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A Rich Musical Legacy from Québec: Baroque Motets of the  
Ursuline and Hôtel-Dieu Monasteries of New France

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## **Abstract**

### A Rich Musical Legacy from Québec: Baroque Motets of the Ursuline and Hôtel-Dieu Monasteries of New France

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Carefully preserved in the archives of the Ursuline and Hôtel-Dieu Monasteries of Quebec are several manuscripts containing Canada's first sacred works for female voices. The manuscripts contain dozens of intricate motets composed in the French Baroque style, a repository of music which has not been sung for hundreds of years. These motets form a neglected part of Canada's musical heritage which is waiting to be unearthed and explored.

Ursuline and Augustinian nuns arrived to the French territories of the New World to educate and evangelize young women. Singing formed a core element of their teaching and worship. For over one hundred years (1639-1760), church music provided a backbone to Canada's vibrant musical culture. When the French territories were lost to Britain and Spain, musical culture shifted radically, and the sacred French music simply faded into obscurity.

An overview of the sweeping events of the French Baroque era includes discussion of France's social conditions, the political and religious climate, the flowering of the arts and the exploration of the New World. In France, the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were a time

of great strife which heralded the massive social changes to come in the nineteenth century. France's struggles directly impacted the colony of New France, including that of its religious institutions and music.

This study traces the musical activities in the Ursuline community of New France as the nuns lived their mission on the frontier, teaching Aboriginal and colonial girls. The evolution of female emancipation stemming from religious evangelism is considered.

Examination of a trove of 160 motets located in the female monasteries of Québec City reveals the high caliber of music practiced by the nuns. No interpretive editions for performance purposes exist. Newly transcribed works have been generated from the manuscripts, with period performance guidance for appropriate ornamentation and ensemble requirements. An in-depth discussion of New France Baroque vocal and choral musical styles is provided, with reference to historical records of how it was taught, as described in contemporaneous music treatises and many original documents specific to these religious female communities.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

## CONTENTS

Chapter 1. Introduction .....	1
1.1 Overview.....	1
1.2 Terminology Clarification and Delineation .....	11
Chapter 2. Historical Background of the Ursuline Order .....	13
2.1 Religion, Wars and the Monarchs of France .....	13
2.2 Female Piety, Gender Roles and the Rise of Female Religious Vocations in France ..	15
2.3 The Founding of the Ursuline Order and their Educo-Musical Values .....	16
2.4 The Cloistering of the Ursulines, and the Rise of Convent Schools.....	18
2.5 La Maison Royale de St Cyr.....	20
Chapter 3. Musical Forms in France which Influenced the New France Motet .....	22
3.1 Introduction and the French Style Versus the Italian Style .....	22
3.2 Music at the Court of Louis XIII: The Flourishing of the Air de Cours.....	23
3.3 Ornamentation in the Mature Baroque .....	27
3.4 La Basse Continue .....	28
3.5 Devotional Airs for Women: The Air Spiritual and Music for Teaching.....	32
3.6 Church Music.....	34
3.7 The Grand Motet in the Court of the Sun King .....	36
3.8 The Petit Motet .....	37

Chapter 4. The Arrival of Missionaries to New France.....	39
4.1    Social-Historical Context of New France’s Colonies.....	39
4.1.1    The Reign of Louis XIII and Earlier.....	39
4.1.2    The Reign of Louis XIV: Expansionism .....	41
4.2    Founding of the Québec Missions .....	43
4.3    The Arrival of Female Religious Missionaries to New France .....	47
Chapter 5. Music in the Convents.....	51
5.1    Introduction.....	51
5.2    Accounts of the Singing of the First Nations.....	51
5.3    Challenges Under Bishop Laval (1659-1688) .....	53
5.4    Expansion of Singing under St Vallier and Beyond .....	55
5.5    Singing with Others: Processionals, Private Devotions, Important Occasions .....	56
5.6    Singing in Community.....	57
5.6.1    Introduction.....	57
5.6.2    Diversity of Singing Forms and Their Function.....	58
5.6.3    The Function of the Motets, Hymns and Antiphons.....	59
5.6.4    Choir Nuns and Cantors.....	61
5.6.5    Hôtel-Dieu Music, Sr Duplessis de Sainte-Hélène: Superior, Scribe and Theorist..	61
5.7    Figural Music .....	64
5.7.1    The Ursuline Manuscript in Louisiana .....	64
5.7.2    Music at La Maison Royale de St Cyr .....	65
5.8    Instruments in New France .....	66

Chapter 6. The Manuscript Descriptions .....	72
6.1 Introduction.....	72
6.2 First Manuscript: C Qur Cantiques Spirituels: the Twelve-Page Supplement and the Roman Numeral Section.....	76
6.3 Second Manuscript: C Qur: Motets M1.....	77
6.4 Third Manuscript C Qur: Motets M2.....	80
6.5 Fourth Collection: C Qhd: Fonds T11 C950.....	82
6.6 Fifth Collection: Qhd: Fonds T11 C925.....	83
6.7 Sixth Manuscript: C Qur: Motets M3 (EM designated).....	83
6.8 Seventh Collection: The Folios C Qur F1, F2, F3, F4.....	85
Chapter 7. Performance Practices of the New France Motets .....	87
7.1 Introduction.....	87
7.2 Music.....	88
7.3 Text.....	88
7.4 Chorus Indications .....	89
7.5 Tempo, Pitch, Notation, Transposition.....	91
7.6 Ornamentation.....	91
7.7 Synopsis of Important Agréments .....	93
7.8 Clefs and Voicing Appellations.....	97
7.9 Addition of Basse Continue and Obligato Instruments .....	98
Chapter 8. Transcriptions.....	101
8.1 Introduction.....	101

8.2	Apparuerunt caelestis: Motet à Ste Ursule (C Qur Cantiques Spirituels xxv).....	102
8.3	Ave caeli porta: Motet à la Sainte Vièrge (C Qur M1-225, M2-75, M3-20, Folio 1)	103
8.4	Ave Joseph gratia plena: Motet à l'honneur de St Joseph (C Qur Cantiques Spirituels xxiii-xxiv) .....	103
8.5	Deus qui populo tuo: Motet pour St Augustin (C Qur Cantiques Spirituels xxx) .....	104
8.6	Domine salvum fac Regem (I): Pour le Roy (C Qur Folio 1).....	104
8.7	Domine salvum fac Regem (II): Pour le Roy (C Qur Folio 1) .....	104
8.8	Fidelis servus: Motet à St Joseph (C Qur Folio 2).....	105
8.9	O Filii et filia : (C Qhd #11) .....	105
8.10	Prudentes virgines: Motet en l'honneur de Ste Ursule: (C Qur Folio 4 and M3-151)	105
8.11	Quam dilecta: Motet pour le St Sacrement (C Qhd #6, C Qur M1-46, M2-149, M3- 94)/Augustine: Augustin Docteur optime (C Qur M1-142, M2-107, M3-94).....	106
8.12	Quem vidistis pastores: Motet pour Noël (Qhd #7, C Qur M1-93, M3-153).....	107
8.13	Sub tuum praesidium: Antienne à la Vièrge (C Qur Cantiques Spirituels viii-ix) .....	107
8.14	Veni Sancte Spiritus: Motet pour le jour de la Pentecôte (M1-10, M2-86, M3-179).	108
8.15	Venite ad meum omnes: Motet pour la fete de la Ste Madeleine/Pour le Sacrement (C Qur Folio 2, Folio 3).....	108
8.16	Scores .....	109
Chapter 9. Conclusion.....		139
Bibliography .....		141
Appendix A: Inventory of Musical Items .....		148
Appendix B : Chronology of Historical Events .....		157

Appendix C: Glossary of Musical Terms .....	159
Appendix D: Sample Images From the Manuscripts .....	162

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. from Jean Millet, <i>La Belle Methode</i> , p. 13 .....	26
Figure 2: M1 .....	79
Figure 3: M1 .....	79
Figure 4: M1 .....	79
Figure 5 GR.....	79
Figure 6: Britannia 227, circa 1769 .....	79
Figure 7: Reconstruction of M1 Watermark.....	79
Figure 8: Britannia 221, circa 1760 .....	82
Figure 9: M2 Watermark .....	82
Figure 10: M3 Countermark .....	83
Figure 11: M3 Watermark .....	83
Figure 12: Churchill ex. 475, circa 1710 .....	86
Figure 13: Folio 2 Watermark.....	86
Figure 14: <i>O Veneranda Virginum</i> (M1-164).....	91
Figure 15: <i>Memorare</i> (M1-153).....	92
Figure 16: <i>Memorare</i> (M1-152).....	92
Figure 17: from Bacilly, <i>Remarques Curieuses</i> , p. 161.....	95
Figure 18: <i>O Cor Domini</i> (M1-233) .....	97
Figure 19: <i>Panis candidissime</i> (M1-138) .....	98
Figure 20: <i>O Jesu Deus magne</i> (M1-76).....	100
Figure 21: <i>Quem ad modum</i> (M3-10) .....	100
Figure 22: <i>Memorare</i> (M1-151).....	100
Figure 23: <i>Afferte domino</i> , Qhd #3 .....	162
Figure 24: <i>Ave lux doctorem</i> , Folio 2.....	163
Figure 25: <i>Fidelis servus</i> , Folio 2 .....	164
Figure 26: <i>Augustine tolle lege</i> , Folio 3.....	165

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 5.1 <i>Musique spirituelle</i> examples .....	63
Table 6.2. Erich Schwandt's Table of Pieces adapted for use in New France .....	76
Table 7.3. Common Ornament Names and Symbols.....	97
Table 8.4. Outline of Description Entry.....	102

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## **DEDICATION**

In loving memory of my mother Isabelle Godwin MacIsaac  
(January 27, 1927-December 1, 2016)

# Chapter 1. INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 OVERVIEW

Manuscripts in the Ursuline and Hôtel-Dieu monasteries of Québec City preserve buried musical gems for women's voices composed during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The monasteries' extensive holdings offer insight into the history of music in the colony and reveal the existence of a French Canadian Baroque repertoire written specifically for women's voices. Amid the collections of plainchant and propers reside more than one hundred motets, paraliturgical pieces which are not part of the Divine Office or Mass. The motets form the focus of this dissertation. While forty of the motets have been transcribed and published<sup>1</sup> there remains a substantial repertoire to be unearthed and explored. With musical style imported whole from the mother country, the motets are representative of the French Baroque idiom. Diverse in form and function, some are very ornate, others simple.

Written sources from the time provide information about life in the colonies and the role of music. Catastrophes like war, fire, inclement weather and the daily struggles of colonial life caused the disappearance of musical sources and instruments. However, considered together, extant writings from the era and the music itself offer concrete evidence of a thriving musical life in New France.

Erich Schwandt was the first musicologist to critically examine the Ursuline motets during the latter quarter of the twentieth century. He is the author of several seminal articles

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<sup>1</sup> Erich Schwandt, ed., *The Motet in New France: 20 Motets, Antiphons, and Canticles from the Archives of the Ursulines and the Archives of the Hôtel-Dieu of Québec* (Victoria, British Columbia: Éditions Jeu, 1981) and *ibid*, *The Motet in New France II: 25 Motets, Hymns, and Antiphons from the Archives of the Ursulines and the Archives of the Hôtel-Dieu of Québec* (Victoria, British Columbia: Éditions Jeu, 1994).

about the music of the Ursuline community as well as two unedited, self-published transcriptions of forty of the motets. The significance of Schwandt's research cannot be emphasized enough. He is, to date, the only musicologist to describe the motets and make them available to performers.

When I was his student at the University of Victoria in British Columbia, Professor Schwandt passed copies of his transcriptions to me, suggesting I might find them interesting in my activities as a singer of Baroque music. His gift became the inspiration for this dissertation. No further publication of motets has occurred since the work done by Schwandt, nor have any more studies been made for informed performance. After arranging and performing several of his transcriptions myself, it became clear to me that the motets merited greater study and that scholars and musicians should be made aware of them because of their musical and historical significance to Canada, to the dispersal of Baroque style around the globe, to the study of music for women's voices, and indeed for a plethora of historical disciplines. My curiosity about the existence of these manuscripts raised many questions. I wanted to learn what genres of music are represented in the collections as well as to know how and in what contexts this music was performed. I have therefore conducted research upon the roots, performance practices and intentions of the Ursuline motets. Each chapter which precedes the later discussion of specific works delves into influential aspects upon the motets of the Ursuline manuscripts.

My point of embarkation is France itself, in order to place the New France music into musical, historical, cultural, social and geographical perspective. Chapter 2 offers an historical backdrop. A Chronology of Key Events may be found in Appendix B. The fraught political climate, both within France and between France and neighboring nations is described, impacting subsequent understanding about the intentions with which the colony and the missions were

established. Even the musical tastes of monarchs impacted the direction in which music developed in both France and New France.

Chapter 2 also delineates the evolving social status of women and the draw felt by religious women towards life on the frontier. An understanding of the history of the Ursuline order, from its founding years in Italy, to its emergence in France and subsequent spread to the colonies, is helpful when considering who these female missionaries were and what motivated them to come to Québec. From the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries the Ursuline order was the educational order *par excellence* for women in France and New France. New opportunities for women stemmed from Ursuline education. The empowerment of women through and within religious institutions is an important part of the discussion of the monastery music. In order to discern the evolution of women's social status and that of the Ursuline order in particular, several excellent studies have been useful. Background knowledge of the evolving roles of French women during this period came from Emily Clark's writings, particularly *Masterless Mistresses*, and Elizabeth Rapley's book *The devotés: women and church in seventeenth century France*.

As I sought to discover what challenges, failures and successes the female religious orders faced in the New World, I found myself consulting original writings by the nuns. Original sources which describe the lives of the women of New France are both colorful and useful. These include the Hôtel-Dieu Annals, Marie de l'Incarnation's letters and Marie Morin's Annals for the Hôtel-Dieu of Montréal. The vivid descriptions of their daily activities offer glimpses into the role that music played in their lives and communities. To understand the unfolding of mission life and of the settlements, Allan Greer's book *The People of New France: Themes in Canadian Social History* has been of great value.

The use of the New France motets is divined through records of how life unfolded in the New World. While the nuns were ostensibly cloistered, it proved impossible to stay physically removed from the outer world and the Annals bear witness to the nuns' dynamic lives as missionaries. Open interaction with their whole community was frequently necessary for survival and for success as educators. Certainly, the core reason for the missionaries to come to the New World was to evangelize the First Peoples. Education was the vehicle for conversion. Within the conversion culture of the missions I wished to know what role music played in the nuns' interactions with the Indigenous Peoples. What music did they teach to them and how significant was music in the teaching environment? Was teaching Aboriginal girls and women the primary focus of the Ursuline teaching institution or did they also teach the daughters of the settlers? Ultimately, while the missionaries made conversion of the Aboriginal Peoples their primary reason for being in the New World, and an attempt at creating an entire culture was hinged upon this, the failure was as massive as the undertaking.

The list of powerful female figures to come to New France is remarkable. Among them was the first Mother Superior for the Québec Ursulines, Marie de l'Incarnation, who arrived in 1639 with six other missionary women. She was an insightful letter writer, a compelling spiritual leader and a seemingly inexhaustible leader. I have quoted her extensively in this document. We shall later see how Bishop François de Laval established regulations against singing which were oppressive to the sisters and opposite to the views of Marie de l'Incarnation, who viewed music as a necessity of spiritual expression. A later arrival in 1702, the Augustinian nun and musician, Marie-Andrée Régnard Duplessis de Ste-Hélène was the scribe for the Hôtel-Dieu Annals where many descriptions of musical life in the colonies are to be found. Duplessis de Ste-Hélène was the first person to write a musical treatise in the New World, *Musique spirituelle ou l'on peut*

*s'exercer sans voix* (1718). Both nuns played an important role in the musical life of the colony. Other pioneering religious women who will be mentioned in this study include Jeanne Mance, Marguerite Bourgeoys and Madame de la Peltrie. All possessed indomitable characters fueled by religious zeal.

Three manuscripts of motets at the Ursuline Monastery of Québec were unearthed by Erich Schwandt; the *Cantiques Spirituels*, the *Motet Collection I* [M1] and the *Motet Collection II* [M2]. At the Hôtel-Dieu, he discovered fourteen motets in folios [Qhd] most of which are found in other manuscripts in the Ursuline Archives. Schwandt transcribed forty of the 120 available works. His subsequent articles and publication prefaces offer core information regarding the Ursuline holdings. His writings have been essential advance reading for the archival research undertaken for this dissertation.

For my transcriptions, I specifically sought out motets with score indications for choir. I also wanted to source motets which had not yet been transcribed. Through study of Schwandt's Inventory of Musical Items,<sup>2</sup> I was able to identify at least twenty motets which might be suitable. In order to generate my own transcriptions, I realized it would be necessary to contact the Ursuline and Hôtel-Dieu Archives well in advance of travel to request access to the manuscripts. The archivists of both monasteries generously offered unlimited access to their musical holdings. I spent five days at the Ursuline Archives, and two at the Hôtel-Dieu. Their vast musical holdings include a great deal of plainchant, musical plainchant, personal breviaries and more. It was necessary to focus on those manuscripts which specifically held motets. I carefully photographed each page of the relevant manuscripts and folios. To aid dating, I delicately placed an LED light behind the pages to illuminate watermarks and countermarks. At

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<sup>2</sup> Located in Erich Schwandt, "The Motet in New France: some 17th and 18<sup>th</sup> Century Manuscripts in Québec." *Fontes Artis Musicae* 28, no.3 (July-September 1981):194-219.

the Hôtel-Dieu, I read the original manuscript of their Annals, scanning them for references of musical activities. I also read Duplessis de Ste H el ene’s musical treatise *Musique spirituelle ou l’on peut s’exercer sans voix* in its original manuscript. Because I was permitted to take photographs, I was able to return to British Columbia to continue evaluating and transcribing the repertoire.

Some motets in the collections are transcriptions or parodies of motets by known composers like Andr e Campra, Henri Du Mont, and Nicolas Bernier. Nineteen of Schwandt’s original 120 listed motets are known to be parodies or transcriptions. However, the bulk of the motets are of unknown provenance. In 1960, Helmut Kallmann made the unsubstantiated conjecture that the Jesuit clergy composed the music, and this assumption has been automatically repeated in more recent books, including Willi Amtmann’s *History*, in 1975, and Timothy McGee’s *History of Music in Canada* in 1985. Given that the nuns were educated musicians themselves, it is reasonable to surmise that they composed at least some of the music found in their own handwriting in their collections. Erich Schwandt goes so far as to imply that the nuns may have written the anonymous pieces in the manuscripts: “In Qu ebec contemporary French sacred music...served as a model for the gifted amateur composers of the monasteries who imitated its style.”<sup>3</sup> The musical history and accomplishments of the Ursuline order may allow the reader to come to the same conclusion. Recent scholarship has unearthed and placed value upon music by religious female composers of the Renaissance and Baroque eras, such as that of the Ursuline Isabella Leonardi, or the Augustinian Victoria Aleotti, which helps to strengthen the claim. However, to date there is no evidence to prove authorship either way.

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<sup>3</sup> Erich Schwandt, “Musique spirituelle (1718): Canada’s First Music Theory Manual,” in *Musical Canada*, ed. John Beckwith (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 54.

I have selected different motets for transcription than those that I originally selected from Schwandt's *Inventory of Musical Items*. Once I had original images to analyze it became clear that some were not suitable. Transcription issues arose, such as missing parts, missing pages, indecipherable handwriting, and probable musical errors with which I was reluctant to tamper. With my original list of selected motets now shortened, something remarkable occurred to supply replacement possibilities. A monumental discovery awaited me.

Incredibly, I found an unexamined manuscript and several folders containing unrelated folios of music in the Ursuline Archives. I was particularly surprised because Schwandt had definitively stated, "To my knowledge, there is no other collection of figural music in manuscript extant in Québec."<sup>4</sup> The new manuscript and folios represent more than forty hitherto undiscovered pieces. The original number of motets in Schwandt's inventory was 120 works, now there are at least 160 works. My dissertation consequently holds the distinction of bringing unknown works to light. Several are transcribed here.

I have entitled the newly discovered manuscript *Motet Collection III* [M3] along the same lines as Schwandt's naming system. I have labeled the loose folios at the Ursuline Archives *Folios* F1, F2, F3 and F4. I have created a new *Inventory of Musical Items*. My expanded *Inventory* includes cross-references between all of the collections. The cross-referencing shows that while some motets are unique to a given manuscript; many exist in several, sometimes as many as three or four other manuscripts.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Erich Schwandt, "The Motet in New France: some 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> Century Manuscripts in Québec," *Fontes Artis Musicae* 28, no.3 (July-September 1981): 197.

<sup>5</sup> Schwandt's *Inventory* includes a thematic catalog. A useful future study would be to update his thematic catalog with the newly discovered motet incipits.

Chapter 3 explores the musical genres of France that influenced the New France motets. Understanding the motets entails a thorough understanding of the French musical style of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, for musical practices in New France sought to closely emulate those of France. Useful sources have included Susan Lewis's new publication *Music in the Baroque World: History, Culture and Performance* and Mary Cyr's *Performing Baroque Music*. James R. Anthony's book *French Baroque Music from Beaujoyeux to Rameau* was particularly useful for its sections on early French Baroque vocal music.

From the many available treatises on ornamentation, I selected primarily those which focused on vocal ornamentation. These include those written by Bénigne De Bacilly, Marin Mersenne, François Berthod, François Couperin, and Michel de LaBarre. For the early French Baroque style, Jean Millet's treatise *La Belle Methode, Ou L'art De Bien Chanter* (1666) was invaluable. Original sources for *agréments* do not use fully standardized sigla or terminology. Information about the application of *basso continuo* was derived from a number of publications, the most useful of which was Giulia Nuti's book *The Performance of Italian Basso Continuo: Style in Keyboard Accompaniment in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*.

Chapter 4 brings us to the New World, describing the conditions in which the nuns found themselves, and the way they approached their mission. Chapter 5 delves into the musical rituals and customs that these motets represented within their monastic life, offering insight into how and when the motets would have been performed.

In order to find references to events in the missions that discussed music-making, I read from original sources as much as possible. For this, the most elucidating sources have been those written in French. With sources that were unavailable, such as the Annals of the Ursuline

Monastery and those of the Hôpital-Général, information has been gleaned from Élisabeth Gallat-Morin and Jean-Pierre Pinson's invaluable book *La vie musicale en Nouvelle-France*.

The diverse motets contained in the manuscripts served for educational purposes, private devotions, celebratory and social functions, feast days and services, furthering the understanding that music permeated every aspect of life in the monasteries. The fortitude of the missionaries sprang from their faith. Prayer in song was a manifestation of this, bringing comfort, hope and courage in challenging moments. Specific songs were sung in times of distress or jubilation. Praise for those who were accomplished singers and players is sprinkled throughout the documents, perhaps through a mention of the tuneful singing of an Indigenous child or group, or in a eulogy describing a deceased sister's beautiful voice. Where possible, quotes from the sources are offered.

The New France motets constitute a little known Canadian Baroque repertoire which is not yet transcribed for performance. Making these *petit motets* accessible and performable within authentic Baroque performance practices became one of the objectives of this study. Schwandt's transcriptions reflect his contention that the unedited vocal lines of the autograph are adequate for performance. However, during my initial experiments at singing the motets, the disembodied quality of the music was often a concern. In many of the pieces, the vocal lines on their own sounded as though something important was missing from the music. The lack of a bass underpinning seemed to be the problem. My conjecture about how the motets might have been performed led to research that has deepened my historical understanding and which substantiates my subsequent decision to add bass lines. Therefore, I have generated optional bass lines with figures to my transcriptions for those interested in including them. To aid performance of the motets, my interpretive transcriptions include suggestions for ornamentation, addition of

instruments, including the *basso continuo* lines. Fourteen transcriptions have been generated from motets drawn from all of the collections. My aim is to make this unusual repertoire accessible for upper voice choral ensembles. Some motets are meant for group singing, some alternate large and small choirs, and still others are for soloists with choral participation limited to refrains. The transcriptions may be performed by several vocalists, a choir, or simply one singer, just as Louis-Nicolas Clérambault (1676-1749) indicated for performance of his treble voice motets composed for the *Maison Royale de St. Cyr* (1733).

There is both simple and technically demanding music to be found in the manuscripts. By virtue of its delicacy and intricacy, French Baroque vocal music can be difficult to sing well. Ideally, it requires singers who understand its specific performance practices and who possess a solid vocal technique with vocal flexibility. The challenge is worth taking up, and these pages offer a diversity of examples worthy of exploration. To sing Canadian Baroque musical repertoire is a rare treat.

While this study focuses on the collections of motets in the Ursuline and Hôtel-Dieu monasteries of Québec, there are many other manuscripts awaiting transcription of their contents for performance. From within the Ursuline monastery itself, for example, the musical plainchant is an area worthy, and in need, of future research. Works found in the female institutions are paralleled by music found in other institutions. For example, motets found in the Aubery and Virot manuscripts from the St François mission contain a similar set of repertoires to those found at the convents.<sup>6</sup> Amongst interesting differences to be noted, the Aubery manuscript contains masses mingling French, Latin and native tongues. Comparison of similarities and differences

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<sup>6</sup> The first of these manuscripts is located in the Archives of the Archdiocese of Québec. The second is located on the reserve of Odanak. These manuscripts are thoroughly analyzed in the dissertation of Paul-Andre DuBois.

between manuscript contents would be useful research. My research is a small contribution to the bulk of research which is yet to come.

## 1.2 *TERMINOLOGY CLARIFICATION AND DELINEATION*

There is a Glossary of Musical Terms in Appendix C. The geographical name of Québec already existed at this time so will be used relatively interchangeably with the name New France. The name New France is generally broader, inclusive of any areas in North America which were explored and claimed by the French including, at various times, Acadia, Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, Hudson's Bay, down the Mississippi to Louisiana, and westward towards the Prairies. Gradually, the most settled area became the territory along the banks of the St Lawrence River between Montréal and Québec City. Québec, or Kebec, first referred to the town of Québec, not a province. Québec is thus an evolving term, as indeed is New France.

Terminology choices for the Aboriginal Peoples referred to in this document are approached in a spirit of utmost respect. Within this dissertation I wish to recognize and acknowledge the Esquimalt and Songhees Nations, on whose traditional territories I live and do my work. The website for the Government of Canada states, "There is no single lexicon to describe Aboriginal Peoples."<sup>7</sup> Choices made in this document are based upon the current recommendations set out by the National Aboriginal Health Organization. According to them, it is appropriate to use the following appellations: Indigenous, indigenous, Indian, Aboriginal Peoples, Native Peoples, and First Peoples. The lower case may be used as a noun modifier for the words native, indigenous and aboriginal. Aboriginal Peoples is the collective name for all the original peoples of Canada. The term First Nations People does not include the Inuit or Métis, so

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<sup>7</sup> Government of Canada Publications, "Information Archive," <http://publications.gc.ca/site/archievee-archived.html?url=http://publications.gc.ca/collections/Collection/R2-236-2002E.pdf> (accessed January 23, 2018).

may be used in this document. The word native means “coming from” and “native to.” Both definitions are applicable to this document since the Indigenous people of the area were the original inhabitants.

The Ursuline order was the primary teaching establishment for women and girls, and its motet collections are significantly more extensive than those of the Hôtel-Dieu. Of the fourteen motets found in the Hôtel-Dieu collection, only six are not found at the Ursuline monastery which holds more than 150 motets. The Ursuline collections are the focus of this study. Referring to both institutions every time is cumbersome, so I simplify matters by describing them as Ursuline motets. When pertinent I include the Hôtel-Dieu in the sentence. The musical practices of both orders are consulted and delineated in all other situations, including descriptions of their customs and rules.

The terms monastery and convent are employed interchangeably. The actual title of the Ursuline institution is *le monastère des Ursulines de Québec*. The Ursuline sisters still live in the monastery, although they will soon move to a new home. The Ursuline Monastery still maintains an elementary school within its walls. The full name of the Hôtel-Dieu is *l'Hôtel-Dieu de Québec* and the name of the order running it is *les Augustines de la Miséricorde de Jésus de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Québec*. Within the Hôtel-Dieu is the Augustinian Monastery. The Augustinians are also called Hospitaller nuns. The appellations Hospitaller nun and Augustinian nun will be used interchangeably in this document. The Hôtel-Dieu is still an active hospital and is linked to Laval University as a medical teaching institution. Hospitaller nuns from the Hôtel-Dieu were sent to live and work at the Hôpital-Général when it was founded in 1692, thus both institutions were run by the same order of nursing nuns.

## Chapter 2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE URSULINE ORDER

### 2.1 *RELIGION, WARS AND THE MONARCHS OF FRANCE*

The reigns of Henri IV, Louis XIII and Louis XIV span the era of the colonization, settlement and fall of New France in America. These were turbulent years in France, rife with internal and external wars. At the same time, women's roles in the social fabric shifted, particularly within the religious sphere.

For decades, France was engaged in a series of religious wars, a relentless bloody sequence of battles which pitted Protestant allied nations against Catholic. The French Wars of Religion between Catholics and Huguenots<sup>8</sup> were sparked in 1562 with the slaughter of more than one thousand Huguenots in Vassy, France. It is estimated that three million people died during these internal wars, which continued until 1598. Different fates awaited those of different faiths during the reigns of various monarchs. For many years, French queen Catherine de Medici, widow of Henri II, was Regent<sup>9</sup> to three of her sons in succession (circa 1559-1589). Catherine was a Catholic zealot. During her years of power, oppression of the Huguenot populace was brutal within France, culminating in the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre.<sup>10</sup> In 1572, at the wedding of her daughter Marguerite to Huguenot nobleman Henri of Navarre, Catherine de Medici secretly ordered the slaughter of all Huguenots in the Paris region, most of whom were

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<sup>8</sup> The Huguenots were French Calvinists, Reformed Protestants who believed in redemption and faith without the need for church intercession.

<sup>9</sup> Regency is interim rule by an appointee while the actual monarch is absent or considered too young to rule.

<sup>10</sup> The St Bartholomew's Day Massacre was in fact a five day long slaughter of Huguenot peoples in Paris during the wedding celebrations of Marguerite of France and Henri of Navarre, one of the early hostile events which sparked the Thirty Years War. The plot was conceived of by Catherine de Medici and acceded to by her son, the young King Charles IX.

there to attend the wedding. The Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre was one of the early hostile events which instigated the next and even more destructive war, the Thirty Years War (1618-1648). Ironically, after the deaths, one after another, of Catherine's three sons,<sup>11</sup> Henri of Navarre was awarded the French throne, becoming Henri IV (1589-1610). Sympathetic to his Huguenot citizens, Henri IV generated the Edict of Nantes, which granted equal rights and freedom of worship to Huguenots in France. This resulted in a time of temporary calm but incurred a gradual upsurge of resentment from French Catholic society. Similarly, there were Huguenot communities in the South of France which were violently hostile to the Catholic population.<sup>12</sup> Tensions between the two factions eventually erupted into a lengthy civil war.

Upon the succession of Henri's zealously Catholic son Louis XIII in 1610, internal war resumed between the Catholics and Huguenots with a vengeance, embroiling all of France, Europe and their respective colonies. During the reign of Louis XIV, matters worsened. Louis XIV abolished the Edict of Nantes, proclaimed the independence of the Gallican Church from the Papacy, and Huguenot persecution reached its apex. Those who did not convert were hunted down and slaughtered, sent to the galleys, prisons and torture chambers. Not welcome in New France, many were transported to the West Indies or to British North America. France's civil

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<sup>11</sup> A relatively swift succession of young kings put a great deal of power into the hands of the Regent Catherine de Medici, their mother. Francois II died of an ear infection or meningitis at the age of 16, after being a child king for less than 2 years. His brother, Charles IX succeeded him but died at the age of 23 of tuberculosis. Next, their younger brother Henri III was assassinated and had no issue. Their sister's husband, Henri of Navarre became King.

