-Famille, mission in 1743.²⁵¹ Moreover, conflict with the male church hierarchy was almost inevitable, for built into the relationship with these authorities was a rigid church hierarchy demanding absolute and unquestioning obedience from the nuns (see fig. 2.1),²⁵² and this added a complex dimension to their relations. This dimension will be more fully explored in chapters five and six. For the purposes of this chapter, however,

²⁴⁸ ANQM, gr. Adhémar, Accord et délaissement du fief du Bon Pasteur situé dans l'île Jesus, 12 08 1701; Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 3: 30.

²⁴⁹ ANQM, gr. Adhémar, Accord entre l'Hôtel-Dieu de Montréal et la Congrégation Notre-Dame de Montréal, 8 July 1706.

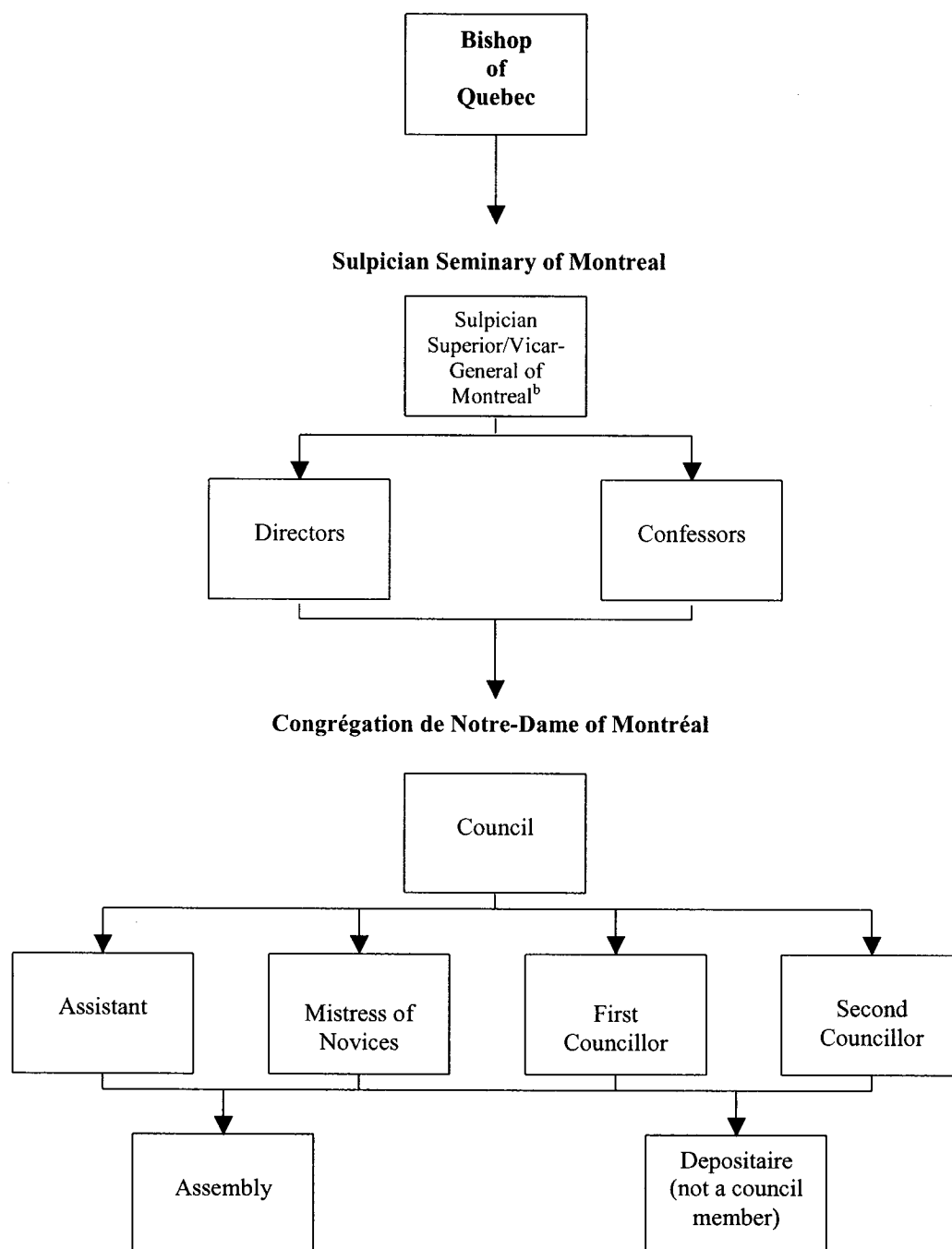
²⁵⁰ It is unclear from this context of this source whether this priest is Charles-Marie-Madeleine d'Youville Dufrost or his brother Joseph-François Youville. Quite likely it is the former, who, according to Claudette Lacelle, "Charles-Marie-Madeleine D'Youville," *DCB*, 4: 779-80, signed his name "Ch. Youville Dufrost," to "distinguish himself from his brother Joseph-François, who signed his name as Youville." Dufrost (1729-1790) studied at the Séminaire de Québec, served as a parish priest, resisted the British government, and eventually became vicar-general of the District of Montreal after 1774.

²⁵¹ Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 4: 101-2, Ordonnance de Mgr Henri-Marie de Pontbriand aux Soeurs de Sainte Famille, 28 June 1743.

²⁵² AAM, 525.101, 698-1, Réglemens, art. 6: 9; 33: 73.

the discussion intends to examine only the supportive aspects of these relations, and their role in contributing to the stability of the institution.

Figure 2.1 -The Administrative Structure of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame, 1698-1864^a



^a Constructed from *Règlements*, AAM, 525.101, 698-1, art. 32:66; art.33: 73; art.34: 76. According to Danylewycz, *Taking the Veil*, 46-50, 163, the constitutions of many religious institutions, including that of the CND, changed in the mid-nineteenth century Quebec on the impetus of reforms instigated by Bishop Bourget. *Codification aux constitution primitives de la Congrégation de Notre-Dame pour assurer un meilleur gouvernement de la communauté*, 1864.

^b The vicar-general of Montreal could also simultaneously be a director of the Sulpician Seminary, as well as the director and confessor of the congrégation. See discussion of Étienne de Montgolfier below.

Without a doubt, the most important clerics associated with the institution were the Sulpicians, who acted as the congregation's superiors, priests, confessors and business advisors. The Sulpicians came to Canada from France in the seventeenth century. The individuals comprising the order were men of upper class origins, many of them, such as Gabriel Thubières de Levy de Queylus,²⁵³ François de Salignac de la Mothe-Fénelon²⁵⁴ François-Saturnin-Lascaris d'Urfé,²⁵⁵ François Dollier de Casson²⁵⁶, and Pierre Rémy²⁵⁷ not only possessed large private fortunes, but, as members of the order itself, as we have seen earlier, controlled valuable propertied assets, such as the seigneuries of Montreal, Two Mountains and Saint Sulpice, in addition to all the parishes in the seigneurie of Montreal itself. Renowned for being exponents of the highest principles of piety and morality of the Catholic Reformation, the community remained rigidly French and exclusionist right into the nineteenth century.²⁵⁸ Although the order grew during the final

²⁵³ André Vachon, "Gabriel Thubières de Levy de Queylus," *DCB*, 1: 644-49. de Queylus (1612-1677) was founder and first superior of the Sulpician Seminary at Montreal.

²⁵⁴ Olivier Maurault, "François de Salignac de la Mothe-Fénelon," *ibid.*, 1: 599-601. de Fénelon (1641-1679) was priest, Sulpician and missionary in Canada. After certain political indiscretions, he was forbidden to remain in Canada. Denounced by the Sulpician Seminary at Paris, he withdrew from the society.

²⁵⁵ Armand Yon, "François-Saturnin Lascaris D'Urfé," *ibid.*, 2: 349-50. d'Urfé (1641-1701), missionary and Sulpician, is known for his work at the Iroquois mission at Kenté.

²⁵⁶ Jacques Mathieu, "François Dollier de Casson," *ibid.*, 2: 190-6. Dollier (1636-1701) was man of many dimension. In addition to being a priest, a Sulpician, military chaplain, parish priest of Trois-Rivières and then Ville Marie, vicar-general of the diocese of Quebec, superior of the Sulpicians in New France, he was also a cavalry captain, explorer, architect and historian.

²⁵⁷ C.J. Russ, "Pierre Rémy," *ibid.*, 2: 561-2. Rémy's (1636-1726) service to the Church was long and varied. The first priest to be ordained in Montreal (1676), he acted as ecclesiastical superior of the congregation and bursar of the Sulpician seminary at Montreal. He was also parish priest of Montreal, Lachine, a missionary at Sainte-Anne, chaplain and ecclesiastical superior of the Hôtel-Dieu at Montreal, a school teacher and procurator of the Montreal seminary.

²⁵⁸ Dechêne's assertion that the "seminary did not accept any Canadian priest before the end of the eighteenth century," *Habitants and Merchants*, 264, is mostly correct, but for the exception of Jean-Andre-Guillaume Guillimin, who was born at Quebec in 1750. For

decades of the French regime, its membership dwindled after the Conquest, and it was not to be fortified until the early years of the nineteenth century, when new priests arrived from France, who helped to rebuild the community.²⁵⁹

On the one hand, the congrégation's relations with the Sulpicians were strictly on a business footing. The institution paid for the religious services the Sulpicians furnished,²⁶⁰ as well as seigneurial dues,²⁶¹ for annuities from their land and other properties,²⁶² and, at times, supplies for the community.²⁶³ In turn, the Sulpician priests provided the nuns with opportunities for employment, and the community's account book reveals that the soeurs washed church linen, provided the order with communion hosts, candles, needlework and biscuits on a regular basis.²⁶⁴

By their constitution, the soeurs were required to consult the bishop of Quebec, or in his absence, his vicar-general of Montreal, who was also the Sulpician superior, in all matters pertaining to business.²⁶⁵ Although it is difficult to determine from the sources the

more on this individual within a political context, see chapter five. Gauthier, *La compagnie de Saint-Sulpice au Canada*, 58.

²⁵⁹ Dechêne, *Habitants and Merchants*, 261-4; Young, *In Its Corporate Capacity*, xii, 3-19.

²⁶⁰ ACND, 3A/02, *Registre des Dépenses et recettes générales*, 1753-1793. For example, Dec. 1755-Mar. 1756: "10 messes pour dittes soeurs..."; Mar.-June 1767: "aux dits [mrs du Seminaire] pour dimes, 4 messes de fondation et 20 pour nos Srs defuntes."

²⁶¹ Appearing throughout *ibid.* For example, Mar.-June 1754: "Payé au Mess du sém pour dimes..."

²⁶² *Ibid.* "A mes sudits Mess [Sulpicians] pour rentes de nos terres et emplacements de ville, celle de..."

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, Sept.-Dec. 1766: "A Mr Favard pour 8 cordes de Bois..."; Mar.-June 1770: "payé aux Mess. Du Sem. En argenterie pur du Bled..."

²⁶⁴ Appearing throughout *ibid.* For example, 27 Mar.-27 June 1754: "Recue des mess du sem. Pour ouvrages deguille, fournitures d'hosties et de biscuits la somme de..."

²⁶⁵ AAM, 525.101, 698-1, *Règlements*, art. 26 :53-5. This influence would have varied greatly given the situation. For example, Montgolfier would have exerted a significant influence, not only as the Sulpician - and the community's - superior between 1759 and 1787, the bishop's vicar-general during the same period, but also as the community's confessor between 1774-88. Lemieux, "Étienne de Montgolfier," *DCB*, 4: 542-4;

precise role of the Sulpician superior in the institution's business affairs, certain documents do attest to their influence: the signature of a Sulpician priest appears routinely on every congrégation contract and, on a yearly basis in the community's account book. It is unlikely that the soeurs would have considered any Sulpician input in their affairs as an intrusion, for the Sulpicians were shrewd business managers in their own right, with powerful connections and possibly important information to which the soeurs may not have been otherwise privy. Moreover, the Sulpicians were also men of influence who, as seigneurs, could facilitate the nuns' acquisition of the impressive pieces of property at such locations as Pointe Saint-Charles,²⁶⁶ or utilize their connections, as we have seen, to act as intermediaries, petitioning the king on behalf of the soeurs for remission from feudal dues.²⁶⁷

On the other hand, however, the institution's relationship with the Sulpicians transcended the confines of a strictly formal business arrangement. As priests and seigneurs of vast tracts of land, it was in their interest to support and encourage the proliferation of an institution such as the Congrégation de Notre-Dame, which proffered not only a religious message they themselves propounded, but also one which, as we have seen, encouraged a stability essential to the safeguarding of their business interests.²⁶⁸

And so it was with the assistance of the Sulpician priests that not only established many

Gauthier, *La Compagnie de Saint-Sulpice au Canada*, 119, 120. For more on Montgolfier, see discussion below.

²⁶⁶ This assistance manifested itself in other situations. See for example, Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 3: 227, which documents that circa 1711-17, a Father de Chaumaux asked M. Leschassier, superior of the Sulpician seminary at Paris, for a concession of land at the Lachine mission to furnish the soeurs with heating fuel and to feed a cow.

²⁶⁷ For example, *ibid.* 3: 227, 1704, for property on the island of Montreal; *ibid.*, 3: 25, 1787; and for land at the institution's Pointe Claire mission, 5: 419-20.

²⁶⁸ Interests that have been well document by both Young, *In Its Corporate Capacity* and Louise Tremblay, "La politique missionnaire des Sulpiciens au XVII^e et début du XVIII^e siècle, 1668-1735," M.A. Thesis, University of Montreal, 1981.

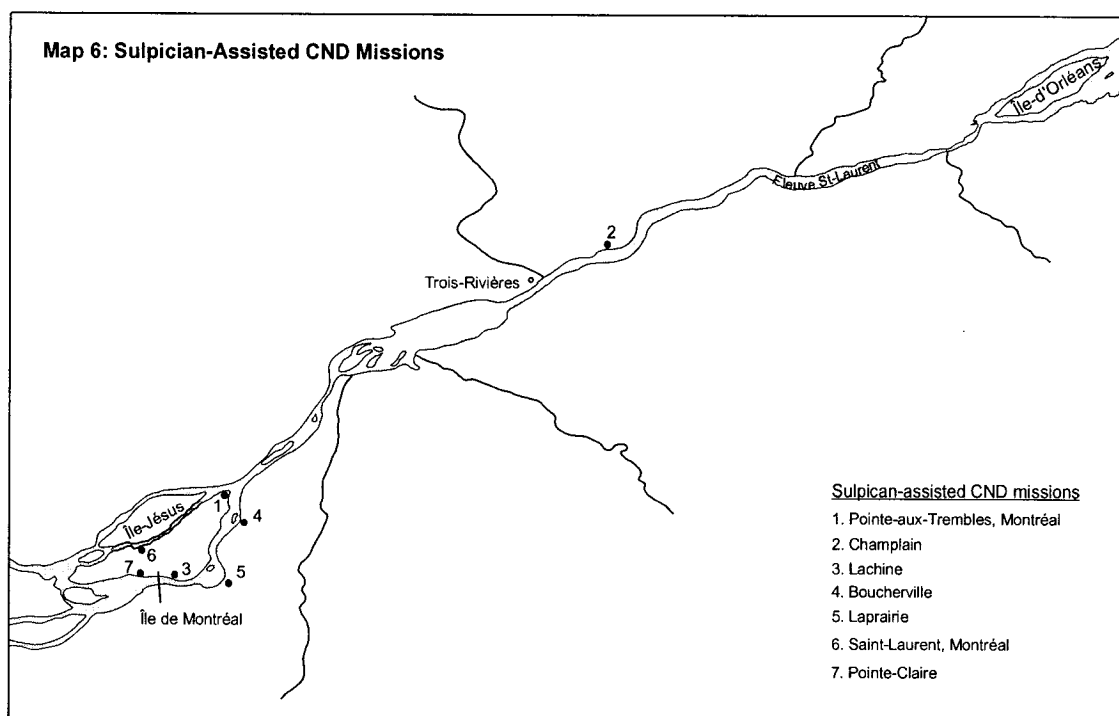
of the congrégation missions (Map 6), but also, in many cases, helped to sustain them.²⁶⁹

The Sulpician, François-Auguste Magon de Terlaye, is an important case in point: when the congrégation's native mission at Lac-des-Deux-Montagnes lost its subsidy at the Conquest, funds provided by him sustained the mission until a formal agreement could be reached with the Sulpician order in 1772.²⁷⁰ But repeatedly throughout the eighteenth century, the records depict examples of individual Sulpician priests rising to the occasion and coming forward to assist the congrégation with loans or donations.²⁷¹

²⁶⁹ With the exception of Lac-des-Deux-Montagnes, Louisbourg and Lower Town. Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 3: 388-9, 350. For example, in the 1690s, the Sulpicians built a convent at Pointe-aux-Trembles, Montreal, and Dollier de Casson donated money to the mission, *ibid.*, 1:275; Louis Geoffroy, in 1701, founder of the Champlain mission, donated a convent to the soeurs, which they could dispose of as they wished, ANQM, gr. Adhémar, Donation d'un emplacement situé à Champlain...par Louis Geofroy, 6 Oct. 1701; Rémy assisted the soeurs at Lachine, ANQM, gr. Adhémar, Echange de la jouissance d'une terre située au fort Remy de Lachine, 17 Jan. 1707; and Benoît Roche donated land at the Pointe-aux-Trembles mission at Montreal, gr. Senet dit Laliberté, Donation d'une terre...par Benoît Roche...de la paroisse du St Enfant Jesus de la Pointe au Tremble...Montréal, 24 July 1707.

²⁷⁰ Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 5: 288-91; 291-4. For more on de Terlaye's generosity to the community see note below.

²⁷¹ Examples of Sulpician generosity can be cited throughout the eighteenth century. Simon Saladin, worked tirelessly to secure the legacy left to the soeurs by the priest M. de Saudrayes at Boucherville on his death in 1721 (*ibid.*, 3:389); François Vachon de Belmont, remembered the congrégation, among other religious institutions, at his death in 1732 (*ibid.*, 3:386-8; 4: 6-7); at his death in 1774, Gilbert Favard, the community's confessor, left numerous religious works and icons to the community (*ibid.*, 274-5); Pierre Sartelon, through a generous donation in 1787, enabled the soeurs to transfer their Lachine mission to the more favourably located Pointe-Claire (act reproduced in *ibid.*, 5:418-20). But an examination of the community's account book also reveals that the Sulpicians lent money to the institution on a regular basis right through to the 1790s. See, for example, ACND, 3A/02, *Registre des Dépenses et recettes générales*, 1753-1793: June-Sept. 1755: "Mr Piquet, argent prete"; Sept.-Dec. 1766: "Payé a Mr Brassier pour argent a nous prêté..." The generosity of François Auguste Magon de Terlaye, mentioned above, is particularly notable and appears consistently throughout the 1750s, 60s and 70s in ACND, 3A/02, *Registre des Dépenses et recettes générales*, 1753-93.



Sources: 1: ANQM, gr. Senet dit Laliberté, Donation, 24 July 1707; 2: Sainte-Henriette, 3: 46, ANQM, gr. Adhémar, Donation, 6 Oct. 1701; 3: ANQM, gr. Adhémar, 17 Jan. 1707; 4: Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 3: 389; 5: *Ibid.*, 3: 58-61, ANQM, gr. Adhémar, Concession d'un emplacement, 3 July 1705; 6: Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 4: 36; 7: *Ibid.*, 5: 418-20.

The community's relationship with Étienne de Montgolfier exemplifies the benefits the congrégation derived from this association with the Sulpicians. Born in 1712 at Vidalon, France, Montgolfier studied at the diocesan seminary at Viviers. After becoming an ordained priest in 1741, he entered the Sulpician order, and, for the next nine years, taught in various Sulpician seminaries in France. In 1751, he joined the order at Montreal. As a Sulpician priest first, and then the order's superior and the bishop's vicar-general of the diocese of Montreal between 1759 and 1787, he held authoritative positions at a very precarious time in the history of the colony. Known for his support of, and collaboration with, the British government, he was a valuable well-connected ally right after the Conquest.²⁷² On another level, already illustrated, from the moment the

²⁷² Lemieux, "Montgolfier," *DCB*, 4: 542-4; Gauthier, *La Compagnie de Saint-Sulpice*, 119, 120.

institute's convent burned to the ground, Montgolfier stepped in and worked hard to sustain the congrégation, beginning with numerous loans, which he eventually forgave.²⁷³ But his support transcended these much-needed cash donations, and his other efforts bequeathed immeasurable cultural benefits to the community. He worked tirelessly on the soeurs' behalf, beginning with the restoration of archival material that had been destroyed in the 1768 convent fire. On discovering a copy of the institution's rules in the seminary of Quebec, he transcribed them from 1778-1784, and presented them to community.²⁷⁴ During this period, he also wrote a biography of Marguerite Bourgeoys (1779-80), a valuable document preserving the ancient functions and maxims of the institute, and the writings of the foundress of the congrégation herself.²⁷⁵ But Montgolfier also edited François Vachon de Belmont's biography of the institution's recluse, Jeanne Le Ber,²⁷⁶ and Glandelet's work on the life of Marie Barbier.²⁷⁷ And finally, he donated paintings, books, and money, which was utilized in 1768 to furnish the institution's newly constructed chapel with an archway, a balustrade and a painting of the Sacred Heart.²⁷⁸

²⁷³ Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 5 : 135, 140, 337-8. Quittance de Montgolfier, in *ibid.*, 338 : “Je, soussigné prêtre, supérieur du Séminaire de Montréal, tiens quitte la Communauté des Soeurs de la Congrégation de toutes les sommes qui leur ont été avancées par le Séminaire pour les aider dans le rétablissement de leur dite Communauté, consumée dans l'incendie de 1768.” These sums of money appear in ACND, 3A/02, *Registre des Dépenses et recettes générales*, 1753-1793, beginning June 1768.

²⁷⁴ Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 5: 324-5.

²⁷⁵ Etienne de Montgolfier, *La Vie de la vénérable Marguerite Bourgeoys dite Saint-Sacrement* (Ville Marie : William Gray, 1818).

²⁷⁶ ASSP, ms. 1216, *La Vie de la venerable soeur Jeanne Le Ber*, by Belmont, 13 Oct. 1714.

²⁷⁷ ASSP, ms. 1233, *Mémoires sur la vie de la soeur de l'assomption* recueillis par Mr Glandelet prêtre du séminaire de Québec et son principal directeur.

²⁷⁸ Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 5: 140. “...Outre cela, il a eu la bonté de payer à son compte particulier, l'arcade et la balustrade de notre chapelle, et le tableau du Sacré-Coeur.”

But the Sulpicians were not the only religious order connected to the congrégation (see app. 2.2). We have already seen how the soeurs of the Hôtel-Dieu of Montreal offered sanctuary to the congrégation nuns when their convent burned to the ground in 1768,²⁷⁹ and historically other female religious institutions came forward to lend the institution a helping hand when it was needed. This assistance is demonstrated, for example, by the warm welcome and individualized attention Marie Barbier received from the soeurs of the Hôtel-Dieu of Québec, when she travelled to that town for surgery in 1700.²⁸⁰ Male religious institutions also had numerous links to the congrégation. The Jesuits gave the institution an annuity at the end of the seventeenth century, and, as we have seen, proved themselves loyal supporters by donating money to the congrégation following the fire.²⁸¹ But the community also paid seigneurial dues to the Jesuits for their properties at Laprairie, and, on occasion, washed their church linen.²⁸² Perhaps in recognition of the institute's relationship with the Jesuits, at the death of the last Montreal Jesuit, Bernard Well in 1791, Jean-Joseph Casot, the last administrator of the Jesuit estates in Canada, came to Montreal and gave the contents of the monastery to the Hôpital-Général, the poor, as well as a sum of money to the congrégation, which was to be applied to the dowry of a suitable recruit.²⁸³ Récollets also engaged in economic

²⁷⁹ Ibid., 5: 135.

²⁸⁰ ASQ, ms. 198, Recueil touchant la S[œur Marie Barbier], 187.

²⁸¹ ANQM, gr. Chambalon, Constitution de rente annuelle par la Compagnie de Jésus, 6 Aug. 1699.

²⁸² For example, ACND, 3A/02, Registre des Dépenses et recettes générales, 1753-1793: Mar.-June 1756; Dec. 1778-Mar. 1779.

²⁸³ Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 6: 26-7. At an assembly of the community's council on 12 May 1794, it was decided that the money given to the community by Père Casot, would be given to Marie-Anne de l'Isle, Soeur Saint-Barnabé, for her keep during the period of her novitiate. Lettre de Mgr Hubert à Soeur Saint-Ignace, *ibid.*, 27. Joseph Cossette, "Jean-Joseph Casot," *DCB*, 4:134-5. Jean-Joseph Casot (1728-1800), priest and Jesuit,

exchanges with the institute, and the records reveal that they bought congrégation candles and communion hosts.²⁸⁴

Other religious, as individuals, facilitated the establishment of the congrégation and its mission, and supported it, particularly during its formative period. We have already seen how de Maisonneuve's 1658 donation of a stable school gave the institution its first solid footing in the colony,²⁸⁵ and thereafter, periodically, other donations and legacies were made to the institution, such as the one advanced by Jeanne Mance,²⁸⁶ foundress of the Hôtel-Dieu of Montreal.²⁸⁷ Most noteworthy also were Bishop Saint-Vallier's generous endowments to the institution over a period of more than thirty years,²⁸⁸ many of which provided the institution with annuities. Offspring of the wealthy Montreal merchant, Jacques Le Ber, proved to be particularly generous benefactors. One of his sons, Pierre Le Ber, for example, on his death in 1707, left the community an annuity, cash, as well as a portrait of Marguerite Bourgeoys (now restored and hanging in their museum in Old Montreal).²⁸⁹ And, as the previous section demonstrated, his sister, Jeanne Le Ber, while leaving an important spiritual legacy to the community, also

was the final administrator of the Jesuit estates at the end of the eighteenth century in Canada.

²⁸⁴ For example, ACND, 3A/02, *Registre des Dépenses et recettes générales*, 1753-1793 : Sept.-Dec. 1755; Mar.-June 1757.

²⁸⁵ Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 1:55-6, gr. Basset, Donation, 22 Jan. 1658.

²⁸⁶ Marie-Claire Daveluy, "Jeanne Mance," *DCB*, 1: 483-7. Jeanne Mance (1606-1673), after a series of celestial experiences, with the financial aid of Madame de Buillion and supported by Jérôme Le Royer de La Dauversière, who established the Société Notre-Dame de Montréal, founded of the Hôtel-Dieu of Montreal in 1642.

²⁸⁷ ANQM, gr. Basset, *Constitution de rente annuelle par Jeanne Mance...*, 3 Nov. 1673.

²⁸⁸ ANQM, gr. Genaple de Bellefonds, *Donation d'une maison située en la haute ville de Québec...à la Congrégation Notre-Dame...* 1688; gr. Adhémar, *Fondation d'une rente par Jean-Baptiste de Lacroix de Saint Vallier...*, 7 Sept. 1693; gr. Adhémar, *Fondation et don d'une rente annuelle et perpétuelle par Jean-Baptiste de Lacroix de Saint Vallier...*, 14 June 1698; gr. Dubreuil, *Donation de rentes constituées*, 11 June 1720.

²⁸⁹ Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 3: 36; 5: 71-2.

bequeathed numerous bequests in the form of a chapel, cash, and a foundation to support the education of poor girls.²⁹⁰

Individual priests also came forward to assist in the establishment of congrégation missions in their parishes. François Lamy at Sainte-Famille donated a house and land for the establishment of a congrégation mission in his parish, in 1687 and 1689 respectively.²⁹¹ Father Philibert Boy, curé at Batiscan, donated a piece of land in this parish to the institution in 1706.²⁹² Father Basset,²⁹³ in 1715, who had been largely responsible for the establishment of the congrégation mission at Neuville, Quebec, provided dowries for girls to enter the institution, forgave the soeurs' debt to him and donated the convent building and its contents, which included a stove and the land upon which the convent had been built.²⁹⁴ Nicolas Boucher, a priest at the parish of St Jean-Baptiste on Île d'Orléans donated some land in the seigneurie of Boucherville to the

²⁹⁰ Jaenen, "Jeanne Le Ber," *DCB*, 2:376; ANQM, gr. Basset dit Deslauriers, Convention entre Jeanne le Ber de Ville Marie et le CND, 4 Oct. 1695; gr. Adhémar, Donation d'une somme d'argent par Jeanne le Ber..., 27 Sept. 1699; gr. Adhémar, Fondation d'une messe par Jeanne le Ber, 25 Oct. 1708; gr. Lepailleur, Fondation par Jean leber à la CND, 9 Sept. 1714.

²⁹¹ ANQM, gr. Duquet de Lachesnaye, Donation d'une habitation, 25 Sept. 1687; and gr. Rageot, Donation d'une terre, 6 May 1689.

²⁹² ANQM, gr. Adhémar, donation d'une terre située à Batiscan, 17 July 1706.

²⁹³ Honorius Provost, "Jean Basset," *DCB*, 2: 47. Jean Basset (1645-1715) was known for his devotion to parish work. He ministered to the cathedral at Quebec, and served as a priest on Île d'Orléans, at Pointe-aux-Trembles (Neuville), and Repentigny. Basset had strong links to the congregation: he established a convent of congrégation soeurs at Neuville in 1685, after undertaking a pilgrimage with Marguerite Bourgeoys to Notre-Dame-de Lorette, outside of Quebec.

²⁹⁴ ANQM, gr. Barbel, Donation d'une terre..., 1 Aug. 1715.

community in 1724,²⁹⁵ and Pierre-Laurent Bédard²⁹⁶ augmented the donations of the local habitants at Saint-François-du-Sud with land and a convent in 1766²⁹⁷.

Once the missions were established, assistance from the wider Church, although never as generous as that received from the Sulpicians, could, on occasion, be relied upon, particularly, as we have seen, in emergencies. No other bishop endowed the congrégation as generously as did Bishop Saint-Vallier, but on his departure from Canada in 1735, for example, Bishop Dosquet left the congregation what he described as "a famous painting."²⁹⁸ Moreover, throughout the eighteenth century, certain bishops did proffer donations to assist the community throughout its periodic financial difficulties.²⁹⁹

The case of Île Saint-Paul provides a good point of departure for a discussion of the nature of the institution and its relationship with the external world. The study explored the institution as an astutely managed entity, actively engaged in numerous and often complex relationships and activities in the business world of the day. It also demonstrated how the institute relied upon and received support, at critical times, from the external world - from Church, government and the surrounding society, ultimately, in

²⁹⁵ ANQM, gr. Adhémar, Donation de terres situées en la seigneurie de Boucherville..., 26 May 1724.

²⁹⁷ ANQM, gr. Lévesque, Donation d'une maison, 20 Oct. 1766

²⁹⁸ Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 4 :12-13, Bishop Dosquet to Soeur Sainte-Barbe, 13 Oct. 1735. "Je vous ai destiné un tableau d'un peintre fameux, que je ferai remettre à vos Soeurs de Québec pour vous l'envoyer." Apparently, there was more than one painting, although neither Dosquet nor the community's historian provide precise details concerning their artists or the subject matter. The community's historian claims that he donated "plusieurs peintures remarquables," which the 1768 fire destroyed. In the same year, Dosquet also donated paintings to the Hôtel-Dieu of Quebec and Les Mères de l'Hôpital-Général.

²⁹⁹ This is particularly noticeable during the financial troubles of the 1790s. ACND, 3A/02, Registre des Dépenses et recettes générales, 1753-1793 : Dec. 1791-Sept. 1792.

undoubted recognition, as the previous section has demonstrated, of the value of its wider mission in seventeenth and eighteenth century colonial society.

III. Conclusion

Architectual plans, as well as an extant painting, have left posterity with a view of the convent as a sequestered entity, isolated from the external world. In doing so, they preserved the integrity and the reality of this facet of the cloistered existence of the soeurs of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Chapter one did, on one plane, confirm the veracity of this aspect of the institution and explored the potential power inherent in the monastic way of life. However, chapter two has, on another plane, also decisively grounded the institution within the surrounding world. Undeniably cloistered in many respects, the congrégation remained, through its spiritual and economic mission, securely and pervasively linked to and influential beyond the cloister in various aspects of the colonial world in diverse and important ways. And it was through these linkages that it attracted and received the support, albeit in varying degrees, of government, colonists and church authorities. Ultimately, it was precisely this - the strength of its private life and the linkages forged through its public existence - that constituted the foundations of the power of the institute of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame in the seventeenth and eighteenth-century colonial world.

Part Two - The Superiors

Chapter 3 : Becoming a Superior

I. Introduction

One day in June in the year 1790,¹ the soeurs of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame proceeded down the long corridor of the main floor of their convent, situated between rue Notre Dame and rue Saint Paul in the town of Montreal, towards their chapel, "Sacré-Coeur de Jésus,"² for the triennial election of their superior. The procession must have been an impressive sight. At its head were three figures - the bishop and his two assistants - all robed in black.³ These dignitaries, in turn, were followed by the soeurs themselves - a row of black gowns, black covering hair upon heads, neck to the floor, arms to the wrists with only a white strip framing faces and large crucifixes gleaming upon each

¹ Date derived from AAM, 525.101, 698-1, art. 34:76, Réglemens des Soeurs Séculières de la Congrégation de Notre-Dame établie à Ville Marie pour honorer la très Ste Vierge et imiter ses vertus.

² Convent plans can be found in Robert Lahaise, *Les Édifices conventuels du Vieux Montréal: Aspects ethno-historiques* (LaSalle Québec: Éditions Hurtubise HMH, Limitée, 1980), 140, 141, 149. Location of election derived from ACND, 51, "Anciens usages recueillis d'après la tradition par SS Marie-de-Liesse, 1919 et les notes des Vénérées Mères Sainte-Ursule et Sainte-Justine." These documents, written by various CND nuns - many of them elderly - in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, describe the convent and the community's traditions in an attempt to preserve the institution's ancient heritage subsequent to the constitutional changes of the 1860s. For more on the constitutional changes of the religious institutions in nineteenth-century Quebec, see Marguerite Jean, *Évolution des communautés religieuses des femmes au Canada de 1639 à nos jours* (Montréal: Fides, 1977) and Marta Danylewycz, *Taking the Veil: An Alternative to Marriage, Motherhood and Spinsterhood in Quebec, 1840-1920* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987). See also ACND, Soeur Sainte-Eulalie de Barcelone (née Saint-Jacques), aidée par Soeur Saint-Marcel, "Miettes d'histoire"; Soeur Sainte-Justine, "Mémoires. Souvenirs anciens de la Congrégation de Notre Dame, avec notes sur les usages etc."; Soeur Sainte-Marthe (née Adélaïde Restitue Morin), "Réminiscences du passé de la Congrégation de Notre-Dame"; and Soeur Sainte-Ursule (née Mary Gibson), "Mémoires" and "Notes diverses."

³ The community's constitution stipulated that the bishop, in this case, François Hubert, be present at the institution's elections. In his absence, he would have been replaced by the vicar-general of Montreal, Etienne de Montgolfier. AAM, 525.101, 698-1, Réglemens, art. 34: 79.

black breast⁴ - all marching in the same order in which they had been accepted into the congrégation.⁵

The procession edged its way towards the chapel, for the election of the superior was a most solemn, a most time-honoured and imposing ritual. Usually it began in early June. At this time, the existing mother superior, in this case Véronique Brunet dit L'Estang, Soeur Sainte-Rose, would advise the bishop or his representative, the vicar-general, that it was time to call another election. Three days before the actual voting, she would relinquish the keys of the community to her assistant, Marie-Louise Compain, Soeur Saint-Augustin, begging God for mercy to forgive her sins and her soeurs to pardon her. Soeur Compain would then act as the final authority of the institution until the election of a new superior.⁶

In the interim, two scrutineers would have been chosen by secret ballot, and it would be their task to prepare the ballots for the election.⁷ Meanwhile, the members of the entire community would make themselves ready for this event. Throughout the eight days preceding the occasion, they would sing the "Veni Creator" during mass or at any other hour of the day. Strictly forbidden to discuss either the upcoming election or the person for whom they would vote, they would maintain their silence right up until the very day of the election. Then, they would file into the chapel and wait for the bishop and his two assistants to celebrate mass. The ritual thus enacted, the soeurs, such as the novices, who were not allowed to vote, would withdraw from the chapel, and its doors

⁴This description of the nuns' costumes was derived from the painting of Marguerite Bourgeoys by the priest Pierre Le Ber, on display at the Marguerite Bourgeoys Centre, Old Montreal.

⁵ For example, AAM, 525.101, 698-1, Réglements, art. 34: 82.

⁶ Ibid., art. 34: 76, 77.

⁷ Ibid., 78.

would be closed. Turning to the assembled, the bishop would exhort the remaining soeurs to proceed with the election "according to God and the dictates of their conscience."⁸

Now the voting would officially begin. The scrutineers would hand out ballots, upon which the soeurs - because they were permitted neither to vote for themselves nor their close relatives - were obliged to write, in addition to their selection, their names and those of "their mother, sisters, aunts and nieces."⁹ Then, each soeur, one by one, "with respect and modesty"¹⁰ in the same hierarchical order in which they had entered the chapel, would approach the ballot box, deposit her choice, and then wait patiently while one of the scrutineers mixed up the ballots, overturned the box, counted out the ballots and then announced the name of the new superior.¹¹

All eyes must have turned at this moment to Marie Raizenne, Soeur Saint-Ignace. In a modest, reserved and devout manner,¹² she would proceed to the altar. Here she would pronounce a solemn vow to God, promising to work for the good of the institute and to safeguard its rules. Then, after receiving a blessing, as well as a confirmation of her election from either the bishop, if he was present, or his representative, as well as the

⁸ Ibid., 77, 79. "selon Dieu et la décharge de leur conscience."

⁹ Ibid., 79. "n'étant pas permis de s'élire soi même, et donner leur voix á de si proches parentes..."

¹⁰ Ibid. "les soeurs viendront en leur rang les unes après les autres, avec respect et modestie."

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² In her reflections on the "Conditions for Admission to the Congrégation de Notre Dame," Marguerite Bourgeoys advised that after a woman had been received into the institution, "her words, gestures and movements ought not to seem giddy or foolish, but modest, reserved and devout." *The Writings of Marguerite Bourgeoys*, translated by Sister Mary Virginia Cotter, CND (Montreal: CND, 1976), 5.

keys and the seal of the community, each nun would then come forward, according to the order of her reception into the community, and embrace her as their new superior.¹³

This description of the election of a Congrégation de Notre-Dame superior is useful, for not only does it vividly establish the formal solemnity surrounding this triennial ritual, it also introduces Marie Raizenne, whose subsequent life story will serve as a jumping off point for answering the question posed by this chapter: who became superior of this institution?

Very few studies have focussed upon ordinary institutional superiors in the post-Tridentine era, although numerous recent research has surrounded exceptional individuals such as Saint Teresa of Avila¹⁴ and, in this Canadian colonial context, Marie de l'Incarnation.¹⁵ Certainly the medieval female superior has received enough attention in

¹³ AAM, 525.101, 698-1, Réglemens, art. 34: 81, 82. Research surrounding convent elections is scanty, but this is not surprising, considering that the process was secret. Laura Mellinger, "Politics in the Convent: The Election of a Fifteenth-Century Abbess," *Church History* 63 (1994): 529, utilizing chapter minutes, reconstructed the political infighting surrounding convent elections. Craig Harline also discusses the factionalism surrounding convent elections in *The Burdens of Sister Margaret: Inside a Seventeenth-Century Convent* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000). Unfortunately, chapter minutes were not available for this study of the congrégation.

¹⁴ See, for example: Jodi Bilinkoff, *The Avila of Saint Theresa: Religious Reform in a Sixteenth-Century City* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989); Alison Weber, *Teresa of Avila and the Rhetoric of Femininity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990); Carole Slade, *Saint Theresa of Avila: Author of a Heroic Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); Gillian Ahlgren, *Theresa of Avila and the Politics of Sanctity* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996).

¹⁵ Françoise Deroy-Pineau, *Marie de l'Incarnation: Marie Guyart, femme d'affaires, mystique, mère de la Nouvelle-France* (Paris: Éditions Robert Laffont, 1989); Chantal Théry, "Marie de l'Incarnation, intimée et intime, à travers de sa correspondance et ses écrits spirituels," in *Discours et pratique de l'intime*, edited by Manon Brunet and Serge Gagnon (Québec: Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture, 1993); Claire Gourdeau, *Les Délices de nos coeurs: Marie de l'Incarnation et ses pensionnaires Amérindiennes, 1639-1672* (Sillery: Septentrion, 1994); Carla Zeher, "A New World Model of Female Epistolarity: The Correspondence of Marie de l'Incarnation," *Studies in Canadian Literature* 21, 2 (1996): 89-103; Dominique Deslandres, "L'éducation des Amérindiennes

recent years, and despite the fact that historians have recognized that these women emerged from diverse backgrounds, the image of the powerful abbess with wealthy social and economic resources at her command is often the one most extensively studied, and no doubt, for that reason, this type of nun immediately comes to mind.¹⁶ For a later period, and within the Spanish colonial context, Kathryn Burns' study of three cloistered convents in Cuzco, Peru (sixteenth to the nineteenth century), also confirms that wealth and influence were important factors for achieving top administrative positions. In this Peruvian setting, contrary to constitutional rules, a hierarchy in the community divided the sisters into nuns of the black and white veil, and only the former, who had access to wealth and connections, ascended "to positions of control over important convent business," a situation that perpetuated the convents' position in the spiritual economy of Peru.¹⁷

But what about this particular institution in the Canadian colonial context? What qualities were necessary for a superior to acquire and then retain the position? Were wealth, patronage, geographical origins, or influence paramount prerequisites, or did personal qualities matter? Certainly over the one hundred year period covered by this study individuals connected to distinguished Canadian families - daughters of officers,

d'après la correspondance de Marie Guyart de l'Incarnation," *Sciences-religieuses-Religious Studies* 16, 1: 91-110 and *ibid.*, "Qu'est-ce qui faisait courir Marie Guyart? Essai d'ethnohistoire d'une mystique après sa correspondance," *Laval Théologique et Philosophique* 53, 2(juin 1997): 285-300; Marie-Florine Bruneau, *Women Mystics Confront the Modern World* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1998); Carla Zecher, "Life on the French-Canadian Hyphen: Nation and Narration in the Correspondence of Marie de l'Incarnation," *Québec Studies* 26 (automne 1998/hiver 1999): 38-50.

¹⁶ See Penelope D. Johnson, *Equal in Monastic Profession: Religious Women in Medieval France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

¹⁷ Kathryn Burns, *Colonial Habits: Convents and the Spiritual Economy of Cuzco, Peru* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), 8 and especially chapter 5.

seigneurs, royal officials and wealthy merchants bearing names such as Boucher de Boucherville, Le Ber, Adhémar de Lantagnac, La Corne de Chaptès, Berry des Essarts, Bissot de Vincennes, de Tonty - grace the community's register.¹⁸ But did any of these women become superior?

This chapter will attempt to answer these questions by combining biographical and quantitative analysis¹⁹ to the life story of Marie Raizenne by itself, within the context of her own community, as well as the eleven other superiors (see appendix 3.1) who held this position between 1693 and 1796.

II. Marie Raizenne

It must have seemed, to Marie Raizenne, a very long way to this chapel and this election, especially since her parents, Josiah Rising and Abigail Nimbs, from Windsor Connecticut and Deerfield Massachusetts respectively, were New England captives,²⁰ who had been carried off to Canada as native prisoners on a cold March night in 1704 from Deerfield, Massachusetts. Like many of the captives taken as prisoners by natives, they were brought to Sault-au-Récollet, on the south shore of the Rivière des Prairies. Here both Josiah Rising and Abigail Nimbs, the parents of Marie Raizenne, repeatedly refused all offers of redemption to their native land in spite of the entreaties of their own parents in New England, Abigail's brother, and even the Reverend John Williams, the famous father of Eunice Williams, the captive who remained permanently in the native

¹⁸ For a complete list of individuals in the convent between 1693 and 1796, see appendix 7.

¹⁹ For a good discussion of the "crisis" of empirical social history in the face of the "new" cultural history, as well as a plea for its renewal see, William Sewell Jr., "Whatever Happened to the 'Social' in Social History?" in *Schools of Thought: Twenty-Five Years of Interpretive Social Science*, edited by Joan W. Scott and Debra Keates (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001): 209.

²⁰ Emma Lewis Coleman, *New England Captives Carried to Canada Between 1677 and 1760 During the French and Indian Wars* (Portland Maine: 1925), 2:107, 104.

village of Kahnawake.²¹ It appears that initially Marie's parents lived with their native captors. "In a solemn ceremony of adoption," Josiah was named "Shoentakouani," while Abigail, on another occasion, received the appellation "Touatagouach."²² Moreover, although the sources maintain that they grew up in this mission "en sauvage",²³ it appears that their links with the colonial Catholic Church were more enduring. At their baptismal ceremonies, they were both given the Christian names: Josiah Raizenne and Marie-Elisabeth Nimbs. Marie's mother actually attended the congrégation school within the Sulpician fort, marrying Josiah Rising in 1715 in a service conducted by a Catholic priest.²⁴ By 1719, the couple had produced two children, and, in 1721, moved to the nearby location of Lac-des-Deux-Montagnes when the natives were relocated to this site.²⁵ Here, they received a grant of land "a short distance from the village." They moved into a typical habitant dwelling with its dormered windows and sloping wooden shingled roof, and produced a succession of five more children - including Marie.²⁶

Marie's parents were *cultivateurs*, farmers, and apparently fairly prosperous ones at that. Settled on their Lac-des-Deux-Montagnes property, over the course of the years,

²¹ John Demos, *The Unredeemed Captive: A Family Story from Early America* (New York: Knopf, 1994); Coleman, *New England Captives*, 2: 104; Charles-Philippe Beaubien, *Le Sault-au-Récollet : Ses rapports avec les premiers temps de la colonie: mission/paroisse* (Montréal: C.O. Beauchemin & fils, 1898), 208; Soeur Saint-Jean l'Évangéliste (Guillemine Raizenne), *Notes généalogiques sur la famille Raizenne* (Ottawa, 1871), 6.

²² Coleman, *New England Captives*, 2: 104, 107, 106. Beaubien, *Le Sault-au-Récollet*, 193.

²³ Quotation of Father Quéré found in Coleman, *New England Captives*, 2: 107.

²⁴ Beaubien, *Le Sault-au-Récollet*, 144, 163, 193, 195; Coleman, *New England Captives*, 2:103, 104.

²⁵ Cornelius Jaenen, *The Role of the Church in New France* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, Limited, 1976), 75.

²⁶ Coleman, *New England Captives*, 2:108, 109; Saint-Jean l'Évangéliste, *Notes généalogiques sur la famille Raizenne*, frontispiece photo of the Raizenne house at Lac-des-Deux-Montagnes.

in addition to raising eight children, they were able to scrape together sufficient money to send their son, Simon-Amable, to the school at the Sulpician seminary in Montreal, and to enter him later into the priesthood in 1744. As well, they came up with the requisite dowries to enable two daughters - Marie and her sister Madeleine - to become congrégation soeurs, and they passed their property on intact to their youngest son, Jean-Baptiste-Jérôme.²⁷

Following their relocation to Lac-des-Deux-Montagnes, the family's ties to the Church continued to be prominent (see appendices 3.2 and 3.3). As mentioned above, two of Marie's siblings chose the religious life. Moreover, even her siblings who did marry appear to have maintained the family religious tradition. Among three of them, they produced ten children who entered the colony's religious institutions. In particular, her brother, Jean-Baptiste-Jérôme's contribution is noteworthy: seven of his eleven children took up the religious life.²⁸ Some of them, like Marie, achieved notable positions in the Church right into the nineteenth century. One daughter, Marie-Clothilde, eventually

²⁷ ANQM, gr. Danré de Blanzay, Contrat de reception de Marie Rizenne, 25 Jan 1754; gr. Raimbault, Reception de Marie-Madeleine Sayars, Soeur St Herman, 9 Oct. 1733. The latter document adds to some confusion over the correct name of both Marie and Marie-Madeleine's father, Josiah Rising, or Ignace Raizenne, as he became known in the colony of New France. At Marie-Madeleine's reception, her parents signed their names on her profession contract as Ignace Sayars and Abigail Nims. However, although she appears as Marie-Madeleine Sayars on her profession contract, her religious name, Saint-Herman on that contract and other documents, matches that of Madeleine Raizenne. Is she, in fact, Marie Raizenne's sister? All annalists thought so. See, for example, Louis Pelletier, *Le clergé en Nouvelle-France: Étude démographique et répertoire biographique* (Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1993), 289, 237; ANQM, gr. Panet de Méru, Depot d'un acte d'accord...entre Ignace Raizenne et Jean-Baptiste Raizenne, 19 Mar. 1762.

²⁸ Sr Saint-Jean l'Évangéliste, *Notes généalogiques*, 8; Jean-Baptiste-Jérôme Raizenne : PRDH # 163187. The number of Raizenne children sired by Jean-Baptiste vary by account. Robert J. Scollard, "Marie-Clotilde Raizenne," in *DCB*, 6:627, claims seven out of ten children entered religion, while PRDH registers eleven children. Coleman's account is slightly disorganized, as is that of Soeur Saint-Jean l'Évangéliste.

became the founder of a new religious order, the Congrégation de l'Enfant-Jésus in 1828,²⁹ while two of his grand-daughters in 1866, as Grey Nuns, ventured into the Upper Ottawa River area - "the only women in all that vast country" -with the Oblate fathers.³⁰ In all, over the course of forty years, Marie would witness a succession of her relatives or individuals connected to her enter the congrégation, so that, by the time of this election in 1790, she could claim one sister, five nieces, a connection to the three Sabourin sisters through her brother's marriage, as well as six relatives in other religious institutions.

Although Marie was fifty-five years old at the time of this election, almost from the moment she entered the religious life, her passage to the superiorship appears to have been sure and certain. Becoming a novice in 1752 at the age of seventeen, and professing as a congrégation soeur two years later, Marie slowly but steadily assumed a number of administrative positions. Success in the missions characterized her early working life: by the time she was twenty-six years old, in 1761, she had been charged with re-establishing the Sainte-Famille mission on Île d'Orléans, which had been closed at the time of the Conquest. Later, in 1769, stringent budgetary measures, enabled her to rescue the failing Lower Town mission and establish it on a firm financial footing. It was also during this period, in 1765, that she began her long span, with only a few interruptions, on the community's administrative council. By 1775, she found herself assistant to the superior, Véronique Brunet dit L'Estang, and three years later, in 1778, she herself became superior.³¹

²⁹ Scollard, "Marie-Clothilde Raizenne," *DCB*, 6: 627-8.

³⁰ Coleman, *New England Captives*, 111.

³¹ For Marie's profile as a superior see appendix 3.1; for an outline of her administrative life, appendix 3.8. ANQM, gr. Danré de Blanzy, Contrat de Reception de Marie Rizenne, 25 Jan. 1754; André Désilets, "Marie Raizenne," *DCB*, 5: 703-4; Soeur Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire de la Congrégation de Notre-Dame* (Montréal: CND, 1910-13), 5: 129-30.

Marie's first term of office must have been successful. Characterized as it was by tough economic times, a combination of luck, external generosity, strict financial management, and deft political manoeuvring must have ensured Marie, not only in the interim between the two elections, a place on the council, but also this term of office which was to last until 1796. And although she was never again re-elected to the superiorship, she did remain on the upper administrative council for at least three years until 1802. At this time, all records of Marie disappear, until her death on 28 April 1811 at the age seventy-five.³²

III. Who Became a Superior?

Born in the district of Montreal, a daughter of habitant parents who had forged strong links with the Church, Marie Raizenne, on one level, was a very ordinary woman who strikingly resembled not only the 58 women in the congrégation who elected her in 1790 (see appendix 3.4) as far as place of birth (see table 3.1) and social group (see table 3.2), but also with respect to the numerous relatives she had within the Church. With respect to links within the Church, in 1790 alone, for example, three sets of sisters in the congrégation were among the women electing Marie: the Audet sisters (Marie-Anne, Soeur Sainte-Marguerite and Marie-Françoise, Soeur Saint-Joseph), the Berry des Essarts sisters (Marie-Anne, Soeur Sainte-Radegonde and Françoise, Soeur Saint-François-de-Sales), and the three Sabourin siblings (Elisabeth (Soeur Saint-Vincent-de-Paul), Catherine (Soeur Sainte-Ursule), and Marie-Anne-Reine (Soeur Saint-Barthélemy)).³³

³² Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 5: 129-30; Désilets, "Marie Raizenne," *DCB*, 5:703. For a more detailed examination of the administrative aspects of the superiorship see chapter four. For a more precise examination of Marie Raizenne's relationship with the bishop of Quebec, see chapter five.

³³ Marie-Anne and Marie-Françoise: Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 7 :82; 6 :106; Marie-Anne and Marie-Françoise Berry des Essarts: Pelletier, *Le clergé*, 282; René Jetté,

Other women at this election could claim even more extensive linkages with the Church: Élisabeth Prud'homme, Soeur Sainte-Agathe, had relatives both within the congrégation - a sister, two aunts and a cousin - as well as outside of it - a cousin at the Hôtel-Dieu of Quebec;³⁴ and Marie-Ursule Adhémar de Lantagnac, Soeur Sainte-Claire, although possessing no siblings in the congrégation, could claim that five of her sisters had entered other religious institutions in the colony.³⁵

Table 3.1 - Congrégation de Notre-Dame Soeurs, 1790 : Birthplace^a

District	Town	%	Country	%	Town & Country	%
Montreal	16	28	22	38	38	65
Quebec	0	0	19	33	19	33
T-R	0	0	1	2	1	2
Total	16	28	42	72	58	100

^a Compiled from App. 3.4, Congrégation de Notre-Dame Professed Nuns, 1790.

Dictionnaire généalogique des familles du Québec (Montréal : Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1983), 85-6; Marie-Élisabeth Sabourin : Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire* : 6: 202; Catherine Sabourin: Pelletier, *Le clergé*, 290; Marie-Anne-Reine Sabourin: Pelletier, *Le clergé*, 290.

³⁴ Élisabeth Prud'homme: Pelletier, *Le clergé*, 289, 288, 256; Jetté, *Dictionnaire*, 951.

³⁵ Marie-Ursule Adhémar de Lantagnac: Pelletier, *Le clergé*, 279, 259, 293, 269; Jetté, *Dictionnaire*, 3.

Table 3.2- Congrégation de Notre-Dame Soeurs, 1790 : Occupation/Status of Fathers^a

	Numbers	%
Officers/seigneurs/nobility	5	9
Merchants	4	7
Craftsmen	9	15
Farmers	9	15
Soldiers	3	5
Unknown from rural areas	27	46
Unknown from Montreal	1	2
Total	58	100

^a Compiled from App. 3.4, Congrégation de Notre-Dame Professed Nuns, 1790.

But these patterns were not peculiar to the 1790 convent. As tables 3.3 and 3.4 indicate, the majority of congrégation soeurs throughout the period covered by this study also came from the district of Montreal and from habitant backgrounds. Moreover, as appendix 3.5 indicates, the majority of women within the institution before 1766 also possessed numerous links within the congregation, and many of them were connected with other religious institutions within the colony. Families, such as, for example, Boucher de Boucherville, Adhémar de Lantagnac, Amyot, Constantin, d'Ailleboust des Musseaux, la Corne des Chaptés, and Jorian, whose members appear in the congrégation throughout the eighteenth century, at one time or another had numerous members in several religious institutions in the colony.³⁶

³⁶ Names derived by cross-referencing individuals in Pelletier, "Repertoire biographique des prêtres, missionnaires et religieuses, 1615-1765," in *Le clergé*, 169-304; they represent individuals with four or more siblings in the colony's religious institutions at any one period.

Table 3.3 - Congrégation de Notre-Dame Soeurs Before 1766 : Birthplace^a

District	Numbers	%
Montreal	93	56
Quebec	45	27
T-R	20	12
Outside Quebec	8	5
Total	166	100

^a Pelletier, *Le clergé*, 75.

Table 3.4 - Congrégation de Notre-Dame Soeurs Before 1766 : Social Group^a

	Number	%
A. seigneurs/officers/nobility/merchants	57	34.3
B. artisans/habitants	82	49.4
C. labourers/soldiers	1	0.6
D. unknown	26	15.7
Total	166	100

^a Pelletier, *Le clergé*, 81.

If Marie Raizenne was a typical congrégation soeur, she was also a very typical superior. Most congrégation superiors - in fact, nine of the twelve - like Marie Raizenne, came from the district of Montreal (see table 3.5). Specifically five women - Marie Barbier, Soeur de l'Assomption, Marguerite Le Moyne, Soeur du Saint-Esprit, Catherine Charly, Soeur du Saint-Sacrement, Marie-Angèlique Lefebvre-Angers, Soeur Saint-Simon and Marie-Josèphe Mauge-Garreau, Soeur de l'Assomption - were actually born and grew up in the town of Montreal itself. Three women came from areas close to Montreal: Marguerite Piot de Langloiserie, Soeur Saint-Hippolyte was born in Varennes; Véronique Brunet dit L'Estang, in Pointe-Claire; and of course, Marie Raizenne at Lac-des-Deux-Montagnes. Marie-Anne Thibierge, Soeur Saint-Pélagie, was also included in

this Montreal group, for although she was born in Quebec, her family was living in Montreal by the time she was seven years old.³⁷ This was also true of Marie-Elisabeth Guillet, Soeur Sainte-Barbe. She was born in the diocese of Trois-Rivières, in Sainte-Anne-de-la-Pérade. This fact, however, can be misleading, for it appears very possible that Soeur Guillet's father had, by the early 1690s - at least by the time she was ten years old - settled and was doing most of his business in Montreal.³⁸ The two remaining superiors were born outside of Montreal: Marguerite Trottier, Soeur Saint-Joseph, in Batiscan in the district of Trois-Rivières and Marguerite Amyot, Soeur de la Présentation, in Sainte-Anne-de-Beaupré in the district of Québec.

Table 3.5 - Congrégation de Notre-Dame Superiors, 1693-1796 : Birthplace^a

District	Town	%	Country	%	Town&Country	%
Montreal	6	50	3	25	9	75
Quebec	0	0	1	8	1	8.3
T-R	0	0	2	17	2	17
Total	6	50	6	50	12	100

^a Table derived from App. 3.1, Congrégation de Notre-Dame Superiors, 1693-1796.

Moreover, neither was Marie Raizenne the only superior to emerge from a working family, for most superiors were daughters of farmers, artisans and small newly made merchants (see table 3.6). Many of these individuals appeared to be industrious people, often pursuing more than one occupation to make ends meet. Marie Barbier's father, was a habitant, who also worked on various occasions as a tax collector, a

³⁷ ANQM, gr. Duquet de Lachesnay, Apprentissage, 6 Nov. 1679; gr. Genaple de Bellefonds, Vente d'une maison, 30 June 1703.

³⁸ ANQM, gr. Adhémar, Obligations, 21 Oct. 1689, 13 Sept. 1693, 22 Sept. 1694.

"master" carpenter, and a surveyor³⁹; Catherine Charly's father, in addition to being a habitant, called himself, on numerous occasions, a baker;⁴⁰ Marguerite Trottier's father, although registering as a "censitaire," also worked as a wheelright;⁴¹ and Véronique Brunet dit L'Estang's father, who appears in the archives as voyageur in the fur trade, must have been a habitant, for his widow, Marguerite Dubois, sold their Pointe-Claire land in 1751 to her son Dominique.⁴²

Table 3.6 - Congrégation de Notre-Dame Superiors, 1693-1796 : Occupation/Status of Fathers^a

	Number	%
Officers	1	8%
Merchants	4	33%
Craftsmen	2	17%
Farmers	5	42%
Total	12	100%

^a Compiled from App. 3.1, Congrégation de Notre-Dame Superiors, 1693-1796.

The artisans' daughters emerged from similar forward-looking backgrounds, with fathers who pursued a trade, but appeared to have set their sights a bit higher. Jacques Thibierge, father to Marie-Anne, apprenticed as an armsmaker in 1679 in Quebec. Eventually he moved to Montreal and became a king's gunsmith;⁴³ while Gentien Amyot,

³⁹ Gilbert Barbier: ANQM, gr. Basset, Quittance, 29 July 1658; gr. Adhémar, Concession d'un emplacement, 3 Dec. 1684; gr. Cabazie, Contrat de mariage, 12 June 1684.

⁴⁰ André Charly: ANQM, gr. Saint-Père, Vente d'un maison, 12 Mar. 1656; gr. Basset, Vente de terre, 25 June 1659.

⁴¹ Jean-Baptiste Trottier: Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire 4* : 124.

⁴² Jean Brunet dit L'Estang: ANQM, gr. Lepailleur, Obligation, 15 Sept. 1717; gr. Lepailleur, Engagement, 15 Apr. 1721; gr. Adhémar, Vente d'une terre, 11 June 1751.

⁴³ Jacques Thibierge: ANQM, gr. Duquet de Lachesnaye, Apprentissage, 6 Nov. 1679; gr. Genaple de Bellefonds, Vente d'une maison, 30 June 1703.

Marguerite's father, a master locksmith, engaged apprentices and possessed property that he was able to rent out to individuals.⁴⁴

This pattern follows right through to the merchants' daughters - often their fathers began life in quite an ordinary manner, and as time progressed they achieved merchant status. Jean-Baptiste Lefebvre-Angers, father of Marie-Angélique, who in 1707 declared himself to be a "master" carpenter and also, on occasion, worked as a "master surveyor," became, in the later years of his life, a merchant.⁴⁵ The working life of Mathurin Guillet, Elisabeth Guillet's father, followed a similar pattern. Although known in the annales as a wealthy Montreal merchant, he came from a very ordinary background. In 1684, he declared himself as a habitant. However, a subsequent series of transactions raised him to merchant status by 1700.⁴⁶ This upwardly mobile social pattern is also discernable in the working life of Pierre Garreau dit Saint-Onge, father of Marie-Josèphe. In 1694, Garreau appears in the records as a voyageur, and by 1713, he began to contract out crews. By 1720, he declared himself a merchant, married Marie-Anne Mauge, daughter of the distinguished notary, Claude Mauge, in Montreal, and by 1721, he officially appears in the records as a merchant, building a stone house for his family in Montreal.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Gentien Amyot: ANQM, gr. Rageot, Apprentissage en qualité de serrurier de Joseph-Alphonse-Martel...à Gentien Amiot, 8 Feb. 1690; gr. Chambalon, Vente d'une maison, 18 June 1692; gr. Lepailleur, Bail à loyer d'une portion de maison...par Gentien Amiot, Maître serrurier et bourgeois, 17 July 1702.

⁴⁵ Jean-Baptiste Lefebvre-Angers: ANQM, gr. Adhémar, Vente d'un emplacement, 25 Oct. 1701; gr. Adhémar, Procuration, 24 Sept. 1729; gr. Adhémar, Contrat de mariage, 16 Apr. 1731; gr. Adhémar, Obligation, 21 Mar. 1733; gr. Adhémar, Obligation, 22 June 1738.

⁴⁶ Mathurin Guillet: ANQM, gr. Rageot, Compromise entre Mathurin Guillet, habitant, 21 Feb. 1684; gr. Adhémar, Various obligations, 13 Sept. 1693; 22 Sept. 1694; 21 Oct. 1689; 20 Mar. 1700; gr. Raimbault, Accord entre Mathurin Guillet, marchand, 11 Aug. 1704; Sainte Henriette, *Histoire*, 4: 1-2.

⁴⁷ Pierre Garreau dit Saint-Onge: ANQM, gr. Adhémar, Engagement en qualité de voyageur, 18 Sept. 1694; gr. Lepailleur, Various obligations, 24 Sept. 1707; 2 Oct. 1708;

In fact, only two of the twelve superiors throughout the entire period could claim elevated backgrounds: Marguerite Piot de Langloiserie and Marguerite Le Moyne. Marguerite Piot de Langloiserie came from the Canadian elite. Her maternal grandfather, Michel-Sidrac Dugué de Boisbriand, although dying in poverty, was one of the earliest Montreal seigneurs, first of Senneville and then of Île Sainte-Thérèse near Repentigny. He also served, albeit very briefly, as military commander of Montreal. Her father, Charles-Gaspard, seigneur of Île Sainte-Thérèse and Mille-Île also had a distinguished career. Town major of Montreal and then Quebec, with the power to command in the absence of the governor, he was in 1703 - despite the hint of a scandal - made the king's lieutenant at Quebec and received, in 1705, the cross of the order of Saint Louis.⁴⁸

Unlike Marguerite Piot de Langloiserie, Marguerite Le Moyne's kin did not belong to the nobility. However, many of her relatives did pursue distinguished careers as merchants in the fur trade and then eventually became seigneurs. Her uncle, Charles Le Moyne, began his working life in Canada as an indentured servant to the Jesuits among the Hurons in the 1640s, becoming seigneur of Longueuil, Châteauguay, Île-Ronde and Sainte-Hélène, as well as a wealthy merchant who, with Jacques Le Ber, dominated the fur trade.⁴⁹ Moreover, Marguerite's father, Jacques, although between 1658 and 1683

19 Apr. 1710, 28 Apr. 1712; 19 Apr. 1710; 24 Apr. 1712, 3 Aug. 1720; gr. Adhémar, Engagement en qualité de voyageur de Joseph Cusson...à Marie Guertin épouse...de Pierre Garreau, 3 June 1713; gr. Lepailleur, Contrat de mariage, 12 Feb. 1720; gr. David, Obligation, 11 Aug. 1721. Jean-Jacques Lefebvre, "Claude Mauge," in *DCB*, 1: 498.

⁴⁸ W. Stanford Reid, "Michel-Sidrac Dugué de Boisbriand," in *DCB*, 1: 295; Charles-Gaspard Piot de Langloiserie: *DCB*, 1: 526; ANQM, gr. Senet de la Liberté, Vente d'une part de terre, 27 Apr. 1714; gr. Adhémar, Vente d'un emplacement, 22 Mar. 1696; gr. Adhémar, Procuration, 18 Sept. 1700; gr. Genaple de Bellefonds, Vente d'un emplacement, 11 Aug. 1708; gr. Genaple de Bellefonds, Vente du fief et seigneuries de l'Île Ste-Thérèse, 20 Nov. 1706.

⁴⁹ Jean-Jacques Lefebvre, "Charles Le Moyne de Longueuil et de Châteauguay," in *DCB*, 1: 463-65. For a description of his activities in the Montreal fur trade see Louise Dechêne,

periodically declared himself a habitant in addition to a merchant, a church warden and a keeper of the king's warehouse,⁵⁰ by 1689, nine years before Marguerite's first term as a superior, he claimed that he was a seigneur.⁵¹

And finally, numerous families of congrégation superiors, like Marie Raizenne, also possessed strong links to the Church (see appendices 3.6 and 3.7), a phenomenon characteristic of many families in the colony and noted in Louis Pelletier's study, *Le clergé en Nouvelle-France*.⁵² Only one superior of the twelve - Véronique Brunet dit L'Estang - had absolutely no relative at all in any religious institution in the colony; while only three others - Marie Barbier, Marie-Elisabeth Guillet and Marie-Angèlique Lefebvre-Angers - possessed no kin in the community itself, although some of their relations had entered other religious institutions.

However, of the remaining eight superiors, each one could claim at least one or more relative, not only in the congrégation itself, but also in other religious institutions. For example, three of Catherine Charly's sisters became congrégation nuns, while her nephew, André Joseph de Montenon de la Rue was ordained a priest in 1713. Marguerite Piot de Langloiserie possessed only one sibling in the congrégation, but her older sister and her two maternal aunts had entered the Hôtel-Dieu of Montreal, while a cousin became an Ursuline nun at Quebec.

Habitants and Merchants in Seventeenth-Century Montreal (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), 116-17.

⁵⁰ "garde au magasin du roi."

⁵¹ Jacques Le Moyne: ANQM, gr. Basset, Bail à ferme de terre, 29 Sept. 1662; gr. Basset, Bail de terre, 25 Apr. 1663; gr. Basset, Obligation, 20 Jan. 1669; gr. Basset, Engagement, 19 Nov. 1670; gr. Basset, Aveu et dénombrement, 17 Sept. 1676; gr. Maugue, Bail d'un emplacement, 4 Sept. 1683; gr. Maugue, Concession de terre, 1 Dec. 1683; gr. Adhémar, Contrat de mariage entre Zacharie Robutel...et Catherine Le Moyne, fille de Jacques Le Moyne, seigneur, 17 Apr. 1689; gr. Adhémar, Bail à loyer...par Jacques Le Moyne, marchand, 15 June 1699.

⁵² Pelletier, *Le clergé*, 80.

But the linkages of these women pale beside those of Marie-Josèphe Mauge-Garreau, Marie-Anne Thibierge, and Marguerite Le Moyne. A total of six of Marie-Josèphe Mauge-Garreau's relatives could be found both within the congrégation and in other religious institutions in the colony: an aunt, a step-niece and a cousin were all congrégation nuns; another cousin had been a Montreal Hôtel-Dieu soeur, and her two brothers became secular priests. In particular, her brother, Pierre distinguished himself enough to be appointed by Bishop Briand as vicar-general of Trois-Rivières in 1764, an appointment almost coinciding with Marie's first term as superior in 1766.⁵³ Marie-Anne Thibierge's two sisters were also congrégation nuns, but three cousins were Hôtel-Dieu soeurs, and another cousin became a Récollet priest. Moreover, her aunt, Marie-Catherine Thibierge, led a distinguished religious life at the Hôtel-Dieu of Quebec - on a regular basis, she was re-elected as this institution's mother superior until her death in 1757.⁵⁴

Marguerite Le Moyne's connections within the Church, however, were the most extensive: her cousins, Pierre and Jeanne Le Ber, as we have seen in chapter two, were renowned for their generosity and close links to the community. Moreover, these links to the Church were augmented by her two sisters and a niece in the congrégation, and two step-nieces, one at the Hôpital-General and the other with the Ursulines at Quebec.

IV. A Separate Breed

If geographical location, social background and connections within the Church did not make a superior, what qualities distinguished a superior from the other congrégation soeurs - the majority - who spent their entire existences either teaching in the missions or at the mother house or as labouring soeurs - far removed from the higher administrative

⁵³ Raymond Douville, "Pierre Garreau dit Saint-Onge," *DCB*, 4: 287.

⁵⁴ Jean-Pierre Asselin, "Marie-Catherine Thibierge," *ibid.*, 3: 625.

echelons of this institution? The following section intends to examine the working lives of the twelve superiors in order to determine what qualities set these women apart from the rest of the community.

To begin with, from the very inception of their religious lives, these women were distinct. For one, they entered religion at an age far younger than the average congrégation soeur (see table 3.7). While it can be argued that Marie Barbier, Marguerite Le Moyne, Catherine Charly and Marguerite Trottier entered the congrégation at a much earlier age than the norm (14 years) due to the fact that at the time of their profession there were no constitutional stipulations in place regulating a novice's age,⁵⁵ this does not explain Marie-Angélique Lefebvre-Anger's entrance at the age of just sixteen years in 1726, as well as the consistently earlier age of the remaining superiors (17.4 years).

Table 3.7 - Congrégation de Notre-Dame Superiors, 1693-1796 : Age at Entry

Superiors ^a	16.4
1790 Soeurs ^b	19.4
pre-1766 Soeurs ^c	19.8

^a Compiled from App. 3.1, Congrégation de Notre-Dame Superiors, 1693-1796.

^b Compiled from App. 3.4, Congrégation de Notre-Dame Professed Nuns, 1790.

^c Pelletier, *Le clergé*, 69.

Why then did these women enter the religious life at such a young age?⁵⁶ On the one hand, external factors could have contributed to this decision. Many of these women

⁵⁵ AAM, 525.101, 698-1, Réglemens, art. 1: 4 stipulate that a girl had to be at least sixteen years old to enter the institution.

⁵⁶ Works exploring the question as to why women entered convents include: Elizabeth Rapley, "Women and the Religious Vocation in Seventeenth-Century France," *French Historical Studies* 18 (1994): 613-31; P. Renée Baernstein, In a Widow's Habit: Women Between Convent and Family in Sixteenth-Century Milan, *Sixteenth-Century Journal*, 25 (1994): 787-807; Barbara Diefendorf, "Give Us Back Our Children," *Journal of Modern History* 68 (1996): 265-307; Joanne Baker, "Female Monasticism and Family Strategy: The Guises and Saint Pierre de Reims," *Sixteenth-Century Journal* 28 (1997):

came from areas where congrégation schools were in place, and probably would have attended them. Marta Danylewycz, for example, has noted how, in the nineteenth century, the congrégation soeurs utilized the classroom as a focal point for recruitment, and there is no reason to believe that this practice did not originate in an earlier period.⁵⁷ Perhaps in these classrooms, their teachers may have noticed and cultivated the fledgling intelligence of these girls, their leadership qualities, and, in turn, encouraged them to choose the religious life. On the other hand, however, other factors integral to these individuals may have been more crucial to a decision made perhaps against the wishes of their families, their friends, their siblings. Could it be that these individuals possessed strong wills, characters, single-minded self-knowledge and a determination to fulfil a calling? The lives of the saints are replete with tales of young head-strong girls, disobeying the wishes of their parents, often running away to pursue spiritual inclinations - saints like Teresa of Avila, Catherine of Siena, and Catherine of Genoa - archetypal patterns long established within church tradition, accessible to any like-minded girl to read and follow.⁵⁸

Once these girls professed as nuns, like any other teaching soeur, they would have been sent out into the missions, where many of these future superiors began to distinguish

1091-1108; Jutta Gisela Sperling, *Convents and the Body Politic in Renaissance Venice* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000).

⁵⁷ See Danylewycz, *Taking the Veil*, 116-18 for a discussion of recruiting patterns among the CND in the nineteenth century.

⁵⁸ For example, Saint Teresa of Avila left home with her brother, Rodrigo, at the age of seven with the intention of going to Moorish territory to be beheaded for Christ. An uncle interceded, but only a few years later she reappears, this time running away to enter the Carmelite Monastery of the Incarnation of Avila. O. Steggink, "Saint Teresa of Avila," *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 13: 1014. Saint Catherine of Genoa appears to have followed a similar path (P.L. Hug, "St. Catherine of Genoa," *ibid.*, 3: 254-5). At the age of thirteen she attempted unsuccessfully to enter the religious life, and was subsequently married off to a "wayward self-indulgent" man before her religious transformation. Saint Catherine of Siena's rebellious nature is also noteworthy in this context: at the age of seven she vowed her virginity to Christ and cut off her hair when her mother urged her to care for her appearance with a view to marriage (*ibid.*, 3: 259).

themselves. We have seen how, at the age of thirty, Marie Raizenne was recalled to the mother house from the Sainte-Famille mission, which she had been delegated to re-establish, and was elected to the administrative council, serving obviously with some impressive success until 1769, when she was sent to rescue the Lower Town school in Quebec.⁵⁹ Marie Barbier, like Marie Raizenne, in 1685 at only twenty-two years old, also became known for her work in the missions as an exemplary teacher of the young girls of the Sainte-Famille community. About this time, she also distinguished herself for her intense spirituality, obvious from the beginning of her life as a nun, but which became particularly pronounced at the Lower Town mission from 1687-91.⁶⁰ Catherine Charly worked at this same Lower Town mission, not merely as a teaching soeur, but as an assistant to the mission's superior, at least before she had reached the age of thirty-six.⁶¹ And Marguerite Trottier very early in her working life, proved to be a woman of diverse talents. A missionary at Château Richer in 1694 at the age of sixteen, she returned to the community in 1705 to become its dépositaire when she was only twenty-seven, and remained in this position for twelve years until her election in 1722. As the main manager of the convent's finances, she also demonstrated editorial skills, collecting and transmitting information to Glandelet for his life of Marguerite Bourgeoys.⁶² This facility with finances, by the way, was not exceptional to Soeur Trottier: at least two other superiors besides Marie Raizenne and Marguerite Trottier - Marie-Elisabeth Guillet and

⁵⁹ See above.

⁶⁰ ASSP, ms. 1233, *Mémoires sur la vie de la soeur de l'assomption* recueillis par Mr Glandelet, edited by Étienne de Montgolfier, 22, 26, 31-49, For a more detailed examination of Marie Barbier's spirituality see chapter six.

⁶¹ Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 1: 329, 233.

⁶² Marguerite Trottier, *ibid.*, 4: 124; 3: 205. For an outline of her administrative life see appendix 3.8. Charles de Glandelet, *Life of Sister Marguerite Bourgeoys*, translated by Florence Quigley, CND (Montreal: CND, 1994).

Marguerite Piot de Langloiserie - managed the community's finances for at least a part of their working lives before their first elections (see appendix 3.8).⁶³

Although no sources remain indicative of the formative working records of the remaining superiors, it is clear that ten of these women had distinguished themselves enough in their early working lives to serve on the institution's administrative council before their first elections (see appendix 3.8). Only Marguerite Amyot and Marguerite Trottier do not appear in any record as council members before their elections.

Superiors spent varying periods in these administrative positions. For example, unlike Marie Raizenne, some could not claim a full six years experience in administration before their elections. Marie Barbier, for example, returned from the Lower Town mission in 1692 to become Marguerite Bourgeoys's assistant for only one year before her election in the subsequent year. Véronique Brunet dit L'Estang, also acted as assistant to Marie-Josèphe Maugue-Garreau for only one year before her first term as superior in 1772, while Marie-Elisabeth Guillet served as Marguerite Le Moyne's assistant for only two years before becoming superior in 1734.

Most future superiors, however, served longer stints on council, for this administrative experience must have been not only an apprenticeship, but also a testing ground for the superiorship. Marie-Josèphe Maugue-Garreau spent three years on council before her election; Marie-Anne Thibierge, Marie-Angèlique Lefebvre-Angers and Marguerite Le Moyne served four years; while Marguerite Piot de Langloiserie acted as mistress of novices for five years, subsequently holding down the position of *dépositaire*

⁶³ Officially, however, the community's *dépositaire* was not a council member and was not involved in council decisions unless simultaneously elected to that position. For more details on the administrative structure of the institution, see chapter 4.

for another six years before her election in 1751. And finally, Catherine Charly spent a full nine years on council in diverse positions before her first election in 1708.

Obviously, however, all council members did not necessarily become superiors. Marie-Ursule Adhémar de Lantagnac, Soeur Sainte-Claire, for example, served on council for eleven years of her working life, and was never elected superior; nor was Catherine Dugast for all of her twenty-four years either on this administrative body, or serving as the community's *dépositaire*.⁶⁴ The true difference between these superiors, mission soeurs and council members was, of course, the election - and it was never a reward for service in one's fading days. Rather, it occurred almost invariably at the prime of an individual's life - the average age for a first superiorship was forty-six - with work experience in the missions, on the administrative council firmly behind and with healthy productive days ahead. Eight of the twelve superiors were in their forties on their first election: only Marie Barbier and Marguerite Le Moyne were significantly younger - Marie Barbier was not even thirty years old, Marguerite Le Moyne thirty-six; while Marie-Anne Thibierge and Marguerite Amyot were both well over fifty at the time of their first elections to the position.

That these individuals were women of some talent becomes even more obvious the more their subsequent working lives are examined. All superiors were re-elected to the position at some point during their lives (see appendix 3.8). In fact, with the exception of Catherine Charly, whose first superiorship lasted four years, from 1708-1712, every

⁶⁴ Marie-Ursule Adhémar de Lantagnac: Sainte Henriette, *Histoire*, 5: 194-5; ACND, 3A/02, Registre des Dépenses et recettes générales, 1753-1793: 1776-1783, 1785-6, 1787-8; ANQM, gr. Descheneaux, 1 Feb. 1785, 4 May 1787, 4 May 1789; 22 12 1788. For her profile see appendix 7. Catherine Dugast: ACND, 3A/02, Registre des Dépenses et recettes générales, 1753-1793: 1753-7, 1762-8, 1772-84; Sainte Henriette, *Histoire*, 5:129-30, 121-2, 138, 176; ANQM, gr. Panet de Méru, 8 Aug. 1769, 20 Dec. 1769. For her profile see appendix 7.

superior held the position for at least an initial two consecutive terms and, in Marguerite Le Moyne's case even more - ten years on her first election, six for her second and seven for her final stint as superior.⁶⁵ However, such a short first term in Charly's case, appears not to have been a reflection of her performance: she was re-elected in 1717, after serving one year as an assistant.

