



## **“So that they may be able to live and die as good Christians”: The early history of the Nom de Jésus Hospital in Catholic Reformation Paris**

Title	“So that they may be able to live and die as good Christians”: The early history of the Nom de Jésus Hospital in Catholic Reformation Paris
Author(s)	Forrestal, Alison
Publication Date	2021-11-16
Publisher	DePaul University, Chicago, Illinois

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Winter 11-16-2021

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### Recommended Citation

Forrestal, Alison Ph.D. (2021) ““So that they may be able to live and die as good Christians”: The Early History of the Nom de Jésus Hospital in Catholic Reformation Paris”, *Vincentian Heritage Journal*: Vol. 36: Iss. 1, Article 3.

Available at: <https://via.library.depaul.edu/vhj/vol36/iss1/3>

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# “So that they may be able to live and die as good Christians”: The Early History of the Nom de Jésus Hospital in Catholic Reformation Paris

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**Alison Forrestal, Ph.D.**

## **BIO**

ALISON FORRESTAL, Ph.D., is Professor of History at the National University of Ireland, Galway (NUIG), and a Member of the Royal Irish Academy. She is a specialist in the history of early modern France and of the Catholic Church, and she has published multiple articles, monographs, and edited volumes focused in these areas. Her most recent book is *Vincent de Paul, the Lazarist Mission, and French Catholic Reform* (Oxford University Press, 2017).

## **Acknowledgements**

In preparing this article, I benefited from the help of several people and would like to extend my appreciation to them. John Rybolt, C.M., assisted me with perplexing issues of translation, and offered stimulating comments on the content of the Rule. Lâm Phan-Thanh, the archivist at the Archives of the Congregation of the Mission in Paris, the members of the archival team at the Archives of the Daughters of Charity in Paris, and Matthieu Brejon de Lavergnée, gave me samples of the handwriting of various individuals that I suspected of being involved in the writing of the document.

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***Vincent de Paul catechizing the elderly poor at the Nom de Jésus hospice. Louise de Marillac seated across from him. Detail of oil on canvas painted by Frère André; original in Church of Sainte-Marguerite, Paris. Part of the tableaux of paintings commissioned for Vincent de Paul's canonization.***

*Courtesy St. Vincent de Paul Image Archive Online*

**B**y the mid-1650s, the pressing needs of the sick and poor in Paris had rendered the Daughters of Charity indispensable to the capital's population. For over two decades, they had ventured into its parishes to offer food, nursing, and spiritual instruction to the needy, expanding their efforts to try to keep pace with the increasingly urgent challenges of widespread and growing poverty. This included working in new as well as existing institutions and caring for a wide variety of people, including abandoned and orphaned children, galley convicts, “the alienated of spirit,” and the elderly.

Of these, the Daughters' care for children is particularly well-known because of its sheer scale, its poignancy, and the abundance of documentary evidence that has survived. It has formed the basis of the scholarly research of, notably, Susan Dinan and Margaret Flinton.<sup>1</sup> Much less famous and certainly far less analyzed is the Hôpital de Nom de Jésus, where from 1653 the Daughters were the primary caregivers. This is despite the fact that the establishment is directly associated with both Louise de Marillac and Vincent de Paul, survived until at least the middle of the eighteenth century, and was considered important enough to be the subject of one of the tableaux of paintings commissioned by the Congregation of the Mission for de Paul's canonization in the 1730s.<sup>2</sup> At the same time, however, the

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1 Susan Dinan, *Women and Poor Relief in Seventeenth-Century France: The Early History of the Daughters of Charity* (Aldershot: 2006); Margaret Flinton, *Louise de Marillac: Social Aspect of Her Work* (New York: New City Press, 1992).

2 I would like to thank Dr. Simone Zurakowski for reminding me of this fact during one of our many engrossing conversations about Vincentian history.

documentary evidence for it has been until now scarce—there are hardly any references to it in de Paul’s surviving correspondence, and while they can be found more readily in de Marillac’s writings, they are often brief. More importantly, scholars have never had the Rule of Nom de Jésus to hand, meaning that the source with the greatest potential for revealing the thought processes involved in developing the institute, as well as the values, policies, and practices that characterized it, has never even been published, let alone analyzed. This article makes up for this shortfall, not only by providing a transcription and translation of the newly discovered “Rule for the Hospital of Nom de Jésus,” but also by offering a commentary on its historical context and its composition.

### **“Hospitals” in Seventeenth-Century Paris**

The provision of care for the sick and poor in seventeenth-century Paris developed on an ad-hoc basis, the result of years of private and voluntary enterprise coupled with sporadic crown initiatives in the field. This meant that it was relatively easy for the Daughters of Charity to assume a prominent role in public welfare. In the first *vie* of de Paul, Louis Abelly noted that they worked in five “hospitals” in Paris by 1660, including the Nom de Jésus.<sup>3</sup> These would not fit the modern definition of a hospital as an institute of professional medicine and health care, but the term hospital at the time was widely used to describe any institution that provided either shelter or medical care, or both, to pilgrims, the indigent, the ill, or the elderly on a short- or long-term basis. The Daughters reached out to a wide variety of people in their “hospitals,” supplementing the limited services already offered by other establishments, such as the Hospital of Mercy or La Pitié. At the time that the Daughters began to run the Nom de Jésus, La Pitié had 900 children under its roof, as well as 500 elderly women and 120 old men.<sup>4</sup> However, in 1657 the crown approved the foundation of a general hospital in Paris, and La Pitié and a number of other smaller establishments were amalgamated into one enormous institution. Although the principal purpose of the general hospital was to confine the poor forcibly, rather than to shelter and heal, it was entitled to the title of “hospital” at the time. Some existing “hospitals” however, avoided the cast of its net, including the Nom de Jésus, which continued to exist as an independent and different type of hospital. Indeed, it offered an unusual form of supported living for adults of the period: its residents were not confined against their will there; they were entitled to

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3 Louis Abelly, *La Vie du venerable servant de Dieu Vincent de Paul* (Paris: 1664), 2:349–50. The other establishments were the Hôtel-Dieu, the home for the foundlings, a hospital for galley convicts, and the Petites Maisons (which housed those “alienated of spirit”).

4 Richard Elmore, “The Origins of the Hôpital Général de Paris” (Ph.D. diss., University of Notre-Dame, 1975), 187. Other large “hospitals” included the Hospital of Charity, run by the Brothers of Charity since its foundation in 1602, and the largest hospital for the sick, the Hôtel-Dieu.



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***Hôpital Général de Paris or Salpêtrière, Paris; as seen from the river. Late seventeenth-century engraving. Collection of Science Museum Group, UK.***

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visitors and days out, as well as to a small wage in return for the craft and other handiwork that they completed. As such, in its case, the term “hospital” might be best translated as a residential home and workshop for Catholics who could not live independently because of age, infirmity, or extreme poverty.

### **The Foundation and Early Operation of *Nom de Jésus***

In 1644, Vincent de Paul spent 11,000*l* on the purchase of a large dwelling and garden on the rue du Faubourg Saint-Lazare, known as *Nom de Jésus*. He soon found that he had entered a veritable legal storm when the owner of the property (Noel Bonhomme) refused to move out, and it was only three years later that he surrendered the property to the Lazarists, as the Vincentians were then known. For some years afterward, it may have stood empty, or at least without much purpose, until four Daughters of Charity and approximately forty other people took up residence in March 1653. Shortly afterwards, de Paul purchased a smaller adjoining building and garden to add to the new venture. It was only in October, however, that the funds for its survival were formally secured: at this point, an “anonymous bourgeois of Paris” presented 100,000*l* to reimburse the purchase price of the first house, as well as pay for further building works, furniture, the residents’ upkeep, and so on. The benefactor insisted that he remain anonymous, and de Paul guarded his secret closely.<sup>5</sup> Fortunately for us, however, he also invested the money in the *cinq grosses fermes des*

<sup>5</sup> The foundation contract can be found in the Archives Nationales, France, M53, 29 October 1653. Hereinafter Archives Nationales will be cited as AN. A second copy is held in AN, S6601. The discussion here is a summary of a more extended discussion of the foundation of *Nom de Jésus* in my recent book: *Vincent de Paul, the Lazarist Mission, and French Catholic Reform* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 212–13.

*gabelles* (that is, in government bonds), and the accrued revenues left a paper trail in which the donor was named as Mathieu Vinot. He was an ordinary secretary to the queen mother, Anne of Austria, whom de Paul had most likely met while he was a member of the royal Council of Ecclesiastical Affairs/Conscience from 1643.<sup>6</sup> Such was Vinot's regard for de Paul and his endeavours that he blessed the Lazarists with the most generous donation that they ever received under de Paul's superior generalship. Furthermore, Vinot stipulated in the contract that the superior general of the Lazarists should act as the director of the new establishment in perpetuity, along with two "bourgeois."<sup>7</sup> But the terms did not mention the Daughters of Charity at all, even though four of them were already assigned to the establishment by the time they were agreed.