<sup>12</sup> Dumas describes the Huguenot-Catholic tensions in the Huguenot territory, pointing out that Henri IV's Edict of Nantes was viewed as a betrayal by the Huguenots, and was a causal factor to the Thirty Years War. "Henri IV with soldierly frankness gathered round him all those who had been his comrades (Huguenots), and showed them that hardly a tenth of the immense number of its inhabitants were Protestants, and that even that tenth was shut up in the mountains... he offered them... the Edict of Nantes to assure their future safety, and fortresses to defend themselves should this edict one day be revoked, for with profound insight the grandfather divined the grandson: Henri IV feared Louis XIV. The Protestants took what they were offered, but... went away filled with discontent because they had not been given more. Although the Protestants ever afterwards looked on Henri IV as a renegade, his reign nevertheless was their golden age..." Alexandre Dumas, *Celebrated Crimes: Massacres of the South 1515-1815*, (Rockville, Maryland: Wildside Press, 2003), 92.

war, suppression, deportation and massacres of the Huguenot populace, and the Thirty Years' War across Europe, affected the history of France for many decades, resonating down through the centuries to the French Revolution itself. Crippling taxes were levied against the populace to pay for the decades of religious wars. Poverty became an epidemic that required management, a permanent social plight which women undertook to alleviate. During the religious wars, with a large portion of the male populace absent, dead or crippled, women in the care professions and teaching establishments were poised to become empowered members of France's social infrastructure. Religious and pious lay-women stepped forward to run hospitals, orphanages and schools, institutions which were sorely needed for the sick, injured, poor, abandoned, "fallen"<sup>13</sup> women and the aged.

## 2.2 *FEMALE PIETY, GENDER ROLES AND THE RISE OF FEMALE RELIGIOUS VOCATIONS IN FRANCE*

The church and monarchy were the two great dominating powers in French society. In France, feminism was kindled in the hearths of female religious organizations rising up to respond to social needs, fanning outward to involve educated, privileged women. In the early 1600's, the French church was unexpectedly breached by accepting women into its core. Soon, there were more religious sisters than priests and monks.

Religious women then registered an advance during a period that for most other women was characterized by retreat. Against a general background of feminine weakness, the feminine religious life became a nucleus of real, though always discreet, strength. The 'great Catholic females of the Counter-Reformation' enjoyed opportunities for organizational activity far beyond anything that Protestant women were allowed. Their

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<sup>13</sup> "Fallen" is a subtly pejorative term used in former centuries to describe women whose reputations had been compromised. The term refers to the biblical idea of Eve falling from God's grace and banished from the Garden of Eden. Women who had sex outside of matrimony for any reason, prostitutes or otherwise, or women who were abjectly poor, or who deviated from social norms would all have commonly had the umbrella term "fallen" applied to them.

power and influence were transferred to the collective which formed around them: their religious communities.<sup>14</sup>

Thus, women turned to the religious vocations for greater opportunity. Coupled with the social ministry provided by women was a phenomenon of ecstatic spiritual devotion amongst Catholic women. In a state of religious fervor, lay-women took up social ministry and, in the process, received greater liberty and opportunities.

Paradoxically, as religious females were given greater liberties to teach and assume greater social responsibilities, gender roles became increasingly rigid. Simultaneous with the feminization of the church, patriarchal misogyny within the organization increased. The clergy wanted the work done but disapproved of the liberties assumed by the female *dévotées*. The patriarchy was unsettled by the empowerment and freedom accompanying the process. The response was a top-down imposition of increasingly solemn vows and clausura<sup>15</sup> upon women in lay orders and open religious communities, such as that of the Ursulines.

### 2.3 *THE FOUNDING OF THE URSULINE ORDER AND THEIR EDUCO-MUSICAL VALUES*

The Ursuline Order was a teaching community founded in 1535 in Brescia, Italy. Early Ursulines did not live together but rather at home with their families, performing acts of piety and evangelism in society at large. They did not live in a convent community and were not cloistered. The Ursuline Order swiftly gained popularity and spread to France where it became very powerful. The Ursuline mandate to live amongst the people it served made the patriarchy particularly uncomfortable. So much so that the Council of Trent (1563) addressed this issue in

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<sup>14</sup> Elizabeth Rapley, *The Dévotes: Women and Church in Seventeenth-Century France*, (Montréal, Québec: McGill Queen's University Press, 1990), 5.

<sup>15</sup> To be in clausura is to be cloistered.

their 1563 edict, curtailing the freedoms and function of the Ursuline communities.<sup>16</sup> As early as 1572, the church in Italy imposed clausura upon the order and by 1612 the nuns in France were also cloistered.

Italian society, from which the Ursuline order sprang, was redolent with female religious ministries filled with music. Many female composers from Renaissance and Baroque era convents are currently being researched and re-discovered. In the process, they are being recognized as significant composers, amongst them, the Ursuline Isabella Leonarda and the Augustinian Raffaella Aleotti. The list of Renaissance and Baroque female composers continues to expand, their music springing from obscurity, revealing a deep wellspring of talent and training. The many successful musical programs of the *Ospedali* in Venice reveal a flourishing of female musical performances of great virtuosity and social popularity which sprang from the religious communities. Such organizations not only taught orphans but also boarders who wished to train professionally as musicians. The emphasis upon music and the means by which the Italian institutions succeeded musically was emulated by the French institutions.

Many parallels may be drawn between the teaching offered in Italy, France, and subsequently in colonial New France. Amongst the core elements of the Ursuline teaching curriculum was a musical education which included theory, composition, vocal and instrumental studies. If the technical virtuosity demanded by many of the New France motets is of any measure, Ursuline musicians were able to attain a high professional standard of performance and composition. Music was viewed as both a science and an art. It was also a powerful pedagogical tool. An elevated level of accomplishment in the musical arts, as well as other areas of learning, developed musical virtuosity, prowess, capturing attention and indeed, nurtured the idea that

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<sup>16</sup> The curbing of Ursuline freedoms was later duplicated and enforced in Québec by Bishop Laval and will be discussed later in this document.

women were as musically capable as men. It is not surprising that the church was uncomfortable with the nuns' musical activities. Perhaps the writing of motets and the richly ornamented singing represented more than an expression of faith but was also linked to a liberating assertion of one's own insights and selfhood, motivated and enabled by a religious calling.

#### 2.4 *THE CLOISTERING OF THE URSULINES, AND THE RISE OF CONVENT SCHOOLS*

The imposition of enclosure challenged the nuns as they attempted to continue teaching while remaining obediently inside the convent walls. Because of the new edict, they could no longer go to their students; therefore, the students had to come to them. An astonishing result sprang from this difficulty. Because the nuns were no longer allowed to teach in the greater community, construction of hundreds of Ursuline monasteries began all over France. By 1700, the newly built monasteries represented approximately 320 Ursuline communities across France, and more than 10,000 Ursuline nuns.

Within the monastery walls, education by the French Ursuline communities flourished even more than when they taught outside in society. Education deepened beyond catechism to include arts, sciences and music, becoming more well-rounded. Women and girls who would not otherwise have learned to read and write now became literate. Overall literacy in the female population rose exponentially as those who were taught by the nuns became teachers themselves. Education led to empowerment and vice versa. Education brought about greater independence, opened new horizons, and engendered female desire for greater status in society. This significant shift can be seen to have been achieved in no small part through the devoted work of the female religious orders. Ursuline monasteries became social and religious centers for many of the towns and smaller cities throughout France, garnering them power and status. Historian Emily Clark points out that "The distinctive female piety that legitimated the nuns' ambitions (led to) a

revolutionary rethinking of women's place in the spiritual universe and had implications for women's place in the earthly realm as well."<sup>17</sup> The church became increasingly concerned with the amount of power held by women, both in France and in New France. In New France, the list of spirited female figures leading the way is notable. Included in this list must be Jeanne Mance, a Joan of Arc-like personality, who co- founded the utopian community of Ville Marie, later Montréal, and its Hôtel-Dieu. Jeanne Mance was a charismatic speaker who successfully recruited funding from wealthy patrons for the colony. The pious founding patroness of the Ursulines in Québec, Mme de la Peltrie, not only funded their nascent community but came with them to New France and experienced all the privations and challenges of missionary life. Marguerite Bourgeoys challenged Québec's first Bishop, François de Laval, by founding a lay teaching order in Montréal, La Congrégation de Notre-Dame.

In France, the Ursulines became the female teaching order *par excellence* of the Counter-Reformation. Hundreds of thousands of women passed through their classrooms, and the overall level of literacy amongst women rapidly rose. The convents served as *de facto* breeding grounds for female artists and intellectuals, safer havens than the secular world, where young women could be raised, not only in their faith, but also into a form of early enlightenment via literacy and flourishing artistic expression. Traces of the subsequent Age of Enlightenment may be extended back to educational establishments such as those of the Ursulines in the 1600's.

Throughout the Counter-Reformation, Catholic education for the lay people, including women, was intended to protect the religious state and the culture of the nation. A less savory aspect is that Catholic education was actively intended to destroy Protestantism. Ironically, in adopting Protestant concepts such as the use of vernacular language in worship and song,

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<sup>17</sup> Emily J. Clark, *Masterless Mistresses: The New Orleans Ursulines and the Development of a New World Society, 1727–1834*, (Williamsburg, VA: Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 2007), 5.

Catholic educators were in essence waging their own conversion wars. Huguenot girls were sent to Ursuline boarding schools, forcibly taken from their families to be inculcated into a new religion.

## 2.5 *LA MAISON ROYALE DE ST CYR*

The *Grand Siècle*<sup>18</sup> was a time of educational experimentation for noblewomen. Amongst women in aristocratic circles, the changes were remarkable. Much was done by wealthy, powerful eighteenth-century women to assist the overall development of female accomplishment. They funded social programs, missionary work and schools. *La Maison Royale de St. Cyr* provides a striking example. A school for poor girls, *La Maison Royale* was founded in 1680 by an Ursuline nun, Madame de Brinon. The patroness of the school was Madame de Maintenon, the mistress, and later, wife of Louis XIV. Under her patronage, the school relocated in 1686 to Saint Cyr and was transformed into a convent boarding school dedicated to the education of the daughters of impoverished noblemen. *La Maison Royale* became a peculiar hybrid between convent and boarding school, opening the way to new roles for women. The students were expected to become deeply religious noblewomen, a new kind of *dévote*. The curriculum included catechism, reading and writing, but also offered a diversified education with the addition of sciences, including astronomy and music. The teachers were both nuns and lay people. The girls were taught regular subjects by Ursuline and Augustinian nuns but received specialized instruction by various masters. Racine and Molière wrote for their theatrical productions. Guillaume Nivers and Louis-Nicolas Clèrambault were their music masters. That

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<sup>18</sup> The *Grand Siècle* lasted more than a century, hence the word “grand.” In fact, it spans approximately 125 years, circa 1589-1715, encompassing the reigns of Henri IV, Louis XIII and Louis XIV. The term also epitomizes pomp, grandeur and glory making the appellation apt.

the students were taught by men was extremely progressive. The students' span of experiences became unusually worldly: they even met the Chinese Jesuit Michael Shen.

The liberalist incarnation of *La Maison Royale* lasted a mere six years. It was demoted to a more proper convent school in 1692 but left its mark in the evolution of women's education, an early precedent to more liberalist educational attitudes. The nuns in Québec would certainly have known of *La Maison Royale*. The close relationship of Ursulines and Augustinians found in the school at Saint Cyr is paralleled in New France in the close alliance between the Augustinian Hospitaller Nuns and the Ursulines. The example of *La Maison Royale* reveals the restless urge for female emancipation from social subjugation.

Women were being educated to a standard which was generating a desire for greater liberties and equalities in society, and reluctance to obey strictures which hampered their activities. A ever growing section of France's female population was enjoying the greater accomplishments found through education, and this included arts and music. Within France the ideal that women's education was desirable to induce greater piety and greater ennoblement of character in young women had taken hold and grew apace. A thorough education for women was now a core aspect of French society, both in France and in the colonies.

## Chapter 3. MUSICAL FORMS IN FRANCE WHICH INFLUENCED THE NEW FRANCE MOTET

### 3.1 *INTRODUCTION AND THE FRENCH STYLE VERSUS THE ITALIAN STYLE*

It is necessary to look to the music of the French Baroque for an understanding of the New France motet. A discussion of style and musical genres in the mother country offers context to the music being written and performed concurrently in its colony. Church music in New France was modelled upon the practices concurrent in France. Musicologist Susan Lewis points out that the sacred music of New France reveals a “heavy reliance on musical genres and styles from back home.”<sup>19</sup> New France was intended to be a small colonial version of the home country. The colonists imported their culture to their new land, and practiced, as best they could in reduced circumstance, smaller scale versions of what was known and familiar throughout the fledgling society. Religious organizations were obligated and inspired to uphold, transmit, and teach to their acolytes that which was considered correct musical practice according to the communities from which they sprang. Sacred repertoire by Henri Du Mont (1610-1684), André Campra (ca. 1660-1744), Guillaume-Gabriel Nivers (1632-1714) and other important French sacred music composers, was brought to the colonies by the clergy.

Coincidentally, the French colonization of the New World spans the Baroque era in music. The arrival of the Ursulines and Augustinians in 1639, and the final secession of the French colony to Britain in 1763, includes, musically speaking, the early Baroque style of the court of Louis XIII and the entire duration of the high Baroque reign of Louis XIV.

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<sup>19</sup> Susan Lewis, *Music in the Baroque World: History, Culture and Performance* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 334.

While disdaining the Italian style, the French continually imported their musical stylistic techniques, for example opera forms, *arioso* style, *concertato* style, *cori spezzati* and *basso continuo*.<sup>20</sup> A generalized description might be as follows; the French style epitomizes elegance, sophistication, magnificence, while the Italian style is dramatic, expressive, emotionally direct and virtuosic. Initially in the Baroque, the two styles were presented side by side in compositions. Later, integration and Frenchification occurred, where Italian style was modified to fit French tastes. This transformation is personified by the most powerful composer of the French court during the Baroque era, the Italian composer and favorite of the King, Jean-Baptiste Lully (1632-1687). Despite his Italian origins, Lully was a fervently French composer. The unification of the two styles is often called *les goûts réunis*, (the reunited tastes) coined in 1724 as a subtitle to François Couperin's (1668-1733) *Nouveaux Concerts*, suites written for Louis XIV. The static nature of French style led to a greater incursion of the more dynamic Italian style during the second quarter of the eighteenth century. We shall later see how the presence of Italian elements in the New France motets aids in dating of some of the works.

### 3.2 *MUSIC AT THE COURT OF LOUIS XIII: THE FLOURISHING OF THE AIR DE COURS*

The study of the music of the early French Baroque holds many challenges because of an “appalling lack of primary sources,”<sup>21</sup> writes musicologist James Anthony. Anthony further notes that written accounts exist which describe the musical works, but the ravages of war, including the later destruction caused by the French Revolution, caused extensive loss of musical scores.

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<sup>20</sup> When referring to Italian practice in this document, I shall use the term *basso continuo* and when referring to French practice, I shall use the term *basse continue*.

<sup>21</sup> James R. Anthony, *French Baroque Music from Beaujoyeux to Rameau* (Rev. and Expanded ed. Portland, Oregon: Amadeus Press, 1997), 199.

Louis XIII became King in 1611 but was still a child when his Catholic mother Marie de Medici assumed the Regency. In 1617 Louis XIII assumed sole power and exiled his mother.<sup>22</sup> Louis's father, Henri IV, had been a Huguenot, but converted to marry Marguerite, daughter of Henri II. Sympathetic to his Huguenot citizens, Henri IV generated the Edict of Nantes in order to protect their rights. Later rebellions by the Huguenot populace against Louis XIII resulted in his conviction that Huguenots would never be loyal subjects, and he began to persecute them. A year later, the Thirty Years War erupted between Protestants and Catholics (1618), embroiling all of Europe, with Louis XIII taking the Catholic side. The war became a massive economic drain throughout the whole of the Baroque era.

Patronage of the arts functioned as a kind of public relations, revealing the generosity and sophistication of the king while also glorifying him. In the grandiose years of Louis XIV's reign, this glorification reached an apogee where the King was described as the "living image" of God.<sup>23</sup>

Amid years of upheaval, the court of Louis XIII became one of elegance and culture. Louis himself played the lute, an interest stemming from his Italian heritage on his Medici mother's side. The small scale vocal music of the early Baroque composed during Louis XIII's time leads directly to the later *petit motet* of New France.

Sacred music was less likely than secular music to be published for purchase by the moneyed. The King's printer, Ballard, published psalm settings, paraphrases and sacred parodies of secular songs called *airs de cours*, but much less so the Masses and motets. During the early

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<sup>22</sup> Marie de Medici was not willing to relinquish regal power to her son Louis XIII when he came of age. Louis XIII eventually forced her out with a *coup d'état*. Marie did not go willingly, and it was necessary to arrest and exile her to Blois.

<sup>23</sup> Jacques Bossuet, Louis XIV's court preacher and orator, declared that the King was *l'image vivante* of God.

seventeenth century in France, wide dissemination of the *air de cours* via publication generated a significant influence upon the motet form.

*Air de cours* simply means court air. It existed in France from approximately 1570 to 1650. It evolved from the Renaissance polyphonic chanson and the monophonic *voix de ville* and is influenced by *musique mesurée*. The earliest *airs de cours*, composed around 1570, were, like the *voix de ville*, a single line song with or without accompaniment, with music often derived from the ballets of the time. Next, the *air de cours* developed into three to five part polyphonic songs. During the time of Louis XIII, the solo *air de cours* with lute intabulation was the most socially popular form. At this point, the metrical irregularity within the songs, combined with varied vocal ornamentation during different verses, showed the influence of *musique mesurée*. A final shift from lute intabulation to *basse continue* provided a new form of chordal backdrop to these songs. Composers of the genre included Antoine Boësset (1586-1643), Étienne Moulinié, (1599-1676), Michel Lambert (1610-1696) and Henri Du Mont. The figural motets found in New France witness the *air de cours* morphing into its sacred variant, the *air spirituel*. As is so often the case, secular and sacred variants of the same genre of music existed side by side.

Furthermore, many *airs spirituels* were contrafacta; the sacred versions replacing the original, and well known, profane texts with spiritual texts. Important composers of *airs spirituels* included François Berthod (active 1650's and 1660's) and Bénigne de Bacilly (ca. 1625-1690).

Louis XIII's preferred instrument, the lute, caused the *air de cours* to flourish. During his reign, the early to mid-seventeenth century, lute music was cultivated in solo repertoire and as accompaniment for the voice. At this point in time, the *air de cours* had evolved into a highly ornate solo genre with intabulated lute parts. Usually scored for the soprano voice, it was transposed to suit any voice type. Profuse filigree ornaments, called *diminutions*, were applied to

any notes and any of the text syllables, even holding a preference for unimportant words, making important words comprehensible. The ornamentation was not intended as word painting, but as melodic enhancement and diversification. Ornamentation of the route between any two notes was circuitous, creating an intricate brocade texture to the song. Jean Millet's (1618-1684) treatise on singing, *La Belle Methode, Ou L'art De Bien Chanter* (1666), specifically sought to teach how to apply vocal embellishments in the *airs de cours* style. In the below example, Millet shows how to ornament in step-wise motion from *ut* to *la* and back down again. Here, a simple major scale becomes an ornate set of divisions.

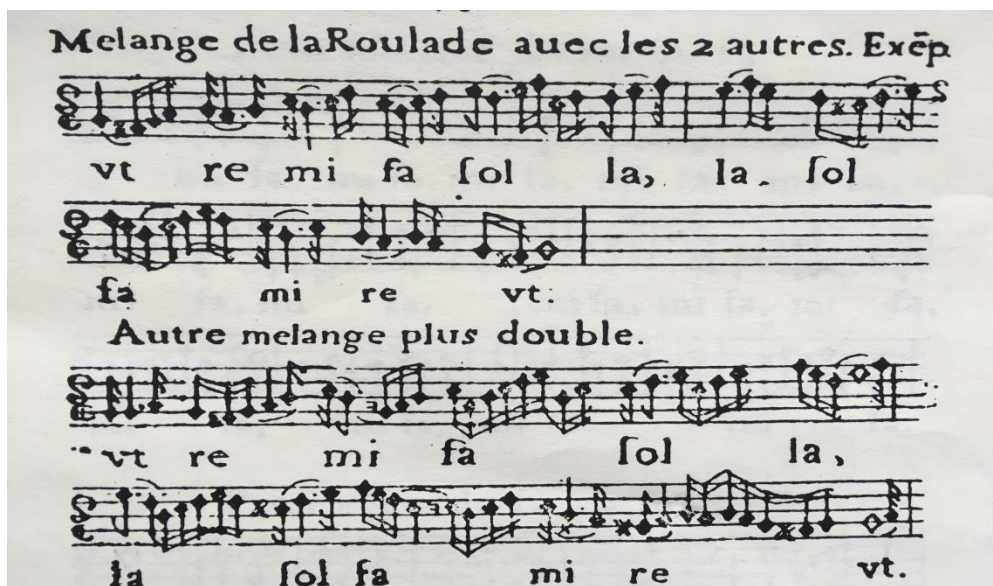


Figure 1. from Jean Millet, *La Belle Methode*, p. 13

Rhythm was freely altered to accommodate the intricate work of the voice. This ornamentation of secular music also entered into sacred motets. A church musician himself, several Latin motets and French secular songs are included in Millet's treatise. The motets, an *Ave Verum* and a *Vanitas de vanitas* are ornamented in the *air de cours* style.

Later in the seventeenth century, complex embellishments were written out in publications to assist performers. This led to a standardization of ornaments. The flourishes

became formulaic and had specific rules for appropriate placement. Called *agréments*, the ornaments were now applied to emotionally significant words, as done already in Italian style, in order to express their affect. During the later seventeenth century, the *airs de cours* came to be accompanied by a musician playing from a thorough-bass, rather than by intabulated voice parts.

Court composer Henri Du Mont (1610-1684) represents the assimilation of the French style with Italian features. His *petit motets* are highly contrasting multi-sectional pieces, include *basse continue* and favor vocal trios. The motets' forms are often unified via recurring sections. Du Mont's motets include hymn settings, antiphons, psalms and dialogues. French elements include asymmetrical phrases and meter shifts. The influence of Henri Du Mont is discernable in many of the New France motets, which reveal a similar application of Italian influences. Several paraphrases of Du Mont are found within the Ursuline collections.

### 3.3 *ORNAMENTATION IN THE MATURE BAROQUE*

Unlike the early French Baroque, the mature French Baroque published a diversity of materials for understanding and applying ornamentation, which still survive. These treatises and publication prefaces provide tables of ornaments with symbols, indicating which ornament is to be used with each symbol. Each writer or composer offers their own set of instructions and legends of diverse symbols for the *agréments*. The abbreviated notation of ornaments is often a visual depiction of the actual shape the ornament takes. While some ornaments are written in, more are expected to be tastefully applied than the suggested few supplied in the publication. Later Baroque ornamentation focuses upon a single note, or a small cluster of notes, rather than the *diminutions* of the earlier Baroque style. The performer would be expected to choose the type of and manner of execution for the *agréments*, including rhythmic flexibility, gracefulness, and number of repercussions, based upon the musical affect of the piece.

Marin Mersenne's (1588-1648) treatise *L'Harmonie Universelle* (1636) focuses primarily on vocal music. He enjoins musicians to "imitate harangues in all their members, divisions and periods, and to use all kinds of figures and harmonic embellishments, as does the orator, so that the art of composing melodies will concede nothing to rhetoric."<sup>24</sup> Influenced by the Italian style, yet proud of the French art of oratory, Mersenne calls for expressivity beyond mere sweetness: "Passionate accents are frequently lacking in French airs because our singers are content to tease the ear and to please with prettiness rather than taking care to excite the passions of their hearers..."<sup>25</sup>

Composer Bénigne de Bacilly published a treatise about vocal ornamentation entitled *Remarques curieuses sur l'art de bien chanter* (1668). Available in translation, it deals specifically with *agréments* but includes information on *diminutions*, linking the earlier Baroque *airs de cours* style to the mature Baroque style of ornamentation. This is a useful source to consult when wishing to apply *agréments* to the New France motets which span both style periods.

### 3.4 LA BASSE CONTINUE

The arrival of the *basso continuo* from Italy changed musical performance in France, as elsewhere. In her book on the emergence and establishment of *basso continuo*, musicologist and

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<sup>24</sup> My translation from Mersenne: "...qui doivent...imiter les Harangeues, afin d'avoir des membres, des parties, et des périodes et d'user toutes sortes de figures et de passages harmoniques, comme l'Orateur et que l'art de composer des Aïrs, et le Contrepoint ne cède rien à la Rhétorique." Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle: Contenant La Théorie Et La Pratique De La Musique* (Paris, 1636-7) (Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1986), 153.

<sup>25</sup> My translation from Mersenne: "les accents de passions manquent le plus souvent aux Aïrs François, parce que nos Chantres se contentent de chastouiller l'oreille et de plaire par leurs mignardises, sans se soucier d'exciter les passions de leurs auditeurs." Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle: Contenant La Théorie Et La Pratique De La Musique* (Paris, 1636-7), (Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1986), 164.

harpichordist Giulia Nuti points out that it became the most widely used system for accompaniment from the early 1600's until the Classical Era. Imported from Italy, *basso continuo* was slowly accepted into the musical texture. Before figured bass symbols came into use, harmonization implied by the bass line was intuited. Nuti reports that, "commonly continuo players performed from an unfigured bass; by the end of the seventeenth century, often not even the part that was being accompanied was included."<sup>26</sup> Thus, bass parts existed separately from the upper parts. Since this was the case, it is possible that bass parts once existed for the motets in the Québec manuscripts.

The simplicity, yet incredible flexibility, of *basso continuo* lines freed accompanists to choose whether to provide rich full chords, or something much simpler. Nuti writes, "It allowed dynamics and expressiveness on keyboard instruments: accompanists could choose whether to play *tasto solo*, or large loud chords, and could adapt their realization of the accompaniment according to what was being sung."<sup>27</sup> This variability meant the bass accompaniment was utterly based upon what was needed. It would have to consider, for example, what it might add to replace a missing singer or how it could enrich the sonority. Thus, while the New France motets exist without *basso continuo*, the addition of an organist, viol player or other instruments would support the vocal parts and flesh out the musical texture.

Nuti also points out that string bass function was different in instrumental settings than in vocal. For the vocal music, "bass often has a harmonic and supportive role whereas in instrumental music the bass line can have a melodic function separate from the *basso continuo*

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<sup>26</sup> Giulia Nuti, *The Performance of Italian Basso Continuo: Style in Keyboard Accompaniment in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Aldershot, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 61.

<sup>27</sup> Giulia Nuti, *The Performance of Italian Basso Continuo: Style in Keyboard Accompaniment in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Aldershot, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 1.

part.”<sup>28</sup> Cantatas by later French Baroque composers like Michel Pignolet de Monteclair (1667-1737) or Jean-Philippe Rameau (1683-1764) are essentially miniature one or two voice operas where the harpsichord assumes the harmonic function, while the *basse de viol* takes on colorful *obbligato* roles. These roles often graphically describe the dramatic context, such as a descent into Hades.

There were initial objections to the use of *basso continuo* in French sacred music because it was feared it would make organists sloppy with their counterpoint. Called *basse continue* in France, it came to be included in sacred repertoire, particularly in paraliturgical forms like *concerti spirituels* and motets. Amongst the various types of bowed instruments for French *basse continue* are the *basse de viol* or *viol*, (viol in English) and the *basse de violon* or *violoncelle* (the cello). Several variants existed, as bowed instruments were not yet standardized. The *basse de viol* thrived in seventeenth century France. It was commonly employed as an accompanying instrument for choral music, in tandem with organ, lute, harpsichord or theorbo. Large scale performances would employ many *viols* and lutes. Eventually, the *basse de violon* vied with the *basse de viol* for prominence, and in the end the *viol* was displaced, primarily because its sonority did not project as well in larger spaces. However, the *viol* was still considered ideal for use in chamber music, small chapels and for small scale works like *petit motets*. Publications towards the end of the French Baroque did not always distinguish clearly between the various bowed instruments. Early use of the *basse de viol* in vocal chamber music in the late 1600’s in France is typically in two part textures. The *viol* often played divisions or invented

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<sup>28</sup> Giulia Nuti, *The Performance of Italian Basso Continuo: Style in Keyboard Accompaniment in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Aldershot, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 39.

homophonically with the melody. Writings from the 1600s onwards instruct the viol player how to add divisions or simplifications to any bass line.<sup>29</sup>

François Couperin (1668-1733) included *basse de viol* in his *Leçons de ténèbres* (1714) and other small chamber motets. Other composers who paired voices with viol include Michel Pignolet de Monteclair, Thomas-Louis Bourgeois (1676-1750), Nicolas Renier (? - ca.1731), and several with connections to the Québec repertoire, including Marc-Antoine Charpentier (1643-1704), André Campra, Nicola Bernier (1664-1734), Henri Du Mont and Louis-Nicolas Clérambault (1676-1749). Several of Marc-Antoine Charpentier's motets include both a *basse de violon* and a *basse de viol*.<sup>30</sup> Furthermore, the *viol* was versatile: it could take either a bass role or a melodic role, replacing the violin. Bass lines could be performed somewhat interchangeably by *viol*, *basse de violon*, serpent or bassoon, although each had its idiomatic features.

It is important to be aware of the flexibility of instrumentation during this era. One worked with the forces one had, with alternatives freely suggested. A distinction was sometimes made between the *basse l'archet* (bowed bass) and the *basse chiffrée* (figured bass). Their parts might be printed separately or on the same staff. Sometimes, no part would be supplied at all, but the composer might suggest viol accompaniment. The player was expected to invent from the lowest line. In the Preface to his *Pièces pour la flûte traversière* (1702), Michel de La Barre (ca. 1675-1745) stated that, "most of these pieces can be played alone. When one wishes to play with others, it will be absolutely necessary to use a *basse de viol* and theorbo or harpsichord, or the

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<sup>29</sup> An important treatise on division playing is Saint Lambert's *Nouveau traité de l'accompagnement du clavecin, de l'orgue, et des autres instruments* (Paris, 1707).

<sup>30</sup> See for example Marc-Antoine Charpentier's motet *Gratiarum actiones ex paeris codicibus* among many pieces from his collection *Meslanges*.

two together.”<sup>31</sup> From this we can draw the conclusion that larger forces required the bolstering effect of bass instruments. Use of the *viol* without keyboard was another important effect supplied by the bass instrument. A final idiomatic use of a bass instrument in French chamber music is that of the drone, providing the pastoral effect of *musettes* or the drum-like drones of *tambourins*.

The economic decline caused by the Thirty Years War resulted in an increase in smaller scale works throughout Europe. The reduction of forces of singers and instrumentalists made for more compact motets such as those found in the Ursuline collection, which featured the *basso continuo* which “provided harmonic and rhythmic scaffolding for *concertato* solo, duet and trio singers.”<sup>32</sup> *Petits motets* might include abrupt expressive harmonic shifts, overlapping phrases, passionate settings, imitation, *arioso* and recitative style writing all deriving from the Italian musical style. Fast, triple rhythms are also representative of the Italian style.

### 3.5 *DEVOTIONAL AIRS FOR WOMEN: THE AIR SPIRITUAL AND MUSIC FOR TEACHING*

Outside of the church, vocal music witnessed the development of a declamatory passionate style of solo singing called the *airs de dévotion* or *airs spirituels*. Particularly prolific after 1670, they were written for nuns, school girls and devout lay-women. It was considered very important for married women to be taught how remain devout in the world with its temptations of the flesh. Courty women were viewed as having the potential for moral corruption and as “the frivolous sex” needed encouragement and education to shield them from moral weakness. A movement towards increased piety for women of the court lasted throughout

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<sup>31</sup> Michel De la Barre, *Pièces pour la flûte traversière avec la basse continue* (1702), Preface.

<sup>32</sup> Susan Lewis, *Music in the Baroque World: History, Culture and Performance* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 54 and 57.

the reigns of Louis XIII and Louis XIV, pressuring women to live religiously devoted lives like nuns, while married with children. Recommendations for devout life included private worship and pure living. Tracts regarding day-long piety included instructions to sing motets in the evening.

Devotional practices could include singing “some *Magnificat*, *Exaudiat* or *Laudate* . . . or some motets of spiritual songs, from the words you may draw as much fruit for your souls as sweetness for your ears.”<sup>33</sup> This is exactly how one might imagine the songs from the Québec manuscripts in their use by the nuns and their students. The first *airs spirituels* to appear were parodies, *contrafacta* or paraphrases of known melodies, set to sacred texts. Some of this music was very simple, like the *lauda* or the *cantique* forms for group singing. These forms frequently included vernacular texts set to a melody known to all as a passionate love song. The passion for the beloved was subverted to passion for Jesus. The intention of the parodies was to make accessible, teachable songs for conversion or for sustaining faith. There are many such pieces in the Ursuline manuscripts of Québec and New Orleans.

