

**CATHOLIC BODIES: A HISTORY OF
THE TRAINING AND DAILY LIFE OF
THREE RELIGIOUS TEACHING
ORDERS IN NEW SOUTH WALES
1860 to 1930**

Jennifer Ann Jarrett

A Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy School of
Social Policy and Curriculum Studies in Education, Faculty of
Education.

The University of Sydney

August 2003

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any other university and other institution and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of thesis.

Jennifer Ann Jarrett

August 2003

ABSTRACT

Catholic religious sisters contributed greatly to the education of generations of children, particularly girls in New South Wales in the period 1860 to 1920. They did this within the context of extremely disciplined and devoted lives that required them to leave behind their families and home and adopt a daily routine that was arduous and specific to the last detail.

The nineteenth century was a phenomenal time of growth and re-birth for the Catholic Church, particularly the Irish Catholic Church, as the Irish migrated from their homeland to various countries around the world and sought to re-establish themselves and their religion in various countries around the world. The thesis explores how the clergy capitalised on this opportunity to re-establish itself at a distance from Britain by not only creating an obedient and subservient following but by establishing an educational system that was wholly Catholic in nature and provision and that operated alongside the educational system provided by the State.

The thesis examines how religious sisters were required to discipline their bodies so as to overcome their "femaleness" and live a life dedicated to the service of God. The work of such writers as Frank, Turner, Grosz and Featherstone and the contribution they have made in recent times in developing a theory of the body are briefly discussed. It is however the works of Foucault and Fay and their theories of how particular types of bodies are produced by various institutions, such as the Catholic Church, that are most heavily relied upon in this work.

The thesis therefore examines how this process of producing the collective and individual Catholic body took place. First, by reviewing the training that novices underwent to become a religious teaching sister and then by exploring the daily life that a religious sister lived once professed. The thesis then examines the education – delivered through both direct and indirect means that children received in schools, which maintained the ongoing cycle of production of the Catholic body.

This thesis also serves to highlight the difficult and arduous lives that Catholic women who chose the life of a religious teaching sister lived. In the nineteenth and for a large part of the twentieth century there were not many options open to women in terms of choosing between marriage and a career. Joining a religious order provided women with the opportunity to develop themselves and their abilities and for some to gain experience in areas of work that would not have been ordinarily available to them. It also serves to highlight the lengths that these women were prepared to go to practise their faith actively and in the only way that the male dominated Church would allow them.

This thesis is dedicated to my mother, Ann Esma Jarrett (1936-1982) who assisted me in my learning enterprise from the time I could communicate. She is forever in my memory and heart.

Acknowledgements

There are a number of people and organisations that I would like to thank for assisting me in completing this thesis. I would like to thank my supervisor Dr Marjorie O'Loughlin who has steadfastly supported and encouraged me throughout the writing of this work, which for me has been a long and difficult personal struggle. I greatly appreciate all the meaningful advice that she gave me while writing this work and the fact that she was always there for me.

Secondly, I would like to thank the Archivists, the sisters and the staff of the various archives that I visited and spent hours researching in for their ongoing assistance and advice. In particular, I would like to thank Sister Genevieve and Guillian Buckley of the Sisters of Charity Archives, Sister Burford of the Sisters of St Joseph Archives and Sister Josepha of the Sisters of Mercy, Parramatta Archives. I would also like to express my appreciation to the Librarians and Archivists of the State and Mitchell Libraries and to the Archivist at the Sister of Mercy Order in Dublin.

Lastly, but by no means least, I would like to thank my family – my husband Paul Brien my son Matthew, who have constantly encouraged and supported me throughout my years of research, study and writing. I would also like to thank my sister Suzanne and my father Albert Jarrett for their support and love.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Declaration	i
Abstract	ii
Dedication	iii
Acknowledgements	iv
Table of Contents	v
Introduction	xiii
Chapter 1 The Body	
Introduction	1
The Body – A General Overview	3
Women's Bodies and how Men have	
Constructed them throughout the centuries	6
Women and Mysticism in the Middle Ages	17
Descartes and Dualism	21
A Catholic Body?	
Theory of the Body	27
Michel Foucault	29
Arthur W Frank	35
Bryan S Turner	40
Feminism and the Body	41
The Body as Text	46
Inscribing the Body	46

Speaking with the Body	50
Conclusion	51
Chapter Notes	52
 Chapter 2 Historical Background	
Introduction	58
The Irish and their Struggle for Survival	62
Famine in Ireland	64
Education in Ireland	66
Religious Education in Ireland	67
The “New Look” Religions Orders of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries	69
Mary Aikenhead and the Sisters of Charity	73
Catherine McAuley and the Sisters of Mercy	78
The Church in Colonial New South Wales	82
The Irish in Colonial New South Wales	88
Education in the Colony	91
Sisters of Charity in New South Wales	98
Sisters of Mercy in New South Wales	100
Sisters of St Joseph in Australia	104
Sisters of St Joseph in New South Wales	107
Conclusion	109
Chapter Notes	110

Chapter 3 Religious Training

Introduction	114
Women in the Nineteenth Century –	
A General Overview	118
“Becoming” a Religious Sister	124
Stage One – the “Postulancy”	127
Stage Two – the “Novitiate”	131
Training of Novices	133
Mistress of Novices	137
Manuals of Training	141
Distribution of Time	152
“Bride of Christ”	157
Reality of Religious Life	159
Conclusion	163
Chapter Notes	163

Chapter 4 Teacher Training

Introduction	166
Teacher Training and the State	168
The Monitorial System	169
The Pupil-Teacher System	175
Teacher Training Colleges	178
The Probationary Teacher Training System	
And Sydney Teachers’ College	179
Sydney Teachers’ College	180
Catholic Teacher Training	

Sisters of Charity	185
Sisters of Charity Teacher Training Colleges	195
Sisters of Mercy	199
Sisters of Mercy, Parramatta	205
Sisters of St Joseph	206
St Joseph Teacher Training School	212
Higher Education of Religious Teaching Sisters	216
"Becoming" a Teacher	218
Conclusion	219
Chapter Notes	221

Chapter 5 Religious Life

Introduction	226
Constitutions, Rules and Customs	228
The Vows of the Religious Sister	242
Poverty	243
Chastity and the Custody of the Senses	245
Silence and Confession	246
The Demeanour of the Religious Sister	252
The Religious Habit	254
"Particular Friendships"	257
Conclusion	259
Chapter Notes	260

Chapter 6 Obedience

Introduction	261
The Role of the Superior	264
Distinction between Lay and Choir Sisters	267
The Discipline of the Rule and the Imposition of Disciplinary "Technologies"	269
Diet and the Partaking of Meals	270
Observance of the Rule	273
Humility	276
"Docility"	276
Punishments and Mortifications	277
"Chapter of Faults"	281
The Employment of Time	283
A Religious Body?	286
The Other Side of Religious Life	288
Spirituality	290
Positive Aspects of Religious Life	292
Biographies of Religious Sisters	298
Conclusion	307
Chapter Notes	308

Chapter 7 Catholic Education 1

Introduction	312
Educational Themes in the Nineteenth Century	313
Social Control and Individual Betterment	314
Education for Motherhood	316

Education for Work	321
Elementary Education in Britain	324
Education in Colonial New South Wales	326
Roman Catholic Elementary Schools	331
Mary Aikenhead and the	
Sisters of Charity Schools	335
The Sisters of Charity Schools	
in New South Wales	339
Catherine McAuley and the	
Sisters of Mercy	343
Sisters of Mercy School, Parramatta	347
Mary MacKillop and the	
Sisters of St Joseph	349
Roman Catholic Secondary Education	355
Sisters of Charity and St Vincent's College	357
Sisters of Mercy, Parramatta	366
Our Lady of Mercy College	367
Sisters of St Joseph	371
Conclusion	371
Chapter Notes	372
 Chapter 8 Catholic Education II	
Introduction	378
The Making of the Catholic Female Body	379
Catechism	382
Prayer	387

The Partaking of the Sacraments	389
Sodalities	392
“Direct” and “Indirect” Somatic Learning in	
Catholic Schools	395
Demeanour of Pupils	397
Maintenance of Order within the School	399
Surveillance	400
Signals and Signs	403
Registers	405
Punctuality and Timetables	407
Boarder’s Timetables	409
Rewards	412
Methods of Correction	413
Monitors, Pupil-Teachers and Prefects	422
Design of School and Furniture	422
Division into Classes	424
Examinations	425
The Uniform	427
The Female Catholic Body	430
Conclusion	434
Chapter Notes	435
 Conclusion	 440
 Bibliography	 445

Appendix A	458
Appendix B	460
Appendix C	464
Appendix D	465
Appendix E	466

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the way of life that three Catholic female religious teaching Orders followed in New South Wales during the period 1860 to 1930 and the contribution that these women made to Catholic education, particularly to female Catholic education. This study will be made within the context of the control and discipline that was imposed by the Catholic Church and its clergy on the individual and collective bodies of religious sisters and its' faithful. This control, which manifested itself through the internalisation of religious belief and practises required the individual to learn obedience, self-discipline and restraint and was particularly directed at the female body which was regarded by those in control (men) as being immoral and possessing the propensity to sin. The aim of the nineteenth century Catholic Church was to produce individuals, particularly women, with "docile" and disciplined bodies that would unquestioningly accept the teachings of the Church. This type of body was to be achieved through the process of "direct" and "indirect" somatic learning (Fay:1987) and the imposition of various disciplinary "technologies" (Foucault: 1977) during this process.

In examining the three religious teaching Orders of the Sisters of Charity, Sisters of Mercy and Sisters of St Joseph and the discourses which trained and governed their bodies it is possible to gain some insight into the extent of obedience and discipline that was required to live the life of a religious. By reviewing some of the schools that these Orders established and the manner in which they were conducted it is also

possible to ascertain how the sisters employed their own training and bodily subjection to further educate generations of children and girls in a similar way of being.

In New South Wales, in the period under review, most Catholic primary and secondary girls' schools were staffed by female religious teaching sisters, who had left their homelands in Ireland, England and Europe on a quest to bring the Catholic faith to a colonial settlement that had convict roots and was regarded in desperate need of being "civilised", both morally and spiritually. Two of the Orders which are reviewed in this thesis, came from Ireland and the third had its beginnings in South Australia. All three Orders were initially established by strong visionary women, who in the tradition of the missionary zeal that characterised much of the nineteenth century and the sisters that joined them shared the common ambition of helping the poor of their area in whatever way they could, including educating their children, establishing homes for unmarried mothers and caring for them when they were ill.

The "brand" of the Catholic Church that was established in New South Wales largely emanated from Ireland, which had itself, derived from the Roman Catholic Church. After the years of oppression and suppression of the Catholic faith, the Irish clergy who arrived in the colony were keen to establish a "new world" where the Catholic religion could be freely practised by its adherents. The clergy who arrived in the colony seized the opportunity that the infant colony presented them with and took control of its faithful by imposing upon them the Church's beliefs not only from the

pulpit but also in schools that were specifically established initially to educate the lower orders and later to educate young women in the teachings and practices of the Catholic Church. It was through successive bishops and an “army” of dedicated and determined women who worked tirelessly behind the scenes, that the Church was able to construct an institution whose influence permeated the lives and bodies of millions of individuals for over one hundred and fifty years.

The re-establishment and growth of religious orders in the nineteenth century which meant that women lived together communally, was not a new phenomenon. Throughout the history of the Catholic Church, women as men had done, came together with the common purpose of practising their faith and dedicating their lives to God. The Church however deeply suspicious of women wanting to live separately from men and not follow their natural vocation in life – that of wife and mother, sought to control the manner in which these women lived, by imposing various restrictions upon them including that they live an enclosed life and follow a rigid daily routine that was governed by the vows of poverty, chastity and obedience. What was different about the orders that were established in the nineteenth century was the fact that the Church allowed them to take a fourth vow that enabled them to perform some special work such as teaching or nursing the poor.

The research and writing that has been undertaken to date on the contribution of religious women to education from a historical perspective, has until recent times received scant attention. Religious women even more so than women in general,

have remained anonymous and forgotten about until the last few decades. Why this is so, is an interesting question. The Catholic Church itself has not accorded these women the recognition that they deserve and the attitude of the Church has been that it was the clergy who presented the public image of the Church, while women quietly worked behind the scenes.

In the last decade or so, histories and studies of religious teaching orders have been written by both historians from within the various orders themselves – Donovan, McGrath, Foale, Burford, Lewis, MacGinley, McLay and by historians outside of the orders who have an interest in Catholic education. Writers who fall into this category include Dancelycwz, Burley and Trimingham-Jack. General histories on education also make reference to the contribution of religious orders to Catholic education in New South Wales. Writers such as Fogarty, Barcan, Kyle and Campion have contributed to our knowledge in this way. Popular literature and various television programs, documentaries, interviews and media articles have also provided valuable insights into how religious sisters lived their lives prior to the changes initiated by the Second Vatican Council.

My interest in writing on such a topic arose from the fact that I was educated at a Catholic school in the sixties and seventies by sisters of the Mercy Order, Parramatta. When I started school at the age of four, the sisters who taught me had been living under the same Rule for over a hundred years. They wore the traditional black habit described in Appendix A, and lived according to their Rule which they indirectly

imposed upon their students. Daily, we were reminded of the fact that we would “burn in hell” if we misbehaved or committed a sin. All of the students that attended these schools were theoretically moulded into good Catholic mothers and wives, even if they followed a career for some time prior to their marriage. Some of the sisters themselves, whether they were aware of it or not provided excellent role models of strong and independent women and instilled in some of their students a “feminist consciousness”, relevant for the time in which they lived. The sisters way of being and bodily demeanour was transmitted to their students through the curriculum that they taught and the manner in which they taught it.

In undertaking this work I intend to follow on from the writings of Fogarty, McLay, McGrath, Barcan and Kyle who examine the various “technologies” and features of the Catholic education system, which make it stand apart from the type of education provided by the state by examining these “technologies” and features in terms of the contribution that they make to producing a particular type of individual with a particular type of body. In undertaking this examination, I will explore in detail the training that novices received to become a Catholic religious teaching sister and the lives that they followed both in and outside of the convent, in their schools once they had been professed. In order to carry out this study I will draw on the work of a number of theorists, but most specifically the theories of Foucault and Fay. The works of both of these theorists function together to explain the process of learning and indoctrination that individuals were exposed to and the “technologies” that were

employed by various groups to produce the type of body that was desired by the Catholic Church.

This thesis is presented within a historical and theoretical framework and draws on a number of disciplines including feminism, philosophy, history, religion and sociology. It is the intention of this thesis to not only provide an assessment of religious teaching sisters' lives from a historical point of view but to ground this assessment of religious sisters in a theoretical framework that allows for an exploration of what was happening beyond the discourse contained in the various texts that governed the Orders and the schools that they established and managed. It is the intention of this thesis to "unsilence" religious teaching sisters and their students in a way that has not been attempted before, by examining the target of control that the Catholic Church always has had in its sights, that of the female body and its propensity to sin. The contribution that their male equivalents, brothers, made to the Catholic Church and the teaching of boys will not be examined in this thesis.

Accordingly, the scheme of this thesis is to provide a theoretical and historical overview of the body in Chapter 1 and then a brief examination of the various histories of the Catholic Church, the Irish, colonial New South Wales and the founding of the Orders under review in Chapter 2. In Chapters 3 and 4, I will explore the training process that novices underwent to become religious teaching sisters, reviewing the "technologies" they were exposed to and the process of somatic

learning they underwent. Chapters 5 and 6 will examine the main contents of the texts which governed the daily lives of religious sisters and the vows they were required to adhere to. The remaining two chapters will explore the work that the sisters undertook in the schools that they established, and how schools managed to provide what was in effect a dual system of education that combined both the secular and Catholic religious curriculum, despite the fact that they were fettered in terms of meeting the educational requirements of the state.

The Church ensured that becoming a religious teaching sister was the only way that women could participate in “spreading the word of God” and that they were only able to achieve this by themselves having learnt and internalised the teachings and practices of the faith. They were never allowed to participate in interpreting the word of God or in theological debate. In order to ensure absolute control of “her” messengers, the Church set strict guidelines which regimented every moment of a religious woman’s life by robing her body in a distinctive habit, subjecting her daily life to a strict timetable and requiring her to take vows so that she could receive her “credentials”. In the period under review the Church persisted with its belief in the basic matter/spirit dualism and pursued a line of subjugation of the body which clearly spoke of its carnality and sinfulness. The mind, in theory at least, would be so exhausted by the repetition, the lack of original thinking and initiative, and the obsession with achieving perfection that it would unquestioningly follow.

As mentioned above, I intend in this thesis to utilise predominantly the theoretical works of Foucault and Fay on the body by extrapolating these works to the religious educational context and “unsilencing” the voices of a group of religious teaching sisters in a way that they have not had the opportunity to speak before. According to Carette (2000), “after Foucault religion and theology are seen as inseparable from questions about the body and sexual orientation, in so far as the body maps or anchors discourses about religious practices and beliefs. This can be seen from the fact that religious discourses are always concerned with what individuals are doing with their bodies, with whom and where they are doing it”.ⁱ The Chapters that follow are testament to this statement as repeatedly the Catholic Church in one form or another, at one time or another, attempted to control and determine the individual and collective bodies of Catholics, particularly female Catholics.

ⁱ Carette J R; *Foucault and Religion Spiritual Corporeality and Political Spirituality*, Routledge, 2000, pp. 146-147

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

The body, particularly the female body, has throughout the centuries been the subject of control on the one hand and desire on the other, it is has been represented as the source of temptation, yet has been utilised as a site to indicate the presence of God, it has reproduced generations of human beings and it has been employed and manipulated both by the owner of that body but more often by men to direct the course of history and achieve various outcomes. In writing the history of a particular type of female body, that of the Catholic religious teaching sister's body it is possible to discern a body that was clearly recognisable as being Catholic in its demeanour and religious in its nature. This body evolved through its exposure to the processes of "direct" and "indirect" somatic learning and the imposition of various disciplinary "technologies" that etched themselves upon the body to the point that the body of the religious teaching sister and the individuals upon which she subsequently acted were discernibly Catholic.

The purpose of this Chapter is to provide the theoretical framework and historical background for this thesis. After providing a brief overview of how the body has in recent times become the focus of analysis and discussion in a number of disciplines¹ I will develop a theory of women's bodies. My reason for doing this is to examine how women's bodies have been viewed by society in general and the Catholic Church in particular, and to provide the basis upon which to re-construct the form and nature of the Catholic religious sister's body, in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Such a re-construction, will then be examined within the context of data and archival material that has been collected, to examine how students and teachers were disciplined – the aim of which in all cases was to produce "docile" and obedient, Catholic bodies.

Throughout this Chapter and the remainder of the thesis, it will become evident that in the past men have sought to oppress women by seizing upon the biological, psychological and physical differences between women and men, to support the argument that women are inferior and therefore in need of male control. Any woman who chose to dedicate her life to God as a member of a religious commune in early Christian times, as a mystic in the Middle Ages or as a religious sister in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, had to overcome these perceived weaknesses, in order to live her life dedicated to God.

A woman in choosing a religious life, had to learn to deny and transcend her female "being", particularly that as represented by her body. In so doing she had the opportunity of becoming less than yet more than other women of her time. Her sexuality was sublimated in order to enable her to participate in all areas of life behind the convent walls, including the potential opportunity to manage and supervise her congregation and attain skills of employment that would not have been available to her in the world outside of the convent. This opportunity came at a price, as she was required to discipline her body so that it became totally "docile" and obedient.

An individual's training as a religious sister informed her that the effort she put into attaining a disciplined, controlled and "docile" body would aid in her effort to attain the Catholic notion of "perfection". Perfection of mind and body, learning to suffer in silence and without complaint in this life according to Catholic doctrine was necessary if the religious sister or indeed any Catholic was to achieve "salvation" in the next. But the disciplining of her body also provided her with more than this - it provided her with a form of independence and the opportunity while denying her femaleness, to develop a

certain kind of "feminist consciousness", which she may or may not have been aware of and while not of the type of feminist consciousness that feminists know today it still enabled her to significantly contribute to the improvement of lives of others within the historical context of her time.

THE BODY - A GENERAL OVERVIEW

"There is an obvious and prominent fact about human beings: they have bodies and they are bodies. More lucidly human beings are embodied, just as they are enselved. Our everyday life is dominated by the details of our corporeal existence, involving us in a constant labour of eating, washing, grooming, dressing and sleeping: to neglect this regimen of government of the body is to invite premature decay, disease and disorder". ²

The obsession with the disciplining of the body for whatever reason whether it be beauty, sport, dancing, art, employment or for religious purposes, has been achieved by individuals or groups controlling the body through the establishment of strict regimes and imposing various "technologies" and/or practices, involving the labours listed in the quote above or by developing more complicated ones that required years of practise and dedication to master. Since the nineteenth century a number of disciplines have been concerned with studying the body and whether it can be attributed with a life of its own. One such discipline is that of anthropology, which unlike other disciplines and mainstream theory, has been concerned with the study of the human body as a means of understanding the ontology of human beings." ³

Turner (1992) outlines the reasons for anthropology's interest in the body are because of "the issue of the body and the ontology of 'Man',....its' interest in exploring relationships between culture and nature,....the contribution to the discipline of social Darwinism" ⁴

and that finally “.... anthropology rather than sociology developed a theory of the body (or at least a strong research interest in the body) because in pre-modern society the body is an important surface on which the marks of social status, family position, tribal affiliation, age, gender or religious condition can easily and publicly be displayed”.⁵ It is specifically with the process by which the body is used as a surface upon which a particular religious condition could be inscribed and the “technologies” and the processes that were employed to achieve this end, that this thesis will be concerned.

Apart from the analysis undertaken by anthropologists, study has also been pursued outside of the mainstream disciplines and in opposition to mainstream theorising, “writers from Schopenhauer to Foucault have placed the body in a central position to social theorising as a critique of capitalist rationality, the Christian concept of moral restraint or of exploitative sexual relations within the patriarchal family. With the growing revival of interest in Nietzsche and the continuing importance of Heidegger in recent years there has been a deluge of books written on the “body”.⁶ Turner (1992) suggests that there are a number of social changes, which have brought the study of the “body” into prominence in recent times. “These changes include the growth of consumer culture in the post-war period, the development of post-modern themes in the arts, the feminist movement and finally what Foucault (1981) has termed ‘bio-politics’”.⁷ To this can be added the ever-increasing obsession by Western cultures with materialism and the growth of secularism, which has seen many of the major churches essentially loose control and power over what were once millions of their followers.

As Turner (1984) argues in his book *Body and Society*, “one cannot raise the question of the meaning of the body without attempting to locate those meanings within a broader

framework of social structure and historical change".⁸ In attempting to write and to theorise about the "body" and to "use it as a tool for understanding the behaviour of a group of people, it is impossible to avoid its contradictory character.....We have bodies, but we are also in a specific sense, bodies, our embodiment is a necessary requirement of our social identification".⁹ Increasingly, as Turner has argued, we are less of what the body is and what it signifies. The term "body" has been referred to in the English language in various contexts throughout history and the paradoxes that have arisen as a result of utilising the term in these various contexts has highlighted the way in which the word "body" has been used and described. For example, Turner (1984) argues that: "the body is a material organism, but also a metaphor, it is the trunk apart from the limbs, but also the person (as in 'anybody' and 'somebody'). The body may also be an aggregate of bodies, often with a legal personality as in 'corporation' or in the 'mystical body of Christ'.... There are also immaterial bodies which are possessed by ghosts, spirits, demons and angels.... There are also persons with two bodies, such as medieval kings, who occupied simultaneously their human body and sovereign body. Then there are heavenly bodies', the geometry of bodies in space, the harmony of spheres and corpuscular light.....".¹⁰ In short, "the body is our most immediate and omnipresent experience of reality and its solidity, but it may also be subjectively elusive",¹¹ as individuals who lose a limb, often testify.

Frank (1991) also examines the question as to why the "body" and theorising about it has become so prominent in recent times. He poses the question as to whether our recent concern with the "body" "represents the beginning of a new basis of post Enlightenment ethics?"¹² and as such one that could be extremely important to feminism. Frank supports this claim by referring to such works as Feher's (1989) three volume *Fragments*

of the *Body* where Feher in his introduction, calls for an “ethics of the body”.¹³ Frank’s contribution to the development of a theory of the body will be discussed further at a later stage in this Chapter.

Women’s Bodies and How Men Have Constructed Them Throughout the Centuries

As with the theorising on the body, particularly the female body, how it has been viewed and manipulated throughout history, has not until recently been the topic of research or analysis. The body and the disciplinary “technology” and process of somatic learning to which it has been submitted, has been and continues to be extensively explored by various theorists and writers that come from a diverse range of disciplines. In reconstructing the form that the body of a Catholic religious teaching sister or student in the mid-nineteenth century assumed, it is important to remember that the theory behind what constituted an “ideal” body type for a religious teaching sister and student did not develop quickly or in a vacuum. And further that the “ideal” body type that a religious sister was expected to achieve and exteriorly present at least from a theoretical perspective, greatly influenced the “ideal” body type that the Catholic student or trainee teacher was also expected to achieve. Rather the “ideal form” or being that a religious sister was expected to aspire to and ultimately achieve, was a product of centuries of the patriarchal Catholic Church theorising about the differences and hence abilities of male and female bodies, and how these differences should be applied to the respective roles that men and women were to follow, resulted in the Church assuming a different attitude toward the sexes and to their respective roles in life. Such attitudes continued into the nineteenth century when science and medicine also began to contribute to the theorising on the differences between male and female bodies and what these differences meant in terms of the life that each was to pursue.

In writing the history of the body and in particular the history of the body ensconced in Catholicism, we need as Frank (1991) has suggested to look beyond the construction of a body by "institutions" and "discourse" to the question of the "corporeality" of the body itself.¹⁴ As it is with this latter aspect, particularly the corporeality of bodies, specifically female bodies, that Church writers concentrated their efforts on in developing a paradigm which resulted in centuries of ongoing control and subjection for women. Christianity in general and Catholicism in particular, intended that the body, specifically the female body, be totally subjected and controlled, and that any aspect of corporeality or control over the body by women themselves be abandoned and replaced by the male clergy, dictating the manner in which women's bodies should be viewed and employed. Women and their bodies in being subjected and controlled by such an oppressive and all-consuming force as the Catholic Church have undergone centuries of suffering, self-punishment, deprivation and pain to ensure that the Church reproduced itself, both corporeally and psychically. But women's role within Christianity had not always been one of inequality and oppression.

At its beginning, Christianity like many other revolutionary movements, which make major changes to the status quo, can be viewed as a revolution against patriarchy.¹⁵ The aim of the new Church, at least initially, was to overcome the existing inequities of Roman society, by assisting the oppressed and recognising that they also possessed needs, which were similar to the needs of others. Christ as he moved amongst the population, taught that existence on earth was only temporary and that there existed another spiritual world, where particularly those that had been oppressed or endured suffering on earth would be treated equally, even more favourably by God His Father,

than those who had not lived such a life in their corporeal state. Christ's words encompassed not only those individuals committed to a life of poverty either by choice or otherwise but also women. All individuals according to the teachings of Jesus Christ regardless of their sex, social status or religion were regarded as equal and entitled to the same treatment and consideration before God.

Christ postulated a realm beyond earth that was superior in both power and morality and to which all individuals should spend their earthly existence striving toward achieving entrance to, upon their mortal death. The notion of social justice and equality for all as taught by Christ, however, was not to persist, as once Christianity became institutionalised and his teachings were taken up by his followers and re-interpreted, Christ's message was altered and re-formulated beyond recognition, to the point that the power and control that Christ had taught resided in God who encompassed all individuals, became firmly lodged in a God as typified and described by men.¹⁶ According to French (1986), as far as we know, Jesus Christ in his teachings had repudiated power entirely, suggesting that truth lay in another world.¹⁷ This "world was characterised by a synthesis of the 'masculine' qualities of structure and permanence and the 'feminine' qualities of love, forgiveness and compassion, a reality that blended justice and mercy and was represented in the body of Jesus Christ".¹⁸ And it is from this point of assignation of "qualities" that were male and female and their extrapolation to the body, that the dualistic or oppositional descriptions of men and women's bodies have originated and subsequently proliferated and been relied upon throughout the centuries.

That fear and hatred of sex and consequently the body, manifested itself in the oppression and control of women, is apparent in Christianity from the time of Paul.¹⁹ Throughout Paul's works run two contradictory themes – "a profound almost instructive contempt for sex and women, a revulsion against being dragged by 'trouble in the flesh'" (1 Corinthians 7.28) and his understanding that a major religion could not be built on a discipline that most people felt to be a deprivation".²⁰ Paul in a letter to Titus, "who was establishing a church in Crete"²¹ described how women should be and live their lives – "discreet, chaste, keepers at home [housebound], good, obedient to their own husbands (Titus 2:5)".²² According to Paul, women were so completely of their bodies and not in God's image they were beyond redemption. For Paul it would seem eternal life was only an option for men, unless women were somehow able to overcome their femaleness. How they could achieve this transformation will be discussed a little later.

The Gospel of St. Thomas while still misogynistic in its attitude toward women, provided a framework within which women could be saved. St. Thomas in his Gospels "depicts a woman achieving salvation only if she becomes male. This gospel includes a conversation between Simon Peter and Jesus, who had come to preach to the apostles. Seeing that he was accompanied by Mary, Simon Peter said to Jesus 'Let Mary go out from among us, because women are not worthy of the Life'. Jesus replied, (according to St. Thomas) 'see I shall lead her, so that I will make her mother, that she too may become a living spirit, resembling you males. For every woman who makes herself male will enter the Kingdom of Heaven'".²³

The Gospel of St. Thomas also discriminates in terms of how men and women are each to obtain salvation. "For a man to achieve salvation, he must become a 'living spirit'

that is, like Adam prior to the fall. But a woman must first become like a man". This hierarchy from female to male to living spirit mirrors the initial creation from men's rib".

²⁴ This notion of a "hierarchy of salvation" influenced many other Church authors who chose also to interpret and write on the teachings of the Church. An example of one such writer was Philo. He held that "the female is incomplete and in subjection and belongs in the individual capacity of the passive rather than the active". ²⁵ Philo, even though he was a Jewish philosopher who lived in the first century after the birth of Christ, "was very influential in the development of early Christian doctrines". ²⁶ He argued, "that salvation was possible only through reason, for only reason enabled one to transcend the corrupting influences of the senses and bodily passions, and thereby attain salvation". ²⁷

Therefore, Philo unlike Paul, adopted a similar position to some of the early disciples with regard to his attitude toward women and what they must do if they were to achieve salvation, that is, as recorded by St. Thomas - "woman must become like man", ²⁸ by renouncing her corporeality and denying her femaleness. "Woman's salvation requires giving up the female gender by changing into the male, since the female gender is material, passive, corporeal and sense-perceptible, while the male is active, rational, incorporeal and more akin to mind and thought". ²⁹ According to Tuana (1993), Philo went on to explain "that every woman by her very nature in order to achieve this transformation, requires the grace of God. 'When God begins to consort with the soul, He makes what before was woman into a virgin again, for he takes the degenerate and emasculate passions which unmanned it and plants instead the native growth of unpolluted virtues. Thus He will not talk with Sarah till she has ceased after the manner, of women (Gen. xviii.II) and is ranked once more as a pure virgin'". ³⁰ Only when a

woman has “unsexed” herself can she then participate in the “rational which belongs to mind and reason, which belongs to the masculine gender”.³¹

Another follower of Christ in the fourth century A.D. was Augustine. He believed that “man’s participation in the image of God was superior to that of woman”³² because of his capacity for reason and that as “man’s own being is in God’s image; woman’s divinity depends upon her connection to man. Woman is in God’s image only in secondary sense”,³³ and any connection with God can only be achieved through marriage. Like Philo, Augustine justified the reason why women should be regarded in this way was because her ability to reason was not the same as mans. “Accepting the premise that humans are in God’s image through their rational minds, Augustine admitted that both male and female have minds, thus both are in God’s image. But the nature of women’s bodies inhibits the functioning of their minds. ‘In the sex of their body they [women] do not signify this [mind]; therefore, they are bidden to be veiled’. The veil prescribed by Paul then is a reminder of woman’s need for authority. Only under the guidance of her husband (or the Church) can a woman overcome the sex of her body and thereby be part of the image of God”.³⁴

The early Church father’s association of woman with the “sensation and passions”³⁵ and accordingly with the weakness and sinfulness of the flesh and the body, became an integral part of Christian theology. So too did the question of whether because of this weakness she was entitled to be saved – a question which was debated for centuries. For example Gratian, a twelfth century Benedictine monk, to whom is often attributed the title of “father of canon law”, interpreted Pauline law and was “the primary proponent of the position that women lacked a soul and was not in God’s image”³⁶ and

therefore following on from Paul, should be veiled in public. According to Gratian, "women must cover their heads because (unlike men) they are not in the image of God. They must do this as a sign of their subjection to authority and because sin came into the world through them....Because of original sin they must show themselves submissive".³⁷

Thomas Aquinas writing in the thirteenth century argued that woman because of the nature of her body and its reproductive capacity was more susceptible to the desires of the flesh and therefore less perfect and inferior, and more inclined to sin than man who is controlled by reason.³⁸ "In order to allow man to live a life of reason, God freed him from the concerns of generation, for generation ties one to the body and prohibits a life of reason".³⁹ By seeing women only as a corporeal being and a vehicle for reproduction, the Church enshrined their inferiority and need for control in its teachings, as they became synonymous with their body and its specific function of reproduction and therefore incapable of exercising their mind in a rational way. "Woman is by God's decree inferior to man".⁴⁰ She was regarded, as has been repeated since the time of Aristotle, as a "misbegotten man",⁴¹ excluded from all aspects of Church authority and even through the "doctrine of the Trinity,.... from divinity".⁴²

Given these attitudes toward women, which continued to exist and permeate down through the centuries, why did women as French (1989) has questioned, flock to Christianity and when the opportunity arose, to this religious way of life?⁴³ This question in the first instance, according to French (1989), must be considered in the light of the type of life that women lived during the Roman period of history.⁴⁴ As mentioned earlier, Christ's teachings at least initially proposed equality between all individuals regardless of their sex, if not in this world then in the next, and such thinking "was to be

found nowhere else in the Roman Empire. Women were permitted to take active roles in the new Church, both while Jesus was alive and after his death; thus they had scope for their energies that was hard to find elsewhere".⁴⁵ Apart from this "the core values of Christianity are 'feminine', (compassion, sensitivity, selflessness) - whatever the morality of the Church structure. Finally, Christianity offered women a new kind of freedom, not found in traditional Judaism, Hellenistic or Roman culture - the right to remain virgin or celibate".⁴⁶ French states "a celibate life freed women not only from the burden of domesticity and childbearing but from the subjection of men. Women in those times would probably have been happy to give up sex, as they were married to men, while they were still children, who were much older, who were strangers and who expected them to be hardworking and obedient. Under such circumstances marital sex is a form of rape".⁴⁷

That many women viewed the opportunity to remain celibate as a type of freedom from the traditional constraints of marriage and childbearing was demonstrated from this time on by the appearance of many communities of women who chose to live their lives at least theoretically, separate and celibate from men. Virginity or celibacy after widowhood, represented a responsible and respectable way to achieve, not equality with men but a measure of independence from them and provided an alternative to the hardship and deprivations of marriage and motherhood. These feelings probably persisted until the late twentieth century when changes in attitude and cheap and reliable birth control methods became available.

Brown (1988) in his work *The Body and Society: Men, Women and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* sees the adoption of chastity and following a chaste life as providing

the element missing from Paul's legacy.⁴⁸ Any individual, male or female could embrace such a lifestyle and as such according to the teachings of the Church live their life denying the flesh and remaining close to God. For some early followers of Christianity, sexual renunciation even allowed women to achieve a soul.⁴⁹ Girls that decided to remain unmarried in the Carthigenian Church, were encouraged by their fellow believers to unveil their heads and uncover their faces.⁵⁰ In so doing, according to Brown "they were thought to have broken the 'sound barrier' of sexual shame upon which the traditional veiling was thought to have been based. Though fully adult women, they considered themselves free to abandon the veil that was held to externalize the sexual shame associated with women old enough to undergo the 'common slur' of the marriage bed".⁵¹ And it is to the achieving of such a reputation for sexual abstinence and self control that I shall return later.

Given the strong dualistic emphasis that early Christianity placed on the separation of the corporeal from the incorporeal, the emerging Church also posed a sharp and decisive opposition between the world and the spirit. Any concern with the body that did not involve its discipline and control could have no place within a religious movement whose philosophy was initially strongly orientated towards concern with life after death and achieving salvation by keeping the desires of the body under absolute control. The level of control over women's bodies was even more extreme than for men as the Church instructed that since the time of Eve, it was woman and her body that had led men to sin. Accordingly, it was women and their corporal desires that had to be suppressed and left unacknowledged.

As is clear from the preceding discussion, within the Christian ascetic tradition of dedicating one's life to God, any acknowledgement of one's "sexuality came to be seen largely as incompatible" ⁵² with living one's life as a religious subject. "In particular, sexual enjoyment (was regarded) as a particular threat to any attempt to create a systematic religious response to sinfulness. This problem of subordinating sexuality to a rational life-style forms the basis of much of Weber's view of the origins of religious intellectualism and rationalisation. The argument is that 'ascetic alertness, self control and methodical planning of life are seriously threatened by the peculiar irrationality of the sexual act, which is ultimately and uniquely unsusceptible to rational organisation'".

53

Yet, according to Turner (1984), there was a basic problem here, that flowed through societies, particularly feudal ones, this being the ownership of land and the passing of it from one generation to the next which depended on their being available suitable and legitimate male heirs. ⁵⁴ As a result, "a discourse of desire was necessary to secure these economic objectives" ⁵⁵ while still maintaining control over women and the sexual act. Therefore, in an effort to balance the need of ensuring adequate numbers of male heirs were produced over the necessity for reproducing the Church, the "discourse of desire" ⁵⁶ that developed "was primarily patriarchal and repressive,... (with the) features of the discourse being contained predominately in a Catholic morality which aimed to repress pleasure in the interest of reproduction. This is not to suggest that medieval attitudes toward" ⁵⁷ all women were the same, as during this period as in earlier periods a woman was once again categorised as Eve, the temptress of the flesh or Mary the Mother of Christ, pure in flesh. Regardless of which category a woman fell into, a woman within the feudal household was still seen as dependent upon and subordinate to men. ⁵⁸

One solution adopted by the Church in order to keep sexual reproduction in its place, while at the same time ensuring its own physical reproduction, was to segregate those who chose a religious life from the rest of society by requiring them to live in monasteries or convents.⁵⁹ Such individuals, Turner suggests, were regarded as an "elite" group who withdrew from the world in order to abstain from sex and the temptations of the flesh by living celibate lives and "recruiting its members through vocations".⁶⁰ A vocation to withdraw oneself from the corporeality of the world became a common form of life for many men and women, as orders of nuns and monks were established throughout Europe.⁶¹ The "masses" on the other hand "remained embedded in the profane world of everyday society (and) reproduced itself within the restrictions of organised monogamy".⁶² Sexuality and its' expression, therefore in theory, at least became "a lay activity, permitting nuns, monks and priests to follow a spiritual life",⁶³ supposedly free from the concerns of the flesh. "As a result of the severity of the attitude towards sexual sinfulness, the human body was transformed from the occasion of sin to its very cause. The body became the prison of the soul, the flesh became, in the words of Brother Giles, 'the pig that wallows in its own filth, and the senses were the seven enemies of the mind'".⁶⁴ According to Turner, "to control the body the ascetic movement in Christianity turned even more rigidly towards rituals of restraint - fasting, celibacy, vegetarianism and the denial of earthly things and pleasures".⁶⁵

Women and Mysticism in the Middle Ages

One example of an ascetic movement, which was revived in the twelfth century and gave women the opportunity to dedicate their life to God, was that of becoming or

achieving the life of a mystic. Just as the lifestyle provided by early Christianity had offered women with an alternative in the Roman period, embracing Christianity together with the lifestyle of the mystic provided women with a further alternative in the Middle Ages. "Mysticism in its various forms asserted the transcendent knowledge came not as a product of rational thought, but as a result of a way of life, of individual inspiration and sudden revelatory insight".⁶⁶ Mysticism therefore represented a way of life that was open to women to follow, as it did not involve "rational thought" or reason but rather could be experienced by the individual and be witnessed by others on and through the body of the mystic. Accordingly, women in the Middle Ages were able to embrace this way of life and gain recognition from the Church in a similar way that men were able to achieve recognition.

Mystics, Lerner (1993) states, "drew on the biblical tradition of prophesy and revelation and especially on the imagery of the Song of Songs, which stood for the mystical union of God and the soul",⁶⁷ in order to express their relationship with God to others. For example, the founder of the Cisterian Order "was based on the desire of many religious for a more ascetic way of life"⁶⁸ and being able to spend time in prayer and meditation, communing with God. "The aim of Christian mystics was spiritual union with Christ, which could be reached by ascetic practices, suffering and mortification of the flesh, meditation and openness to the revelatory experience".⁶⁹ It involved the disciplining and controlling of the body through various regimes such as "limiting the intake of food, self-flagellation and long hours spent in prayer".⁷⁰ An emphasis on developing or living in a "culture of suffering" was an important feature of ascetic practice and one that was adopted by religious orders of later centuries.

Mystics followed the road to God in various ways according to Lerner (1993), but it usually included the following common stages:

- "1. a purging of body and soul by exclusion of all sensory distractions achieved by ascetic practice and prayer and an emptying of the soul of all worldly concerns;
2. This 'night of the spirit' or 'darkness of unknowing', when all previous knowledge has been abandoned to get the soul in readiness is followed by a transcendental experience, a sudden illumination.....
3. The final stage, which may occur simultaneously or later, is union with Christ, in which the mystic is re-experiencing Christ's suffering and crucifixion, or which may come as an overwhelming revelatory feeling of union, a merging and sometimes orgiastic giving-over-of-the-self to the Other".⁷¹

The overall aim of the individual in working through each of these stages of depriving herself of food and other bodily comforts and concentrating her entire being on prayer, was so that she could ultimately transcend her body as it were, and experience "ecstatic" episodes where she was in touch with her spirit or "unembodied" self and in this state, freely commune with God. What the mystic learnt during an "ecstatic" episode was then "transmitted to contemporaries in revelations, prophecies, visions and spiritual commentaries".⁷² According to Lerner (1993), "some mystics' visions amounted to a coherent theological system",⁷³ while the visions of others were "fragmentary and unsystematic.... The important achievement of all the mystics was that they not only had these extraordinary experiences, but that they could convince contemporaries not only of their actuality, but of their spiritual meaning".⁷⁴

The level of "outer-body" experience and what was required for a man or a woman to be recognised as a mystic by the community differed for each sex. Not only were women required to exhibit evidence of their mystical experiences and required to live

an ascetic life of deprivation and self-denial, they were also subjected to a more rigorous assessment of whether mystical status should be attributed to them. "Male mystics in the Middle Ages were all clerics who needed no other authorisation than that of their religious training" ⁷⁵ to be able to preach and undertake religious functions and they were generally only required to deny themselves of possessions such as "money, property or progeny" ⁷⁶ all items that were external to their bodies. Women, on the other hand, were not only expected to go without these things but were also required to inflict "some form of bodily suffering including going without food for long periods of time", ⁷⁷ and thereby openly manifest that their body was under some form of control.

So why did women once again pursue this type of life? It would seem that the private discipline, suffering and rewards of mystical life could sometimes be transformed into public roles of leadership, which was unusual for women at this time, as evidenced by the life histories of Hildegard of Bingen, St. Catherine of Sienna and St. Theresa of Avila. ⁷⁸ By being able to assume a leadership role that was clearly outside of women's traditional role of wife and mother, "mysticism offered some women a liberating path toward self-fulfillment.... The mystical way empowered these women and enabled them to lead highly individualistic, heroic lives, defying all the prescriptions of patriarchal ideology. These rare and certainly unusually gifted women paid an enormous price in insecurity, sickness and vulnerability. With very few exceptions, their position was marginal and imperiled," ⁷⁹ and they were at all times under the constant surveillance of Church authorities. "So great was the stature that (perceived) holiness and the life of mysticism" ⁸⁰ conferred upon individuals, "that many women sought stature by feigning holiness or were accused of doing so. Church men worked hard to rout out fraudulent saints. Women (unlike men), were to be investigated with special diligence" ⁸¹ and

pursued much more thoroughly than men. The prelate Jean Gerson cited the reason for this as being the fact that women are "easily seduced".⁸²

Therefore by the late Middle Ages, Christianity as evidenced by the practice of mysticism, had become "largely a penitential practice, the focus on and identification with Christ's dying body produced a religiosity and a lifestyle with an emphasis on passivity, patience, pain and suffering, (Kieckhefer, 1984), all of which by the individual participating in and experiencing were meant to have a redemptive effect. That is for the body to bear pain and suffering passively and patiently, was for that body to also participate in the salvific achievement of Christ's body. To suffer bodily pain in this life was penitential, was to bear pergatorial punishment for sinfulness in this life rather than in the next".⁸³ As mentioned earlier, women's bodies were particularly accustomed to bearing pain and suffering, as their bodies through the processes of menstruation, childbirth and lactation were constantly reminded of their corporeality and as such both corporally and symbolically identified with the crucified body of Christ. According to Ash (1990), the Christian way of life "was conceived of as 'imatatio Christi', a 'via crucis'. In its most extreme form this 'imitatio', this mimicry of and identification with the Divine body became a literal experiencing of the same. The body of the worshipper, the mimic, would be inscribed with the pain and suffering of Christ's dying body.... ",⁸⁴ and it was this "obsession" with Christ's suffering and dying body as particularly exemplified by His crucifixion on the cross, that many of the religious orders that were founded in the nineteenth century would draw their spirituality from and would dedicate their lives and their bodies to emulating.

Descartes and Dualism

In the early seventeenth century, the philosopher Descartes focused society's attention once again on the dualistic notion of how the mind was separate to the body. He achieved this by arguing for the separation of the soul from the body so that knowledge was related to the alignment of the soul with man and nature or body with woman and the separation of one from the other. Such an alignment and separation resulted in women once again being accorded an inferior status to men because of their perceived lack of soul or mind.

To support his argument that the body was weaker, because it was in essence female, than the mind, which was in essence male, Descartes argued that a human being was made up of two different kinds of substances – “a thinking substance (*res cogitans*, mind)” and “an extended substance (*res extensa*, body)”.⁸⁵ He concluded that only the latter, “could be considered part of nature, governed by its physical laws and ontological exigencies”.⁸⁶ Descartes distinguished the body from the mind by stating that the former was “a self-moving machine, a mechanical device functioning according to causal laws and laws of nature”.⁸⁷ The mind on the other hand was a “thinking substance” having “no place in the natural world”.⁸⁸ Descartes, “succeeded in linking the mind/body opposition to the foundation of knowledge itself, a link which places the mind in a position of hierarchical superiority over and above nature, including the nature of the body”.⁸⁹

Descartes, therefore successfully formalised a dualism between the mind and the body “which three centuries of philosophical thought”⁹⁰ and argument “have attempted to overcome or reconcile”,⁹¹ but has largely failed to do so. “Dualism is the assumption

that there are two distinct mutually exclusive and mutually exhaustive substances, mind and body, each of which inhabits its own self-contained sphere. Taken together the two have incompatible characteristics".⁹² The major problem facing the concept of dualism and all the arguments that have been put forward to overcome dualism "has been to explain the interactions of these two apparently impossible substances, given that within experience and everyday life there seems to be a manifest connection between the two...".⁹³ Dualism, "in short, is responsible for the modern forms of elevation of consciousness (a specifically modern version of the notion of the soul, introduced by Descartes) above corporeality".⁹⁴

Women's bodies as outlined above, have historically been more vulnerable to extremes than men in terms of how their bodies have been viewed and how they have been culturally manipulated. The "imagery"⁹⁵ that dualism relied upon to create this view, was largely "imagery" that had been relied upon for centuries, with its sole purpose being to simultaneously place the body in a lesser position to the mind and women in a lesser, hence subservient role to men. The following examples as cited by Bordo (1988), highlights some of the "imagery" that has been used to describe and express the body throughout the centuries:

- "1. the body is experienced as alien, as 'not-self' the 'not me'. For Descartes, it is the brute, material envelope for the inner and essential self, the thinking thing - ontologically distinct from it, as mechanical in its operations as a machine, comparable to animal existence.
2. the body is experienced as *confinement* and *limitation*, a 'prison,' a 'swamp', a 'cage', a 'fog', all images that occur in Plato, Descartes and Augustine, - from which the soul, will or mind struggles to escape.
3. the body is the *enemy*, as Augustine explicitly describes it time and again, and as Plato and Descartes strongly suggest in their diatribes against the body as the

source of obscurity and confusion in our thinking....

4. Whether as an impediment to reason or as the home of the "shiny desires of the flesh (as Augustine calls it), the body is at the locus of all that threatens our attempts at *control*. It overtakes, it overwhelms, it erupts and disrupts. This situation, for the dualist, becomes an incitement to battle the unruly forces of the body, to show it who is boss; for as Plato says, 'Nature orders the soul to rule and govern and the body to obey and serve'. All three, Plato, Augustine and most explicitly, Descartes provide instructions, rules, or models of how to gain control over the body, with the ultimate aim of learning to live without it. That is: to achieve intellectual independence from the lure of its illusions, to become impervious to its distractions and most importantly to kill off its desires and hungers".⁹⁶

Although Bordo utilises the above description to constitute the body image of the anorexic, similar imagery can be employed to describe how a Catholic religious sister was also required to construct her body image. And even how such imagery has been applied historically to describing women and their bodies in general. Women have been accused usually by men of being the ones who "overtake(s), overwhelm(s), erupt(s) and disrupt(s)",⁹⁷ the "rationality" of men. Men it can be argued are weak when it comes to the desires of the flesh. In an effort to maintain control over their bodies, men have transferred their own weakness for the flesh and its pleasures as being a lack of control by women over their bodies and thus providing the reason why men have projected their own lack of control onto women. Dualism, therefore it may be further argued, particularly in relation to the fourth point above, appears as "the offspring, the by-product of the identification of the self with control, an identification that Watts sees as lying at the centre of Christianity's ethic of anti-sexuality".⁹⁸ In dividing the individual self in this way, men were able to identify themselves with the mind and separate themselves from the body and its needs. It also enabled men who as argued above, are

weak in relation to the desires of the flesh, to transfer this weakness and the responsibility for it back onto women.

According to the Cartesian view of the "self" and following in the path of his predecessors, Descartes argued that a woman in order to be rational, must transcend the feminine (corporeal) side of her being. To achieve this state, a woman must deny those characteristics that are seen to make up her nature and body and become like a man. "For Descartes, woman like man, is capable through training and careful attention to learn to ignore her emotions, her appetites and everything else relating to the demands of her body".⁹⁹ In short, a woman must become like a man and deny all that is female about her. As Tuana (1993) states, "she would have to learn to be cool, dispassionate, impersonal, distant and detached.... A woman who wishes to follow Descartes' method must reject her culturally prescribed roles; she must see the skills and thought processes associated with those roles as devoid of reason. She must discipline a body whose dictates she has been taught to see as far more demanding than those of man's and must overcome the socially dictated view of herself as passive, weak and timid. She must renounce all those things that define her as female. She must, in short, become the 'man' of reason".¹⁰⁰

Therefore, for centuries prior to Descartes and for centuries after, woman was seen as inescapably bound to the corporeality of her body, as particularly exemplified by her role in reproduction. Given this concept of woman's nature, "even if one accepts Descartes view that woman has the same mental capacities as man, one will still conclude that the suppression of the body is a far more arduous task for a woman, and thus one in which she is less likely to succeed".¹⁰¹ Accordingly, the Catholic Church has

systematically and universally relied on this view to suppress and control women and to promote a culture of hatred or contempt for the body, particularly of the female body which was particularly engrained in the mind and on the body of the religious teaching sister.

In the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the Church was joined by the theorising of emergent scientists to argue why girls and women should not be educated in the same manner as boys and men. Scientists argued for various reasons that the nature of women's bodies impaired their intelligence and that any attempt to develop them intellectually would have profound ramifications for society. The outcome of such thinking and the type of curriculum that was developed for girls based on this belief will be discussed further in later chapters. In line with this thinking the role that women were allocated in post-industrial society - that of custodian of the private sphere of the home, also handicapped her development. "The vast majority of western philosophy, theology and scientific writing, both before and after Descartes, accepted the Aristotelian view of the natural role of 'civilised' woman - as that of wife and mother. That is, the natural destiny of woman will prevent her from living a life of the mind".¹⁰² Once again, the consequence of this exclusion of woman from the realm of reason was to see woman as inferior to man and therefore in need of male control:¹⁰³

A Catholic Body?

What conclusions can be drawn from examining the history of Western Christian/Catholic body? The sex of a body has dictated throughout the centuries

whether one is the oppressor or the oppressed, in control or out of control. Writers since the time of Plato and probably long before, have tended to differentiate between the mind and body - the mind being given supremacy over the body, male assuming supremacy over the female. Further to this, various writers and thinkers (male), both Church and secular have over time equated the mind with being male and the body with being female.¹⁰⁴ This alignment has placed women in an inferior position and essentially of her body, and therefore tangible and corporeal, rather than of the mind and therefore intangible and spiritual. This association or relegation or way of equating women with and as the body, has also resulted in the sexual and reproductive aspect of her being emphasised and looked upon as her only potential function in life. The sexual nature attributed to women by men has been in direct contradiction to the notion that sex is sinful and should be avoided except for procreation, which is manifest in the teachings of the male theologians of the Church. Men, in their attempt to come to accommodate the antipathy of many of the male clergy toward sex, yet answer the urges of their bodies and need to reproduce themselves, have justified this "need", by arguing that women lack control over their sexual desire, are weak and in need of sexual gratification. In essence, the sexual desire of men's bodies and the reluctant acceptance by the Church that sex is a "necessary evil" has left men in a bind, which has lead men to transfer their guilt and control onto women in different ways.

A review of the history of the Western Christian/Catholic body indicates that the only way women have been able to escape being equated with and seen as a "body" and therefore a lesser being than man, was to become like a "man" and deny their sexual being. Transcending her female corporeality and becoming like a man, was also the only way that the Catholic Church would allow a woman to legitimately forge a full-time

relationship with God and approach Him in some measure without the intercession of men. Those women who chose a spiritual life, had to move beyond their corporeal existence, to a "no-person's" land, shedding their bodies at least metaphorically by undergoing the process of "direct" and "indirect" somatic learning that involved the imposition of various disciplinary "technologies" and various forms of self-punishment, that would enable them to make this transition.

THEORY OF THE BODY

"Bodies are constructed with regard to some kind of cultural ideal: 'what kind of body do these same Greeks, Christians, Jews, or Chinese endow themselves with - or attempt to acquire - given the power they attribute to the divine? What exercise [should one] do in order to resemble a god physically or to commune sensually with him. Should one strive to maintain one's vigour.....or should one on the contrary expose the flesh to suffering...?'"¹⁰⁵

In her book *Volatile Bodies*, Grosz (1994) states that in developing "a theory of the body and a model by which bodies and their sexual differences are to be understood, it is necessary to explore and experiment with as many models as possible in order to analyse the various infinite contexts in which the questions of bodies, their powers and differences arise".¹⁰⁶ It is with this observation in mind that this thesis will draw on the work of a number of different theorists of the body in order to develop a theory of the body which will enable us to re-construct the body of the Catholic religious teaching sister and student in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Turner (1992), states that most of the theories that have been developed on the body either fall into the "foundationalist" or "anti-foundationalist" schools of thought.¹⁰⁷ The

foundationalists “are concerned to understand the body as a lived experience, or to comprehend the phenomenology of embodiment; or to understand how the biological conditions of existence impinge upon the everyday life and macro organisation of human populations, or they want to understand how the historical demography of societies has influenced the course of human history; or they seek to analyse the complex interaction between the organic systems, cultural frameworks and social processes”.¹⁰⁸ Proponents of this school include Husserl, Heidegger, Merleau-Ponty and Sartre and some psychoanalysts.¹⁰⁹

The “anti-foundationalists” “conceptualise the body as a discourse about the nature of social relations, or comprehend the body as a system of symbols, or seek to understand how bodily practices are metaphors of larger social structures, or they understand the body as a social construction of power and knowledge in society and perceive the body as an effect of social discourse”.¹¹⁰ This school of thought has been popularised by such theorists as Foucault, Nietzsche, Kafka and Deleuze.¹¹¹ Within these two perspectives, there are of course, many different approaches and extremes. It is however the theorising of the “anti-foundationalists” that provides the most compelling and workable framework for what is being attempted in this thesis. The reason for applying the theories of such “anti-foundationalists” as Foucault are that his theories on discipline and punishment provides a suitable framework to examine how the Catholic Church through the recruiting and training of thousands of religious sisters educated generations of young moral women who in turn reproduced both literally and metaphorically, generations of individuals who faithfully followed and lived the teachings of the Church. I will now review the contribution that some of these writers have made in developing a theory of the body.

Michel Foucault

The French philosopher and academic, Michele Foucault, has made one of the most significant contributions to the writing of the theory of the body in general and the disciplined body in particular, in recent times. As mentioned above, Foucault largely rejected the work of such individuals as Heidegger by viewing "the body as an effect of discursive power..."¹¹² According to Turner (1992), "Heidegger's fundamental ontology in *Being and Time* (1962), attempted to ground any philosophical discussion of being in the facticity of everyday existence. Foucault turned his back on such an approach to the individual's being by arguing in his work *The Order of Things* (1970) that all understanding is constrained within and produced by the frameworks of epistemology which happened to be dominant within any given period".¹¹³

Foucault's approach further, according to Turner appears "to reject the facticity of the body, an idea which is fundamental to Heidegger, by saying that the body is produced by knowledge or that the body is an effect of practices which embody some forms of knowledge".¹¹⁴ His research and writing "has been concerned with how 'bodies' are produced by discourses and his primary theme was the normalisation of the body and populations by social science and the institutions which articulated scientific knowledge".¹¹⁵ Theorising on the body in Foucault's work is therefore "made possible by the emergence of the study of natural sciences such as biology, chemistry and physiology. Concepts such as the body or populations are components within a discursive framework which makes it possible to think about bodies and populations".¹¹⁶

In developing the theoretical framework for this thesis, the theories discussed and developed by Foucault, particularly in his work *Discipline and Punish* (1977) will be drawn upon. Foucault's work is useful as he was very much aware of the Christian contempt for the body and how the Church has sought to control and manipulate its "bodies" by the imposition of various disciplinary "technologies". Foucault's writings and thinking, particularly just before his death in 1984 indicate that his interest lie in investigating the interface between the "technologies of domination" of others and those of the self.¹¹⁷ An analysis of this interface is particularly relevant, as while the domination and exercise of power in the prison system as it evolved in the nineteenth century was exercised by one individual or a group of individuals over a community of incarcerated bodies, a similar system of domination through the imposition of disciplinary "technologies" operated within nineteenth century religious orders and their schools. Foucault argues, and this point was particularly relevant for a religious teaching sister to embrace, that the theory of domination must begin with the body dominating itself and that the body being dominated must understand this domination as chosen.

As this thesis is concerned with examining how the Catholic body of the religious teaching sister and student was produced it is possible by employing Foucault's writings on the disciplined and punished body, to determine how Foucault sees a Catholic religious subject as being constituted. The religious subject, as we shall see, is moulded not only by the institution that the Church represents and its discourses, but also by the various "technologies", which were developed in monastic times and later employed in convents, prisons, hospitals and schools in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that individuals within each of these institutions were required to impose upon themselves in order to produce "docile" and obedient bodies.

The “domination of the self” is achieved by what Foucault called “truth games”.¹¹⁸ “Truth games” are discourses, for example, economy, biology, psychology, penology or in this case theology and religious dogma which are “related to specific techniques that human beings use to understand themselves”.¹¹⁹ In *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault argues that bodies are compelled through discipline, and “truth” is only one form of legitimation for the imposition of these disciplines.¹²⁰ Further the regimen of “truth” is practised through the regimen of “truth games”, practised on the site of the body.¹²¹

Discipline and punishment through socialisation and inscription of and on the individual body in particular and the population in general, create according to Nietzsche a “‘memory’ for offenders”¹²². This memory, “which exists at the level of the unconscious, is at the same time an agent of social control, and functions in the interest of social reproduction. In Foucault’s ‘narrative’, memories were engraved directly on bodies in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries through the ghastliest and cruelest rituals, through a ‘mnemonics of pain’, which functioned as a spectacle for the audience and towards the reproduction of absolutist rule”.¹²³ From the nineteenth century, as the display of punishment is removed from the public gaze and is replaced by the imposition of various “technologies” within the prison, “the Word loses its dominance over things, power is no longer separate from the social field. The new penal discourse which was also applied in schools, factories and other such institutions reproduces a power which is immanent in society, for this purpose it individuates, normalises and mobilises human bodies, it operates on bodies not through direct physical cruelty, but via a gaze that has its effects on the soul, via the bad conscious which is attached to bodies”.¹²⁴

The "body-soul" relationship is an important element of Foucault's theorising and is particularly important for re-constructing the religious sister's way of being. For while a woman, based on the notions presented in the previous section, was generally considered unable to possess a soul because of her absolute relatedness and existence in her body, a woman in becoming a religious teaching sister was required to transcend her femaleness and become like a man. In this way a religious teaching sister by separating her exterior body and submitting it to a contemptuous existence was in theory able to claim a soul and work towards its salvation. Foucault, "firmly locates the soul on the surface of bodies The body is continually controlled and organised by religion's discourse in the creation of religious technologies of the body....Souls form bodies like text; they mould the surface and shape its movements".¹²⁵ Following from Carrette's (2000) statement, it can then be argued that a religious sister's pre-occupation with saving her soul fed into the system of "technologies" that she continuously imposed upon herself.

If the punishment regime utilised prior to the nineteenth century consisted of actually inscribing a memory of pain "directly on bodies, in Modern punishment, it is discourse which creates such a memory".¹²⁶ Bashford (1994) states "discourse" has been defined as "a coherent way of describing and categorising the social and physical. Discourses gather around an object, person, social group or event of interest, providing a means of making sense of that object, person and so on. All discourses are textual or exposed in texts, intertextual drawing upon other texts and through their discourse to achieve meaning and context embedded in historical, political and cultural settings. Discourses are not merely linguistic phenomenon, but are always shot through with power and are institutionalised as practice".¹²⁷ And when reviewing the various religious orders, both

from earlier periods of history and in the period under review, it becomes apparent that the Church through individuals living a monastic life following the discourse of such a life and inflicting various disciplinary “technologies” upon themselves created a memory on the body that resulted in the individual being easily recognised as pursuing an ascetic or religious way of life.

Within the system of discipline identified by Foucault (1977) the body “is moulded by a great many distinct regimes, it is broken down by the rhythms of work, rest and holidays; it is poisoned by food or values, through eating habits or moral laws”¹²⁸ and it constructs these regimes itself. Once developed and put in place, these regimes are utilised to “construct” the disciplined body in Foucault’s case of the soldier or in the case of this thesis the religious sister, trainee teacher or student. Foucault’s approach with its emphasis on the body, “allows one to consider not simply how discipline and practice create ideologically appropriated subjects, but also how these practices construct certain sorts of bodies with particular kinds of power and capacity, that is; how bodies are trained into individuals of various kinds. In short, it allows an analysis of productiveness of power as well as its repressive functions”.¹²⁹ From this perspective and returning to the second section of this chapter, it is possible to argue that the “body” itself has a history.

According to Gatens (1996), “specific peoples, specific kinds of body grouping, are going to produce quite specific ‘ways of being’. Values are thoroughly grounded in the particular need, desires, struggles, histories and institutions of particular communities”.

¹³⁰ Grosz (1994) agrees with the notion that the body has its own history arguing that the body “is not outside of history, for it is produced through and in history. Relations of

force, of power, produce the body through the use of distinct techniques (the feeding, training, supervision and education of children in any given culture) and harness the energies and potential for subversion that power itself has constructed (regimes of order and control involved in modern disciplinary society need the creation of a docile, obedient subject whose body and movements parallel and correlate with the efficiency of a machine or body whose desire to confess all about its innermost subjectivity and sexuality to institutionally sanctioned authorities".¹³¹ The body, therefore, does not have a single history but has various histories depending upon its' sex, class, race, occupation, age, and/or religious upbringing, which require discipline of one form or another to produce the appropriate type of body. In examining the bodies of religious teaching sisters and students a common theme may be perceived, that all these individuals were subjected to a particular process of somatic learning involving the imposition of various disciplinary "technologies" which ultimately produced a body that was essentially Catholic in being. The process and "technologies" that were utilised to produce this body will be discussed in later chapters.

Another group of theorists who have contributed to the development of a theory of the body and who have drawn on the work of Foucault are the sociologists Turner (1983, 1984, 1991) and Frank (1991) who have extended Foucault's work on the disciplining of the body to a social and cultural analysis. I will begin by briefly reviewing the work of Frank, as he develops Foucault's thesis of the disciplined body concentrating on the corporeality of the body and the reproduction of bodies.

Arthur W. Frank

Embodiment according to Frank (1991), "is defined by societies and cultures as a principal means by which domination by one group over another is practised and rationalised".¹³² For an individual to operate within this milieu it must develop "technologies" and practices for "regulating its external behaviour. This is clearly affiliated with, but not quite the same as the body restraining its internal workings, that distinction being as old as Jesus' extension of sin from performance of the overt act to a desire to perform a forbidden act. Before restraint was simply regulation, as the Christian entered into a different relationship to his or her body, restraint became something different from and more than regulation".¹³³

The theoretical problem for Frank, which is particularly relevant for this work, "is to show how social systems are built up from the tasks of bodies, which then allows us to understand how bodies can experience their tasks as imposed by a system".¹³⁴ The development of such a system is important here as in the case of the Catholic Church which imposed a system of "tasks" and/or "technologies" upon the bodies of religious teaching sisters and students that it desired to control. These "tasks" were included in the discourses set out in the various texts of the Orders, which were then extrapolated to form the guidelines under which the various schools and colleges of these Orders operated.

Frank in following on from the work of Giddens (1979,1984) proposes a "structuration theory" of the body and society.¹³⁵ This theory, he argues "needs to apprehend the body as both the medium and outcome of social 'body techniques', and society is both the medium and outcome of the sum of these techniques. 'Body techniques' are socially

given, individuals may improvise on them but rarely make up any for themselves - but these techniques are only instantiated in their practical use by bodies, on bodies. Moreover these techniques are as much resources for bodies as they are constraints on them, constraints enable as much as they restrict".¹³⁶ Further relying on the theorising of Giddens, Frank suggests "that bodies exist among discourses and institutions. *Discourses* imply cognitive mappings of the body's possibilities and limitations which bodies experience as already there for their self-understanding...."¹³⁷ and continue to exist only for so long as they become part of "on-going practices or retained by actions as 'memory tracers' (following Giddens 1984, 337)".¹³⁸ "*Institutions*" on the other hand, states Frank are more permanent having "a specificity within both space and time. A discourse can only be spoken or enacted.... An institution is a physical place where one can go".¹³⁹

To complete the triangle of the constitution of bodies is their "*corporeality* which arises out of the fact that bodies do not emerge out of discourses and institutions; they emerge out of other bodies, specifically women's bodies ".¹⁴⁰ A "body", Frank argues is therefore "constituted in the intersection of a equilateral triangle, the points of which are *institutions, discourses and corporeality*".¹⁴¹ Frank explains how the interaction between "institutions, discourses and corporeality" intersect to constitute a body by following on from the work of Bell (1980) and Bynum (1987,1989) and examining the practice of asceticism, "particularly fasting, among medieval holy women".¹⁴² The "institution" in this example, was the medieval church.¹⁴³ The discourses of the period included the doctrines of that Church, as well as the various other societal discourses relating to medieval marriage and the place of wives, mothers and women within that society.¹⁴⁴ "Also included in the discourses were politics, folk beliefs and even commerce, the latter taking us back to the construction of being a medieval wife, (which is) (relevant since

many of the fasting saints had tried and rejected lives as wives and mothers).... Against this complex of interactions stands the corporeality of the body”¹⁴⁵ and the question which the example raises “of how much self-punishment and deprivation”¹⁴⁶ will the body bear? In answering this question, Frank looks to Bynum’s (1989) research and the question that she herself asks “of whether corporeality itself can be regarded as constant?”¹⁴⁷ Given the ascetic life that some medieval women subjected themselves to, including self-deprivation and mortification, it was believed that such a life gave rise to visible signs of the mystical experience on the body such as “stigmata, incorruptibility of the cadaver in death, mystical lactations and pregnancies, catatonic trances....”.¹⁴⁸ Bynum consequently suggests that “the body and in particular the female body seems to have begun to behave in new ways at a particular moment in the European past...”.¹⁴⁹ Frank concludes this discussion by stating that not only are institutions and discourses constantly changing, but so too does corporeality.

To examine this proposition further Frank “proposes four questions which the body must ask itself as it undertakes action in relation to some object”¹⁵⁰ or imposes or has imposed some discipline upon itself. These questions and the resulting answers “provide the four continua within which types of body usage may be conceptualised”.¹⁵¹ The body must ask itself the following questions in relation to each aspect of its being: “First, there is a dimension of *control*. The body must ask itself how predictable its performance will be?.... Second, the body must constitute itself on a dimension of *desire*. Here the question is whether the body is lacking or producing?.... Third, the body must have some sense of its *relation to others*. Does the body relate to itself as monastic and closed in upon itself, or as dyadic existing in a relation of mutual constitution with others? Fourth is the dimension of the self-relatedness of the body. Does the body consciousness

associate itself with its own being particularly its surface, or disassociate itself from that corporeality?" ¹⁵² Frank cites examples as to how each of these dimensions operate to answer their particular question, drawing once again on the example of the medieval holy woman to exemplify questions three and four.