The original donor had a longstanding interest in the spiritual and material well-being of elderly people. In 1645, and independently of de Paul, Vinot had legally contracted to give 600*l* annually to the Incurables Hospital for the upkeep of three old men and three old women, and specified that, failing this, the money should be used to provide small houses in which they could live.<sup>8</sup> His interest in the elderly was not later apparent in the contract for Nom de Jésus, which stated simply that Vinot's donation should be used to maintain "forty poor people of either sex". Even so, it was probably what had drawn him to de Paul, for his original 1645 donation was formally subsumed into that for Nom de Jésus in 1653 and, when it opened, at least some of its residents were indeed elderly, as a result.<sup>9</sup> However, although Nom de Jésus eventually became a residence for the elderly only, it may not have begun as such, and this means that we should adjust our conventional history of it.

None of those involved in the foundation and early history of Nom de Jésus described it as a residence for the elderly,<sup>10</sup> and the Rule itself suggests that it housed young people as well as old. Throughout, the terms *filles* and *garçons* are used to describe some residents, as well as *femmes* (women) and *hommes* (men) to identify others. In early modern France, *fille* and *garçon* could designate a youngster (*fille* could also mean daughter), but could

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6 AN, S6685, "Registre," *passim*.

7 The agreement specified that these were to be chosen by the superior general and their predecessors, and the Rule reiterated this: AN, M53, 29 October 1653 (unpaginated). A number of these men can be identified in surviving documents held in AN M53, S6601, and S6114. The original two chosen by de Paul were Desbordes Godet, a royal councillor and auditor in the *chambre des comptes*, and *Le Sieur L'Obligéois*, a clothing merchant in Paris.

8 AN, M53, 6 February 1645.

9 AN, M53, "Extraict du Registre" (unpaginated).

10 The earliest reference that I have found to Nom de Jésus being a place exclusively for the elderly is in a manuscript history of it, dating from 1762 to 1787, and written by an unidentified Daughter or Lazarist. It stated that it had always been a "house for the retreat of respectable elderly": AN, S6114, "L'hôpital de Nom de Jésus" (unpaginated).





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***Vincent de Paul and Daughters at hospital.***  
***From a series of illustrations on Vincent's life***  
***published by La Bonne Presse.***

*Courtesy St. Vincent de Paul Image Archive Online*

also refer to a young adult or to an adult who had never been married.<sup>11</sup> However, at one point the Rule became more specific, when it referred to “les jeunes (young) garçons” who should follow the *hommes* into meals. While it is possible that *filles* and *garçons* were simply unmarried women and men, “jeunes garçons” must surely describe young men or boys.<sup>12</sup> Equally intriguingly, de Paul referred to children being at the establishment during the 1650s, although it is not clear if he meant that they were living there or visiting.<sup>13</sup> If they were living there, perhaps they were youngsters who had been left abandoned or orphaned after they made their way to Paris from the war-torn northeast in the early 1650s; Nom de Jésus may have offered one of the few refuges that de Paul and de Marillac could find to feed and house them, and to ensure that they received the kind of training that would later ensure their livelihoods. In any case, other sources of evidence reveal that the residents included a range of individuals at different stages of their lives, such as Anne Boynemain, the widow of a shoemaker, an old man of eighty who had been abandoned by his children, and a younger woman who was admitted in 1664 at the age of forty.<sup>14</sup>

11 “Dictionnaire de Moyen France,” CNRS & Université de Lorraine, updated 2015, <http://www.atilf.fr/dmf/>.

12 See my comments on the meaning of *garçon* and *fille* in the introduction. For ease of translation, I have rendered *garçon* and *fille* as boy and girl respectively in the translation that follows, but with the proviso that readers should be aware that their meanings in this context are uncertain.

13 Document 49, “Instruction to the Residents of the Nom-De-Jesus” [Summer 1653], in *Vincent de Paul: Correspondence, Conferences, Documents*, ed. and trans. by Jacqueline Kilar, D.C., Marie Poole, D.C., et al, vols. 1–14 (New York: New City Press, 1985–2014), 13A:174–79. Hereinafter abbreviated as *CCD*. This is an instruction that de Paul gave to the residents shortly after they moved in. He addressed the group at large as “children” (that is, children of God but not necessarily juveniles), but also explicitly referred to a child who was present, probably one of several.

14 AN, S6114, “Roolle des pauvres qui sont assistez” (unpaginated). While the average age of death was thirty-nine around this time in France, this figure is skewed by the high rate of child mortality. Many people lived well into their fifties and beyond.



The number of residents at Nom de Jésus waxed and waned after it first opened its doors to about forty entrants in 1653. Unfortunately, figures have not survived for every year of its early history thereafter, but we know that it had thirty-three in 1665, and twenty-three four years later.<sup>15</sup> It regularly received requests to take in new residents, and the reduction was not because it did not serve a need in Paris at the time. Indeed, the only surviving register for entrants, which covers the years from 1659 to 1668, reveals that it admitted a total of sixty-four males and eighty-seven females during these years, and that its annual intake varied from lows of one male in 1665 and of one female in 1666, to a high of forty-six in 1662. Rather, the fluctuations can partly be explained by changes to the establishment's income in these years. In his *vie* of de Paul, Louis Abelly referred briefly to a drop in income around 1663–1664. This would have been caused by the crown's financial reforms of 1664, which enabled it to reduce the annual annuities due from the *rentes* into which the Lazarists had invested Vinot's original endowment.<sup>16</sup> The effect was immediate: from 1659–1663, Nom de Jésus accepted eleven males and fifteen females annually on average, but this tumbled to averages of two males and three females between 1664 and 1668.<sup>17</sup>

Thereafter, it is clear from the patchy documentation that survives that Nom de Jésus struggled financially, even though its supporters made strenuous efforts to keep it afloat. Among these was Madeleine Viole, a longtime and prominent member of the confraternity of the Ladies of Charity at the Hôtel-Dieu since it was founded in 1634, as well as of the Confraternity of Charity in the parish of Saint-Benoît.<sup>18</sup> Other *consœurs* helped to form a network of Parisians who recommended new entrants: the most active of these was Madame Anne de Traversay, who was responsible for the acceptance of at least six new residents between 1659 and 1668.<sup>19</sup> The network also included *curés* of parishes in and near Paris, who came to know of the institute through prior connections to the Lazarists, Daughters and confraternal members: for example, the *curés* of Saint-Laurent<sup>20</sup> and Saint-Nicolas-

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15 AN, S6114, “L’hôpital de Nom de Jesus” (unpaginated), and “Roolle des pauvres qui sont assistez” (unpaginated).

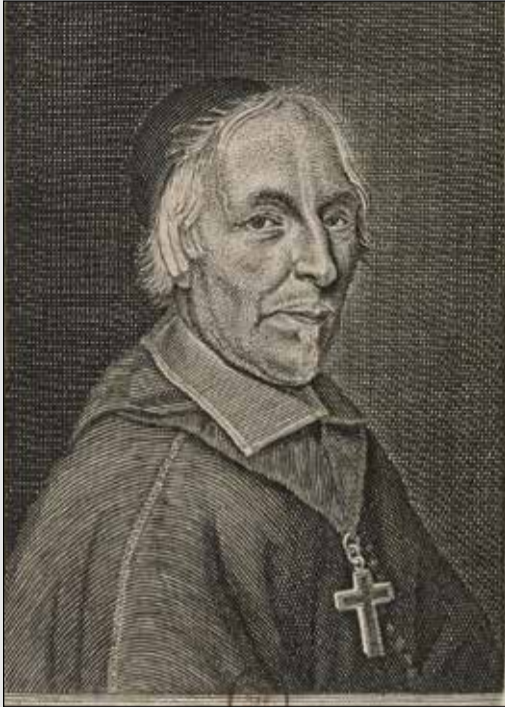
16 Not long afterwards, the superior general, René Alméras, lamented the negative impact that the crown's actions had also had on Saint-Lazare and other Congregation sites in a circular to his confreres: *Recueil des principales circulaires des supérieurs généraux de la Congrégation de la Mission* (Paris: 1877), 1:72–73 (23 March 1665). For the wider context, see Roger Mettam, *Power and Faction in Louis XIV's France* (New York: B. Blackwell, 1988), 262, and Vincent Pitts, *Embezzlement and High Treason in Louis XIV's France: The Trial of Nicolas Fouquet* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2015), 111.

17 AN, S6114, “Roolle des pauvres qui sont assistez” (unpaginated).

18 AN, S6114, “Inventaire des Titres des fondation Et dotations Lettres patentes de lhospital du Saint nom du Jesus” (unpaginated).

19 This type of information can be gleaned from AN, S6114, “Roolle des pauvres qui sont assistez,” which often records the name of the person who recommended the individual admitted to the establishment.

20 The *curé* of Saint-Laurent was Nicolas Gobillon, who later wrote the first life of Louise de Marillac, while she had been a member of the confraternity of charity in Saint-Nicolas-du-Chardonnet, and de Paul had been a close friend of Adrien Bourdoise, the founder of the priestly community who ministered there: Nicolas Gobillon, *La Vie de Mademoiselle Le Gras, fondatrice et première supérieure de la Compagnie des Filles de la Charité, servantes des pauvres malades* (Paris: 1676); Forrestal, *Vincent de Paul*, 68, 118–23, 184.