The *airs spirituels* are the sacred equivalent of the expressive *air de cours*. These impassioned declamations have their roots in Italian monody, but their ornamentation is florid. One of the more famous parodists was François Berthod, whose little books of devotional airs, written for women, were published by Ballard in 1656, 1658, and 1662.<sup>34</sup> These works were

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<sup>33</sup> Quoted by Catherine Gordon-Seifert, “From Impurity to Piety: Mid-17th-Century French Devotional Airs and the Spiritual Conversion of Women.” *Journal of Musicology* 22, no. 2 (April 2005), 272, from Frère Philippe d’Angoumois, Capucin, *Occupation continue en laquelle l’âme dévoté s’unit tousjours avecque Dieu: Et luy adresse toutes ses oeuvres de sa Journée* (Lyon: Louis Muguet, 1618), 782. “Si quelquefois on jouë des instrumens, & que l’on chante . . . quelque *Magnificat*, *Exaudiate Laudate* . . . ou quelques *Motets & chansons spirituelles*, des paroles desquelles vous puissiez tirer autant de fructs pour vostre âme, que de douceur pour vos oreilles.”

<sup>34</sup> François Berthod, *Livre[s] d’airs de dévotion à deux parties. Ou conversion de quelques-uns des plus beaux de ce temps en Airs Spirituels* (Ballard, France, 1656, 1658, 1662).

written for women, “enabling them to sing passionate melodies while maintaining their “modesty, piety, and virtue.”<sup>35</sup>

Bénigne de Bacilly, noted composer of *airs de cours*, also composed newly written *airs spirituels*, not merely parodies. Bacilly writes, “I was urged to compose these sorts of spiritual airs by my own inclination and by people of first rate quality, who, seeing with pain that in the religious houses, young girls were being taught how to sing with profane airs (in order not to say lasciviousness).”<sup>36</sup> However, Bacilly’s *airs spirituels* still use secular convention, which would be perceived as being based on passion rather than purity. Important court composers wrote *cantiques spirituels* for the girls at the *Maison Royale de St Cyr* to sing with spiritual texts provided by Racine. Biblical tragedies were written by Racine for the students, replete with *récits* and choruses and the first was so popular that another was swiftly composed and staged. A large collection of *cantiques spirituels* is located in one of the Ursuline manuscripts and is discussed in Chapter 6.

### 3.6 CHURCH MUSIC

Religious music was omnipresent in civic life. Not confined to church, it appeared in town squares, schools, in home devotions, on important occasions of every kind. Religious activities were “vital to the formation of religious identity in seventeenth century Europe.”<sup>37</sup> The powerful hold that religion held over all aspects of society during the seventeenth century is

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<sup>35</sup> François Berthod, *Livre[s] d’airs de dévotion à deux parties. Ou conversion de quelques-uns des plus beaux de ce temps en Airs Spirituels* (Ballard, France, 1662), Preface.

<sup>36</sup> Quoted by Gordon-Seifert from Bacilly, *Airs Spirituels* (1672), Preface. Catherine Gordon-Seifert, *Music and the Language of Love: Seventeenth-Century French Airs* (Bloomington, Indiana University Press), 279.

<sup>37</sup> Wendy Heller, *Music in the Baroque: Western Music in Context* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2014), 75.

difficult for the modern mind to grasp. It was believed that music held a powerful sway upon its listeners, therefore the appropriateness of music within the liturgy became a critical issue. While composers juxtaposed ancient and new styles to great effect, reforms in the Catholic Church demanded a return to musical techniques considered more appropriate. The church sought simplifications such as removing *melismas* from plainchant, smoothing melodic leaps and harmonic challenges, and avoiding being more moved by the singing than by theological concepts contained in the words. In the first decades of the seventeenth century, there was a new demand for music specific to the liturgy. Mass cycles continued to be composed but new emphasis upon psalm and hymn settings for Magnificats, Vespers and offices occurred as part of Tridentine Reform.

Motets written for high feasts and devotional worship were based on scriptural and non-scriptural sacred texts which were sometimes mingled together or altered via paraphrase. An interesting example of this is the *Ave Joseph* (C Qur Cxxii) in the New France motets, which takes the Annunciation text, the Hail Mary, and trades in a similar text for Joseph, “Ave Joseph, gratia plena, Dominus tecum...” Seventeenth century French *petit motets* were a vehicle for greater expressivity and experimentation in the sacred context, for both singers and instrumentalists. Motets were less conservative, more expressive works than musical settings of the liturgy. Church reforms allowed for the insertion of motets into the Mass at specific points, as well as for organ music to be played. French organ music moved away from the polyphonic tradition and increasingly incorporated dance forms and *récit* as structural elements.

The organ was sanctioned for church music-making, but its use varied from region to region. The organist might play preludes, interludes, alternating psalm verses, hymns, substitutions for the Gradual, Offertory or Canticles, and during the Elevation. Stylistically,

motets were essentially sacred equivalents of the cantata form. The organ, viol and serpent were the primary instruments of choice for the *basse continue*. Sacred vocal works were expected to be transposed as needed. For example, Louis-Nicolas Couperin (1626-1661) suggests in his Preface to his *Leçons de ténèbres*, written for treble voices in G clef that “every other kind of voice will be able to sing them, inasmuch as most accompanists nowadays know how to transpose.”<sup>38</sup>

Much seventeenth century French religious music was paraliturgical in purpose. Processions brought religion from the confines of the church, emerging and moving in the secular world; a meeting of church and state. The processions went from place to place, with music both inside and outside of the different churches.

With the recent discovery by Élisabeth Gallat-Morin of the *Livre d’Orgue de Montréal* in 1978, it is now known that organ music played a significant role in worship in France. The *Livre d’Orgue de Montréal* is a voluminous manuscript of organ music brought to Montréal in 1724. It contains the largest extant collection of French baroque organ music from the period of Louis XIV.

### 3.7 THE GRAND MOTET IN THE COURT OF THE SUN KING

The French *grand motet* has roots in the sixteenth century vocal concerto, or motet concerto of Venice. Use of *cori spezzati* abounds in this music. Large scale motets were designed for magnificence, had expansive instrumental forces and were very popular. Typically, the celebration of Low Mass for the King Louis XIV would include one *grand motet*, one *petit motet*

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<sup>38</sup> François Couperin, *Leçons de ténèbres*, (Versailles, France, 2012) *Preface*. “*Toutes autres especes de voix pourront les Chanter, d’autant que la plus part des personnes d’aujourd’huy que accompagne scavent transposer.*”

sung at the Elevation, and a *Domine salvum fac Regem* to end Mass.<sup>39</sup> The forces involved shifted from soloists with *obbligato* accompaniment, to choir, and included symphonies interspersed through the multi-partite form. The harmonic language was rich in sevenths and ninths, but a refined elegance and restraint prevailed in balance with the added graces, never veering into the extremes of Italian style.

### 3.8 THE PETIT MOTET

A shift towards piety affected the music and spectacles of court life in the latter years of Louis XIV's reign. The financial impact of incessant war gouged the Royal dispensations for the arts. Courtiers and artists were placed in the position of feigning religious devotion and taking up music of a more sacred vein.

Musicologist James R. Anthony makes the point that because the *grands motets* were replete with the glorification of the King, the *petit motets* with their absence of grandiose posturing were actually more musical. With their smaller forces they were also more affordable. Dissonance, word painting, sequences and chromaticism—all elements of the Italian style—are found in these works. The melding of Italian and French styles into *les goûts réunis* is exemplified above all in the works of Couperin. The French cantata emerged as a form for mostly solo singer with accompaniment, around the time of Louis XIV's death. These late cantatas are dramatic miniature operas for only one or two singers who play the roles of all characters. Composers included Elizabeth Jacquet de la Guerre, Michel Pignolet de Montclair and others. Heightened drama and virtuosic writing consequently appeared in the *petit motet*.

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<sup>39</sup> There are two very short, newly found *Domine salvum fac Regem* settings amongst the holdings of the Ursuline Archives which I have transcribed for this dissertation.

It was during the early years of Louis XV's reign that the *Concert Spirituels* (1725-1786), were founded, off-season concert series performing music by earlier Baroque composers, as well as current composers. The performances occurred during Lent and other religious holidays. The French Baroque had ended by the 1750's, although its musical style lingered in the more reclusive, insular religious communities.

## Chapter 4. THE ARRIVAL OF MISSIONARIES TO NEW FRANCE

### 4.1 *SOCIAL-HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF NEW FRANCE'S COLONIES*

#### 4.1.1 *The Reign of Louis XIII and Earlier*

In the early seventeenth century, Samuel Champlain was appointed Royal Hydrographer<sup>40</sup> by Henri IV, and the exploration of what would become New France commenced. By 1608, Champlain had explored the St Lawrence Seaway and founded the fur post which became Kebec (Québec). The era of the *voyageurs*<sup>41</sup> and *coureurs de bois*<sup>42</sup> had begun. Throughout the years 1632-1658, a diverse set of religious organizations arrived in Canada. There were Jesuits, Ursulines, Hospitallers, Recollects, Capuchins, Sulpicians, and various lay orders.

Louis XIII (1610-1643) became a child king under the Regency of his mother Marie de Medici. The first three Jesuit missions to New France failed (1611, 1613 and 1625). The early years of missionary work involved a struggle to survive a challenging environment, hostile Iroquois Nations, and British incursions. Via the first three missions, the Jesuits developed their knowledge of the aboriginal customs and began to learn indigenous languages. Eventually, the Jesuits and subsequent French colonists were able to get a foothold in the area, transforming the St Lawrence area into European style habitations and homesteads. Settlement of this area of America was slow because it was isolated and bereft of New World riches like gold and silver,

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<sup>40</sup> The historic definition of this term indicates the role of map making for mariners. Hydrographers charted waterways and discovered ways of navigation in their exploration of new territories

<sup>41</sup> French explorers who navigated the rivers and waterways of North America to chart new territory.

<sup>42</sup> Trappers and woodsmen of New France.

the expected reward for conquest. In Canada, the fur trade was the most profitable item. Unlike the British who massacred or exiled the Indigenous Peoples, and the Spanish and Portuguese whose empires were based on conquest and enslavement, the French chose to interact with the First Nations through their own form of imperialism by exploiting them in the fur trade and in their wars against the British.

After the first three missions failed, a fourth finally took hold in 1632, in Québec. Tribes in this area included the Montagnais, Huron, Algonquin and Iroquois. The Montagnais and Algonquin were more nomadic than the Huron and Iroquois who were more sedentary. Impacting the establishment of the early mission was the fact that the Huron and Iroquois, related tribes, were at war. The Iroquois were given guns by the Dutch and were beginning to push northwards.

Intermarriage of *voyageurs* with Aboriginal women was encouraged to in order to populate the fledgling colony. Greer states that “French intermarriage with Natives was accepted, as the government hoped that assimilation and intermarriage would form an amalgamated people which would naturally follow European norms.”<sup>43</sup> Despite strenuous efforts, progress for settling the French colony was very slow. In 1627, Richelieu issued a declaration, signed by the King, which stated that all “Indians” converted to Catholicism were to be considered “natural Frenchmen.”<sup>44</sup> Assimilation of First Nations by the French eventually failed. Children born of

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<sup>43</sup> Allan Greer, *The People of New France: Themes in Canadian Social History, Volume 3* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 82.

<sup>44</sup> Louis XIII established the Ordonnance of 1627 as follows: “descendants of the French who are accustomed to this country [New France], together with all the Indians who will be brought to the knowledge of the faith and will profess it, shall be deemed and renowned natural Frenchmen, and as such may come to live in France when they want, and acquire, donate, and succeed and accept donations and legacies, just as true French subjects, without being required to take letters of declaration of naturalization.” The original French reads as follows: “*Et pour favoriser d'autant plus les habitants des dits concédés, et porter nos sujets à s'y habituer, nous voulons que ceux qui passeront dans les dits pays jouissent des mêmes libertés et franchises que s'ils étaient demeurant en ce*

inter-racial liaisons were far more likely to be adopted into Aboriginal families than white.

Interracial marriages were essentially limited to the *coureurs du bois* who lived most of their life in the bush, connecting with Natives.

#### 4.1.2 *The Reign of Louis XIV: Expansionism*

In 1663, Louis XIV dissolved Champlain's Company of New France, and took over direct rule of New France with the help of his minister Colbert. From the 1660's until the 1680's, the French government worked hard to populate New France. Male immigrants to New France included soldiers and *engages*, indentured laborers who paid off their three-year contracts by doing heavy work in the colonies. Most of the female immigrants were the *filles du roi*; orphaned or impoverished young women hand selected by Louis to move to the colony to marry the male settlers. A total of 770 young women of mixed character and class were sent over, the intention being to bulk up the colony against British incursion.<sup>45</sup> Many of the inhabitants were Natives who had permanently settled in the settlements. During Louis XIV's reign, marriages between Indigenous Peoples and French were no longer encouraged; though still legitimate, they became socially unacceptable. Population growth in New France outstripped that of France, and life expectancy was much higher. Settlers were having huge families. In 1669, Marie de l'Incarnation writes that, "...the people settled in this land have such big families that it is a

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*royaume, et que ceux qui naîtront d'eux et des sauvages convertis à la foi catholique, apostolique et romaine soient censés et réputés être regnicoles et naturels françois, et comme tels, capables de toutes successions, dons, legs et autres dispositions, sans être obligés d'obtenir aucunes lettres de naturalité [ ...]*"

<sup>45</sup> Marie de l'Incarnation wrote, "This year ninety-two girls came from France. The majority have already married soldiers or workmen who are given land and provisions for eight months so that they can clear their land and be able to live on it. A great many men have come also at the King's expense because he wants to have this country populated." Marie of the Incarnation, *1599–1672 Correspondence*, trans. Sister St. Dominic Kelly (Irish Ursuline Union, 2004), 297.

wonder to see them.”<sup>46</sup> Marie de l’Incarnation also informs us that, “A poor man will have a family of eight or more, bare headed and barefooted in Winter...yet big and fat.”<sup>47</sup>

Throughout the reign of Louis XIV, life in Québec was likely easier than in France, where starvation, disease and poverty were rampant, and war omnipresent. Although becoming self-sustaining and facing Iroquois incursions was a struggle in New France, food was of a high quality and was more plentiful, and the people were healthier than in France. One visitor wrote, “There is no climate in the world that is healthier; there are no diseases specific to the country; those that I have seen there were brought by French ships.”<sup>48</sup>

In population considerations alone, the French could not ultimately withstand the British takeover. Between 1608 and 1760, immigration to New France numbered less than 10,000 people, while British immigration counted more than one million, including slaves. In 1715, the New France population was 20,000, while the British population was 434,000. By 1754, the gap widened with New France at 70,000 and New England at 1,485,000. The British generally paid their way to America, while only five percent of the French emigrated without subsidy. The British were more drawn to the New World because of the superior attractions of their colonies: the easier climate of the southern regions, a slave work force and a safe, firm foothold.<sup>49</sup> But there was a social element as well. From the sixteenth century onwards, the British were moving away from their homeland, as their government morphed from the paternalistic model to a new

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<sup>46</sup> Marie of the Incarnation, *1599–1672 Correspondence*, trans. Sister St. Dominic Kelly (Irish Ursuline Union, 2004), 326. (Letter written in 1669)

<sup>47</sup> Marie of the Incarnation, *1599–1672 Correspondence*, trans. Sister St. Dominic Kelly (Irish Ursuline Union, 2004), 259.

<sup>48</sup> Allan Greer, *The People of New France: Themes in Canadian Social History, Volume 3* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 23.

<sup>49</sup> These figures are derived from Allan Greer, *The People of New France: Themes in Canadian Social History, Volume 3* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 23.

capitalist, expansionist economic model.<sup>50</sup> France was not undergoing this kind of a change. Rather, the French were still caught in the old regime, the Monarchy. The wars of the French Kings were killing so many soldiers, that the population infrastructure broke down and only limited numbers of people were available for colonial migration. The British territories abutted the French territories of Louisiana, Acadia and Québec. The British colony possessed superior naval forces. The threat of New England overwhelming New France was very real, as the American and Canadian colonies became embroiled in a colonial version of the Thirty Years War, against each other. The colonies were profoundly impacted by the outcome of the Thirty Years War; in 1763, the French colony became a British possession. The Ursuline community survived the shift of allegiance because of their importance as a teaching institution. As a valued teaching institution for girls, they adapted by welcoming the daughters of the British into their schools strictly for the secular aspects of education like reading and writing.

#### 4.2 *FOUNDING OF THE QUÉBEC MISSIONS*

Missions were established along the Saint Lawrence river, first at Sainte Marie Among the Hurons in 1634, Sillery in 1637 and then at Québec. Expansion of the missions continued into the mid-eighteenth century, as the Jesuits moved down the Mississippi southward into Oklahoma, Ohio, Illinois, and Louisiana. The nomadic nature of aboriginal life undermined the success of Jesuit evangelization. Both Sillery and Ste Marie were meant to be agriculturally self-supporting communities, encouraging sedentary life. The Sillery Mission was founded as a place of permanent residence for the Indigenous Peoples. Eventually, conversion included the

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<sup>50</sup> J.M. Bumsted, *The Peoples of Canada: A Post-confederation History*. 2nd ed. (Don Mills, Ontario: Oxford University Press, 2004).

construction of seminaries to bring in particularly bright Aboriginal children as boarders. The expectation was that their families would then be converted through their sons.

The successes and failures of the undertaking are amply described in contemporaneous writings by the Jesuits: *The Jesuit Relations*. It was the duty of the missionaries to write an annual report to the head of the order in Canada. The report was sent to the Jesuit headquarters in France, scrutinized and then published. The *Jesuit Relations* provide stirring accounts of the challenges, the spiritual thoughts and hopes of the missionaries as well as details of their daily life. Filled with colorful anecdotes, the recounting of the experiences of these missionaries and their changing insights over time in their relationship with the Indigenous Peoples makes for absorbing reading. The *Jesuit Relations* were widely published in France, keeping the church and court informed and fostering philanthropic enthusiasm as well as generating the dream to migrate to Canada amongst all social classes and religious organizations.

The intense enthusiasm of lay and religious women brought many to Canada. Initially, the Jesuits discouraged emigration by women, because of the dangers of frontier life. But it soon became clear that the Jesuits would find female assistance indispensable in two specific areas: health and education. The French state particularly wanted women in the colony to populate it with their offspring, and to nurse the wounded soldiers as well as the Natives who were dying in epidemics of European diseases.

The Indigenous Peoples possessed no immunity against European diseases like smallpox and these diseases were beginning to wreak havoc amongst the native populations. In 1664 Marie de l'Incarnation writes of the degree of decimation:

When we first came to this country, it was so densely populated that we seem(ed) to be working among innumerable people. After they were baptized, God called them to Himself either by sickness or the hands of the Iroquois. Perhaps His design was to allow

their deaths for fear evil would change their hearts. They are still very numerous but the population has decreased. Only one in twenty remain.<sup>51</sup>

Ironic indeed is the superstition that God wished this, when in fact the cause was tragically human. Close contact encouraged the spread of illnesses. The situation worsened as Aboriginal Peoples were encouraged to settle in permanent missions with increasing numbers of Europeans. Superstition on both sides generated confusion and panic. The Catholics believed that lack of faith in God was the cause of the degree of mortality amongst the Aboriginal Peoples and encouraged baptism and conversion in order to save them. In 1671, Marie de l'Incarnation wrote,

A Baptismal Service was held where forty Indian infants were baptized... There have been miraculous cures to confirm our Holy Faith among these barbarians. Their sorcerers had tried to make them believe that Baptisms caused the infants to die. They have been disabused, seeing the works of God, so different from what the magicians had told them.<sup>52</sup>

The Natives alternated between believing that baptism caused the illness and that it saved them from death. The rise in epidemics resulted in a pressing need for sick care: for hospitals and for nurses to staff them. As well, hospitals were needed for the wounded as Iroquois incursions increased.

Another important reason for the need for female assistance was sociological. The role of women in indigenous communities was significant. It was theorized by the missionaries that as leaders in their communities, Aboriginal women might be one of the keys to successful conversion. One of Champlain's observations which benefitted the arriving Ursulines was that First Nations women were the link between cultures; they provided companionship for the fur traders, introductions to their people and culture, and aided explorers' survival. Women in First

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<sup>51</sup> Marie of the Incarnation, *1599–1672 Correspondence*, trans. Sister St. Dominic Kelly (Irish Ursuline Union, 2004), 276.

<sup>52</sup> Marie of the Incarnation, *1599–1672 Correspondence*, trans. Sister St. Dominic Kelly (Irish Ursuline Union, 2004), 351.

Nations leadership positions were involved in resolving cultural issues that arose. Greer writes: “the Iroquois gender regime stands in basic contrast with that of the French, for it was not patriarchal...Descent went through the female line, and only women could bestow the names that men needed to be elevated to chieftain status.”<sup>53</sup> Therefore, bringing in the Ursulines for education of Aboriginal women could be a supremely useful conversion tool. The Jesuits attempted to impose the patriarchy: “Christianity had surprisingly little effect on Iroquois sexual authority...In some of their earlier attempts...the Jesuits did their best to impose patriarchal norms, encouraging parents to beat their children, humiliating ‘rebellious wives’ and trying to get men to dominate their families.”<sup>54</sup> The Jesuit efforts had little impact and they turned to gentler methods. The Jesuits realized they needed female teachers to evangelize the women, creating a hearth for Christianity within the tribal culture. The Ursulines were the natural choice for the education of Indigenous women and girls in a parallel effort to convert all First Nations.

The response by women to the call for nuns to assist in the education, care and conversion of the native peoples of Canada far exceeded the numbers requested or needed. The new feminism of France was inextricably bound with religious vocation, the one place where women experienced a tolerated form of liberation. Religious women sought to travel to such far flung places as the New World, coupling their religious calling with dreams of adventure and freedom. Even in the early days, several adventuresome, zealous, and idealistic lay women traveled to New France. Religious connections provided safety nets for the pioneering efforts of these women.

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<sup>53</sup> Allan Greer. *The People of New France: Themes in Canadian Social History, Volume 3* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 62.

<sup>54</sup> Allan Greer. *The People of New France: Themes in Canadian Social History, Volume 3* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 63.

### 4.3 *THE ARRIVAL OF FEMALE RELIGIOUS MISSIONARIES TO NEW FRANCE*

When the nuns arrived to Québec, there were only about fifteen buildings in the town, and a very small population. Buildings were constructed to house the nuns in separate accommodations. The Augustinians opened the Hôtel-Dieu hospital. People settled the river between Montréal and Québec. In 1665, there were 550 people in seventy houses living in Québec. One-quarter of the people were members of religious orders: secular priests, Jesuits, Ursuline nuns and Augustinians at the Hôtel-Dieu. By the end of French rule in 1763, villages, fields and pastures surrounded the town of 8,000 inhabitants. By the mid-1700s there was the Ursuline Monastery, the Hôtel-Dieu hospital, the Hôpital-Général for the disabled and indigent, and the Jesuit Seminary. About four percent of female colonists entered the religious orders. None of the orders were contemplative but had responsibilities such as nursing or teaching.

The first group of women to arrive to the new colony in 1639 included three Ursulines, their sponsor Madame de la Peltrie, and three Augustinians of the Mercy of Jesus, also known as Hospitaller Nuns. The most significant figure in the Ursuline community during the early mission years was their first Mother Superior, Mère Marie de l'Incarnation. Her letters home to her son and close friends provide a wealth of information about the challenges and successes in the missions in the seventeenth century. By the time of the British conquest in 1763, there were thirty Ursulines, fifty Hospitaller nuns and many sisters of other orders as well. Ursulines also settled in Louisiana, in 1727, then a French colony. A single manuscript of music from that community survives, which will be discussed later in this study in comparison to the manuscripts found in Québec.

Monasteries for the two orders were not yet built, so the women began their mission at Sillery, nursing and teaching the Hurons at that settlement. In the initial months, with their

monasteries not yet constructed, it was impossible to live in *clausura*, as the nuns moved through their day interacting with both priests and Aboriginal Peoples. The concept of cloister was loosely interpreted in the struggle to survive the harsh realities of frontier life. The much-needed monasteries for both the Ursuline teachers and the Augustinian nurses were quickly constructed.

The first boarders at the Ursuline monastery were Aboriginal girls, but the nuns fed and assisted any of the First Nations who came to the convent. Like the Jesuits, the Ursuline intention was to evangelize the Aboriginal children through education. The Ursulines soon took in the daughters of colonists, who came from all over Québec for this educational opportunity. Marie de l'Incarnation wrote that the French girls needed their attention for different reasons than the Indigenous girls. She explained, "We are more pre-occupied with the French girls because it is certain that if God had not brought the Ursulines here, they would be as wild as or wilder than the Indians themselves."<sup>55</sup> She explains how the piety inculcated in the French girls via their education spread to improve the behavior of the colony as a whole. The recognition that the Ursulines could improve society through the education of girls was a core tenet of the educational order in France, and now in Québec. The students were between six to fifteen years old. Colonists and Aboriginal boarders stayed in the same dormitory, ate together, and played in the same yard. For schooling, the Aboriginal girls were taught in separate classrooms, and were taught to pray, sing and learn French.

The teachers realized that the First Peoples were highly receptive to music, and this reinforced music as an important activity in the convent. While indigenous melodies did not make their way into the church music as it did in Spanish America, music was arranged and composed for the natives for devotions and teaching purposes and was often set to indigenous

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<sup>55</sup> Marie of the Incarnation, *1599–1672 Correspondence*, trans. Sister St. Dominic Kelly (Irish Ursuline Union, 2004), 276.

texts. Aboriginal students were taught French and Latin devotional songs and Christian texts were set to Indigenous chants. The motet repertoire of the female monasteries shows no evidence of influence from Indigenous sources; however, it is likely that many of the simple *cantiques* found in the earliest music manuscript of motets in the Ursuline collection (called C-Qur *Cantiques*) date from this time.

Between 1642 and 1739, twenty to sixty boarders studied at the Ursuline monastery each year. The number of day students is unknown. But the number of Aboriginal students was never very high, and their attendance was sporadic. In 1668, Marie de l'Incarnation wrote to her son,

Our Bishop keeps in his house a certain number of Indian boys and an equal number of French, so that being brought up and reared together, the Indians will absorb the manner of the French and so become Frenchified. The Jesuits are doing the same and the Sulpicians are going to imitate them. And as for the girls, we have Indians also with our French boarders for the same purpose. I don't know how it will end for to speak plainly it seems very difficult. For all our years here we have been able to educate only seven or eight who became like the French. The others in great numbers have all returned to their families though they remain very good Christians.<sup>56</sup>

State pressure dictated that the missionaries replace students who died or left. As the Jesuits realized the destructive, indeed, catastrophic influence of the Europeans, bringing alcohol, disease, guns and moral corruption in their wake, their policy regarding the Indigenous Peoples shifted and they attempted to remove them to settlements away from the Europeans. In 1662, Marie de l'Incarnation wrote,

There are Frenchmen in this country so wretched and without fear of God that they are destroying our new Christians, giving them strong drink like wine and brandy in return for beaver skins. These drinks destroy these poor people: men, women, boys, and even girls, because everyone is master in his own lodge when it comes to eating and drinking. They take to it immediately and become like Furies. They run naked with swords and other weapons, chasing everybody day and night. They run through Québec and nobody can stop them. Murder, rape and unheard of monstrous brutalities follow in their wake.

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<sup>56</sup> Marie of the Incarnation, *1599–1672 Correspondence*, trans. Sister St. Dominic Kelly (Irish Ursuline Union, 2004), 312.

The Fathers have done their utmost to stop the evil; both on the French and Indian sides, but all efforts were in vain.<sup>57</sup>

Attempts by the Jesuits to prevent interaction with the settlers failed. The mission to convert the Aboriginal Peoples waned. By the late seventeenth century, there were no more Indigenous girls at the Québec convent schools. Now, the only Ursuline students were the daughters of the settlers.

White women's roles and educational opportunities in the New World were, as in France, diverse as to class standards. Education for the farm girls was at home, while wealthier city girls received education at the Ursuline convent in music, art and foreign languages as well as reading and writing. The literacy of girls in the colony likely exceeded that of boys. Roger Magnusson points out, "In parishes for which information is available, more brides than grooms signed the marriage register, suggesting a higher literacy rate."<sup>58</sup> In the 1750's, eleven of the schools were female establishments, while only three were for boys, all of which were urban institutions.<sup>59</sup>

In the decades preceding the Conquest of New France, the Ursuline teaching program became worldlier, even though the Ursulines were officially a cloistered sisterhood. Boarders received a thorough education in arts and sciences, religion, art and music. As we shall see, the Ursulines were skilled musicians and regarded song as essential nourishment in their everyday lives and those of their students.

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<sup>57</sup> Marie of the Incarnation, *1599–1672 Correspondence*, trans. Sister St. Dominic Kelly (Irish Ursuline Union, 2004), 258.

<sup>58</sup> Roger Magnusson, *Education in New France*, (Ontario: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), 141.

<sup>59</sup> Roger Magnusson, *Education in New France*, (Ontario: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), 188.

## Chapter 5. MUSIC IN THE CONVENTS

### 5.1 *INTRODUCTION*

Original sources consulted for insight into the music of the female monasteries of Québec include written accounts and the music manuscripts. Direct access to the Ursuline and the Hôpital-Général Annals was not available for this study. However, I have extensively consulted the correspondence of Marie de l'Incarnation, the Hôtel-Dieu Annals, and the Jesuit Relations. Sufficient information is contained in these books to discern the integral role of music in Québec's religious communities. Unless otherwise indicated, "Annals" will in future refer to those of the Hôtel-Dieu.

Music was tremendously important in Canadian monastic life. The Annals specifically document the period from 1639 to 1716, revealing an enormous amount of music-making deemed worthy of description. The Annals contain important clues to the musical practices of both sisterhoods. References to choral singing and events that involved music-making punctuate every section of the account, revealing how deeply interwoven music was with daily life. The Annals make special mention of the choristers who had beautiful voices. Perhaps because the scribe for the Annals was herself a musician, she was drawn to frequently mention musical events and specific songs. It is likely that many of the motets found in the music manuscripts at the Ursuline and Augustinian convents date from the time period covered by the Annals and were transmitted over several decades by both students and nuns.

### 5.2 *ACCOUNTS OF THE SINGING OF THE FIRST NATIONS*

As early as 1640, the Jesuit Relations recount the benefactress Mme de la Peltrie's descriptions regarding the female Aboriginal students.

As these children hear Holy Mass every day with the Sisters, and hear them singing during the elevation of the Blessed Sacrament, they have remembered well a motet to St. Joseph that they sang solemnly for their Christian parents, when the holy Host was raised at Midnight Mass; they also sang at Holy Mass a spiritual canticle composed in their language about the Son of God's birth, all the savages sweetly took up the stanzas, singing one after the other with beautiful accord.<sup>60</sup>

An entry from the Annals dated 1649 describes the Aboriginal adults singing first and the children joining in later. Note that *cantiques* written for them in the Indigenous language are referred to as well. "the children came after... We also taught them spiritual *cantiques* in their own language. They devoted themselves to all of these practices with so much fervor and assiduity, that their devotion often brought tears to our eyes, so much we were penetrated by joy and admiration..."<sup>61</sup>

Amtmann includes the following anecdote: "The annals recount that the aboriginal girls at the convent 'behaved like us during the holy offices; they sang *Ave Maris Stella* and the *Gloria Patri*, making the same inclinations which they saw us make; and as they did not know but that hymn by heart, they sang it twenty and thirty times untiringly..."<sup>62</sup> There are several references to an Aboriginal student named Agnes who sang well and became a viol player.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> My translation. Quoted by Gallat-Morin from Jesuit Relations, 18. (1640) 158-160. Élisabeth Gallat-Morin and Jean-Pierre Pinson, *La vie musicale en Nouvelle-France* (Sillery, Québec: Septentrion, 2003), 120. "Comme ces enfants entendent tous les jours la Sainte Messe avec les Religieuses, et qu'elles les entendent chanter pendant l'élévation du Saint-Sacrement, elles on si bien retenu un de leurs motets qu'elles les chantèrent gravement à S. Joseph devant tous leurs parents chrétiens, lors qu'on levoit la sainte Hostie à la Messe de minuit; elles chantèrent aussi devant la sainte Messe un cantique spirituel composé en leur langue sur la Naissance du Fils de Dieu, tous les sauvages reprenoient gentiment les strophes, chantant les uns après les autres avec un bon accord."

<sup>61</sup> My translation. "les enfans venoient apres... On les faisoit chanter aussy en leur langue des cantiques spirituels. Ils se portoient a toutes ces pratiques avec tant de ferveur et d'assiduité, que souvent leur dévotion nous tiroit les larmes des yeux, tant nous étions pénétrées de joye et d'admiration..." Marie-André Duplessis de Ste Hélène, *Les annales de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Québec, 1636-1716* (Québec : L'Hôtel-Dieu, 1939), 73.

<sup>62</sup> Quoted from a letter of Sister de Ste. Claire, Ursuline. Found in Willy Amtmann, *Music in Canada, 1600-1800* (Cambridge, Ontario: Collier-Macmillan, 1975), 75.