These "four dimensions" and the answers that they produce, "generate a matrix of four cells" ¹⁵³ of potential body usage - "the disciplined body, the mirroring body, the dominating body and the communicative body" ¹⁵⁴ and although aspects of each of these forms of body usage may have contributed to produce the Catholic religious teaching sister's body it is the first cell that I shall concentrate on here and for the remainder of this thesis. The "disciplined body" exemplifies for Frank a style of "body use and body to object relatedness", ¹⁵⁵ which in its ideal form answers the above questions as follows: "With regard to control - the disciplined body makes itself *predictable* through its regimentation". ¹⁵⁶ In the case of a religious sister it is the predictability of bodily behaviour that the various forms of regimentation produce, that the order of the religious sister relies upon to sustain itself. Such regimentation or at least a form of it was passed onto the students, thus enabling each of these groups to also sustain themselves. "With regard to desire - the disciplined body understands itself as *lacking*. In the practice of the regimen, the body is able to recognise itself as being; the soldier who comes to know himself as being in his drill; the ascetic in her or his self-mortification", ¹⁵⁷ or the religious sister in her practise of self-control, denial and rigid self-discipline. "One device for sustaining the conscious lack is for the disciplined body to place itself in some hierarchy - military, (monastic), or other, in which it is perpetually, and to itself justifiably, subordinated. The lack justifies the subordination, which in turn reproduces the lack".

With respect to the third question “the other-relatedness of the disciplined body is *monadic*, as the body becomes isolated in its own performance even if, as in military drill (Foucault 1979), the body performs among others”.¹⁵⁹ In drill or prayer, “the disciplined body may be among others, but it is not *with* them”.¹⁶⁰ The disciplined body can only relate to others by projecting its regimen of discipline upon them. “The disciplined body, is in Weber’s sense, a virtuoso in the practice of the regimen. When such a body comes out of itself and does relate to others, the mode of that relation will predictably be force, since the disciplined body can only relate to others by projecting its regimen upon them. At this point there is a flip into domination”.¹⁶¹ Finally, on the dimension of “self-relatedness”, “the disciplined body is dissociated from itself. The ascetic can tolerate the degradation of her or his body because she or he only observes the body, the ascetic is in but not of the body. Recursively, the objective of mortification practices or military training is to cultivate an attitude of dissociation. Part of the discipline is to cease to feel the body’s pain or hunger as one’s own”.¹⁶²

Chapters 3 through to 6 will examine how each of the dimensions above interact to produce the body of the religious sister. Chapters 7 and 8 will explore the relationship that existed between religious sisters and others when point 3 comes into effect and the disciplined body can only relate to others by projecting its regimen upon them in this instance their students and trainee teachers.

Bryan S Turner

Turner (1983, 1984, 1991) has been prolific in his writings and analysis of the body, particularly from a sociological perspective. He views the body from a different perspective to Frank (1991), in so far as he examines it from a societal point of view.

Such a point of view is useful for looking at the discipline and control imposed by the Catholic Church and a religious order as a community upon the individual religious sister's body. Turner (1984) expands upon Featherstone's (1982) earlier work ¹⁶³ by "developing a four cell structure" ¹⁶⁴ or model relating bodies and their interaction in society. In this model, Turner identifies a number of "tasks" that a society must master to continue functioning and divides these "tasks" into two categories – those that represent populations and those that represent individual bodies. Populations are ordered by time and space, individual bodies are ordered internally and externally. ¹⁶⁵ According to Turner (1984), his thesis originates from his analysis of "the classical Hobbesian problem of order which can be re-stated as the problem of the government of the body". ¹⁶⁶ Table 1 indicates how Turner completes each of the cells. But in reviewing his model it is possible to envisage that there is a conflict or tension between what populations or societies want and the way individual bodies are expected to behave by society. For example, with regard to populations in time, the task is "reproduction", while society's task for the individual is "restraint". Similarly, with regard to populations in space, the task is "regulation", while the social task for the body's exterior is "representation". Such an analysis of a society's relation with the individual body is important when I come to examine the role of the community in a religious order and its place of pre-eminence over the religious sister's body.

Turner's "societal tasks" model ¹⁶⁷

Populations		Bodies	
Time	Reproduction	Restraint	Internal

	Malthus	Weber	
	Onanism	Hysteria	
	Patriarchy	Asceticism	
Space	Regulation	Representation	External
	Rousseau	Goffman	
	Phobia	Anorexia	
	Panopticism	Commodification	

(Modified by Frank (1991) from Turner 1984, 91)

Feminism and the Body

The theories of the body so far reviewed, have with the exception of Frank (to a limited extent) concentrated their theorising on the male body. But what of a theory of the female body and the question asked by Hertier-Auge, ¹⁶⁸ paraphrased by Frank, of “how have their respective conditions of bodies allowed males to dominate women? Moreover, how is this domination not just a principle of social organisation, but perhaps *the* foundational principle of the organisation?” ¹⁶⁹ Hertier-Auge’s conclusion after reviewing “considerable and compelling data, proposes fertility as a dual principle of social organisation and domination. ‘So it is not sex but the capacity for fertility (reproduction) that makes up the real difference between male and female, and male domination....is ultimately the control, the appropriation of a woman’s fertility when she is fertile’”. ¹⁷⁰

By examining the life of women who chose to live their lives free from the constraints and demands of reproduction and child-rearing and to a certain extent free from male domination, we encounter women who were able to live a life different from their

married sisters. As Frank and others argue, "embodiment is anything but a neutral constant in social life, representing instead the political principles of class (in Bordieu) and gender domination. On the question of domination and appropriation hang much of the story of society".¹⁷¹ Feminism teaches "us that the story both begins and ends with bodies".¹⁷² As discussed earlier, it is by most men seeing women as a "body" only and thus enslaved by it, that they have been able to dominate and oppress women for centuries. That women are of the flesh and entrenched within their corporeality has perpetuated a suspicion and at times an irrational contempt of women and the reproductive "power" of their bodies.

As Grosz (1994) states, "misogynist thought has commonly found a convenient self-justification for women's secondary social position by containing them within bodies that are represented, even constructed, as frail, imperfect, unruly and unreliable, subject to various intrusions which are not under conscious control".¹⁷³ This "(mis)representation and construction of women's bodies"¹⁷⁴ when reviewing women's history has been in existence it seems since the beginning of recorded time. Patriarchal oppression has justified itself, as highlighted in the earlier discussion on dualism, "at least in part, by connecting women much more closely than men to the body and through this identification restricting women's social and economic roles to (pseudo) biological terms. Relying on essentialism, naturalism and biologism, misogynist thought (has and does) confine women to the biological requirements of reproduction on the assumption that because of particular biological, physiological and endocrinological transformations, women are somehow more biological, more corporeal and more natural than men. The coding of femininity with corporeality leaves men free to inhabit what they (falsely) believe is a purely conceptual order while at the same time enabling them

to satisfy their (sometimes disavowed) need for corporeal contact through access to women's bodies and services".¹⁷⁵

But what has Feminism contributed to the study of the body, particularly to the study of women's body as it has attempted to re-position it within the centre of ongoing theoretical analysis. Apart from the theorizing of Hertier-Auge, other feminists have proposed theories of the female body. These feminists, according to Grosz, fall into three categories and include: Egalitarian Feminism, Social Constructionism and Sexual Difference.¹⁷⁶

Egalitarian Feminists include Wollstonecraft, De Beauvoir and Firestone.¹⁷⁷ They believe that it is the nature of women's bodies that operate to prevent them from achieving equality with men and that in order to achieve equality with men they must transcend their bodies and move beyond its reproductive functions. These feminists believe that there is a conflict between a woman being a mother and a political or civil being.¹⁷⁸ Religious sisters were able to do this by denying their sexuality and implementing a series of regimes and techniques to discipline their bodies.

Social Constructionists such as Kristeva, Mitchell, Barrett, Chodorow and a number of Marxist and psycho-analytical feminists have expressed the mind/body dualism by distinguishing between "the realms of production/reproduction (body) and ideology (mind)".¹⁷⁹ In contrast to egalitarian feminism, constructionists believe that it is not the biological differences that exist between men and women that cause women to be oppressed, but rather it is the "ways in which the social systems organises and gives meaning"¹⁸⁰ to these biological differences, "that is oppressive to women".¹⁸¹

The social system that the convent was based on was both liberating to some religious sisters and oppressive to others – allowing some women to pursue careers while others performed domestic duties. Such a distinction however was not based on sex but rather on the educational background of the sisters. “The distinction between the real biological body and the body as the object of representation, is for the social constructivist a fundamental presumption. There is thus no question of superseding the body or biological functions, the task is to give them different meanings and values”.¹⁸²

The last group, Irigary, Cixous, Spivak, Gallop, Gatens and Butler are among the Feminists who may be characterised as theorists of “sexual difference”.¹⁸³ For them while “the body is crucial to understanding women’s psychical and social existence, it can no longer be understood as an ahistorical, biologically given, acultural object. They are concerned with the ‘lived’ body, the body insofar as it is represented and used in specific ways in particular cultures. For them the body is interwoven with and constitutive of systems of meaning, signification and representation. On the one hand it is a signifying and signified body, on the other it is an object of systems, of social coercion, legal inscription and sexual and economic exchange”.¹⁸⁴

The concept of the “social body” is a major component for this category of theorising.¹⁸⁵ “As sexually specific, the body codes meanings projected onto it in sexually determinate ways. These feminists evoke a body as a social and discursive object, a body bound up in the order of desire, signification and power. Far from being an inert, passive non-cultural and ahistorical term, the body may be seen as the crucial term, the site of contestation, in a series of economic, political, sexual and intellectual struggles”.¹⁸⁶

What do the above feminists contribute to the writing of the theory of the body? The work of these feminists provide crucial information in gaining "an understanding of sexuality and sexual difference", ¹⁸⁷ which go some way to developing though not determining an overall feminist theory of the body. Grosz posits a "refiguring of the body, so that it moves to the centre of analysis, where it can now be understood as the very 'stuff' of subjectivity. ¹⁸⁸ As the body of the religious sister, student and teacher is the centre of analysis in this work, it will come to be understood as being a particularly disciplined and subjected body. A body that is made "docile" and obedient, through the literal imposition of the teachings and training of the Catholic Church.

Therefore in re-constructing the body of the religious sister of the nineteenth century, it is necessary to draw on a line of theorising and analysis that encapsulates both theoretical discussion and historical development. What emerges quite clearly from a review of both, is that the attitude toward the body of women in general and the religious sister in particular in the period under review, are at least, in part a reflection of the whole Christian tradition of the sinfulness of the "flesh", specifically women's "flesh" and the need to submit this "flesh" to a process of somatic learning encompassing a system of "technologies" of punishment and discipline. As Turner (1984) aptly states, "our attitudes to the body in the West, are at least in part a reflection of the whole Christian tradition. My body is flesh, it is the location of corrupting appetite, of sinful desire and private irrationality. It is the negation of true self but also an instructive site of moral purpose and intention. Its health is my moral well-being, since salvation involves two activities - namely to save the body and save the soul... The body is enveloped by restrictions and taboos, it is flesh, but not to be eaten and it is meat, but not to be

cooked. Flesh can be consumed in the body and blood of Lord J Christ, whose flesh is the salvation of my flesh. The procreative activity of my parents is the model of reincarnation of His flesh. The final paradox is our sexuality, our attempts to organise it, control it and express it".¹⁸⁹

THE BODY AS TEXT

The last section of this chapter will examine the notion of the "body as a text" by exploring first the notion that the body is a surface, which can be inscribed upon, written upon, or disciplined, in order to produce a particular "type" of body. Secondly, I will examine the notion that once the text that is inscribed upon the body it "speaks" to other bodies, communicating a message about that particular body with respect to its way of "being".

Inscribing the Body

Many recent works on the body, "have presented the body as a surface upon which messages, a text are inscribed".¹⁹⁰ For example, the anthropologist Mary Douglas (1980) has argued that the body is "a powerful symbolic form, a surface on which the central rules, hierarchies and even metaphysical commitments of a culture are inscribed and thus reinforced through the concrete language of the body".¹⁹¹ Nietzsche, Foucault and Lingis also "focus on the body as a social object, as text to be marked, traced, written upon by various regimes of institutional (discursive and non-discursive) power...."¹⁹² In *The Genealogy of Morals* (1956), Nietzsche "outlines the rudiments of an account of body inscription as the cultural condition for establishing social order and obedience".¹⁹³ For Nietzsche, like Foucault, infliction of pain on the individual body is the key method of instituting a memory of punishment and ultimately conformity with authority on

society. "Civilisation instills its basic requirements only by branding the law on bodies through a mnemonics of pain, a memory fashioned out of the suffering and pain of the body... The degree of pain inflicted, Nietzsche suggests, is an index of the poverty of memory: the worse the memory is, the more cruel are the techniques for branding the body. It is almost as if the skin itself served as a notebook, a reminder of what was not allowed to be forgotten. Where this procedure is internalised to form what is known as conscience, less pain or sacrifice is required. The 'unforgettable' is etched on the body itself".¹⁹⁴ And this was the rationale behind the training of the religious sister. While the pain inflicted may not always have been some form of physical punishment, the "technologies" that the religious teaching sister was expected to learn and internalise were inscribed upon her body, so as they became second nature to the religious sister they became part her actual being.

Foucault also "outlines various systems for the "normalisation" of bodies within a regime of disciplinary control. As procedures of punishment developed, there was a transition from a macropolitics of spectacular display... to a microphysics of intricate bodily supervision and surveillance".¹⁹⁵ The latter system of course, had already been operating for centuries in the practice of monasticism and had produced disciplined and docile bodies according to the specifications of the particular religious order in question. Punishment in this situation "remains coupled with knowledges - either those produced by legal 'proofs', confessions and expert opinions, or those originating in the minds and behaviours of the spectators or observers of the punishment.... Epistemic and coercive relations create what Foucault describes as the 'modern soul', the psychological interior or subjectivity so central to the 'Sciences of man'".¹⁹⁶

Lingis (1984) further extended the work of Foucault and Nietzsche, by arguing "that there is a form of body writing and social inscription that bind all subjects, often in quite different ways according to sex, class, race, and age codifications to social positions and relations".¹⁹⁷ For Lingis, "social inscriptions occur both violently and in more subtle forms. Explicit examples of where social inscriptions are caused by violence occur "in social institutions of correction and training, juvenile homes, hospitals, psychiatric institutions (where the body is kept) confined, constrained, supervised, and regimented; marked by implements such as handcuffs, chronologically regulated time and labour divisions, cellular and solitary confinement, the deprivation of mobility"¹⁹⁸ and self-mortification rituals. To these institutions can be added convents and schools where some of these techniques of inscription are utilised as well as less violent ones. "The body is involuntarily marked, but it is also incised through 'voluntary' procedures, lifestyles, habits and behaviours.... There is nothing natural or ahistorical about these modes of corporeal inscription. Through them, bodies are made amenable to the prevailing exigencies of power".¹⁹⁹ They make the flesh into a particular type of body - pagan, primitive, medieval, capitalist, religious, Catholic.

According to Grosz (1994), the body is written upon as if it were a page of a book by various tools which may be social, surgical, epistemic, disciplinary so as to constitute it in culturally specific ways. The writing instruments which are used – pen, stylus, spur, laser beam, clothing, diet, exercise – function to incise the body's blank page.²⁰⁰ "These writing tools use various works with differing degrees of permanence, and they create textual traces that are capable of being written over, re-traced redefined, written in contradictory ways, creating out of the body text a historical chronicle of prior and later traces....."²⁰¹

These methods of inscription therefore produce different types of bodies and as Bartky (1988) has highlighted, there are a number of disciplinary practices or methods of inscription that are employed by females and society to produce bodies which are in gesture and appearance recognisably female. Bartky suggests that some of the disciplinary practices that are utilised to produce a "typically" female body include:

- i) "Those that aim to produce a body of certain general size and configuration...
Dieting disciplines the body's hungers: appetite must be monitored at all times and governed by an iron will. Since the innocent need of the organism for food will not be denied, the body becomes one's enemy.... " ²⁰² Another discipline important to the body is exercise. Also the expressions of a woman's face "can subvert the disciplinary project of bodily perfection". ²⁰³
- ii) Those that bring forth from the body a specific repertoire of "gestures, posture, movements and general bodily comportment: women are far more restricted than men in their manner of movement and in their spatiality". ²⁰⁴ "Women's faces "as well as bodies are trained to the expression of deference". ²⁰⁵
- iii) Those that are directed toward the display of the body as an "ornamented surface". ²⁰⁶ Makeup, clothes, jewellery, tattoos, piercing, hair removal, all contribute to presenting the body as female first and as a particular type of women secondly". ²⁰⁷

The following chapters of this thesis will examine the various "technologies" and processes that were employed to produce the type of individual who would operate effectively as a religious teaching sister. Religious sisters' and students' bodies were regarded as blank pages when they entered the novitiate or enrolled in a Catholic school or college, ready to have the religious knowledge for their particular level of development, of the Catholic Church permanently engraved or inscribed upon their bodies. The ultimate aim in both convents and schools was to produce individuals who

were readily recognisable as a Catholic religious sister or Catholic girl and later a woman.

The model of social inscription elaborated above implies that social values and requirements are not so much inculcated onto the subject, as etched upon the subject's body through the imposition of various disciplinary techniques or practices.²⁰⁸ With the "inscriptive model it is the social exterior, or at least its particular modes of inscription, that command or induces certain kinds of behaviour and practices. Punishment is the externalised counterpart of socialisation, both are forms of codification of the social onto the corporeal, though from two different directions".²⁰⁹

Speaking with the Body

The body therefore, when written upon in the way described above, "becomes a text, a system of signs to be deciphered, read and read into".²¹⁰ Bodies become a certain kind, behaving in a certain way that speaks of them representing a certain group and being of particular type. How can the body transmit or "speak" its way of being and inculcate into others its particular message, without as it were passing through the mind? Is it possible that an individual in a particular institution may not even be aware that certain ideas or ways of doing things or ways of being are being absorbed by them. Fay (1987) recognises the possibility of this occurring by putting forward the idea of "somatic learning" which may occur "directly" or "indirectly". Such learning shapes the trainee or "initiates" bodies "through their acquiring certain perceptual and behavioural skills and dispositions, through their coming to have bodies with certain strengths and rigidities",²¹¹ which is achieved "not (only) by their acquiring a certain set of beliefs or concepts (however unconscious); and their acting in terms of these skills is not the causal

result of their having certain beliefs or concepts but rather the material processes through which these bodies are moulded through direct behavioural influence and physical environment".²¹²

For Fay, "rules reinforce, and are reinforced by, particular bodily and behavioural dispositions. Learning these rules involves acquiring a repertoire of bodily responses as much as learning to think in a certain way".²¹³ In acquiring the correct bodily attitudes and skills the individual learns the basic ways of being, characteristic of his or her society, its way of having and expressing emotions, its manner of recognising authority, its habits of behaviour, deportment and so on. These basic ways of being are gradually etched into the individual's bones and muscles.²¹⁴ "The responses demanded become imprinted into neural pathways".²¹⁵ As Fay states: "those who have had to train people to be members of special subcultural groups, have always been aware of the important role which indirect somatic knowledge has in ensuring an individual becomes a proper member; they have consequently always insisted on the importance of appropriate physical training in the education of new members.... To become a person of a certain sort is to acquire a body and set of bodily dispositions appropriate to this sort".²¹⁶

Conclusion

The body, particularly the female body, as discussed in this chapter has a varied and long history as being the site of oppression upon which an individual or society represents itself. Society includes not only the population in general but also a group of individuals who join together to live a particular style of life such as that of a religious congregation. The regimes and practices of such societies inscribe upon its individual

member's bodies a particular way of being – a badge of belonging that sets them apart from individuals who follow another way of life.

As indicated at the beginning of this Chapter, the "body" has not only been the subject of much theorising in recent times but has throughout history been used to define and represent the difference between the sexes or to categorise an individual into the type of occupation he or she performed. The body also has a history itself, which needs to be written. This thesis is exploring one particular aspect of that history, the history of the Catholic religious sister not only as a religious but also fulfilling her fourth vow as a teacher. But before moving onto this exploration, I will in the next Chapter provide a historical overview of the context within which these religious orders were established and functioned.

Chapter Notes

¹ A few of the theorists from different disciplines who have written on the body include: Foucault 1975; Turner 1984, 1992; Frank 1991; Grosz 1994, 1995

² Turner, B S; *The Body and Society Explorations in Social Theory*, Basil Blackwell, 1984, p.1

³ Turner, B S; "Recent Developments in the Theory of the Body" in Featherstone M, Hepworth M and Turner B S; *The Body: Social Process and Cultural Theory*, Sage, 1991, p.1

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 1-3

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 18

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ Turner, B S; *op. cit.* 1984, p. 7

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8

¹¹ Turner B S; *op.cit.*, 1984, p. 7

¹² Frank, A W; "For a Sociology of the Body: An Analytical Review" in Featherstone M, Hepworth M and Turner B S; *The Body: Social Process and Cultural Theory*, Sage, 1991, p.39

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 49

¹⁵ French, M; *Beyond Power on Women, Men and Morals*, Jonathon Cape Ltd, 1986, p. 144

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 146

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 147

-
- ²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 148
- ²¹ *Ibid.*
- ²² *Ibid.*
- ²³ Tuana N; *The Less Noble Sex. Scientific, Religious and Philosophical Conceptions of Woman's Nature*, Indiana University Press, 1993, p.57
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*
- ²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 10
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 57
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*
- ²⁹ Philo in Tuana N; *op.cit.*, p. 57
- ³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 58
- ³¹ *Ibid.*
- ³² *Ibid.*
- ³³ *Ibid.*
- ³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 58-59
- ³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 58
- ³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 56
- ³⁷ Gratian in Tuana N; *op.cit.*, p. 56
- ³⁸ Tuana N; *op.cit.*, p. 12
- ³⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁰ *Ibid.*
- ⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 19
- ⁴² French M; *op.cit.*, p. 148
- ⁴³ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁴ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 149
- ⁴⁸ Brown P; *The Body and Society Men, Women and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity*, Colombia University Press, 1988, p.80 and ff.
- ⁴⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁰ *Ibid.*
- ⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 80
- ⁵² Turner B S; *op.cit.*, 1984, p. 12
- ⁵³ Weber in Turner B S; *op.cit.*, 1984, pp. 12-13
- ⁵⁴ Turner B S; *op.cit.*, 1984, p.15
- ⁵⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁸ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 13
- ⁶⁰ *Ibid.*
- ⁶¹ *Ibid.*
- ⁶² *Ibid.*
- ⁶³ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁴ Black (1902) in Turner BS; *op.cit.* 1984, p. 13
- ⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 13
- ⁶⁶ Lerner G; *The Creation of Feminist Consciousness From the Middle Ages to Eighteen-Seventy*, Oxford University Press, 1993, p. 66
- ⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 67
- ⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

-
- ⁶⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 66
- ⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 67
- ⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 68
- ⁷³ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁴ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 68-69
- ⁷⁶ King M L; *Women of the Renaissance*, University of Chicago Press, 1991, p.122
- ⁷⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁸ Lerner G; *op.cit.*, p. 69
- ⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 82
- ⁸⁰ King M L; *op.cit.*, pp. 128-129
- ⁸¹ *Ibid.*
- ⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 129
- ⁸³ Ash J; "The discursive construction of Christ's body in the Later Middle Ages: resistance and autonomy" in Threadgold T and Cranny-Frances A; *Feminine Masculine and Representation*, Allen and Unwin, 1990, p. 92
- ⁸⁴ *Ibid.*
- ⁸⁵ Grosz E; *Volatile Bodies Toward a Corporal Feminism*, Indiana University Press, 1994, p. 6
- ⁸⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁸⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁸⁸ *Ibid.*
- ⁸⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁹⁰ *Ibid.*
- ⁹¹ *Ibid.*
- ⁹² *Ibid.*
- ⁹³ *Ibid.*
- ⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 7
- ⁹⁵ Bordo S; "Anorexia Nervosa: Psychopathology as the Crystallization of Culture" in Diamond I and Quinby L (ed); *Feminism and Feminist Reflection on Resistance*, Northeastern University Press, 1988, p.93
- ⁹⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁹⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁹⁸ *Ibid.*
- ⁹⁹ Tuana N; *op.cit.*, p. 64
- ¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. , 63
- ¹⁰² *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 64
- ¹⁰⁴ Tuana 1993; Grosz 1994; Lloyd 1984
- ¹⁰⁵ Feher 1989, 13 in Lash S; "Genealogy and the Body: Foucault/Deleuze/Nietzsche" in Featherstone M, Hepworth M and Turner B S; *op.cit.*, p. 45
- ¹⁰⁶ Grosz E; *op.cit.*, p. 210
- ¹⁰⁷ Turner B S; *op.cit.*, 1992, p. 48
- ¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*
- ¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*
- ¹¹¹ *Ibid.*
- ¹¹² *Ibid.*, p. 52
- ¹¹³ *Ibid.*
- ¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*
- ¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 52-53

-
- ¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 53
- ¹¹⁷ Martin L H, Gutman H and Hutton P H; *Technologies of the Self A Seminar with M Foucault*, University of Massachusetts Press, 1988, p. 18
- ¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*
- ¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*
- ¹²⁰ *Ibid.*
- ¹²¹ *Ibid.*
- ¹²² Lash S; *op.cit.*, p. 258
- ¹²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 258-259
- ¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 259
- ¹²⁵ Carrette J R; *Foucault and Religion Spiritual Corporality and Political Spirituality*, Routledge, 2000, p. 116
- ¹²⁶ Lash S; *op.cit.*, p. 259
- ¹²⁷ Bashford A; "Nursing Bodies: Gendered Politics of Health in Australia and England 1860-1910", *PhD Thesis*, University of Sydney, 1994, p. 27
- ¹²⁸ Foucault M; *Discipline and Punish The Birth of the Prison*, Penguin, Allan Lane, translation published 1977, p.153
- ¹²⁹ Gatens M; *Imaginary Bodies Ethics, Power and Corporeality*, Routledge, 1996, p. 67
- ¹³⁰ *Ibid.*
- ¹³¹ Grosz E; *op.cit.*, pp. 148-49
- ¹³² Frank A W; *op.cit.*, p. 39
- ¹³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45
- ¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 48
- ¹³⁵ *Ibid.*
- ¹³⁶ *Ibid.*
- ¹³⁷ *Ibid.*
- ¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 49
- ¹³⁹ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 50
- ¹⁴³ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁴⁸ Bynum 1989 in Frank; *op.cit.*, p. 50
- ¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 57
- ¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 51
- ¹⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 51-52
- ¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 53
- ¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 54
- ¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 55
- ¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 55-56
- ¹⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 55
- ¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 43

-
- ¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*
¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*
¹⁶⁶ Turner B S; *op. cit.* 1984, p. 2
¹⁶⁷ Frank A W; *op.cit.*, p. 43
¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 41
¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*
¹⁷⁰ Hertier-Auge 1989, 295 in Frank A W; *op cit.*, p. 41
¹⁷¹ Frank A W; *op.cit.*, p. 42
¹⁷² *Ibid.*
¹⁷³ Grosz E; *op.cit.*, p. 13
¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*
¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 14
¹⁷⁶ Grosz E; *op.cit.*, pp 15-19
¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 15
¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*
¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 16
¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 17
¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*
¹⁸² *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17
¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, pp. 17-19
¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18
¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 18
¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*
¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. ix
¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*
¹⁸⁹ Turner B; 1984, *op.cit.*, p. 89
¹⁹⁰ Grosz E; *op.cit.*, p. 117
¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 193
¹⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 116
¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 129
¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 131-132
¹⁹⁵ Grosz E; *Space, Time and Perversion The Politics of Bodies*, Routledge, 1995, p. 35
¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*
¹⁹⁷ Grosz E; *op.cit.*, 1994, p. 141
¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*
¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 141-142
²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 117
²⁰¹ *Ibid.*
²⁰² Bartky (1988) in Diamond I and Quinby L (ed); *Feminism and Feminist Reflection on Resistance*, Northeastern University Press, 1988, p. 64
²⁰³ *Ibid.* P.66
²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*
²⁰⁵ *Ibid* p.67
²⁰⁶ *Ibid*.p.68
²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*
²⁰⁸ Grosz E; *op.cit.*, p.120
²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*
²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 118
²¹¹ Fay B; *Critical Social Science*, Cornell University Press 1987, p. 148
²¹² *Ibid.*
²¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 149
²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 146

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 148

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 150

CHAPTER 2

Introduction

The last Chapter discussed the history of the body and some of the different approaches that have developed in relation to theorising on the body. The Chapter emphasised the fact that the “body” has in recent times been the topic of much academic writing and has been the focus of analysis for theorists such as Foucault (1975), Turner (1983, 1984, 1991), Fay (1987) Frank (1991) and Grosz (1994, 1995). Of central importance to this thesis is the concept of the “disciplined body”, particularly of the disciplined Catholic female body and the “technologies” or practices that produced it, in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The disciplining of the body was seen as essential in controlling the Catholic faithful and the Irish priests who exercised this control were insistent and unswerving in their belief that their adherents live their lives in a specific way, which included not only regularly partaking of the Sacraments and exposure to the discourse of the Church in the various sermons delivered at Mass each Sunday, but also ensuring that their children attended Catholic schools, where appropriately trained religious were available to teach them not only a secular curriculum but also Catholic doctrine and beliefs.

A particular target of the Catholic Church as mentioned above were Catholic women, who because of the nature of their bodies were seen particularly vulnerable to not only committing sins related to the flesh but also capable of corrupting men to do likewise. Catholic women were therefore expected to emulate the Virgin Mary either by taking up the vocation of a religious sister or the role of mother and wife. In either case Catholic women were required to live virtuous, pure and moral lives.

Education and its provision was seen as an extremely important tool by the Church and the state in maintaining control and discipline over its respective populations and its individual bodies and if correctly implemented and exercised would become self-perpetuating. For social reformers of all backgrounds, “an appropriate education system would civilise the country and refine manners, would reduce crime, disorder and coarseness and promote cultural development; it would also act to foster social unity”,¹ and it would “moralise” the emerging society. As was noted in the previous chapter “direct” and “indirect” somatic learning plays a major role in ensuring an individual becomes a proper member of a group, that is an individual who has acquired “a body and set of bodily dispositions appropriate” to enable him or her to be a member of that group.² The Irish Catholic clergy in order to ensure that the appropriate type of “group” was produced went out of its way to transplant the Irish-Roman Catholic Church to colonial New South Wales.

Part of transplanting the Church involved the clergy encouraging religious orders, particularly female ones, from all over Britain and Europe to migrate to the colony. Religious orders who lived extremely disciplined lives as exemplified in their various vows that they took at their profession, were seen as the conduit for ensuring that the bodies of the Irish masses in general and women in particular were exposed to the necessary “direct” and “indirect” somatic learning that was necessary to produce disciplined, “docile” and obedient bodies.

For the Irish there was no escaping the discourse of Catholic Church – the adults heard it at church and their children heard it in the classroom. For those adults who were

literate, there was the Catholic newspaper the *Freeman's Journal* and later in the century the *Catholic Record* which continually published letters and articles on the views of the bishops in relation to all matters, but particularly in relation to Catholic education. Sodalities and various Catholic associations were established, which organised different social functions for children and adults so that Catholics were provided with the opportunity of meeting and mixing only with other Catholics. Once a family was identified as Catholic, they were kept under continual surveillance by the Church, as religious sisters and fellow Catholics were encouraged to visit and report on families whose children did not attend Catholic schools or attend Mass. They therefore became the subjects of a constant "gaze" not only by God but also by the clergy, the religious and other Catholics who they associated with. Such a "gaze" according to Lash (1991), had as its main purpose to operate "on the soul, via bad conscious which is attached to the bodies".³

The Irish clergy were so successful in connecting with the minds and the bodies of its adherents that ultimately a Irish Catholic stereotype developed, which Turner (1992) describes as being not only a "willingness to cringe at a priestly frown but also a highly developed sense of personal guilt".⁴ It could be argued that the clergy even went beyond this, producing a body that was typically a Catholic "body" and adherents to the faith who were so active and devout that no other denomination exemplified comparable strength, particularly within its lower orders. The process of becoming a Catholic in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, involved the body of individuals being not only involuntarily marked, but also being incised through the internalising of voluntary procedures such as lifestyles, habits and behaviours.⁵ According to Grosz, (1994) "there is nothing natural or ahistorical about those modes of corporeal inscription. Through

them bodies are made amenable to the prevailing exigencies of power. They make the flesh into a particular type of body – pagan, primitive, medieval, capitalist...”,⁶ or Irish Catholic men and women.

By the 1850's the colony of New South Wales had begun to determine its own direction in relation to such areas as politics, religion, culture and economic development. This direction was influenced by the views and cultural “baggage” of individuals from a wide variety of backgrounds such as convicts, soldiers and government officials. In time, free settlers from England, Scotland and Ireland also migrated to the colony in the hope that this outpost of the British Empire would provide them with the opportunity of a better life than the one they had left behind. This was particularly the case for the Irish who had been oppressed for centuries by the British not only from an economic point of view, but also from a cultural, religious and social perspective as well.

One of the most debated issues in the colony at this time and one that accompanied the debate on which religion should be adopted as the major religion for the colony, was the provision of education and whether it should be provided by the state and/or the various religious denominations that were operating in the colony.⁷ This debate was to be ongoing for many decades and was directly responsible for the transference and establishment of many religious orders - both male and female, who were to have a direct impact on the education and socialisation of generations of Catholic boys and girls. Before exploring what impact that three particular religious Orders to be reviewed in this thesis had on the provision of this education, I will provide a brief outline of the historical context in which these Orders were established and the important contribution they made to the growth and development of the Catholic Church in New South Wales.

THE IRISH AND THEIR STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL

By the late eighteenth century the people of Ireland, particularly the Irish Catholics, had suffered decades of oppression under the rule of the English and their enactment of the Penal Laws. These Laws had been intensified in Ireland after the Battle of the Boyne in 1691 and served to penalise the majority of the Irish population, because they were Roman Catholic. According to Donovan (1979), "the Anglo-Irish Protestant historian, Lecky, who was not regarded as sympathetic to the Catholicism, states that.... "it is a memorable fact, ... that the ferocious law of 1703, which first reduced the Irish Catholic to a condition of hopeless servitude does not allege as the reason for its provisions any political crime. It was called 'An Act to prevent the further growth of Popery.'"⁸

The Penal Laws decreed that a Catholic could not hold any office of state, nor even more importantly for the future of their sons, - purchase land. By law, a Catholic could not lease land for longer than 31 years, nor could he bequeath as he wished, what property he did hold. On his death his land was divided among all his male children unless one of them became a Protestant, in which case he inherited everything. As a result, by the third quarter of the eighteenth century, barely five percent of the land in Ireland remained in Catholic hands.

Apart from the Penal Laws, the English Parliament throughout the early eighteenth century passed a succession of restrictive Acts whose purpose in theory at least, was to repress the right of Irish Catholics to practise freely their religion. These Acts and the oppressive behaviour engaged in by the English, served to impress upon the Irish a collective and individual memory of suffering and pain which served the purpose of

producing disciplined and “docile” bodies that were hardworking and obedient to the teachings of their Church. The centuries of oppression also created what Burley (1992) and others have referred to as an “Irishness” – a sense of determination and forbearance that was marked indelibly upon their bodies and etched upon the collective psyche.⁹

The Penal Laws however, “did not, as is sometimes supposed in Ireland, prohibit worship of the Catholic religion as such”,¹⁰ and the religious sections of the Act were applied much less harshly in practice. The main reason for this, according to Kee (1980), was a simple one: “enforcement of the religious sections of the law was impossible. The Catholic Church had the support of the vast majority of the people of Ireland and to suppress the Church, the people would have to have been totally suppressed. Provided that Catholic priests and laity obeyed the civil law, and above all showed loyalty to the Protestant succession of the Crown and of the two kingdoms of England and Ireland, it was easier to turn a blind eye to official breaches of the religious law”.¹¹

Despite this fact, severe limitations were still placed on the activities of the Catholic priesthood and the observance and practise of the faith by its adherents. “Parish priests only, were permitted to officiate in Ireland provided they registered with the authorities – but only parish priests. Not allowed by law to practise their religion, banned on pain of transportation and even death, and forced into precarious secrecy, if they did remain and practise, were friars of the regular orders of clergy (Augustine, Dominicans, etc), and all bishops and archbishops”.¹² The rationale behind this ban was the belief that “all new ordinations of priests would be impossible and eventually the Catholic Church would die out”.¹³ But as history indicates this did not occur and the Irish found other ways to ensure that a supply of Irish priests would continue to be available to service the needs

of the Church's followers. One of these ways was by sending potential priests to Irish theological colleges, which had been established abroad in various European countries including France, Spain and Italy. Once ordained they returned to Ireland where large numbers of worshippers congregated in open structures on the outskirts of Irish towns, or more often in the open air to celebrate Mass. The fact that the Church was able to continue to function despite these laws "strengthened not only the Church itself, but also its bond with the vast majority of the population of Ireland, who, deprived of all political and many other rights saw the Church as the one representative organisation they had".

14

The Irish situation remained the same until after the American War of Independence and the Industrial and agricultural revolutions, forced some respite, and manifested itself for the Irish in the passing of the First Relief Act of 1783. This Act repealed the 1709 Penal Law, resulting in clergymen being able to practise their religious duties and the Irish Parliament being empowered to make laws for its country. The Second Relief Act was passed in 1793, easing further, the restrictions of the Penal Laws.

Famine in Ireland

Apart from the Penal Laws and oppressive behaviour of the British, one other factor which was of major significance in Irish history and the development of a sense of "Irishness", was the recurring problem of famine which struck Ireland many times in the nineteenth century. Although famine had occurred many times prior to 1845, the worst famine in terms of its effect on the Irish occurred in the years between 1845 and 1849. "The direct cause of the famine and its attendant demographic repercussions was the persistent failure of the potato crop in the years 1845 to 1846 and in the partial failure of

the crop in each of the succeeding five years".¹⁵ According to Ranelagh (1983), "the famine therefore lasted in one part of Ireland or another from 1845 to 1849, with its effects lasting much longer. The 1851 census revealed greatly enlarged urban populations, numerous workhouse inmates and large numbers of people in receipt of relief (and) by the summer of 1847, three million people, nearly half the population of Ireland, were being fed by private charities".¹⁶ A number of religious orders were established around this time including the Sisters of Charity and the Sisters of Mercy, with the specific mission of trying to alleviate the terrible suffering of the poor, many who had moved from rural areas to the towns and cities. Apart from anything else, these famines further served to discipline and harden the Irish body forcing individuals to fight harder than ever before for survival, with many Irish dying or making choices that would in one way or another change their lives forever - by committing crimes and being transported, moving to the city or migrating and leaving their homeland. "Emigration from Ireland soared from 75,000 in 1845 to 250,000 in 1851....Between 1845 and 1855 nearly two million people had emigrated from Ireland to America and Australia and another 750,000 to Britain".¹⁷

There were other economic, social and cultural consequences of the famine as well. Potatoes, which had been a staple of the Irish diet "declined rapidly in importance as the remaining farmers and tenants in Ireland after the famine, changed over from tillage to grazing sheep and cattle".¹⁸ Another consequence of the famine was to strengthen the landholdings of the farming class. This resulted from the fact that the labouring/cottier class who prior to the famine married at an early age producing large numbers of suitable heirs who could farm the land after their parents died, no longer continued in this way after the famine because of the decline in their numbers.¹⁹ Farmers, particularly

ones with small landholdings, were therefore able to extend the size of "their plots as labourers and cottiers died or emigrated.... ", ²⁰ becoming the largest single class in Ireland. ²¹

Education in Ireland

The famine, according to Ranelagh (1983) "also ended the widespread use of the Irish language.... Speaking Irish had become associated with poverty and peasantry, with famine and death. The 1831, National Education Act established English as the language of Ireland's first national primary school-system. Hedge-school teachers before the National Schools were introduced had used tally-sticks, the *bata scoir*, which Irish-speaking children wore around their necks, as a crude disciplinary measure. National School teachers adopted the *bata scoir* to help them end the use of Irish: every time a child was heard speaking in Irish, a notch was cut in the stick, at the end of the day the notches were counted and the child punished for each offence". ²² The decision to use the *bata scoir* as a disciplinary measure was made by the "Irish people themselves and not forced on them by any official edict". ²³ Thus children's bodies within the Irish system of education were disciplined and punished not for inappropriate physical behaviour, but for speaking their own language, which by this time was regarded as a symbol of lower status and "Irishness". The Irish in adopting this attitude had finally succumbed to what the British had been attempting for centuries – the destruction of Irish culture. "The great native Irish cultural force embodied in the language was consciously thrust aside by the very people whose national identity and pride it had sustained for centuries. No doubt this was a symptom of their wretched, conquered state when they perceived survival as depending upon their ability to conform to the image of their conquerors and governors". ²⁴

Religious Education in Ireland

By the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Reformation and the changes it had brought about in terms of attitudes, values and beliefs dominated “the lives of people in their personal aspects of home and family”.²⁵ The Enlightenment and the works of such individuals as Rousseau also brought about a shift in attitudes toward children so that they came to be regarded as individuals in their own right and as such requiring an education that not only informed their minds but also disciplined their bodies. This emphasis on educating the child, was to eventually benefit all classes and both sexes, and in time became a priority not only of the state but also of the various churches. Religious education by this time had been crystallised by the major churches in the text known as the Catechism, which was designed to ensure “religious conformity and understanding of Christianity as differentiated within the doctrines of a particular religious denomination or sect”.²⁶ The Catholic Church’s Council of Trent had issued its Catechism “as a basic text of instruction for priests and those engaged in educating the faithful. It centred on loyalty to the Roman Church, an appreciation of the Mass and a devotion to Mary, mother of God”.²⁷

Women, as discussed in Chapter 1, were excluded from the highest levels of theological decision making in the Church. With the popularisation of the Catechism by the various churches, women now became the target of the catechists and their teachings in the home, which “became the sphere where the knowledge of God was purified and controlled”.²⁸ Women once indoctrinated in the beliefs set out in the Catechism were expected to emulate Mary and represent the embodiment of purity and morality. Purity was required not only of the mind but also of the body and women as mothers were

responsible for passing the Church's teachings onto their children and instilling in their daughters the necessity to be pure and chaste. According to Bashford (1994) "the idea of women's purity" ²⁹ was "a central strand for both nursing and feminism" ³⁰ in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with "sexual purity" ³¹ coming "to be a political and politicising force". ³² I would argue that "the idea of women's purity" ³³ extended to other areas of women's life and particularly extended to Catholicism and the teaching undertaken by religious sisters and that it also came to be a spiritualising force. I would further argue that it was in Catholicism that the concern with women's purity in so far as it impacted upon their bodies and its sexuality that the Church was absolutely obsessed. As Bashford asserts sexual purity was equated with spirituality and corporeality was equated with non-spirituality with the former being specifically tied to women and the latter being tied to men. ³⁴ Once again it can be argued that the Catholic Church really only applied this division to women in that women were either sexually pure and therefore able to commune spiritually with God as in the case of religious sisters or they were considered impure and sexually immoral. Somewhere in between these two groups of women were what considered "good" women by the Church – women who were married and giving birth and women who were unmarried and virgins.

Once the Penal Laws were eased in Ireland, the Irish clergy were not content to leave religious education of children and the "purification" of daughters to mothers in the home and by the 1830's recognised that in order to ensure that the faithful, particularly the Irish poor were provided with the appropriate type of education and socialization, that this learning would have to take place in the disciplined environment of the classroom and the school, by specially accepted and trained "professionals". The Irish clergy were therefore instrumental in "employing" religious sisters to establish schools,

particularly for the poor, so as to ensure that this very important educational and socialisation program took place and was adequately controlled.

THE “NEW LOOK” RELIGIOUS ORDERS OF THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES

As mentioned in the previous Chapter, the Church was reluctant to allow any change to monastic religious life, particularly any change which would enable women to move beyond the enclosure of the convent. However, from the time of the founding of male apostolic orders, that is, where groups of men were exempted from enclosure and the reciting of the Divine Office so that they were free to go about helping the poor and teaching, women were attracted to and eventually allowed to follow the same way of life. The Church did not actively encourage women to choose this way of life as such women lived separately and not directly under the control of men. The Church therefore sought to control these women and their bodies, by requiring them to have imposed and impose upon themselves a strict regime of disciplinary “technologies”, which had to be followed precisely. It also introduced a number of other impediments, including the requirement by the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), that any new establishment of religious living in community be approved by the Pope, before women could join it. Fearful of women choosing a religious life which enabled them to move about freely and live without the control of men, the Council of Trent in 1563 once again made it obligatory for women who chose to live together in community, to wear similar dress, take solemn vows, recite the Divine Office and observe enclosure. This last requirement in particular effectively prohibited women from moving outside of the convent walls, even to help those in need. Pius V's Bull *Circa Pastoralis* of May 1566 reinforced these prescriptions. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Tridentine and Pianine

regulations of the Catholic Church adopted these requirements, which remained the "official" Church view on women religious until the Second Vatican Council.³⁵

Despite the regulations and control imposed by the Church on women who chose to live a religious life, some women who wanted to serve the Church in the years after Trent, tried to bypass the restrictions imposed by this Council. The most famous of these women were Mary Ward and Louise de Marillac, the latter inspired by St Vincent de Paul. In order to avoid enclosure, which would have inhibited these women from helping the poor and being able to work among them, Vincent and his Daughters of Charity, forego the name "religious" and "resorted to strategies like taking annual instead of solemn or perpetual vows".³⁶ Of the several convents, which made their appearance in Ireland throughout the seventeenth century, three and a possible fourth were based on the Rule of St Clare. One of these orders was the Bethlehem Convent, which housed over sixty nuns during its brief existence and operated until Cromwell dictated that women religious could no longer follow this way of life and they were to either marry or go into exile.³⁷ This edict resulted in some of the sisters going to Spain and France, while others went into hiding in their own homeland, waiting for a change in official policy such as the Franciscan nuns who returned to Britain in 1672 to resume a life of enclosed prayer and asceticism and the Dominican nuns who returned to Galway in 1686 also to a life of enclosure.³⁸

By the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, society's attitudes changed particularly in relation to helping those in need. Individuals, who were philanthropically inclined and various groups such as the Catholic Church became more concerned with undertaking charitable works, particularly to relieve the suffering of the poor. The French

Revolution and its aftermath “had made it abundantly clear that there was a need for works of charity among the people and various people saw in pious institutes of simple vows, an instrument to meet this need”.³⁹ The Church began to realise the potential resource it had available in employing religious sisters to carry out its work at the “coalface” as it were, by educating its children and assisting those in need while simultaneously maintaining a watchful eye over them. It reluctantly allowed women to join religious organisations, to take simple vows and undertake its work as required and directed. The Church also utilised these organisations or institutes as part of its indoctrination process by authorising religious sisters to teach the Catechism in such a way that it was inscribed upon their pupil’s bodies and by ensuring that not only their pupils but also their families, conformed to the way of living prescribed by the Church.

Despite the change in Church attitude toward female religious being allowed to undertake such work, they were not free to undertake this work without the supervision and direction of the Irish clergy. This was especially the case for those orders that professed simple vows and were able to visit the streets of Ireland trying to alleviate in some way the desperate lives of the needy.

One of the first women who recognised the need for educating the poor in Ireland, within the context of her Catholic faith was Nano Nangle, who in 1764 started the first Catholic poor school in Cork. Nano had been educated in France by the Ursuline Sisters and in 1771 encouraged an Ursuline foundation to migrate to Cork, Ireland to take over her work with the poor. Nano soon realised that the requirement of enclosure of the Ursuline Sisters limited their ability to actively assist and work with the poor, and in 1775 she established the Presentation Order, with the idea that they would be free to

move among the poor and not be inhibited by the Rule of Enclosure. Unfortunately, Nano's Order of sisters only operated free of the restrictions of enclosure for twenty-one years after their establishment. At this time they were "enclosed" which meant that the sisters were no longer free to move among the poor, but rather that the poor had to come to them for assistance.

Nano herself never assumed the habit of either the Ursuline or Presentation Nuns of Ireland, as she did not want to be hindered in her work of visiting the poor and the sick in their homes. Nano Nangle is regarded by various members of the Church, as the precursor of many of the religious foundations that were established in the decades following her establishment of the Presentation Order. She has been described in the following way: "... We venture to assert that the records of the three kingdoms cannot produce, in ancient or modern times, a female who has achieved more for the cause of education and religion and provide a greater benefactress to the poor, than this lady, whose only monument is the institutions which she raised".⁴⁰ Other foundresses of Irish religious orders who were to follow in the footsteps of Nana Nangle include Mary Catherine Dawson, Aloysia Bell, Marianne Aikenhead, and Catherine McAuley. It is the last two of this group of women and the Orders which they founded and transplanted to Australia which will be explored in this thesis.

All of the individuals listed above and the women who chose to join them in their work, had in common the overwhelming desire to serve God. They wanted to not only spend time in prayer and meditation but also to make a difference by helping the poor and suffering, initially in their own homeland and later when requested, in countries such as America, Canada and Australia. The women who joined the various religious

congregations in order to live a life dedicated to the service of others in the name of God, were disciplined and prepared to live austere and at times difficult lives. They were also prepared to forego the usual life for women at the time of marriage and children and live by the vows of chastity, poverty and obedience.

Mary Aikenhead and the Sisters of Charity

The poverty and hardship of so many Irish people encouraged Daniel Murray Assistant Bishop to the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, John Troy, to establish in the early nineteenth century a group of religious women who could go wherever they were needed, instead of being permanently enclosed behind convent walls.⁴¹ In line with Bentham's utilitarian philosophy of the time, Murray wanted them to be "extensively useful".⁴² As discussed previously, it was not easy establishing such an Order at this time in the history of the Church, because of the restrictions imposed by the Church on women who chose the religious life. To overcome this difficulty Archbishop Troy requested permission from Rome to begin the Sisters of Charity in Dublin as a Congregation Puellorum (of "daughters" or "maidens"), not of religious.⁴³ By using the terms "daughters" or "maidens" Troy indicated that women who joined the Order were under the control of a male, in the way that a daughter or maiden was in a family. Archbishop Troy also took advantage of the fact that such institutes were freer to begin in Ireland than in England. "While the Catholic Church in England suffered many restrictions, ironically, conquered Ireland had more religious freedom than her rulers. England wanted to lessen the temptation for the Irish to support France in its revolutionary wars. The English government's tolerance of the Catholic hierarchy in Ireland therefore, made it easier for the church there to deal with problems of poverty and ignorance".⁴⁴

At Murray's insistence, Troy informed Pope Pius VII of his plan to establish a similar order to the Daughters of Charity in France to assist the sick and needy who belonged to his area of responsibility. After visiting France several times, to ascertain how the Daughters of Charity operated and to assess their Rule, Murray decided that he needed to appoint a woman to found his Irish Daughters of Charity. Women were regarded as more suitable for carrying out such work as caring for the sick was a role that they performed in their own families. As well, while he was not undertaking the work himself he was able to direct and control the Order. Therefore it was imperative that he choose a woman who would do as she was instructed without question and hold similar views in relation to helping the poor.

Murray after careful consideration approached Mary Aikenhead from Cork, Ireland to fill this role. Mary had been brought up Church of Ireland but became a Catholic at the age of fifteen. She managed the family home for some years during her mother's sickness and cared for her two younger sisters and a brother, thus fulfilling one of Murray's essential requirements. When she believed family finances to be secure, she agreed to Murray's plan to establish a new religious order. On the 6 June 1801 Mary and a companion, Alicia Walsh entered the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary in York, which had been founded by Mary Ward, to serve their novitiate. While there, Mary assessed four sets of Rules from different orders, so as to determine what should be included in her own Order's Rules. The Rules she examined included "the French Daughters of Charity, those for the Les Dames du Saint Esprit (a foundation proposed by a French Jesuit for some refugees from France), the Augustinian Rule of the Hopitalieres of St Thomas of Villeneuve and Ward's Rules of the Blessed Virgin Mary".⁴⁵ Even though

Mary believed that the Rules of the Blessed Virgin Mary's Order was suited to the type of religious order she wished to establish, Troy unilaterally decided that the Constitutions would be derived from a combination of the Rules of the English Virgins and the French Daughters of Charity. Thus highlighting the fact, that such an important decision could not be left to a woman, even though Mary had actually lived and experienced the type of lifestyle and disciplinary regime followed by Ward's Order. Murray's reason for overruling her was according to O'Sullivan (1995) that he and Troy believed that the Sisters of Charity would have a greater chance of acceptance if they followed an already approved way of life. ⁴⁶ "As a consequence, Pope Clement XI's Bull of 13 May 1709, *Inscrutabili*, approving the Institute of the Blessed Virgin is cited as the precedent for the Sisters of Charity way of life as Troy had sought permission from Rome to establish the Institute before definitive Constitutions for the Order were drafted". ⁴⁷

After finishing their novitiate in York, Mary Aikenhead and Alicia Walsh arrived in Dublin in August 1815. This date is commemorated by the Congregation as the foundation date of the Order. "Never before in Ireland had uncloistered nuns been seen walking through the streets and visiting homes. Although there was great need for such work there was also plenty of adverse criticism. Sister Catherine and Sister Augustine, ⁴⁸ as the two women were now known, were now back in secular dress. They had not yet taken their vows and they had no definite Constitutions. Their undertaking was without precedent. On 1 September the two sisters made their private vows for one year during which time they would live according to the York Rule for a trial period. In December 1816, the Rescript from Pius VII for the canonical erection on the Congregation was posted. On December 9 after making spiritual exercises conducted by Father Kenny, the

two sisters made their perpetual profession. The sisters were also dressed in religious habit for the first time".⁴⁹

The next matter that Mother Aikenhead was required to concern herself with was the preparation of a set of Constitutions for her Order, so Murray asked the Jesuits to help her. Father Robert St Leger drew up a complete set of Constitutions, translating and adapting those from his own Institute, the Society of Jesus, but adding the position of ecclesiastical superior of the Order as the Archbishop of Dublin rather than Mother Aikenhead herself. Such a requirement meant that ultimately the Order was under the control of a man, thus ensuring that the male dominated hierarchical control of the Church was maintained. The position of superior general of the Order only applied to the governing of a particular foundation, it did not at least in theory, provide the superior with any power in the Church itself. The superior general was answerable to the bishop of the diocese in which her congregation was located.

The Sisters of Charity Constitution that was adapted from the Jesuit's Constitution were detailed, legislating for each step of religious life from entrance to departure. The fourth vow of obedience to the Pope taken by the perpetually professed Jesuit clerics was replaced in the Sisters of Charity Constitution by a fourth vow of service to the poor, which was only taken by the choir sisters and not the lay sisters of the Order. The Sisters of Charity were not the only female religious Order to adopt the Jesuit Constitutions. Mary Ward's English Virgins had previously adopted these Constitutions in an abbreviated form and had found that they were workable for female religious Orders. It was this association with the Jesuits, who had been excommunicated from the Church

that caused the Sisters of Charity Constitutions not to be approved for eighteen years after they were first submitted to Rome.

The Constitutions and the papal approval which made them Church law for the Order, was a great achievement, particularly for women in the Catholic Church of the nineteenth century. Instead of being enclosed religious with solemn vows, the Sisters of Charity took simple vows, were not enclosed and so were not totally confined to life in a convent and were able to undertake charitable works in the community. They were not required to spend hours each day reciting the Divine Office, which meant that they had more time available to spend on their chosen vocation of teaching or nursing. "They had a central government with a head superior, so that, instead of each convent being separate and independent, as with earlier Orders of women religious, each foundation was controlled by its own superior general".⁵⁰ This form of government meant that an Order could establish a foundation with a convent or mother house in one area and then from this point, establish convents in other areas whose sisters came from the original convent. Each of these convents had a superior and because of the emphasis on uniformity in religious life a sister moving from one convent to another in an order, easily fitted into the regime and daily timetable of her new assignment. The sisters in each of the separate convents were answerable to the superior of their own particular convent and were required to carry out her directions absolutely. This meant that as each new foundation of the Order was established it was self-governing and had its own identity – Sisters of Charity, Dublin; Sisters of Charity, Potts Point.

Mother Aikenhead described the purpose of the Institute in a "Letter to the Commissioners of Inquiry into the State of the Irish Poor" as being: "to attend to the

comforts of the poor, both spiritual and temporal, to visit them at their dwellings and in hospital, to attend to them in sickness, to administer consolation in their afflictions, and to reconcile them to the dispensations of an all-wise Providence in the many trials to which they are subject. The education and relief of orphans and the religious instruction of the lower orders is part of our duty".⁵¹ She concluded her letter by offering the help of the Sisters of Charity, wherever they were, in alleviating the "sufferings of our fellow-creatures of every creed".⁵² By being involved in such work the sisters not only administered to the physical needs of the poor, but were according to Foucault (1977), able to participate in the role of disciplining the population.⁵³ The aims of such charitable groups varied and included: "religious (conversion and moralization), economic (aid and encouragement to work) or political (the struggle against discontent and agitation)".⁵⁴ By visiting the poor where they lived religious workers were able to gain information on such matters as "the stability of lodging, knowledge of prayers, attendance at the sacraments, knowledge of trade, morality (and whether or not they have fallen into poverty through their own fault); lastly, one must learn by skilful questioning in what way they behave at home".⁵⁵ All of this information was used to determine the approach to disciplining the individual and society that was required.

Catherine McAuley and the Sisters of Mercy

Catherine McAuley founded the Sisters of Mercy in 1831. Like Mary Aikenhead, she was a single middle class woman, brought up in the Protestant religion, who was moved to try and alleviate the hardship suffered by the poor, especially of poor women in Ireland which she witnessed first hand. Catherine had been involved in philanthropic work from an early age. She had been influenced by her father, an architect builder, who had participated in instructing the children of the poor in the doctrines of religion in the area

in which he lived. Although, on the death of her father, there was a dominant Protestant influence in Catherine's life, she was strongly drawn to the Catholic Church and chose to exercise her charitable work under its auspices. The reason for this it would seem was the fact that as both her parents had died by the time that she had reached the age of seventeen, "she found herself homeless and dependent on the kindness of relatives for support and shelter".⁵⁶ In the era in which Catherine lived, a seventeen year old individual, particularly a female of Catherine's upbringing, would have been regarded as not mature enough to live on her own. Accordingly, Catherine went to live with her uncle, Owen Conway while her brother and sister moved in with William Armstrong, a Protestant relative of their mother.

In her uncle's home, Catherine experienced first hand what Catholic home life was about. Savage (1950) states that if she had not lived with this family, she may have been "as susceptible to Protestant influences as her brother and sister were".⁵⁷ Her cousin Ann, introduced Catherine to her own spiritual confessor Father Andrew Luke, then a Curate in Liffy Street, Dublin. Father Luke instructed Catherine in Catholic doctrine and befriended her at a time in her life that was clouded by "doubts and difficulties".⁵⁸ While living with the Conways, Catherine's uncle's financial circumstances drastically changed and he was reduced to almost beggary. Catherine therefore experienced poverty first hand. In Owen's plight, Catherine moved in with William Armstrong's family and her brother and sister, who were already living there. From her time in the Conway home, Catherine according to Savage, "took away with her two valued possessions which were to influence profoundly her future career: a lasting appreciation of the Catholic faith and a first hand experience of what it means to be poor".⁵⁹

In 1822, Catherine inherited a considerable fortune from the Quaker couple, who she had befriended and with whom she had also lived for some time. She used this bequest to make a reality of her "vision" that she should in some way assist the poor of her area. "This vision was a practical one encompassing the visitation of the sick poor in their homes, the care and education of orphans, the care and education of homeless women of good repute and the education of girls. This last work Catherine saw as fundamental to the happiness of the family and hence society in general".⁶⁰

To make this "vision" a reality, Catherine built and opened in 1827 a House of Mercy, for the orphans and women she had already taken into her care. Baggot Street, Dublin was the site for this building and it was situated intentionally near the homes of the upper class.⁶¹ According to McGrath (1988), "she was looking towards the more affluent Irish to support her endeavours and eventually she attracted a group of young women, around her to help her with her work. These young women, like Catherine, came from the Irish gentry",⁶² which meant that they were well educated in the ways of the upper class and able to easily liaise with the affluent Irish in seeking help for their work. "Some of them lived with her at the House of Mercy and soon it became apparent that they were developing a conventual style of life, of which community living, including prayers in common was a marked feature".⁶³

By the time Catherine McAuley had built her house in Dublin, the Sisters of Charity were well known in Dublin. Catherine had contact with them but for whatever reason decided not to join them. Rather, her clerical advisors encouraged her to consider establishing a religious congregation in order to give her work for the poor stability and a central point from which it could be administered. However, not everyone involved

with Catherine's work agreed with this view, as they believed that the establishment of another Order would be a duplication of the work performed by the Sisters of Charity. Catherine herself was not in favour of establishing another religious order as she believed she could achieve more if her work maintained its lay status. Eventually, after much consideration and on the advice of Murray, who had now been appointed as the Archbishop of Dublin and who could see there was ample scope for another congregation in Dublin, encouraged Catherine to establish a new order of women religious, who like the Sisters of Charity would make simple vows and work among the poor. She chose the Constitutions of the Presentation Sisters as a model for her own Constitutions and with two companions made her novitiate with the Presentation Sisters in Dublin. They were professed as the first Sisters of Mercy on 12 December 1831.⁶⁴

In a letter to Father Francis L'Estrange in 1828, Catherine described the main works to which she and her sisters were to devote the rest of their lives:

".....The objects which the Charity at present embraces are the education of hundreds of poor female children and the instruction of young women who sleep in the House. Objects in view superintendence of young women employed in the House, instructing and assisting the sick poor as may hereafter, be approved".⁶⁵ Unlike Mary Aikenhead, Catherine was particularly concerned with educating the girls who slept in the Order's house or convent and in supervising their behaviour. These girls were required to live by the Rules and Customs of the Order – thus ensuring that they were exposed to a similar process of somatic learning and "technologies" of discipline that the novices and sisters were exposed to. Catherine from the outset, educated boarders, presumably so that they would be trained and disciplined in the Catholic faith and so that when they left the

convent, (if they did) they would live their lives as good wives and mothers and/or employees in the workforce.

THE CHURCH IN COLONIAL NEW SOUTH WALES

"We have taken a vast portion of God's earth, and made it a cesspool; we have poured down scum upon scum and dregs upon dregs of the offscourings of mankind and we are building up with them a nation of crime, to be...a curse and a plague....

The eye of God looks down upon a people, such as, since the deluge, has not been....A community without the feelings of community; whose men are very wicked, whose women are very shameless, and whose children are very irreverent. Whose occupation has been, and is, as that described by the prophet of sorrow, '*to steal, to murder, to commit adultery, to swear falsely*.'" ⁶⁶

The colony of New South Wales was founded on the prevailing view that existed in Britain at the time concerning the relationship between the Church and the state. The early official chaplains of the colony were representative of the evangelical tradition that existed in Britain which included intolerance, if not an ingrained hatred of Catholicism and "popish practices". But such attitudes were not to last in the colony and the distance between England and colonial New South Wales which caused economic and social problems for the inhabitants of the new colony, was to work in favour of the Irish and their right to practise their Catholic faith.

That there was no "love lost" between the British and Irish goes without saying. The Irish themselves came to the colony with one feeling in common, that was their hatred of Britain. They arrived in the colony with the "knowledge that they were considered second-class citizens and with the love for the ideals of liberty which is born out of

living under the yoke of an occupying force. For the English, the Irish Catholic was a peasant: poor, ignorant, lazy and priest-ridden. Above all, he or she was a potential trouble maker, a rebel ready to overthrow legitimate authority and replace it with anarchy".⁶⁷ Within this context, Irish men were seen as being lower in class than the English lower class itself, with the result that Irish women were regarded as being of an even lower status than their men. As a consequence of this attitude, Oxley (1996) argues that Irish women were considered to be even more corrupt and dangerous than Irish men and in greater need of control by the clergy if they were to assume their role of "civilising" and "moralising" the colony.

This anti-Catholic, anti-Irish attitude was to persist for some period of time in the colony. However, such sentiments did not prevent Governor King granting limited tolerance to Catholics to practise their faith, if for no other reason than the fact that so many of them had migrated to the colony in the early years of the nineteenth century. By 1803 the Catholic population was estimated as being twenty-five percent of the total population.⁶⁸ In recognition of this fact, Father Dixon, who had been transported to the colony as a convict, was allowed to celebrate Mass in 1803 under police surveillance, but this concession was withdrawn the following year after the Vinegar Hill Rebellion. For the next sixteen years, Mass was not allowed to be celebrated in public.⁶⁹

In time however, authorities further changed their view and became even more tolerant of individuals practising religions other than the Church of England faith. The reason behind this change was the concern by both secular and Church officials about the lack of civil order and the low level of morality in the colony. The authorities hoped that by allowing the Churches to have control over their adherents, extolling them to live moral

and prayerful lives, that this would go some way to overcoming the inappropriate behaviour of unruly convicts and remind free settlers of their social responsibilities. The government of the day appointed Fathers' Therry and Connolly as chaplains to Irish convicts with this goal in mind and remunerated them an official salary on taking up their appointments in 1820. This marked the beginning of the acceptance by the authorities in the colony of the right of individuals to practise their faith without interference.

One such individual who contributed to the growth of religious tolerance in the colony was Governor Bourke, whose arrival in the colony in 1831, according to O'Farrell (1995) "seemed to mark a revolution in the attitudes of authority – both of Governor and Colonial Office – towards Catholics".⁷⁰ Bourke came from the Irish upper class and from 1814 to 1825 had lived in Ireland, holding the position of squire magistrate. Having resided with the Irish and observing first hand the treatment they had received from the British affected his attitude toward them which was evidenced when he assumed the position as Governor in the colony. Accordingly, he encouraged the growth of religious minorities, especially the Roman Catholic Church and in 1833, in a dispatch to the Colonial Secretary, indicated that the time had arrived for the official recognition of the Catholic and Presbyterian Churches, as well as the Church of England. In line with this change in attitude, a grant of £500 was made by the colonial government in 1832, towards the construction of a new Catholic Church, which was to become known as St Mary's Cathedral.⁷¹ "However, by that time Therry was in dispute with the government over the title of the land on which the partly completed church stood".⁷² Therry, who because of his ongoing conflict with authorities over Catholic's right to practise their faith, "had no formal deeds (for the land), and his impression of its extent

differed from the government's when a group of workmen came to erect a boundary fence, he picked up a stake and threatened to knock down any man who encroached on what he regarded as his land – and it was his land in a very personal sense, for he refused to vest it in trustees".⁷³

This conflict with Therry over the title of the land was the "final straw" for colonial authorities in their relationship with Therry –who consequently turned to Rome "to seek the appointment of a Catholic ecclesiastical authority with whom it could treat".⁷⁴ Bishop Morris who resided in Mauritius appointed William Ullathorne as his Australian Vicar-General. Ullathorne upon his arrival in the colony found according to O'Farrell (1985), "there was no church: St Mary's had no roof, a church was half completed at Campbelltown, another had been begun and had fallen into ruins at Parramatta. The law courts served as churches throughout the country".⁷⁵ There were few clergymen scattered around the country – Conolly in Tasmania, Dowling in Newcastle, Therry in Sydney and McEnroe all of whom struggled with the problems that surrounded them and their own personal demons.⁷⁶ "Religious observance was confined to a small section of the nominally Catholic, as Father McEnroe had reported to the Archbishop of Dublin at the end of 1832, there were 16,000 or 18,000 Catholics, 'not only half of whom hardly ever seen a priest'. Sexual morality was, to say the least, lax. Marriages between Catholics and Protestants were frequent, and often led to the loss of Catholic faith. Sacramental life was at a low ebb...And the community was poisoned by the reason for its existence. Ullathorne was appalled by the vice, corruption and harshness".⁷⁷

As Therry had before him, Ullathorne set about trying to implement change and to bring the Catholic faith to a Catholic community that was largely convict, uneducated and

used to harsh treatment by authorities.⁷⁸ Ullathorne, however found that he and the current Church structure could not satisfactorily meet the spiritual needs of such a society. Accordingly, he informed his superiors, that "Episcopal rule from distant Mauritius was totally unsatisfactory".⁷⁹ The Irish clergy in the colony also held a similar view, which they made known to the Archbishop of Dublin.⁸⁰ Accordingly, John Bede Polding was consecrated in June 1834 in London as Australia's first bishop.⁸¹

Another major issue that surfaced at this time was the recognition of the need to educate children, particularly of the lower orders, if social control, morality and discipline were to be developed and maintained in the colony. Who was to provide this education – Church or state was to become an area of conflict in the decades between 1820 and 1870 and successive governors, statesmen and churchmen of the colony pursued various tactics and approaches to satisfactorily resolve this question.

Members of the Church of England were of course, strongly opposed to Bourke's reform proposals which would enable other churches to function effectively and develop in the colony. Bourke attempted to establish the Irish National Education System but was defeated by William Broughton, the first Church of England Bishop of Australia. Bourke then went on to introduce the Church Act of 1836, making available state aid to all the major denominations, on the basis of equity. Broughton once again opposed the passing of the Act. This conflict between Broughton and Bourke over who should be responsible for providing education in the colony was one that divided the colonial community and as mentioned above, was to remain unresolved for a number of decades.

