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**Spouses of Christ or Marys and Marthas:  
Competing Images of Female Spirituality in the  
Ursuline Convent of Quebec**

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Various unique features marked the foundation of the Ursulines' convent in Quebec City. Led by the enterprising Marie de l'Incarnation in 1639, and precipitated by both her religious visions calling her to New France and her persistence in pursuing this calling, the convent was established by a woman who at the age forty had gone through many changes in her life: young mother, widow, business woman, nun, mystic, and now foundress and hopeful missionary. This latter aspect was also unique: the nuns' active role in converting Aboriginal peoples was to be a complementary role to the Jesuits. Work has been done on Marie and her attributes; the community itself has had a lesser examination. A community, in relation to both its spirit and its canonical legal status, is not as such a true community until it has a rule and constitutions. This is where the Quebec Ursulines played an atypical role. In what was essentially a political move, nuns from the two dominant "styles" of Ursulines in France came together to form this community.<sup>1</sup> What resulted was the need for a constitution that reflected this new unity: it was a unique development on its own, since Ursuline convents had been urged to adopt either the constitutions of Paris or Bordeaux.<sup>2</sup> The document itself gives a snapshot into the nuns'

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values in the seventeenth century.

Historians have focused on this new constitution of Quebec in only a few ways: the changes in the religious habits and the requirement of all choir nuns to pronounce a fourth vow to teach, in particular, being attentive to the education of Aboriginals; or the changes that Bishop Laval made in regards to governance, liturgy (particularly interfering with the desire of the nuns to chant), and the power struggle which ensued between him and Marie. But what these analyses have missed is the actual formulation of *what* an Ursuline nun *is*, and *how* she is supposed to shape her life rather than solely what she does, wears, or with whom she has a political argument. This essay discusses how a competing view of female spirituality emerged in these constitutions, which were co-written by Fr. Jerome Lalemant, at this time the superior of the Jesuits in Canada, and Marie (and possibly some of her advisors).<sup>3</sup> Further, comparing it to contemporary Paris and Bordeaux constitutions gives insight that these constitutions were not simply a “cut-and-paste” exercise; the Quebec *Constitution* was a unique entity in which every word mattered.<sup>4</sup>

The Ursuline order itself was founded in Italy in the sixteenth century by Angela Merici. Its primary work of laywomen helping others, particularly through education, was an attractive feature, and the community quickly grew. With the Tridentine reforms, the desire of the bishops to enclose the Ursulines often prevailed over the women’s desire to be uncloistered. Within France, there were numerous Ursuline communities all following their own constitutions. By the 1630s, only two sets of constitutions were dominant: those of Paris, the largest congregation, and those of Bordeaux. The Paris constitutions focused on having a fourth vow, that of instructing girls for free in a school capacity, whereas Bordeaux did not include this vow and understood their role in education more broadly to encompass other women.<sup>5</sup>

The desire to merge these two constitutional groups may have seemed like a straightforward task, but it proved to be a difficult enterprise for the Quebec Ursulines. Guided by the equally strong hands of Lalemant and Marie, they had to merge not only different external looks, but also their own schedules, the schedules for teaching girls, the order of precedence in terms of governance, how those governing positions were defined, and even their approach to liturgy. This last point reflects the oft-cited disagreement between Marie and Laval in regards to chant in the liturgy. Not only was it a power-struggle, one in which Marie sought to use her vows and position as foundress to thwart Laval; it was also an

argument over how nuns were supposed to be, pray, and whether they were first of all nuns or teachers and missionaries.<sup>6</sup> The Quebec constitutions, so much more than those of Paris and Bordeaux, illustrate the personal interventions of Lalemant, the nuns, and, finally, Laval, into this interpretation of nuns' daily lives. This can also be seen, in particular, with the competing imagery of the nuns as brides of Christ or as Marys and Marthas. Lalemant pushed the former whereas the contributions of the nuns to the constitutions introduced the latter.