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***Engraved portrait of Louis Abelly.***

*Courtesy St. Vincent de Paul Image Archive Online*

du-Chardonnet made several recommendations in this period. A further set of activists was made up of officials attached to the Paris *parlement*, who may have encountered potential residents through their legal work; however, a few of these were also related to Ladies of Charity and this may explain their links.<sup>21</sup> Of course, admissions also originated with the administrators and with the Lazarists and the Daughters themselves: the long-serving Lazarist Antoine Portail made at least two recommendations around 1660, and the establishment also housed some relatives of Daughters and Lazarists, such as the brother of Cécile Angiboust, who died there a few months after it opened.<sup>22</sup>

## **The Rule**

Among the documents on Nom de Jésus that survive in the Archives Nationales de France is a five-page manuscript titled the “Rule of the Hospital of Nom de Jésus.”<sup>23</sup> Although undated, it is preserved with other Nom de Jésus documents surviving from the 1650s and 1660s, and its script, spelling, and language are consistent with this period. In another file, an eighteenth-century note by a Lazarist or Daughter of Charity claims that the same Rule

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21 For instance, Mademoiselle Viole and her brother, Jacques Defita, who was a lawyer in the Paris *parlement*, recommended Pierre Fadin for admittance in 1662. In addition, Viole’s husband, Jacques, was a parliamentary counsellor: AN, S6114, “Roolle des pauvres qui sont assistez” (unpaginated).

22 Letter 365B, “To My Very Dear Sister Cécile Angiboust,” 23 May 1653, *Spiritual Writings of Louise de Marillac*, ed. and trans. Louise Sullivan (New York: New City Press, 1991), 419, hereinafter abbreviated as *SW*. For further examples, see references in de Paul’s correspondence: L2931, “To Jacques Tholard, in Troyes,” 6 August 1659, *CCD*, 8:73; Document 175, “Council of 27 July, 1656,” *CCD*, 13b:348–49. Some elderly Daughters and Lazarists also spent their last years there, including the senile Jeanne Lepinte: *SW*, 77, n. 1.

23 AN, M53, “Reglement Pour lhospital du nom de Jésus.”

had been used in the establishment from its foundation.<sup>24</sup> If this is true, then this document may be the only surviving copy of a set of regulations used throughout the history of the foundation. Its content and format are much more advanced than a set of notes relating to the foundation that Louise de Marillac left for posterity. Although the editor of the *Spiritual Writings* surmised that she wrote her reflection around 1653, a more logical composition date would be late 1652. This is because de Marillac began her reflection by writing that her goal was “to contemplate the work before God ... in all its stages” from its beginning to its completion, which indicates that she composed it before Nom de Jésus opened, the contract was signed, or the Rule was written.

It is clear from what Louis Abelly wrote of Nom de Jésus that he knew something of its regulations and daily routine, for he gave a brief description of the residents’ lives and noted that the males and females ate their meals separately while listening to spiritual readings. He did not mention the existence of regulations or a rule for the institute, but another contemporary, Nicolas Gobillon, who published the first *vie* of Louise de Marillac twenty-two years later, claimed that Vincent de Paul had not only planned the foundation but had also written the rules for it. He went on to say that de Paul had then “entrusted” these to Louise de Marillac and the Daughters of Charity so that they could manage the new enterprise.<sup>25</sup>

Both Abelly and Gobillon give the impression that Nom de Jésus was entirely of de Paul’s making and infer that Louise de Marillac and the Daughters of Charity did little but run it according to his directives. Abelly even went so far as to state that it was de Paul who undertook the minute work of purchasing the furniture, fittings, linens, and so on that it needed to fulfil its functions. Only one scholar, Margaret Flinton, has really recognized the incongruity of these claims, and she did so by pointing to the close attention that Louise de Marillac paid to the everyday operation of the institute after it opened, monitoring all of the goings-on there and keeping accounts of income and expenditure. She suggests that de Paul turned to de Marillac to organize the work, and that the practicalities were therefore the product of her “organizing genius.”<sup>26</sup> Not having the Rule to hand, Flinton was forced to rely on piecemeal sources to make this claim, but its recovery enables us to go further.

There are two writing hands in the Rule, but neither is that of de Paul or de Marillac. Nor are they those of their secretaries, or even of their direct successors as superiors of the Lazarists or Daughters (René Alméras and Marguerite Guérin respectively). However, the first writer had a script style which is familiar to historians of the period, a style which was

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24 AN, S6114, “Inventaire des Titres des fondation Et dotations Lettres patentes de lhospital du Saint nom du Jesus” (unpaginated).

25 Abelly, *Vie*, 1:213. Gobillon, *La Vie de Mademoiselle Le Gras*, 45.

26 Flinton, *Louise de Marillac*, 123.



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***Portrait of Louise de Marillac. Published in the 1769 edition of Nicolas Gobillon's La Vie de la Vénérable Louise de Marillac.***

*Courtesy St. Vincent de Paul Image Archive Online*

often used by secretaries and copyists in the seventeenth century. This person (A) wrote down a draft of the Rule, before passing it to the second person (B). A probably copied from an earlier draft or wrote what was dictated to them. Upon receiving the pages, B added to the content, in the form of insertions and replacements which varied in length from single words to full sentences. B's handwriting is more cramped and more difficult to read, filling the margins and spaces in between lines, and the reader is often guided to B's additions by matching symbols. The layout suggests that this writer was not simply copying from another draft, but it is not possible to say if he or she wrote original material or what was dictated by someone else. If the latter, it is possible that the writing was done at the behest of Vincent de Paul or Louise de Marillac.

Problems of authorship aside, the Rule retains immense importance, and its composition and application were important milestones in the history of Nom de Jésus. First, it is important to note that it was identical in some basic respects to the order of the day that the Daughters followed in their nearby motherhouse during the 1640s and 1650s. At Nom de Jésus, the residents took their meals and examined their consciences or received penitential direction at the same times as the Daughters normally did. Practically, this meant that the Daughters in Nom de Jésus were still able to follow the motherhouse's rule as much as possible while carrying out their duties. But it also strongly suggests that de Marillac had a significant role in designing the Rule itself.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> For the order of the day followed by the Daughters, see Document 33, "Interrogation of Abbé de Saint-Cyran," 14–31 May 1639, *CCD*, 13a:125–26.

Second, it is possible to see how the scheme evolved by comparing the Rule to the preliminary reflection (mentioned above) that de Marillac wrote when the venture was first mooted. Though this was shorter and less thorough than the Rule, it shared some of its language, ideas, and emphases. Most notably, they both emphasise the importance of manual and skilled labor in the lives of the residents—but this principle is much more fully developed in the Rule, which provides detailed guidelines on the type, extent, and purpose of the daily labor. Its preoccupation with manual labor also bears comparison with a catechetical session that de Paul gave to the residents a few months after Nom de Jésus opened, in which he stressed to them that in working hard they followed the example of Christ.<sup>28</sup> A further parallel may be found in de Paul’s emphasis on knowledge of the faith for salvation, a connection that he made many times in different contexts.<sup>29</sup> But he also emphasised to the residents that the founder, Vinot, was especially concerned that they should be well instructed in the faith, because he was as concerned for the well-being of their souls as for the health of their bodies. Louise de Marillac also, to a lesser extent, dwelled on this in her notes, and it was probably a combination of all three opinions that ensured that the Rule punctuated the daily routine of the residents with bouts of instruction in the form of exhortations, catechism, and spiritual reading. Although mainly laypeople, their routine was as exacting in its own way as those of the Lazarists and Daughters, for it was designed to guard against idleness and to promote a grateful use of God’s gifts and habits of lay dedication and productivity that were pleasing to him.

While it is not surprising that the Rule is more elaborate than de Marillac’s early reflection, there are noteworthy points of divergence between the documents. The spiritual goals of Nom de Jésus were articulated much more fully in the Rule so that it was made clear that the routine was designed to support the “spiritual enrichment” and redemption of the residents. They were directed to live in harmony and order with each other as brothers and sisters, “dream[ing] principally of being a good Pauper, Living and dying as a good Pauper.” Furthermore, unlike the reflection or the foundation contract, the duties of both the Daughters and Lazarists are distinguished in the Rule. In this regard, an addition that writer B added to the text is striking, proving a desire to prevent any confusion or disagreement on the roles that they could expect to take. This person, either on his or her own behalf or that of someone else, inserted the word “spiritual” to the text in order to designate the type and extent of direction that the Lazarist superior general would offer within the establishment. Just below, the text already read: “Regarding instruction and the administration of the Sacraments both for the sick and the healthy, There will always be one of the Priests of the

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28 *Ibid.*, 173–79.

29 For further discussion of this fixation, see my *Vincent de Paul*, 51–5, 103–06.

said Congregation who will attend there.” (Point 5). Evidently, it was considered essential to ensure that the Daughters who served there too were assured of their right to “have care of the Finances and Household, And [they] will serve the said poor corporally & spiritually, Corporally in giving them their food and distributing the clothes *with other necessities*; spiritually in distributing according to their ability their Instruction[,] & reception of the Sacraments to the sick as well as the Healthy, And especially by their good examples.” (Point 6).

The Rule devotes a great deal of attention to the “founder” and “benefactors” of the new establishment, something that did not hinder de Marillac at all in her notemaking. This is intriguing for several reasons. It suggests that she perhaps was not aware at the time that she wrote her notes of the exact nature of the negotiations in which de Paul was involved with Vinot, and that she may not have played any role in this aspect of the foundation. Further, the Rule’s distinction between the founder and the plural “benefactors” reveals that the founder Vinot was followed by other donors to the project soon after he made his gift, even though their names do not appear to have survived. Finally, the Rule elaborates greatly on the terms of the foundation contract where Vinot had specified that he was moved to make his gift by his “pure love of God and of that which Our Lord gave him for the Health of the poor.”<sup>30</sup> It frequently reminds the Nom de Jésus residents that they should remain eternally grateful for the opportunity to save their souls that their benefactors had ensured for them. But it also explicitly renders their bond into one of mutual dependence, when it instructs the residents to recite regularly two traditional liturgical prayers of redemption for the souls of the founder and benefactors: the *Retribuere Dignare*,<sup>31</sup> and the penitential *De Profundis*, Psalm 129 in the Vulgate.<sup>32</sup>

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30 AN, M53, 29 October 1653 (unpaginated).