Despite the ongoing conflict, the history of the growth and development of the various churches in this period reflects the changing attitudes in society towards religion and the perceived role it could serve in facilitating change. Whereas the founders of the early colonies had displayed minimal regard for spiritual matters, the colonial authorities by this time, believing that allowing people to practise their faith would make the colony more moral and less inclined to engage in inappropriate behaviour, gave generous subsidies to all Christian groups ready to accept them. In line with this development the various faiths supported by the government and local individuals, began to build churches and encourage clergy to migrate from Catholic countries overseas. But despite the support from Bourke and others and the establishment and growth of various denominations in the colony, the anti-Catholic sentiment was still to exist for many decades.

The second fifty years of the 1800's saw the discovery of gold and it with it a huge increase in immigration, particularly of Irish immigrants from the rural poor. With this huge influx of migrants came an even greater concern by the State and the various Churches with improving the morality of the colony and overcoming the social problems that were being caused by drunkenness, prostitution, gambling and the shortage of suitable women of marriageable age. More than ever from this period onwards one or other of the stereotypical labels of "damned whore or God's police"⁸² were applied to women in the colony and that women who fell into the latter category, were charged with the role of lifting the moral standards of society. This obsession with women fulfilling the role of moral guardian was to continue throughout the nineteenth century and was to evolve by the beginning of the twentieth century into "a rampant puritanism".

⁸³ A Dr Herbart Moran, a prominent Sydney Cancer specialist recalls of the Church of his

youth in his memoir *Viewless Winds*:⁸⁴ "All around us at that age, there was much drunkenness. We children were brought up in the strict puritan Catholic atmosphere of many Irish families, ten commandments there were, but only one mattered – the sin of the flesh. The priests were always declaiming it....The person who sinned carnally was damned – damned irrevocably. Purity, purity was the everlasting cry".⁸⁵ And it was upon the bodies of women, that the responsibility of ensuring the appropriate level of "purity" for both sexes was maintained in the colony.

The Irish in Colonial New South Wales

"The most influential immigrant group"⁸⁶ to come to the colony from the middle of the nineteenth century "was the smallest, the Catholic clergy and religious... About 2000 Catholic priests came to Australia in the nineteenth century".⁸⁷ Most of these individuals came from Ireland "and increasingly from the 1860s and virtually entirely from the 1880s to the 1930s they exercised a dominating monopoly within the Australian Catholic Church".⁸⁸ The type of Church that these clergy transplanted to Australia was an Irish Catholic Church, which resulted in the formation of a Catholic Church in Australia that was Irish in nature. That this Irish Church itself "was almost a clone of the Roman church was not always realised since the Catholic clergy, fiercely promoting patriotism to the 'old country' as the best means of preserving Catholicism in Australia, were so obviously Irish. Cardinal Paul Cullen, was largely responsible for this".⁸⁹ As he had spent thirty years in Rome instructing Irish seminarians studying there, "he brought with him on his return to Ireland in 1850 a determination to shape all in the Roman mould, whether man or institutions.... the majority of bishops he sent to Australia - before all else they were Roman".⁹⁰ Cullen therefore transformed the Irish Church and

contributed, by educating large numbers of clergy in Roman Catholicism before they migrated to the colony, to its ultimate growth and development in its new homeland.

Apart from the control that the Irish clergy exercised over their faithful, the Church's growth both in Ireland and in various colonies around the world, including colonial New South Wales in the nineteenth century, was also "sustained by a revolution in religious practice, that altered the forms of religiosity and helped to create a cultural climate that was conducive to the spread"⁹¹ of its teachings and beliefs. The "devotional revolution"⁹² as Danylewycz (1987) has termed it, saw a greater emphasis on Catholics receiving the Sacraments such as Confession and Holy Communion, joining various sodalities and confraternities, it also saw the frantic building of churches all over the colony, resplendent in their altars, crucifixes, statutes and other religious paraphernalia that typified the elements of Catholic worship. "Devotional exercises, also an integral part of religious life, were utilised in schools and Catholics were taught that prayer combined with devotional exercises could shorten the sinners life in purgatory, help cure the infirm, prevent natural disasters and influence the course of history".⁹³

Even with the revitalisation of the Church through increased emphasis on participation in "devotional practices" by the laity, the Irish bishops still found that some Irish Catholic groups either practised their Catholic faith spasmodically or not at all. The bishops were extremely concerned with the fact that large numbers of Catholic children attended state schools and Catholic attendance at Mass was very poor. In order to encourage the Irish to practice their faith and to send their children to Catholic schools, the Irish bishops initially promoted the notion that individuals should wholeheartedly embrace their Irish identity as a means of reinforcing their Catholicism. When this approach did not result

in a great increase in the number of Catholic school enrolments, the bishops threatened to ex-communicate any Catholic who sent their children to a state school.

As well, to ensure that they maintained control over women and that children born into a Catholic family were subsequently baptised a Catholic and brought up as such, they banned marriages of mixed religious faiths. In some dioceses, bishops gained permission from the Pope to offer spiritual rewards to those Catholic laity who obediently followed the Church's teachings. These individuals were regarded as the "elite", who were employed "to seek out those parents whose children did not attend Catholic schools and urge them to" ⁹⁴ educate their children in the appropriate way. "Plenary indulgences were offered to such Catholics" ⁹⁵ who monitored the behaviour of other Catholics in this way, ⁹⁶ in much the same way as they had been offered to the Crusaders who fought the infidels in the Middle Ages. These indulgences were offered on certain days in the Church year to individuals who undertook one or more of the twenty-one works ⁹⁷ which had been specified by the Church as potential indulgence earners requiring them to monitor and keep records of families who were not attending Mass regularly or whose children were not attending Catholic schools. ⁹⁸

As priests became more influential, an Irish Catholic stereotype developed. This stereotype was achieved by the individual Catholic imposing certain regimes upon their bodies, so that the Irish as a group became disciplined, controlled, obedient and "docile" in relation to undertaking the directions that were given to them by the clergy. Once this authority was established over its adherents, the Irish clergy were able to determine and manipulate the direction that Catholicism took in the colony. As most of the Irish Catholic immigrants had limited education the power of the clergy over them was

immense and their "reliance upon the clergy made them particularly susceptible to the dominance and leadership of their clergy. What was remarkable and striking about the Irish priesthood in Australia was its forceful style. To what ever degree it asserted a mild paternalism or tyrannical autocracy the dynamic was consistent. Its procedures were those of seeking firm control of all church matters and of pursuing policies of constant clerical visibility. By contrast with the Italian clergy or English, the Irish priests were self-confident and assertive, apologising to no man for their existence, far more likely to fight than compromise or defer".⁹⁹ Such an attitude as has been discussed, had arisen from their ongoing fight for existence and the right to practice their beliefs, a battle which they had engaged in for centuries.

The Irish clergy continued this battle in the colony as the role of the Irish priests was seen to be a war against lack and neglect of faith, sin, immorality and desire of the flesh. To wage this war Irish priests relied upon the control and discipline they were able to particularly exercise over women. The emphasis on women emulating Mary, rather than Eve was reinforced by a growing devotion to Our Lady and the establishment of a Marian culture within the Church to support this development. The specific role that this "culture" had in producing a female Catholic body will be examined further in Chapter 8.

Education in the Colony

The Irish bishops who arrived in colonial New South Wales in the mid-1860s, came from a country where the Catholic Church had in 1863 explicitly condemned and repudiated the Irish National Education System, that is the system of education in which religion was tacked on to a program of secular instruction. Accordingly, the Irish clergy

who migrated to the colony were almost obsessive in their pre-occupation with establishing a viable education system that all Catholic children would attend and benefit from. In December 1862, the *Freeman's Journal* published the Australian bishops first combined Pastoral Address on Education in which Archbishop Polding's view on Catholic children attending Catholic schools was clearly enunciated: "[It] is a persecuting sectarianism...the [state school] system to which we have adverted, seems to consider the child as a receiving machine, and the teacher as an imparting machine, and that here their relations end. It is not so..... It is not only defective it is corrupting and dissipating, and, therefore for reasons obvious to every well informed Catholic, we must have for our children, Catholic schools, Catholic teachers, and, as fast as we can supply them, Catholic books.....No system of Education can be accepted, which does not recognise the guardianship of the Bishops over the education of Catholic children, and to the security of such guardianship are essential the ownership of their schools, and control over the teaching, by the power of appointing and dismissing teachers." ¹⁰⁰

The passing of the 1866 Public Schools Act further accentuated Catholic concern for the provision of suitable Catholic education in the colony. The Catholic Association for the Promotion of Religion and Education in the Sydney Archdiocese which had been established in 1867 with the specific purpose of ensuring Catholic children received a Catholic education, struggled to maintain the Catholic primary school system that had already been established but being denied certification by the Council of Education. Further, as a result of Pius IX fully condemning state-controlled secular schools in his Syllabus of Errors, the Australian Council of Bishops in 1869, relying on this dictate, urged the creation of more Catholic schools in the colony that would adequately meet the standards of the Council of Education. "The essential principle laid down by the

bishops in 1869 was that education must take place in and be infused by a religious atmosphere which would act upon the child's whole character and heart", ¹⁰¹ through the disciplining of the body in the "technologies" of Catholicism. This "did not mean merely or even mainly the direct teaching of the Catholic doctrine: it meant the interpenetration of a vital Catholic atmosphere in the school, its infusion with Catholic life and a spirit of prayer" . ¹⁰² Secular education could therefore never provide an adequate education for Catholics. The inherent problem with secular education was Polding believed, the fact that the teaching of religion was not accorded a high enough status within the curriculum. Polding stressed that religion was the foundation of education and it must permeate every aspect of the school day. This attitude was the fundamental difference between the view of the Church and the view of those who believed that state education was more appropriate.

In 1877, Polding died and Vaughan became Archbishop. Vaughan's central goal from the beginning and in the wake of the passing of several Education Acts in the colonies between 1872 and 1880 was to firmly entrench within colonial New South Wales, a separate Catholic education system. Vaughan achieved this goal in a number of ways which included using the proceeds from the sale of Lyndhurst College for a building fund and mustering support from the Catholic laity. He achieved the latter not by threatening to excommunicate members of the faithful as his predecessor had done, but by issuing a number of Pastoral Letters, which he and his bishops composed and which contained directions which Catholics were required to unequivocally follow to ensure their salvation.

These directions imposed upon Catholic parents the responsibility of raising their children as good Catholics, which included sending them to Catholic schools. Catholics with children in public schools were required to remove their children from these schools as soon as possible. In turn the Catholic hierarchy would ensure that Catholic schools were equal to non-Catholic schools in secular instruction and superior to them in the genuine education relating to the spiritual development of the individual, including his or her conscience and senses. The development of a conscience was seen as extremely important by the Catholic Church for maintaining control over its faithful and for providing a means by which the individual could constantly monitor their own behaviour. The senses of the individual had also to be kept under control, as the senses best manifested the corporeality of the body and the source from which sin could potentially emanate. In Church services the senses of the body were constantly engaged through the employment of various aromatic fragrances and the visual impact of colour representing the different phases in the liturgical year. The senses were also engaged by the taking of the "body of Christ" in the form of specially prepared wafer bread and the drinking of wine by the priest at communion. All of these "technologies" operated on the individual at the most basic level of his or her intuitive abilities and corporeality.

The third probably most important ingredient that Vaughan needed to make real his vision of a viable Catholic education system was a supply of teachers who he could totally rely upon to appropriately educate the Church's children. These teachers had to be religious, as an adequate supply of lay teachers, who had previously staffed the schools, was no longer available. The reasons for the shortage of lay teachers were varied. The Church could not afford to pay the salaries of lay teachers - particularly at the same rate paid by the state. Secondly, as many of their best lay teachers had moved

over to the higher salaried posts in the state department the efficiency and quality of teaching in Catholic schools had deteriorated. New and competent teachers had to be found somewhere and the only likely source of supply seemed to be individuals who had taken up a religious vocation¹⁰³ and who offered the dual advantages of cheapness and dedication.

Ambitious ecclesiastics, who had previously attempted to keep women religious enclosed behind convent walls, now came to rely on feminine spirituality and initiative to realise their dreams of a well ordered, well controlled and well staffed Church. The bishops as did the non-Catholic leaders in colony, saw in women the potential to civilise and "moralise" colonial New South Wales, making it more "Godly" but at the same time keeping men under control and setting an example to women who had "fallen" from "grace". The women who were regarded as most suitable for this work were religious sisters who had denounced their "femaleness" through the process of learning and disciplinary training that they had undergone in becoming a religious sister. Already they had proved themselves in the various Irish schools in which they had taught where student numbers were continually increasing.¹⁰⁴ Vaughan was not unaware of the results likely to accrue from the well-tried teaching methods of the new orders. Already he had established several orders and if state support was withdrawn, more "Jesuits, Franciscans and Marists would be forthcoming".¹⁰⁵

Without the religious teaching orders the Australian bishops admitted seventy years later "Catholic schools might gradually have disappeared after the passing of the State Education Acts".¹⁰⁶ Graph A1 in Appendix A provides an indication of the increase in religious teachers in Australia between 1830 and 1950. The graph includes not only

religious sisters but also priests and brothers to allow for a comparison between the three groups. Accordingly it is clear from this graph that the number of sisters who arrived in Australia and taught in Catholic schools was far greater than the number of priests or brothers who arrived.

When the various Education Acts were passed around Australia there were few such orders in Australia and what there were, were small and scattered communities. "It was one thing to plan a policy, but an entirely different thing to actually put into practise. If the plan had any chance of working then religious had to be encouraged to migrate to the colony from the Catholic countries of Europe. They had to be invited or rather begged to interest themselves in Australia. They brought with them, besides the service of their own hands and whatever scholarship they possessed, their own educational systems in which were epitomised not only the many sided traditions of the Church and her role as educator, but also all that had proved of lasting value in educational development in Europe, generally from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century".¹⁰⁷

This theme, of the resourcefulness of the Church and its ability to provide education for its children at its own cost, according to Fogarty (1959), - recurs time and time again in Vaughan's speeches particularly over the last months of 1879. "From 1875 to 1884, the number of Catholic schools trebled, and four out of every five were in the hands of the religious. Of the 102 schools operating, 22 were taught by lay teachers, 11 by religious orders of men and 69 by religious orders of women. Of the 15,200 Catholic children of school age then in the archdiocese, 12,500 were in Catholic schools, over two-third of them being in schools taught by religious. The opening of each new convent or monastery was regarded as an elaborate attempt to engraft on this land the civilising

power of monasticism in which Vaughan saw 'the highest form...the most perfect meaning of Christian education'. To provide an idea of the number of children who were enrolled in Catholic Schools in New South Wales between 1890 and 1920, Table A2 indicates the number of students who were enrolled in not only Roman Catholic schools but also provides a comparison with the number of children enrolled in private schools . This comparison is interesting as it shows that while the number of enrolments in Catholic schools increased during the period the number of private school enrolments were decreasing. The differences between Catholic and private schools will be discussed in a later chapter. For the Irish Australian Catholic particularly, the spreading of religious orders was the epic of their homeland's greatness all over again, that homeland where 'saints and scholars' the 'wisdom sellers of the west' as they called them, had carried back over Europe the 'regenerating idea - Christian education". ¹⁰⁸

What Vaughan had come to realize by the beginning of the 1880's - the usefulness of religious orders in implementing and maintaining a Catholic education system in the colony, had already been discovered by earlier bishops and clergy in the colony, with successive clergy-Therry, McEnroe, Ullathorne, Polding trying to encourage various religious orders to migrate to the colony. Father Therry from his first years in the colony had relied upon the usefulness of teachers of this type.

In the Sydney Archdiocese, Cardinal Moran continued the work initiated by Vaughan. Before his arrival in Australia, the practice of handing Catholic schools established by the Church over to teaching orders had become quite common. In some instances it was already being stated as Church policy and was later laid down in the decrees of the Church's diocesan synods. "Thus the Maitland Synod of 1888 decreed that convents for

nuns should be established everywhere. The Sydney Synod of 1891 exhorted the clergy and laity to establish wherever it might be possible, convents for the religious sisters to whom the Australian church owed so much. Moran felt that he could say without exaggeration that Catholics would never consider the victory complete until they had purely religious orders". ¹⁰⁹

Thus by the end of the nineteenth century, "the Catholic people of Australia had come to look upon Catholic education as education of a specific type, that which was imparted not only in Catholic schools but also by teachers who were at the same time religious.... By the time of the Education Acts of the seventies and eighties, the request for religious orders resounded from every diocese in the land. By then it had grown urgent and sometimes frantic. Come it said to the religious orders in God's name come and 'aid us to stem the torment of indignities against which we must wage war'. And come they did - slowly at first and then in great numbers". ¹¹⁰

Sisters of Charity in New South Wales

Prior to his consecration as first Bishop of "New Holland and Van Dieman's land, Polding conferred with Mother Aikenhead on the possibility of her assisting with the needs of the poor who lived in Sydney and Parramatta". ¹¹¹ Mother Aikenhead agreed that she would send a foundation of her Order to the colony when necessary. In 1836 Ullathorne visited England and Ireland he called on Mother Aikenhead to remind her of her promise to Polding. Consequently, she sent to all her houses a copy of Ullathorne's pamphlets, "in which he gave harrowing descriptions of the needs of the unfortunates who had been transported to Botany Bay, many of whom were in Parramatta gaol". ¹¹² One of the first sisters who responded was Sister John Cahill. Other volunteers accepted

were Sister Baptist de Lacy, who had entered specifically for the Australian mission, Sister Francis de Sales O'Brien, Sister Xavier Williams, still a novice and Sister Lawrence Cator. To assist in establishing the Sisters of Charity Order in the colony, the sisters were given a number of items by Mother Aikenhead to bring with them to the colony. These included "a copy of the Latin Constitutions, manuscripts of all the retreats, exhortations and spiritual papers of the Congregation, supplies of altar linens, vestments, a well-chosen collection of books and requisites for opening a school", ¹¹³ which included a hand written copy of the *School Government Book*.

While undertaking the voyage to their new home, the sisters participated in Mass with Ullathorne, whenever the weather permitted. The day after their arrival in the colony a High Mass was celebrated at St Mary's Cathedral. The Sisters of Charity first began their work in Australia at Parramatta where they visited the Female Factory for an hour at the beginning of the day and another hour at the end. Their pastoral ministry also extended to the hospital and the men's gaol, where the sisters recited the rosary with the convicts and gave religious instruction. In each of these institutions and situations the sisters would have fitted into the daily routine as they were characterised by timetables, surveillance, supervision, punishment and training, all of which in Foucaultian terms contributed to the disciplining of the body. As well, they supervised the Catholic orphanage, taught religion in the Catholic school, conducted adult education courses and catechism classes and visited the sick.

As time went on, the need for a second house of the Sisters of Charity to be established in the Sydney area increased. This new foundation of the Sisters of Charity, Sydney as had the Sisters in setting up their foundation in Parramatta, were faced with finding

suitable housing. Eventually, they rented a property in College Street, which became known as St Mary's Convent. From here they carried on their visits to the sick and the poor, gave religious instruction to the children of six Catholic schools in Sydney and also conducted classes in needlework. The education of adults was attended to in the evening and library facilities were made available to those who were interested. In their leisure moments, as few as these would have been, they made and repaired linen for the Sydney churches and embroidered banners for Church processions. In 1842, four years after their arrival in Australia, Polding obtained from Rome the papal Rescript establishing the Sisters of Charity in Australia as a Congregation distinct from the Irish.

Sisters of Mercy in New South Wales

The first group of Sisters of Mercy to come to Australia arrived in Perth in 1846. They had been sent from the Mother House in Dublin at the request of Bishop Brady. From that time, there was a succession of foundations of Sisters of Mercy in Australia with the foundation at Parramatta in 1888, being among the last. The foundation of the Order at Parramatta from the congregation of sisters who lived at Callan, was a direct result of the close relationship between Moran and Sisters of Mercy at Callan.¹¹⁴

On 3 June 1888, the Reverend Mother of Callan was authorised by the Order's superior general to select volunteers to assist in the establishment of the Parramatta community. On 4 July, after a list of volunteers had been submitted to Dr Brownrigg, the Bishop of Ossory for his approval, a foundation group for the colony was announced.¹¹⁵ Moran at this time gave the sisters a clear indication of the scope of the work involved:

"As regards the work they will first of all have the primary school to attend to...the visiting of the sick will be another important duty, hitherto little attended to there. Every other work sanctioned by the Rule will by degree devolve on the devoted sisters so they need not be alarmed lest they would not have enough to do. Teaching however will for the present be the most necessary work. In a new country like Australia we must be prepared for every thing that will promote the salvation of souls and give glory to God...." ¹¹⁶

In preparation for their work in Australia, Mother Mary Clare and Sister Mary Alphonsus, with Mother Mary Michael Maher visited the chief charitable and educational institutions in Dublin. As the Sisters of Charity had done before them, they packed relevant books and material for their school work along with copies of the Rule, Customs and Guide and religious ceremonial which would enable them to establish the new congregation in the colony. Appropriate spiritual reading was also part of the essentials that went into the sister's luggage. The Parramatta foundation sisters departed from Tilbury docks on 14 October 1888 aboard the *Cuzco*. ¹¹⁷

While on board ship, the sisters established a horarium (timetable) for themselves which was approved by Moran. Mass was held regularly on board as well. The sisters spent their time, apart from attending to their own spiritual needs, preparing altar bread, doing needlework, reading and writing home. Generally, the sisters lived a restricted life on board the ship not participating in the recreational pursuits provided for the other passengers, although they dined in the common salon. The sisters regularly visited the steerage area of the ship where the lower orders resided educating and conversing with them on spiritual matters. Such work by the sisters would have been considered as visitation work, which would have been in accordance with their Rule.

On 29 November 1888, the *Cuzco* sailed into Sydney heads. "An official welcome had been organised, but the sisters were not included in this, only the clergy. The sisters were relegated to the background and to the life of cloister which they were perceived to belong to".¹¹⁸ The sisters were not accorded the same public welcome that the Sisters of Charity had received which was probably due to the fact that by the 1880's under the rule of Pius IX the Church once again regarded these women as being invisible despite the fact that they were to carry out the important work of the Church in the class room of teaching future generations of Catholic. Accordingly, it was not seemly for the women religious of the Church to be publicly acknowledged though this honour was paid to clerical religious.¹¹⁹

When the Sisters of Mercy arrived in Australia, they found a colony in line with the industrial development of Europe and America. "By 1888 approximately two-thirds of the Australian population lived in urban areas and there was a strong orientation of economic activity towards commercial industrial specialisation and the tertiary services of urban society".¹²⁰ Although Parramatta was settled early and at first surpassed Sydney in the size of its population, Parramatta had by this time developed as an outpost of Sydney. The day after their landing in the colony, Mother Mary Clare and Sister Mary Columba travelled by train to Parramatta to meet the parish priest Father Dean Rigney and see their convent there. Upon their arrival at Parramatta they found that nothing was ready for them. They also discovered they were replacing the Mercy Sister foundation from North Sydney and that many of the parishioners were not in favour of the North Sydney sisters leaving. This situation caused some problems of acceptance for the sisters who had come from Callan to live and work among the people of the Parramatta area.¹²¹

Despite their poor living conditions the sisters immediately set about their apostolic work. "A primary school was opened on 10 December 1888 with 55 children and a high school was opened a month later with seven girls in attendance. The numbers of children enrolling increased rapidly as the sisters gained the support and confidence of the people. By early 1889 there were 138 pupils on the roll in the primary school and 24 students attending the high school".¹²² Throughout the foundation period of the Parramatta community, the sisters in Callan, Ireland were a source of emotional and spiritual support for the Parramatta sisters, providing advice and sharing whatever resources they could with them. Records indicate that they sent out things such as "large plaques for 'cloisonne work' and 'fretwork patterns'".¹²³

Moran also provided support for the new foundation significantly influencing the life of the Parramatta Sisters of Mercy during their early formative years. According to McGrath (1988), "they were dependent upon him, as their circumscribed lives limited their worldly experience and they lacked financial resources".¹²⁴ The sisters had been used to operating under a similar situation in their own homes and their convent experience in Callan meant that they had previously experienced being under the direction and control of a bishop, who had coincidentally been Moran. "This was naturally extended to the Australian situation where again he was the 'founding father'".¹²⁵ The Parramatta Sisters of Mercy, as did all religious sisters at this time, "saw the world largely through the eyes of Moran, their male patron, and his attitudes and values were influential in their lives. Moran considered that Christianity had raised women from the degraded state to which paganism had dragged her. He had an exalted view of Christian women generally but

more especially women religious, whom he saw as the means of saving the human race from the evils of modern paganism".¹²⁶

Sisters of St Joseph

The Sisters of St Joseph were founded specifically to serve the Catholic poor initially of South Australia and later other colonies. "These according to Mother Mary MacKillop were settled 'in scattered bands all over the colonies'. They had been brought up with little or no knowledge of their holy religion and in total blindness to all that concerned the religious education of their children".¹²⁷ To work among such people required a special order of religious sister, many of whom were drawn from the lower orders themselves and had endured the hardships and deprivations of living in a newly settled land.

Such an Order was established and developed in South Australia. Its co-founders were Tenison Woods and Mary MacKillop who in keeping with the idea of helping the poor named the Order St Joseph of the Sacred Heart. Mary MacKillop was the child of Scottish Catholic parents, who came to Australia in the early 1800's. Mary's home life was, as Mary Aikenhead's and Catherine McAuley's had been, not easy. Her father could be domineering and suffered from depression. He also caused financial problems for the family. Mary regarded her mother as a second St Monica and attributed the upbringing that her mother had given her as contributing to her readiness to live a religious life as she indicated in a letter that she wrote to her in June 1870: "You do not know what a good Mistress of Novices you have been - at least you were mine. Your resignation under affliction and your always confiding, simple trust in Divine Providence proved a wonderful comfort and example to me".¹²⁸

Before Mary began her religious Order, she was employed in a number of positions the income from which she used to supplement the family finances. While working in these positions, she maintained her wish to dedicate herself to helping poor children and afflicted people, through a very poor religious order. The person to whom she first disclosed this desire to was Father Julian Tenison Woods, who guided her in undertaking various spiritual exercises, with the view of eventually entering the religious life. Father Woods, wrote in relation to the direction he gave Mary that "giving her spiritual guidance, exhorting her to practise complete detachment so that she acted solely for God; prayer and meditation were to be of the utmost importance in her life".¹²⁹

Woods adopted the idea for his religious Order from certain religious orders he had observed working in France, believing that something similar was required to meet the social and moral problems confronting the Church in Australia. But numerous obstacles stood in his way. "First, he had to break down the prejudice that religious were only for the middle and upper classes and that the poor were to be satisfied in denominational schools. Then he had to overcome certain erroneous ideas prevalent amongst the laity that nuns must have elaborate convents provided for them, that to be a nun a young lady must have moved in polite society, that she must have a private fortune of her own and so on".¹³⁰

Woods' proposal, which he communicated to Mary MacKillop and over which he meditated at great length, "was to establish a religious order of teachers whose members should penetrate into the more remote parts of the colony in order to provide a Catholic education for the poorer and more isolated children. With him it was not merely a

question of founding yet another religious order, one that would duplicate the work already being done by others. His idea was to found one that undertook 'to teach poor schools without any aid except alms and what the children [could] themselves afford'. Other orders he said, could continue doing 'what they [had] to do', 'their whole rules and spirit would be out of harmony with the change', he proposed".¹³¹

On 19 March 1866, Mary began to dress in black as a sign of her dedication to Christ. This date is regarded as the birth date of the new Institute of the Sisters of St Joseph of the Sacred Heart. The following year the Order opened a school, starting with sixty pupils, but growing to two hundred after only six months. Mary and two other postulants made their first religious profession in Adelaide in August in the same year. Her name in religion was "Mother Mary of the Cross", a name chosen by Father Woods.

In Adelaide the Institute grew quickly - ten members by the end of 1867 and fifty at the end of 1868. It was therefore possible to set up not only schools, but also an orphanage, a refuge for "fallen women" and women ex-prisoners and a "Providence", which looked after the elderly poor as well as young girls considered to be in moral danger. Reinforcing the Church's emphasis on purifying and controlling women, the refuges for "fallen women" were established to provide a disciplinary mechanism where women who had become prostitutes or unmarried mothers could be removed from society and trained in the moral ways of a religious order. The emphasis on "fallen women" was one that was derived from the Church's obsession with women falling from grace by living an unchaste life. It is interesting to note that such a state could only beset a woman there was never any mention of the "fallen man". A "solitude" was also established by the Order to care for people with a tendency towards intemperate habits, such as consuming

too much alcohol or gambling the family's wages. These people paid for their keep and were waited on by young women, known as "Magdalenes", who in the spirit of penance were living under the supervision of the Sisters, following a simple rule.

Father Woods prepared a Rule for the Institute which was approved by Bishop Shiel in Adelaide in 1868. Father Woods had sent the Rule to Mary in May 1867, stating that it could be altered in the light of her experience and it should not be referred to as his work alone. In December 1869, Mary made her final profession as a religious and was sent to Brisbane to look after the Institute's work in Queensland.

Sisters of St Joseph in New South Wales

The first convent of the Sisters of St Joseph established in NSW was at Bathurst, upon the request of Bishop Matthew Quinn. Like their sisters in South Australia, they adopted the same Rule, whose main aim was to educate children, particularly poor children in the beliefs of the Church, thus enabling them to live as good practising Catholics. From 1873 to 1876 five other communities of the Sisters of St Joseph were established around Bathurst. By the time the first opening was made in Wattle Field in March 1873, Mary MacKillop had left for Rome to seek approval for the Rule written by Woods in 1867.¹³²

Unlike the other Orders, Mary MacKillop believed in the concept of central government for the Institute, as the unifying means of binding the sisters together who were scattered in remote places where priests could seldom visit. "Thus for Mary MacKillop it was essential to the cohesion of the Institute that she constantly visit either in person or through a delegate and corresponded with the sisters and they with her, in regular diary letters to strengthen the unity and simplicity so basic to their work for poor remote areas.

The outcome of Mary MacKillop's explanation to the authorities at Propaganda Fide, was the strengthening of central government for the Institute and the presentation to her in April 1874 of what was adopted as Constitutions".¹³³

Bishop Quinn of Bathurst would not accept the sisters having central government and in December 1875 he gave the sisters the choice of staying in Bathurst as a diocesan institute or leaving the Diocese. This choice caused a division in the sister's ranks with some sisters remaining in the Diocese and becoming known as the Brown Josephites while others returned to the original Order in South Australia. It was not until 1880 that the Sisters of St Joseph ventured once again back to New South Wales, when Vaughan and Torregiani requested their help to establish schools, as a result of the passing of the recent Education Act which had terminated financial help to denominational schools. These two bishops had no problem with the sisters maintaining the central government of the Institute. The sisters' first temporary home in Sydney was a house at 153 Forbes Street, Woolloomoollo. Over time the sisters established convents in various streets in Sydney, Camperdown and Annandale, as well as in Tenterfield and Inverell both located in country New South Wales.

The three religious Orders reviewed above, are similar in terms of how they were constituted and in the fact that it was a male cleric, who took the initiative or encouraged the foundress to begin the new institute, reflecting a world where most women were under the control of the male relations (father, brother, husband), in their life and seldom went far from a male without protection. It is also significant that the Rule by which these women lived were drawn up at least initially by a male and in the case of the Sisters of Charity were based on Rules under which other male orders lived.

Conclusion

The founding of colonial New South Wales, thousands of miles from Britain was an opportunity for the Irish Catholic Church to participate in the missionary zeal of the nineteenth century and to re-establish itself in a new environment. It was also an opportunity for the Church to exercise its control over the physical and spiritual lives of its adherents through education ensuring that they were totally indoctrinated in the beliefs and values of the Catholic Church. This was largely achieved through the employment of religious sisters who trained and disciplined themselves and were relied upon to inscribe the bodies of the children and older students in the beliefs of the Catholic Church. Such training in the schools was reinforced by the discourse that the clergy preached at Mass every Sunday which all Catholics were required to attend and by belonging to the various Catholic sodalities and guilds which were established to ensure Catholics only socialised with other Catholics. Within this process men and women were educated as to their role in Catholic society and their bodies were disciplined to such an extent so as to produce a male and female Catholic body. The Church, as had others groups in the nineteenth century which sought to break free from ignorance and poverty, realised the importance of literacy and of educating individuals from a young age. The Catholic Church appealed to the philanthropic spirit and religious zeal of generations of young women, and encouraged them to dedicate their whole self - both body and soul - to an austere life of deprivation and hardship. The price these women were expected to pay, in order to have a similar though not equal right as the male clerics to spread the word of God as teachers not preachers, was the total abnegation of their female self and being. How this was achieved and the being they became will be discussed in the following Chapters.

Chapter Notes

- ¹ O'Farrell P; *The Catholic Church and Community: An Australian History*, New South Wales University Press, 3rd Revised Edition, 1992, p. 140
- ² Fay B; *Critical Social Science*, Cornell University Press, 1987, p.150
- ³ Lash S; "Genealogy and the Body: Foucault/Deleuze/Nietzsche" in Featherstone M, Hepworth M and Turner B S; *The Body Social Process and Cultural Theory*, 1991, p. 259
- ⁴ Turner N; *Catholics in Australia*. Collins Dove, 2 Volumes, 1992, p. 88
- ⁵ Grosz E; *Volatile Bodies Toward a Corporal Feminism*, Indiana University Press, 1994, p. 142
- ⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁷ Kyle N; *Her Natural Destiny: The Education of Women In New South Wales* New South Wales University Press, 1988; Barcan A; 1980
- ⁸ Donovan M; *Apostolate of Love. Mary Aikenhead 1787-1858 Foundress oif the Irish Sisters of Charity*, Polding Press, 1979, p. 1
- ⁹ Burley S; "None More Anonymous Catholic Teaching Nuns, their Secondary Schools and Students in South Australia 1880-1925", *M.Education Thesis*, University of Adelaide, 1992; O'Farrell P; *The Irish in Australia*, New South Wales University Press, Revised Edition, 1993
- ¹⁰ Kee R; *Ireland, A History*, Weidenfeld and Nicholson Ltd, 1980 Reprinted 1992, p. 54
- ¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 55
- ¹² *Ibid.*, p. 54
- ¹³ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 55
- ¹⁵ Ranlegh J O; *A Short History of Ireland*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1983, p. 111
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 112
- ¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 112, p. 117
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 117
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 118
- ²⁰ *Ibid.*
- ²¹ *Ibid.*
- ²² *Ibid.*
- ²³ *Ibid.*
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*
- ²⁵ MacCurtain M; "Women , Education and Learning in Early Modern Ireland" in MacCurtain M and O'Dowd M (ed); *Women in Early Modern Ireland* , Edinburgh University Press, 1991, p. 165
- ²⁶ *Ibid.*
- ²⁷ *Ibid*
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 167
- ²⁹ Bashford A; " Nursing Bodies: Gendered Politics of Health in Australia and England, 1860-1910, *PhD Thesis*, University of Sydney, 1994, p.19
- ³⁰ *Ibid.*
- ³¹ *Ibid.*
- ³² *Ibid.*
- ³³ *Ibid.*
- ³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 20
- ³⁵ O'Sullivan M M K; 'A Cause of Trouble' *Irish Nuns and English Clerics*, Crossing Press, 1995, p. 2
- ³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 3
- ³⁷ MacCurtain M; *op.cit.*, p. 169

-
- ³⁸ *Ibid.*
- ³⁹ MsGrath M S; *These Women? Women Religious in the History of Australia The Sisters of Mercy, Parramatta 1888-1988*, New South Wales University Press, 1988, p. 4
- ⁴⁰ Burke-Savage R; *Catherine McAuley The First Sister of Mercy*, M H Gill and Son, 1955, p.19
- ⁴¹ O'Sullivan M M K; *op.cit.*,p. 3
- ⁴² *Ibid.*
- ⁴³ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 5
- ⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 8
- ⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 9
- ⁴⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁸ For the purpose of this thesis I will refer to all founding sisters using the title Mother followed by their name prior to entering religion, e.g. Mother Mary Aikenhead, Mother Catherine McAuley and Mother Mary MacKillop.
- ⁴⁹ Donovan M; *op.cit.*, p. 31
- ⁵⁰ O'Sullivan M M K; *op.cit.*, p.13
- ⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 7
- ⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 8
- ⁵³ Foucault M; *Discipline and Punish The Birth of the Prison*, Penguin, 1977, p. 212
- ⁵⁴ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁶ Savage; *op.cit.*, p. 24
- ⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 25
- ⁵⁸ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 26
- ⁶⁰ McGrath M S; *op.cit.*, p. 6
- ⁶¹ *Ibid.*
- ⁶² *Ibid.*
- ⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp 6-7
- ⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 9
- ⁶⁵ Savage; *op.cit.*, p. 75
- ⁶⁶ Summary of the New South Wales penal colony by William Ullathorne, first Catholic Vicar-General in 1835 in O'Farrell 1985, *op.cit.*, p. 1
- ⁶⁷ Turner N; *op.cit.*, p. 29
- ⁶⁸ O'Farrell P; *op.cit.*,1985, pp. 1-2
- ⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 2
- ⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 30
- ⁷¹ *Ibid.*
- ⁷² *Ibid.*
- ⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31
- ⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 31
- ⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 33
- ⁷⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁷ *Ibid.*,
- ⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 34
- ⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p.39
- ⁸⁰ *Ibid.*
- ⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 40
- ⁸² Summers A; *Damned Whores and God's Police*, Penguin 1988
- ⁸³ Campion E; *Rockchoppers Growing Up Catholic in Australia*, Penguin, 1982, p. 60
- ⁸⁴ *Ibid.*
- ⁸⁵ Moran (1939) in Campion E; *op. cit.*, p. 60

-
- ⁸⁶ O'Farrell P; *The Irish in Australia*, New South Wales University Press, p.105
- ⁸⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁸⁸ *Ibid.*
- ⁸⁹ Turner N; *op.cit.*, p. 83
- ⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 83
- ⁹¹ Danylewycz ; *Taking the Veil An Alternative to Marriage, Motherhood and Spinisterhood in Quebeck 1840-1920*, McClelland and Stewart, 1987, p. 22
- ⁹² *Ibid.*
- ⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 37
- ⁹⁴ Turner N; *op.cit.*, p.162
- ⁹⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁹⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.161
- ⁹⁸ *Ibid.*
- ⁹⁹ O'Farrell P; *op.cit.*, pp.105-106
- ¹⁰⁰ Australian Bishops First Combined Pastoral Address on Education reported in the *Freeman's Journal*, 2 December, 1862 in Turner N; *op.cit.*, p. 158
- ¹⁰¹ O'Farrell P; *The Catholic Church and Community. An Australian History*, 3rd Edition Revised, New South Wales University Press, 1985, p. 160
- ¹⁰² *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰³ Fogarty R; *Catholic Education in Australia 1806-1950*, 2 Volumes, Melbourne University Press, 1959, p. 259
- ¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 257
- ¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 300
- ¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 268
- ¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*
- ¹¹¹ Donovan M; *op.cit.*, p. 114
- ¹¹² *Ibid.*
- ¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p.116
- ¹¹⁴ McGrath S M; *op.cit.*, p. 11
- ¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 15
- ¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 18
- ¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*
- ¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 22
- ¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*
- ¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 25
- ¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 37
- ¹²² *Ibid.*, p. 31
- ¹²³ *Ibid.*, p. 36
- ¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 37
- ¹²⁵ *Ibid.*
- ¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 40
- ¹²⁷ Fogarty R; *op.cit.*, p. 292
- ¹²⁸ O'Brien P; *Called to Love Mary MacKillop*, St Pauls, 1993, p.14
- ¹²⁹ Fogarty P; *op.cit.* p. 292
- ¹³⁰ *Ibid.*
- ¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 293
- ¹³² Burford K; *Unfurrowed Fields A Josephite Story New South Wales 1872-1972*, St Josephs Convent, 1991, p. 17

¹³³ *Ibid.*, p. 18

CHAPTER 3

Introduction

"He was wholly controlled by an exacting discipline, by a system that never let him escape, but kept moulding him every instant, kept correcting his faults in character, kept impressing him with the necessity and practice of obedience and self control, of all virtues, kept always his soul noble, aspirations and spiritual ideals".¹

Why did so many women in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries take up the vocation of religious sister and what process of training and indoctrination did they undergo to become professed as a religious sister? This chapter will combine both the theoretical and historical information that was examined in Chapters 1 and 2 in order to commence an exploration and re-construction of how girls and women were trained to become religious teaching sisters and once formally trained, how they lived their daily lives. According to Vicinus (1985), convents attracted women for two major reasons. For many women the joining of a community dedicated to helping less fortunate individuals, "was the logical step after years of piecemeal philanthropy at home or isolated district visiting."²

Throughout the nineteenth century, the requirement to undertake charitable works was regarded as an essential component for women who chose to live a religious life. This meant that under the protection of the Church, Catholic or otherwise, women could go out and work in institutions such as hospitals and schools or help those in need. This was different to the type of life that women in earlier monastic institutions had led, where the Church had kept women at least theoretically enclosed, requiring them to follow a life of contemplation and prayer. Religious life also provided women with the only way that they could dedicate their being to God and contribute in a secondary way to spreading "His Word".

Turner (1988), in her research on why women chose a religious way of life, found that women who entered the convent fell roughly into two divisions. Those who from an early age knew that they would eventually dedicate their life to God, and those who, when they felt they had to enter, fought against the desire to do so.³ The former candidate, according to Turner, "always came from a fairly stable, loving family which had provided a religious atmosphere in the home. In these families quite often religious life was promoted as a wonderful opportunity to serve God and to experience a peaceful life".⁴ This was particularly the view of Irish families, who saw convent life and a religious vocation as not only a great honour but as one way of escaping the deprivations and hardships that characterised their life.

Others, who joined, came from a more unstable background where sometimes they had assumed responsibility for family affairs such as cooking, cleaning and budgeting or earning the family income. Mary MacKillop and Catherine McAuley both found themselves in this situation prior to them establishing their respective Orders. For many women, even though they may have fallen into the category of fighting against the desire to become a religious, joining a religious order meant the fulfillment of a long cherished ambition to unite more closely with God. This was despite the fact that dedicating themselves to such a vocation would require a complete surrendering of their body and its sensual needs to God through the male dominated Church. As the following words of Mary MacKillop expressing her reasons for wanting a religious life highlight:

"I longed for a religious life, one in which I could serve God and His poor neglected little ones in poverty and disregard of the world and its fleeting opinions. I looked for a poverty like unto that practised in the early religious orders of the Church, a poverty which in its practice would make a kind of reparation to God for the little confidence now placed in his Divine providence by so many of his creatures".⁵

Women's character in the nineteenth century was according to Vicinus, "well suited to the new religious opportunities" ⁶ that presented themselves at this time. "Ingrained in many women's confined lives were a passionate desire to do good works, a belief in guidance from authority and a desire to unite the disparate elements of life under one great ideal. If a woman felt a strong calling this combination made the move into a sisterhood a natural choice". ⁷ It also provided women with an alternative to living her life as a wife and mother or having to support herself financially. It did not provide an alternative for women who had to care for aged or sick relatives, as Catholic religious orders in particular would not allow women in this situation to join.

As time went on and the Catholic system of education was established, Catholic schools themselves became a ground for recruiting future religious teaching sisters, with sisters presenting the choice of religious life continually to the girls they taught by their presence and the way that they lived their lives. Such a notion was supported by the "spirituality of the time which presented religious life as a more meritorious way of life compared with marriage and remaining single". ⁸ For example, by the end of the 1950's, seventy ex-students from the Order's Our Lady of Mercy College (OLMC) had entered and there were regular numbers of girls coming from the other leaving and intermediate schools administered by the sisters. The Sodality of the Children of Mary and other similar organisations were also a "seed-bed for religious vocations, encouraging as it did the development of the piety of parish girls". ⁹

Another source of vocations for the religious orders had been the monitorial and pupil-teacher systems, which had been widely used in Ireland and the colony by the various orders

of sisters as a means of supplementing the shortage of trained teachers. The teacher training colleges that were established by the Sisters of Charity and Sisters of St Joseph in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were also a potential source of vocations. As well, the Mercy and Josephite Orders' established juniorates in the 1920's with the specific purpose of training prospective pupil-teachers who were interested in later joining the religious life. The Sisters of Mercy opened a Juniorate at Harris Park in 1927, which operated into the late 1940's, "when it was closed because aspirants were decreasing in number and juniorates were coming into disrepute, since it was considered that they removed boys and girls from their normal, natural environment too early in their lives".¹⁰ The girls who lived at Harris Park while residing there "were subject to many of the customs of convent life".¹¹ After attending Mass early in the morning, they travelled daily to the Order's secondary college to undertake their education. "From oral history it is known that the opinion was held commonly among the sisters that 'if a girl survived Harris Park she would have no difficulty with the novitiate'".¹² The Sisters of St Joseph also established similar schools for girls to attend who were intending to become a religious, but had not yet finished their schooling.

By the 1950's the recruitment of religious had become more focused with some of the orders resorting to "vocation campaigns". Vocation literature was produced by the orders and in the case of the Mercy sisters throughout the 1930's and into the 1940's Sister Mary Camillus Lilly visited the Order's secondary schools occasionally and interviewed girls who were regarded by the sisters as interested in pursuing a religious vocation.¹³ However, despite employing specific methods to recruit girls into the religious life, McGrath (1988) maintains that the choice of religious life, as a vocation, "was continually before the girls in the presence of the sisters in the schools, and the spirituality of the time presented it as the more

meritorious way of life compared with marriage and remaining single... From the oral history (of the period)...it is clear that these prospective candidates saw the life as a challenge to do great things for God".¹⁴

WOMEN IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY-A GENERAL OVERVIEW

In the nineteenth century, there were not many alternatives open to women in terms of what direction they could pursue in their lives. Women of the middle and upper classes were usually provided with an education in the "polite accomplishments" that would enable them to fulfill their role as a suitable wife and mother if a husband could be found. Women who belonged to the lower orders of society on the other hand were provided with little or no education and were generally condemned to living their life, married or unmarried, working as a domestic servant or in some other unskilled area of employment. Regardless of the social class that they fell into, women were encouraged to adopt the sphere of the home, whether it was their home or not, as their realm of work and excel at being good wives and mothers or domestic servants and "nannies" to other's children.

There was no shortage of advice from various sources on what the "ideal woman" should be like and how she should live her life. Society in general and clergymen in particular helped to define the "ideal of womanhood, adding to its secular character, a spiritual dimension unique to the period: the ideal woman was to be the moral guardian of society".¹⁵ Some clergymen were among those who saw the need for women to become experts within their own sphere: to teach, to care for the sick and dying and to organise charitable services for those in need. Others among the clergy held a more conservative view of women's role in society. They feared that intellectual stimulation and advancement would destroy the modesty of Christian women and that careers would take them away from their duty of

motherhood. Apart from this, the "ideal woman" had to be content to remain in the home supervising or undertaking domestic duties, including looking after her children. Burstyn (1980) states that "to make sure that the ideal woman was content to cultivate domestic virtues, she had to be taught to accept physical boundaries to her activities and her bodily movements had to be constrained by the conventions of lady-like behaviour".¹⁶ To this end she was given classes in deportment and her clothes, particularly her undergarments were designed to straighten her back and draw in her waist to such an extent that her breathing was constricted and she was prone to fainting. Just as a religious sister's body was disciplined and controlled by the strict regime they were required to submit themselves to, middle class women were also required to submit themselves to a regime of control and discipline that ultimately sought to control her bodily demeanour.

The Church's views were reinforced by various writers of the period such as Rousseau, Comte and Harrison. Comte's *System of Positive Polity or Treatise on Sociology* was translated into English in 1851 and was widely read. In his theory of how a modern society should be organised, Comte allocated women a particular role, which was essentially a moral and religious one. While men were engaged in labour or in regulating society, women were to guard the moral tone of the family and the home. As Harrison in the following statement indicates: "The true function of woman is to educate not children only but men to train to a higher civilisation, not the rising generation, but the actual society. And to do this by diffusing the spirit of affection, of self-restraint, self-sacrifice, fidelity and purity. And this to be effected not by writing books about these things in the closet, but by manifesting them hour by hour in each home by the magic of voice, look, word and all the communicable graces of a woman's 'tenderness' ".¹⁷ Once again it was the control of women's bodies that was the target of such writers who saw women as maintaining morality

in society and as providing the ongoing “civilising” force of both men and children and the initial education and training of their children. This education was also not to be taught out of books but rather by women setting an example with the gestures of her body every hour of the day. In this world women were concerned with the minutiae of daily life in the home, she was not to be concerned with the world outside of her home.

The burgeoning colony of New South Wales was not exempt from such attitudes towards the role of men and women in society. Initially, there were two main classes of women who arrived in Australia during early settlement days. The first class consisted mainly of convicts who were largely regarded by the rest of colonial society as prostitutes or “whores”, whether or not they engaged in such activities. The bodies of these women were freely exploited, not only by officers of the army and free settlers, but also by their fellow convicts. The other class of woman who migrated to the colony, were “free settlers” who were not much better off, living within a closed system of Victorian “morality and conservatism”.¹⁸ Migration posters of the time advertised that “in addition to their employability, single women were to be selected on the basis of their morality. They were required to be of virtuous character. This class is by far the most important to the colony from a moral point of view”.¹⁹ These women were to be imported (the actual words used in the advertisement, highlights how women were viewed as chattels or objects) “to supply the demand for servants,... to restore the equilibrium of the sexes, to raise the value of female character, to provide virtuous homes for the labouring classes of the community.... None but women of pure and unexceptionable character should be assisted in coming to the colony”.²⁰

To assist in bringing suitable women to the colony, Caroline Chisolm was one philanthropist who upon arriving in the colony established the “Family Colonisation Loan Society” to

encourage women to migrate to the colony and contribute to the formation of families by marrying eligible males. The family, headed by a man with his wife at his side providing a “civilising and moralising force”, was the “ideal” that both the clergy and secular leaders promoted. The emphasis on morality and women’s role in spreading it, as discussed in the previous chapter, was persistent and became deeply engrained within Australian society. The introduction of the new Education Acts in the 1860’s and 1870’s clearly established that the purpose of educating girls was to ensure that not only were they educated in domestic duties but also so that they were fully aware of their moral responsibilities within the home and community.

The “ideal” that women live at home and tend to the needs of her husband and family, was for many women in colonial New South Wales, just that - an “ideal”. Many women, throughout the period under review and beyond, had to work outside of the home due to economic necessity or chose to work and rebel against conventional norms for one reason or another. For whatever reason women entered the workforce, they were always to be found occupying a secondary role to men. This secondary role persisted even when they worked in positions that eventually required some training such as in schools and hospitals. In these institutions the inequality that existed between the sexes in society in general ensured that women were relegated to the lower positions and allocated work that was regarded by men as requiring little skill even if this was not the case in reality. Women also earned much less than men because it was argued that women did not have to support a family. Men on the other hand were paid a higher wage regardless of whether or not they had a family to support. Such an opinion was eventually entrenched in the “Harvester Decision” of 1907. The principle entrenched in this judgement was not new, as echoes of it could be heard in the papal encyclical *Rerum Novarum* of 1891, issued by Pope Leo XII. In this encyclical

Pope Leo XII stated that "remuneration must be enough to support the wage earner in reasonable and frugal comfort", ²¹ with the "wage earner" being regarded as the man. Pope Pius XI went further and said that the remuneration allocated to the first "wage earner" must include the needs of dependents, regardless of whether or not the man had such individuals to provide for. No acknowledgement was given to the fact either by the state or by the Church that quite often the first "wage earner" of a family was a woman who was required to support dependents herself.

Not only were women discriminated against in relation to their employment prospects and the subsequent wage that they were paid, but they were also discriminated against in terms of gaining an education that would sufficiently foster and develop their intellectual abilities allowing them to take up more interesting employment, if the opportunity arose. Women in colonial New South Wales were excluded from the only open higher education institution - Sydney University - until 1881 and only then were they allowed to enrol in the Faculty of Arts. The professions of medicine, law, engineering and architecture were kept exclusively in male hands. Arguments to support the biological incompetence of women undertaking tertiary study apart from the courses that fitted into the "polite accomplishment" stereotype abounded. Once again the rhetoric of the ultimate function of women's body to reproduce was relied upon by scientists and others to prevent women from being educated in areas of learning that were considered "unwomanly", as such learning might interfere with her primary responsibility of reproducing the species. Any occupation, education or otherwise, that interfered with this function was not to be entertained. It fell upon women to ensure that her reproductive organs were fully developed "since procreation was their function and goal in life. Add to this the neo-Darwinian view that the female contributes far greater energy to reproduction than does the male, and the inescapable conclusion was that woman's

developmental energy must be devoted to reproduction at the expense of her intellectual abilities".²²

According to Tuana (1993), "nineteenth-century scientific views concerning menstruation contributed to the credibility of this conclusion".²³ Menstruation was viewed as an integral part of the reproductive process and it was believed that during this time, "the vast majority of a woman's energy was taken up by her reproductive organs".²⁴ Accordingly, it was believed that any activity that would otherwise engage her energies, "would cause an imbalance in her body, resulting in exhaustion, infection, or disorders of the reproductive organs, which in turn might cause pathological reactions in other parts of the body".²⁵ Women were therefore to desist from any intellectual pursuits during her menstruation as this time during her monthly cycle, according to the theorists caused "a type of temporary mental instability if not insanity: Although the duration of the menstrual period differs greatly according to race, temperament and health, it will be within the mark to state that women are unwell, from this cause, on the average two days in the month, or say one month of the year. At such times, women are unfit for any great mental or physical labour. They suffer under a languor and depression which disqualify them for thought or action, and render it extremely doubtful how far they can be considered responsible beings while the crisis lasts. Much of the inconsequent conduct of women, their petulance, caprice and irritability, may be traced directly to this cause. It is not improbable that instances of feminine cruelty (which startle us as so inconsistent with the normal gentleness of the sex) are attributable to mental excitement caused by this periodical illness".²⁶

The belief that women should be regarded as the "gentler sex", appropriately fulfilling the roles of wife and mother, made it difficult for women to improve themselves and achieve any level of equality with their husbands and brothers. The family economy, which ensured that middle class women at least remained in the private sphere of the home, resulted in women working hard to create an acceptable level of comfort for her husband and children. It also

ensured that women learnt to sacrifice their own needs in favour of meeting the needs of others, particularly the men and boys in the household. Such a life prepared them for life in a religious community.

Women in the middle and upper classes who were not required to work outside the home, found religious life to be one alternative that would enable them to publicly undertake philanthropic works, while at the same time enable them to have a life away from their families. If a woman was unable to find a husband or did not choose to marry or enter a convent, the only other alternative open to her was to live the life of a spinster. The latter was particularly relevant for women in Britain and Europe as there was a shortage of men of marriageable age as their lives had been lost in various wars or they chose to migrate to other lands. Life in a convent allowed women to leave home and move to a lifestyle that was regarded as safe and acceptable to their families. According to Vicinus, life in a religious community provided a woman with the potential to “empower herself”.²⁷ Further in “churchmen’s eyes (particularly Catholic churchmen’s eyes) there were only three kinds of women: nuns, mothers and sources of temptation”.²⁸ The first choice for any Catholic girl therefore was to become a religious sister. What then was the process that women underwent to become a religious sister once she had decided to do so?

“Becoming” a religious sister

The Constitutions of the various orders clearly defined who were to be admitted to the Order.

The Constitutions of the Sisters of St Joseph stated the following:

- “ 1. To have completed at least her fifteenth year;
- 2. Not to have any large debts;
- 3. Not to have unsettled money transactions;

4. Never to have led a scandalous life;

5. Never to have belonged to a heretical sect, or to any other false religion.

The Holy See or some one authorised by it can dispense from these impediments. A subject to be received ought also to have sound judgement, docility of mind, impeachable character and such strength and qualifications as will render her useful to the Institute".²⁹

Such a list of requirements provides some insight into the type of woman that religious orders were looking for in the individuals they admitted to their novitiate for religious training. The first three requirements listed above would ordinarily not have been difficult to prove or establish. The remaining would have required some assessment and astuteness on the part of the superior general who was admitting the postulant into the order. The constitutions of the various orders, required that no individual would be received as a postulant, unless accurate information about the person seeking entry, was recorded by the superior and her council. The local superior, however, was able to receive for a short time on a trial basis, a postulant, before she was formally admitted for training.

How was a superior general and her council to determine if a woman prior to her entry to religious life, had not lived a "scandalous life" or been a member of "heretical sect", or had "sound judgement", a "docile mind", an "impeachable character" and the "strength and qualifications"³⁰ required to live out a religious vocation? Some of the subjects, which the Sisters of Mercy believed might "be well to ascertain with regard to those who desired to enter"³¹ included: for what period of time the individual had been interested in joining and her motive for wanting to join, whether she had the approval of her confessor; whether the candidate sufficiently understood the requirements of religious life, whether she was willing to embrace the work of the institute; what attraction she felt for its duties, what were her capabilities, education and consequent fitness for religious life, how often she took the

sacraments, her disposition, her previous habits, how she employed her time, her health and constitution, how she had been reared at home, and what were her manners and appearance like.³²

The reasons for a woman not being admitted as a postulant included:

- “ 1. hereditary insanity;
- 2. deficiency of health or capacity;
- 3. illegitimacy;
- 4. any serious scandal or infamy regarding her or her family;
- 5. blemished moral character”.³³

It would appear therefore, that a woman before she was accepted into a religious order was subjected to questioning on a range of subjects that would enable her interrogators to assess whether she would be suited to life in a convent. Of major importance to this assessment was whether or not she possessed a “docile mind” which would enable her to embrace the arduous life of a religious without too much trouble. It would also mean that her body could be disciplined in the “technologies” of a religious. The remainder of the questions centred around her ability and willingness to undertake the work of the institute whatever that may be, what her previous life had been like, and how diligently she practised her faith.

In a letter that Mother Catherine McAuley wrote to Reverend Gerald Doyle on September 1836, Mother McAuley had the following to say about what she considered as necessary attributes for a Sister of Mercy:

“Besides an ardent desire to be united to God and serve the poor, she must feel a particular interest for the sick and the dying otherwise the duty of visiting them would soon become exceedingly toilsome. She should be healthy, have a feeling, distinct manner of speaking and reading, a mild countenance, expressive of sympathy and patience, and there is so much

to be required as to reserve and recollection passing through the public ways, caution and prudence in the visits that it is desirable she begins rather young, before habits and manners are so long formed as not to be likely to alter".³⁴

Stage One - the "Postulancy"

Once the woman seeking entry into the convent had been assessed as a fit candidate for religious life, she joined the convent as a "postulant". Geser defines the period of postulancy as a "time of preparation and probation, which the candidate spends in a certain (religious) house before being admitted to the novitiate, this is the time of probation in the strict sense of the word".³⁵ More generally, Turner defines a postulant as one who is "taking a live-in look at a religious community before officially seeking membership on a trial basis".³⁶ The period of the postulancy generally lasted for six months, to which another six months could be added if necessary. The postulants lived with the novices in the Mother House and were under the care and direction of the Mistress of Novices. In a book entitled *Thoughts from the Spiritual Conferences of Mother Catherine McAuley* that was published in 1946, Mother McAuley stated that "in most convents it is customary for the last postulant to be the child of the immediate predecessor".³⁷ The allocating of responsibility for a junior person to a more senior person in a religious community mirrored what happened in families where the older children helped look after the younger children. A postulant could leave the order if she wished, but she could not be dismissed against her will, unless agreed upon by the superior general and her council.

The prospective postulant was directed on what to bring with her when entering the religious life. The list included items, which were similar to those that boarders were expected to bring when moving into the religious order's colleges in later years. The items included: "2 black dresses; 2 black petticoats; material and binding for 2 capes; 2 nurses' collars; 3 yards

of black ribbon (3" wide-satin); 3 yards of black silk Brussels net for veil, 54"; 3 yards of white Brussels cotton net-coarse; 3 yards of white Brussels cotton net-fine. 6 yards of blue check toughnet for aprons; ½ doz. prs. black stockings; 3 pairs of shoes; 6 nightdresses. Underclothing as usual".³⁸

When first admitted to the order, the postulant remained in a separate part of the convent for some days. The number of days that she remained here depended on the judgement of the superior. During this time she was also more fully instructed in the ways of the congregation, on how to conduct herself as a religious and directed not to communicate - either verbally or in writing with any person, except those nominated by her superior. Two or three days, after admittance the postulant was examined more accurately. She was also given a copy of a book containing the "Examen" and a summary of the Constitution and the Rule of the order that she was joining for her perusal and consideration.

For the lay sisters (who were the sisters that undertook the domestic work in the Sisters of Charity and the Sisters of Mercy, Parramatta Orders and who in theory were regarded as being illiterate), these documents were explained to them in a general way as was believed to be suited to their intellectual capacity. The examination of the postulant at this time was conducted by the mistress of novices with the purpose of ensuring that she understood thoroughly the texts that she had been provided with. A particular aim of this examination was to ascertain whether the postulant in her study had become aware of any aspects of religious life, which were likely to cause her difficulty in submitting to in the future. Possible areas of concern that the superior was required to satisfy herself on included: whether the postulant believed that she would be capable of serving God in any place and in any office, and undertake whatever work was allotted to her by her superior without question or

demure. The superior was also required to satisfy herself as to whether the postulant would be willing to denounce her faults at the appointed time, and whether she would "manifest" her conscience to the order's confessor and to her when directed to do so.

The use of "examinations", which were constantly relied upon to assess the individual's progress towards becoming a religious sister, is according to Foucault (1977), part of what Walhausen had referred to as "the art of correct training" ³⁹ and one of the "technologies" that were employed by the Church to produce a disciplined and "docile" body. Foucault states that "the success of disciplinary power derives from the use of simple instruments: hierarchical observations or surveillance, normalising judgement and their combination which is specific to it - the examination". ⁴⁰ At the conclusion of the examination, the postulant was required to leave the room, and the observations of the superior, the mistress of novices and the other sisters in relation to how the postulant had fared at the examination and throughout her postulancy, were heard as deemed necessary. The sisters then voted in secret, either for the admittance or rejection of the postulant. If the postulant was rejected then she was required to leave the convent as soon as practicable. If the voting was favourable, the superior general would ask the bishop of the diocese to examine the postulant, particularly in relation to her disposition ⁴¹ as prescribed by the Council of Trent, and to determine the date of her "clothing" as a "novice".

Ten days prior to her "clothing" the postulant was required to undertake a retreat of at least eight days, which included the performance of certain spiritual exercises. The "clothing" consisted of the individual putting on the habit of the order but with a white veil, rather than the regular veil of a professed sister. The covering of the individual's head with a veil was particularly symbolic for a number of reasons. It reflected the Apostle Paul's view that

women to worship God must be veiled. It also possibly symbolised, that a woman in totally covering her hair that was considered by society at this time as her "crowning glory" and one of the features of femaleness that set her apart from man, became more like a man. In the Sister of Mercy Order, as a further indication of a individual aspiring to religious life becoming like a man, postulants were also "shorn of their locks" ⁴² prior to their head being covered with the white veil. ⁴³ The covering of the postulant's head with the veil and cutting of her hair also signified her assumption of anonymity or loss of identity that was considered the ultimate aim of living in a religious community. ⁴⁴ The following description of the Sisters of Charity "clothing" ceremony, which a postulant, Miss Lily Kean underwent when she became a novice, appeared in the *Catholic Standard* September 1878:

"At 10 o'clock the procession of nuns entered the sanctuary, which was beautifully decorated with flowers and candles on the altars; first came the cross bearer followed by the professed nuns and the novices, next came two little orphan girls, and lastly the youthful candidate, who was richly and becomingly attired in a bridal dress of white grenadine trimmed with satin and sprays of orange blossoms, a bridal wreath and veil, and ornaments of frosted silver..... The ceremonies commenced by the choir singing "Emitte Spiritum Tuum", and after some antiphons had been chanted the Bishop, the Reverend M. Gilleran ascended the pulpit and preached a short but most elegant sermon, having taken for his text that most appropriate one "Mary hath chosen the better part" etc. The sermon ended, the candidate presented herself at the altar steps immediately before the Bishop, and asked him to bestow upon her the religious habit of a Sister of Charity; after some other little ceremonies had been gone through, the postulant, preceded by the procession of nuns, as before, retired for a short time to the Convent, where she changed her worldly garments for those she will hence-forward wear as a Sister of Charity; during the short interval the choir sang..... The new novice and her sisters in religion having returned to the sanctuary, she received from the Bishop the white veil, rosary, etc. Her name in religion is Sister Mary Gertrude. The Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament brought the ceremonies to a close. After leaving the church the novice's relatives and friends repaired to the Convent to offer her their congratulations. A very cheerful and happy party sat down and partook of the excellent de'jeuner". ⁴⁵

The Mistress of Novices was required to keep a record of any property, which the postulant brought with her into the convent so it could be returned to her in the event of her leaving.⁴⁶ In another book the Mistress recorded the day and year of each individual's entrance, their name and place of birth, the time and circumstances of their "clothing" ceremony and also their declaration of willingness to comply with all the requirements of convent living. It was also the real beginning of the disciplining of her body, of exposing her to the process of somatic learning and inscribing on her being the "technologies" of a religious sister that would ultimately produce a "docile" and obedient Catholic religious sister's body.

Stage Two - the "Novitiate"

The novitiate was viewed as "the time of probation spent by the candidate for religious life in a certain convent, under the direction of a specially appointed mistress before the candidate is admitted to religious profession".⁴⁷ What was the purpose of the novitiate period? How did it achieve a particular order's ultimate goal of forming a religious sister out of a girl or a woman who by most standards would have been ill-prepared for the intensity and disciplined life that lay ahead of her?

The period of the novitiate "according to the mind of the Church, should serve to test the fitness of the subject of the religious life and to bring about her sanctification and interior formation".⁴⁸ In Foucaultian terms, it was also the formal beginning of the production of the "religious subject" whereby the individual religious sister learnt and developed the "technologies of the self".⁴⁹ What the individual novice was about to embark upon by subjecting herself – soul, mind and body – to the religious practices and "technologies" of

the Church and the order she was committing her life to, was a transformation and modification of herself in order "to achieve a state of perfection".

The Constitutions of the Sisters of Charity similarly stated that "the object of the Novitiate was the formation of the minds and characters of the Novices in the principles and requirements of religious life".⁵⁰ This formation was to be accomplished by "the study and the practice of the Rules and Constitution, by pious meditation and assiduous prayer, by exercises designed to root out the germs of vice, to regulate the motions of the soul and to assist in acquiring virtues".⁵¹

As well, taking up residence in the novitiate was also the beginning of the novices introduction to "community life". Community life is defined by Geser "as the manner in which a number of individuals forming one society, live together, observe the same rule, being subject to the same religious superior".⁵² According to Vicinus, "many of the aspects of the traditional family were embodied in the communities, yet ultimately an order, whatever the doctrinal basis, was antithetical to the family because a woman had to place her church life and responsibilities over any personal claims".⁵³ As will be discussed later, community life meant uniformity, it also meant avoiding the development of close relationships with other sisters in the order, of separating oneself from one's family as much as possible and only visiting home when absolute necessity required it. The Mercy Directory listing what was expected of nuns and novices stated that "they should receive their friends with affection and respect but not too familiarly".⁵⁴

The Sisters of Charity Rules for the Mistress of Novices also stated that "if necessary for the novices to speak with those they left in the world which should be as seldom as possible, she

must not let them lose too much time, but may if necessary send someone to be present during the interview".⁵⁵ The flow of correspondence in and out of the convent was strictly controlled, with the superior having the authority to open letters and withhold their delivery to the addressee. By entering a religious community of religious sisters an individual sacrificed her right to privacy in relation to every aspect of her life.⁵⁶ Separation from the world outside the convent and sacrificing of her privacy was seen to be an essential part of training a novice to become a religious sister. It also highlighted the fact that to be a religious sister, a woman must become emotionally detached not only from her family but also her own feelings, thus requiring her to become emotionally detached as men were expected to be in this period.

Training of Novices

"Those who entered the novitiate were trained by practices to learn new attitudes and new patterns of living. Their training had as an objective their socialisation in to a religious congregation organised to service an institution, school or hospital. This socialisation meant that the needs of the religious were subordinated to the needs of the institution. Hierarchical leadership and a common life in which all shared the same ministerial activity, timetable, clothes, food and recreation ensured that the institution had a supply of obedient, undemanding and mobile personnel".⁵⁷

How did this process of "socialisation" occur? I believe that in the case of the religious sister, novices were subjected to more than a process of socialisation. As the central aim of religious training and the novitiate period was to produce a "professed woman" who could go on to become the "ideal" religious sister, processes had to be set in train which would ensure that the individual became not only a homogeneous part of the religious or monastic culture of her order, but ultimately became the religious order itself.

Apart from the apparent training of the individual novice there was also a more insidious form of training happening contemporaneously that infiltrated the novice's body. Fay (1987) states that it is possible that an individual in a particular institution, may not even be aware that certain ideas or ways of doing things or ways of being are being absorbed by them. Fay refers to such a process as mentioned in Chapter 1, as "somatic learning" which may occur "directly" or "indirectly".⁵⁸ The indoctrination of a novice into the appropriate way of religious life involved a long process of training. Initially, this process involved "direct" somatic learning - of learning to behave in a certain way by: withholding friendship, by not being too familiar with the other novices, by dressing in a certain way, by living in particular rooms - the refectory, cells, chapel - which required the individual to exhibit certain types of behaviour so that she could be recognised and included as part of the community she wished to join. In order to penetrate the bodies of the novices "directly" the Church and religious orders utilised various "technologies", which transmitted elements of the particular religious order's culture to the new recruit. "In these cases of shaping the initiates' bodies – their acquiring certain bodies with certain perceptual and behavioural skills and dispositions, their coming to have bodies with certain strengths and rigidities"⁵⁹ – is not achieved only by "their acquiring certain beliefs or concepts".⁶⁰ Such transmission also required the discovery of "the material processes through which these bodies are moulded through direct behavioural influence and physical environment".⁶¹

Fay states that the most important aspects of "direct" somatic learning relate to the way that an institution "structures time and space and thereby controls the bodies and the bodily motions of its members".⁶² The "institution" in which an individual learns to become a member of a group or culture, performs its function of shaping its trainees into "acceptable identities by directly training their bodies. This is no accident; to have a proper identity is in

part to have a body and a set of bodily dispositions of a certain sort".⁶³ To be a religious sister is to have "a repertoire of bodily attitudes and responses, a coordinated reflex of hands, legs, bowels, spinal cords, arms and fingers. One might say that becoming a member of a particular culture is in part becoming a certain sort of body".⁶⁴ Foucault (1977) also saw the architectural design of institutions as contributing to the training of individuals. The arrangement of rooms and hallways on the basis of a specific design, in institutions such as convents, schools, prisons and hospitals determined the movement of people throughout a particular building. The use of "architectural and interior design (in a building), shape the bodily responses of" ⁶⁵ those who inhabit them.