In some ways, the creation of the Quebec *Constitutions* comes as a sort of last evolution of the various Ursuline communities. As previously mentioned, the Ursulines evolved from semi-autonomous communities of laywomen. With the imposition of cloister and various bishops' desire to restrain the role of the sisters, the formalization of the Paris and Bordeaux constitutions only reached their finalized forms less than three decades before the Quebec community was founded.<sup>7</sup>

The overall decision to combine the constitutions of Paris and Bordeaux in the Quebec monastery was born of necessity, but it was also highly contentious. Various miscommunications led numerous nuns involved into believing that their originating community would be the constitution that would prevail in New France.<sup>8</sup> Marie herself favoured the keeping of the Tours' habit, but with the adoption of the fourth vow of Paris.<sup>9</sup> This is entirely fitting with her feeling that she was called to teaching and being a missionary to the Aboriginal peoples while fulfilling her first desire to be a cloistered nun.

The Quebec *Constitutions* actually consist of the constitutions and the "règlements" in one document, a mix of voices including that of Marie herself. The first part, or the constitution, relates to the spirit, charism, and vows of the nuns. The second part, or "règlements," discusses the more practical aspects of their life, including the daily schedule and the role of each of the offices, for example, the superior, portress, or procuratrice. This second part, if not written directly by the nuns, shows a great amount of their input. The second part reflects in many ways the continuation of both Paris' minute details on carrying out every function of their lives, as well as Bordeaux's straightforward, no-nonsense tone and detailed description of the various offices. It also appears to show the personal interventions of Marie: the description of the role of superior is fifty-one paragraphs long.<sup>10</sup> This is almost three times the length of the description in the Paris constitution.<sup>11</sup> It also is lengthier than the forty-eight short paragraphs of the Bordeaux constitutions.<sup>12</sup> While the Bordeaux constitu-

tions focus on what the superior is supposed to handle, the Quebec constitutions spell out in greater detail the interior (and sometimes exterior) disposition that the superior is supposed to have towards these responsibilities. For example, the superior is instructed that, “she will consider our Lord and his holy Mother as the true superiors of the community who deign to govern it through her intervention as their instrument and their organ.”<sup>13</sup> Further, “in all times and in all cases, her eyes, her face, and her word have the duty to feel kindness and gentleness, except in regards to impious persons, contumacious and detrimental to others or malcontents.”<sup>14</sup> The Quebec *Constitution* clearly sets out a vision of the ideal superior that goes far beyond her ability to administrate.

What truly sets these constitutions apart is the extent to which they emphasize the nuns as brides of Christ. Within the Paris constitutions, there is hardly any usage of the “bride of Christ” trope. In all, the term “Epouses de Jesus-Christ” is used a total of four times. The first is in a section documenting the perfection of sanctity the nuns need so that they may be good examples to the girls whom they teach.<sup>15</sup> In this instance, the phrase is a bit of a throwaway or parenthetical addition to the sentence: “See therefore, Spouses of Jesus Christ, how you are obliged to work in order to acquire great perfection and sanctity.”<sup>16</sup> The second and third mentions are in short reflections on the vows of poverty (“the nun, who in order to conform herself to her Spouse our Lord Jesus Christ, renounces all the goods of the earth”) and twice in that of chastity: “that we see [in their dress] the becoming modesty of the Spouses of Jesus Christ, who in order to conform to their Spouse despises the world and embraces the Cross.”<sup>17</sup> It should be noted that in this section on chastity the definition of modesty is less concerned with sexual purity and more with humble dress and removal of extravagances – it thus is closely linked with poverty. Within these Paris constitutions, the bridal imagery is not, therefore, the dominant metaphor that is used. Other images used are those such as “daughters” of God, sister, and “servant of God.”<sup>18</sup>