31 “May it please Thee, O Lord, to reward with eternal life all those who do good to us for Thy Name’s sake.”

32 The prayers that the residents were asked to recite were very common amongst the devout of the seventeenth-century French church, and some of them were recited by the Lazarists in the internal seminary around this time and afterwards: Archives of the Congregation of the Mission, Paris, “*Règles du Séminaire*” (1652).



## The Rule (French and English)

### Editorial Notes

- The manuscript of the Rule is unnumbered, but each page has been given a folio reference in the transcription and translation below.
- Words in italics indicate the hand of the second writer (B), who made revisions to the original text, and inserted words, phrases, and sentences, either in the main text or in the margin. To indicate where the text written in the margin should be added to the main body, the author used a set of different symbols: a loop knot, P, x, +++, ++, XX, A, B, ⊕, †, +, H, F. The texts below incorporate these additions as the author instructed.
- The transcription and translation follow the punctuation and spelling in the original French text, and changes have only been made when necessary for comprehension. These include substituting *u* for *v*; changing *dez* to *des*, and occasionally adding an apostrophe to a reflexive verb, such as *s'entretenir*). Where editorial changes have been made, this is indicated by [ ].
- Words between square brackets [ ] are added to the translation to facilitate comprehension.
- Illegible words are indicated by "...," and hardly legible ones by "(?)."
- Strikethroughs in the original text are left as such.
- Spots where the original paper was torn or otherwise damaged are noted in the endnotes.



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***Vincent and sisters with the sick-poor in hospital.  
From a Spanish series on the life of Vincent de Paul.***

*Courtesy St. Vincent de Paul Image Archive Online*



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***Original canonization engraving by Frère André,  
and painting after the engraving, depicting Vincent  
preaching at Nom de Jésus.***

*Courtesy St. Vincent de Paul Image Archive Online*

**Reglement Pour lhospital du nom de Jesus. Rule For the hospital of nom de Jesus.**

**Fo 1r**

L'hospital du nom de Jesus a esté institué et fondé au fauxbourg Saint Laurent lez Paris par un Bourgeois qui par humilité n'a pas voulu estre nommé ni connu que par celuy qui a stipulé pour luy *dans le contrat de fondation*. Pour Elever des bons pauvres, qui puissent d'une manière particuliere Honorer tous iours Nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ Comme Père des Pauvres, et verifier en leurs Personnes que Bienheureux sont les Pauvres & que le Royaume des Cieux leur a[p]partient.

2 Il sera tousiours composé d'hommes & garçons & de femmes & filles.<sup>i</sup> *Et autant qu'on ne pourra, n'y recevra que de personnes agees particulieurement les filles & des veufves. Et quant aux gens mariez ils ny seront pas admis si ce nest po[ur] quelq[ue] nécessité pressante une des deux*

**Fo 1r**

The Nom de Jésus hospital was instituted and founded in the faubourg Saint Laurent, Paris, by a Bourgeois who because of humility did not want to be named or wanted only to be known by him who stipulated<sup>xxxii</sup> for him *in the foundation contract*. To raise the good poor, who may in a particular manner always Honor Our Lord Jesus Christ As Father of the Poor, and verify in their persons that Blessed are the Poor and that the Kingdom of the Heavens is theirs.

2 It will always be composed of men and boys and of women and girls.<sup>xxxiii</sup> *And in addition, as much as possible, only aged persons[,] particularly girls and widows[,] will be received there. And as regards married people[,] they will not be admitted if one of the two parties does not have a*

*parties et pour quelq[ue] temps. Jusques au nombre de quarante<sup>ii</sup>*

*3 Le nombre des personnes qu'on y pourra recevoir sera de 40. Scavoir 20 d'un sexe: Et autant de l'autre.*

*Si pourtant La Providence multiplie augmente la revenu, les personnes pourront aussi multiplier qu'oy qu'il y ait a craindre que le Multitude trop grande ne cause<sup>iii</sup> la confusion & le desordre. a quoy il faudra faire beaucoup d[']attention.*

*4 Ceux et celles qui voudront estre admis en cet hospital doivent avoir ces conditions: 1. Estre tellem[ent] Pauvres qu'il n'ayent pas moyen de gagner outrement leur vie de leur travail. 2. Nestre pas si infirmes Et cassés quils ne puissent s[']oc[c]uper a quelq[ue] petit ouvrage quand ce ne seroit que filer autour ou devider du fil & semblables. 3. N'estre point sujets a...<sup>iv</sup> des vices scandaleux particuliere[ment] pour le vin et*

*pressing need and for some time. Up to the number of forty*

*3 The number of persons who could be admitted there is limited to 40. That is, 20 of one sex: And the same of the other.*

*If, however, Providence multiplies increases the revenue, it will be possible also to multiply the [number of] persons although there is reason to fear that too great a Multitude causes confusion and disorder. It will be necessary to pay a lot of attention to this.*

*4 Those men and women wanting to be admitted to this hospital must have these conditions: 1. To be so Poor that they lack the means to otherwise earn a living from their work. 2. Not to be so infirm And fragile that they will be unable to occupy themselves with some little work, if only to spin stockings, or unwind thread & similar things. 3. Not to be addicted[,] particularly to scandalous vices for wine and women, as*

*les femmes, comme aussi des mauvaises langues & humeurs que? elevess? 4 promettre d'observer fidele[ment] tous les articles de ce reglement.<sup>v</sup> a cet effet il leur disposa faire lecture.*

*5. ~~personnes~~ y venir de bon gré et personne ny doit estre mis de force mais on pourra bien estre renvoyé a contrecoeur au cas qu'on se rendit incorrigible.*

*5 Il sera tousjours sous la Direction Spirituelle du Superieur General de la Congregation de la Mission et pour la Chapelle con ...? avec deux Bourgeois de Paris<sup>vi</sup> qui seraient elus par le d[it] Sup gnal Et par les deux ~~qui sortiront les charge~~ sortiront de Charges. Et pour ce qui est de l'instruction et administration des Sacramens tant en maladie qu'en santé, Il y aura tousjours un des Prestres de ladite Congregation qui y vaquera.*

*also bad languages and humors that ... 4 To promise to observe faithfully all the articles of this rule. For this purpose, they will be urged to read it.*

*5. ~~nobody~~ [They are] to come there willingly, and nobody must be forced to enter[,] but it will be possible [for them] ... to be sent back against their will in the event that one becomes incorrigible.*

*5 It will be always under the *Spiritual* Direction of the Superior General of the Congregation of the Mission and for the Chapel ...? with two Bourgeois of Paris who will be elected chosen by the said Superior General And by the two ~~who will leave the charge~~ [who] will leave Offices. And regarding instruction and the administration of the Sacraments both for the sick and the healthy, There will always be one of the Priests of the said Congregation who will attend there.*

6 Il y aura aussi des sœurs de la Charite qui resideront actuellement au dit hospital et auront soin de l'Economie et du Menage, Et serviront lesdictz pauvres corporellement & spirituellement, Corporellement en leur a prestant leur nourriture et distribuant les vestemens *et aut[re]s necessites* spirituellement en moyennant selon leur pouvoir leur Instruction & reception des Sacremens tant malades que Sains, Et sur tout par leurs bons exemples.

7 Les Hommes & garçons seront Logez separement d'avec les femmes et filles en sorte qu'ils ne puissent avoir Communication ensemble que lors que la necessité & la permission du Superieur Le Requerront, auquel cas Il y aura une sœur presente.

8 Il y aura un Refectoir pour les Hommes et un pour les femmes, mangeront en commun, Et Il y aura Lecture durant tout le repas, pendant laquelle tous garderont le silence.<sup>vii</sup> *a cet effet il leur disposa faire lecture.*

6 There will also be sisters of Charity who will actually reside in the said hospital, and who will have care of the Finances and Household, And will serve the said poor corporally & spiritually, Corporally in giving them their food and distributing the clothing *and other necessities*; spiritually in distributing according to their ability their Instruction[,] & reception of the Sacraments to the sick as well as the Healthy, And especially by their good examples.

7 The men and boys will be Lodged separately from the women and girls so that they may Communicate with each other only out of necessity & they will Need the permission of the Superior for It, in which case There will be a sister present.

8 There will be a Refectory for the Men and one for the women, they will eat in common, And There will be a Reading during all the meal[s], during which everyone will remain silent. *to this effect, it disposes them to do the reading.*



**Fo 1v**

9 Les Emplois des Hommes & garçons seront de travailler a des petits mestiers comme Tisserans, Sergiers, Cardeurs, tailleurs, cordonniers, menuisiers et semblables, Et les femmes et filles a filer, coudre, faire des gands, des bas des stame, & ceux qui ne sçavront point de mestiers et ne pourront en aprendre ... ont en ce quils pourront ... dans la maison<sup>viii</sup> Le dessein du fondateur n'estant pas de establir une manufacture de soye, d'argent, et dor, pour en enrichir et outrepasser lhospital, mais bien du senrichir cet hopital et son revenu la rendra ~~pour~~ Et l'ouvrage manuel qu'on y fait a l'enrichissement Spirituel d'un petit nombre de pauvres, en sorte quils puissent vivre & mourir en bons Chrestiens.<sup>ix</sup>

10 Tous les mois on contera avec eux pour la façon des ouvrages quils auront faits, Et on leur se payera le tiers ou le quart le reste demeurant pour lhospital.