Reinforcing the notion that the design and layout of an institution contributes to the particular type of training that an individual is undergoing, novices were housed in separate quarters away from the rest of the community and placed under the constant supervision and surveillance of the Mistress of Novices and her assistants. "Physical separation ensured that during the training period novices would be sheltered from the negative influences of the less exemplary professed members of the community".⁶⁶ It also meant that they were under the constant surveillance or observation of their superiors. Surveillance or hierarchical observation is, as mentioned above, another simple instrument of "correct training", which Foucault saw as contributing to the "success of disciplinary power".⁶⁷

The process of surveillance began from the moment the individual entered the convent and continued throughout her entire life. It began with the physical structure of the building - the design of the novitiate and the convent was designed to ensure that surveillance of the individual could continually take place. It was based on a schema of confinement and enclosure - thick walls and a heavy gate that prevented easy access or egress, rooms or cells

that were distributed along a corridor, at regular intervals, with the sisters being confined to their cells each night and it was here that they enjoyed their only private space away from the physical presence of others, though not from the constant gaze of God. "In the monastic space the cell is seen by Foucault to represent the omnipotent gaze of God. God's surveillance is impossible to escape, it is the ideal apparatus, 'a perfect eye that nothing would escape and a centre towards which all gazes would be turned'".⁶⁸ The use of "cells" to provide the private space for individuals who chose to live the monastic life and the housing of religious behind convent walls were therefore "technologies" of discipline which, according to Foucault, were used to shape and mould the body of the religious sister and to provide ongoing surveillance.

"Surveillance was also organised as a multiple, automatic and anonymous power, for although surveillance rests on individuals, its functioning is that of network of relations that exist from top to bottom, but also to certain extent from the bottom to the top and laterally; this network holds the whole together and traverses it in its entirety with effects of power that derive from one another: supervisors, perpetually supervised. The power in the hierarchised surveillance of the disciplines is not possessed as a thing, transferred as a property, it functions like a piece of machinery. And although it is true that its pyramidal organisation gives it a "head" it is the apparatus as a whole that produces "power" and distributes individuals in this permanent and continuous field. This enables the disciplinary power to be both absolutely indiscreet, since it is everywhere and always alert, since by its very principle it leaves no zone of shade and constantly supervises the very individual who are entrusted with the task of supervising and absolutely 'discreet' for it functions permanently and largely in silence".⁶⁹

As the novice slowly developed into a religious sister, the somatic learning process also assumed an "indirect" component as well. The novice in becoming a religious sister learns to make "conceptual distinctions and on the basis of these distinctions", ⁷⁰ the Church in general and religious orders in particular established rules about "proper behaviours and

bearing, about properly social ways of relating, about acceptable attitudes, emotions and actions".⁷¹ The important point for Fay (1987) is however "that these rules reinforce, and are reinforced by, particular bodily and behavioural dispositions. Learning these rules involves acquiring a repertoire of bodily responses as much as learning to think in a certain way".⁷²

Mistress of Novices

As mentioned above, the novitiate and the novices came under the direction and authority of the Mistress of Novices. The Mistress of Novice's role was regarded by the order as an extremely important and powerful one. The Constitutions of the Sisters of St Joseph, following Canon 559, required that she be at least thirty-five years of age and should have made her first profession ten years prior to being given the position. It was a requirement that she "be distinguished for prudence, charity, piety and fidelity to religious observance".⁷³ To her alone, belonged the responsibility of the management of the novitiate and the formation of the novices, both spiritually and corporeally. No other sister was allowed to interfere with the management of the novitiate or the training of novices, except the superior general. Canon 561.1 required that "the care and training of novices belong exclusively to the Mistress of Novices",⁷⁴ who was "under a grave obligation to use all diligence in instructing the novices in the discipline of religious life".⁷⁵

The Mistress of Novices was required to: train the novices in the work of the order they were joining; encourage them in the study and practice of the order's constitutions and rules; instruct them on the observance of their vows they would take at profession and the practice of the religious "virtues" and correct their faults and inclination toward committing sin. The Sisters of Charity required that their Mistress of Novice exhibit sweetness and amiability to all, "and to show forth in her life and actions, such virtues and discretion that all may recur

confidently to her in their doubts, expose freely their anxieties and difficulties...." ⁷⁶ She was required to be conversant and well read in approved spiritual books, so that she was able to instruct the novices on their content and point out to them those works that were most useful in forming them as religious sisters.

The training that the novices received in each of the Orders under review were similar as all of the Orders concentrated on disciplining the individual in the "technologies" of the particular order and instilling in her the notion of absolute obedience to her superiors. The novices were also trained with the aim of producing a religious sister who would easily fit into the community, who would undertake the duties assigned, however personally repugnant and would continue her spiritual formation throughout the rest of her religious life. To prepare them for the latter duty, Canon 565.2 required that during the novitiate period, initiate's were to be "thoroughly instructed in religion" so that they not only totally memorised the teachings of the Church but so that they "can correctly explain it". ⁷⁷

The process of surveillance and examination that began when the individual first entered religious life continued more intensely in the novitiate period. The novices were continually subjected to the "direction, correction and watchfulness of the Mistress of Novices". ⁷⁸ They were to remain totally separate from the professed members, except for certain controlled situations such as in church or chapel or in the dining room. ⁷⁹ They were not allowed to accompany the professed sisters when they left the convent. ⁸⁰

The Mistress of Novices was also required to assess, during the course of the novice's probation, if any of the novices were likely to prove "useless" or unfit for the order. In making this assessment the Mistress was to place greater emphasis on what would facilitate

the common good of the order rather than the private advantage of the individual - thus emulating the philosophy of utilitarianism which had become popular in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. The Mistress of Novices was to report to her superior every six months on the development and progress of each novice. To assist them in their training, the Mistress provided the novices with a copy of the order's rules, "Examen" and any other information deemed relevant to their training. At appointed times she met each novice in private and questioned her in relation to the following:

- " 1. Are they content with all contained therein or does any anxiety or doubt remain respecting any particular question?
2. What experiments have they gone through and how have they felt in them?
3. Do they feel strength spiritual as well as corporeal to undertake the labours required of the Institute and have they a firm purpose of persevering through life in it?" ⁸¹

At the end of this session the Mistress was required to submit a written report to her superior on the novices' responses to these questions and whether there were any areas in the novice's development that were of concern.

The first year of the novice's life was spent in the novitiate house without interruption, except as set out by the requirements of Canon Law. During this first year, novices were not allowed to participate in the external duties or work of the order. "Entry training and full membership were formal, ritualized and demanding, each was designed to separate a woman from the world psychologically and physically. This loss of the self within the order meant far greater strength and unity for the community as a whole..." ⁸² During the second year of the novitiate, a novice's ability to fulfill her fourth vow or undertake the outside work of the order were tested by her being employed for a period of time within the various outside works or "experiments" carried on by the order. Even at this stage of her training the

Church was still very particular about the type of work that novices were allowed to undertake as nothing was to interfere with the purpose of the novitiate that being the ongoing and specific training in following and living a spiritual life.⁸³

However, when they were allowed to perform work outside of their training, specific attention was paid to ensuring that the novice learnt how to perform the particular duty that she had been allocated correctly, even if the duty be as menial as "lighting the gas, sweeping, dusting, cleaning the halls or serving the dinner".⁸⁴ Mother Aikenhead advised the novices that "the highest degree of Religious Perfection is to be attained by performing ordinary actions extraordinarily".⁸⁵ The novice was also informed that it was in the power of the superior to give her any domestic or exterior duty even for life without regard to the inclination of the individual.⁸⁶

Not only was the Mistress of Novices to constantly observe and examine the novices in her care, she was also responsible for the instruction and education of the novices. She was required to supply the novices with such reading material "as will tend to forward them, both "exteriorly" and "interiorly" and give them a love for their particular vocation".⁸⁷ Novices were taught Christian Doctrine by the Mistress and they were particularly instructed in "the manner of confessing and communicating with fruit, of hearing mass, also of praying and meditating and drawing profit from spiritual reading. Above all else she was responsible for instilling in their minds a love of humiliations, and of carrying the cross and livery of Jesus Christ".⁸⁸

Manuals of Training:

One specific text that was utilised by the Sisters of Mercy in the training of their novices was the *Directory*. The purpose of the *Directory* was to assist novices in the process of ultimately internalising the Rules of their Order and was “complied with the view of aiding Novices in acquiring the habit of performing their duties with exactness...”.⁸⁹

The *Directory*, which was given to each novice as she entered the novitiate, followed a similar method of teaching that was employed in schools to instruct pupils in the beliefs of the Church. It was based on the Catechistical method of asking a question and providing the answer which the novice was expected to memorise. The first question asked of novices was “why have you entered religion?” which was followed by the answer “I came to religion to sanctify myself”.⁹⁰ The next question, which was regarded as more important and one which novices were instructed to frequently ask themselves, was whether the novice was “sincerely aiming at perfection”.⁹¹

The next section of the *Directory* then went on to state:

“Your entrance upon a religious of life is the first step towards answering the gracious call of God and will avail you nothing unless it be followed by sincere and unremitting endeavours on your part to become perfect, which is, in reality, properly speaking your vocation. It is not enough to be called to perfection. Our Lord says that “you must labour to render your election secure”. In doing so nothing extraordinary is required, fidelity to prayers and in endeavouring to acquire a truly interior spirit, together with great perfection in the manner of performing your ordinary duties, will secure your attaining the end of your vocation”.⁹²

Apart from the questions and answers set out in the *Directory*, there were also a number of regulations and “interior practices” included which were intended to assist a novice in her development and growth toward becoming a professed religious. The regulations of the *Directory* were different to the Rules of the Order that the novice was later directed in but

were the first step in helping the novice to learn how to observe the rule of the Order and to “exercise perfection in the performance of... (her) daily duties”⁹³ which was the ultimate aim of every novice and professed sister. That this was the intention of the *Directory* is supported by the following statement in its introduction: “...the whole has been arranged in as concise a form as possible, in order not to perplex the mind by too many regulations or practices - as to the latter the novices are to remember that they are not obliged to use all those laid down, but merely such of them, or any part of them as they may find calculated to assist them”.⁹⁴

The *Directory* was divided into four parts covering the following areas of spiritual, physical and personal development that if successfully acquired by the novice would place her on the path to becoming a “perfected religious sister”:

“Part 1. Regulates spiritual exercises

Part 2. Treats of those virtues you are especially bound to acquire

Part 3. Relates to the duties of the Institute and the spirit in which they should be performed.

Part 4. Regulates the manner in which you should go through your exterior duties”.⁹⁵

The first part of the *Directory* was regarded as the most important section as it was directed to “the acquisition of a solid spirit of prayer being the necessary foundation of all virtues and good works”. It stated: “Learn therefore how to pray, endeavour to establish the Kingdom of God within your own heart and then you may be able to exercise with profit that holy zeal for the salvation of your neighbour, which should be one of the characteristic virtues of a Sister of Mercy”.⁹⁶

The purpose of the *Directory* as mentioned above, was not an alternative to the Rule but was to familiarise the novice with the Rule of the Order she was joining and to serve as an indication of what lay ahead of her. On this basis the novices were informed that “the Rules should be regarded as the golden chain by which Religious bind themselves to the service of

God, a link which they should dread to break, the Regulations should be looked upon as safeguards of this precious chain".⁹⁷ A direction as set out in the *Directory* was not binding and could be laid aside without fear of "imperfection" unless this was done with "contempt". If a sister carelessly laid aside a direction merely because she considered it only a direction, she was judged by her superiors as one who would soon become unfaithful to the rule, because she did not properly respect the direction as it was intended. The *Directory* therefore, was different to the Rule of the Order as the novice was not expected to follow it to the letter, as professed sisters were expected to do with their rule. As with the Rule, novices were informed that if they wanted to be "happy Religious, pleasing God and useful to the community",⁹⁸ then they would "need to be faithful"⁹⁹ to the "Rules and Regulations, love them as coming from God, follow them and they will assuredly lead you to Him".¹⁰⁰

The second part of the *Directory* covered the vows of religious life - obedience, poverty and chastity - that the novice would take when she was professed. It was in this section that the "technologies" that the novices were expected to adopt for the remainder of their lives were set out. After Section 1 of the *Directory*, this section was regarded as the most important as a religious sister was expected to live her life according to these vows. I will not discuss them in detail here, but the vow of obedience was regarded as the most important and the most difficult to uphold. The *Annals of Bethania* which were read by the novices in the Sisters of Charity novitiate, states that:

"Of the three vows obedience is the most important – by poverty you sacrifice riches, by chastity you sacrifice the body, but by obedience you offer up will and understanding and entirely sacrifice the whole man to God. St Ignatius does not fix religious perfection in austerity and mortification of the body, nor in good talents, nor in continual labour but in submission of our will to our Superiors and self-denial. If truly obedient, one cannot fail to be humble, modest, chaste and master of all virtues".¹⁰¹

The *Directory* provided instructions on how a novice was to behave and control her body in every situation, including whether she was meditating, reciting the "Office" or attending Mass. In the case of reciting the "Office", she was required to "observe custody of the eyes, sit in an upright position and hold the Office book with both hands". ¹⁰² In other words, she was not to be distracted in anyway and was to concentrate solely on the task at hand. As with the professed, they were instructed that their eyes were to be cast down especially in the Choir and Rectory. They were instructed not to walk heavily or hastily through the convent or to laugh or speak in a loud voice. They were to endeavour to be "amicable and polite and obliging to each other but never offer fond or foolish caresses". ¹⁰³ When they were addressed by other religious sisters, they were required to stand. As with the main convent, they were to observe strict silence from the night prayer bell after the community mass until the next morning. Strict silence was to be observed in such places as the choir, chapel and the sacristy.

Novices were not permitted to absent themselves from the common spiritual exercises or regular observances such as Mass, morning meditation spiritual lectures, or the night prayers of the Order. As with professed sisters, they were instructed to "answer the call of the bell, which the Rule requires, and regard it as the voice of God". ¹⁰⁴ Novices were prohibited from visiting any part of the Order's schools, orphanages or other special works without permission. They were not to undertake any work or writing without permission. From the moment of entry to the novitiate, novices were required to renounce all property in Order to become "conformable to your heavenly spouse Jesus Christ". ¹⁰⁵ The regulations required them to "keep their hearts perfectly disengaged from things of this world". ¹⁰⁶ The giving and

receiving of presents without permission was banned and they were instructed on what clothing could be sent to the laundry and how often it was to be washed.

Novices were to discipline themselves and they were to identify and particularly concentrate on overcoming their major personal failing/s, which were to become the chief subject of their personal mortification. They were encouraged to “offer up such acts as rising promptly, overcoming sadness, repressing idle words”.¹⁰⁷ Corporal austerities were regarded as not essential, but rather novices were encouraged to exercise interior mortifications which would serve the purpose of disciplining the body without physically touching it, such as not giving into feelings of sadness, anger or frustration but always presenting a bodily façade of emotionless control. If they did feel it was necessary to inflict physical punishment upon themselves, then they were to talk to their confessor and if he approved, gain permission from their superior to administer whatever the accepted physical self-punishment of the Order was.

The Mistress of Novices was to observe her charges carefully and ensure that a novice neither disciplined herself too much, so as to make her unfit for her duties, or disciplined herself too little so as to allow what religious referred to as “immortification” to set in. The purpose of the imposition of such mortification was once again to “help them on their way to perfection”.¹⁰⁸ As with the professed sisters, novices were to aspire to attaining humility, which could only be acquired through the individual novice exposing herself to the weekly practice of “Chapter of Faults”. At this time the individual religious publicly accused herself of her external transgressions against the vows of the Order, her failure to follow the rule or undertake her duties satisfactorily. The process involved the novice accusing herself of her faults and then remaining on her knees while the superior issued her a suitable penance.

Some of the faults that novices were to seek punishment for were listed in the *Directory* and included:

- "1. Not answering the bell immediately;
2. Not rising at once when called;
3. Coming late to choir, refectory and general recreations;
4. Being absent from any regular observance".¹⁰⁹

As can be seen by the above list, individuals were taught from the beginning that they must concern themselves with paying strict attention to even the smallest requirements of religious living but most importantly to obey every instruction without question.

The third part of the *Directory* set out the "Duties of the Institute", which will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 7. The novices were expected to apply themselves with diligence to fit themselves for any duty they were given and the Mistress of Novices was expected to be diligent in exercising the novices in the duties they were chosen for. As mentioned above the duties which novices were exercised in were referred to as "experiments" and much importance was attached to the manner in which a novice participated in them. The "experiments" which novices were "exercised" in, included visiting the sick, teaching Christian doctrine, and attending poor schools. They were not allowed to undertake these latter "experiments" until they had been appropriately instructed and indoctrinated in the ways of the Order and the Church. The novice therefore was not allowed to leave the convent without being fully aware of the manner in which she was expected to behave and present herself while working outside the convent. She was also required to be fully aware of the charism of the particular order to which she belonged. Novices were never sent out unaccompanied but were required to be under the constant care and observation of some experienced religious.

As with the postulant, surveillance of the novice by the Mistress of Novices or her assistants formed an important part of her training. At the end of each period of undertaking an "experiment" the novice returned to the quiet of the novitiate in order to refresh her body and spirit. The Sisters of Charity *Rules for the Mistress of Novices* ¹¹⁰ also required the novices to be exercised in the works of charity "taking care always that they never be so much or so long occupied in outward things, as to endanger the spirit of union with God, which is to be their principle study". ¹¹¹ The Rules also specified that the novices could be employed in teaching Christian doctrine occasionally, attending poor schools, "but not until they have been well instructed and have practically learned to offer their action up to God, that they may find him in all of their exterior duties...." ¹¹²

Part Four of the *Directory* discussed the "Daily Exterior Duties" of novices. This section provided guidance on the "technologies" that the novice was to follow in her daily life as a religious. Of paramount importance in the novitiate training was the notion that these practices and "technologies" were to ultimately become etched upon her body. The "technologies" and practices learnt in the novitiate formed the foundation of the "technologies" and practices that she was expected to routinely employ for the remainder of her religious life. Further, the "technologies" that the religious sister practised in her daily life, differed from the ordinary routines of daily living followed by the lay person, in that while the routines or regimes the religious sisters performed may have been similar to the routines followed by the ordinary person in the outside world - washing, eating, working, praying - it was the manner in which the religious sister was required to undertake each of these regimes, that resulted in them becoming the "technologies" or practices of religious life and ultimately impacting upon the religious sister's body.

An example of the “technologies” that the novices had to familiarise themselves with, can be found in number of texts which the Sisters of Charity novices were required to read during their formation years. Two of these works were *The Custom Book of the Religious Sisters of Charity* and the *Practices of the Novices of the Society of Jesus* by Father Francis Xavier Idioguez, written in 1838. The former work in setting out disciplinary “technologies” to be adopted by the novice prescribed for example, the posture that novices were to exercise while in Church. “All are to kneel facing the altar, and as much as possible every one behind the other, not turning into their stalls, nor too much out. Their hands are to rest on the arm of the stall before them. This is quite enough for support, no-one is to put their arms on the stall. When sitting down they are to sit facing the altar, and if necessary to lean back sometimes, they are to do so against the arm and not in the corner. They are to avoid all affectation in their manner such as leaning their heads on their hands, bowing their heads, etc. The only time they are to bow their head is when the Priest adores the Sacred Heart”.¹¹³ How the novice was expected to concentrate on praying while ensuring that her posture was correct while she kneeled, must have taken a great deal of practise and determination for the novices to internalise and would have required a great deal of bodily discipline.

A copy of the *Practices of Novices of the Society of Jesus* was presented to Mother Mary Aikenhead by Father St Leger. Mother Mary Aikenhead had a handwritten copy of this book prepared for the sisters who had volunteered to establish the Sisters of Charity in colonial New South Wales, to carry with them when they left Ireland. This book, as the title suggests, set out the “technologies” that the Jesuit seminarian was required to follow during his training period. Presumably, the Charity Sisters were given a copy so that they could use it as a guide for training their own novices.

The purpose of the book was initially to teach seminarians training for the priesthood and later, novices the manner or the “technologies” they were to follow in the performance of their daily duties and which they were expected to internalise. As part of the process of internalisation, a novice was instructed to examine herself for a moment at the end of each action she performed, to assess how she had performed the action and if her performance had been faulty in any way, to ensure that the defect did not occur the next time. She was also instructed to repeat a maxim to herself, for every action she undertook during the day. On the basis of the research for this thesis it would appear that religious sisters were still reflecting on each action that they undertook and repeating maxims to themselves up until the changes brought about by the Second Vatican Council.

An example of how Father Idioguez’ scheme was to work can be seen in how a novice was instructed to think while preparing the Refectory for a meal. She was to “resolutely conquer every repugnance to labour, esteeming it an honour to be employed as a menial in the house of God”.¹¹⁴ She was “not to show a liking for one occupation over another”.¹¹⁵ She was “to beg God to send us those (duties) which are more mortifying, especially to self-love and pride”.¹¹⁶ She was also to remain silent and not laugh; observe modesty, and not raise her eyes. “For the better custody of the senses and interior recollection during this duty, frequently to purify intentions and make ejaculations, to excite various affections, to renew the resolutions made in prayer”.¹¹⁷ A novice was to follow these instructions to the “letter”, if she was to set up the refectory in the prescribed manner.

In a similar way, novices were to enter the refectory with modesty and gravity. They were to leave the refectory in the same manner and with complete indifference to their companions.

The Sisters of Charity also provided their novices with instructions of how upon realising that they had performed an action more to please themselves rather than God, to overcome this problem. The *Annals of Bethania* recommended that a novice finding herself in this position “could try Father P. Faber’s ‘bag of tricks’ to maintain recollection”.¹¹⁸ Examples of practical applications of Father Faber’s “bag of tricks” were provided and included: “when washing equate with Jesus being baptized in the Jordan; when writing equate with Jesus writing in the sand; before beginning an action, remind myself that he works with me and gives me the means to do it; end an action with the same thought”.¹¹⁹ Not only were novices and religious sisters directed on how they were to spend every minute of the day, they were also directed as with the Sister of Mercy novices, on what to think when performing these actions. The *Annals* went on to state that “it is by practising similar to the above and remembering that her soul is a battlefield where she must ‘go against herself’ and conquer for the love of Our Lord and continually strive to take the vows of poverty, chastity and obedience”.¹²⁰ The annihilation of the individual’s self will be discussed further in Chapters 5 and 6.

As with the Constitution and Rule of the Order, Father Idioguez’s book also listed what were regarded as “useful subjects”¹²¹ which the novices were free to discuss at recreation:

“On what had been heard during sermons or read during dinner, On the Spirit of the Institute, On the Constitutions, rules and grace of a vocation,.. Of death, judgement, hell and heaven,..Of the miseries of the world .. Of the heretics and infidels of our own days and whatever tends to excite the zeal of combating their errors and praying for their conversion”.

¹²²

Novices were also instructed quite specifically on the manner in which they were to behave during recreation. They were instructed “to avoid what savors of singularity”¹²³ and they were not to: “go alone;...be melancholy;...use too many gesticulations; ... fail in becoming modesty and propriety; ...be too loquacious or the contrary; burst out into anger;

...contend with angers; use ironies; ...be hasty in their motions; ...be troublesome to others; be forward or presuming; ...raise the voice too loud and ...break out into immoderately loud laughter". ¹²⁴

Novices were encouraged to discover their faults and were informed that the way to discover their faults was to examine each duty they had undertaken according to the distribution of time throughout the day - from rising to "Examen" at midday and from midday to the evening "Examen". ¹²⁵ They were to review what activity they had been engaged in every hour and assess whether they had undertaken this activity - work or prayer, well. At no time was their mind to be free to think of anything other than what duties they were suppose to be concentrating on at the time. The following faults were to be publicly denounced - "transgressions against silence, modesty, punctuality; neglect of the additions or examen of prayer, charity, patience, reverence before the Blessed Sacrament; neglect of good purposes, of purity of intention, of spiritual conversation, of religious gravity, contradiction, positiveness or too loud laughter". ¹²⁶

In the Jesuit seminary, a seminarian for his transgressions was allocated a penance by his superior which he was required to undertake at meal times in the refectory and included such actions as: "...going under the vacant tables during dinner; prostration at the door of the refectory; washing plates and dishes and to esteem it as high employment; to eat under the table what they have received in alms from their brothers; to eat standing; to tell their faults; to eat in the middle with a rope around their neck; to eat in a sack cloth; to dine kneeling at the little table; and with permission to leave something at table, not to eat salt, pepper, vinegar, sauce". ¹²⁷ Although the sisters may not have allocated all of these penances to their

novices, they would have applied those that they considered most suitable. What penances were applied will be discussed further in Chapter 6.

That the system of training set out in Father Idioguez's book was utilised by the Sisters of Charity in the training of their own novices is supported by the fact, that in their own training manual entitled: *Pious Practices for the Observances of Novices of the Pious Congregation of the Religious Sisters of Charity*, similar methods of training their novices were included. This Manual of the Sisters of Charity was printed in 1933. The format this book followed was similar to Father Idioguez's book as it contained similar sections and instructions on how a novice was to live a religious life. The Sisters of Charity Manual recommended that every novice should be thoroughly instructed in the following four points of spiritual life:

- " 1. strong hatred and sorrow for sin;
2. strong desire of solid virtue of perfection and therefore settled habit of performing every act in the best manner;
3. love of the cross of Jesus Christ, that is, an affection for self denial;
4. entire resignation or renunciation of self will in whatever regards the novice's occupations". ¹²⁸

The marks of a virtuous novice according to this Manual, were to conceal nothing from the Mistress of Novices, which a novice believed was conducive to her own or a fellow novice's correction. ¹²⁹ Once again constant surveillance of the novice and her behaviour was a key "technology" in the process of her becoming a religious sister. The Sisters of Charity Manual recommended, as had the Jesuit Book, that novices were to examine how they had performed each and every action at its' conclusion to ascertain if it was defective in any way and if it was take corrective action the next time they performed it. ¹³⁰

Distribution of Time

To prepare the novice for life in the convent, both the *Custom Book* and the *Directory* provided for how the novices were to employ each moment of their day. A novice was expected to rise each morning when the relevant sister knocked on her door. The *Sister of Mercy Directory* specified that they were not allowed to rise before 5.25 am. They were required to dress quickly kissing each article of religious dress as they recited particular customary prayers.¹³¹ A novice was required to be in bed by ten p.m. and while undressing she was expected to pray, in order to be "spiritually divested of all earthly attachments".¹³² Novices were allowed to share a cell, but they were separated by a screen and were not allowed to converse with each other at any time while in their cell.¹³³ They were also instructed that when they retired for the evening they "were to endeavour to sleep from a motive of obedience"¹³⁴ - if they could not sleep they were told to think about "death, judgement day, hell, purgatory or the glory or the passions of Our Lord".¹³⁵

As part of the process of establishing disciplinary regimes, the novitiate as with the main convent, operated according to a specific timetable for the Ordinary Distribution of Time. The timetable had to be approved by the Bishop and could not be permanently changed without his approval.¹³⁶ The timetable followed in most convents, regardless of the order was similar in format and routine for each day. The Sisters of Charity novitiate timetable was as follows:

5.20am Rising morning oblation	6.00pm Angelus
5.50am Meditation. Reflection of 5 minutes	6.45pm Visit to Blessed Sacrament
7.00am Mass and quarter hour thanksgiving. Then arrange cells.	7.10pm Supper
8.00am Breakfast. When over after visiting Blessed Sacrament go to appointed duty.	8.00pm Recreation
8.25am Spiritual reading	9.00pm Night Prayers and Examen
12.00am Angelus Examen	10.00pm Lights out in bed
1.00pm Dinner	
2.30pm Litanies	

Similarly, the daily distribution of time followed by the Sisters of Mercy in their novitiate was as follows:

5.30am Arise oblation	1.30pm Novitiate or appointed duties
6.00am Angelus	3.30pm Ad Lib
6.45am Minor Hours	4.00pm Dinner
7.00am Mass	4.30pm Recreation
7.45am Breakfast. Visit Blessed Sacrament	4.30pm Recreation
8.10am Arrange cells. Domestic charge	5.15pm Vespers Spiritual Reading
8.55am Novitiate for lecture	6.00pm Angelus
9.30am Ad Lib	6.30pm Novitiate Study and Lessons
10.00am Novitiate or appointed duties	7.30pm Supper
11.45am Particular Examen	7.45pm Recreation
12.00pm Angelus. Prayers in Choir	9.00pm Night Prayers and rest.

It was in the novitiate that the religious sister learnt the disciplinary “technology” of being “exact in observing the distribution of time, both general and particular”.¹³⁷

As indicated by the above timetable, novices were required to be present in the novitiate at certain times during the day to hear lectures or to undertake study or lessons. At the conclusion of a lecture, novices were encouraged to think about those aspects of the lecture, which had made the most impression upon them. Apart from the scheduled spiritual lecture, novices were also expected to undertake private spiritual reading and they were to apply to the Mistress of Novices so that she could allocate them a suitable book to read. Some of the

books which novices were allowed to read included the *Imitation of Christ*,¹³⁸ which they were encouraged to read a chapter of each day; the Missal, Office-Book, Visits to the Blessed Sacrament, Oratory Prayer Book, or any common book such as *Key of Heaven*, *Nouets Meditation*, *Spiritual Retreat*, *Peringers Retreat or Practice of Perfection and Christian Virtues*.

¹³⁹ The last book mentioned had been written by Father Alphonsus Rodriguez, one of the early Jesuits, in the form of *Treatises on Christian Perfection*. Father Rodriguez throughout his seventy years as a Jesuit priest was often allocated the role of training seminarians in the Jesuit Order.

The most important aspect of a novice's training was her spiritual formation. Every aspect of her training and every "technology" and tactic employed by her trainers had as its ultimate aim the disciplining of her body into absolute submission and the developing of her spirituality to its fullest extent. As the *Directory* of the Sisters of Mercy states: "the period of the novitiate, according to the mind of the Church, should serve to test the fitness of the subject for the religious life and to bring about her sanctification and interior formation".¹⁴⁰ Clearly, the novice was regarded by the Church as a subject who once in their control needed to be moulded into a "docile" and submissive religious sister.

At the conclusion of a novice's probationary period the novice made a general confession and a "manifestation" to her superior. The purpose of the "manifestation" was to:

- "1. secure a safe and unerring direction in the way of spiritual advancement
2. to ensure as much as possible a safe gently and efficacious mode of exterior government for our subjects".¹⁴¹

Manifestations according to the Sisters of Charity *Rules for Mistress of Novices* were divided into two branches. The first branch covered "manifestations of conscience to be made to a

confessor or spiritual director”¹⁴² and required admitting to not only sinful actions but also “temptations and evil inclinations connected with sin”.¹⁴³ The second branch encompassed “manifestations of present dispositions and inclinations of the heart”¹⁴⁴ which the novice was to admit to her superior and the superior was to subsequently allocate an appropriate punishment for.¹⁴⁵

The relationship that was to exist between the novice and the superior hearing her “manifestation” was one of a “free and confidential intercourse between parent and child”.¹⁴⁶ The confessor or superior hearing the manifestation was required “not to judge but behave like an affectionate and tenderly interested parent to direct her on the right path, to enlighten the ignorant, to cheer the timid and gently to urge and excite the lukewarm and the negligent”.¹⁴⁷

As well as making her manifestation prior to her profession, a novice was also once again examined by her superiors to determine her readiness to become a religious. To assess if she was ready to enter she was asked a series of questions to determine whether she was: content in her chosen vocation, disposed to faithfully practise her vows, able to exercise her spiritual duties appropriately and prepared to submit her entire being to the requirements imposed by the order’s Constitution and Rules. The examination also explored whether there were any ongoing temptations that troubled her, how she communicated with the other sisters in the community and whether she felt any particular aversion to another sister, examinations of conscience or other spiritual exercises and devotions, what mortifications or penances she practised and had she any temptations particularly in relation to her pursuing her vocation.

These questions covered a wide range of areas that an order was interested in assessing before they allowed a novice to become a professed sister. Some of the areas they examined would have been difficult to assess just by asking questions. Her ability to uphold the Constitutions and Rules of the order was of importance as was her ability to undertake the various spiritual exercises that were required of her. Becoming a religious and dedicating one's life to God, was regarded as a very serious decision and commitment that the individual made to the Church and only those individuals who fulfilled the necessary requirements were granted entrance.

"Bride of Christ"

When all the examinations of the novice by herself and her superiors were completed, the novice was declared ready to become a professed sister. The ceremony, which a novice underwent to achieve this status, at the end of her novitiate period, was heavily symbolic in that she partook in the Sacrament of Marriage with Jesus Christ as her spouse. As can be seen in the above description, when the postulant became a novice she was clothed in a bridal gown. A similar ceremony marked the transition from novice to professed sister as recorded in the following description, which appeared in the *Catholic Standard* on the 23 January 1877:

"On Tuesday 23rd ult. the ceremony of professing a Sister of Charity took place in St Joseph's Church. The young lady, Miss Mary Balfe, daughter of J. Donnellan Balfe, M.H.A., had entered the novitiate of the Sisters of Charity two years ago, and on the present occasion made her religious vows before his Lordship the Bishop of Hobart Town, who was assisted during the ceremony by the Ven. Archdeacon Marum and the very Rev. W. J. Dunne. The nuns entered the sanctuary in procession, the choir under the leadership of Mr Hunter, singing the "Veni Creator", which was followed by the chanting of some prayers by the Bishop. A sermon appropriate to the occasion was preached by the Rev. T. Kelsh, who took his text from the 26th chapter of Deuteronomy.... The discourse was divided into two points,

in accordance with the text, showing the dignity of the religious calling and the Divine approbation of that state. At the conclusion of the sermon the novice knelt before the Bishop who put to her the usual questions to test her knowledge of 'the sacrifices which this life of consecration requires'. He then prayed for her and having blessed her with holy water, proceeded to bless the veil, cincture, ring and cross with which he invested her in due order. High Mass was then celebrated At the Communion the Bishop ascended the altar and held the Blessed Sacrament before the novice, the latter pronouncing her vows in a clear and distinct voice, after which she received Holy Communion....." ¹⁴⁸

The taking of the veil and moving into a potential "state of perfection" was expressed at the ceremony as the beginning of a new life, which was marked by the sister taking a new name, usually that of a male canonised saint. The taking of this new name was another step toward the individual's loss of identity with the date that was once celebrated as her birthday being replaced by the saint's feast day. It was also thought that by taking and living by a previous male saint's example that the religious was able to assume a certain level of masculinity in her endeavours. It also reinforced the notion, as discussed in Chapter 1, that the only individuals truly fit to "serve God" were men and therefore a woman to live such a life, must as St Jerome had stated: "become a man". But this was not enough for the religious sister, as she was also required to emulate a particular woman, that of Mary the Mother of God who represented purity and goodness in its most absolute form. To this end every religious sister had included in the name that they took at profession the name of Mary. All religious sisters therefore bore the name Sister Mary X, for example, Sister Mary Theophane or when they were elevated to the role of Superior, Mother Mary Anslem.

The profession ceremony also theoretically marked her final severance from life outside the convent walls. According to McClay (1992), when a novice underwent the profession ceremony she entered "into a whole new lifestyle, with the taking of a new name, and the

donning of a new and distinctive dress. The ring the leather cincture, and the crucifix at one's waist showed the willingness to submit to this new order of things." ¹⁴⁹ Once professed a religious sister, her body became an object, a chattel that was owned by the Church to be "used" and "employed" in the same way as a soldier's body was "used" and "employed" by the state. Even in death her body was not returned to her family, rather like a soldier she was buried in plots that were specifically allocated for the burial of the bodies of religious sisters. In death therefore as in life her separation was final and her original identity buried with her.

REALITY OF RELIGIOUS LIFE

In her research on religious life, Turner (1988) found that the novitiate experience held painful memories for some while others were angry in relation to those who had been in authority over them. Some found the wearing of the habit very difficult to accustom themselves to while others felt that they were in prison when they were required to eat each course of their dinner out of the same tin bowl. Not only did a novice have to familiarise herself with wearing the habit of a religious sister, she also had to learn to cut out and make up every part of the religious sister's dress, economically and neatly. For some novices this may have proved quite difficult as they may have never learnt "functional" sewing as opposed to the fine needlework of embroidery. Such a labour would have been very time consuming and would have had to have been accommodated, in an already over-burdened timetable.

A sixty-four year old sister, who probably had joined her order in the thirties, described herself as "walking into another period of history... One of the most difficult things for me was the question of hygiene". ¹⁵⁰ We could have one bath a week and that was taken through the day in an allotted ten minutes. Another sister in her seventies had had the luxury

of a bath twice a week. By making these rules in relation to how often a sister was able to wash herself, the Church did not want to allow her the time to spend relaxing her body or being able to view it. Sisters in another order were given hot water in a dish each night, but by the time they were allowed to use it forty-five minutes later, it was cold, thus also denying them the "luxury" of warm water.¹⁵¹ Another sister said she had been officially allowed to change her clothes only twice a week.¹⁵² The fact that sister's oblations were strictly controlled would seem to be in direct contradiction to the sister's continual concern with cleanliness, particularly of their pupils.

The novices also found the strict regimentation of their day difficult to habituate themselves to. "Mass and prayers in common before breakfast",¹⁵³ followed by study, housework and prayers. Each beginning and ending at regulated times. The sisters were not allowed to decide when to retire to bed for the evening.¹⁵⁴ Physical work was extremely arduous, especially for the lay sisters, who were completely engaged in domestic work. "Structures were all important as was conformity and uniformity".¹⁵⁵ According to one novice who entered in the 1960's, "holiness in religious life boiled down to how well you could adjust yourself to be on time all the time".¹⁵⁶

As all postulants and novices were anxious to comply with the requirements of religious living, their anxiety operated to ensure that the training they received in the novitiate would in most cases, be effective. As one sister commented: "fear was always with me in the novitiate. It was the fear of doing the wrong thing, of being corrected".¹⁵⁷ From such remembrances, it would appear that some sisters lived their lives in an extremely stressful manner. As another sister who entered the convent in the twenties stated: "I felt a constant tension because everything had to be done in a certain way and in a great hurry: everything

was so important and I couldn't reconcile myself with the tension accompanying ordinary things such as preparing a breakfast for someone".¹⁵⁸ While another commented that she "was glad when I was in bed and safe from being hounded".¹⁵⁹

Another aspect of the novitiate which individuals found hard to adjust to was the lack of privacy - they did not like having their letters to and from their families read. Older sisters disliked the "Chapter of Faults" as they found it difficult to have to publicly state their faults then undertake the punishment that was imposed upon them.

The destruction of each religious' individuality was also something that some sisters found hard to come to terms with. One sister particularly commented on the fact that their femaleness was destroyed: ".... The things that made women most beautiful and the gifts they had, had to be destroyed. They made life hard for them. They tried to break them. They didn't trust them. It was a terrible shock to find that we were not encouraged to make friends".¹⁶⁰ And it must have been difficult for the individual to accept the fact that although she lived with other sisters in communal life, she was essentially corporeally on her own. The Church had very specific rules about one sister forming a friendship with another sister, for fear of lesbian relationships developing. "We had strict rules about relationships. No opportunity for communication between two or three sisters was given. When two sisters became friendly, they would be forbidden to speak to one another. That was devastating for young women, when they had no idea of the fear of lesbianism behind the command."¹⁶¹

Even recreation was designed to stop friendships developing - within some congregations the sisters unable to choose their companions always sat in order of seniority; within others, the sisters recreated in small groups that were constantly changed. "A sub-culture was

deliberately fostered. The novitiate was a time for learning to be a sister, especially in exterior behaviour. Natural courtesies such as greeting another sister with 'good morning' lapsed because of the requirement of silence".¹⁶² The novices were always aware of the constant gaze of the sisters - "even the way you stood while you were having morning tea was noted".¹⁶³ Perpetual surveillance as the novice found was a disciplinary "technology" that would remain with her for the rest of her life in the order. This religious culture contained Victorian features. A sister who was a novice in the thirties was told on the second day of her postulancy to take a bath wearing a chemise.¹⁶⁴ Even the sisters cells were open to constant monitoring. One sister recalls returning to her cell to find her clothes thrown over her bed. Later the novice mistress lectured her on the vanity of putting soap among her clothes.¹⁶⁵

The requirement of achieving perfection was not only applied to their spiritual life. Sisters recall that their superiors demanded "an impossible perfection of myself and others in little things. We regressed as women. We were treated as children and expected to do as we were told and not to think for ourselves. The world shrank to the boundaries of the convent and school, and we really didn't give thought to people outside." ¹⁶⁶ As another sister remarked, "we had to get permission to move from one room to another. It was no wonder that sisters saw themselves acting as robots or cogs in a machine". ¹⁶⁷ Initiative was also eradicated. A forty-eight year old sister recalled her experience - "When I left the novitiate I felt I could do nothing. Before I entered I played the piano in public concerts. After the novitiate it worried me to play the organ for hymns. I was so fearful of making mistakes". ¹⁶⁸ It is frightening to think at least from today's perspective that a two-year training period could affect a person's confidence in such a dramatic way.

Conclusion

It is apparent from the above that despite the difficulties of dedicating one's life to religion individuals were not deterred from entering and enduring the training that was necessary to become a "religious" sister. Apart from allowing them to develop their spirituality in a more complete and "perfect" way than their lay counterparts, it also allowed many of them to pursue a lifelong career in areas of employment that would not have ordinarily been available to them. As this chapter has explored the process of learning that an individual underwent to live according to the Rule of her chosen order and the vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, the next chapter will examine the training that they underwent to become a teacher who would ultimately hold within their hands the minds, bodies and souls of generations of children, which they were to construct into obedient and "docile" Catholics.

Chapter Notes

¹ Extract from the Sisters of Charity 1938 *Annals of Bethania* referring to the life of Isaac Joques a Jesuit priest and his novitiate

² Vicinus M; *Independent Women Work and Community for Single Women 1850-1920*, Virago Press, 1994, p. 48

³ Turner N; *Which Seeds Shall Grow?*, Collins Dove, 1988, p.18

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ MacKillop M; Quote from the Kangaroo *Letter* to Bishop Shiels, 10.9.1871

⁶ Vicinus M; *op.cit.*, p. 51

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ McGrath MS. *These Women? Women and Religious in the History of Australia The Sisters of Mercy Parramatta 188-1988*, New South Wales University Press, 1988, p. 119

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 115

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 117

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*, p.119

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Burstyn J N; *Victorian Education and the Ideal of Womanhood*, Croom Helm, 1980, p. 99

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 36

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 47

-
- ¹⁸ Oxley D; *Convict Maids The Forced Migrations of Women*, Cambridge University Press, 1996, p.180
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*
- ²⁰ *Ibid.*
- ²¹ *Rerum Novarum*, 1891, issued by Pope Leo XII
- ²² Tuana N; *The Less Noble Sex Science, Religion and Philosophical Conception of Women's Nature*, Indiana University Press, 1993, p. 75
- ²³ *Ibid.*
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*,
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*
- ²⁶ Allan in Tuana N; *op.cit.*, p. 76
- ²⁷ Vicinus M; *op.cit.*, p. 83
- ²⁸ Campion E, *Australian Catholics*, Penguin, 1987, p.106
- ²⁹ Sisters of St Joseph; *Constitutions*, 1874, p. 8
- ³⁰ *Ibid.*
- ³¹ Sisters of Mercy; *Guide for the Religious Called Sisters of Mercy*, Part III, 1888, p.425
- ³² *Ibid.*
- ³³ *Ibid.*, p. 426
- ³⁴ Letter from Mother McAuley to Reverend Gerald Doyle, September 5 1836
- ³⁵ Geser F; *Canon Law Governing Communities of Sisters*, B Herde Book Co., 1938, p. 193
- ³⁶ Turner N; *op.cit.*, p. 24
- ³⁷ McAuley C; *Thoughts from the Spiritual Conferences of Mother Catherine McAuley*, 1946
- ³⁸ McLay A; *Women Out of Their Sphere*, Vanguard Press, 1992, p. 396
- ³⁹ Foucault M; *Discipline and Punish The Birth of the Prison*, Penguin, 1977, p. 170
- ⁴⁰ *Ibid.*
- ⁴¹ Geser F; *op.cit.*, p. 195
- ⁴² McLay A; *op.cit.*, p.381
- ⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 380
- ⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 382
- ⁴⁵ *Catholic Standard* September 1878
- ⁴⁶ Geser F; *op.cit.* p. 194
- ⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 195
- ⁴⁸ Sisters of Mercy; *Directory*, Handwritten, no date, typed 1915
- ⁴⁹ Martin L H, Gutman H and Hutton P H; *Technologies of the Self A Seminar with Michel Foucault*, Massachusetts Press, 1988
- ⁵⁰ Sisters of Charity; *Constitutions*, based on Canon 565 of the Code of Canon Law, 1917
- ⁵¹ Canon 565.1
- ⁵² Geser F; *op.cit.*, p.24
- ⁵³ Vicinus M; *op.cit.*, p. 62
- ⁵⁴ Sisters of Mercy, *Directory*, Handwritten, typed 1915, p. 74
- ⁵⁵ Sisters of Charity; *Rules for the Mistress of Novices*, Handwritten, no date, p. 38
- ⁵⁶ Geser F; *op.cit.*, p. 303
- ⁵⁷ Turner N; *op.cit.*, pp. 24- 25
- ⁵⁸ Fay B; *Critical Social Science*, Cornell University Press, 1987
- ⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 148
- ⁶⁰ Fay B; *op.cit.*, p. 148
- ⁶¹ *Ibid.*
- ⁶² *Ibid.*, p.147
- ⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 148
- ⁶⁴ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p.147
- ⁶⁶ Danylewycz M; *Taking the Veil An Alternative to Marriage, Motherhood and Spinisterhood in Quebec 1840-1920*, McClelland and Stewart, 1987, p. 48

-
- ⁶⁷ Foucault M; *Discipline and Punish The Birth of the Prison*, 1977
- ⁶⁸ Carrette JR; *Foucault and Religion Spiritual Corporatality and Political Spirituality*, Routledge, 2000, p. 119
- ⁶⁹ Foucault M; *op.cit.*, p. 177
- ⁷⁰ Fay B; *op.cit.*, p. 149
- ⁷¹ *Ibid.*
- ⁷² *Ibid.*
- ⁷³ Geser F; *op.cit.*, p. 225
- ⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 226
- ⁷⁵ Canon 562 in Geser F; *op.cit.*, p. 227
- ⁷⁶ Sisters of Charity
- ⁷⁷ Geser F; *op.cit.*, p. 230
- ⁷⁸ *Ibid.* p. 231
- ⁷⁹ *Ibid.* p. 232
- ⁸⁰ *Ibid.*
- ⁸¹ Sisters of Charity; *Rules of Mistress of Novices*, handwritten, no date
- ⁸² Vicinus M; *op.cit.*, p. 50
- ⁸³ Geser F; *op.cit.*, p. 231
- ⁸⁴ Sister of Mercy; *Directory*, handwritten, typed 1915, p. 48
- ⁸⁵ Aikenhead K; quoted in *Annals of Bethania*, 1938, p.28
- ⁸⁶ Sisters of Charity; *Rules of Mistress of Novices*, p.14
- ⁸⁷ *Ibid.* p.7
- ⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 32
- ⁸⁹ Sisters of Mercy; *Directory*, handwritten, typed 1915, p. 81
- ⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 1
- ⁹¹ *Ibid.*
- ⁹² *Ibid.*
- ⁹³ *Ibid.*
- ⁹⁴ *Ibid.*
- ⁹⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁹⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 82
- ⁹⁸ *Ibid.*
- ⁹⁹ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰¹ Sisters of Charity; *Annals of Bethania*, 1930
- ¹⁰² Sisters of Mercy; *Directory*, p. 4
- ¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 25
- ¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p 22
- ¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 24
- ¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 26
- ¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 27
- ¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 29
- ¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*
- ¹¹¹ Sisters of Charity; *Rules for the Mistress of Novices*, Handwritten, no date, p. 26
- ¹¹² *Ibid.*
- ¹¹³ Sisters of Charity; *Custom Book,s* 1950
- ¹¹⁴ Idioguez F X; *Practices of the Novices of the Society of Jesus* , 1838, Chapter 12
- ¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*
- ¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*
- ¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*
- ¹¹⁸ Sisters of Charity, *Annals of Bethania*, 1929

-
- ¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*
¹²⁰ *Ibid.*
¹²¹ Idioguez F X; *op.cit.*, Chapter 17
¹²² *Ibid.*
¹²³ *Ibid.*
¹²⁴ *Ibid.*
¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, Chapter 13
¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, Chapter 18
¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, Chapter 15
¹²⁸ Sisters of Charity; *Pious Practices for the Observances of the Novices*, 1933
¹²⁹ *Ibid.*
¹³⁰ *Ibid.*
¹³¹ Sisters of Mercy; Directory, p.52
¹³² *Ibid.* p.56
¹³³ *Ibid.*, p.57
¹³⁴ Sister of Mercy; *Exposition of our Rule and Constitution as we have learned to understand and practice them*, 1865
¹³⁵ Sister of Mercy, Directory, 1915
¹³⁶ *Ibid.*
¹³⁷ *Ibid.*
¹³⁸ *Ibid.* p. 13
¹³⁹ *Ibid.*
¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 89
¹⁴¹ Sisters of Charity; *Rules for Mistress of Novices*, 1866
¹⁴² *Ibid.*
¹⁴³ *Ibid.*
¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*
¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*
¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*
¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*
¹⁴⁸ *Catholic Standard*, 23 January 1877
¹⁴⁹ McLlay A; *op.cit.*, p. 380
¹⁵⁰ Turner N; *op.cit.*, p. 26
¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*
¹⁵² *Ibid.*
¹⁵³ *Ibid.*
¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*
¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p.27
¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*
¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*
¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*
¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 28
¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 29
¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*
¹⁶² *Ibid.*
¹⁶³ *Ibid.*
¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 30
¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*
¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31
¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 31
¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 30

CHAPTER 4

Introduction

As the founders of the various religious Orders and the Church viewed the training of young women who entered their Orders as extremely important, so too did they view the preparation and training of those who were allocated the role of teaching in one of the Order's schools with similar importance. The individual religious sister, as we have previously seen, had throughout her novitiate period been specifically subjected to an extensive program that required her to internalise the various disciplinary regimes, which included learning to utilise an assortment of "technologies" that acted directly on the body and involved her being engaged in both "direct" and "indirect" somatic learning. The learning of corporeal control and restraint through the self-imposition of various "technologies" by the individual were an essential aspect of her training. It was particularly in the classroom and the school that the religious sister was to transmit this bodily control, to her students, inscribing it and leaving traces of it upon and within their bodies.¹

From the 1850's, there was a huge growth in the provision of education by various individuals and groups in society. As mentioned in Chapter 2, the Catholic Church was keen to be part of this growth and when it entered the field of educating its faithful, particularly those who belonged to the lower orders, it became pre-occupied with providing an educational system that enabled it to exercise a degree of control. This degree of control, it might be argued approached a level of oppression that according to Fay (1987) left "its traces not just in people's minds, but in their muscles and skeletons as well".² The architects of the Catholic education system were aware, as they had been in training individuals for religious life, of the potential influence and importance of

utilising the process of “direct” and “indirect” somatic learning in producing classrooms of individuals who would ultimately grow into obedient, “docile” and church-going Catholics. The Church, therefore, in order to meet this objective, realised that a religious who entered the classroom to teach, required specific training not only in effectively imparting knowledge in relation to subjects such as religion, English, history, geography, French and arithmetic, but also needed to be either consciously or unconsciously aware of the processes of “direct” and “indirect” somatic learning and be capable of imposing the various disciplinary “technologies”, that were essential to achieving this objective.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, the state and the Catholic Church had thoroughly entrenched their own brand of education, although the Catholic system in order to remain competitive adopted the standards set by the state in the teaching of secular subjects. As both institutions established their own schools, teacher training also became a priority for both. Initially, the state system employed individuals, mainly men,³ as teachers who had little systematic training and were only appointed on the basis that they may have excelled in their own schooling, or gained previous experience in the role of monitors or as pupil-teachers.

The religious teaching orders who opened schools, were generally better placed to provide a basic education, as the sisters who were sent out to teach, usually had come from the privileged classes and been educated in a European convent in the “polite accomplishments”. In time, both systems established formal training colleges with specific curriculums that prospective teachers were required to master. At all stages, in the education of children and young girls, religious teaching sisters played an important part, dedicating their lives to imparting not only secular knowledge but also Catholic

beliefs, values and morals. In order to provide a framework within which to review the provision of teacher training, particularly from the teacher training that was provided by the religious orders, I will begin this Chapter by briefly reviewing the teacher training that was provided by the State during the period 1860 to 1930. This review will enable the reader to gain an understanding for the context within which the religious teaching orders operated including providing insight on the constraints that were imposed upon them and the innovations that they themselves introduced in the area of teacher training and pedagogical methods.

TEACHER TRAINING AND THE STATE

Formal teacher training as provided by colleges was not introduced into the colony until the 1870's and 1880's. Prior to this time teacher training was based on an apprenticeship first through the monitorial system and later in the century through the pupil-teacher system. In both of these systems, students who showed potential from an academic and behavioural point of view were chosen to fill these roles. How many monitors or pupil-teachers actually went on to become teachers in the state system of education is not documented, although given the duties they were expected to perform it is likely that both systems operated to deter students from pursuing a teaching career.

Barcan (1980) states that the "first teachers were convicts" and "from about 1809 qualified teachers who were free, not convict, appear".⁴ The system of instruction that was first used was the "individual system" which according to Barcan, had been the "most common method of teaching".⁵ Under this system the teacher instructed the whole class in one room, which was usually located in his own home. Barcan does not refer to women offering such instruction, and Williamson (1983) argues that the

“feminisation” of the New South Wales teaching force unlike other countries such as Canada and the United States did not occur until the early twentieth century.⁶ The age of the children who attended the one room school varied, as did the level of the work they undertook. The children mainly sat at their desks carrying out private study most of the day. The only feedback each pupil received from the teacher was after he had heard them read or saw them write.⁷ This occurred three or four times a day. “It was a slow and inefficient method of teaching. However, each child did receive some individual attention, and classes were usually small”.⁸

The Monitorial System

The monitorial system, introduced into colonial New South Wales in the early 1800's by Reverend W P Crook at his Academy, was the “Lancastrian” monitorial system of teaching. The monitorial system had been developed by Joseph Lancaster, a Quaker, in Southwark, London in 1794. It catered for larger number of pupils meeting in one room or hall, but graded into classes according to the level of knowledge, which they had previously obtained. The teacher in charge or master therefore could teach more than one class at a time in a room, as he was assisted by a number of monitors, each of whom was responsible for a row of approximately ten pupils. At the commencement of each school day, the master explained to each of the monitors, what subject matter the children were to learn in each lesson. The monitors then returned to the row of children who had been allocated to them and taught them the same subject matter that they themselves had just learnt. Teaching aids were also used and a system of rewards and punishments was included in the method. Lancaster's monitorial system also provided non-denominational religious instruction. According to Barcan, Thomas Bowden introduced the “Lancastrian” monitorial system into the first public school in Sydney in

1812⁹ and was "the first substantial move to improve the teaching of poorer children in New South Wales".¹⁰

Not content to employ Lancaster's system, an Anglican churchman, Dr Andrew Bell developed in 1797, an alternative monitorial system of education, while working at the male asylums in Madras. This system was denominational employing the Church of England Catechism and placing less emphasis on rewards and punishments. The only reward that was offered for good work was promotion to a higher class. The number of pupils to a monitor was approximately twenty-five. In 1811, the Anglican bishops created the National Society for the Education of the Poor, which they hoped would spread Dr Bell's system and check the growth of Lancaster's schools, now organised under the auspices of the British and Foreign School Society.¹¹

In 1820, under the authority of Governor Macquarie, Earl Bathurst supported the introduction of the Bell's monitorial system into the national schools that had been established in the colony.¹² Bathurst in supporting the introduction of this system stated that it was best adapted for not only "securing the rising generation in New South Wales the advantages of all necessary instruction, but also in bringing them up in habits of industry, regularity and for implanting in their minds the principles of the Established Church....."¹³ This system of appointing monitors to assist with teaching and classroom management, Bathurst hoped would achieve the same results of educating the children of colonial New South Wales as it had in England. Reverend Thomas Reddall, who had spent nearly a year at the Central National School in London, was authorised by Bathurst to introduce Bell's system in New South Wales in 1820.

Both the National Society and the British and Foreign Schools Society, issued "elaborate manuals on precisely how every child was to stand and sit when learning his work cards, on what sized leather ticket must be worn on the breast from the monitor-general downward, and which particular form of religious instruction was essential for salvation".¹⁴ The precise detailing of how a child was to sit or stand and the attention to such minutiae as the size of the leather ticket that was to be worn on the breast of the monitors, emphasised the concern over the discipline of the body that was to be a feature of this and other systems of teacher training that were to follow. The monitorial system (as was the Catholic education system), was criticised for its emphasis on excessive memorisation, which was in itself another "technology" of discipline as students were discouraged from questioning what they were taught. Students were also constantly presented with so much information, that they did not have the time or inclination to question or analyse the information they were provided with or to learn how to critically evaluate the substance of the subject matter that they were instructed in. Despite these shortcomings Cleverley (1971) states, that the new teaching system was a distinct improvement on the "individual" method.¹⁵ "It made possible the division of a school into small groups and, with its emphasis on competition spurred by rewards and public disgrace, the system reduced reliance on threats of hellfire and beatings in the maintenance of order in the classroom".¹⁶

In 1844 the Lowe Select Committee on Education tabled its report in the New South Wales Legislative Council. Robert Lowe, in moving the motion for the formation of the Committee stated its purpose as being to: "inquire into and report upon the state of education in this colony, and to devise the means of placing the education of youth upon the basis suited to the wants and wishes of the community".¹⁷ Lowe was an adherent of

Jeremy Bentham's utilitarian doctrines and therefore believed that the diffusion of knowledge should be of the "useful" kind. ¹⁸ The main recommendations of the Committee included the establishment of a: central board to control the provision of education in the colony; system of inspection of public and denominational schools; Normal or "Model" School in Sydney to train teachers ¹⁹ and "that itinerant teachers should be appointed to cater for distant country areas". ²⁰ In January 1848, Governor Fitzroy set up two boards – the National Board of Education and the Denominational School Board. The purpose of the former Board was to establish, maintain and control a national elementary school system. The purpose of the latter was to allocate government funds to the Anglican, Presbyterian, Catholic and Methodist elementary schools. The National Board began almost immediately to locate and commence work on constructing or refurbishing a building that would be suitable as a "Model" School. The vacated military hospital at Fort Phillip was decided upon as the site for this work and by the end of 1848 "renovations were underway to fit it for its new function". ²¹

William Wilkins, who had recently arrived from England, was appointed as the first Head Master of the Fort Street Model School. Wilkins' pedagogical direction had been influenced by the years he had spent training to become a teacher at Battersea College, England of which Dr James Kay-Shuttleworth was co-founder and Principal. During his years as Principal of Fort Street Model School, Wilkins was to introduce many innovative methods to prepare and train individuals as teachers. Some of these developments and directions included "his promotion of and faith in the pupil-teacher system of training; his interest in pedagogical ideas largely as an eclectic and his zeal and efficiency as an administrator". ²² Unlike the teacher training institutions of the National Society and the British and Foreign Schools Society, which offered only a brief course for teachers in the

main elements of the monitorial system, the teacher training course at Battersea provided training not only in the disciplining of the child's body and the mind, but also embraced a number of the Pestalozzian principles of teaching, which were centred on encouraging the natural development of the child.

John Heinrich Pestalozzi was a German-Swiss educator who had been particularly influenced by Rousseau's pedagogical theories as outlined in his work *Emile*. Pestalozzi wrote a number of educational works including *How Gertrude Teaches Her Children*, a *Guide to Teaching Spelling and Reading* and a *Book for Mothers*, which contained a description of a particular method of teaching referred to as "object teaching". "The method of oral and object teaching developed by Pestalozzi was at that time quite revolutionary, as instruction of children was predominantly memorization of textbook matter".²³ Pestalozzi, unlike others before him who mainly relied on this method of imparting knowledge, focused his educational method on the belief that children's instincts developed in a natural and orderly manner, and that their mental capacities and powers could be greatly enhanced through the processes of observation, experimentation and reasoning.

According to Lewis (1990), "Kay-Shuttleworth's plan was to take student teachers into the classroom to train them in the art of teaching".²⁴ He advocated that individuals who desired to teach should be prepared to teach in "workhouse and district schools, for schools of industry, for schools which would reconcile the children of the poor to a life of honest toil, while tasting the delight of mental activity and religious community".²⁵ The subjects that Kay-Shuttleworth advocated should be taught in schools were largely

vocational and based on the list he recommended in his curriculum which was intended for boys. The subjects he listed included "mensuration, land surveying, mechanical knowledge, the keeping of simple accounts, drawing and design".²⁶ The reason he believed these subjects should be taught was similar to the reason that Mary MacKillop gave for only teaching her pupils the "basics" as "they were near the experience of the poor and admitted an abundant illustration of their life".²⁷ In Kay-Shuttleworth's scheme of education, the teaching of the secular subjects was subordinate to what he saw as the ultimate aim of education – "the foundation of moral and religious character".²⁸ His system of education was also extremely disciplined relying heavily on the use of timetables and "closely controlled by scheduled requirements. No moment of the school day was free from occupation, and rarely was any occupation free from supervision. While discipline was harsh, the teachers were always within view, giving assistance and advice".²⁹

As Kay-Shuttleworth had at Battersea, Wilkins at the Fort Street School emphasised the teaching of Scripture as well as drawing, music, geography, drill and gymnastics.³⁰ The Pestalozzian "object" lesson technique was applied to the teaching of a variety of subjects some of which had been part of the Battersea course – "properties of bodies, elementary mechanics, ...Christian politeness" and some which Wilkins introduced himself – "Drill and Gymnastics.... In them Wilkins saw the means both for the development of the physical well being of his pupils and for the promotion of 'good order' and a desirable moral tone throughout the school".³¹

The Pupil-Teacher System

Wilkins after observing the monitorial system of teaching concluded that this system appeared "to be defective in organisation, in discipline and in methods of teaching employed".³² He believed that this method and the pupil-recitation method were dogmatic. "They provided for 'no explanation and no questioning' to ascertain if the work was understood. Pupils were 'suppressed' in memorising their lessons, and thus were deprived 'legitimate outlet for their pent up energies of body and mind'".³³ The system that Wilkins propounded as an alternative to the monitorial system was the pupil-teacher system. Wilkins defined the role of the pupil-teacher in the following terms: "....a pupil-teacher (so called from the fact of his being occupied as a teacher while himself under instruction) is an apprentice to a schoolmaster. His functions are to attend to the minor details of school discipline and organisation, and according to his efficiency, to take charge of the instruction of one or more classes. After school, his own education, as part of the remuneration for his services, is conducted by the Master. In addition to this privilege he receives a certain salary, increasing annually. At the expiration of the period, the pupil-teacher is prepared to act most efficiently as assistant in a large School, and when his experience shall have been sufficiently matured, to assume the office of Master".³⁴ From this description there does not appear to be a great difference in the functions that monitors performed compared to pupil-teachers but unlike the monitorial system, there appears to be a more formalised career path for students who took up this apprenticeship, as they were in fact considered apprentice teachers, unlike monitors who were never considered in this way and chosen for the role even though they may not necessarily go on to become a teacher. Presumably, the

individuals who were chosen for the apprenticeship had excelled at their own schooling not only intellectually but also in their behaviour.

Despite the fact that individuals were appointed as pupil-teachers with the potential aim that they themselves would become teachers, their lives in the class-room was not easy. According to Austin (1961) the following is a description in the day in the life of a pupil-teacher which highlights the arduousness of their lives while undertaking their apprenticeship: "As a child of fourteen the Australian boy (or girl) was engaged by the Education Department at a salary of about 20 pounds per year and apprenticed to one of its headmasters..... In this employment he continued for four years, teaching a full day's work in the long school-room under the constant surveillance of the assistant teachers who had classes in the same room, and the occasional supervision of a perambulating headmaster. Before and after school he attended at the headmaster's office and undertook a study of reading, dictation, writing, English grammar and composition, geography, arithmetic and book-keeping. Once a year he sat for an examination and had his teaching ability assessed by an inspector; if he were successful he received an increment of 10 pound and his master received a bonus". ³⁵

Austin described the work of the pupil-teacher as being "dreary and exhausting". ³⁶ The system of apprenticeship was extremely demanding, with the pupil-teacher being constantly at the "beck and call" ³⁷ of the headmaster "who was anxious for his bonus". ³⁸ The pupil-teacher was also required to teach pupils that probably were not much older than he or she was and in some cases the behaviour of the pupils may have been

difficult to control, particularly when disciplining their peers. As with the religious sister, the pupil-teacher was not given time to think throughout the day, as they concentrated on learning the subject matter they were to teach, meeting the demands of a rigorous timetable, maintaining discipline in the class-room and inflicting punishment when necessary. They were also exposed to the constant surveillance of the headmaster and the pupils themselves. Pupil-teachers also faced the additional pressure of having to adequately pass examinations, so that the headmaster could receive his bonus.

Pupil-teachers themselves did not view the apprenticeship period very enthusiastically. To finish the apprenticeship would have taken not only extreme hard work and commitment, but also a great deal of determination and forbearance. Few teachers when they had completed their training as a pupil-teacher received further training. Once they were awarded their "Licence to Teach" they were appointed to positions in country New South Wales or became a headmaster, in similar circumstances to the school that they had just left. Only a few of the pupil-teachers managed to gain a place at the Sydney Teachers College, and once they had achieved this, Austin suggests, must have wondered whether it was worth all the hard work.³⁹ The system was criticised by some, but generally most educators of the day were in favour of retaining it, for a variety of reasons which included "the thoroughness of the practical training it gave".⁴⁰ But "its real attraction to Ministers, inspectors and headmasters lay in its cheapness and its success in producing a docile teaching service".⁴¹ A "docile" teaching force that would submit to direction from the state was just as important as producing "docile" students and religious sisters.

Teacher Training Colleges

Over thirty years after the opening of Fort Street Model School, the Hurlstone Training School began operating, with twenty-eight women students enrolled in January 1883. Its first Principal was Caroline Mallett. It was originally intended as a residential college for both male and female teacher trainees, but it was given over specifically to women when it was found that the premises would not accommodate both sexes. Prior to the opening of the College, (the term school and college were used interchangeably), all female trainees selected for formal teacher training, attended Fort Street Model School, with the male trainees. At Fort Street, up until 1882, "clear differences could be found in the training methods employed for women and men...." ⁴²

By the end of 1883 the Hurlstone Training College resembled, "as far as its comprehensive curriculum was concerned, the teacher training colleges in England, the only difference being the omission of science teaching...", ⁴³ which was regarded as not being a suitable subject for women to teach. The subjects that were taught at the College embraced the "polite accomplishments" curriculum and included "English literature, geography, reading and elocution, domestic economy, which covered the subjects of household management, cookery and needlework. Other subjects which were taught included arithmetic, grammar, history, French, drawing, music and drill". ⁴⁴ Women were not instructed on teaching mathematics until 1885 when this subject together with mensuration was introduced into the College's curriculum, as a result of girls being allowed to sit for the University Exams. In 1889 Latin, algebra and euclid were added, with the introduction of Latin enabling students to matriculate. ⁴⁵ Hurlstone Training College for women trainee teachers continued to operate until 1906 when it

was closed and effectively replaced by Sydney Teachers College, which both men and women were able to attend from 1907.

The Probationary Teacher Training System and Sydney Teacher's College

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the educational theories of J F Herbart had been resurrected and modified by a number of individuals. Neo-Herbartian pedagogy, in line with the educational thinking of the time, emphasised the moral purpose of education, and literature and history were regarded as the subjects, which would be the most "useful vehicle for (this) moral inculcation".⁴⁶ A third area of study, which the neo-Herbatians regarded as useful for conveying its philosophy was "science and the study of the natural world.....All three subjects appealed to those who were anxious to develop a national spirit".⁴⁷

The neo-Herbartian method of education was transported to New South Wales by Peter Board, G H Knibbs, J W Turner and A Mackie – who all had attended the Pedagogical Seminary of the neo-Herbatians of Rein and Ziller in Germany. Board was appointed as the first Director of Education in New South Wales, after he had completed a report on the New South Wales education system. Contemporaneously, Knibbs and Turner also prepared a report recommending similar changes to the New South Wales education system as Board had. Part of the recommendations included the replacement of the pupil-teacher training system with the probationary teacher training system, as the pupil-teacher method of training was not seen as adequate enough to introduce what were regarded as the more sophisticated neo-Herbartian principles of learning. "The

Herbartian curriculum and methods required older, more mature and better educated teachers, trained in psychological and educational principles".⁴⁸

The probationary teacher-training system was tried as a replacement to the pupil-teacher system. Pupils who had turned fourteen were selected at the end of primary school as probationary teachers and were admitted to a two-year course in one of the state's district schools. In the first year of study students were required to enroll in academic subjects. In the second year students gained some experience of actual teaching, by preparing and delivering classes to school students. Those students who successfully completed this training and satisfactorily passed an examination went to Sydney Teachers College to undertake further study, while others who did not follow this path, were appointed to schools as junior assistants. The subjects they were required to pass in this examination included: reading, writing, dictation, English, mathematics, geometry, geography, drawing and either Latin, French or German. The minimum age of entry to the College was seventeen.