Four other superiors, like Marie Raizenne, returned to the helm and were re-elected after their first superiorship and a brief respite, during which time they invariably served on the community's council. This was true of Catherine Charly, as already pointed out, as well as Marguerite Piot de Langloiserie, Véronique Brunet dit L'Etang and Marguerite Le Moyne. The latter superior is most worthy of mention: for twenty-eight years, from 1698 right until 1734, she intermittently was elected superior, serving in between these superiorships either as assistant or mistress of novices.

Constitutional stipulations determined the length of a superiorship and no woman, without the permission of the bishop, could remain in the position for more than twelve years.⁶⁶ However, after they had handed over the keys and the seal of the community to their successors, their working lives were another measure of their talent, for no congrégation soeur was ever retired from administrative life immediately after her final term as superior (see appendix 3.8). Every single one - with the exception of Catherine Charly, who died while in office in 1719, and Marie-Elisabeth Guillet who passed away a few months subsequent to the end of her superiorship in 1739 - remained in active administrative positions, some even to the final days of their lives. Marguerite Amyot served for two years as a councillor until her death in 1747; Marie-Angèlique Lefebvre-

⁶⁵ The normal length of one term was three years. See AAM, 525.101, 698-1, Réglemens, art. 34: 76.

⁶⁶ Ibid., art. 34 : 76, 78.

Angers appears on council until passing away in 1766; while Marie-Anne Thibierge acted as an assistant to Marguerite Piot de Langloiserie for three years before her death in 1757.

To be sure, some superiors' stints on council after their final terms as superior proved brief, and often for no apparent reason. This was true of Marie Raizenne - she remained on council for only three recorded years after the end of her final term in 1796 and her death in 1811. Was she too ill or fatigued to continue holding responsible positions? The sources are silent concerning this. On the other hand, however, Marguerite Le Moyne's brief four years on council after her final term is perhaps more easily explained: they followed a very long working life in the upper administrative echelons of the community. Did she step down from the council and her numerous years in administration for a much-needed rest, seven years before her death in 1746? And finally, other superiors whose terms on council were brief, applied their talents to other areas. Marguerite Trottier, for example, sat on council for only one year after her superiorship. But, at the request of Bishop Dosquet, she was sent to rescue the failing Louisbourg mission.⁶⁷ And finally, Véronique Brunet dit L'Estang acted as councillor for only three years from 1790-3 after her final term, until she passed away in 1810. However, in the intervening period, she was renowned for her assistance of the community's domestics, and for her work promoting the education of poor girls.⁶⁸

The remaining three superiors experienced long and distinguished years on council after their final terms as superior (see appendix 3.8). Marguerite Piot de

⁶⁷ Andrée Désilets, "Marguerite Trottier," *DCB*, 3:629. "je crois, Monsieur,...que pour rendre solide l'établissement qu'on a en vue, il faut envoyer celle des Soeurs qui passe pour avoir plus de mérite. J'avais jetté les yeux sur la Soeur Trottier de Saint-Joseph..." Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire* 4: 125, Letter of Bishop Dosquet, n.d.

⁶⁸ Andrée Désilets, "Véronique Brunet dit L'Estang," *DCB*, 5: 117-18; Sainte Henriette, *Histoire*, 6: 205.

Langloiserie served on council for nine years, while Marie-Josèphe Mauge-Garreau acted as either mistress of novices or counsellor for thirteen years, until her death in 1785. But no one could match Marie Barbier's record of post-superiorship administrative service. This mystic's final term as superior ended in 1698. However, she was elected as either counsellor or assistant for at least eighteen years until 1731, eight years before her death in 1739.

The distinctive qualities of these superiors persisted right until their deaths, for every one of these women proved to live longer than the average congrégation soeur (see table 3.8), and in fact, outlived their peers in other religious institutions in the colony between 1693 and 1764 (see table 3.9). Marie Raizenne and Véronique Brunet-L'Estang (in the 1790 group) were over seventy when they died. Moreover, the ten superiors who either were not in the convent in 1790 or who died before 1766 all surpassed the fifty-year mark. In fact four - Marguerite Amyot, Marie Barbier, Marguerite Piot de Langloiserie and Marguerite Le Moyne - actually lived beyond seventy years, while Marie-Josèphe Mauge-Garreau, Marguerite Trottier and Marie-Anne Thibierge were all in their sixties when they passed away. Only Catherine Charly, Marie-Elisabeth Guillet and Marie-Angèlique Lefebvre-Angers were in their fifties when they died.

Table 3.8 - Congrégation de Notre-Dame Soeurs and Superiors, 1693-1796: Average Age at Death

	Age at Death
Pre-1666 Superiors ^a	69
Pre-1766 soeurs ^b	50.4
1790 Superiors ^c	80.08
1790 soeurs ^d (1766-1790)	70

^a Compiled from App. 3.1, Congrégation de Notre-Dame Superiors, 1693-1796

^b Pelletier, *Le clergé*, 100.

^c Compiled from App. 3.1. Refers to superiors between 1766 and 1790.

^d Compiled from App. 3.4, Congrégation de Notre-Dame Soeurs, 1790. Refers to soeurs in the convent, 1790.

Table 3.9 Other Female Religious Institutions : Average Age at Death, 1693-1764^a

Hôpital-Général	54.8
Hôtel-Dieu	49.5
Ursulines	54.7

^a Micheline D'Allaire, *L'Hôpital-Général de Québec, 1692-1764* (Montréal : Fides, 1971), 141.

How can this longevity be interpreted? Can we conclude from it that these women, in addition to being endowed with proven talent, must have been stronger, more resilient than the average congrégation soeur: built to shoulder heavy burdens, built to endure?

V. Conclusion

On the surface, at least, a superior of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame proved to be a rather ordinary individual, barely distinguishable from the other soeurs who entered the institution throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. To be sure, one could conclude from this that many of these women were elected as superior or as administrators and remained in these positions for such a lengthy period of time because, quite simply, no one else wanted to do the job. However, even if this were the case, and the following chapter shall demonstrate that indeed the superiorship was viewed as a burden, a closer examination of these women as individuals and as a group reveals that they did, in fact, possess exceptional characteristics. The situation challenges notions of an ancien regime in which wealth, patronage and connections ruled the day, and makes way, in this particular situation at least, for the possibility that a person's individual qualities mattered. Moreover, it also advances our understanding of the nature of the institution's relationships with external society as explored in chapter two, and establishes

the critical and sustaining role of strong internal management to the survival of an institution by an individual capable of bearing the weight of this "pesante charge."

Chapter Four : "La pesante charge"

I. Introduction

On the surface, at least, the correspondence of Marie-Josèphe Maugue-Garreau, Soeur de l'Assomption, the tenth mother superior of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame from 1766 to 1772, would not lead anyone to believe that the position of superior of the institute was a coveted prize. More than once in her letters to Bishop Briand, she referred to the superiorship as either "a heavy burden,"¹ or "a load."² Elected in 1766, by 1768, she would write: "I eagerly await the elections to be relieved of this heavy burden that I carry upon my shoulders."³

Some historians, however, often have viewed the position of a nun in a very different light than characterized by the superiors themselves. Marta Danylewycz, for example, in her ground-breaking 1987 work, *Taking the Veil*, placed the vocation of a nineteenth-century nun in what was at that time, a new and interesting perspective. For Danylewycz, being a nun was not an act of retreat from the world. Rather, the convent

¹ "une Si pesante charge." AAM, 525.101, 766-6, Marie-Josèphe Maugue-Garreau to Bishop Briand, 28 Oct. 1766. André Vachon, "Jean-Olivier Briand," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979), 4: 95-102. Bishop Briand (1715-1794) was bishop of Quebec from 1766 to 1784.

² "un fardeau." AAM, 525.101, 766-2, 23 July 1766.

³ "J'attends avec Empressement Les Elections pour être déchargée de La pesante charge que J'ai Sur Les Epaules." Ibid., 525.101, 768-4, 25 Oct. 1768. Marie-Josèphe was not the first congrégation sister to express such sentiments. In 1723, Marguerite Trottier, believing that she was not qualified, informed Bishop Saint-Vallier that she wished to be discharged from the position. Bishop Saint Vallier, however, quickly passed over her hesitations: "It is for the providence of God to place in that position those whom he has destined for it, and for us to submit." ("C'est à la providence de Dieu à mettre dans cet emploi celle qu'elle y a destinée, et à nous y soumettre.") Bishop Saint-Vallier to Soeur Saint-Joseph, 12 January 1723, in Soeur Sainte Henriette, *Histoire de la Congrégation de Notre Dame* (Montréal: Congrégation de Notre-Dame, 1910-13), 3: 325.

And Marie-Josèphe would not be the last superior to express such sentiments. In 1793, Marie-Raizenne referred to the superiorship as a "tiresome...burden" (un pénible...fardeau). AAM, 525.101, 793-2, Marie Raizenne to Bishop Hubert, 23 July 1793.

was a place where a woman encountered a whole range of opportunities denied to her outside of the particular institution she had chosen to enter, and offered women an alternative to marriage. It was, she maintained, a "lifelong career within a community," able "to create its own sense of rank, status and division of labour." Turning to a description of the life of those who reached the higher echelons, in general, and the mother superior, in particular, Danylewycz waxed no less effusive: the convent allowed women and members of the lower orders to rise to positions of power and "prestige" unmatched in the secular society of nineteenth-century Quebec, "to enjoy certain political and economic privileges" as a "reward" for being pious and capable.⁴

Danylewycz's idealistic characterization of the life of a nineteenth-century congrégation nun, in general, and a superior, in particular, would be echoed in certain subsequent, and often equally positive interpretations of religious women in other centuries. Elizabeth Rapley adopted Danylewycz's idealistic view in her 1990 examination of the *dévotés* in seventeenth-century France, and concluded that the subject of her study, the *filles seculières*, were women, engaged in a "professional life, consecrated to social action", and that their work, was "meritorious and satisfying."⁵

This research, emphasizing as it does the positive dimensions of the religious life, seemed to advance an interpretation of the historical nun as a nascent feminist, engaged in a full-fledged "modern" occupation."⁶ Subsequent historical interpretations would,

⁴ Marta Danylewycz, *Taking the Veil: An Alternative to Marriage, Motherhood and Spinsterhood in Quebec, 1840-1920* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987), 106, 100.

⁵ Elizabeth Rapley, *The Dévotes: Women and Church in Seventeenth-Century France* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990), 194.

⁶ Gerda Lerner, *The Creation of Feminist Consciousness: From the Middle Ages to Eighteen-Seventy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), has attempted to trace the existence of a "feminist" consciousness throughout history, and concluded that until

however, somewhat mitigate this view. In 1995, Micheline Dumont concluded that, while the religious life resembled feminism, in that both were a way to pursue individual development, the two entities were, although parallel in their origins and evolution, separate and distinct.⁷ As well, Nicole Laurin and Danielle Juteau, in their 1997 study of religious institutions in the twentieth century within the wider context of secular working women, affirmed the veracity of the distinct nature of the religious life: according to their study, religious women could not be compared to other types of female workers, for their endeavours were devoted to the glory of God, a conception endowing a specific sense to feminine work. In the end, they concluded that the religious life was at once both an occupation and a vocation.⁸ In the same year, Patricia Simpson, in her biography of Marguerite Bourgeoys, re-asserted a traditional view of the religious life. For Simpson, the soeurs of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame in the seventeenth century, under the leadership of Marguerite Bourgeoys, had strictly devoted their lives to God by dedicating themselves to imitating the perfect life of the Virgin Mary in this world.⁹

With the above studies serving as a background, and taking into account the laments of Marie-Josèphe to her bishop, this chapter intends to consider the eighteenth-century convent, focussing, in particular, upon the superiorship of Marie-Josèphe

women perceived themselves as a distinct group who had suffered injustice, this so-called "feminist consciousness" did not exist.

⁷ Micheleine Dumont, *Les religieuses sont-elles féministes?* (Montréal: Éditions Bellarmin, 1995), 8, 9, 183. See also Dumont's most recent historiographical work focussing on the broader issue of writing women's history, *Découvrir la mémoire des femmes: Une historienne face à l'histoire des femmes* (Montréal: éditions du remue-ménage, 2001).

⁸ Nicole Laurin and Danielle Juteau, *Un métier et une vocation: Le travail des religieuses au Québec de 1901 à 1971* (Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1997), 3, 11, 162.

⁹ Patricia Simpson, *Marguerite Bourgeoys and Montreal, 1640-1665* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997).

Maugue-Garreau. It will examine, in detail, the precise nature of her duties¹⁰ with two purposes in mind. The first intends to comprehend the nature of her position within its immediate and wider historical context. The second attempts to understand the nature of her laments, asking: were they a sincere reflection of her position? Or were they mere rhetoric, fashioned to impress the bishop with her deep-seated modesty and spirituality, an attempt to appear humble and lowly before him, her superior, by at least outwardly adhering to the precepts of an institute which demanded "a renunciation of all of the standards of the world?"¹¹

II. The Mother Superior

"Comme à leur mère"¹²

On the surface, at least, Marie-Josèphe's position as mother superior of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame appears somewhat more impressive than any existence she may well have led had she not made the decision to enter the religious life in 1738 at the age of eighteen (see appendix 4.1). This was a decision, by the way, as discussed in the introduction, that was made by increasingly fewer women in eighteenth century, and the situation would not change as the century advanced.¹³ Given that most women throughout

¹⁰ Lina Eckenstein's *Women Under Monasticism: Chapters on Saint-Lore and Convent Life A.D. 500-A.D.1500* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1896) remains a classic source for anyone searching for a detailed description of convent life. For a much more recent study, see Madeleine Pelner Cosman, *Women at Work in Medieval Europe* (New York: Facts on File Inc., 2000), especially chapter three: "Lady Bosses: Ruler of Manors and Monasteries," where she describes the duties of a superior strictly from a constitutional point of view.

¹¹ Sister Mary Virginia Cotter, CND, trans., *The Writings of Marguerite Bourgeoys* (Montreal: Congrégation de Notre-Dame, 1976), 5.

¹² AAM, 525.101, 698-1, Réglemens des Soeurs Seculières de la Congrégation de Notre-Dame établie à Ville-Marie pour honorer la très Ste Vierge et imiter ses vertus, art. 34 : 82.

¹³ Louis Pelletier, in *Le clergé en Nouvelle-France: Étude démographique et répertoire biographique* (Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1993), 21-30 discusses

this period married in their early twenties, Marie-Josèphe, if she had not entered the convent, would have still been living with her parents in the family home, and probably would have continued to do so for a number of years.¹⁴ During this time, a marriage would have been arranged for her by her parents, undoubtedly to an individual from her own social group.¹⁵ Moreover, it probably would have been a favourable one, due to certain social advantages, pointed out in the previous chapter, that she would have enjoyed, stemming, on the one hand, from her maternal grandfather, Claude Mauge, the Montreal notary,¹⁶ and, on the other, from her father's position as a prosperous Montreal merchant. As we have seen in chapter three, her father, Pierre Garreau, had worked his way up in the world, advancing from a humble voyageur, to an individual who could finance his own excursions to the *pays d'en haut*. These excursions enabled him to amass a certain amount of money, to marry well and eventually to build a solid stone house on Rue Saint-Jean-Baptiste in Montreal.¹⁷ Moreover, this prestigious position would only

the issue of decline in the number of individuals in both male and female religious institutions.

¹⁴ Demographer Hubert Charbonneau, *La vie et mort de nos ancêtres* (Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1975), 165, estimated that between 1700 and 1729, half of the brides in New France were older than twenty-two. José Igartua in "Le comportement démographique des marchands de Montréal vers 1760," *Revue d'histoire de l'amérique française* (dec.1979), 432, estimated that at this period, merchants and their wives married later than the rest of the population - males were over thirty, while females were twenty-five.

¹⁵ The Clio Collective, *Quebec Women: A History*, translated by Roger Gannon and Rosalind Gill (Toronto: The Women's Press, 1987), 65.

¹⁶ Jean-Jacques Lefebvre, "Claude Mauge," *DCB*, 1: 498.

¹⁷ Andrée Désilets, "Marie-Josèphe," *ibid.*, 4: 529. Pierre Gareau Saint-Onge: ANQM, gr. Adhémar, Engagement, 19 Sept. 1694; gr. Lepailleur, obligations, 24 Sept. 1707, 2 Oct. 1708, 19 Apr. 1710, 24 Apr. 1712, 24 May 1717, 03 Aug. 1720; gr. Lepailleur, contrat de mariage, 12 Feb. 1720; gr. J. David, obligation, 11 Aug. 1721.

have been enhanced as her life progressed, particularly when her brother, Pierre, a secular priest, was appointed to the position of vicar-general of Trois-Rivières in 1766.¹⁸

However, as advantageous as any prospective marriage may have been, Marie-Josèphe would have moved into a situation where her husband, as the head of the household, by the stipulations of the Coutume de Paris, would have controlled absolutely all of the family assets that were held in common. Within these circumstances, she could take neither legal action, nor could she start her own business. Year after year, in addition to her household duties, she would have given birth to a number of children at regular intervals. Moreover, if she did not succumb to an early death due to childbirth or pregnancy, she may have worked in the family enterprise, possibly even acting, in her husband's absence, as his authorized representative, and only the event of her husband's death would break this cycle. As a widow, no longer economically and legally dependent upon her spouse, she would have found herself in a comparatively privileged and legally protected situation, able to fully control the family assets, perhaps even running a small business, or a more solid enterprise, as that managed by the widow Marie-Anne Barbel between 1745 and 1781.¹⁹

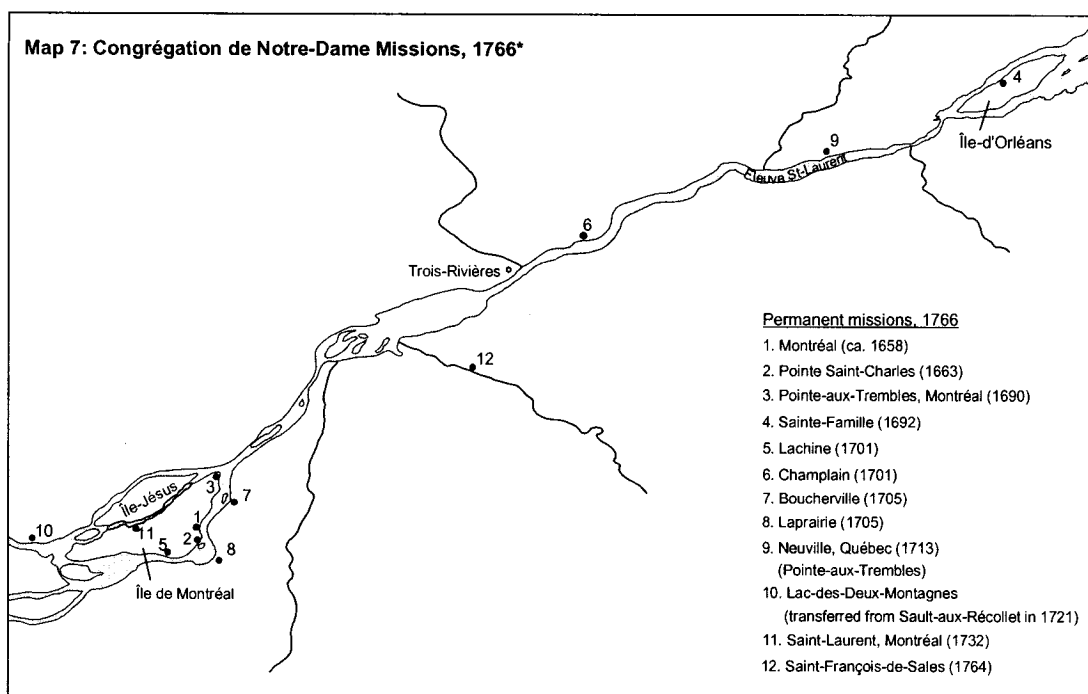
¹⁸ Raymond Douville, "Pierre Garreau dit Saint-Onge," *DCB*, 4: 287.

¹⁹ Josette Brun, "Le veuvage en Nouvelle-France: genre, dynamique familiale et stratégies de survie dans deux villes coloniales du XVII^e siècle, Québec et Louisbourg," Ph.D. dissertation, Université de Montréal, November 2000. Kathryn A. Young's article, "...sauf Les perils et fortunes de la mer': Merchant Women in New France and the French Transatlantic Trade, 1713-1746," in *Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women's History*, edited by Veronica Strong-Boag, Mona Gleason and Adele Perry (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2002), discusses merchant women and how widowhood, spinsterhood and absent husbands could provide business opportunities. For a good discussion of the Coutume de Paris, see Louise Dechêne, *Habitants and Merchants in Seventeenth-Century Montreal*, translated by Liana Vardi (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), 240-4. Allan Greer has also treated the Coutume de Paris in *Peasant, Lord and Merchant: Rural Society in Three Quebec Parishes, 1740-1840* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), 53-7, and points out certain advantages for

Compared to this possible matrimonial fate then, Marie-Josèphe's religious life, initially as a nun and then as mother superior, was, indeed, more impressive. Her entry into the congrégation in 1738 at the age of eighteen, enabled her, in two short years, to move from a postulant, to a novice, to a fully professed nun and teacher of the community's young girls. By 1763, at the age of forty-three, she held a position on the community's council, participating in important congrégation decisions. In 1766, at the age of forty-six, she was elected to the superiorship, the highest position within the congrégation,²⁰ in an institution which, by this time, could claim, in addition to the Montreal school, twelve teaching missions spread throughout the colony's three districts (see map 7).

women. Lilianne Plamondon, "Une femme d'affaires en Nouvelle-France: Marie-Anne Barbel, veuve Fornel," *Revue d'histoire de l'amérique française*, 31, 1 (sept. 1977): 165-86, reconstructs the business dealings of this individual. Natalie Davis, in "City Women and Religious Change," and "Women on Top," in *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975), mitigates the portrait of the powerless woman in pre-industrial Europe, providing amusing and important insights into her existence. However, she too concedes that "women suffered for their powerlessness in both Catholic and Protestant lands in the late sixteenth to eighteenth centuries as changes in marriage laws restricted the freedom of wives even further..." Ibid., "City Women," 94.

²⁰ Désilets, "Marie-Josèphe," *DCB* 4:529; ACND, 3A/02, *Registre des Dépenses et recettes générales*, 1763-66.



Sources: 1: Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 1: 55-6, gr. Basset, Donation, 22 Jan. 1658; 2: *ibid.*, 1: 327; 3: *ibid.*, 1: 275; 4: *ibid.*, 1: 295, ANQM, gr. Chambalon, Donation, 5 Sept. 1692; 5: Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 1: 281, 3:42-4, ANQM, gr. Pottier, Donation, 3 Dec. 1701; 6: Sainte-Henriette, 3: 46, ANQM, gr. Adhémar, Donation, 6 Oct. 1701; 7: ANQM, gr. Tailhandier, Concession d'un emplacement, 7 Mar. 1705; 8: Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 3: 56; 9: *Ibid.*, 3: 232, ANQM, Dubreuil, Donation, 5 Oct. 1713; 10: Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 3: 311; 11: *Ibid.*, 4: 35; 12: *Ibid.*, 5: 39, ANQM, gr. Lévesque, 13 May 1764.

What responsibilities did this position entail? The mother superior of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame was the keeper of the community's keys, "mère" to the women in her charge, responsible for the overall management of it.²¹ She presided over the community's administrative bodies, the council and the assembly at large (see fig. 2.1, "Administrative Structure of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame"), and, in this capacity, she engineered major financial and administrative decisions touching upon, not only the day-to-day operations of the community, but also the very survival of the institution itself.²² As mother superior, she possessed many privileges and powers accorded to no one else - extending from the more mundane details of every day life, such as the ability to enjoy the right to absolute privacy within her bed chamber (the other soeurs were required to

²¹ AAM, 525.101, 698-1, Réglemens, art.6:9-13.

²² *Ibid.*, art.32:66-73; art.26:53-5.

keep their doors open and to permit her to enter their rooms at any time),²³ to the larger and more impressive liberty to correspond, on a regular basis, with the major political and religious figures of the day, such as Governor Guy Carlton²⁴ and Bishop Briand. But her connections also extended beyond the colony in North America to the European continent and the Abbé l'Isle Dieu,²⁵ the aging but venerable, Parisian protector of the colonial Church's overseas investments,²⁶

Within the framework of this institution, it was Marie-Josèphe who set the daily tone of the community, ensuring that the rhythm of the convent, as stipulated by the constitution, was upheld: that prayers, which she invariably led, were said at the proper times and intervals - in the morning, in the afternoon, and the evening; that duties were attended to at the designated time, all enshrined in the stipulated mandatory silences and subdued atmosphere appropriate to convent life.²⁷

The congrégation's constitutional position also endowed Marie-Josèphe with considerable responsibility and power over the very lives of the women within the

²³ Ibid., art. 11:23.

²⁴ G.P. Browne, "Guy Carlton," *DCB*, 5: 141-54. Guy Carlton, the first Baron Dorchester (1724-1772), was a British army officer and colonial administrator. In 1766, he was named "Lieutenant Governor and Administrator" of Quebec, replacing Governor James Murray. He continued in this position until 1778, when he was succeeded by Frederick Haldimand.

²⁵ Segments of the abbé's correspondence can be found in *Rapport de L'archiviste de la province de Québec* (Québec: Imprimeur de Sa Majesté Le Roi, 1935-8). They provide a good insight into this individual's role in the colonial and post-colonial Church.

²⁶ See, for example, her correspondence to Guy Carlton in Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 5:212; AAM, 525.101, 766-1-770-2, Marie-Josèphe to Briand, 1766-72; Isle-Dieu to Marie-Josèphe, in *Histoire*, 5:112, 118, 120, 142, 162, 181, 186. Correspondence concerning the institution's investments in France runs throughout the entire eighteenth century. See Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, vols. 2-7.

The other soeurs were permitted to correspond privately with the bishop, their confessors and the superiors of the institute, on matters touching upon their needs and their troubles, without consulting the superior. AAM, 525.101, 698-1, *Règlements*, art.6:11.

²⁷ AAM, 525.101, 698-1, *Règlements*, art.15: 32-6; art.13: 27-30.

convent itself, a charge leaving few aspects of the soeurs' existences untouched. Although the institution's priests were in sole charge of distributing the sacrament through the ritual of the mass, Marie-Josèphe did enjoy some authority over the spiritual development of the nuns entrusted to her. Some of this power would have been shared with the community's confessor. With him she would make decisions regulating the spiritual life of the nuns for whom she was responsible: together they would determine the frequency of their communion, the occurrence and severity of their bodily mortifications, and the time and the length of their retreats.²⁸ Moreover, if the confessor imposed any penitence upon a soeur contravening the rules of the convent or interfering with her work, it was within her purview to settle the issue with the soeur, and perhaps also with the confessor himself.²⁹

However, in other less spiritual, but more practical areas, she possessed even more authority. For example, she alone ensured that the ill were attended to, that the dead received the appropriate rituals.³⁰ She could enter the bedchambers of the healthy nuns, to inspect them and make certain that no item unstipulated by the constitution was inside.³¹ She settled daily quarrels and discouraged the development of unfavourable relationships and factions.³² She also presided over meetings, some of which took the form of "small conferences" on "pious matters," held every fifteen days. Throughout these discussions, it was her responsibility to encourage the soeurs to speak their minds, to mete out punishment to those who would laugh or mock the confessions of their fellow soeurs, ordering the offending individuals to bend before her on their knees in humble

²⁸ Ibid., art.18: 38-42; art. 19: 42.

²⁹ Ibid., art.17: 38.

³⁰ Ibid., art. 12: 25-6.

³¹ Ibid., art. 11: 23.

³² Ibid., art. 11 : 22, 23.

and penitent submission, not permitting them to rise until she issued a sign.³³ She also presided over another type of assembly, the *chapitre des fautes*, which occurred every Friday. These meetings would begin in the community's chapel with prayers that would end with a moment of silence. At this time, the soeurs would ask God for the "grace to admit to their faults with all humility and sincerity possible."³⁴ Then, with the permission of the superior, the nuns would confess to their own faults, and also point out those of others, while the superior was "particularly obliged to reprimand them with force and charity for the lesser faults, and to issue remedies and penitences that she will judge most useful for the good of the community and the particular perfection of the soeurs."³⁵

According to the institution's constitution, there was very little these women could do on their own, without the approval of the superior, for, as well as poverty, chastity, and the teaching of young girls, the rule of obedience was one of their sacred vows.³⁶ It would, therefore, be to her that the soeurs would turn to receive consent to absent themselves from religious rituals and daily tasks, to account for their actions - for their behaviour outside of the convent, on an errand or a local visit, for their comportment in the parloir³⁷ with a visitor whom only the superior could approve, and who could only be received when accompanied by a soeur the superior herself had chosen.³⁸

³³ Ibid., art. 20 : 43.

³⁴ "la grace de s'accuser de leurs fautes avec toute l'humilité et la sincérité possible." Ibid., art.22: 45.

³⁵ "elle est dans l'obligation très particulière de les reprendre avec force et avec charité dans les moindres fautes, et d'y appliquer les remedes et les pénitences qu'elle jugera les plus utiles au bien...de la Communauté, et à la perfection particulière des Soeurs." Ibid.

³⁶ Cotter, *Writings*, 89. AAM, 525.101, 698-1, Réglemens, art. 6: 10: The soeurs were obliged to obey her "so promptly and faithfully and cordially...as their mother, doing nothing without their permission"; ("si promptement et fidèlement et cordialement...comme à leur mère, ne faisant rien sans permission.").

³⁷ The area in the convent reserved for visitors.

³⁸ AAM, 525.101, 698-1, Réglemens, art. 6:11; art. 23:49; art.24: 40-51; art.25: 52.

This is not to argue that Marie-Josèphe would have been alone in the exercise of this supreme authority (see fig. 2.1). I have already mentioned the role of the confessor in the enactment of Marie-Josèphe's spiritual duties. But, as chapter two has already established, the bishop of Quebec, or in his absence the vicar-general of Montreal, who was also the Sulpician superior, the spiritual and temporal directors of the institution, had to be consulted on all matters.³⁹ Moreover, within the institute itself, a general assembly consisting of all soeurs who had taken their permanent vows, assisted her in the decision-making process, voting on such matters as the reception of girls into the convent, the community's finances, and the establishment of new missions.⁴⁰ As well, a council, comprising an assistant, a mistress of novices, and two councillors, elected by the assembly, were required to report to the superior, support her in her duties, and also to deal with all other matters "unless this same council judged it appropriate to take them to the assembly."⁴¹

Unfortunately for the historian, aside from a few fragments appearing scattered throughout the community's records, the congrégation's council minutes, "the propositions and the conclusions made in council,"⁴² as well as the deliberations of the community for the eighteenth century, for the most part, were destroyed in one of the many convent fires, making it almost impossible to penetrate the exact day-to-day powers exercised by the superior. Concomitantly, we know very little about the precise workings of the assembly, the council or the distribution of power and responsibility within both

³⁹ Ibid., art.6: 11.

⁴⁰ Ibid., art.32:69-70.

⁴¹ "à moins que ce même conseil ne juge à propos de les porter au chapitre." Ibid., 32 : 70, 71, 72.

⁴² "les propositions et les conclusions qu'auront faites dans le conseil." Ibid., 32: 72.

bodies vis-à-vis the superior.⁴³ Also, we have no more than a vague idea, once again, beyond constitutional stipulations, as to the nature of the superior's relationship with her accountant or dépositaire. We do know, for example, that the superior, with the assistance of this individual, was required to keep track of and account for the state of the institution's finances to the community as well as to her male religious superiors.

However, precisely how involved she was in the actual accounting process is difficult to determine.⁴⁴ She was, nevertheless, far more directly concerned with the finances of the community than her Sulpician superior. According to Brian Young's examination of the Sulpician Seminary of Montreal in the nineteenth century, "the superior, curé and college principal played central roles in the spiritual, parish and teaching life of the seminary," whereas the procurator "was the key official in the daily material life of the institution."⁴⁵

While this chapter will demonstrate that the position of dépositaire covered extensive ground, she does not appear to have been endowed with the same "free hand" as the Sulpician's procurator, whose "pervasive influence" penetrated his order's Consulting Council, which very often only "rubber-stamped" many of his requests.⁴⁶

In the case of the congrégation, on the other hand, the dépositaire was not always or automatically a council member. She reported directly, not to the council, but to the congrégation superior, with whom she discussed the community's financial affairs and

⁴³ The extant fragments of the eighteenth-century council minutes which appear sporadically throughout the congrégation's history were, according to Soeur Florence Bertrand, the community's archivist, the only evidence salvaged from the convent fires. The original documents do not exist.

⁴⁴ AAM, 525.101, 698-1, Réglemens, art.26: 53-7

⁴⁵ Brian Young, *In Its Corporate Capacity: The Seminary of Montreal as a Business Institution, 1816-1876* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1986), 22.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 24.

who appears, as this chapter shall indicate, unlike the Sulpician superior, to have been well-versed in more than the "spiritual and teaching life"⁴⁷ of the congrégation.

In the end, however, the available records demonstrate that, as stipulated by the constitution, the embodiment of this institution, it was the superior and the superior alone who answered to the individuals at the apex of the Church's power structure - the bishop of Quebec, or his representative, the vicar-general in Montreal, and the Sulpician superior.⁴⁸

At least according to the constitution, the position of mother superior was powerful and prestigious indeed. In this light, then, Marie-Josèphe's laments to the bishop appear puzzling. However, by exploring more profoundly the administrative realities of this convent, we can draw closer to a deeper understanding of not only Marie-Josèphe's complaints, but also her existence as mother superior of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame.

"Des esprits difficile à gouverner"⁴⁹

The first letter of Marie-Josèphe's correspondence with Bishop Briand was written on 23 July 1766, less than one month after her election as superior. It focuses upon an incident that must have been of great concern to the congrégation. Apparently, two soeurs, Marie-Josèphe Juillet, Soeur Saint-Gabriel, and Elisabeth Arsenault, Soeur Saint-Antoine, had fled the convent in the middle of the night.⁵⁰ These women were soeurs du

⁴⁷ Ibid., 22.

⁴⁸ AAM, 525.101, 698-1, Réglemens, art.6:10.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 525.101, 766-6, Marie-Josèphe to Briand, 23 July 1766.

⁵⁰ This case of "fugitive" soeurs is not an isolated incident in the convent's records. Although this appears to have been a "protest" desertion, subsequent flights seem to have been motivated by fear of reprimands or consequences. In 1768, Soeur Julie Martel

gros ouvrages, working soeurs, individuals who, during their terms as novices had been deemed lacking "the requisite qualities for the principal functions of the institute,"⁵¹ and were delegated to perform "heavy labour."⁵² Through the interrogation of Soeur Juillet by Mgr. Briand, the bishop of Quebec, we learn the reasons for their flight: they claimed that they had been overworked, scorned by the teaching nuns, who had placed them outside of the assembly, and that the younger soeurs had been allowed to take precedence over them⁵³ (Soeur Juillet was at this time fifty-one years old, while Soeur Arsenault was forty-six years old) - all this, in an institution which theoretically, at least, was supposed

deserted the Lachine mission after hearing that Marie-Josèphe had sent a letter of reprimand to the mission head, Soeur Marie-Angèle Bissonnet, Soeur Saint-Pierre, for failing to inform her of the death of Catherine D'Ailleboust des Musseaux (Soeur des Séraphins). Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 6:211. Moreover, in 1785, Amable Diel (Soeur Saint-Ambroise), as the superior of the Laprairie mission, contracted a debt of 1500 livres. Presumably, rather than face the consequences, she fled the mission and moved to Detroit to live with her brother. Sainte-Henriette, *ibid.*, 4: 289. This flight is discussed in more detail in AAM, 525.101, 785-1, Montgolfier to Grave, 28 Feb. 1785; 785-2, 9 Mar. 1785; 785-3, Conditions pour la reception de la Soeur St Ambroise, sortie furtivement de la CND, 1785; and 785-4, Ste Rose to Monseigneur, 21 Mar. 1785.

⁵¹ "les qualités requises pour les fonctions principales de l'institut." AAM, 525.101, 698-1, Réglemens, art. 2: 3, 4.

⁵² "gros ouvrages." *Ibid.*

⁵³ AAM, 525.101, 766-4, Interrogation of Soeur Juillet by Mgr. L'Evêque, 30 Sept. 1766. Marguerite Bourgeoys noted a similar division in the seventeenth-century convent, that "one part of the sisters looks upon the others as servants of the house." Cotter, *Writings*, 106.

It appears as if these soeurs du gros ouvrages, although undoubtedly justified in feeling scorned and overworked, were misinformed concerning the precise nature of their position. For one, the original 1698 constitution gave them an active voice in the assembly, enabling them to vote for the superior and her council, and also allowed them to be sent out into the missions of the diocese, along with the teaching soeurs. AAM, 525.101, 698-1, Réglemens, art. 2:4; art 34:78. These privileges, however, were revoked in the eighteenth century by Bishop Dosquet. AAM, 525.101, 770-3, Précis d'ordonnance de Monseigneur Dosquet, 7 Mar. 1731; and according to Véronique Brunet dit L'Estang, it was "for good reasons" (pour de bonne raisons). AAM, 525.101, 790-1, Soeur Sainte-Rose to Monseigneur, 8 Apr. 1790.

The flight of Marie-Josèphe Juillet and Elisabeth Arsenault, however, may have worked to the advantage of these labouring soeurs, for their original constitutional privileges were reinstated in a subsequent 1770 revision of the constitution. (AAM, 525.101, 770-3, Extrait abrégé des règles des Soeurs de la congrégation par Mgr Briand, Évêque de Québec vers 1770.)

to treat them "in all things equal to the other soeurs."⁵⁴ Marie-Josèphe, for her part, in one letter to the bishop, did not hide her contempt for these women, who, she claimed, had received for "a long time the graces of God and...abused them as they did."⁵⁵ She particularly singled out Soeur Juillet for remonstrance, a woman whom "the community had nourished and kept, healthy and ill."⁵⁶ "I will," she claimed, "break her contract with the necessary formalities."⁵⁷

Bishop Briand, however, facing many other difficulties in his post-Conquest diocese, chose to take a less stringent view of the situation.⁵⁸ Thus, he allowed one nun, Soeur Arsenault, to return to the convent, while Soeur Juillet's request to leave was granted, and she was permitted to "live in the world with her parents in tranquillity."⁵⁹

This incident provides a good insight into the inner workings not only of convent life, but also into the fact that the situation immediately facing Marie-Josèphe, as superior, was far from idyllic and straightforward.⁶⁰ From these circumstances, we can

⁵⁴ "en toutes choses également aux autres Soeurs." AAM, 525.101, 698-1, Réglemens, art.2: 4.

⁵⁵ "longtemps Les grâces de Dieu et on avoir abusé comme elles ont faites." AAM, 525.101, 766-6, Marie-Joseph to Brigand, 28 Oct. 1766.

⁵⁶ "La comté La nourrie et entretenue saine et malade." Ibid.

⁵⁷ "je ferez rompre Le contrat, avec Les formalités nécessaires." Ibid.

⁵⁸ In 1766, discussing the departure of two nuns from their convent, he asserted to his vicar-general that "at present we must not be too rigid on certain occasions: formerly that would work. Today things have changed, you know." André Vachon, Jean-Olivier Briand, "DCB, 4: 100.

⁵⁹ AAM, 525.101, 766-7, Marie-Joseph to Briand, 26 Nov. 1766. "vivre dans le monde chez parents en tranquillité"; 766-4, Interrogation of Sœur Juillet, 30 Sept. 1766.

⁶⁰ Many of the works written by priests about the congrégation sanitize the daily lives of these women. See especially, Etienne de Montgolfier, *La vie de la vénérable Marguerite Bourgeoys dite Saint-Sacrement* (Ville Marie: William Gray, 1818); R. Rumilly, *Marie-Barbier: Mystique canadienne* (Montréal, 1936). On the other hand, Craig Harline's *The Burdens of Sister Margaret: Inside a Seventeenth-Century Convent* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000) provides a graphic illustration of disturbances, factionalism and struggles with the bishop within a convent in seventeenth-century Belgium. But numerous other historians have exposed the less than formal atmosphere that could prevail within

discern the existence of a long-standing discipline problem within the community, unhappiness and discontent among certain members, factionalism, disdain for a group of individuals based upon their function within the community, emanating not only from the nuns, but also - as evinced by her angry comments - apparent in the superior herself. Also surfacing in this debacle is the hint of a difference of opinion between Marie-Josèphe and the community she represented and the final authority in all such matters - the bishop of Quebec, whose will in this instance ultimately prevailed.

To all intents and purposes, it appears as if the scandal was settled rather quickly, and apparently the convent returned to what the sources would claim to be its usual orderly routine. But surely from this fleeting glimpse can one assume that it was, in fact, so orderly? Rather, this incident makes it obvious that this group of nuns in the convent consisted of a variety of individuals not always quietly following orders according to constitutional precepts or adhering to their solemn vows of obedience, but in some instances, they possessed individual claims and perhaps even ideas and loyalties of their own.

Keeping the above incident in mind, it is useful to explore briefly these individuals and the potential challenges they may have posed for Marie-Josèphe. Unfortunately, few other concrete examples, such as the "fugitive" soeurs, have survived to our time. However, as one begins to peel back the layers of this community, to examine the individuals within it, sources of potential conflict become evident.

The most obvious one is based upon social group itself. Assuredly, the profile of these women does confirm the conclusions reached in chapter three: that they were a

convents. See, for example, J. Brown, *Immodest Acts: The Life of a Lesbian Nun in Renaissance Italy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986) and G.S. Daichman, *Wayward Nuns in Medieval Literature* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1986).

relatively homogeneous group. In 1766, for example, there were 59 women in the congrégation, including Marie-Josèphe (see appendix 4.1). The majority - 43 to be precise - were in the words of the seventeenth-century jurist Charles Loyseau, "vile persons," daughters of craftsmen, peasants, labourers and vagabonds (see table 4.1).⁶¹ Only 8 of these 59 nuns were daughters of men representing the first order of society (daughters of officers, nobles or seigneurs), while another 8 were the offspring of merchants. This pattern, by the way, would not change during Marie-Josèphe's superiorship - the 15 girls entering the institution between 1766 and 1772 would be derived from the lowest social group (table 4.2).⁶²

Table 4.1 - Congrégation de Notre-Dame Soeurs: Social Groups, 1766^a

A.	Seigneurs, Military Officers, Government Officials	8
B.	Merchants	8
C.	"Vile Persons"	43
	Total	59

^a Social categories derived from Dale Miquelon, *New France, 1704-1744: A Supplement to Europe* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987), 228. Table compiled utilizing app. 4.1, Congregation de Notre-Dame, Professed Nuns, 1766.

⁶¹ Quotation take from Dale Miquelon, *New France, 1704-1744: A Supplement to Europe* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987), 228.

⁶² Social categories were derived from Louis Pelletier, *Le clergé en Nouvelle-France: Étude démographique et répertoire biographique* (Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal), 78-9, and modified for this discussion utilizing the more flexible two-tiered stratification found in Miquelon, *New France*, 237-8.

Table 4.2 - Congrégation de Notre-Dame, 1766-1772: Entrants^a

Name	Date of Entry
Audet, Marie-Anne	1767
Audet, Marie-Louise	1772
Benoît, Françoise	1770
Boivin, Thérèse,	1769
Boulay, Marie-Josèphe	1767
Castonguay, Marguerite	1767
Chenier, Marie-Josèphe	28 January 1771
Compain, Françoise	1769
Corriveau-Buteau, Marie-Félicité	1768
Drouin, Mathilde	1771
Duverger, Louise	1769
Foucher, Marguerite	1771
Gaulin, Marguerite	22 June 1770
Molleur, Marie-Charlotte	20 June 1769
Sabourin, Élisabeth	1767
Total	15

^a List compiled from app. 7, Congrégation de Notre-Dame, Professed Nuns, 1693-1796.

However, beneath this relatively homogenous surface, a diversity of individuals emerges, many with perhaps distinct claims and ideas of their own. This would, in particular, apply to those members of the nobility, a group of individuals who by birth believed themselves to have inherited distinctive qualities separating them from others and which justified wealth, honour and privilege.⁶³ In the colony, the nobility served as officers in the army, and were eventually given, in 1685, the right to trade and enter the civil establishment.⁶⁴ Dale Miquelon's study, *New France: A Supplement to Europe*, maintained that distinction, individualism, and precedence were the hallmarks of the

⁶³ Jonathan Dewald, *The European Nobility, 1400-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 1.

⁶⁴ Dechêne, *Habitants and Merchants*, 217.

ancien régime, and there is no reason to believe that this outlook readily disappeared as soon as a woman entered the convent.⁶⁵

There were, then, to begin with, those individuals from the first order of society, many whose fathers had established records of distinguished service to the crown. Chapter three has touched upon the illustrious kin of Marguerite Piot de Langloiserie, Soeur Saint-Hippolyte,⁶⁶ but others in the convent must have shared her sense of privilege. The father of Claire-Charlotte Bissot de Vincennes, Soeur de l'Ascension, pursued a remarkable career in the colonial troops in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.⁶⁷ Both of these women were daughters of seigneurs, as were Reine Lepage de Saint-Barnabé, Soeur Saint-Germain,⁶⁸ and Marie-Louise Boucher of Boucherville, Soeur Sainte-Monique. The latter's grandfather was, incidentally, one of the earliest seigneurs in the district of Montreal, as well as a benefactor of the congrégation mission in Boucherville⁶⁹; and, like Marguerite Piot de Langloiserie, her father was also a recipient of the cross of the order of Saint Louis in 1758.

However, these claims to distinction must not have been confined merely to the nobility, for many other individuals had noteworthy dimensions to their backgrounds. Certainly this would have included daughters of merchants. Like the nobility, merchants held a distinctive place in colonial society, although, according to Dale Miquelon, their place was not as clear-cut. Merchants worked - an activity that was considered base - but

⁶⁵ Miquelon, *New France*, chap.11, esp., 258.

⁶⁶ Nive Voisine, "Charles-Gaspard Piot de Langloiserie," *DCB*, 1 : 526-7.

⁶⁷ Yves F. Zoltvany, "Jean-Baptiste Bissot de Vincennes," *ibid.*, 2: 68.

⁶⁸ Reine Lepage de Saint-Barnabé: Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 5: 304.

⁶⁹ ANQM, gr. Tailhandier, Concession d'un emplacement situé dans le bourg de Boucherville par Pierre Boucher, écuyer et seigneur de Boucherville, à la Congrégation Notre-Dame de Montréal, 7 Mar. 1705. In Collaboration, "Pierre Boucher de Boucherville," *DCB*, 3: 80-1.

their work engaged them in books and intellectual endeavours, and it also placed them in the position of employing others. Merchants also possessed a distinctive way of life, characterized by prudence, hard work and public service, and their dwellings were more spacious and opulent than those of artisans or habitants. Moreover, there were gradations among their ranks, with only the very few at the top of a pyramid, a situation which left little room for advancement from below. Only exceptional individuals, as, for example, Jacques Le Ber and Charles Le Moyne, ever achieved noble status.⁷⁰ Marie-Anne de Lestage, Soeur Saint-Luc, for instance, was the daughter of a wealthy merchant and a royal notary at Quebec.⁷¹ Chapter two has already noted how her uncle, Pierre de Lestage, on his death in 1743, left a significant legacy to the community,⁷² while her aunt, Pierre's wife, Marie-Josèphe, the community's pensionnaire perpétuelle, also generously endowed the congrégation.⁷³ Her previous situation before entering the convent, therefore, must have been far more illustrious than that of Agnès-François Bourassa, Soeur Saint-Albert, whose father was probably only a lesser merchant from Lachine. The Raizenne sisters provide another case in point. Although only daughters of habitants, through their parents, as mentioned in chapter three, they had long-established ties with the congrégation and the Sulpicians, and, by 1766, had an impressive network of relatives in the community (see table 4.3). Both Thérèse Amyot, Soeur Saint-François-d'Assise, and Madeleine Thibierge, Soeur Saint-Etienne, could claim their kin - Marguerite Amyot, Soeur de la Présentation and Marie-Anne Thibierge, Soeur Sainte-Pélagie, - as former superiors of

⁷⁰ Miquelon, *New France*, 228, 240, 242; Dechêne, *Habitants and Merchants*, 221.

⁷¹ Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 5: 225-31.

⁷² Dale Miquelon, "Pierre de Lestage," *DCB*, 3: 393-4.

⁷³ For more on Marie-Josèphe de Lestage, see chapter two.

the institute;⁷⁴ while Marguerite Elisabeth Ranger-Paquet, Soeur de l'Enfant-Jésus' grandmother, Louise Soumillard, was Marguerite Bourgeoy's niece, who came to Canada from Troyes in 1672.⁷⁵ And finally, chapter two has demonstrated how Marie-Gabrielle Caillou-Baron, Soeur de la Nativité's father, had, on his death, left a solid legacy to the community, including Île à la Pierre, land at Sainte-Anne and at la Prairie de la Madeleine.⁷⁶

Table 4.3 - Marie Raizenne: Kin in Religion, 1766-1772^a

Sœur	Relationship
Marie-Madeleine Raizenne	Sister
Marguerite Castonguay	Niece
Marie-Josèphe Chenier	Niece
Marie-Charlotte Sabourin	Niece

^a René Jetté, *Dictionnaire généalogique des familles du Québec* (Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1983).

Obviously the congrégation did not lack individuals with potential assertions, claims to special treatment, perhaps to be smoothed over, placed within their proper perspective with reminders that privileges within the community were to be derived from length of profession, and not prior external social standing and prestige.⁷⁷ But always

⁷⁴ Pelletier, *Le clergé*, 279, 291.

⁷⁵ Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 5: 238.

⁷⁶ ANQM, gr. Lepailleur, Donation de biens d'héritage mobiliers et immobiliers; par Jean Cailloud dit Baron et Marie-Marguerite Touchard, 11 Mar. 1715; gr. Lepailleur, donation de biens meubles et immeubles; par Marie Touchard, veuve de Jean Cailloud dit Baron, 8 Mar. 1718. Sainte Henriette, *Histoire*, 5: 246.

⁷⁷ This assertion concerning privileges was deduced from a number of indications in the constitution, AAM, 525.101, 698-1, Réglemens. The protocol observed during the election of the superiors endowed the longest professed nuns with certain privileges: placing their ballot in the box in the order in which they were professed, art. 34:79; and embracing the new superior "according to the order of their reception" ("selon l'ordre de la reception") *ibid.*, 82. This protocol was also observed in the community's assembly whereby "it will not be permitted for anyone to speak out of order without express

there remained the possible formation of groups - cliques - that could also complicate the situation and would have to be taken into consideration, not only in the winning, but also in the retention of loyalties. We have already mentioned one group in passing, "the young soeurs of the first order," pointed out in the accusations of Soeur Juillet,⁷⁸ to whom she had been obliged to submit. But Marie-Josèphe, herself, without mentioning any names, also pinpointed another group challenging her authority - the *anciennes*, the older women - when she complained to Bishop Briand of unrest among "some old members" of the community, who were "more good than just [and] accustomed to their old ways, made for themselves a coutumier to their own taste..."⁷⁹

It appears as if Marie-Josèphe was referring here to her task of consolidating the institution's *coutumier* - the customary rules and rituals by which the community functioned. This endeavour had been in the drafting stage since 1725, and appears to have fallen upon her to complete. In the summer of 1767, she sent it to the bishop for his approval, and it was, according to the community's records, instituted "in full force the year of the fire" (1768).⁸⁰ One never hears of these women again, presumably elderly individuals, set in their ways. But surely they must have been a latent source of unease and contention, smouldering in the background, at times invading the busy routine of her day - individuals to be monitored and placated, held in check to prevent the spread of discontent to the younger members of the convent.

permission, and the rank reverts to the oldest professed...". ("Il ne sera permis à aucune de parler hors de son rang sans une permission express, et le rang reprendre par l'ancienneté de la réception...") *ibid.*, art. 32:67.

⁷⁸ "elle étoit obligée à se soumettre aux jeunes soeurs du premier ordre." AAM, 525.101, 766-4, Interrogation of Soeur Juillet by Mgr. L'Evêque, 30 Sept. 1766.

⁷⁹ "...et quelques anciennes plus Bonne que juste accoutumées a Leur Vieux principe se Sont fait un coutumier a Leurs gout..." AAM, 525.101, 766-7, Marie-Josèphe to Briand, 26 Nov. 1766.

⁸⁰ " en pleine vigueur l'année de l'incendie." Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 5: 134.

Apparently, this particular clique was based upon age, but other group formations can also be envisioned. For example, what about those women coming from many different parts of the colony (see tables 4.4 and 4.5). Of the 59 nuns, 19, like Marie-Josèphe, came from urban Montreal, many perhaps growing up together as neighbours, while the remaining 40 came from the rest of the colony (see table 4.5). Of these 40, 20 were from the outlying district of Montreal, from settlements such as Boucherville, Lachine, Lac-des-Deux-Montagnes, Laprairie or Pointe-Claire; 3 grew up in the district of Trois Rivières; 8 emerged from the town of Quebec, another 8 came from the outlying areas in the district of Quebec, for example, Château Richer, Sainte-Famille and Pointe-aux-Trembles; and only 1 came from Acadia. Can we assume then that when these women left their worlds behind and entered this convent that they did not wear the imprint of, or retain loyalties to, their respective communities, whether they were rural or urban areas, or they were from the districts of Quebec, Trois-Rivières or that of Montreal?

Table 4.4 - Congrégation de Notre-Dame Soeurs, 1766 : Birthplace^a

District of Montreal	39
District of Quebec	16
District of Trois-Rivières	3
Acadia	1
Total	59

^a Table compiled from App. 4.1, Congrégation de Notre-Dame Professed Nuns, 1766.

Table 4.5 - Congrégation de Notre-Dame Soeurs, 1766 : Rural/Urban Origins^a

Montreal	19
Outlying Areas	20
Quebec	8
Outlying Areas	8
Trois-Rivières	0
Outlying Areas	3
Acadia	1
Total	59

^a Table compiled from App. 4.1, Congrégation de Notre-Dame, Professed Nuns, 1766.

Another possible clique could have arisen among women related through kinship ties. During Marie-Josèphe's superiorship, there were eight sets of sisters (see table 4.6) in the community. Once again, Marie Raizenne is noteworthy for not only having a sister, but also three nieces in the congrégation (see table 4.3); although Élisabeth Prud'homme also had numerous relatives in the institution between 1766 and 1772 (see table 4.7) ⁸¹ Could these women have banded together as kin, formed their own cliques, centres of influence of which Marie-Josèphe would at least have to be aware, if not win over?

⁸¹ Élisabeth Prud'homme: René Jetté, *Dictionnaire généalogique des familles du Québec* (Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1983), 951.

Table 4.6 - Congrégation de Notre-Dame Soeurs, 1766-1772: Siblings^a

Compain, Françoise	Soeur Saint-Benoît
Compain, Marie-Louise	Soeur Saint-Augustin
Berry des Essarts, Françoise	Soeur Saint-François-de Sales
Berry des Essarts, Marie-Anne-Charlotte	Soeur Sainte-Radegonde
Drouin, Marthe	Soeur Sainte-Hélène
Drouin, Mathilde	Soeur Sainte-Thècle
Gaulin, Thècle-Élisabeth	Soeur Sainte-Brigitte
Gaulin, Marguerite	Soeur de la Présentation
Prud'homme, Élisabeth	Soeur Sainte-Agathe
Prud'homme, Marie-Anne	Soeur de la Trinité
Prud'homme, Élisabeth	Soeur Saint-Jean-l'Évangéliste
Prud'homme, Jeanne	Soeur Saint-Michel
Raizenne, Marie-Madeleine	Soeur Saint-Herman
Raizenne, Marie	Soeur Saint-Ignace
Sabourin, Catherine	Soeur Sainte-Ursule
Sabourin, Élisabeth	Soeur Saint-Vincent-de-Paul
Sabourin, Marie-Anne-Reine	Soeur Saint-Barthélemy

^a List compiled from App. 7, Congrégation de Notre-Dame, Professed Nuns, 1693-1796.

Table 4.7 - Élisabeth Prud'homme, 1766-1772: Kin in Religion^a

Soeur	Relationship
Marie-Anne Prud'homme	Sister
Jeanne Prud'homme	Aunt
Élisabeth Prud'homme	Aunt

^a Élisabeth Prud'homme: René Jetté, *Dictionnaire généalogique des familles du Québec* (Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1983), 951.

And finally, we have already mentioned the challenges posed by rebellious "anciennes." But at least these women were active and functioning. But what about those who were too old or infirm to work, who had to be cared for in the infirmary, pressing

upon the resources of the community, and the soeurs who cared for them day and night? Thérèse Gamelin, Soeur Sainte-Barbe, is a case in point. Although only forty-two years old, apparently she was afflicted with a form of dementia or mental illness - "a weak and deranged spirit."⁸² This malady had confined her to the infirmary for fifteen years, under constant supervision, and one can only begin to imagine what must have been involved in the care and supervision of this woman. One very touching letter, written by Marie-Josèphe to the bishop describing this nun's "sad end," provides some insight into the situation: on one particular occasion, she escaped their watch, arose early in the morning before the rest of the community had awakened and, wandering the grounds, she slipped into the well where she was discovered dead a few hours later.⁸³

But what about other elderly or infirm soeurs in the convent? Thirteen women died between 1766 and 1772 (see table 4.8), and, according to the convent's records at the time of the 1769 election, five soeurs were too ill or too infirm to work.⁸⁴ Many of them, like Soeur Gamelin, may have needed constant supervision and care before their deaths, and when they died, it would have been Marie-Josèphe's responsibility to summon the priest, arrange for the last rites, the funerals, the prayers and cope with the inevitable bills that followed thereafter from the Sulpicians for these services.⁸⁵

⁸² "un esprit faible et dérangé." AAQ, Cartable des grands vicaires, 62, Montgolfier to Bishop Briand, 7 Oct. 1768.

⁸³ AAM, 525.101, 768-3, Marie-Josèphe to Briand, 8 Oct. 1768. For more on Marie-Josèphe's reaction to this incident within the framework of her letters to the bishop, see chapter five.

⁸⁴ Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 5: 178-9. These included : Thérèse Amyot (Soeur Saint-François-d'Assise), Marie-Gabrielle Caillou-Baron (Soeur de la Nativité), Claire-Charlotte Bissot de Vincennes (Soeur de l'Ascension), Jeanne Lefebvre-Duchouquet (Soeur du Sacré-Coeur), and Agnès-Françoise Bourassa (Soeur Saint-Albert).

⁸⁵ AAM, 525.101, 698-1, Règlements, art.12: 25. Records of payments to the Sulpicians for these services can be found throughout ACND, 3A/02, Registre des Dépenses et recettes générales, 1753-1793.

Table 4.8 - Congrégation de Notre Dame, 1766-1772: Deaths^a

Ailleboust des Musseaux	Catherine	5 May 1768
Amyot	Thérèse	9 March 1771
Barrois	Anne	28 March 1768
Caillou-Baron	Marie-Gabrielle	28 March 1772
De Lestages	Marie-Anne	18 July 1768
Dutaud	Marie-Françoise	15 March 1767
Gamelin	Thérèse	5 October 1768
Lefebvre-Belle-Isle	Marie-Josèphe	31 January 1769
Lefebvre-Duchouquet	Jeanne	2 October 1769
Marois	Élisabeth	20 July 1770
Prud'homme	Jeanne	14 September 176?
Ranger-Paquet	Marguerite-Élisabeth	29 January 1772
Sicard	Marie	14 February 1772
Total		13

^a Table compiled from App. 7, Congrégation de Notre-Dame, Professed Nuns, 1693-1796.

And lastly, there were the 15 younger members of the community, novices, who entered the institution between 1766 and 1772 with the intention of becoming nuns (see table 4.2). Like the superiors described in chapter three, these girls too would have been recruited from the congrégation classrooms themselves,⁸⁶ perhaps noticed from an early age by their teachers as particularly suited to convent life. But it would have been Marie-Josèphe's duty to investigate more thoroughly these prospective nuns: to send out formal and rather guarded queries into the community to ensure that the candidates were respectable and possessed the requisite dowries. Only after these inquiries had been substantiated and approved by Marie-Josèphe's council, the assembly and last, but not the least, the bishop, would they have been allowed to enter the community. True, the mistress of novices would have assumed responsibility for the training of the prospective

⁸⁶ See Danylewycz, *Taking the Veil*, 116-18, for a discussion of the recruiting patterns within the CND during the nineteenth century.

nuns, but Marie-Josèphe's duties required her to monitor the progress of each and every one of them, and bring their requests for advancement once again to the assembly, over which she would preside while it decided to allow or disallow the novice to initially take her habit and then become a professed nun. The bishop would have to be notified at each stage of this procedure, dowry arrangements had to be made with the parents, the notary had to be summoned for the official signing of the profession contract, the profession of vows had to be looked after, and in the end, these newly professed nuns had to be delegated appropriate tasks within the community.⁸⁷

Discipline, the avoidance of division, the maintenance of "that holy union that they must have together," must have presented a very real challenge for Marie-Josèphe.⁸⁸ The picture-perfect image of a convent full of a homogenous group of nuns dutifully saying their prayers and performing their tasks in the name of God, day in and day out without interruption, advocated by much of the traditional literature surrounding the congregation,⁸⁹ and perhaps also advanced by the description of cloistering in chapter one, is representative of the ideal life in community, for which the nuns were professed to strive,⁹⁰ and belies the entire reality she must have faced. Of course, this is not meant to imply that this convent was a hotbed of discontent, of seething nascent rebellion, only barely held in check by Marie-Josèphe herself. Nothing could be further from the truth, and chapter two has demonstrated that the institute needed to be, and was, well managed in order for it to survive. However, neither was this convent an idyllic fortress of virtue

⁸⁷ AAM, 525.101, 698-1, Réglemens, art. 35: 84-6; art. 23:47-8.

⁸⁸ "cette sainte union qu'elle doivent avoir ensemble." Ibid., art. 11:19.

⁸⁹ As represented in, for example, Montgolfier, *La vie de la venerable Marguerite Bourgeoys* and Rumilly, *Marie Barbier*.

⁹⁰ AAM, 525.101, 698-1, Réglemens, art.11:19-24.

and harmony as the scarce documents touching upon this would lead us to believe. Very real and potential sources of disharmony existed among the ranks of these women living together in such close quarters, year in and year out; and it would have been Marie-Josèphe's first and foremost task to neutralize potential divisions, to retain the loyalty that the women in her charge had demonstrated by electing her, and to harness the energy at her command; for these women were her workforce, the individuals crucial to the getting on with the business of the day.

III. The Business of the Day

The Teaching Enterprise

What did this "business of the day" entail? To begin with, from the very outset of Marie-Josèphe's election, responsibility for the entire enterprise - both the mother house and the missions - fell onto her shoulders. On the surface, at least, her responsibilities and her power would appear somewhat routine: the choosing of appropriate women to teach, either in the missions or at the mother house, their supervision, and the administration of the mission finances.⁹¹ But, in reality, what do these duties reveal about the power of a superior?

In order to answer this question, let us first examine the initial component of her duties: the selection of teaching candidates. This was a task that must have required much insight, patience, and flexibility. No sooner would Marie-Josèphe have taken up the keys to the community, than she would have to choose both mission and mother house teachers.⁹² This was not simply a matter of randomly pulling names out of a hat. Rather, it was a process repeated every three years, whereby soeurs were selected for teaching

⁹¹ Ibid., art. 7: 14; art.31: 62-6.

⁹² Ibid., art.31: 62; art.7: 14-15.

positions in consultation with her council and with the approval of the bishop or the vicar-general. Not only did the individual qualities of each candidate have to be discussed and agreed upon, their former performance, but also their potential compatibility with the soeurs who would accompany them would also merit careful consideration.⁹³

However, Marie-Josèphe's responsibilities did not terminate once the soeurs, on the one hand, having received "the necessary linen and old clothes,"⁹⁴ packed up their bags and headed out for the missions or, on the other, assumed their teaching duties at the mother house. Rather, the soeurs, in both instances, would require careful monitoring to ensure that the teaching enterprise ran smoothly. For the mother house, this must have been a comparatively easy task: a head school mistress as well as a mistress of the boarders, both chosen by Marie-Josèphe, were delegated to monitor and supervise the teachers and the pupils, and report back to her.⁹⁵ But in addition to this, she was also responsible for holding conferences to instruct the teachers in the pedagogical methods which were expected to be utilized in teaching the children.⁹⁶

At the mother house, Marie-Josèphe's sheer proximity to the teaching enterprise must have facilitated her task - at any time it was possible for her to slip over to the school room, unannounced, to ensure all was proceeding correctly, according to a routine which no mistress could alter "without the express permission of the superior, who could never give it without having consulted her council and having spoken with the general

⁹³ Ibid., art.31: 63; For example, AAM, 525.101, 768-2, Marie-Josèphe to Briand, 20 Sept. 1768: "My soeur Ste Claire and my soeur Ste Hélène for the Quebec mission...M de Montgolfier has approved the choice." (Ma Sr Ste Claire et ma Sr Ste Hélène pour la mission de Quebec....M. de Montgolfier a approuver le choix que nous avons fait...)"

⁹⁴ "Le linge et les hardes qui leur sont nécessaires..." AAM, 525.101, 698-1, Réglemens, art. 31: 63.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 34: 83.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 7: 15.

school mistress."⁹⁷ Moreover, at any moment of the day, the teachers were within sight and hearing of Marie-Josèphe - eating under her watchful eye in the dining hall, saying prayers with her in the chapel, following her in the evening procession, always open to her criticism, her approval, and perhaps even her praise.⁹⁸

At the mission schools, however, Marie-Josèphe's task was more difficult. Scattered as the missions were, as already pointed out, across the colony, in places often as far away as Quebec (see map 7), Marie-Josèphe could not merely listen to a daily report recounted by a designated individual, summon a wayward soeur for reproach, answer questions or deal with difficulties on the spur of the moment. Rather, her only way to monitor the missions was through correspondence.⁹⁹ The importance of this correspondence should not be underestimated, for potential problems could arise in the missions for which she would have to answer not only to the bishop of Quebec, but also perhaps to the respective communities upon which the congrégation depended for its pupils. The case of the soeurs at the Lachine mission who, in 1768, failed to inform Marie-Josèphe not only of the illness, but also the death of an ageing sister, Catherine D'Ailleboust des Musseaux, Soeur des Séraphins, reveals how crucial a superior believed it was to be informed of mission events. Apparently, the letter Marie-Josèphe sent reprimanding the mission superior, Soeur Marie-Angèle Bissonnet, Soeur Saint-Pierre, was stated "in very severe terms," and so frightened Soeur Martel that she fled the mission and returned to her parents' home. Only eventually, after "lengthy reflections and

⁹⁷ "sans la permission expresse de la sup., qui ne la donnera jamais sans avoir consulté son conseil et en avoir parlé à la maîtresse générale des écoles." Ibid.

⁹⁸ Details of the convent are based on Robert Lahaise, "Bâtisses de 1768 à 1836," in *Les édifices conventuels du Vieux Montréal: Aspects ethno-historiques* (Lasalle, Québec : Éditions Hurtubise HMH, Limitée, 1980), 140.

⁹⁹ AAM, 525.101, 698-1, Réglements, art. 34: 63, 64.

many difficulties," did the soeurs consent to receive her, and only then under severe disciplinary measures.¹⁰⁰

But other, more fundamental difficulties could surface in the outlying missions, particularly arising from the living conditions. What can be gathered from the scarce sources that remain, the conditions were not exactly ideal. To be sure, the nuns had moved a long way from the primitive situations of the seventeenth century, where soeurs, like Marie Barbier, conducted ambulatory missions, wandering from settlement to settlement as the needs dictated, often living in birch-bark cabins or without privacy in the homes of parish families.¹⁰¹ Rather, by the middle of the eighteenth century, most congrégation missions were not as primitive, for they had been established on a more permanent basis, with the terms of the agreements between the soeurs and the parishes stipulated in notarized contracts. These contracts often ensured that the teachers and their

¹⁰⁰ "en termes bien sévères." "après de longues réflexions et beaucoup de difficultés." The account of this incident is derived from Julie Martel's necrology in Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 6:211-12. Marie-Josèphe's original letter to the mission soeurs unfortunately does not remain. It does, however, appear rather strange that this soeur would flee the mission simply due to a reprimand issued not directly to herself, but to the mission superior. The necrology attributes her behaviour to her "youth," and in the absence of other evidence to the contrary, we must accept this verdict.

Soeur Martel was stripped of her active and passive voice at the assembly, a measure which placed her on the same level as the soeurs de gros ouvrages. Moreover, she was forced to wear "a petticoat and short cape until it would be judged appropriate to return her holy habit to her" ("en jupon et en mantelet jusqu'à ce qu'on jugeât à propos de lui redonner son saint habit")." Ibid., 12.

Apparently Julie Martel believed her punishment to be too severe and complained to the bishop about her treatment. For more on the implications of her action, as well as Marie-Josèphe's reaction to it with respect to the bishop of Quebec see chapter five. AAM, 525.101, 768-1, Marie-Josèphe to Briand, 18 Aug. 1768.

¹⁰¹ Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 1: 247-310. Some good insights into the early missions appear also in ASSP, ms. 1233, Mémoires sur la vie de la soeur l'Assomption recueillis par Mr Glandelet pretre du seminaire de quebec et son principal directeur, particularly, 25-31, a section focussing upon the deprivations at the Ile d'Orléans mission.

In certain missions, however, the conditions were still primitive in the eighteenth century. According to Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 3: 312, as late as 1721, the soeurs of the Lac-des-Deux-Montagnes mission were still housed in "cabanes," although by 1732, accounts reveal that they had moved inside the Sulpician fort. Ibid., 388.

boarders were provided with solid living quarters.¹⁰² Despite these improvements, however, the missions were very often far away from the safely nestled privacy of the walled convent in the town of Montreal. Isolated in the rural world, the convents were also close to the parish churches, and concomitantly, the priest and the lay community attending services.¹⁰³ While this proximity may have enabled both the mission soeurs and the priest to survey and attempt to edify the general behaviour of the laity of the missions through their pious example, it also appears as if the soeurs, unlike those at the mother house, had very little room to move within this confined space. At the missions, the nuns most likely would have been deprived of the comparative privacy of the mother house, and such customary activities, described by Marta Danylewycz, as "letting loose." At certain times of the religious calendar, on these occasions, soeurs at the mother house would often spend "all night engaged in all sorts of pranks, wearing costumes and

¹⁰² For example: Sainte-Famille: ANQM, gr. Duquet de Lachesnaye, Donation d'une habitation, 25 Sept. 1687 and gr. Chambalon, Donation de deux terres, 05 Sept. 1692; Lachine: ANQM, gr. Pottier, Donation d'un terrain; par la Fabrique de la paroisse Sts-Anges-de-Lachine, à la Congrégation, 3 Dec. 1701; Laprairie: gr. Adhémar, Concession d'un emplacement, 3 July 1705; Pointe-aux-Trembles, Montreal: ANQM, gr. Senet dit Laliberté, Don d'une terre, 24 July 1707; Pointe-aux-Trembles, Que: gr. Barbel, Donation d'une terre, 1 Aug. 1715; Saint-François-du-Sud: gr. Lévesque, Fondation d'un circuit de terrain, 13 May 1764. Contracts for the Saint-Laurent mission could not be located. However, according to Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 1: 272-5, the soeurs of this mission were, by 1732, in a house, "on the north side of the church" ("au côté nord de l'église"). Ibid., 4:36.

¹⁰³ This was true of Pointe-aux-Trembles, Montreal: ANQM, gr. Senet dit Laliberté, Don d'une terre, 24 July 1707; and Laprairie, where due to the proximity of the church and the presbytery, the contracts stipulated that the proprietors could never have buildings or sites, nor any tavern built on the property ("à cause de la proximité de l'église et du presbytère, on ne pourra jamais tenir dans les bâtiments et emplacements, aucun cabaret...") gr. Adhémar, concession d'un emplacement, 3 July 1705.

imitating 'toutes sortes de personnages,' and acting out 'toutes sortes de rôles' " - activities presumably designed to alleviate tensions and not expected of a nun by outsiders.¹⁰⁴

It is unlikely, however, that the mission soeurs would have engaged in these "frustration-venting" activities - not with their boarders often residing in the same dwelling, or at least very nearby, and the priest and members of the laity in such close proximity. A document, promulgated by Bishop Dosquet¹⁰⁵ in 1729, outlines the behaviour expected of congrégation nuns in the missions, and offers some insight into how restrictive living conditions in the missions could potentially be: the soeurs were to respect the priest, refrain from familiarity with outsiders, amusements, walks for pleasure, for their main devotion was to be "the instruction of our children."¹⁰⁶

One must pause to ask exactly what this "instruction" entailed. A great deal by all accounts. A deliberation, written by the congrégation soeurs to Mongolfier,¹⁰⁷ the bishop's vicar-general during the first superiorship of Marie Raizenne (1778-1784), is very revealing. It speaks of the difficulties of teaching these mission children, feeding and lodging them, and of the "confusion of a multitude upon whom it is not possible to exactly keep one's eyes"; of the "danger that with such a great number, one does not find some ill-willed spirit for whom it becomes more easy to hide and to disturb the others";

¹⁰⁴ I am presuming that this "letting loose," described as a "customary" activity among the nuns of the CND throughout the nineteenth century by Danylewycz in *Taking the Veil*, 49, originated at an earlier period. It did, at the very least, extend back to 1840, as, at this time, "Mgr. Bourget suggested that the revelling end by ten o'clock in the evening." Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Jean-Guy Pelletier, "Pierre-Herman Dosquet," *DCB*, 4: 220-2. Bishop Dosquet (1691-1777), a Sulpician, priest of the Missions Étrangères, was the fourth bishop of Quebec between 1733 and 1739.

¹⁰⁶ "l'instruction de nos enfants." Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 3:370.

¹⁰⁷ Lucien Lemieux, "Étienne Montgolfier," *DCB*, 4: 542; Henri Gauthier, *La Compagnie de Saint-Sulpice au Canada* (Montréal : Séminaire de Saint-Sulpice, 1912), 119, 120. Étienne de Montgolfier (1712-1791) was a Sulpician priest, superior of the Sulpicians of Montreal and vicar-general of Montreal.

and of the resulting "dissipation and fatigue...for a mistress obliged to speak almost all day." ¹⁰⁸ The above deliberation requested that the number of students be limited to 35 or 40. This could then mean that during Marie-Josèphe's superiorship, at least ten years earlier, there may well have been many more pupils for the two or three missions soeurs in charge of them day and night. ¹⁰⁹

Moreover, the sources clearly indicated that "teaching" did not only mean simply teaching. "Teaching" also meant that the presiding soeurs ensured that the students performed their duties, and that they were disciplined both inside and outside of school hours. But then again, "teaching" in the missions also comprised more than this. It involved maintaining the mission itself - preparing the meals for teachers and boarders alike, baking the bread, perhaps making the soap and the candles in addition to sweeping the floors, doing the laundry, tending the garden, ¹¹⁰ if, in fact, there was one and, often, as part of their contract with the parish, caring for and cleaning the parish church and washing the church linen. ¹¹¹ Moreover, the mission soeurs also were expected to earn money to support themselves and to create a favourable impression on the local people

¹⁰⁸ "la confusion d'une multitude sur laquelle il n'est pas possible d'avoir exactement les yeux." Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 5:332; "le danger que dans un grand nombre il ne se trouve quelque mauvais esprit à qui il devient plus facile de se cacher et d'en déranger bien d'autres." Ibid., 332; "la dissipation et la fatigue...pour une maîtresse obligée de parler toute la journée." Ibid., 332-3.

¹⁰⁹ The community's rules stipulate that two soeurs were to be sent out to each mission. AAM, 525.101, 698-1, *Règlements*, art. 31:62. However, an examination of numerous lists of elections indicates that, at times - probably depending on the mission size and enrolment - three teachers would be assigned to certain missions. In Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 5:137, 175, 194.

¹¹⁰ Many of the missions had plots of land attached to them where presumably the soeurs grew their own produce. The duties enumerated in the missions were surmised from numerous visits to Musée Saint-Gabriel, Pointe Saint-Charles, Montreal.

¹¹¹ This refers, in particular, to the Lachine mission: ANQM, gr. Pottier, Donation de Remy, 26 Sep. 1701; and Lac-des-Deux-Montagnes: Conventions entre les Mess. du Séminaire et les très honorées Soeurs de la Congrégation du Lac, 14 July 1772, in Sainte Henriette, *Histoire*, 5: 288-9.

and the priest, for charity had to be relied on to supplement their incomes.¹¹² True, the constitution did stipulate that one mission soeur was required to perform the household duties.¹¹³ But when one examines the amount of work involved in maintaining a mission, one can also surmise that the teaching soeurs, who were obliged to perform household duties,¹¹⁴ were also engaged in some aspects of the daily maintenance, to ensure that everything was in order and that the mission ran smoothly. Left on their own, was it little wonder then that Marie-Josèphe found the nuns who returned from the missions more independent - in the words of Marie-Josèphe reporting to the bishop - jealous...bored, disgusted, shaking the yoke of obedience, "whispering about everything, superior, directors, nothing is to their taste, nor approved..."?¹¹⁵

Administering the mission finances - both routine and urgent - was the final component of Marie-Josèphe's responsibilities for the external teaching enterprise. It is difficult to determine the precise role the superior played in the routine administration of the mission finances. No mission account books remain depicting details of this operation. However, we do know that the superior was obliged to confer with her "dépositaire des missions" concerning the temporal administration of the missions, and was responsible for ensuring that the soeurs were well informed as to how they would be fed, kept and lodged.¹¹⁶ However, precisely how the needs of the teachers and their pupils were met is only a matter of speculation. Did the mission soeurs, on the instructions of the superior and assisted by the dépositaire, take the income from the prerequisite 20 sols

¹¹² AAM, 525.101, 698-1, Règlements, art.31: 63, 62.

¹¹³ Ibid., art.31: 62.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., art. 23: 47. " tout ce qui sera necessaire à la maison..."

¹¹⁵ "...on murmure de tout, Superieure, directeur rien n'est goûté ni approuvé..." AAM, 525.101, 768-4, Marie-Josèphe to Briand, 25 Oct. 1768.

¹¹⁶ AAM, 525,101, 698-1, Règlements, art.31:62.

from the students and purchase the required books, the cords of wood to keep the fires burning throughout the winter,¹¹⁷ subsequently sending their accounts to Montreal for approval? This, of course, is presuming that the parents of every student could advance the money in cash - perhaps many paid in kind, and if they did, these transactions would have to be registered and accounted for. In the case of cash payments, was the money from the students sent to Montreal, where the supplies were purchased and sent back into the missions?¹¹⁸ And who furnished supplies to feed the boarders and the soeurs? Did the mission soeurs buy whatever they needed locally, transmitting their bills to the mother house, or were goods purchased in Montreal and then sent back out into the rural areas? Whatever the case, the superior and her dépositaire would have been expected to keep track of all of these transactions, ensuring that everything was accounted for and that the missions were well supplied and running in an orderly fashion.¹¹⁹

In a perfect world, this would have been the extent of a superior's responsibilities for the teaching enterprise. However, inevitably unpredictable situations arose, for which no formula or precedent existed. Who, for example, could have predicted the 1768 fire that completely destroyed the Montreal convent? Or advised Soeur Maugue-Garreau as to how to rise to the occasion, even as the mission and the farm enterprises proceeded uninterrupted. As a result of the fire, she had to arrange for temporary living quarters for the nuns of her convent within the neighbouring Hôtel-Dieu, as well as ensuring that the

¹¹⁷ Ibid., art. 31 : 65.