**Fo 1v**

9 The Jobs of the Men & boys will be to work at the little crafts like Weavers, Sergiers,<sup>xxxiv</sup> Carders, tailors, cobblers, carpenters and similar, And the women and girls to spin, sew, to make gloves, wool stockings, & those who will know nothing of crafts and will not be able to learn them ... have ... that they will be able to ? [work?] in the house[.] The idea of the founder was not to establish a factory for silk, silver, and gold, to enrich and take over from the hospital, but to enrich this hospital and its income and render it ~~for~~ And the manual work that one does here [is] for the Spiritual enrichment of a small number of poor, so that they may be able to live and die as good Christians.

10 Every month they will talk with them about the way [of doing] the works they will have done, And they will be paid a third or a quarter with the rest going to the hospital.

11 Ils seront uniformes en leurs habits, et en leur nourriture, et en tout ce qui se pourra, en Egard a leur Condition.

*12 Leurs habits seront de base grise tant les hommes que les femmes, lesquelles nauront pour leur luxe? que une leger destrette? sur un bonnet de laine, le tout ressentant sa pauvrete.*

*13 Jour ordinaire au disner & au souper sera une bonne portion de pain, un potage, & un petit morceau de viande de deux ou 3. onces, qui sera ordinaireme[nt] du bœuf & quelquefois du porc salé. Ez iours maigres outre le potage ils auront un harang ou une piece d'omelette ou du fromage, ou des pois, ou quelque autre petite chose semblable selon les saisons.*

*14 Ceux qui auront le moyen d'avoir du vin de ...<sup>x</sup> leur argent [et] pourront avoir a chaq[ue] repas demy sextier<sup>xi</sup> ou chopine<sup>xii</sup> au plus<sup>xiii</sup> sils ne veillent aussi à dejeuner ils ne prendront? qu[']un demi sextier. Il ne prendront leur refection que dans le*

11 They will be uniform in their clothing and food, and as much as possible, according to their Condition.

*12 Their clothing will be gray, men as well as women, the women will have for luxury? only a light...? on a wool bonnet, all [this] witnessing to her poverty.*

*13 For dinner and supper on an ordinary day [there] will be a good portion of bread, a soup, & a small piece of meat of two or 3. ounces, which will ordinarily be beef and sometimes salted pork. On meatless days beside the soups they will have a herring or a piece of omelette or some cheese, or some peas, or some other similar small thing in season.*

*14 Those with the means to have some wine from ... their money [and] will be able to have a half setier or a chopine at most at each meal; if they do not wish [it] a breakfast they will take only a half setier. They will take their meals only in the refectory, And those*

*refectoire, Et ceux qui ne le prendront par infirmité Boiront? [et] mangeront a linfirmirie. Et tous iront a la premiere table excepte le lecteur & ceux et celles qui serv[i]ront.<sup>xiv</sup>*

*15<sup>xv</sup> Ils auront chacun leur lit, & ne le changeront point [word repeated here] de place sans le consentement du sup<sup>r</sup>.*

*15<sup>xvi</sup> Ils ne sortiront que rarement & ce sera avec necessite & conge, du Superieur pour les cas Extraordinaires, ou de celuy qui le represente, pour les ordinaires, particulierement les femmes et filles; Et au retour Ils se presenteront a la sœur qui a charge d'eux et luy rendront Compte de leur voyage.<sup>xvii</sup>*

*16 Quand ceux de leur connoissance les viendront voir, ils se contenteront du s[']entretenir un peu de temps ensemble, Et puis se retirer de ses divertisemens?, sans lamuser a les faire boire; ni souffrir quilz nayent du vin, a raison des desordres qui en pou[r]ront arriver.*

*who will not take it because of infirmity will Drink? [and] eat in the infirmary. And all will go to the first table except the reader and those who will serve.*

*15 They will each have their bed, & will not change their place without the superior's consent.*

*15 They will go out only rarely & this will be with necessity & permission of the Superior for Extraordinary cases, or of whoever represents him for ordinary [cases], particularly the women and girls; And on return They will present themselves to the sister in charge of them and will render Account to her of their trip.*

*16 When acquaintances will come to see them, they will be content to converse together for a brief time, And then to decline entertainments?, without having fun making them drink; neither to suffer that they have some wine, because of the disorders that can happen.*

17 Ils vivront en grande union, se suportant les uns les autres; & se garderont bien de Jamais se quereller ni avoir aucune aversion ensemble. *Et si quilquun avait offensé lon se estoit outre, on s'entredemandera pardon auplustard le soir avant que se coucher.*

18 Ils vivront ensemble com[me] Freres & Sœurs, Et quoyquils soient de differens qualitez Ils ne laisseront pas de sentreapeller Freres entre eux, & les femmes & filles, Sœurs; quoi que puisse apeller peres ceux qui sont fort vieux Et meres Celles qui sont pareillem[ent] p[re]s[en]tem[ent] agees.<sup>xviii</sup>

19 Pendant qu'ils seront occupez en leur travail, Ils pourront s'entretenir de bons discours, et par fois chanter quelques airs Spirituels, et quand ? ~~un sous~~? le pourra l'un d'eux fera Lecture tout haut pour les hommes, et ~~un autre~~ lon en fera de mesme pour les femmes et filles, sil y era quelqun d'entre elles qui scache lire. ~~dans chaque~~

17 They will live in close union, supporting each other; & will take care Never to quarrel or to have any aversion amongst themselves. *And if some had offended one was mistreated, one will ask each other's pardon by evening at the latest before going to sleep.*

18 They will live together as Brothers & Sisters, And although they might be of different qualities<sup>xxxv</sup> they will not let them be called brothers among themselves, nor the women and girls, Sisters; although Those might be called fathers who are quite elderly, And mothers, Those who are similarly actually aged.

19 While they will be occupied with their work, They will be able to have a good discussion and sometimes sing some Spiritual airs, and when possible one of them will do a Reading aloud for the men, and ~~another~~ one will do the same for the women and girls, if there will be someone among

~~chambre ou l'on sera assemblé, pour~~  
~~travailler.~~<sup>xix</sup>

20 Ils se garderont bien de mesdire du Prochain ni de se dire aucune parole offensive les uns aux autres, Eviteront sur tout les Paroles *mesme couvertes* qui ressentent tant soit peu l'Impureté.

21 Ils s[']abstiendront de murmurer contre qui que ce soit quand les choses ne vont pas a leur fantaisie, ains honoreront en [ce] cas la patience et le silence de Nostre Seigneur.

22<sup>xx</sup> Ils seront soumis et obeiront aux personnes qui seront deputées pour les Conduire *mesmes aux Sœurs de la Charité, soit pour les aider*<sup>xxi</sup> *En leur petit mesnage soit pour porter quels fardeau ou pour quelq[ue] message, ou autre chose* ~~employ~~ dont ils seront a porter tant les femmes qu les homes. et prendront de bonne part le[s] avertissemens charitable qui leur seront faits.

~~them who might know how to read. in each~~  
~~room where they will be assembled, to work.~~

20 They will be careful not to speak ill of their Neighbour nor to say any offensive words to each other, They will avoid above all Words *even muttered* which have a tinge[,] no matter how small[,] of Impurity.

21 They will abstain from murmuring against anything when matters things do not go according to their wish, but they will honor in [this] case the patience and silence of Our Lord.

22 They will be subject and obedient to the persons who will be deputed to Direct them *even to the Daughters of Charity, either to aid them in their little housekeeping [,] such as to carry some burden or some message, or other thing* ~~job~~ which they will manage [,] the women as well as the men. and they will take the charitable warnings that will be made to them in good part.

22<sup>xxii</sup> *Ils ne trouveront point a dire a la conduite desdites Sœurs, Et*

23 *Ils feront tous les matins & tous les soirs leurs prieres ensemble dans la Chapelle, assisteront a la messe, aux instructions qu'on leur fera & a tous les autres Exercices Spirituels de la maison.*

24 *Ils se confesseront et communiront du moins tous les mois, & les festes Principales de L'année.*

25 *Quand il y aura quelq[ue] homme malade, les au[tr]es les visiteront de temps en temps, Et assisteront tous quand on lui apportera les sacremens Comme aussi a son Enterrement. Et diront tous une fois le Chapellet Et feront une communion pour le repos de lame du defunt. Les femmes & filles se feront de meme quand quelquun dautre filles sera malade Et mourra.<sup>xxiii</sup>*

26 *Le silence se gardera en tout temps dans la Chapelle, dans le ballustre, et dans Le Refectoir; Et depuis la fin des prieres du soir*

22 *They will not find anything to say regarding the conduct of the said Sisters, And*

23 *They will do their prayers together every morning & evening in the Chapel, they will attend the mass, the instructions given to them & all the other Spiritual Exercises of the house.*

24 *They will confess and communicate at least once a month, & on the Principal feasts of The year.*

25 *When some man will fall ill, the others will visit them from time to time, And all will assist when one will bring him the sacraments As also at his Burial. And they will all say the Rosary once And they will receive communion for the repose of the soul of the dead. The women and girls will do the same when some other girls will be sick And die.*

26 *Silence will be kept at all times in the Chapel, in the baluster, and in The Refectory; And from the end of evening prayers until*



jusques apres celles du matin, en tous lieux que s'il est necessaire de parler en ces heures, ce sera tous bas & courtement.