Sydney Teachers College

The College was managed by a male Principal, who was assisted by the Warden for Women Students. The role of the Warden was to supervise the female students, ensuring that an appropriate level of moral behaviour was maintained. The provision of such supervision was regarded as essential if parents were to allow their daughters to attend the College and the moral reputation of the College was to be maintained. The first woman appointed to the position of Warden for Women Students was Miss E Mallarky.⁴⁹ In examining the records of the College it would appear that from its earliest days of

operation, that women attended the College in almost the same numbers as men, so the concern with providing a moral environment was a very real one. The Warden for Women Students at Sydney Teachers College, may have possibly fulfilled a similar role to the Mistress of Novices in the convent in terms of maintaining surveillance over the female students. Her task however, would have been more onerous as the College was co-educational and the women who attended the College were not separated from the outside world as the novices were.

The subjects taught at the College when it first opened included: education, English language and literature, history, mathematics, French, Latin, physics and chemistry, nature study, geography, music and voice training and manual training.⁵⁰ All lecturers except the lecturer for English language and literature were men, with these two subjects, which would have formed part of the "polite accomplishment" curriculum of the previous century, being taught by Miss E Mallarky (MA) and Miss E Skillen (BA).⁵¹ Miss Mallarky with the qualification of Master of Arts would have been particularly well qualified for a woman at this time. As with the girls' secondary colleges, the Teaching College employed visiting lecturers to teach classes in school and personal hygiene (a male and female teacher respectively), art work (2 males and a female), sewing (female), French (male) and physical training (male).⁵² There was a kindergarten course at the College, which covered the subjects of theory of education, kindergarten and sub-primary method, constructive work and adopting the educational theories of Pestalozzi, mother play and games.⁵³ All of the subjects in the kindergarten course were taught by women as they were considered generally by society, as the natural educators of very young children. The subjects offered at the College over the next thirty years varied and basically reflected the changes in the school curriculum, which in turn reflected the

changes in society and the demands of a rapidly growing workforce and economy. The teaching of science was well entrenched in the College curriculum by 1943.

The probationary teacher training system was abandoned in 1913 in favour of the prior training system. According to Barcan (1980), New South Wales was more advanced than other states in implementing this reform.⁵⁴ Under this system, primary teachers were trained at the Teachers' College. Future secondary teachers went to the University, on a scholarship from the Teachers' College and after graduating, completed a further year enrolled in a Diploma of Education course. This course had been established in 1911. Apart from attending classes in the subjects of the curriculum, students were also required to undertake a period of practice teaching.

Demonstration lessons similar to the ones that Mother Mary MacKillop had initiated in her teacher training program, were also given to teacher trainees at the College. Students were not only required to maintain records of these lessons but they were also required to pay particular attention to such points as the subject matter and aim of the lesson and to ascertain the main steps involved in the development of a lesson. Practice sessions were also regarded as an extremely important component of the teacher training program as it was during this time that the trainee teacher learnt how to maintain discipline and control over a class. They also learnt the bodily demeanour they should assume while teaching, thus providing a suitable example to their future students.

The state realised that in order to successfully implement a "universal" education system it was necessary to ensure that its teachers were appropriately and uniformly trained and that once standards had been agreed upon they were adhered to and constantly

monitored. The state in opening the Fort Street Model School had catered for the training of individuals in a limited way and the pupil-teacher system had also provided for limited training. But it was not really until the establishment of colleges such as the one at Hurlstone and then later Sydney Teachers College that teacher education was recognised as a profession that required formal and separate training. The religious orders realised the importance of having teachers who themselves were adequately educated by recruiting women who had mainly received a "polite accomplishment" education and were therefore equipped to train pupils from the poorer classes initially and later girls from the middle and upper classes. They were also, as in the case of Mother McAuley, extremely innovative in opening training colleges for teachers as early as the 1830's and Mother MacKillop in attempting to ensure that her sisters were adequately trained provided them with Night School from the 1880's.

CATHOLIC TEACHER TRAINING

"The refinement of manners which naturally characterise ladies by birth and education is one of the striking features on entering Convent schools after leaving a school of any other description. This refinement is heightened by love for work undertaken rather as a religious duty than as a professional occupation. This constitutes, as far as I was able to trace, one of the chief elements in the attractive forces of convent schools".⁵⁵

As Smyth (1994) has noted as the education of children from the lower orders and girls formed the essential work of the Orders under review, all of the foundresses included within the Rules, Constitutions and other documents of their Order, references to what was expected of a teaching religious sister and her role in a Catholic school.⁵⁶ All of the foundresses also realised from the outset, the importance of ensuring that if a religious

was to be appointed as a teacher in one of their schools then she should not only be familiar with what were the necessary characteristics of a good teacher but also be adequately trained. Women, who joined the Sisters of Charity and Sisters of Mercy as choir sisters in the Orders' earliest days, usually came from the middle and upper classes having received an education in the "polite establishments", thus they had acquired a certain amount of knowledge and were considered adequately equipped to teach. Once the sisters had established their schools they envisaged that the girls who they appointed as monitors and later as pupil-teachers would also one day decide to follow a religious teaching vocation and it was hoped that their training as monitors or pupil-teachers would prepare them for this role. As mentioned in Chapter 3, the Sisters of Mercy and Sisters of St Joseph also established juniorates, where girls who the sisters believed had the potential to become a religious teaching sister were separated from the normal school population and exposed to religious life in a limited way. All of the Orders under review, had very specific instructions on what was expected of a religious who taught, with sisters constantly being reminded of their responsibility to produce obedient, "docile" and God-fearing Catholics.

When the Orders established teacher training colleges these were attended both by individuals who would pursue a career as a lay teacher in a Catholic school and also by individuals who would go on to become a religious or who were already in training as a novice. These institutions were established by the Church because they believed "the type of education for children and the type of preparation for teachers provided by the state lacked what... (the Church) regarded as an essential and fundamental element, namely, the teaching of religion".⁵⁷ Initially "these organisations were free to develop

their own programmes of preparation without" interference from the state, " ⁵⁸ some state supervision of their work was introduced in Victoria in 1905 when the Victorian Government...set up a system of registration whereby all teachers... in that state were required to be registered, and, consequently, to satisfy certain prescribed standards". As will be discussed below, the requirements of the Victorian legislation was to have an effect on teacher colleges operating in New South Wales as "teachers prepared in New South Wales were sent to teach in schools in Victoria". ⁵⁹

Before moving on to an examination of the teachers' colleges established by the Orders, I will in the next section of this Chapter, detail what particular qualities were expected by the Orders in their religious teaching sisters and the provision of teacher training by the Sisters of Charity, the Sisters of Mercy and the Sisters of St Joseph. All of the foundresses were concerned with ensuring that their sisters were adequately trained, particularly in relation to setting an appropriate example for the pupils they were teaching. The sisters it would seem were very aware that children learnt not only by verbal communication but that learning also occurred somatically, infiltrating the body.

Sisters of Charity

As mentioned in Chapter 2, when the founding Sisters of Charity arrived in the colony they brought with them, a manual of teaching and school management that was to guide them in the establishment of their early schools. This manual was titled the *School Government Book* and contained exact instructions on all aspects of school life, including what "virtues" were necessary for a religious sister to be a good teacher. The twelve "virtues" ⁶⁰ of a good teacher, according to the manual were similar to the

“virtues” necessary to be a good religious sister and included: “gravity, prudence, wisdom, patience, reservedness, mildness, zeal, vigilance, piety and generosity”.⁶¹

Apart from these “virtues” the sister in her teaching was also expected to possess and employ the following attributes, “technologies” and behaviours to ensure that she was an effective teacher and an appropriate role model:

1. “Prayer: As all talents come from God, she frequently asks in holy prayer, those which are necessary for enlightening and instructing others. She should offer communions for this intention and should invoke the assistance of the Blessed Virgin and of the Holy Angels and recommend to them the labour and difficulties of her employment.
2. Eveness of manner: She should endeavour to acquire a perfect eveness of manner and temper which consists in being always the same, in all occasions under all circumstances. The eveness is indispensably necessary in order to acquire and maintain a salutary ascendancy over youth.
3. Silence: To conduct a school well silence must be strictly observed, the Sister should therefore speak only on important subjects, and in a low tone of voice. And if she has to speak of some fault or to give any public direction, she shall consider well what she is going to say that she may not speak more than necessary, or if not expedient, to refrain altogether from what she intended to say rather than break silence from something not important.
4. Good example: Nothing has greater influence on the human mind than example. She ought to suffer a word to escape her which is not calculated to edify the scholar, nor to perform any action which may not be model for their imitation. She cannot be too circumspect before them. They will insensibly imbibe their lessons of virtue which should give them her conduct.
5. Vigilance: She is bound to have a continual close watch over the conduct of children. If they think her eye is on them this will generally suffice to keep them to their duty.
6. No exception of persons: All the scholars should be equally dear to the Mistress. She should not then attach herself particularly to some in such a manner as to neglect others or excite jealousy, but all according to their virtue and diligence should be

commended and rewarded at the same time, all caresses and other demonstrations of tender affection are to be avoided. An air of affability, a lack of approbation, praise reasonably given will always encourage and delight a child without exposing her to go beyond the bounds of respect, the ordinary effect of familiarity.

7. Gratuitous Instruction: Impressed with the noble idea of gratuitous instruction, a Sister ought not to receive presents from the scholar or from their parents. Her firmness on this point ought to be inflexible if she wish not to act impartially and to preserve a reputation for integrity in the discharge of her duty.
8. Uniformity in the Manner of Teaching: Uniformity in the manner of teaching should be strictly observed. This is of great importance: everything should be performed at the time and in the manner prescribed. The same signs, the same manner of teaching, spelling, reading, writing and arithmetic, the same method of teaching catechism and prayers and the same manner of dismissing children should be used in all the schools. The Government should be the invariable rule.
9. Constant Attendance in the School: The presence of the Mistress is so necessary to preserve order in the School and to keep the scholars to their duty, that she should not absent herself without indispensable necessity. She should always attend to the exercises actually performing and never occupy herself with extraneous matters. A zealous sister of Charity will ever prefer her duty to any other object. She cannot lose or mispend her time in school without being guilty of injustice to her scholars to whose instruction she should devote all her time". ⁶²

Father Studyo who was a spiritual advisor to the Order also suggested the following "exterior conduct that was expected of a Sister of Charity while working in their schools:

"The means we are bound to use of in order to do all in our power to succeed are:

1. Strictly to observe the standard of studies;
2. The directions of the superior;
3. The customs of the particular school;
4. To avoid all singularity arising from the novelties and innovations though not in the manner and perfection of observing the foregoing.

What the pupils should think of us:

1. That we are good servants of God, scrupulously just;
2. That we are perfect masks of what we are teaching;
3. That we love them and are interested in their success;
4. That we are sacrificing ourselves through no mercenary or interested motives but solely through love for God and their souls.

How are we to convince them of these facts?

1. By always acting on principle with them and by teaching them to do so in their studies, spiritual duties, etc, by never allowing ourselves to be actuated by passion or partially, and by convincing them by word and example that we would not do the least injustice to them for a thousand words; if we convince though we should make a mistake they will attribute it to the right cause, whereas if we fail in this they will put uncharitable constructions on our greatest sacrifice.
2. We should study the lessons for class, particularly when they are easy, since we shall thus prove to God that we are actuated by a sense of our duty and not by necessity, when they are difficult. Never put off the preparation of lessons to the last moment, but even study some days in advance.
3. We should seek to love our class as if God himself had directly given them to our charge (as He really has by means of our superiors), If we love them we will find many little plans of getting them on, which they will not fail to find out and appreciate. A teacher could not be indifferent about gaining the love and esteem of her class, since the greater glory of God requires that she should do all in her power to gain the hearts and thus more easily direct both mind and heart".⁶³

This list of requirements that a Sister of Charity was expected to employ in teaching the children in her care clearly reflects the requirements of the Rule under which religious sisters lived. Such a reflection can be seen in her total deferment to God by her continual praying to Him requesting His assistance in such areas as: always attending school and arriving punctually; performing her teaching duties adequately; ensuring the maintenance of uniformity in every aspect of her daily teaching life; not showing any emotion and always appearing the same in front of the children; ensuring that silence was strictly observed; providing an appropriate role model, continually supervising and monitoring the behaviour of the children, particularly their bodily behaviour; ensuring that she treated all the children in the same way and not forming "particular friendships" with any of them . It was the emphasis on adopting these disciplinary "technologies" and aspects of somatic learning that religious teaching sisters were to pay particular attention to throughout the teaching day that as indicated by the quote from the Powis Commission referred to at the beginning of this section, essentially differentiated Catholic schools from non-Catholic ones.

In the elementary school, which Mother Mary Aikenhead opened in Gardiner Street, Dublin in the 1830's, there were up to 600 children in attendance. The children were divided into four classrooms, which would have meant on average a classroom of 150 children. There was one sister in charge of each room, who was assisted by one other teacher. "The large numbers in the class, the absence of methods for regulating simultaneously the activity of a whole class, and the disorder and confusion that followed from this made it necessary to work out a system of supervision".⁶⁴ To assist in establishing this system of supervision and constant observation, "merit-ticket" monitoresses were appointed. They were referred to in this way, as they were paid in

tickets rather than with money. At the end of the month the tickets were converted to money - with 20 tickets equalling one penny. Tickets were also awarded to children who swept the floor, or behaved well. Monitoresses lost tickets for being absent and both monitoresses and children lost tickets for misconduct. The fact that monitoresses were treated in a similar way to pupils, in terms of the issuing of rewards and punishment indicated that the status of monitoress was not viewed much differently to that of the pupil.

The *School Government Book* also specified rules for the conduct of the monitoress in class. These rules directed that the monitoress was to chastise a child – “in a low voice...”, ⁶⁵ that she was to keep “great silence and order in her class” ⁶⁶ and that she was never to receive a gift from any child. The enforcement of “great silence and order..” ⁶⁷ must have been extremely difficult given the number of children in the class and the background of the children who attended. The rules that monitors were expected to adopt in the classroom recall the type of life that the sisters lived in the convent and how the sisters were expected to translate the disciplinary environment of the convent into the classroom.

Monitoresses and sub-monitoresses were chosen from the best-behaved children in the class. To each of these children were allocated one of the various “officer” roles which covered such tasks as – “intendants, observers, monitors, tutors, reciters of prayers, writing officers, receivers of ink, almoners and visitors. The roles thus defined were of two kinds: the first involved material tasks (distributing ink and paper, giving alms to the poor, reading spiritual texts on feast days, etc.), the second involved surveillance: ‘observers must observe who left his bench, who was talking, who did not have his

rosary or Book of Hours, who did not comport himself properly at Mass, who committed an improper act, who indulged in idle talk or was unruly in the street".⁶⁸ The *School Government Book* instructed that a monitoress was to be "appointed whose duty it is to take care of the requirements of the school and arrange them for the use of the children at the proper times".⁶⁹ Examples of the type of work that monitoresses in the Sister of Charity schools performed included "putting out chalk for each circle (of children)"⁷⁰ leaving out the required reading books for each lesson, putting out copy books and ink bottles.⁷¹ The main function of the monitoress however was to maintain order and discipline by ensuring the students: were readily supplied with the necessary equipment to facilitate their learning, that the rigid routine of the daily timetable was consistently adhered to and that the children were continually subject to ongoing surveillance. According to Foucault (1977), "it was through the ongoing, hierarchized, continuous and functional surveillance"⁷² that discipline and control in the classroom was maintained and functioned "largely in silence"⁷³ and was therefore able to exercise a "hold over the body".⁷⁴

Apart from monitoresses being allocated specific roles and functions, a hierarchical system of monitorial authority was also developed. Such a system reinforced the ongoing surveillance that began with God and ended with the individual pupil eventually learning to constantly monitor his or her own behaviour. To ensure that the individual achieved the required level of self-monitoring a hierarchical structure of surveillance operated within the class-room. After the sister-in-charge and the sister that assisted her there was a monitoress-general then various monitoresses and sub-monitoresses all of which had authority over the pupils in their class to some degree. The children therefore, as in the convent were under continual surveillance or "gaze", if not by one of the sisters

themselves then by someone who had been appointed to fill this role. To assist in her surveillance and to reinforce the notion that she was in a position of authority, the monitoress-general was provided with an elevated seat and desk quite separate from the rest of the children in the class. The design of particular pieces of furniture and how they were positioned in the classroom were part of the system of disciplinary “technologies” and one of the elements that contributed to the process of “direct” somatic learning which will be explored further in Chapter 8.

The duties of the monitoresses were set out in Chapter 3 of the *School Government Book*, a reading of which highlights that each minute of the school day was accounted for in an exact and detailed way. The school day for the monitoresses and sub-monitoresses began at 9.30 am. The children commenced school punctually at ten o’clock, at which time they moved from their desks and formed semi-circles around the sub-monitoress. Each circle of children was supervised by a monitoress and sub-monitoress.⁷⁵

The *School Government Book* specifically set out the training that monitoresses were to receive to prepare them to effectively assist in the teaching of each class. This preparation included instruction not only in relation to maintaining discipline and order in the classroom but also how to assist the pupils to learn such important and basic skills as reading. In order to prepare them for such “teaching” duties, the monitoresses were provided with special lessons in the mornings before classes commenced and also on Saturdays. Upon arrival at school both the monitoresses and sub-monitoresses assembled around the sister’s desk and reviewed the subjects that were to be taught that day.⁷⁶ While the monitoresses were repeating the lessons for that day, the sub-monitoresses

learnt for ten minutes the day's list of spelling words, which was the first class of the day.

Once the sub-monitoresses were delivering the spelling lesson to their pupils, the monitoresses again assembled around the sister's desk to receive instructions in reading, which was the next class. Before the monitoresses could assist with the reading lesson, they themselves had to be taught how to read. The method for teaching the monitoresses to read was similar to the method employed for teaching the Catechism - the question and answer approach. The children were asked questions by the sister on the chapter of a text that had been read the previous day being expected to provide the correct answer from memory. Once the questions were finished, the chapter for that day was read, the sister reading the first sentence and the monitoresses following in order, reading from one period to the next. As soon as the chapter was completed, the sister corrected any mispronunciations made by the monitoresses and informed them of where the emphasis should be laid the next time the chapter was read. In this way a lesson was provided not only on the contents of the book being read, but also on English pronunciation. Once this was completed the monitoresses were then required to read the chapter correctly, a second time.

The time that was devoted to the intellectual improvement of the monitoresses was regarded as very important part of the educational process for as the *School Government Book* stated "the progress of the children depended on the Monitoresses' degree of improvement and conscientious discharge of their duty".⁷⁷ The progress of the pupils as measured by the results that they achieved were continually observed and if any circle of pupils in the class was continually deficient, the sub-monitoress who was responsible for assisting them with their learning was removed from her position. It is clear from the

preceding discussion that both the monitoresses and sub-monitoresses must have constantly been under a great deal of pressure to not only adequately learn and master the subject matter of the day ahead of them but also to perform so that the pupils who they were responsible for manifested advancements in their learning.

It is clear also that the monitorial system provided some initial training for those individuals who desired to become teachers when their own formal schooling was completed. It particularly provided the opportunity for children of the lower orders who achieved in their lessons and exhibited the appropriate behaviour to move beyond the working class type of employment that would have been open to them, had they not received an education in the basics and been trained in this way. Unfortunately, there are no statistics available on how many children who were appointed as monitors went on to become teachers and/or religious teaching sisters. But undoubtedly as with the students who were encouraged to attend the later established juniorates or fostered as potential religious teaching sisters while boarding, the sisters would have appointed those children who they believed had some potential to become teachers and teaching religious in the future.

It would appear on the information available from the research that I have undertaken that the Sisters of Charity as with the other Orders under review continued to employ the monitorial system for a longer period of time than the State in its public schools. Eventually however, the monitorial system was replaced in the Sisters of Charity schools by the pupil-teacher system, which was similar in operation to the state system.

Sisters of Charity Teacher Training College

A Training College for educating Catholic teachers was opened in 1898 by the Sisters of Charity. The Training College was strategically located in Rockwell Street, Potts Point overlooking the convent grounds. The reason for its location was clear and did not escape the observation of commentators of the time as an article in the *Freeman's Journal* of 1896 states: "many girls trained in this college will become permanently attached afterwards to a convent or a convent school".⁷⁸ The main purpose of the College, apart from providing a potential source of novices was to train female teachers for the Catholic primary school system, which Cardinal Moran and the Plenary Council of the Catholic Church saw as essential if Catholic students were to receive a truly Catholic education. Apart from educating them in religious studies, Moran and the Church believed that potential teachers should be provided with a suitable English education, as well as trained in the theory and practice of teaching.

The Reverend Mother of St Vincent's College who was also appointed to the position of Principal of the Teacher Training College, inspected similar teacher training colleges in Europe, prior to the College's opening. Some of the colleges that she visited included the Sisters of Mercy Training School in Baggot Street, Dublin; the Training College of the Sisters of Notre Dame, Liverpool; St John's College, Waterford and St Patrick's Training College, Drumcondra. Based on what she observed at these colleges, a system of training teachers was developed for the Sisters of Charity Teacher Training College. The course was intended to train young women so that they were capable of teaching in any school, at any location and to prepare them to undertake university exams if they wished to do so. To assist in achieving these goals, the trainee teachers were required to not only attend classes at the College but also prepare and deliver practice lessons in the

various schools conducted by the Sisters. Subjects which were not directly related to teaching were also included in the timetable and were provided for students who were desirous of undertaking university exams.

Attached to the Training College was a School of Music. Students while attending the College could reside there and day students could attend music and other special classes. Music was taught to students either in classes or privately. Apart from music classes, courses were also offered in declamation and elocution. The teaching of music by the Sisters of Charity, as with the Sisters of Mercy was a very important part of the Sisters of Charity curriculum. It was regarded as an excellent subject not only from the aspect that the individual was required to continually practise, but also for developing the senses and disciplining the body, as students learnt the appropriate way in which to sit, position their hands and hold their instrument or control their voice.

The object of the Training College was to "train and qualify teachers to carry on the work of education in the Catholic Primary Schools, and to specially train and qualify candidates desirous of entering Religious Orders". ⁷⁹ The Rules of the College were as follows:

- "
1. The term of which the candidate will spend in the College will be three to five years, as the case may require.
 2. A trial of six months will be required, at the expiration of which, if the candidate shows an aptitude for teaching and gives general satisfaction, an agreement will be drawn up, which will be signed by the candidate and her guardians.
 3. On her first entrance the candidate will undergo an examination in accordance with the Fifth Class Standard of Proficiency.
 4. A thorough knowledge is required of Religion, English, French, Mathematics,

Physics, Botany, Ancient and Modern History, class Singing, Needlework and Domestic Economy.

5. Extras – Music, Painting and Drawing.
6. Every facility will be afforded to the candidate to acquire practical skill.
7. At the close of the term, Certificates of Proficiency will be awarded to candidates who have obtained the maximum number of marks in different grades.
8. A thoroughly organised School of Music, Vocal, Instrumental and Theoretical, will be at the disposal of one who possesses more than ordinary musical talent”.

80

Once again, there are no statistics available on the number of individuals who attended the Sister of Charity Teacher College and went on to become not only teachers but also religious teaching sisters. The Training College however, was as mentioned above, definitely another potential source of novices for the Order. Whether individuals who had joined the Order as novices went to the College with secular students is also unclear, but if they did not it would appear that the Order required girls to obtain their teacher training prior to their entry to the Order as a novice. In this way the sisters were able to minimise the potential cost of training an individual not only as a teacher but also as a religious. The Training College would also have provided another testing ground for individuals who were considering the religious life as some of the Rules outlined above, were similar to the Rules of entry into religious life. For example the trial period of six months at the College was similar to the postulancy period which an individual was required to serve before she was accepted into the novitiate. She was also required at the end of this time to prepare an agreement that would presumably bind her to the Order in some way, perhaps in a way that was similar to the temporary vows a religious agreed to prior, to taking her perpetual vows. As with entry into the novitiate, potential

trainees were required to undertake an exam and meet a certain standard of achievement.

It is unclear how successful this Training College was but the Sisters of Charity records indicate that another Teacher Training College was established by the Order in 1912. This second College, opened as a result of a direction by Archbishop Kelly, was different to the first one that the Sisters had established, in that it met Kelly's requirement that it be opened specifically in connection with the Order's novitiate "Bethania" and obtained recognition from the Victorian Education Department in 1913. Kelly also directed that the novices did not begin their teacher training until the second year of their novitiate. From its opening the novitiate was located at Potts Point. It was transferred to Wahroonga in 1955.

The curriculum followed at the College was similar to the curriculum offered at Sydney Teacher's College, with the exception that trainees were required to attend classes in religion. In the first year of study at the Training College the curriculum included Christian doctrine, scripture and ascetical studies, English expression and literature, mathematics, art, handwork, physiology and hygiene, natural science, needlework, speech training, physical education and music. During the second year students were lectured in Christian doctrine and method of teaching Christian doctrine, psychology and child study, general principles of education, English literature, history of education, and the primary and infant method of teaching. The list of subjects that trainees were required to study indicates that the sisters were familiar with Petzallozi's principles of education, particularly in relation to providing them with some knowledge of psychology and child study. There were also various elective subjects offered and students also

participated in demonstration classes and when they were considered ready, delivered “practice” lessons themselves.

Sisters of Mercy

Mother McAuley from the moment that she established her first schools was aware of the importance of staffing these schools with sisters who could adequately perform as teachers. From the outset she chose teachers who she believed possessed the requisite personality, education and talent to teach effectively. Mother McAuley required a high level of competence in her teachers and it was an axiom of hers that “to teach well, kindness and patience, though indispensable will not suffice without the solid foundations of a good education and a judicious method of imparting knowledge”.⁸¹ She stressed the importance of the women who entered the Order as choir sisters, who would ultimately take on the role of teachers in her schools as being educationally abreast of the times – “education and accomplishments of a high order are very desirable in a religious”.⁸² But even more important than a sister having achieved a high level secular education was for a sister to have attained a deep understanding of the “science of Saints”.⁸³ A sister in order to be an effective teacher in a Mercy school was required to have “studied Jesus Christ and formed her mind on His example” (otherwise) “she is nothing in His eyes and wants all in wanting the Science of the Saints”.⁸⁴

That the Rule of the Order was to inform the approach to teaching employed by the sisters is indicated by Mother McAuley’s statement that her sisters were to teach “with the dispositions pointed out in our Holy Rule”.⁸⁵ Her sisters were always to “be mindful of humility since the duty of instructing and saving, as it were the souls of children is a divine employment, the same that engaged Jesus Christ on earth, it requires a great deal

of humility".⁸⁶ They were not to look for praise or personal gratification in their teaching rather they were to solely concentrate on working to please God. Mother McAuley believed that a religious entered a school with immense advantages over any secular teacher. "Their Catholic pupils will have heard of religious as being extolled as saints a 1,000 times and there are few Catholic families who did not contribute a member of their family. Even Protestants send their children to Catholic schools by the very fact that they do not credit the wretched libels they hear from the pulpit and their children themselves feel for the Religious habit a sort of instructive reverence, for which they cannot account. But among most Catholics at least, to act like a hero, to endure like a martyr, to pray like a saint and to be perfectly impervious to the assaults of passions, is held to be the normal state of religion. Not only do they regard persons consecrated to God as being above human vices, but also above human weaknesses, they look on them as impeccable and canonize them in their hearts at first glance. Our very dress assures the children that we are separated totally but honourably from the world, that we might devote ourselves the more unreservedly to their education and that for their sakes we have broken nature's dearest ties, and renounced forever the sinless charms of a happy home".⁸⁷

The Custom and Guide of the Mercy Order directed the sisters to treat each child so that she feels that the sister has a sincere interest in her as an individual. The sister's manner, teaching sisters were informed should be "motherly and free from all partiality and familiarity: and she is warned that she is "not likely to extend the reign of Christ in the school or indeed anywhere by a cold, unsympathetic, stiff or chill manner".⁸⁸ This requirement would seem to be opposite to the manner in which sisters were expected to treat each other and how were sisters expected to act motherly if they had never

experienced motherhood themselves? Mother McAuley believed that to behave motherly was an innate instinct. She was also aware that to ensure that discipline existed in the schools it was necessary to ensure that the teacher had also acquired the correct demeanour and bodily discipline. The Customs and Guide informed the sisters "...each sister must acquire self-possession and calmness of manner. An impetuous, irritable, unsubdued sister who has little control over herself can never hope to subdue, influence or correct others. The sister who has acquired calmness, forethought and self-possession will not require what is unreasonable or unjust. She will govern with kindness and determination that will inspire the children with respect for authority and lead them to obey readily. Among the qualities that are necessary to a successful teacher are cheerfulness, sincerity, understanding of human nature and consideration for feelings of others even for those of the youngest pupils".⁸⁹

Another characteristic that Mother McAuley saw as essential in her teachers was that they possessed the ability to convey information or instructions to their pupils as simply as possible, because "experience proves that the simplest instructions are the best and most impressive".⁹⁰ As with their duties in the convent, they were to perform each duty of the school day to the best of their ability and regardless of the circumstances or surroundings in which they were performing them.⁹¹ She also required her teaching sisters to be just and non-judgemental in their dealings with their pupils and be "ever ready to praise, to encourage, to stimulate, but slow to censure and still more slow to condemn".⁹² One of the main obligations of the sisters was the duty of character formation of the children in their care. This was achieved by the sisters constantly "having a watchful eye for them .."⁹³ Mother McAuley constantly reminded her sisters that one of the main ways that a child learnt and would become a good Catholic was

through the example that the sisters themselves set. She stated that sisters could “draw souls to God” (by their) “words”, (by their) “example and by the works of the Institute”.⁹⁴

Mother McAuley was fully aware that maintenance of discipline in the classroom largely depended on the teacher being properly trained in how to best employ various disciplinary “technologies” and to have been exposed to the process of somatic learning so that she could consciously or unconsciously rely on this process herself. For appropriate learning and socialisation to be established and maintained must according to Mother McAuley, begin with the individual teaching sister herself being disciplined and in full control of her bodily demeanour.

In staffing her schools, Mother McAuley was fortunate to have many gifted and as mentioned previously, highly educated sisters. Besides a thorough English education, the sisters who joined the Order as “choir” sisters were obliged to have acquired an education in the “polite accomplishments” prior to taking their vows. Their education continued after they were professed as Mother McAuley encouraged them to continue their studies in languages, mathematics, music and painting. As well as continuing their learning in these subjects, the sisters were also required to stay abreast of approved methods of teaching, such as those that were utilised in the state run Kildare Street Schools. As with Mother MacKillop later in the century, Mother McAuley trained them to prepare class work for the following day and insisted that such preparation be undertaken carefully and thoroughly. She was always ready to listen to suggestions to improve the methods of teaching or presentation used in her schools and encouraged discussion of classroom problems among her sisters.

According to information in the Sister of Mercy Dublin Archives, Mother McAuley was a early pioneer in the provision of teacher education in that the girls that she appointed to monitorial positions were simultaneously provided with a specific program of training in a special class at her Baggot Street school. Pupils who were given this opportunity were ones who showed promise and indicated a desire to become tutors or governesses in middle and upper class homes. Apart from acting as monitors and gaining some classroom experience and subject knowledge, young girls who had been chosen as pupil-teachers were allowed to spend part of their day teaching in the poor school in Baggot Street. This was similar to the practical teaching component of later teacher training programs. As with the novices who entered the Order, Mother McAuley was also very careful to assess the suitability of those girls who wanted to teach, studying each girl's background and personal characteristics. She constantly reminded them of the responsibilities of taking on the position of governess or teacher, particularly in a Catholic home or Catholic school. She also advised them that they were always to remember that the standard of their work would have a serious and eternal influence on those whom they taught.⁹⁵

The system that Mother McAuley adopted was therefore similar in nature to the pupil-teacher system that was employed later in the century and Baggot Street supplied to the Irish Catholic educational system from 1836, a steady stream of what have been referred to as "trained monitoresses".⁹⁶ Mother McAuley valued the work and contribution of these "monitoresses" or trainees as once her schools had been aligned with the National Board of Education, they were paid in money rather than in tickets, as the Sister of Charity monitoresses were. They were also recognised by the Board and granted Teacher's Certificates. In 1842 Mother Mary Vincent Whitty (who was to later establish

the Mercy Order in Queensland) was after three years as a monitoress at Baggot Street, awarded a Teacher's Certificate. As well Mother McAuley's system of training teachers was recognised very early by those outside of her Order's schools as the following quotation from a letter of 1836 to Mother McAuley from Bishop Michael Blake of Dromore highlights: "I am informed by Mrs Brydon, principal of a most respectable establishment of young ladies in this town (Newry), that, as she is in need of an assistant in her school she has applied to you with hope of obtaining...a young woman well qualified for such a situation".⁹⁷ Mrs Brydon was Headmistress of a school in the town of Newry under the administration of the Poor Clare Sisters.

In 1862 the monitorial system of education was officially replaced by the pupil-teacher system at Baggot Street School. The programme of education for the pupil-teachers in 1884 who aspired to become teachers was divided into two classes. In the second class girls learnt spelling, grammar, lesson books, geography, arithmetic, book-keeping, methods of teaching and school organisation. The textbook that was utilised to teach the last two subjects was Dr P W Joyce's *A Handbook of School Management and Methods of Training*. In the first class, spelling and lesson books, were replaced by composition, English literature and history. The boys undertook broader mathematical courses and the study of agriculture.⁹⁸ The curriculum also included lessons in religion.

The pupil-teachers were required to attend lectures on the various subjects of the curriculum. They were also required to prepare lesson notes prior to teaching a class and these notes had to be approved by their superiors. Various schools of the Order were designated as locations where the trainee teacher was required to deliver practice lessons. As well, trainee teachers also delivered practice lessons in front of their peers,

who were then requested to critically assess the lessons given and provide feedback. The areas which their colleagues were to assess them on included lesson content, relevance of the lesson to the curriculum, the demeanour of the trainee while giving the lesson and the trainee's ability to convey information and answer questions. At the end of these practical sessions the supervising teacher was required to assess them. The teacher's comments were also recorded in the College register.⁹⁹ The pupil-teachers were required to sit for examinations and the College was open to inspection by inspectors from the Board at all times and without notice.

Therefore by 1836, Mother McAuley's Baggot Street Schools were already the nucleus of Ireland's first Catholic teacher training college for girls and was also the forerunner of the Sedes Sapientiae Training School which was established in 1877 and which is known as the Carysfort College today.

Sisters of Mercy, Parramatta

I have spent some time detailing Mother McAuley's philosophy and methods of teacher training, in order to highlight the fact that by the time the Order had firmly established itself at Parramatta and its school system around Sydney, the Parramatta Order took few formal steps to provide any form of teacher training. Perhaps this was a result of the fact that the majority of the early sisters came from Ireland and on the information contained in McGrath's book *These Women?*, it would seem that as the Order was dominated by Irish Sisters for quite a long time, they were considered adequately trained as these sisters would probably have received their teacher training at the Mercy Training School Sedes Sapientiae before they left for the colony. When girls were eventually recruited into the Order directly from the colony they could have received some basic teacher

training either as monitoresses or pupil-teachers while they were attending the Order's College. In the last decade of the nineteenth century girl's who had attended one of the Catholic convent schools could have also attended one of the teacher training colleges run by the Sisters of Charity, Sisters of St Joseph or the Mercy Order in Victoria. The latter College was opened under the patronage of Archbishop Carr, in connection with the Order's novitiate at Ascot Vale in 1909 to meet the teacher training requirements of the new Victorian Education Acts.

The training program offered at Ascot Vale was divided into three areas. The first area covered the theory and practice of education, which was taught through a variety of means including lectures and tutorials, observation and teaching practice and criticism lessons. The next area covered what were referred to as "culture subjects" and included blackboard writing and illustration, drawing, physical exercises and drill, voice production and reading, brushwork and modelling, elementary science and nature study. The third area were optional subjects which students could study and included literature, class singing, needlework or cookery, and physiology and hygiene.¹⁰⁰ The Parramatta Order, unlike its Victorian counterpart did not open a teacher training college in connection with its novitiate but despite this it was "common for second year novices to be in the teaching force".¹⁰¹ After 1930, this situation changed as the Catholic Church and the State education system moved to require teachers to meet certain standards of performance.

Sisters of St Joseph

As with the other Orders under review, when Mother MacKillop opened her schools she relied upon monitors to assist in the classroom. In her *Directory or Order of Discipline*

for the *Sisters of Saint Joseph of the Sacred Heart*, which was printed in 1870, she set out the following in relation to the appointment and duties of the monitors in the classroom.

"The Monitors should be selected from the most advanced, orderly, and punctual of the children; and be taught to regard their office as one of great trust and honour. When appointed they should endeavour by earnest attention, cheerful patience, tidy, regular habits, to merit the approbation of their Teachers as well as the love of their companions. They should be in attendance a half hour before the School opens, have the slates ruled and set for the children, see they take their places in order, then take their hats and caps to the places prepared for them, and give them out again when the children leave school for recreation. They have to keep order in their different classes – especially when sending them up to the Teachers. They should have charge of the basket containing the little children's work, thimbles, needles, and should delight in having all in perfect order. The Monitors, where two are required, wear a distinguishing cross of blue or red ribbon. There should be one for every twenty children. They ought not to be changed oftener than once a quarter".¹⁰²

The duties of the monitors in St Joseph schools were therefore similar to the duties of monitoresses in the Sister of Charity schools. They were required to be intelligent and self-disciplined and to set an appropriate example for their fellow pupils. Their purpose was to assist the sister-in-charge in maintaining discipline and order in the classroom at all times by paying attention to such details as ensuring that the children in the class had the necessary equipment available to them when required. There is no mention in Mother MacKillop's *Directory* that monitors were also expected to continually observe the behaviour of their classmates but undoubtedly this would have been one of their many functions. As with the Sister of Charity schools, they were required to organise each group of pupils when it was their turn to receive instruction from the sister-in-charge.

Mother MacKillop was fortunate that some of the sisters who had joined her Order had been previously employed as governesses and teachers, thus proving "to be invaluable during the initial years" of the establishment of her schools.¹⁰³ Despite this fact, the Josephite Order would also have attracted individuals with little or no education as the Order did not classify sisters into choir or lay, as the Irish Orders did. According to Lewis (1990), Sister Mary "demanded only basic good qualities in the women who applied to enter the Josephites, there was no dowry requirement, teacher training was given on an apprenticeship basis and those who could not read or write were taught to do so".¹⁰⁴ This requirement shows that Mother MacKillop was prepared to accept sisters from a working class background unlike the other orders who required a dowry and therefore expected that at least their choir sisters would be drawn from more privileged backgrounds.

Therefore, unlike the Sisters of Mercy and the Sisters of Charity, the women who joined the Sisters of St Joseph at least in the early days of the Order, did not undergo a formal or lengthy period of religious or teacher training, as Father Wood and Mother Mary believed that the needs of the poor for assistance were so great, that there was not the time available to provide such training. This factor, together with the form of government adopted by the Order exposed Mother Mary and the Order to severe criticism by the Catholic clergy of the day. Also unlike the other religious Orders under review, women who joined the Josephites were not relegated to the class of lay or domestic sister if they were illiterate. Rather girls or women who joined were given the opportunity to acquire these skills and all sisters were allocated domestic duties to perform. "Equal opportunity for all existed in the Order, if a sister was prepared to work hard she could come from the poorest beginnings and end up in a position of authority

and responsibility. The Sisters of St Joseph were not founded to impart higher learning, but to impart a sound basic education impregnated with Catholic faith".¹⁰⁵

The first lady to join the Sisters of St Joseph, after Mary MacKillop, was Blanche Anisinck, a well-educated English lady of German descent, whom Mary met at Portland. Father Woods wrote to Mary in relation to Miss Anisinck stating that "she consents to go to Mount Gambier to take charge of the school there, first coming to you to learn what you can teach of your method".¹⁰⁶ The method that was employed by Mother MacKillop to prepare the sisters to teach in the early days of the Order's operation required them to undertake a type of apprenticeship similar to the pupil-teacher apprenticeship, before they were appointed to their own school. The Sisters' *Book of References* records the use of this method of training of the sisters who joined the sisterhood between the years 1866 and 1872 as teachers. The entry in the *Book* for Miss Anisinck, Sister Mary Francis Xavier reads: "First taught in Penola under Sister Mary from October until 1 January 1866, appointed then to take charge of Mount Gambier school until November 1867 when she was called to Adelaide where she taught in the hall until appointed to the charge of same in April 1868".¹⁰⁷

One of the major concerns therefore of Mother MacKillop from the outset was to ensure that her sisters were adequately prepared to fulfill their teaching roles in her schools and she took on the task herself of training her sisters as teachers. Her reason for this was not only to overcome the criticism that had been leveled at her sisters as teachers but also "because of the scattered nature of the work, she believed it was essential that the personnel be trained in the same basic uniform system of teaching, whereby each sister knew exactly what was required each day. Such a system, Mary believed would foster

and maintain unity among the sisterhood".¹⁰⁸ It would also ensure that similar disciplinary "technologies" were utilised and that by preparing and making available a common timetable, regardless of which Josephite school a sister taught at, the school day would follow the same format.

According to Burford (1997), Mary had incorporated in the *Directory* her own views on educational practice, which she had gathered while working as a governess and teacher and while travelling in various countries in Europe. She passed this information onto the members of her Congregation not only in letters that she regularly sent them but also in the more formal setting of Night School where they received instruction from experienced teachers on the best methods of teaching, classroom organisation and management.¹⁰⁹ As the name suggests, sisters attended Night School in the evening after a day teaching in the schools. The Night Study program was very specific and included:

- " 1. The Little Sister (sister-in-charge) of each school should see that their assistant sisters have in private bags of their own all the books required for tuition in their respective classes and marked with the class and name of their different schools.
2. The Little Sister to see that each day these Sisters have a fresh task on each subject which they must study in class the evening before and then be able to impart to their classes next day.
3. In the same way let the Sisters who have to give the gallery and object lessons prepare their subjects the night before, and not give any without the consent and knowledge of the Little Sister of their schools, subject to the approval of the Sister Provincial if there be any question or doubt upon the matter or way of giving the instruction.
4. That the Sisters also prepare their parsing sentences the previous night, and in all schools immediately taught from the Convent let the class lessons, gallery and object lessons, parsing etc, be the same each day in each class.
5. The reasons for this are evident. Young sisters inexperienced in teaching, will then go to their schools with subjects prepared, and be better able, with St Joseph's aid,

to do justice to their subjects; and should such a thing occasionally occur (but it is to be hoped not often) that a Sister would not be able to go to her class, and another appointed in her place, her substitute would know what had already been taught in that class, as well as the subject for that day.

6. As far as possible this should be adhered to in all country schools, and central ones, such as those in towns".¹¹⁰

The sisters must have found it quite onerous to have to attend Night School after a day of teaching and attending to their religious duties and responsibilities. It would have required great discipline and commitment on the behalf of the religious sister to undertake such study each evening. It probably would have been particularly difficult for those sisters who were newly appointed teachers and undertaking Night School for the first time, as not only did these sisters have to cope with learning the subject matter, they also had to learn how to manage a classroom of students. As it is evident by the above requirements, one of the main purposes of Night School, apart from ensuring that a sister was prepared for the next day's lessons, was to ensure uniformity in teaching, (at least of subject matter). In requiring this Mother MacKillop left little room for the individual teaching sister to use her own initiative. It would have been more difficult to ensure uniformity in the ability of each sister to teach in relation to how effective she was in communicating the required knowledge or managing classroom behaviour and discipline.

Mother MacKillop extended her concern of ensuring her sisters were adequately trained to teach by including this item on the agenda of the Order's General Assemblies, which were attended by representatives from the various Josephite communities. At these meetings the sisters always took time to review the quality and type of teacher training

that was being provided to their young trainees. "At the 1889 Chapter, a committee of three sisters was appointed to re-arrange the timetable" ¹¹¹ and make suggestions for improving the Order's method of teacher training. At the Order's 1896 Chapter, the decision was made to appoint "two competent sisters Baptista Molloy and La Merci Mahoney, to examine and classify the professing novices in teacher training." ¹¹² Thus the novices were placed under another system of formal and continuous observation which was utilised to monitor their progress at another level. The examination would have served the purpose of not only determining which class a sister should teach but also enable an assessment to be made as to whether a sister was deficient in a particular area of knowledge. It also contributed to ensuring that uniformity of knowledge was maintained as far as possible. The "1899 General Chapter introduced measures" ¹¹³ to update the teaching in the schools "in relation to methods used and the provision of equipment." ¹¹⁴

St Joseph's Teacher Training School

By 1900 Mary perceived the need to provide a "Practice School" for young teacher trainees. A free school for the poor children of the area was built in Mount Street, North Sydney for this purpose. This was the beginning of the more formal stage of St Joseph's Teacher Training School and replaced the pupil-teacher method of training, which the Order had utilised up until this time. At the Training School "trainees spent two and a half days each week in actual teaching experience being required to prepare and deliver three lessons weekly, under the supervision of lecturing staff or trained teachers in the Practice Schools". ¹¹⁵ A network of Practice Schools had been established by the Order throughout the Sydney metropolitan area. The supervisor was then required to provide a written appraisal of each lesson in the trainee's lesson notebook. As well, the trainees

were required "to observe lectures given by the lecturers or trainee teachers in these schools and write a record of such 'Observation' Lessons".¹¹⁶ Trainee teachers were "also required to deliver a lesson known as a 'Criticism' lesson, while lecturers and other trainees observed the lesson and later presented written criticism for discussion in class. This was a weekly occurrence".¹¹⁷ Burford suggests that the advantages of this approach to training teachers included:

1. Trainees developed the art of questioning as opposed to merely giving information to pupils in the classroom;
2. Current teaching methods were demonstrated and tried by trainees with the opportunity for appraisal by trained experienced teachers;
3. The variety of teaching styles of demonstrators and trainees themselves gave all trainees wider practical experience during the period of their actual training".¹¹⁸

Apart from gaining knowledge in these areas, Josephite teacher training was also imbued with a sense of "class organisation and management"¹¹⁹ which was instilled in the students as they followed the daily program set out in the College's timetable. Some of the skills or approaches to teaching in Josephite schools that trainees were instructed in, were different to the approaches adopted in the Sister of Charity and Sister of Mercy schools. The art of questioning was only used in relation to the Catechism. The Sisters of St Joseph employed this method to encourage children to think for themselves, while still ensuring that they were disciplined. This was despite the fact that they were only being educated so that they could reconcile themselves "to a life of honest toil, while tasting the delight of mental activity and religious communion".¹²⁰

The passing of the Victorian Education Acts in 1908 regulating teacher training had particular relevance to the Sisters of St Joseph and Sisters of Charity and the operation of their Teacher Colleges in New South Wales, as the sisters had personnel teaching in

Catholic schools in Victoria. It was therefore essential that the courses offered at the St Joseph's Teacher Training College meet the requirements for teacher regulation imposed by the Victorian legislation. To enforce the 1908 Act regular three-year inspections were carried out by Victorian inspectors of religious congregational training centres, including those centres located outside of Victoria. An independent board was also established, by the Victorian Department of Education to further examine and evaluate the teacher training provided within these centres. Regular inspections, examination and evaluation of the teacher training centres, therefore became important disciplinary "technologies" for ensuring that appropriate standards were established and maintained. Also an inspector arriving unexpected at a teacher training college or at a school "will be able to judge at a glance, without anything being concealed from him, how the entire environment is functioning" ¹²¹ and make recommendations to his superiors accordingly.

The Sisters of St Joseph in New South Wales also responded to changes introduced by the Victorian Special Education Act, which was passed through the Victorian parliament in 1921. This legislation "required teachers of infants (K-2) to be specifically trained in infant teaching methods". ¹²² The legislation required any teacher who taught at primary school in Victoria to be appropriately qualified and instructed that all teachers college "were to appoint a Mistress of Infant Methods". ¹²³ Sister Leon Ryan was immediately appointed to this position. As she did not have the required qualifications she "immediately enrolled in the infant's teachers course at Montessori School Blackfriars, Sydney and at the Kindergarten Union" ¹²⁴ to study reading, numbers, craft, rhythm and the art of story telling. Trainee teachers also attended Blackfriars on the weekly open day permitted to outside students. "Miss Stevens, the Montessori lecturer and Miss Caldwell, originator of literacy and numeracy system of that name, demonstrated at St

Joseph each week".¹²⁵ The Sisters were inspected in 1923 and awarded approval to teach infants as well as primary methods and practices.

Not to leave all of the control and regulation of Catholic Teacher's Colleges to the State, the Bishops of New South Wales established a Board of Regulation for Catholic Training Colleges in 1927. The aim of the Board was to ensure that minimum standards were maintained, particularly in relation to the principles of education and methods of teacher training. Reverend John C Thompson was appointed as the First Director of the Board. Thompson had been recruited from the Strawberry Hill Teacher's College in London. Thompson was particularly concerned with ensuring trainee teachers were adequately trained in religious education by devising a specific syllabus and requiring students to pass religious examinations in order to be registered as teachers. The examination was quite rigorous with trainees being expected to submit themselves for a written paper in theology, principles of teaching religious education, teaching methods and were required to deliver practice demonstration lessons before the Director.

The foundresses of the various Orders were not alone in their belief that individuals must be educated to become teachers. Teresa Magner in 1909 in her address on the "Training of the Australian Girl" to the Third Australasian Catholic Congress, stated that: "for the sake of future generations the teachers of girls must receive wider training. Their studies must no longer be confined to subjects they shall have to teach, and the methods of teaching them. They must study school management more deeply and have some knowledge of psychology. A help to the study of this subject is reading of good stories for children. There are many valuable lessons to be learned from these, for they are written by those who understand and love children. They look at life from the child's

point of view, and it must be the teacher's endeavour to do the same. Kenneth Grahame's "In the Golden Age" will set many a teacher wondering if she bears any resemblance to the Olympians. "The Treasure Seekers" gives a delightful example of how to be a child with children. All stories of Australian children should also be read and discussed by the teachers".¹²⁶ The method of teacher training suggested by Magner, was a move away from the emphasis on disciplining the child's body through various disciplinary regimes. Rather the method suggested by Magner concentrated more upon child-centred learning, encouraging the teacher to look at life from their perspective. To assist in providing this type of education, trainee teachers were to learn about child psychology and apply such knowledge to their teaching.

Higher Education of Religious Teaching Sisters

Once "trained" as a teacher, sisters in the various Orders were not encouraged to undertake any formal higher education so as to continue the process of life-long learning. This was largely due to the attitude that developed among the bishops in the colony, particularly Archbishop Kelly that choir sisters, once they had received their training in the novitiate should receive "only that minimum of education required for their work in the Apostolate. This meant that those appointed to take a leading part in secondary education fared best, as external university tutors were brought in to educate them in such subjects as Latin and mathematics, but those who were appointed to teach primary and infants' school were given little opportunity to further education".¹²⁷ Kelly believed that "that sixty percent of higher education was unnecessary"¹²⁸ anyway and religious sisters should not be exposed to the secular environment of university life.¹²⁹

Apart from Kelly's anti-intellectualism, a number of different Mercy superiors as well, also supported Kelly's view. One such Superior was Mother Mary Gabriel Phelan, "who held leadership positions for over thirty years in the congregation, was strongly opposed to the introduction of any archdiocesan regulation requiring secondary teachers or even a portion of them to be university graduates. She considered that the consistently high standard of examination results in the schools indicated that it was unnecessary" ¹³⁰ for sisters to attend university and "that frequently those people who were able to obtain a degree were in fact poor teachers". ¹³¹ Mother Phelan's opinion that the quality of the teaching was high at OLMC, is supported by my reading of the surveys completed by ex-students who attended OLMC during this period. Many of the respondents commented that the reason that their parents had sent them to OLMC was because of the high academic standard of the College as evidenced by the results that students consistently achieved in the various public examinations. The students themselves were however aware of the fact that the sisters who instructed them taught without the benefit of a higher education, as noted in a statement by Marjorie Mather who attended College between 1927 and 1930. In the student survey mentioned above she comments that "very few nuns would have had the benefit of a higher education. Without the benefit of University or Teacher Training College, the results achieved by so many of their pupils spoke of the high standard of education they had received at OLMC". ¹³² The superiors of Parramatta also reflected Kelly's fear of the secular influence that attending university might have upon the sisters. The Parramatta Order of Mercy did not send their sisters to university until 1954 while some of the first Sisters of Charity attended Melbourne University in 1914, after they matriculated from the Order's Teachers College.

McGrath (1988) argues that apart from the reasons cited above for sisters not undertaking further education while teaching that there were other factors or traditions that contributed to the Sisters of Mercy not having the necessary time available to undertake further study. These included the time that they were required to spend on domestic work, which particularly became a problem as the number of lay sisters in the Congregation declined.¹³³ Another reason was the time they were required to spend in prayer and spiritual reflection, which took priority over any other type of work or duty.¹³⁴ Apart from the time that was set aside each day to attend to their spiritual development, according to McGrath the Parramatta sisters were also over zealous in their attention to piety.¹³⁵ "They went to two masses on a Sunday and said three rosaries on that day and on important feast days of the Virgin Mary. During the year they added devotional prayers such as novenas to their Office. These excesses were time-consuming and from oral history it is clear that the sisters found them a burden added to their already pressurised lives".¹³⁶ Another duty that they were required to undertake was the nursing of the terminally ill sisters in the convent. Sisters who taught in the schools in the day were required to take turns during the night nursing.¹³⁷ Undoubtedly, similar duties would have fallen on the Sisters of Charity and Sisters of St Joseph, which would have interfered with them undertaking supplementary studies at university.

"Becoming" a Teacher

What did becoming a teacher mean? What came first? Did the teacher become a religious or the religious become a teacher? Copelman (1996) states the women who became teachers and religious in the period under review were ensconced in various "ideological discourses and social contexts"¹³⁸ of the time. These discourses included the missionary zeal, a concern with helping the poor through education and education

involved instilling in generations of children disciplinary techniques that would assist them in being moral citizens. For Catholics, there was also the discourse of obedience, docility and of adhering unquestioningly to the beliefs and practices of the patriarchal male dominated Church. For a religious, as opposed to a Catholic lay teacher their dedication to living a religious life and teaching the word of God was a lifelong one, not just something they engaged in until they found a suitable partner and married.

In order to become a Catholic religious teaching sister with an appropriate type of corporeal demeanour that could be recognised as such, an individual apart from gaining relevant subject knowledge was exposed to various disciplinary “technologies” and practices, similar to the ones that operated in Catholic schools and convents. As with the school and convent, these “technologies” entrenched themselves in and on the body and bodies of the religious teaching sister and community in which she lived, through the processes of “direct” and “indirect” somatic learning. As with the school and the convent the “technologies” that were employed to produce an appropriately disciplined body included: the routinisation of each day through the use of timetables; an emphasis on requiring trainees to attend to every detail no matter how insignificant, ongoing surveillance, examination, supervision and inspection. As well, the purpose of such training was to further instill self-discipline and self-control in the context of the school and classroom. The aim of all this training was to produce “docile” and obedient Catholic religious teaching bodies. Bodies that could be manipulated and controlled with certainty by those in power and would, once qualified and trained as a religious teaching sister, ensure the ongoing reproduction of the Catholic Church and its system of beliefs.

Conclusion

This Chapter therefore concludes the examination of the professional training, such as it was that a religious sister underwent to enable her to fulfill her fourth vow of undertaking the special work of service to the poor. Religious teaching sisters, as highlighted by the views of the foundresses of the Orders under review and some of the clergy and commentators of the day who supported and encouraged them, came to the classroom with tremendous advantages over a lay teacher and it was therefore incumbent upon them to ensure that they met the required standards not only in relation to the content of the material that they imparted but through their very presence in the classroom. When education became a priority of the Church in developing Catholic Australia, religious sisters were charged with the important task of educating children, particularly girls so that they could live up to the expectation of either assuming the religious mantle themselves or becoming "good" Catholic wives and mothers.

The preparation that a sister received before stepping into a classroom was in the main seen as critical for ensuring that the required teaching and socialisation took place. Admittedly, as with students in schools, the sisters and the Catholic Church were not able to impose absolute control over the trainee teachers, as they were able to in the novitiate and the convent. Requirements that were imposed on Catholic schools if they desired to participate in public examinations, pass inspections and at various times receive funding from the state, required them to adopt the state curriculum and ensure that their teachers were adequately trained in these subjects. As with the schools, the secular curriculum operated alongside the religious curriculum in the teacher training colleges, and although in theory, religious teaching sisters and lay teachers in Catholic schools were reminded constantly that it was the religious curriculum that was to take

priority, in reality and ultimately it was the secular curriculum that predominated if students were to pass public examinations and Catholic schools were to keep their doors open with ongoing enrolments.

Chapter Notes

- ¹ Fay B; *Critical Social Science*, 1987, p. 146
- ² *Ibid.*
- ³ Williamson N; "The Feminisation of Teaching" in *Australian Journal of Education* Vol 27, No 1, 1983, pp 33-44
- ⁴ Barcan A; *A Short History of Education in New South Wales*, Martindale Press, 1980, p. 16
- ⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁶ Williamson N; *op.cit.*
- ⁷ Barcan A; *op.cit.*, p. 17
- ⁸ *Ibid.*
- ⁹ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰ MacLaine A; *Australian Education*, Ian Novak Publishing Co., 1974, p. 219
- ¹¹ Austin A G; *Australian Education 1788-1900*, Pitman Pacific Books, 3rd Edition, 1961, p. 8
- ¹² *Ibid.*
- ¹³ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁴ Cleverley J; *The First Generation*, Sydney University Press, 1971, p. 133
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁷ Barcan A; *op.cit.*, p. 49
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 49-50
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 51
- ²⁰ *Ibid.*
- ²¹ Turney C; "William Wilkins – Australia's Kay-Shuttleworth" in Turney C (ed); *Pioneers of Australian Education A Study in the Development of Education in the Nineteenth Century*, Sydney University Press, 1969, p. 148
- ²² *Ibid.*, p.196
- ²³ Lewis C M; "Provision of Education of Catholic Women in Australia Since 1840", *PhD Thesis*, University of Melbourne, 1990, p.395
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 394
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 395
- ²⁶ Smith F; *The Life and Work of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth*, Mercury Ltd, 1923, pp.109-111 in Lewis C M; *op.cit.*, p. 396
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*
- ²⁹ *Ibid.*
- ³⁰ Turney C; *op.cit.* p. 197
- ³¹ *Ibid.*
- ³² *Ibid.*, p. 196
- ³³ *Ibid.*, p. 221
- ³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 199
- ³⁵ Austin; *op.cit.*, p. 247
- ³⁶ *Ibid.*
- ³⁷ *Ibid.*

-
- ³⁸ *Ibid.*
- ³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 249
- ⁴⁰ *Ibid.*
- ⁴¹ *Ibid.*
- ⁴² Kyle N; *Her Natural Destiny The Education of Women in New South Wales*, New South Wales University Press, 1986, p.148
- ⁴³ Turney C; *op.cit.*, p. 235
- ⁴⁴ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁵ Kyle N; *op.cit.*, p. 148
- ⁴⁶ Barcan A; *op.cit.*, p. 223
- ⁴⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 225
- ⁴⁹ Sydney Teachers College *Calendar*, William Applegate Gullick, 1907 p.32
- ⁵⁰ *Ibid.*
- ⁵¹ *Ibid.*
- ⁵² *Ibid.*, pp 32-33
- ⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 49
- ⁵⁴ Barcan A; *op.cit.*, p. 227
- ⁵⁵ Extract from Report of Powis Commission on Education in Ireland in 1870 in Donovan M M; *Apostolate of Love Mary Aikenhead 1787-1858 Foundress of the Irish Sisters of Charity*, Polding Press, 1979, p. 51
- ⁵⁶ Smyth E; "Much Exertion of the Voice and Great Application of the Mind': Teacher Education Within the Congregation of the Sisters of St Joseph of Toronto Canada 1851-1920", *History of Education Review*, No. 3, 1994
- ⁵⁷ Turner I S; "The Training of Teachers in Australia A Comparative and Critical Survey" in *ACER Research Series*, No. 61, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1943, p. 327
- ⁵⁸ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁰ Sisters of Charity. *School Government Book*, 1837, p.140
- ⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp.1-4
- ⁶² *Ibid.*
- ⁶³ Sisters of Charity; Handwritten document, no date, Sisters of Charity Archives, Potts Point
- ⁶⁴ Foucault M; *Discipline and Punish, The Birth of the Prison*, Penguin, 1977, p. 175
- ⁶⁵ Sisters of Charity; *School Government Book*, *op.cit.*, p. 13
- ⁶⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁸ Foucault M; *op.cit.*, p. 176
- ⁶⁹ Sisters of Charity; *School Government Book*, *op.cit.*, p.132
- ⁷⁰ *Ibid.*
- ⁷¹ *Ibid.*
- ⁷² Foucault M; *op.cit.*, p. 177
- ⁷³ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁴ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁵ Sisters of Charity, *School Government Book*, *op.cit.*, p. 16
- ⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p.15
- ⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p.16
- ⁷⁸ *Freeman's Journal* December, 1896
- ⁷⁹ Sisters of Charity Archives, Typed document, no author or date
- ⁸⁰ *Ibid.*
- ⁸¹ Bolster S; "Catherine McAuley Her Educational Thought and its Influence on the Origin and Development of an Irish Training College " in *Two Century Lectures OLMC*, Blackrock Co. Carysfort, 1877-1977, 1981, p. 4

-
- ⁸² *Ibid.*
- ⁸³ Thoughts from the Spiritual Conferences of Mother Mary Catherine McAuley, Sisters of Mercy, Dublin, 1946, p.52
- ⁸⁴ *Ibid.* p.44
- ⁸⁵ *Ibid.* p.11
- ⁸⁶ Sisters of Mercy (ed); Familiar Instructions of Reverend Mother McAuley Sisters of Mercy, St Loius, 1886, p.9
- ⁸⁷ Austin-Carroll T; Life of Catherine McAuley, The Vincentian Press, 1887, pp. 166-167
- ⁸⁸ Sisters of Mercy; *Custom and Guide*, no date, p. 102
- ⁸⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁹⁰ Familiar Instructions *op.cit.*, p.14
- ⁹¹ Thoughts, *op.cit.*, p.7
- ⁹² *Ibid.*, p.56
- ⁹³ *ibid.*, p 62
- ⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.56
- ⁹⁵ Glynn S M A; *A Living Stream of Mercy*, New York, 1963, p. 31, extract found in Sisters of Mercy Archives, Dublin
- ⁹⁶ 1977 – Centenary of Carysfort College, no date, Sisters of Mercy Archives, Dublin
- ⁹⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁹⁸ Coolahan J; “‘Education’ in the Training Colleges 1887-1977” in *Two Century Lectures*, *op.cit.* p. 20
- ⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 21
- ¹⁰⁰ Institute of Catholic Education; *Mercy Teacher’s College 75 Years of Catholic Teacher Education*, Port Phillip Press Pty Ltd, 1984, p. 104
- ¹⁰¹ *Ibid.* p.133
- ¹⁰² MacKillop M; *Directory of Order of Discipline of the Sisters of St Joseph of the Sacred Heart*, 1870, p. 81
- ¹⁰³ Burford K; “Mary Mackillop’s System of Catholic Education”, *Unpublished Paper*, 1997, p. 14
- ¹⁰⁴ Lewis C M; *op.cit.*, p. 382
- ¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰⁶ Sister of St Joseph; *Book of References*, 23/8/1866
- ¹⁰⁷ Burford K; *op.cit.*, p. 21
- ¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 15
- ¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 21
- ¹¹⁰ MacKillop M; *op.cit.*, p. 90
- ¹¹¹ Burford K; *Unfurrowed Fields A Josephite Story New South Wales 1872-1972*, St Josephs’ Convent, 1991 p. 95
- ¹¹² *Ibid.*
- ¹¹³ *Ibid.*
- ¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*
- ¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 115
- ¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*
- ¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*
- ¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*
- ¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*
- ¹²⁰ Lewis C M; *op.cit.*, p.395
- ¹²¹ Foucault M; *op.cit.*, p. 204
- ¹²² Burford K; *op.cit.*, p. 114
- ¹²³ *Ibid.*
- ¹²⁴ *Ibid.*
- ¹²⁵ *Ibid.*
- ¹²⁶ Magner T; “Training of the Australian Girl” Address to the *Third Australasian Catholic Congress*,

1909, p. 207

¹²⁷ McGrath M S; *These Women: Women and Religious in the History of Australia The Sisters of Mercy Parramatta 1888-1988*, New South Wales University Press, 1988, p. 133

¹²⁸ *Ibid.* p. 134

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

¹³² Mather M; OLMC Survey, undertaken for the book Wilks P; *Mercy From Generation to Generation*, OLMC, 1989

¹³³ McGrath M S; *op.cit.*, p. 135

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

¹³⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 135-136

¹³⁷ *Ibid.* p. 136

¹³⁸ Copelman D M; *London's Women's Teachers Gender Class and Feminism 1870-1930*, Routledge, 1996, p.3

CHAPTER 5

Introduction

"You must act against nature or rather above nature if you are not to exercise your natural functions, to weed put your own root, to harvest no fruit save that of virginity, to turn from the nuptial bed, to abhor contact with men, and to live in the body as if without a body".

The purpose of this chapter is to reconstruct the way that religious sisters lived their lives in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, after they had been professed and adopted fully the requirements of living a life as a religious. This reconstruction will be achieved by exploring their daily application of the knowledge they had acquired either directly or indirectly through the process of somatic learning and the regimes and "technologies" of discipline that the Sisters of Charity, Sisters of Mercy, Parramatta and Sisters of St Joseph continually imposed upon their bodies in order to aspire to the ideal of the "perfect" religious. The information on the regimes and "technologies" that I rely upon to undertake this analysis are drawn from the data and information that I have collected from researching the Orders' archives and my review of relevant texts and other sources of discourse that have been written on this area of research.

The aim of the training of religious sisters as discussed in the last chapters was to produce obedient and "docile" bodies. It was the intention of this training that when completed, the novice would become a "religious sister" who would comply with the Rules of her Order without question or hesitation for the remainder of her natural life. By the conclusion of this Chapter and the next a description of the religious sister's body will emerge in the same way that Foucault (1977) has described the body of a soldier in his work *Discipline and Punish*. This chapter will examine the manner by which sisters lived their daily life – a life that left little room for the expression of the "self" to the extent that

the "self" ultimately was annihilated. As Chapter 1 discussed, for a girl or a woman to become a religious sister she was required to become like a man, leaving her physical body behind in the corporeal world.

The religious sisters in the period under review, lived in a society that on the one hand was characterised by a strict Victorian morality, which the Catholic Church gladly embraced and which was transferred to the burgeoning colony, and on the other hand was characterised by rapid change that was brought about by changes to industrial practice and the introduction of new technologies; a society where men occupied the public sphere of work and public decision-making while women had been relegated to the private sphere of home; a society where a few women had begun to express their views on various issues affecting their lives, and where education was seen by some, as an important vehicle for socialising and controlling the masses and by others as a means of liberating them.

It was within this world that the religious orders under review were established and practised a strict regime of control and discipline - a regime of discipline that was imposed by the religious sister upon her body, with the ultimate aim of disembodiment from her female self and hence "perfection" of her spiritual being and salvation of her soul. Frank (1991) suggests that the body progresses to the "self" through the body becoming conscious of itself.² For a religious sister, "the body becoming conscious of itself"³ enabled it to exercise self-denial, discipline and control so that the "self" of the religious sister was eradicated. This was necessary if a girl or a woman was to become a religious sister. She was required to divest herself of her femaleness, her sexuality and become like a man. It was also necessary if she was to tap into the very core of her being – her soul. As the Cartesians had done several centuries earlier the Catholic Church in the nineteenth

and twentieth centuries continued to emphasise the separation of soul from the body. Catholics via the use of the Catechism were indoctrinated with this belief from a very early age, and were encouraged to live an exemplary life, which was no better achieved than by becoming a religious.

As I noted in Chapter 1, the notion of the “body as text” is one, which has been explored by a number of writers in recent times. It is the interaction between the body as text - as a surface to be inscribed upon, written upon, and as such disciplined - and the contents of the Rules, Constitutions and Customs and the “technologies” and regimes that these works encompassed, which will be examined here. As Frank has told us, “a body is constituted in the intersection of a equilateral triangle, the points of which are institutions, discourse and corporeality”.⁴ Frank also went on to provide an example of how the intersection of these three factors operated to produce the medieval female ascetic. Overcoming the corporeality of the body, as discussed in Chapter 1 and as dictated by the institutions and discourses of Catholicism, had been of particular concern for those who sought to follow a religious way of life. And while the suppression of the physicality of the body was relevant for men, it was particularly relevant for women, who according to Christian doctrine, represented corporeality at its most sinful. It was within this context that female religious orders in gaining approbation from Rome for the establishment and continued operation of their orders, accepted and lived according to the Rule and Constitutions that had been written by men for male orders.

CONSTITUTIONS, RULES AND CUSTOMS

The first men and women, who dedicated their lives to Christ and his teachings, were required to adopt certain rules, which ensured that they lived their lives dedicated to God.