The Bordeaux constitutions, for the most part, follow this pattern. Again, they too have a mention of Christ as their spouse in the section on the vow of chastity. This time, the mention is to maintain the “modesty suitable to their religious profession, seeing in each of their sisters the image of Our Lord Jesus Christ, their spouse.”<sup>19</sup> The spousal image occurs a couple of times within the description of how they are to teach their students, and, like Paris, it is the nuns’ foremost goal to perfect themselves in order to teach the girls. They are particularly to be “imitators” of “their

spouse” in practising the virtues of humility, patience, charity, and gentleness.<sup>20</sup> Unlike in Paris, several of the descriptions of the offices compare the office holder in terms of how they serve the “spouses of Christ,” as well as being a reflection of Christ himself. For example, the Dispensary sister “governs the patrimony of Jesus Christ” and the habit-keeper “carefully keeps all the habits which belong to the poor of Jesus-Christ.”<sup>21</sup> She is also to “feel in herself an interior joy of having the charge of clothing the spouses of Our Lord.”<sup>22</sup> She is to “ask God to adorn her in the nuptial robe in order to go to Heaven.”<sup>23</sup> The laundress also is reminded to recall that her sisters are brides of Christ. This heavy emphasis on the bridal imagery may have been a way to help whichever sister was assigned to these undesirable positions so that, even if it was lowly in this life, it had a weighty spiritual importance. The Bordeaux Constitutions thus have slightly more uses of the bridal images than the Paris one.

The Quebec *Constitutions*, however, use bridal and marital imagery on a totally different scale. Within the first half, the part written by Lalemant, there are fifty-four mentions, and twenty-seven in the second part, influenced by the nuns, for a total of eighty-one. Clearly, the inclusion of all the bridal imagery indicates in its sheer numbers a willingness to alter the originating texts. Lalemant’s writing in the first part is unique in itself. Unlike both of the French communities, Lalemant starts the constitution with what would best be considered a spiritual treatise. The editor, Gabrielle Lapointe, notes that many of these initial entries, such as on the Mass, real and spiritual communion, and of prudence and discretion are completely of Lalemant’s own initiative.<sup>24</sup> Considering, as the editor does, that the *Constitutions* are thus a reflection of Lalemant’s personal spirituality, they become a specific example of male perceptions of female spirituality at this time.<sup>25</sup>

For example, chapter four discusses the vows of poverty and chastity. One passage combines these two themes:

The vow of religious poverty, or the privation of all external goods left voluntarily in the hands of God or his divine providence, is like the dowry the nun brings to her marriage with Jesus Christ; the vow of perpetual chastity is that which frees the body and all its pleasures into the hands of this lovable and adorable Spouse, with the happy inability to ever be able to have another husband but him.<sup>26</sup>

This reflection on the vows does not end with such a description or hold

to the broader understanding of the vow of chastity and poverty in terms of worldly extravagance and modesty in comportment such as is the case in the other constitutions. Rather, Lalemant takes this reflection into the realm of fears regarding sexual purity. He writes, “this holy and sacred Spouse, as a result of this vow, takes a very particular possession of religious persons, that the sins against the sixth commandment of God, which in other people are only simple sins, become in them sacrilege.”<sup>27</sup> No such language is found in either French constitution. Whether or not this is unique in regards to spiritual reflections at this time needs more investigation. Regardless, it is unique because it is a view that becomes enshrined in the document itself. What exactly Lalemant’s motivations were for writing this bluntly is also unclear: perhaps the fact that these women were on the edge of empire, as well as their desire to counsel and teach indigenous people, heightened his alarm that they were threatened by the possibility of falling into the “savageness” that was New France.