**Fo 2r**

27 Ils auront une grande reconnoissance vers le fondateur de l'hospital; et vers tous leurs Bienfacteurs, et surtout envers Dieu qui les a preferez a tant d'autres pauvres qui sont miserables de Corps & D'ame, qui possible se damneront faute d'avoir une occasion de faire son salut comme celle qu'on a en Cette maison.

28 APres tout ils se souviendront que cet Etablissement n'est pas tant fait pour Entretenir le Corps que pour Sauver L'ame ~~et selon~~ *conformeme<sup>xxiv</sup> a la maxime que* Nostre Seigneur nous recommande *tant que* *etre* de chercher avant toutes choses le Royaume de Dieu, nous assurant quen ce faisant toutes ces autres choses necessaires pour la vie Corporelle nous seront donnees.

Partant chacun preferera Le salut de son Ame a toute autre chose, & songera

after those of the morning, [conversation] will be low and short in all places where it is necessary to talk during these hours.

**Fo 2r**

27 They will have great gratitude towards the founder of the hospital; and toward all their Benefactors, and especially toward God who preferred them to so many other poor who are miserable of Body and of Soul, who will possibly be damned because of not having an opportunity for health like one has in This house.

28 After all they will remember that this Establishment is not made so much to Maintain the Body as to Save The soul ~~and~~ ~~according~~ *conforming to the maxim that* Our Lord recommends to us *so much* to look above all things [for] the Kingdom of God, assuring us that in doing this we will be given all these other things necessary for the Corporal life. Finally, each will prefer The health of his Soul to all else, & will dream

principalement a estre bon Pauvre, Vivant et mourant en bon Pauvre.

29 Ils seront exactes et ponctuels a garder l'ordre de la Journée qui sera comme Il suit.

### **Ordre de L'Employ de la Journée.**

Ils Se Leveront a cinq heures en esté et a six en hyver, chacun faisant le signe de la croix, & Disant, Mon Dieu Je vous donne mon Cœur Et prendrôt de Leau benitte. En s'habillant dirôt les le Pater & Ave, et ~~s'abstenir de parler aux autres sans nécessité~~ et credo.

Ensuite ~~aller~~ ils iront aux prieres *qu[e] une sœur dira tout haut* a la Chapelle; Lesquelles se feront ainsi: In nomine patris & c<sup>a</sup>. Veni Sancté Spiritus & c. puis Les Cinq actes d'adoration, remercement, offrande, contrition, petition, Les Litanies de Jesus, Le Pater et Ave Et le Credo en Latin, Angele Dei, Le Retribuere pour le fondateur &<sup>xxv</sup> *bienfaiteurs* le Requiem aeternam *po[ur] les*

principally of being a good Pauper, Living and dying as a good Pauper.

29 They will be exact and punctual in keeping the order of the Day which will be as follows.

### **Order of the Day.**

They will Rise at 5:00 in the summer and at 6:00 in the winter, each making the sign of the cross, & Saying, My God I give you my Heart And they will take holy Water. When dressing they will say the Our Father & Hail Mary, ~~abstain from talking to others unnecessarily~~ and the creed.

Then ~~to go~~ they will go to prayer *which one sister will say aloud* in the Chapel; they will do it thus: In the name of the father etc. Come Holy Spirit etc. then The Five acts of adoration, thanksgiving, offering, contrition, petition. The Litany<sup>xxxvi</sup> of Jesus, The Our Father and Hail Mary And the Creed in Latin, Angel of God, The Retribuere<sup>xxxvii</sup> for the founder & benefactors, the Requiem

*trespasses, et puis Langelus. Et les au[tr]es  
repondront a tout.*

APres les Prieres ~~aller~~ chacun ira a son  
travail, disant auparavant, Mon Dieu Je vous  
offre mon travail, donnez y vostre  
Benediction.

A Sept heures & demie dez qu'on sonnera la  
messe on se rendra a la Chapelle et y assistera  
devotement.

**Fo 2v**

A huit heures,<sup>xxvi</sup> *Ceux et celles qui auront  
necessite de dejeuner iront recevoir un  
morceau de pain qu'en leur distribura au  
refectoir. ~~dejeuner~~, faisant auparavant le  
signe de la Croix & disant Mon Dieu<sup>xxvii</sup>  
benissez cette nourriture que ie [...] vais  
prendre. & a la fin ~~disent~~ grand mercy mon  
bon Dieu. En travaillant sil'on [sic]  
s'entretient ce sera de choses bonnes &  
d[']edification.*

A Dix heures on Escouterá la Lecture  
Spirituelle qu'on fera si lon le peut, durant  
une demie heure.

aeternam<sup>xxxviii</sup> *for the departed, and then the  
Angelus. And the others will respond to all.*

After the Prayers ~~to go~~ each will go to their  
work, saying beforehand, My God I offer you  
my work, give it your Blessing.

At 7:30[,] when [the bell] for mass is rung[,]  
one will go to the Chapel and will assist  
devotedly there.

**Fo 2v**

At 8:00, *Those who will need breakfast will  
go to receive a piece of bread that will be  
distributed to them in the refectory ~~to~~  
breakfast, making beforehand the sign of the  
Cross & saying My God bless this food that  
I am going to take. & at the end they say great  
thanks my good God. While working if he  
one [sic] converses it will be of good things  
& of edification.*

At 10:00[,] one will Listen to the Spiritual  
Reading that will be done if possible, for a  
half hour.

A onze heures & demie dez que la cloche aura sonné le disner, on se rendra en la Chapelle pour y demander pardon des Pechez qu'on a faits depuis qu'on est Levé; ce sera apres avoir dit Le Veni Sancte Spiritus. Et on finira par par [sic] le De profundis pour les ~~parens Amys, & fondateur~~ Et bienfacteurs ~~Vivans~~ Et trepassez.

Ensuite on serendra au Refectoir, y ecoutât *devote[ment]* Le Benedicité que le Lecteur dira tout haut chacun se tournant du costé de L'Image, serangeant en deux files, puis en s'asseoira a table comme on se trouvera si ce n'est que les Jeunes garçons seront apres les hommes, et le[s] filles apres Les femmes.

Aux graces on se levera tous, et se rangera comme au Benedicité, et puis ~~aller dire~~ ~~L'angelus on irera~~ tournera en la Chapelle, Et pour y dire *langelus*. ~~& la priere pour le bienfaiteur~~. Ensuite chacun reprendra son travail & s'y comportera comme au matin,

At 11:30[,], as soon as the bell will have rung the dinner, one will return to the Chapel to ask pardon for Sins that one committed since rising; this will be after having said The Come Holy Spirit. And one will finish with the De Profundis for the ~~relatives Friends, & founder~~ ~~And Living~~ ~~And~~ dead benefactors.

Then one will go to the Refectory, there Listen *devoutly* to the Benedicite which the Reader will say aloud[,], with each one facing The Image, lining up in two rows, then each will sit at a table as he/she will find [it] except that the Young boys will be after the men, and the girls after The women.

During the graces all will stand ~~all~~, and line up as for the Benedicite, and then ~~to go to say~~ ~~The angelus one will go~~ will turn into the Chapel, ~~And to say the angelus there, & to pray there for the benefactor~~. Then each will return to his or her work & will do as they did

Escoutant aussi la Lecture qu'on fera a quatre heures.

~~A Trois heures ceux et celles qui auront besoin de gouter se rendront au lieu ou l'on le donne des que la cloche en aura adverti, faisant comme au d[é]j[e]uner le signe de la Croix devant, & disant grand mercy mon bon Dieu a la fin.~~

A Six heures en Esté et a cinq heures *Et demye*<sup>xxviii</sup> en hyver, dez que la Cloche sonnera le souper, ~~aller~~ *on ira* tous en la Chapelle faire comme avant le disner, demandant pardon a Dieu des pechez commis depuis le disner.

Estant au Refectoir on se comportera comme au disner touchant le Benedicité et les grace[s], & l'angelus en la Chapelle.

Après souper Chacun retournera ~~chaëun~~ a son travail comme après le disner.

A huit heures *en Esté Et a 7. Heures en hyver on fera* les prieres et Lexamen general, commençant par Veni Sancte Spiritus, *puis* Les Cinq points de l'examen.

there in the morning, also Listening to the Reading which will be done at 4:00.

~~At 3:00 they who will need to have a snack will go to the place one gives it as soon as the bell will have informed them making the sign of the Cross beforehand as at lunch & saying great thanks my good God at the end.~~

At 6:00 in Summer and at 5:30 in winter, as soon as the Bell will ring for supper, ~~to go~~ all *will go* to the Chapel to do as before dinner, asking pardon of God for sins committed since dinner.

While in the Refectory one will behave as at dinner regarding the Benedicite and the graces, & the angelus in the Chapel.

After supper Each will return ~~each~~ to their work as after the dinner.