The adoption of such rules was expected, particularly of women, as they were choosing not to marry and if their fathers or brothers were absent, were potentially outside of the control of a male relative. In the fourth century, treatises were written to regulate their life in more detail, "fixing their times for prayer by day and night, prescribing fasts and bible reading and urging that all should be done with the accordance of the older among them".

⁵ These documents were extremely important as they contained the routines and "technologies" that had been written upon the bodies of those who chose to live their life in a Christian way. They also provided the basis upon which various groups and communities, who have chosen to dedicate their life to God throughout the centuries, could draw their regimes for living a disciplined life.

The Council of Trent required that all religious "whether men or women, must live and act in conformity with the Rules they have embraced. This prescription was summarised and reinforced in the *Code of Canon Law*". ⁶ The *Code of Canon Law* had been derived from the books of the Old and New Testament and it is from these works that the whole juridical and legislative tradition of the Catholic Church is derived.

The *Code* includes a section on religious orders and specifies certain requirements in relation to the foundation of orders, governance of institutes, admission of candidates, formation of members and separation of members from their institute, thus ensuring a uniformity amongst orders whether they be male or female in relation to the type of person allowed to join and how members were to be developed or "formed" and live their life as religious. The Constitutions and Rules, which are based on various sections of the *Code*, are the official documents of a religious congregation, as they are of any organised

association or society. They are approved by the Pope, thus ensuring that uniformity and conformity between and within Orders are maintained. The Constitutions of religious orders contain not only the evangelical and theological principles concerning religious life and its relationship with the Church, but also as with the *Code*, some juridical norms as well. The Constitutions contain the laws which are characteristic of the different institutions and which regulate the institution's organisation and its principal works.

Each part of the religious order's Constitution is subdivided into chapters. As with the Rules of religious orders, which will be discussed below, the Jesuits or Society of Jesus contributed to the development of a format and content for religious order's Constitutions, which would be adopted by orders established in the centuries after the foundation of the Society. "Unlike the Constitutions of the older religious orders, the Jesuit Constitutions were far from being simply a collection of ordinances. They were more profoundly an attempt to express a spiritual wisdom".⁷ Accordingly, "the originality of the Constitutions were no more striking than in the developmental design which followed the Jesuit entrance into the Society through to his commissioning for the Jesuit ministry.... The Constitutions were based on a presupposition that the spiritual growth of the individual within the order would take place and the Constitution provided for this by prescribing certain things as appropriate for beginners and suggesting others as appropriate for more seasoned members".⁸ Similarly, the Constitutions of the Orders under review, provided for the entrance of the individual through to her departure and each followed a similar format, covering the following areas:

"Ch 1. Of admitting to the Probation:

1. The end of the Congregation
2. Those who compose the Congregation
3. Those who have the power of admitting to the probation

4. Those who are to be admitted
5. Those things which prevent admittance
6. Of the manner of admitting to the first and second probation
7. The habit
8. The Novitiate
9. The Mistress of Novices

Ch 2: Which treats to the dismissing of those who after being admitted are found to be unfit for this congregation:

1. Who can be dismissed and by whom
2. Causes for which it is proper that a person be dismissed
3. Manner of dismissing

Ch 3: Of preserving and helping to further progress those who remain in this congregation:

1. Care to be had of them in those things which regard the soul and their progress in virtue
2. Of the preservation of the body

Ch 4: Of those things with regard the admission to the vows and promotion to the degree:

1. Of admission to vows etc, who is to admit, promote and when.
2. Of the manner of admitting to the vows and promoting to the degree.

Ch 5: Of our Houses and the government of them.

Ch 6: Of those who are admitted into the congregation what relates to their persons especially in all that concerns the observations of the vows:

1. Of the vow and virtue of poverty
2. Of the vow and virtue of chastity and custody of the senses
3. Of the vow and virtue of obedience.
4. Of the things which the members of this congregation should be engaged in and refrain
5. Of the assistance given to those who die in this congregation and of the suffrages made for them after death
6. That the constitutions do not bind under sin.

Ch 7: Of the various deeds of charity to be exercised in the aid of the poor and the sick or others standing in need of corporeal and spiritual assistance.

Ch 8: Of those things which contribute to promote union between the dispersed members and their head and mutually amongst one another

Ch 9: Of those things which relate to the Head of the Congregation and government descending from her

Ch 10: Of the manner in which the whole body of the congregations may be increased and conserved in a flourishing state".⁹

As mentioned above, from the Constitutions were derived the Rules, which were a collection of excerpts from the Constitution and were meant to serve as a handy summary of their ideals and goals. The Rule, in ecclesiastical law, means the group of principles regarding the religious life, proposed to their disciples by the founders of this kind of life. The Rules include the main points of the Constitution as well as some readings relevant to religious life such as "St Ignatius on Obedience". According to writings on the Rule and the various sections within the Rule itself, the perfection of all religious orders in general, as well as religious persons in particular, depends upon the right application and strict observance by a religious of the Rule. Superiors were appointed to monitor and ensure that the Rule was followed by all religious in their community. It was also the duty of the superior to ensure that uniformity was maintained amongst all members of an order and to this end certain Customs, which were subordinate to the Rule were established.

The Rules of the religious orders under review in this thesis were based on the monastic mould, which had characterised the pattern of religious life of former ages. "It is recorded that by the eleventh century the Benedictines had produced fully articulate monastic customaries, which were books several times the length of the ancient Rule and in which the activities of the community were set forth in detail. It was by means of these books, often informally circulated from one monastic house to another, that the standard of meticulous, highly organised and elaborate Benedictine life spread throughout Western Europe". The other major religious order which contributed to the development and

writing of the rule, as a document to be adopted by various religious orders in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were the Jesuits. The Jesuits themselves based their Rules on similar works of other religious order, but compared with these works of other orders, the Jesuit Rules were considerably longer and more detailed.¹⁰ Unlike the Rules of other orders, the Jesuits Rules were much longer in length, which could be accounted for by the emphasis the order placed on certain matters, such as the education of its members. These matters had been treated much more briefly if at all, in correlative documents of other orders.¹¹ The education of its members was regarded as extremely important to the Jesuits, as was the appointment of the priest who was responsible for the training of seminarians. The Rule book, as we shall see, provides a guide to the Customs of religious houses. "They acted to some extent like traffic regulations for larger communities as had the Benedictine Rules, and allowed Jesuits to adapt easily and feel at home as they moved from house to house, from country to country".¹² Similarly, the Rule and Constitutions of the Sisters of Mercy of Dublin were taken to Athy and from there to Callan and finally from Callan to Parramatta, in colonial New South Wales. A similar story can be told of the transfer of the Rule and Constitutions of the Sisters of Charity to Australian soil.

The Rules also of course imposed uniformity and conformity and contributed to the dissolution of individuality. They also contained instructions on other areas of religious life such as St Ignatius', short collection of rules entitled "Rules of Modesty" or "Rules of Deportment" which "because of their authorship were accorded great respect"¹³ and which were included in the Rules of religious sisters. Besides these three collections, many other documents that had "flowed from the pens of the early Jesuits" and that were basically job descriptions were adapted for the female religious orders. As mentioned above, the Rules, which the religious orders followed and which are referred to in this

theses were written by men. The Sisters of Charity Rule had been written by the Jesuit father, Father St Leger. The Sisters of Mercy Rule had been written by Father Callahan. The Sisters of St Joseph's Rule had initially been written by Father Tennison Woods, a Jesuit priest. These Rules were re-written into the accepted form during Mother Mary MacKillop's visit to Rome to have them approved. When she returned to Australia she asked her sisters if the Rules adequately expressed the charism of the Order. The sisters expressed their concern that the rules were too "masculine". Mother MacKillop re-wrote the Rules into a form, which were known as Customs and Practices. The Customs and Practices were read each Wednesday and the Constitutions and the Rules were read each Friday.

The Rules of each order were contained in a small black book, which the sisters were expected to carry with them and refer to constantly. They contained a summary of the points set out in the Constitution, but particularly dealt with the actual practices that a religious sister needed to concern herself with in her daily life and aspiration toward perfection. These texts therefore enable us to re-construct in some detail, the routine of daily life for example the regimes, the daily timetable, what the ringing of the bells meant, and the importance of the ritual of punishment, to mention a few. The topics covered in the Rule were divided into sections as follows:

- "1. Of the necessity of the Constitution
2. Of the end and manner of living of this Congregation
3. Of true self abnegation
4. Of the acquirement of Perfection and solid virtue
5. Domestic exhortations
6. Of the Care of the interior
7. Of Poverty
8. Of Chastity and Custody of the Senses

9. Of Obedience ".¹⁴

Embedded within each of the above sections were the practices and regimes that were to regulate and govern each moment of the religious sister's life – from profession to departure, from rising to sleeping – no moment of a religious sister's day was left unaccounted for or unregulated and the sisters were inculcated with this reality during their novitiate.

The Church and the concomitant monastic culture had realised for centuries, that if the Church was to have control over each individual and its community, then the body and corporeality of the individual Catholic had to be subjugated and disciplined, denied and ignored, in order to achieve the Church's objective of total control, while simultaneously enabling it to indoctrinate its adherents with the belief that adherence to bodily control was the way to external salvation. Within this scheme the subjugation and disciplining of the female body was regarded as far more necessary and difficult than the control and discipline that was believed necessary for the male body, due to the perceived closeness of women to flesh and the carnality of the female body. But once the Church was able to achieve control and discipline over the female body, this control was utilised to oppress women in general and religious sisters in particular.

Foucault (1988) provides a theoretical framework upon which to explore the regimes and "technologies" the religious sisters engaged in order to achieve their ideal way of being. At a seminar entitled Technologies of the Self, Foucault states that his objective for twenty-five years had been "to sketch out a history of different ways in our culture that humans have developed knowledge about themselves: economics, biology, psychology, medicine and penology".¹⁵ The main point according to Foucault, was "not to accept this knowledge at

face value but analyse these so-called sciences as very specific “truth-games” or discourses related to specific techniques that human beings use to understand themselves”.¹⁶

As a context, Foucault states that “we must understand that there are four major types of these technologies; each a matrix of practical reason”.¹⁷ These “technologies include: 1) technologies of production; 2) technologies of sign systems; 3) technologies of power which determine the conduct of individuals and submit them to certain ends or domination, an objectivising of the subject; 4) technologies of the self, which permit individuals to effect by their own means or with the help of others a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct and way of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection or immortality”.¹⁸ Although Foucault claims that the “four technologies hardly ever function separately each one being associated with a certain type of domination, each implying certain modes of training and modification of individuals”,¹⁹ I will mainly be concentrating on the last two in this work, which Foucault himself states he has concentrated most of his effort on. And interestingly for this work is the point that the Catholic Church itself and religious orders had applied the principles of these two “technologies” for centuries prior to Foucault’s work as successful methods of discipline and control.

Foucault (1977) develops his thesis on the third “technology” listed above, in his work *Discipline and Punish*. Foucault, in this work identifies with the term “discipline” the new social “technologies” that were devised by various institutions of control, to ensure that the process of discipline was successful. Within such institutions where individuals were socialised into a particular way of life and then expected to live this form of life every

moment of their existence that is, becoming one with the requirements of the institution which they had joined, similar “technologies” were utilised to ensure their efficient operation. These “technologies” existed in every facet of the institution from the construction of the building, which housed a particular institution through to the methods of regulation and control that were imposed on the individual’s body.

In *Technologies of the Self*, Foucault discusses as the title of the book suggests, the imposition of “technologies of the self” which allow for the imposition of control over itself by itself, to the point where there is an interface “between the technologies of domination of others and those of the self”.²⁰ Such an interface is particularly relevant when institutions such as the Church or a religious order are attempting to maintain control over its adherents while simultaneously perpetuating itself. On the societal level, as mentioned in Chapter 1, Turner (1984) states that there are four tasks that a society or community must solve in order to achieve self-perpetuation. These are:

1. How to continue reproducing itself through the recruitment of new members.
In order to ensure that the “right” type of person is recruited the organisation must clearly specify the criteria for joining and be prepared to expel those members who do not “measure up”. Religious orders clearly specify in their Rules and Constitutions what type of individual was acceptable to join and who was not, and the periods and procedures of traineeships.
2. How to regulate its members. Clearly defined rules for appropriate behaviour and punishments for failure to exhibit such behaviour must be clearly specified and monitored. This was achieved by controlling the daily routine and ensuring that there was no room for autonomous action.

3. How to restrain its members. The individual must learn discipline and control through self-denial by imposing restrictions on diet, sleep, time, behaviour and encouraging self-denial and self-restraint.
4. How its members are represented. It is important for a group, such as a religious order to present itself as a uniform whole not only to the world outside but also to itself as to what the "ideal" religious sister should be. ²¹

On the individual level, as also discussed in Chapter 1, Frank (1991) proposes four questions which the body must ask itself as it undertakes action in relation to some object, whether that object be itself, another sister or a student, the answers will assist the self to dominate itself and the self to impose the "technologies of domination". ²² The body must ask itself the following questions in relation to each aspect of its being.

- "1. Control – how predictable its performance will be?
2. Desire – is the body lacking or producing?
3. Relation to others – does the body relate to itself as monastic and closed in upon itself, or a dyadic in a relationship of mutual construction with others?
4. Self-relatedness – does the body consciously associate itself with its own being particularly its surface, or dissociate itself from that corporeality?" ²³

The absolute control of the body – its presence in the world – how it was seen by others and perceived by the being that was embedded in it – was what the Rule of the religious order was concerned with. Applying the above four questions to the life of a religious sister the following are the questions which a religious sister was required to constantly ask herself and answer by looking to the Rule and the ideal in relation to the existence of her body were:

1. How can I ensure that my body will always perform in the same manner that I will have control over it?
2. How do I ensure that my body does not desire, that I maintain my chasteness both of mind and body?
3. How do I ensure that my body remains within it self, that its existence is isolated even in the community?
4. How do I ensure that my self, even though it possesses the presence of a body, is not the body or its flesh? ²⁴

Using these insights I ask the question how did the religious sister answer the above questions? What were the techniques/regimes that were employed to maintain a woman as a religious sister?

According to Foucault, in order to achieve the domination of the self by itself and self-imposition of "technologies", it was important for the self to "begin with the body dominating itself" ²⁵ and understanding that "this domination" ²⁶ had been "chosen" by the self. ²⁷ The religious Orders of the period under review, contained women who had mainly chosen to enter a convent of their own accord, unlike women of the Middle Ages whose families had placed them there regardless of whether or not they agreed to enter. Therefore, the women who stayed in the religious orders in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries chose the domination of their self and as we shall see in many cases put this self-domination to good use and achieved great things. Foucault suggests that the domination of the self is achieved through "truth games" or discourses. What these "truth games" or discourses were in the case of religious sisters, will be discussed later in the work.

Inherent in achieving the “domination of the self”, the body must be disciplined and discipline itself. Discipline in the process of the “domination of the self”, theorises Foucault, that it will become so internalised that it will ultimately “be identified neither with an institution nor with an apparatus”.²⁸ It becomes what Foucault has indicated as being “a type of power, a modality for its exercise, comprising a whole set of instruments, techniques, procedures, levels of application, targets; it is a “physics” or an “anatomy” of power, a technology”.²⁹ A brand of discipline that was imposed within the confines of the convent walls which was internalised within the religious sister’s body and externalised once again within the classroom. The aura of discipline, therefore, never left a religious sister – it was either being imposed upon her body by herself or by another member of the order, or she was imposing it upon the body of others.

The “techniques, procedures, levels of application, targets”³⁰ or the regimes and practices that a religious sister was expected to adopt, as has been mentioned, were contained in the Rule and Constitutions. All religious sisters were required to consult regularly, at least on a monthly basis, their Rule and Constitutions. So the regime and “technologies” they were expected to live by were constantly at their fingertips. These regimes and “technologies” were designed to totally eradicate the religious sister’s individuality and self. They worked on all aspects of her being from the moment she entered until she departed, operating to produce a disciplined and subjected body, a body that was typically that of a “ideal” “religious sister” in much the same way that the regimes and “technologies”, the “techniques, procedures, levels of application, targets”³¹ of the military operated to produce the disciplined and trained soldier.

Foucault in his work *Discipline and Punish* provides a description of what the body of any soldier by the late eighteenth century could be expected to look like.

"the soldier has become something that can be made out of a formless clay, an inapt body, the machine required can be constructed, posture is gradually corrected; a calculated constraint runs slowly through each part of the body, mastering it, making it pliable, ready at all times, turning silently into the automatism of ready at all times, turning silently into the automatism of habit, in short one has "got rid of the peasant" and given "him the air of a soldier". Recruits become accustomed to "holding their heads high and erect, to standing upright without bending the back, to sticking out their belly, throwing out the chest and throwing back the shoulders; and to help them acquire the habit, they are given this position while standing against the wall in such a way that the heels, the thighs, the waist and the shoulders touch it, as also do the backs of the hands, as one turns the arms outwards, without moving them away from the body....likewise they will be taught to never fix their eyes on the ground, but to look straight at those they pass... to remain motionless until the order is given, without moving the head, hands or the feet....lastly to march with a bold step with knee and taut, on the points of the feet, which should face outwards. (Ordinance of 20 March 1764) ". ³²

By the end of this Chapter a similar description of the religious sister's body will have emerged. By utilising the work of Foucault (1977,1988) Turner (1984, 1991) and Frank (1991) and examining the "technologies"/regimes set out in their Rules and employed by the various religious Orders, it is possible to re-construct the way religious sisters disciplined their bodies in order to achieve their goal of an "ideal" or in Foucault's terms "docile" ³³religious being. It is also possible to determine the process of "direct" and "indirect" somatic learning that their bodies were exposed to, which contributed to the formation of the religious sister's body.

THE VOWS OF THE RELIGIOUS SISTER

"All religious, each and every one, superiors as well as subjects, must not only faithfully and fully observe the vows which they have taken, but must also order their lives according to the Rules and Constitutions of their particular religious community and thereby strive towards perfection on their state in life".³⁴

Canon 487 of the Code of Canon Law defines the religious state "as the stable living in community in which the members undertake to observe not only the common precepts, but also the evangelical counsels as required in the vows of obedience, poverty and chastity".³⁵ Canon 593 states that all religious whether they be a superior or not, must observe the vows they have made and live according to the Rule and Constitutions of their chosen institute. Religious were required to live every aspect of their Rules and Constitutions as "perfectly" as possible.

Upon profession, a religious sister took a number of vows, these being the vows of poverty, chastity and obedience. The profession is a public and formal to live the religious life and the vows that a religious takes are the means for achieving this. The vow of poverty means that members renounce their right to dispose of any temporal thing without the permission of the proper superior. The vow of chastity bound members to observe celibacy and to abstain from every act contrary to it. The vow of obedience, which was considered the most important and most written about by various Church authors, bound religious to obey their superior in all aspects of religious life, particularly in relation to the observance of the vows and the Constitution and the Rule. These vows operated to control the religious sister's life and in effect covered all areas of her being. The requirements of each vow was included in the Rule, which set out the regimes and "technologies" that a religious sister

was expected to follow in relation to each vow and provided the mechanism or “technologies” by which the religious sister could achieve a disciplined body and annihilated self.

Poverty

“A religious ought to esteem herself, happy to be in want not only of the conveniences of life but even of the things she could procure to herself without infringing on her sacred engagements. Poverty is her patrimony, her inheritance, her treasure. She is eager to see the hardest privations and rejoices when she is able to find them”.³⁶

This vow, unlike the other two vows to be discussed below, was interpreted and lived differently in each of the Orders. The sisters in the Orders under review should have had no difficulty in following this vow as “they could not make one decision regarding the ownership of material items whatsoever...Whenever a sister needed something even as essential and as small as a toothbrush, she asked permission from the superior to obtain it from the bursar or from a cupboard in which the supplies were stored. Once they had taken the vow of poverty they had no further responsibility but to rely on the superior for their needs”.³⁷

For the Sisters of St Joseph, their vow of poverty was strict and the first draft of their Rule indicated just how strict their vow of poverty was and how strictly it was to be applied. The Sisters of St Joseph were established to help the poorest of poor in Australia. Father Woods, the co-founder of the Order required his sisters to be: “poor, humble and consider themselves the least among all religious orders, studying to keep themselves and their lives hidden in God as the life of St Joseph was. They must give place and preference to the

religious of every other order and their highest ambition must be to remain poor and unknown".³⁸

Father Woods also required his sisters to: "be prepared to take charge of schools in any district, no matter how poor, and they may live in any house they can get, no matter how small the rooms, nor how few, bare and dilapidated; even one room may be taken for a time until better accommodation can be afforded".³⁹

Unlike the Sisters of Mercy and the Sisters of Charity, the women who chose to join the Sisters of St Joseph were not required to provide a "dowry" upon entry. This made the life of poverty that the Sisters of St Joseph were expected to endure an extreme one, requiring them to beg for alms and go without food, learning first hand what poverty was like. Father Woods required that:

"The houses shall be absolutely without revenues and the Sisters shall derive their support entirely from either the schools, the Institutions over which they have charge or from alms. This support shall be no more than sufficient to provide them with food, clothing and other necessary expenses of house or school, and all that is in excess shall be applied either to the support of the houses of the Institute which have not sufficient, or for the maintenance of the schools in very poor parishes, or for works of charity.....The houses shall be very poor and fitted with furniture such as poor people use. The chairs and table shall be of common wood, no carpets on the floors. The hangings of the windows must be of plain cotton, without ornament. The beds must be of straw, with coverlets such as used for the poor. The vessels of tin or earthenware of a common kind. The bedsteads of wood. The oratory shall be neatly furnished, as far as the altar is concerned, but with no expensive furniture. The benches for the choir must be plain forms or stools of wood covered with coarse woolen baize....." ⁴⁰

The Sisters of Mercy, Parramatta Rule required the sisters to assume an attitude of detachment from material things and to be "content with the food and raiment allowed to them and ready at all times to relinquish the objects allotted to their use". According to McGrath (1988), from 1888 until 1945, the food of the sisters of the Mercy Order was of poor quality and frequently ill-prepared, owing largely to the poor facilities in the kitchen. "The novices often went hungry during this period. The major superiors were unaware of this for some time because some food always reached the end of the table since some of the self-sacrificing novices left it for others. The novices did not consider it appropriate to complain since they knew that the Mistress of Novices thought it a good sign of a vocation if a postulant were perfectly satisfied with the common diet, having instilled into her novices the inappropriateness of expressing discontent about food or clothing".⁴¹ The change in diet or lack of food must have been difficult, particularly for those girls who came from homes where food was plentiful. It must also have affected their performance, but they would have been encouraged to offer any discomfort to God. It would also have been regarded as another way in which the novice could discipline her body by exercising self-denial and restraint.

Chastity and Custody of the Senses

The vow of chastity was only briefly mentioned in the Constitutions of the Orders and was referred to in the Sisters of Charity Constitution of 1927 for example under the heading of the Vow of Chastity and the Custody of the Senses in the following terms: "What regards the vow of chastity requires no explanation since it is evident how perfectly it ought to be observed, namely by endeavouring the chasteness of the body and mind to initiate the purity of angels".⁴² The manner in which this vow was treated indicates as Turner (1988) has stated, "the awe, silence and fear that surrounded it. Sisters were bound by this vow to

what was sometimes termed the practice of 'the angelic virtue' (and) no-one explained how angels without bodies and so without sexual urges and human beings with normal, functioning bodies could have 'the angelic virtue' in common. Sisters could openly admit breaches of the vows of poverty and obedience and ask for guidance in these areas. It was unthinkable to fail in the vow of chastity. Guidance in this area was therefore not required".⁴³ This vow covered a number of areas which not only forbade what was known as "particular friendships", which will be discussed later, but also set out the care that a religious was suppose to afford the interior and exterior of her being.

Silence and Confession

As the research I have undertaken indicates, religious sisters were expected to be chaste not only of the body but also of the mind. They were expected to keep themselves in interior peace and humility, "showing these characteristics by silence, when this is to be observed; by the prudence and edification of their words, when they ought to speak and at all times by the modesty of their countenance and the religious gravity of their whole deportment, devoid of any appearance of impatience or conceit".⁴⁴ Silence was to be observed at all times except during recreation. Learning the art of and living in silence was regarded by Church authorities as being essential in every religious community and for every individual who wished to lead a spiritual life. The reason that the maintenance of silence was of such importance in religious life was so that sisters could spend as much time as possible conversing with God, rather than wasting time talking to others. In times of silence, sisters could only speak in "cases of necessity and then not more than necessary, and above all in a low voice, that the only person to whom they speak can hear them, so that the quiet of the house will not be disturbed especially in such places where the sisters are about, such as the refectory, oratory...."⁴⁵

The period of silence which sisters were expected to observe was a long one and according to the Rule was to be observed from the evening meal until after Mass in the morning, or where there was no Mass, until after morning meditation. This would have been the time of day when individuals would most likely have wished to converse with each other in order to discuss the day's events, problems and concerns and thus enforcing a requirement that would be contrary to the normal pattern of daily living. If a sister was to break the period of silence, there was to be a very urgent reason for her doing so during this time and then it was to be done with the least possible noise. Sisters were also to observe silence when walking through the streets or when they visited places, where seculars might see them. When outside the convent walls and in public view, they were required to "guard their senses" ⁴⁶ by keeping their eyes down and "occupying their thoughts with prayer thus excluding as much as possible worldly distractions". ⁴⁷ When it was necessary for a sister to speak with non-religious, she was instructed to do this in such a manner so that the secular person to whom she was speaking would feel "edified by speaking with them" ⁴⁸ and understand that they were speaking with "spiritual persons, who care nothing for the vanities of the world". ⁴⁹ Sisters were instructed that conversations on secular subjects with individuals outside of the convent were to be avoided, or kept as short as possible. ⁵⁰

The times of the day, which the religious sister was able to converse with her fellow sisters was also specified, as was the topics she was allowed to discuss. The only time that sisters were given the "privilege" of speaking at times they would not normally be allowed, were on four "classes" of recreation days. These "classes" allowed them to speak at meals in the

refectory and in the community room during the day. The Rule specified what "class" was to be allowed on what days.

During recreation periods they were encouraged to discuss such subjects as would help them to advance in "virtue, avoiding worldly or secular news, also everything that might wound charity. They should be cheerful not sad or melancholy, but should avoid too loud speaking and boisterous laughter".⁵¹ The Customs and Minor Regulations of the Sisters of Mercy 1920 even went so far as to list subjects, which the sisters were not to converse on:

- "1. The affairs or connections of their own or their sister's families;
 2. The pecuniary circumstances of the convent;
 3. The advice given them by Superiors;
 4. Difficulties experienced in speaking to a Superior;
 5. Criticisms on the manner of a Superior or any directions given;
 6. Difficulties with any duty or any individual;
 7. Their interior trials or temptations;
 8. The subject of a particular examen;
 9. The subject of any sister's accusations;
 10. The peculiarities, want of talent, energy or fitness for the duties of any Sister;
 11. Noticing the absence of a sister from any observance or her leaving it before the usual time;
 12. Complaints of labour or fatigue;
 13. Worldly amusements or news unless the latter be something to edify;
 14. Speaking of the faults of the children or other whom they have charge of;
 15. General or particular faults;
 16. Any advice given them by their Confessor or any remark on the time a Sister has been at confession."
- ⁵²

The Rules of St Joseph also listed the topics of conversation, which the sisters were forbidden to discuss. These topics covered matters of a worldly nature including "politics,

marriages, family affairs, position in life, superiority of birth or education, nationality.”⁵³ Not only were their topics of conversation controlled, so too was the correspondence that was received into and sent out of the convent. All such correspondence was required to pass through the hands of the superior, unless they were addressed to or from a higher superior.

It is clear that the above list of outlawed topics of conversation that sisters were forbidden from mentioning covered those topics that would enable them to express any emotion or refer to what was happening in the world outside. They were also unable to acknowledge their own feelings or problems, not only in relation to themselves but in relation to their fellow sisters. Perhaps it was assumed that if such matters were not articulated for general hearing but left unsaid then they would not have to be dealt with or discussed publicly and harmony would be maintained. One would wonder how this left a religious sister feeling, as part of the condition of human existence is to share feelings of frustration, joy, disappointment, etc. The discussion of such feelings or problems were to be heard only by certain individuals such as the religious sister's superior or confessor and were to form part of the “truth games”⁵⁴ which helped an individual religious sister achieve “domination of the self”⁵⁵ by renouncing herself. Foucault (1988) in *Technologies of the Self* states that confession played an important part in penal and religious institutions in allowing individuals to renounce themselves for all offenses, not only those related to sex. Confession was the flip side of silence and was another disciplinary technique employed by the Church to maintain control.⁵⁶ Carrette (2000) in his work *Foucault and Religion* made this connection between the twin requirements of the Church to confess and to remain silent and highlights the fact that Foucault did not explicitly relate the two to each other.

The purpose of confession for the Church was to allow the individual to verbally articulate her sins or transgressions against the laws of the Church. Of particular interest to the Church were those sins that related to the body. Sexual behaviour according to Foucault, "more than any other was submitted to very strict rules of secrecy, decency and modesty, so that sexuality was related in strange and complex way both to verbal prohibition and to the obligation to tell the truth of hiding what one does and deciphering who one is. The association of prohibition and strong incantations to speak is a constant feature of our culture."⁵⁷ The theme of the renunciation of the flesh was linked to the confession of the monk to the abbot, to telling the abbot everything he had in his mind.⁵⁸ Christianity as has been mentioned "belongs to the salvation religions".⁵⁹ Individuals were encouraged to continually confess and repent for their so-called "sins" so that they could achieve eternal life.

In order to achieve eternal life, "Christianity imposed a set of conditions and rules of behaviour for a certain transformation of the self".⁶⁰ It also imposed "very strict obligations of truth, dogma and canon. The duty to accept a set of obligations, to hold certain books as permanent truth, not only to believe certain things but to show that one believes and to accept institutional authority are all characteristics of Christianity".⁶¹ Apart from faith, Christianity requires "each person to know who they are, that is to try to know what is happening inside him, to acknowledge faults, to recognise temptations, to locate desires and everyone is obliged to disclose these things either to God or to others in the community and hence to bear public or private witness against oneself".⁶² The laity were encouraged to attend the sacrament of Confession regularly. The Rule of religious orders also provided for regular attendance at Confession and provided for a sister to confess to

her superior for certain transgressions. Confession in the Catholic faith was a formal experience requiring the individual to follow a certain format and say certain words, prior to her giving her Confession to the priest. At the conclusion of the Confession, the individual making the Confession was given a certain penance, which she was required to undertake. Such penance was regulated by the Church and usually included reciting a number of prayers. A religious sister was provided with a number of opportunities to unburden herself of her sins – she could speak with her Superior regarding minor transgressions against the Rule and she could confess to the order's confessor, who was a priest. There was also the public forum of the "Chapter of Faults" at which a sister could either publicly admit her faults or have them named for her by other sisters. The "Chapter of Faults" will be discussed in the next Chapter.

Apart from regularly attending Confession and submitting to the "Chapter of Faults" a religious sister was to undertake "self-examination". Foucault (1988) states that there are three major types of self-examination, which the religious sister would have engaged in from time to time - "1. Self-examination with respect to thoughts in correspondence to reality (Cartesian), 2. self-examination with respect to the way our thoughts relate to Rules (Senecan), 3. the examination of the self with respect to the relation between the hidden thought and inner impurity".⁶³

Silence and confession are therefore "two aspects of the same thing. In both instances the hidden aim of Christianity is to 'extinguish' the flesh and control, either through speech or by constraining speech (silence). The significant point is that, in both silence and confession, religion remains for Foucault 'a constant principle of coercion', an oppressive mechanics of power".⁶⁴

The Demeanour of the Religious Sister

Apart from guarding her senses, especially "the eyes, the ears and tongue", ⁶⁵ from what the Church referred to as "all disorder", ⁶⁶ a religious sister was expected to exercise a complete and unending control over the body, in all settings of social interaction, particularly those parts of her body that were visible. Such control was necessary if the sister was to be what Goffman (1969) and others have referred to as a "competent agent" and argued "to be a competent agent moreover means not only maintaining such continuous control but being seen by others to do so. A competent agent is one routinely seen to so by other agents. He or she must avoid lapses of bodily control or signal to others by gestures or exclamations that there is nothing 'wrong' if such events occur". As facial expressions and bodily gestures provide the non-verbal context of everyday communication, a religious sister had to control these at all times. The Rule of religious orders contained many directions on how a religious sister was to present herself to the outside world, directions which did not change for decades, if not centuries. St Ambrose described the demeanour a religious sister was to adopt as follows: "no boldness in her looks, no excess freedom in her speech, no lack of seemliness in her appearance, no uncontrolled gestures, no slackness of bearing, no loudness of voice". ⁶⁷

The 1866 version of the Rules of the Sisters of Charity included a set of Rules relating to modesty. These Rules dealt with every visible part of the religious sister's body and described exactly the manner in which she was expected to present them:

"The Head:

Must not lightly toss the head, but turn it gently when necessary.

The Eyes:

Eyes cast down not immediately raised, nor turned from side to side.

The Look:

Must not stare, particularly when speaking with someone in authority.

Serenity of Countenance:

No frowning and all contortions of countenance are to be avoided, that exteriorly there appear an image of the inward serenity of the mind.

The Lips:

Lips not be too much compressed nor too open.

Cheerfulness of countenance:

Countenance to speak joy rather than melancholy, or any less appropriate disposition of the mind.

The dress:

Attire must be neat and arranged with religious decorum.

The hands:

Hands must be kept moderately quiet, if not duly engaged.

The Gait:

Pace should be moderate without remarkable haste.

General deportment:

All their actions and motions must be such as to give edification.

Order of Walking:

If they be many, they must observe the order prescribed by the Superior, of walking two or three together.

Edification of words:

Whenever they speak, they must remember the modesty and edification which they ought to inspire, as well by their words, as by the tone and manner in which they are attired.⁶⁸

In the Josephite Order a religious sister was instructed to "...walk carefully, with modesty, speak in a low tone, answer humbly, reprove gently, receive reproof with meekness, bear reproach with patience and with eyes cast down and submissive aspect".⁶⁹

The Rules of the Sisters of Mercy Rule, which was handwritten by Catherine McAuley in 1833, also specified the following:

"They shall at all times appear with those cheerful yet reserved manners which characterise religious modesty and forms the dignified deportment that becomes a person's

conscience.....to God. This deportment will be the index of a mind equally free from restraint and levity it will give the eyes that humble expression which bespeaks a feeling recollection of mind almost naturally because wholly unaffected, the countenance should be ever serene and cheerful and exhibit that sweet religious gravity which is lost by loved laughter, ...and words, every action and gesture even the walk of the Religious should show a recollected mind, free from all that agitates and disturbs, haste may be necessary, but hurried steps in question precipitation shall be carefully avoided. The manner of passing through the convent should be free from the appearance of bustle, hurry precipitation or levity but should be equally free from loitering or apparent want or purpose. Custody of eyes should be assiduously avoided". ⁷⁰

The Religious Habit

Not only was the appearance and the behaviour of the body and the face of the religious specified in the Rule, so too was the garb the body was to be clothed in, clearly defined. As Giddens (1991) states "in all cultures dress is a means of symbolic display, a way of giving external form to narratives of self identity". ⁷¹ In keeping with the attitude of strict control and discipline of the body, the clothes that a religious was expected to wear reinforced this. The body of a religious sister was to be totally hidden, in much the same that women of the Islamic faith were, with only the face and hands remaining visible. The Sisters of Charity Rule described the "habit" – as the religious garb was known - that a religious sister was expected to wear, in the following manner:

"Is of woollen material hanging in full folds from the throat to the ground with loose sleeves reaching to the finger tips. A guimpe of the same material reaching below the waste is fastened at the back. The habit is fastened around the waist with a woollen cincture to which a rosary of large beads is attached. The head dress is a cap of white linen with a linen collar around the throat and a veil of light black material. The veil of the domestic sister is shorter reaching to the elbows and is made only of white linen. The church cloak falling from the shoulders is of black cashmere, a train half a yard of length is

worn when appropriate.....A gold ring on the third finger of the left hand and a brass crucifix suspended from the neck are to be worn by the professed sisters".⁷²

The Sisters of Mercy Order was even more prescriptive in describing the habit that the Mercy religious sister was to wear. Appendix B sets out in detail each item of the Mercy Order religious habit in relation to the measurements and the material that each part of the habit was to be made from, how the habit was to function to differentiate postulants and novices from fully professed sisters and lay sisters from choir sisters and what religious items were to adorn the habit. From the above description and the habit specifications contained in Appendix A, the habit was intended to restrict movement of the religious sister and to cover her body from head to toe, leaving only the face and hands visible. The design of the habit particularly limited the movement of the face and hands as the material which surrounded the religious sister's head and anchored her veil was stiff and attached to a collar around her throat, so as to keep her head still and her eyes looking straight ahead. Raymond (1986) aptly describes the habit as usually enshrouding the religious sister's body, becoming "a kind of clothing cloister that encumbered all sorts of physical activities".⁷³ By making the sleeves of the dress extra long the religious sister could withdraw her hands into her sleeves and keep them hidden from sight when not in use. It is also to be noted that the type of material used for the habit was suitable to the Irish climate. No adjustment was made for the type of climate that the Sisters of Charity and Sisters of Mercy, Parramatta encountered upon coming to Australia.

The habit of the Sisters of St Joseph was similar in design but did, at least according to the words of its Rule, take account of the climate of Australia, although the following description of the Sisters of St Joseph habit does not indicate that this was the case:

"Brown woollen dress, brown in winter, in summer where the heat of the climate would make such a colour oppressive a mantle of Holland. The habit should not be made with an ample skirt, but economy of material and gathered in at the waist by a leather girdle from which shall hang a strong chaplet of wood and bone beads joined with iron wire and terminated by a small cross. They shall wear a small wear a small crucifix in their belt. They may wear a brown bonnet and veil in winter. In winter they may also wear a black woollen mantle. All these things must be of poor material..... of which they must take extra care to make them last longer as would better quality material. The body linen shall be unbleached calico, which shall be dark and of good wool. Flannel undergarments may be worn but of coarser kind of material, not of the coarsest however, because of the heat of the climate. They shall wear strong black boots and should have two pairs in case of the wet weather The professed sisters wear upon their breasts a large blue monogram of the Blessed Virgin, between three letters J in honour of Jesus, Joseph and St John the Baptist thus typifying the holy family. This monogram shall be made of plain woollen braid".⁷⁴

The harshness of the material against the body must have taken time to adjust to wearing, particularly before the "body linen" had been washed several times and consequently softened. The process of dressing in the religious habit was ritualised as the religious sister was required to repeat certain words or prayers as she dressed herself. For example, when the sister rose in the morning, she was to say to herself a prayer while dressing and undertake certain actions such as: "To kiss the vest. To put on as much as possible their clothes that can be done with decency. To observe great modesty in dressing. To dress promptly so as to shake off sloth".⁷⁵ Or when putting on the chain or haircloth to reflect on the following:

"1. At putting on chain or haircloth, to reflect with what cruelty Christ was bound for our sin; 2. In reverence to our divine Saviour this bound to punish our flesh by those mortifications; 3. In reverence to our Saviour in chains to endeavour to tie up our unruly appetites as dogs are tied up with chains; 4. Then putting on the haircloth to contemplate the fools that coat and purple garment with which in derision.....Jesus was clothed; 5. To

esteem the haircloth as the garb of Christ, which we put on to be like him; 5. To esteem the chain as the chain of Christ which will draw us to perfection".⁷⁶

Once the religious sister had put the haircloth on she was to make the following resolution:

- "1. Carry out duties with the greatest exactness;
2. Observe great interior and exterior recollection;
3. Show great reverence in Church;
4. Not to indulge in levity or idle mirth;
5. To speak of spiritual things and not to engage in conversation on useless subjects;
6. To resist all temptations;
7. To aim at the most perfect purity of conscience".⁷⁷

The specificity of dress also pervaded the allocation of furniture, manchester and the other few pieces of property that the sisters were allowed to have in their "cell". The cells were sparsely furnished with floors of scrubbed or polished boards. The Sisters of Charity Rule specified what the sisters were allowed to have in their cell or room and included an iron bedstead, curtains, mattress, three blankets, bolster pillow, two pairs of sheets, two bolster covers, pillow slips, quilt, crucifix, chair, clothes press, table for basin, jug, mug and little plate, a looking glass, candlestick three towels and three dusters.⁷⁸

Particular Friendships

Apart from the manner in which a religious was to 'present' her body, the vow of Chastity also covered what the religious world referred to as "particular friendships" or a religious sister's relationship with other religious sisters. The Sisters of Charity Rule (1860) required the sisters to address each other with the title Mother or Sister. A religious sister was not to seek out any particular companion in the order, particularly during recreation periods. "All should endeavour to avoid the recurrence of either for many days consecutively, for

fear of dis-edification and want of respect and deference for the remainder of the community which this choice would evince".⁷⁹ Rules also existed forbidding sisters to enter the chamber or cell of another sister without permission and if they did enter the cell of another sister, the door was to be left open while the sisters were together. This requirement reinforced the notion that sisters were continually under surveillance. Sisters were not permitted to touch each other, only to embrace in a token of charity on leaving the convent or returning to it. Sisters were not allowed to speak with "externs" or people outside the convent without permission and then only in the manner specified in the Rule.

The Rule of the various Orders attempted to keep the physical and indeed the particular nature of friendship within the boundaries of moderation.⁸⁰ According to Raymond, "the fact that these boundaries were assailed is attested to by the prohibitions against particular friendships and the expressions of what were called 'undue intimacies'".⁸¹ The past Rule of Sisters of Mercy highlights the attitude in religious orders toward the potential formation of "particular friendships":⁸² "as the love and union of religious persons should be founded not on flesh and blood or on any human motive, but on God alone.....The sisters shall not admit any inordinate particular friendships, attachments of affections among them".⁸³

According to Raymond, "spiritual caveats against particular friendships fell into two categories".⁸⁴ The first was offenses against the virtue of charity.⁸⁵ "An ordinate particular friendship is one based on purely natural motives that may be foolish, sentimental or even sensual in character. It leads those Sisters concerned to violate silence and charity".⁸⁶ It was feared that "particular friendships" would be harmful to the spirit of community living, would create factions and ultimately be injurious to the love of all in the community.⁸⁷ As early as the Rule of St Benedict in the sixth century, it was intimated that "particular

friendships" led to the formation of factions that would disturb and destroy the cohesiveness of the group. Particular love was seen as tending toward exclusive love and exclusive love was regarded as initiating the demise of religious life.⁸⁸

The second spiritual claim brought against "particular friendships" was that it "violated the vow of chastity. In taking the vow of chastity religious sisters promised to avoid all undue familiarities, to guard modesty in all their actions to mortify their senses. Chastity was often interpreted as refraining from illicit intimacy with the opposite sex. Behind all this was the fear of lesbianism".⁸⁹

Religious were continually monitored by their peers and superiors to ensure that they did not develop "particular friendships". "Almost every woman who entered a convent prior to Vatican Council II, has memories of herself or others being censured for developing what was judged as undue intimacy with another woman, whether with a sister in training or an older professed sister. Often such censure was traumatic because the woman was made to feel that by singling out another in friendship, by wanting to spend time with another and be demonstrating affection – all very human inclinations – she was doing something that was an 'occasion of sin' or worse in the emerging age of pastoral psychology she was engaged in abnormal act".⁹⁰

Conclusion

After completing her training in the novitiate a religious sister was required to submit herself to the requirements of the Order's Constitution and Rules and adhere to the vows that she agreed to at her profession. In this Chapter I have examined two of the four vows that sisters lived their lives according to – the vows of poverty and chastity. Both of these

vows operated to restrict the way a religious sister lived her life and to discipline her body in very specific ways. The next Chapter will concentrate on the vow of obedience, which was considered the most important and difficult vow to adhere to. It will examine the "technologies" that a religious sister constantly imposed upon her body and self in order to sculpt a body that was "docile", obedient and Catholic in nature.

Chapter Notes

¹ Jerome Epistle 130, PL 22:116

² Frank A W; "For a Sociology of the Body: An Analytical Review" in Featherstone M, Hepworth M and

Turner B S; *The Body Social Process and Cultural Theory*, Sage Publications, 119, p.50

³ *Ibid*

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 49

⁵ Perinelle J; *God's Highways The Religious Life and Secular Institutes*, Blackfriars Publications, 1958, p.

317

⁶ Colin L; *The Practice of the Rule*, Mercier Press, 1957, p.32

⁷ O'Malley J W; *The First Jesuits*, Mercier Press, 1993, p. 336

⁸ *Ibid.*, p.337

⁹ Sisters of Charity; *Constitutions of the Pious Congregation of the Religious Sisters of Charity*, 1936

¹⁰ O'Malley J W; *op.cit.*, p.335

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*, p.338

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Sisters of Charity, *Rule of the Sisters of Charity*, 1866

¹⁵ Martin L H, Gutman H and Hutton P H; *Technologies of the Self A Seminar with Michele Foucault*,

1988, pp. 17-18

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 18

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.*, p.19

²² Turner B S; *Body and Society Explorations of Social Theory*, Basil Blackwell, 1984, p.91

²³ Frank A W; *op.cit.* 1991, pp.51-53

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 51-52

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p.56

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ Foucault M; *Discipline and Punish The Birth of the Prison*, Penguin, 1977, p.215

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² *Ibid.*, pp.135-136

³³ *Ibid.*, pp.135-169

³⁴ Colin L; *op.cit.*, p.35

-
- ³⁵ Perinelle J; *op.cit.* p. 18
- ³⁶ Sister Veronica O'Brien, Sister of Charity in the second half of the nineteenth century. Sister of Charity Archives.
- ³⁷ Turner N; *Which Seeds Shall Grow?* Collins Dove, 1988, p.59
- ³⁸ Woods T; *Rules for the Institute of St Joseph*, Adelaide, October 1867 published in Resource Material from Archives of the Sisters of St Joseph Issue No.3 Revised, 1984, p.20
- ³⁹ *Ibid.*, p.22
- ⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p.21-22
- ⁴¹ McGrath M S; *These Women? Women Religious in the History of Australia The Sisters of Mercy Parramatta 1888-1988*, New South Wales University Press, 1988, p.129
- ⁴² Sisters of Charity, *Constitution*, 1927, Chapter VIII, Article 64
- ⁴³ Turner N., *op.cit.*, p.46
- ⁴⁴ Sisters of Charity; *Rules*, Article 29
- ⁴⁵ Sisters of St Joseph; *Rules for the General Guidance of the Sisters of St Joseph of the Sacred Heart*, 1883, p.7
- ⁴⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p.8
- ⁴⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁰ *Ibid.*
- ⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p.7
- ⁵² Sisters of Mercy; *Customs and Minor Regulations*, 1920
- ⁵³ Sisters of St Joseph; *Rules*, 1883, p.10
- ⁵⁴ Martin et al; *op.cit.*, p. 18
- ⁵⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁶ Carrette J R; *Foucault and Religion Spiritual Corporeality and Political Spirituality*, Routledge, 2000
- ⁵⁷ Martin et al; *op.cit.*, p.40
- ⁵⁸ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁰ *Ibid.*
- ⁶¹ *Ibid.*
- ⁶² *Ibid.*
- ⁶³ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁴ Carrette J R; *op.cit.*, p.36
- ⁶⁵ Sisters of Charity; *Constitutions*, 1927, Chapter VIII, Article 65
- ⁶⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁷ Colin L; *op.cit.*, p.256
- ⁶⁸ Sisters of Charity; *Rules of Modesty*, 1866
- ⁶⁹ Sisters of St Joseph, *Rule*, 1867
- ⁷⁰ Sisters of Mercy; *Rule*, Handwritten by Catherine McAuley, 1833
- ⁷¹ Giddens A; *Modernity and Self-Identity Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 1991, p.62
- ⁷² Sisters of Charity, *Constitution*, 1936
- ⁷³ Raymond J; *A Passion for Friends Towards a Philosophy of Female Affection*, Beacon Press, 1986.,p.100
- ⁷⁴ Sisters of St Joseph; *Rule*, 1867
- ⁷⁵ Iodioguez X; *Practices of the Novices of the Society of Jesus*, 1838
- ⁷⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁸ Sisters of Charity; *General Customs*, 1860

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ Raymond J; *op.cit.*, p.93

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p.92

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p.93

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

CHAPTER 6

Introduction

"Monastic discipline leads to a greater perfection if it is accepted perfectly. It preserves us from eternal punishment and makes us attain a very high place in heaven. It consists above all in keeping silence periods well, assisting devoutly at singing divine office and in giving yourself over without reserve to the manual work that is assigned. If this discipline is flourishing in the monastery, there will be great peace and holiness there. But if this discipline is under attack, disorder enters the community vices appear and virtues die away. When discipline is respected the....soul is filled with joy, the spirit receives divine light, the flesh is mortified".¹

In this Chapter I shall examine the vow of obedience and what abiding by it meant for a religious teaching sister. In examining this vow it will become apparent that for most sisters it would have been the most difficult vow to live by and one that required the total giving over of the self and the body to another. The vow also involved the ability to unconsciously apply the various "technologies" that had been somatically learnt during the novitiate period. Obedience as practised by religious in the monastic tradition, was "a sacrifice of the self, of the subject's own will",² which according to Foucault (1988) was part of the "new technology of the self".³ Obedience pervaded every aspect of a religious sister's life and meant the complete submission of her body and her will to the order's Rule and her superior. Catholic men and women were indoctrinated from very early in their lives that Catholicism was based on a system of law and obedience to the Church was a virtue that all Catholics were to strive for. At the apex of this legal system was the pope who could through the hierarchical power structure of cardinals, bishops and priests easily direct the life of and maintain surveillance over every individual member of the Church. The authority of the

pope also extended to the superiors of religious orders, and religious sisters were required to obey the directions of their superiors, because the superiors through the virtue of their position of authority spoke with the voice of God.

Throughout the period under review the leadership of the Catholic Church passed through the hands of a number of popes, but the pope who was to have the most enduring effect not only on religious orders but also individual Catholics and Catholicism was Pius IX. During his leadership, the Church attempted to return to the position of power and control that it had occupied prior to the changes to society that had been brought about by the French, Industrial and technological Revolutions of the late eighteenth century. Pius IX instead of taking the Catholic Church forward, was "an unyielding opponent of all 'liberal' movements, intellectual and cultural, in politics, thought and theology. Under him a paternalistic 'Ultramontanism', ...spread through Northern and Western Europe".⁴ In an attempt to separate the Church from the secular world Pius IX encouraged the development of a divide between the world outside of the Church and the world inside the Church. Under his leadership the Church became bureaucratised and centralised "and the clergy became more disciplined than ever before because it had been separated from the 'world' as far as possible. The result was an ideologically closed system which legitimated, on the one hand, a distance from the modern world and on the other, the claim to have a monopoly of ultimate interpretations of the world".⁵

It was during Pius IX's period of leadership that the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of Mary was promulgated, not by the Council of the Church as was the normal practice in enunciating new Church doctrines, but by Pius IX himself. In an effort to control the thinking and intellectual development of Catholics he banned them from reading a large number of

informative works including the writings of: Copernicus, Galileo, Descartes, Pascal, Spinoza, Hobbes, Locke, Hume, Kant, Rousseau, Voltaire, John Stuart Mill, Comte, de Montesquieu, Hugo, Dumas, Balzac and Zola. It was also during his reign that the First Vatican Council was held which decreed that: "the pope has a legally binding primacy of jurisdiction over every single church and every individual Christian" ⁶ and that he "possesses the gift of infallibility in his own solemn magisterial decisions. These solemn (ex cathedra) decisions are infallible on the basis of special support from the Holy Spirit and are immutable (irreformable) intrinsically, not by virtue of the assent of the church". ⁷ According to Kung (2001), both of the above decrees are still to this day "the object of resolute Orthodox and Protestant repudiation, and the cause of a split within the Catholic Church that could have been easily avoided". ⁸

Religious teaching sisters conformed with their Rule and Constitutions and to the authority of the superior, because they believed in doing so they earned salvation by being obedient. The sisters were told to bear in mind always that "by the vow of obedience they have renounced their own will and resigned it to the direction of their superiors". ⁹ As Sister Veronica O'Brien succinctly stated: "By the vow of obedience a religious abdicates her will forever. She becomes a pupil for the remainder of her life. She returns to a state of infancy, holy indeed and spiritual which is to last forever. She resigns herself and includes in her will the will of another". ¹⁰ The superior therefore corporally became the most important person in the life of the sister. When she spoke, she spoke on behalf of God, her directions were to be followed without demur or question. Her duty was to maintain order and control within the convent and in so doing she was acting on behalf of God.

Obedience and the Role of the Superior

The role of the superior in any religious congregation was therefore a very important one and each religious sister had instilled in her that she was to obey the voice of her superior as readily, as if it were the voice of God. Superiors were obliged to keep a constant watch over any breaches of discipline, which included "failings in silence, poverty, fasting, cloister and other things of the same nature". Religious sisters were required to make themselves "open to their superior and conceal nothing with which they should be acquainted". ¹¹

The superior had the potential to exercise great psychological power within the convent. Her only restraint was that she was elected by the Congregation and that in the Sisters of Mercy Order for example she was unable to undertake any matter of importance relating to the community without the Bishop's consent. ¹² Matters of importance generally involved matters that were outside the daily running of the order and included such decisions as the admission of novices and whether or not a religious sister should be dismissed from the order. The Sisters of Charity 1927 Constitution directed that the superior was required to gain the consent of the Council General on such matters as the opening of a new house, the suppression of an existing house, or the erection of a new novitiate.

The superior was responsible for a wide range of functions including the appointment of sisters to various positions within the order, the determination of what occupation a sister would undertake, the maintenance of order and ongoing surveillance, ensuring that sisters satisfactorily exercised the various disciplinary "technologies", the management of convent funds, liaising with and implementing the directions of their ecclesiastical superiors, ensuring absolute observance of the Rule and generally governing their congregation. The fact that

religious teaching sisters were regarded as subjects who could be moved from one place to another, or from one occupation to the next with no input, reinforces the notion that the superior potentially had a degree of power, which could be used either to the detriment or the well-being of the order. The Sister of Charity Rule states that the "superior general should influence all members down to the lowest rectoress and local superiors - to inform her of their affairs".¹³ As with the patriarchal Church, the line of authority was hierarchical with obedience being observed by sisters towards local superiors, local superiors to superior generals and superior generals to bishops.

The relationship that existed between the superior and her sisters was a very important one as it was one of the few relationships sanctioned by the Church. But it was not a relationship of equals, rather it was based more on the model of a parent/child relationship where the sisters were required to do exactly as they were told, and not show in any way by their actions that their opinion was contrary to that of the superior. The level of obedience expected was so great that the religious "must have the permission of the director to do anything, even die. Everything he does without permission is stealing. There is not a single moment when the monk can be autonomous. Even when he becomes a director himself, he must retain the spirit of obedience. He must keep the spirit of obedience as a permanent sacrifice of the complete control of behaviour by the master. The self must constitute self through obedience".¹⁴ Sisters were instructed that they had to undertake whatever request was made of them "with great promptness, spiritual joy and perseverance".¹⁵ Their obedience was to be absolute and "blind" rejecting every opinion and judgement of their own which was contrary to that of their superiors. A sister had to persuade herself that: "They must obey not only exteriorly with exactness, promptness, courage and due humility in the execution of whatever command, without excuse or murmur, although the thing

enjoined be difficult and repugnant to nature, but they must also endeavour to have exterior resignation and mortification of their own will and judgement, conforming these in all things in which sin is not manifest, to whatever the Superior wills and thinks making her will and judgement of the rule of their own ". ¹⁶

That little changed in the attitude toward how obedient a religious sister was expected to be even sixty years later is highlighted by the following statement from the Sisters of Charity Constitution of 1927: "They who live under obedience must allow themselves to be ruled and directed by Divine Providence, through their Superiors, as a dead body that suffers itself to be treated in any manner, or like an old man's staff which serves him who holds it whenever and in whatever way he is pleased to make use of it". ¹⁷

The Sister of St Joseph's Rule was even stricter. The following extract highlights just how submissive sisters in this Order were expected to be and how important the role of superior was:

"At the voice of the Superior, or the sound of the bell, every sister must at once, without the least delay, go where she is called, or do that which to she is called, leaving everything else unfinished, as if Jesus Christ himself had called her. When the bell is heard at the end of recreation silence should commence at once, and a sentence just begun should be left unfinished....They must speak to them (their superiors) with reverence, and when the Superior speaks should listen to her without interrupting, and take her commands, advice, or correction with humility, without excusing themselves. They may explain in case of a misunderstanding, but with a calm mind, and without a sign of passion. They must be aware with the greatest anxiety, of that dreadful vice of speaking or acting against Superiors, censuring their actions or commands, or so poisoning the minds of others....They must be prepared to go wherever they are sent.....They must not refuse or complain. They must obey not only the highest Superiors, but with the same readiness the immediate Superior, or Little Sister of the humblest Convent....They must obey their Pastor, as the director of their

conscience,...but he has no power to change or dispense their religious discipline or rules without, or against the concurrence of their Superiors".¹⁸

Distinction between Lay and Choir Sisters

Before continuing, I think it is important to mention that there was a class distinction in many female religious communities, including the Sisters of Charity and Sisters of Mercy, Parramatta between those sisters who had come from middle and upper class backgrounds bringing with them a dowry to the order, and those sisters who had not enjoyed such a privileged upbringing and therefore did not contribute a dowry upon entry. The former, were allocated to the position of "choir" sisters and the latter were allocated domestic roles and referred to as "lay" sisters. "A lay sister or brother is defined as a 'member of a religious order who is not bound to the recitation of the Divine Office and is occupied in manual work'".¹⁹ The sisters who became choir sisters were educated, and upon entering the convent sang the Divine Office, and were involved in the leadership and management of the convent and its special works. The life of the domestic sister was one dedicated to domestic servitude and was entirely different to the life of the choir sister, as indicated by the following rules for Domestic Sisters of the Charity Order:

- " 1. Spend their time doing domestic duties.
- 2. Attain purity of conscience and labour incessantly in the acquirement of those virtues which form the ornament and perfection of their station – piety, gentleness, mildness of disposition, peaceableness.
- 3. At recreation associate with those they hope to receive some spiritual advancement;
- 4. If free time employ it in spiritual exercises or exterior occupations. Must apply to the superior to do this.
- 5. Must esteem all as being superior to themselves....are to behave to all who are not domestic sisters with that humility and respect which is due to their degree.
- 6. Domestic sisters must not take, give, lend or borrow anything without leave of the Superior.

7. Must not be present for spiritual instruction.
8. Must not interfere with others beyond their degree.
9. Cannot read or keep books without leave of Superior. She will select for them to promote their spiritual advancement.
10. Degree of domestic sisters is to employ themselves in whatever lowly or humble occupations may be allotted to them, so that other members may with less interruption attend to their own peculiar duties".²⁰

As indicated above, it was the duty of the lay sisters to wait on the choir sisters – a strict division of labour existed in the convent, which was similar to the division of labour that existed between men and women in society. A division that not only extended to the type of work each group was to undertake but also the personality that they were to assume in doing this work. The choir sisters had their meals cooked, clothes washed and convent cleaned. They concentrated on the development of their spirituality and their teaching career. As highlighted by Appendix A, the distinction between lay and choir sister extended to details of dress, for example, as the choir sisters had a train attached to their habit while lay sisters did not but wore a starched white apron on formal occasions such as mass. The lay sisters did not usually eat with the choir sisters and when they did they sat at the end of the table. They also took recreation by themselves except in a branch house where there was only one lay sister.²¹ Mary MacKillop in keeping with her egalitarian views, did not, in establishing her Order divide her sisters into lay and choir. Rather in the 1883 Sisters of St Joseph Rules it was stated that "those who may have received a more polite education than ordinary, or may have moved in higher worldly positions, must always remember that they have left those things outside the doors of St Joseph's Convent... The more humbly born must not easily resent or take to themselves accidental or thoughtless remarks. All must remember there are no grades or distinctions in the Institute of St Joseph of the Sacred Heart".²²

THE DISCIPLINE OF THE RULE AND THE IMPOSITION OF DISCIPLINARY “TECHNOLOGIES”

The disciplinary part of an order’s Rule covered every aspect of a religious sister’s existence – her daily routine, the exercises of piety, the disciplinary “technologies” that she was to live by, her relation with her superiors, other sisters and people in the world outside of the convent. Obedience to the Rule and the “technology of the self” that it imposed was one facet of Foucault’s (1988) domination and production of a certain kind of body. As the ascetic movement had turned towards rituals of restraint - fasting, celibacy, self-mortification, discipline and the denial of earthly possessions and pleasures, enabling the ascetic female to become the mystical the religious orders of the nineteenth century turned towards the Rule and its observance and imposition of disciplinary “technologies” and suppression of the individual’s will to produce obedient and “docile” bodies. The difference in the aims of domination between the two eras, was noted by Father Woods in the following comment:

“The mortification of the will was the greatest austerity which the sisters must practice. Sisters were not called to do such works of penance as the Saints did, as these would only lead to singularity. Singularity creates irregularity and promotes vanity. The great austerities in the saints were above human strength, but they acted thus only when aided by God’s special grace, which was given to them as a reward for great fidelity in other things and for the special designs of God”.²³

Father Woods also expressed the austerity of convent life for the Sisters of St Joseph and how this replaced the ascetic life adopted by individuals in the Middle Ages in the following terms:

“They must be anxious to crucify the flesh, and deny themselves every gratification of their wills. There will be plenty of austerity, too, sleeping on the floor, giving up their beds to the poor. Always have to use coarse food, or sometimes do without it, to have employment they do not like to feel they are unfit for, to be sent to distasteful places, or with sisters they do not

like, to be misunderstood, afflicted, unjustly blamed or misrepresented – if bear with them, they will get use to as greater sanctity as the holy penitents and glorify God as much as they did by fasts and chains”.²⁴

Diet and the Partaking of Meals

As can be seen by both of the above statements religious sisters were required to live a life where every aspect of their existence was strictly controlled and specified in an effort to assist them along the road to perfection. One area, according to Turner (1983) that was of particular importance “in both ascetic and mystical spirituality and have a long history in most branches of Christianity” was the control of the diet.²⁵ Dietary practices provided “one of the principal means for the control of the inner body, releasing the spirit from the cloying presence of the flesh. Dietary aesceticism was clearly important in the tradition of the virtuosi of the early Church and was later systematised in such treatises as Ignatius Loyola’s *Spiritual Exercises* which found their way into the Rules of the religious orders”.²⁶ As mentioned above, both Catholic and Protestant approaches provided the basis for a shift away from the “renunciation of bodies” to the “utility of bodies”.²⁷ We can therefore, treat the “dietary timetable”²⁸ which was followed by the religious in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as “part of the emergence of discipline which converted bodies into productive utilities”.²⁹

The “dietary timetable”, can be seen as a process of rationalisation which promoted a new productivity of bodies.³⁰ The “dietary timetables” that became popular in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, differed from previous ages, where fasting to the point of starvation had been seen as the way to discipline and overcome the corporeality of the body. The new “dietary timetables” which included not overeating or engaging in gluttony at one end and not under-eating or starving at the other, “were both based on the premise that Christians had

a religious responsibility to take care of their bodies. The abuse of the body in the form of gluttony was seen to be equivalent to suicide in that it curtailed the normal expectation of life".³¹

In line with these attitudes toward health and diet, sisters were instructed to take care of their health, undertake corporeal exercise, not to be over-zealous in their self-punishment and abide by the infirmarian's or doctor's direction when they were ill. The Sisters of Charity Customs (1860) required that the sisters abstain from butter at breakfast and supper in honour of the Sacred Passion of Our Lord, and all Fridays in the year except at Christmas. Abstinence from meat was also required on all Saturdays of the year in honour of Our Lady. The demeanor to be observed throughout meals was also specified: "In the refectory of the body let temperance, modesty and propriety, interior and exterior, be observed in all things...and while the body is refreshed, let the soul be nourished by some pious book".³²

The procedure that was to be followed when the sisters ate their meals was governed by various regimes and Rules. The Rules to be followed in the refectory, or the room in which the sisters ate their meals included not only the method that sisters were to use in cleaning plates and where each sister was to sit but the design of the refectory itself. The refectory was set up as in a monastery of the Middle Ages, with two long tables running parallel to one another with a short table crossing them at the upper end. The class distinction, which existed in convents, was reinforced in the refectory with the superior and her discreet or councillors sitting at the top of the table and the sisters sitting at two long tables according to rank.

One of the duties of the lay sisters was to prepare the meals and even at this time the sisters were not free of the constraints of the daily religious regime. "In the monastic tradition the meal had a liturgical dimension with set psalms being recited as the sisters walked in procession between the chapel and the refectory. Like the cells, the refectory was sparsely furnished with bare board tables and bare scrubbed floorboards".³³ Stools rather than chairs were used, thus reinforcing the straight-backed disciplined posture of the religious teaching sister. The sisters were expected to maintain silence throughout the meal. If reading occurred in the refectory, then the sister responsible for the refectory had a duty to correct any faults committed by the reader.

Reading commenced when the first dish was placed before the superior. "...The silence at the table, the audience's lack of response, was necessary not only to ensure concentration but also to preclude any semblance of private commentary on the sacred books".³⁴ The reading throughout the meal also served to distract the sisters' "spirits ...from the pleasures of the flesh", of having any chance of enjoying their meal or each other's company.³⁵ Being read to is also an experience less personal than reading for oneself thus ensuring that the individual remained part of the community without experiencing community. All choir sisters served and read in turn, except at breakfast. The type of works that were read included Holy Scripture, books on martyrology, treatises on the festival or life of the Saint to be observed the following day. The Rules in Summary, Common Rules, Rules of Modesty and the Epistle of Obedience by St Ignatius were read at the beginning of each month. Other material read included material on the renovation of religious vows from Rodriguez' Treatise, Butler's Lives of the Saints and Moveable Feasts, as well as books on ecclesiastical history, pious biographies and morality.

Many women, who entered the convent as a choir sister, would probably have been used to reading aloud. The custom of reading devotional books aloud had featured in many middle and upper class Catholic homes as reading was regarded as a form of family entertainment and as a method of learning such books as the Catechism. One learned to read and write through the prayer book, trying to find and copy vowels of the symbols of the apostles. The evening prayers also ended up as a form of learning. The prayers were “guided” more by the rhythm of the pages religiously turned than by the content of the message. During the whole of the nineteenth century and for a large part of the twentieth century, what women were permitted to read was carefully controlled, with the novel considered most dangerous of all. The Church administered penalties following a code of moral judgement originating from Rousseau – “an honest girl does not read books about love” – with which both the clergy and the laity identified with equal vehemence. ³⁶

Observance of the Rule

Religious sisters were required not to just follow the Rule they were to observe it perfectly. Religious sisters were provided with some guidance on how to achieve this. They were to follow three guidelines, the first being to observe it completely by observing it in every detail. This was achieved by keeping every part of the Rule “down to the last and most insignificant point, and keeping them as well as possible, regardless of how minute, to the point of perfection, whether that be in preparing a meal, caring for the sick, or taking recreation”. ³⁷ In observing the Rule completely – attention to detail was required: “Attention to the least detail, that it is an absolute and unchanging maxim Punctual obedience to the smallest precepts of the Rule, even details that are only necessary to the duties that are imposed, is a practice that has always been inculcated and always will be, as a condition sine qua non of religious perfection”. ³⁸

According to Foucault (1977), "discipline is a political anatomy of detail".³⁹ Detail had long been a category of the theology of asceticism – as every detail was considered important in the sight of God, - no immensity is greater than a detail, nor is anything so small, that it was not taken into account by Him. "In this great tradition of the immense detail; all the minutiae of Christian education, of scholastic or military pedagogy, all forms of 'training' found their place easily enough. For the disciplined man, as for the true believer, no detail is unimportant, but not so much as for the meaning that it conceals within it as for the hold it provides, for the power that wishes to seize it".⁴⁰ Every Catholic who attended Mass was familiar with the words of Jean-Baptiste de La Salle's hymn to "little things" which clearly summed up the Church's excessive concern with paying attention to detail.

"How dangerous it is to neglect little things. It is very consoling reflection for a soul like mine, little disposed to great actions, to think that fidelity to little things may, by an imperceptible progress, raise us to the most imminent sanctity: because little things lead to greater Little things; it will be said, alas, my God, what can we that is great for you, weak, mortal creatures that we are. Little things if great things presented themselves would we perform them? Would we not think them beyond our strength? Little things, and if God accepts them and wishes to receive them as great things? Little things has one ever felt this? Does one judge according to experience? Little things; one is certainly guilty, therefore, if seeing them as such, one refuses them? Little things; yet is they that in the end have made great saints! Yes, little things; but great motives, great feelings, great fervour, great ardour, and consequently great merits, great treasures, great rewards".⁴¹

The Rules of the various orders went into exact detail as to how a religious sister was expected to live her life. Every part of her day was accounted for to the exact minute, each stage of her life was required to fit into a pre-determined pattern that was set out in the texts of the order. Every aspect of her being in the convent had at its core both a complexity and simplicity that bound the religious sister and her body in the most extreme way. "The meticulousness of the regulations, the fussiness of inspections, the supervision of the smallest

fragment of life and the body" ⁴² provided no room for compromise or escape from the arduousness of religious life. Attention to detail required the individual sister to concentrate on small matters thus preventing her from looking at larger issues or questioning what her life was all about. It also provided an environment in which obsessiveness and scrupulousness could develop.