¹¹⁸ Occasionally the community's account book did register income coming in from the missions, notably during the financial crisis of the 1790s. I did not interpret this income as being derived from the boarders, as it does not appear on a regular basis. ACND, 3A/02, Registre des Dépenses et recettes générales, 1753-1793: for example, Recu des mission de la Ste Famille et de Boucherville, June-Sept. 1791; Recu...Des Srs de Boucherville, Dec. 1792-Mar. 1793.

¹¹⁹ AAM, 525.101, 689-1, Réglemens, art. 31 : 65, 62-3.

treasured routine of the convent continued within these cramped quarters, that prayers were said, morale was kept high.¹²⁰ During this crisis, she had to initiate the process of raising money to rebuild the convent, selling off property,¹²¹ but not without first debating the measure, seeking advice from the Sulpicians, the bishop, the council,¹²² all the while relying upon the charity of the Sulpicians, the community at large;¹²³ keeping track of the overall operation, but also, with her *dépositaire*, the minutiae essential to rebuilding: the stone, mortar, nails, pots, pans, chairs to refurbish the new convent;¹²⁴ consulting, bargaining with contractors over prices, inspecting the new building, organizing the move back into it, all the while juggling accounts to pay off loans.¹²⁵

Or who could have predicted, just a year later, that the Lower-Town mission, which in 1768 had been reinstated after its interruption by the Conquest, would be seriously threatened again by the death of the merchant who had loaned them money for its restoration? And how could the community, just emerging from the fire, scrape together the money to pay this merchant's legatees, who were demanding immediate repayment of this loan? No one, but the superior. To deal with this issue, she had to make the trip to Quebec City, but only after consulting Montgolfier, the Sulpician superior, debating it in council, with the assembly, turning it over and over, writing about it to the

¹²⁰ Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 5: 122-8.

¹²¹ ACND, 3A/02, 145, 147, 149, 159, *Registre des Dépenses et recettes générales*, 1753-1793. AAM, 525.101, 768-4, Marie-Josèphe to Briand, 25 Oct. 1768.

¹²² AAM, 525.101, 698-1, *Règlements*, art. 26: 53, 54.

¹²³ ACND, 3A/02: 146, 148, 145, *Registre des Dépenses et recettes générales*, 1753-93.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 148, 149.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 157. AAM, 525.101, 768-2, Marie-Josèphe to Briand, 20 Sept. 1768.

bishop, scraping together the precious funds to call off the creditors, and finally deciding which soeurs would be appropriate to bring the mission back from the brink of disaster.¹²⁶

"Les deptes que nous avons"¹²⁷

If the congrégation had been merely a teaching institution centralized in Montreal, with missions scattered throughout the colony, it appears as if the task of running it would have been formidable indeed. At the very least, its management demanded tact, leadership, diplomacy, discipline, foresight, organization, insight, patience, and flexibility - qualities which, taken together, elude most mortals. However, Marie-Josèphe was responsible for more than simply the individuals within this convent and the teaching enterprise. As the following shall demonstrate, considerable expenses and activities were involved in the operation of this institution, and it fell upon Marie-Josèphe's shoulders to ensure that the institution, at the end of the day, met its financial obligations. The ensuing section intends to examine the various aspects of this facet of the administration of the congrégation in order to understand not only Marie-Josèphe's role within it, but also the challenges it may have posed to her as superior.

Unfortunately, due to a lack of sources, the voices of early congrégation superiors are predominantly silent. However, the laments of later eighteenth-century superiors of this institution do echo throughout the sparse writings they have left behind,¹²⁸ scattered

¹²⁶ Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire* 5: 209-10; ACND, 3A/02: 157, Registre des Recettes et Dépenses générales, 1753-93; AAM, 525.101, 786-1, 768-2, 770-2, Marie-Josèphe to Briand, 18 Aug. 1768, 20 Sept. 1768, 19 June 1770.

¹²⁷ AAM, 525.101, 770-1, Marie-Josèphe to Briand, 30 Mar. 1770.

¹²⁸ For example, *ibid.*, 762-2, Saint Simon to Briand, 25 Nov. 1762: "I have noticed that the harm to our missions comes from nothing more than excessive poverty that often reduced the Soeurs to neglecting their main obligations in order to meet their needs." ["j'ai remarqué que le détriment de nos missions ne provenoit que d'une trop grande

litanies of worries over lack of funds to make ends meet, and among them, Marie-Josèphe was no exception. On occasion, particularly after the 1768 fire, she wrote to Briand, wondering "how we [can] pull ourselves from these debts. I see resources only in providence and good conduct,"¹²⁹ and on another, of "the debts that we have here."¹³⁰ From these elegies alone, it does indeed appear that, at least at times, the institution experienced serious financial difficulties. And clearly, if one examines this convent's accounts, considerable expenses were involved in the running of it. After all, the soeurs had to be fed, clothed, cared for when ill, buried when dead and prayed for thereafter. They had to be kept warm in winter, and the fires had to be fuelled to bake the bread and cook the meals year round. The buildings, both at the mother house and the farm properties in Pointe Saint-Charles, Verdun and Laprairie, and then, after the latter two were sold, Île Saint-Paul, following its purchase in 1769,¹³¹ had to be constantly repaired or maintained - the chimneys swept, lavatories cleaned, stonework repaired, roofs

pauvreté qui ont souvent réduit les Soeurs a négligé le principal de leurs obligations pour subvenir a leurs besoins."]

Marie Raizenne, in a letter to Bishop Hubert, also spoke of the institution's "needs" in another context: "Although these days are not the time to speak of business, I dare however to hope that one can have some audience of your Grandeur on this subject when the need is present." ["Quoique ces jours ne soit pas Le temps de parler d'affaires, j'ose cependant espérer qu'on peut avoir quelque audience de Vôte Grandeur, à ce sujet lorsque Le besoin est pressent."] Ibid., 791-1, Marie Raizenne to Hubert, 791-11.

The anxiety-ridden correspondence of Marie Raizenne to their business agent, Maury and then Périnault (1790-1796), the agents responsible for the community's French investments, which had been disrupted by the French revolution, reveals just how precarious these women viewed their financial situation to be. See Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 6: 4-14; 18-21.

¹²⁹ "Comment nous nous tirons de Ces deptes je ne voie de ressource que dans La providence, et La bonne conduite." AAM, 525.101, 770-2, Marie-Josèphe to Briand, 19 June 1770.

¹³⁰ "Les deptes que nous avons de Ce Coté icy." Ibid., 770-1, 30 Mar. 1770.

¹³¹ Laprairie: ANQM, gr. Panet de Méru, Vente d'une terre située à La Prairie, 18 Feb. 1769; Verdun: gr. Panet de Méru, Vente d'une terre nommée Verdun, 20 Dec. 1769; Île Saint-Paul: ACND, 4A/04, Contrat de Vente...d'une partie de l'Île St paul Aux soeurs, 25 Aug. 1769.

recovered, pastures enclosed - and the individuals performing these tasks remunerated for their labour. Bills had to be paid to the local merchants, loan payments met, money scraped together to pay the rentes and the dimes.¹³²

To meet these expenses, the congrégation was not without solid resources. From the outlying farms - beef, pork, veal, chicken, sheep, ducks, turkeys, capons, beans, wheat, peas, oats and barley - must have amply filled the pewter dishes on the convent table,¹³³ and the wheat, oats, peas they provided regularly went towards the seigneurial dues owed to the Sulpicians.¹³⁴ Moreover, rentes coming in from the various properties the congrégation owned grace the pages of the account books, as do moneys received from dowry agreements, boarders' fees, at times, sums loaned.¹³⁵ As well, the institution possessed capital invested in France upon which they drew a steady, albeit, in the period under examination, increasingly diminishing yearly income.¹³⁶

As reliable as these sources of income seem to be, appearing as they do year in and year out in the community's account book, even a cursory glance at this document also immediately reveals that this income must have been insufficient to make ends meet, for to balance the books, these women had to be involved, as chapter two had demonstrated in another context, in numerous income-generating activities which continued month after month, year in and year out: making candles and communion hosts for Montreal and many outlying parishes, selling needlework, biscuits to the local

¹³² ACND, 3A/02, 133-142, 144-160, 162-170, *Registre des Recettes et Dépenses générales*, 1753-93, 1766-1772.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 132-41, 143-50, 153, 155, 156, 158, 159, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 1766-1772.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.* For example, "Payé au Mess du Sém pour dimes de 960 minots de bled..."

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 132, 134, 135, 136, 137, 139, 140, 142, 143, 145, 146, 147, 149, 150, 152, 153, 154, 156, 158, 159, 160, 161, 163, 165, 167, 169.

¹³⁶ Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 5: 112, 120, 142, 149, 150, 162, 181, 183, 184, 186, 189, 206.

merchants, presumably for the fur trade, feathers, wool, livestock, salted herbs, ashes, salted beans, raisins and ducks. Moreover, church linen was washed, altars adorned, statues of Jesus often made, livestock guarded, retreatants housed and sheltered.¹³⁷

Clearly, the institution was an industrious place, with a great deal of activity taking place above and beyond the regular teaching and household duties, like clockwork, year after year. However, to merely enumerate a list of these activities, does, I believe, a disservice to posterity, for even scratching the bare surface of some of these tasks reveals and pays homage to the enormous amount of work these women performed. For example, the washing of church linen: what did this involve? An entry into a register of 18 October 1766 to 12 August 1767, casts some light upon this: as well as candles provided, which presumably the *soeurs* themselves made, the nuns washed "large and small albs, altar cloths, communion cloths,...around the altar, basins,...surplices, tables, cloth, belts... embroidered cotton, Indian curtains, serviettes, hand towels, much small linen."¹³⁸ Most of this would have been done "in 8 large vats, 4 medium and 18 small," in the *lavoir*, in the cellar of the *congrégation*, facing *rue Saint-Jean-Baptiste*.¹³⁹ The laundry would have been retrieved from the parish church, brought into the convent, sorted, while the water boiled; it would have been scrubbed, perhaps with soap made in the convent itself, beaten by hand, wrung out, rinsed and wrung out again. Then it would be laid out to dry, folded,

¹³⁷ ACND, 3A/02, *Registre des Recettes et Dépenses générales*, 132, 134, 135, 136, 137, 139, 140, 142, 143, 145, 146, 147, 149, 150, 152, 153, 154, 156, 158, 159, 160, 161, 163, 165, 167, 169, 1766-1772.

¹³⁸ "grandes aubes, petits aubes, nappes d'autel, nappes de Communion,...,tours d'autel, lavabos...surplis, crédances, d'etoille, ceintures...cotton brodé, rideaux indien, serviettes, essuimains, plusieurs petits linge." ACND, 3A/04, *Registre de Comptes de la fabrique de Ville-Marie, 1759-1843: Comptes de la Paroisse*, 28 Oct.-12 Aug. 1767.

¹³⁹ "8 grandes Cuves, 4 moyennes, [et] 18 petits," Lahaise, *Les édifices conventuels*, 146.

and returned to the parish church. And of course this was only one source of laundry.

What about the convent's soiled clothing? Or that of the boarders, the engagés?¹⁴⁰

And what about the making of biscuits for the fur trade? Or communion hosts? Or candles? Many pages could be filled with detailed descriptions of what these tasks entailed and even then, it would perhaps still be difficult, if not impossible, for an individual at the inception of the twenty-first century to truly grasp the sheer amount of labour involved.

Of course, this is not to argue that the nuns alone did all of this work essential to the running of this institution, for the convent in 1766, as I have pointed out, consisted of only 59 women, including Marie-Josèphe (see appendix 4.1). Rather, as mentioned above, and discussed in chapter two, the congrégation relied quite heavily upon engagé labour. Between 1766 and 1772, for example, approximately 278 engagé contracts¹⁴¹ were issued¹⁴² - either to perform work outright the soeurs could not themselves do: for

¹⁴⁰ I am only assuming that the convent naturally took care of the laundry of their boarders. In the period under discussion, the community did laundry for the following engagés: ACND, 3A\06, Recettes et Dépenses de nos terres: Pointe Saint-Charles, Verdun, Laprairie, 1742-1780: Bourguignon, 3 Dec. 1770-30 Jan. 1771, 104; Baptiste Girare, Sept. 1770-30 Apr. 1771, 106, 6 Nov. 1771-Mar. 1772, 114, 6 Nov. 1771-1 Mar. 1772, 125; Sansoussy, Oct. 1770-5 Nov. 1770, 112; Pierre Guillon, 7 July 1771-Aug. 1771, 123; Dumas, 26 June 1771, 135; Bonhomme de plaine, 27 Nov. n.y., 138. The 1768 fire and the resulting economic straits may have been the impetus for washing engagé laundry, as there is no record for this activity during the previous period, 1766-8.

¹⁴¹ These were not notarized contracts, but presumably verbal agreements made between the dépositaire, on behalf of the community, and the engagé. The terms were then entered into the dépositaire's daybook. 3A\06, Recettes et Dépenses de nos terres: Pointe Saint-Charles, Verdun, Laprairie, 1742-1780.

¹⁴² Ibid. It is almost impossible to give an accurate number of the actual engagé working for the congrégation during this period. Two-hundred and twenty-seven names appear in the book - but many of them are so similar to each other that they could have been the same person: for example there were many individuals with the names of Michel, Michel Roy, roy, alone; jacques, petit Jacque; amable, amable roy ect. As a result, a more accurate picture was derived from the actual number of agreements made between the dépositaire and the workers.

example, sweeping chimneys, stonework, carpentry, chopping and transporting wood; or tasks requiring the specialized skills of the blacksmith, the tinsmith, or the cooper. Other engagés were hired to assist the soeurs in their assigned tasks, in, for instance, the bakery, the laundry, for the planting and harvesting of the crops, in the garden, at the mother house and the community's farm properties.¹⁴³

Certainly, this does appear to be a large number of contracts issued over such a short period of time, and this leads one to ask if perhaps the convent's fire in April 1768 stimulated the need for more workers. However, a count of the number of contracts issued between April 1766 and 11 April 1768, the date of the fire, between April 1768 and April 1770, the period immediately following the fire, and April 1770-April 1772, the time after the fire, does not reveal a vast discrepancy: 78 engagés were hired for the first period, while 85 for the second, and 81 for the third.¹⁴⁴

The existence of this engagé labour possessed two dimensions. On the one hand, it must have lightened the convent's workload. However, on the other, as the following examination of an engagé contract will reveal, it also must have augmented the weight of Marie-Josèphe's responsibility due to the daily round of activity running through what appears to be a very industrious place.

"Arrete le Compte"¹⁴⁵

On 17 July 1766, barely one month after the election of Marie-Josèphe to the superiorship, La Marine, an engagé, was contracted to work for the Congrégation de

¹⁴³ For example, ACND, 3A/02, 136, 138, 140, 141, 144, 145, 148, 144, *Registre des Recettes et Dépenses générales, 1753-93*; and ACND, 3A/06, 59, 61, 69, 102, 125, 59, *Recettes et Dépenses de nos terres: Pointe Saint-Charles, Verdun, Laprairie, 1742-1780*.

¹⁴⁴ ACND, 3A/06, 1766-1772, *Recettes et Dépenses de nos terres : Pointe-Saint-Charles, Verdun, Laprairie, 1742-1780*.

¹⁴⁵ Expression taken from *ibid.*, various contracts.

Notre Dame for 24 livres per month and a pair of shoes. The *dépositaire* duly noted, on this occasion, that this particular *engagé* owed them 25 livres and 1 denier, "from an old account."¹⁴⁶ In the following months, in August, September and October, the accountant recorded that shoes, ribbons, money, a cover, a blanket, cloth, tobacco, a culotte and a bonnet were sent to him - and also that he had lost "a half day's"¹⁴⁷ work. By 4 October 1766, La Marine had been promised an old harness for his horse on the condition that he would work throughout Advent, and right up to the spring of 1767. The next entry recorded that he was also given red wine.¹⁴⁸

The community's business with La Marine continued into November. At this time, he received shoes, tobacco, a pair of culottes, a bonnet, cloth and some cash. In December, he was given three cash payments, cloth, and on Christmas Eve some more money, while in January he received red wine, cash and shoes. On 17 February 1767, the account was finally tallied, and it was recorded that he was owed 4 livres and 5 deniers. In March, the payments resumed - with the reminder that he missed a day and one half of work. Issued to him at this time was cash, not only for himself, but also for another *engagé*, Laframboise, to settle a debt, and to "bonne homme St Onge." On the fourth of October 1767, the entry reads, "account terminated" with the account finally being settled between October and November 1767.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁶ "de vieux compte." Ibid., 57.

¹⁴⁷ "une demy journée." Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ "arreste de compte" Ibid., 58, 59.

La Marine's relationship with the congrégation, however, did not end with this contract. Rather, he was hired again on 13 September 1770 at 15 livres per month. For this work, he received shoes, some cash, tobacco and boots.¹⁵⁰

What does this description of this engagé's contract reveal? To begin with, someone within the convent, probably Marie-Josèphe's dépositaire, hired this man: the two individuals, employer and employee, agreed on an amount of money, the duration of the contract, and, over the course of a period of time, payments, which were made either in cash or payment in kind - with goods. Moreover, this person kept track of La Marine's work record - duly recording his absences.

Now, if this La Marine had been the only engagé hired by the convent during Marie-Josèphe's superiorship, the dépositaire's task would have been very straightforward indeed. However, quite simply, he was not. As mentioned earlier, between 1766 and 1772, approximately 278 engagé contracts were issued - and this may not even represent the full picture. The book of engagé contracts in the congrégation archives, although including a few contracts from the mother house, originates at Pointe Saint-Charles. It is possible, therefore, that more engagés were hired for the other farm properties and the mother house itself, their contracts perhaps lost in one of the many convent fires.

What then did this amount of hired labour mean for the community? A great deal of work by any standards for the dépositaire and the superior. To begin with, they would initially have to determine the convent's labour needs - how many engagés would be required, in what capacity, where, and the duration. Then, the dépositaire, as already mentioned, would have to hire each one of the workers on an individual basis. There were no ready-made contracts. Rather each one was written out separately in the register - each

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 62.

one with specialized and different arrangements. Thus, for example, although La Marine agreed to work simply as a general engagé, for cash and goods, paid either directly to him or to other individuals, such as "bonhomme St Onge," or "Laframboise,"¹⁵¹ every engagé commanded his own terms. Louis Dubort, for instance, was hired on 7 October 1766, specifically for the bakery, and received money in the form of cash either paid to him directly or sent to his wife; and shoes, a shirt and a culotte. Zacharie Boyer was also hired for specific work - as a foreman - for an entire year, and he received only cash payments. On the other hand, Baptiste Girare was hired for only 8 livres per month, plus shoes. He was issued cloth, a shirt, a culotte and the soeurs did his washing for two months.¹⁵² Other individuals were paid with other items: with wine, rum, brandy, molasses, beef, veal, mittens, toques, shirts, socks, scarves, hoods, blankets, cloth, ribbon, boots; directly or through the local merchant; either personally or with cash sent to a mother, a father, a sister, or a wife.¹⁵³

As I have pointed out, this task of keeping track of the engagé probably fell upon the shoulders of the superior's dépositaire, who had to consult with the superior. However, when one begins to examine the amount of goods being passed on to these workers, it appears that many more individuals in the convent may have been involved in this enterprise. To be sure, some of these trade items were purchased or obtained from the local merchants - "chez Mr Gamelin," for example¹⁵⁴ - as many of the engagé contracts reveal. However, if one examines the convent inventories themselves, it becomes apparent that the institution must have been manufacturing some of these goods within

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 58.

¹⁵² All in *ibid.* Louis Dubort: 69; Zacharie Boyer: 96; Baptiste Girare: 97.

¹⁵³ Ibid., 34-142; 735-753.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., 48, 66.

the walls of the congrégation itself. Shoes were a popular item, some of them possibly made in the community's cordonnerie, presumably from skin purchased from Bellaire, the tanner.¹⁵⁵ Account books also reveal that the convent sold its own wool, and is it not possible to presume that they could have used some of this wool to make at least some of the toques, mittens, and caps that they passed on to their workers in exchange for their labour?¹⁵⁶ Or the fabric purchased from the local merchants - cotton and other cloth - could it have been used to make some of their engagés' clothing?¹⁵⁷ In this light then, is it possible that the employment of the engagé stimulated activity within and throughout this convent, involving not only their engagement, the distribution, but also the manufacture of goods?

"La Recette Excede la Depense"¹⁵⁸

What, then, was Marie-Josèphe's role in this entire enterprise? All of it would have been her concern, her domain, beginning, in conjunction with her dépositaire,¹⁵⁹ with the registering of incoming money into the community's official account book from dowries, rental properties, and income from the boarders in the institution's charge. Her purview did not terminate in Montreal, or even in the outlying areas, but extended far beyond this, across the ocean to the financial capital of Paris, France, where the

¹⁵⁵ ACND, 3A/08, 350-69, *Registre de Comptes des engagés à la maison mère et sur nos terres*, 1740-1856: 1766. Shoes were also purchased from merchants. See, for example, the account of Jean Lilles, ACND, 3A/07, 733, *Registre de comptes des engagés à la maison mère et sur nos terres et Pointe Saint-Charles*, 1740-1763.

¹⁵⁶ ACND, 3A/02, 32, *Registre des Dépenses et recettes générales*, 1753-1793.

¹⁵⁷ ACND, 3A/07, 733, *Compte de Sieur Jean Lilles*, *Registre de comptes des engagés à la maison mère et sur nos terres et Pointe Saint-Charles*, 1740-1763; ACND, 3A/08, *Compte de Racine*, 1771, *Registre de Comptes des engagés à la maison mère et sur nos terres*, 1740-1856,

¹⁵⁸ ACND, 3A/02, *Registre des Dépenses et recettes générales*, 1753-1793.

Expression invariably utilized throughout the convent's account book at each quarterly summary of the institution's economic activities.

¹⁵⁹ ACND, 525.101, 698-1, *Réglemens*, art. 26: 53-5.

congrégation's money was invested.¹⁶⁰ As already mentioned, this income was administered by an ageing churchman, the Abbé l'Isle Dieu, in conjunction with Monsieur Maury,¹⁶¹ the procurator he had chosen, with their approval. On the one hand, Marie-Josèphe could rest assured that at least capable individuals were taking care of their overseas investments and offering advice. These she could trust, for the venerable abbé supervised the investments of many other Canadian religious communities in France.¹⁶² On the other hand, however, while the existence of these individuals must have been a relief to her, as they alleviated some of her responsibilities, it neither eliminated them, nor did it assuage her worries.

On a regular basis, Marie-Josèphe would have separated herself from the activity of this convent, removed herself to her chamber, sat down at her desk,¹⁶³ taken her quill pen out of its box, dipped it into the ink made within the convent¹⁶⁴ (it could freeze on very cold days), and with her polished and flowing script,¹⁶⁵ begin her letter to these men in France. She would have to write carefully, only one draft was possible, for paper was purchased from local merchants and could not be wasted.¹⁶⁶ Errors she may have made

¹⁶⁰ Sainte Henriette, *Histoire*, 5: 112, 120, 142, 149 150, 162, 181, 183, 184, 186, 189, 206.

¹⁶¹ Jean-Louis Maury, barrister and business agent for the Sulpician Seminary at Paris, took charge of the community's financial affairs in France in 1768. *Ibid.*, 5: 142.

¹⁶² *Rapport de l'archiviste de la province de Québec* (Québec: Imprimeur de Sa Majesté Le Roi, 1935-8). .

¹⁶³ Lahaise, *Les édifices conventuels*, 140.

¹⁶⁴ Recipe for this ink appears on the back cover of the community's general account book. ACND, 3A/02, *Registre des recettes et dépenses générales*, 1753-1793.

¹⁶⁵ As evidenced by her correspondence, AAM, 525.101, 766-1-770-2. The following section on the process of writing in the eighteenth century has been taken from Jane E. Harrison, *Until Next Year: Letter Writing and the Mails in the Canadas, 1640-1830* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1997), 16.

¹⁶⁶ "une Main de papier." ACND, 3A/07, 734, *Registre de comptes des engagés à la maison mère et sur nos terres et Pointe Saint-Charles, 1740-1763*, *Compte de Mr Pollier*, 13 May 1766.

would be time consuming, and would either be crossed out,¹⁶⁷ or scraped away with a sharp blade at a shallow angle. Once the letter was complete and final, and her name signed, she would either wait for the ink to dry or sprinkle it, using a pounce pot, with such substances such as gum arabic or powdered black mica, to absorb the excess ink. When the ink had dried, she would fold the letter sheet to form an envelope, sealing it with red hot wax, heated by the flame of her candle, press it with the community's seal and send it off to France. (This was an activity, by the way, which would be repeated for letters to the mission soeurs, the bishop and any other correspondence that may have arisen during her tenure as superior).

She would then wait for the letter to make its way on the long passage overseas to Paris, and for the reply - which could be delayed by ill winds, adverse weather, captured vessels¹⁶⁸ - containing crucial information concerning the returns on investments. Unfortunately, none of Marie-Josèphe's letters to these individuals remains to directly confirm the extent of her concern. However, indirectly, through the remaining correspondence of at least the abbé to her, one can discern that how these investments were performing did provoke anxiety on her part. On one occasion, the venerable abbé addressed her obvious lack of forbearance at his often tardy replies: "I am very sorry," he wrote, "about your concern over my delay [in writing you, for]....your affairs are not in danger in this country due to the care that I take of them and the correspondent I have chosen for you [M. Maury]...one of the most honest men, the most intelligent, and the most exacting that I know..."¹⁶⁹ Marie-Josèphe must also have worried about the old abbé

¹⁶⁷ See for example, AAM, 525.101, 766-2, Marie-Josèphe to Briand, 23 July 1766.

¹⁶⁸ Harrison, *Until Next Year*, 80.

¹⁶⁹ "je suis bien fâché, de l'inquiétude où vous êtes à cause du retard des miennes...vos affaires ne périlclitaient point en ce pays-ci, par le soin que j'en ai pris et... le

himself, with his constant preoccupation with an ever-imminent death,¹⁷⁰ and the concomitant administrative vacuum it would leave.

Marie-Josèphe, however, did not simply relinquish these financial matters to the capable hands of these Frenchmen. They had to be checked: accounts must have been painstakingly pored over with her *dépositaire*, errors caught and duly pointed out, as Maury himself on one occasion conceded: "You are right Madame, that is an error."¹⁷¹ Moreover, questions arising from the abbé's advice concerning their investments¹⁷² must have demanded decisions which would also involve her usual round of consultation with her council, the bishop, the Sulpician directors before an answer could be given. And consistently there were concerns about the steadily diminishing returns, worries very often about which she could do nothing, for, like everyone else, the congrégation was at the mercy of the performance of the French economy and the king who set the interest rates.¹⁷³

However, the above description of the institution has made it clear that Marie-Josèphe's position, at its very apex, encompassed more than simply this. There were the day-to-day concerns of organizing the *soeurs*, designating their duties - for everyone, not only the labouring, but teaching *soeurs* as well, was required to do "everything that will be necessary for the house and at whatever the Sup. wishes to employ them."¹⁷⁴ These duties could involve, for example, washing their own habits, working outside of the

correspondant que je vous ai choisi [M.Maury]...un des plus honnêtes hommes, des plus intelligents, et des plus exacts que je connaisse..." Sainte Henriette, *Histoire*, 5: 162, 163.

¹⁷⁰ "proximité où je suis de ma mort." Ibid., 5: 189.

¹⁷¹ "Vous avez raison Madame et c'est une erreur." Ibid., 5: 160.

¹⁷² Ibid., 5: 142, 144, 145.

¹⁷³ Ibid., 5: 183.

¹⁷⁴ ""tout ce qui sera nécessaire à la maison et à quoi la Sup les voudra employer..." AAM, 525.101, 698-1, *Réglements*, art.23: 47.

convent or general household duties, "tiresome" work which could include, for example, "carrying water, wood...carrying laundry from the laundry room, folding it... sweeping the house, washing dishes...caring for the ill and dying and other things..."¹⁷⁵ However, in addition to this task, every three years, she would have to assign both teaching and labouring soeurs to their respective duties: to the missions, the mother house, or the farm properties - either to teach, repair shoes, maintain the convent's linen, work in the kitchen, the bakery - supervising them, whenever possible, in order to judge suitability and possible lapses in performance.¹⁷⁶

And then again she had to cope with problems when they arose, difficulties with the soeurs, with the entire engagé enterprise and all that it involved, working closely with her dépositaire, settling problems with the merchants over the availability and the distribution of goods. In short, she would have to make sure that this entire operation ran smoothly - beginning within the walls of the convent, separating this institution from the streets of this town, where goods for trade or cash were manufactured, and where human beings entered from the outside world for hire; outward into the streets, into merchant shops where items were purchased, exchanged, debited to the institution's account; into the outlying parishes where congrégation labour graced church altars and provided spiritual food at communion; into the farmlands where seeds were sown, cultivated, and harvested, from where produce returned to pay the seigneurial dues, to feed the soeurs at the mother house, its boarders, and perhaps the engagé labour who supported its daily operation.

¹⁷⁵ "comme de porter l'eau, de bois... porter le linge de la lessive...le plier...balayer la maison, laver la vaisselle...veiller les malades et les mortes et autres choses." Ibid., 49.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., art. 23: 48; art. 31: 63.

All of these activities were within her purview. Together, with her *dépositaire*, an attempt would be made to systematize and place them in an orderly fashion in the community's official account books. They would prepare quarterly statements, on the dot, by carefully adding up all of the money received, and then, from this total, deduct the expenditures of the community, miraculously affirming - "la recette excède la dépense." And then this account book, which was her representation of an ordered and well functioning world, would be duly signed by herself, her *dépositaire*, her assistant, her mistress of novices, her two councillors, and, once a year, by either the bishop himself, or his representative, the vicar-general in Montreal.¹⁷⁷

IV. "La pesante charge"¹⁷⁸

By now it has become clear that Marie-Josèphe's role in this institution was by no means peripheral or insignificant. To be sure, she possessed an assistant, a mistress of novices, two councillors, to assist her in decision making, as well as a *dépositaire* to help with the finances; but, as I have already pointed out, we have no way of knowing their precise role in lightening her load. Ultimately, however, no one could claim that she was not at the apex of power in her own world within this convent. She was central to its functioning, the individual to whom all eyes were turned. And, to all intents and purposes, this responsibility and burden must have challenged all of her abilities, for she would have had to have been many things to many different people - supervisor, negotiator, consultant, a discreet politician and a communicator with an eye cognizant of any disruption of the smooth-running, the valued routine of the convent. Yet she was also required to possess an uncanny ability to handle emergencies, be sensitive to the spiritual

¹⁷⁷ Names appeared strictly in that order in ACND, 3A/02, *Registre des Dépenses et recettes générales*, 1753-1793.

¹⁷⁸ AAM, 525.101, 768-4, Marie-Josèphe to Briand, 25 Oct. 1768.

needs of the women in her care, able to work in tandem with their confessor, while possessing a facility with finances, always with a watchful eye to making ends meet. Compounding this, would be an ability to work closely and co-operatively with her council, the assembly, the Sulpician directors of the institution, who was also the vicar-general in Montreal, as well as the bishop at Quebec. In short, she had to be a woman of many talents and faces, constantly changing them as the need arose, as she supervised this institution, moment by moment, day by day.

V. The Way to Heaven

It is often taken for granted that position, ambition, power, the attainment and holding on to this power and influence are admirable goals, coveted by all humankind.¹⁷⁹ From this perspective then, by anyone's standards, it would appear that Marie-Josèphe, at least in these terms, as superior of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame, was fortunate indeed to hold, and yes, even wield such a great deal of power. And from this standpoint, it is then not too great a leap to identify Marie-Josèphe, in spite of herself, as a precursor of today's modern liberated career woman, an individual perhaps unwittingly sowing the seeds for subsequent women who would eventually, as the centuries progressed, attain prized positions running large institutions and corporations, with many individuals working beneath them.

But the essential question is: how did Marie-Josèphe view her position and the considerable amount of power at her disposal? As stated at the beginning of this chapter, from her very brief comments to the bishop, we would be led to believe that she did, indeed, disdain what we would view as a treasured prize, the pinnacle of any individual's

¹⁷⁹ Much of the literature categorizing the position of a nun as a "career," is guilty of this. See especially, for example, Danylewycz, *Taking the Veil* and Rapley, *The Dévotes*.

long and hard-won career. However, other than this very brief encounter, we possess so few other remaining indications of her genuine attitude towards her position. True, we could speculate from the sources that Marie-Josèphe arrived at the convent with the values of the world within which she had grown up: those of a hard-working merchant who had consolidated for himself a secure position within his own hierarchical world, and that this position would have been viewed by the outside world, and by Marie-Josèphe herself, as a product of this world, in a positive light, as an accomplishment to be emulated.

However, when Marie-Josèphe entered the convent, she was obliged to renounce the worldly standards she had left behind.¹⁸⁰ True, one cannot completely advance the view that the secular world did not invade this convent, for this chapter has indirectly demonstrated potential division, scorn, conflict, pride in social standing all within its walls. Yet, other evidence, albeit scanty, points to the fact that Marie-Josèphe did take the values of the convent world seriously, and she did so because she felt that they were demanded by God. Her *papiers intimes*,¹⁸¹ idealistic resolutions written by her at an unknown point in her life, reveal her to be the "good" nun, as the following selections so poignantly illustrate:

I shall [she resolved] offer all of my actions to God;...I shall pay attention to myself, and take care not to hurt others with my dry and indifferent replies;...I shall be faithful to silence,...the great silence,...and every day to think of my faults that hinder my advancement to a perfection that God demands of me...; I shall be the first at all of the exercises of the houses, never dispensing with any but for a good reason..., remaining in the great presence of God throughout the day."¹⁸²

¹⁸⁰ Bourgeoys, *Writings*, 5.

¹⁸¹ Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 5: 106-9.

¹⁸² Ibid. "Je tâcherai de lui offrir toutes mes actions...Je ferai en sorte de me rendre si attentive à moi-même que je ne fasse souffrir personne par mes réponses sèches et indifférentes;...être bien fidèle au silence...,un grand silence,...Je prendrai tous les jours un peu de temps pour penser aux fautes qui m'empêchent le plus d'avancer dans la

These resolutions reveal, not an ambitious individual, but an idealistic nun, who not only accepted, but also eagerly sought to live for God by the values of the world she had chosen to enter.

And so her entry into the congrégation must not be interpreted as a step onto the first rung of a ladder leading to worldly success and recognition, but rather one guiding her to the way of perfection, to God. The superiorship, as this chapter has demonstrated, was no prize. It was, indeed, an onerous responsibility, a very "heavy burden." But, as a congrégation nun, it was her duty to shoulder this burden by renouncing the self, by seeking employment in the most disagreeable duties of the house, by choosing the poorest, the most miserable, the least convenient task, and accepting this task, this work, without murmur or reply - for, as Marguerite Bourgeoys had counselled, the Lord reveals himself to the poor, the mortified.¹⁸³ This was, for her, the way to perfection: "to embrace the Cross" within the life she had chosen. And it was precisely this "heavy burden," this superiorship, that she had to carry to reach her Lord.

In the end then, Marie-Joséphé's words were not rhetoric, masking her pride at her worldly attainments. Rather, her words remain the voice of a weary, careworn nun, working her way, through her vocation, to perfection and to heaven.

perfection que Dieu demande de moi...; Je tâcherai d'être toujours la première à tous les exercices de la maison, ne me dispensant d'aucun que pour de bonnes raisons,...; je me tiendrai dans une grande présence de Dieu pendant le jour.... " For a comparison of her writings and those of Marguerite Bourgeoys, Appendix 1.

¹⁸³ Bourgeoys, *Writings*, 98.

Chapter Five : À Votre Monseigneur

I. Introduction

The congrégation's constitution stipulated that the day reserved for a visit by the bishop of Quebec (or for that matter any male church authority) would be a solemn, ceremonious affair. The soeurs, in procession, would meet him at the inside door of the convent and give a small cross, not directly to him, but to his assistant, who, in turn, would present it to the bishop. Following this action, the superior of the congrégation would place in the hands of this same assistant an aspersionarium.¹ The bishop would take this vessel from his assistant, clasp it between his hands, and sprinkle holy water upon all of the kneeling soeurs. The soeurs, having then received the bishop's blessing, would rise, sing the *Benedictus* and conduct him to the convent's chapel for the enactment of a solemn ceremony.²

This description of the formalities surrounding the visit of the bishop, or of a priest, to the community clearly delineates not only the hierarchical importance of the bishop of Quebec, it underlines the inferior position relative to him of the congrégation soeurs. It is noteworthy that the bishop receives none of the sacred objects directly from the hands of the soeurs — not even from those of the community's superior. Rather, he takes the cross, the aspersionarium immediately from his assistant, who acts as an intermediary for the nuns. Moreover, the soeurs greet him formally, in procession, and remain before him upon their knees to receive his holy blessing.

¹ A vessel used for the sprinkling of holy water.

² AAM, 525.101, 698-1, Réglemens des Soeurs Séculières de la Congrégation de Notre-Dame établie à Ville Marie pour honorer la très Ste Vierge et imiter ses vertus, "Abregé de la Cérémonie de la visite de Monseigneur ou du visiteur," 91.

In light of this description, one could perhaps suspect that the previous two chapters have conveyed an idealized impression of the power of congrégation superiors: strong women of diverse talents, no matter what their view of it may have been, by shouldering the burden of this institution, it appears as if they wielded an enormous amount of power and influence by the standards of ordinary women, and yes, even men of their day. And yet, underlying the narrative of the institution, as well as the position of these women within it, as the above extract from the congrégation's constitution so clearly demonstrates, is the presence of more powerful male religious authorities. To be sure, chapter two touched upon this relationship within the framework of the support that the institution received from this male church hierarchy, and demonstrated how this assistance proved integral to the perpetuation of the congrégation's mission. This chapter intends to return to this issue, but this time to narrow the focus, by zooming in specifically upon the superior's relationship with the bishop of Quebec.

Theoretically, in terms of the institution's constitution, at least, the bishop possessed an enormous amount of power. All of the congrégation soeurs were under the "authority, jurisdiction, government and subject to the visits" of the bishop of Quebec, and, after him, his representative, the vicar-general, who was also the superior of the Sulpician seminary in Montreal (see fig. 2.1).³ The soeurs owed the bishop, an individual who took the place of the Lord on this earth, perfect submission and obedience, an obedience which, according to their constitution, was sacred, something to be held "dear" or "precious."⁴ A congrégation superior, however, would have felt the weight of this authority more than the average soeur, for she was obliged to consult and interact with

³ Ibid., art. 33:73.

⁴ Ibid., art.:6:9; art. 33:73.

both the bishop and his representative, the vicar-general, in all important matters pertaining to the institution in order to obtain their approval.⁵ Compounding this power, as chapter two demonstrated, was the fact that the bishop, as well as his vicar-general, the Sulpician superior, could also serve as a source of funds for the congrégation, and this made them not only a potentially valuable ally, but also one to be treated circumspectly.

Constitutional precepts aside, however, in the internal day-to-day workings of this institution, actually how influential was the bishop? Given the fact that the bishop resided in Quebec, and the soeurs in Montreal, it is only natural to assume that, due to proximity at least, the bishop's grand-vicar, who, as we have said, was also the community's superior, as well as superior of the Sulpician seminary, and who acted on the bishop's behalf, would have been more directly influential in the daily internal affairs of the community. Certainly very little evidence exists pointing to the daily ramifications of the bishop's actual involvement in the workings of the congrégation. Through the correspondence between the bishop and the institution, we do learn that the superiors did, indeed, submit all of their decisions to the bishop for his approval. However, very often it appears that he simply rubber-stamped these decisions, occasionally inserting an interpolation, his own interpretation, or wishes.⁶ The bishops issued mandements to the diocese, as well as pastoral letters, and these were often replete with instructions shaping the religious comportment of both the laity and the religious communities.⁷ Moreover, depending on the individual bishop, his presence would have been felt on a regular basis

⁵ Ibid., art. 33: 73.

⁶ Very few of the bishop's letters to the congrégation have survived. See, for example, AAM, 525.101. The bishop's letters also appear throughout Soeur Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire de la Congrégation de Notre-Dame* (Montréal: CND, 1910-13), esp. vols. 2-6.

⁷ Cardinal Taschereau, *Mandements, lettres pastorales et lettres circulaires des évêques de Québec* (Québec : Têtu et C.-O. Gagnon, 1893). Many of these mandates, pertaining to the institution, can be found in Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, vols. 2-6.

through his pastoral visits to the parishes as well as to the religious communities residing within them - at this time, he would inspect the communities, placing his stamp of approval upon their management with his signature in their account books.⁸

However, that the bishop was, at times, more than a figurehead within the congrégation and did contravene its wishes, is evidenced by certain situations in the history of the institution. We have already seen how in the 1690s, Bishop Saint-Vallier⁹ imposed a constitution upon the soeurs, contrary to their wishes, and how this same bishop, in 1727, forced the institution to establish a mission at Louisbourg, with disastrous long-term consequences.¹⁰ Bishop Pontbriand, for his part, created a certain uneasiness in the community with his openly professed intention of uniting the Hôpital-Général of Montreal with the congrégation.¹¹ Moreover, the previous chapter has illustrated how in 1766, in the case of the fugitive soeurs, Bishop Briand¹² did contravene the wishes of the community by allowing errant individuals to return to the convent. But episcopal interference or even conflicts were not unique to the congrégation, but resound throughout the annales of the Canadian colony. Many of these clashes predominantly centred upon Bishop Saint-Vallier, whose zealous conduct almost cost him dismissal by the king of France and managed to ignite, at one time or another, the ire of the cathedral chapter, Jesuits, the Séminaire de Québec, the Récollets, Hôtel-Dieu nuns, as well as government authorities.¹³ But conflict was not the sole preserve of Bishop Saint-Vallier -

⁸ ACND, 3A/02, Registre des dépenses et recettes générales, 1753-1793.

⁹ Alfred Rambaud, "Jean-Baptiste La Croix de Chevrières de Saint-Vallier," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), 2: 328-34.

¹⁰ For a discussion of these incidents, see introduction and chapters one and two.

¹¹ Jean-Guy Lavallée, "Henri-Marie Dubreuil de Pontbriand," *DCB*, 3 :195.

¹² André Vachon, "Jean-Olivier Briand," *ibid.*, 4: 95-102. Bishop Briand (1715-1794) was bishop of Quebec from 1766 to 1784.

¹³ Rambaud, "Saint-Vallier," *ibid.*, 2: 328-34.

Bishop Pontbriand, otherwise known as a moderate individual, also clashed with the Séminaire de Québec, which considered itself independent of the bishop of Quebec as well as the Jesuits; he interfered with the nascent establishment of the Grey Nuns under Marguerite d'Youville¹⁴; and although, for the most part, he managed to avoid confrontation with secular authorities, he too jealously guarded his territory and refused to acknowledge the right of the king to set up parishes.¹⁵

Certainly, a bishop's power, as well as his wielding of it, were conditioned by both personality and historical conditions, and in this respect, it is important to place the congrégation's relationship with the bishop, as well as his power over it within its proper broader perspective. The French Gallican Church possessed a tradition of independence from Rome, and it wielded enormous political and economic power. But so too did the king, to whom the bishops owed their appointment. The king was accountable to God, and in his coronation oath he swore to protect the Church and to persecute heretics. But the monarchy, in its construction of absolutism under Louis XIV, also asserted its authority over the pope in 1682, the head of this same universal Church, and declared the king of France to be independent of the papacy in temporal affairs and answerable to God alone. Louis XIV utilized the bishops — usually individuals derived from the nobility — and the Jesuits in his construction of absolutism, as well as his battle against the Jansenists, who advocated an austere form of Christianity and a church reform that potentially clashed with royal interests. This struggle over Jansenism, whereby religious and political authorities attempted to force the clergy to accept the papal bull *Unigenitus*

¹⁴ Claudette Lacelle, "Marie-Marguerite Dufrost de Lajemmerais," *ibid.*, 4:234-8. Marguerite d'Youville (1701-1771) was foundress of the Congrégation of the Sisters of Charity of the Hôpital Général of Montreal.

¹⁵ Lavallee, "Pontbriand," *ibid.*, 3: 193, 195.

condemning Quesnel's book of propositions, disrupted the religious life of eighteenth-century France, embroiled the French bishops within it, and in some cases led to a popular hostility and dissidence among parish priests against episcopal authority.¹⁶

In the colony, the bishop was also the king's servant - he owed his appointment to the monarch and swore on oath of loyalty initially to the French, and then after the Conquest, the English monarch, within a milieu where, as the eighteenth century advanced, the Church became progressively subordinated to royal authority.¹⁷ Very little research has been done pertaining to the position of the bishop in the Canadian colonial situation or the influence of the Jansenist controversies raging on the other side of the ocean. Louis Dechêne, for example, has argued that the Sulpicians attempted to stay on good terms with the bishop - without, however, allowing him to dictate his terms to them. Moreover, she has contended, at least with respect to the Sulpicians, who were also Jansenist, that they followed the orders of the Sulpician seminary in Paris and avoided the conflicts that so ravaged French political and religious life until the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1764.¹⁸ What is clear, however, about the bishop is that that throughout the French regime at least, the clergy and the civil administration worked together to ensure that the internal affairs of Canada ran smoothly, and that this could not have been an easy task. The bishop was expected to sit on the sovereign council and be actively engaged in

¹⁶ David A. Bell, "Culture and Religion," in *Old Regime France, 1648-1788*, edited by William Doyle (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 78-104 and esp. 80, 88; Gail Bossenga, "Society," in *ibid.*, 55; Dale Van Kley, "Catholic Conciliar Reform in an Age of Anti-Catholic Revolution: France, Italy and the Netherlands, 1758-1801," in *Religion and Politics in Enlightenment Europe*, edited by James E. Bradley and Dale Van Kley (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre-Dame Press, 2001), 53, 58, 59, 74, 131, 132.

¹⁷ Lavallée, "Pontbriand," *DCB*, 3 : 192, 193, 196.

¹⁸ Louise Dechêne, *Habitants and Merchants in Seventeenth-Century Montreal*, translated by Liana Vardi (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), 261, 263.

colonial politics.¹⁹ In addition to the congrégation, the bishop dealt with numerous other male and female religious orders, some of which, such as the Jesuits and the Récollets, were not under his jurisdiction, but with whom he clashed. It has been estimated, for example, that three-quarters of the clergy in Canada escaped the bishop's direct authority. There was also his chapter to contend with, the Séminaire de Quebec, as well as various government officials. The expanse of his diocese - stretching from Louisiana to the *pays d'en haut*, from Montreal to Quebec and then all the way to Acadia²⁰ - would also have diverted the bishop's attention, and it obliged him to appoint vicars-general to help him govern the vastly different parts. Post-Conquest bishops, such as Briand and Hubert, were also preoccupied with the enormous burden of first defending and then sustaining the Church in the face of the British Protestant rulers and general unrest.²¹ However, it is also important to remember that in spite of these limitations inherent in this wider picture, the bishop's power in terms of the congrégation was, in theory, and, if utilized, absolute.

Certain historians of New France have broached the issue of the relationship of female religious orders with the bishop. Working within the framework of wider inquiries into this connection in the medieval and early modern periods in Europe,²² both Mary

¹⁹ Allan Greer, *The People of New France* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 45.

²⁰ Lavallée, "Pontbriand," *DCB*, 3: 192, 193, 196. Rambaud, "Saint-Vallier," *ibid.*, 2:330-1.

²¹ Vachon, "Jean-Olivier Briand," *ibid.*, 4: 94-102; Gilles Chaussé, "Jean-François Hubert," *ibid.*, 4 : 370-4.

²² Penelope D. Johnson, *Equal in Monastic Profession: Religious Women in Medieval France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), chap. 3; Mary Peckham Macgray, *The Transforming Power of the Nuns: Women, Religion and Cultural Change in Ireland, 1750-1900* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998); Craig Harline, *The Burdens of Sister Margaret: Inside a Seventeenth-Century Convent* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000).

Ann Foley and Chantal Théry are noteworthy in this respect.²³ We have already mentioned in chapter one Mary Ann Foley's exploration of the repercussions of Bishop Saint-Vallier's imposition of the constitution upon the congrégation. But more pertinent to this discussion is Chantal Théry's treatment of the intrusive nature of the bishop's authority in the internal affairs of the Ursulines and Hôpital-General de Québec in the seventeenth century Canadian colony, particularly her examination of how these women utilized language in a subtle and astute way to deal with his incursions.

Chantal Théry's treatment of the relationship of certain female religious orders with the bishop of Quebec provides a useful starting point for this exploration of the relationship between the congrégation and the bishop, for although her work does not overtly do so, it implicitly places the discussion of the position of these women with respect to the bishop in terms of what Michel de Certeau has identified as "tactics": the way in which individuals utilize "rituals, representations," cultural forms in order to "adapt [them] to their own interest and their own rules," in order to "deflect the power of the dominant social order."²⁴ This chapter's examination of power will examine this issue of "tactics," within the comparative framework of the correspondence with the bishop of Quebec of two congrégation superiors²⁵ - Marie-Josèphe Mauge-Garreau, Soeur de

²³ Mary Ann Foley, CND, "Uncloistered Apostolic Life for Women: Marguerite Bourgeoys' Experiment in Ville-Marie," Ph.D. Thesis, Yale University, 1991; Chantal Théry, "Imaginaire et pouvoir: nécromancie et parole alternative dans les récits des religieuses de la Nouvelle-France," in *Les productions symboliques du pouvoir, XVIe-XXe siècle*, edited by Laurier Turgeon (Québec : Les éditions du Septentrion, 1990), 125-35. For more on this issue within the Canadian colonial context, see Leslie Choquette, "Ces amazones du grand Dieu : Women and Mission in Seventeenth-Century Canada." *French Historical Studies* 17 (1992): 627-55.

²⁴ Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), xiii, xiv, xix.

²⁵ AAM, 525.101, 766-2, 766-3, 766-5, 766-6, 766-7, 768-1, 768-2, 768-3, 768-4, 770-1, 770-2, Marie-Josèphe Mauge-Garreau to Bishop Briand, 1766-70; AAM, 525.101, 790-

l'Assomption, and Marie Raizenne, Soeur Saint-Ignace - in order to explore the broader issue of the agency of these women in relation to the male-dominated church hierarchy.

The Epistolary Tradition

By the time Marie-Josèphe and Marie Raizenne had put pen to paper in the latter part of the eighteenth century, women had been writing letters for many centuries.²⁶ In the Middle Ages, both lay and religious women wrote within the epistolary form of the *ars dictaminis* inherited from classical models and the humanists.²⁷ Hildegard von Bingen used it to preach about Church reform, Christine de Pizan to influence politics, and Catherine of Siena to castigate the government of Rome.²⁸ However, it is also generally agreed that many of these women, unlike their male counterparts, did not write strictly within the tradition of the *ars dictaminis*. Rather, like Catherine of Siena, for example, they produced letters dealing with both personal and doctrinal issues.²⁹

6, 791-1, 791-2, 791-3, 791-10, 791-11, 792-1, 792-3, 792-4, 792-5, 793-1, 793-2, 793-4, 796-1, Marie Raizenne to Bishop Hubert, 1790-6.

²⁶ For a good overview of female letter writing in the medieval period, see articles in Karen Cherewatuk and Ulrike Wiethaus, eds., *Dear Sister: Medieval Women and the Epistolary Genre* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993). See also, Roger Duchêne, "The Letter: Men's Genre/Women's Practice," in *Women Writers in Pre-Revolutionary France*, edited by Colette H. Winn and Donna Kuizenga (New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1997), 315; and Maria Luisa Doglio, "Letter Writing, 1350-1650," in *A History of Women's Writing in Italy*, edited by Letizia Panizza and Sharon Wood, translated by Jennifer Lorch (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 13.

²⁷ Cherewatuk and Wiethaus, *Dear Sister*, 5. According to this tradition, there were five parts of a standard letter in medieval Europe: the *salutatio* or greeting; the *benevolentiae captatio*, a proverb or quotation from scripture; the *narratio* or statement of purpose; the *petitio* or argument deduced from premises established earlier in the letter; and the *conclusio*, the conclusion or ending. Duchêne, "The Letter," 323.

²⁸ Cherewatuk and Wiethaus, *Dear Sister*, 3.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 8, 10.

By the sixteenth century, the familiar letter was first thought of as a literary form.³⁰ However, according to Roger Duchêne, there were practically no women "letter writers" composing within the structured "epistolary genre," while a certain and increasing number of women, as well as men, did write "real letters." This development, according to Duchêne, made the act of writing commonplace and letter writing a convenient and popular means of expression for women. Letter writing developed, an "anarchical" practice which did not follow any rules, and in which emotion and passion were expressed.³¹ Renowned French practitioners of this type of letter were, for example, Madame de Sévigné³² in the seventeenth century, whose familiar letters appeared in print one year after her death, and, in New France in the eighteenth century, Madame Bégon.³³

Obviously, as superiors of an institution and corresponding to the bishop of Quebec, these women were compelled to write official letters to relate information concerning convent business. Consequently, their letters remained predominantly practical, circumscribed by the information they conveyed and the formalities demanded by a relationship between an inferior and a superior. And yet, in spite of these strictures, one of the two women to be examined - Marie-Josèphe Maugue-Garreau - consistently

³⁰ Elizabeth Goldsmith ed., *Writing the Female Voice: Essays on Epistolary Literature* (London: Pinter Publishers, 1989), vii.

³¹ Duchêne, "The Letter," 315, 322, 323. Goldsmith, "Authority, Authenticity, and the Publication of Letters by Women," in *Writing the Female Voice*, 47. Other works specifically examining the gender of letter-writing include: Benoît Melançon and Pierre Popovic, *Les femmes de lettres: Écriture féminine ou spécificité générique?: Actes du colloque tenu à l'Université de Montréal, le 15 avril 1994* (Montréal: Centre universitaire de lecture sociopoétique de l'épistolaire et des correspondances, Université de Montréal, 1994); Christine Planté ed., *L'Épistolaire, un genre féminin? Études réunies et présentées par Christine Planté* (Paris: Honoré Champion Éditeur, 1998), 11-152.

³² Madame de Sévigné, *Lettres* (Paris: Hachette, 1862).

³³ Élisabeth Bégon, *Lettres au cher fils: Correspondance d'Élisabeth Bégon avec son gendre, 1748-1753*, edited by Nicole Deschamps (Montréal: Éditions Hurtubise, HMH, 1972).

allowed a familiar element to enter into her correspondence. It is to the significance of this personal element within the framework of many of Soeur Garreau's highly formalized letters that this discussion now shall turn.

II. The Correspondence

Marie-Josèphe Maugue-Garreau

When Marie-Josèphe wrote her first letter to the bishop of Quebec on 23 July 1766, she had only been in the office of superior for less than one month. Bishop Briand was also fairly new to his position - he had taken possession of his see in the chapel of the Séminaire de Québec only four days previously. Challenges Marie-Josèphe certainly did face as superior of this institution, as the previous chapter has indicated. However, Briand, a native of France, son of a peasant, who had served in the Canadian Church since 1741, became head of a Church in Quebec which war and conquest had left in a state of uncertainty: with the religion of the civil authority opposed to Catholicism, poverty in the female religious orders, a declining priesthood, and in the parishes, quarrels sometimes erupting into open rebellion over the location of a parish church or the payment of tithes.³⁴

Eleven of Marie-Josèphe's letters to Bishop Briand remain, and they are not dated at regular intervals: five were written in 1766; four in 1768, and two in 1770 (see fig. 5.1).³⁵ Given the nature of the correspondence - in that it dealt with day-to-day convent business - one can safely presume that there must have been other letters, which, over the

³⁴ Vachon, "Briand," *DCB*, 4: 94-102; Hilda Neatby, *Quebec: The Revolutionary Age, 1760-1791* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1966), 107-24; Nive Voisine ed., *Histoire du catholicisme québécois* (Montréal: Boréal Express, 1984), tome 1, Lucien Lemieux, *Les années difficiles, 1760-1839*, 15-26; Abbé Hermann Plante, *L'Église catholique au Canada (1604-1886)* (Trois-Rivières: Éditions du Bien Public, 1970): 177-215.

³⁵ See note 25.

passage of time, were burned in one of the numerous convent fires that destroyed many of the institution's records, lost, or simply disappeared. Alternately, we possess only three of the bishop's replies. These are not formal letters. Rather, they are undated notes scribbled at the head of the first page of certain letters she sent to him, and which he then returned to her.³⁶

³⁶ AAM, 525.101, 768-4, 770-1, 770-2, Marie-Josèphe to Briand, 25 Oct. 1768, 30 Mar. 1770, 19 June 1770.

*M. l'Assomption Supérieure
de la Cong. de N.D.
fait rien sans luy Communiquer comme il Ma
montre le 28 octobre 1776
parmi que vous le souhaitez*

Je vous prie de me le Respect de plus profond

Monsieur



De votre Grandeur

Tous droits de reproduction réservés
aux Archives de la Chancellerie
de l'Archevêché de Montréal

*La très humble & très obéissante
Servante S^r l'Assomption Sup^r*

de Montreal ce 28 Oct. 1776

525.101
766-6

2

Monsieur

*Je Reçu celle que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de
m'écrire avec le procès verbal qui contient les
interrogations & Responses de cette fille.*

*Je ne Sais, Monsieur comment vous exprimer
la Reconnaissance ou je suis de toutes les peines
que vous vous donnez pour nous, j'éprouve plu.
qu'aucune la douceur & la Sagesse de votre
Reque, j'avois besoin d'un tel Secours pour
M'aider à porter une si pesante charge, & surti*



Figure 5.1 – Letter of Marie-Josèphe Mauge-Garreau to Bishop Briand

Source: AAM, 525.101, 766-6, Marie- Josèphe Mauge-Garreau to Bishop Briand, 28 October 1776

As would be expected, Marie-Josèphe's letters to the bishop detail convent business and, in general, the topics discussed within them fall into three distinct categories: a) the routine conveyance of information, detailing, for example, matters of discipline, the death of a congrégation soeur; the progress of the rebuilding of the convent following the 1768 fire, financial woes; b) the transmission of information for the purposes of making a request, asking, for instance, for his approval of decisions already made by the community, such as the changing of mission personnel; matters related to the reopening of the Quebec mission; permission to allow a young woman into the community without the required dowry; and c) the conveyance of information with the intent of settling a controversy - either that of the two soeurs who deserted the convent in 1766 or the case of Julie Martel who fled the Lachine mission in 1768. These topics appear either isolated in a single letter or any combination of the three of them at one time can also be contained within the framework of a single letter.

On one level, Marie-Josèphe's letters to the bishop clearly reflect the formal boundaries of the relationship of an inferior writing to her superior, and in this respect, they are barely distinguishable in their structure and their language from the numerous official letters written in, for example, *ancien régime* France throughout the early modern period.³⁷ Every letter begins by establishing his rank - he is always "Monseigneur." Only one letter - the first introductory one contains general prefatory remarks, assurances of her humility, respect and obedience before turning to the business at hand.³⁸ The other ten letters, from the outset, abruptly address the purpose of the letter, and either leave aside

³⁷ Official correspondence found in Pierre Grillon ed., *Les papiers de Richelieu: Section politique intérieure, correspondance et papiers d'État* (Paris: A. Pedone, 1975), vols. 1-6.

³⁸ AAM, 525.101, 766-2, Marie-Josèphe to Briand, 23 July 1766.

polite prefatory remarks, or reserve them for later. Six of the eleven letters³⁹ conclude with requests for spiritual favours or blessings - for example- for "a part in his holy sacrifices and prayers,"⁴⁰ while all of them express, in closing, an affirmation of her respect and deference as his humble and obedient servant, Soeur Assomption.⁴¹

And yet as formal and practical as these letters may appear, the correspondence, as the following shall reveal, proves to be a strategic vehicle, a tactic, through which Marie-Josèphe manages to deflect the power of the bishop, transcend the boundaries of formality and assert herself as an individual.

"C'est bien mon sentiment"⁴²

Over the course of 1766, Marie-Josèphe wrote five letters dealing primarily with the issue of the flight of two soeurs du gros ouvrage, Marie-Josèphe Juillet, Soeur Saint-Gabriel, and Elisabeth Arsenault, Soeur Saint-Antoine, from the convent.⁴³ On one level, they detail the circumstances of their flight and its disruptive influence upon the community; they reply to Soeur Juillet's accusations, made to the bishop by the fugitive nun during the course of his interrogation of her at Quebec, that she had been mistreated by the community; and finally they discuss the resolution of the incident, whereby Soeur Arsenault, one of the errant soeurs, was permitted, under severe disciplinary measures, to re-enter the community. On another level, however, they transcend these factual parameters.

³⁹ Ibid., 766-2, 766-7, 768-1, 768-2, 768-3, 770-1, 23 July 1766, 26 Nov. 766-7, 18 Aug. 1768, 20 Sept. 1768, 8 Oct. 1768, 30 Mar. 1770.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 766-2, 23 July 1766. "part dans Ses Sts Sacrifices, et prières"

⁴¹ For example, ibid., 766-2, 23 July 1766: "La tres humble et tres obeissante Servante Sr Lassomption spre de la Cgnd."

⁴² Ibid., 766-7, 26 Nov. 1766. "That's just my opinion"

⁴³ Ibid., 766-2; 766-3; 766-5; 766-6; 766-7. Although 766-5 is unsigned, the content as well as the handwriting points to Marie-Josèphe as its author.

Marie-Josèphe's initial letter to the bishop, dated 23 July 1766, almost less than one month after her election, begins on a deceptively calm and formal note:

No one is more aware nor more grateful than I for all of the signs of kindness and charity that you have deigned to honour our poor community. Permit me then if you please to give you here my very humble thanks, supplicating your Grandeur to wish to continue to accord us the honour of your protection...⁴⁴

Marie-Josèphe then deftly turns to the issue at hand, and broaches it in an equally calm, controlled and formal manner:

I would believe, Monseigneur, to be remiss in my duty if I would not give you knowledge of what has passed before our elections touching upon the desertion of the two soeurs who left by themselves without giving any notice to their superiors.⁴⁵

However, as the letter progresses, Marie-Josèphe's recounting of the incident begins to change and moves beyond the simple transmission of the facts in a calm, correct manner. Rather, within the framework of this formal structure, it begins to describe the soeurs's departure in a bold and graphic way. According to Marie-Josèphe, the soeurs did not simply depart from the convent. No, they chose night-time to leave, a description endowing their flight with a dark premeditated edge, enhanced as it is by an ominous delineation of the history of their conduct: "For a long time," she contends, "their conduct has threatened ruin, not even gentle reminders served to them were able to make any headway on their spirits and their hearts,..."⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Ibid., 766-2, 23 July 1766. "personne nest plus sensible ny plus reconnoissante que je ne La suis a toutes Les marques de bonté et de charité dont vous avez daigné honorer notre pauvre comte permettez moy donc Sil Vous plait de vous en faire ici mes très humbles remerciemens, en suppliant Votre Grandeur de vouloir bien nous les continuer et nous accorder Lhonneur de Votre protection..."

⁴⁵ Ibid. "je croirois Monseigneur manquer a mon devoir si je ne vous donnois pas connoissance de ce qui s'est passé devant nos Elections, touchant la desertions [sic] de deux Srs qui se sont retirées d'elles mêmes sans en donner aucune connoissance aux superieurs..."

⁴⁶ Ibid. "Depuis longtems leurs conduite menaçoient ruine, sans que Les Voix de douceurs dont on s'est servie ait pu rien gagner sur Leurs Esprits, et sur leurs coeurs."

Marie-Josèphe's forthright approach to this incident, as well as to the two offending soeurs, only intensifies over the course of the next two letters, becoming more personal, passionate and denunciatory as they progress. In a subsequent letter, written on 27 August 1766, just over one month later, Marie-Josèphe openly casts suspicion upon the sincerity of their repentance: "They seem submissive, but is this sincere?"⁴⁷ And in an ensuing one, this time focussing upon Soeur Juillet, she reiterates previous accusations against her, charging that "she has given us enough torment since the time of her novitiate,"⁴⁸ openly expressing her opinion: "I don't believe," she declared, "that the community can ever take her back, whatever the condition."⁴⁹

This "tactic" - the interpolation of the familiar within the framework of formal correspondence - reappears more obviously in a subsequent letter dated 28 October 1766.⁵⁰ Written in response to the minutes - sent to her by Bishop Briand - detailing his interrogation of Soeur Juillet, and outlining this nun's allegations that the community had treated her unfairly, this letter begins, once again, in a most proper way: "I do not know Monseigneur how to express to you my recognition of all of the trouble you have gone to for us. I feel more than anyone the gentleness and the wisdom of your rule..."⁵¹ At this juncture in the letter, Marie-Josèphe does not directly broach the details of the incident, but instead utilizes this formal introduction to reflect upon the wider implications of it, to

⁴⁷ Ibid., 766-3, 27 Aug. 1766. "Elles paroissent soumises, mais est ce sincere?"

⁴⁸ Ibid., 766-5, n.d. I am accepting the archive's sequencing of this undated letter for lack of any evidence to the contrary. "'Elle nous a assez donnée de tourment dans Le tems même de son noviciat;"

⁴⁹ Ibid. "je ne crois pas que jamais La Communauté La Reprenne, a quelque condition que ce soit..."

⁵⁰ Ibid., 766-6, 28 Oct. 1766.

⁵¹ Ibid. "je ne sçais monseigneur comment vous exprimer La reconnoissance ou je suis de toutes les peines que vous vous donnez pour nous, j'éprouve plus qu aucune La douceur et La sagesse de Votre Règne..."

ruminate upon the times, the state of her own community and, in particular, her role within it:

There are everywhere difficult spirits to govern; but it seems that the times authorize them to break the yoke of authority; I do not have more it is true of these rebellious spirits...I tolerate, I wait, I hope and try to encourage those who dare to touch it without however shutting out the law of God and those rules which always have been the same and which we always followed and observed."⁵²

Marie-Josèphe, however, at this point does not limit her discussion to mere reflection. Rather, she utilizes the opportunity to launch a denunciatory attack upon the offending women as soon as she broaches the topic at hand. "I do not know Monseigneur what those two girls wish to say...everything that they have said furthermore is false."⁵³ After defending the constitutionality of their treatment, she proceeds to hurl a scathing offensive, hiding neither her anger at their behaviour and ingratitude, her uncharitable and derisory attitudes towards the economic status of at least one of them, her absolute conviction that they should never return to the community, as well as a suspicion that these women had left the convent, taking with them articles that belonged to the community.

I am not surprised [she begins] to see them persist in their bad tendencies, after having received for such a long time the graces of God and having abused them as they have done, it is very difficult and I would dare say impossible for them to return, above all La juiliette - except for a miracle - I will break her contract with the necessary formalities. I believe that her entire legacy was her person, we have not received a sol...the community nourished her and maintained her healthy and ill. They have been

⁵² Ibid. "il y a partout des Esprits difficile a gouverner; mais il semble que Le Tems les autorise a Secouër le joug de toute autorité, je n ai plus il est Vrai de Ses esprits Si rebelle [sic] ...je tolere, jattends, jespere, et tache d'encourager Celles qui n'osent y toucher, Sans cependant rien rabattre de la loi de Dieu, et des Regles qui ont toujours été Les Mêmes et qu'on a toujours suivi et observer,..."

⁵³ Ibid. "je ne scais Monseigneur ce que veulent dire ces deux filles...tout ce qu'elles ont dites de plus est faux..."

careful to carry away a good package. We notice considerable diminution in our laundry...⁵⁴

Marie-Josèphe's final letter on this issue was written on 26 November 1766⁵⁵ after the bishop permitted one of the women, Soeur Arsenault, to return to the convent - in spite of her passionate insistence that neither errant soeur should not be allowed to do so. Once again, Marie-Josèphe is all submissive deference:

I am surely aware, [it graciously begins] of all of the trouble that you have taken for the return of that poor errant who arrived here last Saturday with all of the appearances of true contrition. I was touched by it. We have received her with goodness and charity pardoning her for the insult she has made to religion and the entire community."⁵⁶

In spite of her correct approach, however, Marie-Josèphe does not appear to be willing to relinquish the incident without placing her final stamp upon it, without expressing, "just my opinion."

We were far removed from the opinion of giving back to her the habit that she had scorned, however, learning that your Grandeur had granted it to her we found ourselves obliged to comply and give it to her, with a veil of taffeta like the novices; I believe Monseigneur that it would be appropriate to leave her always in that clothing that would serve to keep her humble and to remember her fault, and would serve to others as a brake that would keep them in their work? That's just my opinion.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Ibid. "je ne suis point surprise de Les voir persistées dans leurs mauvaises dispositions, apres avoir reçues aussi Longtems Les graces de Dieu et on avoir abusé comme Elles ont faites, il est tres difficile et j'oserois dire impossible qu'elle [sic] puissent en revenir surtout La juliette - amoins d'un miracle - je ferez rompre Le contrat, avec Les formalités necessaires je crois que tout Lheritage étoit Sa personne, nous navons pas reçu un sol... La Comté La nourrie et entretenue saine et malade elles ont en soin d'emporter de bon paquet nous nous appercevons a la diminutions de notre linge cela est considerable."

⁵⁵ Ibid., 766-7, 26 Nov. 1766.

⁵⁶ Ibid. "Je suis sincerement reconnoissante de toutes Les peines que vous vous êtes donne pour Le Retour de Cette pauvre Errante qui est arrivé ici Samedi dernier avec toutes Les apparences d'une Vraye Contrition, j'en ai été touchée Nous Lavons reçues avec bonté et charité Luy pardonnant L'insulte qu'elle a fait a La Religion et a toute La comté."

⁵⁷ Ibid. "nous etions bien Eloignées du sentiment de Luy Rendre un habit qu'elle avoit meprisé, cependant apprenant que Votre Grandeur Luy avoit accordé nous nous trouvames obligée de nous Rendre et de Lui donner, avec une Coëffe de taffetas Comme Les novices; je Crois Monseigneur qu'il seroit a propos de Lui Laiser toujours cet habillement cela Luy serviroit a La tenir dans Lhumilite et Le Souvenir de Sa faute, et

Marie-Josèphe's tactic of inserting informal, personal remarks into a formal structure surfaces in the framework of yet an additional convent "crisis." In this instance, this time in 1768, another *soeur*, Julie Martel, *Soeur Sainte-Marie*, fled the Lachine mission and returned to her parent's home after Marie-Josèphe had issued a sharp reprimand to the mission superior for failing to inform her of the death of a mission *soeur*.⁵⁸ According to Marie-Josèphe, the community had difficulty taking her back, "but the conditions and the penitence she accepted opened the door for her."⁵⁹ Apparently, however, *Soeur Martel*, after an interlude, took advantage of her constitutional rights⁶⁰ and wrote a letter to the bishop complaining of her treatment. With characteristic formality, Marie-Josèphe responded compliantly to the bishop's ostensible reprimand [we do not possess these letters], thanking him "sincerely" for "the advice that your Grandeur has the charity to give to me" [concerning this issue].⁶¹ However, Marie-Josèphe's secondary and more lengthy response to the presumed reprimand is also distinctly personal - a summation of her "true feelings," and this involves a discussion of her manner of conducting herself as superior, her approach to her duties, her response to criticism, and most telling, who she innately is and what type of reputation she desires:

seroit aux autres un frein qui Les tiendroit dans Leur devoir? C'est bien mon sentiment" It is noteworthy, moreover, how she tempers her opinion, as if to dilute its force, by completing, what appears to be final a statement, with a question mark.

⁵⁸ An account of this incident appears in *Sainte-Henriette, Histoire*, 6: 211 and briefly in *ibid.*, 768-1, 18 Aug. 1768, and 768-4, 25 Oct. 1768.

⁵⁹ AAM, 525.101, 768-1, 18 Aug. 1768. "'Mais la Condition et la penitence quelle a acceptée Luy a ouvert La porte,..."

⁶⁰ AAM, 525.101, 698-1, *Règlements*, art.6: 10-11.

⁶¹ AAM, 525.101, 768-4, Marie-Josèphe to Briand, 25 Oct. 1768. "Je suis très sincèrement reconnoissante des avis que vôtre grandeur a La charité de me donne dans Les deux dernieres Lettres que j'ai eu L'honneur de recevoir..."

I do and I will do all that is possible to follow [your advice] and carry out my duty without prejudice to my health, not being able to do one without the other...I am, however, not so insensitive. I am neither a beast nor a stone...I have weaknesses and woes like everyone else, perhaps more, perhaps less. In the end I do not want a reputation beyond that of doing good. Here Monseigneur are my true feelings, past and present...⁶²

It is only after expressing what she calls her "true sentiments," that she informs him of the practical details of the situation and her actual role within it.

It is not at all Monseigneur the community that ordered the penitences for Soeur Sainte-Marie. It is Mr Montgolfier⁶³, Concerning her habit the community asked that she be deprived of it for some time. We have given it back to her. For me, I do not know what one wishes to say and impute to me on this subject. One never gave her any trouble and actually treats her with all possible charity... Here is the truth as it is and what one said to your Grandeur is nothing but a falsehood.⁶⁴

While one could certainly argue that her breach of the formalities, her intensely personal approach, represents a reaction to the contingencies of an emergency - a perusal of her other letters reveals that this is simply not the case. An opinionated Marie-Josèphe consistently breaks through the confines of her correspondence, even when she transmits routine convent business. When writing about the building of the new convent, for example, she does not simply detail its progress that, for example, "we are in part of our

⁶² Ibid. "Je fais et ferai mon possible pour Les Suivres en m'aquittant de mon devoir Sans préjudice de mon Salut, ne pouvant faire L'un Sans L'autre...Je ne Suis point cependant insensible, Je ne Suis ni une bête, ni une pierre, J'ai des foiblesses et des Miseres Comme Le reste des hommes, peut être plus, peut être Moins. En fin je ne veux de réputation qu'autant qu'il est nécessaire pour faire Le bien. Voila Monseigneur Les Vrais Sentimens passez et présent dans Lesquels je suis..."

⁶³ Lucien Lemieux, "Étienne Montgolfier," *DCB*, 4: 542; Henri Gauthier, *La Compagnie de Saint-Sulpice au Canada* (Montréal : Séminaire de Saint-Sulpice, 1912), 119, 120. Étienne de Montgolfier (1712-1791) was a Sulpician priest, superior of the Sulpicians of Montreal and vicar-general of Montreal.

⁶⁴ AAM, 525.101, 768-4, Marie-Josèphe to Bishop Briand, 25 Oct. 1768. "Ce n'est point Monseigneur La Communauté qui a prescrit Les penitences a La Sr Ste Marie, C'est Mr De Montgolfier - pour Son habit La Communauté demanda qu'elle en fut privée pendant quelque tems, on Le Luy a rendu, pour moy je ne scai ce qu'on veut dire et m'imputer a ce sujet, on ne Luy a jamais fait de peine, et actuellement on La traite avec toute La charité possible...Voila du vrai ce qui en est et ce qu'on a dit a vôtre grandeur n'est que fausseté."

new house [and] that we continue to build two floors."⁶⁵ Rather, she appendages this remark with the observation that the entire process of rebuilding is not "without troubles and concerns."⁶⁶ Her discussions of providence in relation to the day-to-day fortunes of the convent, a familiar topic among individuals of the day,⁶⁷ are never spare. Instead, she defines it, comments upon it, the way it works, in general, and within her own existence, forwarding *her* particular view of it. Thus through her letters, we discover what *she* thought of it: providence is "the design of its divine goodness,"⁶⁸ a resource to which we attach ourselves and hope;⁶⁹ it can be "favourable," "more liberal than expected,"⁷⁰ and represents the best support that we have.⁷¹

Marie-Josèphe's personal remarks also surface in her recounting of other routine matters. When, for example, she gives to the bishop a list of the new mission soeurs, she is not content with simply submitting the names of these women. Rather, she terminates the discussion with a suitably subjective remark: "Next year I will help them and send a third to that mission which I will find very quiet...I always carry along without worrying too much about my reputation and esteem. I seek to please no one but God alone if I am able."⁷²

⁶⁵ Ibid., 768-4, 20 Sept. 1768. "Nous Sommes dans Une partie de Notre Maison Nous faisons Continuer deux Etages"

⁶⁶ Ibid. "Ce N'est pas Sans peines et Sans Sollicitudes"

⁶⁷ For a good discussion of the importance of providence in seventeenth and eighteenth-century England and colonial America see James D. Hartman, *Providence Tales and the Birth of American Literature* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999).

⁶⁸ AAM, 525.101, 768-4, Marie-Josèphe to Briand, 25 Oct. 1768. "dessein de Sa divine bonté"

⁶⁹ Ibid., 770-2, 19 June 1770. "Je ne voie de ressource que dans La providence, Et La bonne Conduite Cest a quoy nous nous attachons, et esperons"

⁷⁰ Ibid., 768-4, 25 Oct. 1768. "La providence a été plus Liberale que je ne m'attendois."

⁷¹ Ibid., 766-7, 26 Nov. 1766. "La providence fait Le Meilleur fond que nous ayons..."

⁷² Ibid., 768-2, 20 Sept. 1768. "L'année prochaine j'irai les aider et faire La troisieme dans Cette Mission que je trouverez bien douce...je vais toujours mon petit train sans trop

These personal remarks also appear in her discussion of routine matters of discipline, which are often followed by her own pensive reflections, painted on a wider canvas. Thus, when informing the bishop about the difficulties she is experiencing with certain nuns returning from the missions, she appends to her narrative her own view of the human condition:

For a long time I have noticed that the missions are a very heavy weight [word unclear], permit me some remarks. The knowledge that they acquire, the links and the attachment, divide the heart, I have some proof.... They return to the community, there is boredom, distaste. one throws off the yoke of obedience, complaints about everything, superior, director, nothing is to their liking nor approved by them... Here are human weaknesses that do not surprise me. Men are men and girls are girls⁷³.

But it is within the routine notification of the death of Thérèse Gamelin, Soeur Sainte Barbe, "who finished her career on the third of this month in a very sad way,"⁷⁴ that Marie-Josèphe fully engages in a touching personal soliloquy on the life and death of this woman. Apparently afflicted with a form of dementia, Soeur Gamelin had, for an unknown number of years, been confined, under strict supervision, to the convent's infirmary. Marie-Josèphe begins the discussion of her death straight from her heart, from her grief, set within the context of her own spiritual journey: "If there is, for me, no other way of redemption than that of the cross I have every reason to hope I'm in the right direction since God prepared for me some new cross to bear for these past fifteen

m'inquieter de Ma Reputaion et de L'Estime, je ne Cherche a plaire a personne qu'a Dieu Seul si je puis."