<sup>63</sup> "Agnes... learned to do needlework, to read, to play the viola and a thousand other little skills" Marie of the Incarnation, *1599-1672 Correspondence*, trans. Sister St. Dominic Kelly (Irish Ursuline Union, 2004), 31.

Several devastating fires in the convents were major causes of the loss of virtually all musical manuscripts from 1639-1686. The first fire at the Ursuline monastery occurred on December 30, 1650, and the second on October 21, 1686 (ironically on the day of the Feast of St Ursula their patron saint), and both times the nuns barely escaped with their lives. In both instances, the Ursuline nuns went to live with the Hospitaller nuns at the Hôtel-Dieu. All documents and belongings, including music and instruments, perished in the fire. Marie de l'Incarnation recounts how she tried to save a few items but had to flee.

I wanted to go up to the depository to our little store to throw some cloth out of the window, guessing that our nuns were half naked. The good God wishing to save my life caused me to change my mind, remembering the documents of our community and I ran to save them...all we possessed in this world habits, food, furniture, and all such things were consumed in less than an hour.<sup>64</sup>

An equivalent fire occurred at the Hôtel-Dieu in 1755 and the Ursulines were glad to return the kindness shown to them by the Hospitaller nuns in earlier years.

The first fire at the Ursuline convent brought the two communities together in a profound liaison. They generated an *Acte d'une promesse*, an indissoluble union, to share various services and sing certain devotions together. They vowed, for example, to sing at each other's funerals, including performance together of the *Leçons de ténèbres* and High Mass.

### 5.3 CHALLENGES UNDER BISHOP LAVAL (1659-1688)

The latter part of the seventeenth century in Québec brought musical repression to the convents. For thirty years, Bishop Laval enforced restrictions upon the female religious of Canada, rewriting their constitutions to keep them in line. Austere measures began to be set in place by Bishop Laval upon his arrival to the colony in 1647 and were not lifted until he was

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<sup>64</sup> Marie of the Incarnation, *1599–1672 Correspondence*, trans. Sister St. Dominic Kelly (Irish Ursuline Union, 2004), 159.

replaced as Bishop in 1688. Marie de l'Incarnation maintained a diplomatic facade in dealing with the Bishop but her confidential letters reveal deep consternation at his repressive actions. She frequently describes Laval's character as inflexible and rigid. To her son in September 1660, she wrote, "Our Bishop is just as I told you in my former letters, very zealous and inflexible. Zealous about the observance of everything that he thinks to the Glory of God and inflexible not to yield to anything that he considers contrary. I have never yet seen anybody hold so firmly to these points."<sup>65</sup> A particularly poignant letter to the Superior of her home convent of Tours, compares Bishop Laval's restrictions to the austere practices of the Carmelites and Calvary sisters, the most repressive orders of the era.<sup>66</sup> She adds,

We will not say a word for fear of aggravating matters because we are dealing with a Bishop, a man of great piety who, once he is persuaded that a course of action involves the Glory of God will not change his mind and we will have to accept regulations prejudicial to our observance. Our singing was nearly cut out altogether. He leaves us only our Vespers and Tenebrae, which we sing as we did in Tours when I was there. For High Mass he wants only monotone, no matter what is done in Paris or Tours, but only what he considers best. He is afraid our singing would give rise to vanity or the desire to please outsiders. We no longer sing at Mass. He said it distracts the celebrant and he hasn't seen it done elsewhere.<sup>67</sup>

Of the community's long-standing director, Fr Lalemant's reaction to the changes, she writes, "He got Fr Lalemant to read it to us. It must have brought him nearer to God because he is the one who worked hardest on our constitutions."<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> Marie of the Incarnation, *1599–1672 Correspondence*, trans. Sister St. Dominic Kelly (Irish Ursuline Union, 2004), 240.

<sup>66</sup> "the abridgement would suit Carmelites or Calvary sisters better than Ursulines." Marie of the Incarnation, *1599–1672 Correspondence*, trans. Sister St. Dominic Kelly (Irish Ursuline Union, 2004), 248.

<sup>67</sup> Marie of the Incarnation, *1599–1672 Correspondence*, trans. Sister St. Dominic Kelly (Irish Ursuline Union, 2004), 248.

<sup>68</sup> Marie of the Incarnation, *1599–1672 Correspondence*, trans. Sister St. Dominic Kelly (Irish Ursuline Union, 2004), 248.

It is incredible to think that for more than twenty years the nuns were required to submit to a degree of spiritual silence previously unknown in their community. Marie de l'Incarnation was finally able, with difficulty and diplomacy, to mitigate Bishop Laval's efforts. In 1682, Laval modified his dictum to allow psalms and hymns to be sung, but other forms of singing were still restricted. Jean-Pierre Pinson calls the years of Laval's musical repression the Period of Austerity, lasting from 1661 the end of the seventeenth century.

The Ursulines' music, at least the plainchant, was restored over the course of the eighteenth century even though their Annals speak above all of restraint in the number of feasts. As for the singing of the little motets, let us turn the reader over to the chapter that Schwandt devotes to them. Finally, if one seeks additional proof of this renewal, and considering the fire of the monastery of 1686, all the sources preserved in the convents of Québec and Trois-Rivières corroborate the resumption of the musical activities of the end of the 17th century.<sup>69</sup>

#### 5.4 *EXPANSION OF SINGING UNDER ST VALLIER AND BEYOND*

Bishop St Vallier succeeded Bishop Laval in 1688. Under his tenure, the strictures were gradually lifted, and sacred music thrived again in the monasteries of New France. "The Bishop was of the opinion that we should undertake to sing all ordinary feasts. During the *Grande Messe*, only the Kyrie, the Gloria, Credo and Sanctus and Agnus Dei; and for Vespers we sang more modest songs."<sup>70</sup> From this time onwards, singing remained integral to the female religious communities of Québec. The fact that the nuns' music making was no longer stifled may have

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<sup>69</sup> La musique des Ursulines, en tout cas le plain-chant, a retrouvé au cours de XVIIème siècle une bonne partie de ses droits, même si les annales parlent avant tout d'un nombre restreint de fêtes. Pour ce qui est du chant des petits motets, nous renvoyons le lecteur au chapitre que leur consacre Schwandt. Enfin, si on cherche une preuve supplémentaire de ce renouveau, et compte tenu de l'incendie du monastère de 1686, l'ensemble des sources conservées aux couvents de Québec et de Trois-Rivières corroborent la reprise des activités musicales dès la fin du XVII siècle." From Gallat-Morin, Élisabeth, and Jean-Pierre Pinson. *La vie musicale en Nouvelle-France*. (Sillery, Québec: Septentrion, 2003), 118.

<sup>70</sup> Quoted by Pinson from *les annales des Ursulines*. Jean-Pierre Pinson, "Quel Plain-chant pour la Nouvelle-France? L'Exemple des Ursulines." *Canadian University Music Review* 11, no. 2 (1991): 9.

allowed composition to flourish again in the convent. Certainly, the most ornate motets in the Québec manuscripts appear to have been composed after the repressions of Bishop Laval.

### 5.5 *SINGING WITH OTHERS: PROCESSIONALS, PRIVATE DEVOTIONS, IMPORTANT OCCASIONS*

The Ursuline motets were performed in diverse circumstances. Colonial life included the popular activity of holding religious processions. These town-wide events included motet singing, which was viewed as religious celebratory music. Processions occurred on major feast days and on important secular occasions like welcoming dignitaries or the safe arrival of a ship. The French king's birthday was an important processional occasion. In New France, processions were often supplications to God or various saints to intervene in times of strife, for example, against the troubles of war, epidemics, drought, earthquakes and inclement weather. While the fledgling colonies with their limited musical resources could not duplicate the grandeur of the *grand motet* of the Sun King's court, they generated their own smaller scale versions of the European style, making their motet singing as grand as possible. During these celebrations, processions stopped at the churches and chapels, singing at each of them *en route*, offering many shared singing opportunities. Mass, Vespers and other services at the female monasteries were open to and attended by the populace at large. Gallat-Morin and Gilbert point out:

It is obvious from the chronicles of the period as well as from archival documents that great care was taken to recreate in New France the splendour of the liturgical ceremonies of the mother country; vestments and altar cloths embroidered in gold and silver, as well as precious silverware, remain to this day to bear witness to this. Music also must have contributed to the solemn occasions that punctuated the life of the colony.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> Élisabeth Gallat-Morin and Kenneth Gilbert, *Le Livre d'Orgue de Montréal: Édition Critique* (Québec : Les Éditions Jacques Ostiguy, 1987), Preface, xiv.

The Annals describe singing on specific saint's days, notably for the colony's patron saints St Joseph, St Ursula and St Augustine. There are multiple compositions in the manuscripts for each of these saints. Motets were sung in honor of the Holy Sacrament, the Holy Family, Infant Jesus, and for the Salutations. Important occasions like Christmas, Corpus Christi, Pentecost, and Assumption inspired some of the most intricate and joyous motets found in the manuscripts. When dignitaries came to Québec, the nuns and their students would sing for them. It may also be noted that the more complex or intricate the music, the more important the occasion and event. Christmas Midnight Mass celebrations are the most frequently described services in the various annals. The Hôtel-Dieu Annals make a point of explaining that Sister Hazeur de Ste Anne "was first cantor and she had prepared motets to sing at Midnight Mass"<sup>72</sup> One of their best singers, she died in 1706 at thirty-one years of age.

## 5.6 *SINGING IN COMMUNITY*

### 5.6.1 *Introduction*

The superb caliber of the music found in the manuscripts reveals that the choir nuns possessed a high level of musicianship. While some of the works are very simple *cantiques*, many are intricate and challenging to perform. Musical nuns like Mère St Joseph arrived ready to sing, play instruments and teach music as a core subject. The Ursulines taught and performed music in their private lives and at school and in community devotions. Music permeated religious life as prayer in song. The simple, monophonic songs found in the manuscripts, such as the *Ave Caeli Porta* (discussed later in 8.3), were appropriate for private devotions, for the

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<sup>72</sup> Obituary for Sister Ste Anne. "Elle étoit première chantre et elle avoit préparé des motets pour chanter à la messe de minuit", Marie-André Duplessis de Ste Hélène, *Les annales de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Québec, 1636-1716*, (Québec :L'Hôtel-Dieu, 1939), 326.

students to learn, for catechisms, and for smaller services within the convent. Liturgical singing included internal events such as investitures, taking of vows, renewal of vows, burials, confirmations and holy feasts where both plainchant and motets intermingled.

### 5.6.2 *Diversity of Singing Forms and Their Function*

Life in the convent circled around the Divine Office. Monetary gifts were given to the nuns in return for prayers. At the Hôtel-Dieu, the *petit Salut* was sung on Fridays because a Monsieur Bibière gave them 700 *livres*<sup>73</sup> to do so. This *petit Salut* included the *Stabat Mater*, the *Interveniatur* and a hymn to St Joseph as well as the *Crux Ave*, one of the *Vexilla Regis* strophes.<sup>74</sup> Several motet settings of these texts are found in the Ursuline manuscripts. Papal bulls<sup>75</sup> were another cause for song. In 1652, the Pope accorded a bull to the Augustinians which gave 100 days of indulgence to all Hospitallers who sang or spoke the Litany of the Virgin once a week at chapel.<sup>76</sup>

Plainchant was the cornerstone of the offices for the nuns themselves. Antiphonaries in the Ursuline Archives reveal plainchant written in mensural notation, with indications for ornamentation. Various *agréments* were to be added in when singing plain chant: *ports de voix*, trills, *cadences* and more. Apart from traditional Gregorian chant, the French also sang newly composed plainchant, called *plain chant mesurée*, which was highly ornamented. *Plain chant*

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<sup>73</sup> The *livre* was a unit of currency in France until 1794.

<sup>74</sup> Marie-André Duplessis de Ste Hélène, *Les annales de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Québec, 1636-1716*, (Québec :L'Hôtel-Dieu,1939), 84.

<sup>75</sup> Papal bulls were official edicts by the Pope which often granted requests for protection by a religious order.

<sup>76</sup> “Le pape nous accorderoit par une quatrième bulle cent jours d’indulgence pour chaque Religieuse hospitalière que canteroit ou réciteroit dévotement devant une chapelle de ce couvent les litanies de la Ste Vièrge une fois la semaine.” Marie-André Duplessis de Ste Hélène, *Les annales de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Québec, 1636-1716*, (Québec :L'Hôtel-Dieu, 1939), 86.

*mesurée* imitated Gregorian chant, but more profuse ornamentation was freely added to it because it was newly composed song rather than centuries-old chant. *Plain chant mesurée* was a very popular melding of the old with the new. Sometimes this ornamented plainchant mixed white and mensural notations, or plainchant with motets. For specific paraliturgical moments in the services, the nuns sang motets, hymns and antiphons, which exist in one to four parts in the manuscripts. Unlike the traditional plainchant which was written in mensural notation, the motets were written in modern notation. As well, a type of *fauxbourdon* existed whereby the melody would be doubled in parallel harmonies.

The Cathedral Canon, Charles Glandelet, had musical connections with the female communities. He was the Ursuline Monastery's superior during the Laval years. In 1709, Glandelet composed several *cantiques* for the Hôtel-Dieu nuns, written for each chapter of their constitution, which he found "perfect."<sup>77</sup>

### 5.6.3 *The Function of the Motets, Hymns and Antiphons*

As previously discussed, *grand motets* were beyond the scope of the musical resources in New France. The *petit motet* served as its small-scale replacement. Like many other Baroque music traditions, smaller ensembles with extensive use of soloists would be the norm. Examination of the *petit motet*, and its use in the convents, reveals several important aspects of the musical life of New France. The *petit motet* was usually written in monophony or in two part harmony. The variant *antienne* (antiphon) was a similar form which often included instruments. Motets and antiphons appropriate to the feast day were sung at the Elevation of the Host and at Communion.

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<sup>77</sup> Il composa un cantique sur chaque chapitre des Constitutions, qu'il avait trouvé parfaits" Marie-André Duplessis de Ste Hélène, *Les annales de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Québec, 1636-1716*, (Québec : L'Hôtel-Dieu, 1939), 347.

What may appear at first to be solo motets in the manuscripts were known to be sung by many singers in unison, as was practiced at Montréal's Hôtel-Dieu.

The motets which they sing at Holy Mass are well-composed upon beautiful melodies which are strongly devout, and are written for *voix seule*, these they should sing together if they have good voices: and if these are not strong enough, they shall ask the Mother Superior for more sisters who can come to help.<sup>78</sup>

Thus, a solo motet functioned as a monophonic motet sung by several voices together. A footnote in *La vie musicale en Nouvelle-France* references the *Coutumier d'Angers* (1688),<sup>79</sup>

“The motets which they shall sing at Holy Mass shall be simple, serious, easy to learn. Solos are not ever permitted, that is to say that never less than two or three voices shall sing together.”<sup>80</sup>

Maintaining a proper boundary between sacred and profane was always of concern with music that incorporated secular style elements such as dance rhythms and popular song tunes. In the Preface to the critical edition of the *Livre d'Orgue de Montréal*, the authors point out that, “The contrapuntal style... was being progressively abandoned... and the dividing line between religious and secular music fades away. Although they respected the framework imposed by the eight Church tones, Nivers and his successors found inspiration in dance movements and in vocal forms.”<sup>81</sup> While this thought applies here to organ playing, the same trend is seen in French church vocal music and applies to the motets sung in the convents. Thus, admonitions to remain demure are found in many sources. For example, in the *Instructions données à l'organiste de la*

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<sup>78</sup> Quoted by Pinson from *Coutumier et petites règles des religieuses hospitalières de la congrégation de s. Joseph*, (Angers, 1688), 216. Élisabeth Gallat-Morin and Jean-Pierre Pinson, *La vie musicale en Nouvelle-France* (Sillery, Québec: Septentrion, 2003), 128.

<sup>79</sup> The *Coutumier d'Angers* (1688) is a document of rules and regulations for the Hospitaller Nuns.

<sup>80</sup> Pinson states, “Les motets qu'elles chanteront a la sainte messe doivent être simples, graves, faciles à apprendre. On ne pourra jamais faire des solos, c'est à dire que jamais moins de deux ou trois voix chanteront ensemble.” Élisabeth Gallat-Morin and Jean-Pierre Pinson, *La vie musicale en Nouvelle-France* (Sillery, Québec: Septentrion, 2003), 498.

<sup>81</sup> Élisabeth Gallat-Morin and Kenneth Gilbert, “*Le Livre d'Orgue de Montréal: Édition Critique*” (Québec: Les Éditions Jacques Ostiguy, 1987), xii.

*paroisse de Montréal* (1801), the organists are exhorted to play “so that the sound of the organ is neither lascivious nor indecent.”<sup>82</sup>

#### 5.6.4 *Choir Nuns and Cantors*

Both the Ursuline and Hôtel-Dieu monasteries had cantors and sous-cantors whose roles were to sing solos and to lead the choir. Cantors were responsible for maintaining discipline within the choir and training the choir, ensuring vocal balance on both sides of the church. The cantors were placed near the music stand, where the Gradual was. They sang the incipits, and then each conducted half of the choir on her own side. On solemn occasions, the solo cantor parts were sung as a duo by both cantors together, doubling in perfect uniformity. This included the challenge of matching the ornamentation. The choir’s role was important, even if the number of sung offices was few. They sang *tutti* or separated into two demi-choirs. “Choir” indicated those sisters who had some knowledge of music, and who would join the cantors in singing. Choir nuns had lighter household duties than their sister converse nuns, in order to be free to perform all of the convent liturgies.

#### 5.6.5 *Hôtel-Dieu Music, Sr Duplessis de Sainte-Hélène: Superior, Scribe and Theorist*

The Hôtel-Dieu Annals were compiled over the course of many years by one of the Augustinian sisters, Marie-Andrée Duplessis de Sainte-Hélène (1687-1760). She arrived in New France at the age of thirteen to join her family and became an Augustinian nun in 1707. Well-educated and a trained musician, she researched and described the history of the New France

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<sup>82</sup> “Que le son de l’orgue ne soit pas lascif ou desonete.” Quoted in Élisabeth Gallat-Morin and Jean-Pierre Pinson, *La vie musicale en Nouvelle-France* (Sillery, Québec: Septentrion, 2003), 164.

Augustinian monastery from 1639 to 1716. Much of her work is drawn from the recollections of another nun, Mère Jeanne-Francoise Juchereau de Saint-Ignace (1650-1723).

On the first voyage over, the Augustinian nuns sang services with the Ursulines, led by one of the priests on board. Once they arrived to New France, a grill was set up and a tapestry hung, as was customary, to separate the nuns and the choir from the congregation.<sup>83</sup> By 1644 there were eight choir nuns at the Ursuline convent. There were five choir nuns at the Hôtel-Dieu and approximately eighty patients at any given time.

As well as being the scribe for the Hôtel-Dieu Annals, Marie-Andrée Regnard Duplessis de Sainte-Hélène was the author of a musical treatise, which Schwandt describes as the first theory manual to be written in North America. Written with humor and wit, its contents reveal that French practices were applicable in New France, including *le bon gout* and *l'esprit*. Duplessis de Sainte-Hélène's *Musique spirituelle où l'on peut s'exercer sans voix* (1718) is a witty, yet instructive treatise which fills in gaps in our knowledge of musical practices of the female religious communities in New France.<sup>84</sup> The contents elucidate understanding of Baroque *agréments*, transposition, basic theory, use of clefs, improvised and composed preludes

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<sup>83</sup> "Nous achetâmes quelque vieille picesse de tapisserie de drogue pour pare notre chapelle et pour faire une séparation pour le choeur, où nous fîmes place nôtre petite grille que nous avons apportée de Québec, afin de communier et d'entendre la sainte messe, sans être parmy les seculiers, quoy qu'il n'en vint pas un fort grand nombre. Nous y recitions aussy nôtre office en chœur." Marie-Andrée Duplessis de Ste Hélène, *Les annales de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Québec, 1636-1716*, (Québec: L'Hôtel-Dieu, 1939), 29.

<sup>84</sup> Thomas Carr Jr. describes a previously unknown text by Mère Marie-Andrée Duplessis which evinces her use of French *esprit* in her treatise. He writes, "A previously unknown 1711 text embodies the worldly wit practiced in salons in France, but rare in writings from Canada surviving from this time. It was signed by two hospital nuns at the Hôtel-Dieu de Québec to persuade the younger sister of its principal author, Marie-Andrée Duplessis, to follow her into the convent. It uses many conventions of salon fiction: claiming to be a found manuscript, it narrates the life of the younger sister as in a roman à clé; the narration evolves toward the kind of portrait popular in salons; it seeks to amuse the reader; it has an open ending that the reader (the younger sister) is invited to complete. Both nuns had experience in elite circles in France in their youth. This is the first known text by M.-A. Duplessis. *Les annales de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Québec*, when published in 1751, was the first book of a Canadian woman published during her lifetime." From Thomas Carr, Jr, "Une 'histoire veritable' littéraire à l'Hôtel-Dieu de Québec: 'l'Histoire de Ruma' (1711) de Marie-André Duplessis et de Marie-Élisabeth Le Moyne de Longueuil," *Québec Studies*, Vol. 59, (June, 2015): 71.

(instrumental) and the conductor's role. Duplessis de Sainte-Hélène's metaphors are entertaining and occasionally playfully biting. Here are some, for example, from the chapter on ornamentation, which I have translated.

Table 5.1 *Musique spirituelle* examples

<b>Neighboring accents</b> ( <i>accents</i> )	are the sweet and obliging words that entreat charity.
<b>Quick trills</b> ( <i>tremblements</i> )	are the pleasure that one feels when one learns something that is to the glory of God.
<b>Cadential trills</b> ( <i>cadences</i> )	are the solid and constant joy felt when one has accomplished all of his/her duties; a feeling which makes virtuousness easy, and adds a luster and a brilliance to her, she who practices with such joy that all who see her cannot help but love her.
<b>Inverted mordents</b> ( <i>pincez</i> )	are the prompt submission to judgments by one's superiors.
<b>Syncopations</b> ( <i>syncopes</i> )	are the vigils that one passes in the practice of hospitality or prayer, for we join night to day in order to love, serve and obey God unceasingly.

The intention behind Duplessis de Sainte-Hélène's little manual is not only to educate but to meaningfully compare external music making and the silent music which exists in one's soul, thus, a spiritual music. The text points out that the conductor of the spiritual, inner music of a community, the shepherdess of her flock, is none other than the Mother Superior. She decides upon transpositions, beats time, keeps order and adds accompaniments. We learn from Duplessis de Sainte-Hélène, obliquely, that these are the responsibilities then given to and carried out by the musical cantors of the convents. We can apply Duplessis de Sainte-Hélène's ideas today: we can infuse affect into our own performances of these motets by imagining her descriptions of the ornaments.

## 5.7 FIGURAL MUSIC

Many of the pieces are composed in a style known as *musique figurée* or figural music. This may be defined as any sacred vocal music which is not plain chant, written in modern notation (unlike plainchant which has its own notational style) where the music is newly composed, usually as ornate melodies with religious texts. It is expected that there will be application of ornamentation beyond what is indicated in the score. The figural pieces include hymns, antiphons (*antiennes*), motets (*petit motets*) and songs or canticles (*cantiques*). The figural music was intended for particularly important occasions.

### 5.7.1 *The Ursuline Manuscript in Louisiana*

Events in related institutions allow for conjecture about activity in the New France convents. Activities in two other musically inclined Ursuline schools of the time are specifically examined for insight into the repertoire examined in this document. The *Maison Royale de St Cyr* in France was founded in 1680, and the Ursuline community of New Orleans was founded in 1727. Music from both communities has survived.

A single manuscript of Ursuline religious music in New Orleans contains 294 *airs spirituels* with *basse continue*, written by various French composers. The music was probably intended for educational use. Musicologist Kim Pineda draws important parallels between the manuscript contents of the New Orleans manuscript to the manuscripts of devotional works found in convents in Québec and France. Pineda points out that “The format of the pieces...is similar to a large body of repertoire originally composed for larger performing forces but arranged specifically for groups or locations with smaller budgets and populations. Specifically, works originally conceived in three or four part textures are found as works for one or two voices

with and without *basso continuo*.<sup>85</sup> Pineda draws attention to an account by a Louisiana nun, Marie Hachard, which states that the Ursuline nuns there were singing daily, accompanied by instruments. His description is pertinent to this dissertation's consideration of the use of instruments in the Québec convents. "What is noteworthy is that within the first several months of their arrival in Louisiana, the nuns were performing vocal music with instruments and the music was also being used in the context of teaching. It is likely that this was a pre-existing practice of tradition that accompanied the sisters to New Orleans."<sup>86</sup> If this applies to the Ursulines in Louisiana, it would likely apply to the Québec nuns as well. Pineda adds that there is "enough evidence to support the idea that musical traditions in convents in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were more than just chant, and that the physical and spiritual space of the convents were filled with music in a variety of sacred and secular genres."<sup>87</sup> Thus, Ursuline and sister convents throughout Europe and the Americas included diverse genres of music as a critical part of education and of daily life, permeating all aspects of existence.

### 5.7.2 *Music at La Maison Royale de St Cyr*

*La Maison Royale de St Cyr* in France had Ursuline nuns as teachers. As earlier mentioned, the school hired the best composers of the King's court to teach music to the boarders and to compose for them. Amongst the pieces composed especially for this community were *petits motets* which reveal the musical accomplishments of the young women at the school. Remarkably similar to those of the Québec schools, the *petits motets* at *La Maison Royale de St*

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<sup>85</sup> Kim Pineda, "The New World Order: Ursulines, Music from the Court of Louis XIV, and Educational Outreach in Eighteenth Century New Orleans." (PhD Dissertation, University of Oregon, 2014), 87.

<sup>86</sup> Kim Pineda, "The New World Order: Ursulines, Music from the Court of Louis XIV, and Educational Outreach in Eighteenth Century New Orleans." (PhD Dissertation, University of Oregon, 2014), 57.

<sup>87</sup> Kim Pineda, "The New World Order: Ursulines, Music from the Court of Louis XIV, and Educational Outreach in Eighteenth Century New Orleans." (PhD Dissertation, University of Oregon, 2014), 57-58.

*Cyr* inform performance of the New France motets. Deborah Kauffman points out that the *Maison Royale* music “features a specific type of *petit motet* that relies on forms and textures ideally tailored to the needs of the community and ignores prevailing trends in French sacred music.”<sup>88</sup> All 250 students were expected to sing the liturgy, and indeed became renowned for so doing. It is possible that the majority were taught to sing simple motets, while the more complex motets were reserved for a more accomplished group of singers. Amongst the notable music teachers and composers for *La Maison Royale de St Cyr* was court composer Louis Nicolas Clérambault. *Petit motets* written by Clérambault for the *La Maison Royale de St Cyr* alternate use of soloists and *grand choeur* (large choir), a technique also employed in the motets of the manuscripts found in the Ursuline and Augustinian manuscripts of Québec. Later, Clérambault’s motets were revised, becoming two part motets rather than a single line. The second volume of Clérambault’s works for the school contains sixty-nine motets for major feasts. His elucidating preface to the two part motets has been instrumental for interpretation of the Ursuline motets and will be discussed in Chapter 7.

## 5.8 INSTRUMENTS IN NEW FRANCE

Information about the availability and use of instruments in the convents relies upon anecdotal mention in writings from the time. Élisabeth Gallat-Morin’s chapter on instrumental music in *La vie musicale en Nouvelle-France* provides thorough research on the subject and is an indispensable resource. An organ was certainly owned by the Augustinian nuns, a small *positiv* transferred in 1704 to the Hôpital-Général from the Bishopry. This organ was brought in specifically to bolster the weak singing by the nuns during the Divine Office. Their Superior, the

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<sup>88</sup> Deborah Kauffmann, “Performance Traditions and Motet Composition at the Convent School at Saint-Cyr.” *Early Music* 29, no. 2 (May 2001): 235.

Reverend Mother, chose an apparently reluctant chaplain named Guillaume de la Colombière-Serre to learn to play it. The Hôpital-Général Annals recount that,

Because she had a strong desire to make the Divine Office more solemn, as well as noting that the plain chant which she loved so deeply, was almost impossible to sustain given there were very few singers and who had not strong voices, she thought an organ might be a good way to sustain the chant.<sup>89</sup>

The instrument given to the Hôpital-Général nuns, theorizes Gallat-Morin, could either be the first one to arrive in New France in 1657, or one of the organs built in Québec modelled upon the organ brought in 1663 by Bishop Laval. The nuns of the Hôpital-Général emulated their sister nuns at the Hôtel-Dieu in their study and singing of music. The priest chosen to learn the organ made the effort to teach what he himself was learning to the sisters at the Hôpital-Général.

The nuns are also sometimes artistic. For example, music began to be performed very soon at the Hôpital-Général. Indeed, from the beginning of the establishment, the nuns sang High Mass and Vespers on Sundays and Feast Days. Very naturally, they imitated, in this, the nuns of the Hôtel-Dieu; we understand it more, when we know that Mother Duchesnaye who holds the position of assistant of the new Community in 1692 has always been particularly interested in the study of plain chant. Very early on, Mother Duchesnaye thought that a small organ could help support the voices of the choir nuns. "Obtaining the instrument is rather easy, but finding someone to play it, that is more difficult." In 1714, she managed to persuade the confessor of the Community, M. de la Colombière, to take lessons from the master of harpsichord at Québec, M. de la Colombière got to work right away, and immediately we bought an organ that was found at the Episcopal palace. After one year, in 1705, M. de la Colombière became the first official organist of the Hôpital-Général. Most interesting of all here is that a new activity for the nuns has emerged, as M. de la Colombière endeavored to teach his art to the nuns.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>89</sup>Quoted by Pinson from *Les annales de l'Hôpital-Général de Québec*, "comme elle avoit fort a coeur ce qui pouvoit rendre l'office divin solennel, ainsy qu'est le plain chant pour lequel elle auroit de la peine à pouvoir le soutenir, n'ayant pas même de voix dans ce petit nombre, elle eut la pensée qu'un orgue seroit bien avantageuse pour aide au chant et en même tems rendre l'office plus solennel." Élisabeth Gallat-Morin and Jean-Pierre Pinson, *La vie musicale en Nouvelle-France* (Sillery, Québec: Septentrion, 2003), 152.

<sup>90</sup> Read in Micheline D'Allaire's dissertation. Sourced from *Les annales de l'Hôpital-Général I, I*, 249. "Les religieuses se livrent aussi parfois à des occupations d'ordre artistique. Par exemple, on fait de la musique très tôt à l'Hôpital-Général. En effet, dès le début de l'établissement, les religieuses chantent la grand-messe et les vêpres les dimanches et jours de fêtes. Tout naturellement, elles imitent, en cela, les religieuses de l'Hôtel-Dieu; on le

The addition of the organ improved the music-making and relieved the weak singers by accompanying, or doubling their voices or taking alternating verses to lessen vocal fatigue. From the Hôpital-Général Annals, “We had the advantage of hearing an organ in this church, which was placed on a jube,<sup>91</sup> which this Reverend Mother had intended for this purpose a year before, and since that time all the festivals and Sundays are relieved by this instrument.”<sup>92</sup>

In Montréal, one of the Sulpician manuscripts mentions that a number of young ladies were taught to sing *cantiques* and motets for the Jubilee of 1725, celebrated in 1729 by the colony. This event was probably directed by the organist Jean Girard, who not only played the organ but also the serpent, a common *basse continue* instrument in churches. A pirated edition contained the vocal parts and the bass part was published separately.<sup>93</sup>

By the late seventeenth century, musical instruments were included in Hôtel-Dieu convent belongings. It is unknown whether the Ursulines owned one of the nine organs known to be in Québec, but organs were certainly brought in for important occasions. For the celebration

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comprend davantage, quand on sait que Mère Duchesnaye qui occupe la charge d'assistante de la nouvelle Communauté en 1692, s'est toujours intéressée, d'une façon particulière, à l'étude du plain-chant. Très tôt, Mère Duchesnaye pense alors qu'un petit orgue pourrait aider à soutenir les voix du chœur des religieuses. Obtenir l'instrument est chose plutôt facile, mais trouver quelqu'un pour le toucher, voilà qui est plus difficile. En 1714, elle arrive à persuader le confesseur de la Communauté, M. de la Colombière, à aller prendre des leçons du maître de clavecin à Québec, M de la Colombière se met au travail, et aussitôt, on achète un orgue qui se trouve au palais épiscopal. Au bout d'un an, en 1705, M de la Colombière devient, à juste titre, le premier organiste de l'Hôpital-Général. Ce qui intéresse avant tout ici, c'est de compter une nouvelle activité pour les religieuses de l'Hôpital, puisque M de la Colombière s'empresse d'enseigner son art aux religieuses.”