At 8:00 *in the Summer And at 7:00 in winter, one will say* the prayers and [make] the general examination, beginning with [the]

<p><b>Fo 3r</b></p> <p>Confiteor, misereatur, Indulgentiam &amp; c<sup>a</sup>. les Litanies de la vierge, Angele Dei, Nostre Père qui estes es Cieux &amp; c<sup>a</sup> Je croy en Dieu le Père tout puissant. Retribuere <i>po[ur] le fondateur et bienfaiteurs</i> De profundis, Maria mater gratiae, In manus tuas, puis se retirer en silence.</p> <p>Sur le point de se mettre au Lit on prendra de leau benitte, faisant le signe de la Croix &amp; puis dire,<sup>xxix</sup> mon Dieu faites moy la grace de bien mourir.</p> <p>Si l'on s'Eveille la nuit on dira Mon Dieu Je vous aime de tout mon cœur, plustost mourir que de vous offenser &amp; semblables actes.</p> <p>Le Dimanches &amp; festes <del>fi</del>era on fera les même Exercices Spirituels, &amp; de plus on assistera<sup>xxx</sup> a l'eau binitte [sic] Et au prosne qu'on fera a la messe, qu'q s se dira a huit</p>	<p>Come Holy Spirit, <i>then</i> The Five Points of examination.</p> <p><b>Fo 3r</b></p> <p>Confiteor, misereatur, Indulgentiam etc. the Litany of the virgin, Angel of God, Our Father who art in Heaven etc I believe in God the Father almighty. [The] Retribuere <i>for the founder and benefactors</i> [The] De profundis, Mary mother of grace, Into your hands, then retire silently.</p> <p>At the point of going to Bed will take holy water, making the sign of the Cross &amp; <i>then say</i>, my God give me the grace to die well.</p> <p>If one wakes in the night one will say My God I love you with all my heart, rather to die that to offend you &amp; and similar acts.<sup>xxxix</sup></p> <p>On Sundays &amp; feasts <del>one will rely</del> the same Spiritual Exercises will be done, &amp; moreover one will assist with holy water And at the prône<sup>xl</sup> that will be done during the mass, which will be said at 8:00; &amp; <del>one will</del></p>
--	---

heures; ~~& lon se Confessera &~~  
Communi[c]era [l]es Jours assignez.

Après dîner *on pourra* se divertir dans le  
Jardin durant demy heure ~~et faire que~~ les  
femmes ~~foient enfermées quand~~ *En leur*  
*enclos* et les hommes y sont, ~~& Elles iront~~  
~~après qu'ils seront sortis~~ *dans le leur.*

A une heure on ~~fera~~ *ecouterà* la Lecture  
Spirituelle *qu'on fera* dans la chapelle aux  
~~Chanter~~ les Litanies de la vierge ou de Jesus  
*qu'on y chantera* puis l'Exhortation ou  
Catechisme, & a la fin on chantera un seul  
Dieu. Ou Je croy en Dieu, ou Nostre Pere qui  
estes en Cieux. puis le chapelet a deux  
chœurs, scavoir les hommes disant un Ave  
Maria, & les femmes un autre  
alternativement.

*En esté on differera a dire ainsi le Chapelet*  
*jusques a cinq heures* Employant le temps qui  
*restera* ~~après~~ depuis la sortie de la Chapelle  
*jusques a 5 heures* cette heure la.<sup>xxxii</sup>

~~Confess & Communicate on the assigned~~  
~~Days.~~

After dinner *one will be able* to be in the  
Garden for a half hour ~~and to make that~~ the  
women ~~may be enclosed when~~ *In their*  
*enclosure* and the men are there, ~~& The~~  
~~women will go after they will be gone out in~~  
*theirs.*

At 1:00[,] they ~~will do~~ *will listen to the*  
Spiritual Reading *that someone will do in the*  
*chapel[,] the* Litany of the virgin or of Jesus  
*that will be sung there* then the Exhortation  
or Catechism, & at the end one will sing "Un  
seul Dieu"<sup>xli</sup>. Or I believe in God<sup>xlii</sup>, or Our  
Father who art in Heaven. Then the rosary in  
two choirs,<sup>xliii</sup> that is the men saying one Ave  
Maria, & the women another while  
alternating

*In summer one will postpone saying the*  
*Rosary this way until 5:00[,] Using the time*  
*which will remain* ~~after~~ since leaving the  
*Chapel until 5:00* this hour.



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***Louise de Marillac and sisters treating the sick-poor.  
From a Spanish series on the life of Vincent de Paul.***

*Courtesy St. Vincent de Paul Image Archive Online*



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***Stained glass window depicting the canonization  
painting of Vincent preaching at Nom de Jésus  
hospice, Louise in the background. Original in  
Bègles, France.***

*Courtesy St. Vincent de Paul Image Archive Online*



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<sup>i</sup> A *P* symbol appears here.

<sup>ii</sup> An *x* symbol appears here.

<sup>iii</sup> Another word was inserted above this, but it is crossed out and illegible.

<sup>iv</sup> The original word is crossed out, and the replacement is illegible.

<sup>v</sup> This is followed by seven lines in the same handwriting, which have been crossed out and are now largely illegible. However, they broadly emphasise that incorrigible residents will be asked to leave; the others will have to submit to the authority of the superior of Nom de Jésus.

<sup>vi</sup> A loop knot appears here. However, some of the corresponding words in the margin have been crossed out and replaced with others, and the exact wording is unclear.

<sup>vii</sup> A +++ symbol appears here.

<sup>viii</sup> A ++ symbol appears here.

<sup>ix</sup> A number of words have been crossed out in the middle of this segment, and their replacements are difficult to decipher. It is followed by a XX symbol, which leads to point no. 10 in the left-hand margin.

<sup>x</sup> This word has been crossed out and is illegible.

<sup>xi</sup> *Demi-septier*: approximately 250mls.

<sup>xii</sup> Approximately 500mls.

<sup>xiii</sup> This word has been crossed out and is illegible.

<sup>xiv</sup> Followed by two words that have been crossed out and are illegible.

<sup>xv</sup> The letter *A* appears just above the number 15.

<sup>xvi</sup> The letter *B* appears just above the number 15. This appears to indicate that this part of number 15 should appear directly after the first part, which the author of the margin comments labelled 15A.

<sup>xvii</sup> A  $\oplus$  symbol appears here.

<sup>xviii</sup> The remainder of the sentence is difficult to decipher.

<sup>xix</sup> The last two lines of no. 19 are found at the top of fo 2r. The words in italics are in the hand of the author of the margin comments.

<sup>xx</sup> The letter *a* appears just above the number 22.

<sup>xxi</sup> A  $\ddagger$  symbol appears here.

<sup>xxii</sup> The letter *B* appears just above the number 22. The sentence which follows is incomplete.

---

<sup>xxiii</sup> A ⊕ symbol appears here. This may indicate that the writer of the margin comments wished to connect it to no. 16; if so, the reason is not clear, since the themes of nos. 16 and 25 are not the same.

<sup>xxiv</sup> The page is damaged here.

<sup>xxv</sup> A + symbol appears here.

<sup>xxvi</sup> A + symbol appears here.

<sup>xxvii</sup> A 𐀀 grid symbol appears here.

<sup>xxviii</sup> These words have been inserted by the same hand as the margin comments.

<sup>xxix</sup> These words replaced a word, which was crossed out and is illegible.

<sup>xxx</sup> An *F* symbol appears here.

<sup>xxxi</sup> Another word or part thereof was written directly below this line in the same hand, but it has been crossed out and is illegible.

<sup>xxxii</sup> That is, vouched.

<sup>xxxiii</sup> See my comments on the meaning of *garçon* and *fille* in the introduction. For ease of translation, I have rendered them as boy and girl respectively, with the proviso that readers should be aware that their meanings in this context are uncertain.

<sup>xxxiv</sup> There is no English translation for this word. A *sergier* was someone who made serge, which is a type of twill fabric woven from wool (or sometimes silk).

<sup>xxxv</sup> That is, social condition.

<sup>xxxvi</sup> This is normally plural in French but singular in English.

<sup>xxxvii</sup> This is a part of the Litany of the Saints: “Retribuere dignare, Domine, omnibus nobis bona facientibus propter nomen tuum, vitam aeternam. Amen.” [“Deign to grant, O Lord, for the sake of Thy Name, eternal life to all those who do good to us. Amen”].

<sup>xxxviii</sup> “Requiem aeternam dona eis, Domine, et lux perpetua luceat eis.” [“Eternal rest grant unto them, O Lord: and let perpetual light shine upon them.”].

<sup>xxxix</sup> That is, similar prayers.

<sup>xl</sup> An instruction given to the congregation by the priest, normally after the Gospel and before the offertory, and distinct from the sermon, which was often only given in the afternoon at vespers.

<sup>xli</sup> That is, the Ten Commandments, done in a rhymed and rhythmic version: “Un seul Dieu tu adoreras ...”

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<sup>xlii</sup> The Apostles' Creed.

<sup>xliii</sup> That is, seated on two different sides of the chapel.