⁷³ Ibid., 768-4, 25 Oct. 1768. "il y a Longtems que je m'apperçois que Les Missions font un très grand [word unclear], permis quelques vues, Les connoissances qu'elles font, Les Lient et Les attachent, partage Le Coeur, J'en ai des preuves...Reviennent elles a La Comté, C'est L'ennuye Le dégout, on Secoue Le joug de L'obéissance on murmure de toute, Superieure, directeur rien n'est goûté ni approuvé_.Voila les foiblesses humaines dont je ne Suis point Surprise, les hommes sont des hommes, et Les filles des filles"

⁷⁴ Ibid., 768-3, 8 Oct. 1768. "a finie Sa Cariere le 3 de Ce Mois dune maniere Bien triste..."

years."⁷⁵ Throughout this letter, she spares few of the tragic details - not the fact that Soeur Gamelin "escaped our watch and the care of those to whom I had given to guard her,"⁷⁶ in the early hours of the morning, and that, after what must have been a frantic search, she was found in the community's well; and how impossible it was to hide the accident because of the workers in the house, and the fact that "everyone knew of her infirmity."⁷⁷ In her sorrow, she turns to Bishop Briand, confiding in him how much she needs "the help of grace" to sustain her in these trials, supplicating him to obtain it for her.⁷⁸

How are we to interpret this personal dimension in the correspondence of Marie-Josèphe Maugue-Garreau? Was it an element integral to all congrégation correspondence? Did all of the institution's superiors expose themselves in this way by asserting their opinions, their values, their emotions into their letters to the bishop? The following discussion of the correspondence of the other superior under scrutiny, Marie Raizenne, should serve to highlight just how unique Marie-Josèphe's correspondence was.

Marie Raizenne

When Marie Raizenne stepped into the position of superior in 1790 for her second term of office (see chapter three), almost thirty years had passed since Marie-Josèphe had penned her letters to Bishop Briand. The intervening period witnessed the consolidation and even the physical expansion of the congrégation: the final closing of the Lachine

⁷⁵ Ibid. "S il ny a point de moyen plus sure pour Le Salut que Celuy de La Croix. Jai tout Lieu d'Esperer que je Suis dans le Chemin en voycy encore une nouvelle que Le Seigneur me preparoit depuis quinze ans."

⁷⁶ Ibid., "Elle a Echappée a Nôtre Vigilance et aux Soins de Celles a qui je L'avois donné en garde..."

⁷⁷ Ibid. "tout Le Monde scavoit son infirmité,..."

⁷⁸ Ibid., "pour moy jai Besoin du Secours de La grace pour me Soutenir dans Ses Epreuves - je supplie Votre grandeur de vouloir bien me L'obtenir par Vos Sts Sacrifices"

(1784) and Champlain (1788) missions, yet the opening of missions at Saint-Denis-sur-Richelieu (1783) and Pointe-Claire (1784) (see map 4)⁷⁹ During her superiorship, the institution also suffered from a dearth of recruits to fill these missions, and serious financial difficulties with their investments in a France embroiled in revolution. Throughout this period, their procurator, Jean-Louis Maury,⁸⁰ could neither guarantee the safety of their investments, nor could he send to the community any revenues.⁸¹

Bishop Briand, for his part, had resigned in 1784, and Jean-François Hubert, a baker's son from Quebec, was consecrated in 1786 at the cathedral at Quebec. Although Briand had done much to stabilize the Canadian Church, Hubert's challenges would also represent its strengthening within the confines of a suspicious British government that often opposed his measures to do so.⁸²

Marie Raizenne's correspondence resembles that of her predecessor on a number of different levels. Between 1790 and 1796, Marie Raizenne only wrote fourteen letters to the bishop (see fig. 5.2). Her letters, like those of Marie-Josèphe, appear at irregular intervals - one in 1790, five in 1791, four in 1792, three in 1793, and one in 1796.⁸³ Given the nature of the correspondence, we can also safely assume that there must have been others. Five of the bishop's letters remain. Official letters, two were written 1790, one in

⁷⁹ Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 5: 420, 296, 415-20.

⁸⁰ Jean-Louis Maury, barrister and business agent for the Sulpician Seminary at Paris, took charge of the community's financial affairs in France in 1768. *Ibid.*, 5: 142.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 6: 9-11. AAM, 525.101, 791-1, 791-2, Marie Raizenne to Hubert, 14 Feb. 1791, 24 Feb. 1791.

⁸² Vachon, "Briand," *DCB*, 4:102; Chaussé, "Hubert," *ibid.*, 4: 370-4.

⁸³ See note 24.

August, the other in September; two more appear on 16 February 1791 and 8 January 1792, and the final one, on 6 June 1793.⁸⁴

⁸⁴ Mgr Hubert to Marie Raizenne, 6 Aug. 1790; Sept. 1790; 8 Jan. 1792; 6 June 1793, in Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 6 : 1-3, 16-17, 27. See also AAM, 525.101, 791-1, 15 Feb. 1791.

525.101
792-5

Monsieur

exercices qui languissoient, tout se renouveler avec
ferveur. Je ferai, Monsieur, tout ce dépendra
de Moi, pour que les ordres de votre Grandeur, soient
exécutés.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec le respect le plus profond
et la plus parfaite soumission.

Après avoir rendu nos plus vives actions de
grâces au Seigneur, nous n'avons rien de plus pressé, que
de supplier très humblement votre Grandeur de vouloir
bien agréer nos très humbles et très respectueux remerciements
de la grâce qu'elle a bien voulu nous accorder, en nous
donnant Mr Marchant pour notre Confesseur.
Notre Communauté se trouve comme ressuscitée,
et j'espère par la Miséricorde de Dieu, que tout les

Monsieur

De votre Grandeur

Une copie de cette lettre a été
envoyée à la Commission
de l'Assemblée de Montréal.

Montréal 30^e plu 1792

La très humble et très
obéissante servante
Sr^e St Ignace de la C.P.M.

Figure 5.2 – Letter of Marie Raizenne to Bishop Hubert

Source: AAM, 525.101, 792-5, Marie Raizenne to Bishop Hubert, 30 September 1792.

Like Marie-Josèphe's letters, Marie-Raizenne's correspondence deals primarily with various facets of convent business, and falls into the three already defined categories. They convey information: a) detailing matters of discipline; problems arising from the dearth of soeurs to fill the mission schools; expressions of gratitude; b) for the purposes of making a request, for example, for money, a new confessor, to receive an individual as a novice into the convent without the stipulated dowry, to approve the placement of mission soeurs; and c) with the intent of settling controversies - either the one surrounding Father Jean-André Guillaume Guillimin, the community's confessor,⁸⁵ or the disruption following the bishop's request for the institution to alter the date of its elections from spring to the winter. These topics can appear either alone or grouped together in a single letter.

Marie Raizenne's letters also resemble those of her predecessor in that they reflect the relationship of an inferior writing to a superior in both their structure and their language. Every letter begins by establishing his rank - he is always addressed as "Monseigneur." Three of her fourteen letters begin with formal introductory prefaces unrelated to the business at hand, expressing "profound respect," and "submission:"⁸⁶ one is her first letter to him as superior, while the other two preface a request. The remaining eleven letters delve straight into the business at hand. Two letters conclude with a request for spiritual favours, for "a precious remembrance at the holy altar,"⁸⁷ while all of them

⁸⁵ For more on this individual, see below.

⁸⁶ AAM, 525.101, 790-6, 791-11, 792-4, Marie Raizenne to Hubert, n.d., 24 Dec. 1791, 24 Sept. 1792. For example, 24 Sept, 1792, 792-4: "J'ose esperer que Vôte Grandeur voudra bien agréer que j'ai lhonneur de lui presenter mon tres profound respect et celui de toute la Communauté."

⁸⁷ Ibid., 791-1, 793-4, 14 Feb. 1791, 18 July 1793. For example, 14 Feb. 1791, 791-1 : "je Supplie Vôte Grandeur de vouloir bien m'accorder La faveur d'un précieux Souvenir au St Autel et me Croire avec Le respect Le plus profond."

terminate with an expression of her "most perfect submission and most profound respect,"⁸⁸ "the very humble and very obedient servant, Soeur Sainte-Ignace of the CND."⁸⁹

However, as similar as Marie Raizenne's correspondence is to that of her predecessor, there are also noticeable and interesting differences, worthy of further examination.

"La très humble et très obeissante Servante"

On 16 February 1791, Bishop Hubert wrote a letter to Marie Raizenne informing her that he had promised the Quebec soeurs to speak to her about changing the time of the community's elections.

I promised your Quebec soeurs that I would speak to you about changing the time of the elections, they find it so difficult to go down and come back by boat that I would strongly approve changing it...Think about it, I ask you.⁹⁰

If this were a contentious issue at this time - either the proposed change (from spring to winter) or the fact that the Quebec soeurs had lobbied the bishop concerning this matter, presumably without her knowledge - is not discernable from Marie's gracious and amenable reply.

Our expectation of having the honour and consolation of seeing your Grandeur in Montreal this spring has made us postpone speaking to him about our elections flattering us that your Grandeur being here it will be fixed and arranged by itself [during] the most convenient time in the winter...⁹¹

⁸⁸ Ibid., for example, 24 Feb. 1791, 791-2. "J'ai Celui d'être avec Le respect Le plus profond et La Soumission La plus parfaite."

⁸⁹ Ibid. "La très humble et très obeissante Servante, Sr St ignace de la CND."

⁹⁰ Ibid., 791-1, 16 Feb. 1791. "J'ai promis a vos Soeurs de québec que je vous parlerois de changer le tems des elections, elles eprouvent tant de difficulté a descendre et monter dans les barques que J'approuverois fort que le changement _pensez y Je vous prie."

⁹¹ Ibid., 791-2, 24 Feb. 1791. "L'esperance ou nous sommes d'avoir L'honneur et consolation de voir vôtre Grandeur à Montréal ce printems, nous a fait differer de lui parler de nos Elections, nous flattant que Vôtre Grandeur etant sur Les Lieux Elle voudra

In due course, a few months later, on 13 June 1791, the community's council officially approved moving the community's elections from spring to winter.⁹²

The records are totally silent concerning this issue until October 1791. At this time, a number of teachers from the rural Quebec missions - Saint-François du Sud, Neuville, and Sainte-Famille, Île d'Orléans - supported by their parish priests,⁹³ individually wrote Bishop Hubert imploring him to reconsider his decision. These letters clearly reveal not only the strong emotions surrounding this issue, but also the concomitant internal animosities it had provoked, as the following quotation illustrates:

We beseech your Grandeur to wish to permit us to testify to him the worry this has caused us, the changing of the time of the elections the distress in which we find our mission does not permit us certainly to furnish the cost of the voyages by land it is surprising that my Soeur Sainte-Claire [Charlotte Ursule Adhémar de Lantagnac] thinks of nothing but herself forgetting entirely the interests of all of our missions..."⁹⁴

Marie Raizenne's correspondence, subsequent to this array of letters, once again never mentions the issue which obviously - at least in the rural Quebec missions - had evoked such emotional appeals, and about which, at least according to Soeur Julie Martel and Marguerite Gaulin, Soeur de-la-Présentation, in their letter to the bishop, "they spoke

bien fixer et arranger par elle même Le tems ou elles pourront Se faire plus convenablement en hivert."

⁹² Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 6:16.

⁹³ AAM, 525.101, 791-5, Bedard to Hubert, 3 Oct. 1791; 791-6, Soeur Sainte-Elisabeth and Soeur Saint-Michel to Hubert, 1 Oct. 1791; 791-7, Soeur Saint-Oliver (Catherine Papineau) and Soeur Sainte-Cecile (Marie-Josèphe Morneau) to Hubert, 10 Oct. 1791; 791-8, Soeur Sainte-Marie (Marie-Julie Martel) and Soeur de la Présentation (Marguerite Gaulin) to Hubert, 12 Oct. 1791; and 791-1, Gatien to Hubert, 13 Oct. 1791.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 791-6, Soeur Sainte-Elisabeth and Soeur Saint-Michel to Hubert, 1 Oct. 1791.

"Nous prions votre grandeur de vouloir bien nous permettre de Lui temoygner L'inquietude de que nous a causée Le changement du tems des elections La detresse on Se trouve notre mission ne nous permet pas certainement de fournir au frais des voyages par terre il est surprenant que ma Sr Ste Claire ne pensant qua elle même oublie entièrement Les interets de toutes nos missions..."

according to the opinion of our community."⁹⁵ On the contrary, her next letter, dated 16 October 1791, thanked him for the "alms" he had given to them,⁹⁶ while the subsequent one, written on 24 December 1791, focussed upon the pressing problem of approaching him for funds to repair the barn at Île Saint-Paul.⁹⁷ It was, therefore, not until Hubert himself raised the issue in January of 1792 that the matter once again surfaces. At this time, the bishop, while, on the one hand, assenting to give the community the funds for which Marie had so graciously asked in December, clearly expressed his irritation over the entire issue:

But by the letters of the soeurs of three missions of that district (Quebec) I see that they did not receive that change with anything but difficulty...The reasons...they resist are the same: the poverty of the missions. Those missions, it is true, are not rich; but there would be enough, it seems to me for the voyage of one soeur...that of Sainte-Famille has a farm...that of Pointe-aux-Trembles has a carriage...why could it not go right to Montreal? ⁹⁸

In the end, Bishop Hubert did grant the reversal, but not without issuing the following stern reprimand: "I only forbid all of the soeurs to make the voyage from

⁹⁵ Ibid., 791-8, Soeur Sainte-Marie and Soeur de La présentation to Hubert, 12 Oct. 1791. "nous parlons selon Les sentimants de Notre communauté;"

⁹⁶ Ibid., 791-10, Marie Raizenne to Briand, 16 Oct. 1791. "Je supplie vôte Grandeur de vouloir bien me pardonner...Lenteurs à lui faire mes tres humbles et très respectueux remercimens de L'aumone qu'elle a bien voulu nous appliquer..."

⁹⁷ Ibid., 791-11, 24 Dec. 1791. "Quoique ces jours ne soit pas Le temps de parler d'affaires j'ose cependant esperer qu'on peut avoir quelque audience de vôte Grandeur à ce sujet lorsque Le besoin est pressent_Nonobstant L'état de dettes ou nous sommes, nous nous trouvons obligées, indépendamment des travaux ordinaires qui nous écrasent de faire faire indispensablement une grange à nôtre isle St Paul tombant absolument en ruine..."

⁹⁸ Briand to Marie Raizenne, 8 Jan. 1792, in Sainte Henriette, *Histoire*, 6: 17. "mais par les lettres des Soeurs des trois missions de ce district, je vois qu'elles ne recevaient ce changement qu'avec peine,...Les raisons sur lesquelles elles s'appuient sont les mêmes; c'est la pauvreté des missions. Ces missions, il est vrai, ne sont pas riches; mais elles le seraient assez, ce me semble, pour le voyage d'une Soeur_celle de la Ste-Famille a une ferme...celle de la Pointe-aux-Trembles a une voiture_pourquoi n'irait-elle pas jusqu'à Montréal?..."

Quebec to Montreal or from Montreal to Quebec in any carriage where there would be passengers of a different sex."⁹⁹

Marie's Raizenne's response to this incident is very revealing. In a clear and logical manner, totally devoid of any emotion, she expresses her thanks for his charity, and proceeds to outline the facts as she understood them, extricating both herself and the community from any preference. In the end, she supports the Quebec soeurs' request that the elections remain in June - all without a single expression of a personal opinion or emotion:

Some soeurs from the district of Quebec wrote to me after having [learned about ? — damaged] the changing of the date of the elections, that they would not be able to sustain that expense without burdening their missions with debt...I have in effect indicated to them that I believe that [the expense] would be charged to the missions. But for us, we were indifferent to the time of our elections,...we also think that very few among the same very young soeurs would be in a state to sustain such a long voyage in the winter due to their various illnesses that would reduce them to not being able to fulfil their obligations, there could be perhaps some means to put back those journeys by land to the end of the sowing season, your Grandeur whom we hope to have the honour of seeing this spring would wish to arrange that, it will find us always with the most humble and respectful submission...¹⁰⁰

This formulaic restraint, her cool, logical approach is not peculiar to this incident, but is characteristic of much of her correspondence, as the following routine letter,

⁹⁹ Ibid. "je défends seulement à toutes les Soeurs de faire le voyage de Québec à Montréal, ou de Montréal à Québec, dans aucune voiture où il y aura des passagers d'un sexe différent."

¹⁰⁰ AAM, 525.101, 792-1, Marie Raizenne to Hubert, 21 Jan. 1792. "quelques Soeurs du district de quebec Mont écrit apres avoir [appris? damaged] Le changement d'Election, qu'elles ne pourroient Soutenir cette depense sans oberer les Missions...je leur ai en effet marqué que je pensois que cela chargerait Les Missions. Mais que pour Nous, Nous Etions indifferentes pour Le temps de Nos Elections...nous pensons aussi que très peu, parmi même les plus Jeunes Soeurs seroient en état de Soutenir un Si long voyage en hivert par leurs diverses infirmités qui les reduiroient à ne pouvoir remplir Leurs obligations. il y aura peut être quelque moyen de remettre Ces voyages par terre à la fin des Semences, Vôtre Grandeur que nous esperons avoir Lhonneur de Voir Ce printems voudra bien arranger cela, elle nous trouvera toujours avec la plus humble et respectueuse Soumission..."

written in on 14 February 1791, illustrates. It begins most appropriately, in a distant and respectful manner: "I dare to flatter myself that your Grandeur would be agreeable that I communicate to him the desire of Marguerite Nivernois dit Benoit (Soeur Saint-Denis) of the parish of Saint-Denis...to consecrate herself to God in our community."¹⁰¹ The letter continues, asking him if he would "wish to give us his advice and permission"¹⁰² for this girl to enter the convent without the requisite dowry. It then turns to the issue of the dearth of subjects to fill the missions "due to the number of aged soeurs who are no longer able to work, and many young ones who are ill and remain habitually in the infirmary."¹⁰³ Marie then closes her discussion with a description of the situation of her own sister, Marie-Madeleine Raizenne, Soeur Saint-Herman, who has requested her return to the community from the Lac-des-Deux-Montagnes mission "due to her old age and above all the almost total loss of her vision,"¹⁰⁴ terminating her letter with the final request that she be replaced by Mathilde Drouin, "Ma Sr Ste Thécle," "under the good pleasure of Votre Grandeur."¹⁰⁵

This letter is noteworthy because, over the course of it, Marie simply transmits information without a single expression of emotion or a personal opinion. Through it, one does not discover her view of the problems she is facing as head of an institution, peopled

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 791-1, 14 Feb. 1791. "J'ose me flatter que Vôte Grandeur aura agréable que je lui communique Le désir que Marguerite Nivernois dit Benoit, de la paroisse St. Denis, a depuis quatre ou cinq ans de se consacrer à Dieu dans Nôte Communauté..."

¹⁰² Ibid. "Si Vôte Grandeur vouloit nous donner son avis et permission si elle Le juge à propos."

¹⁰³ Ibid. "Nous touchons au moment a n'avoir plus de sujets pour remplir toutes Nos Missions par Le nombre de Soeurs âgées à ne pouvoir plus travailler, et plusieurs jeunes d'une infirmité à garder habituellement L'infirmerie."

¹⁰⁴ Ibid. "Ma Sr St hermand demande à revenir à la Comté n'étant plus en état par son grand age et Surtout par La perte presque total de Sa vue de rester a la mission du Lac..."

¹⁰⁵ Ibid. "Sous Le bon plaisir de Vôte Grandeur"

with ill and aged soeurs, unable to replenish itself to fill the mission schools. Nor do we discover her attitude towards her own sister's progressive blindness and advancing age.

Marie Raizenne's correspondence to Bishop Hubert proceeds like this, often discussing one issue after another in a distant and impassive manner. On another occasion, she reiterates her concerns about the dearth of subjects to fill the missions, without comment or complaint, even though this surely must have been a considerable worry.¹⁰⁶ Her sister's subsequent reinstatement at the Lac-des-Deux-Montagnes mission, "despite the weakening of her eyesight," at the request of the grand-vicar and the missionary Mr Guichard, is duly reported, even though Soeur Raizenne, had previously requested retirement.¹⁰⁷ News of the impending death of Soeur Sainte-Scholastique, briefly touching, is curtly transmitted in the following manner, accompanied by a plea for his sacrifices:

My Soeur Sainte-Scholastique has fallen essentially into a very sad state, I believe that she can only die in that distressing situation, If your Grandeur wishes well to permit me to recommend that very dear soeur to his sacrifices...¹⁰⁸

And the community's often-desperate financial problems are, on one occasion, referred to either discreetly as "our situation,"¹⁰⁹ or described in an equally impassive tone, accompanied by very little comment.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 791-2, 24 Feb. 1791. "Je navois cette année aucune Soeur à selever dans Les Missions de Quebec et des environs."

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 791-3, 13 June 1791. "J'ai eu L'honneur de marquer a votre Grandeur que Ma Sr St Hermand demandoit son retour a La Comté il a cependant paru a Mr Le Grand Vicaire et a Mr Guichard Missionnaire du Lac, que cette chere Soeur y étoit encore utile Nonobstant L'affoiblissement de Sa vue..."

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 793-4, 18 June 1793. "Ma Sr Ste Scholastique est tombée dans un état tout a fait triste, je crains qu'elle ne meure dans cette affligeante Situation, Si Votre Grandeur veut bien me permettre de recommander cette très [chère? word unclear] Soeur à Ses Sacrifices..."

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 793-1, 1 June 1793. "la Situation de Notre Maison"

Elsewhere the latest news from France at the end of October, is very disadvantageous, we have every reason to believe that the bill of exchange that my Soeur Sainte-Rose [Véronique L'Estang Brunet], had drawn up in 1789 for 2800 livres was challenged before the law according to what the correspondent Jean de L'Isle wrote to her from London. We will lose entirely two years worth of interest in addition to the cost of the protest. We have a great need to beg for the aid of divine providence.¹¹⁰

Other critical situations only barely break down the wall of this distant reserve. In a letter written on 6 August 1792, Marie describes the difficulties the community was experiencing with their *confesseur extraordinaire*,¹¹¹ Father Guillimin. Jean André Guillaume Guillimin, was born at Quebec on 10 June 1780. He became a priest in 1774 and arrived at Montreal in 1785. In addition to being appointed confessor of the community, he was also director of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame de la Victoire. He died on 11 June 1800, at the age of fifty.¹¹² From Marie Raizenne's correspondence, it appears as if this priest was infringing upon the order of the community's assembly. This must have been a very delicate situation for this confessor had been appointed by the bishop himself in 1789.¹¹³ It must also have been a highly emotional one, not only for the

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 791-11, 24 Oct. 1791. "D'ailleurs Les dernieres Nouvelles que nous avons eu de France, a la fin d'octobre, nous Sont tres désavantageuses, nous avons tout lieu de craindre que la lettre de change que Ma Sr Ste Rose avoit tirée en 1789 de 2800# ne Soit actuellement protestée, Suivant ce que Le correspondant de Mr Jean De Lisle lui a écrit de Londres. L'interêt des deuse années jointe aux frais du protest, nous perdrons Entierement. Nous avons grand besoin d'implorer Le Secours de la divine providence." Soeur Raizenne is referring here to the yearly annuities the institution received from their property in France. At this time, their entire financial fortunes were in a state of limbo due to the spoliation of properties belonging to the clergy in France, and from 1791 to 1802, the community heard nothing from the procurator who took care of their investments in that country, Andrée Désilets, "Marie Raizenne," *DCB*, 5: 703-4.

¹¹¹ A *confesseur extraordinaire* visits a convent at least four times a year. On these occasions, the religious must present themselves to him, if not to confess, then at least to receive a blessing. M. McCartney, "Extraordinary Confessor," in *The New Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967), 4: 144.

¹¹² Henri Gauthier, *La compagnie de Saint-Sulpice*, 5, 17, 58, 120, 129.

¹¹³ On 11 May 1789, Le révérend père Well, MM. Poncin, Curratteau, Dèzèry, Marchand and Borneuf were named as *confesseurs extraordinaires* by Bishop Hubert, along with Father Guillimin (AAQ, Registre D.f.191r, Montreal, 11 May 1789). M. Brassier, the

community as a whole, which depended upon the services of a confessor for their spiritual well-being, but also for Marie, who, as superior, also was responsible for the spiritual state of the nuns. And yet, in spite of what was at stake, the importance of the issue, Marie keeps her obvious irritation tightly in check beneath her outward restraint. She systematically recounted the facts of the disagreement in an impassive, if not very forthright, "I said," "he said" manner, citing precedence and the support of the vicar-general before expressing her personal opinion on this issue.

I dare to hope that your Grandeur would wish to permit me to indicate to him that Mr Guillimin came yesterday to convene an assembly. I asked him what assembly he would wish, he did not know how to reply to me... I told him respectfully that the general assemblies were not ordinarily convened out of order...never until now has any confessor demanded these things, unless he had been at the same time the superior of the house...I have been to see the grand-vicar who told me that he had given to him neither an order nor advice to that effect...His conduct and his method are so extraordinary and tire one so that it requires a very strong vocation to remain within the house...Nevertheless, we remain unhappy.¹¹⁴

This is, of course, not to argue that Marie Raizenne never relinquished her reserve. During her second term of office, after 1793, a more passionate, forthright and emotional individual begins to emerge from the pages of her correspondence, particularly when she describes matters of discipline. In these letters, Marie hides very little of the turmoil within the community. No longer simply informing the bishop about the "scarcity of

vicar-general, subsequently reported to Mgr Hubert on 17 Sept. 1792, that the soeurs' discontent stemmed from the fact that "they are obliged to address themselves to different confessors...most of them are opposed to M (Jean-André Guillemin)." AAQ, Cartable des grands vicaires, 39

¹¹⁴ AAM, 525-101, 792-3, Marie Raizenne to Hubert, 6 Aug. 1792. "J'ose esperer que Vôte Grandeur voudra bien me permettre de lui Marquer que Mr Guillimin vint hier pour faire faire une assemblée, je lui demandé qu'elle assemblée il souhaitoit, il ne [sait? word unclear] que me répondre...je lui dis respectueusement que Les assemblées générales ne se faisoit ordinairement Sans ordre...jamais aucun des confesseurs que nous avons eu jusqu'à present n'a exigé ces choses, a Moins qu'il n'ait été en même temps Le Superieur de la Maison...Sa Conduite et Sa Methode Sont Si extraordinaire en tout, et fatigue tellement qu'il faut toute La force d'une bonne vocation pour tenir dans la maison...Nous n'en Sommes pas Moins Malheureuses."

subjects,"¹¹⁵ she reflects upon "the sad disposition of many of them,"¹¹⁶ focussing her attention, in particular, upon Marie-Angèle Bissonnet, Soeur Sainte Pierre and Thérèse Viger, Soeur Sainte-Madeleine, neither of whom can be "exposed to the missions for their own good and that of our institute."¹¹⁷ She does not conceal the problems with Soeur Viger, who refused to take communion and disrupted the house with her "cries and murmurs"¹¹⁸; nor the difficulties with Soeur Bissonnet, who could not be placed in any mission due to her "passion for drink which masters her"¹¹⁹ and spreads "dissipation in the missions"¹²⁰; nor does she hide her concerns, in a subsequent letter, with the machinations of Catherine D'Ailleboust de la Madeleine, Soeur de la Visitation, who appeared to be manipulating the Quebec superior, Soeur Adhémar de Lantagnac, bringing "her finally and absolutely over to all of her wishes and fantasies."¹²¹

Yet as forthright as these letters, that within them there is no attempt to gloss over difficulties she may be experiencing, they never expose her heartfelt sentiments about

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 793-2, 3 July 1793. "la disette des Sujets"

¹¹⁶ Ibid. "La triste disposition de plusieurs..."

¹¹⁷ Ibid. "ne peuvent être exposées dans les Missions pour leur propre bien et celui de nôtre institut, Leur Conduite Nous desole ici, Surtout St Pierre et Ste Madeleine..."

¹¹⁸ Ibid. "Cette dernière [Soeur Sainte Madeleine] qui n'approche point des sacrements n'ayant fait que les pasques se tient tranquille nonobstant Les charitables et prudentes invitations de Monsieur Marchand pour L'amener suavement au devoir Cette chère S^{ur} semble lever Le Masque Contre tout. J'ai pris Le parti de ne lui plus rien dire, me sachant que faire avec cette pauvre fille qui tourne tout en mal et fait [? word unclear] la Maison de Ses Cris et Murmures."

¹¹⁹ Ibid. "Les Bruits de ma Sr St Pierre et Ses sujets de plaintes quoiqu'elle soit fidele à approcher des Sacremens et qu'elle Se tienne très Volontiers au confesseur en qui elle a confiance, N'étant que pour Se faire placer dans quelque mission pour y vivre a Sa volonté et avoir moyen d'y satisfaire avec liberté une passion de boisson qui la maitrise beaucoup et qui a oblige de la faire rentrer et de la tenir dans la Maison."

¹²⁰ Ibid. "Cette Soeur ayant recidivée chaque fois qu'elle à été exposée et ne respirant d'ailleurs que dissipation dans les missions Elle ne peut que mal édifier..."

¹²¹ Ibid., 793-4, 18 July 1793. "Cette chère Soeur n'a aucune Solide raison de chercher à garder à quebec. Ma Sr la Visitation qui Scait La jouer Sans qu'elle S'en aperçoive et L'amener finement et absolument a toutes Ses Volontés et fantaisies..."

these situations - her possible frustration, her anger, even her despair. Nor do they offer her an opportunity to ruminate upon them, place her own stamp upon them. They remain as little more than letters one would expect to read of an inferior writing to her superior - albeit some of them graphic - informing her bishop, as was her duty, about the state of her community.

III. Conclusions

According to Janet Gurkin Altman, the addressee of a letter is "omnipresent in the text and to a large degree determines its form, its content, and the representation of the author's self."¹²² Certainly, this applies to the correspondence of Marie-Josèphe and Marie Raizenne, for the bishop of Quebec did shape their letters, and this influence reflected itself in the similarities between them, in the formality of both their structure and language. However, as we have seen, Marie-Josèphe's correspondence, pervaded as it was with her own highly personal comments, transcended the boundaries of these formalities and of what one would expect to find in the letters of an inferior writing to her superior. How can this, as well as Marie Raizenne's silence, be explained?

These questions necessitate a serious reflection upon the sources utilized in this chapter and specifically lean upon the issues raised in the introduction to this thesis: that of the historian's role in representation and reconstruction of the past. Quite frankly and simply put, as the introductory discussion to this chapter revealed, these letters, as a source, are fragmented and incomplete, and their existence asks so many more questions

¹²² Quotation found in Cherewatuk and Wiethaus, *Dear Sister*, 4. Clerical involvement in female writing presents a fascinating avenue of exploration, and will be examined more deeply with respect to Marie Barbier in chapter six. For more on this see, for example, Elizabeth Alvilda Petroff, *Body and Soul: Essays on Medieval Women and Mysticism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994) and Isabelle Poutrin, *Le Voile et la plume: Autobiographie et sainteté féminine dans l'Espagne moderne* (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 1995).

than it answers. One wonders, for example, if the missing letters - both Marie-Josèphe's and Bishop Briand's - perhaps reveal a reciprocal personal relationship between these two individuals, one that "allowed" her liberties, that permitted her to assert her own personal comments within the framework of a formal correspondence. And perhaps also in this vein, what about the lost documents pertaining to Marie Raizenne: did they also contain evidence of a less than formal relationship with Bishop Hubert? Certainly this is possible given that the community's constitution stipulated that the bishop was spiritually connected to the soeurs, that he "took the place of Our Lord on this earth."¹²³ Moreover, as chapter six shall demonstrate and the historical records reveal, profound spiritual relationships between religious individuals of different genders have existed over the centuries - from Abelard and Heloise,¹²⁴ Jacques de Vitry and Mary of Oignes,¹²⁵ the Abbé de Fénelon and Madame Guyon and Jean Eudes with Marie des Vallées.¹²⁶

However, speculation aside, these letters are all that remain; they are the light of a candle flickering in darkness, leading the way. Incomplete as they are, they dictate the historical inquiry, guide the historian's hand, a painful reminder not only of the historian's omnipotent and arrogant power in shaping the past, but also a testament to the fragility of a power that can perhaps, at best, only consider possibilities, not construct realities.

And so, in the end, the correspondence of Marie-Josèphe can be viewed in at least two different ways. On the one hand, the personal element appearing in her letters can be

¹²³ AAM, 525.101. 698-1, Réglemens, art. 7:9 "Les Soeurs donc regarderont comme leur obligation la plus essentielle d'obéir à toutes les personnes qui leur tiennent la place de N. Seigneur sur la terre."

¹²⁴ Betty Radice, trans., *The Letters of Abelard and Heloise* (London: Penguin Books, 1974).

¹²⁵ Jacques de Vitry, *Life of Mary of Oignes* (Toronto: Peregrina Publishers, 1993).

¹²⁶ Louis Cognet, *Post-Reformation Spirituality* (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1959), 98, 127-38.

interpreted as a reflection of the fact that, in reality, Marie-Josèphe and this bishop were engaged in a less formal relationship, one that transcended boundaries established by constitutional precepts and tradition, but not apparent within the framework of what remains of their correspondence. If this is the case, then, the discussion ends here with an affirmation that the Catholic Reformation did not repress women, but under certain circumstances, allowed them to function as expressive human beings within the framework of an informal relationship with their male superiors¹²⁷.

However, as the above discussion established, quite simply, no evidence points to the existence of such a relationship between these two individuals. Certainly it could be argued that the fact that Marie-Josèphe's brother, Pierre Garreau dit St. Onge,¹²⁸ served as Briand's vicar-general throughout her superiorship, might have had a bearing on their relationship. But it is also important to note how little weight this connection exerted when the bishop peremptorily passed over her judgements and those of her community by permitting the return of the fugitive soeur to the convent.

In this sense then, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, the personal aspect pervading Marie-Josèphe's correspondence can be viewed as a "tactic" of a highly intelligent woman utilizing the framework of a formal letter - the deference, the submission, the recognition of "Votre Monseigneur" - to assert herself, who she was, what she believed in and felt. This tactic allowed Marie-Josèphe to transcend the boundaries of a formal relationship, while remaining deeply immersed within them, enabling her to assert her own views, her own person, in her own manner. Marie-Josèphe's utilization of this tactic, however, her forthright manner of expressing herself,

¹²⁷ For an illustration of a spiritual friendship between a nun and a priest - Marie Barbier and Charles de Glandelet - see chapter six.

¹²⁸ Raymond Douville, "Pierre Garreau dit Saint-Onge," *DCB*, 4: 287-8.

does not preclude the possibility that Marie Raizenne's silent formality was also a tactic, one which, in the absence of more documentation, must remain mute, mysterious and finally also hypothetical.

Ultimately, with respect to both women, these "tactics," whether real or hypothetical, only allowed them to "escape without leaving,"¹²⁹ for, in the end, the bishop retained his position, like a king upon a throne, his authority perhaps waxing and waning due to the vagaries of time, circumstance, or character, but remaining legally and above all, potentially, absolute and intact.

¹²⁹ Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, xiii.

Chapter Six : As a Bird Flies

I. Introduction

"I was born to suffer as a bird is to fly."¹

Marie Barbier

Angela of Foligno found the taste of pus "as sweet as communion," Beatrice of Nazareth spoke of Jesus' torment as "healthy wounds," and the author of the nuns' book of Unterlinden described the sound of self-flagellations as melody, rising sweet to the ears of the Lord of Hosts...Beatrice of Nazareth responded to communion with agonized feelings of unworthiness, of fear of Christ, the judge and with cravings for the holy food...Some women [responding to the body of Christ] were driven to what their contemporaries called insanity and others mutilated themselves while in ecstasy...²

Carolyn Walker Bynum, in her groundbreaking work, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women*, extolled the often passionate and extraordinary spirituality of medieval holy women. Bynum viewed such behaviour, centered as it was around feeding and fasting rituals, as indicative not of a diminishment of their physicality, but rather distinctly female expressions of the possibilities of the flesh to unify with the suffering Christ.³ Other observers have not been as enthusiastic about

¹ ASQ, ms. 198: 195, Recueil touchant la S[œur Marie Barbier], fille séculière de La Congrégation de Notre-Dame. "Il y a quelque temps qu'on me dit que J'étois née pour souffrir comme L'oyseau pour voler.:"

² Carolyn Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 246, 161, 249.

³ Ibid., 180 and especially 73-186. The saint has been the subject of a number of diverse and fascinating studies. Early treatments include, for example, John Moffat Mecklin, *The Passing of a Saint: A Study of a Cultural Type* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941) and Pierre Delooz's *Sociologie et canonizations* (Liège: Faculté de droit, 1969). More studies have viewed saints' lives as a rich source of popular medieval piety. These include Peter Brown, *The Cult of Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christendom* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981); Michael Goodich, *Vita Perfecta: The Ideal of Sainthood in the Thirteenth Century* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1982); Rudolph Bell and Donald Weinstein, *Saints and Society: The Two Worlds of Western Christendom* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982); André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Late Middle Ages*, translated by Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Richard Kieckhefer, *Unquiet Souls: Fourteenth-Century Saints and Their Religious*

the spiritual experiences of these women. Simone de Beauvoir, in the *Second Sex*, labeled their behavior as evidence of "victimization,"⁴ and, in keeping with this tradition, subsequent feminist scholarship focused upon the negative aspects of female mystical experience.⁵ Sarah Beckwith, for example, claimed that female mysticism did not disrupt the patriarchal order, but rather only enabled it to act out its most sexist fantasies.⁶ Amy Hollywood,⁷ challenged the very foundations of Bynum's thesis itself by arguing that neither Mechthild of Magdeburg nor Marguerite Porete actually experienced their

Milieu (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984) and Kieckhefer and George D. Bond ed., *Sainthood: Its Manifestations in World Religions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), and most recently, Katherine J. Lewis, *The Cult of St Katherine of Alexandria in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2000). This interest in holy women is not confined to the medieval or early modern periods. See, for example, most recently, Rudolph Bell and Christina Mazzoni, *The Voices of Gemma Galgani* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003).

⁴ Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex*, translated and edited by H.M. Parshley (New York: Vintage Books, 1989).

⁵ The following discussion does not intend to argue that all feminist scholars viewed physical-centered spiritual experience in a negative manner. See, for example, Randi R. Warne in "Speaking/Creating Reality: Religion, Feminism and Cultural Transformation," *Feminist Theology* no. 30 (May 2002): 52-60. In this article, Warne celebrated the work of Naomi R. Goldenberg, *Returning Words to Flesh: Feminism, Psychoanalysis and the Resurrection of the Body* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1990) for its recognition of the importance of the body in human knowing. Most recently Amy Hollywood, *Sensible Ecstasy: Mysticism, Sexual Difference and the Demands of History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002) examined the attraction of such extreme mystics to twentieth-century postmodernists.

⁶ Sarah Beckwith, *Christ's Body: Identity, Culture and Society in Medieval Writings* (New York: Routledge, 1993). More recently, Julie B. Miller in "Eroticized Violence in Medieval Women's Mystical Literature: A Call for a Feminist Critique," *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion*, vol. 15, no. 2 (Fall, 1999), also contended that Bynum's celebration of the suffering of these women only reinforced the patriarchal values that feminists are supposed to be critiquing.

⁷ Amy Hollywood, *The Soul as Virgin Wife: Mechthild of Magdeburg, Marguerite Porete and Meister Eckhart* (Southbend: University of Notre-Dame Press, 1995). Mary A. Suydam, in "The Touch of Satisfaction: Visions and the Religious Experience According to Hadewijch of Antwerp," *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion*, vol. 12, no. 2 (Fall 1996) also argued that while Hadewijch's religious experiences centered on the body, some of the language she used to describe her experiences appear as a Platonic desire to transcend her body.

spirituality through their bodies. More recently and in a similar vein, Marie-Florine Bruneau ⁸denounced Bynum's arguments as an idealization of medieval holy women, contending that these "mystics" only engaged in these experiences because male authorities "allowed" them power and transcendence through their bodies.⁹

Certain historians, on the other hand, have attempted to redeem the agency of these holy women in other ways by examining them within a wider public framework.¹⁰

A study pertaining to the early modern European period by Gabriella Zarri, for example,

⁸ Marie-Florine Bruneau, *Women Mystics Confront the Modern World* (New York : State University of New York Press, 1998).

⁹ For a general overview of this issue see Emily R. Neill, "From Generation to Generation: Horizons in Feminist Theology or Reinventing the Wheel," *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion*, vol. 15, no. 1 (Spring 1999): 102. Other recent works concerning holy women include: Grace Jantzen and Richard King, *Power, Gender and Christian Mysticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), views mysticism in the context not only of gender but also colonial power; Richard Lowes in "Psychological Disorder and the Autobiographical Impulse in Julian of Norwich, Margery of Kempe and Thomas Hoccleve," in *Writing Religious Women: Female Spiritual and Textual Practices in Late Medieval England* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), argued that psychological disorder contributed to the writing of spiritual autobiography; Rosalynn Voaden and Stephanie Wolf, in "Visions of My Youth: Representations of the Childhood of Medieval Visionaries," *Gender and History*, vol. 12, no. 3 (Nov. 2000) have examined the childhood reminiscences of visionaries; and Lisa Vollendorf approached the issue of women and violence in general in *Reclaiming the Body: Maria De Zayas's Early Modern Feminism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), demonstrating how the writing of this woman describing rape and beatings was not designed to exploit women, but to challenge the society that tolerated such behaviour.

¹⁰ See, for example, Phyllis Mack's study of Quakers. *Visionary Women: Ecstatic Prophecy in Seventeenth-Century England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992) argued that "women as prophets enjoyed the only taste of public authority they would ever know," 5. Other studies focusing upon visionaries include: Ottavia Niccoli, *Prophecy and People in Renaissance Italy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990); Richard L. Kagan, *Lucrecia's Dreams: Politics and Prophecy in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990); and Kagan, *Dangerous Talk and Strange Behaviour: Women and Popular Resistance to the Reforms of Henry VIII* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996). See Marilyn J. Westerkamp, *Women and Religion in Early America, 1600-1850: The Puritan and Evangelical Traditions* (New York: Routledge, 1999), for a discussion of how mystical religion allowed Puritan women an opportunity to move outside of the domestic sphere and into the reform movements of nineteenth-century America.

has examined "living female saints," in late medieval and Renaissance Italy, who acted as political and apocalyptic prophets¹¹ Magdalena S. Sánchez working within the Spanish context, has illustrated how Habsburg women, utilizing devotional practices to gain a reputation for sanctity, gained an influence in secular and political life.¹² With respect to seventeenth-century France, Cynthia Cupples, partly in response to Brémond's one-dimensional focus upon the contemplative aspect of the religious experiences of French mystical women and also to demonstrate that there was no opposition between contemplation and action, has illustrated the distinctly public role of certain seventeenth-century mystics or, as she called them, "visionaries."¹³

With this background in mind, this chapter will examine a biography¹⁴ of Marie Barbier (1663-1739), Congrégation de Notre-Dame mystic, nun and superior, written about her by her confessor, Charles de Glandelet,¹⁵ a priest at the Séminaire de Québec in the early eighteenth century, not only to understand her spirituality, but also its relationship to the power of this holy woman.

¹¹ Gabriella Zarri, *Donna disciplina, creanza cristiana dal XV al XVII secolo* (Rome : Edizioni di storia et letteratura, 1996).

¹² Magdalena S. Sánchez, *The Empress, the Queen and the Nun: Women and Power at the Court of Philip III of Spain* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998).

¹³ Cynthia Jean Cupples, "Âmes d'Élite : Visionaries and Politics in France from the Holy Catholic League to the Reign of Louis XIV," Ph.D dissertation, Princeton, June 1999, 10

¹⁴ ASQ, ms. 198, Recueil touchant la S[œur Marie Barbier].

¹⁵ Charles de Glandelet was born in Vannes (Brittany) in 1645. He held numerous titles and offices in the Church until his death in 1725, including assistant and then superior of the seminary of Quebec; Canon of the Cathedral Chapter and first theologian for the Chapter; procurator for the bishop and the Chapter. He was also the ecclesiastical superior for the Ursulines of Trois-Rivières, Quebec and the soeurs of the Hôtel-Dieu of Quebec. "Introduction," Charles de Glandelet, *The Life of Sister Marguerite Bourgeoys*, translated by Florence Quigley (Montreal: CND ,1994), 14-15.

II. The Glandelet Manuscript

Some time before his death in 1725, Charles de Glandelet sent "in secret" to Monsieur de la Colombière, a Sulpician priest and confessor of the institution,¹⁶ his manuscript of the life of Marie Barbier. "I do not wish to destroy it," he wrote, "as it may subsequently be useful and pleasing to many. It is for this reason that I place it in your hands knowing well that it will be as if it would have been in mine..."¹⁷

The manuscript has come down to us in the form of a 210-page narrative. It is not an easy document to read: often words are blurred, written in miniscule script in the margins, crossed out or replaced, and can only be deciphered with a painstaking effort (see figure 6.1). Nevertheless, in spite of its challenges, Glandelet's biography of Marie Barbier is a valuable chronicle of the life and spiritual development of this woman.

¹⁷ ASQ, Ms. 198, Recueil touchant la S[œur Marie Barbier]. *ibid.* VII. The manuscript begins with a preface paginated as pages VII and VIII, with the actual text beginning on page one, and numbered consecutively thereafter. The contents of pages I-VI do not appear in the ASQ manuscript.

Ce n'est pas que ces mêmes gens
et généralement toutes celles qui
sont connues, ne l'aient toujours
regardée comme une fille qui avait
beaucoup de graces et de vertu,
et que ^{plusieurs} quelques-unes même indubitablement
n'aient été en diverses occasions
beaucoup aidées et encouragées par
leurs entretiens. Sur tout lorsqu'on était
seul communiquaient leur état.

[illegible][illegible]

~~qu'on ne s'en souvient plus~~
~~et elle~~ La vie humaine est si complexe
et elle est si éphémère, si fragile
faible comme l'éclair, si vite
faite et si vite oubliée. On ne peut
rien faire pour l'éternité. On ne peut
rien faire que d'être heureux pendant
quelques années de sa vie.

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Chapter two, with respect to Marguerite Bourgeoys and Jeanne Le Ber, has touched upon the tradition within the Church, whereby priests wrote about holy women. The following intends to advance this discussion in order to deepen our understanding of this practice with respect to Glandelet's biography of Marie Barbier. To begin, it was not uncommon for priests/confessors to write about the individuals with whom they were acquainted, particularly those demonstrating exceptional spiritual gifts. In the colony alone in the seventeenth and the early part of the eighteenth centuries, numerous biographies such as these emerged. The Jesuit priest, Claude Chauchetière,¹⁸ expressed his enthusiasm for the native mystic, Kateri Tekakwitha,¹⁹ and in 1715 the Society of Jesus published "The Life of Catherine Tekawitha."²⁰ There was, of course, Glandelet's biography of Marie Barbier, but, as already mentioned in chapter two, he also wrote two biographies of Marguerite Bourgeoys, one in 1700-1, and another in 1715.²¹ And the Sulpician priest, François Vachon de Belmont, in one work, sanctified the recluse Jeanne Le Ber alone, and in another, the latter with Marguerite Bourgeoys.²²

¹⁸ Cornelius Jaenen, "Claude Chauchetière," *DCB* 2:139-40. Claude Chauchetière (1645-1709) was a Jesuit priest, mathematician, artist and mystic.

¹⁹ ASJ, no. 343, *La vie de la B. Catherine Tagakouita, dite à présent la Sainte Sauvagesse*.

²⁰ As cited in Allan Greer, "Colonial Saints: Gender, Race and Hagiography in New France," *William and Mary Quarterly* 3d Series, Vol. LVII, no. 2 (April 2000): 345.

²¹ Charles de Glandelet, *The True Spirit of the Institute of the Secular Sisters of the Congregation de Notre Dame Established in Ville Marie on the Island of Montreal in Canada*, translated by Frances McCann, CND (Montreal: CND, 1977); and *Life of Sister Marguerite Bourgeoys*.

²² François Vachon de Belmont, "Éloges de quelques personnes mortes en odeur de sainteté à Montréal, en Canada," in Soeur Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire de la Congrégation de Notre-Dame*, 3 : 305-8. See also ASSP, ms 1216., *La Vie de la Venerable Soeur Jeanne Le Ber, fille recluse dans la maison des Soeurs de la Congrégation de Nôtre Dame Decedée En Odeur de Sainteté a Montreal, le 3 oct 1714*. Jacques Mathieu, "François Vachon de Belmont," *DCB*, 2:641-2. Belmont (1645-1732), was a "priest, Sulpician,

Moreover, the practice of writing biographies about spiritually gifted women was, of course, not peculiar to the colonial situation. Rather, it was an integral part of a tradition extending back to the middle ages, whereby priests wrote about holy women of their acquaintance. These biographies were written for a number of different reasons: out of awe and admiration for the spiritual experiences of these women, as was the case of Jacques de Vitry's account of the life of Mary of Oignes²³; for didactic purposes, to utilize in sermons and glorify these individuals as models of sanctity; to inspire devotion to the passion of Christ; or for hagiographical purposes, with the specific intention of drawing the attention of Rome to the "holy" person for eventual canonization.²⁴

Given that these biographies were an integral part of a tradition, they can be viewed from a number of different perspectives. For one, written as they were primarily by male clerics, they are a reflection of the ideal religious life, and as such, they exhibit common characteristics which delineate the qualities of a saint: these include asceticism, contemplation, action, miracles, and visions.²⁵ Moreover, as a genre, they evolved over time. For instance, after the fourth Lateran Council in 1215, a new emphasis was placed on the life of the saint rather than their miracles;²⁶ and in the centuries following the

missionary, schoolmaster, priest of the parish of Montreal, seigneur of Montreal island, superior of the Sulpician seminary from 1701-1732, and vicar-general of the bishop of Quebec."

²³ E. McDonnell, *The Beguines and Beghards in Medieval Culture with Special Emphasis on the Belgian Scene* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1954), chap. 2, advances this view. See also Jacques de Vitry, *Life of Mary of Oignes* (Toronto: Peregrina Publishers, 1993).

²⁴ Kieckhefer, *Unquiet Souls*, 4, 5. See also Allan Greer, "Iroquois Virgin: The Story of Catherine Tekakwitha in New France and New Spain," *Colonial Saints: Discovering the Holy in the Americas* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 235.

²⁵ Kieckhefer and Bond, eds., *Sainthood*, 12. Kieckhefer has categorized these qualities in the following manner: I. Moral Elements: A. Asceticism B. Contemplation C. Action. II. Extraordinary manifestations of power: A. Miracles B. Visions.

²⁶ Goodich, *Vita Perfecta*, 1982), 4.

Reformation and Catholic Reform periods, many of the fantastical aspects of the lives of these saints (such as the slaying of dragons) began to disappear under the influence, in general, of the more rational mentality, and more specifically, the Bollandists - Jesuits who attempted to systematize and historicize this literature.²⁷ Consequently, by the time Glandelet put his pen to paper in the early years of the eighteenth century, many of these influences must have made themselves felt - his narrative takes great pains to adhere to a systematic and chronological framework, to quote precise dates surrounding events and to cite reliable sources as witnesses to his account.²⁸

In this context, the biography of Marie Barbier is a creation. Charles de Glandelet collected information about her, primarily from his meetings with her as her confessor, from letters she sent to him,²⁹ but also from individuals who knew her and witnessed many of the events surrounding her life³⁰ As mentioned earlier, not only did he place his account within a chronological framework, he also structured it within his own narrative, at times sermonizing. In one case, for example, he ran on at great lengths about the introduction of veils, modesty and simplicity among the students at the Quebec missions.³¹ Moreover, he also devoted much of the manuscript towards advancing *his own* interpretations of her writings. In one instance, he expands upon and interprets a

²⁷ Kieckhefer, *Sainthood*, 9, 33.

²⁸ For example, ASQ, ms. 198, Recueil touchant la [Soeur Barbier], 46: "C'est ce que La S. avoua elle même a Son directeur lorsqu'elle étoit a quebec en 1698."

²⁹ Ibid., 1. "tires des aveus ou declarations qu'elle a fait ell-même, tant de vive voix, que par escrit."

³⁰ For example, ibid., 60, where Anne Meyrand writes about their favourable influence on Île Saint-Laurent; and ibid., 210, where "une de l'anciennes soeurs de Sa Coauté" wrote to Glandelet and described Marie as "un tresor qui n'est gueres connu."

³¹ Ibid., 61-4.

letter she wrote to him, and utilizes it to expostulate upon her character.³² In this sense then, this source is tainted, and once again, we return to the historian facing the dilemma of incomplete and fragmented documents, overlain with layer upon layer of often almost illegible human interpretation, interpolation, and even interference.

And yet, this does not mean that we cannot break through this genre, this creation, and attempt to represent Marie Barbier's spirituality. Keeping the above-mentioned limitations in mind, the following section shall utilize Carolyn Walker Bynum's methodology. This involves attempting to avoid his *overt interpretations* of her,³³ and focusing instead, as far as possible, upon those parts of the manuscript that touch upon what Marie Barbier said, did and wrote to her director.³⁴

³² Ibid., 13-16, he expands upon and interprets her letter to him from the previous pages (10-12): "Dans ce petit narré que vient de faire des dispositions ou elle étoit alors, elle trace sans y penser le plan de ses épreuves... ." Immediately thereafter, Glandelet summarizes her character in the following manner: "...sa pente et attrait pour la vie humble, cachée, et méprisée, son estime et son affection pour la pauvreté..."

³³ Although this section does attempt to avoid his overt interpretations of her, which are embedded throughout the text, it also recognizes that his selection and editing of *her* own writings and testimonies, his presentation of them, was, from the inception, another way of creating her, which the historian, in the absence of original material, can neither judge nor penetrate.

³⁴ Bynum, *Holy Feast*, 29. Many scholars have commented upon the difficult process of extracting women from historical documents, as well as, depending upon one's point of view, the often contradictory and divergent interpretations that arise in the process. Kate Cooper, *The Virgin and the Bride: Idealized Womanhood in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), influenced by poststructuralism, demonstrated how texts that at one time idealized women as agents can now be viewed as "representative of androcentric and sometimes even pornographic fantasies about women," 49. For more on this see also Lawrence M. Wills, *The Jewish Novel in the Ancient World* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995) and Sandra R. Joshel, "Female Desire and the Discourse of Empire: Tacitus's Messalina," *Signs* 21, no. 1 (1995): 50-82. For a recent overview of this issue see Shelly Matthews, "Thinking of Thecla: Issues in Feminist Historiography," *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion*, vol. 17, no. 2 (Fall 2001): 39. Thecla was a courageous high-born woman who appeared in the Acts of the Apocrypha in the second and third centuries A.D. She defied the social order by adopting Christianity, and was taken up by certain scholars to prove that the Acts of the Apocrypha represented a nascent woman-centered Christian community that resisted the patriarchal order. See, for

As a Bird Flies

Very little within Marie Barbier's formative years prepares the reader for the passionate mystic she would eventually become. Born on 1 May 1663 at Ville Marie to Gilbert Barbier, a carpenter and local church warden,³⁵ and Catherine Lavaux, she was, as a young girl, given to "legeretez"³⁶ and unable to honestly confess her sins.³⁷ However, the first of a series of incidents that would occur periodically throughout her life, served to refocus her direction.³⁸ At around the time of her first communion, a young man, "who had a very wicked intention,"³⁹ approached her when she was sleeping. He attempted to force his way into her cabin, but her appeal to the Virgin Mary so fortified her that in an

example, Steven L. Davies, *The Revolt of the Widows: The Social World of the Apocryphal Acts* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1980) and Virginia Burns, *Chastity as Autonomy: Women in the Stories of the Apocrypha Acts* (Lewiston N.Y.: Edwin Mellen, 1987). Other scholars, influenced by post-structural thought, however, have contended that the texts have been misinterpreted. Instead of focussing upon extracting "real" women and their historical experiences from the texts, the most important insights to be gained from them is a study of textual representation and the male authors who created them. See, for example, Lynne Boughton, "From Pious Legend to Feminist Fantasy: Distinguishing Hagiographical License from Apostolic Practice in the Acts of Paul/Acts of Thecla," *Journal of Religion* 71, no. 3 (1991): 362-83 and Peter Dunn, "Women's Liberation, the *Acts of Paul*, and Other Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles," *Apocrypha* 4 (1993): 245-61. This direction is certainly applicable to the Glandelet manuscript, and the examination of this text as a window onto this individual will make a fascinating avenue for future study. However, at the same time, this does not discount the document's value in enabling the historian to retrieve, whatever can be retrieved, of Marie Barbier from this source.

³⁵ According to Glandelet's biography. But he also appears in the records as a habitant, tax collector, a "master" carpenter and a surveyor. ANQM, gr. Basset dit Deslauriers, Quittance, 29 July 1658; gr. Basset dit Deslauriers, Concession d'un emplacement, 3 Dec. 1684; gr. Cabazie, Contrat de mariage, 12 June 1684.

³⁶ ASQ, ms. 198, Recueil touchant la S[oeur Barbier], 2. "frivolity"

³⁷ Ibid., 3.

³⁸ See Bynum, *Holy Feast*, 24, for a discussion of "turning points" in these narratives. Most medieval scholars would agree with Bynum's contention that "crisis and decisive change were more significant motifs in male than in female *vitae*." Marie Barbier's gradual conversion obviously fits the pattern of many female *vitae*. See also Bell and Weinstein, *Saints and Society*, 19-47.

³⁹ ASQ, ms. 198, Recueil touchant la S[oeur Barbier], 5. "...qui avoit une tres méchante Intention..."

instant she was able to close the cabin's shutter before he could enter. This incident, the memory of her escape from danger, made a great impression upon her: she became more restrained and, leaving behind her "minor debauchery,"⁴⁰ she entered the congrégation for instruction for her first communion.⁴¹

Within this milieu, Marie began to demonstrate signs of the passionate spirituality that would later characterize her life. At times, she could be found leaving behind her worldly companions and fervently praying among the congregation soeurs, and although after taking her first communion she did not attempt to enter the institution, she joined the Congrégation of Externes,⁴² which met at the convent for instruction on Sundays and feast days.⁴³

In spite of these changes to her life, she remained unhappy and full of self-reproach, particularly for her lack of honesty and sincerity in confessing her sins to her directors. After a frightening dream, where her good angel saved her from demons that were threatening to carry her away, she attempted to enter the congrégation. Her parents, however, lacked the means to advance the requisite funds for her dowry, and it was only with the help of her brother that, at the age of fifteen, she entered the institute,⁴⁴ "after

⁴⁰ Ibid., 6. This section, including "quittant Le petit libertinage qu'elle entretenoit avec ses compagnes..." has been crossed out with the following instructions written beside it in the margin: "faut retranchez ces lignes..."

⁴¹ Ibid., 1, 2, 5, 6. The adjective "minor debauchery" has been crossed out. "que quettant le petit libertinage qu'elle entre...avec ses compagnes."

⁴² For more on the Congrégation of Externes, see chapter two.

⁴³ ASQ, ms. 198, Recueil touchant la S[œur Barbier], 6.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 7, 8. This business about the dowry is an obvious interpolation on the part of Glandelet, as the dowry did not become an official requirement for entry into the congrégation until the members of the community signed the constitution in 1698.

many tests, contradictions and difficulties."⁴⁵ She received her habit at sixteen, and the following year, in 1679,⁴⁶ she became a professed nun.

It appears that her entry into the congrégation marked a period in her life when her budding spirituality began to deepen and blossom, and its certain distinctive characteristics began to take shape: her passionate faith, her devotion to the Infant Jesus and the Virgin Mary, and the miraculous occurrences surrounding it, and her conviction that she was destined to suffer. This new beginning manifested itself at the moment of her profession, when, for the first time in her life, she was able to confess completely all of her sins against God with such regret and contrition that she was ready to declare them publicly. Moreover, from this confession she received such an assurance of pardon that she regarded this as the moment of her perfect conversion.

It is true [she continued] that I was still reserved and dissembling with my confessor about the present which made it difficult for me to speak of what happened in the past, although it was practically nothing...I began...at the age of nineteen or twenty to rid myself of my duplicity."⁴⁷

It was also at this time that she alludes not only to a certain "distress," which would later on assume a central part of her existence, but also to the inception of a passionate desire to suffer. "I was greatly touched by God and I wished for nothing more than to suffer for the expiation of my sins."⁴⁸ To this end, she begged her mistress of novices to allow her to perform the lowliest tasks of the community, such as guarding the

⁴⁵ Ibid., 8. "aprez diverses epreuves, contradictions et difficultez."

⁴⁶ Soeur Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 2: 6.

⁴⁷ ASQ, ms. 198, "Recueil touchant la S[œur Barbier]. "Il est vray, poursuite elle, que J'eus encor quelque reserve et dissimulation depuis avec mon confesseur touchant le present que me faisoit plus de peine a dire que le passé, quoyque ce ne fût presque rien...Je commençay...a l'age de dix neuf ou vingt ans a me deffaire de mes duplicites."

⁴⁸ Ibid., 11. "J'avois des touches de Dieu, et Je ne souhaitois plus que de souffrir pour L'expiation de mes pechez."

pigs and the cows, making butter, baking bread in the bakery, and preparing the community's meals in the kitchen.⁴⁹

It was while working at these menial tasks that Marie received comfort, refuge and succor from her devotion to the Infant Jesus and the Virgin Mary. This devotion endowed her, as young as she was, with the ability to console her fellow soeurs, young and old alike, for, as she wrote to her confessor, almost fifteen years later:

I did not feel my passions, being newly converted, everything was easy. If a girl came to me for encouragement, she never returned but content. When my soeurs, even the older ones, confided their troubles and their sorrows to me, ...I made everything easy for them that had seemed unbearable; and this from the devotion to the Infant Jesus..."⁵⁰

This devotion also enabled her to mediate in the healing of the ill of the community.

Often ailing soeurs would approach her to pray on their behalf.

On other occasions, Marie would take the initiative and appeal to the Infant Jesus herself. In one instance, on hearing that an ill soeur had received the last rites, Marie fell at the feet of the Infant Jesus, who gave her the idea to make a cake and give it to the ailing woman. Although reprimanded by her director for such "superstition," she refused his counsel, pleading instead for him to allow her to give the cake to the nun. Eventually he agreed, and the woman, who previously could not eat one morsel of food, was completely healed. On another occasion, she advised a soeur with a severe eye ailment to

⁴⁹ Ibid., 12.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 10. "Je ne sentois point mes passions, étant nouvellement convertie, rien ne me coûtoit: Si une fille s'adressoit a moy pour L'encourager, elle ne s'en retournoit Jamais que bien contente. lorsque mes soeurs, même des anciennes, me faisoient confidence de leur difficultes [damaged] et de leur peines, je leur faisois trouver doux tout ce qui leur paroisse Insupportables; Et cela par le moyen de la devotion au St Enfant Jesus..." Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*, 28 also observed that nuns, tertiaries and laywomen all counselled, advised and castigated others.

apply the belt of the robe of the wax figure of the Holy Infant to her eyes, and after Marie had said a prayer, her disorder disappeared.⁵¹

The benefits derived from this devotion penetrated other areas of her existence, manifesting themselves in other miraculous occurrences, and facilitating tasks that she had described as ordinarily beyond her powers: "I cannot understand," she says, "how, as young and weak as I was, I could do so much work during those five years..."⁵² Simple prayers to the Infant Jesus or the Virgin Mary would enable her to accomplish seemingly prodigious work, such as baking bread and teaching, simultaneously and effectively. When it appeared that she would not have enough time to finish her baking, if she forgot the yeast, if there was not enough flour, or if her assistant failed to arrive, she appealed to the Holy Infant and the Virgin Mary⁵³ with simple, passionate and personal prayers, and her difficulties would be surmounted: "My Jesus! Here the bells ring for mass. I am overcome. There is no one to take the children [to church]"⁵⁴ On one particular occasion, when she did not have enough flour to bake bread, she prayed to the Virgin Mary to send a wind to turn the mills and grind the flour. Suddenly, she claimed, "there was a great wind," enabling her, in the end, to accomplish the task.⁵⁵

Marie laboured in this way for five years, devoted to serving others, believing that she was "unworthy to live with the servants of the Holy Virgin,"⁵⁶ performing menial tasks - at the mother house, Pointe Saint-Charles and Verdun - until 1685, when she was

⁵¹ ASQ, ms. 198, Recueil touchant la S[œur Barbier], 26-9.

⁵² Ibid., 17. "Je ne peux pas comprendre, dit elle, comment étant jeune et foible comme J'étois, je pouvois faire tout L'ouvrage que J'ay fait pendant cinq années de suite."

⁵³ Ibid., 19, 20, 21, 23, 24.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 19. "Mon Jesus! Voila la messe qui sonne, Je m'y envais. Il n'y a personne pour mener les Enfants..."

⁵⁵ Ibid., 21. "J'étois prosternée. tout a coup Il se leva un si grand vent..."

⁵⁶ Ibid., 12. "Je me reconnoissois Indigne de demeurer avec les Servantes de la Ste Vierge..."

elected to go to the Mountain mission.⁵⁷ At the same time, Bishop Saint Vallier⁵⁸, newly arrived from France, wrote the congrégation, requesting that they establish a new mission at Île Saint-Laurent (Île d'Orleans).⁵⁹ Although Marie had already been assigned to the Mountain mission, from the moment she heard this news, convinced that it was her destiny to suffer, she clung steadfastly to a presentiment - even when confronted with the gentle mockery of a parish priest who counseled her otherwise - that she would be sent to this Quebec mission⁶⁰ to endure the primitive conditions of a newly formed establishment.

I had a presentiment for some time that it would be me and I was certain inside of myself that my spiritual well being depended on God to give me the grace to die to all of my evil inclinations."⁶¹

By this period of her life, her desire to suffer was already so intense that when she dutifully arrived at the Mountain mission, she could barely hide her dismay - everything was extraordinarily clean, nothing was lacking, not even the images of the Infant Jesus, which her companion had placed around their cabin for her benefit.⁶² Saying nothing to her companion, she instead offered this prayer to God:

My God! This is not the place for which you have destined me...do you wish to lose me

⁵⁷ The Mountain mission was located in the towers guarding the Sulpician fort, now the Sulpician Seminary on Sherbrooke Street. After 1676, the soeurs taught the local natives here with a gratification from the king. Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 3: 25, 41.

⁵⁸ Alfred Rambaud, "Jean-Baptiste de La Croix Chevrères de Saint-Vallier," *DCB*, 2:328-34. Saint-Vallier (1653-1727) was the second bishop of Quebec.

⁵⁹ ASQ, ms. 198, Recueil touchant la S[oeur Barbier], 31.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 31-4.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 32. "J'avois un pressentiment depuis quelque temps que la seroit et J'avois une certaine certitude Interieure que mon bien spirituel dependoit de la, que Dieu me feroit la grace de mourir a toutes mes méchantes Inclinations..."

⁶² *Ibid.*, 33.

and render useless the blood that you have spilled for me. O rather to die than to feel so comfortable!"⁶³

Marie soon recovered from her disappointment, when, on the following day, word arrived from the Montreal community that would set her on the course for which she intuitively believed she was destined: a new election had designated her to go to Île Saint-Laurent with Soeur Anne Mérand.⁶⁴

If Marie's central purpose in life was to suffer, the Île Saint-Laurent mission, from the very outset, offered her the ideal opportunity. Although it was only November and the day of the Feast of Saint Martin when they departed, it was as cold as winter. On the boat, she and Soeur Mérand had only one cover for the two of them, and very little warm clothing. At Quebec, they endured the mockery of individuals who chided them for their poor belongings,⁶⁵ and when they reached their destination, frozen, her companion half dead, Marie was so unhappy with her confessor that she cried for eight days because, as she wrote, "the pains of the body are nothing to those of the spirit."⁶⁶ Nor did their

⁶³ Ibid., 34. "Mon Dieu! ce n'est pas la le lieu que vous m'avez destiné...voulez vous me perdre et rendre Inutile Le Sang que vous avez répandu pour moy. ô plutôt mourir, que d'être Si a mon aises!"

⁶⁴ Ibid., 35. Anne Mérand was born in France in 1659. She remained on Ile Saint-Laurent until 1689, when she was called to Quebec by Bishop Saint-Vallier to assist in the establishment of the Hôpital-Général. In 1691, she was recalled to Ville-Marie. Considered to be a serious candidate to replace Marguerite Bourgeoys as superior, she died in the same year at the age of thirty-two. She was, according to Glandelet, "très intérieure, très zélée, très vertueuse." Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 1: 355-7. Judging by her remarks at the sight of the Mountain mission, apparently this soeur sought suffering as intensely as did her future companion, Marie Barbier. "My soeur, God does not want you here, you would be approved of too much...one must suffer all sorts of deprivation...One must suffer in life, and that is what God demands of you." ["Ma Soeur, Dieu ne vous veut point icy, vous y seriez trop applaudie d'un chacun. Il faut Souffrir toute sorte de privation...Il faut souffrir pendant la vie, et c'est ce que Dieu demande de vous."] ASQ, ms. 198, Recueil touchant la S[oeur Barbier], 35.

⁶⁵ ASQ, Ms. 198, Recueil touchant la [Soeur Barbier], 36, 37.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 37-8. This entire paragraph has been crossed out, including her negative remark about the confessor of the parish. "A la 1ere... du curé du lieu, Je connus qu'il n'étoit pas

suffering end here. As this was a new mission, there were no separate quarters for the soeurs, who resided in the house of the widow Gosselin.⁶⁷ It was, Marie wrote, "like an inferno,"⁶⁸ offering neither privacy to eat nor to freely practice their devotions. The church was a good distance away, and after such a lengthy walk, they would return all covered with ice, not daring to approach the fire because of all of the people.⁶⁹ Marie, however, was "perfectly content" because she had at last begun to suffer.⁷⁰

Marie spent the winter of 1686 at Île Saint-Laurent. In the spring of 1686, she was called to Quebec to work in a mission established by Bishop Saint-Vallier called La Providence,⁷¹ where she remained, except for a brief return to Île Saint-Laurent, until 1691.⁷² It was here, at Quebec, where she encountered and came under the spiritual direction of Charles de Glandelet, who remained in contact with her until 1707.⁷³ It was also during this period that the early features of Marie's spirituality continued to flourish. As at the missions surrounding Montreal, her devotion to the Holy Infant Jesus and the Virgin Mary not only sustained her, but also enabled her to exert a positive, a "simple and modest" influence upon the girls in her care.⁷⁴ This devotion also continued to be the

la personne qui devoit m'aider pour mon avancement spirituel, ce qui me fit une peine que Je ne puis exprimer. J'en pleuray huit Jours de Suite sans pouvoir me consoler, les peines du corps ne sont rien au prix de celles de L'ame."

⁶⁷ Ibid., 39.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 38. "Je me trouvay comme dans un enfer me voyant obligée de manger et d'être continuellement avec des hommes et des femmes..."

⁶⁹ Ibid., 38.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 37. "J'étois parfaitement contente de ce que Je commençois a Souffrir"; and *ibid.*, 41: "cela joint au grand froid, et a toutes les Incommoditez que je ressentis durant L'hyver dans cette demeure, me fit contracter des Infirmités assez considerables. pourvû que Dieu en tire Sa gloire et que mon orgueil soit écrasé, Je suis contente."

⁷¹ La Providence at Quebec was modeled on the Montreal school at Pointe Saint-Charles, which taught housekeeping skills to poor girls. Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire* 1: 213, 257.

⁷² ASQ, ms. 198, Recueil touchant la S[œur Barbier], 49, 84.

⁷³ Ibid., 49, 208.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 47-8, 57-8, 60.

source of miraculous occurrences: at Île d'Orléans, her prayers to the Holy Infant Jesus once saved her from complete burial in a snow storm and at another time, helped to extinguish a fire at the home of the widow Gosselin. Moreover, her tenure there produced events defying the laws of nature: at Quebec, provisions - oil, flour and vinegar - lasted longer than usual, even though the number of mouths to feed had increased. On another occasion, water pouring into the attic during a storm, miraculously left the flour totally dry and untouched by the rain. And there, with the help of the Holy Infant Jesus, she contributed to the healing of the ill.⁷⁵

It was also at this time - at La Providence - that the "distress" Marie mentioned early on in the account assumed more intense proportions. She began to experience physical and spiritual disturbances characterized by severe, often unsustainable pain that would cause her to cry out loud.⁷⁶ Her suffering was total - "now on her arms, now on her legs, then on her side, now in her kidneys, now in her eyes and in some other part of her body or at times everywhere"⁷⁷ - invading initially her body and then her soul. Often, presentiments of suffering would invade her, warnings of approaching death, or increasing pain. At times her state of suffering would be so severe that she could not eat, or would only do so if forced, and then she became so weak that her confessor forbade her to perform any fasting and mortification. This suffering, which made her feel as if she was being cut into pieces, was accompanied by such dryness and aridity that often she did not know where she was.⁷⁸ On one occasion, she experienced such torment that she fell into a state of extraordinary agitation, moaning over and over again the presentiment:

⁷⁵ Ibid., 40-1, 45-6, 51-3, 55, 54-5.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 66.

⁷⁷ Ibid. "tantôt aux bras, tantôt aux Jambes, tantôt au Côté, tantôt aux reins, tantôt aux yeux ou dans quelque autre partie du corps, et quelque fois dans toutes ensemble..."

⁷⁸ Ibid., 83, 73, 67, 78, 68, 69, 73, 75.

"some people are lost, some people are lost." ⁷⁹ Obsessed with her own unworthiness, her own sin and corruption, at times she repeated, "I am nothing, I am worth nothing, I have nothing." ⁸⁰ Temptations plagued her, even against her own purity. ⁸¹ Overwhelming boredom left her unable to listen to sermons or even ordinary conversations, for "what others said about God did not express what she herself felt." ⁸² However, when her pain, which although almost totally unrelenting, would temporarily subside, "she found herself completely abandoned in the hands of God." ⁸³

Communion, meant to be a source of consolation for Christians, became a focal point of extreme suffering and divided emotions. At times, taking communion would indeed temporarily ease the pain, heal her weakness and fortify her, but then it would return again. On other occasions, she would experience an ardent desire for communion, an extraordinary hunger for the host, but then the certainty of her own corruption and unworthiness would prompt her to avoid it. When, on one occasion, in a state of despair, she dared not look at the crucifix, her director, as a remedy, gave her communion every day, an action bestowing upon her interior consolation accompanied by grace and spiritual favors, which lasted for a number of months. ⁸⁴

Marie's tenure at Quebec was marked by this turbulence, and in May 1691 she was recalled to Montreal. Initially the object of suspicion and reproach due to reports of

⁷⁹ Ibid., 79. "ces personnes se perdent, ces personnes se perdent."

⁸⁰ Ibid., 78 "Je ne suis rien, Je ne vauz rien, je n'ay rien.."

⁸¹ Ibid., 78.

⁸² Ibid., 80. "Elle commencea pour lors d'experimenter de grands ennuyes des lectures, des conversations mais surtout des Sermons, dans les quels sa grande peine étoit de voir que tout ce qu'on disoit de Dieu [word unclear - n'exprima] point ce qu'elle en sentoit au dedans d'elle même."

⁸³ Ibid., 77. "elle se trouva dans une disposition d'abandon total entre les mains de Dieu..."

⁸⁴ Ibid., 70, 71, 72, 79, 69, 70, 81, 85, 68.

her visionary experiences at Quebec,⁸⁵ her humble way of accepting the "lowliest duties in the house without thinking of being humiliated by them," soon won the confidence of the other soeurs. In the course of two years, she was elected assistant and then superior of the community in 1693.⁸⁶

If suffering had dominated her existence at Quebec, it only increased at Montreal under the weight of her responsibilities as superior. Plagued by feelings of inadequacy and fears that she would bring ruin to the community, fervently wishing to be discharged of the superiorship,⁸⁷ her pains, her suffering, and her despair intensified, causing her to groan, cry and shout without restraint."⁸⁸ She only wanted, she maintained, to die, like a loathsome wretch, scorned by everyone, to abandon myself to all types of deaths for the expiation of sins committed in such a great number; wishing to live only to suffer in my body and in my soul.⁸⁹

And although her heart broke "with sadness at her offenses,"⁹⁰ she fully accepted "with a good heart the dryness and aridity," that she found insupportable,⁹¹ her only wish being to be united with God alone.⁹²

Marie's almost constant pain was intensified by her extreme practice of bodily mortification. These penitential practices, only alluded to in her early years at Montreal

⁸⁵ Ibid., 84.

⁸⁶ Ibid. "...Lors qu'elle y fut retournée on L'applique aux plus vils exercices de La maison, sans pensant L'humilier parla..."

⁸⁷ Ibid., 101. "ayez pitié de cette pauvre Coauté dont vous m'avez chargé que je ne sois pas cause de Sa destruction, " 88.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 85. "gemir, pleurer, et crier sans pouvoir S'en empêcher..."

⁸⁹ Ibid., 86. "comme une miserable et Infame sans secours dans le mépris de toutes les créatures. Je m'abandonne a toutes sortes de morts pour l'expiation des pechez qui Se commettent en si grand nombre; ne voulant vivre que pour souffrir sur mon corps et dans mon ame."

⁹⁰ Ibid., 87. "...mon coeur soit brisé de douleur de mes offenses..."

⁹¹ Ibid., 88. "J'accepte de bon coeur les secheresses et ariditez que je ne peux supporter..."

⁹² Ibid., 102. "...Je ressens dans mon ame, qui veut s'unir a Dieu."

and Quebec,⁹³ assumed more prominent and grotesque proportions after her return to Montreal. Here, at certain periods of every day, she would whip herself with a belt fortified with iron hooks for half an hour until covered in blood, feeling thereafter fortified, as if her good angel had assisted her. On one occasion, completely naked, she disciplined herself for one hour with so much force that her entire body was lacerated so badly that blood splattered everywhere. Unwell the following day, she was unable to continue this discipline, but she resumed it the day after. Thereafter, however, she repeated this action daily in order to expiate the offences she had committed against God and obtain grace for her community. Her tools of discipline - a cross, a crown, a heart, bracelets and chains made of iron and garnished with points - were formidable and harsh, worn close to her body, intended to pierce her flesh. She wore a hair shirt every day, placed peas between her toes, and iron points in her shoes to break open the soles of her feet. And when she did go to sleep, it was on a board, often upon an iron cross or a belt studded with points, only covered with her dress. And in the deepest cold she would approach the fire not for warmth, but only to roast her flesh.⁹⁴

At times overcome with "horrible impulses against her purity, temptations to blaspheme God...and a violent tendency to despair,"⁹⁵ she continued to approach communion with confused feelings - of "frightful repugnance,"⁹⁶ on the one hand, while,

⁹³ Ibid., 14. At Montreal, in Glandelet's own words: "...de haine et d'aversion contre [word damaged] son corps, les traitemens rigoureux qu'elle a exercé contre luy...". And, for example, at Quebec around 1687 (ibid., 75) : " C'est dans cet état qu'elle decouvrit l'appuy secret qu'elle avoit sur ses penitences et ses mortifications exterieurs depuis Le Jour que Son Directeur les luy Interdit."

⁹⁴ Ibid., 89, 90, 91, 92.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 93. "elle sentoit des Impulsions horribles..contre La pureté, des tentations de blaspheme contre Dieu...une pente violente au desespoir..."

⁹⁶ Ibid., 96. "une repugnance effroyable pour la communion.."

on the other, as a source of consolation: "I am always the same, the more I take communion, the more I want it. I tell you quite simply that I die of hunger..."⁹⁷

It was also during her superiorship at Montreal that certain facets of her spirituality appeared to alter. Most notably, her devotion to the Infant Jesus seems to have been replaced by an intense dedication to the Virgin Mary,⁹⁸ as the following prayer clearly reveals:

Very Holy Virgin, bowing humbly at your feet, I beg you, as you are my worthy Superior and my advocate and my refuge, not daring to appear before [your] Divine son. I address myself to you so that you can present to him the offering and the sacrifice that I have made of my will...⁹⁹

This devotion to the Virgin Mary would assume passionate and vivid proportions. On one occasion, during a retreat in 1696, she was weak and suffering "stripped of everything, not on the outside...but inside and in an extraordinary way from my feet to my head...."¹⁰⁰ At the hour of communion, the Virgin Mary appeared to her, took her by the hand and led her to the altar. However, no sooner had she put the host in her mouth than the Virgin Mary disappeared.¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ Ibid., 135. "J'ay toûiours les mêmes dispositions. plus Je communie, plus Je veux communier. Je vous dis en simplicité, que Je meurs de faim..."