Lalemant continues throughout the rest of the first part with a similar style of referencing Christ as spouse. In the very lengthy section on the vow of obedience, he reminds the nuns to “obey everything and everywhere with a lot of simplicity and humility . . . leaving a free and whole disposition of themselves in the hands of the officers of their divine Spouse.”<sup>28</sup> This is a subtle change from how the Paris and Bordeaux constitutions speak of the role of the officers. These often compare the officers to servants, mothers, or sisters of the “lord” and sometimes God as “master.” The more heavy emphasis of the Quebec *Constitutions* on the spousal makes the spiritual relationship among the sisters themselves, as well as with God, far more intimate. It retains the notions of filial subservience while adding on to the spousal closeness and possibility of deep betrayal or glory depending on how faithfully the nuns fulfilled their vows.

The nuns themselves did use this nuptial spirituality in the more legalistic and grave prose of the second part. In the reception of novices, they “offer to Our Lord his future bride in order to receive his blessing” and the novice has the principal occupation to “die to herself and live for Jesus Christ as her future spouse.”<sup>29</sup> But the novices’ agency in carrying out this transformation is also described in far more energetic and violent terms: “Here is to be remarked that in this combat or massacre of the old man one can proceed in two ways: the one cowardly and tepid, the other generous and heroic.”<sup>30</sup> When the nuns do use Lalemant’s wording, it is during their set prayer for the chapter of faults.<sup>31</sup> They have sinned against

their spouse and resolve to do better. This rote prayer helped to draw a heightened drama to the chapter of faults. The nuns' other usage of spouse is left without interpretation so that the individual nun may decide precisely how she relates to the image or as one option amongst many.

There is one other image in particular which warrants examination – that of “Mary and Martha.” Within the French constitutions, only Bordeaux uses this image and it is only once, in the description of the office of Superior who in her role as both spiritual and corporate head of the convent fills “both offices of Mary and Martha.”<sup>32</sup> Rather, in the Quebec *Constitution* it is the procuratrice (responsible for the accounting, debts, and outside workers) who must join these offices “and make them inseparable.”<sup>33</sup> Within Quebec's convent, this Mary is considered to be Mary Magdalene, and the sacristan is also treated with this imagery: that her office is that of “St Magdalene, and St Martha, the dear hostesses of Our Lord.”<sup>34</sup> Her job is to prepare the “lodgings” of the Lord, just as these women did in the Gospel, providing food, lodging, and also companionship.<sup>35</sup> Implying that she fills the role of Martha, the cellarer is to “remind herself of the words of Our Lord” to Martha about not worrying and adds a unique interpretation that “one dish was sufficient.”<sup>36</sup> While the converse sisters receive much comparison with St. Joseph, a comparison made five times in the small section on the converse sisters, they are reminded that their role in the convent is “principally the office of Martha not forgetting that of Mary Magdalene for often remaining at the sacred feet of the good Lord and kissing them.”<sup>37</sup> In combining the two offices, it is also a reminder to the converse nuns that they are subservient. This section goes on to talk of being like Martha, but of frequently raising their thoughts to the Lord. These mentions of Mary and Martha are thus much fewer than the bridal images, but they are more frequent than the ones found in the French texts. Also, since these comparisons only occur in the second half, which was more directly influenced by the nuns, it is highly likely that this interpretation came from the nuns themselves.

Jo Ann McNamara points out that the Mary/Martha duality had been a trope existing for centuries. Its meaning had shifted over the years and, during the sixteenth century, it gained popularity, particularly among married women.<sup>38</sup> The Catholic response to the Protestant Reformation resulted in a greater fear about women's presence in the public sphere; using the Martha imagery in conjunction with acts of charity in hospitals or other institutions was a way for the women to survive marriages that they may have been pressured into while moving towards the religious life

they would have chosen for themselves. Marie de l'Incarnation had her own personal experience with an unwanted marriage, but the vagaries of her life allowed for the eventual pursuit of her chosen vocation. By this time, however, rather than justifying work external to the home, the trope of Mary and Martha appears to have shifted to spiritualizing the servants' roles in the convent. At least within the Quebec monastery, the repeated use of the Martha imagery served both to reinforce the role of the serving nuns and the attendant hierarchical difference between converse sisters and choir nuns. It also served to spiritualize those roles, held by both choir and converse nuns, which dealt with some aspects of labour, business affairs, or with the outside world. The imagery also denotes the value the early constitution put on these converse nuns, both for their domestic work as well as illustrating that their lesser status in the convent did not preclude them from being valuable praying members who could be close to the Lord. The evolution of the Mary/Martha duality is a continuous step in how women religious understood themselves and justified their role within the religious sphere, whether in public or in the convent.