Apart from keeping the Rule completely and in every detail, religious sisters were told to keep it exactly. "To do everything at the proper time, neither before nor afterward. To give only the prescribed time to each different occupation. To be always where obedience calls us: in the chapel, in the refectory at recreation. To avoid every voluntary delay, no matter how slight, not hesitating, not loitering. Exactitude is imposed by all religious constitutions and directories. When the bell sounds for the divine office the hammer must fall from the hand of the working monk, it is forbidden to finish even a single letter that has begun or to add one word to the conversation". ⁴³

How frustrating and difficult this requirement must have been – it almost must have made some religious feel as though they were machines or automatons. And if a religious failed in observing the Rule as she was supposed to, she was then expected to punish herself, "either by reciting a decade of the rosary or kissing the ground or even taking the discipline. If you follow this advice, you will very quickly notice some progress in observance of the Rule. When the body sees itself treated in this fashion, it soon learns subjection". ⁴⁴ By such observance or imposing "technologies" upon the self, the religious sister learnt to internalise the control and discipline that was necessary to live a religious life. A religious sister was to ultimately become self-regulating and self-punishing so that her superior did not have to

point out to her that she had failed in some observance of the Rule, rather she could do this for herself and impose her own punishment. The sisters were constantly reminded that no individual can serve God, without a spirit of penance.

Humility

In order to help sisters deal with the requirements of obedience, they were also encouraged to develop the virtue of humility. The Rule and Constitutions of the Orders under review included a special chapter on humility which was described as "the foundation of the spiritual edifice, and in the various retreat meditations, which the sisters used in preparation for reception and profession, humility was emphasised with the intention of seeking the complete annihilation of the 'ego' ". ⁴⁵ To help a sister on the road to humility was a disciplinary regime referred to as the "Chapter of Faults", which will be discussed in more detail in the next section.

Docility

Docility of the mind and the body was also encouraged and was seen as being very important in the development of spiritual life. Foucault (1977) questions: "what was new in these projects of docility that interested the eighteenth century so much? It was certainly not the first time the body had become the site of such imperious and pressing investments; in every society the body was in the grip of 'strict powers', which imposed upon it constraints, prohibitions or obligations". ⁴⁶ Foucault observes that there were several things in these techniques of the eighteenth century that were different to previous centuries in producing the particular kind of "docile" body under review here. These techniques included:

- Scale of control – working the body “retail” individually; of exercising upon it a subtle coercion, of obtaining holds upon it at the level of the mechanism itself – movements, gestures, attitudes, rapidity, an infinitesimal power over the active body;
- Object of control – economy, the efficiency of movements; their internal organisation; constraint bears on the forces rather than on the signs, the only truly important ceremony is that of exercise;
- Modality – implies an uninterrupted, constant coercion supervising the processes of the activity according to a codification that partitions as closely as possible time, space and movement. These movements which make possible the meticulous control of the operations of the body, which assured the constant subjection of its forces and imposed on them a relation of docility-utility, might be called disciplines. ⁴⁷

The notion that discipline imposed upon bodies a relation of “docility-utility” through a range of “technologies”, resonates very clearly with the regimes and “technologies” of religious sisterhood: the incessant regulation of detail, the imposition of timetables which structured the day, precision of command, systems of “micro-penalties”, hierarchical observation and examination. Some of the “technologies” that were employed to produce the religious sister’s body have already been discussed above, the remaining “technologies” shall now be examined.

Punishments and Mortifications

The “technology of power” as utilised in the monastic disciplinary system was to a certain extent set out in the Rule. Each act contrary to the way of the Rule and to the way of religious being was subject to some form of penalty, which Foucault referred to as “micro-penalties” and which were specified in the Rule. Some of the areas against which a sister could infringe included infringements against “time – (lateness, absences, interruptions of

tasks), of activity (inattention, negligence, lack of zeal), of behaviour (impoliteness, disobedience), of speech (idle chatter, insolence), of the body ('incorrect' attitudes, irregular gestures, lack of cleanliness), of sexuality (impurity, indecency)".⁴⁸ Some of the infringements mentioned were contradictory to the requirements in the Rules, such as cleanliness as already discussed the Sisters of Mercy were only allowed to bath twice a week and change their under-garments infrequently. They would at times have to interrupt their task at hand as a religious sister was to obey the ringing of the bell and leave what she was doing immediately. The types of punishments that such infringements attracted varied from light physical punishment to minor deprivations and petty humiliations. Church law had its own classificatory system of what punishment a particular infringement would attract and whether a transgression was a venial or a mortal sin. What the system of punishment within religious orders did was make "the slightest departures from correct behaviour subject to punishment, and of giving a punitive function to the apparently indifferent elements of the disciplinary apparatus: so that, if necessary, everything might serve to punish the slightest thing, each subject would find himself caught in a punishable, punishing universality".⁴⁹

The process of punishment within religious orders worked on two levels. After a sister was indoctrinated in the Rule, she became aware of what constituted an infringement against the Rule and punished herself accordingly. In effect, she became self-punishing. Sisters were told that they must be anxious to "crucify their flesh, and deny themselves every gratification of their wills".⁵⁰ In religious life the control of the body by the religious was linked to the religious living a life of self-denial. Religious sisters were encouraged to overcome the self constantly. The Rule as we have seen, imposed obedience and humility, it also imposed self-mortification and self-denial. A religious sister was to continually practice self-denial, whether that involved fasting or some other method of reducing her material comfort. In line

with the practice of self-denial was the requirement that she undertake any humbling office – such as scrubbing the floor, or any other duty, which she might find ordinarily repulsive or difficult to perform. The religious sister therefore, was to physically impose pain on her body and submit completely to the requirements of the Rule. It was as if there was the idea that by disciplining the body, that the self would be disciplined and by denying the self that this would be reflected back and inscribed into the memory of the body.

The aim of the Rules in producing a disciplined, controlled and “docile” body was to achieve the dislocation of the religious self from her body. As a quote by a sister of the church in Vicinus’ (1985) book *Silent Sisterhood* clearly highlights that religious life “makes a holocaust of herself, consecrates to God all she had and keeps nothing back”.⁵¹ According to Giddens (1991) “all human beings, in all cultures, preserve a division between their self-identities and the ‘performances’ they put on in specific social contexts”.⁵² The aim of religious training and life was to exaggerate this division to the extent where there was an absolute dislocation of the self from the body, where the religious was continually acting out most or all routines rather than following them for valid reasons, other than because the Rule dictated compliance. “If Laing is correct, such a situation characteristically leads to an ‘unembodied’ self. Most people are absorbed in their bodies, and feel themselves to be a unified body and self. Too radical a discrepancy between accepted routines and the individual’s narrative, creates what Laing, (following Winnicott) calls a false self – in which the body appears as an object or instrument manipulated by the self from behind the scenes”.⁵³

The aim of religious life at least up until the Second Vatican Council, had been to encourage the “disentanglement of the self from the body – or perhaps a complete merging of self and

body – in the form of spiritual ecstasy”.⁵⁴ Part of the disentanglement of the self from the body requires that “the whole self is never to be seen on the surfaces of the body or in its gestures; but where it is not visible at all, ordinary feelings of embodiment - of being ‘with’ and ‘in’ the flow of day-to-day conduct - can become dislocated or dissolved. Laing identifies four characteristics of the pathology of such a false self-persona:

1. The false - self system becomes more and more enveloping and all – pervasive.
2. It becomes more autonomous from bodily routines.
3. It becomes ‘harassed’ by compulsive behaviour fragments;
4. The actions of the body become more and more ‘dead, unreal, false, mechanical’.”⁵⁵

On reading the Rule it would seem that the above four characteristics was what religious life was trying to achieve. Although the “false self system” referred to could be replaced with the “religious way of being”.

While the sisters were not openly encouraged to physically punish themselves, there was no objection “to the use of the moderate use of penance in the community according to the judgement of the superior”.⁵⁶ The type of punishment that the Sisters of St Joseph employed differed to the type of punishment used by the Sisters of Mercy and the Sisters of Charity. Father Woods in his Rule for the sisters stated that the way that the sisters had to live, that is actually experiencing poverty themselves would be a penance in itself. If the convent was too crowded, Father Woods instructed they must be prepared to “sleep on the floor, or give up their beds to the poor”, and “always have to use coarse food.”⁵⁷ Sisters were to treat their “body as an enemy and never allow it any unnecessary indulgence or gratification”⁵⁸ and not to be afraid of hurting themselves. The Sisters of St Joseph punishment regime was therefore derived from the charism that was the source of the Order’s reason for existence.

That sisters did inflict physical punishment upon themselves was recorded in the autobiographical work of the life of Mother Catherine McAuley. This work describes how the sisters saw her body after her death: "Besides the internal abscess Catherine had a hideous ulcer on the lower part of her back, brought on by the use of hair-cloth and a large chain. This she had succeeded in concealing until towards the end. She also asked another sister to burn a brown paper parcel which she had wrapped herself the night before her death. Which was believed to be her discipline".⁵⁹ The "discipline" which was made of either wire or catgut was to be "taken" on certain days. No sister was to impose more than thirty-three strokes upon her body, without special permission. The superior could direct for the discipline to be laid aside, particularly if it drew blood. While taking the discipline, sisters were encouraged to look for some other form of mortification as well, such as saying the "Miserere" and making "acts of contrition". The religious were never to examine the disciplines of others to see if theirs was much worse or stained with blood.

"Chapter of Faults"

Apart from continually judging and imposing some form of punishment upon themselves, sisters were also informed of their faults by others in the community on a weekly basis as part of the continual process of surveillance and observation to which they were exposed. This was undertaken at a time known as "exhortations". The purpose of the exhortations was for the sisters to have pointed out to them "their weaknesses, faults",⁶⁰ or other actions where they had behaved inappropriately "in exterior intercourse with either Community or externs, such as too much familiarity, loud speaking, incorrect posture in sitting, manner of walking, want of order in what they have charge of, or in their person".⁶¹ At the completion of the exhortation sisters were to undertake exercises in humility. The form that such exercises took was for the sister to kneel down and say "sisters will you have the charity to tell me my

faults".⁶² Each sister in rotation was then required to state "I remember such and such"⁶³ about the sister making the request. Each sister had to mention whatever fault she had noticed about the sister undertaking the "chapter of faults" and was not to refrain from doing so.

The format of the exercises in humility were as follows:

- "1. Kneeling and saying five paters and avers in honour of the five wounds of our Lord with arms stretched in the form of a cross.
2. Kissing the footsteps of the Sisters – three times each side.
3. Kissing the Sister's feet.
4. Begging one's dinner".⁶⁴

The sister carrying out the humiliation undertook this at a public time in the refectory at dinner, after requesting permission from her superior to do so. The purpose of the humiliations and the prostration of the sister's body in the manner listed above was to ensure that she totally submitted herself and her body in the eye's of God and her fellow sisters. The Rule did not allow sisters to perform humiliations who were in ill health. If a sister was conscious of any public fault, breach of Rule or omission of duty, she was required to ask leave to speak of it in the Refectory and ask for pardon by the sister's prayers. The floor was "blessed" before and after a public humiliation. A sister could also accuse herself of a fault, breach of Rule, omission of duty – interior or exterior to her Superior. To do so she knelt down in front of the mother rectress. There were certain guidelines set out as to how to accomplish true self-abnegation. These included a willingness to discover one's faults and a willingness to have these corrected and to help others in correcting their faults. Temptations must be anticipated and counteracted by an opposite spirit. If for example a "sister was inclined to pride she should be exercised in such lowly and abject offices as were likely to humble her".⁶⁵

The Employment of Time

Not only was there an over concern by the Church with detail and precise observance of the Rule, but there was also an obsession with time and how the sisters spent each minute of the day of their religious life. The Rule of every Order contained a section on the "employment of time" and a timetable or horarium, as it was called, which detailed how each hour of the day was to be spent. Such detail as to how the day was to be employed applied whether the day was a "work" day, retreat day or recreation day. The timetable that the sisters followed was a monastic one, which had been designed by the Benedictans to keep the monks fully occupied and with little free time on their hands. The Benedictan timetable had originally structured the day around the saying of the "Divine Office" – a prayer of praise and supplication, which took up to eight hours of the day to recite. The Jesuits re-formulated the Benedictian idea that the work of nuns and monks was to solely pray by replacing the "Divine Office" with "Little Office of Our Lady", thus allowing them to undertake work during the day other than prayer.

Temporal discipline was also a theme of nineteenth century society from Fourier's utopian communities to Payot's *seliphism* of the will,⁶⁶ and had over time appeared into various manuals on behaviour.⁶⁷ For example "the cosmic maxim "God is order and rule" regulated the daily feminine microactivities of the work entitled *Christian Day of the Young Girl* (1867) by Madam Bourbon",⁶⁸ was reprinted many times. "Everything, even the essential and the futile, was redeemed in this order, which had the imprint of a supreme holy exactitude".⁶⁹ The industrial revolution coincided with a vast literature on the use of the day. "In our times one lives in a hurry: the days are not sufficient for everything one undertakes, business, relations, travel, pleasure and even studies", wrote Madam Bourbon".⁷⁰ Weber (1930) also in his work *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* discusses the obsession with time

in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries referring to the works of various writers during the period. "Waste of time is thus the first and in principle the deadliest of sins Loss of time through sociability, idle talk, luxury, even more sleep than is necessary for health, six to at most eight hours, is worthy of absolute moral condemnation". ⁷¹

Father Lallement in the Rule of the Sisters of Mercy adopted a similar explanation as to why time and maintaining a strict routine was so important in the life of the religious:

"Time may be considered the price of eternity, as in each moment of it, eternal, incalculable treasures may be won or lost, as well as inconceivable punishments incurred. God's glory may be promoted, His will accomplished, His love augmented in the soul: for the moments are fleeting their effects may be eternal since we may imprint on our souls in each, characters of glory or confusion, which will subsist as long as the immortal spirit on which these characters have been engraven, and which will be eternally read by men and angels. Therefore no treasure should be so parsimoniously guaranteed as these precious and all important moments. Yet what is so easily, so frequently squandered as time! What so irrecoverable when it has been wasted! 'The sisters shall be careful never to indulge in idleness' (Rule Chapter 15th). All that time is misspent which is employed in gratifying our own natural inclinations, tastes, affections, curiosity, etc, - in short all is lost that is not God in the accomplishment of His will". ⁷² The theme that idle hands could undertake the devil's work was also repeatedly referred to in the various Rules of the Orders and by the Church itself.

In every religious house there was a fixed horarium which was to be suited to the circumstances of the congregation and approved by the order. The horarium or distribution of time throughout the day, set out the hours for the daily spiritual exercises and the hours for meal times, recreation, rising and sleeping. The ordinary time for sleep was seven and a-half hours. The Vigalatrix rang the bell and sisters were summoned to duty by the bells. Each sister had a certain number of bells assigned to her.

Horarium of the Sisters of Mercy, 1869 ⁷³

5.25 am Arise	4.00 pm Dinner
6.00 am Angelus and Meditation	4.30 pm Recreation
6.45 am Minor Hours	5.15 pm Vespers and Compline
7.00 am Mass	6.00 pm Angelus
7.45 am Breakfast	7.30 pm Supper
9.00 am Lecture	7.45 pm Recreations
11.45 am Examen	9.00 pm Night Prayers
12.00 pm Angelus	

That sisters lived extremely busy lives and had their time fully accounted for was recorded in the biographical details of Sister Mary Alphonsus Fitzpatrick, who was a Sister of Charity in the early twentieth century. She filled in her days of the week as follows:

“Rose at first call – prayer and reading – immediately after breakfast she went to school where she remained with short intervals of prayer and meals until 3.30pm. Then with a companion she would hurry out to see the sick and poor of the district, always on foot. On her return there was the parish Church to be attended to as she had sole charge of preparing the Church for ceremonies both in the parish church and the convent chapel. On Saturday after arduous duties in the Church, she would set out for the Asylum at Newington, recite the rosary for the poor women and afterwards have a personal interview with each. Sunday was the day for the men at Lidcombe”. ⁷⁴

Turner (1988) also includes in her work, comments by a ninety year old sister in relation to the demands placed on sisters by the daily timetable:

“We received little of the school fees, as they were needed to maintain the school, so we took in boarders and gave music lessons to make some money. This meant we took turns to supervise the boarders every moment out of school hours: we might miss recreation but we

always had to make up our prayers if we were absent at the time the community said them. During the weekend, we cleaned the convent and the school, washed clothes, gave music lessons and extra tuition to weak pupils, visited parents, hospitals and lonely old people. I was very young in those days and did not feel any pressure. There were chunks of time here and there for my self".⁷⁵

As can be seen by this description, religious sisters were definitely left with little or no time to themselves. It is important to remember that the sisters walked everywhere or travelled by public transport, so they probably would have always been on the move. Similar horariums existed for retreat days, "renovation of vows" days, and recollection days.

Sisters were not allowed to have free time outside of the recreation days, and if they did they were advised by Father Lallement to turn their mind to prayer or undertake one of the following activities:

- " 1. Writing down briefly the lights received and resolutions made during meditation;
2. Reading books assigned for retreat and no others;
3. Preparing for confession and in examining how all duties were performed;
4. Praying or meditating;
5. Undertaking manual works as duty requires and which will not prove a source of distraction ".⁷⁶

A RELIGIOUS BODY?

So what type of body did the observance of such a Rule and the imposition of the various disciplinary "technologies" produce? The 1866 version of the Rules of the Sisters of Charity, following on from the Jesuits, included a set of Rules relating to Modesty which detailed how the religious sister was to publicly present every visible part her body. Using these Rules, a description of the "ideal" religious sister, which may be considered equivalent to Foucault's (1977) description of the body of the soldier, can be propounded: A head which was to be

kept still as far as possible, with a constant reminder of this stillness continually being imposed by the design and material of the head piece. Eyes to be "cast down" ⁷⁷ and when required to look "not immediately raised nor turned from side to side". ⁷⁸ A look which must never "stare" ⁷⁹ but possess a look of deference. A face which must never show any expression, with all frowning and other movements of the face to be avoided. Lips which must not be too compressed nor too open. A countenance which must exhibit "joy, rather than melancholy". ⁸⁰ A habit which must always be worn neatly and "arranged with religious decorum". ⁸¹ Hands which "must be kept moderately quiet if not duly engaged". A gait which should be of a "moderate pace without remarkable haste". ⁸² And finally, all "actions and motions must be such as to give edification". ⁸³

That religious training and the life of religious discipline did produce a particular kind of body and way of being is evident in the photo in Appendix B, which shows a group of elderly religious sisters who after years of religious living all look very much the same and almost present a mirror image of each other. They also graphically illustrate the description above and support the theory that the meaning and content of a text can through the process of somatic learning and after years of rigorous self-imposition, discipline and control, be inscribed upon a body so that the body becomes the text. It can be further argued that out of their habit, as many religious sisters were after the Second Vatican Council, could still be identified as having been subjected to a religious training by those who have themselves received a similar training or been educated by religious teaching sisters.

We can also see that this body of the nineteenth century religious teaching sister has a history, which had evolved out of a long Christian tradition of mind/body dualism and consequent renunciation of the flesh, particularly female flesh because of its sinfulness. The

Catholic Church has provided Catholic women with a number of positive and negative role models over the centuries from Eve through to Mary and Mary Magdalene as well as the various female saints, all of which have been presented in sexual terms and along a spectrum ranging from virgin, temptress and whore. As discussed in Chapter 1, Catholicism has regarded women as inferior to men, being of the flesh rather than of the mind. The only way women at this time were able to totally transcend the corporeality of their bodies, was to become a religious and take the vow of chastity. In this way, a woman is no longer considered a woman, but rather will be viewed as a man.

THE OTHER SIDE OF RELIGIOUS LIFE

Why did women remain in religious life, when from reading the Rule and Constitutions of religious teaching orders one can see the life of a religious teaching sister was extremely hard and oppressive, with their individual self being annihilated and their body disciplined into submission? As we saw in Chapter 3 there were not many alternatives open to women in terms of employment in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Life in a religious order, despite the discipline, which the style of life imposed, provided women with the opportunity to live "independently" of their family and provided an alternative to marriage and the continuous rigours of childbirth, or to spinsterhood.⁸⁴ Women who were not attracted to marriage, who were drawn by the independence and companionship in the secular world, found the convents a natural habitat.⁸⁵ Clark and Richardson have even suggested, when commenting on the post-Reformation exodus from the convents that women achieved a power in the convent, which they could not achieve in the home.⁸⁶ "..... In the shift from nun to wife many women actually lost personal status, for women in the convent had considerably more power than they had in the secular world as wives and mothers".⁸⁷ So when convents re-opened their doors in the late seventeenth and early

eighteenth centuries, women chose to join them and contributed to what various writers have referred to as the "feminisation of the clergy".

The religious orders of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries also added a new dimension to monastic living that had not existed in early times – that of undertaking charity work. Charity work, was seen as acceptable work by the Church for women, being unpaid and ensuring that women's caring and nurturing abilities were appropriately employed. But charity work far from keeping women quietly occupied provided women, excluded from the official political scene, with a means of contributing to society outside of the home. Caroline Chisolm was a perfect example of a Catholic woman who used her charitable work to motivate politicians and others in authority to establish female immigration programs to encourage women to come to the colony. For religious women, visiting the poor, going out to teach or to nurse or for the Sisters of St Joseph having to beg for alms, knowingly challenged the Church's previous limitations on religious orders in terms of being allowed beyond their convent walls. Religious orders such as the Daughters of Charity had been prohibited from performing such work in earlier centuries. McGrath (1988) notes that Kennedy in her research on a number of lay women's organisations in the Australian Catholic Church in the twentieth century, observed "that the sisters through their schools, hospitals and charitable institutions, provided a 'public pervasive presence of powerful women', she concluded that charity work meant nun's work to many, especially the clergy".

88

Life in a religious order also provided those women who were so inclined, with the only way they could contribute to the Church's mission of "spreading the word of God". Catholic women were not allowed to preach and with the exception of Mary, women in the Catholic

Church had for centuries been relegated to an extremely subordinate role within the patriarchal hierarchical Church structure. That the sisters were successful in spreading the Catholic faith is reflected in obituaries of the leaders of the Orders. For example, when Mother Mary Clare Dunphy died in 1937 the Catholic Press stated the following: "..... Though the sons of St Patrick may lay claim to great privileges of grace in the spread of the influence of Christian principles, yet without the help and self-sacrifice and pious examples of his daughters at home and abroad, history could not record the mighty achievements, which we can place to the credit of the Irish Church in our generation".⁸⁹

Spirituality

Most importantly for some women would have been the opportunity that life in a religious order provided them with of developing their own spirituality and relationship with God. "The spirituality of a group is understood to mean the relationship between the group and its God as it is expressed in prayer and the various aspects of daily living".⁹⁰ The spirituality of the religious Orders under review passed from one generation to the next showing few changes from the establishment of the Order to the 1960's. For example, two of the most sustaining elements of the Sisters of Mercy spirituality were devotion to the passion of Christ and a spirituality of the Cross, which were natural concomitants of sacrifice. Both of these devotions related to the suffering and punishment that Jesus endured on his road to achieving eternal life. Of particular relevance is the fact that the pain and suffering was inflicted upon his physical body, thus allowing individual mortals to relate to Him and all accounts of his crucifixion provide graphic details of the punishment that his body endured to save the world. The cross therefore become a symbol of Christ's suffering and his embodiment⁹¹ and the following statement which was approved by major Mercy Superiors in 1864 clearly highlights that it was with helping those who were afflicted by suffering and pain that the

work of the Order was largely concerned: "The objects of the Institute are of vast extent: they embrace the endless miseries which poverty, sickness, ignorance and sin entail on the poor of Christ – Mercy to the poor, the homeless, the captive, the erring, the afflicted, to suffering humanity, in every phase of its manifold miseries, in which it is impossible for aid or sympathy to reach it: Such is the spirit of our Institute".⁹²

The Sisters of Charity were also expected to keep the vision of the crucified Christ in the forefront of their thoughts. Mother Aikenhead gave the sisters the following advice when they left Ireland for colonial New South Wales: "...May you ever remember that your engagements can only be fulfilled by a constant and generous exercise of self-denial. It was the crucified image of your heavenly spouse which was presented to you as your model on the day you pronounced your vows". The image of the crucified Christ was one that was constantly presented to the religious sisters and best exemplified the disciplined body at its most vulnerable and agonising time. It was to emulate this body, the suffering body of the crucified Christ that the sisters submitted to the rigours of the religious life for the purpose of attaining a more "perfect" eternal life with the risen Christ, whose body had been made whole and alive once again after His resurrection. Similarly, the religious sister learnt that the body must be disciplined and endure pain so that the spirit might achieve a state of perfection and hence eternal salvation. It was by enduring this pain and discipline that a "culture of suffering" was developed – a culture that required people to live with and accept life's difficulties and hardships.

The various texts of the different Orders divided the training of a religious sister into the formation and development of her spirituality and the disciplining of her body to achieve this

end. As discussed, the body was held in contempt and seen as the "enemy" that had to be beaten into submission and once there kept that way. Spiritual training or formation that involved the utilisation of the process of somatic learning began in the novitiate and continued throughout the life of a religious sister. The timetable of each order as discussed earlier set out the amount of time that each sister was to spend praying, listening to spiritual readings, attending Mass, examining her conscience and undertaking other meditative exercises in an effort to ensure this development took place. Apart from these practices a sister was required to attend Confession regularly thus providing the basis upon which her behaviour was continually assessed and adjusted if necessary. In attending Confession, an individual was required to confess her sins and in so doing remove the burden of guilt that the committing of such sins imposed upon her. According to Giddens, "guilt comes from the connotation of moral transgression, it is anxiety deriving from a failure, or an inability to satisfy certain forms of moral imperative in the course of a person's conduct".⁹³

Positive Aspects of Religious Life

Religious sisters who worked as teachers and nurses, unlike women who worked in these occupations outside of the convent, were accorded more respect by society in general. Indeed many parents, including non-Catholics, sought out Catholic schools for the education and discipline offered by religious sisters, rather than send their children to state run schools. Within the convent itself, sisters were also given the opportunity to fill positions and make decisions on matters that they would not have ordinarily had the opportunity to participate in and contribute on. They were also able to develop and utilise business and entrepreneurial skills opening and managing schools, hospitals and other such beneficial institutions in a way they would not have been able to do in the outside world without the cover of their order.

According to Dancelwycz (1987), two conflicting hypotheses have been put forward to explain why so many women entered the convent in this period. The first, by sociologist Bernard Denault,⁹⁴ suggests that "women's religious communities attained a state of prominence and viability because they were an effective way of integrating the growing numbers of women who by their position effectively avoided the family structure which alone could integrate them into the secular world through submission to a man be he father or husband. By submitting to the power of the priest and to the religious integration of the Church these women were restored to overall society".⁹⁵ In other words religious communities were a solution to the problem of "redundant" women.⁹⁶ This meant that women were able to escape spinsterhood and "become spouses of Christ and place themselves under the authority of priests, their surrogate husbands".⁹⁷ But while the problem of "redundant" women existed in countries such as Ireland, England and other European countries the problem did not exist in colonial New South Wales. Rather there was an oversupply of men, which successive government administrators and women such as Caroline Chisolm tried to overcome, by encouraging young women of suitable background to migrate to the colony. The second hypotheses, espoused by a number of women scholars, explains the expansion of religious communities in terms of women's intellectual and social aspirations, arguing that the organisation of convents by women was a manifestation of incipient or "surrogate" feminism.⁹⁸ "We can even formulate the hypothesis that the existence in our society of an exclusively feminine religious structure dedicated to social assistance and education channelled the aspirations which in other societies sparked the beginnings of the feminist movement...".⁹⁹

In line with this hypothesis and as mentioned above, was the opportunity that religious life provided women with the opportunity of "spreading the word of God". This belief of women religious was readily exploited as we have seen by the Irish clergy, who encouraged female religious orders to the colony in order to increase their control and power over the Irish Catholic laity. Religious sisters not only undertook works and went places that women from non-religious backgrounds would have difficulty accessing, "there were moments in the lives of sisters that demanded extraordinary stamina and dedication to the cause of religion".¹⁰⁰ For instance, the Sisters of Mercy and the Sisters of Charity travelled from Ireland to colonial New South Wales to set up new branches of their Orders – leaving family, friends and the security of their convent behind them and often meeting with non-acceptance upon arrival. The Sisters of St Joseph travelled to the remotest parts of Australia with little or no support to help the poor, begging for assistance and quite often living in extreme conditions of poverty in order to achieve their aims. Other sisters nursed people with infectious diseases or ran Magdalene Houses for prostitutes and homes for unwed mothers and their children. They also visited convicts. In short they undertook whatever work that, others in society, generally saw beneath them.

Apart from their work as teachers and nurses, religious sisters also participated in the foundation of such Catholic organisations as the Catholic Young Women's Association, Union of Catholic Women and other associations such as the Grail. These organisations provided not only a source of charitable workers but also provided women with the opportunity "to keep women's religious lives in their own hands and to enable them to develop away from legalistic religion into a more colourful, humane and enthusiastic Catholicism. It was the opposite of clericalism."¹⁰¹

Being "part of an institution that staffed its own schools, opened the door to educational and occupational advancement for religious sisters. As self-managed institutions, convents were immune to the sexual division of labour that determined rank and status in secular society. Lay women in contrast, could not escape the socially imposed limitations on their gender and unlike their counterparts in Catholic schools, not many became principals".¹⁰² Exploring the histories of religious Orders under review, also clearly shows that the sisters had embraced the missionary zeal with the Irish Orders carrying their ministry all over the world. These sisters left their homes and family not knowing what lay ahead and knowing that their Rule did not provide for their return.

The Sisters of St Joseph whose apostolate was to teach the poorest of the poor, spread their Order all over Australia even founding a House in Ireland and New Zealand. Their foundress Mary MacKillop, a truly remarkable woman, travelled tirelessly across the world, at a time in history when it took months to travel to Europe by ship. She also went on her own to Rome to have her Rule approved by the Holy See in the form that she wanted for her Order. To this end she wrote numerous letters to the decision makers within the Vatican specifying exactly what her sisters wanted included in their Rule, some of which differed from the contents of the Rules of other orders. For example, Mother MacKillop was able to obtain for the Sisters of St Joseph central government, which meant that her Order did not come under the control of the local bishop. As Burford (1997) has pointed out "Mary MacKillop believed that central government was imperative to preserve the charisma and apostolic spirit and to allow for sisterly bonding – given the life style that Father Wood had set out for them and the vastness, isolation and harshness of the Australian environment".¹⁰³ More importantly her Rule and Constitutions were approved so that her sisters were not semi-enclosed as were other orders, but could visit the poor in twos and threes. She not only

achieved this when she herself was constantly unwell but when she had to negotiate with a clergy who were autocratic and wanted total control of any religious order in their diocese – particularly if run by a woman.

On the issue of their relationship with the clergy and the control that the clergy exercised over female religious orders, it would seem that while the clergy realised that they needed female religious orders to help them in their quest of controlling their Catholic faithful, they also had a fear of female religious, similar to that existed between men and women in the secular world in general. ¹⁰⁴ As Archbishop O'Donnell expressed when closing a Congress for Religious Sisters "In my quiet moments of assessment I often wondered in whimsical fashion whether it was Mother Superior or myself who was really running the parish". ¹⁰⁵ He went on to liken the situation to that of the mystical body of Christ, commenting that "there are things that the heart or the brain cannot so but must depend on the hand to do them. The good Sisters were so often the hand and the right hand at that". ¹⁰⁶ The Archbishop at this Congress made it clear that although the sisters carried out the tasks, they were not involved in the decision making behind them. ¹⁰⁷ Despite the Archbishop's views on this matter I am certain on reading the various histories of the Orders, that the sisters did contribute to the decisions that were made affecting their various works. Men have a great ability to forget where ideas or decisions emanate from and I believe that the sisters had learnt the "rules of the game" in terms of letting the clergy think they had made the decisions and claim the credit, when in fact they had not. As McGrath in her book *These Women?* notes: "The sisters were kept very much in the background; their own training reinforcing the Church custom; they wrote their own school reports but they were read by men; they wrote the editorial to the school magazine but did not sign it; they did all the preparation for money raising for the orphanages but were represented on the platform by clerics. This

situation had the practical result of keeping women religious safely out of the way of the men of the Church. The spirituality inherited by the Parramatta sisters did carry with it a anti-women bias, as women were seen as a threat to men achieving their union with God".¹⁰⁸ So even if religious women were able to deny and discipline their bodies so that they overcame their corporeality, the male clerics managed to control them by refusing to recognise their contribution to the growth and development of the Catholic Church in Australia. This situation continued well into the twentieth century. The 1917 revision of the Canon Laws did nothing to improve things for religious women, "but was more oppressive, reflecting the worst in the Church's perspective of women as subordinate to men, a temptress and on occasion a sin to him, lacking intellectual acumen and sound judgement and as being timid, scrupulous and in need of protection",¹⁰⁹ as exemplified by the requirement that they travel in twos.

Despite the fact that in public, women religious were to remain silent and hidden behind convent walls and their habit, religious women achieved positions such as Superior General, Mother Assistant, Mistress of Novices, and participated on the Council in the government of the Order, therefore, achieving positions of authority and responsibility which they would never have had the opportunity to achieve in the outside world. They also participated in electing the women to these positions, a right that was denied to them in the outside world until the early 1900's. That the sisters engaged in political undertakings in the elections for Superior General was noted by Archbishop Gilroy in his letter to the apostolic delegate upon his visit to Parramatta where he noted that the same sisters had been re-elected a number of times to fill the vacancy of mother superior.¹¹⁰ One sister had declared "that while each professed sister is quite free to vote for whom she pleases and intense campaign is waged in advance for the return of one of the two, who have held it for so long".¹¹¹ The Chapter,

which elected the Reverend Mother consisted of the finally professed sisters and the voting was by secret ballot. According to the Constitutions the elected reverend mother selected the sisters she preferred for the offices of mother assistant, bursar and Mistress of Novices and proposed them to Chapter, which then voted on the nominations. These sisters constituted the "discreets" and formed an advisory council to the mother superior. The Mother Superior of the Sisters of Mercy was directed by the Constitution to "assemble the discreets on the first Wednesday of each month and oftener if circumstances require, to examine the account and to consult on the most expedient means of promoting the spiritual and temporal welfare of the Congregation". ¹¹²

BIOGRAPHIES OF RELIGIOUS SISTERS

Another source of evidence for women staying in the convent is provided by their biographies – which while providing scant information provide "a collective portrait of what these women were like and the career opportunities they were given". ¹¹³ Unfortunately, these biographies of religious sisters do not provide much detail as to what they did before they joined the convent and what they felt about convent life. They do provide some information on their level of education and what areas they worked in within the convent. The following short biographies were found in the Sister of Charity Archives.

Sister Mary Cahill was one of the first nuns to come to Australia, having made her vows with the Sisters of Charity in 1820. Records indicate that she was adept in the art of imparting religious instruction and while in Ireland was in charge of visiting gaols. She also transplanted the Order to Van Dieman's land. Sister Mary Alphonsus Unsworth had been educated at the Convent of Divine Providence in England and upon coming to the colony was employed in the first convent day school of the colony. Sister Mary Aloysius Raymond

was educated at the Convent of the Poor Clares Darlington England. She was recognised as a good educator with her services being recognised by the colony's Board of Education. She also instructed younger sisters in the art of teaching. She was the first Directress of the Catholic Young Women's Association, founded by Dr Sheridan. Sister Mary Aloysius is credited with the foundation of an excellent system of Primary Education which was handed down to succeeding generations of sisters.

Mother Mary Joseph O'Brien, coming from the Irish gentry, was educated in a French convent. She joined the Sisters of Charity in 1840. As Mother Superior she considered the control of the tongue as the first essential to observance of the Rule and was a great lover of silence. "Remember" she used to say, "anyone who does not wear our habit is secular to us".¹¹⁴ Her sister Mother Mary Veronica O'Brien entered the convent in 1847 at Parramatta. She assisted in nursing the sick. The following notes, which she wrote on retreat, provide a little insight into her thinking. "I must live by faith, without faith to animate our actions the life of a nun is an absurdity. I must carefully avoid those things that wound charity, such as indifference, attachments, sensuality, selfishness and I must practise those little virtues that tend to preserve it, affability, cheerfulness, ignoring little slights, exercising faults, politeness, sweetness of manner, condescension."¹¹⁵

That more than one member of the family joined a religious order was not unusual. Although McGrath (1988) notes that some clergy had some problems with allowing too many from the one family to join the same congregation, suggesting that they join another, members of the same family could be found in the one congregation. Sister Mary Perpetua, Sister Mary Columbanus and Sister Mary Winifred were sisters who all joined the Sisters of Charity and each made their own separate contributions to the Order. Sister Mary Cecilia

Burton was a member of a family that provided two sisters and four nieces to the Congregation. Sister Mary Ursuline Burton was one of three sisters who joined the Order. She achieved a brilliant matriculation pass, teaching music and secondary classes. Within the founding group of the Sisters of Mercy, Parramatta there were two sisters and two cousins. Later there were to be four sisters from the one family and four cases where three sisters from the same family joined the community.¹¹⁶ "Cousins and 'connections' abounded in the congregation".¹¹⁷

Sister Mary Teresa Joseph Roper who was born in Hobart in 1853, wrote *The Golden Guild*, which was a short book on the lives of some of the early sisters. She taught music at the College. She was the eldest daughter and fourth child of Joseph Francis and Letetia Agnes Roper and was one of four daughters who joined the convent and was sent to England with her brother for their education. She was described as a quiet and thoughtful child, reading books, which were suitable for mature minds. She attended the Presentation Nun's College and went to Mrs Reynolds Select Secular School, where professors from University gave lectures. Her father was a staunch believer in the higher education of women. When she finished school, she taught a morning class, in a home where two pupils lived. Gradually the number of pupils she taught increased. She was also a pianist for the Orchestral Union of Hobart. It was recorded that family life was strict but a happy one, with a large library full of precious secular and religious books.¹¹⁸ When her father died and before she entered the convent she was responsible for managing the finances of the home. In the convent she taught in the college and gave music lessons.

Sister Mary St Gregory Slattery was a sewing teacher and embroiderer at St Vincent's Potts Point. Sister Mary Cyril Ettinger was educated by the Sisters of Charity at St Mary's

Convent, Liverpool. She taught in Tasmania and Victoria and was a gifted musician. She also did lace and needlework. In 1909 she began training as a nurse spending time at different hospitals in Sydney, Toowoomba and Melbourne. Sister Mary Austin Wilson also excelled in needlework and taught sewing for many years at St Marys Cathedral School and at Woollahra. She was described by her other sisters as being an example of the "good old type – self-sacrificing or rather forgetful of self and a hard worker and exact in the performance of duty".¹¹⁹

Sister Mary Thaddeus Shanahan was born in Bendigo, Victoria and was a teacher. When she joined the Sisters of Charity there were no teacher training colleges established but the sisters learnt by experience and were helped by those who they lived with. She taught at a number of schools. Sister Mary Paul of the Cross Christian was a world re-known singer, who trained older pupils at St Vincent's, some of whom were beyond school age. These girls were known as parlour boarders and formed the nucleus of the Garcia School of Music. Sister Mary Stanislaus Rooney taught commercial subjects. Sister Mary Solanus St Julien was an art teacher who had a studio and around the walls were some of her paintings.

Sister Mary Gerard Ryan received her early training as teacher from the Loreto Sisters and graduated from their training school at Ballarat. She was appointed principal of St Vincent's College in 1891, and remained there for twenty years. She is remembered as mothering the boarders. Sister Mary Louis Ryan produced beautiful crochet, embroidery, tatting to furnish fete stalls, which were connected with the onerous task of solving the Order's financial problems. She also stitched needlework for the Church. Sister Mary Benginus Maguire had a great love for St Vincent's Hospital. She was a competent nurse, a born administrator and

was considered to possess an astute business brain. Sister Mary Francis Jerome Donovan was a great mathematician. She supervised the building work of the new extensions.

The biographies of the Sisters who belonged to the Mercy Order also show the level of commitment and dedication that these women had to religious life. They show as with the Sisters of Charity and St Joseph, the level of ability and responsibility that some of these sisters possessed. Sister Mary Benedict was born in Parramatta in 1891, entered the Sisters of Mercy in 1909 and died in 1980. According to the Order's records, she was a brave and fiercely independent person standing firmly in her beliefs, her principles and in her prejudices.¹²⁰ She taught at Parramatta for many years and also at the Order's schools at Holy Cross and Epping. Her area of expertise was in mathematics, helping other sisters prepare to teach maths if they did not have the knowledge or background.

Sister Mary De Sales Shelly taught music when she came to Australia and was devoted to the smallest precept of the Rules and Customs. Mortification was her daily reflection, whether sitting, walking, resting at recreation or "work".¹²¹ She was a model of regular observance and a true follower of her patron saint – having bought all of her likes and dislikes under the most complete control.¹²² Sister Mary Gregory Ryan was professed in 1920, teaching for a number of years at Our Lady of Mercy Convent and managing the boarding school. She was also appointed bursar with one of her duties being to employ domestic staff for the convent and the college and once appointed train them for their various duties. Sister Mary Margaret O'Reilly was born in Ireland in 1878 and came to Australia with a group of girls some years later. In 1895 she entered the Convent of Mercy, Parramatta at the age of fifteen. She was appointed superior at Baulkham Hills for a short period of time but because of ill health had

to relinquish her teaching duties and take up the role of Portress, where she remained for forty years.

The records of the Mercy Order also contain the biographical details of a number of lay sisters such as Sister Mary Lucy Cusack who kept the chapel floor immaculately clean and found her God daily in the grind of pots, pans, polish, chickens and pigs.¹²³ She worked with the boys at St Michaels Boys Home and for many years took pride in keeping the new chapel free from dust and shining with polish and "elbow grease".¹²⁴ Sister Margaret Hogan, who died in 1940 was the "Dairy Sister" while residing at Ryde, which meant that she had charge of the milk, butter and cream and all the chores that were attached to the dairy. The milking was usually undertaken by a male domestic help, but according to the records Sister Margaret could milk equally well. She was also responsible for the fowl run, gathering and preserving eggs and ensuring that the yard was clean and the hens were healthy. She took her place at the end of the table with Sister Mary Ahearn, another lay sister.

The following are biographies of three Irish sisters who governed the Parramatta community of the Mercy Sisters until 1945 and who were according to McGrath (1988), strong women. Mother Mary Francis Kearney had been one of the aspirants from Callan, who had joined the foundation sisters in 1889. Her family had a long history of service to the Church in Ireland, with her grand uncle risking his life to celebrate mass during the days of the Penal Laws in Ireland. From her achievements as an administrator and educationist and from oral history she emerges as a "highly intelligent woman, not an overtly warm character, but an eminently just woman of integrity".¹²⁵

Mother Mary Gabriel Phelan was for the best part of forty years a significant person in the decision making of the Sisters of Mercy Congregation. She was noted for her warm affectionate nature and sense of humour. She arranged dinners for the clergy, which were noted for their elegant presentation. She also had an artistic flair for organising concerts, especially tableaux and processions, being responsible for organising the first public Eucharistic Congress. Mother Mary Andrew Lynch, was educated at the Loreto Convent Dublin. As with the other sisters, she was in her early forties when she was elected to the position of Superior in 1939. Mother Mary Andrew was anti-intellectual and a woman of extreme conscientious concerning "regular observance" of the Rule. ¹²⁶

The first Australian born Mother Superior of the Mercy order was Mother Mary Thecla Kerwick. She was born in 1901 in Surry Hills, being a third generation Australian. She was educated at Holy Cross Primary School, Woollahra and after sixth grade went as a boarder to Our Lady of Mercy College, Parramatta. She won a University exhibition, but there was no thought of her taking it, probably because of the clergy's attitude toward the secular Sydney University as well as the general lack of interest in the wider community for the higher education of women. She was a popular and successful teacher and administrator in the schools, before being elected to the office of Reverend Mother. ¹²⁷

Sister Bonaventure Mahoney first Provincial of the Sisters of St Joseph of New South Wales in 1880, was given the responsibility of visiting the sisters in the convents, supervising the standards in schools, and reporting to Mary MacKillop on the progress of the various foundations and general well being of the sisters. Mother Baptista Molley was born Mary Molloy on 27 March 1855 in Kings Country Ireland and came to Australia with her family as a young girl. She entered the congregation in South Brisbane in 1872 and was professed in

1874. After disagreements with the clergy in Queensland she came to Woolloomooloo, Sydney in 1879 and pronounced her final vows in 1880. In New South Wales she spent most of her time in the schools at Penrith and Camperdown and at one of the school inspections, received praise for her pupils' work. From 1896, she was appointed by Sister La Merci Mahony to the important work of instructing the trainee teachers at St Joseph's North Sydney. Undeterred she met the challenge of designing courses for the trainees to meet the requirements of the Victorian Government for formal teacher training after 1908. These included qualifications, classification and accreditation leading to registration to teach in non-government schools in Victoria.

Sister Regis O'Hare was born in the County of Clare, Ireland in November 1863, migrating to Australia in 1883. She entered the Sisters of St Joseph in 1884 and was trained for religious life by Mother Mary MacKillop herself. Her ability for organisation was recognised and she was appointed to St Marthas in 1888 to assist Sister Augustine Brady in the financing and general development of the industrial school at Leichhardt. The industrial school taught kindergarten, primary, secondary and domestic science in all its branches.

The brief biographies above highlight the varied lives and careers that a woman who entered religious life was able to follow. It is interesting to note, the early life of some of the Sisters of Charity, who generally came from more privileged backgrounds, than the Sisters of St Joseph, whose fathers worked in "blue collar" occupations and would have only received a very basic if any education themselves. The women who entered the Sisters of St Joseph would not have felt comfortable entering an Order such as the Sisters of Charity or Mercy, whose teaching sisters mainly came from the middle and upper classes. For sisters who entered these latter Orders, their working class background and lack of education would

have relegated them to the position of lay sister, where they would have spent their lives carrying out the domestic duties of the convent and been denied the same opportunities as would have been available to them in the Sisters of St Joseph. Mary MacKillop believed that women who came from poor backgrounds themselves would have a greater understanding and empathy towards the lives of the children that they were trying to teach and help.

As Dancelwycz (1987) has noted "a large female religious population was a precondition for clerical control and influence in society. Nuns provided the services upon which the hierarchy built a powerful Church. If the trend were reversed and there were few nuns to mediate between the hierarchy and the faithful, the Church would lose its control of lay voluntary or state organizations".¹²⁸

Women's history is separate from the history of the Church hierarchy – one that is distinct from it, taking its shape in the larger context of women's culture and work. The rise in vocations can only be understood in the context of women's work, educational and political opportunities and women's own religious experiences. These were factors that created a climate favourable to the rise in vocations that sustained convent expansion well into the twentieth century.¹²⁹ Convents offered an alternative to marriage and motherhood and spinsterhood in a society that valued women chiefly as procreative beings. Most women who joined the various orders remained there until their death. In rare cases a sister left the order or could be dismissed if she was found to be unsuitable. The following were included in the Sisters of St Joseph Constitutions, 1874 as reasons for which a sister could be dismissed included "falling frequently into grave faults, proving herself incorrigible, if she should

obstinately refuse to obey the superior, if she commit any offence seriously forbidden and punished by the civil law, if she should expose the sisters in the Institute to danger".¹³⁰

Dismissal however rarely occurred and most sisters once they had taken their vows stayed with their chosen vocation and pursued a life that in circumstances outside of the order would in most cases not have been available to them. Remaining sisters were also forbidden from referring to the sister who had departed the order ever again.

Conclusion

Religious sisters therefore lived extremely disciplined and strict lives. A religious sister once she had taken her vows and dedicated her life to God did so for her entire natural life. Her body once it had assumed the religious mantle became the property of the Church, she became a religious subject whose body was to be subjected to the various "technologies" of the Church so that it became "docile" and obedient in every way. A religious sister after she dedicated her life to God was never again given the opportunity to determine her future rather she was forever annihilated from herself and her identity.

In the next two chapters I will examine the specific work that religious teaching sisters undertook in their schools not only in relation to imparting secular knowledge as came to be specified by the state, but more importantly ensuring that an appropriate Catholic education was provided to generations of young children and girls that would ensure the continual reproduction of the Irish Catholic Church in Australia.

Chapter Notes

- ¹ Colin L; *The Practice of the Rule*, Mercier Press Ltd, 1957, p. 47
- ² Martin L H, Gutman H and Hutton P H; *Technologies of the Self A Seminar with Michel Foucault*, University of Massachusetts Press, 1988, p. 45
- ³ *Ibid.*
- ⁴ Kung H; *The Catholic Church A Short History*, Weiderfeld and Nicolsen, 2001, p. 170
- ⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 171
- ⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 176
- ⁸ *Ibid.*
- ⁹ McGrath MS; *These Women? Women Religious in the History of Australia Sisters of Mercy Parramatta 1888-1988*, University of New South Wales Press, 1988, p.130
- ¹⁰ Sister Veronica O'Brien, 1857, Sisters of Charity Archives, Potts Point
- ¹¹ Sister of Charity; *Rule*, 1866, Article 32
- ¹² Sisters of Mercy; *Meditations*, 1874
- ¹³ Sister of Charity, *Rule*, 1833, Article 6
- ¹⁴ Martin et al; *op.cit.*, p. 45
- ¹⁵ Sisters of Charity; *Constitution*, 1927, Article 74
- ¹⁶ Sister of Charity; *Rule*, 1866, Article 31
- ¹⁷ Sisters of Charity; *Constitution*, 1927, Article 75
- ¹⁸ Sisters of St Joseph; *Rule*, 1883, p.5
- ¹⁹ Cross and Livingston(eds) p. 960 in Trimmingham-Jack; "The Lay Sister in Educational History and Memory", *Paper presented at ANZHES*, University of Auckland, 1998, p. 2
- ²⁰ Sisters of Charity, *Rule*, 1866
- ²¹ McGrath MS; *op.cit.*, p. 121
- ²² Sisters of St Joseph; *Rule*, 1883, p. 10
- ²³ Father Tension Woods; *Book of Instructions For the Use of the Sisters of St Joseph of the Sacred Heart* , 1867, pp. 6-7
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*
- ²⁵ Turner B S; *Body and Society Explorations in Social Theory*, Basil Blackwell, 1984, p.118
- ²⁶ *Ibid.*, p.117
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 118
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*
- ²⁹ *Ibid.*
- ³⁰ *Ibid.*
- ³¹ *Ibid.*, p.119
- ³² Sisters of Charity; *Constitution*, 1927, Article 67
- ³³ McGrath M S; *op.cit.*, p. 121
- ³⁴ Manguel A; *A History of Reading*, Harper Collins, 1996, p. 115
- ³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 116
- ³⁶ De Giorgio M; "The Catholic Model" in Duby G and Periot M (ed); *A History of Women in the West, Part IV Emerging Feminism from Revolution to World War*, Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1993, p. 179
- ³⁷ Colin L; *op.cit.*, p. 114
- ³⁸ Father Peeters in Colin L; *op.cit.*, p. 122
- ³⁹ Foucault M; *Discipline and Punish The Birth of the Prison*, Penguin, 1977, pp. 139-140
- ⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

-
- ⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 140
- ⁴² *Ibid.*
- ⁴³ Colin L; *op.cit.*, p. 126
- ⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 188
- ⁴⁵ McGrath MS; *op.cit.*, p. 130
- ⁴⁶ Foucault M; *op. cit.*, p. 136
- ⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 136-137
- ⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 178
- ⁴⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁰ Sisters of St Joseph; *Book of Instructions*, 1867, p.7
- ⁵¹ Vicinus M; *Independent Women Work and Community for Single Women 1850-1920*. Virago, 1985, p. 67
- ⁵² Giddens A; *Modernity and Self-Identity Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*, Polity Press, 1991, p. 58
- ⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 59
- ⁵⁴ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 60-61
- ⁵⁶ Sisters of St Joseph; *Book of Instructions*, 1867, p.7
- ⁵⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁸ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁹ Burke-Savage R; *Catherine McAuley The First Sister of Mercy*, M H Gill and Son, 1950, p. 373
- ⁶⁰ Sisters of Charity; *General Custom*, 1860
- ⁶¹ *Ibid.*
- ⁶² *Ibid.*
- ⁶³ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁴ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁶ De Giorgio M; *op.cit.*, p. 192
- ⁶⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁸ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁰ *Ibid.*
- ⁷¹ Weber M; *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, George Allen and Unwin, 1930, p. 157
- ⁷² Sisters of Mercy; *Of the Employment of Time in Exposition of Our Rule and Constitutions as we have learned to understand and practice them*, 1865,p. 209
- ⁷³ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁴ Biographies located at Sisters of Charity Archives, Potts Point
- ⁷⁵ Turner N; *Which Seeds Shall Grow?* Collins Dove, 1988, p. 89
- ⁷⁶ Sisters of Mercy; *Meditations*, 1874
- ⁷⁷ Sisters of Charity: *Rules of Modesty*, 1866
- ⁷⁸ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁸⁰ *Ibid.*
- ⁸¹ *Ibid.*
- ⁸² *Ibid.*
- ⁸³ *Ibid.*

-
- ⁸⁴ Dancelwycz M; *Taking the Veil An Alternative to Marriage, Motherhood and Spinisterhood in Quebec 1840-1920*, McClelland and Stewart, 1987
- ⁸⁵ Raymond T; *A Passion for Friends Towards a Philosophy of Female Affection*, Beacon Press, 986, p. 83
- ⁸⁶ McGrath M S; *op.cit.*, p. 142
- ⁸⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁸⁸ *Ibid.*
- ⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 143
- ⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 122
- ⁹¹ Scarry E; *The Body in Pain The Making and Unmaking of the World*, Oxford University Press, 1985
- ⁹² Burley S; "None More Anonymous Catholic Teaching Nuns, their Secondary Schools and Students in South Australia 1880-1925, *M. Education Thesis*, University of Adelaide, 1992, p. 33
- ⁹³ Giddens A; *op.cit.*, p. 153
- ⁹⁴ Dancelwycz: M; *op.cit.*, p. 83
- ⁹⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁹⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 86
- ⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 84
- ⁹⁹ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 85
- ¹⁰¹ Campion E; *Australian Catholics*, Penguin, 1988, p.113
- ¹⁰² Dancelwycz M; *op.cit.*, p. 95
- ¹⁰³ Burford K; "Mary MacKillop's System of Catholic Education", *Unpublished Paper*, 1997
- ¹⁰⁴ McGrath MS; *op.cit.*, p.127
- ¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 126
- ¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 125
- ¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 128
- ¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 137
- ¹¹¹ *Ibid.*
- ¹¹² *Ibid.*
- ¹¹³ Dancelwycz M; *op.cit.*,
- ¹¹⁴ Biographies located at Sisters of Charity, Archives, Potts Point
- ¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*
- ¹¹⁶ McGrath M S; *op.cit.*, p. 116
- ¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*
- ¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*
- ¹¹⁹ Biographies located at Sisters of Charity, Archives, Potts Point
- ¹²⁰ Biographies located at Sisters of Mercy Archives, Parramatta
- ¹²¹ *Ibid.*
- ¹²² *Ibid.*
- ¹²³ *Ibid.*
- ¹²⁴ *Ibid.*
- ¹²⁵ McGrath M S; *op.cit.*, p. 138
- ¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 139
- ¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 140

¹²⁸ Dancelwycz M; *op.cit.*, p. 149

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p.159

¹³⁰ Sisters of St Joseph; *Constitutions* , 1874 p. 14

CHAPTER 7

Introduction

This Chapter will examine the educational philosophy and achievements of the Sisters of Charity, Sisters of St Joseph and the Sisters of Mercy, Parramatta in the period under review. All three Orders had the education of children, particularly the education of girls as one of their prime works. The provision of education by these Orders was more than just providing an education in the basic secular subjects of reading, writing and arithmetic. It also encompassed the provision of a religious education whose main purpose was to mould students into good Catholics and to discipline their bodies in the "technologies" and rituals of the faith, which if internalised and habitually practised throughout one's entire life in the appropriate manner, would ensure eternal salvation. The education of Catholic children as discussed in previous Chapters, was viewed as an essential element of the Church gaining and maintaining ongoing control over the minds and bodies of its faithful.

The Catholic Church in colonial New South Wales saw the provision of a suitable Catholic education as the means of gaining and maintaining this control over the poor Irish masses and of ensuring the Irish Church was successfully transplanted and deeply rooted within the emergent religious culture of the new colony. Successive bishops viewed female religious teaching orders as the means of supplying this education - they were a cheap resource and were influenced by the missionary zeal that characterised much of the philanthropic works of the nineteenth century. As has been outlined in previous Chapters, religious teaching sisters pursued a way of life that was strictly regulated and disciplined, yet ensconced in spirituality that provided the only real way that a woman could develop a meaningful relationship with God, while simultaneously pursuing a career that developed her skills and abilities and allowed her to contribute to

the Church's over-riding imperative of successfully indoctrinating and educating generations of young children and girls. This Chapter will review the provision of this education, initially to children of the lower orders and later to girls of the middle and upper classes by the female religious orders in New South Wales.

EDUCATIONAL THEMES IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

"For several decades in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries there was on one hand a continuous stream of works formulating Victorian domestic ideology while, on the other, there was a contrasting stream criticizing or re-formulating this ideology and arguing for an end to women's oppression. The description of this domestic ideology alongside comments and criticisms of the actual situation of women and the state of marriage constituted a "woman question" which was the subject of widespread interest in all areas of society and in all forms of literature". ¹

Prior to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, little attention had been paid to providing education to individuals other than those who it was believed would most benefit from it, that is boys in the middle and upper classes. But changes in society brought about by such factors as "the rise of Protestantism, with its emphasis on individual responsibility for salvation through reading of the Bible and personal communication"; ² the Industrial Revolution, which resulted in men and women being allocated to separate spheres of responsibility; various scientific discoveries and changes in thinking, particularly in relation to how children were regarded, resulted in education being viewed as a tool for inculcating individuals with the beliefs and values of the society of the period. Children, particularly girls, whose formal education up until this time had been seen as unnecessary, became the specific target of ensuring that society's and the Church's directions were implanted and reproduced.

Social control and Individual Betterment

Most of nineteenth century England was ruled by Queen Victoria whose attitudes toward sex and the body also greatly influenced attitudes to women's role in society and to education in general. According to Burstyn (1980), Victorians saw education as a means of social control and individual betterment. "These two themes existed side by side - social control was emphasised for the lower classes and individual betterment for the middle classes, but in both classes the second theme was discernible. Thus the lower classes were taught to primarily know their place and were given only the rudiments of literacy, but it was possible through self-improvement or later in the century through further schooling for bright lower class students to improve their position in society".³

Where the emphasis should be placed that is on social control or individual betterment depended on which classes' future was being considered and applied not only to men's education but particularly applied to the education of women of all classes. "The thrust towards control was expressed through the ideal of womanhood, which cast woman as an entity and left little room for variations among individuals, regardless of their circumstances. The ideal was prescriptive and spread its tentacles through all the institutions designed for women's education. Hence women in the middle class, unlike their brothers were subject to as rigid a program of control as their lower class sisters, although it was of a different kind".⁴ Social control over women was not only practised by the state but also by the various religions who saw obedience and docility as prime attributes to cultivate in women, so as to ultimately maintain control over their adherents. The major aim of this control over women was to produce good wives and mothers or prior to marriage industrious workers, who regardless of the role that they were fulfilling at the time would take the lead in regenerating industrial society by bringing back its moral purity. "Each sex was to have its own distinct sphere of influence. Women's superior morality was to match man's superior resolving and business ability...women's

work was the work of the spirit, her reward spiritual not financial".⁵ Women were to work in the home. "They were to be exclusively identified with home and family in the same decades that men became politically, economically and intellectually empowered to prosecute the industrial capitalist enterprise".⁶

Therefore, if women were to perform the important role that was being allocated to them by the state and the Church, they were to be given a special type of education. For women in the middle and upper classes this meant an education in the "polite accomplishments", which included learning to dance, playing the piano, learning to embroider and learning the "fine details of drawing room etiquette".⁷ Any other knowledge, which they acquired or were exposed to, was tightly monitored both by the state and the Church. Access to books was carefully controlled as a woman's "purity had to remain unimpaired by her education, particularly that knowledge that was gained from reading books".⁸

Women were to be educated not only to read and write and so that they could provide suitable partners for their husbands, they were also to be educated in morals and religion, so they in turn could pass this information onto their children. In the lower orders such education was taken over by the religious orders and other church groups. Individuals such as Hannah More, who came from an evangelical background, argued as early as the 1770's that girls needed to be prepared at a "sufficiently early age for the reception of serious religious truths".⁹ Girls should have the ability to read the scriptures and should be able to maintain themselves in the proper kind of employment. Sarah Trimmer in the 1780's also addressed the education of working class girls in her writings. She suggested that schools of industry should be established where girls were taught to card and spin wool, knit stockings and needlework. The aims of such schools were to make good working servants, wives and mothers. Charity schools were also established by various

philanthropists and benefactors in this period, with similar aims. These schools were linked to Sunday Schools so that the girls could simultaneously receive a moral and religious training while learning skills that would assist them to manage homes or work as domestic servants.¹⁰ The Catholic Church was slower than other religions to see the benefit of educating women as there was a fear that “intellectual stimulus would cause women to lose their faith. Loss of faith would be catastrophic, they felt since women transmitted the morals of society to each new generation”.¹¹ In time however the Catholic Church changed its views and as will be discussed in this Chapter and the next, it eventually invested heavily in providing education for all Catholics regardless of their background or sex.

Education for Motherhood

Included in the change in attitude toward the roles and duties that men and women should pursue, was a change in attitude toward how society should view children and their development into adults. Both the state and Church agreed that unlike previous periods of history, children should now be allowed time to develop from a child into an adult and that during these formative years, they should be exposed to an ongoing process of education and socialisation, which should be provided and supervised by the state and/or the Church. “In England, France and the United States, speculation about child development, drawing on the diverse inheritances of Locke and Rousseau, and on the work of such contemporary writers as Pestalozzi, emphasised the role of family and parents, and especially mothers, in imprinting good and moral lessons upon the child in infancy, in drawing out what was best in the child’s nature”.¹² The role of the mother in this process of education and socialisation of the next generation, particularly of their daughters was emphasised.¹³

The approach of various writers on the education of girls in the early nineteenth century therefore "had certain themes in common: education as preparation for motherhood, the social importance of motherhood, the vital importance of nurturing and training in the early years of childhood and emphasis on the relationship between mothers and daughters".¹⁴ Writers whose works were particularly influential at this time were Maria Edgeworth, who with her father authored a book entitled *Practical Education* in 1798 and Elizabeth Hamilton who published an educational work in 1801 entitled *Letters on Elementary Principles of Education*.¹⁵ Both emphasised the importance of educating the child, with Hamilton particularly stressing the fact that "mothers above all bore the responsibility for those first critical impressions received by infant minds".¹⁶ These women were not alone in recommending the education of women for maternal responsibilities. Other writers who pursued this thinking included Susan Ferrier¹⁷, Sarah Lewis¹⁸, Grace Aguilar¹⁹, Charlotte M. Yonge, Anne Elizabeth Pendred²⁰, Harriet Martineau²¹ and Mary Leman Grimstone²². All of these women argued for the education of women for the private sphere of the home and family. They were from various religious denominations and wrote not only treatises but also novels on how women should live their lives in dutiful subservience to their families.

In France, England and the United States therefore, the case for educating girls for motherhood was by the 1830's and 1840's, largely established and winning increasing support. In colonial New South Wales the concern with educating women for motherhood did not really attract a high level of support from those in authority until the middle of the nineteenth century. When its importance was realised particularly the potential it had for civilising and moralising colonial society, the education of girls for their future and specific role as mothers, became firmly entrenched in the school curriculum. Motherhood became regarded, by the state and Church, as "an all-consuming vocation and one that could not properly be combined with any other career.

The mother was also urged to be responsible for her own housework, a neat ideological solution to a chronic shortage of women willing to work as servants. The 'new' mother of the twentieth century family was supposed to be a capable, responsible woman who wanted nothing more than to keep her family satisfied: she was cook and cleaner and educator of her children as well as wife. Her vocation was clearly defined and socially valued".²³

The learning of needlework was seen by both the state and religious teaching orders, as a necessary skill for girls to learn which would assist them in their role not only as mothers but also for the lower orders, in their role as domestic servants. Accordingly, it was included as part of the female curriculum from the inception of both the Catholic and public elementary school systems. With the growing emphasis on preparing girls for motherhood needlework gained new status and merit under the standards of proficiency that were issued in 1880 by the colonial Board of Government.²⁴ In 1905, needlework was described as a "branch of Manual Training" when Peter Board's Primary Syllabus was printed.²⁵ In relation to girls acquiring this skill, Board stated that "as a domestic art it inculcates habits of neatness, cleanliness, thrift, order, industry and self-reliance, and this adds much to the home comfort of the individual and the family".²⁶ Home was "the divine workshop, where women would weld together the better morals of family and ultimately national life. The image of the industrious, skillful wife sewing diligently by the fireside was an idealised picture",²⁷ in much the same way that the woman playing at the piano was the idealized picture presented of the cultured and accomplished middle class woman.²⁸

Needlework, in Foucaultian (1977) terms, as did learning the skill of writing involved not only acquiring the knowledge of an array of stitches which were to be used according to what was being constructed, altered or mended at the time but also required the

individual to acquire certain disciplinary “technologies”. These “technologies” imprinted themselves on the individual girl’s body and served to focus her attention on such matters as: assuming the correct bodily demeanour while sewing; learning to coordinate her hand and eye movements in a slow and purposeful way; paying attention to detail, neatness and orderliness, while also providing her with a skill that would gainfully and consistently occupy her hands. The learning to sew for girls of the lower orders was a particularly important skill to acquire as this enabled her to not only make a living but also to sew her own and future families’ clothes as well as to mend and darn them as necessary. Girls of the middle class on the other hand were more likely to learn what was referred to as embroidery or fine needlework, which was used for the embellishment of clothes and other items or for those girls who pursued a religious vocation to decorate Church vestments and decorative cloths.

Apart from the working class ideal of the woman sitting beside the fire sewing, another ideal that developed alongside this for women in the late nineteenth century was “the competent, efficient wife and mother cooking nutritious, economic meals”.²⁹ Although concern was constantly expressed about children of the working class receiving nutritious and adequate meals, the provision of cookery lessons in public schools were never catered for to the same extent as needlework lessons were.³⁰ The main reason for this was the fact that cookery lessons were expensive to provide, as schools had to install cooking facilities. In 1890, the teaching of science to girls was replaced by domestic science and included the subjects of needlework, dressmaking, general housewifery, nursing, laundry work and cookery.³¹ The entrenchment of such domestic subjects in the girl’s school curriculum meant that two problems could be addressed at the same time – the shortage of domestic servants and the formal education of girls for motherhood.

The 1905 public school syllabus further reinforced and continued the tendency towards educating girls in domestic subjects and of further entrenching the division of labour between the sexes. English, maths and nature knowledge were taught to boys and not to girls. Girls were instructed in household economics, clothing, domestic hygiene, needlework and the care of children.³² "The belief that needlework was a proper course of instruction for girls was therefore at its height by the first decade of the twentieth century".³³ It became no longer mandatory for girls to be provided with a course of study in fifth class that would equip them for further education in superior public schools or high schools.³⁴ As well, "part of the maths syllabus was omitted from girls' studies. Public comment at this time supported this direction. Girls, it was reported would learn little from the study of French and Latin. Matrimony... was the ultimate goal of nearly every girl. Further, it was reasonable to expect that all girls would be fully trained for the duties of home, as any neglect of this training would leave a mark 'not only upon the home but (also) upon the national life'".³⁵ This argument had been put forward in one form or another since 1848, it took until the turn of the century for it to be formally enshrined within the school curriculum.³⁶

Despite the drive to educate girls adequately for motherhood and domestic life, by the beginning of the twentieth century there were opportunities opening up in the workforce that had not been available previously and the Catholic school curriculum in particular apart from providing an education in the "polite accomplishments", made available an alternative curriculum for those girls who were more academically minded. What was not considered however, was that despite the availability of tertiary education and limited membership to the professions, and the economic necessity for some if not many women to work, was the fact that women's lives were more governed and sexually discriminated against at this time than ever before.³⁷ "Whilst a handful of women could receive an education and follow a career, most women had absolutely no choice but to adopt the

career of motherhood which society said was their "natural" vocation".³⁸ The Catholic Church had itself contributed to establishing and entrenching this role for women by decreeing Mary as the absolute symbol of motherhood in its most perfect, pure and self-sacrificing form and a role model that all Catholic women were to aspire to and emulate.

Education for Work

While the theme of "maternal education" continued to be of fundamental importance in the provision of girl's education so was it necessary for some women to financially support themselves. The development of a curriculum for girls' education would therefore need to take into account not only the preparation of girls for motherhood but also educate and discipline them for employment in the workforce. The most suitable area of work for women were considered to be in those areas that required similar skill and disposition that was necessary to perform work in the home both in their capacity as wife and mother. As the nineteenth century progressed and different areas of the economy opened up, some of the areas of work that fitted this requirement apart from domestic service were nursing, clerical and office work, retailing and teaching. The last occupation was considered particularly suitable for women as their nurturing abilities could be employed if not for their own children then for the children of others.