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***Vincent de Paul catechizing the elderly poor at the Nom de Jésus hospice. Louise de Marillac seated across from him. Detail of oil on canvas painted by Frère André; original in Church of Sainte-Marguerite, Paris. Part of the tableaux of paintings commissioned for Vincent de Paul's canonization.***

*Courtesy St. Vincent de Paul Image Archive Online*





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**Hôpital Général de Paris or Salpêtrière, Paris; as seen from the river. Late seventeenth century engraving. Collection of Science Museum Group, UK.**

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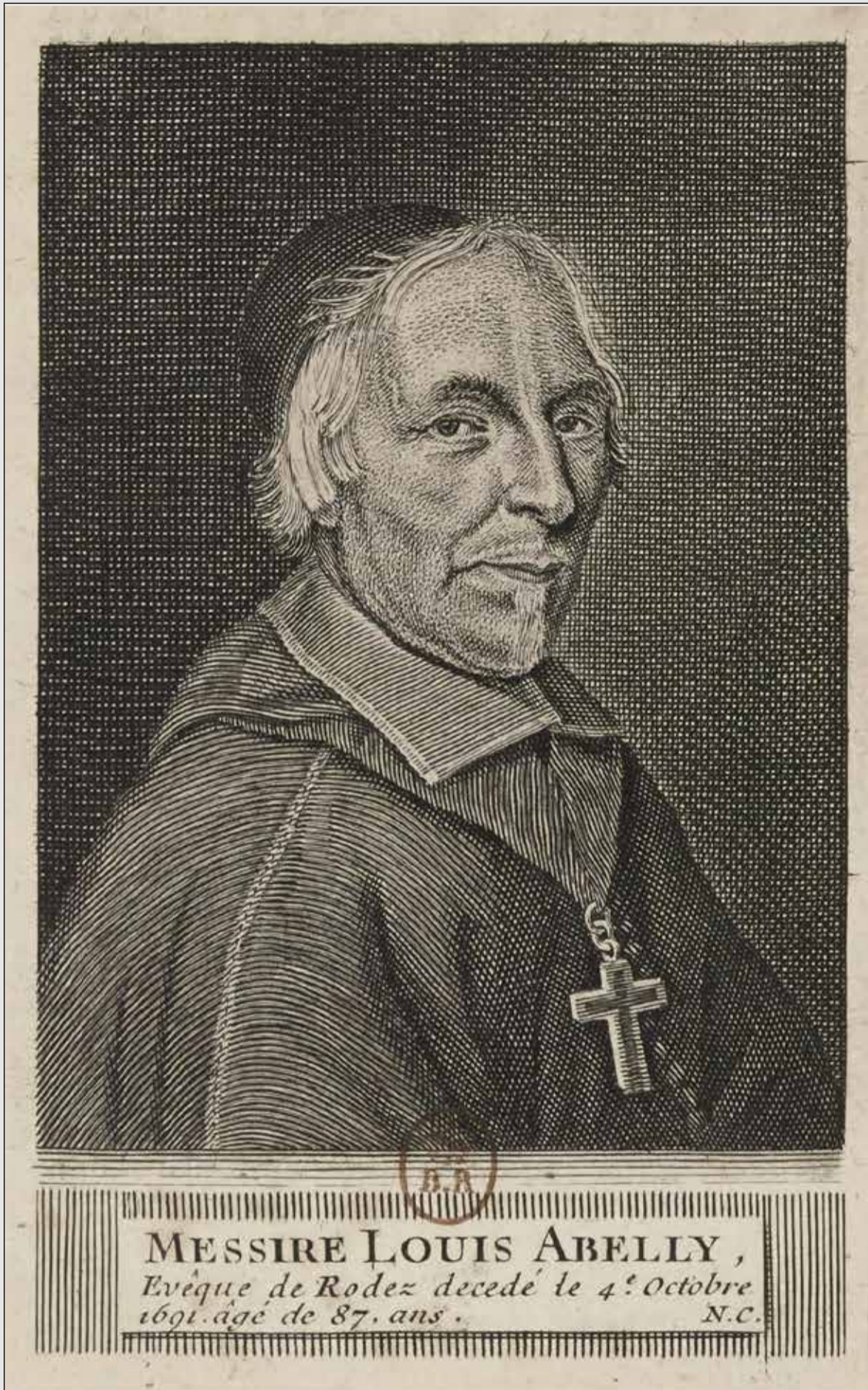


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***Vincent de Paul and Daughters at hospital. From a series of illustrations on Vincent's life published by La Bonne Presse.***

*Courtesy St. Vincent de Paul Image Archive Online*





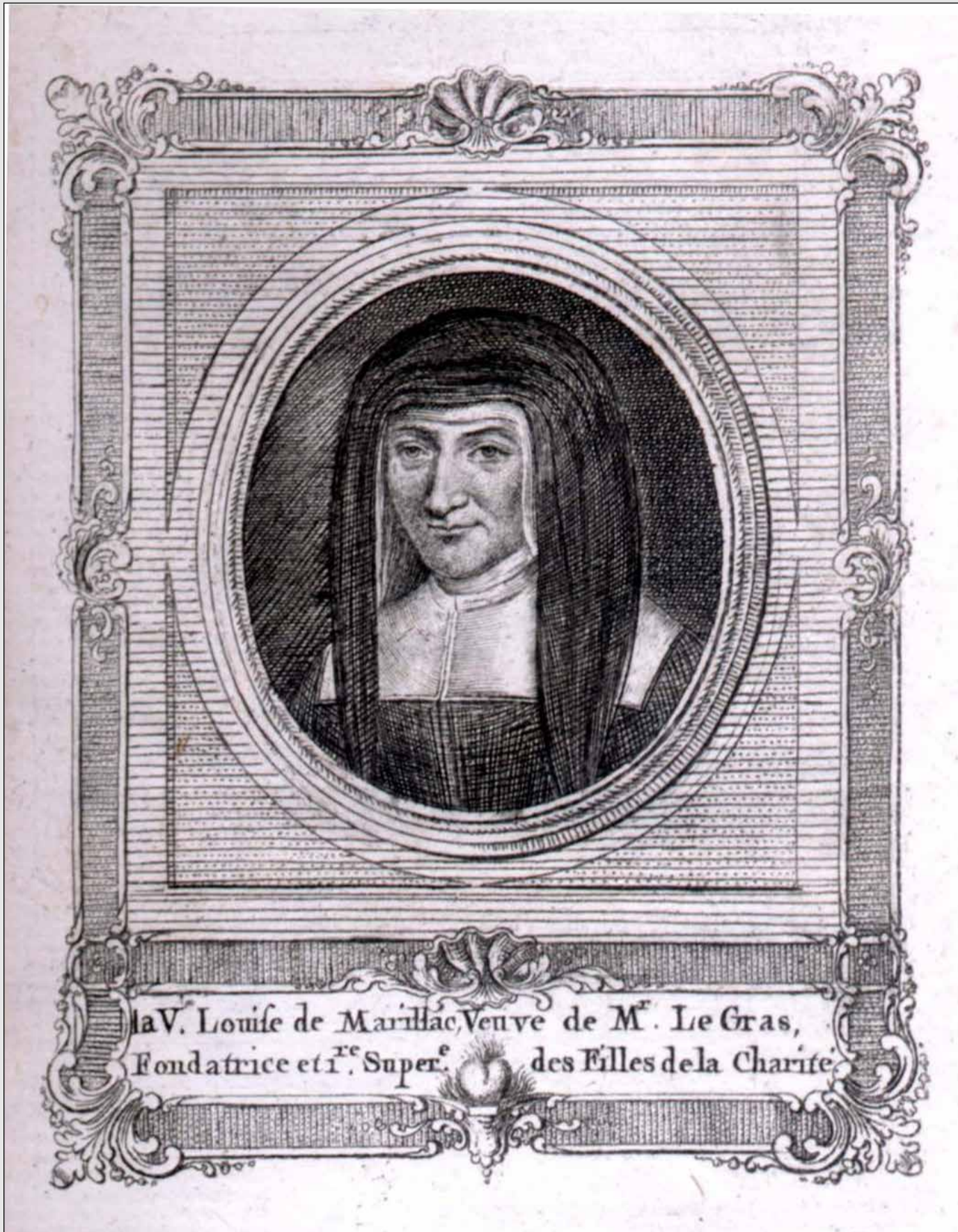
MESSIRE LOUIS ABELLY,  
*Evêque de Rodez decedé le 4<sup>e</sup> Octobre  
1691. âgé de 87. ans.* N.C.

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***Engraved portrait of Louis Abelly.***

*Courtesy St. Vincent de Paul Image Archive Online*





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***Portrait of Louise de Marillac. Published in the 1769 edition of Nicolas Gobillon's La Vie de la Vénérable Louise de Marillac.***

*Courtesy St. Vincent de Paul Image Archive Online*





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***Vincent and sisters with the sick-poor in hospital. From a Spanish series on the life of Vincent de Paul.***

*Courtesy St. Vincent de Paul Image Archive Online*





*B. Vincentius Viris et Foeminis indigentibus ac etate proveclis  
prudentissima Xenodochii erectione Succurrit.*

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**Original canonization engraving by Frère André, and painting after the engraving, depicting Vincent preaching at Nom de Jésus.**

Courtesy St. Vincent de Paul Image Archive Online





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***Original canonization engraving by Frère André, and painting after the engraving, depicting Vincent preaching at Nom de Jésus.***

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***Louise de Marillac and sisters treating the sick-poor. From a Spanish series on the life of Vincent de Paul.***

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***Stained glass window depicting the canonization painting of Vincent preaching at Nom de Jésus hospice, Louise in the background. Original in Bègles, France.***

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