So, why is this competing imagery important? Lalemant puts forward his own interpretation of female spirituality in this *Constitution*. It marks a significant shift in the ways of envisioning Ursuline nuns *vis-à-vis* their constitution while reflecting the greater changes in regards to female spirituality in general at this time. He may also have been hoping to elevate the nuns' status in closeness to Christ, by casting them in spousal terms, as a way to keep them safe on the "frontlines" of the missionary world or to help assuage the bending of the gendered missionary lines.

The Ursulines themselves added to the Mary/Martha spirituality. The additions of the Mary/Martha imagery in the second half of the *Constitution* illustrate their ability to propose their own vision of their spiritual life. The Quebec *Constitution*, as stated above, does make direct use of the biblical passage regarding Mary and Martha, unlike the Bordeaux constitutions. At the very least, it indicates knowledge of the biblical passage, but it also shows the direct link between Martha and Jesus as a personal one and not solely a working one. The imagery of Mary, of course, is directly linked with prayer, as Mary was willing to spend time with Jesus, rather than be solely occupied with the material functioning of the household. Further, Claire Walker has examined Ursulines in English cloisters during the seventeenth century and found that they used similar imagery to help justify their commercial work, as



well as to spiritualize the menial labours they performed.<sup>39</sup>

Beside the numerous bridal images in the *Constitution*, there are also numerous images and comparisons that use the language of trade: words such as “craft,” “trade” and “commerce” are also found with frequency, particularly in the part written by Lalemant.<sup>40</sup> These terms are used in a spiritual context, that is, to encourage the nuns to be industrious in their prayer lives. Overall, this sort of imagery also reflects the greater precariousness found within the *Constitutions*.<sup>41</sup> If the nuns were not energetic in their primary role of prayer, the “enterprise” of the monastic house might fail. Although in a different context than the English Ursulines, both these sets of Ursulines were separated from their traditional networks and used these historical tropes in ways which both set them in line with the thought of their spiritual superiors, but also permitted them a level of freedom in order to pursue their own religious goals. Throughout the Quebec *Constitutions*, the precarious nature of the nuns’ situation in the colony was written into their foundational document. The continuing possibility of their return to France, their continual poverty and thus their reliance on crafts, which persisted through the eighteenth century, and the fear of enemy attacks, all factored into the provisions and considerations of the *Constitution*. Even the very lengthy section on the necessary qualities of a superior may reflect the internalized fear of the community that, without a strong and holy leader, their initial efforts to evangelize on the periphery could easily fail. Every nun in the entire community was called both to holiness and hard work, each in her own measure and according to her status in the monastery. The Ursulines did not reject wholesale the notion of being brides of Christ, but their constitutions helped support their belief that in being Christ’s spouses they could also be Marthas labouring for him.

### ***Endnotes***

1. Jérôme Lalemant, *Constitutions et Règlements Des Premières Ursulines de Québec, 1647 Par Le Père Jérôme Lalemant*, ed. Gabrielle Lapointe (Québec: [s.n.], 1974). Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own. I have kept the original sixteenth-century French spelling and grammar of each source.
2. Elizabeth Rapley, *A Social History of the Cloister: Daily Life in the Teaching Monasteries of the Old Regime* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2001), 135. Rapley notes that at this time these constitutions were the “principal” rule for Ursulines in France. Guy Marie Oury, *Les Ursulines de Québec, 1639-1953* (Sillery: Septentrion, 1999), 47. Opposition

surrounding this third Ursuline institute came from the superior of the Tours monastery.