<sup>91</sup> Jube is another word for rood screen, the partition between the nave and the chancel.

<sup>92</sup>, Quoted by Pinson from the *Les annales de l'Hôpital-Général de Québec*, “Nous avons eu l'avantage d'entendre un orgue dans cette Église, laquelle fut mise sur un jube que cette Révérende Mère avoit ménagé a ce dessein une année auparavant, et depuis ce temps-là toutes les festes et tous les dimanches l'on a été soulagé par cet instrument” Élisabeth Gallat-Morin and Jean-Pierre Pinson, *La vie musicale en Nouvelle-France* (Sillery, Québec: Septentrion, 2003), 152.

<sup>93</sup> Pinson writes, “une quantité de Demoiselles de la Ville...des Cantiques Spirituels et des Motets” Élisabeth Gallat-Morin and Jean-Pierre Pinson, *La vie musicale en Nouvelle-France* (Sillery, Québec: Septentrion, 2003), 161-162.

of the Ursuline Mother Superior Ester Wheelwright's Fiftieth-Year Anniversary and Renewal of Vows in 1764, their confessor Monseigneur Reche played the organ. He had been attached to the Ursuline community since 1755. The Ursuline Annals recount, "We sang several motets while M. Reche, our distinguished confessor played the organ."<sup>94</sup>

The role of organist included improvisation upon and transposition of plainchant. Organists were not meant to play every verse, but rather, to alternate with the singers, thus a tone needed to be selected which suited singer tessitura. Alternation of verses could be applied not only to Psalms but to all parts of the Mass. For example, the Agnus Dei might have the organ play the first iteration, then the second would be sung and the third played by the organ. Extra pieces were added in when needed, written out or improvised in the same tone that the singers chanted.

The arrival of the Ursulines in 1639 included Sister Marie de Saint-Joseph, a dedicated teacher and viol player. It is known that she taught several students to play it, including Aboriginal girls. As time passed, more instruments arrived to the colony, and there are indications that viols had become integral to the musical environment.

In terms of female participation, the Montréal Hôtel-Dieu Annals state that a celebration for their newly constructed church in 1724 included a procession with instruments: "We walked two by two in front of the most Holy Sacrament. All the clergy were there, singing hymns and motets in music with instruments."<sup>95</sup> It is possible that a low *basse de violon*, meant to support

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<sup>94</sup> My translation. "On chanta plusieurs motets pendant M Reche notre tres digne confesseur joua de l'orgue." Élisabeth Gallat-Morin and Jean-Pierre Pinson, *La vie musicale en Nouvelle-France* (Sillery, Québec: Septentrion, 2003), 157.

<sup>95</sup> "On nous fit marcher deux à deux devant le tres Saint Sacrement. Tout le clergé y estoit, chantant des himnes et motets en musiques avec les instruments" Marie Morin, *Histoire Simple et Veritable: Les annales de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Montréal 1659-1725. Édition critique par Ghislaine Legendre* (Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, Québec, 1979), 291.

voices, also existed, and with a lower range than the viol. The *basse de violon* was meant to be carried around the neck with a cord in processions.

The accounts of instrumental activity which come down to us indicate that inclusion of instruments combined with voices was desirable as long as it did not extend to vanity or immorality and that in fact, the instruments added to the solemnity of any occasion. Élisabeth Gallat-Morin writes that the specific instruments are not certain, but suggests that viols, violin, flutes and serpents<sup>96</sup> are likely candidates. Instrumentalists were greatly appreciated for the addition which they brought to the church celebrations. Performances which included instruments merited comment in the accounts of the time. As early as 1645, two violins were played at a wedding. One of the violinists played carols at Christmas in 1645.<sup>97</sup> The Jesuit Journal from 1645 states that instruments accompanied the *Venez mon Dieu* and *Chantons Noël* performed at Midnight Mass and mentioned tuning problems with the flute. “M. De La Ferte played the bass, St Martin played the violin; and there was also a German flute that was not tuned correctly when brought into the church.”<sup>98</sup>

By 1659, viols are frequently described in sources. It has already been mentioned that one of the first Ursulines to come to New France played and taught the *basse de viol*. As time passed, more instruments arrived and were put into play. In 1722 when the new Ursuline church was

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<sup>96</sup> Two known serpent players in Québec in the early 1700's were Jean-Baptiste Savard and M. Perin. Jean Girard, organist in Montréal, was also a trained serpent player.

<sup>97</sup> Martin Boutet was the violinist. He was a navigator who came to Québec with his wife and two daughters in 1645. In teaching the choir boys at the seminary how to sing plainchant, he became the first lay teacher of music at the seminary.

<sup>98</sup> Élisabeth Gallat-Morin and Jean-Pierre Pinson, *La vie musicale en Nouvelle-France* (Sillery, Québec: Septentrion, 2003), 169.

inaugurated, “there was a concert with magnificent voices with organ accompaniment and diverse other instruments.”<sup>99</sup>

Since the motets in the Ursuline and Augustinian manuscripts were meant for important occasions, the addition of instruments would enliven the singing. As written sources describe hymns and *cantiques* employing instruments, even simple songs found in the manuscripts may have included instruments. Instrumental parts were commonly copied separately, not written in a full score with the vocal parts, so that there are missing instrumental parts is not surprising. In France, publishing houses like Ballard also generated the instrumental parts separately. Handwritten manuscripts, like those of the Ursulines, cannot be expected to have included the instrumental parts, since these vocal copies were not meant for a conductor but for the singers. Thus, if instrumental parts existed, they are now lost, and if one wishes to include instruments in the performance of the motets, their parts must be generated anew.

As Jean-Pierre Pinson points out so eloquently in his article on Ursuline plainchant, “In a distant and challenging New France, the Ursulines did not make music “quietly, but rather, tenaciously, they endeavored to select, preserve and maintain what seemed to them to be the best means possible (and also permitted) in which to sing their passion.”<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> Quoted by Gallat-Morin, from *Les annales des Ursulines*, “il y eu un concert de voix magnifique, avec accompagnement d’orgue et divers autre instruments.” Élisabeth Gallat-Morin and Jean-Pierre Pinson, *La vie musicale en Nouvelle-France* (Sillery, Québec: Septentrion, 2003), 170.

<sup>100</sup> My translation, “Dans une lointaine et difficile Nouvelle-France, les Ursulines « ne firent pas de la musique » : discrètement, mais avec ténacité, elles s’efforcèrent de choisir, de conserver et d’entretenir ce qui leur semblait être les meilleurs moyens alors possibles (et permis) de chanter leur passion.” Jean-Pierre Pinson, “Quel Plain-chant pour la Nouvelle-France? L’Exemple des Ursulines.” *Canadian University Music Review* 11, no. 2 (1991): 21.

## Chapter 6. THE MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS

### 6.1 INTRODUCTION

Several manuscripts which contain more than one hundred figural sacred motets are located in Québec City in the Archives of the Ursuline and Hôtel-Dieu Monasteries. All of the music was handwritten into various manuscripts and folios found in the convent archives. The music was not published. There were no printing presses in New France. The lack of printing facilities created dependence upon French publications and allowed the French crown control over documents in the colony. The lack of a printing press explains why annals, music compositions and other documents would have been handwritten. In *History of the Book in Canada*, social historian Francois Melançon writes that “the lack of local presses left the way clear for handwritten texts but this practice was limited in New France. The various religious communities exchanged the obituaries of their members amongst themselves or shared extracts from one another’s annals; perhaps even short devotional works written by their fellows, but little more.”<sup>101</sup> Most of the reading materials in the homes of all classes were of a religious nature. Melançon states, “The heart of the literary heritage of the colony was religious.”<sup>102</sup> He continues in the next section, “The teaching of reading was also largely colored by religion.”<sup>103</sup> The limited practice of handwriting texts would have extended to music copying within the religious institutions for use in their services, schools and personal devotions.

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<sup>101</sup> Patricia Lockhart Fleming and others, *History of the Book in Canada/Histoire du livre et de l'imprimé au Canada: Volume I* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 47.

<sup>102</sup> Patricia Lockhart Fleming and others, *History of the Book in Canada/Histoire du livre et de l'imprimé au Canada: Volume I* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 52.

<sup>103</sup> Patricia Lockhart Fleming and others, *History of the Book in Canada/Histoire du livre et de l'imprimé au Canada: Volume I* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 53.

Six of the motet sources are located in the Archives of the Ursuline Monastery of Québec. A single manuscript is in the Hôtel-Dieu Archives. Several of the same pieces are duplicated in both the Ursuline and Hôtel-Dieu archives. Statements from the annals corroborate that the nuns shared their music. In Chapter Five, quotes from various annals describe the two communities singing together on important occasions. The Jesuit seminary contains Magnificats and Masses but nothing like these small intricate works.

The compositional dates of the motets in the female monasteries likely span the years 1640 through 1740, but the compilation of the music into manuscripts extends into the first few years of the 1800s. Many of the manuscripts bear watermarks which aid in the dating process. I was able to precisely date Manuscript M3 paper to the year 1803. Other manuscripts were examined and given approximate dates by Erich Schwandt.

Examination of elements of musical style assists in dating the individual works. For example, motets which include modal elements, whose texts are scripture based and which coordinate the text and music carefully are examples of seventeenth and early eighteenth century compositional technique. The works which use paraliturgical texts and which include Italianate features like triplets and sixteenth note passages are modelled on later eighteenth-century style.

Examination of each of the manuscripts reveals parallels and distinctions between their contents. While the manuscripts' dates span several decades, most of the pieces appear in two or more of the manuscripts. Please consult the *Inventory of Musical Items* in Appendix A, which lists all of the manuscript holdings, in order to cross-reference pieces that appear in more than one manuscript. That the same pieces were handed down over many decades, and were still being sung, indicates that they were integral to the worship and music-making of the Ursuline community. Since most of the manuscripts likely served as song books for the singers, it may be

speculated that many more copies existed, and have been lost to fire or other unfortunate events. Careful descriptions of several of the manuscripts may be found in musicologist Erich Schwandt's article *The Motet in New France*.<sup>104</sup> In his *Inventory of Musical Items*, Schwandt labels all collections "C" and adds "Qur" for Québec Ursuline and "Qhd" for Québec Hôtel-Dieu manuscripts in his catalogue. He then adds further descriptors after the name to designate the specific manuscript or set of folios.

Most of the motets are single line pieces, but there are many two part works, and some in four parts, all for women's voices only. Some indicate *voix seule* (solo voice), many use both soloists and chorus, and still others are probably for choir only. Score markings such as *petit chœur*, *gros chœur*, and *toutes* indicate that ensemble groups were involved in the performances. In some manuscripts, the two, three and four part motets are laid out in open score. However, much of the time, the parts are written out separately, usually within a given page.

Diversity of style is apparent. On one end of the spectrum we find short, chorally conceived works in one and two parts which are often antiphonal, and on the other end are motets which are conceived of as highly florid solo or duo pieces. In between these two extremes are hybrid forms combining the soloists in creative ways with the choirs, large and small. The transcribed motets in Chapter 8 intentionally show the gamut of styles found in the manuscripts.

As mentioned in the Introduction, two Ursuline manuscripts are described here for the first time, uncovered by my research in the Ursuline Archives. These manuscripts have been catalogued in the Ursuline Archives, but there is no evidence that they have been critically examined or musically catalogued. These findings are included in my *Inventory of Musical*

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<sup>104</sup> Erich Schwandt, "The Motet in New France: some 17th and 18th Century Manuscripts in Québec." *Fontes Artis Musicae* 28, no.3 (July-September 1981).

Items, Appendix A, and discussed thoroughly below. Appendix A includes corrections to *errata* found in Erich Schwandt's Inventory.<sup>105</sup> Because the manuscript M3 and the F folios were not yet known, Schwandt's results are incomplete. Appendix A contains updated, corrected correspondences between the manuscripts. Erich Schwandt seemed not to know of the existence of these two holdings. As quoted in the Introduction, Schwandt categorically stated that he knew of no other figural music from New France. Schwandt was a thorough researcher, so it can only be surmised that these had not yet surfaced in the collections to be examined.<sup>106</sup> To discover and explore the contents of unknown manuscripts is an unexpected honor. This dissertation presents my findings about the unknown holdings, placing their music in context of the known manuscripts.

The Ursuline motets are composed in the same ornate style of contemporary French motets written by composers like Campra, Charpentier, and Clérambault. Schwandt found that nineteen of the 120 pieces he catalogued were composed by French masters (see Table 6.2 below). Common to Baroque practice, borrowings are evident: many of the works are parodies of works by known composers. One example is *Exultet superi*, M1-259 which is a new work that parodies a motet by Nicolas Bernier.<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> Erich Schwandt, "The Motet in New France: some 17th and 18<sup>th</sup> Century Manuscripts in Québec." *Fontes Artis Musicae* 28, no.3 (July-September 1981): 194-219.

<sup>107</sup>Erich Schwandt, "Some Motets in Honour of Saint Joseph in the Archives of the Ursulines of Québec." *Canadian University Music Review / Revue de musique des universités canadiennes* 17, no.1 (1996): 70.

Table 6.2. Erich Schwandt's Table of Pieces adapted for use in New France<sup>108</sup>

Les Ursulines de Québec: <i>Cantiques</i> (C Qur: C)		
<i>Number</i>	<i>Composer</i>	<i>Work or Collection</i>
1	Desmarets	<i>Didon</i> , 1693
2	Gastoldi	<i>Amphion Sacré</i> , 1615
3	Campra	<i>L'Europe Galante</i> , 1697
4	Anonymous	<i>Recueil d'Airs</i> , 1706
5	Lully	<i>Alys</i> , 1689
10	Campra	<i>Motets I</i> , 1695
52	Du Mont	<i>Cantica Sacra</i> , 1652/62
Les Ursulines de Québec: <i>Motets I</i> (C Qur: M1)		
<i>Number</i>	<i>Composer</i>	<i>Work or Collection</i>
58	Campra	<i>Motets V</i> , 1720
64	Bernier	<i>Mottets I</i> , 1703
67	Campra	<i>Motets I</i> , 1695
68	?Destouches?	?Concert Spirituel, 1736?
69	Delalande	<i>Motets XVII</i> , 1729–1733
70	Campra	<i>Motets I</i> , 1695
86	Bernier	<i>Mottets I</i> , 1703
99	Bernier	<i>Mottets I</i> , 1703
104	Bernier	<i>Mottets I</i> , 1703
112	Morin	<i>Motets I</i> , 1704
Hôtel-Dieu de Québec (C Qhd)		
<i>Number</i>	<i>Composer</i>	<i>Work or Collection</i>
119	Lefévre	Concert Spirituel, 1755
122	Brossard	<i>Élevations</i> , 1699

## 6.2 FIRST MANUSCRIPT: C QUR CANTIQUES SPIRITUELS: THE TWELVE-PAGE SUPPLEMENT AND THE ROMAN NUMERAL SECTION.

The manuscript called *Cantiques Spirituels* is located in the Ursuline Archives. The earliest manuscript, dating from the late 1600s or early 1700s, it is written in the hand of a single copyist. It contains 240 pages of spiritual song texts and fifty-four musical compositions. The spiritual song texts are meant to be sung as *airs spirituels* but lack music. They are *contrafacta*

<sup>108</sup> Erich Schwandt, "Some Motets in Honour of Saint Joseph in the Archives of the Ursulines of Québec." *Canadian University Music Review / Revue de musique des universités canadiennes* 17, no.1 (1996): 70.

intended to be sung to known secular tunes. The handwritten texts may have been copied from a French anthology, such as those published by Ballard, from the time. As earlier discussed, it was socially popular for religiously inclined women of all classes to participate fervently in home spiritual devotions which included singing settings of religious lyrics to popular melodies. Ballard's anthologies of *airs spirituels* could likely have made their way onto the ships heading to New France and would have retained their popularity there amongst devout women. The fifty-four musical compositions in the *Cantiques spirituels* manuscript comprise forty-nine Latin works and five French *Noëls* as well as some fragments of pieces. Most of these musical works are monophonic, but some are in two parts. Enumeration in the archives is in two separate segments. The first 240 pages (the spiritual poems), plus a twelve-page insert (the first musical works) sewn in around the same time are listed in the archives under the Catalogue number MQ.1/L.002.001.001.001. A second and final section containing most of the musical works, separately paginated in Roman numerals, is numbered differently: MQ.1/L.002.001.001.0002. Although numbered separately in the Ursuline Archives, they are both found in the same booklet. Many of the musical works in the *Cantiques spirituels* are found in the later manuscripts.

### 6.3 SECOND MANUSCRIPT: C QUR: MOTETS M1

M1 is located in the Ursuline Archives. It is a tiny but thick booklet, measuring 9.9 x 16 centimeters. While it is called M1, meaning *Motets I*, it is the second manuscript for examination.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>109</sup> I can find no obvious explanation why Erich Schwandt did not number the *Cantiques* M1 and this one M2, other than that the *Cantiques* are a mixture of texts and music, whereas his M1 is only music. M1 may simply mean, Motets I.

Erich Schwandt believes that the M1 manuscript is itself a careful copy of an earlier collection which no longer exists.<sup>110</sup> He dates the writing of M1's musical compositions to circa 1700 and the compilation of the M1 booklet to be circa 1720-30. The Ursuline Archives state that the works might span 1650-1730. However, my examination of the watermarks indicates that the manuscript may have been compiled later than 1730. The paper has been cut to a smaller size resulting in incomplete watermark images. Schwandt was able to see a letter R and the crown, as watermarks. I used an LED light behind the paper to illuminate the watermarks safely and effectively. The crown and R are not watermarks; they are part of the countermarks. This is a common countermark which use spans several decades beyond the 1730's. Next, piecing together other fragments of watermarks found in the document reveals a partial Britannia watermark which I have reconstructed (Figure 7). Erich Schwandt did not identify this watermark in his examination. Dating the Britannia watermark from Churchill's book *Watermarks in Paper*<sup>111</sup> along with the crowned GR indicates that M1 more likely dates from the 1760s. Similar watermarks circa 1760 are Churchill 221(Figure 8) and Churchill 227 (Figure 6). This would date M1's compilation to the same period as the next manuscript, M2.

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<sup>110</sup> Erich Schwandt, "The Motet in New France: some 17th and 18<sup>th</sup> Century Manuscripts in Québec." *Fontes Artis Musicae* 28, no.3 (July-September 1981):197.

<sup>111</sup> W. A. Churchill, *Watermarks in Paper in Holland, England, France, Etc., in the 17th and 18th Centuries and Their Interconnection* (Amsterdam: Hertzberger, 1935).



Figure 2: M1



Figure 3: M1

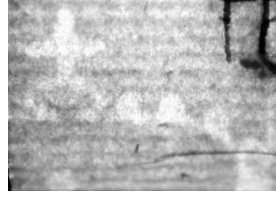


Figure 4: M1



Figure 5 GR<sup>112</sup>

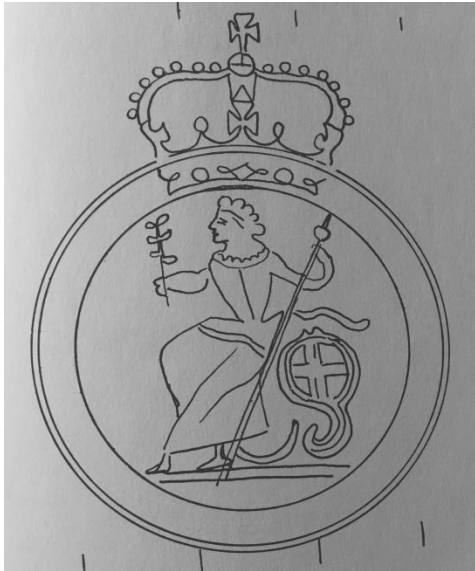


Figure 6: Britannia 227, circa 1769<sup>113</sup>



Figure 7: Reconstruction of M1 Watermark

Another aspect of dating is noting the existence of works and parodies of works by French composers in the manuscripts and the date of their composition. Once they are dated, it is certain that the manuscript cannot pre-date these compositions. M's contents include sixty sacred works in one, two and four parts, and fragments of motets by André Campra and Michel de Lalande (1657-1726). Campra's first book of motets was published in 1695 in France. His music

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<sup>112</sup> See W. A. Churchill, Example 213, [CLXXXVIII], dated 1730. W. A. Churchill, *Watermarks in Paper in Holland, England, France, Etc., in the 17th and 18th Centuries and Their Interconnection* (Amsterdam: Hertzberger, 1935), 75.

<sup>113</sup> See W. A. Churchill, Example 227, [CCI] dated 1769. W. A. Churchill, *Watermarks in Paper in Holland, England, France, Etc., in the 17th and 18th Centuries and Their Interconnection* (Amsterdam: Hertzberger, 1935), 76.

gradually became known after this point in time. From their home communities in France, the nuns would have soon become familiar with the sacred music of the King's composer. They were unlikely to have encountered Campra's music as early as 1695, but soon thereafter. The manuscript M1 contains four adapted works by Campra, the latest dated 1703, and one work by Michel de Lalande published in 1704. Thus, it is possible that the music of M1 was composed as early as 1710 but compiled much later.

Most of the 273 page small volume is in the hand of a single copyist, but the final forty pages are in various hands as later additions to the book. The M1 music includes a diversity of styles and levels of difficulty. It is possible that many of the simpler works date from an earlier time period. The nuns seem to have upheld their musical traditions for long spans of time. Their music was likely preserved by the community over many decades through successive copies of the same works. Thus, some may have been composed as early as the 1640's, the earliest years of the community in New France. An example of an early work might be the motet *Ave caeli porta* from this manuscript (M1-225) which appears in three other manuscripts as well. Three motets copied into M1, M2 and M3<sup>114</sup> are also found in the *Cantiques Spirituels*. These are the *Tota Pulchra Es* (Cx, M1-166), *Nos cum prole pia* (Cxvii, M1-232) and *Nos cum beatis* (Cviii, M1-232). The appearance of these motets in all four collections indicates that they were important, regularly sung and/or popular motets in the convent community.

#### 6.4 *THIRD MANUSCRIPT C QUR: MOTETS M2*

The third manuscript in the Ursuline collection is catalogued as M2 by Schwandt. It is small, thick and slightly larger than M1, measuring 14.4 x 15.9 centimeters. It is written in an old

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<sup>114</sup> Reminder: Erich Schwandt thought at the time of his article that there were only two motet manuscripts, but there are three.

accounting book. This manuscript contains virtually all the same works as M1, but the compositions are in a completely different order. M2 is a messy manuscript, unlike M1 and M3. There is no table of contents. There are parts missing and many errors. Schwandt theorizes that it was copied piecemeal from M1 by an amateur scribe. However, this does not explain the presence of four motets found in M2 which are not present in M1. If M2 was an attempt to preserve the works from M1, how did it end up with four extra pieces? At least one other source is indicated. Perhaps several sources were utilized in the copying of M2.

Schwandt dates the paper to the 1740s, but it is likely slightly later than that. A clear Britannia Watermark is found in many instances throughout the manuscript unlike the fragmentary version of M1. Schwandt consulted Churchill's book of examples, and likely decided it fit Churchill's Example 219 (1750) well enough, but I suggest Churchill's Example 221 (1760) is a closer match. No exact duplicates of the images could be found in my search. The images below are Churchill 221 (Figure 8) and the watermark found in M2 (Figure 9). Schwandt suggests that M2 was probably compiled around or after the British Conquest, around 1760, which is highly plausible.



Figure 8: Britannia 221, circa 1760<sup>115</sup>

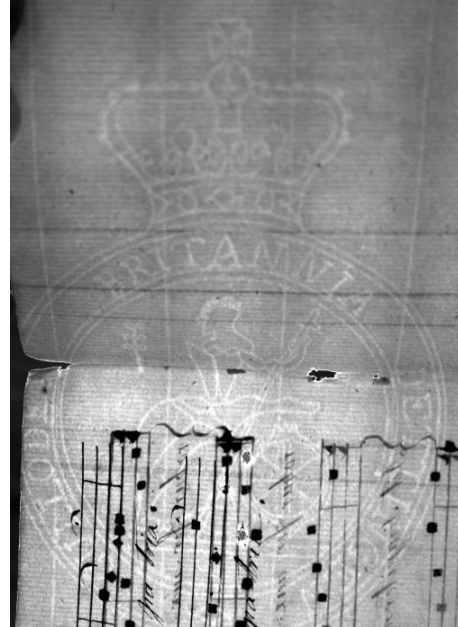


Figure 9: M2 Watermark

#### 6.5 *FOURTH COLLECTION: C QHD: FONDS T11 C950*

C Qhd: Fonds T11 C950 is a set of folios found in the Hôtel-Dieu Archives, the community where the Augustinian Hospitaller nuns lived their nursing and teaching missions. The fourteen motets found in this collection are on several large separate sheets of paper, approximately the same size as our 8.5 x 11 inch paper, but the music is written on only the upper half of each staff lined page. The lower half is lined with staves but empty of notes. Of the fourteen pieces in the Hôtel-Dieu Archives, six are found nowhere else, eight also appear in M1 and several of these latter also appear in M2 and M3.

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<sup>115</sup> See W. A. Churchill, Example 228 [CCII] dated 1773. W. A. Churchill, *Watermarks in Paper in Holland, England, France, Etc., in the 17th and 18th Centuries and Their Interconnection* (Amsterdam: Hertzberger, 1935), 75.

## 6.6 FIFTH COLLECTION: QHD: FONDS T11 C925.

A fifth collection is also located in the Hôtel-Dieu Archives. It is catalogued as the fourteenth numbered piece of C Qhd. It contains a set of instrumental parts for Charpentier's *Regina Caeli*, including a figured bass marked *orgue*, dated 1689. This set of instrumental parts offers tantalizing evidence of the use of accompanying instruments at the convents.

## 6.7 SIXTH MANUSCRIPT: C QUR: MOTETS M3 (EM DESIGNATED)

We now arrive at the newly discovered material. Because M3 has never been examined before, I will describe it in detail. The M3 manuscript is larger than M1 and M2. It measures approximately 16.5 x 20 centimeters. The cover is made of very soft, worn leather of a brownish-grey hue with a brass clasp. Nothing is written on the covers, one of which is marked with a circular stain. The paper is thick and plain, holding six staves per page. Thanks to countermarks on the paper, I discovered that the paper was made by a company called Salmon, likely a British American paper company, and that it dates from 1803 (see Figure 10, above). The M3 Britannia watermark (Figure 11, above) has no Latin text, no cross atop the lance, and is oval, rather than circular, unlike those of the earlier manuscripts. There is a Table of Contents at the end listing the motets by function, for example, as *St Sacrement* or *Ste Vièrge*.

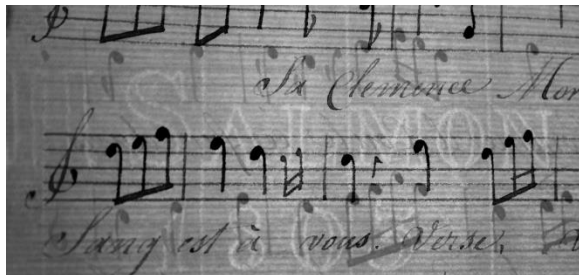


Figure 10: M3 Countermark



Figure 11: M3 Watermark

The M3 scribe was superb, generating a pristine, legible document in beautiful handwriting. The precision with which she wrote down specialized music notation shows that she was a knowledgeable musician. She certainly intended to preserve the Ursuline musical treasures from their earlier years. It is possible that the music was still being performed and this is a clean replacement copy. What is certain is that the music was prized, as evinced by this careful, clear transcription, the presence of motets otherwise lost or incomplete and the correction of notational errors from previous manuscripts.

The M3 manuscript contains almost of all the works found in both the M1 and M2 manuscripts plus several motets not found elsewhere. Thus, this is a later copy of earlier motets. Neither M1 or M2 served as the only sources for this later copy, as there are motets in M3 are not found in M1 or M2. Comparing M3 with the earlier manuscripts is elucidating. Especially useful in the musical correspondences between the manuscripts is the having the ability to compare versions when transcribing. A *Prudentes Virgines* (M1) previously believed incomplete, is now available as a complete work in one of the folios and in M3. I have transcribed it in Chapter 8.

Eleven works are unique to the M3 collection, including a *Missa Brevis*. Twenty-one works in M3 are not found in M2. Fifteen of the M3 works are not found in M1. There are also a few motets in M1 and M2 which are not found in M3. One piece is duplicated only in the *Cantiques Spirituels*.

The interconnectedness of the various manuscripts is fascinating. Because not one of these manuscripts contains the full collection of any other manuscript, they must all have been copied from other sources which are now lost. It is possible that M1 was one of the sources consulted for M3 as there are peculiarities which are included in both. For example, *Quem ad*

*modum*, found in both M1-199 and M3-10 has unusual time signatures in both versions (3/2, then 2/4/3, then cut time with rests that look like infinity symbols.) Why M3 is missing several of the M1 motets is impossible to know.

## 6.8 SEVENTH COLLECTION: THE FOLIOS C QUR F1, F2, F3, F4

Another unexpected and valuable discovery has been the presence of several folders containing loose folios of music which became separated over the centuries from their original binding. Most of the sheets have been lost but a few remain. I have titled them Folio 1, Folio 2, Folio 3 and Folio 4. In size, the folios are approximately 20.5 x 30.5 centimeters. They are not all from the same lost book, but from several, their fragmentary existence indicating that many complete manuscripts are lost. Only one of the folios has a watermark. There are fifteen complete pieces in total plus several incomplete motets, or middle sections of motets.<sup>116</sup> These loose pages, never examined until now, contain eleven motets which do not exist elsewhere. Eight of the motets are duplicated in M3, five in M2, seven in M1 and two in the *Cantiques Spirituels*. Comparison of the incomplete motets to those in other collections could perhaps identify more of them. Conversely, some of the folio motets are entire pieces which exist only as incomplete pieces in other collections. The *Prudentes Virgines* found incomplete in M1 appears in Folio 3 as a complete work. New motets found in the folios include two celebratory two part settings of *Domine salvum fac Regem (God Save the King)* meant to be sung in celebration of either Louis XIII or Louis XIV. These are the only works found which are written specifically about the monarch. These are transcribed and discussed in Chapter 8.

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<sup>116</sup> Cross-reference with motets in the other collections will likely bring some concordances to light.

Folio two has a discernable watermark: a crown surmounting a cluster of grapes. The French used grapes in watermarks around 1710 (see Figure 12). This watermark likely dates the folios to an earlier compilation date than M1, M2 and M3. The folios are probably contemporaneous to the *Cantiques Spirituels*. There are similarities in transcription style.

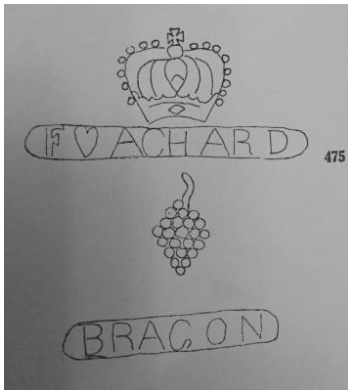


Figure 12: Churchill ex. 475, circa 1710<sup>117</sup>

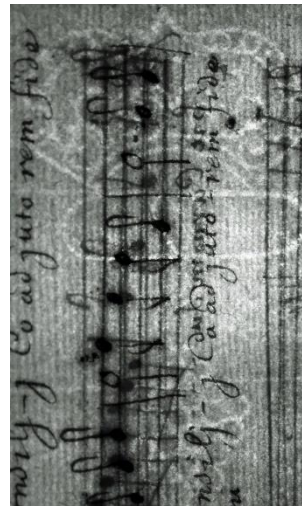


Figure 13: Folio 2 Watermark

The addition of several folios and a third motet collection has increased the number of known New France figural works significantly. Erich Schwandt numbered 120 works, but that number is now increased to 169. This is an increase of approximately fifty pieces. I use the word “approximately” as some of the pieces are incomplete, some are multi-movement, and so on.

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<sup>117</sup> See W.A. Churchill, Example 475 [CCCLI] dated 1680. W. A. Churchill, *Watermarks in Paper in Holland, England, France, Etc., in the 17th and 18th Centuries and Their Interconnection* (Amsterdam: Hertzberger, 1935), 86.

## Chapter 7. PERFORMANCE PRACTICES OF THE NEW FRANCE MOTETS

### 7.1 INTRODUCTION

The religious sisters of New France clearly wished to bring the music of their mother country and the practices of their monastery of origin into the music they wrote and performed in their new home. One can imagine how uplifting the familiar sound of their known music would be in their new life in a foreign land. The different threads of influence from France have been described in earlier chapters; now they will be applied to the discussion of performance practices for the Québec figural motets.