⁹⁸ Ibid., 75. "Elle renoncea pareillement a L'appuy qu'elle experimentoit [word unclear] auparavant dans ses pratiques de devotion au St Enfant Jesus, et n'en eut depuis qu'un tout Spirituel, et Independant de ces sortes de pratiques, qu'elle estima toûiours [word unclear] bonnes et utiles, mais dont elle ne fit [word unclear] sa principale devotion comme auparavant..."

⁹⁹ Ibid., 87. "Tres Ste Vierge, prosternée humblement a vos piez, Je vous supplie, comme vous êtes ma digne Supre et mon avocate, et refuge, n'ozant paroître devant [word unclear] Divin fils. Je m'adresse a vous afin que vous luy presentiez l'offrande et le sacrifice que Je vous fais de ma volonté..."

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 103-4. "Je me trouve dans un grand depouillem(ent) de toutes choses, non a l'exterieur, comme St Barthelemy, mais Interieurement, et d'une maniere assez extraordinaire depuis les piez jusqu'a la tête..."

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 104-5.

This [she wrote] afflicted me in such a way that I dare not think of it without floods of tears... and now I am looking for the Holy Virgin and I do not know when she will give me the grace to win her back...¹⁰²

This grief at the disappearance of the Virgin Mary was so great that she turned in desperation to Glandelet, her confessor.

You are able to understand more or less [she wrote] the state I am in and what is useful for my advancement seeing that it is you who must conduct me in my true path...be my guide.¹⁰³

Inspired by Marie's request, as well as his own intuition, Glandelet sought the aid of another confessor, a so-called "Mr. N" to work in unison with him in order to advise Marie during this very turbulent period.¹⁰⁴ Their collaboration¹⁰⁵ issued in a period of unprecedented inner peace for Marie, as the following extract clearly reveals:

Although I write to you on a large piece of paper I know I will not fill it because I am perfectly content with your instruction. after that I have nothing more to say, my thoughts alone are appeased. I find here everything that I need...you could not know me better....¹⁰⁶

This interlude of "peace and tranquility,"¹⁰⁷ however, proved only too temporary, and was abruptly interrupted by the discovery of a "cancer" on her breast.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰² Ibid., 105. "ce qui m'affligea d'une maniere que Je n'ozerois y penser sans verser des larmes en abondance...Je suis maintenant a cherchez La Ste Vierge, et Je ne Say quand elle me fera la grace de la recouvrer."

¹⁰³ Ibid., 105-6. "Vous pouvez comprendre a peu prez L'etat ou Je suis et ce qui m'est utile pour mon avancement, puisque c'est vous qui me devez conduire dans Le veritable chemin...soyez mon guide..."

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 108.

¹⁰⁵ A lengthy example of their advice to her appears in *ibid.*, 111-33; representations of advice by Mr. N alone can be found 147-52 and 158.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 135. "quoyque Je vous écrive sur un grand papier, je ne croy pas Le remplir, parceque Je suis parfaitement contente de vôtre Instruction. apres cela, Je n'ay plus rien a dire, mes pensees mêmes sont apaisées. J'y trouve tout ce qu'Il me faut...vous ne pourriez pas me mieux connoître..."

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 144. "paix et tranquillité"

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 163. I am utilizing the term "cancer" here as she utilized it. It was, by her own admission a self-inflicted injury, and I am assuming that it was a wound which refused to heal. *Ibid.* 183.

It has been such a long time since I have written you that I am confused. I am almost powerless to do it because of an indisposition that I have had for four or five months...I said nothing, believing it would pass."¹⁰⁹

Marie's illness ushered in another intense period of suffering, which she, with her characteristic zeal for pain, passionately embraced: "O my father that the mercy of God be infinite for me...if He wishes to make my body a spectacle of horror, I am very content, and more than content."¹¹⁰ "I feel all the same," she wrote elsewhere, "a type of joy at seeing myself so humiliated,"¹¹¹ for death is a grace,¹¹² and "my desire to unite with God [is] very great..."¹¹³

It was also during the course of this illness that Marie once again turned to Glandelet, her director, for guidance. "O my father,"¹¹⁴ she addresses him, "it would comfort me very much, if I could make you know the sentiments of my heart and the dispositions of my soul without writing to you..."¹¹⁵

Marie remained ill from 1698 to 1700. Although continuing with her duties for a brief period of time in 1698 as superior, even in the infirmary,¹¹⁶ she persisted in the conviction that she would become a burden to her community.¹¹⁷ In June of 1698, much to Marie's relief, Marguerite Le Moyne (Soeur du Saint-Esprit) replaced her as superior,

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 163. "Il y a Si long temps que je ne vous ay écrit, que J'en suis confuse, Je suis presque dans L'Impuissance de le faire, par une Indisposition que J'ay depuis quatre ou cinq mois...Je n'en ay rien dit croyant que cela se passeroit..."

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 165. "... mon pere, que les misericordes de Dieu sont Infinies a mon egard...S'Il veut faire de mon corps un Spectacle d'horreur, J'en Suis tres contente, et plus que contente."

¹¹¹ Ibid., 177. "J'ay même quelque espece de Joye de me voir dans L'humiliation..."

¹¹² Ibid., 178. "...pour obtenir de Dieu la grace de mourir..."

¹¹³ Ibid., 179. "Le desir de m'unir a Dieu est tres grand..."

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 165. "...mon pere..."

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 170-1. "Si Je pouvois sans vous écrire vous faire connoître les Sentimens de mon coeur, et les dispositions de mon ame, cela me soulagerois beaucoup..."

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 169. "Je sois a L'infirmerie, cela ne m'empeche pas de m'acquiter de mes obligeons..."

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 177. "...d'Inquietude de devenir a charge a ma Coâuté..."

but to Marie's dismay, and despite her illness, she was elected as assistant. When, by 1700, all other remedies appear to have failed, she journeyed to Quebec to undergo a dangerous operation.¹¹⁸ Four months after her surgery, in September 1700, a completely healed Marie returned to Ville Marie. Here she continued her search for Christ,¹¹⁹ pursuing her desire to be with God alone,¹²⁰ through her suffering and her penance, until the correspondence abruptly terminates with a final letter on 23 January 1707.¹²¹

Born to Suffer¹²²

How are we to understand Marie Barbier's spirituality? Marie Barbier was first and foremost a mystic. But what do we mean by a mystic, or mysticism? On the one hand, my definition, in part, understands mysticism in the traditional sense - as advanced by Henri Brémond in the early part of the twentieth century and promulgated by such contemporary scholars of mysticism as Bernard McGinn¹²³ - as quite simply as the direct

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 187.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 194. "Nous entrons en Carême ou Nre Sgr veut que Je le Suive pas a pas..."

¹²⁰ Ibid., 197. "J'ay eu quelque secret desir d'aller en mission a Champlain pour être Seule avec Dieu Seul."

¹²¹ Ibid., 208. Marie was elected as either counselor or assistant for at least eighteen years until 1731, eight years before her death in 1739. For detailed insights into Marie Barbier's administrative life within the context of other superiors, see chapter 3.

¹²² Ibid., 195. "Il y a quelque temps qu'on me dit que J'étois née pour Souffrir comme L'oyseau pour voler..."

¹²³ Henri Brémond, *Histoire littéraire du sentiment religieux en France depuis la fin des guerres de religion jusqu'à nos jours*, tome 2, *L'Invasion mystique* (Paris: Librairie Bloud et Gay, 1925), 586. "le sentiment direct de la presence de Dieu, l'intuition de Dieu present." Most recently, Bernard McGinn, *The Presence of God: A History of Western Christian Mysticism*, vol. 1, *The Foundations of Mysticism* (New York : Crossroads, 1991) xv. For a good discussion focusing upon how scholars have grappled with a definition of mysticism see Jantzen, *Power, Gender and Christian Mysticism*, chapter one. Jantzen contends that apart from Bynum, *Holy Feast* and Frances Beer, *Women and Mystical Experience in the Middle Ages* (Suffolk: Boydell, 1992), very few female scholars have examined mysticism. This, to her, seems surprising, given that "delimiting mysticism...was crucial to maintaining male hierarchical control in church and society" (3). Moreover, she maintains that most approaches to mysticism – interested as they are the intense psychological states of the mystic - bear little resemblance to what was

experience of God. However, unlike Brémond, who viewed the physical manifestations of the mystical experience - the suffering, the visions, the presentiments, the pain - as secondary to the fundamental experience of God and attributable to human weakness,¹²⁴ this definition assumes the more comprehensive stance, and, in the vein of Carolyn Walker Bynum, embraces these phenomena as integral components of the mystical experience itself.¹²⁵

Marie Barbier was then in the most comprehensive sense of the term a mystic, for not only did she desire to and actually experience the direct presence of God - "...I feel " she wrote, "in my soul, which longs to unite with God...",¹²⁶ - the actual experience, in the manner of so many mystics, remained almost inexplicable, as she expressed to her director: "...I am unable to explain to you all of my thoughts..."¹²⁷

considered important to the mystic themselves. Scholars preoccupied with this dimension of mysticism begin with William James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience: The Gifford Lectures of 1901-2* (Glasgow: Collins, 1960) and reverberate in such subsequent works as Hans Urs Von Balthasar, *The Glory of the Lord: A Theological Aesthetics*, vols. 1-7 (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1982); John Hick, *An Interpretation of Religion: Human Responses to the Transcendent* (London: Macmillan, 1989); and Steven Katz, *Mysticism and Language* (London: Oxford University Press, 1992).

¹²⁴ Brémond, *Histoire littéraire*. In particular, Brémond's definition is confined to this "direct" experience and excludes what he has termed "le reste" - "extase physique, suspension de sens, visions sensibles ou l'imaginaires, paroles intérieures, levitations prodiges,...sont purs accessoires qui peuvent ou non accompagner l'état fondamental et dont la cause immédiate peut être déverser." 586. Moreover, he also refers to these phenomena in the following manner : "...Ils sont dus à la faiblesse, à l'imperfection à l'insuffisante spiritualisation de l'instrument humain. L'extase...n'est pas un honneur, ni une puissance; elle est un tribut payé par les mystiques à la fragilité humaine," 591.

¹²⁵ Bynum's definition, on the other hand, comprises a distinct expansion of this definition, including as it does all physical manifestations - the suffering, the visions, the pain etc.- as part and parcel of the essential female mystical experience. See *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*.

¹²⁶ ASQ, Recueil, ms. 198, 102. "Je ressens dans mon ame, qui veut s'unir a Dieu..."

¹²⁷ For example, *ibid.*, 102, 141, 194, 195 : "Je ne peux vous expliquer sur ce papier toutes mes pensées. Pour vous dire en un mot. J'ay été au desert, et suivi Nre Sgr dans sa passion..., " 195. "Je le Suivre [Nre Sgr] pas a pas Je Suis Mortifiée de ce que Je ne peux vous expliquer plus au long cela," *ibid.*, 194. R.P. Grandmaison in "La Religion

Moreover, as it did for so many medieval mystics, suffering remained integral to her experience of God.¹²⁸ This desire to suffer, as a way to unite with God, pervaded every aspect of her existence and manifested itself very often in what may appear to us as strange and often what would appear to the modern witness, grotesque ways: in a relentless concern for her own sins - quite often in an inability to fully confess them - and in an equally relentless search for the most humble, the most vile, the most abject work. This was a search which took her through the kitchen, the bakery and the pastures of the mother house, to the primitive missions of Quebec, to shouldering the burden of the superiority, even while suffering severely both physically and spiritually. This desire to suffer, to expiate her sins, led to extreme forms of bodily mortification, to cries and groans and bouts of tears, and eventually, by her own admission, to the self-inflicted wound upon her breast.¹²⁹ Marie never ceased to seek suffering. Recovering from surgery, she returned to Montreal, and continued living as she always had - searching for

personnelle," in *Etudes*, 5 mai 1913 in Brémond, *Histoire littéraire*, 588, described the experience of God as "ineffable." "Cette perception quasi-expérimentale de Dieu, d'une intensité et d'une claret très variables, cette expérience...est ineffable." For more on mysticism and language see Michel de Certeau, *The Mystic Fable*, vol. 1, *The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, translated by Michael B. Smith (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992) and Elizabeth Alvilda Petroff, *Body and Soul: Essays on Medieval Women and Mysticism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 3-4.

¹²⁸ See Kieckhefer, *Sainthood*, 12, for the role of asceticism in medieval spirituality. William James's description of the transforming power of many of the dimensions of the religious experience, as discussed in Charles Taylor, *Varieties of Religion Today: William James Revisited* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002), 34-35 - the melancholy, the horror, the acute sense of personal sin - pertain to Marie Barbier and are worthy of further examination. For a good discussion of religion and the problem of suffering see Clifford Geertz, "Religion as a Cultural System," in *The Interpretation of Culture: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 88. Louis Félix Boisset, "Souffrir: Un Chemin," in *L'itinéraire mystique d'une femme, Marie de l'Incarnation*, edited by Jean Comby (Paris: Le Cerf, 1993) and Bruneau, *Women Mystics*.

¹²⁹ ASQ, ms 198, Recueil touchant la S[œur Barbier], 183.

Christ through suffering and by performing the lowest and most vile tasks within the community.

Marie Barbier's spirituality was also intensely physical, expressing itself in concrete physical terms: in pain coursing throughout her entire body and soul, and in conflicting emotions towards communion, ranging from a physical and spiritual hunger to terror and joy. Like her body, her soul was no ethereal abstract entity, but a real physical presence: she felt things in the bottom of a soul,¹³⁰ that could become infected,¹³¹ or drown in sadness.¹³² And God too was a very real physical presence,¹³³ accessible through her devotions to the Infant Jesus and the Virgin Mary. Through these devotions, God could be appealed to at a moment's notice in passionate and intimate ways, in prayers that reveal a familiarity and intimacy with the divinity. Marie retained this close relationship with both the Infant Jesus (at the beginning of her religious life) and later with the Virgin Mary, and both were tangible presences. The Infant Jesus was a statue she held in her hand and at whose feet she prostrated herself. The Virgin Mary led her to the communion table when she was too ill and weak to walk, and the disappearance of this vision proved to be a real cause for mourning. And these devotions - to the Infant Jesus, the Virgin Mary - produced very real occurrences in the here and now. Miracles contravening the laws of nature empowered Marie with an almost supernatural strength;

¹³⁰ Ibid., 171. "dans le fond de L'ame..."

¹³¹ Ibid., 87. "Je vous demande une goutte de votre pretieux Sang, pour laver mon ame Infectée partant de pechez..."

¹³² Ibid., 88. "mon ame est noyée dans la tristesse."

¹³³ For more on the "knowability" of God and the development of a personal relationship with God during the medieval period, see André Vauchez, "L'Idée de Dieu," in *Les Laïcs au Moyen Age: Pratiques et expériences religieuses* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1987), esp. chap. 1, 15-35.

they helped her to increase the community's food supply, and assisted her in the healing of the presumably incurably ill.

What can be concluded from this description of Marie Barbier's spirituality? First and foremost, it was a religiosity rooted within a medieval European context,¹³⁴ and experienced on many levels and to varying degrees by both men and women. This included its asceticism and contemplation - both coincident with her entire engagement in the activities of the world - coupled with extraordinary manifestations of her power in miracles of healing, prophecies and the production of food.¹³⁵ More precisely, however, many aspects of Marie Barbier's religiosity were also specifically "female" as identified by Carolyn Walker Bynum. This reflected itself in her rituals surrounding food and the taking of communion, and manifested itself in a passionate physicality which, like Angela of Foligno, who found the taste of pus as "sweet as communion,"¹³⁶ rejoiced in a suffering body, fortified though beaten until bloody, ulcerated, a spectacle of horror, leading her to a union with Christ.¹³⁷

The Public and Private Mystic

Reflective of a female medieval spiritual tradition, Marie Barbier's spirituality, like holy women before her, also possessed distinctly private and public dimensions. The introduction to this chapter has established that many scholars have viewed the intense physical nature of the spirituality of medieval holy women - the suffering - in a negative light. This interpretation intends to argue that Marie was empowered by both the public and private dimensions of her spirituality.

¹³⁴ For a discussion of spirituality in terms of gender see Bynum, *Holy Feast*, 23-30.

¹³⁵ Kieckhefer, *Sainthood*, 12.

¹³⁶ In Bynum, *Holy Feast*, 246.

¹³⁷ ASQ, ms. 198, Recueil touchant la S[œur Barbier], 164, 165. "tout ulceré...un spectacle d'horreur."

On the one hand, it certainly can be argued that Marie's mysticism did isolate her from the surrounding world - "My only wish" she cried is to unite with God alone,"¹³⁸ - an end which engaged her, from a very early age in an intensely private search for God. As a young girl, before entering the congrégation, she shied away from her worldly companions and spent her time in fervent prayer. Constantly alone, unhappy and full of self-reproach, obsessed with her own sin and temptation, as a young novice she separated herself from the other teachers of the community, and begged her mistress of novices to allow her to guard the pigs and cows, to prepare meals in the kitchen. Later, she rejected the comforts of acceptance and companionship at the Mountain mission, preferring to venture into the frontier missions in Quebec, where she wore only tattered clothing and possessed barely any private space to practice her devotions. At times, her desire to reach God inspired her to shun the world. She found sermons and human conversations boring, and she only longed to die "all types of deaths for the expiation of sins..."¹³⁹ Often shunning the entire community, she preferred to suffer in an intensely private manner, and this removed her from human companionship, driving her to devise more insidious and painful means to achieve a suffering that enveloped her not only in pain, but bloody sores that would not heal. It plunged her into the depths of despair, as exemplified by the incident when her vision of the Virgin Mary disappeared, which left Marie, desperate and sorrowful, and able to do nothing but seek her presence.

To modern observers, Marie's spirituality could certainly be classified as isolating and even degrading. However, evidence exists pointing to the fact that Marie did not view her spiritual experiences in this manner. She described her suffering in liberating terms:

¹³⁸ Ibid., 102. "Je ressens dans mon ame, qui veut s'unir a Dieu."

¹³⁹ Ibid., "...Je m'abandonne a toutes sortes de morts pour l'expiation des pechez qui Se commettent en si grand nombre..."

her suffering may have confined her to the depths of despair, but this despair was also a source of liberation, inspiring her with a fervid desire to action - to go out into the missions - the desert, as she termed them - and follow the Lord.¹⁴⁰ Her suffering led her into the depths of her soul, of her being, to knowledge of the nature of this soul, her sin and her ability to seek redemption for it. But above all, her suffering was an inherent feature of her being, described in the elegant, flowing and liberating imagery of a bird in flight, as the quote at the head of this chapter so eloquently points out.¹⁴¹

But the public face of Marie Barbier's mysticism also empowered this woman. As a young nun, her intense spirituality attracted the confidences of her fellow soeurs, and both young and old alike, approached her to confide their problems. Her devotion emanated beyond herself and enabled her to heal the ill of the community, increase its food supplies, and these miracles of healing and presentiments continued throughout what we know of her life. In spite of her isolated suffering, she served others, as a teacher and purveyor of the moral message of the Catholic Reformation, exerting for example, a simple and modest influence upon girls in her care at the Quebec mission, as supervisor of the *Congrégation of Externes*, as superior of the community, and until the final days of her life, as a missionary and a member of the community's administrative council.¹⁴² In her capacity as superior, her suffering assumed its most intense forms. It would have been exposed not only to her community, but to individuals, as chapter four has demonstrated, with whom a superior had to deal: the male church hierarchy, the notary, students, boarders and their parents, the parents of prospective novices, merchants, tradesmen, and

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 197. "J'ay eu quelque secret desir d'aller en mission a Champlain pour être Seule avec Dieu Seul."

¹⁴¹ Ibid., *Recueil touchant la S[œur Marie Barbier]*, 195.

¹⁴² For an outline of her administrative life see App. 3.8.

engagé. And in the eyes of the world, hers would not have been viewed as a senseless suffering, but as *imitatio christi* suffering with a purpose, suffering, like Christ, as a means of expiating both individual and collective sins.¹⁴³

Moreover, a final facet of her spiritual journey also empowered her because it possessed another intimate and not so isolating dimension, and this involved her relationship with her confessor and biographer, Charles de Glandelet.

A certain amount of historical controversy has surrounded the relationship of the confessor to holy women. On the one hand, the work of André Vauchez recognized the important role the confessor played in the lives of holy women, and demonstrated how certain mystics, in return, such as Saints Catherine of Sienna and Brigitte, influenced the men who advised them.¹⁴⁴ In a similar vein, E. McDonnell claimed that by writing the biography of Mary of Oignes, Jacques De Vitry was converted from being a cold scholastic to a deeply religious individual.¹⁴⁵ On the other hand, Darcy Donohue and

¹⁴³ An immensely popular book in this regard is Thomas à Kempis, *The Imitation of Christ*, edited by Harold C. Gardiner (Garden City New York: Image Books, 1955). For the importance of *imitatio christi* to medieval female spirituality see Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*, esp. 211-12, 255-9; 274-5. Bynum perceived that the imitation of Christ for medieval women was a means to fuse with Christ's agony on the cross. While Marie may have viewed her suffering in this manner, she also alluded to it as a way of expiating her individual sins and the collective sins of others. As superior, she only wanted to "abandon myself to all types of deaths for the expiation of sins committed in such great number, wishing to live only to suffer in my body and in my soul." ASQ, ms. 198, Recueil touchant la S[œur Barbier], 86. "...Je m'abandonne a toutes sortes de morts pour l'expiation des pechez qui Se commettent en si grand nombre; ne voulant vivre que pour souffrir sur mon corps et dans mon ame." On another occasion she repeated her bloody mortification in order to expiate sins she had committed against God, but also to obtain grace for her community. Ibid., 89-92. Glandelet viewed this suffering as beneficial. He rejoiced in it "because you will help me by your advice, your prayers and your suffering." Ibid., 189-90. "Je m'en [word unclear - reiouyss] Car vous m'aiderez par vos avis, par vos prieres, et par vos souffrances..."

¹⁴⁴ André Vauchez, *Les Laïcs du moyen age*, chap. 21, esp. 252.

¹⁴⁵ Ernest W. McDonnell, *The Beguines and Beghards in Medieval Culture*, 21-5.

Ottavia Niccoli have contended that the relationship between priest and holy woman changed over time, becoming much more authoritarian and male-dominated.¹⁴⁶ Jodi Bilinkoff, however, challenged this perception by claiming that the relations between holy women and their directors in Spain between 1500 and 1650 were both complex and mutually beneficial.¹⁴⁷

Marie Barbier's biography agrees with Bilinkoff's findings, and supports the existence of a personal intimate external dimensions to her spirituality, dimensions which defy historiographical contentions that the post-Tridentine period was characterized by male priests dominating religious women.¹⁴⁸

This is, of course, not to argue that Glandelet did not play a dominant role in their relationship. As her confessor, he had the right¹⁴⁹ to and actually did control and interpret every aspect of her spirituality, and often in painful detail: one of his letters of advice to

¹⁴⁶ Darcy Donohue, "Writing Lives: Nuns and Confessors as Auto/Biographers in Early Modern Spain," *Journal of Hispanic Philology* 13 (1989), 230-9; Ottavia Niccoli, "The End of Prophecy," *Journal of Modern History* 61 (1989), 667-82.

¹⁴⁷ Jodi Bilinkoff, "Confessors, Penitents and the Construction of Identities in Early Modern Avila," in *Culture and Identity in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1800: Essays in Honor of Natalie Zemon Davis*, edited by Barbara B. Diefendorf and Carla Hesse (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993), 83.

¹⁴⁸ For example, Donahue, "Writing Lives," and Niccoli, "The End of Prophecy." The following section focuses upon Marie's relationship with Glandelet, but there is evidence that she was not dominated by other priests. See above, for example, when the Infant Jesus gave her the idea to give a cake to an ailing woman. Although she was reprimanded by a priest for this "superstition," she refused his counsel and pleaded with him to be allowed to give the cake to the nun. The priest eventually gave her permission. Marie also openly contradicted another priest, who contended that she would not be sent to Île d'Orléans. Both incidents found in ASQ, ms. 198, Recueil touchant la S[œur Barbier], 26-9, 31-4.

¹⁴⁹ AAM, 525.101, 698-1, Réglemens des Soeurs Séculieres de la congregation de N.D. établie à Ville-Marie pour honorer la très Ste Vierge et imiter ses vertus, art. 17 :37. " ...Les Soeurs s'y prépareront avec soin pour remarquer les défauts et les manquemens qu'elles y commettent, et auront un désir veritable de s'en corriger, et des satisfaire à la justice divine se souvenant de se soumettre humblement à tout ce que le confesseur ordonnera quand même il garderoit sur elles une plus grande sévérité qu'elles ne croiroient pas avoir meritée..."

Marie, for example, explained in great detail the reasons for her spiritual experiences, and covered almost twenty-two manuscript pages.¹⁵⁰ Moreover, he was deeply and directly involved in advising her in the events surrounding some of the miraculous occurrences at Quebec, suggesting, for example, that she appeal to the Infant Jesus to increase the flour in the attic,¹⁵¹ or that she perform a novena for the ailing native woman at Lorette, who was eventually cured due to Marie's intercession.¹⁵²

And yet, there is more evidence that this relationship was not imposed upon her from the outside, but that it was central to her spiritual life. Her first meeting with him occasioned "a great desire...to have him for a director" each time she came to Quebec from Île Saint-Laurent,¹⁵³ and thereafter he remained an integral part of her spiritual life. He was crucially and directly involved in the events surrounding her illness - he participated in the decision to operate, visited her before and after surgery, heard her detailed and often lengthy confessions, and once her wound healed, he accompanied her on her pilgrimage to Lorette to thank the Holy Virgin Mary for the grace she had received during her illness. And when Marie eventually returned to Montreal after her surgery, she continued corresponding with him, even though she was under the direction of another individual.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁰ ASQ, ms. 198, Recueil touchant la S[œur Barbier], 111-33.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 51-2. "Un jour que la S dit a Son Directeur qu'il ne restoit au grenier qu'un peu de farine. Il luy dit, que n'y mettez vous Le St Enfant Jesus...Elle porta au grenier une statue de bois qui la representoit ayant sa main droite en forme de personne qui benit et La mit proche la farine..."

¹⁵² Ibid., 74. "Dans ce temps la, son Directeur etant revenu d'un pelerinage qu'il venoit de faire a Laurette...Il luy dit de faire une neuvaine pour une sauvagesse qui étoit tres malade et en peril de mort..."

¹⁵³ Ibid., 49. "elle sentoit un grand desir de l'avoir pour son Directeur..."

¹⁵⁴ For example, ibid., 194: "Ne vous étonnez pas, luy dit elle, dans une lettre du mois de fevrier de L'an 1701 si je ne puis vous expliquer ce que je Sens en moy de vous, Je l'offre a V[ost]re tout, [word damaged - et] le prie de vous faire ressentir ce que Je ne puis vous

By Marie's own account, he was central to her spiritual life. After the vision of the disappearing Virgin Mary, she desperately turned to him to be her guide, to help her along her true path.

You are able to understand more or less my state and what is useful for my advancement, seeing that it is you who must conduct me in the true path I confide in you, I am needy, do not delay, I beg you...Be my guide after my guardian angel.¹⁵⁵

Glandelet knew Marie, deeply and intuitively. "O my father..." she told him, "as you know my soul, I hand over everything to you;"¹⁵⁶ "I have many things to tell you about my soul...you know its needs..."¹⁵⁷ He knew before she confided in him that, for example, she would need another director to help her through the crisis evoked by the disappearance of the vision of the Virgin Mary.¹⁵⁸ And this need for him did not diminish with the passage of time, not when she returned to Montreal following her surgery.

Do not be astonished (she wrote to him in the month of February 1701, only five months after returning to Montreal) if I cannot explain to you what I feel about you. I offer everything to you and pray to Him to make you feel what I am not able to say, and although I write to you but very rarely, you are as present to me as if I spoke with you.¹⁵⁹

dire et quoyque Je ne vous [word damaged - écrive] que tres rarement vous m'êtes aussi present que Si Je conversois avec vous,"; *ibid.*, 199 : "quoyque Je ne vous écrive que tres rarement cela n'empêche pas que Je ne m'Interesse a tout ce qui vous touche.... "; and *ibid.*, 208-9 : "J ay la consolation de vous écrire comme a mon vray père..."

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 105-6. "Vous pouvez comprendre a peu prez L'état ou Je suis, et ce qui m'est utile pour mon avancement, puisque c'est vous qui me devez conduire dans le veritable chemin...Je m'y confie, J'en ay besoin, ne differez, Je vous supplie...Soyez mon guide apres mon st ange gardien."

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 165. "Comme vous connoissez mon ame, Je vous remets tout."

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 164. "J'[word damaged - avrois?] plusieurs choses a vous dire pour mon [word damaged - ame]. Vous en connoissez les besoins."

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 108. "Son Directeur luy dit que depuis quelque temps Il avoit eu la meme pensée, et qu'il attendoit qu'elle luy en fit quelque ouverture."

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 194. "Ne vous étonnez pas, luy dit elle, dans une lettre du mois de fevrier de L'an 1701 si je ne puis vous expliquer ce que je Sens en moy de vous, Je l'offre a Vôte tout, [damaged - et] le prie de vous faire ressentir ce que Je ne puis vous dire, et quoyque Je ne vous [damaged - écrive] que tres rarement vous m'êtes aussi [damaged - present] que Si je conversois avec vous."

Nor did it abate, not even as she continued her duties, teaching in the parishes, confessing to other directors. "Although I write to you but rarely, that does not hinder my being interested in everything touching you," she confided in him a year later, in 1702.¹⁶⁰ Moreover, as the years passed, in her final letter to him in 1707, written seven years after her return to Montreal, Marie still reminisces about him - for, as she wrote, "those present cannot efface the memory of those who are absent."¹⁶¹ And a final letter to Glandelet reflects her pensive longing for her "best friend,"¹⁶² for whom she would prostrate herself at the feet of the statue of the holy Virgin every day and pray.

I have the consolation to write to you as my true father, in that quality I ask you for your blessing and the continuation of all of your paternal kindness...pardon me, I invoke the past. I address myself to my friends of whom I believe you to be the best...I believe that the present does not efface the memory of those who are absent for me. I will never forget your kindness to me. Every day on leaving prayers I throw myself at the feet of the very holy virgin in a small chapel dedicated in her honour asking her for a blessing for you in particular and for all of my friends.¹⁶³

Within the framework of this relationship, Marie could be painfully honest with this man, her "true father."¹⁶⁴ "I write to you frankly," she told him, "as you are my true

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., 199. "...quoyque Je ne vous écrive que tres rarement cela n'empêche pas que Je ne m'Interesse a tout ce qui vous touché..."

¹⁶¹ Ibid., 209. "je crains que les presentes n'effacent Le souvenir des absentes pour moy..."

¹⁶² Ibid. Elsewhere she calls him her "veritable ami, qui m'a fait un portrait au naïf de ce que Je Sens dans le fond de mon ame...", "ibid., 201.

¹⁶³ Ibid., 208-9. "J'ay la consolation de vous écrire comme a mon vray père, en cette qualité je vous demande votre benediction, et La continuation de vos bontez toutes paternelles, pardonnez moy, je vous encourir Le passé. Je m'adrese a mes amis, dont Je vous croy Le meilleur dans le besoin que J'ay du Secours de vos Sts.[word unclear] Je crains que les presentes n'effacent Le Souvenir des absentes pour moy. Je n'oubliery Jamais Les bontez que vous avez eu pour moy. Tous les Jours au sortir de L'oraison Je vais me Jetter auz piez de la tres Ste vierge dans une petite chapelle dediée a Son honneur; luy demander sa benediction pour vous en particulier, et pour tous mes amis"

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., 208. "mon vray pere."

father, the sentiments of my soul."¹⁶⁵ She could confide in him about her nudity when mortifying herself during her superiorship at Montreal,¹⁶⁶ about her fears when she was ill of exposing her naked breast to her doctors.¹⁶⁷ Marie could confide her feelings towards him, write to him of the "peace and tranquility"¹⁶⁸ his advice gave to her soul; of her uneasiness and fears surrounding the possibility that he would no longer write to her, as well as her dutiful resignation to that eventuality.¹⁶⁹

Marie could express herself with passionate intimate abandon to him. At times she utilizes language reminiscent of sexuality: "I feel myself naked, this nakedness is very difficult for me. I dare not open my mouth..."¹⁷⁰ As a "prodigal child" she returns to throw herself "at your feet to ask for mercy, as unworthy as I am..."¹⁷¹ Glandelet is "my father," "my dear father." "You are," she insisted, "charged with my soul."¹⁷² At times,

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 199. "Je vous écris franchement comme a mon veritable pere les sentimens de mon ame."

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 90. "Elle se mit une fois toute nue, et se discipliner pendant une heure entiere avec tant de force dans tous les endroits de Son corps..."

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 175. "...elle souffroit beaucoup toutes les fois qu'elle étoit obligée de decouvrir et de laisser toucher sa mammelle..."

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., 144. "la paix et La tranquillité que vous avez rendue a mon ame..."

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 176-7. " Si c'est la Ste volonté de Dieu que vous ne m'ecriviez plus, y ayant si long temps que vous ne L'avez fait, J'en suis contente, vous n'en repondrez pas moins de mon ame, et Je seray obligée de prier pour vous toute ma vie. C'est une augmentaon de croix pour moy."

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., 176. "Je me Sens dans une nudité tres grande, cette nudité m'est extremement penible. Je n'ozerois ouvrir la bouche." For more on eroticism and female spirituality see Bynum, *Holy Feast*, 246-59. For the relationship of mystics and eroticism see Petroff, *Body and Soul*; Christina Mazzoni, *Saint Hysteria: Neurosis, Mysticism and Gender in European Culture* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996); Jantzen, *Power, Gender and Christian Mysticism*; Mary A. Suydam, "The Touch of Satisfaction: Visions and the Religious Experience According to Hadewijch of Antwerp," *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* vol. 12, no. 2 (Fall 1996).

¹⁷¹ ASQ, ms. 198, Recueil touchant la S[œur Barbier], 174. "Je suis un Enfant prodigue, qui aprez avoir dissipe tous les biens de la grace qui J'avois receu par vos charitables avis revient Se Jetter a vos piez pour demander misericorde quoyque J'en sois Indigne..."

¹⁷² For example, *ibid.*, 174. "Souvenez vous que vous êtes mon pere, et que vous êtes chargée de mon ame."

her language conjures up hideous images of herself, as she addresses him, "my father," with fervor:

Hey what my father do you no longer remember that I am the most abominable of all creatures? If my heart could express what it feels I? would slither along the ground like those small worms....".¹⁷³

Or it echoes the intense pleading of prayers. "Oh my father," she can supplicate him, "must one always live after receiving so many graces from my God?"¹⁷⁴; "My dear father,"¹⁷⁵ "I tremble before you, you who always stamped upon me the presence of God."¹⁷⁶

It cannot then be denied that Marie, although desiring nothing more than to be alone with God,¹⁷⁷ was not entirely bereft of companionship on this spiritual journey. "It seems to me," she wrote, "that you must be convinced enough of the sincere union of *our* [my italics] souls."¹⁷⁸ For even when they were separated, he was present for her while she prayed "unceasingly"¹⁷⁹ for him - "Remember if you please," she wrote to him, "that you are my father, the obligation that I have to pray for you is great, that is all that I can

¹⁷³ Ibid., 196-7. "he! quoy mon pere, ne vous souvenez vous plus que Je suis la plus abominable de toutes les creatures? Si mon coeur pouvoit exprimer ce qu'Il Sent, Je romperois contre la terre comme ces petits vermisseaux..."

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., 197. "...mon pere faut-il toûiours vivre aprez tant de graces que J'ay receues de mon Dieu!"

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., 203. "...mon cher pere..."

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., 169. "...quoyque Je tremblasse devant vous, vous m'avez toûiours imprimé la presence de Dieu..."

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., 176.. For example, during her illness she wrote: "Si Je veux me promener, et me divertir, ce n'est pas ce que mon ame demande, mais Dieu Seul dans L'Intime..."

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., 199. Il me Semble que vous devez être assez convaincu de la sincere union de nos ames..."

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., 193. "Elle avertit en Suite Son Directeur qu'elle ne Luy écriroit que rarement, et qu'elle Se Sentoit pressée de prier Sans cesse pour luy."

tell you."¹⁸⁰ And in his absences, she admitted to her misery, as she carried him continually to the feet of our Lord"¹⁸¹ on one occasion, and to those of the Virgin Mary, on another:

I wait for the day of the Assumption of the Holy Virgin. It seems to me that we are at the feet of that loving mother, and that we will be so close to her that it is impossible for her to refuse us the grace that we ask of her...¹⁸²

Undeniably, the biography reveals that Marie's relationship with Glandelet was more than simply that of confessor/penitent, the listener and listened to within the confines of the confessional, controlled and manipulated by a distant, repressive priest. Rather, it resembled more closely the mutual affection in Christ noted by Henri J. M. Nouwen between Saint François de Sales and Jeanne de Chantal,¹⁸³ a mutual relationship, wherein she also possessed the power, the freedom to assume the role traditionally reserved for a priest and admonish him.

I am at ease with the good you have done in the countryside but why have you allowed a comedy to play at Quebec? It was forbidden here...even though the actors were ready...and so many other things that you have allowed! What are you thinking? Are you not the masters?¹⁸⁴

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., 194. "Souvenez vous Sil vous plait que vous êtes mon pere, L'obligation que J'ay de prier pour vous est grande, c'est tout ce que Je peux vous dire..."

¹⁸¹ Ibid., 195. "mais, mon pere, vous L'ozeray dire, toute miserable que Je Suis, Je vous porte continuellement avec moy aux piez de Nre Seigr."

¹⁸² Ibid., 198. "J'attend Le Jour de L'assomption de la Ste Vierge. Il me Semble que nous sommes auz piez de cette aimable mere, et que nous la serrons de si prez qu'Il luy est Impossible de nous refuser la grace que Nous luy demandons..."

¹⁸³ Henri J.M. Nouwen, ed., *Francis de Sales, Jane de Chantal: Letters of Spiritual Direction* (New York: Paulist Press, 1988).

¹⁸⁴ ASQ, ms. 198, Recueil touchant la S[œur Barbier], 199. "Je suis bien aisé du bien que vous avez fait dans les Côtes, mais pourquoy avez vous laisser Jouer une comedie a quebec? On l'a bien [damaged - empêché] Icy...quoyque les actrices fassent toutes prêtes, et tant d'autres choses que vous Laissez faire. Que craignez-vous? n êtes-vous pas les maîtres? Many holy women criticized priests in the medieval period. See, for example, Anne L. Clark, "The Priesthood of the Virgin Mary : Gender Trouble in the Twelfth Century," *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* vol. 18, no.1 (Spring 2002), 24 has discussed how both Hildegard of Bingen and Elisabeth of Schönau, in their commitment to the renewal of the Church, chastised clerical leaders.

That it was a mutual friendship is confirmed by a single key letter written by Glandelet to Marie after her surgery in August 1700, just one month before her return to Montreal. This letter exemplifies Glandelet's most intimate feelings for this woman, particularly when he expresses a quiet longing for Marie, who knows him better than he does. "Tell me," he wrote, "if this does not conform to what you feel" - and he asks her gently to take charge of his soul, to help him, by her advice, her prayers and her suffering, for how can she need his guardian angel, the one she has requested of him, when she has one of her own, hidden in her soul?

It has been some time since I received your letter of the 29 of the past month which consoled me very much.... you have at another time charged me with your soul, is it not the time that I charge you with mine or rather, do you not feel that God wishes that you will remain so charged [?] It seems so to me. Then act with me following the power that his loveable providence gives you over me [?] You know me better than I know myself, and I know that Our Lord makes you understand by [?] regarding my soul. I rejoice because you will help me by your advice, your prayers and your suffering. Inform me if what I tell you does not conform with what you feel...you ask me to send to you my guardian angel, you have one hidden in your soul sustaining it imperceptibly in its abandonment and distress....¹⁸⁵

III. Conclusion

The spirituality of Marie Barbier as presented in Glandelet's biography counters the arguments of those historians who contend that intense physical spiritual experiences

¹⁸⁵ ASQ, ms. 198, Recueil touchant la S[œur Barbier], 189-90. This entire letter has been crossed out, accompanied by the following words in the margin: "faut retrancher ce qui...et a la page suivant." "Il y a quelque temps que J'ay reçu votre lre du 29 du mois passé qui m'a bien consolé. Je priay derniere Mr N de me recommander a vos prieres aux quelles Dieu veut que J'aye confiance, aussi bien qu'a vos avis. Vous m'avez autre fois tant chargé de vôtre ame, n'est il point temps que Je vous charge de la mienne, ou plutôt ne Sentez vous pas que Dieu veut que vous en demeuriez chargée? Cela me semble ainsi. Agissez donc avec moy Suivant le pouvoir que son aimable Providence vous donne sur moy. Vous me connoissez mieux que Je ne me connois moy-même, et Je Say que Nre Sgr vous fait comprendre par [word damaged] ce qui regard mon ame. Je m'en [damaged-reiouvss] car vous m'aiderez par vos avis, par vos prieres, et par vos souffrances. Mandez moy si ce que Je viens de vous dire n'est pas conforme a ce que vous sentez..Vous me demandez de vous envoyer mon ange [damaged - gardien] vous en avez un caché dans votre [damaged - ame] qui la sôutient Imperceptiblem dans ses abandons et detresses."

weakened or in some way negated the agency of these holy women.¹⁸⁶ In one sense, an isolated mystic Marie may have been, whose sole desire was to "unite with God alone," her actions as a mystic did not represent, at least in her own view, senseless suffering, but often were perceived in liberating terms, as a bird in flight, as the initiation of a physical search for God out into the missions of the colony. Moreover, her suffering, as an imitation of Christ, served individual and collective needs for the expiation of sins, and did not prevent her from engaging in her vocation as a teacher, a missionary and administrator of the community. And while her spirituality involved her in an intense isolating relationship with God, the Infant Jesus and the Virgin Mary, it also did not inhibit the development of rich and intimate relationships with other human beings, in particular, a man, who was also her confessor. This latter relationship, on certain levels, defies many historiographical contentions regarding holy women, their confessors and the repression of women in the Church in the post-Tridentine era.¹⁸⁷

But the spirituality of Marie Barbier, as presented in Glandelet's biography of her, also challenges perceptions that there was an essential division between contemplation and action among holy women,¹⁸⁸ and presents a religious individual - closely akin to Geertz's description - in many respects a mystic and recluse, also firmly and actively engaged in the external world.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁶ Beckwith, *Christ's Body*; Miller, "Eroticized Violence."

¹⁸⁷ For example, Donohue, "Writing Lives;" and Niccoli, "The End of Prophecy."

¹⁸⁸ For example, Brémond, *Histoire littéraire*. Clifford Geertz, "Religion as a Cultural System," 119-20, challenged the perception of "religious belief as a homogeneous characteristic of an individual," and contended that "man moves more or less easily and very frequently between radically contrasting ways of looking at the world, ways which are not contiguous with one another but separated by cultural gaps which Kierkegaardian leaps must be made in both directions."

However, one must be careful not to exaggerate the extent of Marie Barbier's influence or her agency. Unlike French female visionaries in the early part of the seventeenth century as described by Cynthia Cupples, who routinely intersected and were consulted by not only the elite of French society, but monarchs themselves,¹⁹⁰ Marie's influence extended hardly any further than her convent, a few individuals within the male church hierarchy and those people she dealt with in the immediate and surrounding society.

Moreover, the image of Marie, as represented by Glandelet, as a powerful holy woman would not survive completely intact by the end of the eighteenth century. At least sixty years after the death of Glandelet in 1725, Etienne de Montgolfier, vicar-general of the diocese of Montreal, Sulpician superior and confessor to the community, edited the original Barbier manuscript and made substantial alterations to it.¹⁹¹ To be sure, when this priest began to revise the Glandelet manuscript, he claimed, that he was not the author, but only the abbreviator, the transcriber of this work,¹⁹² and surely on one level, he altered very little of Glandelet's depiction of Marie Barbier. The main outlines of her tale - of the individual born at Ville Marie, who entered the Congrégation de Notre Dame, worked as a teacher and in the kitchen and bakery of the mother house, and who, after serving in the Quebec missions, returned to Ville Marie where, as the institution's superior, she suffered, underwent and recovered from surgery for a wound upon her

¹⁹⁰ Cupples, "Âmes d'élite."

¹⁹¹ ASSP, ms. 1233, Mémoires sur la vie de la soeur de l'assomption recueillis par Mr Glandelet prêtre du séminaire de Québec et son principal directeur, edited by Etienne de Montgolfier. Lucien Lemieux, "Étienne Montgolfier," *DCB*, 4: 542. Lucien Lemieux, "Étienne de Montgolfier," *DCB*, 4: 542; Henri Gauthier, *La Compagnie de Saint-Sulpice au Canada* (Montréal : Séminaire de Saint-Sulpice, 1912), 119, 120.

¹⁹² ASSP, ms. 1233, Mémoires, 3. "j'ay retenu presque entout les expressions propres de la soeur et son directeur; car je ne suis pas auteur; et je nay voulu rien mettre...dans une chose dont je ne suis que le copiste abreviateur."

breast - remain intact.¹⁹³ Moreover, Glandelet's depiction of the intensely passionate spiritual individual,¹⁹⁴ guided by her confessors, the visionary¹⁹⁵ and mystic, whose devotion to the Infant Jesus and the Virgin Mary inspired miracles,¹⁹⁶ and whose compulsion to expiate sins by working at the lowliest of tasks¹⁹⁷ and unite with God manifested itself in often grotesque and horrible physical and spiritual suffering, essentially survived.¹⁹⁸

However, in spite of the striking overall similarities between the two documents, the Montgolfier version is reflective, on another level, of very significant changes,¹⁹⁹

¹⁹³ Ibid., 5, 10, 15-22, 22-49, 50-109.

¹⁹⁴ For example, *ibid.*, 16, her prayer to the Infant Jesus.

¹⁹⁵ For example, her vision of the demons threatening to carry her away, *ibid.*, 8, as well as the premonition, among others, that she would be sent to Île Saint-Laurent, *ibid.*, 23.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, for example, 16-19.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, for example, 12, 25-6.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, for example, at Quebec 39-40 and Ville Marie 50-63.

¹⁹⁹ For one, Montgolfier's version is not a verbatim duplication of the Glandelet narrative. Rather Montgolfier appropriated the material, often retelling the tale in his own words (for example, ASQ, ms 198, *Recueil touchant la S[œur Barbier]*, 5 reads: "Elle receut en ce temps la qui precede celui de sa 1ere Communion, une assistance particuliere de la protection de la tres Ste Vierge"; this becomes in Montgolfier, ASSP, ms 1233, *Mémoires*, 7: "elle navoit pas encore fait sa premiere communion que sa pureté fut exposee a une grande epreuve."). He deleted some of Glandelet's comments: (for example, in ASQ, ms 198, *Recueil touchant la S[œur Barbier]*, 25, he removed Glandelet's comments following Marie's letter: "L'on decouvre dans ce recit la courage, la docilité, la Simplicité et la confiance, avec la quelle agissoit..."). He amplified some of the material, particularly concerning the history of the community (in ASSP, ms. 1233, *Mémoire*, 79-81, Montgolfier describes the community's acceptance of the constitution in a very detailed manner, whereas Glandelet dismisses the entire incident in a small paragraph, ASQ, ms. 198, *Recueil touchant la S[œur Barbier]*, 172-3). He displaced certain incidents and inserted them elsewhere (ASSP, ms. 1233, *Mémoire*, 70 maintains that Marie experienced a ray of light touching her soul after her surgery at Quebec while she was on a pilgrimage at Levy, while Glandelet, ASQ, ms 198, *Recueil touchant la S[œur Barbier]*, 108] asserts that this occurred earlier, in 1697, after the incident of the disappearance of the Virgin Mary, while she was on retreat.). Montgolfier also did not leave Marie Barbier's writings and conversations as reported by Glandelet untouched: he deleted words in ASQ, ms. 198, *Recueil touchant la S[œur Barbier]*, 197, so that "mes mauvaises humeurs Interieures," becomes in ASSP, ms 1233, *Mémoires*, 85, simply, "mes mauvaises humeurs"; phrases, so that in ASQ, ms 198, *Recueil*, 87, "Je vous

particularly with respect to Marie's relationship with Glandelet her confessor. From the Montgolfier version, it is difficult to discover just how central a figure Glandelet was within Marie's existence, for this priest consistently omits key passages concerning their relationship, and indeed, relegates both Glandelet and his relationship with Marie Barbier, into the background. Consequently, from his version, the reader never discovers how truly a momentous occasion her initial meeting with him was.²⁰⁰ Moreover, after this initial meeting, Glandelet appears noticeably absent from certain important incidents in Marie's life. Glandelet does not appear as the central figure he was, directing and advising her in the events surrounding some of the miraculous occurrences at Quebec, suggesting, for example, that she appeal to the Infant Jesus to increase the flour in the convent's attic;²⁰¹ nor does he have any involvement in the traumatic incident of her surgery. He

consacre ma volonté, ne me reservant rien, pas meme mon Salut," becomes in ASSP, ms. 1233, Mémoires, 51, "je vous consacre ma volonté ne me reservant rien du tout"; and even entire letters, ASQ, ms. 198, Recueil touchant la S[œur Barbier], 194-210.

Although the Montgolfier version does include passages from some of these letters, entire pages of correspondence appearing in the Glandelet version from pages 199-210 do not appear in the Montgolfier version at all. In some instances, Montgolfier added phrases (ASSP, ms 1233, Mémoire, 87: je sens que la confession frequent me fait du bien: mais je meurs de faim," appears in ASQ, ms 198, Recueil touchant la S[œur Barbier], 179, as "La Confession frequente me fait du bien..."); and collated writings from various places in the Glandelet version and melded them into a unified whole.

²⁰⁰ As already demonstrated, Marie's first meeting with Glandelet was accompanied by a presentiment and occasioned "a great desire to have him for a director": ASQ, ms. 198, Recueil touchant la S[œur Barbier], 49. In the Montgolfier version, on the other hand, Glandelet's entrance into Marie's spiritual life appears in a much more mundane light: she "found a man according to her heart (monsieur glandelet, priest of the seminary, who was named by monseigneur to be the director of that new mission). She gave to him all of her trust and he directed her." "ce fut la quelle trouva un home selon son Coeur (monsieur glandelet pretre du seminaire, qui fut nommé par monseigneur pour etre le directeur de cette maison naissante). Elle luy donna toute sa confiance, et il la conduisit."

²⁰¹ ASQ, ms. 198, Recueil touchant la S[œur Barbier], 51-2. "Un jour que la S dit a Son Directeur qu'il ne restoit au grenier qu'un peu de farine. Il luy dit, que n'y mettez vous Le St Enfant Jesus?...Elle porta au grenier une statue de bois qui la representoit ayant sa main droite en forme de personne qui benit et La mit proche de la farine..."; whereas in ASSP, ms. 1233, Mémoires, 35, Glandelet is not present at all in the incident which begins: "un

does not participate in the decision to operate;²⁰² the visit before and after her operation is missing;²⁰³ and his listening to detailed and lengthy confessions,²⁰⁴ witnessing her recovery and accompanying her on a pilgrimage to Notre-Dame de-Lorette,²⁰⁵ are all deleted. One also never acquires a sense of how much Marie needed him, for this "copyist" deleted all of the passages revelatory of the inner workings of their relationship: how central he was to her existence, even after she left Quebec and returned to and continued to write to Glandelet from Montreal, and how this need for him did not diminish with the passage of time. He deleted all passages demonstrating her ability to be painfully honest with her director, the passionate and intimate way she could express this honesty, his critical companionship on her spiritual journey, the mutual friend to whom he turned for consolation, but from whom he also accepted reproach and disapproval.

jour quil ne restoit au grenier que tres peu de farine et quil etoit impossible de sen procurer d ailleurs la soeur monta au grenier avec limage de l'enfant jesu quelle portoit avec elle..."

²⁰² ASQ, ms. 198, Recueil touchant la S[œur Barbier], 181. Montgolfier deleted the following letter from Marie to Glandelet, which she dictated to the superior of the Hôtel-Dieu as soon as she arrived at Quebec: "La S...m'a prié de vous écrire pour elle, ne le pouvant faire a present, elle a ouy dire que Mr N doit vous parler pour se determiner a faire L'operation que est necessaire..." Rather, his presence is replaced by a "Mr sarasin medicin du roy a quebec..." who appears to play a far more dominant role during this period of her illness. ASSP, ms. 1233, Mémoires, 89.

²⁰³ ASQ, ms. 198, Recueil touchant la S[œur Barbier], 182, 188.

²⁰⁴ Ibid., 182-6. In the Montgolfier version, Marie does make a "general confession," but its details are not included in ASSP, ms. 1233, Mémoires, 100. Many of these confessions do appear in an abbreviated form, at the end of the Montgolfier manuscript. However, they are not presented as confessions to her director, but as axioms, "principaux engagements de son etat, qui font lobjet des voeux des soeurs de la congregation." Ibid., 110-13.

²⁰⁵ ASQ, ms. 198, Recueil touchant la S[œur Barbier], 191. "Il [Glandelet] revint bientôt a quebec aprez cette lre écrite et accompagna la S...dans un pelerinage qu'elle fit a Laurette...pour remercier la Ste Vierge les graces qu'elle avoit receues." Montgolfier simply tells us that "elle fut en etat daller en pelinerage a notre dame de lorette,pour accomplir un voeu quelle avoit fait a la ste. Vierge sur la fin de la maladie." ASSP, ms. 1233, Mémoires, 102.

How then, are we to interpret Étienne de Montgolfier's emendations?

Montgolfier's changes stripped Marie Barbier of the humanity that Glandelet had preserved, erasing the flesh and blood human being engaged in an honest, intense and mutual relationship with another individual. In the process, he left posterity with a one-dimensional image of a Marie Barbier on her way to sainthood, reminiscent of a medieval painting or a statue fixed at the portal of a church, a final testimony to the ultimate fragility of the spirituality of these women in the hands of an inexorable process, intent on increasingly relegating the mystic to an exceptional and marginalized status, within a wider Church structure²⁰⁶

²⁰⁶ Michel de Certeau, *The Mystic Fable*, vol. 1, *The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, translated by Michael B. Smith (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 257. Although the seventeenth century has been dubbed as the zenith of French mysticism, Certeau claims that mystics at this time, and throughout the eighteenth century, also began to experience constraints imposed by an institutional church more concerned with objective works than inner inspiration.

Conclusion

For decades now, historians have documented the historical oppression of women. More recently, however, the inquiries have turned from the exploration of oppression, to encouraging writers to examine the phenomenon of exchange.¹ I agree that this must be the direction for future women's studies. Indeed, scholars have and must continue to move outside of the temptation of viewing historic male-female relationships within the framework of the binary oppositions, of the oppressor and the oppressed, and recognize that historical truth, as far as it can be perceived, lies not in the depiction of rigid oppositions, but in finer shades of meaning and exchanges that mitigate the power of oppression, the wretchedness of the oppressed.

And so this thesis has explored the phenomenon of exchange. In the process, however, I believe, it has also demonstrated that in order to comprehend the lives of women of the past, a study must begin with a fundamental examination of structures encompassing their lives. As chapter two illustrated, it is highly unlikely that these women would have existed as nuns to be studied at all without the support of surrounding structures: government, church and colonial society.

But the examination of structures also, in part, led inevitably to a study of oppression: the analysis of the existence of tangible hierarchical structures at the very foundation of the lives of these women. It is true that very often the rules embedded in these structures were not enforced. Nevertheless, they were always potentially enforceable. No study of religious women – or for that matter, all women of the past – can circumvent this reality: the importance of recognizing the potential implications of

¹ Especially Natalie Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975).

these powerful structures, for surely would not knowledge of them among contemporaries, both male and female, have shaped the individuals concerned, undoubtedly in ways, often due to the dearth of sources, that prove far beyond the reach not only of this study, but also of the field of women's studies as a whole?

But this thesis, while facing these grim realities, also did, indeed, pursue the phenomenon of exchange, and in the process, it celebrated the agency of these women. All of the nuns studied in this thesis, as *soeurs* of the institution of the *Congrégation de Notre-Dame*, were part of a wider historic mission within the Church. Purveyors of the Catholic Reformation message of piety and obedience, they shaped, through this ideology, generations of colonial girls into women. But this historic mission, as we have seen, penetrated beyond the classroom, into the wider spiritual, cultural, symbolic, political and economic life of the surrounding society, engaging the institution in an intricate web of links and exchanges that served to support and sustain it. The existence of these wider links firmly places this colonial institution within the broader framework of studies of female convents in Europe and Latin America, research that affirmed that religious women were not removed and isolated from mainstream society. Not only were these nuns "women of the parish," as Marguerite Bourgeoys had characterized them, they were, indeed, women of their day, involved in one degree or another in the wider activities of their society, destined to become an integral part of its legends and its history. More specifically, the exploration of these linkages has broadened the perception of the *Congrégation de Notre Dame* within the Canadian historical context beyond the view as an institute primarily established, developed and centred solely on the work of one sanctified individual – Marguerite Bourgeoys. Rather, the institution, from its

inception, owed not only its establishment, but also its very existence to the network of linkages it formed through its mission.

The discovery of certain sources, however, enabled this study to move beyond an examination of the collective and to focus upon individuals – in this case, superiors – and their relationship to power. To return to the passage cited at the beginning of this study by Marguerite Bourgeoys, these women, within their own specific milieu, perceived themselves in terms of the imagery of light, an image possessing powerful associations within the Judeo-Christian tradition. These superiors were the torch within their community, the light for others to follow, and they wielded an enormous amount of physical and spiritual power over the women in their charge. Their power emanated from God, but it was also bestowed upon them on the basis of their individual personal qualities, thus defying notions of power and authority as deriving from clientage, wealth and connections. In short, the personal qualities of these women mattered: they were acknowledged, recognized, utilized and developed.

This study also encountered evidence establishing these women as individual agents within their own particular frameworks. From my point of view, these superiors emerged from the documents I discovered in the archives loudly and clearly, and I trust that I have managed, to some degree, to allow them to speak, as I heard them, throughout the pages of this thesis. And so Marie-Josèphe Mauge-Garreau circumvented the formalities demanded by her position in the pages of her letters to the bishop of Quebec, speaking her mind audibly and boldly. But Marie-Josèphe's strategies for self-assertion do not undermine the formal silence of Marie Raizenne - a silence, which, one suspects, must have had its own machinations, almost impossible for the historian to penetrate, and, therefore, destined to remain muted and mysterious.

The extent of Marie Barbier's agency, of course, more than the other two individuals examined in this thesis, speaks for itself: a strong, passionate, outspoken, woman, with a yearning for solitude. Yet she remained, at the same time, actively engaged in the external world, most notably with a man, Charles de Glandelet, her priest and her confessor. Their symbiotic male-female relationship challenges many of the fixed and absolutist notions in place concerning the Catholic Reformation during this period, mitigating the view that male priests dominated and tyrannized over all early modern holy women and nuns. Her very existence also testifies to the crucial need to explore both the contemplative and active dimensions of the religious individual in order to truly comprehend their spiritual life in its entirety.

In the process of examining the agency of these three superiors, this thesis has attempted to resist the temptation of modernizing them, extrapolating and imposing upon them values of the present. Thus, Marie-Josèphe was not, in my view, a nascent feminist, blazing the trail for future female corporate leaders, any more than was Marie Barbier an anorexic, disempowered neurotic, oppressed by a system which permitted her religious expression. Rather, both women proved to be individuals reflective of their particular time and historic circumstances, and for whom religion – and more specifically – suffering, was integral to, and welcomed in, their lives. To be sure, suffering manifested itself in different ways in each woman. Marie-Josèphe suffered by carrying the burden of a heavy workload – the superiorship - while Marie Barbier suffered through her body and her soul. Ultimately, however, the aim for both individuals was precisely the same – to reach God and salvation. Suffering, therefore, was no irrational degradation; rather, it was a spiritual state replete with its own goals, its own rationale, and lived out within its own integral framework.

But the celebration of the agency of these female historical actors led to far more complex and uncomfortable conclusions than the above would lead one to believe, for inevitably I found myself returning, in full circle, to the issue of oppression. Tacticians Marie-Josèphe and Marie Raizenne may have been, but in the end, in the words of Michel de Certeau, they “escaped without leaving.”² And while the very existence of Marie-Barbier challenged so many absolutist notions of the Catholic Reformation church's treatment of women, Montgolfier's subsequent imaging of this mystic stands as a ruthless testimony, not only to the fragility of her spirituality, but also the movement of the Catholic Reformation into the nineteenth century as it shaped the spirituality of Catholics – both men and women of all walks of life, races and nationalities - throughout the world.

This thesis set out, as one of its main objectives, to examine the spirituality of these women. While I believe that it does meet this objective, ironically, in the process of accomplishing it, this study also has underlined the need for a more profound examination of their spirituality, in particular, as exemplified by Marie Barbier. However, this direction awaits a thorough examination of the religiosity of the men with whom they were so integrally linked – the bishops and, most importantly, their Sulpician superiors and directors - for to truly comprehend the lives of these women, one must also penetrate the silence of the men connected so closely to them.

This thesis also attempted to grapple with the often painful theoretical issues at the heart of contemporary scholarship, most notably the relationship of the historian to representation and documents. Ultimately, the historian possesses an enormous amount of power to represent the past. However, it is also a fragile power, one fraught with often

² Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), xiii.

agonizing theoretical debates, fragmented and even illegible sources that at times allow one to only consider possibilities, not construct realities.

But in the end, was not the authority of the women represented in this thesis also fragile? Power was allowed to all of these women, living as they were within an institution to which they had devoted their lives, and which was enmeshed in a series of delicate links and support networks that endowed it with its very existence. They may have viewed themselves in terms of the light, but, in reality, the light of those more powerful above them, legally, culturally, spiritually, politically, and economically, shone brighter and stronger.

Abbreviations

AAM	Archives de l'Archdiocèse de Montréal
ACND	Archives de la Congrégation de Notre-Dame, Montréal
ANQM	Archives Nationale du Québec à Montréal
ASQ	Archives du Séminaire de Québec
ASSP	Archives du Séminaire Sulpicien, Paris
PRDH	Programme de recherche en démographie historique

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Appendices

Appendix 1 - Comparison of the Papiers Intimes of Marie-Josèphe Maugue-Garreau and the Writings of Marguerite Bourgeoys

I. Concern for Silence and Restraint in Conversations

Marguerite Bourgeoys ³	Marie-Josèphe ⁴
<p>"Often we take pleasure in having come up so well with words of mockery, jeering or banter spoken with wit and skill...we must not, either, listen to them or approve of them."</p> <p>"We must withdraw from all conversations and familiarities even though they are permitted by human prudence."</p> <p>"She does not meddle in other people's business unless this concerns her..."</p> <p>"She never tells tales."</p> <p>"A young woman who asks to be admitted to this community must be resolved to renounce all the standards of the world,...all mocking words which might offend, however slightly, persons of the house or of the outside."</p> <p>"Her words, gestures and movements ought not to seem giddy or foolish, but modest reserved and devout. She must mortify her senses and avoid unnecessary conversations as much as she can reasonably do so."</p> <p>"We must do all we can to appease the anger of God to whom we owe so great a sum. This may be done by....refraining from seeing, hearing or speaking in order to guard our senses for the love of God."</p> <p>"We must do away with all mockery and back-biting, with mimicking persons, and with all that is contrary to the love of neighbour."</p> <p>"Little love for silence leads to a lax and easy life."</p> <p>"To speak out loud and about all sorts of unnecessary things, even all day long, is a great obstacle to perfection.."</p> <p>On Women who live according to the "Rule of Human Prudence or the External Rule": "She never grows tired of conversing for pleasure and with the people of the world."</p>	<p>2. "I will behave in such a way as to surrender myself so vigilantly that I shall not make anyone suffer by my dry and indifferent replies; I will not make known my opinions about everything so easily, as was my habit, being reserved in my words.... saying only what will be necessary and in the time as set out in the rule."</p> <p>3. To not mix in what does not concern me; to be faithful to silence, remembering that one must account for useless conversation..."</p> <p>6. "I will seek not to offend anyone by my thoughtless words."</p>

³ Marguerite Bourgeoys, *The Writings of Marguerite Bourgeoys*, translated by Sister Mary Virginia Cotter, CND, (Montreal: CND, 1976), 202, 90, 5.

⁴ Soeur Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire de la Congrégation de Notre-Dame* (Montréal: CND, 1910-13), 106-8

2 - "Je ferai en sorte de me rendre si attentive à moi-même, que je ne fasse souffrir personne par mes réponses sèches et indifférentes; Je ne ferai pas connaître si facilement mes sentiments sur toutes choses, comme j'ai coutume, ayant une grande retenue dans mes paroles... ne disant que ce qui sera nécessaire et dans le temps marqué par la règle."; 3 - De ne me point mêler de ce qui ne me regarde pas; être bien fidèle au silence, me souvenant qu'il faudra rendre compte d'une parole inutile."; 6 - "Je ferai en sorte de ne choquer personne... par mes paroles trop légères."

II. The Presence of God

Marguerite Bourgeoys⁵

Marie-Josèphe⁶

"She must try to remain in the presence of God in all that she does."
"The sisters much live always in the presence of God..."

4. "I will try to remain faithful to all of the inspirations and all of the good impulses that God gives to me...at the beginning of recreation, I will raise my heart to God to offer it to him."
7. "I shall keep in the great presence of God all day, offering to him all of my actions at the beginning of each one."

III. The Rule

Marguerite Bourgeoys⁷

Marie-Josèphe⁸

Primacy of the Interior Rule
"We get up at the first sound of the bell, but we must be even more prompt in raising our minds to God to adore Him and to think of what He asks of us....We obey the first sound of the bell to go to prayer and to hear the voice of God....We ring for the refectory and we go to take our food...it is not enough for the tongue alone to thank God, we must join to heart to it....We ought to recreate as in God's presence..."
The Rule of Divine Wisdom
"She is exact in keeping the Rule to the point of leaving a stitch without drawing a needle."

2. "... saying only what is necessary and in the time as delineated in the rule."
11. "I will always try to be the first at all of the exercises of the house, not dispensing with any except for good reasons...putting to good use all of the time as set out by the rule, with tranquility and devotion."

IV. Renunciation of Faults

Marguerite Bourgeoys⁹

Marie-Josèphe¹⁰

"Further she must renounce herself, break with her moods, her bad habits and her evil inclinations"

5. Every day I will take a bit of time to think about my faults that most hinder my advancement in the perfection that God asks of me."
8. "I will examine myself every day for the faults I fall into most often, such as that of impatience."

⁵ Bourgeoys, *Writings*, 5, 73.

⁶ Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 108, 107. 3 – "Je tâcherai de me rendre fidèle à toutes les inspirations et à tous les bons mouvements que Dieu me donnera...Au commencement de la récréation, j'élèverai mon cœur à Dieu pour la lui offrir. ..."; 7 – "Je me tiendrai dans une grande présence de Dieu pendant le jour, Lui offrant toutes mes actions au commencement de chacune..."

⁷ Bourgeoys, *Writings*, 90, 93-4.

⁸ Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 106, 108. 2 – "...ne disant que ce qui sera nécessaire et dans le temps marqué par la règle."; 11 – "Je tâcherai d'être toujours la première à tous les exercices de la maison, ne me dispensant d'aucun que pour de bonnes raisons, ...employant tout le temps marqué par la règle, avec tranquillité et dévotion."

⁹ Bourgeoys, *Writings*, 5.

¹⁰ Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 107, 108. 5 – "Je prendrai tous les jours un peu de temps pour penser aux fautes qui m'empêchent le plus d'avancer dans la perfection que Dieu demande de moi"; 8 – Je ferai tous les jours mon examen particulier sur les fautes où je tombe le plus souvent, comme celui de l'impatience."

V. Confession

Marguerite Bourgeoys¹¹

Marie-Josèphe¹²

"We must do all we can to appease the anger of God....This may be done by...the sincere, humble and sorrowful confessions of our faults." 200

10. "I will not dispense with communion without permission, humiliating myself before God by confessing my unworthiness."

VI. Tolerance

Marguerite Bourgeoys¹³

Marie-Josèphe¹⁴

"We must do all we can to appease the anger of God to whom we owe so great a sum. This may be done by putting up with a words from this one, giving pleasure to another..." 200

9. "I will make it a principal to oblige everyone, as much as it is in my power, speaking with respect and gentleness, particularly to those I will believe have received some displeasure..."

¹¹ Bourgeoys, *Writings*, 200.

¹² Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 108. 10 – "Je ne me dispenserai pas de la communion sans permission, ni pour l'état présent où je me trouverai alors, m'humiliant devant Dieu en confessant mon indignité."

¹³ Bourgeoys, *Writings*, 200.

¹⁴ Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 108. 9 – "Je me ferai un principe d'obliger tout le monde autant qu'il sera en mon pouvoir, parlant avec respect et douceur, particulièrement à celles de qui je croirai avoir reçu quelque déplaisir..."

Appendix 2¹ - Congrégation de Notre-Dame, Professed Nuns, 1700

In the following alphabetical list of professed nuns, the first line gives the family and religious name. Line two provides the place and date of birth, followed by the place and date of death. Line three contains the date the individual entered the convent (ER), followed by the date of profession (P). The final line gives the names of both parents, as well as the profession of the father. Where data is missing, the sources could not be found.

Ailleboust, Madeleine d', Soeur de l'Incarnation

Montréal, 9 March 1673 * Montréal, 13 November 1759

P 1 July 1698

Daughter of Charles-Joseph d'Ailleboust des Musseaux (officer, seigneur) and Catherine Legardeur

Amyot, Marguerite, Soeur de la Présentation

Sainte-Anne-de-Baupré, 5 January 1675 * Montréal, 1 August 1747

ER 1693 **P** 25 June 1698

Daughter of Gentien Amyot (locksmith) and Marguerite Poulin

Asselin, Françoise, Soeur Sainte-Thérèse

Sainte-Famille-de-l'île d'Orléans, 25 January 1682 * Montréal, 2 June 1766

Daughter of Jacques Asselin (farmer) and Louise Roussin

Asselin, Madeleine, Soeur Saint-Ignace

Sainte-Famille-de-l'île-d'Orléans, 30 June 1673 * Montréal, 7 December 1749

P 5 June 1698

Daughter of Jacques Asselin (farmer) and Louise Roussin

Barbier, Marie, Soeur de l'Assomption

Montréal, 1 May 1663 * Montréal, 19 May 1739

ER 1678 **P** 25 June 1698

Daughter of Gilbert Barbier (habitant) and Catherine Delavaux

Bony, Catherine

Rouen, Normandy, 1637 * Montréal, 22 April 1712

ER 1674 **P** 1676

Bouchard, Marie-Françoise, Soeur Saint-Paul

Québec, 27 October 1659 * Montréal, 29 April 1739

P 25 June 1698

Daughter of Etienne Bouchard (surgeon) and Marguerite Boissel

Bourgeois, Marguerite, Soeur du Saint-Sacrement

Troyes, 17 April 1620 * Montréal, 12 January 1700

ER 1653 **P** 25 June 1698

Daughter of Abraham Bourgeois (merchant) and Guillemette Garnier

Carpentier Marie-Jeanne, Soeur Sainte-Geneviève

Cap-de-la-Madeleine, 25 November 1676 * Montréal, 2 June 1747

Daughter of Noël Carpentier (habitant) dit Larose and Jeanne Toussaint

Charly Saint-Ange, Catherine, Soeur du Saint-Sacrement

Montréal, 3 June 1666 * Montréal, 25 January 1719

¹ Appendix compiled utilizing App. 7, Congrégation de Notre-Dame, Professed Nuns, 1693-1796

ER 1679 P 25 June 1698

Daughter of André Charly dit Saint-Ange (baker) and Marie Dumesnil

Chartier, Marie, Soeur Sainte-Marguerite

Montréal, 23 February 1676 * 27 August 1729

Daughter of Guillaume Chartier (tailor) and Marie Faucon

Chesnay la Garenne, Madeleine, Soeur Sainte-Anne

Québec, 22 July 1674 * Montréal, 19 August 1760

ER 1697 P 1699

Daughter of Bertrand Chesnay dit La Garenne (merchant) and Elisabeth Aubert

Coron, Marie, Soeur de la Victoire

Pointe-aux-Trembles, Montréal, 14 May 1676 * Montréal, 11 November 1732

P 25 June 1698

Daughter of Jean Coron (master turner) and Anne-Michelle Lauzon

Courtemanche, Élisabeth, Soeur Sainte-Claire

Montréal, 13 August 1670 * Montréal, 8 September 1748

Daughter of Antoine Courtemanche and Élisabeth Haguin

Cressé, Charlotte, Soeur Sainte-Pélagie

Trois-Rivières, 28 August 1680 * Montréal, 11 March 1701

ER 1697 P 1699

Daughter of Michel Cressé (merchant) and Marguerite Denis

Crevier de Bellerive, Marie-Barbe, Soeur Sainte-Hélène

Trois-Rivières, 1665 * Montréal, 5 November 1711

Daughter of Nicolas Crevier de Bellerive (habitant) and Louise La Loutre

Dandonneau, Françoise, Soeur Sainte-Apolline

Trois-Rivières, 29 September 1677 * Québec, 6 October 1709

Daughter of Pierre Dandonneau dit Lajeunesse (farmer) and Françoise Jobin

de la Bertache, Élisabeth, Soeur Sainte-Catherine

Dijon, France, 1634 * Montréal, 6 October 1710

ER September 1672 P 25 June 1698

de Hautmesnil, Catherine-Chrétienne, Soeur de la Visitation

Montréal, 20 November 1675 * 31 March 1746

ER 22 April 1691 P 25 June 1698

Daughter of Jean-Vincent-Philippe Dumesnil (merchant) and Marie-Catherine Lambert de Baussy

de Puybaro-Maisonnette, Madeleine, Soeur Sainte-Geneviève

Trois-Rivières, 8 September 1682 * Montréal, 5 April 1703

ER 1698 P 1700

Daughter of Jean de Puybaro and Marie-Madeleine Beaudry

Durand, Claude, Soeur de l'Ascension

Paris, France, 1643 * Montréal, 12 April 1723

ER September 1672 P 25 June 1698

Gagnon, Marie, Soeur Saint-Joachim

Sainte-Famille-de-l'île-d'Orléans, 7 July 1668 * Montréal, 10 March 1747

P 25 June 1698

Daughter of Robert Gagnon (laborer) and Marie Parentelle

Gagnon, Marie-Renée, Soeur Sainte-Agnès

Sainte-Famille-de-l'île-d'Orléans, 27 February 1678 * Boucherville, 14 February 1703

Daughter of Robert Gagnon (labourer) and Marie Parentelle

Gariépy, Marguerite, Soeur Saint-Augustin

Québec, 22 March 1660 * Montréal, 13 February 1723

ER 1680 **P** 25 June 1698

Daughter of François Gariépy (cabinet maker) and Marie Oudin

Gariépy, Marie, Soeur Sainte-Ursule

Québec, 8 July 1658 * Montréal, 3 August 1713

ER 1680 **P** 6 August 1698

Daughter of François Gariépy (cabinet maker) and Marie Oudin

Gerbaut, Marie-Josèphe, Soeur Saint-Gabriel

Rivière-du-Loup, 26 September 1684 * Montréal, 31 March 1734

Daughter of Christophe Gerbaut de Bellegarde and Marguerite Lemaître

Gourdon, Jeanne, Soeur de la Résurrection

Lachine, 8 March 1680 * Montréal, 22 July 1724

ER 1695 **P** 25 June 1698

Daughter of Jean Gourdon dit Lachasse and Michelle Perrin

Guillet, Marie-Élisabeth, Soeur Sainte-Barbe

Sainte-Anne-de-la-Pérade, 3 September 1684 * Montréal, 23 October 1739

Daughter of Mathurin Guillet (merchant) and Marie-Charlotte Lemoyne

Guyon, Elisabeth, Soeur Saint-Laurent

Québec, 21 August 1669 * Montréal, 14 September 1743

Daughter of Claude Guyon (farmer) and Catherine Colin

Guyon, Marie-Anne, Soeur de la Passion

Château-Richer, 18 May 1666 * Montréal, 12 December 1743

P 6 August 1698

Daughter of Claude Guyon (farmer) and Catherine Colin

Jahan-Laviolette, Catherine, Soeur de la Croix

Sainte-Famille-de-l'île-d'Orléans, 30 January 1676 * Montréal, 21 April 1734

P 25 June 1698

Daughter of Jacques Jahan-Laviolette (tanner) and Marie Ferra

Jalot, Marguerite, Soeur Saint-Ambroise

Champlain, 21 February 1680 * Montréal, 17 January 1755

Daughter of Jean Jalot (surgeon) and Marie-Antoinette Chouard

Jousset, Agathe, Soeur Saint-Gabriel

Montréal, 25 September 1682 * Québec, 20 December 1702

Daughter of Mathurin Jousset dit la Loire (farmer) and Catherine Lothier

Larivée, Marie-Françoise, Soeur Saint-Alexis

Boucherville, 29 March 1679 * Montréal, 3 January 1762

ER 1695 **P** 25 June 1698

Daughter of Pierre Larrivée (farmer) and Denise Beauchamp

Lefebvre, Marie, Soeur Saint-Michel

Montréal, 22 July 1681 * 10 May 1717

ER After the death of her husband Jacques Picard

Daughter of Jean-Baptiste Lefebvre and Cunégonde Gervaise

Le Moyne, Jeanne, Soeur Saint-Charles

Montréal, 30 April 1668 * Montréal, 27 March 1703

P 1 July 1698

Daughter of Jacques Le Moyne de Sainte-Hélène (merchant) and Mathurine Godé

Le Moyne, Marguerite, Soeur du Saint-Esprit

Montréal, 3 February 1664 * Montréal, 21 February 1746

ER 1680 **P** 25 June 1698

Daughter of Jacques Le Moyne de Sainte-Hélène (merchant) and Mathurine Godé

Létourneau, Marguerite, Soeur Saint-Pierre

Sainte-Famille-de-l'île-d'Orléans, 17 September 1675 * Montréal, 3 October 1721

P 25 June 1698

Daughter of David Létourneau (habitant) and Françoise Chapelain

Longley, Lydia, Soeur Sainte-Madeleine

English Colonies, 12 April 1674 * Montréal, 20 July 1758

ER December 1696 **P** 16 September 1699

Daughter of William Longley and Délivrance Crips

Maugue, Marie, Soeur Sainte-Marguerite

Montréal, 15 November 1680 * Canada, 26 May 1766

Daughter of Claude Maugue (royal notary) and Louise Jousset

Nafréchoux, Marie, Soeur Saint-Dominique

Montréal, 4 June 1675 * Montréal, 25 March 1755

Daughter of Isaac and Catherine Le Loup

Paillé, Marie-Madeleine [or Paillart], Soeur Saint-Gertrude

Beauport, 19 October 1681 * Québec, 20 December 1702

Daughter of Léonard Paillé (carpenter) and Louise Vachon

Patenôtre, Catherine, Soeur Sainte-Rose

Batiscan, 26 August 1681 * Montréal, 7 April 1703

Daughter of Damien Patenôtre dit Quatresols (farmer) and Nicole de Bonin

Pineau-Laperle, Louise, Soeur Saint-Louis

Cap-de-la-Madeleine, 1665 * Montréal, 8 December 1749

P 25 June 1698

Daughter of Pierre Pineau (habitant) and Anne Boyer

Prémont, Marie, Soeur Saint-Jean-Baptiste

Sainte-Famille-de-l'île-d'Orléans, 13 March 1676 * Montréal, 17 February 1761

P 25 June 1698

Daughter of Jean Prémont (farmer) and Marie Aubert

Rémy, Thérèse, Soeur de l'Annonciation

Saint-Sauveur, Paris, France 1661 * Montréal, 1 September 1741

ER 1678 P 25 June 1698

Daughter of Michel Rémy and Elisabeth Lemoyne

Richard, Louise, Soeur Saint-Bernard

Langres, France 6 September 1658 * Montréal, 16 September 1728

ER 1682 P 25 June 1698

Daughter of Didier Richard and Anne Laujarrois

Robichaud, Marie, Soeur Saint-Vincent-de-Paul

Acadia * France, 27 June 1765

Roy, Marguerite, Soeur de la Conception

Laprairie, 4 June 1674 * Montréal, 13 December 1749

ER 1689 P 25 June 1698

Daughter of Pierre Roy (farmer) and Catherine Ducharme

Sayward, Marie, Soeur des Anges

New York, 11 April 1681 * Québec, 18 May 1717

ER 1698 P 1700

Daughter of William Sayward (farmer) and Marie-Madeleine Rishworth

Sénécal, Marie-Thérèse, Soeur Saint-Michel

Montréal, 30 December 1674 * Montréal, 17 March 1703

P 25 June 1698

Daughter of Jean Sénécal (habitant) and Catherine Deseine

Testu du Tilly, Françoise, Soeur Saint-Raphaël

L'Ange-Gardien, 2 September 1682 * Montréal, 10 December 1749

Daughter of Pierre Testu du Tilly (merchant) and Geneviève Rigaud

Trottier, Catherine, Soeur Saint-François

Batiscan, 1674 * Montréal, 8 July 1701

P 6 August 1698

Daughter of Jean-Baptiste Trottier (wheelwright) and Geneviève Lafond

Trottier, Marguerite, Soeur Saint-Joseph

Batiscan, 21 April 1678 * Québec, 6 October 1744

ER 1692 P 6 August 1698

Daughter of Jean-Baptiste Trottier (wheelwright) and Geneviève Lafond

Vinet, Marie-Charlotte, Soeur de la Nativité

Boucherville, 14 January 1678 * Montréal, 8 April 1703

Daughter of Jean Vinet (habitant) and Jeanne Étienne

Appendix 3¹ - Congrégation de Notre-Dame, Professed Nuns, 1725

In the following alphabetical list of professed nuns, the first line gives the family and religious name. Line two provides the place and date of birth, followed by the place and date of death. Line three contains the date the individual entered the convent (ER), followed by the date of profession (P). The final line gives the names of both parents, as well as the profession of the father. Where data is missing, the sources could not be found.