3. Léon Pouliot, "Lalemant, Jérôme," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (University of Toronto/Université Laval), accessed September 23, 2016, [http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/lalemant\\_jerome\\_1E.html](http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/lalemant_jerome_1E.html)
4. I have used these sources primarily due to ease of access. It should be noted, however, that the 1635 Bordeaux and the 1640 Paris constitutions (Ursulines of Bordeaux, *Les Constitutions de l'institut et compagnie des Religieuses de Sainte Ursule*, (Paris: George Josse, 1635), 1/E,1,1,1,5,1, Archives de Monastère des Ursulines de Québec (AMUQ); Ursulines of Paris, *Les Constitutions des religieuses de Sainte-Ursule de la Congrégation de Paris divisées en trois parties* (Paris : Gilles Blaizot, 1640), 1/E,1,1,1,5,4, AMUQ) also contain the spousal imagery in the same manner and in about the same number as these later versions. In regards to the later Paris constitution, the Quebec Ursulines would have used it after Bishop Laval overturned their unique constitution in 1681. Lalemant, *Constitutions et Règlements*; Ursulines de Paris, *Les Constitutions des Religieuses Ursulines de la Congrégation de Paris: divisées en trois parties* (Paris: chez Louis Josse, 1705); and Ursulines de Bordeaux, *Règles de Saint-Augustin à l'usage des Religieuses de Sainte-Ursule de la Congrégation de Bordeaux* (Vannes: De Lamarrelle, 1839).
5. Jo Ann McNamara, *Sisters in Arms: Catholic Nuns through Two Millennia* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), 469-70, discusses the creation of the first Ursuline constitutions and the implementation of cloister. Oury, *Les Ursulines de Québec*, 33.
6. Numerous authors have written about this argument between Laval and Marie, each with their own focus on what the primary cause of the disagreement was and to what extent Marie ceded control to Laval. See, for example, Oury, *Les Ursulines de Québec*; Claire Gourdeau, *Les Délices de Nos Coeurs : Marie de l'Incarnation et Ses Pensionnaires Amérindiennes, 1639-1672* (Sillery: Septentrion, 1994); Marie-Florine Bruneau, *Women Mystics Confront the Modern World: Marie de l'Incarnation (1599-1672) and Madame Guyon (1648-1717)* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998); and Jean-Pierre Pinson, "Quel Plain-Chant Pour La Nouvelle-France? L'exemple Des Ursulines," *Canadian University Music Review* 11, no. 2 (1991): 7-32.
7. Oury, *Les Ursulines de Québec*, 31-33. The Tours congregation was relatively new, founded out of Bordeaux in 1622. Both of these constitutional groups had followed simple vows until 1612 for Paris and 1618 for Bordeaux. In fact, the Bordeaux constitutions still alluded to these simple vows in their description of the taking of vows. When solemn vows were taken, the nuns were constrained to a stricter form of cloister than what they had previously

followed.