The lack of a printing press in New France meant that music composed in the monasteries was copied out by hand many times. This did not generate as fixed or permanent a record as print editions could, making accidental or deliberate changes in the music very likely through multiple handmade copies. This mutability is visible in the manuscripts when the music of different versions of a given motet alters slightly when passed from hand to hand, from place to place and over the decades. Comparing the versions in the different manuscripts is elucidating. We know that the music was altered depending on musical circumstance, such as the numbers of singers, their vocal ability and if instruments were available. Thus, we can see that a given motet in one manuscript is a duet but, in another manuscript, appears in a monophonic version. One such example is the two part *Memorare* M1-150 (M2-115, M3-49) which exists as a solo motet in the same manuscript as M1-267.

Baroque performance practices assumed the performer possessed experience and knowledge of many aspects not written out, for example, tempo choice and tempo shifts, choice

and placement of ornaments, rhythmic suppleness, realization of *basse continue*, and even the overall form, such as addition of repeats, *petites reprises* or *ritornelli*. In order to effectively interpret the selected motets, a number of specific performance practices are offered.

## 7.2 *MUSIC*

Close examination of the motets in the manuscripts shows that they contain pieces representative of both early and late Baroque styles. The motets in two parts are typically equal voiced parts, with the upper voice, called the *dessus*, being only slightly higher than the lower voice, the *dessous*. The voices regularly cross, especially when singing imitative lines. Fast moving runs and triplets are usually in thirds harmonies and more Italianate in style than French. The choral parts often function as refrains and are usually much simpler than the solos or duos.

Early motets are often in ABA form, simply written for easy singing. The B section is often for a soloist or duo. An example of this is my transcription of *Ave Caeli Porta* (8.3). Later motets become longer and more intricate. Many of these have the word *écrit* in the score, indicating that a soloist is to sing this part, and there are subsequent verses with several repeats of the refrain. Lengthier motets sometimes have many *écrits* functioning as verses. In some cases, the final refrain will be slightly different. Many of the motets begin with this *écrit*, which is not meant to be sung out of tempo, but expressively within a regular pulse. An example of this later style of motet is *Quem vidistis pastores* transcribed in Chapter 8 (8.13).

## 7.3 *TEXT*

The texts for the motets are religious. Some texts are drawn from scripture, or are paraphrases, some are liturgical, and some are paraliturgical. Most are in Latin and some are in French. Many are derived from the offices or the liturgy and drawn from the Gradual,

Antiphony or Breviary. Paraliturgical texts may be based upon scripture or be religious paraphrases. As previously explained, several of the texts are general enough to allow a given motet to be sung on diverse occasions. Musical expediency is apparent when we see motets offering a choice of texts depending on the occasion. One of the pieces transcribed in Chapter 8, the motet *Quam dilecta: pour le St Sacrement* (Qhd #6, M1-46, M2-149, M3-94) received a new text for the feast of St Augustine (M1-142, M2-107, M3-134). That this music appears seven times in four of the manuscripts attests to its popularity.

The most important patron saints have a significant number of motets dedicated to them, particularly St Ursula, St Augustine, St Joseph, the Holy Family and the Virgin Mary. Because the most common point in the Mass for a *petit motet* was during the Eucharistic Feast, there are also many motets for the Blessed Sacrament and the Elevation.

#### 7.4 CHORUS INDICATIONS

The number of singers performing these motets may be extremely varied. About his *petit motets* for the singers at *La Maison Royale de St Cyr*, Clérambault (1733) writes, “I have made them short on purpose, because one sings three or four of them during evening services on feast days...If one finds only two people, one will perform them with two voices; if one finds four, six, or more, one can sing them in choir...with organ accompaniment. Otherwise, one can do without it...”<sup>118</sup> Thus, it was expected that small motets could include or exclude *basse continue* and could be sung by any number of vocalists.

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<sup>118</sup>Louis Nicolas Clérambault, *Six motets religieux C 58-63* (Stuttgart, Germany: Carus Verlag, 2007), Preface.

The Québec manuscripts indicate varying ensemble combinations of smaller versus larger forces. Such textural contrast is typical of the *petit motet* form. The choir parts are entitled *tous*, *toutes*, *gros choeur*, *choeur*, *Le Choeur* and *petit choeur*. All of these terms indicate group singing. The terms *seul*, (solo) and *deux* (duo) indicate the cantors in contrast with the choir singing tutti (*toutes*) within a given motet. There are indications in some of the pieces for large choir versus small choir, thus *gros choeur/coeur* versus *petit choeur/ coeur*. Various titles for two part textures exist, for example, *Premier Dessus*, or simply *dessus* for the upper voice and *Bas Dessus*, *Basse* or *dessous* for the lower part. Diversifying the forces within a given motet was clearly the practice in the convents. For those motets lacking indications, diverse ensemble and solo combinations may be applied with discernment. Some motets contain several sections, alternating florid with simple texture, or *récit* with measured song. Soloists or pairs of singers might perform the *récits* and florid segments, while the simpler writing and less *récit* -like segments work well for a choir. Depending on the work, a small ensemble versus full choir may be applied in *concertato* style. A small ensemble of six to ten singers is recommended for the tutti sections. However, a larger chamber choir can be very effective in the choruses as long as the ornamentation is limited to cadential trills. Soloists for florid segments are always recommended and here, ornaments can be applied more profusely.

Many of the pieces were performed antiphonally. The Annals describe the convents' use of antiphony. One performance practice option would be to have the organ play in antiphony to the choir, alternating verses. Earlier in this document, a situation where the singers' voices were weak motivated the convent to train a cleric specifically to assist the singers, lightening their load by having them sing in alternation with the organ (see 5.8 for more information). This technique could be appropriately applied to the Magnificat verses in the Ursuline manuscripts. Another way to

perform antiphony would have been as a divided choir, with each group alternating sections. Suggestions for this kind of practice are found in my transcription of *Deus, Deus* (8.5). Finally, it is important to remember that what appear to be solo motets were often sung in unison by the choir (refer to 5.6.3 for this information).

## 7.5 TEMPO, PITCH, NOTATION, TRANSPOSITION

Time signatures are almost always indicated simply with 2, 3, 4 or C. There are rare, occasional Cut time, 3/8 and 3/4 markings. Tempo indications and tempo changes within a motet include *gay*, *gayement*, *très vite*, *tendrement* or *lentement*, to express the general character and speed. Later motets will sometimes use the more emotive Italian tempo markings, such as *Gravement* and *Affettuoso*. Accidentals are not always accurately placed but usually correct. Fermatas are present. Because the motets are notated unusually high in the voice, they need to be transposed down to sound well.

## 7.6 ORNAMENTATION

Ornaments are indicated in a straightforward and simple fashion in the manuscripts. A cross or a loopy *e* over a note designates a trill or mordent (Figure 13).

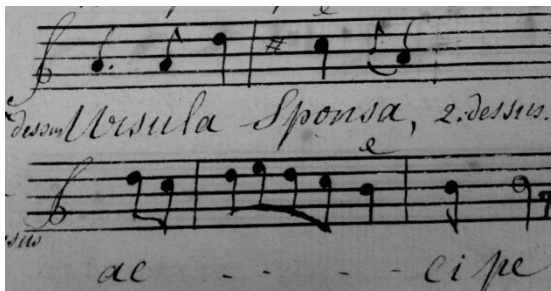


Figure 14: *O Veneranda Virginum* (M1-164)

Slurs could mean passing tones, *port de voix* trills or unequal notes. Small grace notes can indicate a *coulé*, for example, in *Memorare* (M1-153) (Figure 14).

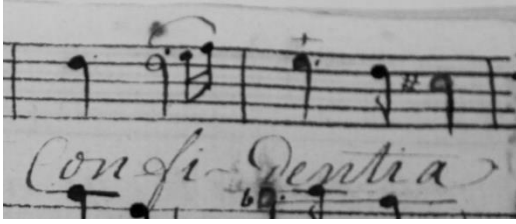


Figure 15: *Memorare* (M1-153)

A slur with a cross could mean a more complex ornament, as for example in *Memorare* (M1-152) (Figure 15).

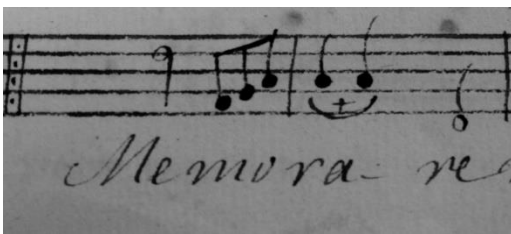


Figure 16: *Memorare* (M1-152)

French *agréments* are certainly meant to be added to these works. A discussion of the essential aspects of French Baroque ornamentation follows. Table 7.3 provides additional information in the form of a Chart of Names and Symbols.

The music of the French Baroque involved ornate figurations not all of which were notated in the scores. It was expected that the performer add his (or her) own ornaments, according to prescribed rules, and in good taste, or *le bon goût*. Ornamentation was as enthusiastically applied to sacred music as to secular. Instrumental groups applied the same ornaments as singers, although sometimes in greater profusion. Voices imitated instrumental style, and vice versa, so modelling upon Baroque instrumental ornaments is appropriate and can be inspirational. Attached scores include suggestions for optional ornaments.

Ornaments were meant to be executed in a manner appropriate to the affect of the piece being performed. Slower, gentler, less bouncy ornaments would occur in gentle pieces. Much

French music has its roots in specific dance forms, thus *agréments* meant for specific dances might apply. For example, a quick light trill would suit a Courante-type piece whereas a more languid trill might suit a Pavane-type work. *Ports de voix* would be more common in *airs tristes* than in happy songs. For this application, the source book by Michel l’Affilard<sup>119</sup> of diverse dances with both sacred and secular text choices is educational. Ornaments were viewed as flourishes. Rhythmic suppleness was required, as well as a sense that the ornamentation was being spontaneously invented.

Cadential trills are mandatory in performance of French Baroque music. A choir can perform a simple cadential trill of four notes by having the same rhythmic concept for the execution of the ornament. Choral ornamentation includes the challenge of diminished flexibility and precision for the timing of ornaments. Synchronizing group trills can be challenging when an ensemble has a variety of voice types. As well, the suppleness of French ornamentation needs to be sensed within the group manner of performance. The ornaments require pre-planning and rehearsal, then are to be executed together with elegance as though made up on the spot. The challenge to the choir may be comparable to coordinating movements within a *corps de ballet*. Alternating solos with the choir can assist in application of ornaments, as the soloist can perform the majority of the ornaments while the choir sings more simply.

## 7.7 SYNOPSIS OF IMPORTANT AGRÉMENTS

**Trills, *tremblements*, *cadences*:** Long and short trills usually begin on the upper neighbor tone. Internal trills are usually short, made up of four notes, (*tremblements*) and are quick and light. They gain added poignancy by pressing on the upper dissonant note. Longer trills called

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<sup>119</sup> Erich Schwandt, arranger and ed., *Music and dance from the court of Louis XIV: 14 dances and airs from Michel L’Affilard’s Principes très-faciles pour bien apprendre la musique (Paris, 1705)* (Victoria, B.C., 1975).

*cadences* occur at many cadence points and can delay trilling by staying on the upper tone for a long time before descending. *Cadences* may include preparations and ending turns, essentially combining several kinds of ornament into one (see Figure 15). A trill ending with a turn is called a *double cadence*.

**Upper appoggiatura, *cheute*, *accent*, and *coulement*:** Two notes comprising an upper dissonant note followed by a note of resolution. The *appoggiatura* can be quick or slow, on or off the beat, but usually on the beat. It is essentially a simplified trill and can replace the four note trill if time is short, especially by choirs. The *accent* is an upper appoggiatura which occurs before the beat. The *coulement* is two descending appoggiaturas in a row, creating a tumbling effect. The *coulement* is usually placed on the beat (accented).

***Tièrces*, *coulés* :** *Tièrces* are rising three note figures which function like appoggiaturas (see Figure 14). They can be performed on the beat, before the beat or even something rhythmically in between. The performer must decide in each situation how to execute the *tièrce*. The same issue arises with the *port de voix*.

**Lower appoggiatura, *port de voix*, *cheute*:** The *port de voix* is usually approached from below, stepwise, supplying a dissonant note held on the beat, then resolving just like a lower appoggiatura, and indeed the terms can be interchangeable. But the *port de voix* almost always should also include a repetition of the two notes (making it a four note figure). In this instance, the *port de voix* may also be termed *cheute*. The *port de voix* can be pressed in the voice for serious affect or it may be light and quick. While *ports de voix* are usually approached stepwise, they can also leap upward from thirds, fourths and fifths. *Ports de voix* can even glide chromatically upward for a different effect, as in the example below (Figure 16).

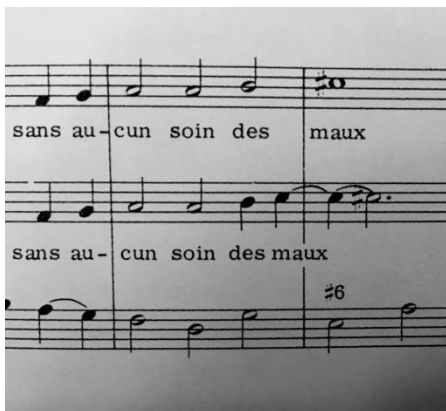


Figure 17: from Bacilly, *Remarques Curieuses*, p. 161<sup>120</sup>

**Mordent, *pincé*, *pincement*:** a quick three note trill, which starts on the written note, going up (regular mordent) or down (inverted mordent). It serves primarily a rhythmic function. It is light and fluttery or emphatic. There is also a longer version called the *doublé*, not to be confused with the turn.

**Turn, *doubles*:** these involve several notes which turn around the central pitch. They can be inverted.

**Passagework, *passages*, *diminutions*, *roulements*, *broderie*, *roulades*, *tirade*):**

*Diminutions* or *passages* can gracefully fill in the intervals of group of notated pitches. The note values and intervals are filled with quicker notes of varying rhythmic lengths, like ornate twirls, rather than having all be rhythmically equal. They can rhythmically limp or be accented. They can include turning, speeding some notes faster than others. They regularly gather energy towards the end of the phrase. *Diminutions* are not usually supplied during the first verse of the air, as Bacilly points out that, “The less one uses *passages* in the first verse of a

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<sup>120</sup> Bénigne De Bacilly (ca. 1625-1690), *A Commentary upon the Art of Proper Singing; Musical Theorists in Translation*, v.7, trans. Austin Caswell (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Institute of Mediæval Music, 1968), 81.

song, the better, since this obstructs the clarity of the melody.”<sup>121</sup> Bacilly goes on to say that, “The greatest and most useful ornament of the vocal art is that technique commonly called *diminution*, which is primarily used in the second verses of airs.”<sup>122</sup>

**Notes inégales:** This is a performance practice especially prevalent in French Baroque music, where notes with equal time values are performed with unequal durations, usually as alternating long and short. This limping effect was considered graceful. *Notes inégales* was rarely indicated in a score. Bacilly points out his thoughts as to why that would be, saying that “if this interpretation were written out in dotted rhythms, the probable result would be that the singer would perform them in the jerky or jumping style typical of the old Gigue. This style of vocal interpretation is no longer acceptable.”<sup>123</sup> It was expected that the performer would choose when to elegantly add in the limping effect. The character of the song would determine the degree of inequality. Bacilly points out that, “it is necessary to interpret this dotted rhythm as delicately and subtly as possible so that it doesn’t seem overdone.”<sup>124</sup>

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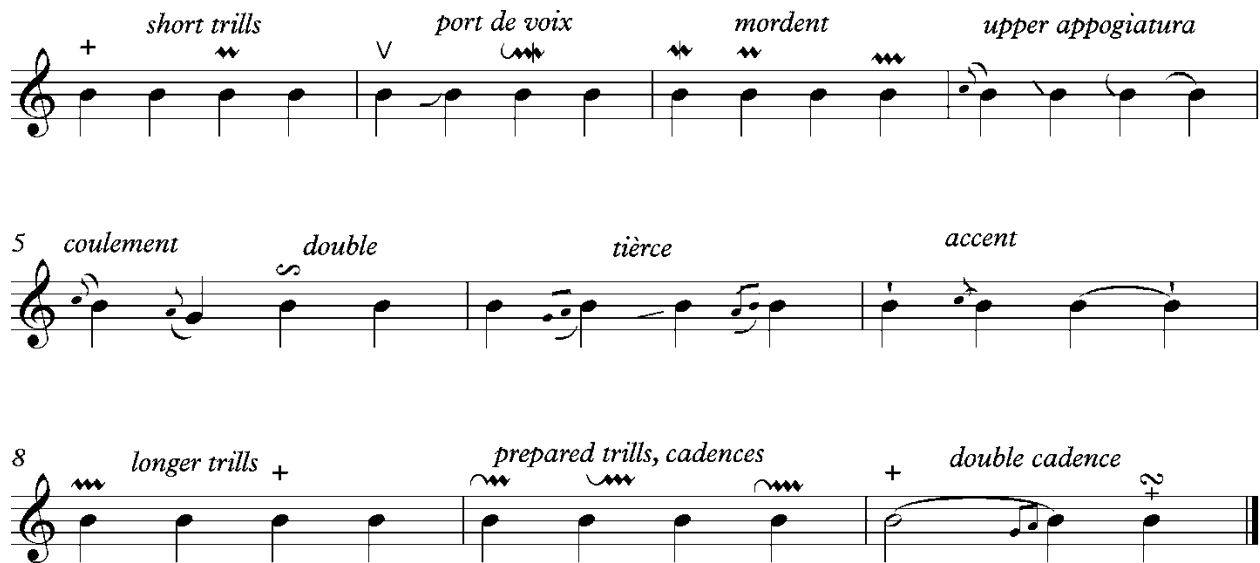
<sup>121</sup> Bénigne De Bacilly (ca. 1625-1690), *A Commentary upon the Art of Proper Singing; Musical Theorists in Translation*, v.7, trans. Austin Caswell (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Institute of Mediæval Music, 1968), 110?.

<sup>122</sup> Bénigne De Bacilly (ca. 1625-1690), *A Commentary upon the Art of Proper Singing; Musical Theorists in Translation*, v.7, trans. Austin Caswell (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Institute of Mediæval Music, 1968), 90?

<sup>123</sup> Bénigne De Bacilly (ca. 1625-1690), *A Commentary upon the Art of Proper Singing; Musical Theorists in Translation*, v.7, trans. Austin Caswell (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Institute of Mediæval Music, 1968), 118.

<sup>124</sup> Bénigne De Bacilly (ca. 1625-1690), *A Commentary upon the Art of Proper Singing; Musical Theorists in Translation*, v.7, trans. Austin Caswell (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Institute of Mediæval Music, 1968), 118.

Table 7.3. Common Ornament Names and Symbols



### 7.8 CLEFS AND VOICING APPELLATIONS

Clefs used were the treble, soprano, alto, tenor and bass clefs. Most of the New France motets are notated in treble clef. The choice of clefs was interchangeable: in one version, a motet might be written in the tenor clef, in another, the treble. The tenor clefs were evidently intended to be sung an octave higher. The lower of the two voices is frequently demarked by a bass clef, and at times is found written above the treble line (Figure 17).



Figure 18: *O Cor Domini* (M1-233)

The use of bass clef for the lower female vocal line generates questions. Many times, the lower voice is called *Basse* or indicated simply with a letter B. This gives rise to the question of whether this bass part was played or sung. It could have been played by a gambist, such as the nun Mère St Joseph (Figure 18).

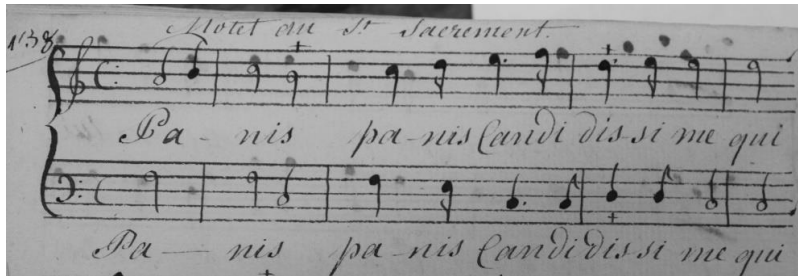


Figure 19: *Panis candidissime* (M1-138)

The rare appearance of soprano or alto clef seems linked to adaptation of works by other composers. For example, the two part imitative *Tota pulchra es* (M1- 69), in soprano clef, is a work by Campra. The two part *Jesu Deus Magne Pastor* (M1-76), in alto clefs, is possibly a 1736 work by Destouches.<sup>125</sup> Bass clef is employed for the three and four part pieces, for example, in *Magnus Dominus*, M1-178.

## 7.9 ADDITION OF BASSE CONTINUE AND OBBLIGATO INSTRUMENTS

While there is no evidence that instruments were added to the New France motets, they would certainly have been a musical asset. French *petits motets* would commonly have included figured bass, even in religious music. If accompaniment had been available, it would have been supplied to the great enrichment of the music and worship. In the French tradition they emulated, the New France works may also have included instrumental preludes and doublings in order to add to the solemnity of important occasions. Since organs, violins, serpents and viols gradually

<sup>125</sup>Erich Schwandt, "The Motet in New France: some 17th and 18<sup>th</sup> Century Manuscripts in Québec," *Fontes Artis Musicae* 28, no.3 (July-September 1981):207-208.

arrived to Québec for use in the church, it would be appropriate to add them to the musical texture of many of these motets. Bacilly states that instruments are necessary. He writes, “Accompaniment or union of voices and instruments as it is practiced in choral concerts and choir....is absolutely necessary in order to perform the works properly.”<sup>126</sup> Schwandt definitively states that the motets are “all satisfactory as unaccompanied melodies.”<sup>127</sup> I do not concur with this conservative approach to their performance. While many of the works contained in this diverse collection are successful as unaccompanied melodies, others are not reasonably performable without a bass. While circumstances may have caused the nuns to perform these works *a cappella* much of the time, the pieces for important occasions would have included instruments when resources permitted. When exploring the viability of adding bass to the motets it becomes evident that most of the pieces benefit greatly from the addition of a bass line. With the more harmonically complex motets, the bass elucidates and enriches the harmonic motion. The bass line also adds color, rhythmic support and musical direction. There is no great advantage to adding bass to the most harmonically simple songs except to enrich the sonority. Thus, only those examples which clearly benefit from *basso continuo* have bass lines generated for them.

It is possible that instrumental parts once existed. In France at this time, instrumental parts were typically printed separately from the vocal parts. In Québec, repeated fires at the monasteries caused great losses, including books; indeed, the motet manuscripts are likely copies of (now lost) earlier originals. Several motets have several bars of rests at the beginning of or in

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<sup>126</sup> Bénigne De Bacilly (ca. 1625-1690), *A Commentary upon the Art of Proper Singing; Musical Theorists in Translation*, v.7, trans. Austin Caswell (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Institute of Mediæval Music, 1968), 11.

<sup>127</sup> Erich Schwandt, *The Motet in New France II: 25 Motets, Hymns, and Antiphons from the Archives of the Ursulines and the Archives of the Hôtel-Dieu of Québec* (Victoria, British Columbia: Éditions Jeu, 1994), 27.

the middle of the piece. Surely the nuns did not stand around silent for nine bars in the middle of this motet, for example (Figure 19):

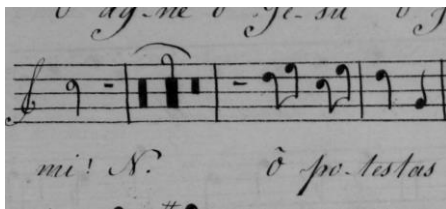


Figure 20: *O Jesu Deus magne* (M1-76)

The rests during the opening bars of these motets would indicate an instrumental prelude, now lost (Figures 19 and 20).



Figure 21: *Quem ad modum* (M3-10)

Finally, this tantalizing sentence (Figure 21, below) on the second page of the motet *Memorare* (M1-151) clearly states that a bass part exists and is located after the “table,” likely the Table of Contents. Translated, the sentence states that “The bass is after the Table on the last page.”<sup>128</sup> Unfortunately, this manuscript’s Table of Contents is lost.

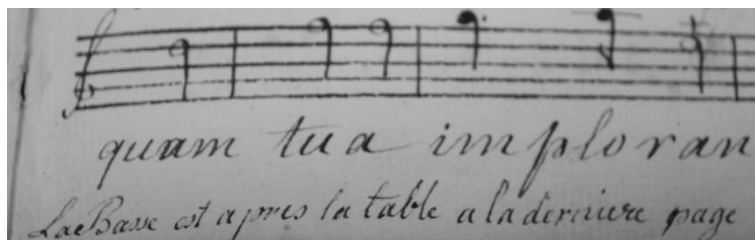


Figure 22: *Memorare* (M1-151)

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<sup>128</sup> “La Basse est apres la table a la derniere page”

## Chapter 8. TRANSCRIPTIONS

### 8.1 *INTRODUCTION*

Research was accomplished in September and October of 2017 at both the Hôtel-Dieu and the Ursuline Archives. The following transcriptions are drawn from personal study of the pieces in all the manuscripts. I have transcribed fourteen works. While there are many pieces for solo voices in the manuscripts, I have selected pieces which specifically indicate choral performance, or which include choral segments. I have also sought to transcribe stylistically diverse pieces from all the collections. Seven motets are drawn from the newly unearthed M3 and Folio collections. I have selected seven motets from sources which are also found in the Schwandt publications. To these, I have added interpretive elements to make performable versions.

Descriptions of the selected works are coupled with the creation of interpretive transcriptions. Where appropriate, several motets are provided with a newly generated bass and/or instrumental preludes or interludes. My intention is to reconstruct from an historically informed perspective the way the motets might have been performed.

Table 8.4. Outline of Description Entry

Title, Source and Location of Work:
Genre:
Text and Performance Intention:
Form: sometimes a form is suggested.
Key: Original and if transposed
Ensemble Indications in Score: Original or Editorial
Continuo: yes or no, if present, created by Elizabeth MacIsaac
Description: additional notes about the piece
Translation:

8.2 *APPARUERUNT CAELESTIS: MOTET À STE URSULE (C QUR CANTIQUES SPIRITUELS XXV)*

Genre: Single line motet

Text and performance intention: Non-scriptural. Paraliturgical spiritual text. For the Feast of St Ursula. May have been used as a processional or a *cantique*.

Key: Originally C major, transposed down to G major.

Ensemble indications: Original to autograph. The words *deux* and *toutes* define the roles of duo soloists and the choir.

Continuo added: yes

Description: Word painting appears on words like *descendentis* (descended) when the line tumbles downward, especially if ornamented. Figuration occurs on words like *gaudia* (joys), *modulatur vocibus* (tuneful voices) and *deliciae* (delight). Otherwise, this is a devotional and simply set *cantique* sung to their patron saint in call/response form. Because it is in 4/4 time it could also function as a processional on their patroness saint's feast day. I have added a violin prelude and reprise based on the song material. I have added appropriate ornaments. *Dal segno* is original to manuscript.

Translation: And lo! There were celestial spirits descending from heaven to earth, who with tuneful voices bade Ursula revel in the joys of paradise: "Come Lady Ursula, for the delights of heaven await thee."

### 8.3 AVE CAELI PORTA: MOTET À LA SAINTE VIÈRGE (C QUR M1-225, M2-75, M3-20, FOLIO 1)

Genre: Two part motet

Text and performance intention: Non-liturgical text. A *petit motet* to be sung at Magnificat or in private devotions or any time when praising the Virgin. The simplicity of the piece might suggest that it could have been learned by rote by Aboriginal students.

Form: ABA suggested

Key: Original key: A minor

Ensemble indications: Editorial, not indicated in the autograph. I recommend a choral refrain with the verse sung by a soloist, thus have added (*toutes*) and (*voix seule*) for this purpose.

Continuo added: Yes. Generated from the lower vocal part in section A and composed as a new line for section B.

Description: This motet shows how the second voice often functions exactly as though it was an upward octave transposition of a bass line, a common technical convention for convent choirs in Europe. The *ossia* bass provided is simply a duplicate of the second voice an octave lower. However, the verse does not have a second voice, so a bass line has been generated. One performance suggestion is to perform the first section in triplets and the second section in duples. Note the shift of tempo for the verse and the return to original tempo for the repeat of the first section. I have added appropriate ornaments. Consider *notes inégales* in the solo section.

Translation: Hail, O portal of heaven; hail O singular Virgin; hail O star of the sea.

### 8.4 AVE JOSEPH GRATIA PLENA: MOTET À L'HONNEUR DE ST JOSEPH (C QUR CANTIQUES SPIRITUELS XXIII-XXIV)

Genre: Two part figural motet.

Text and performance intention: Feast of the Holy Family. For St Joseph who was the patron saint of the colony of Québec. The text parodies the Annunciation text, using the same words but changing them to the male gender. "Blessed art thou among men and blessed is the fruit of thy spouse's womb...."

Form: through-composed with one Refrain-like repeat.

Key: Original key G minor, transposed down to E minor.

Ensemble indications: Original markings in the autograph *toutes* (all) and *deux* (two) indicate choir and duo singers.

Continuo added: Yes

Description: The motet is missing the first phrase. Schwandt has composed a fine reconstruction of what it may have sounded like. This is a harmonically venturesome, elaborate motet which benefits from the addition of a bass line. It fills in all kinds of gaps, harmonic and rhythmic and keeps the *tutti* parts together. The shift between choir and soloists is frequent. I have added appropriate ornaments.

Translation: Hail, Joseph, full of grace, the Lord is with thee. Blessed art thou among men, and blessed is the fruit of thy spouse's womb, Jesus. Holy Joseph, husband of the Virgin

Mary, and Foster Father of Jesus, pray for us thy servants, and keep thy family under thy continuous presence.

8.5 *DEUS QUI POPULO TUO: MOTET POUR ST AUGUSTIN (C QUR CANTIQUES SPIRITUELS XXX)*

Genre: Single line motet, antiphon

Text and performance intention: Collect for the Feast of St Augustine.

Form: ABA suggested

Key: Originally F major, transposed down to C major.

Ensemble indications: Original to the autograph: *petit coeur* (small choir), *gros coeur* (large choir), *toutes* (all) and *deux* (two cantors).

Description: This motet was meant to be sung antiphonally. There is diversity within this small motet. The bass line adds rhythmic stability and harmonic comprehension to melodic twists. Editorial ornaments have not been added because here the ornaments are from the manuscript. More ornamentation was expected to be added. Ensemble suggestions are editorial.

Translation: O God, who didst give unto Thy people blessed Augustine to be a minister of eternal salvation: grant, we beseech Thee, that we may be worthy to have as an intercessor in heaven him, whom we have had as teacher of life on earth.

8.6 *DOMINE SALVUM FAC REGEM (I): POUR LE ROY (C QUR FOLIO 1)*

Genre: Motet for the King

Text and performance intention: *Domine, salvum fac regem* was sung for the King of France at the end of every liturgy in the Chapel Royal.

Form: ABA

Key: Originally C major, transposed down to A major.

Continuo added: Yes

Ensemble indications: Original to the autograph: *Dessus* and *Basse*.

Description: Tempo indications of *gay* for the chorus, and *lentement* for the verse. The *Basse* is texted but serves well as the basis for a continuo line, indeed an added *basse continue* lends grandeur. Additional instruments are suggested. The tempo markings and ornaments are original to the autograph. More ornaments may be added.

Translation: Lord, save our King and hear us in the day in which we shall call upon Thee.

8.7 *DOMINE SALVUM FAC REGEM (II): POUR LE ROY (C QUR FOLIO 1)*

Genre: Motet for the King

Text and performance intention: *Domine, salvum fac regem* was sung for the King of France at the end of every liturgy in the Chapel Royal.

Form: AB, possibly with repeat of A but not indicated

Key: Original key: A minor

Continuo added: No

Ensemble indications: Original to the autograph: *Dessus* and *Basse*.

Description: The *basse* is texted but serves well as the basis for a *basse continue* line. I suggest adding viol. There are no tempo shifts in this version as there are with the major key *Domine*. The ornaments are original to the autograph, but more may be added.

Translation: Lord, save our King and hear us in the day in which we shall call upon Thee.

### 8.8 *FIDELIS SERVUS: MOTET À ST JOSEPH (C QUR FOLIO 2)*

Genre: Two part motet, anthem

Text and performance intention: for the Feast of St Joseph, March 19th, the Proper Office of the Saints, Lesson VI.

Form: ABACA or ABC (editorial suggestion)

Key: Original key: B flat major, but the correct key signature is lacking in the autograph

Ensemble indications: Original to autograph: *choeur* (chorus) with *Premier desus* and *2e desus* (first and second cantor).