Ailleboust, Madeleine d', Soeur de l'Incarnation

Montréal, 9 March 1673 * Montréal, 13 November 1759

P 1 July 1698

Daughter of Charles-Joseph d'Ailleboust des Musseaux (officer, seigneur) and Catherine Legardeur

Ailleboust des Musseaux, Catherine d', Soeur des Séraphins

Montréal, 19 November 1694 * Lachine, 5 May 1768

Daughter of Jean-Baptiste des Musseaux (merchant) and Anne Picard

Amyot, Marguerite, Soeur de la Présentation

Sainte-Anne-de-Baupré, 5 January 1675 * Montréal, 1 August 1747

ER 1693 **P** 25 June 1698

Daughter of Gentien Amyot (locksmith) and Marguerite Poulin

Amyot, Marie-Anne-Thérèse, Soeur Saint-Augustin

Sainte-Anne, 9 February 1693 * Québec, 22 January 1759

Daughter of Jean Amyot (locksmith) and Marguerite Poulain

Amyot, Thérèse, Soeur Saint-François-d'Assise

Québec, 3 July 1686 * Montréal, 9 March 1771

ER 1701 **P** 1703

Daughter of Jean Amyot (locksmith) and Marguerite Poulain

Asselin, Françoise, Soeur Sainte-Thérèse

Sainte-Famille-de-l'île d'Orléans, 25 January 1682 * Montréal, 2 June 1766

Daughter of Jacques Asselin (farmer) and Louise Roussin

Asselin, Madeleine, Soeur Saint-Ignace

Sainte-Famille-de-l'île-d'Orléans, 30 June 1673 * Montréal, 7 December 1749

P 5 June 1698

Daughter of Jacques Asselin (farmer) and Louise Roussin

Barbier, Marie, Soeur de l'Assomption

Montréal, 1 May 1663 * Montréal, 19 May 1739

ER 1678 **P** 25 June 1698

Daughter of Gilbert Barbier (habitant) and Catherine Delavaux

Barrois, Anne, Soeur Saint-Charles

Laprairie, 26 May 1674 * Montréal 28 March 1768

ER 1703

Daughter of Antoine Barrois (habitant) and Anne Le Ber

Bissot de Vincennes, Claire-Charlotte, Soeur de l'Ascension

¹ Compiled utilizing App. 7, Congrégation de Notre-Dame, Professed Nuns, 1693-1796

Québec, 6 May 1698 * Montréal, 25 April 1773

ER 1718

Daughter of Jean-Baptiste Bissot de Vincennes (officer) and Marguerite Forestier

Bouchard, Marie-Françoise, Soeur Saint-Paul

Québec, 27 October 1659 * Montréal, 29 April 1739

P 25 June 1698

Daughter of Etienne Bouchard (surgeon) and Marguerite Boissel

Boucher de Boucherville, Marie-Louise, Soeur Sainte-Monique

Boucherville, 16 November 1702 * 5 September 1788

ER 1721 **P** 13 September 1723

Daughter of Pierre Boucher de Boucherville (seigneur) and Marguerite-Charlotte Denis

Caillou-Baron, Marie-Gabrielle, Soeur de la Nativité

La Prairie, 21 August 1689 * Montréal, 28 March 1772

ER 1704 * **P** 1 December 1708

Daughter of Jean Caillou dit Baron (habitant) and Marie-Marguerite Touchard

Carpentier Marie-Jeanne, Soeur Sainte-Geneviève

Cap-de-la-Madeleine, 25 November 1676 * Montréal, 2 June 1747

Daughter of Noël Carpentier (habitant) dit Larose and Jeanne Toussaint

Cartier, Marguerite, Soeur Saint-Amable

Québec, 3 March 1692 * 16 March 1749

Daughter of Paul Cartier and Marie-Barbe Boyer

Chartier, Marie, Soeur Sainte-Marguerite

Montréal, 23 February 1676 * 27 August 1729

Daughter of Guillaume Chartier (tailor) and Marie Faucon

Chesnay la Garenne, Madeleine, Soeur Sainte-Anne

Québec, 22 July 1674 * Montréal, 19 August 1760

ER 1697 **P** 1699

Daughter of Bertrand Chesnay dit La Garenne (merchant) and Elisabeth Aubert

Coron, Marie, Soeur de la Victoire

Pointe-aux-Trembles, Montréal, 14 May 1676 * Montréal, 11 November 1732

P 25 June 1698

Daughter of Jean Coron (master turner) and Anne-Michelle Lauzon

Courtemanche, Élisabeth, Soeur Sainte-Claire

Montréal, 13 August 1670 * Montréal, 8 September 1748

Daughter of Antoine Courtemanche and Élisabeth Haguin

Crevier de Bellerive, Marie-Jeanne, Soeur Sainte-Hélène

Cap-de-la-Madeleine, 2 February 1689 * Montréal, 23 February 1726

Daughter of Nicolas Crevier de Bellerive (habitant) and Louise La Loutre

Damours de Clignancourt, Angélique, Soeur Sainte-Ursule

Port Royal, 1697 * Montréal, 24 December 1749

Daughter of René Damours, Sieur de Clignancourt (merchant) and Françoise Le Gardeur de Tilly

Daniel St-Arnaud, Marie-Madeleine, Soeur Saint-Arsène

Montréal, 15 January 1699 * France, 5 July 1764

ER 31 October 1717 * P 1719

Daughter of Jean Arcaud (merchant) and Marie Truteau

de Hautmesnil, Catherine-Chrétienne, Soeur de la Visitation

Montréal, 20 November 1675 * 31 March 1746

ER 22 April 1691 P 25 June 1698

Daughter of Jean-Vincent-Philippe Dumesnil (merchant) and Marie-Catherine Lambert de Baussy

De Lestages, Marie-Anne, Soeur Saint-Luc

Québec, 20 November 1695 * Montréal, 18 July 1768

ER 1720

Daughter of Jean de Lestages (merchant) and Catherine-Anne Vermet

Demers [or Dumay], Marie-Anne, Soeur Sainte-Catherine

Montréal, 24 October 1689 * Montréal, 14 December 1749

Daughter of Jean-Baptiste Demers and Cunégonde Masta

Dutaud, Marie-Françoise, Soeur de la Vierge

Champlain, 4 January 1693 * Montréal, 15 March 1767

Daughter of Charles Dutaud (habitant) and Jeanne Rivard-Lavigne

Dutaud, Marie-Josephite, Soeur de la Trinité

Champlain, 19 March 1695 * Québec, 20 May 1730

Daughter of Charles Dutaud (farmer) and Jeanne Rivard Lavigne

Dutaud, Marie-Marguerite, Soeur des Anges

Champlain, 12 January 1691 * Château-Richer, 15 August 1726

Daughter of Charles Dutaud (habitant) and Jeanne-Rivard Lavigne

Gagnon, Françoise, Soeur Sainte-Marthe

Château-Richer, 12 February 1695 * Montréal, 7 April 1778

ER 1720 P 4 November 1722

Daughter of Germain Gagnon and Jeanne David

Gagnon, Marie, Soeur Saint-Joachim

Sainte-Famille-de-l'île-d'Orléans, 7 July 1668 * Montréal, 10 March 1747

P 25 June 1698

Daughter of Robert Gagnon (laborer) and Marie Parentelle

Gagnon, Marie-Angélique, Soeur Sainte-Marie

Château-Richer, 20 January 1691 * Montréal, 26 March 1758

ER 1708

Daughter of Noël Gagnon and Geneviève Fortin

Genest, Marie

Sainte-Famille-de-l'île-d'Orléans, 3 November 1670 * Kamouraska, 7 January 1761

Daughter of Jacques Genest Labarre (toolmaker) and Catherine Doribeu. Left the community in June 1698 and married Jean-Baptiste Martin in 1710

Gerbaut, Marie-Josèphe, Soeur Saint-Gabriel

Rivière-du-Loup, 26 September 1684 * Montréal, 31 March 1734

Daughter of Christophe Gerbaut de Bellegarde and Marguerite Lemaître

Gervaise, Jeanne, Soeur Saint-Exupère

Montréal, 24 February 1699 * Montréal, 23 May 1763

P 20 July 1720

Daughter Louis Gervaise and Barbe Pigeon

Guénet, Jeanne, Soeur Sainte-Agnès

19 January 1694 * Montréal, 15 December 1749

Daughter of Jean Guénet (merchant) and Étienne Hurlubise

Guillet, Marie-Élisabeth, Soeur Sainte-Barbe

Sainte-Anne-de-la-Pérade, 3 September 1684 * Montréal, 23 October 1739

Daughter of Mathurin Guillet (merchant) and Marie-Charlotte Lemoyne

Guillory, Marie-Louise, Soeur Sainte-Suzanne

Lachine, 24 October 1700 * Montréal, 25 January 1727

P 1 June 1723

Daughter of Simon Guillory (merchant) and Marie Aly

Guyon, Élisabeth, Soeur Saint-Laurent

Québec, 21 August 1669 * Montréal, 14 September 1743

Daughter of Claude Guyon (farmer) and Catherine Colin

Guyon, Marie-Anne, Soeur de la Passion

Château-Richer, 18 May 1666 * Montréal, 12 December 1743

P 6 August 1698

Daughter of Claude Guyon (farmer) and Catherine Colin

Hervieux, Marie-Geneviève, Soeur Sainte-Gertrude

Québec, 15 February 1686 * Montréal, 1 December 1753

ER 1707 **P** 5 February 1709

Daughter of Issac Hervieux (bourgeois) and Marie-Anne Pinguet

Jahan-Laviolette, Catherine, Soeur de la Croix

Sainte-Famille-de-l'île-d'Orléans, 30 January 1676 * Montréal, 21 April 1734

P 25 June 1698

Daughter of Jacques Jahan-Laviolette (tanner) and Marie Ferra

Jalot, Marguerite, Soeur Saint-Ambroise

Champlain, 21 February 1680 * Montréal, 17 January 1755

Daughter of Jean Jalot (surgeon) and Marie-Antoinette Chouard

La Corne de Chaptas, Marie-Madeleine de, Soeur du Saint-Sacrement

France, 1700 * Canada, 13 March 1762

ER 1718 **P** 1720

Daughter of Jean-Louis de la Corne de Chaptas (officer) and Marie Pécaudy de Contrecoeur

Larrivée, Marie-Françoise, Soeur Saint-Alexis

Boucherville, 29 March 1679 * Montréal, 3 January 1762

ER 1695 **P** 25 June 1698

Daughter of Pierre Larrivée (farmer) and Denise Beauchamp

Lefebvre, Marie-Angèle-Michelle, Soeur du Sacré-Coeur

Québec, 4 May 1692 * Montréal, 27 January 1742

Daughter of Jean Lefebvre (tanner) and Marie Savard

Lefebvre-Belle-Isle, Marie-Josèphe, Soeur Saint-Benoît

Québec, 9 November 1693 * Montréal, 31 January 1769

ER 1716

Daughter of Henri Lefebvre (surgeon) and Catherine de Mosny

Lemaître, Marie-Exupère, Soeur Saint-Félix

Trois-Rivières, 27 May 1702 * Montréal, 17 May 1731

Daughter of Pierre Lemaître-Lamorille (lieutenant) and Anne Chenaye

Le Moyne, Marguerite, Soeur du Saint-Esprit

Montréal, 3 February 1664 * Montréal, 21 February 1746

ER 1680 P 25 June 1698

Daughter of Jacques Le Moyne de Sainte-Hélène (merchant) and Mathurine Godé

Lenoir, Marie-Françoise, Soeur Sainte-Élisabeth

Montréal, 15 April 1695 * Château-Richer, 2 May 1756

Vincent Lenoir (miller) and Charlotte Bloys

Lenoir, Marie-Louise, Soeur Saint-Herman-Joseph

Montréal, 18 September 1706 * Montréal, 29 June 1726

P 8 April 1725

Daughter of Vicent Lenoir (cabinet maker) and Marie Galipeau

Longley, Lydia, Soeur Sainte-Madeleine

English Colonies, 12 April 1674 * Montréal, 20 July 1758

ER December 1696 P 16 September 1699

Daughter of William Longley and Délivrance Crips

Maugue, Marie, Soeur Sainte-Marguerite

Montréal, 15 November 1680 * Canada, 26 May 1766

Daughter of Claude Maugue (royal notary) and Louise Jousset

Mercerot, Marguerite, Soeur Saint-Hyacinthe

Champlain, 4 April 1691 * Montréal, 9 February 1762

ER 1712 P 1714

Daughter of Pierre Mercerot (carpenter) and Henriette Dandonneau

Nafréchoux, Marie, Soeur Saint-Dominique

Montréal, 4 June 1675 * Montréal, 25 March 1755

Daughter of Isaac and Catherine Le Loup

Nepveu, Marguerite, Soeur Sainte-Marguerite

Québec, 29 May 1699 * Québec, 17 June 1734

Daughter of Philippe Nepveu (tailor) and Denise Sevestre

Pineau-Laperle, Louise, Soeur Saint-Louis

Cap-de-la-Madeleine, 1665 * Montréal, 8 December 1749

P 25 June 1698

Daughter of Pierre Pineau (farmer) and Anne Boyer

Piot de Langloiserie, Charlotte-Angélique, Soeur Sainte-Rosalie

Montréal, 2 August 1696 * Montréal, 1 May 1744

P 29 April 1722

Daughter of Charles-Gaspard Piot de Langloiserie (officer) and Marie-Thérèse Dugué de Broisbriand

Piot de l'Angloiserie, Marguerite-Suzanne, Soeur Saint-Hippolyte

Varenes, 10 February 1702 * Montréal, 10 February 1781

ER 1720 * P 29 April 1722

Daughter of Charles-Gaspard Piot de Langloiserie (officer) and Marie-Thérèse Duguay de Broisbriant

Prémont, Marie, Soeur Saint-Jean-Baptiste

Sainte-Famille-de-l'île-d'Orléans, 13 March 1676 * Montréal, 17 February 1761

P 25 June 1698

Daughter of Jean Prémont (habitant) and Marie Aubert

Prud'homme, Cécile, Soeur Saint-Pierre

Montréal, 9 October 1699 * Montréal, 17 October 1757

P 8 May 1724

Daughter of Pierre Prud'homme and Marie-Anne Chasle

Prud'homme, Jeanne, Soeur Saint-Michel

Montréal, 2 April 1697 * Montréal, 14 September 1767

P 8 November 1719

Daughter of François-Xavier Prud'homme (farmer) and Cécile Gervaise

Racine, Catherine, Soeur Sainte-Agathe

Château-Richer, 30 November 1685 * Montréal, 3 June 1734

Daughter of Etienne Racine and Catherine Guyon

Raimbault, Geneviève, Soeur Sainte-Euphrasie

Montréal, 12 May 1703 * Montréal, 23 February 1775

ER 1720 P 16 August 1722

Daughter of Pierre Raimbault (royal notary) and Jeanne-Françoise de Saint-Blain

Ranger-Paquet, Marguerite-Élisabeth, Soeur de l'Enfant-Jésus

Montréal, 30 January 1699 * Montréal, 29 January 1772

P 1716

Daughter of Pierre Ranger-Paquet (mason) and Marguerite Fortin

Rémy, Thérèse, Soeur de l'Annonciation

Saint-Sauveur, Paris, France 1661 * Montréal, 1 September 1741

ER 1678 P 25 June 1698

Daughter of Michel Rémy and Elisabeth Lemoyne

Richard, Louise, Soeur Saint-Bernard

Langres, France 6 September 1658 * Montréal, 16 September 1728

ER 1682 P 25 June 1698

Daughter of Didier Richard and Anne Laujarrois

Robichaud, Marie, Soeur Saint-Vincent-de-Paul

Acadia * France, 27 June 1765

Roy, Marguerite, Soeur de la Conception

Laprairie, 4 June 1674 * Montréal, 13 December 1749

ER 1689 P 25 June 1698

Daughter of Pierre Roy (farmer) and Catherine Ducharme

Sicard, Catherine, Soeur Sainte-Rose

Montréal, 18 December 1686 * Montréal, 23 March 1756

Daughter of Jean Sicard (miller) and Catherine Lauzon

Sicard, Marie, Soeur Saint-Anselme

Montréal, 5 September 1691 * Montréal, 14 February 1772

ER 1712 P 12 May 1714

Daughter of Jean-Simon Sicard (miller) and Catherine Lauzon

Tailhandier, Madeleine-Angélique, Soeur Saint-Basile

Boucherville, 4 August 1698 * Montréal, 12 April 1748

Daughter of Marien Tailhandier (royal notary) and Madeleine Beaudry

Tailhandier, Marie, Soeur Saint-Augustin

Boucherville, 1699 * Château-Richer, 13 October 1728

Daughter of Marien Tailhandier dit la Beaume (royal notary) and Madeleine Beaudry

Testu du Tilly, Françoise, Soeur Saint-Raphaël

L'Ange-Gardien, 2 September 1682 * Montréal, 10 December 1749

Daughter of Pierre Testu du Tilly (merchant) and Geneviève Rigaud

Thaumur, Marie-Jeanne, Soeur Sainte-Cécile

Montréal, 27 September 1700 * Montréal, 29 October 1757

Daughter of Dominique Thaumur de la Source (surgeon) and Jeanne Prud'homme

Thibierge, Catherine, Soeur Sainte-Véronique

Montréal, 17 May 1697 * Montréal, 1 December 1763

ER 8 November 1719

Daughter of Jacques Thibierge (gunsmith) and Marie-Anne Joly

Thibierge, Madeleine, Soeur Saint-Etienne

Québec, 21 December 1693 * Canada, 6 September 1776

ER 1714

Daughter of Jacques Thibierge (gunsmith) and Marie-Anne Joly

Thibierge, Marie-Anne, Soeur Sainte-Pélagie

Québec, 15 May 1690 * Montréal, 21 March 1757

Daughter of Jacques Thibierge (gunsmith) and Marie-Anne Joly

Tonty, Marie-Hélène, de, Soeur Saint-Antoine

Montréal, 19 October 1690 * Montréal, 14 June 1748

Daughter of Alphonse de Tonty (officer) and Marie-Anne Picoté de Belestre

Trottier, Marguerite, Soeur Saint-Joseph

Batiscan, 21 April 1678 * Québec, 6 October 1744

ER 1692 P 6 August 1698

Daughter of Jean-Baptiste Trottier (wheelwright) and Geneviève Lafond

Appendix 4¹ - Congrégation de Notre-Dame, Professed Nuns, 1750

In the following alphabetical list of professed nuns, the first line gives the family and religious name. Line two provides the place and date of birth, followed by the place and date of death. Line three contains the date the individual entered the convent (ER), followed by the date of profession (P). The final line gives the names of both parents, as well as the profession of the father. Where data is missing, the sources could not be found.

Ailleboust, Madeleine d', Soeur de l'Incarnation

Montréal, 9 March 1673 * Montréal, 13 November 1759

P 1 July 1698

Daughter of Charles-Joseph d'Ailleboust des Musseaux (officer, seigneur) and Catherine Legardeur

Ailleboust des Musseaux, Catherine d', Soeur des Séraphins

Montréal, 19 November 1694 * Lachine, 5 May 1768

Daughter of Jean-Baptiste des Musseaux (merchant) and Anne Picard

Amyot, Marie-Anne-Thérèse, Soeur Saint-Augustin

Sainte-Anne, 9 February 1693 * Québec, 22 January 1759

Daughter of Jean Amyot (locksmith) and Marguerite Poulain

Amyot, Thérèse, Soeur Saint-François-d'Assise

Québec, 3 July 1686 * Montréal, 9 March 1771

ER 1701 **P** 1703

Daughter of Jean Amyot (locksmith) and Marguerite Poulain

Asselin, Françoise, Soeur Sainte-Thérèse

Sainte-Famille-de-l'île d'Orléans, 25 January 1682 * Montréal, 2 June 1766

Daughter of Jacques Asselin (farmer) and Louise Roussin

Barrois, Anne, Soeur Saint-Charles

Laprairie, 26 May 1674 * Montréal 28 March 1768

ER 1703

Daughter of Antoine Barrois (habitant) and Anne Le Ber

Berry des Essarts, Françoise, Soeur Saint-François-de-Sales

Montréal, 31 May 1710 * 5 May 1802

ER 1728 **P** 6 November 1730

Daughter of François Berry des Essarts (officer) and Marie-Anne Lemaître-Lamouille

Berry des Essarts, Marie-Anne-Charlotte, Soeur Sainte-Radegonde

Montréal, 25 March 1719 * 30 September 1801

ER 1734 **P** 9 January 1736

Daughter of François Berry des Essarts (officer) and Marie-Anne Lemaître-Lamouille

Bissot de Vincennes, Claire-Charlotte, Soeur de l'Ascension

Québec, 6 May 1698 * Montréal, 25 April 1773

ER 1718

Daughter of Jean-Baptiste Bissot de Vincennes (officer) and Marguerite Forestier

Bleau, Marie-Josèphe, Soeur Saint-Thomas

Montréal, 25 March 1706 * Canada, 2 April 1776

¹ Compiled utilizing App. 7, Congrégation de Notre-Dame, Professed Nuns, 1693-1796

ER 1737 P 29 July 1739

Daughter of François Bleau (baker) and Catherine Campeau

Bombardier, Marguerite, Soeur Sainte-Philippe

Pointe-aux-Trembles, Montréal, 17 January 1719 * 6 May 1791

ER 1741 P 21 March 1743

Daughter of André Bombardier (habitant) and Marguerite Demers

Boucher de Boucherville, Marie-Louise, Soeur Sainte-Monique

Boucherville, 16 November 1702 * 5 September 1788

ER 1721 P 13 September 1723

Daughter of Pierre Boucher de Boucherville (seigneur) and Marguerite-Charlotte Denis

Boucher de Montbrun, Françoise, Soeur Sainte-Placide

Boucherville, 13 July 1704 * France, 17 September 1745

ER 1756 P 29 April 1722

Daughter of René-Jean de Montbrun (captain) and Françoise-Claire Charest

Bourassa, Agnès-Françoise, Soeur Saint-Albert

Laprairie, 14 June 1716 * Montréal, 25 September 1779

ER 1735 P 21 May 1737

Daughter of René Bourassa (merchant) and Agnès Gagné

Brunet dit L'Estang, Véronique, Soeur Sainte-Rose

Pointe-Claire, 13 January 1726 * Canada, 12 June 1810

ER 1744 P 22 June 1746

Daughter of Jean Brunet dit L'Estang (voyageur/habitant) and Marguerite Dubois

Caillou-Baron, Marie-Gabrielle, Soeur de la Nativité

Laprairie, 21 August 1689 * Montréal, 28 March 1772

ER 1704 * P 1 December 1708

Daughter of Jean Caillou dit Baron (habitant) and Marie-Marguerite Touchard

Chesnay la Garenne, Madeleine, Soeur Sainte-Anne

Québec, 22 July 1674 * Montréal, 19 August 1760

ER 1697 P 1699

Daughter of Bertrand Chesnay dit La Garenne (merchant) and Elisabeth Aubert

Constantin, Geneviève, Soeur Saint-Louis-des-Anges

Québec, 8 January 1715 * 26 March 1784

ER 1735 P 20 March 1737

Daughter of Denis Constantin (brewer) and Louise Bacon

Daniel St-Arnaud, Marie-Madeleine, Soeur Saint-Arsène

Montréal, 15 January 1699 * France, 5 July 1764

ER 31 October 1717 * P 1719

Daughter of Jean Arcaud (merchant) and Marie Truteau

de la Lande, Marguerite, Soeur Saint-Gilbert

Montréal, 12 February 1722 * Montréal, 9 April 1763

P 5 January 1741

Daughter of Jean de la Lande (merchant) and Elisabeth Gareau dit Saint-Onge

De Lestages, Marie-Anne, Soeur Saint-Luc

Québec, 20 November 1695 * Montréal, 18 July 1768

ER 1720

Daughter of Jean de Lestages (merchant) and Catherine-Anne Vermet

Deneau des Taillis, Madeleine, Soeur Sainte-Apolline

Montréal, 28 April 1706 * Montréal, 7 May 1763

P 8 January 1733

Daughter of Joseph Deneau des Taillis (bourgeois) and Jeanne Adhémar

Drouin, Marthe, Soeur Sainte-Hélène

Sainte-Famille-de-l'île-d'Orléans, 21 March 1726 * Montréal, 14 April 1807

ER 1741 P 19 November 1743

Daughter of Pierre Drouin (habitant) and Louise Létourneau

Ducharme, Thérèse, Soeur Saint-Paul

Lachine, 9 March 1725 * 6 July 1804

ER 1743 P 16 June 1745

Daughter of Joseph Ducharme (habitant) and Thérèse Trottier

Dugast, Catherine-Françoise, Soeur de-la-Croix

Montréal, 3 November 1720 * 17 April 1787

ER 1738 P 1740

Daughter of Joseph Dugast and Geneviève Catin

Dutaud, Marie-Françoise, Soeur de la Vierge

Champlain, 4 January 1693 * Montréal, 15 March 1767

Daughter of Charles Dutaud (habitant) and Jeanne Rivard-Lavigne

Gagnon, Françoise, Soeur Sainte-Marthe

Château-Richer, 12 February 1695 * Montréal, 7 April 1778

ER 1720 P 4 November 1722

Daughter of Germain Gagnon and Jeanne David

Gagnon, Marie-Angélique, Soeur Sainte-Marie

Château-Richer, 20 January 1691 * Montréal, 26 March 1758

ER 1708

Daughter of Noël Gagnon and Geneviève Fortin

Gamelin, Thérèse, Soeur Sainte-Barbe

Saint-François-du-Lac, 10 January 1726 * Montréal, 5 October 1768

ER 1744 P 23 July 1746

Daughter of Joseph-Jacques Gamelin (merchant) and Jeanne-Angélique Giasson

Gaulin, Thècle-Élisabeth, Soeur Sainte-Brigitte

Sainte-Famille-de-l'île-d'Orléans, 18 October 1715 * 1 May 1784

ER 1737 P 2 July 1738

Daughter of Robert Gaulin and Elisabeth Létourneau

Gervaise, Jeanne, Soeur Saint-Exupère

Montréal, 24 February 1699 * Montréal, 23 May 1763

P 20 July 1720

Daughter Louis Gervaise and Barbe Pigeon

Guyon, Madeleine, Soeur Saint-Joseph

Sainte-Famille-de-l'île-d'Orléans, 14 June 1720 * Montréal, 6 November 1773

ER 1739 P 5 March 1742

Daughter of Claude Guyon and Catherine Blouin

Haguenier, Marie-Thérèse, Soeur Sainte-Suzanne

Montréal, 12 March 1721 * Montréal, 23 May 1764

P 16 June 1745

Daughter of Pierre Haguenier (cabinetmaker) and Louise Couturier

Hervieux, Marie-Geneviève, Soeur Sainte-Gertrude

Québec, 15 February 1686 * Montréal, 1 December 1753

ER 1707 P 5 February 1709

Daughter of Issac Hervieux (bourgeois) and Marie-Anne Pinguet

Jalot, Marguerite, Soeur Saint-Ambroise

Champlain, 21 February 1680 * Montréal, 17 January 1755

Daughter of Jean Jalot (surgeon) and Marie-Antoinette Chouard

Jorian, Françoise, Soeur Saint-André

Québec, 24 September 1706 * Montréal, 31 May 1764

P May 1731

Daughter of André Jorian (cooper) and Barbe Charlotte Albert dit Lafontaine

Juillet, Marie-Josèphe, Soeur Saint-Gabriel

Pointe-aux-Trembles-de-Montréal, 8 September 1717 *

ER 1735 P 3 May 1737

Daughter of Blaise Juillet and Marie-Madeleine Forestier. She left the convent in 1768.

La Corne de Chaptas, Marie-Madeleine de, Soeur du Saint-Sacrement

France, 1700 * Canada, 13 March 1762

ER 1718 P 1720

Daughter of Jean-Louis de la Corne de Chaptas (officer) and Marie Pécaudy de Contrecoeur

Lamarche, Louise-Élisabeth, Soeur Saint-Raphaël

Montréal, 22 January 1728 * 11 May 1763

Daughter of Julien Baribault dit Lamarche and Louise Becquet

Larrivée, Marie-Françoise, Soeur Saint-Alexis

Boucherville, 29 March 1679 * Montréal, 3 January 1762

ER 1695 P 25 June 1698

Daughter of Pierre Larrivée (farmer) and Denise Beauchamp

Lefebvre Angers, Marie-Angélique, Soeur Saint-Simon

Montréal, 25 October 1710 * Canada, 28 April 1766

ER 1726 P 21 November 1730

Daughter of Jean-Baptiste Lefebvre Angers (merchant) and Geneviève-Françoise Faucher

Lefebvre-Belle-Isle, Marie-Josèphe, Soeur Saint-Benoît

Québec, 9 November 1693 * Montréal, 31 January 1769

ER 1716

Daughter of Henri Lefebvre (surgeon) and Catherine de Mosny

Lefebvre Duchouquet, Jeanne, Soeur du Sacré-Coeur

Montréal, 17 October 1714 * Montréal, 2 October 1769

ER 1741 **P** 19 November 1743

Daughter of Louis Lefebvre Duchouquet (merchant) and Angélique Perthius

Lenoir, Marie-Françoise, Soeur Sainte-Élisabeth

Montréal, 15 April 1695 * Château-Richer, 2 May 1756

Vincent Lenoir (miller) and Charlotte Bloys

Lepage de Saint-Barnabé, Reine, Soeur Saint-Germain

Saint-Germain-de-Rimouski, 3 November 1717 * Montréal, 3 April 1774

ER 1741 **P** 31 August 1743

Daughter of René Lepage de Saint-Barnabé (seigneur) and Marie-Anne de Trépagne

Lepage de Saint-Germain, Marie-Agnès, Soeur Saint-Barnabé

Saint-Germain-de-Rimouski, 15 March 1706 * Montréal, 25 November 1762

ER 1728 **P** 9 November 1730

Daughter of René Lepage (seigneur) and Marie-Madeleine Gagnon

Longley, Lydia, Soeur Sainte-Madeleine

English Colonies, 12 April 1674 * Montréal, 20 July 1758

ER December 1696 **P** 16 September 1699

Daughter of William Longley and Délivrance Crips

Marchand, Marie-Charles, Soeur Saint-Bernard

Montréal, 11 June 1709 * Montréal, 11 February 1756

ER 1728 **P** 1731

Daughter of Nicolas Marchand and Charlotte Etienne de Beaumont

Maugue, Marie, Soeur Sainte-Marguerite

Montréal, 15 November 1680 * Canada, 26 May 1766

Daughter of Claude Maugue (royal notary) and Louise Jousset

Maugue-Garreau, Marie-Josèphe, Soeur de l'Assomption

Montréal, 29 December 1720 * Montréal, 16 August 1785

ER 1738 **P** 22 December 1740

Daughter of Pierre Gareau Saint-Onge (merchant) and Marie-Anne Maugue

Mercerot, Marguerite, Soeur Saint-Hyacinthe

Champlain, 4 April 1691 * Montréal, 9 February 1762

ER 1712 **P** 1714

Daughter of Pierre Mercerot (carpenter) and Henriette Dandonneau

Nafréchoux, Marie, Soeur Saint-Dominique

Montréal, 4 June 1675 * Montréal, 25 March 1755

Daughter of Isaac and Catherine Le Loup

Nepveu, Marie-Josèphe, Soeur Sainte-Françoise

Montréal, 12 April 1718 * 19 January 1797

ER 1744 **P** 5 December 1745

Daughter of Jean-Baptiste Nepveu (merchant) and Françoise Legras

Paré, Catherine, Soeur Saint-Louis-des-Anges

Lachine, 28 August 1698 * Montréal, 7 February 1778

ER 1728 **P** 9 October 1735

Daughter of Jean Paré (carpenter) and Marguerite Picard

Piot de l'Angloiserie, Marguerite-Suzanne, Soeur Saint-Hippolyte

Varenes, 10 February 1702 * Montréal, 10 February 1781

ER 1720 * P 29 April 1722

Daughter of Charles-Gaspard Piot de Langloiserie (officer) and Marie-Thérèse Duguay de Broisbriant

Prémont, Marie, Soeur Saint-Jean-Baptiste

Sainte-Famille-de-l'île-d'Orléans, 13 March 1676 * Montréal, 17 February 1761

P 25 June 1698

Daughter of Jean Prémont (habitant) and Marie Aubert

Prud'homme, Cécile, Soeur Saint-Pierre

Montréal, 9 October 1699 * Montréal, 17 October 1757

P 8 May 1724

Daughter of Pierre Prud'homme and Marie-Anne Chasle

Prud'homme, Élisabeth, Soeur Sainte-Agathe

Montréal, 14 March 1719 * Montréal, 5 March 1809

ER 1734 P 4 July 1737

Daughter of François Prud'homme (habitant) and Marie-Anne Courault

Prud'homme, Élisabeth, Soeur Saint-Jean-l'Évangéliste

Montréal, 23 January 1708 * 30 November 1786

ER 1728 P 9 December 1730

Daughter of François-Xavier Prud'homme (habitant) and Cécile Gervaise

Prud'homme, Jeanne, Soeur Saint-Michel

Montréal, 2 April 1697 * Montréal, 14 September 1767

P 8 November 1719

Daughter of François-Xavier Prud'homme (farmer) and Cécile Gervaise

Prud'homme, Marie-Anne, Soeur de la Trinité

Montréal, 23 July 1723 * 25 April 1784

ER 1732 P 15 June 1734

Daughter of François Prud'homme and Marie-Anne Courault

Raimbault, Geneviève, Soeur Sainte-Euphrasie

Montréal, 12 May 1703 * Montréal, 23 February 1775

ER 1720 P 16 August 1722

Daughter of Pierre Raimbault (royal notary) and Jeanne-Françoise de Saint-Blain

Raizenne, Marie-Madeleine (soeur Saint-Herman)

Sault-au-Récollet, 21 October 1716 * Montréal, 28 May 1796

ER 1731 P 27 August 1733

Daughter of Ignace Rising (habitant) and Marie-Elisabeth Nims

Ranger-Paquet, Marguerite-Élisabeth, Soeur de l'Enfant-Jésus

Montréal, 30 January 1699 * Montréal, 29 January 1772

P 1716

Daughter of Pierre Ranger-Paquet (mason) and Marguerite Fortin

Robichaud, Marie, Soeur Saint-Vincent-de-Paul

Acadia * France, 27 June 1765

Sicard, Catherine, Soeur Sainte-Rose

Montréal, 18 December 1686 * Montréal, 23 March 1756

Daughter of Jean Sicard (miller) and Catherine Lauzon

Sicard, Marie, Soeur Saint-Anselme

Montréal, 5 September 1691 * Montréal, 14 February 1772

ER 1712 **P** 12 May 1714

Daughter of Jean-Simon Sicard (miller) and Catherine Lauzon

Thaumur, Marie-Jeanne, Soeur Sainte-Cécile

Montréal, 27 September 1700 * Montréal, 29 October 1757

Daughter of Dominique Thamur de la Source (surgeon) and Jeanne Prud'homme

Thibierge, Catherine, Soeur Sainte-Véronique

Montréal, 17 May 1697 * Montréal, 1 December 1763

ER 8 November 1719

Daughter of Jacques Thibierge (gunsmith) and Marie-Anne Joly

Thibierge, Madeleine, Soeur Saint-Etienne

Québec, 21 December 1693 * Canada, 6 September 1776

ER 1714

Daughter of Jacques Thibierge (gunsmith) and Marie-Anne Joly

Thibierge, Marie-Anne, Soeur Sainte-Pélagie

Québec, 15 May 1690 * Montréal, 21 March 1757

Daughter of Jacques Thibierge (gunsmith) and Marie-Anne Joly

Appendix 5¹ - Congrégation de Notre-Dame, Professed Nuns, 1775

In the following alphabetical list of professed nuns, the first line gives the family and religious name. Line two provides the place and date of birth, followed by the place and date of death. Line three contains the date the individual entered the convent (ER), followed by the date of profession (P). The final line gives the names of both parents, as well as the profession of the father. Where data is missing, the sources could not be found.

Adhémar de Lantagnac, Charlotte-Ursule, Soeur Sainte-Claire

Québec, 1736 * 7 February 1800

ER 1754 P 16 August 1756

Daughter of Chevalier Gaspard Adhémar de Lantagnac (captain) and Geneviève-Thérèse Martin de Lino

Ailleboust de la Madeleine, Catherine d', Soeur de-la-Visitation

Montréal, 16 January 1749 * Deschambault, 1806

ER 14 June 1770 P 1772

Daughter of François-Jean-Daniel D'Ailleboust de la Madeleine (merchant-voyager) and Charlotte Godfroy de Linctôt d'Alençon

Arsenault, Élisabeth, Soeur Saint-Antoine

Acadia, 1722 * 27 May 1787

ER 1750 P 28 March 1754

Daughter of Abraham Arsenault and Jeanne Gaudet

Audet, Marie- Anne, Soeur Sainte-Marguerite

Sainte-Famille-de-l'île-d'Orléans, 13 August 1743 * 7 January 1824

ER 1767 P 21 December 1769

Daughter of Joseph Audet and Marie-Anne Terrien

Audet, Marie-Louise, Soeur Sainte-Catherine

Saint-Jean-de-l'île-d'Orléans * Montréal, 14 January 1815

ER 1772

Daughter of Jean-François Audet-Lapointe and Marie-Josephite d'Alleret

Benoît, Françoise, Soeur Sainte-Thérèse-de-Jésus

Montréal, 11 December 1752 * 24 July 1799

ER 1770 P 16 July 1772

Daughter of Claude Benoît (doctor) and Thérèse Baby

Berry des Essarts, Françoise, Soeur Saint-François-de-Sales

Montréal, 31 May 1710 * 5 May 1802

ER 1728 P 6 November 1730

Daughter of François Berry des Essarts (officer) and Marie-Anne Lemaître-Lamouille

Berry des Essarts, Marie-Anne-Charlotte, Soeur Sainte-Radegonde

Montréal, 25 March 1719 * 30 September 1801

ER 1734 P 9 January 1736

Daughter of François Berry des Essarts (officer) and Marie-Anne Lemaître-Lamouille

Bissonnet, Marie-Angèle, Soeur Saint-Pierre

Montréal, 28 January 1739 * 19 April 1825

ER 1762 P 17 December 1764

¹ Compiled from App. 7, Congrégation de Notre-Dame, Professed Nuns, 1693-1796

Daughter of Louis Bissonnet (farmer) and Geneviève Bient

Bleau, Marie-Josèphe, Soeur Saint-Thomas

Montréal, 25 March 1706 * Canada, 2 April 1776

ER 1737 P 29 July 1739

Daughter of François Bleau (baker) and Catherine Campeau

Boivin, Thérèse, Soeur Saint-Gilbert

Saint-Vincent-de-Paul-de-l'île-Jésus, 19 November 1748 * Montréal, 23 June 1826

ER 1769 P 1771

Daughter of Joseph-Pascal Boivin and Thérèse Lalande dit Mauger

Bombardier, Marguerite, Soeur Sainte-Philippe

Pointe-aux-Trembles, Montréal, 17 January 1719 * 6 May 1791

ER 1741 P 21 March 1743

Daughter of André Bombardier (habitant) and Marguerite Demers

Boucher de Boucherville, Marie-Louise, Soeur Sainte-Monique

Boucherville, 16 November 1702 * 5 September 1788

ER 1721 P 13 September 1723

Daughter of Pierre Boucher de Boucherville (seigneur) and Marguerite-Charlotte Denis

Boulay, Marie-Josèphe, Soeur Sainte-Gertrude

Montréal, 13 July 1742 * 20 April 1809

ER 1767 P 1769

Daughter of Nicolas Boulay (wigmaker) and Marie Marillac

Bourassa, Agnès-Françoise, Soeur Saint-Albert

Laprairie, 14 June 1716 * Montréal, 25 September 1779

ER 1735 P 21 May 1737

Daughter of René Bourassa (merchant) and Agnès Gagné

Brunet dit L'Estang, Véronique, Soeur Sainte-Rose

Pointe-Claire, 13 January 1726 * Canada, 12 June 1810

ER 1744 P 22 June 1746

Daughter of Jean Brunet dit L'Estang (voyageur/habitant) and Marguerite Dubois

Castonguay, Marguerite, Soeur Saint-Bernard

Lac-des-Deux-Montagnes, 20 August 1751 * 8 November 1820

ER 1767 P 16 January 1769

Daughter of Pierre Castonguay (blacksmith) and Anastasie Raizenne

Chenier, Marie-Josèphe, Soeur Sainte-Jeanne-de-Chantal

Lac-des-Deux-Montagnes, 1 January 1753 * 11 April 1801

P 28 January 1771

Daughter of Joseph Chenier (merchant) and Suzanne Raizenne

Compain, Françoise, Soeur Saint-Benoît

Montréal, 1750 * 19 August 1827

ER 1769 P 1771

Daughter of Pierre Compain dit l'Espérance (wigmaker) and Françoise Vacher

Compain, Marie-Louise, Soeur Saint-Augustin

Montréal, 28 January 1747 * Montréal, 2 May 1819

ER 1764 P 13 January 1766

Daughter of Pierre Compain dit L'Espérance (wigmaker) and Françoise Vacher

Constantin, Geneviève, Soeur Saint-Louis-des-Anges

Québec, 8 January 1715 * 26 March 1784

ER 1735 P 20 March 1737

Daughter of Denis Constantin (brewer) and Louise Bacon

Corriveau-Buteau, Marie-Félicité, Soeur Saint-Charles

Saint-Vallier, 4 May 1751 * Canada, 16 November 1778

ER 1768 P 21 December 1769

Daughter of Jacques Corriveau and Marie Buteau

Courtois, Marie-Thérèse, Soeur Saint-André

Sainte-Anne-de-la-Pérade, 11 November 1740 * 3 November 1825

ER 1764 P 16 March 1768

Daughter of Gabriel Courtois and Marie-Josèphe Baril-Duchesnay

Couturier, Marguerite, Soeur Saint-Amable

Pointe-aux-Trembles, Montréal, February 1733 * 20 May 1800

ER 1750 P 1752

Daughter of Pierre-Jean-Baptiste Couturier (carpenter) and Marguerite-Jeanne Beauchamp

de la Bruère, Renée-Françoise, Soeur Saint-François-Xavier

Boucherville, 12 January 1742 * 27 March 1826

ER 1756 P 27 November 1758

Daughter of René de la Bruère and Louise-Renée Pécaudy de Contrecoeur

Diel, Amable, Soeur Saint-Ambroise

Sainte-Anne-du-Bout-de-l'île, 30 January 1736 * Île Perrot, 20 April 1822

P 6 June 1758

Daughter of Jacques Diel (toolmaker) and Marie-Anne Crépin. She fled the convent in 1785.

Drouin, Marthe, Soeur Sainte-Hélène

Sainte-Famille-de-l'île-d'Orléans, 21 March 1726 * Montréal, 14 April 1807

ER 1741 P 19 November 1743

Daughter of Pierre Drouin (habitant) and Louise Létourneau

Drouin, Mathilde, Soeur Sainte-Thècle

Sainte-Famille-de-l'île-d'Orléans, 5 September 1751 * 19 August 1828

ER 1771 P 28 October 1773

Daughter of Pierre Drouin and Madeleine de Blois

Ducharme, Thérèse, Soeur Saint-Paul

Lachine, 9 March 1725 * 6 July 1804

ER 1743 P 16 June 1745

Daughter of Joseph Ducharme (habitant) and Thérèse Trottier

Dugast, Catherine-Françoise, Soeur de-la-Croix

Montréal, 3 November 1720 * 17 April 1787

ER 1738 P 1740

Daughter of Joseph Dugast and Geneviève Catin

Duverger, Louise, Soeur Saint-Michel

Montréal, 1754 * 18 March 1837

ER 1769 P 1771

Daughter of Michel Duverger and Elisabeth Leclerc

Foucher, Marguerite, Soeur Saint-Raphaël

Sainte-Marie, 29 May 1749 * 11 July 1807

ER 1771 P 28 October 1773

Daughter of Augustin Foucher and Angélique Giguère

Gagnon, Françoise, Soeur Sainte-Marthe

Château-Richer, 12 February 1695 * Montréal, 7 April 1778

ER 1720 P 4 November 1722

Daughter of Germain Gagnon and Jeanne David

Gaulin, Thècle-Élisabeth, Soeur Sainte-Brigitte

Sainte-Famille-de-l'île-d'Orléans, 18 October 1715 * 1 May 1784

ER 1737 P 2 July 1738

Daughter of Robert Gaulin and Elisabeth Létourneau

Gaulin, Marguerite, Soeur de la Présentation

Sainte-Famille-de-l'île-d'Orléans, 10 July 1747 * 26 February 1819

ER 22 June 1770 P 15 July 1772

Daughter of Jean-Baptiste Gaulin and Marguerite Blouin

Gingras, Françoise, Soeur Sainte-Anne

Pointe-aux-Trembles, Québec, 12 January 1746 * 6 December 1807

ER 1762 P 7 March 1765

Daughter of Jean-Baptiste Gingras and Angélique Grenier

Janis, Marguerite (Sicard-Antoine), Soeur Saint-Bernardin

Montréal, 22 October 1735 * Montréal, 16 December 1788

ER 1752 P 30 September 1754

Daughter of Antoine Janis dit Sicard-Antoine (wigmaker) and Catherine Tessier

Joly, Madeleine, Soeur Sainte-Julienne

Laprairie, 17 January 1726 * Montréal, 5 February 1809

ER 1753 P 1755

Daughter of Nicolas Joly and Marie Saint-Jean

Lemaire dit Saint-Germain, Josèphe-Geneviève, Soeur Saint-Scholastique

Lachine, 15 December 1739 * Montréal, 10 February 1804

ER 1754 P 21 May 1756

Daughter of Hyacinthe Lemaire dit Saint-Germain (merchant) and Geneviève Tessier

Martel, Julie, Soeur Sainte-Marie

Saint-Pierre-de-l'île-d'Orléans, 3 August 1742 * Montréal, 3 November 1813

ER 1757 P 12 November 1759

Daughter of Antoine Martel and Marie-Françoise Raté

Martimbault, Marie-Marguerite, Soeur Sainte-Rosalie

Boucherville, 24 October 1719 * Montréal, 13 August 1780

ER 1750 P 1752

Daughter of Jean Martimbault (habitant) and Marguerite Gareau-St.-Onge

Maugue-Garreau, Marie-Josèphe, Soeur de l'Assomption

Montréal, 29 December 1720 * Montréal, 16 August 1785

ER 1738 P 22 December 1740

Daughter of Pierre Gareau Saint-Onge (merchant) and Marie-Anne Maugue

Molleur, Marie-Charlotte, Soeur Saint-Alexis

Saint-Étienne-de-Beaumont, 1733 * Montréal, 15 December 1823

ER 20 June 1769 P 18 July 1771

Daughter of Jean-Baptiste Molleur and Marie-Françoise Bourbeau

Nepveu, Marie-Josèphe, Soeur Sainte-Françoise

Montréal, 12 April 1718 * 19 January 1797

ER 1744 P 5 December 1745

Daughter of Jean-Baptiste Nepveu (merchant) and Françoise Legras

Papineau, Catherine, Soeur Saint-Olivier

Montréal, 10 April 1754 * 25 April 1801

ER 1773 P 22 November 1775

Daughter of Joseph Papineau (master cooper) and Marie-Josèphe Beaudry

Paré, Catherine, Soeur Saint-Louis-des-Anges

Lachine, 28 August 1698 * Montréal, 7 February 1778

ER 1728 P 9 October 1735

Daughter of Jean Paré (carpenter) and Marguerite Picard

Parent, Élisabeth, Soeur Sainte-Agnès

Beauport, 23 January 1733 * 13 January 1790

ER 1754 P 13 June 1756

Daughter of Joseph Parent (carpenter) and Jeanne Françoise de Mosny

Piot de l'Angloiserie, Marguerite-Suzanne, Soeur Saint-Hippolyte

Varennes, 10 February 1702 * Montréal, 10 February 1781

ER 1720 * P 29 April 1722

Daughter of Charles-Gaspard Piot de Langloiserie (officer) and Marie-Thérèse Duguay de Broisbriant

Prud'homme, Élisabeth, Soeur Sainte-Agathe

Montréal, 14 March 1719 * Montréal, 5 March 1809

ER 1734 P 4 July 1737

Daughter of François Prud'homme (habitant) and Marie-Anne Courault

Prud'homme, Élisabeth, Soeur Saint-Jean-l'Évangéliste

Montréal, 23 January 1708 * 30 November 1786

ER 1728 P 9 December 1730

Daughter of François-Xavier Prud'homme (habitant) and Cécile Gervaise

Prud'homme, Marie-Anne, Soeur de la Trinité

Montréal, 23 July 1723 * 25 April 1784

ER 1732 P 15 June 1734

Daughter of François Prud'homme and Marie-Anne Courault

Raimbault, Geneviève, Soeur Sainte-Euphrasie

Montréal, 12 May 1703 * Montréal, 23 February 1775

ER 1720 P 16 August 1722

Daughter of Pierre Raimbault (royal notary) and Jeanne-Françoise de Saint-Blain

Raizenne, Marie (soeur Saint-Ignace)

Lac-des-Deux-Montagnes, 14 July 1725 * 20 April 1811

ER 1752 P 25 January 1754

Daughter of Ignace Rising (habitant) and Marie-Elisabeth Nims

Raizenne, Marie-Madeleine (soeur Saint-Herman)

Sault-au-Récollet, 21 October 1716 * Montréal, 28 May 1796

ER 1731 **P** 27 August 1733

Daughter of Ignace Rising (habitant) and Marie-Elisabeth Nims

Sabourin, Catherine, Soeur Sainte-Ursule

Sainte-Anne-du-Bout-de-l'île, 20 July 1739 * Montréal, 14 March 1825

ER 1754 **P** 25 October 1756

Daughter of Jean-Baptiste Sabourin and Sarah-Catherine Henneson

Sabourin, Élisabeth, Sœur Saint-Vincent-de-Paul

Lac-des-Deux-Montagnes, 26 April 1745 * Saint-Laurent, 14 April 1809

ER 1767 **P** 14 March 1769

Daughter of Jean-Baptiste Sabourin and Sarah-Catherine Henneson

Sabourin, Marie-Anne-Reine, Soeur Saint-Barthélemy

Sainte-Anne-du-Bout-de-l'île, 25 December 1735 * Montréal, 14 April 1827

ER 1754 **P** 25 October 1756

Daughter of Jean-Baptiste Sabourin and Sarah-Catherine Henneson

Sabourin, Marie-Charlotte, Sœur Sainte-Élisabeth

Sainte-Genève, 24 August 1746 * 13 December 1815

ER 1765 **P** 19 January 1767

Daughter of Jean-Baptiste Sabourin and Marie-Anastasie Raizenne

Thibierge, Madeleine, Soeur Saint-Etienne

Québec, 21 December 1693 * Canada, 6 September 1776

ER 1714

Daughter of Jacques Thibierge (gunsmith) and Marie-Anne Joly

Viger, Thérèse, Soeur Sainte-Madeleine

Montréal, 17 May 1744 * 10 February 1804

ER 1764 **P** 13 January 1766

Daughter of Jacques Viger (shoemaker) and Marie-Louise Ridday-Beauceron

Appendix 6¹ - Congrégation de Notre-Dame, Professed Nuns, 1796

In the following alphabetical list of professed nuns, the first line gives the family and religious name. Line two provides the place and date of birth, followed by the place and date of death. Line three contains the date the individual entered the convent (ER), followed by the date of profession (P). The final line gives the names of both parents, as well as the profession of the father. Where data is missing, the sources could not be found.

Adhémard de Lantagnac, Charlotte-Ursule, Soeur Sainte-Claire

Québec, 1736 * 7 February 1800

ER 1754 P 16 August 1756

Daughter of Chevalier Gaspard Adhémard de Lantagnac (captain) and Geneviève-Thérèse Martin de Lino

Ailleboust de la Madeleine, Catherine d', Soeur de-la-Visitation

Montréal, 16 January 1749 * Deschambault, 1806

ER 14 June 1770 P 1772

Daughter of François-Jean-Daniel D'Ailleboust de la Madeleine (merchant-voyager) and Charlotte Godfroy de Linctôt d'Alençon

Alinaud, Marie-Charlotte, Soeur Saint-Etienne

Ile-Jésus, 16 February 1757 * Montréal, 20 October 1826

ER 1776 P 6 June 1780

Daughter of Antoine Alinot and Agathe Dubreuil

Audet, Marie- Anne, Soeur Sainte-Marguerite

Sainte-Famille-de-l'île-d'Orléans, 13 August 1743 * 7 January 1824

ER 1767 P 21 December 1769

Daughter of Joseph Audet and Marie-Anne Terrien

Audet, Marie-Louise, Soeur Sainte-Catherine

Saint-Jean-de-l'île-d'Orléans * Montréal, 14 January 1815

ER 1772

Daughter of Jean-François Audet-Lapointe and Marie-Josephite d'Alleret

Audet-Lapointe, Marie-Françoise, Soeur Saint-Joseph

Sainte-Famille-de-l'île-d'Orléans, 23 March 1756 * 13 March 1798

ER 1774

Daughter of Joseph Audet-Lapointe and Marie-Anne Terrien

Benoît, Françoise, Soeur Sainte-Thérèse-de-Jésus

Montréal, 11 December 1752 * 24 July 1799

ER 1770 P 16 July 1772

Daughter of Claude Benoît (doctor) and Thérèse Baby

Benoît, Marguerite, Soeur Saint-Denis

Saint-Denis (Richelieu), 16 October, 1771 * Montréal, 11 May 1848

ER 24 June 1791 P 1793

Daughter of Joseph Benoît Livernois and Marguerite Guertin

Berry des Essarts, Françoise, Soeur Saint-François-de-Sales

Montréal, 31 May 1710 * 5 May 1802

ER 1728 P 6 November 1730

¹ Compiled utilizing App. 7, Congrégation de Notre-Dame, Professed Nuns, 1693-1796

Daughter of François Berry des Essarts (officer) and Marie-Anne Lemaître-Lamouille

Berry des Essarts, Marie-Anne-Charlotte, Soeur Sainte-Radegonde

Montréal, 25 March 1719 * 30 September 1801

ER 1734 P 9 January 1736

Daughter of François Berry des Essarts (officer) and Marie-Anne Lemaître-Lamouille

Bissonnet, Marie-Angèle, Soeur Saint-Pierre

Montréal, 28 January 1739 * 19 April 1825

ER 1762 P 17 December 1764

Daughter of Louis Bissonnet (farmer) and Geneviève Bient

Boileau, Louise-Angélique, Soeur Saint-Arsène

Saint-François-de-Sales-de-l'île-Jésus, 26 August 1759 * 3 February 1807

ER 1778 P 1780

Daughter of Louis-Pierre Boileau (merchant) and Louise-Céleste Lefebvre Duchouquet

Boivin, Thérèse, Soeur Saint-Gilbert

Saint-Vincent-de-Paul-de-l'île-Jésus, 19 November 1748 * Montréal, 23 June 1826

ER 1769 P 1771

Daughter of Joseph-Pascal Boivin and Thérèse Lalande dit Mauger

Bombardier, Marguerite, Soeur Sainte-Philippe

Pointe-aux-Trembles, Montréal, 17 January 1719 * 6 May 1791

ER 1741 P 21 March 1743

Daughter of André Bombardier (habitant) and Marguerite Demers

Boulay, Marie-Josèphe, Soeur Sainte-Gertrude

Montréal, 13 July 1742 * 20 April 1809

ER 1767 P 1769

Daughter of Nicolas Boulay (wigmaker) and Marie Marillac

Brunet dit L'Etang, Véronique, Soeur Sainte-Rose

Pointe-Claire, 13 January 1726 * Canada, 12 June 1810

ER 1744 P 22 June 1746

Daughter of Jean Brunet dit L'Etang (voyageur/habitant) and Marguerite Dubois

Caron, Marie-Ferdinande, Soeur Saint-Raphaël

Sainte-Anne-de-Beaupré, 22 November 1757 * Montréal, 8 February 1809

ER 1778 P 11 December 1780

Daughter of Ignace Caron and Marie-Elisabeth Roy

Castonguay, Marguerite, Soeur Saint-Bernard

Lac-des-Deux-Montagnes, 20 August 1751 * 8 November 1820

ER 1767 P 16 January 1769

Daughter of Pierre Castonguay (blacksmith) and Anastasie Raizenne

Charlebois, Marguerite-Amable, Soeur Sainte-Suzanne

Pointe-Claire, 25 November 1761 * 6 December 1837

P 22 August 1781

Daughter of Jacques-Christophe Charlebois and Marguerite-Amable Roy

Chenier, Marie-Josèphe, Soeur Sainte-Jeanne-de-Chantal

Lac-des-Deux-Montagnes, 1 January 1753 * 11 April 1801

P 28 January 1771

Daughter of Joseph Chenier (merchant) and Suzanne Raizenne

Compain, Françoise, Soeur Saint-Benoît

Montréal, 1750 * 19 August 1827

ER 1769 P 1771

Daughter of Pierre Compain dit l'Espérance (wigmaker) and Françoise Vacher

Compain, Marie-Louise, Soeur Saint-Augustin

Montréal, 28 January 1747 * Montréal, 2 May 1819

ER 1764 P 13 January 1766

Daughter of Pierre Compain dit L'Espérance (wigmaker) and Françoise Vacher

Courtois, Marie-Thérèse, Soeur Saint-André

Sainte-Anne-de-la-Pérade, 11 November 1740 * 3 November 1825

ER 1764 P 16 March 1768

Daughter of Gabriel Courtois and Marie-Josèphe Baril-Duchesnay

Couturier, Marguerite, Soeur Saint-Amable

Pointe-aux-Trembles, Montréal, February 1733 * 20 May 1800

ER 1750 P 1752

Daughter of Pierre-Jean-Baptiste Couturier (carpenter) and Marguerite-Jeanne Beauchamp

de la Bruère, Renée-Françoise, Soeur Saint-François-Xavier

Boucherville, 12 January 1742 * 27 March 1826

ER 1756 P 27 November 1758

Daughter of René de la Bruère and Louise-Renée Pécaudy de Contrecoeur

Delisle, Marguerite, Soeur Saint-Charles

Deschambault, 1770 * Montréal, 4 March 1847

ER 1787 P 5 May 1789

Daughter of Joseph de L'Isle and Marguerite Perrault

De L'Isle, Marie-Anne, Soeur Saint-Barnabé

Deschambault, 1775 * 19 January 1812

ER 1793 P 13 June 1795

Daughter of Joseph de L'Isle and Marguerite Perrault

Desroussels, Marie-Madeleine, Soeur La Nativité

Saint-Jean-de-l'île-d'Orléans, 12 June 1758 * Montréal, 12 April 1822

ER 1775 P 11 November 1777

Daughter of Louis Desroussels and Marie-Josèphe Drouin

Drouin, Marthe, Soeur Sainte-Hélène

Sainte-Famille-de-l'île-d'Orléans, 21 March 1726 * Montréal, 14 April 1807

ER 1741 P 19 November 1743

Daughter of Pierre Drouin (habitant) and Louise Létourneau

Drouin, Mathilde, Soeur Sainte-Thècle

Sainte-Famille-de-l'île-d'Orléans, 5 September 1751 * 19 August 1828

ER 1771 P 28 October 1773

Daughter of Pierre Drouin and Madeleine de Blois

Ducharme, Thérèse, Soeur Saint-Paul

Lachine, 9 March 1725 * 6 July 1804

ER 1743 P 16 June 1745

Daughter of Joseph Ducharme (habitant) and Thérèse Trottier

Duverger, Louise, Soeur Saint-Michel

Montréal, 1754 * 18 March 1837

ER 1769 **P** 1771

Daughter of Michel Duverger and Elisabeth Leclerc

Foucher, Marguerite, Soeur Saint-Raphaël

Sainte-Marie, 29 May 1749 * 11 July 1807

ER 1771 **P** 28 October 1773

Daughter of Augustin Foucher and Angélique Giguère

Garnaud, Marie-Madeleine, Soeur Saint-Stanislaus

Pointe-aux-Trembles, Québec, 1764 * 7 June 1841

ER 1791 **P** 16 October 1793

Daughter of L'Ange Garnaud and Madeleine Mercure

Gaulin, Marguerite, Sœur de la Présentation

Sainte-Famille-de-l'île-d'Orléans, 10 July 1747 * 26 February 1819

ER 22 June 1770 **P** 15 July 1772

Daughter of Jean-Baptiste Gaulin and Marguerite Blouin

Gauthier, Monique, Soeur Sainte-Marthe

Varenes, 3 December 1750 * Montréal, 29 June 1821

ER 1778 **P** 1780

Daughter of Claude Gauthier and Catherine Choquet

Gingras, Françoise, Soeur Sainte-Anne

Pointe-aux-Trembles, Québec, 12 January 1746 * 6 December 1807

ER 1762 **P** 7 March 1765

Daughter of Jean-Baptiste Gingras and Angélique Grenier

Godbout, Madeleine, Soeur Saint-Laurent

Saint-Laurent-de-l'île-d'Orléans, 3 June 1754 * 16 December 1831

ER 1775 **P** 1 November 1777

Daughter of Antoine Godbout and Marie-Anne LeClair

Joly, Madeleine, Soeur Sainte-Julienne

Laprairie, 17 January 1726 * Montréal, 5 February 1809

ER 1753 **P** 1755

Daughter of Nicolas Joly and Marie Saint-Jean

Lemaire dit Saint-Germain, Josèphe-Geneviève, Soeur Saint-Scholastique

Lachine, 15 December 1739 * Montréal, 10 February 1804

ER 1754 **P** 21 May 1756

Daughter of Hyacinthe Lemaire dit Saint-Germain (merchant) and Geneviève Tessier

Marmotte-Champagne, Geneviève, Sœur Saint-Basile

Lachine, 1759 * 22 November 1819

ER 1779 **P** 22 August 1781

Daughter of Nicolas Marmotte-Champagne (soldier) and Geneviève Bissonnet

Martel, Julie, Soeur Sainte-Marie

Saint-Pierre-de-l'île-d'Orléans, 3 August 1742 * Montréal, 3 November 1813

ER 1757 **P** 12 November 1759

Daughter of Antoine Martel and Marie-Françoise Raté

Mercier, Marie-Dorothée, Soeur Saint-Martin

Sainte-Anne de Beaupré, 17 February 1758 * 24 January 1811

ER 1781 P 13 February 1783

Daughter of Joseph Mercier (habitant) and Marie-Josèphe Caron

Molleur, Marie-Charlotte, Soeur Saint-Alexis

Saint-Étienne-de-Beaumont, 1733 * Montréal, 15 December 1823

ER 20 June 1769 P 18 July 1771

Daughter of Jean-Baptiste Molleur and Marie-Françoise Bourbeau

Morneau, Marie-Josèphe, Soeur Sainte-Cécile

Saint-Roch-des-Aulnaies, 25 October 1755 * 29 October 1821

ER 1774 P 16 December 1776

Daughter of Alexis Morneau and Marie-Françoise Caron

Nepveu, Marie-Josèphe, Soeur Sainte-Françoise

Montréal, 12 April 1718 * 19 January 1797

ER 1744 P 5 December 1745

Daughter of Jean-Baptiste Nepveu (merchant) and Françoise Legras

Papineau, Catherine, Soeur Saint-Olivier

Montréal, 10 April 1754 * 25 April 1801

ER 1773 P 22 November 1775

Daughter of Joseph Papineau (master cooper) and Marie-Josèphe Beaudry

Paradis, Brigitte, Soeur Saint-Luce

Saint-Pierre-de-l'Île-d'Orléans, 3 November 1760 * 11 March 1813

ER 1782 P 1 February 1785

Daughter of Ignace Paradis and Thérèse Gaulin

Périnault-Lamarche, Marie-Josèphe, Soeur Sainte-Geneviève

Montréal, 4 September 1756 * 6 April 1807

ER 1774 P 1776

Daughter of Jean-Baptiste Périnault (merchant) and Angélique Harel

Prud'homme, Élisabeth, Soeur Sainte-Agathe

Montréal, 14 March 1719 * Montréal, 5 March 1809

ER 1734 P 4 July 1737

Daughter of François Prud'homme (habitant) and Marie-Anne Courault

Raizenne, Catherine-Élisabeth, Soeur Saint-Simon

Lac-des-Deux-Montagnes, 1763 * Montréal, 4 June 1819

ER 1779 P 1 February 1781

Daughter of Jean-Baptiste Raizenne (habitant) and Charlotte Sabourin

Raizenne, Marie, Soeur Saint-Ignace

Lac-des-Deux-Montagnes, 14 July 1735 * 20 April 1811

ER 1752 P 25 January 1754

Daughter of Ignace Rising (habitant) and Marie-Elisabeth Nims

Raizenne, Marie-Madeleine, Soeur Saint-Herman

Sault-au-Récollet, 21 October 1716 * Montréal, 28 May 1796

ER 1731 P 27 August 1733

Daughter of Ignace Rising (habitant) and Marie-Elisabeth Nims

Sabourin, Catherine, Soeur Sainte-Ursule

Sainte-Anne-du-Bout-de-l'île, 20 July 1739 * Montréal, 14 March 1825

ER 1754 P 25 October 1756

Daughter of Jean-Baptiste Sabourin and Sarah-Catherine Henneson

Sabourin, Élisabeth, Sœur Saint-Vincent-de-Paul

Lac-des-Deux-Montagnes, 26 April 1745 * Saint-Laurent, 14 April 1809

ER 1767 P 14 March 1769

Daughter of Jean-Baptiste Sabourin and Sarah-Catherine Henneson

Sabourin, Marie-Anne-Reine, Soeur Saint-Barthélemy

Sainte-Anne-du-Bout-de-l'île, 25 December 1735 * Montréal, 14 April 1827

ER 1754 P 25 October 1756

Daughter of Jean-Baptiste Sabourin and Sarah-Catherine Henneson

Sabourin, Marie-Charlotte, Sœur Sainte-Élisabeth

Sainte-Geneviève, 24 August 1746 * 13 December 1815

ER 1765 P 19 January 1767

Daughter of Jean-Baptiste Sabourin and Marie-Anastasie Raizenne

Tillière, Marie-Anne, Soeur Saint-Jean

Montréal, 1764 * 7 April 1825

ER 1786 P 5 May 1788

Daughter of Mathieu Tillière dit Saint-Jean (shoemaker) and Catherine Beaumont

Turcot, Thècle, Soeur Saint-Anselme

Sainte-Famille-de-l'île-d'Orléans, 9 July 1759 * 16 May 1825

ER 1781 P 24 September 1783

Daughter of Pierre Turcot and Marguerite Gendron

Verreau, Madeleine, Soeur Saint-Régis

Château-Richer, 27 December 1762 * Montréal, 23 January 1841

ER 15 August 1780 P 13 February 1783

Daughter of Barthélemy Verreau and Madeleine Gaudin

Viger, Thérèse, Soeur Sainte-Madeleine

Montréal, 17 May 1744 * 10 February 1804

ER 1764 P 13 January 1766

Daughter of Jacques Viger (shoemaker) and Marie-Louise Ridday-Beauceron

Appendix 7 - Congrégation de Notre-Dame, Professed Nuns, 1693-1796

In the following alphabetical list of professed nuns, the first line gives the family and religious name. Line two provides the place and date of birth, followed by the place and date of death. Line three contains the date the individual entered the convent (ER), followed by the date of profession (P). The final line gives the names of both parents, as well as the profession of the father. Where data is missing, the sources could not be found.

Appendix 7 is the master list of congrégation sœurs, from which all other appendices were derived. It was compiled using ACND, Le Registre générale. The spellings of names as they appeared in the ACND records have been retained, except for those individuals appearing in the *DCB*. Of invaluable assistance in the compilation of this list of nuns during the French regime was Louis Pelletier, *Le clergé en la Nouvelle-France: Étude démographique et repertoire biographique* (Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1993). The Programme de recherche en démographie historique Programme (PDRH), at the Université de Montréal, was another important source utilized in the compilation and checking of data on the sœurs in the post-Conquest period.

Adhémar de Lantagnac, Charlotte-Ursule, Soeur Sainte-Claire

Québec, 1736 * 7 February 1800

ER 1754 P 16 August 1756

Daughter of Chevalier Gaspard Adhémar de Lantagnac (captain) and Geneviève-Thérèse Martin de Lino

Ailleboust de la Madeleine, Catherine d', Soeur de-la-Visitation

Montréal, 16 January 1749 * Deschambault, 1806

ER 14 June 1770 P 1772

Daughter of François-Jean-Daniel D'Ailleboust de la Madeleine (merchant-voyager) and Charlotte Godfroy de Linctôt d'Alençon

Ailleboust, Madeleine d', Soeur de l'Incarnation

Montréal, 9 March 1673 * Montréal, 13 November 1759

P 1 July 1698

Daughter of Charles-Joseph d'Ailleboust des Musseaux (officer, seigneur) and Catherine Legardeur

Ailleboust des Musseaux, Catherine d', Soeur des Séraphins

Montréal, 19 November 1694 * Lachine, 5 May 1768

Daughter of Jean-Baptiste des Musseaux (merchant) and Anne Picard

Alinaud, Marie-Charlotte, Soeur Saint-Etienne

Ile-Jésus, 16 February 1757 * Montréal, 20 October 1826

ER 1776 P 6 June 1780

Daughter of Antoine Alinot and Agathe Dubreuil

Amyot, Marguerite, Soeur de la Présentation

Sainte-Anne-de-Beaupré, 5 January 1675 * Montréal, 1 August 1747

ER 1693 P 25 June 1698

Daughter of Gentien Amyot (locksmith) and Marguerite Poulin

Amyot, Marie-Anne-Thérèse, Soeur Saint-Augustin

Sainte-Anne, 9 February 1693 * Québec, 22 January 1759

Daughter of Jean Amyot (locksmith) and Marguerite Poulain

Amyot, Thérèse, Soeur Saint-François-d'Assise

Québec, 3 July 1686 * Montréal, 9 March 1771

ER 1701 P 1703

Daughter of Jean Amyot (locksmith) and Marguerite Poulain

Archambault, Marie, Soeur de l'Enfant-Jésus

Pointe-aux-Trembles, Montréal, 11 December 1688 * Montréal, 9 July 1714
 Daughter of Laurent Archambault (carpenter) and Anne Courtemanche dit Jolicoeur

Arsenault, Élisabeth, Soeur Saint-Antoine

Acadia, 1722 * 27 May 1787
ER 1750 **P** 28 March 1754
 Daughter of Abraham Arsenault and Jeanne Gaudet

Asselin, Françoise, Soeur Sainte-Thérèse

Sainte-Famille-de-l'île d'Orléans, 25 January 1682 * Montréal, 2 June 1766
 Daughter of Jacques Asselin (farmer) and Louise Roussin

Asselin, Madeleine, Soeur Saint-Ignace

Sainte-Famille-de-l'île-d'Orléans, 30 June 1673 * Montréal, 7 December 1749
P 5 June 1698
 Daughter of Jacques Asselin (farmer) and Louise Roussin

Audet, Marie- Anne, Soeur Sainte-Marguerite

Sainte-Famille-de-l'île-d'Orléans, 13 August 1743 * 7 January 1824
ER 1767 **P** 21 December 1769
 Daughter of Joseph Audet and Marie-Anne Terrien

Audet, Marie-Louise, Soeur Sainte-Catherine

Saint-Jean-de-l'île-d'Orléans * Montréal, 14 January 1815
ER 1772
 Daughter of Jean-François Audet-Lapointe and Marie-Josephte d'Alleret

Audet-Lapointe, Marie-Françoise, Soeur Saint-Joseph

Sainte-Famille-de-l'île-d'Orléans, 23 March 1756 * 13 March 1798
ER 1774
 Daughter of Joseph Audet-Lapointe and Marie-Anne Terrien

Barbier, Marie, Soeur de l'Assomption

Montréal, 1 May 1663 * Montréal, 19 May 1739
ER 1678 **P** 25 June 1698
 Daughter of Gilbert Barbier (habitant) and Catherine Delavaux

Barrois, Anne, Soeur Saint-Charles

Laprairie, 26 May 1674 * Montréal 28 March 1768
ER 1703
 Daughter of Antoine Barrois (habitant) and Anne Le Ber

Benoît, Françoise, Soeur Sainte-Thérèse-de-Jésus

Montréal, 11 December 1752 * 24 July 1799
ER 1770 **P** 16 July 1772
 Daughter of Claude Benoît (doctor) and Thérèse Baby

Benoît, Marguerite, Soeur Saint-Denis

Saint-Denis (Richelieu), 16 October, 1771 * Montréal, 11 May 1848
ER 24 June 1791 **P** 1793
 Daughter of Joseph Benoît Livernois and Marguerite Guertin

Berry des Essarts, Françoise, Soeur Saint-François-de-Sales

Montréal, 31 May 1710 * 5 May 1802
ER 1728 **P** 6 November 1730

Daughter of François Berry des Essarts (officer) and Marie-Anne Lemaître-Lamouille

Berry des Essarts, Marie-Anne-Charlotte, Soeur Sainte-Radegonde

Montréal, 25 March 1719 * 30 September 1801

ER 1734 P 9 January 1736

Daughter of François Berry des Essarts (officer) and Marie-Anne Lemaître-Lamouille

Bissonnet, Élisabeth, Soeur Saint-Basile

Montréal, 21 March 1737 * Montréal, 18 April 1762

ER 1757 P 12 February 1759

Daughter of Louis Bissonnet (habitant) and Geneviève Binet

Bissonnet, Marie-Angèle, Soeur Saint-Pierre

Montréal, 28 January 1739 * 19 April 1825

ER 1762 P 17 December 1764

Daughter of Louis Bissonnet (farmer) and Geneviève Bient

Bissot de Vincennes, Claire-Charlotte, Soeur de l'Ascension

Québec, 6 May 1698 * Montréal, 25 April 1773

ER 1718

Daughter of Jean-Baptiste Bissot de Vincennes (officer) and Marguerite Forestier

Bleau, Marie-Josèphe, Soeur Saint-Thomas

Montréal, 25 March 1706 * Canada, 2 April 1776

ER 1737 P 29 July 1739

Daughter of François Bleau (baker) and Catherine Campeau

Boileau, Louise-Angélique, Soeur Saint-Arsène

Saint-François-de-Sales-de-l'île-Jésus, 26 August 1759 * 3 February 1807

ER 1778 P 1780

Daughter of Louis-Pierre Boileau (merchant) and Louise-Céleste Lefebvre Duchouquet

Boivin, Thérèse, Soeur Saint-Gilbert

Saint-Vincent-de-Paul-de-l'île-Jésus, 19 November 1748 * Montréal, 23 June 1826

ER 1769 P 1771

Daughter of Joseph-Pascal Boivin and Thérèse Lalande dit Mauger

Bombardier, Marguerite, Soeur Sainte-Philippe

Pointe-aux-Trembles, Montréal, 17 January 1719 * 6 May 1791

ER 1741 P 21 March 1743

Daughter of André Bombardier (habitant) and Marguerite Demers

Bony, Catherine

Rouen, Normandy, 1637 * Montréal, 22 April 1712

ER 1674 P 1676

Bouchard, Marie-Françoise, Soeur Saint-Paul

Québec, 27 October 1659 * Montréal, 29 April 1739

P 25 June 1698

Daughter of Etienne Bouchard (surgeon) and Marguerite Boissel

Boucher de Boucherville, Marie-Angélique, Soeur Sainte-Monique

Boucherville, 22 July 1697 * Montréal, 12 February 1721

ER 1714

Daughter of Pierre Boucher de Boucherville (seigneur) and Marguerite-Charlotte Denis

Boucher de Boucherville, Marie-Louise, Soeur Sainte-Monique

Boucherville, 16 November 1702 * 5 September 1788

ER 1721 **P** 13 September 1723

Daughter of Pierre Boucher de Boucherville (seigneur) and Marguerite-Charlotte Denis

Boucher de Montbrun, Françoise, Soeur Sainte-Placide

Boucherville, 13 July 1704 * France, 17 September 1745

ER 1756 **P** 29 April 1722

Daughter of René-Jean de Montbrun (captain) and Françoise-Claire Charest

Boulay, Marie-Josèphe, Soeur Sainte-Gertrude

Montréal, 13 July 1742 * 20 April 1809

ER 1767 **P** 1769

Daughter of Nicolas Boulay (wigmaker) and Marie Marillac

Bourassa, Agnès-Françoise, Soeur Saint-Albert

Laprairie, 14 June 1716 * Montréal, 25 September 1779

ER 1735 **P** 21 May 1737

Daughter of René Bourassa (merchant) and Agnès Gagné

Bourgeois, Marguerite, Soeur du Saint-Sacrement

Troyes, 17 April 1620 * Montréal, 12 January 1700

ER 1653 **P** 25 June 1698

Daughter of Abraham Bourgeois (merchant) and Guillemette Garnier

Bricault, Catherine-Amable, Soeur Saint-Raphaël

Pointe-aux-Trembles-de-Montréal, 15 November 1730 * Montréal, 11 May 1763

P 28 March 1754

Daughter of Jean-Baptiste Bricault (habitant) and Pétronille Janot

Brunet dit L'Estang, Véronique, Soeur Sainte-Rose

Pointe-Claire, 13 January 1726 * Canada, 12 June 1810

ER 1744 **P** 22 June 1746

Daughter of Jean Brunet dit L'Estang (voyageur/habitant) and Marguerite Dubois

Caillou-Baron, Marie-Gabrielle, Soeur de la Nativité

Laprairie, 21 August 1689 * Montréal, 28 March 1772

ER 1704 * **P** 1 December 1708

Daughter of Jean Caillou dit Baron (habitant) and Marie-Marguerite Touchard

Caron, Marie-Ferdinande, Soeur Saint-Raphaël

Sainte-Anne-de-Beaupré, 22 November 1757 * Montréal, 8 February 1809

ER 1778 **P** 11 December 1780

Daughter of Ignace Caron and Marie-Elisabeth Roy

Carpentier Marie-Jeanne, Soeur Sainte-Geneviève

Cap-de-la-Madeleine, 25 November 1676 * Montréal, 2 June 1747

Daughter of Noël Carpentier (habitant) dit Larose and Jeanne Toussaint

Cartier, Marguerite, Soeur Saint-Amable

Québec, 3 March 1692 * 16 March 1749

Daughter of Paul Cartier and Marie-Barbe Boyer

Castonguay, Marguerite, Soeur Saint-Bernard

Lac-des-Deux-Montagnes, 20 August 1751 * 8 November 1820

ER 1767 **P** 16 January 1769

Daughter of Pierre Castonguay (blacksmith) and Anastasie Raizenne

Charlebois, Marguerite-Amable, Sœur Sainte-Suzanne

Pointe-Claire, 25 November 1761 * 6 December 1837

P 22 August 1781

Daughter of Jacques-Christophe Charlebois and Marguerite-Amable Roy

Charly Saint-Ange, Catherine, Soeur du Saint-Sacrement

Montréal, 3 June 1666 * Montréal, 25 January 1719

ER 1679 P 25 June 1698

Daughter of André Charly dit Saint-Ange (baker) and Marie Dumesnil

Charly-Saint-Ange, Élisabeth, Soeur Sainte-Françoise

Montréal, 3 June 1659 * Montréal, 18 February 1713

ER 1700

Daughter of André Charly dit Saint-Ange (baker) and Marie Dumesnil. Entered religion after the death of her spouse, Joseph de Montenon, who was killed by the Iroquois in 1690.