8. Oury, *Les Ursulines de Québec*, 46. Anne le Bugle and Marguerite de Flecclles came from Paris and believed that they would continue as they had done in Paris.
9. Oury, *Les Ursulines de Québec*, 46.
10. *Constitutions et règlements*, 183-200.
11. Ursulines de Paris, *Constitutions de Paris*, 3: 22-34.
12. Ursulines de Bordeaux, *Constitutions de Bordeaux*, 98-113.
13. *Constitutions et règlements*, 184. «Elle considèrera Nostre-Seigneur et sa sainte Mère comme les vrais Supérieurs et Supérieure de la Communauté qui daignent la gouverner par son entremise, comme par leur instrument et par leur organe.»
14. *Constitutions et règlements*, 186. «En tout temps et en tous cas, ses yeux, son visage et sa parole se doivent ressentir de la douceur et bènignité, excepté au regard des personnes impies, contumaces et nuisibles aux autres ou inquiètes.»
15. *Constitutions de Paris*, 1:17.
16. *Constitutions de Paris*, 1:17. «Voyez donc, Epouses de Jesus-Christ, combine vous êtes obligées de travailler à acquérir une grande perfection & saintété.»
17. *Constitutions de Paris*, 2: 39, 45. «La Religieuse, qui pour se conformer à son Epoux notre Seigneur Jesus Christ, à renoncé à tous les biens de la terre,» and «que l'on voye en la modestie convenable aux Epouses de Jesus-Christ, qui pour se conformer à leur Epoux ont méprisé le monde & embrassé la Croix.»
18. *Constitution de Paris*, 2:101.
19. *Constitutions de Bordeaux*, 28. «Que leur maintien ressente la modestie convenable à leur profession religieuse, regardant en chacune de leurs sœurs l'image de Notre-Seigneur Jésus-Christ, leur époux.»
20. *Constitutions de Bordeaux*, 86-87.
21. *Constitutions de Bordeaux*, 182, 185.
22. *Constitutions de Bordeaux*, 186.
23. *Constitutions de Bordeaux*, 186. «Elle demande à Dieu qu'il la revête de la robe nuptiale pour aller au ciel.»
24. *Constitutions et règlements*, xiii.

25. *Constitutions et règlemens*, xiv.
26. *Constitutions et règlemens*, 8. «Le vœu de pauvreté religieuse ou le despoillement de tous les bien extérieurs laissez volontairement entre les main de Dieu ou de sa divine providance estant comme le dot que la religieuse aporte pour son mariage avec Jésus-Christ, le voue de chasteté perpétuelle est celuy qui livre le corps et tous ce plaisirs entre les mains de cet aymable et adorable Espoux, avec une heureuse incapacité de pouvoir jamais avoir autre espoux que luy.»
27. *Constitutions et règlemens*, 8. «Ce saint et sacré Espoux en suite de ce vœu prend une si particulière possession des personnes religieuses, que les péchez contre le sixiesme commendement de Dieu qui, en d'autres personnes ne seroient que simples péchez, deviendroient en elles des sacrilèges.»
28. *Constitutions et règlemens*, 19.
29. *Constitutions et règlemens*, 111, 114.
30. *Constitutions et règlemens*, 117.
31. *Constitutions et règlemens*, 152.
32. *Constitutions de Bordeaux*, 109.
33. *Constitutions et règlemens*, 209.
34. *Constitutions et règlemens*, 230. «Sainte Madeleine, et sainte Marthe, les chères hôtesse de Nostre-Seigneur.»
35. *Constitutions et règlemens*, 231.
36. *Constitutions et règlemens*, 236. See Luke 10: 40-42 (Douay-Rheims). “And the Lord answering, said to her: Martha, Martha, thou art careful, and art troubled about many things: But one thing is necessary. Mary hath chosen the best part, which shall not be taken away from her.”
37. *Constitutions et règlemens*, 250.
38. McNamara, *Sisters in Arms*, 457.
39. Claire Walker, “Combining Mary and Martha: Gender and Work in Seventeenth-Century English Cloisters,” *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 30, no. 2 (Summer 1999): 397-418.
40. Lalemant, *Constitutions et Règlemens*, 41-43.

41. In Lalemant's section on the nuns' fourth vow, he also discusses what happens if the convent is not successful. «Que si quelque revolution d'affaires ou nécessité particulière obligeoit les sœurs de ce monastère ou congrégation de se retirer en France, les sœurs d'iceluy demeurent libres de toutes les obligations particulières de ce monastère ou congrégation, pour entrer dans celles des monastères de France où elles seroient receues, le tout néanmoins conformément aux articles du contract de la fondations autant qu'il se pourra.» *Constitutions et réglemens*, 84.