Description: A motet in praise of St Joseph, the melodic line is trumpet-like, like a herald. The motet benefits from the addition of *basse continue*. Addition of *obbligato* instruments playing the prelude and doubling on the refrain would be effective. The ornaments are original to the autograph, but more may be added.

Translation: He was a wise and faithful servant, whom his Lord appointed to be the comfort of His own Mother, the keeper of His own Body and the only and trusty helper in the Eternal Councils.

### 8.9 *O FILII ET FILIA : (C QHD #11)*

Genre: Three part hymn

Text and performance intention: traditional Easter hymn

Form: AAA

Key: Original key: A minor

Original Ensemble indications: none other than bass clef and two treble clefs. This motet works well in a two part choral texture with bass accompaniment.

Description: *Basse continue* has been added by turning the sung bass into a continuo part. This is a homophonic setting with no ornaments in the original. Ornaments should be added. The harmonies are traditional. This motet was written in score form in the autograph. Many more verses would have been sung than Verse 1 which is set here.

Translation: only the first verse is set: O sons and daughters, the celestial King, glorious King has risen today, Alleluia.

### 8.10 *PRUDENTES VIRGINES: MOTET EN L'HONNEUR DE STE URSULE: (C QUR FOLIO 4 AND M3-151)*

Genre: Two part motet

Text and performance intention: a setting of Matthew 25:6 in honor of the Ursuline patron saint, St Ursula.

Form: ABA' (editorial suggestion)

Key: Originally A minor, transposed down to F # minor

Ensemble indications: There are no original ensemble indications. Consider doing *tutti*, or alternately, leave the verses to solo singers.

Description: There are many original ornaments and filigree work which benefit from the underpinning of a *basse continue* part, which has been added, as well as an instrumental opening. Extra ornaments are added to the instrumental sections, but the choral ornaments are original to the autograph.

Translation: Wise virgins, trim your lamps. Behold the bridegroom cometh, go ye out to meet him. - Matthew 25:6

8.11 *QUAM DILECTA: MOTET POUR LE ST SACREMENT (C QHD #6, C QUR M1-46, M2-149, M3-94)/AUGUSTINE: AUGUSTIN DOCTEUR OPTIME (C QUR M1-142, M2-107, M3-94)*

Genre: Two part figural motet, soprano and alto with choir

Text and performance intention: This motet has two sets of lyrics, for use at different feasts.

Providing alternate texts to suit different occasions was common. The motet is to be sung for the Feasts of Corpus Christi or Saint Augustine, both very important saints' feasts in New France. The Feast of St Augustine was significant for the Hospitaller nuns who were Augustinians.

Form: ABACA

Key: Original key: G major

Ensemble indications: Original to autograph: *tous* (tutti) on the Refrain, and *à deux* (duo) for the Verses.

Continuo added: Yes

Description: Addition of *notes inégales* to many of the eighth notes in this motet would add grace. The ornaments are mine. The complexity of the harmonic language of this motet was one of the deciding factors in adding the *basse continue*. The verses, in particular, wander off to new tonal centers and a bass underpinning helps to elucidate what is really going on harmonically. Without a bass support, there is a lack of intention and focus to this motet. The setting of Psalm 84 begins with a graceful choral *Pastourelle* in G major, painting the mood of *Quam dilecta tabernacula tua Domine virtutum*. (How lovely is Thy dwelling place O Lord of hosts). Adding a bass drone was effective over the *Pastourelle*, giving it the feel of a *Musette* or bagpipe drone. Section B moves to E minor, then to B minor, and the paired voices have many accidentals. The music droops in a descending run of almost an octave on the word *deficit* (fainteth). Section C returns to G major, with much sustaining of the dominant while the upper voice leaps about on the word *exultaverunt* (rejoice), including a florid and virtuosic run of triplets. Here a leaping octave bass is also possible. M2-149 is incomplete.

Translation: Text 1: How lovely are thy tabernacles, O Lord of hosts! My soul longeth and fainteth for the courts of the Lord. My heart and my flesh have rejoiced in the living God. – Psalm 84.

Text 2: O Augustine, best of Doctors, and the glory and light of Christ's church. After great sorrow you have won the joy of heaven, and rule in the Lord. Pray to Christ for us that we might rejoice in the living God.

8.12 *QUEM VIDISTIS PASTORES: MOTET POUR NOËL (QHD #7, C QUR M1-93, M3-153)*

Genre: Single line figural motet. Christmas anthem. Elaborate, basically a sacred mini-cantata.

Italian and French influences including a *Musette*, or *Bergerette*.

Text and performance intention: setting of the text to the office of Matins for Christmas Day.

Form: ABCB. Each section has a sub-structure and different character. Section A is a *récit*.

Section B is a dance, and Section C is antiphon-like.

Key: Originally G minor, transposed up to A minor for playing at 415 pitch

Ensemble indications: Editorial. Most of this is so intricate that it would have been sung by soloists. The *Natus est hodie* would work beautifully sung by the chorus and suggestions for this are made in the score.

Continuo added: Yes

Description: The Burney Ensemble made this into a sacred cantata in 2002, with violin, flute, harpsichord, viola da gamba and voice. A Prelude is made from the vocal line and, as a rhetorically questioning line it has the rhythmic freedom of a *récit*. The tempo changes for the dancing B section, and the violin doubles the voice. *Roulades* on *collaudantes* (praising) lengthen with each of six repetitions. Section C stabilizes all of this dancing with a bass drone and square, solemn rhythms in a proclamation of Christ's birth. The motet ends with a return to the dance. All ornaments and choral suggestions are editorial.

Translation: Tell us, shepherds, whom have you seen? Tell us, who has appeared upon earth?

We have seen a newborn babe, and choirs of Angels praising God together.

Proclaim what you have seen and announce the birth of Christ. -office of Matins, Christmas Day.

8.13 *SUB TUUM PRAESIDIUM: ANTIENNE À LA VIÈRGE (C QUR CANTIQUES SPIRITUELS VIII-IX)*

Genre: antienne

Text and performance intention: This antienne had many uses in French services. It was sung during the benediction of the Blessed Sacrament. Also, it was sung during the Nunc Dimitis of Compline of the office of the Virgin, for Feast of the Assumption and during Litanies to the Virgin. It was used as a catechism sung devotionally by the students. Charpentier wrote a setting of this text for use by the Jesuits, in the late 1600's.

Form: through-composed

Key: Originally F major, transposed down to D major

Ensemble indications: Original to the autograph: *petit choeur* and *gros choeur* indicate small and large choirs. There are no soloists.

Continuo added: No

Description: Evidence of this piece's appropriateness for use as a processional is seen in its regular length, short phrases, melodic shape (rising fifths like calling out), syllabic setting, and swaying 4/4 time. The music did not seem to require *basse continue* as its harmonic language is simple and clear throughout. The ornamentation suggestions are editorial. The setting bears melodic elements found in the original chant, which is very ancient.

Translation: We fly to thy protection, O holy Mother of God; despise not our petitions in our necessities, but ever deliver us from all dangers, O glorious and blessed Virgin.

8.14 *VENI SANCTE SPIRITUS: MOTET POUR LE JOUR DE LA PENTECOTE (M1-10, M2-86, M3-179)*

Genre: Single line figural motet.

Text and Performance intention: hymn and antiphon for Pentecost. As it is for a high feast, it is elaborate.

Form: ABACA, with meter changes for one of the verses

Key: Originally A minor, transposed down to G minor

Continuo added: Yes

Ensemble indications: Editorial

Description: Ensemble indications are mine, not from in the manuscript. This performance edition has the choir sing the refrain and puts soloists on the verses. This intricate motet shifts between triple and duple metre. The solo *récit* in m. 39 benefits by a bass drone, a common technique in French chamber music. The dancing triple tempo of *Veni veni* is like an Italian *Corrente*, expressing the joy of Pentecost, the feast celebrating the descent of the Holy Spirit. This motet benefits significantly from a *basse continue* part, which supplies missing significant harmonic elements. It also offers rhythmic impulse and helps re-set the tempi at the metre shifts. *Emittet Spiritum* (Send forth thy Spirit) offers a stark moment of pleading in duple time and is followed by jubilant figuration on *creabuntur* (fresh creation) and *renovabis* (renew). Ornamentation and performance suggestions are editorial.

Translation: Come Holy Spirit fill the hearts of your faithful and kindle in them the fire of your love. Send forth thy Spirit and there will be fresh creation, Thou wilt repeople the earth.

8.15 *VENITE AD MEUM OMNES: MOTET POUR LA FETE DE LA STE MADELEINE/POUR LE SACREMENT (C QUR FOLIO 2, FOLIO 3)*

Genre: Two part motet

Text and performance intention: Meant for use in multiple circumstances. The texts are from the Gospels of Matthew and Luke." The setting of Matthew 11:28, "Come unto me, all you that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest," suggests that this motet would be sung on All Saints Day. However, the setting of Luke 5:32, "I have not come to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance," is linked to Ste Madeleine's Feast Day.

Form: AB, with possible repeat of A

Key: Originally G minor, transposed down to F # minor

Continuo added: Yes

Ensemble indications: Original to autograph: *2 voix, toutes, à deux dessus, 1<sup>er</sup> dessus, 2<sup>ème</sup> dessus*. These markings indicate choral performance with two solo cantors

Description: Lyrical, Andante tempo, additional ornamentation required. There are meter changes from duple to *alla breve* 3 /4. With the ornamentation and the meandering melodic lines this might be better supported with an added bass part. I have added suggested figured bass and metronome markings. Additional ornaments would be expected.

Translation: Come unto me, all you that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. I have not come to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance.

## 8.16 SCORES

The following pages provide complete transcriptions of the above described motets.

# Apparuerunt caelestes spiritus: Motet à Ste Ursule

bass line and ornaments by E. MacIsaac

[Original key: C major]

mm. = 88

Ursuline Monastery of Quebec, C xxv

Transcription by Elizabeth MacIsaac

(violin)

6 6      4/2      3 3      4-3

6      +      +      *deux*

Ap- pa - ru-e -

6      6/5      6

11      *toutes*      +

runt cae-le - stes spi - ri - tus, ap - pa - ru-e - runt cae-le-stes spi - ri - tus

6      4/2      6      6

15      +      +      *deux*      +

de coe-lo de-scen-den - tes, de coe-lo de-scen-den-tes in ter - rum, qui Ur-su-lam,

6

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2

19

qui Ur-su-lam ad pa-ra - di-si gau-di-a, ad pa-ra-di-si gau-di - a, mo-du-la-tis

6 6

23

vo - ci-bus, mo-du-la-tus vo - ci-bus in vi - ta - bant: Ve - ni, ve - ni, *deux*

6 6 - 5 4 - 3 6

27

ve-ni do-mi-na, *toutes* ve-ni, ve - ni, ve-ni do - mi-na, ve-ni, ve-ni do - mi-na,

6 6 6 6

32

qui a te ex-pec - tant cae-li de-li - ci-ae, cae - li de-li - ci-ae, cae-li de - li - ci-ae.

6 # #

36

Ve-ni, ve - ni , ve-ni do-mi-na, qui a te ex-pec - tant cae-li de - li - ci-ae, de-

7 6 6 6 6 6

41 *(back to bar 26)*

li - ci-ae. *(Reprise: violin)*

6 4 2 6

46

6 6

# Ave caeli porta: Motet à la Ste Vierge

bass line and ornamentation by E. MacIsaac

Ursuline Monastery of Quebec, M1-225, M2-75, M3-20, Folio 1

Transcription by Elizabeth MacIsaac

m. = 60  
(toutes)

A - ve, a - ve, cae - li por - ta, a - ve, a - ve, cae - li por - ta, a - ve, vir - go, vir - go  
(in Triplets)

(Ossia bass)

4

sin - gu - la - ris, a - ve vir - go, vir - go sin - gu - la - ris.

m. = 88  
plus vite

7 (voix seule)

Recit.

A - ve, a - ve, a - ve, a - ve, a - ve stel - la ma - ris, a - ve, a - ve, a - ve, a - ve, a - ve stel - la ma - ris.  
(in Duple rhythm)

DA CAPO

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2

*a tempo*  
(toutes)

12

A - ve, a - ve, cae - li por - ta, a - ve, a - ve, cae - li por - ta, a - ve, vir - go, vir - go  
(in Triplets)

15

sin - gu - la - ris, a - ve vir - go, vir - go sin - gu - la - ris.

18 Organ reprise

18 Organ reprise

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# Ave Joseph gratia plena: (Motet à l'honneur de Saint Joseph)

bars 9,12,15,24,26 ornaments from manuscript  
 bass line and additional ornaments by E. MacIsaac

Ursuline Monastery of Quebec, C xxiii-xxiv

Transcription by Elizabeth MacIsaac

First 5 bars reconstructed by Erich Schwandt

[Original key: G minor]

A - ve, a ve\_ Jo seph,gra-ti-a ple - na Do mi nus\_ te cum. be ne dic tus tu in ho - mi ni - bus, tu  
 be ne dic tus tu in ho - mi ni - bus, tu

6 6 6 6 # 6 6 6 # # # 6  
 3 5

in ho-mi-ni-bus, tu in-ho-mi-ni- bus, et\_ be-ne dic-tus fruc-tus ven-tris spon-sae tu-ae Je- sus. fruc-tus  
 in ho-mi-ni-bus, tu in-ho-mi-ni- bus, fruc-tus

6 6 # 6 6 6

ven-tris spon-sae tu-ae Je - sus, tu - a Je - sus. San - ctae Jo-seph, san - ctae, san-ctae Jo-seph,  
 ven-tris spon-sae tu-ae Je - sus, tu - a Je - sus. San - ctae Jo-seph, san - ctae, san-ctae Jo-seph,

# 6 # # 6 3  
 4

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21

*toutes* *deux*

spou-se Ma-ri-ae Vir-gi-nis, spou-se Ma-ri-ae Vir-gi-nis Mar-ri-ae Vir-gi-nis, et Pa-

spou-se Ma-ri-ae Vir-gi-nis, et Pa-

4 # 6 # #

26

*toutes*

ter nu-tri-ti-ae Je-su et Pa-ter nu-tri-ti-ae Je-su: O-ra pro no-bis

ter nu-tri-ti-ae Je-su et Pa-ter nu-tri-ti-ae Je-su:

# 6 # # #

31

*deux* *toutes* *deux*

fa-mu-la-bus tu-is, o-ra pro no-bis fa-mu-la-bus tu-is, tu-am que fa-mi-li-am, tu-am que fa-

o-ra pro no-bis fa-mu-la-bus tu-is, tu-am que fa-

#

38

*(toutes)* *deux*

mi-li-am con-ti-nu-a, con-ti-nu-a pro-te-cti-o-ne cus-to-di.

mi-li-am con-ti-nu-a pro-te-cti-o-ne cus-to-di.

# # 6 # 4 #

# Deus qui populo tuo: Motet de St Augustin

Bracketed ornaments are editorial, otherwise are manuscript indications

[Original key: F major]

bass line by E MacIsaac

Ursuline Monastery of Quebec, C xxx

Transcription by Elizabeth MacIsaac

De - us, De - us, De - us qui po - pu - lo tu -  
 (1st time: organ and/or viol)  
 (2nd time: petit coeur)

o ae - ter - na sa - lu - tis Be - a - tum Au - gus - ti - num, Au - gus tin -

num mi - ni - strum tri - bu - i - sti. De - us, De - us, De - us qui po - pu - lo

tu - o ae - ter - na sa - lu - tis, ae - ter - na sa - lu - tis Be - a - tum

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2

22

Au-gu sti-num, Be - a-tum Au-gu-sti-num, Be-a-tum Au-gu-sti-num mi-ni-strum, mi

26

ni-strum, mi - ni-strum tri-bu-i - sti. Prae-sta que-su-mus, prae - sta,

31

prae-sta que-su-mus ut quem doc-to-rum ha - bu - i - mus, ha - bu - i - mus in\_

35

ter - - ris ris, in - ter - ces - so - rem, in - ter - ces - so - rem,

40

in-ter-ces so - rem ha-be-re me-re-a - mur in cae - lis. Prae - sta,

46

prae-sta que-su-mus prae - sta prae-sta que-su-mus ut quem doc-to -

6 5 3 6 # 6

50

rem, ut quem doc - to - rem et pa - trem, ut quem doc-to - rem et pa - trem

6 6

54

ut quem doc to - rem, Doc to - - - - rem et pa - trem

6 3 3 3

58

ha - bu - i-mus in - ter - ris, in - ter-ces - so - rem in - ter-ces-so - rem ha -

# 6 6 # #

4

63

be-re me-re-a - mur in coe - lis. ut quem doc-to-rem, ut quem doc-to-rem et Pa - trem,

68

et Pa - - - - trem ha - bu - i- mus in - ter-ris ris,

73 *on repeat: instruments only*

in - ter-ces-so - rem ha - be - re in - ter-ces-so - rem ha - be - re,

77

ha - be - - - - re me - re-a - mur in Cae - lis.

# Domine salvum fac Regem I: Pour le Roy

bass line by EM, tempi and ornaments from manuscript

Ursuline Monastery of Quebec, Folio 1

[Original key: C major]

Transcription by Elizabeth MacIsaac

The musical score is written for three parts: Dessus (Soprano), Basse (Alto), and Bass Viol (Bass). The key signature is three sharps (F#, C#, G#), and the time signature is 3/4. The score is divided into four systems, each with a measure number at the beginning (7, 10, 15). The lyrics are written below the vocal staves. Performance instructions include 'gay' and 'lentement' above the notes, and '(inegale)' and '(+)' above specific notes. The bass line includes a fingering sequence '7 4 - 3' at the end of the fourth system.

**Dessus**  
*gay* Do - mi - ne Do - mi - ne sal - vum fac Re - gem *lentement* et ex au - di nos ex -

**Basse**  
au - di nos in Di - - - e qua in vo -

**Bass Viol**

7 *(inegale)* *(+)*

10 *(+)* *gay* ca - ve - ri - mus te. Do - mi - ne Do - mi - ne sal - vum fac

15 Re - gem sal - vum fac Re - gem.

7 4 - 3

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# Domine salvum fac Regem II: Pour le Roy

*ornaments from manuscript*

Ursuline Monastery of Quebec, Folio 1

[Original key]

Transcription by Elizabeth MacIsaac

*Dessus*

Do - mi - ne, Do - mi - ne Sal - vum fac Re - gem et ex - au - di nos, et ex -

*Basse*

Do - mi - ne, Do - mi - ne Sal - vum fac Re - gem et ex - au - di nos, et ex -

9

1

au - di nos, et ex - au - di nos, et ex - au -

au - di nos, et ex - au - di nos, et ex - au -

1. I have taken this bar down a 3rd

13

- di nos in di - e qua in - vo - ca - ve - ri - mus te.

- di nos in di - e qua in - vo - ca - ve - ri - mus te.

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# Fidelis servus: Motet à St Joseph

bass line created by E. MacIsaac

ornaments and markings from manuscript

(key sig not in manuscript)

Ursuline Monastery of Quebec, Folio 2

Transcription by Elizabeth MacIsaac

choeur (Fine)

Fi - de - lis, fi - de - lis ser - vus et pru - dens

(Refrain)

Fi - de - lis, fi - de - lis ser - vus et pru - dens

6

6 (Verse 1)

quem con - sti - tu - it Do - mi - nus Su - a ma - tris so

6 6 6 b 6 4 2

10 (Ref.)

ca - ri - um, Tu - a car - nis nu - tri - ti um

6 6 b 6 4 2 6

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15 (Verse 2)  
Premier desus

Et So - lum in ter - ris mag - ni Con - si - li -

2e desus

Et So - lum in ter - ris mag - ni Con - si - li -

18 (b) (Da Capo)

i Co ad - ju - ro - rem fi - de - lis - si - mum.

i Co ad - ju - ro - rem fi - de - lis - si - mum.

6

1: should be an a not a g

# O Filii et filiae

*bass line and articulations are from manuscript*

Hôtel-Dieu Monastery of Quebec, Qhd #11

Transcription by Elizabeth MacIsaac

SOPRANO 1  
O Fi - li - i et fi - li - ae, Rex Cae - les tis, — Rex glo - ri - ae, mor

SOPRANO 2  
O Fi - li - i et fi - li - ae, Rex Cae - les tis, — Rex glo - ri - ae, mor

Bass Viol

6 6 #  
4 4

5  
te sur - rex - it ho - di - e, al - le - lu - ia. al -

te sur - rex - it ho - di - e, al - le - lu - ia. al -

6 6 6 # #

9  
le - lu - ia al - le - lu - ia al - le - lu - ia.

le - lu - ia al - le - lu - ia al - le - lu - ia.

6 # 6 6 # # 6 #

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# Prudentes virgines: Motet en l'honneur de Ste Ursule

Choir ornaments from manuscript

bass part and violin ornaments created by E. MacIsaac

Ursuline Monastery of Quebec, Folio 4 and M3-151

Transcription by Elizabeth MacIsaac

[Original key: A minor]

*Prelude: violins*

6 6 # #

7

Pru-den-tes vir-gi-nes, ap-ta tes ves-tras Lam-pa-des, ap-ta te ves-tras Lam-pa-des.

6 6 6 # #

13

Ec-ce spon-sas, ve - nit E - xi-te, E - xi-te ob-vi-am e - - i

Ec-ce spon-sas, ve - nit E - xi-te, E - xi-te ob-vi-am e - - i

6 4 6

1. autograph has e, I have edited to g

18

Pru-den-tes vir-gi-nes, ap-ta tes ves-tras Lam - pa-des, ap - ta - -

6 6 #

23

-te, ap - ta - - te ves-tras Lam - - - pa - des.

27

*violins reprise*

32

-te, ap - ta - - te ves-tras Lam - - - pa - des.

# Quam dilecta: au St Sacrement

## Augustine: à St Augustin

bass line and ornamentation by E. MacIsaac

Original key

m. = 132

Hôtel-Dieu Qhd #6, Ursuline M1-46/142 , M2-149/107, M3-94

Transcription by Elizabeth MacIsaac

(Refrain) *(toutes)*

Quam di - lec ta, quam di - lec ta ta-ber-na cu la tu - a Do-mi ne vir tu tum, quam di - lec-ta  
 Au-gus - ti-ne, Doc-tor. op-ti me, et Ec-cle-si-aeChri sti glo-ri-a et lu men. Au - gus - ti-ne,

12

ta-ber-na-cu-la tu - a Do mi ne vir-tu- tum! quam di - lec-ta ta ber-na-cu-la tu - a Do mi ne  
 O Ec - cle-si-aeChri sti glo-ri-a et lu-men. Au - gus - ti-ne O Ec - cle-si-a Chri - sti glo-ri - a

24

(V.1)  
*(à deux)*

vir-tu - tum! Con-cu - pi-scit et de - fi-cit de - fi-cit a - ni-ma me - a in  
 et lu - men. Me-ru - i - sti lae - ti - ti-as cae - les - tes post fle-tus ma - gnos, et

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34

a - tri - a Do - mi - ni, in a - tri - a, in a - tri - a Do - mi - ni, in a -  
re - gnas in Do - mi - no, et re - gnas, et re - gnas in Do - mi - no, et re -

43

(to Ref.) (V.2) (#)  
(à deux)

- tri - a, in a - tri - a Do - mi - ni. Cor me - um, et ca - ro me - a ex sul - ta -  
- gnas, et re - gnas in Do - mi - no. Pre - ca - re pro no - bis Chri - stum, ut ex - sul -

53

V

- ve - runt, ex - sul - ta - ve - runt in De - um vi - vum, ex - sul - ta - ve -  
- te - mus, ut ex - sul - te - mus in De - um vi - vum, ut ex - sul - te -

61

(to Ref.)

- runt in De um. vi - vum, ex - sul - ta - ve - runt, ex - sul - ta - ve - runt in De - um vi - vum.  
- mus in De um. vi - vum, ut ex - sul - te - mus, ut ex - sul - te - mus in De - um vi - vum.

6 5  
4 3

# Quem vidistis pastores: Motet pour Noël

Bass line created by Bui Petersen

chorus indications and ornamentation by E. MacIsaac

1<sup>st</sup> time: flute a cappella

2<sup>nd</sup> time: solo voice and bass

Hôtel-Dieu Monastery of Quebec, Qhd #7

Ursuline Monastery of Quebec, M1-93, M3-153

(Rècit) Quem vi-dis - tis pas - to - res \_\_\_\_\_ Quem vi - dis - tis, pas-to - res?



5 di - ci - te, an-nun - ti - a - te \_\_\_\_\_ no - bis, in ter - ris quis ap - pa - ru - it? in



8 ter-ris quis ap - pa - ru - it - ? Quem vi - dis - tis pas - to - res? di - ci - te, an - nun - ti - a - te.



12 \_\_\_\_\_ no - bis, in ter - ris quis ap - pa - ru - it? di - cit - te, an - nun - ti - a - te no - bis, in



16 ter-ris quis ap - pa - ru - it? in ter - ris, in ter - ris quis ap - pa - ru - it? Na - tum

*deux voix*



21

vi - di-mus, et cho-ros an - ge - lo-rum, col-lau - dan

26

*petit choeur*

- tes Do - mi num. Na-tum vi - di-mus et cho-ros an - ge - lo-rum, col-lau-

31

*gros choeur*

dan - - - - - tes Do - mi-num. Na-tum vi - di-mus et

36

cho-ros an - ge - lo-rum, col-lau - dan - - - - - tes, col-lau - dan -

41

*deux voix*

- - - - - tes Do - mi num. Na tum vi - di-mus, et cho-ros an - ge

46

*gros choeur*

lo-rum col-lau - dan - - - - - tes Do - mi num. Na-tum

51

vi - di-mus, et cho-ros an - ge - lo-rum col-lau - dan - - -

56

- - - - - tes Do - mi-num, col-lau - dan -

61

- - - - - tes, col-lau - dan - -

65

- tes, Do - mi-num. Na - tus est no - bis, ho - di - e Sal - va -

71

tor, na - tus - est no - bis, ho - di - e Sal - va - tor, Qui est Chris-tus Do - mi

6 6 6 3

77

nus, in ci - vi - ta - te Da - vid. Na - tus est no - bis, ho - di - e Sal - va -

83 *voix seule*

tor, na - tus est no - bis, ho - di - e Sal - va - tor, Qui - est Chris - tus Do - mi

89 *tous*

nus, in ci - vi - ta - te Da - vid. Na - tus est no - bis, ho - di -

94 *dal segno*

e Sal - va - tor, na - tus est no - bis, ho - di - e Sal - va - tor.

# Sub tuum praesidium: Antienne à la Sainte Vierge

ornaments in 15, 23, 24 are from the manuscript  
all other ornaments are editorial

Ursuline Monastery of Quebec, C viii-ix  
Transcription by Elizabeth MacIsaac

[Original key: F major]

*petit coeur*

Sub tu-um prae - si - di-um con - fu - gi-mus, san - cta de - i ge - ni-trix,

6

sub tu-um prae - si - di-um con - fu - gi-mus, san - cta de - i ge - ni-trix, san -

12

cta de - i ge - ni-trix. no - stras de - pre-ca-ti-o - nes ne de-spi - ci-

17

as in ne-ces - si - ta - ti- bus, in ne-ces - si - ta - ti- bus:

21

*petit coeur* *gros choeur*

Sed a pe-ri - cu - lis cun-ctis li-be - ra nos sem-per, sed a pe-ri - cu - lis cun - ctis

26

*petit coeur*

li - be - ra nos sem - per, li - be - ra nos sem - - - per, Vir -

30

*gros choeur*

-go glo-ri - o - sa et be-ne-di - cta, Vir - go glo-ri - o - sa, glo-ri - o -

35

- sa et be - ne - di - cta Vir - go glo - ri - o - sa et

39

be-ne-di - cta Vir - go glo-ri - o - sa et be - ne - di - cta.

1. manuscript has natural sign but is incorrect

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# Veni Sancte Spiritus : Motet pour le jour de la Pentecôte

bass line, ornamentation and performance suggestions by E. MacIsaac

[Original key: A minor]

Ursuline Monastery of Quebec, M1-10, M2-86, M3-179

Transcription by Elizabeth MacIsaac

m. = 112

(toutes)

Ve ni, ve - ni San-cte Spi-ri-tus, re - ple - tu - o - rum, cor - da fi - de - li - um,

6 6 6 6 6 # #

9

Ve ni, ve - ni San-cte Spi-ri-tus, re - ple - tu - o - rum, cor - da fi - de - li - um

6 6 6 6 6 # 6 # #

(voix seule)

et tu - i - a - mo - ris in e - is i - gnem ac - cen - de

6 4 6

23

(toutes)

Ve ni, ve - ni San-cte Spi-ri-tus, re - ple - tu - o - rum, cor - da fi - de - li - um,

6 6 6 6 6 # #

31

Ve ni, ve - ni San-cte Spi-ri-tus, re - ple - tu - o - rum, cor - da fi - de - li - um

6 6 6 6 6 # 6 # #

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2  
39 (voix seule)

E-mit - te. e-mit-te Spi - ri-tum tu - um, et cre - a - bun - tur, cre-a-

6 6 6 # 6 # #

bun - - tur, et cre - a - bun - tur, et re-no - va - -

(h) 6 6 b5 6

- - bis, et re-no - va - - bis fa-ci-em ter - rae.

6 6 4 # 6 4 6 6 6 # #

Ve ni, - ve - ni San-cte Spi-ri-tus, re - ple - tu - o - rum, cor - da fi-de-li - um,

6 6 6 6 6 # #

Ve ni, - ve - ni San-cte Spi-ri-tus, re - ple - tu - o - rum, cor - da fi-de - li - um

6 6 6 6 6 # 6 # #

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# Motet pour le St Sacrement/pour la fête de la Ste Madeleine

## Venite ad me omnes

*bass and tempi are EM*

*ornaments and markings are from manuscript*

Ursuline Monastery of Quebec, Folio 2 and Folio 3

quarter note = 69

Transcription by Elizabeth MacIsaac

2 voix toutes

Ve - ni - te, ve - ni - te\_\_\_ ad me om - nes, Ve - ni - te, ve - ni

3 2 3 # 6

5 2 voix

- te\_\_\_ ad me om - - - nes. qui la-bo - ra -

6 # b 6 6 # 6 (minor)

10

- ris Et o-ner-a - - tis Es - tis et E - go, e - go

b6 - 5 6 5 6 #

15 toutes (b)

re\_\_\_ fi - ci-am vos, Et E - go, e - go re\_\_\_ fi - ci-am vos.

5 - 6 # 3 - 4 # # 6 6 6 #

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quarter note = 104  
à deux dessus

20 *premier dessus*

Non e-nim ve-ni vo-ca-re jus-tos, Sed pec-ca-to-res.

21 *2eme dessus*

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28 *half note = 69*

Ad pe-ni-ten-ti - am, pe-ni ten - ti-am, ad pe-ni - ten - ti-am.

Ad pe-ni-ten ti-am, ad pe - ni-ten - ti-am.

*tasto*

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## Chapter 9. CONCLUSION

The core intention of this study has been to bring the *petits motets* of the Québec Ursuline and Hôtel-Dieu monasteries out of obscurity and to reveal their value as exquisite French Baroque works written especially for female voices. Travel to Québec allowed me to examine in person the available sources at the Ursuline and Hôtel-Dieu Archives. This hands-on work made it possible to make a full inventory of their figural music holdings, which were more extensive than previously known. An unknown repository of approximately forty more motets has been brought to light. An up-to-date Inventory of Musical Items has been generated.

Explorations during this study have included:

- 1) Placing the motets into their social and historical context: a time of great upheaval, change and new directions amid the clashing of kings, the fascinating Age of Discovery, the Old World's impact upon the New World and the glittering *Grand Siècle*.
- 2) Considering aspects of the emancipation of women within the fabric of religious institutions and how that impacted the lives and the music of the religious women on the frontier.
- 3) Glimpsing into the lives of the people of New France, especially the Ursuline nuns, and learning of their challenges, successes and failures.
- 4) Garnering an overview and understanding of the musical styles originating in France which directly influenced the composition and performance of the *petit motets* of New France.
- 5) Placing the music into its liturgical, pedagogical and occasional functions, helping us understand the manner in which it would have been performed.

- 6) Discovering ways to effectively and authentically perform this music with today's musical ensembles.
- 7) Sourcing and transcribing several motets directly from the manuscripts for performance purposes.
- 8) Unearthing a hitherto unknown manuscript and fragments and adding more than forty new pieces to the known New France motet repertoire.
- 9) The aspiration that performance groups, women's and children's choirs, Baroque ensembles, church choirs and anyone interested in the choral music of the New World will discover this music for themselves.