Chartier, Marie, Soeur Sainte-Marguerite

Montréal, 23 February 1676 * 27 August 1729

Daughter of Guillaume Chartier (tailor) and Marie Faucon

Chenier, Marie-Josèphe, Sœur Sainte-Jeanne-de-Chantal

Lac-des-Deux-Montagnes, 1 January 1753 * 11 April 1801

P 28 January 1771

Daughter of Joseph Chenier (merchant) and Suzanne Raizenne

Chesnay la Garenne, Madeleine, Soeur Sainte-Anne

Québec, 22 July 1674 * Montréal, 19 August 1760

ER 1697 P 1699

Daughter of Bertrand Chesnay dit La Garenne (merchant) and Elisabeth Aubert

Compain, Françoise, Soeur Saint-Benoît

Montréal, 1750 * 19 August 1827

ER 1769 P 1771

Daughter of Pierre Compain dit l'Espérance (wigmaker) and Françoise Vacher

Compain, Marie-Louise, Soeur Saint-Augustin

Montréal, 28 January 1747 * Montréal, 2 May 1819

ER 1764 P 13 January 1766

Daughter of Pierre Compain dit L'Espérance (wigmaker) and Françoise Vacher

Constantin, Geneviève, Soeur Saint-Louis-des-Anges

Québec, 8 January 1715 * 26 March 1784

ER 1735 P 20 March 1737

Daughter of Denis Constantin (brewer) and Louise Bacon

Coron, Marie, Soeur de la Victoire

Pointe-aux-Trembles, Montréal, 14 May 1676 * Montréal, 11 November 1732

P 25 June 1698

Daughter of Jean Coron (master turner) and Anne-Michelle Lauzon

Corriveau-Buteau, Marie-Félicité, Soeur Saint-Charles

Saint-Vallier, 4 May 1751 * Canada, 16 November 1778

ER 1768 P 21 December 1769

Daughter of Jacques Corriveau and Marie Buteau

Courtemanche, Élisabeth, Soeur Sainte-Claire

Montréal, 13 August 1670 * Montréal, 8 September 1748

Daughter of Antoine Courtemanche and Élisabeth Haguin

Courtois, Marie-Thérèse, Soeur Saint-André

Sainte-Anne-de-la-Pérade, 11 November 1740 * 3 November 1825

ER 1764 P 16 March 1768

Daughter of Gabriel Courtois and Marie-Josèphe Baril-Duchesnay

Couturier, Marguerite, Soeur Saint-Amable

Pointe-aux-Trembles, Montréal, February 1733 * 20 May 1800

ER 1750 P 1752

Daughter of Pierre-Jean-Baptiste Couturier (carpenter) and Marguerite-Jeanne Beauchamp

Cressé, Charlotte, Soeur Sainte-Pélagie

Trois-Rivières, 28 August 1680 * Montréal, 11 March 1701

ER 1697 P 1699

Daughter of Michel Cressé (merchant) and Marguerite Denis

Crevier de Bellerive, Marie-Barbe, Soeur Sainte-Hélène

Trois-Rivières, 1665 * Montréal, 5 November 1711

Daughter of Nicolas Crevier de Bellerive (habitant) and Louise La Loutre

Crevier de Bellerive, Marie-Jeanne, Soeur Sainte-Hélène

Cap-de-la-Madeleine, 2 February 1689 * Montréal, 23 February 1726

Daughter of Nicolas Crevier de Bellerive (habitant) and Louise La Loutre

Crolo, Catherine, Soeur Saint-Joseph

Lauzon, France, 1619 * Montréal, 28 February 1699

ER 1659 P 1 July 1698

Damours de Clignancourt, Angélique, Soeur Sainte-Ursule

Port Royal, 1697 * Montréal, 24 December 1749

Daughter of René Damours, Sieur de Clignancourt (merchant) and Françoise Le Gardeur de Tilly

Dandoneau, Françoise, Soeur Sainte-Apolline

Trois-Rivières, 29 September 1677 * Québec, 6 October 1709

Daughter of Pierre Dandoneau dit Lajeunesse (farmer) and Françoise Jobin

Daniel St-Arnaud, Marie-Madeleine, Soeur Saint-Arsène

Montréal, 15 January 1699 * France, 5 July 1764

ER 31 October 1717 * P 1719

Daughter of Jean Arcaud (merchant) and Marie Truteau

de la Bertache, Élisabeth, Soeur Sainte-Catherine

Dijon, France, 1634 * Montréal, 6 October 1710

ER September 1672 P 25 June 1698

de la Bruère, Renée-Françoise, Soeur Saint-François-Xavier

Boucherville, 12 January 1742 * 27 March 1826

ER 1756 P 27 November 1758

Daughter of René de la Bruère and Louise-Renée Pécaudy de Contrecoeur

de Hautmesnil, Catherine-Chrétienne, Soeur de la Visitation

Montréal, 20 November 1675 * 31 March 1746

ER 22 April 1691 **P** 25 June 1698

Daughter of Jean-Vincent-Philippe Dumesnil (merchant) and Marie-Catherine Lambert de Baussy

de la Lande, Marguerite, Soeur Saint-Gilbert

Montréal, 12 February 1722 * Montréal, 9 April 1763

P 5 January 1741

Daughter of Jean de la Lande (merchant) and Elisabeth Gareau dit Saint-Onge

de la Rue, Marguerite-Barbe, Soeur de l'Enfant-Jésus

Champlain, 21 January 1690 * Québec, 21 June 1706

Daughter of Guillaume de la Rue (notary) and Marie Pépin

De Lestages, Marie-Anne, Soeur Saint-Luc

Québec, 20 November 1695 * Montréal, 18 July 1768

ER 1720

Daughter of Jean de Lestages (merchant) and Catherine-Anne Vermet

Delisle, Marguerite, Soeur Saint-Charles

Deschambault, 1770 * Montréal, 4 March 1847

ER 1787 **P** 5 May 1789

Daughter of Joseph de L'Isle and Marguerite Perrault

De L'Isle, Marie-Anne, Soeur Saint-Barnabé

Deschambault, 1775 * 19 January 1812

ER 1793 **P** 13 June 1795

Daughter of Joseph de L'Isle and Marguerite Perrault

Demers [or Dumay], Marie-Anne, Soeur Sainte-Catherine

Montréal, 24 October 1689 * Montréal, 14 December 1749

Daughter of Jean-Baptiste Demers and Cunégonde Masta

Deneau des Taillis, Marie-Anne, Soeur Saint-Gilbert

Montréal, 30 March 1710 * Montréal, 11 April 1739

Daughter of Joseph Deneau dit Des Taillis (bourgeois) and Jeanne Adhémar

Deneau des Taillis, Madeleine, Soeur Sainte-Apolline

Montréal, 28 April 1706 * Montréal, 7 May 1763

P 8 January 1733

Daughter of Joseph Deneau des Taillis (bourgeois) and Jeanne Adhémar

de Niger, Marguerite, Soeur Sainte-Marthe

Sorel, 1677 * Montréal, 28 June 1720

ER 1703

Daughter of Bernard Deniger dit Sanscoucy (farmer) and Marguerite Raisin

de Puybaro-Maisonnette, Madeleine, Soeur Sainte-Geneviève

Trois-Rivières, 8 September 1682 * Montréal, 5 April 1703

ER 1698 **P** 1700

Daughter of Jean de Puybaro and Marie-Madeleine Beaudry

Desroussels, Marie-Madeleine, Soeur La Nativité

Saint-Jean-de-l'île-d'Orléans, 12 June 1758 * Montréal, 12 April 1822

ER 1775 **P** 11 November 1777

Daughter of Louis Desroussels and Marie-Josèphe Drouin

Des Gouttins, Angélique, Soeur Sainte-Scholastique

Cape Breton, 1722 * Canada, 27 October 1748

ER 27 January 1739 P 19 February 1741

Daughter of François-Marie Des Gouttins (royal counselor) and Angélique Aubert

Diel, Amable, Soeur Saint-Ambroise

Sainte-Anne-du-Bout-de-l'île, 30 January 1736 * Île Perrot, 20 April 1822

P 6 June 1758

Daughter of Jacques Diel (toolmaker) and Marie-Anne Crépin. She fled the convent in 1785.

Doré, Marie-Angélique, Soeur Saint-Henri

Saint-Augustin, 11 September 1725 * Montréal, 26 February 1760

P 8 November 1753

Daughter of Pierre-Louis Doré and Catherine Cocquin Latourelle

Drouin, Marthe, Soeur Sainte-Hélène

Sainte-Famille-de-l'île-d'Orléans, 21 March 1726 * Montréal, 14 April 1807

ER 1741 P 19 November 1743

Daughter of Pierre Drouin (habitant) and Louise Létourneau

Drouin, Mathilde, Soeur Sainte-Thècle

Sainte-Famille-de-l'île-d'Orléans, 5 September 1751 * 19 August 1828

ER 1771 P 28 October 1773

Daughter of Pierre Drouin and Madeleine de Blois

Ducharme, Thérèse, Soeur Saint-Paul

Lachine, 9 March 1725 * 6 July 1804

ER 1743 P 16 June 1745

Daughter of Joseph Ducharme (habitant) and Thérèse Trottier

Dugast, Catherine-Françoise, Soeur de-la-Croix

Montréal, 3 November 1720 * 17 April 1787

ER 1738 P 1740

Daughter of Joseph Dugast and Geneviève Catin

Durand, Claude, Soeur de l'Ascension

Paris, France, 1643 * Montréal, 12 April 1723

ER September 1672 P 25 June 1698

Dutaud, Marie-Françoise, Soeur de la Vierge

Champlain, 4 January 1693 * Montréal, 15 March 1767

Daughter of Charles Dutaud (habitant) and Jeanne Rivard-Lavigne

Dutaud, Marie-Josephite, Soeur de la Trinité

Champlain, 19 March 1695 * Québec, 20 May 1730

Daughter of Charles Dutaud (farmer) and Jeanne Rivard Lavigne

Dutaud, Marie-Marguerite, Soeur des Anges

Champlain, 12 January 1691 * Château-Richer, 15 August 1726

Daughter of Charles Dutaud (habitant) and Jeanne-Rivard Lavigne

Duverger, Louise, Soeur Saint-Michel

Montréal, 1754 * 18 March 1837

ER 1769 P 1771

Daughter of Michel Duverger and Elisabeth Leclerc

Foucher, Marguerite, Soeur Saint-Raphaël

Sainte-Marie, 29 May 1749 * 11 July 1807
ER 1771 P 28 October 1773
 Daughter of Augustin Foucher and Angélique Giguère

Gagnon, Françoise, Soeur Sainte-Marthe
 Château-Richer, 12 February 1695 * Montréal, 7 April 1778
ER 1720 P 4 November 1722
 Daughter of Germain Gagnon and Jeanne David

Gagnon, Marie, Soeur Saint-Joachim
 Sainte-Famille-de-l'île-d'Orléans, 7 July 1668 * Montréal, 10 March 1747
P 25 June 1698
 Daughter of Robert Gagnon (labourer) and Marie Parentelle

Gagnon, Marie-Angélique, Soeur Sainte-Marie
 Château-Richer, 20 January 1691 * Montréal, 26 March 1758
ER 1708
 Daughter of Noël Gagnon and Geneviève Fortin

Gagnon, Marie-Renée, Soeur Sainte-Agnès
 Sainte-Famille-de-l'île-d'Orléans, 27 February 1678 * Boucherville, 14 February 1703
 Daughter of Robert Gagnon (labourer) and Marie Parentelle

Gamelin, Thérèse, Soeur Sainte-Barbe
 Saint-François-du-Lac, 10 January 1726 * Montréal, 5 October 1768
ER 1744 P 23 July 1746
 Daughter of Joseph-Jacques Gamelin (merchant) and Jeanne-Angélique Giasson

Gannensagouas, Marie-Thérèse
 Pays-en-haut, 1667 * 25 November 1695
ER 1679 P March 1681
 Daughter of Gannensagouas and Claire Kadendio Tsonnontwame

Gariépy, Marguerite, Soeur Saint-Augustin
 Québec, 22 March 1660 * Montréal, 13 February 1723
ER 1680 P 25 June 1698
 Daughter of François Gariépy (cabinet maker) and Marie Oudin

Gariépy, Marie, Soeur Sainte-Ursule
 Québec, 8 July 1658 * Montréal, 3 August 1713
ER 1680 P 6 August 1698
 Daughter of François Gariépy (cabinet maker) and Marie Oudin

Garnaud, Marie-Madeleine, Soeur Saint-Stanislaus
 Pointe-aux-Trembles, Québec, 1764 * 7 June 1841
ER 1791 P 16 October 1793
 Daughter of L'Ange Garnaud and Madeleine Mercure

Gaulin, Thècle-Élisabeth, Soeur Sainte-Brigitte
 Sainte-Famille-de-l'île-d'Orléans, 18 October 1715 * 1 May 1784
ER 1737 P 2 July 1738
 Daughter of Robert Gaulin and Elisabeth Létourneau

Gaulin, Ursule, Soeur Sainte-Françoise
 Sainte-Famille-de-l'île-d'Orléans, 12 May 1702 * Canada, 4 May 1741
ER 1726

Daughter of Robert Gaulin and Elisabeth Létourneau

Gaulin, Marguerite, Soeur de la Présentation

Sainte-Famille-de-l'île-d'Orléans, 10 July 1747 * 26 February 1819

ER 22 June 1770 P 15 July 1772

Daughter of Jean-Baptiste Gaulin and Marguerite Blouin

Gauthier, Monique, Soeur Sainte-Marthe

Varennés, 3 December 1750 * Montréal, 29 June 1821

ER 1778 P 1780

Daughter of Claude Gauthier and Catherine Choquet

Genest, Marie

Sainte-Famille-de-l'île-d'Orléans, 3 November 1670 * Kamouraska, 7 January 1761

Daughter of Jacques Genest Labarre (toolmaker) and Catherine Doribeu. Left the community in June 1698 and married Jean-Baptiste Martin in 1710

Gerbaut, Marie-Josèphe, Soeur Saint-Gabriel

Rivière-du-Loup, 26 September 1684 * Montréal, 31 March 1734

Daughter of Christophe Gerbaut de Bellegarde and Marguerite Lemaître

Gervaise, Jeanne, Soeur Saint-Exupère

Montréal, 24 February 1699 * Montréal, 23 May 1763

P 20 July 1720

Daughter Louis Gervaise and Barbe Pigeon

Gingras, Françoise, Soeur Sainte-Anne

Pointe-aux-Trembles, Québec, 12 January 1746 * 6 December 1807

ER 1762 P 7 March 1765

Daughter of Jean-Baptiste Gingras and Angélique Grenier

Godbout, Madeleine, Soeur Saint-Laurent

Saint-Laurent-de-l'île-d'Orléans, 3 June 1754 * 16 December 1831

ER 1775 P 1 November 1777

Daughter of Antoine Godbout and Marie-Anne LeClair

Gourdon, Jeanne, Soeur de la Résurrection

Lachine, 8 March 1680 * Montréal, 22 July 1724

ER 1695 P 25 June 1698

Daughter of Jean Gourdon dit Lachasse and Michelle Perrin

Guénet, Jeanne, Soeur Sainte-Agnès

19 January 1694 * Montréal, 15 December 1749

Daughter of Jean Guénet (merchant) and Étiennette Hurtubise

Guillet, Marie-Élisabeth, Soeur Sainte-Barbe

Sainte-Anne-de-la-Pérade, 3 September 1684 * Montréal, 23 October 1739

Daughter of Mathurin Guillet (merchant) and Marie-Charlotte Lemoyne

Guillory, Marie-Louise, Soeur Sainte-Suzanne

Lachine, 24 October 1700 * Montréal, 25 January 1727

P 1 June 1723

Daughter of Simon Guillory (merchant) and Marie Aly

Guyon, Elisabeth, Soeur Saint-Laurent

Québec, 21 August 1669 * Montréal, 14 September 1743

Daughter of Claude Guyon (farmer) and Catherine Colin

Guyon, Madeleine, Soeur Saint-Joseph

Sainte-Famille-de-l'île-d'Orléans, 14 June 1720 * Montréal, 6 November 1773

ER 1739 P 5 March 1742

Daughter of Claude Guyon and Catherine Blouin

Guyon, Marie-Anne, Soeur de la Passion

Château-Richer, 18 May 1666 * Montréal, 12 December 1743

P 6 August 1698

Daughter of Claude Guyon (farmer) and Catherine Colin

Haguenier, Marie-Thérèse, Soeur Sainte-Suzanne

Montréal, 12 March 1721 * Montréal, 23 May 1764

P 16 June 1745

Daughter of Pierre Haguenier (cabinetmaker) and Louise Couturier

Hervieux, Marie-Geneviève, Soeur Sainte-Gertrude

Québec, 15 February 1686 * Montréal, 1 December 1753

ER 1707 P 5 February 1709

Daughter of Issac Hervieux (bourgeois) and Marie-Anne Pinguet

Jahan-Laviolette, Catherine, Soeur de la Croix

Sainte-Famille-de-l'île-d'Orléans, 30 January 1676 * Montréal, 21 April 1734

P 25 June 1698

Daughter of Jacques Jahan-Laviolette (tanner) and Marie Ferra

Jalot, Marguerite, Soeur Saint-Ambroise

Champlain, 21 February 1680 * Montréal, 17 January 1755

Daughter of Jean Jalot (surgeon) and Marie-Antoinette Chouard

Janis, Marguerite (Sicard-Antoine), Soeur Saint-Bernardin

Montréal, 22 October 1735 * Montréal, 16 December 1788

ER 1752 P 30 September 1754

Daughter of Antoine Janis dit Sicard-Antoine (wigmaker) and Catherine Tessier

Joly, Madeleine, Soeur Sainte-Julienne

Laprairie, 17 January 1726 * Montréal, 5 February 1809

ER 1753 P 1755

Daughter of Nicolas Joly and Marie Saint-Jean

Jorian, Françoise, Soeur Saint-André

Québec, 24 September 1706 * Montréal, 31 May 1764

P May 1731

Daughter of André Jorian (cooper) and Barbe Charlotte Albert dit Lafontaine

Jousset, Agathe, Soeur Saint-Gabriel

Montréal, 25 September 1682 * Québec, 20 December 1702

Daughter of Mathurin Jousset dit la Loire (farmer) and Catherine Lothier

Juillet, Marie-Josèphe, Soeur Saint-Gabriel

Pointe-aux-Trembles-de-Montréal, 8 September 1717 *

ER 1735 P 3 May 1737

Daughter of Blaise Juillet and Marie-Madeleine Forestier. She left the convent in 1768.

La Corne de Chaptas, Marie-Madeleine de, Soeur du Saint-Sacrement

France, 1700 * Canada, 13 March 1762

ER 1718 P 1720

Daughter of Jean-Louis de la Corne de Chaptres (officer) and Marie Pécaudy de Contrecoeur

Lamarche, Louise-Élisabeth, Soeur Saint-Raphaël

Montréal, 22 January 1728 * 11 May 1763

Daughter of Julien Baribault dit Lamarche and Louise Becquet

Larrivée, Marie-Françoise, Soeur Saint-Alexis

Boucherville, 29 March 1679 * Montréal, 3 January 1762

ER 1695 P 25 June 1698

Daughter of Pierre Larrivée (farmer) and Denise Beauchamp

Laurent de Beaume, Perrette, Soeur Sainte-Marie-Anne

Paris, 1637 * Montréal, 30 October 1698

ER 1672 P 1676

Lefebvre, Marie, Soeur Saint-Michel

Montréal, 22 July 1681 * 10 May 1717

ER After the death of her husband Jacques Picard

Daughter of Jean-Baptiste Lefebvre and Cunégonde Gervaise

Lefebvre, Marie-Angèle-Michelle, Soeur du Sacré-Coeur

Québec, 4 May 1692 * Montréal, 27 January 1742

Daughter of Jean Lefebvre (tanner) and Marie Savard

Lefebvre Angers, Marie-Angélique, Soeur Saint-Simon

Montréal, 25 October 1710 * Canada, 28 April 1766

ER 1726 P 21 November 1730

Daughter of Jean-Baptiste Lefebvre Angers (merchant) and Geneviève-Françoise Faucher

Lefebvre-Belle-Isle, Marie-Josèphe, Soeur Saint-Benoît

Québec, 9 November 1693 * Montréal, 31 January 1769

ER 1716

Daughter of Henri Lefebvre (surgeon) and Catherine de Mosny

Lefebvre Duchouquet, Jeanne, Soeur du Sacré-Coeur

Montréal, 17 October 1714 * Montréal, 2 October 1769

ER 1741 P 19 November 1743

Daughter of Louis Lefebvre Duchouquet (merchant) and Angélique Perthuis

Lemaire dit Saint-Germain, Josèphe-Geneviève, Soeur Saint-Scholastique

Lachine, 15 December 1739 * Montréal, 10 February 1804

ER 1754 P 21 May 1756

Daughter of Hyacinthe Lemaire dit Saint-Germain (merchant) and Geneviève Tessier

Lemaître, Marie-Exupère, Soeur Saint-Félix

Trois-Rivières, 27 May 1702 * Montréal, 17 May 1731

Daughter of Pierre Lemaître-Lamorille (lieutenant) and Anne Chenaye

Le Moyne, Jeanne, Soeur Saint-Charles

Montréal, 30 April 1668 * Montréal, 27 March 1703

P 1 July 1698

Daughter of Jacques Le Moyne de Sainte-Hélène (merchant) and Mathurine Godé

Le Moyne, Marguerite, Soeur du Saint-Esprit

Montréal, 3 February 1664 * Montréal, 21 February 1746

ER 1680 **P** 25 June 1698

Daughter of Jacques Le Moyne de Sainte-Hélène (merchant) and Mathurine Godé

Lenoir, Marie-Françoise, Soeur Sainte-Élisabeth

Montréal, 15 April 1695 * Château-Richer, 2 May 1756

Daughter of Vincent Lenoir (miller) and Charlotte Bloys

Lenoir, Marie-Louise, Soeur Saint-Herman-Joseph

Montréal, 18 September 1706 * Montréal, 29 June 1726

P 8 April 1725

Daughter of Vicent Lenoir (cabinet maker) and Marie Galipeau

Lepage de Saint-Barnabé, Reine, Soeur Saint-Germain

Saint-Germain-de-Rimouski, 3 November 1717 * Montréal, 3 April 1774

ER 1741 **P** 31 August 1743

Daughter of René Lepage de Saint-Barnabé (seigneur) and Marie-Anne de Trépany

Lepage de Saint-Germain, Marie-Agnès, Soeur Saint-Barnabé

Saint-Germain-de-Rimouski, 15 March 1706 * Montréal, 25 November 1762

ER 1728 **P** 9 November 1730

Daughter of René Lepage (seigneur) and Marie-Madeleine Gagnon

Létourneau, Marguerite, Soeur Saint-Pierre

Sainte-Famille-de-l'île-d'Orléans, 17 September 1675 * Montréal, 3 October 1721

P 25 June 1698

Daughter of David Létourneau (habitant) and Françoise Chapelain

Longley, Lydia, Soeur Sainte-Madeleine

English Colonies, 12 April 1674 * Montréal, 20 July 1758

ER December 1696 **P** 16 September 1699

Daughter of William Longley and Délivrance Crips

Marchand, Marie-Charles, Soeur Saint-Bernard

Montréal, 11 June 1709 * Montréal, 11 February 1756

ER 1728 **P** 1731

Daughter of Nicolas Marchand and Charlotte Etiennette de Beaumont

Marmotte-Champagne, Geneviève, Soeur Saint-Basile

Lachine, 1759 * 22 November 1819

ER 1779 **P** 22 August 1781

Daughter of Nicolas Marmotte-Champagne (soldier) and Geneviève Bissonnet

Marois, Élisabeth, Soeur Saint-Clément

Québec, 27 February 1729 * Montréal, 20 July 1770

ER 1750

Daughter of Charles Marois and Jeanne Boudreau

Martel, Julie, Soeur Sainte-Marie

Saint-Pierre-de-l'île-d'Orléans, 3 August 1742 * Montréal, 3 November 1813

ER 1757 **P** 12 November 1759

Daughter of Antoine Martel and Marie-Françoise Raté

Martimbault, Marie-Marguerite, Soeur Sainte-Rosalie

Boucherville, 24 October 1719 * Montréal, 13 August 1780

ER 1750 **P** 1752

Daughter of Jean Martimbault (habitant) and Marguerite Gareau-St.-Onge

Maugue, Marie, Soeur Sainte-Marguerite

Montréal, 15 November 1680 * Canada, 26 May 1766

Daughter of Claude Maugue (royal notary) and Louise Jousset

Maugue-Garreau, Marie-Josèphe, Soeur de l'Assomption

Montréal, 29 December 1720 * Montréal, 16 August 1785

ER 1738 P 22 December 1740

Daughter of Pierre Gareau Saint-Onge (merchant) and Marie-Anne Maugue

Mercerot, Marguerite, Soeur Saint-Hyacinthe

Champlain, 4 April 1691 * Montréal, 9 February 1762

ER 1712 P 1714

Daughter of Pierre Mercerot (carpenter) and Henriette Dandonneau

Mercier, Marie-Dorothée, Soeur Saint-Martin

Sainte-Anne de Beaupré, 17 February 1758 * 24 January 1811

ER 1781 P 13 February 1783

Daughter of Joseph Mercier (habitant) and Marie-Josèphe Caron

Molleur, Marie-Charlotte, Soeur Saint-Alexis

Saint-Étienne-de-Beaumont, 1733 * Montréal, 15 December 1823

ER 20 June 1769 P 18 July 1771

Daughter of Jean-Baptiste Molleur and Marie-Françoise Bourbeau

Morneau, Marie-Josèphe, Soeur Sainte-Cécile

Saint-Roch-des-Aulnaies, 25 October 1755 * 29 October 1821

ER 1774 P 16 December 1776

Daughter of Alexis Morneau and Marie-Françoise Caron

Nafréchoux, Marie, Soeur Saint-Dominique

Montréal, 4 June 1675 * Montréal, 25 March 1755

Daughter of Isaac and Catherine Le Loup

Nepveu, Marguerite, Soeur Sainte-Marguerite

Québec, 29 May 1699 * Québec, 17 June 1734

Daughter of Philippe Nepveu (tailor) and Denise Sevestre

Nepveu, Marie-Josèphe, Soeur Sainte-Françoise

Montréal, 12 April 1718 * 19 January 1797

ER 1744 P 5 December 1745

Daughter of Jean-Baptiste Nepveu (merchant) and Françoise Legras

Paillé, Marie-Madeleine [or Paillart], Soeur Saint-Gertrude

Beauport, 19 October 1681 * Québec, 20 December 1702

Daughter of Léonard Paillé (carpenter) and Louise Vachon

Papineau, Catherine, Soeur Saint-Olivier

Montréal, 10 April 1754 * 25 April 1801

ER 1773 P 22 November 1775

Daughter of Joseph Papineau (master cooper) and Marie-Josèphe Beaudry

Paradis, Brigitte, Soeur Saint-Luce

Saint-Pierre-de-l'Île-d'Orléans, 3 November 1760 * 11 March 1813

ER 1782 P 1 February 1785

Daughter of Ignace Paradis and Thérèse Gaulin

Paré, Catherine, Soeur Saint-Louis-des-Anges

Lachine, 28 August 1698 * Montréal, 7 February 1778

ER 1728 P 9 October 1735

Daughter of Jean Paré (carpenter) and Marguerite Picard

Parent, Élisabeth, Soeur Sainte-Agnès

Beauport, 23 January 1733 * 13 January 1790

ER 1754 P 13 June 1756

Daughter of Joseph Parent (carpenter) and Jeanne Françoise de Mosny

Patenôtre, Catherine, Soeur Sainte-Rose

Batiscan, 26 August 1681 * Montréal, 7 April 1703

Daughter of Damien Patenôtre dit Quatresols (farmer) and Nicole de Bonin

Patenôtre, Marie, Soeur Sainte-Thècle

Laprairie, 1720 * Died at sea, 9 August 1758

EC 1758

Daughter of Jean-Baptiste Patenôtre and Marie-Renée Le Ber

Périnault-Lamarche, Marie-Josèphe, Soeur Sainte-Geneviève

Montréal, 4 September 1756 * 6 April 1807

ER 1774 P 1776

Daughter of Jean-Baptiste Périnault (merchant) and Angélique Harel

Pineau-Laperle, Louise, Soeur Saint-Louis

Cap-de-la-Madeleine, 1665 * Montréal, 8 December 1749

P 25 June 1698

Daughter of Pierre Pineau (farmer) and Anne Boyer

Piot de Langloiserie, Charlotte-Angélique, Soeur Sainte-Rosalie

Montréal, 2 August 1696 * Montréal, 1 May 1744

P 29 April 1722

Daughter of Charles-Gaspard Piot de Langloiserie (officer) and Marie-Thérèse Dugué de Broisbriand

Piot de l'Angloiserie, Marguerite-Suzanne, Soeur Saint-Hippolyte

Varenes, 10 February 1702 * Montréal, 10 February 1781

ER 1720 * P 29 April 1722

Daughter of Charles-Gaspard Piot de Langloiserie (officer) and Marie-Thérèse Duguay de Broisbriand

Piton-Toulouse, Angélique, Soeur Saint-Félix

Verchères, 1693 * Montréal, 5 August 1709

Daughter of Simon Dominique Piton-Toulouse (stone mason) and Marie de Brissac or Brissach

Prémont, Marie, Soeur Saint-Jean-Baptiste

Sainte-Famille-de-l'île-d'Orléans, 13 March 1676 * Montréal, 17 February 1761

P 25 June 1698

Daughter of Jean Prémont (habitant) and Marie Aubert

Prud'homme, Cécile, Soeur Saint-Pierre

Montréal, 9 October 1699 * Montréal, 17 October 1757

P 8 May 1724

Daughter of Pierre Prud'homme and Marie-Anne Chasle

Prud'homme, Élisabeth, Soeur Sainte-Agathe

Montréal, 14 March 1719 * Montréal, 5 March 1809
ER 1734 P 4 July 1737
 Daughter of François Prud'homme (habitant) and Marie-Anne Courault

Prud'homme, Élisabeth, Soeur Saint-Jean-l'Évangéliste
 Montréal, 23 January 1708 * 30 November 1786
ER 1728 P 9 December 1730
 Daughter of François-Xavier Prud'homme (habitant) and Cécile Gervaise

Prud'homme, Jeanne, Soeur Saint-Michel
 Montréal, 2 April 1697 * Montréal, 14 September 1767
P 8 November 1719
 Daughter of François-Xavier Prud'homme (farmer) and Cécile Gervaise

Prud'homme, Marie-Anne, Sœur de la Trinité
 Montréal, 23 July 1723 * 25 April 1784
ER 1732 P 15 June 1734
 Daughter of François Prud'homme and Marie-Anne Courault

Quenneville, Marie-Louise, Sœur Sainte-Brigitte
 Montréal, 4 April 1694 * Montréal, 15 September 1721
 Daughter of Jean-Baptiste Quenneville (beadle) and Louise Lauzon

Racine, Catherine, Soeur Sainte-Agathe
 Château-Richer, 30 November 1685 * Montréal, 3 June 1734
 Daughter of Etienne Racine and Catherine Guyon

Raimbault, Geneviève, Soeur Sainte-Euphrasie
 Montréal, 12 May 1703 * Montréal, 23 February 1775
ER 1720 P 16 August 1722
 Daughter of Pierre Raimbault (royal notary) and Jeanne-Françoise de Saint-Blain

Raizenne, Catherine-Élisabeth, Soeur Saint-Simon
 Lac-des-Deux-Montagnes, 1763 * Montréal, 4 June 1819
ER 1779 P 1 February 1781
 Daughter of Jean-Baptiste Raizenne (habitant) and Charlotte Sabourin

Raizenne, Marie, Sœur Saint-Ignace
 Lac-des-Deux-Montagnes, 14 July 1735 * 20 April 1811
ER 1752 P 25 January 1754
 Daughter of Ignace Rising (habitant) and Marie-Elisabeth Nims

Raizenne, Marie-Madeleine, Sœur Saint-Herman
 Sault-au-Récollet, 21 October 1716 * Montréal, 28 May 1796
ER 1731 P 27 August 1733
 Daughter of Ignace Rising (habitant) and Marie-Elisabeth Nims

Ranger-Paquet, Marguerite-Élisabeth, Soeur de l'Enfant-Jésus
 Montréal, 30 January 1699 * Montréal, 29 January 1772
P 1716
 Daughter of Pierre Ranger-Paquet (mason) and Marguerite Fortin

Rémy, Thérèse, Soeur de l'Annonciation
 Saint-Sauveur, Paris, France 1661 * Montréal, 1 September 1741
ER 1678 P 25 June 1698
 Daughter of Michel Rémy and Elisabeth Lemoyne

Richard, Louise, Soeur Saint-Bernard

Langres, France 6 September 1658 * Montréal, 16 September 1728

ER 1682 P 25 June 1698

Daughter of Didier Richard and Anne Laujarrois

Robichaud, Marie, Soeur Saint-Vincent-de-Paul

Acadia * France, 276 June 1765

Robineau, de Portneuf, Marguerite, Sœur Sainte-Hélène

Montréal, 12 February 1712 * Québec, 1 May 1740

ER 1730 P 5 June 1732

Daughter of Pierre Robineau de Portneuf (officer) and Marie Le Gardeur

Robutel, Suzanne, Sœur Sainte-Cécile

Montréal, 27 March 1690 * Montréal, 9 February 1717

Daughter of Zacharie Robutel (seigneur) and Catherine Lemoyne

Rochon, Catherine

Sainte-Famille-del'île d'Orléans, 9 February 1674

Daughter of Gervais Rochon (mason) and Marie-Madeleine Guyon. Left the community 25 June 1698 and married Étienne Audibert, 19 August 1699.

Roy, Marguerite, Soeur de la Conception

Laprairie, 4 June 1674 * Montréal, 13 December 1749

ER 1689 P 25 June 1698

Daughter of Pierre Roy (farmer) and Catherine Ducharme

Sabourin, Catherine, Soeur Sainte-Ursule

Sainte-Anne-du-Bout-de-l'île, 20 July 1739 * Montréal, 14 March 1825

ER 1754 P 25 October 1756

Daughter of Jean-Baptiste Sabourin and Sarah-Catherine Henneson

Sabourin, Élisabeth, Sœur Saint-Vincent-de-Paul

Lac-des-Deux-Montagnes, 26 April 1745 * Saint-Laurent, 14 April 1809

ER 1767 P 14 March 1769

Daughter of Jean-Baptiste Sabourin and Sarah-Catherine Henneson

Sabourin, Marie-Anne-Reine, Soeur Saint-Barthélemy

Sainte-Anne-du-Bout-de-l'île, 25 December 1735 * Montréal, 14 April 1827

ER 1754 P 25 October 1756

Daughter of Jean-Baptiste Sabourin and Sarah-Catherine Henneson

Sabourin, Marie-Charlotte, Sœur Sainte-Élisabeth

Sainte-Geneviève, 24 August 1746 * 13 December 1815

ER 1765 P 19 January 1767

Daughter of Jean-Baptiste Sabourin and Marie-Anastasie Raizenne

Sayward, Marie, Soeur des Anges

New York, 11 April 1681 * Québec, 18 May 1717

ER 1698 P 1700

Daughter of William Sayward (farmer) and Marie-Madeleine Rishworth

Sénécal, Marguerite, Soeur Saint-André

Montréal, 19 January 1685 * Montréal, 5 December 1721

Daughter of Jean Sénécal (habitant) and Catherine Deseine

Sénécal, Marie-Thérèse, Soeur Saint-Michel

Montréal, 30 December 1674 * Montréal, 17 March 1703

P 25 June 1698

Daughter of Jean Sénécal (habitant) and Catherine Deseine

Sicard, Catherine, Soeur Sainte-Rose

Montréal, 18 December 1686 * Montréal, 23 March 1756

Daughter of Jean Sicard (miller) and Catherine Lauzon

Sicard, Marie, Soeur Saint-Anselme

Montréal, 5 September 1691 * Montréal, 14 February 1772

ER 1712 **P** 12 May 1714

Daughter of Jean-Simon Sicard (miller) and Catherine Lauzon

Soumillard, Catherine, Soeur de la Purification

Troyes, France, 1656 * Montréal, 16 August 1699

ER September 1672 **P** 1676

Daughter of Orson Soumillard (soldier) and Marie Bourgeois

Tailhandier, Madeleine-Angélique, Soeur Saint-Basile

Boucherville, 4 August 1698 * Montréal, 12 April 1748

Daughter of Marien Tailhandier (royal notary) and Madeleine Beaudry

Tailhandier, Marie, Soeur Saint-Augustin

Boucherville, 1699 * Château-Richer, 13 October 1728

Daughter of Marien Tailhandier dit la Beaume (royal notary) and Madeleine Beaudry

Tardy, Marie

Besançon, France, 1657 * Besançon, 10 September 1695

ER 1682 **EC** 1691

Testu du Tilly, Françoise, Soeur Saint-Raphaël

L'Ange-Gardien, 2 September 1682 * Montréal, 10 December 1749

Daughter of Pierre Testu du Tilly (merchant) and Geneviève Rigaud

Thaumur, Marie-Jeanne, Soeur Sainte-Cécile

Montréal, 27 September 1700 * Montréal, 29 October 1757

Daughter of Dominique Thamur de la Source (surgeon) and Jeanne Prud'homme

Thibierge, Catherine, Soeur Sainte-Véronique

Montréal, 17 May 1697 * Montréal, 1 December 1763

ER 8 November 1719

Daughter of Jacques Thibierge (gunsmith) and Marie-Anne Joly

Thibierge, Madeleine, Soeur Saint-Etienne

Québec, 21 December 1693 * Canada, 6 September 1776

ER 1714

Daughter of Jacques Thibierge (gunsmith) and Marie-Anne Joly

Thibierge, Marie-Anne, Soeur Sainte-Pélagie

Québec, 15 May 1690 * Montréal, 21 March 1757

Daughter of Jacques Thibierge (gunsmith) and Marie-Anne Joly

Tillière, Marie-Anne, Soeur Saint-Jean

Montréal, 1764 * 7 April 1825

ER 1786 **P** 5 May 1788

Daughter of Mathieu Tillière dit Saint-Jean (shoemaker) and Catherine Beaumont

Tonty, Marie-Hélène, de, Soeur Saint-Antoine

Montréal, 19 October 1690 * Montréal, 14 June 1748

Daughter of Alphonse de Tonty (officer) and Marie-Anne Picoté de Belestre

Trottier, Catherine, Soeur Saint-François

Batiscan, 1674 * Montréal, 8 July 1701

P 6 August 1698

Daughter of Jean-Baptiste Trottier (wheelwright) and Geneviève Lafond

Trottier, Marguerite, Soeur Saint-Joseph

Batiscan, 21 April 1678 * Québec, 6 October 1744

ER 1692 **P** 6 August 1698

Daughter of Jean-Baptiste Trottier (wheelwright) and Geneviève Lafond

Turcot, Thècle, Soeur Saint-Anselme

Sainte-Famille-de-l'île-d'Orléans, 9 July 1759 * 16 May 1825

ER 1781 **P** 24 September 1783

Daughter of Pierre Turcot and Marguerite Gendron

Verreau, Madeleine, Soeur Saint-Régis

Château-Richer, 27 December 1762 * Montréal, 23 January 1841

ER 15 August 1780 **P** 13 February 1783

Daughter of Barthélemy Verreau and Madeleine Gaudin

Viger, Thérèse, Soeur Sainte-Madeleine

Montréal, 17 May 1744 * 10 February 1804

ER 1764 **P** 13 January 1766

Daughter of Jacques Viger (shoemaker) and Marie-Louise Ridday-Beauceron

Vinet, Marie-Charlotte, Soeur de la Nativité

Boucherville, 14 January 1678 * Montréal, 8 April 1703

Daughter of Jean Vinet (habitant) and Jeanne Étienne

Appendix 8¹ - Extracts from the Congrégation de Notre-Dame Account Book, 1753-4, 1778-9, 1790-1

Recette 27 juin 1753-sept 1753

Reçu de mon marchand sur la dotte de ma Sr. Ste Rosalie	100#		
de Mgr Charle(?) pour pension de ses duex filles	178	14	4
de Mr Léry comte de la pen de ses deux filles	141		
pour façon d'ornement des chappelles du roy et fourniture d'hosties	784	17	6
de Mr de Couagne pour parfait payement de la pen de sa fille	162	10	
de la paroisse de La Prairie pour façon de cierge et fourn d'hosties	76	10	
Dr Mr Jacques hervieux comte de la pension de sa niece	19	10	
de Mr Toussaint sur la pension de sa fille	45	13	
du Sieur Charets pour entier payement de la pen de sa fille	102	10	
de Mr Le comte dupré a comte de la pension de ses filles	36	16	
de Madame millet pour parfait payement de la pension de sa fille	47	10	
de plusieurs paroisses pour façon d'ornement et fourniture d'hosties	741	19	9
de Madame Baillardgée sur la pension de sa fille	100		
de Mad Simonette pour l'entier payement de la pen de sa nièce	67	10	
de Mr Neveux pour une année de rente des mil. l. qu'il doit	58		
sur la dotte de ma Ste Francoise, sa fille et un reste			
de comte			
de Mad préfontaine a comte de la pension de sa fille	48		
de Md Chapeau pour entier payement de la pension de sa	96		
fille			
du [?] démouchelle pour deux années de loyer de la	400		
maison qu'il tien de nous			
de Mr Cheneville sur la pen de sa fille		75	10
du Sieur Bernardin pour une année de pension de ma	120		
Soeur Janise[?]			
de Mr Gauche pour la pension des trois petites reame	427	10	
de détroit			
du Sieur rangée sur la pension de La Soeur arsénne	100		
et pour ouvrages deguilles	300	15	
provennant de nôtre métaire de St Charles, trois boeuf		240	
80# pièce			
747# de beurre frais a 10~ La l.	98	10	
288 douzaines boeufs a 7~6~lv.	97	7	
13 mouton a 6# La...		78	
3 veaux à 12#		96	
15 couples de poulets a 15...		11	5
et trois couples et demi de dinde 50~ Le c.	8	15	
Les articles c'y dessus monte à la somme de	3800	77	
Suite de la recette en l'autre part montant a la somme de	3800	77	
Recu de notre terre de La prairie deux boeuf estime	160		
80# piece			
167# de boeuf fondu m. 70~ La	162		
un veau de 12#	12		
onze douzaines 1/2 oeuf a 7~ 6~	4	5	3
Le total	4138	12	10

St Hipp. Sup. St Pelagie, assist, St Simon, m de nov, St Ambroise,
Ste Cecile, C, La Croix, dép.

Depense - 27 juin 1753- septembre 1753

Payé à Mon. La Corne l'ainé pour planche a nous vendues	300
Mr. Bailly pour du bled qu'il [?] celle de	788

¹ 3/A02, Livres des Recettes et Depenses Generales, 1753-1793.

A Mr Jorien [?] cent vingt neuf livres cinq sols	129	5		
Au Sieur Augustin [?] pur frette et pour un voyage aux barque 74	15			
Payé au Sieur Jean Crevier a comte du bois qu'il a fourny	498			
Au Sieur La Frenaye [?] pour six targettes a 4#	24			
Au Sieur Joseph dumest [?] pour avoir tuer deux boeuf	6			
A Pierre Main a comte de ses gages	72	26		
A Francois Maquignon sur son travail	47	12	6	
A Courtois sur son ouvrage		38	10	
à Thomas Levreux pour son entretien	31	1		
à son frère sur ses gages	47	7		
à Leonnard sur son ouvrage		47	7	
à Barnabé à comte de son travail	47	5		
Payé a Mad Caron pour peaux de cariboux	52	10		
à chartran pour avoir fauché six journé ½ à Verdun [?]	16	10		
à Charle Milot sur ses gages		26	8	4
à Denis [?] Landlois a comte de ce que nous luy devons	21	13	3	
Au Soeur parand tonnellerie sur son ouvrage	16			
à Jolicoeur jardinier sur son travail		73		
Tout ce que c'y dessus monte à la somme de	1818	6	7	
Suite de la dépense				
Payé au bouché pour 652# de boeuf a 4~ La livre	130	8		
à Bonneville sur son service à la Comm.	39	14	2	
à Louis Lacomble sur ses gages	40	10		
A rené nouveaux a comte de son entretien	75	12		
Payé pour veaux, [tourte?] et poulets		46	15	
Pour six [?] lait	13	17	6	
Pour fèves, pois, navot, poisson, oeufs, concombre	115			
Pour la Comm en toile, cotton et rubans noir	94			
Payé pour St. Charles a neuf personnes pour avoir coupe a l'arpent	180	9	10	
A plusieurs autres pour les recoltes tant au mois [?] la journée 131	7	6		
Payé à La Prairie au Sieur Baritau [?] sur ses gages	196		3	
Pour bled et autre besoin que nous leur avons fourmay	116			
à plusieurs personnes pour avoir travailler aux récoltes	771	10		
et au foin au même endroit				
Provenu de notre pointe St. Charles dépensé à notre comm.	240			
trois boeufs estimé 80# piece				
13 moutons a 6#	78			
8 veaux a 12#		96		
247# de beure frais à 10	98	10		
788 douzaines boeufs à 7~6		97	2	
15 couples de poulets à 15~		11	5	
3 couples ½ de dinde à 50~		8	15	
de notre terre de La Prairie depense a notre comm.	160			
deux boeuf estime 80# piece				
un veau de 12#	12			
167# de beurre [fondu?] 20~ la liv.	162			
Onze douzaine ½ boeuf a 7~ 6~	4	5	3	
Monte Le Total				
St Hipp, sup. Ste Pelagie, assist, St Simon, mait des novs,				
St Ambroise, Ste Cecile C, La Croix, Dep.				
Recette - septembre-decembre 1753				
Recue de sa maj pour gratification la somme de	3000			
De Mr Le comte dupré sur la pension de ses deux filles celle de	124	11	3	
Ce que c'y dessus monte à la somme de _.	3124	11	3	
Suite de la Recette				
Recu de Mr Martel pour entier payement des	179	3	4	

pensions de ses filles				
De Mr L�ry de la pen de ses deux filles	215	12		
De Mr. Papin sur la dotte de ma soeur Ste Rosalie	12			
De Mr. Touissaint pour la pen de sa fille	26	11	6	
Du Sieur Fran�ois demers sur la succession de ma Soeur St Arsenne	500			
De Mr Ch�neville a compte de la pen de sa fille	96	5		
De Mad L'etant[?] pour entier payement de la Dotte de ma s. Ste Rose, sa fille	100			
De Mr St. Ange [Aug] pour parfait payement de la pension de la petit [?]	25			
De Mad. Auge biron pour deux ann�es de rente et arr�rage	70	11		
De Mad La Colombi�re pour entire payement de la pen de sa demoiselle	150			
Pour fa�on de biscuit		42		
De plusieurs paroisses pour des facons de cierges et fourniture d'hosties	69			
Pour ouvrages des chappelles du roy		82		
De Mr. [beauzele?]		10	13	9
De Mad. du bisson pr entier payement de ce quelle nous devoir de feu [tranchemontr..?]	244			
De Mad Lacorne sur la succession de ma soeur du St Sacrement	150			
De la paroisse de Longueil pour ouvrage et facon de cierge	52	10	6	
De Mad. [gapien?] a comte de la pen de sa fille	100			
De Mad. duChouquette pour facon de chandelle	21			
De Mad pr�fontaine sur la pension de sa fille	30			
Du Sieur Lamarche pour ma soeur St Raphael, sa fille	77	7	6	
Provennant de notre m�taire de St Charles deux boeufs estim� � 80# piece	160			
260 minot de pois 3# Le minot	780			
deux vaches estim� a 50# piece	100			
20 cochons gras pesant 170# pi�ce et 160# a 10~ La livre	1650			
436 de beur sal� � 12~ La L		261	12	
384 de beur fond a 18~ La livre	345	12		
21 couples de dindes a 6# L		126		
6 couples d'oise a 5# L	30			
6 poules a 30 pi�ce		9		
13 couples de chapons a 45 L		29	5	
dix cochons de [?] a 50~	25			
de notre terre de La prairie quatre vaches estim� � 50# pi�ce	700			
7 couples de poulet a 20	7			
45# de beur sal� a 12~	27			
de Verdun 30# minot et demie de pois a 3#	91	10		
84 minot d'avoine a 25 l	105			
4 veux a 14 pi�ce	56			
Le total de ces trois mois	9381	4	10	
St Hipp. sup. Ste Pelagie, Assist, St Simon, mait des novs, St Ambroise, Ste Cecile, C, La Croix, dep.				
Depense - 27 septembre-27 decembre 1753				
Pay� a Mr Varin [?] paire mil livre sur la gratification pour argent ~a nous preter La somme de	1000			
� Mr Gamelin aupy[?] sur la ditte gratification pour vin eau de vie et autres marchandises A nousournay celle de	1000			
� Mr guillimin pour sucre, raisin, ris, [?] amande, vinaigre, huile d'olive et ditte [?], moul�, [?]	934	8		

et autre provision			
Et à ma soeur de La Nativité [?] sur la susdite gratification	65	12	
Payé a Mr Talbot pour quatre cent de pommes	14		
a 3# 10~ Le cent			
Au Sieur antoine Lenoir menuisier à conte	179		3
de son ouvrage La somme de			
à Pierre main sur ses gages celle de	48	16	6
à francois maquignon[?] a comte de son travail	39	15	
Au Sieur parent tonnelier pour son ouvrage	36		
A Mad. bisette pour avance a nous faite	34	5	
A la brianne sur ses gages	33	1	8
A Loüis Lacombe a compte de ce que nous luy devons	38	7	6
Payé pour 36# de cire à 3# 10~ La Livre La somme de	176		
Et pour huit livres et un quart[?] ditte de jeune a 55e celle de 22	13	6	
A Thomas Levreux donne sur son entretien	28	4	
à jolicoeur a comte de son travaille	43	10	
à bibant[?] pour un mois degage	23	10	
A pierre Leveraux sucre que nous lui devons	15		
à deux personnes pour avoir travailler au récolte	28	10	
Payé au Sieur martial pour avoir couvert	150		
un coste de la grange de St Charles			
Au même pour quelque reparation a notre comm. celle de	56		
A charle milot a comte de son travail		56	10
A barnabé sur ses gages	18	17	6
à rene neveux sur son entretien	29	19	
à deux petits garçons pour leur entretien	32	2	6
Payé au Sieur Etienne papillon maitre de barque pour frette	31	5	
A michel courtois a comte de son travail	24		
A versaille suivant le billet de francois dauphins	20		
A baptiste hémelin sur sus gages	33	6	
A denis Lirlandois entier payement de son travaille	91	14	
A joseph reine[?] a comte de ses gages	51	17	6
à plusieurs personnes pour 8 minot de pois et six	58		
minot de feves a 4# et 4# 10~			
A quatre femme pour avoir lavé nos lessives	29	10	
A cinq chartier [?] pour des voyages aux barque	9	10	
Payé a Mr Martel pur 45# et demi de fert[?] a 7~ 6~ 1.	15	18	6
Au Sieur Le Fesvre[?] a Comte d'un [?]	24		
neuf à faite pour St Charles			
Au Sieur Lamarche pour avoir tuer 5 cochons a 15	3	15	
Au remoneau[?] pour Les cheminee qu'ils ont ramoner			
Monte tout les articles cy de plus a la somme de	4456	3	5
Suite de la depense	4456	3	5
Payé pour 1167# ½ boeuf a 4~ la livre la somme de	233	18	
Au bonne home Languedoc a comte de son ouvrage	33	17	6
à Pierre felton pour parfait payement de ses gages	29	9	2
à francois dumest pour ce que nous luy devons	57	12	
de son travaille à La Prairie			
A deux engages a compte de leurs gages au meme endroit	27	5	
A jeannet St Pierre sur son travaille à la ditte terre	49	5	
Pour 32 pot de melasse ~a 30 L p.	48		
Payé pour 75 douzaines et demi boeuf a 7~ 6e et 10~	33	15	
Pour moutons et poulet	8	15	
Et pour poisson aussi		11	10
Deux poches de navot a 3#		6	
Six pelles a 12~ piece et au bon homme pour avoir bluté	6	19	

à deux filles pour avoir lave la lessive à St Charles	3		
Pour ouvrage de forge ches Le Sieur du rageau	102	10	
Scavoir 52# 10 pour notre comm. et 50# pour St Charles	107	10	
Et pour toile broquettes aussi pour le même endroit	21		
Payé pour la comm. pour coton en cinquante et autres de	248		
demie aux etamine, toile, bas [?], fil pour le tout celle de			
Provenant de nôtre metaire de St Charles dépensé	160		
à nôtre comm. deux boeuf estime 80# piece			
La somme de			
Deux vaches aussi a 50# celle de	100		
10 cochons gras pesant 170# pièce et 5 dit pesant 160# a	875		
10~ La livre La somme de			
784 de beur fondü a 18~ La livre	255	12	
336 de beur salé a 12 L	201	12	
21 couples de dindes a 6# Le	126		
6 couples d'oix a 5# L	30		
6 poules a 30 a piece	9		
13 couples de chapons a 45~	29	5	
10 cochons de lait a 50~ piece	25		
10 cochons gras dépensé a St Charles 5 dit pesant	875		
170# et 5 de 160# a 10 L			
260 minots de pois a 3# Le minot pour engraisé[?]	780		
les dits cochons celle de			
200# de beur 100# fondu et 100# ditte de salé a 18~ et 12~ L	150		
De notre terre de La Prairie quatre vaches a 50# piece	200		
Sept couples de poulet a 20~ et 45# de beur salé à 12~ L	34		
De Verdun 30 minot et demi de pois a 3# L	91	10	
84 minot d'avoine à 75~ L	105		
4 veaux estime 14# piece	56		
Total	9379	16	10
St. Hipp. sup., St Pelagie, assist, St Simon, mait des novs.,			
St Ambroise, Ste Cecile, La Croix, dep.			
Recette - 27 decembre 1753-27 mars 1754			
Recu par Mon gervais pour la dotte de ma soeur	2000		
St Henry La somme de			
De Mr Bailly pour pension de ses deux demoiselles celle de	300		
De la fabrique de la chine pour façon de cierge et	123		
fourniture d'hosties			
De la paroisse de ville marie pour facon de cierge	142	19	
De Mr Jolie pour une année de pension de ma Soeur	120		
Ste Julienne, sa fille			
Du Margguiller de La valtry pour des facons de cierges	48		
et fourniture d'hosties			
De Mr Manthet pour une année de pension	150		
de Mademoiselle, sa fille			
De Mr gervais pour façon de cierge et ouvrage	88	6	2
Et de madame Larche pour une année de pension de sa fille	150		
De la fabrique de l'Assomption pour fourniture d'hosties	42		
et ouvrage			
De Mr Le comte dupré sur les pensions de ses deux filles	86		
De la paroisse de [bertier?] pour fourniture d'hosties	16	4	9
De Mr Toussaint a comte de la pension de sa fille	47	5	
Du marg de la pointe claire pour fourniture d'hosties	24		
De Mr Déat pour la pension de ma soeur st antoine	140		
Des milles-illes pour facon de cierge et fourniture d'hosties	40	17	
de Mr chérrier sur La pension de sa fille	60		

De la fabrique de répantgnie pour une année de fourniture d'hosties	12		
De Joseph dumest pour facon de cierge pour la Cong des hommes	14	10	
De saint sulpice pour facon de cierge et fourniture d'hosties	160	10	
Pour ouvrage deguilles	149	18	
De la paroisse de St Vincent de Paul pour façon de cierge et fourniture d'hosties	37		
De Mad périgny pour une année de rente de 1000# pour ma soeur de Séraphin	50		
Pour ma soeur Ste rosalie	30		
De mad. Boucherville pour sa retraite	9		
De ma soeur st michel pour des herbes et feves vendu	83	18	
De plusieurs personnes pour des facon de biscuit	54	10	
Et du Sieur couturier sur la dotte de ma soeur St amable, sa fille	800		
Provenant de notre metaire de St Charles 5 veaux estimé 10# piece	50		
26 douzaines d'oeur a 15s à d	18		
et 12# de beur frais à 18~ L	10	16	
Le total	5064	13	11
St Hipp, sup, Ste Pelagie, assist, St Simon, m.de novs, St Ambroise, Ste Cécile, C, La Croix dep.			
Depense- 27 decembre 1753 -17 mars 1754			
Payé a Mon Bailly pour 600 minot de bled a 3# 5~ le minot La somme de	1950		
A Mr. Gervais pour 20 minots [?] de l'année passé celle de	100		
A Mr. dégage pour un reste de comte	31		
A Tonneville[?] sur ses gages	54	6	8
Au bon homme Languedoc [?]entier payment de ce que nous luy devons	40	2?	6
Les articles cy depuis monte	2176	2	2
Payé à deux boucher pour 834# de boeuf a 5~ et 6~ l	217	10	6
à bariteaux a comte de son travaille celle de	104	10	
A Simon Martin sur son ouvrage	61	12	6
à françois mathieu pour un reste de comte	25	10	
à champagne [?] a comte de son travail	31	5	
à jolicoeur sur ses gages	37		
Payé a 5 personnes, pour 61 cordes et demie de bois a 12# 11#, 10# et 8# Le de	671	10	
A Thomas Levreause sur son entretien	135	1	6
à Louis La comble pour son travaille		39	
A baptiste hémelin à comte de ses gages	52	7	6
A barnabe sur son ouvrage	56	17	6
Au sieur verdon pour 42 barique et demi de charbon a 40~	85		
à courtois a comte de ses gages	16	10	
A Labriance sur son travail		34	15
à Joseph racine sur ce que nous Luy devons	24		
Au Sieur Laramer pour des fagots	58	10	
A pierre main sur ses gages		15	5
A charle milot a comte de son travaille	12	17	6
Payé au Sieur Le noir menuisier sur son ouvr	46	17	6
A plusieurs femmes pour avoir lavé nos lessives	31		
A rené neveux pour son entretien	84	15	
Au petit garçon aussi sur leur entretien	16	2	6
Au nommée La marche pour son traville a La Prairie	29		

à françois dumest pour entier payement aussi au même endroit 33	10		
Payé a denis Lirlandois pour parfait payement de ses gages	67	12	9
A maquignon a comte de son travaille	51	10	6
Au ramoneur et au bon homme roy pour avoir bluter	5		
A giroux pour avoir fait plusieurs harnois a La Pointe St Charles	28		
A nos Soeurs du Lac sur Leur entretien et nourriture	503	1	
Payé pour toille, bas, soye [?] et autres marchandises	141	7	6
pour la comm celle de			
Et pour 106 douzaines d'oeufs a 15~ 12~ et 10~	68	14	6
Pour dindes, chapons et per d'oix	23	3	
Provenant de notre métaire de St Charles dépensé	50		
La Comm. 5 veaux estimé a une pistole piece			
26 douzaines et demi d'oeuf à 15 L	18		
douze livres de beur frais à 18~ L	18		
Total	5063	15	4
St Hipp, sup, St Pelagie, Assist., St Simon, mait des novs,			
St Ambrois, Ste Cecile, Cs, La Croix, dep.			
Recette depuis 27 mar 1754-27 juin 1754			
Recue de mess du sem pour ouvrage deguille, fournitures	288	1	6
d'hosties et de biscuits la somme de			
De Mademoiselle de la Corne sur la succession de ma soeur	557		
du St. Sacrement			
De Mon. Senneville pour l'entier payement de la pension	298	15	
de Mademoiselle sa soeur			
Du Sr Soussaints[?] sur la pension de sa fille	88	10	
Et Du Sr Jacques Hervieux aussy sur la pension de sa fille	35	9	4
Recue de Sieur Toussaint [?] Sr Bourassa sur la dotte de	1151#	12	
ma soeur St Albert sa fille La somme de 1151# 12~			
scavoir pour deux années de rentes echüe le 20 may 1754,			
170# et 981# 12~ sur le principale pour le tout			
Du Sieur Charle Reaume a comte des pensions de ses filles	151	10	
Du Sr Léry aussy sur la pension de sa fille	30	5	
Et du Sr hervieux a comte de la pension de sa fille	58	15	
Recue de la fabrique de St Laurent pour fourniture d'hosties 27			
et façon de cierges, la s.m. de			
Pour des biscuits vendüe	29	2	
Du Sr Prejan[?] pour rentes, ouvrages d'un arpent de terre	60		
à la côte St. Paul			
Du Sr Le Comte Dupre a comte de la pension de ses filles	32	15	
De Mademoiselle le févre aussy a comte de la pension de sa fille	100		
Et pour des hosties vendus	5		
Recüe de plusieurs personnes pour ouvrage deguille	139	2	
Plus, de Sr La Marche sur les pensions de ma soeur	176		
St Raphaël sa fille			
Pour la facon d'un grand câdre d'oré	60		
De la paroisse de [?] ville, pour façon de cierge	22	17	
De Mon de la Coudraye pour ouvrage deguille	19		
De Mad. Guillory sur la pension de sa fille	96		
Et du Sr Antoine Pistolet, aussy sur la pension de sa fille	75		
Reçüe de Mon de Chambeau sur la pension	6		
de mesdemoiselles, ses filles			
Du Sr De Mouchel sur la Loier de la maison quil tient de nous 182	10		
Du Sr de lorme a comte de la pension de sa fille	124		
De trois retraitsantes	18		
De Mad. Dubisson a comte de la pension de Mad. Sa fille	12		
Et du marg de la paroisse de Boucherville pour	15		

une année de fourniture d'hosties			
Reçu de Mad Durozeau pour une année de rentes,	70		
d'un placement quelle tient de nous			
Provenant de notre metaire de St Charles, scavoir 960 minots	3120		
de ble froment à 3# 5~ le minot			
Plus, 830 minots d'avoine a 25 le m.	1037	10	
Un boeuf estimé selon le cours du marché	90		
Quinze veaux a une pistole La piece	150		
Quatre-vingt cinq livres de beur frais a 12 la #	51		
Tout ce que cy dessous	8431	13	10
Recue de meme endroit 84 douzaines oeufs a 8 et 7~ la douz	31	10	
De notre terre de La Prairie 40 minots de bled	455		
froment a 3# 5 le m			
Plus 204 minots d'avoine à 25~	255		
Trente minots de pois a 3# 10 le minot	105		
Deux boeufs estimés aussy a 90# piece	180		
Quatre veaux d'une pistole piece	40		
Et 38 dousaines d'oeufs ½ a 8~ la douz	15	4	
Recue 36# de beur frais à 12 la livre	21	12	
Le total recette	9534	19	10
Produit de la Recette de Notre Comm. pendant l'année			
cy devant marquée commencie le 27 juin 1753			
et finie le 27 juin 1754			
Scavoir: Pour les Mois de Juillet, aoust et sept	4138	12	10
Les trois mois suivant oct, nov, dec	9381	4	10
Les trois ensuite - jan. fev. mars	5064	13	11
Le Produit des trois derniers mois, avril may et juin	9534	19	10
Le Total...de la susditte année	28119	11	5
Depense - mar 1754-juin 1754			
Payé au Mess du sém pour dimes de 960 minots de bled	223	5	
froment a 3#10~ plus pour 290 minots et demie de pois			
a 4# et pour 916 minots d'avoine a 25~ pour le tout			
A mes susdits Mess pour rentes de nos terres et emplacements 38	10		
de ville, celle de			
Aux Rev. Peres Jesuittes, aussy pour rentes de notre terre	13	10	
de la prairie de la magdalan			
Et a Mon La Coudraye pour du bled a nous vendue L'année dernier	147		
Payé a Mon. Lery une pièce de toile de beaufort de 212~ a 55~115	10		
Monte ce que cy dessus	537	15	
Payé au sieur Jacques roy macon sur la Grange	1000		
qu'il nous commence a St Charles			
Au même pour des reparations faites a nos cheminées et	345	10	
autres ouvrages celle de			
Au nommé Joli Coeur, jardinner sur son ouv	29		
A courtois sur ses gages	47	19	
A Louïs Riord pour L'entier payement de son service	33	7	
A Pierre Champagne a comte de ses gages	50		
Et a Pierre Levaux aussy sur son ouvrage	27	7	6
Payé au Sr Antoine Le noir pour ouvrage de Munissier	61	15	2
Au sieur Montignie une paire de roux a nous vendu celle de	30		
Au nomme la combe pour l'entier payement de ses gages	20		
A René Neveux sur son entretient	21	10	
A Barnabe Lirlandois sur son ouvrage	49	12	6
A Pierre Main sur son ouvrage à notre jardin de St Charles	26	5	
A Batiste Hemelin pour parfait payement de son service	11	7	6
Et a deux hommes pour avoir blutés nos farines	5		

Payé au Sr Couvion pour 3[?] cordes et trois cordons de bois a 6# et 21# la corde	145		
Au même pour cinq vingt pieux de cedre	50		
A thomas le vrau sur son entretien	24	10	
à deux petits garçons aussy sur leur entretien	15	12	
à François Rinville sur son ouvrage à notre terre de La Prairie	46		
A veronique duquest sur ses gages au dit lieux	21		
Et au Sr Lengevin pour avoir fait la clouture de notre petit jardin	30		
Payé a deux bouchers pour 646# de boeuf à 6~ la #	193	16	
à trois forgerons celle de 367# 17~ scavoir 140# 7~ pour ouvrage fait pour notre comm et 227# 10~ pour notre pte St Charle	367	17	
Au Sr delorme pour la cloture de notre emplacement de [?] Madame Baron	38	10	
Pour Etoffe, Etamine, toile, coton, cloux, vitres, file, et soyes	514	5	
Pour 28 douzaines de tourtes a different prix	29	10	
Deux cent soixante et six douzaines d'ouefs a 9.8[?] et 4~ la douz	102	6	6
Et pour du poissons acheté au marché	63	3	
Payé au Ramoneur 2# 10~	2	10	
Provenant de notre meterie de St Charles, depensés a notre Comm. scavoir y 60 minots de bled a 3# 5~ le minot	4157	10	
La somme 3120#, et 830 minots d'avoine a 25~ le m. celle de 1034# 10~ et pour le tout, La somme de			
Plus un boeuf estimé selon la cour du marché	90		
Quinze veaux a 10# piece	150		
Quatre-vingt livres de beur frais à 12~ la livre	51		
Quatre vingt douzaines d'ouefs à 8 et 7~ la douz	31	10	
De notre terre de la prairie, deux boeufs aussy estimes suivant le cours du marché	180		
Plus quatre veaux a une pistole piece	40		
Trent six livres de beur frais a 12~ la #	21	12	
Montent les articles cy dessus à la somme de suite de la dépense	8662	2	8
Cent quarante minots de bled recuilly sur la ditte terre de la prairie a 3# 5~ le minot	455		
Plus, deux cent quatre minot d'avoine a 25~ le Minot celle de	255		
Trente minots de pois a 3# 10~ recuilly aussy sur la dite terre	147		
et 12 minots que nous leurs a avons acheté au même prix			
Et trente huit douz doeufs à 8~	15	4	
Total	9534	6	2
juillet, aoust, et sept	4137	8	1
oct, nov, dec	9379	16	10
jan. fev., mar	5063	15	4
avril, may, juin	9534	6	2
Total	28115	6	5
La recette excede la depense de 4# 5~ Normant			
Recette - juin-septembre 1778			
Des Mess du Sem sur lett d'echange de 1777	3000		
Plus fab - cierges, hosties	409		
Sieur Racine 1 an rente - emplacement	200		
Mad Macortie sur pen dem	100		
Laine vendu	153	10	
Sieur Baptiste Provos - terre il tient de nous	300		
Mad Meziere - compte - pen	96		
[borte?] vendu et poires	107	7	
Mad Sanguinette - pen - niece	215	10	

Sieur Pampalon - 1 an rente terrain	236	5	
Mr. Beaubien - sur pen - fille	109		
Sieur Gabriel Courtois - dotte - St Andre	98		
Mr de Cuagne sur pen	56		
Ouv. D'aiguille	71		
Mr Carignan -sur pen	60		
2 paires boeuf echange pour 2 chevaux	360		
Mad Cardinal - compte pen	75	16	
Sieur Sanfacon - parque au Baron	48		
Mad Dumet — ent pay pen	81		
Vieux cheval vendu	36		
Sieur de Eve [?] - sur pen	66		
Mad. Desotelle - reste pen	32		
Sieur Linnois - compte pen	52		
Mad. Portugais - sur pen	45		
Une Angl - sur pen	35		
2 Angl — sur pen	212		
aumone pour le parment violet	102		
St Paul — 21 mouton a 10# piece	210		
2 [?] a 12#	24		
158 douz doeufs a 12~	89	16	
De l'ile St Paul encore 16 couple de pigeons a 20~	16		
18 Couples de poulet	18		
St Charles 167 liv de beurre a 20~	167		
30 coup de poulet a 20~	30		
88 douz doeufs a 12~	52	16	
6 veau a 12#	72		
4 cochons maigres a 18#	72		
Total	7128		
Ignace, Ste Claire, Rose, La Croix, L'Assomption			
Depense - juin-sept. 1778			
2 barriques de vin 50 piastres chaque	600		
1 qt de castonnade de 399 a 78# le quintal	277	17	
2103# de Boeuf a 9# 8~ 7d	832	2	
1 qt de rom de 62 gal a 7# 4~	446		
une caisse ½ d'huile d'olive de 24 flacons	144		
un devant d'autel de damas violet	141		
ayant reçu par le dit parment 102# en aumone			
4 veltes de vin et 3 de rom	93	15	
42 cordes de bois a 22# 21 et 18# et deux [?]	835		
pour l'avoir fait charier	54		
19 couples de dindes a 7# 6# et 5#	176		
poisson et pois verts	97	4	
fait bucher 38 cordes et demie de bois a 40	77		
cloux, lepinette, du balay	26	12	
avoir fait faire 30 arpens ½ de faussay a 40~	61		
Sieur Raphael pour ouv St Paul	133		
Sieur Chenet - avoir racom La cheminée	24		
Avoir achetté 2 cheval de 30 piastres chaque et un de 26 piastres	516		
Une grande marmitte	33		
Sieur provau - ouv.	34	10	
86# de caffé a 26 et 20	95	9	?
20 aulnes serge noir a 3# 10	70		
6 barriques de charbon a 3# 5	21		
tavelle, flanelle, soye et fil	35		
11 Aulne de coty a 3# 10	39		

plus per travaillé au foin	604	6
plus eng - travail	838	
Ile St Paul Depense à notre Comm		
21 mouton a 10# piece	210	
2 veau a 12#	24	
158 douz doeufs a 12~	89	16
16 coup de pigeons a 20~ le cent	16	
18 coup de poulet a 20~	18	
St Charles		
167# de beure a 20	167	
30 coup de poulet a 20~	30	
88 douz doeufs a 12~	52	16
6 vaux a 12#	72	
Total	7108	17
Ignace, Claire, Rose, La Croix, L'Assomption		
Recette - sept-dec 1778		
Montgolfier - 1 ann pen de Madelle desaunier	132	
Savonage de la paroisse	185	
1 ann pen de Serée	246	
petit creche vendu — varenne	70	
2 angl. - pen	130	10
savon [?] - Bon Secours	35	
pen - sur petit Asquine	96	
cierges et hosties	426	15
Mad. Chaubert - compte - pen	96	
Laine vendu	100	10
Mad. Deberge sur pen	108	
Ouv. Deguille	56	
Mr Mercier - compte pen	80	
Garde d'animaux	216	
Mad. [Yousse?] ent. Pay. Pen	116	
Pet. Violard- sur pen.	40	
Mad Circ[?] compte pen	34	
St Charles 2 vaches est 75#	150	
2 cochons gras pesant 100# chaque a 8~	80	
155# de beur fondu a 23~	193	
180 dite de sale a 20~	180	
23# de beure frais a 30~	34	10
13 douz doeufs a 12~	7	16
15 coup de poulet a 20~	15	
17 pet/ cochons de lait a 40~	34	
St Paul - 6 boeuf est 250# paires	750	
3 vaches a 75#	223	
43 moutons a 10	430	
un veau de	12	
12 coup de pigeons a 20~	12	
41 douz doeufs a 12~	24	12
5 cochons de lait a 40~	10	
Total	4347	17
Ignace, Claire, Rose, La Croix, L'Assomp		
Depense - septembre-decembre 1778		
Un quart vin blanc	180	
764# de boeuf a 8 et 7~	273	19
12 minots de sel a 8~	96	
36 poignées de molue a 6# et 5#	200	
72 d'huile d'olive a 45 et 30	121	10

100# de ris a 10~	50	
pour tabac	54	
2 peaux de caribou, avoir passé 2 cotes de [?]	36	
Sieur Demouchelle - ouv de forge	?	
Laver lessives	23	
Sieur panneton - ouv	57	6
Un quart d'[?]	114	
Sieur Chenet, macon	24	
Joseph Peraut - une echelle	18	
Meme pour avoir mis des bardeaux a plus endroits	58	
L'enterrement Sr St Charles	28	
Payé 68# de Castonnade a 20~ et 18~	65	4
Armoire et un baril a la cuisine	36	
56# de café a 20~	56	
fait bucher 40 cordes de bois a 40~	80	
51 ½ de sucre royal a 24~	61	16
plus 15 aul de voile a 45~	33	15
traits mine de plomb et balays	37	10
plus engages travail	350	
St Charles - depense à notre Comm		
2 vaches est 75#	150	
2 cochons gras pesant 100# chaque a 8~	80	
155 de beur fondu a 25?~	193	15
180 dite de salée a 20~	180	
23 de beure frais a 30~	34	10
13 douz doeufs a 10~	7	16
15 coup de poulaits	15	
17 pet. cochons de lait a 40~	34	
St Paul - Dep. a notre Comm		
6 boeufs a 250# paire	750	
3 vaches a 75# piece	225	
43 moutons a 10#	430	
12 coupl. de pigeons a 20~	12	
41 douz. doeufs a 12~	24	12
5 cochons de lait a 40~	10	
Total	4344	11
Ignace, Claire, Rose, La Croix, L'Assomption		
Recette - decembre 1778-mars 1779		
Mon. Brassier - lettre d'echange 1778 sur le quel il y a 300# de benefice	874	
R.P. Felix - ouv et savonage linge d'eglises	102	
Mr Mercier - sur pen	80	
Hosties - fabriques	194	15
Mon Robinson - compte pen.	84	
Mon St George Dupré - 1 an rente	20	
Mr Merand sur pen 2 filles	140	
Madelle Fili - 6 moi loyer	36	
Mon. L'Hardy - compte pen - 2 filles	112	12
Bouquet et grotte vendu	60	
Les 2 Louises - sur pen	147	
Mad. Hervieux - compte pen	58	
Ent pay dotte - Ste Madeline	81	10
Mr Roy - r pen	96	
Mr Porlier - de ½ pen	102	
Pen - gl.	264	
Madelle Sanguinette - comp pen - niece	94	

Made Chaubert sur pen	72	
Mad Pachaut - compte pen	90	
4 mois pen - pet deschand	40	
Mon Poudette - ent pay.	66	
St Paul - 368 min de bled a 5#	1840	
290 min d'avoine a 50~	725	
283 m ½ de pois a 4# 10~	1282	10
4 cochon gras pesant 200# piece a 10	400	
2 tinettes de boeure fondu, une de 60# et l'autre de 50#	110	
112 douz d'oeufs a 20~ et 23# de beurre frais a 20~	135	
un veau de 10# et 4 coup ½ de pigeons a 20~	14	10
60 couples de chapons a 40~	120	
St Charles - 85 minots de bled a 5#	425	
291 minots d'avoine a 50~	727	10
92 minots de pois a 4# 10	414	
29 douz a 20~ et 20 coup de chap a 40~	69	
12 minots d'orge a 40~	24	
un veau de 10# et 3# ½ de beurre frais a 20~	13	10
11 cochons gras pesant 130# piece a 10~	715	
Total	9829	18
Ignace, Ste Claire, Rose, La Croix, L'Assomption		
Depense - decembre 1778-mars 1779		
4 piece de toile de russi a 15 piastres	360	
136 voyages de bois de longueur a 4# 10~	612	
a [?] pour avoir scié 89 cordes de bois a 50~	222	10
au meme pour avoir scié du bois de longueur a 3#	54	
pour poisson	87	
plus 24 livres de tabac a 4# et 3# 12	91	4
avoir fait raccommode la grande chaudière de la voute	42	
pour 90# de caffè a 21~ 22~ et 24~	1000	
pour 8 veltes de vin a 14#	112	
pour 30 brasses de cordes et 30 Anguilles	112	
plus 25 douz ½ d'oeufs a 20~	25	10
pour cloux a couvrir et balait	21	18
payé 31 aul 3/4 de soye noir a 4# 10~ et 4#	130	
un pain de Sucre Royal a 22~	19	10
Pour 12 Barriques de charbons a 40~	24	
Plus 4 feuilles de toile et 6# de poivre	23	8
2 Poignées de [molue?] a 6#	12	
Payé 31 Cordes de Bois a 15# et 11#	428	10
Aux Laveuses de Lessives	18	
Au Sieur Duppleissy, menuisier pour plancher de la manufacture	65	
Sieur Joseph Peraut pour des Lambourdes et madriers	144	
Au meme pour 175 perches et 100 piquets de cedres	99	
Au Sieur Chenette macon pour Le cave et La chaux	87	
De l'isle St Paul Dep à notre Comm 368 m de Bled a 5#	1840	
290 min d'avoine a 50~	725	
285 min ½ de pois a 4# 10	1282	10
4 cochons gras pesant 200# piece a 10~	400	
2 tinettes de beurre fondu une de 60# et une de 50#	110	
112 douz d'oeufs a 20~ et 23# de beurre frais a 20~	135	
un veau de 10# et 4 couples ½ de pigeons a 20~	14	10
60 couples de chapons a 40~	120	
De La pointe St Charles aussi dep a la Comm		
83 min de bled a 5#	425	
291 min d'avoine a 50~	727	10

92 min de pois a 4# 10~	414	
12 min d'orge a 40~	24	
11 cochons gras pesant 130 piece a 10~	715	
29 douz d'oeufs a 20~ et 20 coup de chapons a 40~	69	
un veau de 10# et 3# ½ de beurre frais a 20~	13	10
Total	9829	10

Ignace, Claire, Rose, Croix, L'Assomption

Recette - mars 1779-juin 1779

Recu des Mess du Sem pour une ann de fourn d'hosties et ouvr. d'aiguille	409	
De Mon Brassier sur les letters d'echange de 1778	432	
Pour le Savonnage de la parois et de Bon Secours	223	
De Mon L'Hardi sur la pen. de Sa fille	151	11
Du Sr. Bijou a compte de la maison qu'il tient de nous	425	
Du Sr Carignan a compte de la pen de sa fille	93	
De Madelle Filie pour les derniers 6 mois de loyer	36	
De Mon Guy pour 3 mois de pen d'un pauvre fille	54	
De plus. fab. Pour...cierges et...d'hosties	204	17
De plus. angl. a compte de leur pen	220	10
Recu en aumone	52	
De Mad. Vallée pour 6 mois de pen.	60	
Pour un enfant jesus vendu	20	
Du Sr Deceve sur la pen de sa fille	96	
Pour Boitte, beurre et laine vendu	107	14
De Mad. Desonier pour 6 mois de pen de sa d elle	60	
Pour ouv deguille	73	10
De Mr. Le Beau sur la pen de sa fille	60	
De Mr Portugais pour 3 mois de pen de sa fille	54	
De Mr Prudhomme pour sa pet. Fille	94	
De Mr. Decouagne sur la pen de sa fille	60	14
De notre ile St. Paul - 2 boeufs est. 100# piece	200	
4 moutons a 10# et 5 couples de pigeons a 20~	45	
12# de beurre frais a 20~	12	
203 douz. d'oeufs a 12~	121	16
St Charles - 11[?] Veaux a 10#	110	
228 douz d'oeufs a 12~	136	16
77 de beurre frais a 20~	77	
54 de beurre fondu a 25~	62	
Total	3761	18
Produit General	7128	
	4347	17
	9829	18
	3751	8
	25057	3

Depense - mars-juin 1779

Payé aux mess. Du Sem pour 18 messes 4 de fond et 14 pour nos soeurs mortes et pour dixmes et rentes	274	
A Mon Landrieu pour 1 ann de service et pour remedes	253	
Pour 647 de boeuf a 12 10~ et 9~	356	5
Au Sr Belaire forgeron pour ouv.	144	13
Pr Poisson et anguille	87	5
Au Sr Allard tanneur pour entiere pay	70	
Pour 7 veltes de vin	98	
Avoir fait bucher 21 cordes ½ de Bois a 50~	53	15
Pour soye Ligne du banc et Balait	37	2

23# de Casonnade a 24~ et 4# de poivre 93#	42		
Aux Laveuses de Lessives	30		
Payé 19 aulnes de Camelot a 3# et 50~	69		
6 aul. De Serge noir a 3#			
Avoir fait Scier 19 cordes de bois a 50~	30		
Achete 18 douz doeufs a 20~	18		
Payé une paire de roux	54		
Payé 38 cordes de bois a 8# 10# et 7#	300		
Et pour avoir fait charier le dit bois	44	4	
A plus engages sur leur travail	1049	12	
Ile St Paul - Dep a notre Comm			
2 Boeufs est. 100# piece	200		
4 moutons a 10# et 5 coup de pigeons a 20~	45		
12# de beurre frais a 20~	12		
203 douz d'oeufs a 12~	121	16	
St Charles - 11 Veaux a 10#	110		
228 douz d'oeufs a 12~	136	16	
77# de Beurre frais a 20~	77		
54 de Beurre fondu a 25~	62		
Total	3751	8	
Produit General — Dep.	7108	17	
	4344	11	
	9829	10	
	3751-8		
	25034	6	
La Rec excede la dep 28# 17~			
Montgolfier			
Recette - juin-septembre 1790			
Recu sur Les Lettres de change de 1789	96		
De plusieurs fabriques pr fournitures d'hosties et facon de cierges	198	19	
Du Sieur Amable Latour pour facon de cierges	80		
Du Sr Pampalon pour Sa rente	236		
Du Sr Racine pour reste de sa rente	24	19	1
De M. Mayrand a comte de La rente qu'elle nous doit	28	17	
Du Sieur Leprohon pr soldes La Pension de La petit présault 159	18		
Du Sr Dumyau pour reste de pension de sa niece	72		
De M. Cavallier pr 2 mois de pension de sa niece	24		
De Md [?] pour soldes La pension de Sa fille	47	12	
De Mr Perrault pr pension de sa fille		21	
De Mr Berthelet a comte de La pension de ses deux filles	50		
De Mr Curot a comte de ce qu'il nous doit pr La pension de sa fille	21	18	
De Mr Gautier pour pension de Sa fille	48		
Du Sr Pencontre a comte de La pension de sa Niece	36		
De Md Oxe ? a Comte de La pension de ses Dems	42		
De M. Lasson pour trois mois de Loyer	25		
Pour Reste de Comte De La Veuve Lanarine [?]	25	19	
Recu a comte de La Mission de Quebec sur qu'elle doit a sa [?]28	10		
De Nos Srs de La pte St Charles	10		
Pour l'argent Bruler	7	8	
Pr ouvrage d'aiguilles	24	10	
Pr ouvrages faites et cuire vendu aux engages	30	8	
Pr Laines vendu	95		
Pr plume vendu	21	16	
Pr Canard vendu	26	3	
30 Jeunes Moutons a 7# piece 8 Vieux a 12# font	306		
3 Dite	50		

pr Le paccage de plusieurs animaux Dans Lile	136	
Isle St Paul		
1 Vache estime	50	
13 Moutons a 7# piece	91	
4 Veau a 12# font	48	
5 petit cochons a 30~	7	10
6 couples de poules a 400?	12	
113 Douz Doeufs a 50? y de Beure frais a 12	32	9
St Charles		
1 Vache estime	50	
1 Cochon maigre estime	20	
16 Couples de canard a 40~	32	
45# de beure sale a 10~ et 40 Dite de frais a 12~	46	10
52? Douz doeuf a 5~2 [?] de feves a 6#	25	
De feves a 6#		
Recette Total	2400	6
Ignace, Augustine, assist, Ursule, mait des novs,		
Ste Rose, Ste Hélène		
Depense juin-septembre 1790		
Payé a Mr Binder pour 3 mois de les soins	62	10
Paye au Sieur Amable Latour pour melace et vinaigre	80	10
Livré? A Mr M. Kindlay a comte ce que Nous Lui	165?	42
Devons pour Le pave de La rue de Notre Dame		
Payé au Sr Racine pour Vitre et Mastic	24	
Payé au Sr Duplessis pr peinture et huile a Bruler	21	10
Payé au Sieur Leprohon pr vin Blanc, [?] Vinagire	35	
Payé 850 de Boeuf a 5~ 6~ 7~ ½ font	289	
Pr poisson frais	44	16
Pr Cannelle, Cloux, Cassonade, Remedes pour la [?]	26	16
Pr café et sucre	70	14
Payé pour Le passage Des Soeurs de Quebec	48	
Payé un voyage de pierre a foger et 3 Barriques de Chaux?	16	
Pr papier et tête? De Cloux	9	
Pr grand clous et moyen	49	18
Pr flanelle, Ruban, soye, serge, Broquette	19	16
Payé 8# De tabac	8	
15 Mt de Sel a 3# 6~	49	10
payé Des femmes pr Les Lessives	7	14
payé 3 fausilles 20~ piece, I paquet De Ligne du Banc?	6	15
Pr Balais et Ramonage Des Chiminées	5	11
Paye a 3 menuisiers pr Lisle St Paul	168	5
Payé a plusieurs Journaliers pour Les Recoltes	75	5
Payé pr facon Des foins	307	13
Payé a un charpentier pour Lile St Paul	62	
Payé un journalier pr toutes sortes d'ouvrages	30	
Avoir fait blanchir La Couverture de La Maison	14	
Paye a nos engages a comte de ce qu'on Leur doit	249	7
Livré a Notre Boulanger a Comte de ce qu'on lui doit	31	5
Île St Paul		
1 Vache estimé	50	
13 Moutons a 7# piece	91	
4 Veau a 12 font	48	
5 petits cochons a 30~	7	10
6 Couples de poules a 40~	12	
113 Douz. doeufs a 5~	?	