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C Qur M2: Motets as critically examined by Erich Schwandt

C Qur M3: New appellation, as discovered and critically examined by Elizabeth MacIsaac

C Qur Folios 1,2,3,4: New appellation as discovered and critically examined by Elizabeth MacIsaac

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APPENDIX A: INVENTORY OF MUSICAL ITEMS

148

Unica or not	Hotel Dieu: Qhd	Ursuline Cantiques Spirituels: C	Ursuline: M1	Ursuline: M2	Ursuline: M3	Ursuline: Folio #	Incipit text	Schwandt Ref. #	Schwandt Edition	Motet Title	Voicing and Comments
U		xxxv i					Adoramus te Christe	54	SI:22	Pour la Ste Croix à deux pour Père Déconnerd	2 part 1ère dessus, 2è dessus
			13	77	13		Adoro te	58		Au St Sacrement	1 voix
U				56			Adoro te devote	129			no 2nd part. Diff from Adorote M2-77
U	#3						Afferte Domino	117		Autre	Treble clef
					217		Agnus Dei	142			
U		xxv					Aparuerunt caelestes	39	SI:24	Motet à Ste Ursule	deux, toutes
			142	107	134		Augustine Doctor optime	81	SI:14-15	(Pour St Augustin)	2 voix contrafactum of Quam dilecta
U						3	Augustine tolle lege	158		Autre	
			225	75	20	1	Ave ave caeli porta	98	SI:6	Motet à la Ste Vierge	2 part, 1 line of it is in F 1
U		xxiii					Ave Joseph...Benedictus	37	SII:10	Motet à St Joseph	basse, 2è dessus, deux, toutes
U						T 11	Ave mater filia à 1	163		T11 C950 No.3	on loose sheet, no date. Was scrap paper
U		xi					Ave Regina caelorum	24		Antienne à la Ste Vierge	
U						T 11	Ave verum (not the same as M2)	160		T11 C970 No. 1	thread bound little booklet
U				200			Ave verum corpus	114		Motet au St Sacrement	2 part
U		xi					Beata mater	23	SII:4	Autre antienne à la Ste Vierge	
			53	133	165		Beata, beata Dei	63	SI:4-5	Motet à la Ste Vierge	multi-mvmt w/ meter shifts
U	#2						Benedicam	116		Autre	
U		xxiii					Benedictus in hominibus	37	SII:10	Motet à St Joseph	Probably began "Ave

Unica or not	Hotel Dieu: Qhd	Ursuline Cantiques Spirituels: C	Ursuline: M1	Ursuline: M2	Ursuline: M3	Ursuline: Folio #	Incipit text	Schwandt Ref. #	Schwandt Edition	Motet Title	Voicing and Comments
											Joseph"
U		y					Benissez le seigneur	5		Noël	SSB, 3 parts
	#1		63	221	16		Cantate Domino canticum	65		Pour le St Sacrement	French tempi are replaced with Italian
	#1		63	221	16		Cantate Domino canticum	115		Pour le St Sacrement	mis-numbered by ES
			244	188	31		Cantemus (incomplete)	105		Campra Motet à 2 voix pour un St or une Ste	
U		y					Celebrez la fete glorieuse	1		Sung to Publiez les exploits nouveaux	French contrafactum cantique
		y					chant	8		ES designation	
		y					chant	9		ES designation	
					220		Chantons, louons	143		Pour l'Élévation du St Sacrement	
U		y					Christe audi nos	7		Litanie de la Vierge	SATB
U	#5						Conservame Domine	119		Autre pour tous temps de l'annèe	Alto clef, Italian tempi added later
			35	38	118		Cor divinum	61	SII:20-21	Pour le Sacre Coeur et pour le St Sacrement	2 part, French tempo indices
U					204		Credo	140			
U					189		Deus Cordis	134		Autre	square notation
			67	13	60		Deus Deus meus	66		le St Sacrement	
U		xxx					Deus qui populo tuo	43		Motet de St Augustin	petit choeur, gros choeur, deux, toutes
U						1	Domine a 2 major key	144		Pour le Roy	
U						1	Domine a 2 minor key	145		Pour le Roy	
			253	197	61		Dominus virtutum	106		Motet au St Sacrement	
			212	54	6		Ecce panis angelorum	93		Au St Sacrement	
U		xii					Ecce puer meusquem	25			

Unica or not	Hotel Dieu: Qhd	Ursuline Cantiques Spirituels: C	Ursuline: M1	Ursuline: M2	Ursuline: M3	Ursuline: Folio #	Incipit text	Schwandt Ref. #	Schwandt Edition	Motet Title	Voicing and Comments
							elegi				
U						2	Ecce Sponsus	146		Motet à la Ste Vierge	incomplete Unica
U						2	Ego sum panis	147		Motet au St Sacrement	
U						2	Ego sum panis (autre)	149		Motet du St Sacrement	p. 68 diff from p. 52 in same Folio
				129	176		Elegit eum/eam Deus	112		Motet à la Ste Vierge / Pour un St or une Ste	
			81	15			Exaltabo te Domine	69		Autre pour le St Sacrement by Lalande	
U					99		Exulta verunt à 2	131		St Sacrement	deux voix
			180		174		Exultent superi à 1	86	SII:14	Pour St Joseph	Also in M3-174 in A minor, 1 voice
U		xxxv					Exultet omnium	53		Motet à St. Ursule	fragment
U						2	Exultet omnium	148		Pour St. Ursule	incomplete top line
U			259				Exultet superi	111		Autre motet pour St Joseph	
			259		81		Exultet superi a 2	108	SII:15	Autre motet pour St Joseph	259 missing top line
		xxxii i					fauxbourdon formulae	50			
		xxxii i					fauxbourdon formulae	51			
U		xxiv					Fidelis servus et prudens	38	SII:12	Autre Motet à St Joseph	deux, toutes
U						2	Fidelis servus et prudens	150		Motet à St Joseph	à deux Unica. Not same as #38
U		y					fragment	6		Te deum	clef is something between alto and tenor
U		xxv					Gaudete in caelis	40		Motet des Sts Martirs	deux, toutes
			169	45	37		Gaudetes gentes et exultate	84	SI:13	Au St Sacrement	

Unica or not	Hotel Dieu: Qhd	Ursuline Cantiques Spirituels: C	Ursuline: M1	Ursuline: M2	Ursuline: M3	Ursuline: Folio #	Incipit text	Schwandt Ref. #	Schwandt Edition	Motet Title	Voicing and Comments
U					199		Gloria	139			
U		ii					Gloria	14	SII:23	Noël	
U					193		Haec est preclarum	137		Antienne En l'Honneur de la Ste Vièrge	Square notation
U		xxix					Hodie Christus natus est	42	SI:18-19	Pour la naissance de notre Seigneur	1ère dessus, bas dessus, deux ensemble
	#4		83	17			In Domino gaudebo	70		Pour le St Sacrement	
	#4						In Domino gaudebo	118		Autre motet au St Sacrement	similar to #70 but not the same
		xxx					incipits	44			
		xxxi					incipits	45			
		xxxi					incipits	46			
		xxxi					incipits	47			
		xxxii					incipits	48			SATB
		xxxii					incipits	49			
U						T11	instrumental part, probably violin	165		Untitled	thread bound little booklet
U		vi					Iste est quie arte Deum	19		Motet de St Augustin	à deux voix, le chœur
U						T11	Je mets ma confiance	161		T11 C970 No. 1	thread bound little booklet
U		xx					Joseph fili David	36	SI:13	fragment of Motet en Honneur de St Joseph	
U					192		Joseph Germinabit	136		St Joseph	
			182	220			Joseph vir Mariae	87	SII:9	Autre pour St Joseph	
U					197		Kyrie	138			
U		vi					Laetare, laetare mater Jerusalem	18			

Unica or not	Hotel Dieu: Qhd	Ursuline Cantiques Spirituels: C	Ursuline: M1	Ursuline: M2	Ursuline: M3	Ursuline: Folio #	Incipit text	Schwandt Ref. #	Schwandt Edition	Motet Title	Voicing and Comments
			203	159	70		Laetentur caeli à 2	92		Motet pour Noël	2 pt. French tempi, diff from 88
			184	217	163		Laetentur caeli exultet à 1	88	SII:24	Pour Noël	
	#13		100				Magnificat	73		Le Magnificat verses 1,4,7,10 only	
		xiii				3	Magnificat	26	SI:20-21	Cantique Magnificat	F 4 incomplete
							Magnificat	127		(Le Magnificat)	
U		xvi					Magnificat anima mea	29		Magnificat à 2 tons	
U		xvi					Magnificat anima mea	30		Autre encore à 2 tons	
			190	169	139		Magnus Dominus à 2	90		Motet à St Augustin	2 pt, Italian tempo indices
			170		159		Magnus Dominus à 4	85		Motet pour Noël	103 has contrafactum
			107	69	125	1	Martyrum laudes	74		Pour les martyrs	2 pt, French tempi, F1 partial
U			267				Memorare à 1	110		Motet pour la Ste Vierge	
			150	115,18 5	49		Memorare à 2	82		Motet à la St Vierge	2 voix, TWO in M2-115/185
U		xiv					Memorare piissima Virgo Maria	27		Autre Motet à la Ste Vierge	Diff. from other Memorares
			123	34	64	1	Misericordias Domine	78		Pour le St Sacrement	2 part, French tempi
U		ix					Mulier amicta sole	21		(Motet à la Ste Vierge)	
U		y					Ne craignze rien	4		Parody of Ballard	
			232		184		Nos cum beatis	33	SI:25	Pour demander la Bn. De la Ste Famille	There are 2 on the same page
		xviii	232		184		Nos cum beatis	33	SI:25	Pour demander la Bn de la Sainte Famille	
		xvii	232		184		Nos cum prole	32	SI:25	Pour demander la Bn de la Sainte Famille	deux, toutes. Not the same as in F 3
			229		184	2	Nos cum prole pia (a)	100	SII:26	Pour demander la Bn à la Ste	le choeur, à deux voix

Unica or not	Hotel Dieu: Qhd	Ursuline Cantiques Spirituels: C	Ursuline: M1	Ursuline: M2	Ursuline: M3	Ursuline: Folio #	Incipit text	Schwandt Ref. #	Schwandt Edition	Motet Title	Voicing and Comments
										Vièrge	
			230		185	2	Nos cum prole pia (b)	101	SII:26	Pour demander la B with different melody	
			231		186		Nos cum prole pia à 2 (c)	102	SII:26	Pour demander la B with different melody	à deux voix
			233	142	113		O cor Domini	103		Motet pour le Sacre Coeur	contrafactum of #85
U			1				O douce nuit, o nuit charmante	55		Cantiques en deux parties pour Noël	deux parties
U	#11						O fili et filiae, Rex	125			3 parts SSB
			187		172		O gloriosa, gloriosa Domina	89	SII:6	Motet à la Ste Vièrge	
			76	25	7		O Jesu Deus magne pastor bone	68		Au St Sacrement	
U					187		O Jesu magne Pater	132		Motet 6eme ton SQUARE	
			115	62	54		O Joseph, O Joseph sponsas virgo	76	SII:11	Pour St Joseph	French tempo indices
U		y					O l'heureuse nuitée	2		Noël au Petit Emanuel	
U						T 11	O Passio/DeusPater/Ante Thronum	166		T11 C950 No. 6	folio, not sure if one or 3 motets
U		iv					O quam suavis est Domine	15	SII:16-19	Motet du St Sacrement	
				198	69		O sacramentum (page not numbered)	113		Motet au St Sacrement a 1	
U					190		O Sacrum	135			different from in F 3
U						2	O Sacrum Convivium	151		Motet au St Sacrement	
			6	82	28		O salutaris hostia	56		Motet au St Sacrement	each verse of hymn is new mvmt.
			264	214			O salutaris hostia	109		Hymne au St Sacrement sur 5 ton	In square notation

Unica or not	Hotel Dieu: Qhd	Ursuline Cantiques Spirituels: C	Ursuline: M1	Ursuline: M2	Ursuline: M3	Ursuline: Folio #	Incipit text	Schwandt Ref. #	Schwandt Edition	Motet Title	Voicing and Comments
U						2	O salutaris hostia	152		Motet au St Sacrement	diff from the others
	#12		239		181		O triumphantis Jerusalem	104		Motet au St Sacrement	
	#12		239				O triumphantis Jesrusalem (ornate)	126		(Motet au St Sacrement)	ornamented version of 104
			157	121	145		O veneranda virginum	83		Motet à Ste Ursule	2 part
U						3	Omni di memorera	157		Pour le sacre Coeur de Jesus	on p. 3 and 4
U			60				Ornate aras, ornate	64		Pour le St Sacrement	
U		iv					Pane suavissimo	16		no title but Motet of St Sacrement	
			254	205	23		Panis angelicus	107		Motet pour le St Sacrement	French tempo indices
U						2	Panis angelicus	153		Motet au St Sacrement a 3 parties	missing basse has most of 2ème dessus
			138	30	62		Panis Panis	80		Motet au (pour le) St Sacrement	2 part
U		y					Paratum	10		Campra motet	
			221	79	18	1	Paratum, paratum, cor meum	97	SII:19	Motet au St Sacrement	French tempi, fragment in F 1
U		xvi					Per tuam sanctam virgini	31	SII:25	Motet en l'honneur de l'Immaculée Conception	deux, toutes
		y					Pourquoy beaute	3		3. Contrafactum of Campra	
		xxvi			151	3	Prudentes Virgines	41		Motet en l'honneur de Ste Ursule	Incomplete in (C)
U		xxxiv					Quae es ista	52		Motet pour l'Assumption	à deux but missing 1 part
U						4	Quae es ista on scrap paper	167		Motet à la Vièrge	Not the same as the other one
	#6		46	149	94		Quam dilecta	62	SI:14-15	Pour le St Sacrement also 120 in ES	2 part Contrafactum of #81
	#6		46	149	94		Quam dilecta	120	SI:14-15	Pour le St Sacrement	
			216	91			Quam dilecta tabernacula	95		Au St Sacrement	2 part, different from #62

Unica or not	Hotel Dieu: Qhd	Ursuline Cantiques Spirituels: C	Ursuline: M1	Ursuline: M2	Ursuline: M3	Ursuline: Folio #	Incipit text	Schwandt Ref. #	Schwandt Edition	Motet Title	Voicing and Comments
U		xix					Quam felices Christi parentes	35	SII:8-9	Motet en Honneur de St Joseph	deux, toutes
			120	72	47		Quam pulchra es	77		À la Ste Vierge	2 part
			128	155	129		Quam pulchri sunt gressus	79		À la Ste Vierge	2 part
			199	157	10		Quem ad modum desiderat	SI:12-9113		Motet à voix seule au St Sacrement	
	#7		93		153		Quem vidistis pastores	121	SI:6-7	Pour Noël	
							Quem vidistis pastores	72		ES lists this twice. See 121 below	
U	#8						Qui non diligit fragment	122			part of a Brossard motet
	#9		16	1	86		Regina caeli	59		(Antienne à la Vierge)	2 part
	#9		16	1	86		Regina caeli	123		(Antienne à la Vierge)	
U	#14						Regina Caeli	128		by Charpentier	M5 instrumental parts
U		xv					Regina caeli laetare	28		Autre encore a la Ste Vierge	
U						T 11	Salut Ste Marie	162		Cantique T11 C950 No. 1	
			113	67	30	1	Sancta, Sancta et immaculata	75		À la Ste Vierge	
U					216		Sanctus	141			
U		viii					Sub tuum praesidium	20	SII:3	Motet à la Ste Vierge	petit choeur, gros choeur
			227		170		Surge surge surge	99		(Autre à la Ste Vierge)	
			214		112		Surrexit, surrexit, surrexit, Pastor	94		Pour le temps Pasch	
U		i					Tantum ergo	11	SII:18-19	no title	gros choeur
U						T 11	Tantum ergo	159		T11 C970 No. 1	thread bound little booklet
U		xviii					Te Christum Deum	34	SI:26	La Benediction du St Enfant Jesus	le choeur

Unica or not	Hotel Dieu: Qhd	Ursuline Cantiques Spirituels: C	Ursuline: M1	Ursuline: M2	Ursuline: M3	Ursuline: Folio #	Incipit text	Schwandt Ref. #	Schwandt Edition	Motet Title	Voicing and Comments
							laudamus				
			69	47	39		Tota pulchra es	67		Campra Motet à la Ste Vierge à 2 voix	
U		ii					Tota pulchra es	12	SII:5	Motet à la Ste Vierge (ES says 13 in Inventory)	
		ii					Tota pulchra es	13		Errata: ES says 13 but should be 12	
U						2	Tota pulchra es	154		Motet à la Ste Vierge	incomplete Unica
		x	166	59	45		Tota pulchra es	22	SI:3	Motet en l'honneur de l'Immaculée Conception	Premier dessus, bas dessus, le chœur
U		v					Transtige dulcissime	17		Autre	
U						188	Tu solus fons amoris	133		Autre	square notation
						2	various fragments	156			pp.45, 61, 81, 82
U				208-213		77	Veni Sancte Spiritus	130			2 part, incomplete in M2
			10	86	179		Veni veni Sancte Spiritus	57	SI:23	Motet Pentecost	
			219			22	Veni, sponsa, veni, veni	96	SI:9	Motet à la Ste Vierge	
			26	95	104		Veni, Veni...sponsa	60		Nouveau Motet pour St Angele	Italian tempo indices
						2,3	Venite ad meum	155		Pour la fete de la Ste Madeleine	2 part in both F 3 and F 4
U						T 11	Venite adoremus a 1	164		T11 C950 No. 4	folio. Was used as scrap paper
U	#10						Verbum caro	124		Pour le jour de l'Annonciation ou dans d'autre tems	Baritone clef, otherwise same
	#10		90	88	57		Verbum caro factum est	71	SII:22	Pour le St Sacrement	

## APPENDIX B : CHRONOLOGY OF HISTORICAL EVENTS

1535 St Angela Merici founds the Company of St Ursula.

1572 St Bartholomew's Day massacre.

1589-1610 Henri IV reigns.

1608 Champlain explores the St Lawrence Seaway and founds the town of Québec.

1610-1643 Louis XIII reigns.

1611 Jesuits enter Acadia. First mission fails.

1613 Second Jesuit mission.

1618-1648 Thirty Years War.

1625 Jesuits arrive in Québec, but this third mission fails in 1629 due to British invasion.

1627 Ordinance of Richelieu: Aborigines converted to Catholicism were to be considered as "natural Frenchmen."

1629-1632 The British occupy Québec.

1632 Jesuits permitted to resume their work, this fourth mission takes hold.

1639 Augustinian and Ursuline nuns arrive to New France. First Ursuline school is built in the Lower Town of Quebec.

1641 Arrival of Jeanne Mance and Maisonneuve, founders of Montréal.

1642 Ursuline Monastery is built on the site in the Upper Town where it is still located.

1642 Montréal founded: it is a fort built as protection against Iroquois attacks.

1642-1667 War between the French settlers and the Iroquois.

1643-1715 Louis XIV reigns.

1650 New Year's Eve: Fire at the Ursuline Monastery, all is destroyed.

1658 Marguerite Bourgeoys opens a girls' school in Montréal.

1659 *Religieuses hospitalières de Saint-Joseph* (or Hospitallers of St-Joseph) come to Montréal from France to take over the work begun by Jeanne Mance.

1659 Arrival of Bishop Laval.

1663 *Fille du Roi* (“King's Daughters”) begin to arrive in Québec.

1663 The Jesuit *Grand Séminaire de Québec* is established.

1668 *Petit Séminaire* established in Québec.

1684-1698 War between the French and the Iroquois.

1686 Second fire destroys the Ursuline Monastery of Québec.

1688 St Vallier becomes Bishop of Québec.

1689-1713 almost incessant war with the British in North America.

1713 Acadia, Newfoundland and Hudson Bay are ceded to the British.

1715 Louis XV becomes king.

1727 Seven Ursuline nuns, most of them from Rouen found academy in New Orleans.

1744 War between the colonies resumes. The Canadians are at a great military disadvantage. New France has a population of 60,000 while the British colonies have more than one million people.

1754 Deportation of Acadians.

1754–1763 Seven Years War between British and French in North America.

1755 Disastrous fire at the Hôtel-Dieu.

1759 Battle of the Plains of Abraham. Decisive victory by British forces.

1763 Treaty of Paris, Britain gains the bulk of New France.

## APPENDIX C: GLOSSARY OF MUSICAL TERMS

***Air de cours:*** simply means court air. The first *airs de cours*, composed around 1570, were for solo voice with accompaniment, often derived from the ballets of the time. Soon, the *air de cours* developed into three to five part polyphonic songs. The *air de cours* returned to the form of solo song, with lute accompaniment around 1610 and became more homophonic. The *later air de cours* is a strophic syllabic song where ornamentation is varied for each verse.

***Air Spirituel*** a declamatory passionate style of solo singing. Parodies, *contrafacta* or paraphrases of known melodies, set to sacred texts. Some of this music was very simple, like the *lauda* or the *cantique* forms for group singing. Frequently in vernacular, often the melody used would be a worldly love song known to all. The intention of the parodies was to make accessible, teachable songs for conversion or sustaining of faith. The sacred equivalent to the expressive *air de cours*. These impassioned declamations have roots in Italian monody but the ornamentation is florid.

***Antiennes:*** (antiphons) are liturgical Latin songs connected to the offices or the Mass, usually connected to the psalms and responses. In the time under consideration, they could be monophonic, or polyphonic. Functioning as a refrain to the psalm, they would be sung chorally.

***Ballet de cours:*** Emerged in 1582 (Henri IV) and thrived until 1670 when Louis XIV danced for the last time. A complete *ballet de cours* includes homophonic choruses, dancers, solo *air de cours*, duets and orchestra. The *ballet de cours* contains sets of dances and many choruses (eight or so). The French *récit* form found in the *ballet de cours* is not the same as recitative, rather, it was a form of musical interlude. The *ballet de cours* would end with the King and nobility joining in the dance. *Air de cours* composers were the composers of the *ballets de cours*.

***Cantique:*** *Cantiques* are devotional, recreational songs not intended as part of a service. Often, *cantiques* were *contrafacta*. They could be in Latin, French, or other vernacular languages. At times *cantiques* were described in the sources as motets, and vice versa, so terminology can be confusing, seemingly interchangeable in source writings. This may be because of function on a given occasion, for example, a Latin motet sung outside in the forest could be called a *cantique*. At the time when the Ursulines came to New France, the composition of songs and more specifically composing *cantiques* by nuns was common practice.

***Concerts Spirituels*** (1725-1786) A large scale concert series which was founded in France meant to occur during religious holidays like Lent and Advent when operas and other secular musical events were frowned upon. Major venues were closed. About twenty-four concerts a year were held. The soloists came from the Opera, and the best orchestral players were hired. It existed for sixty-six seasons but was beset by financial difficulties. It seems that they performed behind a curtain.

***Contrafactum, contrafacta*** (pl.): Also known as parody. Familiar or popular melodies with a new text supplied, in this application, religious words in Latin or vernacular replace familiar secular texts. *Contrafactum* techniques which were based more and more on plain chant

melodies. They used as their texts the native languages, leading to the birth of the practice of plainsong in the vernacular in the second half of the sixteenth century.

**Hymn:** usually a song in the Divine Office, metrical, strophic, syllabic, typically Four lines per strophe. Last strophe usually includes the doxology. Examples are *Conditor alme* (Advent), *O filii* (Easter) *Vexilla Regis* (Holy Week), *Veni Sancte Spiritus* (Pentecost) *Pange Lingua or O Salutaris* (Fete Dieu). Semantic confusion makes establishing exact definitions of motet, cantique and hymn challenging. The choice of language for chant was sometimes Latin, sometimes vernacular, which can make it difficult to distinguish the Gregorian hymn from the popular *cantique*.

**Lauda:** Italian form of non-liturgical religious song in the vernacular, sometimes monophonic, sometimes polyphonic. The *lauda* was often a *contrafactum* of the secular *frottola*. The *lauda* form waned in the sixteenth century with the advent of the oratorio but enjoyed a time of popularity during the Counter-Reformation.

**Motet:** This term may indicate any kind of musical composition which is in Latin. Paul-André Dubois points out that the word motet was used particularly inappropriately in New France. Dubois further states that acceptance of the term motet in the written language as referring to ‘a musical work of art with a more advanced vocabulary’ only but slowly entered the written and spoken language of seventeenth century educated people. It could designate a song in the vernacular, and not only a musical polyphonic work in Latin.”<sup>129</sup> The motet is typified in the works of Henri Du Mont, Lully, Charpentier, Lalande, and Campra. “Charpentier, in particular, was associated with the efforts of the Jesuits to ensure that music would be religious in inspiration and pious in character, and it is not surprising that music by this 17th-century master of church music accompanied Jesuit missionaries to Canada.”

### **Musique figurée**

Many of the pieces are composed in a style which is called *musique figurée*, (figured music). This is defined as any vocal music which is not plain chant, written in modern notation, as opposed to square notation or white notation. It was first created by grafting new melodies onto religious texts. Figured music is often accompanied by instruments.

**Musique mesurée** was a short-lived style of vocal music in France, utilizing *vers mesuré* techniques. Influenced the development of the *air de cours* in its use of irregular rhythmic patterns and torquing of rhythm and meter.

**Parody:** see *Contrafactum*

**Psalms** in New France were sung antiphonally or spoken responsorially.

**Récit:** Not the same as Italian recitative, the French *récit* was a nuanced, freely sung melody where the text would have a musical parallel along with it. Dramatic rhetorical expression with

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<sup>129</sup> Paul Andre Dubois, “Chant et Mission en Nouvelle-France: Espace de Rencontre des Cultures” (Québec), 505-506.

aptly expressive and supportive instrumental accompaniment was important. French *récit* was a blend of recitative and aria, but very French in its delivery and application of ornamentation. *Récits* may be for multiple voices. They may be full length arias or fragments.

*Voix de ville* or *vaux de villes*: meaning, “town voice”, are arrangements of popular secular songs, in one or more parts, often with no accompaniment or with a simply chorded lute part.

## APPENDIX D: SAMPLE IMAGES FROM THE MANUSCRIPTS

To give some idea of manuscript layout, some examples are offered below.

**Example 1:** (Figure 23) Examples of interpretive style are present in the manuscript. This example is the closing flourish of *Afferte Domino* in the Hôtel-Dieu collection. It is a contemporaneous written out example of how ornate the motets could be for the soloists. The filigree work is reminiscent of the earlier Baroque style of filling in longer notes, but it reveals some late Baroque features like Italian violinistic runs and the final expressive cadence, so it likely dates around 1730. There is also an upper instrument prelude notated below it, further evidence of instrumental use in the convents.



Figure 23: *Afferte domino*, Qhd #3

**Example 2:** (Figure 24) Drawn from Folio 2, dated approximately 1750. This is an unknown fragment of a motet in two parts for soprano and bass. The bass can serve as a bowed or sung part. The soprano is the melodic voice, taking the solo role for the *récit*. The subject of the motet is St Augustine, the “lux doctorem.”

Handwritten musical score for a motet in two parts (Soprano and Bass) with Latin lyrics. The score includes a *Recit* section and an *Ave* section. A circular stamp from "ARCHIVES QUÉBEC" is visible in the bottom right corner.

Lyrics (Soprano/Bass):

di gaudia Caduca reputans pervenit ad Celestia per  
 di gaudia Caduca reputans pervenit ad Celestia per  
 venit ad Celestia  
 venit ad Celestia  
 Recit  
 occurrite occurrite fideles occurrite fideles  
 les et Augustinum salutate Salutate  
 Ave ave Lux doctorum presulbeatissime ave de  
 Ave ave Lux doctorum presulbeatissime ave de

Figure 24: Ave lux doctorem, Folio 2

**Example 3:** (Figure 25) Erich Schwandt wrote an article discussing all the known motets written in honor of St Joseph. He thought there were only eight, but this complete motet found in Folio 2 reveals a ninth. St Joseph was named the Patron Saint of Canada in 1624. Set for two high voices, the choir would have likely sung the refrain and the soloists, the verse.

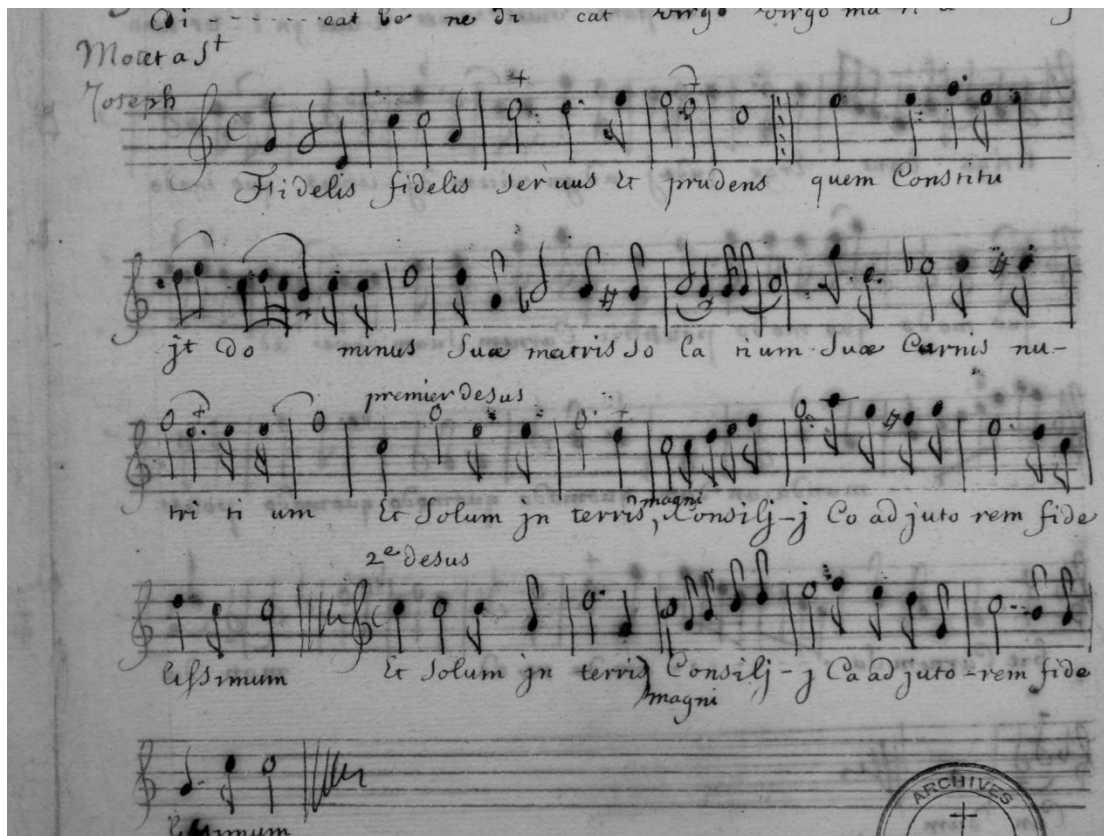


Figure 25: *Fidelis servus*, Folio 2

**Example 4:** (Figure 26) Folio 3 contains a motet in honor of St Augustine which exists nowhere else. It seems to be scored for split choir; the first choir sings two bars, then the second “autre” sings the next two bars and perhaps they continue the pattern for the whole refrain. The second line indicates that a choir sings the verse. It must then be the small choir, because at the end of the first couplet, the scribe indicates that the whole choir sings the refrain again.

*Sero te cogno ui, veritas Eber na, Sero te a maii bonitas*  
*tam no ua tam anti qua, Sero te ama ui, Augu*  
*gnis qui semper, et des, et nunquidnunquam exstingueris*  
*Accende me, ac cendeme charita Deus Chari tas De -- a. s*

Figure 26: Augustine tolle lege, Folio 3

## VITA

Elizabeth MacIsaac has directed choirs of all ages in Canada, France and the United States. She is an accomplished early music soprano, having studied medieval music under such luminaries as Barbara Thornton and Ben Bagby of Sequentia, and Baroque vocal performance practice with Stephen Stubbs, Guillemette Laurens and Julianne Baird. Elizabeth MacIsaac lived in Paris for many years, performing and teaching music. Upon her return to Canada, MacIsaac joined the faculty of the Victoria Conservatory of Music in British Columbia and co-founded the chamber group Continuum Consort. Artistic Director since 1998 of the Canadian women's choir Ensemble Laude, MacIsaac is deeply involved in local and international choral communities. She loves to nurture the joy of singing, and enjoys travelling to attend choral conferences around the world as both presenter and clinician. MacIsaac has received two distinctions from the BC Choral Federation: the Herbert Drost Award (2011) for distinguished service; and the Amy Ferguson Award (November 2017) for outstanding choral direction fostering excellence in superior vocal practice. A special focus for Elizabeth MacIsaac is the effective, meaningful performance of early music by modern choirs.