7# De Beurre frais a 12	32	9
St Charles		
1 Vieille Vache estimé	56	
16 Couples De Canard a 40~	32	
1 Cochon maigre estimé	20	
45# De Beure Salé a 10~ et 40 dite de frais a 12~	46	10
52 Douz doeuf a 5~ et mt. De Fev a 6#	25	
Depense Total	2398	46
Ignace, Augstine, Ursule, Rose, Hélène		
Recette – sept-dec. 1790		
Recu des fabriques pour hosties et facon de cierge	378	
Emprunter a Marg Augé	1269	12
Recu Sur Les Lettres de change de 1789	648	
Pr facon d'un Jesus de Cir	8	8
Du Savonage de La paroisse	85	
De la mission de quebec a comte de ce qu'elle soit a La comte 57		
Pr ouvrages deguilles et Laine vendu	45	
De Mr George Dupré pour une année de Rente	20	
De Joseph perrault pr une année de rente	70	11
De Mr Mayrand pr une année de rente	33	12
De Mr Batiste Latour pr sold en La pen. De Sa fille	69	
De Mr Amable Latour pr pension de sa fille	42	
De Md. Mayrand a Comte de Ce qu'ell doit pr La pen de sa fille	28	
De Mr. Perrault pr pension de sa fille	21	
Dr Mr St Germain su La pension de sa fille	96	
Dr Mr Curot pr solde La pension de La fille	48	
De Mr Gautier Sur La pen de sa fille	24	
Dr Md Oxe pr pension de ses 2 filles	28	
Dr Mr Berthelot pr pension de ses 2 filles	23	
De Mr Campion pr La pen de la petite gravelle	48	
De Md. Préaume Sur La pen. De sa fille	48	
De Mr Quenelle pr pension de sa fille	28	
De Md. Vindfosse? Pr pension de sa fille	96	
De Md Fourneur? Pr pension de Sa niece	20	
De Dumais pr pension de sa niece	14	
De recontre pr pension de sa niece	36	
De francoeur pr pension de sa fille	10	
De md Lassonde pr le Loyer de la Chambre	25	
Pr Facon de Cierges a Mr Amable Latour	15	18
Pr paccage danimaux dans Lisle et La pte St. Charles	348	
Ile St Paul		
2 Bœuf estimée 80# p 20 Moutons 7# piece	300	
1 Vaux 12# 40 Couples De chapon a 30~ 3 oyes a 30 p	76	
3 Douz fromages 6# la D. 13# De Beure Frais a 15~		
St Charles		
2 Vaches Estimes 48# piece, 1 cochon gras, 72# 1 maigre 20	188	
9 Couples De Canard 40~ Le C 1 Coouple de dinde 3#	21	
12 Douz Doeuf a 12~ 7 ? Dite de fondu 15~	166	10
Recette Total	4819	13
St Ignace, Augustine, Ursule, Rose, Helene		
Depense – sept-dec. 1790		
Livre au Sieur Lapalme a comte de ce que nous lui devons	700	10?
pr La Maison de Lile St Paul		
au même pr augmentation douvrages	142	15
payé pr soldes Les menuisiers	189	10
payé pr achever Les foins	286	

payé 3 Bariques de vin rouges	540		
27 galon ½ de vin Blanc a 5# 16~	159		
17 Velte ½ de foin a 8#	140		
88# d'huile d'olive a 24~	105		
36 poignées de molue a 3# 10~ un demi quintal de seche	132		
15 galon d'huile a b ruler a 3# 6~	49	40	
Livré au Sieur Bélaire pr ouvrages de forges	120		
Pr avoir fait bucher 106 cordes de bois a 20~	106		
Payé au sieur Dezeris pr Melace, Vinaigre, Cire, Coton filé	81	12	
Payé a Mr M. quenle? Pr Cable, cloux, toile, file	81	16	
112# de ? a 6~ 2 Velte de vin rouge a 7# 10~	48	12	
pr café sucre chocolat	103	5	
paye 702# De Bœuf a 3~ et 3~ ½	125	8	
paye 12 b ariques ½ de Charbon a 24~ 1 Corde ½ de blanc	24	18	
payé 1 aul ¼ de Voiles 2 Champlures pr tabac, empy?, indigo27	17		
1 Cart danguille	57		
5 Couples de Dinde a 55~	13	15	
pr avoir fait racommoder 2 ?	8		
pr remedes pr Lapoticaire	18		
payé pr Le ramonages Des Cheminées et pr Les Balais	7	10	
Achat de 4 Mt De pois a 3	12		
Payé pr hommes De journées et Laveuses	25	6	
Livre a plusieurs engagés a comte de ce qu'on Leur Doit	480?	8	
Payé a Joseph perrault 10 Cadres de fenetres et 40 madriés	70		
Livré a nôtre boulanger	73	8	
Livres a nos filles De Menage		15	
Ile St Paul			
2 Bœuf estimées 80# p	300		
20 Moutons 7# piece		?	
1 Vaux 12# 40 ? De Chapon a 30~ 3 oyes a 30~ piece	76		
3 Douz fromages 6# La douz 13 de beure frais a 15	27	15	
St Charles			
2 Vaches Estimatees 48# p. 1 Cochon gras 72# 1 Maigres 20#	188		
9 Couples de Canard 40~ Le C 1 Couple De dinde 3#	21		
190 De beure Salé a 12~ La L 70# Dite de fondu a 15~	166	10	
12 Douz Doeuf a 12~ et 12# De beure frais a 15~	164		
Depense Total		4818	19
Ignace,, Aug. Ursule, Rose, Hélène			
Recette – dec. 1790-mars 1791			
Recu des fabriques pour hosties et facon de cierges	371		
Recu Du Sieur Charron pour soldes La Dote de Ma Sr St Jean	191		
Recu de La Succession de Ma Sr. St. Régis	13	16	
Pr. Ouvrages d'aiguilles, bas, laine vendu	101	12	
De Mon Racine [?]		41	4
De Ma Sr Ste Gertrude et St Alexis	12	13	
De Md Tourneur pour pension de sa niece	30		
De Md. Oxe pr pension de ses filles	48		
De Recontre[?] pr pension de sa niece	30		
De francoeur pr pension de sa fille	?		
De Mr Fraser pr pension De Sa Demoiselle	21		
Du Sieur Lambert pr pension de sa fille	28		
De Dumais pr pension de sa niece	8	15	
Dr Mr Vinclefosse [?] pr pension de sa fille	31		
De Mr Gautier pr pension de ses 2 filles	46		
De Mr Fortier pr pension de Sa Delle		111	
De Mr Hughes pr pension de sa Delle	28		

De Mr Qu'enelle pr pen de Sa Delle	21	
De Mr Campion pr pension de La petite Gravelle	28	
Dr Mr [?] pr pension de Sa Delle	47	2
Dr Mr Berthelet pr pension de ses filles	32	
De Md Benoit pr pension de La petite fille	21	
De Mr clarke pr pen de sa Delle	14	
De Md Lassonde pr 3 mois de Loyer		250?
Pr ouvrages et cuire vendu aux engagés	34	2
Pr tabac vendu dans Les maitairies	27	12
Isle St Paul		
300 Mt De Bled a 3# 10 Le Mt	1050	
100 Mt. De pois a 50~	301	
20 Mt ½ d'orge 50~		
350 ? Mt. D'avoine a 18~	322	
2 Bœuf estimees 70#	140	
7 cochons gras pesant environ 160# a 6~ L.L.	336	
81# De Beure Sale a 12? 50~ de fondu a 150 ?	91	12
56 ? Dz Doeuf a 9~	26	
St Charles		
150 Mt De Bled a 3# 10 Le Mt	525	
100 Mt De pois a ? 12 Mt Dorge ?	280	
128 Mt Davoine a 18~	115?	4
35 Douz. D'oeuf a 9~ 2# de Beure frais a 15~	17	5
Recette Total	4594	19
Ignace, Augustin, Ursule, Rose, Hélène		
Depense – dec. 1790-mars. 1791		
Payé au Sieur Belair pour ouvrage de forges	96	
Payé a Simon Le Boucher	353	10
7 Cartier de Bœuf a Differend prix	113	
pr sucre et caffè	44	
pr tabac et ?	14	17
231 pied de ? a 2~ le pied 3 autres dites 8#	31	
Achat d'un metier a toile	30	
18 Brasses de cables a 10~	9	
3 milliers de Bardaux a 6#	18	
22# de ? anglois a 5~	55	
pr poissons frais	16	18
achat d'une piece de toile fine	57	
avoir fait raccommoder l'horloge	8	14
payé a Des journaliers	9	4
payé pr ramones Les Cheminées pr Des Balous	9	8
payé pr av oir fait boucher 111 Cordes de bois a 20 La C.	111	
payé aux engagés	350	16
payé a nôtre boulanger	54	
pour remedes pr lapoticaiereries	9	
St Paul		
300 Minots de Bled a 3# 10 Le Mt	1050	
100 Mt De pois a 50~ 20 Mt ½ D'orges a 50~	301	
35? Mt D'avoine a 18~	322	
2 Bœuf estimées 70#	140	
7 Cochons gras pesant environ 160# a 6~ L.L.	336	
81# De Beure sale a 12 568 ? # de Beure fondu a 15~	91	12
568? Douz Doeuf a 9	26	2
St Charles		
150 Mt De Bled a 3# 10 Le Mt.	525	
100 Mt De pois a ? 12 Mt Dorges ?	280	

128 Mt Davoine a 18~	115	4	
35? Douz doeuf a 9~ 2# De Beure frais a 15?	17	5	
Depense Total	4594	7	
Recette – mars-juin 1791			
Recu des Mess du Sem pour fourn d'hosties et ouvrages	337		
Pour ouvrages deguilles	86	16	
Recu des fabriques pour hosties et facon de cierges	201	19	
Pour Le Savonage de La paroisse	132	15	
Recue de La Quete du Jeudi Saint	18		
Du Sieur Racine au Conte de La rente qui'il nous doit	13	16	
Du Sieur Mayrand a comte de La rente qu'il Nous doit	7	9	
Recu de Ma Sr Ste Gertrude	6		
De Mr. Lassonde pour son loyer	25		
De Mr Binder pr pension de sa Dmlle	73	10	
De Md Benoit pr pension de sa petite fille	21		
De Mr Guy pr pension de La fille	84		
De Mr St Germain pr pension de Sa fille	69		
De Mr Valé pour pen. De sa fille	34		
De Mr Hughes pr pension de sa fille		26	12
De Mr Gautier pr pension de ses filles	48		
De Mr Campion pr pension de Sa petite Gravelle	29	10	
De Md. Vinclefosse pr pension de sa fille	18	10	
De Md. Oxe pr pension de sa fille	24	19	
De Recontre pr pension de sa niece	24		
De francoeur pr pen. De sa fille	39		
Pr Laines vendu	73	19	
Vendu onze moutons a 6 et 7 franc	72		
Pr gardes de Bœuf dans L'île	13	15	
Avoir vendu une tinette d'herbes et une de feves	12		
Pr ouvrages et cuire vendu aux engagés	29	10	
Pr cendre vendu	15	10	
Ile St Paul			
27 Minots de bled a 3# 10~ Le Mt. 80 Mt de pois a ? Le Mt.	1249		
100 Mt D'avoine a 18~			
1 Bœuf estimée 70# 1 Vaux 12	82		
24# de Beure fondu a 15 [?] 17# De Beure fras a 10~	61		
115 Douz Doeuf a 6~			
 St Charles			
114 Mt. De Bled a 3# 10~ 55 minot de pois a [?]	626	10	
100 Mt d'avoine a 18 [?] Le Mt			
8 Vaux Gras a 12 [?] piece 18# de beure frais a 10~ 102 douz 135	12		
d'œuf a 60~			
Total Recette	3711	12	
Recette 1790-1791	2400	6	
	4819	13	
	4594	19	
	3711	12	
	15526	10	
 Brassier			
Depense – mars-juin 1791			
Payé aux Mess du Sem. Pr 17 messes de ? et pr parties des lots89	8		
De Duprat			
Paye aussi aux susdit mess pour dixmes et Rentes	199	10	

Per achat aux mêmes Mess de 30 Mt de bled	120	
Pay a Mr binder a Comte de Ses Soins	91	10
Achat de plusieurs sortes de rémedes; et sucre pr Lapoticaireries	77	2
Payé pr L'enterrement de Ma Sr. St. Philippe	45	
Payé pr un proces de La terre de Ste Catherine	53	14
Pr Serges, toiles, Mousseline, pr [?]	37	10
66?# De Cire a 4# La L.		20
pr achat de vinaigre, empoi, indigo, satine, toile	40	
pr. Caffé, tabac distribués a plusieurs srs	18	10
Achat de 181# de sucre du pays a 6 [?]	56	19
599# De Bœuf a 6.5 [?] et 4~ et Demi	119	11
pr poissons frais et œuf	29	6
avoir fait étaines Les [?] des Cierges, raccommode sa potage	13	10
pr Achat de papiers, 1 sceaux de bois, une scie	20	10
payé des journaliers des femmes pr [?] lavé les lessives	34	
payé pr ramonée les cheminées et pour Des Balois	8	
payé aux engagés	392	17
payé a nôtre boulanger et Jardinier	41	10
payé aux filles	45	5
Ile St Paul		
2741 Mt De Bled a 3# 10 Le Minot 80 Mt De pois a [?]	1249	
Mt D'avoine a 18~		
1 bœuf estimée 70# 1 Vaux 12	82	
24# de Beure fondu a 15~, 17# De Beure frais a 10~ 115 Douz61 doeuf a 6~		
St. Charles		
114 Mt De Bled a 3# 10~ 55 Mt de pois a 50~ 100 Mt Davoine a 18~		
8 Veux Gras a12~ piece 18# De Beure frais a 10~ 102 Douz Doeuf a 6~	135	12
Total Depense	3707	15
Depense General, 1790-1791		
	2398	16
	4818	19
	4594	4
	3707	15
Total Recette	15526	10
Total Depense	15519	47
La Recette exceed La depense de 6# 18~		

Brassier

Appendix 2.1 – Notarized Donations to the Congrégation de Notre-Dame, 1662-1784¹

Date	Notary	Donor
10 Dec. 1662	Basset dit Deslauriers	Thomas Mosnier
18 Sept. 1671	Basset dit Deslauriers	Jean Ferry
12 Nov. 1673	Basset dit Deslauriers	Zacharie Dupuy
20 Mar. 1678	Maugue	Jean Cailloud dit Baron
13 Aug. 1679	Maugue	Thomas Mosnier
13 Feb. 1681	Maugue	Louis Fontaine
13 Oct. 1690	Rageot	Pierre Cannard
27 Oct. 1693	Jacob	Martin Mercier et Mathurine Roux
19 Mar. 1696	Genaple de Bellefonds	Charles Aubert de Lachesnay
8 Mar. 1700	Chambalon	Mathieu de Lino
07 Oct. 1701	Adhémar	Jean Berrinet
3 Dec. 1701	Pottier	Fabrique of Lachine
23 Feb. 1702	Adhémar	Fabrique of Lachine
24 July 1701	Senet dit Laliberté	Parish, Pointe-aux-Trembles, Montreal
1 Dec. 1708	Adhémar	Jean Cailloud dit Baron
5 Oct. 1713	Dubreuil	Nicolas Dupont
11 Mar. 1715	Lepailleur	Jean Cailloud
18 Oct. 1716	Lepailleur	Charles Cabazie
6 Feb. 1718	Lepailleur	Marie-Jeanne Dumouchel
8 Mar. 1718	Lepailleur	Marie Touchard
11 Jan. 1730	Barbel	Marie-Thérèse Biron
15 Jan. 1731	Raimbault	Michel Lené dit Tranchemontagne
18 Nov. 1734	Porlier	Nicolas Binet
22 Apr. 1739	Gaudron de Chevremont	Louis Leroux dit Lachaussee
8 Nov. 1744	Danré de Blanzzy	René Neveu
7 Aug. 1746	Danré de Blanzzy	Thomas Leveau
2 June 1748	Dulaurent	Louis Tayet dit Louis
13 May 1764	Lévesque	Joseph Morice dit Larrivée and Marie-Josèphe Boutin
8 Aug. 1769	Panet de Méru	Esther Sayer
7 Apr. 1771	Rousseau	St. François parish
8 April 1774 ²		M. de Contrecoeur
25 Apr. 1780	Panet de Méru	Étienne Augé
20 Apr. 1784	Foucher	Jacques Finger

¹ ANQM.

² Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 5:366.

Appendix 2.2 – Notarized Church Donations to the Congrégation de Notre-Dame, 1673-1723¹

Date	Notary	Individual
16 Jan. 1673	Basset dit Deslauriers	Jeanne Mance
25 Sept. 1687	Duquet de Lachesnaye	François Lamy
1688	Genaple de Bellefonds	Jean-Baptiste de Lacroix
7 Mar. 1688	Basset dit Deslauriers	Marie Raisin
6 May 1689	Rageot	François Lamy
5 Sept. 1692	Chambalon	François Lamy
10 Oct 1692	Adhémar	Etienne Guyotte
7 Sept. 1693	Adhémar	Jean-Baptiste de Lacroix
14 June 1698	Adhémar	Jean-Baptiste de Lacroix
6 Aug. 1699	Chambalon	La Compagnie de Jésus
27 Sept. 1699	Adhémar	Jeanne Le Ber
6 Oct. 1701	Adhémar	Louis Geoffroy
17 July 1706	Adhémar	Philibert Boy
24 July 1701	Senet dit Laliberté	Benoît Roche
25 Oct. 1708	Adhémar	Jeanne Le Ber
31 Oct 1708	Adhémar	Jeanne Le Ber
20 Oct. 1712	Adhémar	Jeanne Le Ber
18 Sept. 1713	Adhémar	Jeanne Le Ber
9 Sept. 1714	Lepailleur	Jeanne Le Ber
1 Aug 1715	Barbel	Jean Basset
20 Oct. 1766	Lévesque	Pierre Bedard
20 Oct. 1766	Lévesque	
11 June 1720	Dubreuil	Jean-Baptiste de Lacroix
2 Nov. 1723	Adhémar	Nicolas Boucher

¹ ANQM

Appendix 3.1 - Congrégation de Notre-Dame Superiors, 1693-1796¹

Amyot, Marguerite, Soeur de la Présentation

Sainte-Anne-de-Beaupré, 5 January 1675 * Montréal, 1 August 1747

ER 1693 P 25 June 1698

Daughter of Gentien Amyot (locksmith) and Marguerite Poulin

Barbier, Marie, Soeur de l'Assomption

Montréal, 1 May 1663 * Montréal, 20 May 1739

ER 1678 P 25 June 1698

Daughter of Gilbert Barbier (habitant) and Catherine Delavaux

Brunet dit L'Estang, Véronique, Sœur Sainte-Rose

Pointe-Claire, 13 January 1726 * Canada, 12 June 1810

ER 1744 P 22 June 1746

Daughter of Jean Brunet dit L'Estang (voyageur/habitant) and Marguerite Dubois

Charly Saint-Ange, Catherine, Soeur de Saint-Sacrement

Montréal, 3 June 1666 * Montréal, 25 January 1719

ER 1679 P 25 June 1698

Daughter of André Charly dit Saint-Ange (baker) and Marie Dumesnil

Guillet, Marie-Élisabeth, Sœur Sainte-Barbe

Sainte-Anne-de-la-Pérade * 3 September 1684 * Montréal, 23 October 1739

Daughter of Mathurin Guillet (merchant) and Marie-Charlotte Lemoine

Lefebvre Angers, Marie-Angélique, Sœur Saint-Simon

Montréal, 25 October 1710 * Canada, 28 April 1766

ER 1726 P 21 November 1730

Daughter of Jean-Baptiste Lefebvre-Angers (merchant) and Geneviève-Françoise Faucher

Le Moyne, Marguerite, Sœur du Saint-Esprit

Montréal, 3 February 1664 * Montréal, 21 February 1746

ER 1680 P 25 June 1698

Daughter of Jacques Le Moyne de Sainte-Hélène (merchant) and Mathurine Godé

Maugue-Garreau, Marie-Josèphe, Sœur de l'Assomption

Montréal, 29 December 1720 * Montréal, 16 August 1785

ER 1738 P 22 December 1740

Daughter of Pierre Garreau Saint-Onge (merchant) and Marie-Anne Maugue

Piot de Langloiserie, Marguerite-Suzanne, Sœur Saint-Hippolyte

Varenes, 10 February 1702 * Montréal, 10 February 1781

ER 1720 P 29 April 1722

Daughter of Charles-Gaspard Piot de Langloiserie (officer) and Marie-Thérèse Duguay de Broisbriant

Raizenne, Marie, Sœur Saint-Ignace

Lac-des-Deux-Montagnes, 14 July 1735 * 20 April 1811

ER 1752 P 25 January 1754

¹ Compiled from ACND, Registre général, a complete list of all of the entrants into the institution from the beginning to the present day and ACND, Contrats de Profession, 3A/12. Supplemental sources included: Louis Pelletier, *Le clergé en la Nouvelle-France: Étude démographique et repertoire biographique* (Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1993); PDRH, Université de Montréal. Spellings of names as they appear in the archival document were retained, except for those individuals who appear in the DCB. Marguerite Bourgeoys, the foundress of the institution, was not included in the list, as she was never elected to the position. No entry or profession dates were available for Marie-Élisabeth Guillet and Marie-Anne Thibierge.

Daughter of Ignace Rising (farmer) and Marie-Elisabeth Nims
Thibierge, Marie-Anne, Sœur Sainte-Pélagie
Québec, 15 May 1690 * Montréal, 21 March 1757
Daughter of Jacques Thibierge (gunsmith) and Marie-Anne Joly

Trottier, Marguerite, Sœur Saint-Joseph
Batiscan, 21 April 1678 * Québec, 6 October 1744
ER 1692 P 6 August 1698
Daughter of Jean-Baptiste Trottier (wheelright) and Geneviève de Lafond

Appendix 3.2 - Marie Raizenne: Kin in Congrégation, 1754-1796¹

Name	Religious Name	Prof	Relationship
Marie-Madeleine Raizenne	Soeur Saint-Herman	27 Aug.1733	Sister
Marie-Josèphe Chenier	Soeur Sainte-Jeanne-de-Chantal	28 Jan.1771	Niece
Marie- Charlotte Sabourin	Soeur Sainte-Élisabeth	19 Jan.1767	Niece
Marguerite Castonguay	Soeur Saint-Bernard	16 Jan.1769	Niece
Catherine-Élisabeth Raizenne	Soeur Saint-Simon	1 Feb.1781	Niece
Catherine Sabourin	Soeur Sainte-Ursule	25 Oct.1756	Brother's sister-in-law
Marie-Anne-Reine Sabourin	Soeur Saint-Barthélemy	25 Oct.1756	Brother's sister-in-law
Élisabeth Sabourin	Soeur Saint-Vincent-de-Paul	14 Mar.1769	Brother's sister-in-law

¹ Kinship connections derived from necrologies in Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire de la Congrégation de Notre-Dame* (Montréal : CND, 1910-13), and verified utilizing Cyprien Tanguay, *Dictionnaire généalogique des familles canadiennes depuis la fondation de la colonie jusqu'à nos jours* (Montreal : B. Sénécal, 1871-90); René Jetté, *Dictionnaire généalogique des familles du Québec* (Montréal : Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1983); and PDRH, Université de Montréal. Other information derived from App. 7, Congrégation de Notre-Dame Professed Nuns, 1693-1796.

Appendix 3.3 - Marie Raizenne: Kin in Other Religious Institutions, 1754-1796¹

Name	Institution	Relationship
Simon-Amable Raizenne ²	secular priest	brother
Joseph-Jérôme Raizenne ³	secular priest	nephew
Reine-Ursule Raizenne	Hôtel-Dieu	niece
Scholastique Raizenne	Hôtel-Dieu	niece
Marie-Charlotte-Raizenne	Grey Nuns	niece
Marie-Clothilde Raizenne	Grey Nuns	niece

¹ Kinship relations derived from the following sources : Sœur Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire de la Congrégation de Notre-Dame* (Montréal: CND, 1910-13), 5:315-22; Emma Lewis Coleman, *New England Captives Carried to Canada Between 1677 and 1760 During the French and Indian Wars* (Portland, Maine, 1925), vol. 2; Guillemine Raizenne (Sœur Saint-Jean l'Évangéliste), *Notes généalogiques sur la famille Raizenne* (Ottawa, 1871); PDRH, Université de Montréal; DCB, 6:627

² Pelletier, *Le clergé*, 237

³ Ibid

Appendix 3.4 - Congrégation de Notre-Dame Professed Nuns, 1790^a

In the following alphabetical list of professed nuns, the first line gives the family and religious name. Line two provides the place and date of birth, followed by the place and date of death. Line three contains the date the individual entered the convent (ER), followed by the date of profession (P). The final line gives the names of both parents, as well as the profession of the father. Where data is missing, the sources could not be found.

Adhémar de Lantagnac, Charlotte-Ursule, Soeur Sainte-Claire

Québec, 1736 * 5 February 1800

ER 1754 P 16 August 1756

Daughter of Chevalier Gaspard Adhémar de Lantagnac (captain) and Geneviève Martin de Lino

Ailleboust de la Madeleine, Catherine d', Soeur de-la-Visitation

Montréal, 16 January 1749 * Deschambault, 7 June 1806

ER 14 June 1770 P 15 July 1772

Daughter of François-Jean-Daniel d'Ailleboust de la Madeleine (merchant-voyageur) and Charlotte Godfroy de Lincôt d'Alençon

Alinaud, Marie-Charlotte, Soeur Saint-Étienne

Île-Jésus, 16 February 1757 * 22 October 1826

ER 1776 P 5 June 1780

Daughter of Antoine Alinaud and Agathe Dubreuil

Audet, Marie-Anne, Soeur Sainte-Marguerite

Sainte-Famille de l'île-d'Orléans, 13 August 1743 * 9 January 1824

ER 1767 P 20 December 1769

Daughter of Joseph Audet and Marie-Anne Terrien

Audet, Marie-Louise, Soeur Sainte-Catherine

Saint-Jean-de-l'île d'Orléans, 14 October 1750 * 16 January 1815

ER 1772 P 14 February 1775

Daughter of Jean-François Audet-Lapointe and Marie-Josèphite D'Alleret

Audet-Lapointe, Marie-Françoise, Soeur Saint-Joseph

Saint-Famille-de-l'île-d'Orléans, 23 March 1756 * 14 March 1798

ER 1774 P 10 January 1776

Daughter of Joseph Audet dit Lapointe and Marie-Anne Terrien

Benoît, Françoise, Soeur Sainte-Thérèse-de-Jésus

Montréal, 11 December 1752 * 24 July 1799

ER May 1770 P 16 July 1772

Daughter of Claude Benoît (doctor) and Thérèse Baby

Berry des Essarts, Françoise, Soeur Saint-François-de-Sales

Montreal, 31 May 1710 * 5 May 1802

ER 1728 P 6 November 1730

Daughter of François Bérty des Essarts (officer) and Marie-Anne Lemaître de Lamouille

Berry des Essarts, Marie-Anne-Charlotte, Soeur Sainte-Radegonde

Montréal, 25 March 1719 * 30 September 1801

ER 1734 P 9 January 1736

Daughter of François Berry des Essarts (officer) and Marie-Anne Lemaître de Lamouille

^a List compiled utilizing App. 7, Congrégation de Notre-Dame, Professed Nuns, 1693-1796.

Bissonnet, Marie-Angèle, Soeur Saint-Pierre

Montréal, 28 January 1739 * 19 April 1825

ER 1762 * P 17 December 1764

Daughter of Louis Bissonnet (habitant) and Geneviève Binet

Boileau, Louise-Angélique, Sœur Saint-Arsène

Montreal, 26 August 1759 * 5 February 1807

ER 1778 P 5 June 1780

Daughter of Louis-Pierre Boileau (merchant) and Louise-Céleste Lefebvre-Duchouquet

Boivin, Thérèse, Soeur Saint-Gilbert

Saint-Vincent-de-Paul-de-l'île-Jésus, 19 November 1748 * Montréal, 23 June 1826

ER 1769 P 1770

Daughter of Joseph-Pascal Boivin and Thérèse Lalande dit Mauger

Bombardier, Marguerite, Soeur Saint-Philippe

Pointe-aux-Trembles, Montreal, 17 January 1719 * 6 May 1791

ER 1741 P 21 March 1743

Daughter of André Bombardier (habitant) and Marguerite Demers

Boulay, Marie-Josèphe, Soeur Sainte-Gertrude

Montreal, 13 July 1742 * 20 April 1809

ER 1767 P 20 December 1768

Daughter of Nicolas-Louis Boulay (wigmaker) and Marie Marillac

Brunet dit L'Etang, Véronique, Soeur Saint-Rose

Pointe-Claire, 13 January 1726 * 12 June 1810

ER 1744 P 22 June 1746

Daughter of Jean Brunet dit L'Etang (voyageur/habitant) and Marguerite Dubois

Caron, Marie-Ferdinande, Soeur Saint-Raphaël

Sainte-Anne-de-Beaupré, 22 November 1757 * 10 February 1809

ER 1778 P 9 December 1780

Daughter of Ignace Caron and Marie-Elisabeth Roy

Castonguay, Marguerite, Soeur Saint-Bernard

Lac-des-Deux-Montagnes, 20 August 1751 * 8 November 1820

ER 1767 P 16 January 1769

Daughter of Pierre Castonguay (blacksmith) and Anastasie Raizenne

Charlebois, Marguerite-Amable, Soeur Sainte-Suzanne

Pointe-Claire, 25 November 1761 * 6 December 1837

P 22 August 1781

Daughter of Jacques-Christophe Charlebois and Marguerite-Amable Roy

Chenier, Marie-Josèphe, Soeur Sainte-Jeanne-de-Chantal

Lac-des-Deux-Montagnes, 1 January 1753 * 11 April 1801

P 28 January 1771

Daughter of Joseph Chenier (merchant) and Suzanne Raizenne

Compain, Françoise, Soeur Saint-Benoît

Montréal, 23 March 1751 * 21 August 1827

ER 1769 P 10 August 1771

Daughter of Pierre Compain dit L'Espérance (wigmaker) and Françoise Vacher

Compain, Marie-Louise, Soeur Saint-Augustin

Montréal, 28 January 1747 * 2 May 1819

ER 1764 P 13 January 1766

Daughter of Pierre Compain dit L'Espérance (wigmaker) and Françoise Vacher

Courtois, Marie-Thérèse, Soeur Saint-André

Sainte-Anne-de-la-Pérade, 11 November 1740 * 3 November 1825

ER 1764 P 16 March 1768

Daughter of Gabriel Courtois and Marie-Josèphe Baril-Duchesnay

Couturier, Marguerite, Soeur Saint-Amable

Pointe-aux-Trembles, Montréal, February 1733 * 20 May 1800

ER 1750 P 24 February 1752

Daughter of Pierre-Jean-Baptiste Couturier (carpenter) and Marguerite-Jeanne Beauchamp

de la Bruère, Renée-Françoise, Soeur Saint François-Xavier

Boucherville, 12 January 1742 * 27 March 1826

ER 1756 P 27 November 1758

Daughter of René de la Bruère and Louise-Renée Pécaudy de Contrecoeur

Delisle, Marguerite, Soeur Saint-Charles

Deschambault, 26 February 1770 * 6 March 1847

ER 1787 P 4 May 1789

Daughter of Joseph Delisle and Marie-Marguerite Perrault

Desroussels, Marie-Madeleine, Soeur de-la-Nativité

Saint-Jean-de-l'île-d'Orléans, 12 June 1758 * Montréal, 12 April 1822

ER 1775 P 11 November 1777

Daughter of Louis Desroussels and Marie-Josèphe Drouin

Drouin, Marthe, Soeur Sainte-Hélène

Sainte-Famille-de-l'île d'Orléans, 21 March 1726 * 14 April 1807

ER 1741 P 19 November 1743

Daughter of Pierre Drouin (habitant) and Louise Létourneau

Drouin, Mathilde, Soeur Sainte-Thècle

Sainte-Famille-de-l'île-d'Orléans, 5 September 1751 * 19 August 1828

ER 1771 P 28 October 1773

Daughter of Pierre Drouin and Madeleine de Blois

Ducharme, Thérèse, Soeur Saint-Paul

Lachine, 9 March 1725 * 6 July 1804

ER 1743 P 16 June 1745

Daughter of Joseph Ducharme (habitant) and Thérèse Trottier

Duverger, Louise, Soeur Saint-Michel

Montréal, 1754 * 18 March 1837

ER 1769 P 21 August 1771

Daughter of Michel Duverger and Elisabeth Leclerc

Foucher, Marguerite, Soeur Sainte-Pélagie

Sainte-Marie, 29 May 1749 * 11 July 1807

ER 1771 P 28 October 1773

Daughter of Augustin Foucher and Angélique Giguère

Gaulin, Marguerite, Soeur de la Présentation

Sainte-Famille-de-l'île-d'Orléans, 10 July 1747 * 26 February 1819

ER 22 June 1770 P 15 July 1772

Daughter of Jean-Baptiste Gaulin and Marguerite Blouin

Gauthier, Monique, Soeur Sainte-Marthe

Varenes, 3 December 1750 * Montréal, 29 June 1821

ER 1778 P 5 June 1780

Daughter of Claude Gauthier and Catherine Choquet

Gingras, Françoise, Soeur Sainte-Anne

Pointe-aux-Trembles, Québec, 12 January 1746 * 6 December 1807

ER 1762 P 7 March 1765

Daughter of Jean-Baptiste Gingras and Angélique Grenier

Godbout, Madeleine, Soeur Saint-Laurent

Saint-Laurent, Ile d'Orléans, 3 June 1754 * 16 December 1831

ER 1775 P 1 November 1777

Daughter of Antoine Godbout and Marie-Anne LeClair

Joly, Madeleine, Soeur Sainte-Julienne

Laprairie, 17 January 1726 * Montréal, 5 February 1809

ER 1753 P 1755

Daughter of Nicolas Joly and Marie Saint-Jean

Lemaire dit Saint-Germain, Josèphe-Geneviève, Soeur Sainte-Scholastique

Lachine, 15 December 1738 * 10 February 1804

ER 1754 P 21 May 1756

Daughter of Hyacinthe Lemaire dit Saint-Germain (merchant) and Geneviève Tessier

Marmotte-Champagne, Geneviève, Soeur Saint-Basile

Lachine, 1759 * 22 November 1819

ER 1779 P 22 August 1781

Daughter of Nicolas Marmotte-Champagne (soldier) and Geneviève Bissonnet

Martel, Marie-Julie, Soeur Sainte-Marie

Saint-Pierre-de-l'île-d'Orléans, 3 August 1742 * Montréal, 3 November 1813

ER 1757 P 12 November 1759

Daughter of Antoine Martel and Marie-Françoise Ratté

Mercier, Marie-Dorothée, Soeur Saint-Martin

Sainte-Anne-de-Beaupré, 17 February 1758 * 24 January 1811

ER 1781 P 13 February 1783

Daughter of Joseph Mercier (habitant) and Marie-Josèphe Caron

Molleur, Marie-Charolotte, Soeur Saint-Alexis

Saint-Étienne-de-Beaumont, 1733 * Montréal, 15 December 1823

ER 20 June 1769 P 18 July 1771

Daughter of Jean-Baptiste Molleur and Marie-Françoise Bourbeau

Morneau, Marie-Josèphe, Soeur Sainte-Cécile

Saint-Roch-des-Aulnaies, 25 October 1755 * 29 October 1821

ER 1774 P 16 December 1776

Daughter of Alexis Morneau and Marie-Françoise Caron

Nepveau, Marie-Josèphe, Soeur Sainte-Françoise

Montréal, 12 April 1718 * 19 January 1797

ER 1744 P 15 December 1745

Daughter of Jean-Baptiste Nepveu (merchant) and Françoise Legras

Papineau, Catherine, Soeur Saint-Olivier

Montréal, 10 April 1754 * 25 April 1801

ER 1773 P 22 November 1775

Daughter of Joseph Papineau (master cooper) and Marie-Josèphe Beaudry

Paradis, Brigitte, Soeur Saint-Luce

Saint-Pierre-de-l'île-d'Orléans, 3 November 1760 * 11 March 1813

ER 1782 P 1 February 1785

Daughter of Ignace Paradis and Thérèse Gaulin

Périnault-Lamarche, Marie-Josèphe, Soeur Sainte-Geneviève

Montréal, 4 September 1753 * 6 April 1807

ER 1774 P 23 July 1776

Daughter of Jean-Baptiste Perinault (merchant) and Angélique Harel

Prud'homme, Elisabeth, Soeur Sainte-Agathe

Montréal, 14 March 1719 * Montréal, 5 March 1809

ER 1734 P 4 July 1737

Daughter of François Prudhomme (habitant) and Marie-Anne Courault

Raizenne, Catherine-Élisabeth, Soeur Saint-Simon

Lac-des-Deux-Montagnes, 1763 * Montréal, 4 June 1819

ER 1779 P 1 February 1781

Daughter of Jean-Baptiste Raizenne (habitant) and Charlotte Sabourin

Raizenne, Marie, Soeur Saint-Ignace

Lac-des-Deux-Montagnes, 14 July 1725 * 20 April 1811

ER 1752 P 25 January 1754

Daughter of Ignace Rising (habitant) and Marie-Elisabeth Nims

Raizenne, Marie-Madeleine, Soeur Saint-Herman

Sault-au-Récollet, 21 October 1716 * Montréal, 28 May 1796

ER 1731 P 27 August 1733

Daughter of Ignace Rising (habitant) and Marie-Elisabeth Nims

Sabourin, Catherine, Soeur Sainte-Ursule

Sainte-Anne-du-bout-de-l'île, 20 July 1739 * Montréal, 14 March 1825

ER 1754 P 25 October 1756

Daughter of Jean-Baptiste Sabourin and Sarah-Catherine Henneson

Sabourin, Élisabeth, Soeur Saint-Vincent-de-Paul

Lac-des-Deux-Montagnes, 26 April 1745 * Saint-Laurent, 14 April 1809

ER 1767 P 14 March 1769

Daughter of Jean-Baptiste Sabourin and Sarah-Catherine Henneson

Sabourin, Marie-Anne-Reine, Soeur Saint-Barthélemy

Sainte-Anne-du-Bout-de-l'île, 25 December 1735 * Montréal, 14 April 1827

ER 1754 P 25 October 1756

Daughter of Jean-Baptiste Sabourin and Sarah-Catherine Henneson

Sabourin, Marie-Charlotte, Soeur Sainte-Élisabeth

Sainte-Geneviève, 24 August 1746 * 13 December 1815

ER 1765 P 19 January 1767

Daughter of Jean-Baptiste Sabourin and Marie-Anastasie Raizenne

Tillière, Marie-Anne, Soeur Saint-Jean

Montréal, 1764 * 7 April 1825

ER 1786 P 4 May 1788

Daughter of Mathieu Tillière dit Saint-Jean (shoemaker) and Catherine Beaumont

Turcot, Thècle, Soeur Saint-Anselme

Sainte-Famille-de-l'île-d'Orléans, 9 July 1759 * 18 May 1825

ER 1781 P 24 September 1783

Daughter of Pierre Turcot and Marguerite Gendron

Verreau, Madeleine, Soeur Saint-Régis

Château-Richer, 27 December 1762 * Montréal, 25 January 1841

ER 15 August 1780 P 11 February 1783

Daughter of Barthélemy Verreau and Marie-Madeleine Gaudin

Viger, Thérèse, Soeur Sainte Madeleine

Montréal, 17 May 1744 * 10 February 1804

ER 1764 P 13 January 1766

Daughter of Jacques Viger (shoemaker) and Marie-Louise Ridday-Beauceron

Appendix 3.5 - Congrégation de Notre-Dame Sœurs Before 1766¹ : Links Within the Institute

Amyot	Anne-Thérèse	1693-1759
	Marguerite	1675-1747
Asselin	Françoise	1682-1766
	Marie-Madeleine	1673-1749
Berry des Essarts	Françoise	1710-1802
	Marie-Anne-Charlotte	1719-1801
Bissonnet	Angélique	1739-1825
	Élisabeth	1737-1762
Boucher de Boucherville	Marie-Angélique	1697-1721
	Marie-Louise	1702-1788
Crevier de Bellerive	Marie-Barbe	1665-1711
	Marie-Jeanne	1689-1726
Deneau des Taillis	Marie-Anne	1710-1739
	Marie-Madeleine	1706-1763
Dutaud	Marie-Françoise	1693-1767
	Marie-Josèphe	1695-1730
	Marie-Marguerite	1691-1726
Gagnon	Marie	1668-1747
	Marie-Renée	1678-1703
Gariépy	Marguerite	1660-1723
	Marie-Ursule	1680-1698
Gaulin	Élisabeth-Thècle	1715-1784
	Marie-Ursule	1702-1741
Guyon	Élisabeth	1669-1743
	Marie-Anne	1720-1773
Lenoir	Françoise	1695-1756
	Marie-Louise	1706-1726
Sénécal	Marguerite-Catherine	1685-1721
	Marie-Thérèse	1674-1703

¹ List compiled from App.7, Congrégation de Notre-Dame Professed Nuns, 1693-1796.

Sicard	Catherine	1686-1756
	Marie	1691-1772
Soumillard	Catherine	1656-1699
	Marguerite	1656-1683
Tailhandier	Madeleine-Angélique	1698-1748
	Marie	1699-1728
Thibierge	Marie-Anne	1690-1757
	Marie-Catherine	1697-1763
	Marie-Madeleine	1693-1776

Appendix 3.6 - Congrégation de Notre-Dame Superiors, 1693-1796: Kin in Other Religious Institutions¹

Superior	Relation	Institution	Relationship
Marguerite Amyot	Marie-Louise Amyot Felicité Poulin	Hôtel-Dieu Ursuline	Sister Cousin
Marie Barbier	Jeanne-Geneviève Beaudry	Hôtel-Dieu	Niece
Véronique Brunet dit L'Etang	x	X	x
Catherine Charly	André-Joseph de Montenon de Larue	Priest	Nephew
Marie-Elisabeth Guillet	Marie-Madeleine Guillet Marie-Elisabeth Guillet	Hôtel-Dieu, Mtl Hôtel-Dieu, Mtl	Cousin Cousin
Marie-Angélique Lefebvre Angers	Simon-Alexis Lefebvre-Angers Françoise Delisle	Priest Hôtel-Dieu	Brother Cousin
Marguerite Le Moyne	Pierre Le Ber Marie-Catherine Le Gardeur Jeanne-Madeleine Le Gardeur	Priest Hôpital Général Ursulines	Cousin Step-niece Step-niece
Marie-Josèphe Maugue-Garreau	Pierre Garreau dit Saint-Onge Charles Garreau dit Saint-Onge Marie-Françoise Lamoureux	Priest, V-G, T-R priest Hôtel-Dieu, Mtl	Brother Brother Cousin
Marguerite Piot de Langloiserie	Louise Piot de Langloiserie Elisabeth Dugué Jeanne Dugué Anne-Catherine Petit	Hôtel-Dieu, Mtl Hôtel-Dieu, Mtl Hôtel-Dieu, Mtl Ursuline	Sister Aunt Aunt Cousin
Marie Raizenne	See appendix 3.3		

¹ Kinship derived utilizing necrologies in Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire* and Pelletier, *Le clergé*, chap. 2: "Répertoire biographique des prêtres, missionnaires et religieuses, 1615-1764."

Appendix 3.7 - Congrégation de Notre-Dame Superiors, 1693-1796: Kin in Congrégation¹

Superior	Relation	Relationship
Marguerite Amyot	Marie-Thérèse Amyot Anne-Thérèse Amyot	Sister Sister
Marie Barbier	X	X
Véronique Brunet dit L'Etang	X	X
Catherine Charly	Anne-Françoise Charly Marie Charly Élisabeth Charly	Sister Sister Sister
Marie-Elisabeth Guillet	X	X
Marie-Angélique Lefebvre-Angers	X	X
Marguerite Le Moyne	Jeanne Lemoyne Françoise Lemoyne Anne-Suzanne Robutel Jeanne Le Ber (recluse)	Sister Sister Niece Cousin
Marie-Josèphe Maugue-Garreau	Marie Maugue Marie-Marguerite Martinbault Marguerite Lalande	Aunt Cousin Niece
Marguerite Piot de Langloiserie	Charlotte-Angélique Piot de Langloiserie	Sister
Marie Raizenne	See appendix 2.2	
Marie-Anne Thibierge	Marie-Madeleine Thibierge Marie-Catherine Thibierge	Sister Sister
Marguerite Trottier	Catherine Trottier	Sister

¹ Appendix 3.7 derived from the necrologies Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire* and verified utilizing Pelletier, *Le clergé*, 279-91 and Jetté, *Dictionnaire généalogique*.

Appendix 3.8¹ - Congrégation de Notre Dame Superiors: Administrative Experience, 1693-1796

Amyot, Marguerite²	Superior: 1739-45 Councillor: 1745-7
Barbier, Marie³	Assistant: 1693 Superior: 1693-1698 Assistant: 1698-9; 1703-7; 1708-9; 1710-13; 1714-1715 Councillor: 1717-18 Assistant: 1719-20; 1723-5; 1727-31
Brunet dit L'Estang, Véronique⁴	Assistant: 1771-2 Superior: 1772-1778 Mistress of Novices: 1778-82 Untitled Position: 1782-3 Mistress of Novices: 1783-4 Superior: 1784-90 Councillor: 1790-3
Charly, Catherine⁵	Assistant: 1693-4 Untitled Positions: 1694-5 Assistant: 1695-6 Untitled Position: 1696-7 Assistant: 1697-8 Mistress of Novices: 1698-9 Assistant: 1700-01 Mistress of Novices: 1701-02 Untitled Position: 1707-08 Superior: 1708-1712

¹ Appendix 3.8 was constructed from a number of different sources. Positions were determined utilizing superiors' and council members' signatures on notarial documents found in ANQM and in the community's account book ACND, 3A/02, *Registre des recettes et dépenses générales*, 1653-93. These two sources were supplemented utilizing the *DCB* and the lists of "Elections et Nominations," found in Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, vol. 5.

Due to a number of limitations in the sources, Appendix 3.8, however, is only representative of the *minumum* time many of these women spent on the administrative council. For example, there were gaps in the record: there are no documents at all indicating council members for the years 1699-1700, 1716-1717, 1720-1, 1742-3, 1747-8, 1751-2, 1794-5. Moreover, many notarial records were often only signed by a few council members, and in many cases, their positions were not identified (these are designated in the appendix as "untitled positions"). The institution's account book also proved problematic: even though all council members did sign the book, it only begins in the election year 1753-4 and ends in 1792-3. Moreover, once again, the council positions were not always identified. This lacuna was filled utilizing the "Elections et Nominations," (records of placements and duties) in Sainte Henriette, volume 5. However, because these lists were only available for certain years, some positions for this period also remain unidentified.

An examination of the council signatures on various documents reveals that the community's elections for the superior generally occurred like clockwork, according to constitutional stipulations, some time in June every three years. However, over the course of the 103 years covered by this study, a few exceptions are notable: at the end of July of 1711, Catherine Charly was still superior, but did not appear to be so in November of that same year; the election year 1713-14 is also confusing, with both Catherine Charly and Marie Barbier signing notarial records as assistants for the same year: as well, for the election years 1723-4, both Marguerite Trottier and Marguerite Lemoyne appear as superiors.

² ANQM, gr. Adhémar, 6 Feb. 1740; gr. Danré de Blanzay, 4 Jan. 1741; 31 Aug. 1741, 18 Aug. 1743; 8 Nov. 1744; gr. Janvrin, 20 Apr. 1746; 18 July 1746; 1742-3 : Sainte Henriette, *Histoire*, 4: 450.

³ Sainte Henriette, *Histoire*, 2: 39, 79; ANQM, gr. Adhémar, 7 Sept. 1693; 26 Nov. 1694; 9 Oct. 1696; 14 June 1698; 2 July 1698; 30 Oct. 1703; 18 July 1704; 3 July 1705; 16 July 1706; 25 Oct. 1708; 26 Jan. 1711; 30 July 1711; 23 Aug. 1712; 17 Jan. 1714; 15 Nov. 1728; 8 Sept. 1729; gr. Lepailleur, 6 Feb. 1718; 7 Dec. 1719; 1 June 1723; 17 May 1725; 27 Sept. 1724; 8 Oct. 1725; 28 Apr. 1728; gr. Raimbault, 8 Nov. 1730.

⁴ Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 5:194-5; ACND, 3A/02, *Registre des Dépenses et recettes générales*, 1753-1793, 1772-84, 1785-6, 1787-88, 1789-93; ANQM, gr. Foucher, 1 Feb. 1785; 4 May 1787; 4 May 1789; gr. Descheneaux, 22 Dec. 1788; gr. Papineau, 19 May 1792.

⁵ ANQM, gr. Adhémar, 7 Sept. 1693; 26 Nov. 1694; 9 Oct. 1696; 14 June 1698; 2 July 1698; 27 Aug. 1700; 6 Oct. 1701; 25 Oct. 1708; 21 Feb. 1710; 10 Feb. 1711; 30 July 1711; 18 Sept. 1713; gr. Maugue, 22 Apr. 1694; gr. Senet dit Laliberté, 25 July 1707; 17 July 1718; gr. Lepailleur, 6 Feb. 1718. Sainte Henriette, *Histoire*, 2:79.

	Assistant:1713-14 Superior: 1717-19
Guillet, Elisabeth ⁶	Depositaire: 1723-4; 1727-31 Acting Depositaire: 1731-2 Assistant: 1732-4 Superior: 1734-9
Lefebvre-Angers, Marie-Angélique ⁷	Mistress of Novices: 1750-1; 1753-5 Untitled Positions: 1755-7 Superior: 1757-63 Mistress of Novices: 1763-4 Untitled Position:1764-6
Le Moyne, Marguerite ⁸	Untitled Position: 1693-4 Mistress of Novices: 1695-6 Untitled Position: 1696-7 Mistress of Novices: 1697-8 Superior: 1698-1708; 1711-17 Assistant: 1717-19 Superior: 1719-22 Mistress of Novices: 1722-4 Superior: 1723-4? Untitled Positions: 1725-6 Superior: 1727-34 Untitled Positions: 1734-38
Maugue-Garreau, Marie Josèphe ⁹	Untitled Positions: 1763-6 Superior: 1766-72 Untitled Positions: 1772-5 Mistress of Novices: 1775-6 Untitled Position:1776-8 Second Councillor: 1778-82 Untitled Position:1782-3 First Councillor: 1783-5
Piot de Langloiserie, Marguerite ¹⁰	Mistress of Novices: 1731-4; 1736-8 Depositaire: 1738-42; 1743-5 Superior: 1751-7 Assistant: 1757-9 Untitled Position: 1759-60 Depositaire: 1760-2

⁶ ANQM, gr. Lepailleur, 17 May 1724, 28 Apr. 1728; gr. Adhémar, 15 Nov. 1728, 11 Mar. 1730, 9 Jan. 1736, 6 May 1737, 30 June 1737, 7 Feb 1739; gr. Raimbault, 8 Nov. 1730, 17 Apr. 1731; 27 Jan. 1734; gr. Porlier, 18 Nov. 1734.

⁷ ANQM, gr. Danré de Blanzay, 24 Feb. 1751; 1753-66: ACND, 3A/02, Registre.

⁸ ANQM, gr. Adhémar, 7 Sept. 1693, 9 Oct. 1696, 14 June 1698, 2 July 1698, 27 Aug. 1700, 6 Oct. 1701, 4 July 1702, 30 Oct. 1703, 9 Feb. 1704, 6 Sept. 1704, 3 July 1705, 17 Jan. 1707, 5 Nov. 1711, 23 Aug. 1712, 18 Sept. 1713, 15 Nov. 1728, 8 Sept. 1729, 9 Jan. 1736, 25 June 1738; gr. Senet dit Laliberté, 25 July 1707, 17 July 1718; gr. Barbel, 1 Aug. 1715; gr. Lepailleur, 6 Feb. 1718, 7 Dec. 1719, 20 Apr. 1722, 1 Sept. 1722, 5 Sept. 1723, 17 May 1724, 27 Sept. 1724, 18 Oct. 1725, 28 Apr. 1728; gr. Dubreuil, 27 Aug. 1721; gr. Barbel, 30 June 1724; gr. Raimbault, 5 Nov. 1730, 17 Apr. 1731, 7 Jan. 1733, 9 Oct. 1733; gr. Porlier, 18 11 1734, 20 May 1737, 8 Aug. 1738. *Sainte Henriette, Histoire*: 2:69; 1716-17 : 3:149; 1720 -1: 3: 406.

⁹ ACND, 3A/02, Registre, 1763-93: 1763-8, 1772-84; *Sainte-Henriette, Histoire*, 1768-9 : 5 :138; 1771-2, 5 :194-5; 1784-5 : 5 :386; ANQM, gr. Panet de Méru, 8 Aug. 1769.

¹⁰ ANQM, gr. Raimbault, 17 Apr. 1731, 4 June 1732, 27 Feb. 1734, 15 June 1737; gr. Adhémar, 9 Jan. 1736, 7 Feb. 1739, 6 Feb. 1740; gr. Danré de Blanzay, 4 Jan. 1741, 31 Aug. 1741, 18 Aug. 1743, 8 Nov. 1744, 1 Aug. 1752; gr. Panet de Méru, 26 Aug. 1769; *Sainte-Henriette, Histoire*, 1751-2 : 4:223; 1767-8 :5:129-30; 1768-9 : 5:138; 1769-70 :5:176; 1771-2 : 5:194-5; ACND, 3A/02, Registre, 1653-93: 1753-68, 1772-5.

	Mistress of Novices: 1762-3 Superior: 1763-6 Assistant: 1766-71 First Councillor: 1771-2 Untitled Position: 1772-5
Raizenne, Marie ¹¹	Mistress of Novices: 1767-9 Assistant: 1775-6 Untitled Position: 1776-8 Superior: 1778-84 Mistress of Novices: 1784-5 Untitled Positions: 1785-6 Mistress of Novices: 1786-7 Untitled Position: 1787-8 Superior: 1790-6 Assistant: n.d. 3 years
Thibierge, Marie-Anne ¹²	Mistress of Novices: 1741-5 Superior: 1745-51 Assistant: 1753-6
Trottier, Marguerite ¹³	Depositaire: 1705-9; 1711-14; 1717-20; 1721-2 Superior: 1722-4; 1724-?? Mistress of Novices: 1728-9

¹¹ ACND, 3A/02, Registre, 1653-93: 1765-78, 1775-84, 1785-6, 1787-8; 1789-1793; Sainte Henriette, *Histoire*, 1767-8 : 5:129-30, 121-2; 1768-9 : 5:138; 1775-6 : 5:267; 1778-9 : 5:288; 1779-80 : 5:328; 1780-1 : 5:334; 1781-2 : 5:342; 1783-4 : 5:362; 1784-5 : 5:386; ANQM, gr. Foucher, 4 May 1789, 24 Feb. 1794; gr. Gautier, 2 Jan. 1796; *DCB*, 5:704.

¹² ANQM, gr. Danré de Blanzay, 1 Feb. 1742, 18 Aug. 1743, 8 Nov. 1744, 18 July 1746; gr. Janvrin, 20 Apr. 1746; gr. Adhémar, 12 July 1748, 29 Jan. 1751; gr. Hodiesne, 25 Jan. 1750; Sainte-Henriette, *Histoire*, 1747-8 : 4:452; ACND, 3A/02, Registre, 1653-93: 1753-6.

¹³ ANQM, gr. Adhémar, 3 July 1705, 16 July 1706, 5 Nov. 1711, 23 Aug. 1712, 17 Jan. 1714; 15 Nov. 1728; gr. Senet dit Laliberté, 25 July 1707, 17 July 1718; gr. Normandin, 11 Mar. 1718; gr. Lepailleur, 7 Dec. 1719, 20 Apr. 1722, 20 Apr. 1722, 5 Sept. 1723, 18 Oct. 1725; gr. Dubreuil, 27 Aug. 1721; gr. Barbel, 30 June 1724. Sainte Henriette, *Histoire*, 3: 344.

Appendix 4.1¹ Congrégation de Notre-Dame, Professed Nuns, 1766

In the following alphabetical list of professed nuns, the first line gives the family and religious name. Line two provides the place and date of birth, followed by the place and date of death. Line three contains the date the individual entered the convent (ER), followed by the date of profession (P). The final line gives the names of both parents, as well as the profession of the father. Where data is missing, the sources could not be found.

Adhémar de Lantagnac, Charlotte-Ursule, Soeur Sainte Claire

Quebec, 8 August 1735 * Canada, 7 February 1800

ER 1754 P 16 August 1756

Daughter of Chevalier Gaspard Adhémar de Lantagnac (captain) and Geneviève-Thérèse Martin de Lino

Ailleboust des Musseaux, Catherine d', Soeur des Séraphins

Montréal, 19 November 1694 * Lachine, 5 May 1768

Daughter of Jean-Baptiste des Musseaux (merchant) and Anne Picard

Amyot, Thérèse, Soeur Saint François d'Assise

Quebec, 3 July 1686 * Montréal, 9 March 1771

ER 1701 P 1703

Daughter of Jean Amyot (locksmith) and Marguerite Poulain

Arsenault, Élisabeth, Soeur Saint-Antoine

Acadia, 1722 * Montréal, 27 May 1787

ER 1750 P 28 March 1754

Daughter of Abraham Arsenault and Jeanne Gaudet

Barrois, Anne, Soeur Saint-Charles

Laprairie, 26 May 1674 * Canada, 28 March 1768

ER 1703

Daughter of Antoine Barrois (habitant) and Anne Le Ber

Berry des Essarts, Françoise, Soeur Saint-François-de-Sales

Montréal, 31 May 1710 * 5 May 1802

ER 1728 P 6 November 1730

Daughter of François Berry des Essarts (officer) and Marie-Anne Lemaître-Lamouille

Berry des Essarts, Marie-Anne-Charlotte, Sister Sainte-Radegonde

Montréal, 25 March 1719 * 30 September 1801

ER 1734 P 9 January 1736

Daughter of François Berry des Essarts (officer) and Marie-Anne Lemaître-Lamouille

Bissonnet, Marie-Angèle, Soeur Saint-Pierre

Montréal, 28 January 1739 * 19 April 1825

ER 1762 P 17 December 1764

Daughter of Louis Bissonnet (habitant) and Geneviève Binet

Bissot de Vincennes, Claire-Charlotte, Soeur de l'Ascension

Québec, 6 May 1698 * Montréal, 25 April 1773

ER 1718

Daughter of Jean-Baptiste Bissot de Vincennes (officer) and Marguerite Forestier

¹ List compiled from App. 7, Congrégation de Notre-Dame, Professed Nuns, 1693-1796.

Bleau, Marie-Josèphe, Soeur Saint-Thomas

Montréal, 25 March 1706 * Canada, 2 April 1776

ER 1737 P 29 July 1739

Daughter of François Bleau (baker) and Catherine Campeau

Bombardier, Marguerite, Soeur Sainte-Philippe

Pointe-aux-Trembles, Montréal, 17 January 1719 * 6 May 1791

ER 1741 P 21 March 1743

Daughter of André Bombardier (habitant) and Marguerite Demers

Boucher de Boucherville, Marie-Louise, Soeur Sainte-Monique

Boucherville, 16 November 1702 * 5 September 1788

ER 1721 P 13 September 1723

Daughter of Pierre Boucher of Boucherville (seigneur) and Marguerite-Charlotte Denis

Bourassa, Agnès-Françoise, Soeur Saint-Albert

Laprairie, 14 June 1716 * Montréal, 25 September 1779

ER 1735 P 21 May 1737

Daughter of René Bourassa (merchant) and Agnès Gagné

Brunet dit L'Etang, Véronique, Soeur Sainte-Rose

Pointe-Claire, 13 January 1726 * 12 June 1810

ER 1744 P 22 June 1746

Daughter of Jean Brunet dit L'Etang (voyageur/habitant) and Marguerite Dubois

Caillou-Baron, Marie-Gabrielle, Soeur de la Nativité

Laprairie, 21 August 1689 * Montréal, 28 March 1772

ER 1704 P 1 December 1708

Daughter of Jean Caillou dit Baron (habitant) and Marie-Marguerite Touchard

Compain, Marie-Louise, Soeur Saint-Augustin

Montréal, 28 January 1747 * Montréal, 2 May 1819

ER 1764 P 13 January 1766

Daughter of Pierre Compain dit L'Espérance (wigmaker) and Françoise Vacher

Constantin, Geneviève, Soeur Saint-Louis-des-Anges

Québec, 8 January 1715 * 26 March 1784

ER 1735 P 20 March 1737

Daughter of Denis Constantin (brewer) and Louise Bacon

Courtois, Marie-Thérèse, Soeur Saint-André

Sainte-Anne-de-la-Pérade, 11 November 1740 * 3 November 1825

ER 1764 P 16 March 1768

Daughter of Gabriel Courtois and Marie-Josèphe Baril-Duchesnay

Couturier, Marguerite, Soeur Saint-Amable

Pointe-aux-Trembles, Montréal, February 1733 * 20 May 1800

ER 1750 P 1752

Daughter of Pierre-Jean-Baptiste Couturier (carpenter) and Marguerite-Jeanne Beauchamp

de la Bruère, Renée-Françoise, Soeur Saint-Françoise-Xavier

Boucherville, 12 January 1742 * 27 March 1826

ER 1756 P 27 November 1758

Daughter of René de la Bruère and Louise-Renée Pécaudy de Contrecoeur

De Lestage, Marie-Anne, Soeur Saint-Luc

Québec, 20 November 1693 * 18 July 1768

ER 1720

Daughter of Jean De Lestage (merchant) and Catherine-Anne Vermet

Diel, Amable, Soeur Saint-Ambroise

Sainte-Anne-du Bout-de-l'île, 30 January 1736 * 20 April 1822

P 6 June 1758

Daughter of Jacques Diel (toolmaker) and Marie-Anne Crépin. She fled the convent in 1785.

Drouin, Marthe, Soeur Sainte-Hélène

Sainte-Famille-de-l'île-d'Orléans, 21 March 1726 * Montréal, 14 April 1807

ER 1741 P 19 November 1743

Daughter of Pierre Drouin (habitant) and Louise Létourneau

Ducharme, Thérèse, Soeur Saint-Paul

Lachine, 9 March 1725 * 6 July 1804

ER 1743 P 16 June 1745

Daughter of Joseph Ducharme (habitant) and Thérèse Trottier

Dugast, Catherine-Françoise, Soeur de-la-Croix

Montréal, 3 November 1720 * 17 April 1787

ER 1738 P 1740

Daughter of Joseph Dugast and Geneviève Catin

Dutaud, Marie-Françoise, Soeur de la Vierge

Champlain, 4 January 1693 * Montréal, 15 March 1767

Daughter of Charles Dutaud (habitant) and Jeanne Rivard-Lavigne

Gagnon, Françoise, Soeur Sainte-Marthe

Château-Richer, 12 February 1695 * Montréal, 7 April 1778

ER 1720 P 4 November 1722

Daughter of Germain Gagnon and Jeanne David

Gamelin, Thérèse, Soeur Sainte-Barbe

Saint-François-du-Lac, 10 January 1726 * Montréal, 5 October 1768

ER 1744 P 23 July 1746

Daughter of Joseph-Jacques Gamelin (merchant) and Jeanne-Angélique Giasson

Gaulin, Thècle-Élisabeth, Soeur Sainte-Brigitte

Sainte-Famille-de-l'île-d'Orléans, 18 October 1715 * 1 May 1784

ER 1737 P 2 July 1738

Daughter of Robert Gaulin and Elisabeth Létourneau

Gingras, Françoise, Soeur Sainte-Anne

Pointe-aux-Trembles, Québec, 12 January 1746 * 6 December 1807

ER 1762 P 7 March 1765

Daughter of Jean-Baptiste Gingras and Angélique Grenier

Guyon, Madeleine, Soeur Saint-Joseph

Sainte-Famille-de-l'île-d'Orléans, 14 June 1720 * Montréal, 6 November 1773

ER 1739 P 5 March 1742

Daughter of Claude Guyon and Catherine Blouin

Janis, Marguerite (Sicard-Antoine), Soeur Saint-Bernardin

Montréal, 22 October 1735 * Montréal, 16 December 1788

ER 1752 P 30 September 1754

Daughter of Antoine Janis dit Sicard-Antoine (wigmaker) and Catherine Tessier

Joly, Madeleine, Soeur Sainte-Julienne

Laprairie, 17 January 1726 * 5 February 1809

ER 1753 P 1755

Daughter of Nicolas Joly and Marie Saint-Jean

Lefebvre-Belle-Isle, Marie-Josèphe, Soeur Saint-Benoît

Québec, 9 November 1693 * Montréal, 31 January 1769

ER 1716

Daughter of Henri Lefebvre (surgeon) and Catherine de Mosny

Lefebvre Duchouquet, Jeanne, Soeur du Sacré-Coeur

Montréal, 17 October 1714 * Montréal, 2 October 1769

ER 1741 P 9 November 1743

Daughter of Louis Lefebvre Duchouquet (merchant) and Angélique Perthius

Lemaire dit St. Germain, Josèphe-Geneviève, Soeur Saint-Scholastique

Lachine, 15 December 1739 * 10 February 1804

ER 1754 P 21 May 1756

Daughter of Hyacinthe Lemaire dit Saint-Germain (merchant) and Geneviève Tessier

Lepage de Saint-Barnabé, Reine, Soeur Saint-Germain

Saint-Germain-de-Rimouski, 3 November 1717 * Montréal, 3 April 1774

ER 1741 P 31 August 1743

Daughter of René Lepage de Saint-Barnabé (seigneur) and Marie-Anne de Trépagny

Marois, Élisabeth, Soeur Saint-Clément

Québec, 27 February 1729 * Montréal, 20 July 1770

ER 1750

Daughter of Charles Marois and Jeanne Boudreau

Martel, Marie-Julie, Soeur Sainte-Marie

Saint-Pierre-de-l'île-d'Orléans, 3 August 1742 * Montréal, 3 November 1813

ER 1757 P 12 November 1759

Daughter of Antoine Martel and Marie-Françoise Raté

Martimbault, Marie-Marguerite, Soeur Sainte-Rosalie

Boucherville, 24 October 1719 * Montréal, 13 August 1780

ER 1750 P 1752

Daughter of Jean Martimbault (habitant) and Marguerite Gareau-St.Onge

Maugue-Garreau, Marie-Josèphe, Soeur de l'Assomption

Montréal, 29 December 1720 * Montréal, 16 August 1785

ER 1738 P 22 December 1740

Daughter of Pierre Gareau Saint-Onge (merchant) and Marie-Anne Maugue

Nepveu, Marie-Josèphe, Soeur Sainte-Françoise

Montréal, 12 April 1718 * 19 January 1797

ER 1744 P 15 December 1745

Daughter of Jean-Baptiste Nepveu (merchant) and Françoise Legras

Paré, Catherine, Soeur Saint-Louis-des-Anges

Lachine, 28 August 1698 * Montréal, 7 February 1778

ER 1728 P 9 October 1735

Daughter of Jean Paré (carpenter) and Marguerite Picard

Parent, Élisabeth, Soeur Sainte-Agnès

Beauport, 23 January 1733 * 13 January 1790

ER 1754 P 13 June 1756

Daughter of Joseph Parent (carpenter) and Jeanne Françoise de Mosny

Piot de Langloiserie, Marguerite-Suzanne, Soeur Saint-Hippolyte

Varennes, 10 February 1702 * Montréal, 10 February 1781

ER 1720 P 29 April 1722

Daughter of Charles-Gaspard Piot de Langloiserie (officer) and Marie-Thérèse Duguay de Boisbriant

Prud'homme, Élisabeth, Soeur Sainte-Agathe

Montréal, 14 March 1719 * Montréal, 5 March 1809

ER 1734 P 4 July 1737

Daughter of François Prud'homme (habitant) and Marie-Anne Courault

Prudhomme, Élisabeth, Soeur Saint-Jean-l'Évangéliste

Montréal, 23 January 1708 * 30 November 1786

ER 1728 P 9 December 1730

Daughter of François-Xavier Prud'homme (habitant) and Cécile Gervais

Prud'homme, Jeanne, Soeur Saint-Michel

Montréal, 2 April 1697 * Montréal, 14 September 1767

P 8 November 1719

Daughter of François-Xavier Prud'homme (habitant) and Cécile Gervais

Prud'homme, Marie-Anne, Soeur de la Trinité

Montréal, 23 July 1723 * 25 April 1784

ER 1732 P 15 June 1734

Daughter of François Prud'homme and Marie-Anne Courault

Raimbault, Geneviève, Soeur Sainte-Euphrasie

Montréal, 12 May 1703 * Montréal, 23 February 1775

ER 1720 P 16 August 1722

Daughter of Pierre Raimbault (royal notary) and Jeanne-Françoise de Saint-Blain

Raizenne, Marie, Soeur Saint-Ignace

Lac-des-Deux-Montagnes, 14 July 1735 * 20 April 1811

ER 1752 P 25 January 1754

Daughter of Ignace Rising (habitant) and Marie-Elisabeth Nims

Raizenne, Marie-Madeleine, Soeur Saint-Herman

Sault-au-Récollet, 21 October 1716 * Montréal, 28 May 1796

ER 1731 P 27 August 1733

Daughter of Ignace Rising (habitant) and Marie-Elisabeth Nims

Ranger-Paquet, Marguerite-Élisabeth, Soeur de l'Enfant-Jésus

Montréal, 30 January 1699 * Montréal, 29 January 1772

P 1716

Daughter of Pierre Ranger-Paquet (mason) and Marguerite Fortin

Sabourin, Catherine, Soeur Sainte-Ursule

Sainte-Anne-du-Bout-de-l'île, 20 July 1739 * Montréal, 14 March 1825

ER 1754 P 25 October 1756

Daughter of Jean-Baptiste Sabourin and Sarah-Catherine Henneson

Sabourin, Marie-Anne-Reine, Soeur Saint-Barthélemy

Sainte-Anne-du-Bout-de-l'île, 25 December 1735 * 14 April 1827

ER 1754 **P** 25 October 1756

Daughter of Jean-Baptiste Sabourin and Sarah-Catherine Henneson

Sabourin, Marie-Charlotte, Soeur Sainte-Élisabeth

Sainte-Geneviève, 24 August 1746 * 13 December 1815

ER 1765 **P** 19 January 1767

Daughter of Jean-Baptiste Sabourin and Marie-Anastasie Raizenne

Sicard, Marie, Soeur Saint-Anselme

Montréal, 5 September 1691 * Montréal, 14 February 1772

ER 1712 **P** 12 May 1714

Daughter of Jean-Simon Sicard (miller) and Catherine Lauzon

Thibierge, Madeleine, Soeur Saint-Étienne

Québec, 21 December 1693 * Canada, 6 September 1776

ER 1714

Daughter of Jacques Thibierge (gunsmith) and Marie-Anne Joly

Viger, Thérèse, Soeur Sainte-Madeleine

Montréal, 17 May 1744 * 10 February 1804

ER 1764 **P** 13 January 1766

Daughter of Jacques Viger (shoemaker) and Marie-Louise Ridday-Beauceron