Teaching had been considered as a "respectable" occupation for women since at least the time of Mary Wollstonecraft who had foreseen the need for the provision of better education for women if they were to "take up employment as teachers, whether as governesses or in the public schools she envisaged".³⁹ Wollstonecraft believed that women should not only be educated for motherhood but also so that she was able to support herself if necessary. That some women had to support themselves was a reality, particularly in England as there was a shortage of men of marriageable age. Wollstonecraft herself had formed these views based on her own experience of being

"faced with the need to earn her living and eventually to help support her family, she worked as a companion, a governess and a school teacher before coming to London in 1787 to live by her writing and join the liberal and radical circle of intellectuals around Josephine Johnson, who had already published her *Thoughts in the Education of Daughters* (1787)".⁴⁰ She also worked as a journalist and a translator in London and was very interested in the events, which were occurring in France at the time. She answered the work of Edmund Burke *Reflections on the French Revolution* in her own work *The Vindication of the Rights of Women* which was published in 1792.⁴¹ The work served to unite "her new political awareness of the deprivation of the rights suffered by the great mass of the population and her understanding of the conflicting arguments about the nature of women, and their particular specific claims to autonomy".⁴²

Despite her beliefs, which were embraced by "feminists" and "anti-feminists" at the time,⁴³ Wollstonecraft believed in God, "who through the gift of reason enabled men to pursue and to achieve virtue".⁴⁴ She was of the view that both sexes had the ability to be virtuous and there was "only one standard of virtue".⁴⁵ Both men and women had the responsibility of being moral and even "modesty and chastity were appropriate qualities for both sexes".⁴⁶ These propositions were new and although they still placed women in the position of moral agent, men were also regarded as being responsible for their own moral behaviour. Such a view was different to writers such as Rousseau who saw women's role as being one of serving men. It was also different to the view held by the Catholic Church who viewed women as being responsible not only for their own morality but also responsible for the moral well-being of their husbands and children.

Wollstonecraft shared the "common contemporary view that the education and expectations of women in the world around her had corrupted and degraded the sex".⁴⁷ Women were conditioned "with the sense of their femaleness from early childhood, and

as they grew older they were still never accorded full adulthood: in such a situation they were too open to receive easy associations of ideas, and to be carried away by their feelings, while having no routine business in the day to distract them".⁴⁸ She therefore believed when considering the education of women, consideration should be given "not only to education itself but the whole domestic environment".⁴⁹ According to Wollstonecraft, "from the beginning the aim of education should be the training of understanding: 'the most perfect education, in my opinion, is such an exercise of the understanding as is best calculated to strengthen the body and form the heart. Or in other words, to enable the individual to attain such habits of virtue as will render it independent'".⁵⁰

As early as 1791, Wollstonecraft was critical of the "polite accomplishments" curriculum as it was "designed merely to make women pleasing to men without any thought for their future work or needs as individuals".⁵¹ Such an education resulted in women being concerned only with their physical appearance and paying little attention to other aspects of their personal development. According to Wollstonecraft, "such expectations were rapidly internalised by women themselves: 'Women are everywhere in this deplorable state; for, in order to preserve their innocence as ignorance is courteously termed, truth is hidden for them, and they are made to assume an artificial characteristic before their faculties have acquired strength. Taught from their infancy that beauty is women's sceptre, the mind shapes itself to the body, and roaming around its gilt cage, only seeks to adore its prison'".⁵² Women therefore were required to discipline their bodies according to the fashion and etiquette requirements of the day. Unlike the religious sister who arduously disciplined her body to free her mind so that she could engage in constant dialogue with her God, middle class women became pre-occupied with using the mind for the corporeal purpose of shaping their body to meet pre-determined middle class standards.

Once the decision was taken that girls should receive some type of formal education throughout the early years of their life, the debate over whether a girl should be educated for any occupation other than that of motherhood persisted well into the twentieth century, with the result that both the public and Catholic system of education provided an education that would not only enable a woman who found she had to work to supplement the family income after marriage to do so, but also provided talented girls with the educational background to pursue a career outside of marriage and motherhood. The provision of such alternative types of education for girls – one that enabled women to perform society's designated role and one that enabled them to possibly pursue their own career and develop their thinking, gave rise to various tensions in society which Delamont (1989) has referred to as the problem of "double conformity".

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN BRITAIN AND EUROPE

With the decision to formally educate children in the early nineteenth century came the problem of finding adequate numbers of teachers who could undertake this role. The monitorial system, referred to in Chapter 4, developed by Andrew Bell and Joseph Lancaster provided authorities with a system of education where large numbers of children could be instructed in one room with one teacher-in-charge assisted by a number of monitors. "Denominational rivalry in England, led to the foundation of two voluntary societies, the National Society for promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Church of England, in 1811 and the British and Foreign Schools Society in 1814... These societies dominated educational provision in England and Wales for the next thirty years. While the number of these schools grew rapidly the quality of education offered was often very limited indeed, and for girls, in particular they might mark little advance on the charity schools".⁵³ After the 1830's, the state and the various churches who had become aware of the potential that educating the masses had for

maintaining control, began to take a greater interest in the content of education being provided. This they achieved by contributing "financially and through the appointment of inspectors who contributed to the establishment of teacher training colleges. New schools for the different disadvantaged groups grew up: ragged, workhouse, prison and factory schools. And the rejection by working-class people of the charity ethos surrounding so many schools, and their choice of the best accessible education for their children, did help to raise standards".⁵⁴

According to Rendall (1985), "in England, unlike France, girls did share even if to a lesser extent in the benefits of expanding elementary education from the beginning, and the state did not formally discriminate between boys and girls. But the quality of education received by girls was undoubtedly different. Women's literacy did remain lower and girls were likely to attend inferior schools, such as the local dame schools. Even in the National and British schools there were clearly differences in curricula for girls and for boys, as suggested above. Arithmetic was never as important for girls, they were unlikely to be taught algebra, geometry or further mathematics in higher classes".⁵⁵ As discussed above, the learning of needlework and knitting remained of great importance for girls particularly in preparing them for their role of wife and mother.⁵⁶

The female religious teaching orders also provided education initially for children of the lower orders and later in the century for girls from the middle and upper classes. This education, as we shall see was basic and covered similar subjects to that provided by the state. The main purpose of the sister's education was however, to provide religious and moral training. The principles of Catholicism were to be thoroughly entrenched and the disciplinary "technologies" of the body that would ensure life-long obedience to the Church were imparted at every opportunity throughout the school day. The ultimate aim of encouraging parents, particularly of the Catholic lower orders to send their children to

school at an early age was to ensure that the pupils they were inculcating were still at their most malleable and impressionable stage of development. The religious sisters as discussed in Chapter 4 were specifically trained to provide this education and to infiltrate the bodies of their pupils through the application of somatic methods of learning.

Before examining the educational background of the three female religious teaching Orders under review, I will provide a brief overview of the public education system as it developed in the period 1860 to 1930. My reason for doing this is to provide the context within which the Catholic education system developed and to highlight the point that despite the fact that the Catholic Church as it grew and entrenched itself in colonial New South Wales had its own very specific agenda and priorities in terms of educating its Catholic population, it was ultimately the state that determined the path that education in New South Wales would follow.

EDUCATION IN COLONIAL NEW SOUTH WALES

As mentioned in Chapter 2, a national system of education was introduced in colonial New South Wales in 1848.⁵⁷ "This new system of state elementary schools with its attached four competing denominational systems was an uneasy amalgamation of differing religious and educational philosophy and practice".⁵⁸ According to Kyle (1986), educational outcomes for girls in this new system, as was the experience overseas, were varied and unequal.⁵⁹ "Neither church nor state had displayed undue public interest in female education and changes to the education of girls of a beneficial kind"⁶⁰ did not occur with any speed or real interest. The new system was really introduced for the education of boys and Kyle argues that "women gained benefits, even if indirectly, from the formal provision designed primarily for men and boys".⁶¹ At this time girls were more likely to be "kept at home more often than boys, particularly if they were of the age

to help with household chores and with the care of other siblings".⁶² They were also more likely to be sent to work in a paid employment to supplement the family income.

For those girls who did attend school, there were marked differences in the education they received. "In addition to their lower enrolments and attendance, girls received a markedly different subject fare. Sewing figured largely in this routine. Cleveland Street National School allocated three hours of needlework per week in all classes for girls. Fort Street Model School offered four hours of needlework from first to third classes, extended to five hours in fourth and fifth classes. As a result girls spent much less time on subjects like geography and arithmetic and they did not study geometry, mensuration, algebra, Latin or drill. Girls were given more music instruction than the boys and only the girls took the subject of French".⁶³ It is clear from the above description that "at all levels girls' state education was heavily biased toward the fine arts, the three R's and needlework. It was much less important for her to know about commercial work, industry and politics, although these too governed her life".⁶⁴

Around the time of the implementation of the state and denominational elementary school system, the private venture school also offered an alternative system of education. The *Sydney Morning Herald* in the 1860's daily contained numerous notices advertising educational establishments managed by women such as the Misses de Mietze or Mrs Tait. The latter advertised a "select boarding and Day School for Young Ladies at 191 Macquarie Street North".⁶⁵ Subjects taught at Windsor Alba Ville Seminary by Mrs Doyle included "every branch of science and all accomplishments necessary to a highly liberal education".⁶⁶ Similarly, at the Young Ladies Boarding School at Campbelltown, Mrs Gibson provided tuition in "English, French, drawing, music and all kinds of fancy work".⁶⁷ It is interesting to note that these schools not only catered for day pupils but also boarders or parlour boarders.

The fees at these schools were quite high therefore mainly girls from the middle and upper classes attended. ⁶⁸ Theobald (1996) states that at these schools "the accomplishments genre developed sooner, was more coherent, more widespread (and more profitable) than secondary education for middle class boys". ⁶⁹ The purpose of these schools as with the schools in the state and denominational system was to suitably educate middle class girls as suitable potential wives and mothers.

Apart from the private venture school, girls and some boys were also educated by governesses – women who made their living by tutoring students in the homes of the middle and upper classes. As well, books on how to educate children were published by women such as Hannah Villiers Boyd. Her book entitled *Letters on Education Addressed to a Friend in the Bush of Australia*, was one of the first books on education produced in the colony in 1848. Boyd specifically wrote the book to teach mothers, particularly those living in the country, how to educate their children themselves rather than employing a governess. The subjects that she provided guidance to mothers on teaching included writing, music, foreign languages, needlework, physical education, diet, elementary science, geology and mineralogy, reading and religious instruction. Her book was quite innovative in that it covered the teaching of physical education, diet and elementary science – subjects that had not as yet been introduced into the elementary school curriculum.

The next phase in the development of the provision of elementary education occurs after 1866, when the National and Denominational Boards were abolished and replaced by a central body, the Council of Education. ⁷⁰ Under this system the national schools became known as 'public schools' and the denominational schools were referred to as 'certified

denominational schools'.⁷¹ Two other types of school that were to function at this time – were the provisional and half-time school.⁷²

In the schools run by the Council of Education, there was once again a marked difference in the subjects that were taught to boys and girls as there had been under the National Board. In line with the domestic curriculum, girls were taught "sewing, plus some reading, writing, arithmetic and geography".⁷³ On the other hand, boys attending Fort Street School were instructed in algebra, Latin and geometry.⁷⁴ Apart from differences in the subjects that boys and girls were taught in the higher classes reading material that girls were provided with, differed from that provided to boys.⁷⁵ For girls, the selection of subjects was domestic based and with topics centring on the home and family. Boys on the other hand, read much more substantial texts including books on history, physics, geology and biology.

The passing of "the Public Instruction Act through parliament in 1880 made elementary schooling in New South Wales compulsory for all children between the ages of six and fourteen".⁷⁶ By formally establishing a system of education that encompassed not only the elementary school but also a superior public school and state high school, "this Act provided greater access to and opportunities for formal schooling for a greater proportion of children than ever before".⁷⁷ The superior public school was established to provide children particularly of the working class with the opportunity to gain an education beyond that of the elementary school. They also enabled these children, particularly girls, to gain an education, which prepared them for employment in the public service or as teachers and shop assistants,⁷⁸ positions which would not have ordinarily been open to them. "By 1890, fifty-four superior public schools were in operation, with enrolments totalling 47,213".⁷⁹ The superior school was particularly patronised by girls, as being located in most of the major towns, reduced "such problems as travel, always more

difficult for them, and finance, which was often in short supply as brothers were given first preference".⁸⁰

The state high schools were established to provide another level of education beyond that of the elementary and superior public schools and required parents to pay a fee initially of "two guineas per quarter, which was increased to three guineas in 1893".⁸¹ From the outset girls attended these schools, with a number of establishments being opened specifically for girls⁸² and being justified on the basis that "educated women would make better wives and mothers and perform their household tasks much more competently".⁸³ Accordingly, the curriculum in these schools prepared girls not only for entry to University but also provided compulsory instruction in "drawing, music, cookery and needlework".⁸⁴ By 1910 these schools, in line with Peter Board's recommendations and the Knibbs-Turner Report had become specifically concerned with preparing girls for their future domestic responsibilities in the home to the point that a number of domestic science high schools were specifically established for girls. More now than ever before the state concentrated on educating girls for motherhood and marriage.

Apart from establishing the various levels of education the 1880 Education Act also made education compulsory for all students regardless of sex. It did not, as indicated above, mean that a similar curriculum was studied by boys and girls or take steps to ensure that girls enrolled in school in equal numbers to boys. The reason for this was the same as it had been in the earlier decades of the century - many girls still stayed at home to help with domestic duties or went out to work to supplement the family income.⁸⁵ As well, girls continued to be educated in the home by governesses and mothers for a lot longer than boys were and many parents when they did decide to educate their daughters, particularly in the middle class, sent them to one of the convent run schools.⁸⁶ By 1900 however, this situation had begun to change and home education in particular was on

the decrease.⁸⁷ Both state and Church educators saw this situation more than ever as an opportunity to prepare girls for what was considered their “proper” role in society.

How was the Catholic education system accommodated within the state system of education that developed throughout the second half of the nineteenth century? As discussed in Chapter 2, the Catholic clergy were extremely vocal in demanding that their adherents be specifically educated in the beliefs and teachings of the Church and that this instruction should be undertaken by those best qualified for the work. Before discussing the pedagogical philosophies of the various foundresses and the educational systems which they established, a brief overview of the general Catholic education system as it emerged and functioned at this time, will now be provided.

ROMAN CATHOLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

According to Kyle, despite the increasing provision of elementary schooling by the state, “significant numbers of girls and boys were still enrolled in denominational schools between 1848 and 1865”.⁸⁸ Similar to “the national system, denominational schools followed a general policy of separate departments or schools for the sexes in the city and larger country districts.... In 1859 the Roman Catholic denominational system had seven schools designated as girls’ schools. These were located at Bathurst, Church Hill, Darlinghurst, Kent Street North, Maitland West, Parramatta West and Sussex Street. Of these, five had younger boys, aged three to seven years, on their rolls”.⁸⁹ As with the national system, boys and girls followed a different curriculum with needlework comprising a major part of the girls’ curriculum and mathematical studies comprising a major part of the boys’. As with the public school system there was also a high rate of absenteeism of girls, as girls were expected to stay at home and help with the family chores or go out to work if required.⁹⁰

With the changes in government policy after 1866 the number of denominational schools declined. Such changes however did not deter the Roman Catholic Church from providing what it considered as a suitable education to its children, particularly its female ones. The decline in the number of denominational schools was accompanied by an ongoing debate, which largely centred on whether religion should be taught in all schools and whether state aid should be provided to denominational schools. By 1885 all colonies, except Western Australia had decided to discontinue state aid to church schools. This left the Catholic system in an invidious position – they could either allow their children to be educated in the state school system or they could establish their own system of schools and thus ensure that their children were appropriately educated. Such a decision of course came at a great cost both financially and administratively. With little hesitation the bishops opted to maintain the Catholic education system as they and others believed that Catholic education was necessary to produce disciplined and obedient Catholics. Central to this notion was the belief that Catholic children must be taught religion which would encompass not only the teachings of the Church but also the acquiring of the correct bodily and mental dispositions that were necessary to assume the role of a “good” Catholic.

In establishing a primary or elementary school system, as it was this level of education that the male clergy were mainly concerned with, they faced many problems. These problems included gaining the support of the laity, many of whom were working class who had an indifferent attitude not only to education but also to Catholic education, building schools and staffing them with suitable teachers, who were drawn from the various religious orders. It also required them to establish their own system of administration and the decision was taken to base the control of their primary schools on parishes. The parish, a European invention had been transported to Australia and radically modified, but it was the Catholic Churches basic administrative unit. This

system of administration of schools was different to the one adopted by the state, who had opted for a centralised form of control and administration. As each parish was managed by a priest, the parish primary school accordingly fell under his ambit of control.

The decision by the bishops to appoint a priest in charge of the local primary schools must have proved difficult for some religious sisters, as they would have been bound to undertake his instructions without question. In some cases, his lack of experience with teaching children and managing schools, must have resulted in some instructions he gave and decisions he made being inappropriate and even unworkable at times. In contrast, most of the religious sisters were experienced teachers and administrators who had usually been involved in the daily organisation and running of both boys' and girls' schools. "Although largely ignored by the Catholic hierarchy, the female religious did display a great deal of interest in the direction of formal education, particularly for girls"⁹¹ and according to Kyle, "were outspoken advocates for change to the elementary schooling for girls. These women spoke out about the lack of playgrounds and club facilities for Catholic girls in the parochial school environment. They highlighted the bias towards male activities being catered for which worked against the full participation and access of girls. The female religious, like many other educators, put forward proposals for domestic training for girls in elementary classes".⁹²

How much notice the clergy took of such suggestions is difficult to determine, but such criticism by the sisters themselves must have caused problems in their ongoing relationship with the clergy. Another source of potential conflict would have been the parish priest's control over the school's budget. If a priest's priorities in terms of where parish funds should be spent were different to the sisters' views on how funds should be spent, then tensions between the two would have arisen. In an effort to supplement their

income some of the orders taught music to students at the school or to students from other religious backgrounds and eventually moved into the provision of secondary education for girls where they charged fees.

Despite such differences, both the Church and its religious teaching orders shared the view that the teaching of religion was the most important function of the Catholic school curriculum and the delivery of every other aspect of the school day was woven into the provision of this subject. Apart from the teaching of religion, the maintenance of order within the school and the internalisation of various disciplinary “technologies” by the individual pupil were considered an essential aspect of the school curriculum and were achieved through the process of “direct” and “indirect” somatic learning which will be discussed further in the next Chapter.

For the bishops it was extremely important that all Catholic children were exposed to a Catholic education and therefore acceptance of the education provided by these schools by Catholic parents and the public in general was also important. The Church achieved this by providing a brand of education whose particular hallmark was not only the production of individuals who were self-disciplined, faithfully and unquestioningly reproducing the Church, as was required of them but also provided a level of education that met the academic standards set by the state. To reinforce that Catholic parents sent their children to Catholic schools the Church through various means not only consistently reminded parents of their obligation to ensure this occurred, but also kept abreast of changes and standards introduced by the state. By 1905 the Catholic primary school of New South Wales had accepted the standards of proficiency as laid down by Department of Public Instruction. They had previously adopted the standards that had been set by the state in relation to preparing students for public examinations. The Church and the religious orders took great care to inform parents that by sending their children to a

Catholic school, they would receive an education that was not only academically sound but would also develop the moral and religious elements of a individual's being, by inculcating "a spirit of self-sacrifice, of obedience to law and of Christian love for the fellow man".⁹³

That there was a difference in the type of education that an individual received in attending a Catholic school was noted by the members of the Powis Commission in the following comment. "The refinement of manners which naturally characterise ladies by birth and education is one of the striking features presented on entering convent schools after leaving a school of any other description. This refinement is heightened by love for a work undertaken rather as a religious duty than as a professional occupation. This constitutes, as far as I was able to trace, one of the chief elements in the attractive forces of convent schools".⁹⁴ Within this context of the Catholic Church attempting to not only provide an education that was deeply imbued with religious content but also academically competitive, I will now turn to an examination of the three religious Orders under review and their contribution to the development of a Catholic education system in New South Wales.

Mary Aikenhead and the Sisters of Charity Schools

The elementary schools conducted by the Sisters of Charity initially fulfilled a great need amongst the poor. The Sisters of Charity established many schools in Ireland and Mother Aikenhead's work became so well known that after the Catholic emancipation in 1829, other religious orders sought Mother Aikenhead's advice on the establishment of other schools for the poor.⁹⁵ Writing to Mother Francis Magdalen in 1840, Mother Aikenhead remarked: "It is obvious that we shall always have a great number of schools than of any other institutions for the poor".⁹⁶

The most significant influences on the educational practice adopted by the Sisters of Charity in Ireland, were that of the Jesuit school organisation, which the Order had inherited when it adopted a form of the Jesuit Constitutions specifically adapted for a female order of religious sisters, and the experiencing of established convent school traditions by Mary Aikenhead, when she underwent her novitiate training at the Bar Convent of the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary in York.⁹⁷ The women who joined the Sisters of Charity as choir sisters had generally received an education in the "polite accomplishments" and even though they had not been specifically trained as teachers, their educational background made them eminently suitable for educating children, particularly children of the poor. Their work of educating the lower orders was undertaken in response to the needs of the era in which they lived and in their desire to play some part, albeit even though it might only be small in remedying some of the hardship that the country had suffered as a result of British rule and the consequent suppression of their faith.

From the beginning, Mary Aikenhead realised that education could contribute to improving the lives of those in need and as such she integrated its provision within the Charity charism of her Order. As many other Catholic thinkers of the time believed, she was "convinced that a sound Christian education would help eliminate many of the social evils of her time, as the better instructed in her religion a Catholic woman was, the more fully would she be able to realise and accept her social and individual responsibility".⁹⁸ The Sisters of Charity therefore established a school or schools as part of every new foundation of the Order established, providing for the education not only of children but also evening classes for adults. The Order however, unlike Mother McAuley and the Sisters of Mercy in Ireland did not extend its provision of education to secondary level until its arrival in Australia.⁹⁹

The schools which the Sisters of Charity initially established and managed were extremely poor and were referred to by Reverend Denis Gildea in his work on *Mother Mary Arsenics of Foxford* in 1866 in the following terms:

"Our schools were not then under the National Board, and were miserably poor and ill-provided. In Gardiner Street schools, there were upwards of 600 children in attendance divided into four school-rooms, one sister in charge of each with a teacher under her and helped by what we called "merit-ticket" monitoresses. As there was no money to pay for these girls, they were given at the end of the year presents in accordance with the value of the marks recorded on these tickets. Holidays were spent mending and patching the few school books and readers that had been compiled by some of our sisters and printed in the cheapest manner. The teaching of subjects in these schools was most elementary - reading, writing, arithmetic, and a smattering of grammar, less of geography, simple singing and needlework - this last with the Catechism being considered to be the most essential".¹⁰⁰

These schools were open to both boys and girls. It is interesting to note that the teaching of needlework to girls was regarded as just as important as the teaching of Catechism, as the sisters from the beginning of their endeavours regarded the education of girls in their domestic responsibilities of paramount importance.

The sisters relying on the pedagogical theories and methods of the time employed the monitorial system of education in their parochial schools. The education system, which the sisters used, was the Bell and Lancastrian system as adapted by the Christian Brothers and modelled for female schools by the sisters themselves.¹⁰¹ After Mother Aikenhead had decided to include the education of the children of the poor as part of her Order's work, Sister Mary Xavier was made responsible for implementing this decision. Sister Mary Xavier had entered as a postulant with Mary Aikenhead and was a cousin of the Foundress. While waiting for the Order's school building to be completed she travelled around Dublin to ascertain which schools were operating most effectively and to assess

which teaching methods would be most appropriate for use in the Order's school. Sister Mary Xavier found the Meather Street School, conducted by the Society of Friends, to be the most efficient and when she opened her own school, she engaged a teacher from Meather Street for six months to assist her in setting up the new school. ¹⁰²

According to Donovan (1979), upon the opening of the school, Sister Mary Xavier realised the massive task of educating children, many of whom who had never had any formal education that lay before her. "All her studies of theories of education, plans for school management and methods now seemed futile and inappropriate to the task that lay before her. Many of the children had no concept of what was required of them at school having never been to school before they were quite undisciplined. Others had attended sectarian schools, where a good breakfast was always provided as an inducement to punctual attendance". ¹⁰³ The sisters also provided breakfast for their pupils but "their parents, while allowing them to partake of the meal warned them to ignore the religious instruction they would hear. Children, because of the attitude of their parents looked on teachers with mistrust" ¹⁰⁴ and the sisters "in their strange clothes and with their strange customs, were regarded as suspect". ¹⁰⁵

Sister Mary Xavier, unable to manage the children's undisciplined behaviour, turned to Mother Aikenhead for advice and assistance. Mother Aikenhead said "that they would get a man". ¹⁰⁶ A Christian Brother, Brother Bernard Duggan was approached and agreed to assist the sisters in establishing and organising a system of management that would allow them to undertake their work. He provided specific advice on classroom management and trained the sisters in relevant teaching methods in the evenings. With his assistance Sister Mary Xavier compiled the *School Government Book* which set out the rules under which the school was to operate and formed the basis by which the pupil's body and its behavioural dispositions could be effectively learnt and controlled. ¹⁰⁷

The *School Government Book* was essentially an instruction manual, which dealt with every aspect of school life and was an ongoing source of reference and direction for those sisters who followed in her footsteps. To the original edition of the *School Government Book*, Sister Mary Xavier added further instructions on her specific method of teaching reading, writing and arithmetic from her personal recollection of Brother Duggan's hints on these subjects.¹⁰⁸

"In the course of time, Sister Mary Xavier became such an accomplished school mistress that her reputation spread abroad, even to England and Scotland. Bishops and distinguished men often called at Gardiner Street to consult her on school affairs. The Presentation Nuns at Rahan begged Mother Aikenhead to give them the advantage of Sister Mary Xavier's advice and experience in working up their schools to the required standard".¹⁰⁹ Sister Mary Xavier was also entrusted with the selection and training of sisters who were to take on the work of teaching in the Order's schools.¹¹⁰ The system of education employed by Sister Mary Xavier proved successful as it achieved the major objective of Catholic education that being: "the children are induced to love their lessons from the attractive manner in which they are given and religion being the basis of every part of their education, the mind is formed to piety which stands them in after life".¹¹¹

The Sisters of Charity Schools in New South Wales

As mentioned in Chapter 2, the Sisters of Charity first settled in Parramatta, where a convent had been organised for them to live in upon their arrival. In 1848, the Parramatta Convent was closed and all the sisters moved to reside in Sydney. As in Ireland, where almost every religious foundation was marked by the opening of a school, a similar pattern was to emerge in Australia. From their arrival, the sisters began instructing children in six schools that had been established in Sydney. The sisters also engaged in work in the Women's Refuge where they "instructed inmates in religion and

secular knowledge, helped in domestic arrangements and gave lessons in needlework and other useful accomplishments".¹¹² As well, they provided classes in religious instruction at the various Catholic schools in Sydney and Parramatta, provided classes in needlework, evening classes for adults and established a library.¹¹³

St Vincent's Convent Primary School was established in May 1858 at "Tarmons", a property that had been purchased at Darling Point for the Order by a committee specifically formed to assist the sisters establish a hospital in Sydney.¹¹⁴ Sister Mary Alphonsus Unsworth and Sister Mary Aloysius Raymond were responsible for setting up the new School. Sister Mary Aloysius had been born in England and was appointed as the School's first Principal. She had been educated by the Poor Clares at Darlington in England, where she had excelled in her studies. She entered the Sisters of Charity convent in 1854 - with her first profession being performed at "Tarmons". Besides conducting St Vincent's Day School, she also trained younger sisters in the art of teaching.¹¹⁵ Apart from her role as Principal of St Vincent's Day School, Sister Mary Aloysius was also Directoress of the Catholic Young Women's Association founded by Reverend Dr Sheridan. This Association met every Sunday in the schoolroom at St Vincent's and was formed mainly for the benefit of Irish girls who were engaged in domestic service, to provide them with spiritual guidance and help them resolve any personal or other difficulties.¹¹⁶ Sister Mary Aloysius died on 2 August 1871 from tuberculosis. Her co-worker Sister Mary Alphonsus Unsworth was born in America in 1831, having been educated at the Convent of Divine Providence in England. She was the first postulant to be admitted to the Sisters of Charity at "Tarmons" and was professed with Sister Mary Xavier Cunningham in July 1860. She taught successfully at St Vincent's School with Sister Mary Aloysius. She also died of tuberculosis after her profession.¹¹⁷ As can be seen, these two pioneering sisters had been educated at private convent schools in England. They would have received a typical middle class education for the

time as far as girls were concerned, an education that concentrated on acquiring the knowledge and skills of the “polite accomplishments”.

As with Mother Aikenhead and her sisters in Ireland, the education that their pupils were provided with would have been of a far more basic nature than the type of education that they themselves had received. The method of education and teaching that the colonial sisters utilised in their schools was the method that had been set out for them in the *Schools Government Book* of 1833 that had been written by Brother Duigan and Sister Mary Xavier in Ireland. As with other important documents that the sisters brought with them to the colony, a copy of this book had been hand-copied for the sisters to carry with them. The reason that the book had been prepared for the sisters to bring with them to the colony was as follows: “It has been found necessary to draw up the government of schools, in order to establish and procure the desirable object of uniformity in the manner of conducting them. Human nature is prone to relaxation and inclined to change, that written rules are requisite to keep us within the bounds of duty and to prevent what has been wisely established, being destroyed by the introduction of novelties. The Sister who has the direction of the schools shall take care that all are employed in the office of teaching, observe exactly the manner of teaching and of treating the children which the government prescribes”.¹¹⁸

The *School Government Book* was very prescriptive, setting out the rules and disciplinary “technologies”, as well as the somatic methods of teaching and learning that were to be employed in Sister of Charity Schools, as they were established. According to this Manual, a Sister of Charity School was divided into two levels comprising of an upper and a lower school. Section 3 of the Book set out the distribution of time or timetable that was to be followed in each of these levels, specifying what time was to be allocated for the learning of secular subjects and what time was to be allocated for prayer and the

teaching of religion. The subjects the children were taught in the Lower School included reading, Catechism, writing on slates and paper, spelling, and arithmetic. The distribution of time followed in the Upper School included religion, spelling, dictation, grammar, geography, maps, writing, arithmetic and needlework. The first lesson of the morning was on Christian Doctrine and the children received religious instruction each day.¹¹⁹ The use of the timetable and its importance in establishing and maintaining a disciplinary regime within the classroom as in the convent will be examined in the next Chapter. The timetable was as it still is a very important “technology” in maintaining control in the school by establishing a rigid and pre-determined routine.

In the Sisters of Charity elementary school, the girls were taught needlework and on the basis of the information contained in the *School Government Book*, these lessons were quite extensive. The “work system”¹²⁰ as it was referred to, that was to be utilised in the teaching of needlework to the girls was that arranged by Mrs Lancaster and greatly resembled the method that had been adopted by Mr Lancaster for the teaching of reading and spelling.¹²¹ The needlework classes were divided into twelve categories according to the degree of difficulty of each sewing stitch that was to be learnt.¹²² All of these classes provided instructions in basic domestic sewing. None of the lessons included fancy needlework or fine embroidery, which was taught to middle and upper class girls as part of the “polite accomplishment” curriculum.

As a girl’s formal education at this time probably ended around the age of twelve, the sisters had to ensure that they provided the girls with a basic education that would enable them to read, live according to a budget or sew an item of clothing. They also had to, within a short period of time, educate them in the life they were to lead if they were to be “good” Catholic wives and mothers. The sisters ensured this through the process of somatic learning and by ensuring the various disciplinary “technologies” were thoroughly

internalised. To ensure that this eventuated, the *School Government Book* contained a significant section on how to maintain order and discipline in the school. The system of discipline imposed was extremely strict and unbending, including not only the use of disciplinary regimes but also corporal punishment and will be discussed further in the following Chapter.

In 1861, St Vincent's Primary School received recognition from the state and the sisters were allotted a salary. In 1866, the colony's Director of Primary Schools visited the school and commended Sisters Mary Francis McGuigan, Mary de Sales Phillips and Mary Teresa Ganna for their "efficiency and discipline" in the school.¹²³ Useful advice regarding management of the school and the method of teaching, was also given by W A Duncan, a member of the Council of Education. In 1874, his daughter, Clare, made her profession with the Sisters of Charity.¹²⁴ Yearly reports of the School by inspectors testify to the quality of education provided at St Vincent's, with pupils travelling from all over Sydney to attend.¹²⁵ Contemporaneously, Sister Mary Alphonsus Heydon, conducted a small high school on the grounds of St Vincent's Primary School with great success.¹²⁶

Catherine McAuley and the Sisters of Mercy

As mentioned in Chapter 2, Archbishop Moran was instrumental in organising the establishment of a branch of the Callan Sisters of Mercy to come to Parramatta. Although there were some early problems to overcome in relation to them displacing what was to become known as the North Sydney Mercy Order, "the Parramatta foundation was to become one of the most notable manifestations of Moran's concept of the 'Spiritual Empire' of the Church".¹²⁷ Foundations made from the Parramatta Mercy Convent during the period 1892 to 1935 were many and followed a similar pattern in so far as wherever the sisters established a branch house or convent they also opened a primary and/or

secondary school, an orphanage, a charity school or a juniorate. These institutions were located over a wide geographical area for the time encompassing the Sydney suburbs of Surry Hills, Rydalmere, Ryde, Parramatta, Baulkham Hills, Bondi Junction, Enmore, Stanmore, Epping, Harris Park, and Bondi Beach.

From their foundation the Sisters of Mercy devoted a great deal of their energies to educating children of the lower orders and girls from the middle and upper classes. In doing so they followed the example provided by Mother McAuley, who regarded education as one of the first works of Mercy.¹²⁸ As with the foundresses of the other Orders, Mother McAuley set herself the goal of educating children, initially from the working and poorer classes thus potentially removing them from the plight of their parents by providing them with a sound education. Also, as with the other foundresses, an important component of her educational program was the teaching of religion by which the children were "fitted....for earth without unfitting them for Heaven".¹²⁹

According to Burke-Savage (1955)¹³⁰ Mother McAuley's pedagogical knowledge was derived from two main sources: the chief Dublin School of the Kildare Place Society and the Convent School in Georges Hall. The earlier charter schools in Ireland had been replaced by the Kildare Street Society establishment, which utilised an excellent system of conveying secular knowledge. This Society had been founded in 1811 and had as its purpose to "afford the same advantages for education to all classes without interfering with the peculiar religious opinions of any. All religious teaching was to be barred in the schools, but the Bible without notes or commentary, was to be used as a school book for the higher classes".¹³¹ Prior to taking her religious vows and while her own school was being erected in Baggot Street, Dublin, Catherine visited this school, anxious to learn all she could about school discipline and the methods of teaching employed in this institution.¹³² Also, while attending Kildare Street, she became aware that a number of

pupils were Catholic. She wrote the name and address of every Catholic child in the institution and in the summer of 1827, previous to the opening of her school, called on each of these children's parents and informed them of the opening of the Baggot Street School.¹³³ In the George's Hall School, she gained practical classroom experience under the direction of the Presentation Sisters. Here she found a fully organised system of teaching, tested by long years of successful experience and designed to give a thoroughly Catholic education. Her own methods were largely influenced by George's Hall practice and in her Order's Constitutions, the passages relating to the Order's schools are repeated almost verbatim from the Presentation Rule.¹³⁴

One of Mother McAuley's reasons for building her own school in Baggot Street was the fact that children of the poor were very numerous in this area and did not have ready access to a Catholic education. The National Board of Education had been established in 1832 with the majority of Irish Bishops patronising it and almost every Catholic school in Ireland becoming connected with it. Mother McAuley was one of the first to perceive the advantages of such a connection, because the Board by holding regular examinations established a standard of education which other schools could emulate and be measured by.¹³⁵ Accordingly, if her students were to sit for these exams Mother McAuley believed that her school would not be considered inferior to other schools. Another way that she gained recognition for her school was to open it to inspection by government officials. Speaking of religious as teachers, James W. Kavanagh the then Head Inspector of Schools in Ireland stated that: "In them, convents have a staff of efficient teachers, such as we cannot command for our other schools".¹³⁶

Owing to the rapid increase in foundations, the number of sisters available for managing any one school was not great. In the bigger primary schools, six or eight sisters had to supervise and teach as many as five hundred pupils. This forced Mother McAuley to

adopt a modified Lancastrian or monitorial system, as Mother Aikenhead had and Mother MacKillop would in the future. The adoption of this system meant that one sister was appointed as the sister-in-charge and she was assisted by a number of other sisters and monitors. Of the six or eight sisters, who taught some five hundred children in one room, only the sister-in-charge had authority to speak to them, the other sisters being restricted to hearing the children's recitations of their lessons or to making any inquiries of the children, as to the health of unwell parents or the children themselves.¹³⁷

The textbooks used at Mother McAuley's schools were those adopted by the National Board. These books were anti-Irish, as well as anti-Catholic in content.¹³⁸ The educational works of the Christian Brothers were relied upon to supplement the anti-Irish/Catholic nature of the National Board books. These texts were considered to be "thoroughly religious and national in character",¹³⁹ and contrasted favourably with the books of the National School system.¹⁴⁰ To ensure that children were given access to books of a Catholic nature, libraries were also established.¹⁴¹

In each foundation that she established, Mother McAuley "opened a free school for girls in which reading, writing, spelling, grammar, arithmetic and home crafts were taught".¹⁴² Algebra was not taught to the pupils, as she was conscious of the fact that the children whom she was educating would spend their lives in servitude. The girls were not instructed in arithmetic, as Mother McAuley believed it was only necessary for them to be able to count to ten.

As mentioned above, each school was presided over by the sister-in-charge, who remained in the school from ten to three, with a lunch break at noon. "She did not generally teach, her main business being to examine, classify, superintend"¹⁴³ and take note of any children who misbehaved. The sisters who taught were divided into two

shifts with one group of sisters teaching from ten to twelve and being replaced in the afternoon by another group of sisters. When the sisters were not teaching they were required to visit the sick. Mother McAuley tried to ensure that each sister taught the subjects which she had "the most taste and could teach most successfully".¹⁴⁴ The sisters noted anything that required improvement in the school, mentioning this to her superior or to the sister-in-charge at an appointed time and place.¹⁴⁵

As with Mother MacKillop, Mother McAuley made known her views on education and the management of schools and often visited the schools to see that her views and instructions were being implemented. For a long time she taught herself, but when duties overtook this, she visited the schools and if a sister was absent, she would take her place. "Thus she always had a practical knowledge of the state of her schools and was able to make suitable arrangements for change if necessary".¹⁴⁶ The principles of surveillance both by the sisters of the children and by the children of the sisters, were heavily relied upon by all of the Orders so as to ensure control, discipline and uniformity were maintained in the schools. According to Austin-Carroll (1887), "Mother McAuley thought that every word, act, and almost every motion coming under the observation of children, ought to be most carefully regulated, that each might be able to say to her class, practically at least: *Be ye imitators of me, as I am Christ*. She would have the sisters study not merely the present consequence of their conduct in school, but still more probable future consequences".¹⁴⁷

Sisters of Mercy Schools, Parramatta

When the sisters arrived at Parramatta, they established a primary school, which was attached to Our Lady of Mercy College (OLMC) and was opened in the same year as the College, 1889. According to Wilks, (1989) there were as many as seventy pupils in the primary school which included pupils from the nearby parish school, St Patrick's.¹⁴⁸ The

primary school was divided into junior, 2nd, 3rd and 4th class, which was made up of two divisions. The subjects taught included Christian Doctrine (referred to as prayers and Catechism in junior class), reading, grammar, arithmetic (tables, and Arithmetic in junior class), writing, spelling, geography, plain and fancy needlework. In some classes piano, violin and music were taught and English and history were taught from 3rd class.

In the surveys conducted for the book *Mercy*,^z which was published to celebrate OLMC's centenary, there are reminiscences of students who attended the school. One such student was George Burrell who attended the College until the Junior Examination at the age of 14.¹⁴⁹ As with the other schools that have been discussed above, George remembered that "boys and girls were taught in common, with one nun teaching almost every subject to each class, although the 'noisy little boys' of the primary school were by this time separately accommodated. The senior class did trigonometry, and the others did a general maths course which included 'a bit of geometry'. French and Latin were also taught".¹⁵⁰ It is interesting to note that boy's and girl's behaviour were allowed if not expected to differ in that boys were able to make more noise and have this behaviour accepted. Girls on the other hand were expected to undertake their school work in silence or with little noise as possible. It could be argued that boys were rewarded for their behaviour and they were encouraged to continue with it as they were separated from girls into their own space where they could continue with their "noisy" behaviour. Such different treatment of the sexes would continue throughout school life and reinforced the roles that each sex would assume in their adult life.

Mother McAuley, as did the Sisters of Charity, eventually came to the conclusion that providing primary or elementary schooling was not enough. As parents became more interested in education, the Sisters of Charity and the Sisters of Mercy moved into the field of providing suitable Catholic secondary education for girls. Initially, these schools

were opened for girls whose parents could not afford to send them to boarding schools. Mother McAuley opened a school in Carlow to provide secondary education for daughters of the area for this reason. She also opened pension schools in the Convents of Tullamore, Charleville, Cork and Bin. Writing to the Mother Superior of Cork, (Mother Mary Josephine Warde) she tells of the success of the Carlow School. "The girls are obliged to get a perfect knowledge of their lessons... One sister has the French class, another grammar, another geography and so on." ¹⁵¹ Mother McAuley saw two advantages in being able to offer higher education. "First, the sisters could ensure that the children of the middle class grew up conscious of the needs of the poor and of their obligation to help them when they could and secondly, they could win suitable vocations for the Institute from among their pupils". ¹⁵²

It was therefore in the area of providing secondary education for girls that the female religious orders excelled. The Sisters of Charity and Mercy originally provided this education for the lower middle class as Catholics formed a large proportion of the poorer classes with most either Irish or of Irish extraction, but as time went on the schools began to attract girls from the higher classes.

Mary McKillop and the Sisters of St Joseph

"If we want our Catholic schools really to succeed as such, if we want to contend successfully with the secular governments around us, we must have a sure foundation. We must be one in our system, and we must understand it thoroughly..... With us it is not the good of the colony that is considered, but that of all...for God's glory and the good of souls....but as I must be frank and tell you plainly the truth now, the idea of this system and the drawing up of the plans of it was a duty some way always left to my unworthy self". ¹⁵³

In the middle of 1865, Father Woods, who was then Director of Education in South Australia, found himself without a teacher for a private school he had opened in Penola. In order to fill the vacancy he requested Mary MacKillop to take charge of the school. Once Mary was able to organise her family responsibilities, she left for Penola, where her sister Annie had already commenced teaching the pupils of the school in a church building.¹⁵⁴ As Mary considered the building in which classes were held as unsuitable to continue teaching in, she rented a disused stable, which her brother converted into a schoolroom.¹⁵⁵ In order to encourage the children of the district to attend, Mary visited the parents of families in the surrounding school area, "assuring them that they would not be asked to pay if they were unable to do so and finding clothes for the poorest children, so that their parents would not be ashamed of their appearance at school ".¹⁵⁶ This visitation also allowed Mary to familiarise herself with the needs of the Catholic families in the area and to ascertain whether or not they were practising their faith.

In October 1867, Father Woods completed writing the *Rule of the Sisterhood of St Joseph*, which formally established the charism by which the new Order of the Sisters of St Joseph was to live. Father Woods subsequently submitted the Rule, to the newly consecrated Bishop Shiel of Adelaide for approval.¹⁵⁷ The Bishop approved the document in the following year. The Rule was very specific in its intent and as indicated in previous chapters, the main purpose for the Order's existence was to help the poor, an intent which Mary and her Order remained inherently faithful to in the following decades. Having served her novitiate less formally than Mary Aikenhead or Catherine McAuley, Mary MacKillop assumed the habit of a religious and took on the role of Superior or "Little Sister" of the Order. By 1868 she had recruited forty other sisters to join her. Everywhere Woods travelled, (as Director of Education) "he closed down numerous small schools replacing them with the schools conducted by the Sisters of St Joseph".¹⁵⁸ In 1869, as a result of Father Woods' *Address on the Work of the Sisters of St*

Joseph to the National Synod of Bishops, held in Melbourne, many of the bishops in attendance expressed their interest in having the sisters work in their dioceses. "The era following the withdrawal of government grants to Church schools witnessed the vast expansion of the Sisters of St Joseph around Australia".¹⁵⁹

In her document, *Necessity of the Institute*, Mother Mary herself outlined that there was an urgent need for the provision of an educational system which was "strictly Catholic in manner and which the children of the poorer classes could attend".¹⁶⁰ The priests and bishops saw the poorer classes living in what they considered as a non-Catholic manner, which could not easily be remedied.¹⁶¹ To further exacerbate the problem there was a scarcity of priests, particularly in isolated areas of Australia and Mary saw this as a threat to the establishment, continuation and practice of the faith. As well, some Catholic parents sent their children to state run national schools, where a totally secular education was provided. Mary saw all these factors "as endangering the children who were being brought up with little or no knowledge of their religion and being deprived of a moral education".¹⁶² Mother Mary MacKillop and her sisters therefore saw this as their challenge – to "make up for the neglect of the parents who were uneducated and illiterate themselves in order to rescue the children of the poor".¹⁶³

Mother Mary herself knew what it was to be poor and she asked no more of her sisters than she was prepared to do herself. The sisters lived in communities of two's and three's in isolated places "where only bare unfinished huts awaited them...begging their way from one colony to another until they reached their destination".¹⁶⁴ These sisters, unlike the sisters who belonged to the other Orders under discussion, learnt first hand what it meant to be poor, as they lived their lives in surroundings similar to the environment of the poor often having to beg for alms in order to feed and clothe themselves. Little was provided by the Order once the sisters were sent to a region to teach, they had to learn to

make do with what the people of their own poor community could provide. Despite the distance of one community from the other, Mother MacKillop kept a watchful eye on the progress and problems faced by each community of the Order, no matter how far they were from Adelaide. She constantly communicated with her sisters by letter, which not only provided updates on how the Order was progressing but also contained her views on religious life. The sisters wrote letters back to her informing her of any problems they may have encountered and requesting her to visit if necessary. It was in this way that Mother MacKillop was able to maintain surveillance and control over her Order and the schools that they provided for the poor.

The Rule, which Father Woods had written for the Order and had been approved by Shiel, included a section on schools and the provision of Catholic education for the poor. This Rule together with further detailed instructions and prayers for the Order and Mother MacKillop's pedagogical methods were printed by Father Woods and circulated to each member of the Order in 1870. This work was entitled *The Directory or Order of Discipline of the Sisters of St Joseph of the Sacred Heart*. According to Burford (1997), The Directory "not only included the syllabus, daily lessons and timetable for each class, but also those features of classroom procedures as practised by Mary when teaching at Penola and the Cathedral Hall School, Adelaide. These features were perceived by her as being natural to the task of keeping order and discipline, encouraging initiative and application".¹⁶⁵ Mother MacKillop believed that poor children required "an education sufficient to obtain a situation and earn a living, to write legibly, to add up and subtract figures and to communicate".¹⁶⁶ She regarded "such an education, with Catechism as the backbone and with every moment of the school day determined by religious aims and impregnated by a Catholic spirit through prayers, hymns and precursory classroom paraliturgies, was Mary considered the most appropriate for the truly working-class women".¹⁶⁷

Mother MacKillop believed that the provision of the "polite accomplishment" curriculum of the middle and upper classes had no role to play in the education of the poor. "The womanly graces and refinements which particularly suggested class distinction were, in Mary MacKillop's estimation, foreign languages and instrumental music. Instruction in these would make poor children dissatisfied with life".¹⁶⁸ The exclusion on teaching of music was included in Father Woods' Rules in the chapter on daily duties, where it was stated that the children shall be taught singing but not "instrumental music or foreign languages".¹⁶⁹ Mother MacKillop believed that if children were taught music, this would cause distinctions to develop between those whose parents could afford to pay for their children to be taught music and those who could not.¹⁷⁰ It would also mean that the Order was moving beyond its working class roots and the education that they provided would be seen as encompassing some of the "polite accomplishment" curriculum of the other Orders, the provision of which Mother MacKillop wanted to avoid for her Order and schools.

Accordingly, Mother MacKillop's "resistance to the sisters' teaching music was based on her belief that the basics of literacy and numeracy must have precedence over any aspirations of prestige for 'social climbing', inappropriate among the poor".¹⁷¹ Apart from her own belief, "Mary consulted with many of her sisters on this matter and their opinion was that were the Sisters of St Joseph to teach instrumental music the simplicity of the schools would be destroyed. Their experience in the various colonies of the harmful effects of teaching subjects inappropriate to the poorer classes, made the sisters, in principle, firmly exclude"¹⁷² any subject that was regarded as beyond providing a basic education. In their view, "the Order's Rule excluded such things as accomplishments and emphasised practical subjects for the poor and this was preserved. Another reason concerned the sisters themselves - in such an egalitarian institute composed largely of

working class women, allowing some sisters the opportunity to teach instrumental music might give rise to distinctions with the communities and consequent disparity among them".¹⁷³ In time, when the economic lives of the working class improved, music was added to the Order's schools. "At the General Chapter in 1889 it was agreed that instrumental music may be taught by the sisters where it was considered advisable or necessary. Not only did Mary agree to this change, she was foremost in encouraging talented, skilled sisters in this area of education as in any other".¹⁷⁴

In all St Joseph primary schools, besides instruction in the scriptures, children were taught to read and write, spell, parse and do simple arithmetic. They were provided with only a basic knowledge of geography, history, algebra, geometry, mensuration, natural philosophy, book-keeping, drawing and vocal music. Girls were taught needlework.¹⁷⁵ As with the state system of education, the difference in curriculum in relation to what girls and boys were taught extended to all areas of school life and even included the type of school bags the children used. As the girls were taught sewing they were required to have a different school bag to boys. The school bag for girls was to have three pockets, which were to hold the various pieces of needlework they were learning at the time and their sewing equipment. The girls were required to keep their bags and equipment in a tidy manner, thus instilling in them the requirements of orderliness and neatness. Boys' bags were required to have only one division, which was to be large enough to contain slate, books, copy-books, pens and other necessary stationary. As there were few textbooks available that had been written by Catholic writers, set national textbooks were used. The curriculum offered by the Sisters of St Joseph appear to be wider than that offered by Sisters of Charity and girls were given the opportunity to learn algebra, geometry - subjects that they may have been unavailable to girls in state schools.

Unlike the Orders that migrated from Ireland, who eventually took on the teaching of girls from the middle and upper classes in secondary schools, the Order of St Joseph never deviated from its original aim of educating children, particularly girls, up until the end of primary school. They also never deviated from educating girls to become "good" obedient Catholics, who would be satisfied with their "station" in life and would uncomplainingly continue the example provided by their mothers of performing hard, honest domestic work, either in the home or in the workforce.

ROMAN CATHOLIC SECONDARY EDUCATION

That schools managed by the religious were favoured particularly by parents of daughters is indicated by the following statement which was published in the *Freemans Journal* of 1874: "Catholics....have hardly any establishments for young ladies, conducted by any but religious women, and to this we may add, without any fear of contradiction that Catholic girls are sent to Convent schools in greater numbers than Protestant girls are to other schools".¹⁷⁶

Fogarty (1959) and Kyle (1986) state that there were three phases in the development of girl's Catholic secondary education. The first was where convent secondary schools catered initially for the daughters of the wealthy and squatter classes and as such were able to charge fees. This money was then used to subsidise the parochial schools that the sisters operated and to purchase property on which other schools could be constructed.¹⁷⁷ The resulting aim of the sisters during this first phase was "to turn out well-spoken, well-dressed accomplished young ladies".¹⁷⁸ As time progressed, the convent school moved into the second phase and began providing an education for girls from the middle class. This period was influenced by two factors – "changes to the state secondary system and the movement of the Catholic educational system towards a more uniform

curriculum and examination procedures in line with these changes. Second, there was a demand from the middle and lower middle class, who formed the bulk of the convents' clientele, for a more vocationally oriented curriculum".¹⁷⁹ The third phase, regarded as a more formal stage by both Kyle and Fogarty, was characterised by the introduction of the new Education Acts in the various colonies around the country, which saw the provision of secondary education take on a new impetus. These Acts, as mentioned previously, had resulted in a re-organisation of the Catholic primary system which meant that the sisters were required to take charge of the parochial schools, filling the places left vacant by lay teachers and therefore placing even heavier demands on the various religious teaching Orders. The changes to the education system also meant that the convent schools began to focus less on providing a "polite accomplishment" curriculum and focus more on educating girls to earn a living by providing a curriculum that was vocational in content.¹⁸⁰

One example of the effect that the passing of the Education Acts had on the overall provision of education, was the *Bursary Endowment Act*, which was passed by the New South Wales Parliament in 1912. This Act empowered the Education Board, which it established, "to draw up a set of regulations dealing with such matters as the organisation and equipment of the schools, the method and range of instruction, the efficiency of teaching staff and the general conduct of the school as a whole".¹⁸¹ The *Registration of Teachers and Schools Act* introduced in Victoria in 1905, the requirements of which were to impact upon some of the religious teaching orders in New South Wales, "not only required that all schools and teachers be registered, but also stipulated certain definite standards in the organisation of the school and in the training of teachers... As the religious orders were aware compliance with these regulations was essential for a school if it hoped to maintain status in the eyes of the public".¹⁸² Catholic schools were required to meet the new standards set by the various Education Acts, if they wanted to

remain open or continue operating at the secondary level. The ultimate result of the changes instigated by the various Acts was that "the parochial school, henceforth, was to provide primary education for all classes, middle and lower, and the convent high or erstwhile superior school, assuming a new role was to relinquish its exclusiveness and open its doors to secondary students of all types, both rich and poor".¹⁸³

Sisters of Charity and St Vincent's College

In keeping with the notion that religious orders could provide suitable secondary education for girls, the Sisters of Charity established a small high school after St Vincent's Hospital was moved from "Tarmons" to Darlinghurst in 1870. The College opened in 1871 with ten pupils, admitting boys as well as girls, day pupils and boarders¹⁸⁴ and pupils were able to attend for four years once they had completed their primary education. The first Principal of St Vincent's Day School, as mentioned above, was Sister Mary Aloysius Raymond. The second Principal was Sister Mary Francis McGuigan, who was Superior General for 38 years. She was born at Braidwood, New South Wales in 1842, the second daughter in a family of ten children. "Convent *Annals* record her father was one of those present at the laying of the foundation stone at St Patrick's Church Hall in 1840. At the age of 14, Sister Mary Francis (Bridget) was sent, with her sister, Mary as a boarder to the Benedictine College at Subiaco. There, Bridget first encountered the Sisters of Charity, when Sister Mary Alphonsus Unsworth and her Superior visited the Benedictine convent".¹⁸⁵

Subiaco was the second school established in Australia by the Benedictine Sisters at Rydalmere near Parramatta in NSW. A student from these early days describes her stay at Subiaco in such a way as to highlight how closely aligned the provision of convent education was to preparing potential entrants for the novitiate: "Our school days were very little different from the novitiate, so strictly were we trained in school. We said our

prayers with the nuns in the chapel and joined in their special devotions such as Lenten Psalms and the May and June Prayers. The Easter ceremonies and the forty hours were carried out to the letter.... We simply had to leave what we were doing at the sound of a bell..."¹⁸⁶

In May 1882, under the patronage of Archbishop Vaughan, St Vincent's High School was replaced by St Vincent's Ladies College. Sister Mary Ursula Bruton was appointed as the College's first Principal. Maria Bruton was born in Ireland in 1842, her family having migrated to colonial New South Wales, when she was a child. After finishing school, Maria regarded as gifted, "trained as a teacher, occupying the position of headmistress of St Mary's Cathedral School prior to her entrance to the Sisters of Charity at Potts Point in March, 1882. Already, at her entrance to the Order, a mature woman, and an experienced administrator and teacher, she was abundantly qualified for the responsibility with which she was entrusted soon after she became St Vincent's first principal.... Under the inspiration of this gifted woman, the Sisters and 'visiting professors' who laboured with her at the College set the highest standards. From the first year students of the College were prepared for the junior, senior and matriculation examinations conducted by the University of Sydney".¹⁸⁷ In 1882, Australia's first four female civil servants, that had attended St Vincent's College, also passed the Public Service Examination.

That St Vincent's College was providing a curriculum that was broader than the "polite accomplishments" as early as 1884, is highlighted by the subjects listed in the College Prospectus for that year. From 1884 the College offered two strands of study - academic and the "polite accomplishments". According to MacGinley (1983) "many orders went about the process of converting their 'select schools for young ladies' to twentieth century type secondary schools without completely sacrificing the education for social

graciousness of ideal womanhood...thus it was that for many decades in their convent high schools, finishing classes – still emphasising music and accomplishments – ran parallel with more highly programmed examination classes”.¹⁸⁸

The academic course of study included the classical and modern languages, geology, ancient and modern history and all the subjects required for the junior examinations. Exams were important and the students were examined at the end of each term. As well, students were prepared for the various other public examinations with Latin and mathematics being included as part of the curriculum at St Vincent's College.¹⁸⁹ In the “accomplishments” strand, girls were taught French, Italian, music, singing, drawing, painting and dancing. Plain and ornamental work, were also taught. The *Catechism of Preserverance* was taught as part of the accomplishment's curriculum as well.

St Vincent's therefore offered an education not only in the “polite accomplishments” but also prepared girls who wanted to enter the workforce or study at Sydney University. The provision of two such different types of education - one that required detailed learning and application and the other that provided an education in the “polite accomplishments”, resulted in a degree of tension not only for the providers of such education but for the students themselves. Delamont (1989) argues that such tension resulted in a “double conformity” – the strict adherence on the part of educators and the educated to two sets of rigid standards: those of ladylike behaviour at all times and those of the dominant male cultural and educational system.¹⁹⁰ The education that was provided for girls particularly by the religious orders clearly highlights the fact that various classes and religious groups in society differed in what they wanted in terms of an education for their daughters and the proper role of women in society. “Parents wanted their daughters to marry and to cease to be a drain on the parental budget and ideally they wanted them to make good, even happy marriages. Therefore education must help

a girl to catch the right type of man and perhaps run his home efficiently thereafter ". ¹⁹¹
Alternatively, if required, a girl must also be able to support herself prior to marriage or even if economic necessity dictated it once she was married. The early school and colleges therefore, "had to safeguard their pupils reputations with greater care than their own families would have done, because by attending school at all the students were deviating from custom to an extent which might damage their hopes for matrimony". ¹⁹²

According to Delamont, the preservation of ladylike standards would have been simpler for the pioneers if they had not another aim that ran counter to the preservation of such standards: the aim of giving girls and women a worthwhile academic education instead of inappropriate "accomplishments". ¹⁹³ "By worthwhile subjects the pioneers meant in effect subjects, which had only been taught to males: especially classes in Latin and Greek, mathematics (rather than simple arithmetic) and later in the nineteenth century, science. This desire for an academic education with typically male content, which would give women access to the high status subjects which dominated the ancient universities led the pioneers straight into at least three further controversies:

- i) whether women had the mental and physical fitness to undertake serious education...;
- ii) whether a education would make a woman unattractive to men and therefore unmarriageable, while on the other hand education would make better wives and mothers....
- iii) whether women should have the same curriculum as men or a special one aimed at their domestic future with large inputs of cookery, needlework and childcare..." ¹⁹⁴

Another controversy, which existed at the time, was in relation to whether or not girls should be educated for a professional career. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, university education primarily prepared students for careers in the law, medicine or the Church. All of these professions were regarded as male professions so there was no point in girls undertaking subjects and exams, which prepared them to work in these areas.

Debate about the role universities should play in this education was confused with the debate about the education that girls needed for employment, in what were considered feminine occupations. Thus much of the debate about the admission of women to university turned on whether they needed to complete a degree for the career they wished to pursue after school. "All of these issues were inextricably confused in all discussion about the curricula that was provided for girls in the nineteenth century. At root of the controversy was a central issue: the second half of the double conformity trap – the pioneer's insistence on rigid adherence to male standards of academic work".¹⁹⁵ Women were caught within this debate. The pioneers of women's education and their students "were forced to adhere strictly both to the norms of ladylike behaviour and to the minutest detail of male scholarship, examinations and all. At the time of the struggle for schools and colleges this double conformity was essential for success because the young ladies had to be young ladies".¹⁹⁶ In line with this thinking, the 1903 Prospectus of St Vincent's College provided a "Plan of Instruction" whose purpose was to "unite every advantage which can contribute to an education at once solid and refined, being designed to develop the mental, moral and physical powers of the pupils, and to make them useful women of refined tastes and cultivated means".¹⁹⁷

The 1903 Prospectus for St Vincent's College also highlights the fact that even though the state system was keen to provide primarily a domestic education for girls, the Sisters of Charity (and the Sisters of Mercy) continued to provide girls with a choice in the educational path that they followed. For those wishing to sit for the various public examinations and perhaps go on to study at University, lessons in trigonometry, ancient and modern history, science and drawing were given. A visiting professor taught the subjects of higher maths, Italian and Latin. Latin and mathematics were the main subjects taught in Catholic boys' schools. The other stream which continued to be offered were the "accomplishments" and the various subjects required to help a "young lady to take

her place with fitting dignity in the home circle".¹⁹⁸ This course included instruction in English, English literature, universal history, French, German, arithmetic, painting and drawing, plain and fancy needlework, hygiene, domestic economy and cooking.¹⁹⁹ By the early 1900's, the "accomplishment" curriculum had been widened to include the domestic training of girls. This widening reflected the fact that middle class women were now expected to at least possess some knowledge of these subjects as there was by this time a shortage of domestic servants as other employment had become available for women in the occupations of teaching, nursing, retailing and clerical work.

Examinations in each subject were held at the College four times a year. By 1903, the College had experienced successful results in various examinations, for example at the Sydney University Exam in the junior examination 259 students passed, 54 passed in the matriculation section and 25 passed in the senior section.²⁰⁰ The various Prospectus' included photographs of women who had attended the College and been awarded a Bachelor of Arts at the University of Sydney. This was the only degree that women could undertake at University at this time. In 1906, Miss Nellie Hooper gained a full scholarship for the Training College for public school teachers, which had opened on the grounds of Sydney University.

Apart from the above courses, the College also offered a commercial course, which prepared girls for a clerical career and covered such subjects as arithmetic, book-keeping, the preparation of business forms and correspondence, stenography and typewriting. Commercial courses had become popular by the end of the nineteenth century particularly with the invention of the typewriter and the development by Pitman of a system of shorthand. Initially, men were trained to work as "typewriters" but by the early twentieth century the "feminisation" of the clerical labour force had begun with women moving into the lower paid jobs as clerks and secretaries and men occupying managerial

roles. Working in an office as an alternative to domestic service and as a fill in before marriage was viewed as a very suitable occupation for girls, particularly of the lower middle class.²⁰¹

Music – instrumental and theory, was taught under the direction of a highly qualified musical directress. Music was very important component of the curriculum at St Vincent's College and it became well known for its teaching in this area. Other arts taught included needlework, drawing and painting and elocution. Students were instructed in the use of a needle, and once a week they received lessons in the basics of needlework practice, such as mending and darning. To complement this training every variety of fancy needlework was taught as well.²⁰² The sisters were convinced of the importance of training young women to be "useful" as well as "ornamental" members of society.²⁰³

The drawing and painting course of study was designed so that students, who wished to take up art as a profession when they completed their schooling, were able to do so. This included thorough instruction in design, perspective, black and white drawing, general drawing and composition. Advanced pupils were tutored in landscape painting, out-door sketching and portrait and figure painting. Elocution was taught in such a manner so as to emphasise bodily control through the learning and application "of correct articulation, easy and natural expression, and grace of movement and gesture".²⁰⁴ As well as private lessons, special attention was paid throughout the school to enunciation and accent. In the teaching of all of these subjects, the sisters probably employed an outside professor to teach the girls in these subjects. The practice of sisters using visiting teachers for the teaching of subjects, which fitted into the "accomplishment" category such as drawing, painting and music, had occurred for some time. Some of the more difficult subjects, such as higher mathematics, were also taught by visiting professors and teachers. Visiting

teachers were usually paid an extra fee by the students who attended their courses and taught small numbers rather than whole classes. Parents regarded such tuition as a necessary expense, as it gave Catholic girls' secondary education an additional quality and certainly improved its educational appeal to prospective pupils and their parents. "The use of outside lay staff was not new in convent female education. Religious orders in eighteenth century France had employed 'masters', 'mistresses' and 'gouvernantes' to teach secular subjects".²⁰⁵ Some of the sisters in their own education may have been exposed to teaching by experts and would have seen it as a way of ensuring students received the best education available.

Supervised and suitable recreation was also regarded as important component of the St Vincent's College curriculum. Tennis, croquet, regular walks, musical evenings, music song and elocution were encouraged and gentleness in manner, correct and refined language were especially inculcated and required. Prior to this time, according to Delamont, the playing of sport was regarded as taboo. Girls were regarded as being "unhealthy" and the playing of sport inappropriate.²⁰⁶ It was only golf and tennis that became fashionable and respectable for women to play.²⁰⁷ Physical education played no part in the early curriculum of convent schools but by the time of the writing of the 1903 Prospectus physical culture was taught and was "universally deemed essential for health".

²⁰⁸ The method of physical culture that the students were instructed in, reinforced the training of their body in the correct manner and included "hygienic breathing and body drills based upon correct positions, bearing and carriages, corrective exercises for special defects, such as drooping heads, crooked shoulder, lateral curvature of the spine".²⁰⁹

According to Sherington, Bryce and Petersen (1987), Australian girls were very interested in sport and outdoor activity. The Sydney Girls Tennis Association was formed in 1902 and the first matches were organised in 1903. Even though some of these sports were

competitive, the girls were still required to carry them out with "gentleness of manner and using correct and refined language".²¹⁰

St Vincent's College also provided a Reading Circle. Organised in 1898, it was composed of senior classes and ex-pupils. The purpose of the Circle, was to not only control the reading material that girls were exposed to, but also "to maintain among students a love of good literature, to give those who desire to study an available opportunity to follow a prescribed course of the most approved reading and to enable those who have made such progress in education to review and extend their studies, as well as to encourage and urge home reading on systematic and Catholic lines".²¹¹ A library was also open to pupils, for a small quarterly fee.

By 1913, the manner in which subjects were taught reflected the requirements that were imposed by a formal state education system that required participation in public examinations and regular school inspections. Students were required to sit for the Intermediate Exam at the end of the first two years at the College. Those who were successful at this exam became eligible for a position in the public service, without further examination. The Leaving Examination at the conclusion of fourth year completed the College course. Those who were successful in this exam were able to apply for higher and more lucrative positions in the public service. It also provided entrance to Sydney University as well as to Sydney Teacher's Training College.

An alternative program of education for girls who did not wish to pursue this type of education at the College was still available. A course in music and art was provided where less study was required. Lessons in typewriting and shorthand continued to be provided, and examinations in connection with the National Business College were held periodically in the College grounds.²¹²

The 1922 Prospectus once again listed the subjects that were offered by the College at this time. The list was comprehensive and covered subjects that were the same as or similar to the subjects that were taught in the earlier period including religious instruction, English language and literature, ancient and modern history, French, German, Latin, mathematics, political and physical geography and botany. The College also continued to provide classes in the theory of music and harmony, counterpoint and composition, singing, painting, drawing, plain and fine needlework, physical culture, Swedish drill, business principles, typewriting, stenotype, shorthand, domestic science, elocution and voice production. ²¹³

Sisters of Mercy, Parramatta

As mentioned earlier in this Chapter, Mother McAuley included within her educational scheme the provision of fee-paying or pension schools for the daughters of the middle classes. There were no day schools operating where Catholic girls could receive a post-primary education ²¹⁴ in the late 1830's although there were endowed grammar schools and private schools providing the equivalent of a secondary education for Protestant girls. In 1837 Mother McAuley opened a day school for girls at Carlow for those parents who could not afford the fees charged in existing boarding schools, yet who desired their daughters to receive more of an education than that offered by the poor schools and the national schools. Mother McAuley may therefore be regarded as a pioneer in the provision of secondary day schools for girls. Mother Aikenhead had not pursued this path with the Sisters of Charity who arrived in the colony of New South Wales being the first to move into the field of providing secondary education for girls. A small fee or pension was paid on the admission of girls to the pension school ²¹⁵ but in keeping with her Order's charism Mother McAuley was willing to waive this fee if necessary, as she did in the case of postulants who wished to join her Order, who did not have a dowry.

As with the Order's primary schools, the teaching of religion permeated the curriculum, which included such subjects as Latin, French, Irish, history, geography, mathematics, art, book-keeping and basic science. Music, elocution and physical education or callisthenics were also taught. ²¹⁶ Apart from providing one of the few sources of post-primary education, Mother McAuley also viewed the pension schools as an avenue for encouraging potential vocations. On a visit to Carlow she predicted that "from schools like these we will get our best vocations". ²¹⁷

Our Lady of Mercy College (OLMC), Parramatta

As they had done in Ireland the Mercy sisters who migrated to the colony conducted parochial schools, to which they added select schools. Mother Clare Dunphy, the foundress of the Mercy Order at Parramatta, not only established a poor school in Sydney and two orphanages but also established a college for middle class girls. Monsignor John O'Gorman describes Sister Clare's work in the following way: "....Not only built schools for the poor but she desired also to work so as to bring the highest results of education to children of the middle and higher classes who also have souls that need saving perhaps more than the poor". ²¹⁸

The sisters commenced their select or secondary school in Parramatta in 1889 and both boarders and day pupils enrolled. It was originally opened as a preparatory school to foster religious vocations – similar to St Brigid's Missionary School in Callan. The Parramatta High School was initially called St Mary's but was later re-named OLMC. The prize list for 1889 indicates the subjects that were taught at the OLMC at this time. Prizes were awarded for knowledge of Christian doctrine, geography, French, arithmetic, algebra, book-keeping, English literature, instrumental music, water-colour painting, violin, oil painting, point lacework, pianoforte, diligence, success in the public service examinations and "fidelity" to the Rule.

As with other convent schools during this period, the Sisters of Mercy students sat for examinations that were held internally and externally. Archbishop Moran particularly supported the examination system concept, seeing it on the one hand, as a means of demonstrating the worth of Catholic schools and of raising their standards. On the other hand, "Moran's determination to have Catholic schools compete on the same terms as state schools did not encourage Catholic schools to be individual or to develop a genuinely alternative system. The Sisters of Mercy from Callan had experience working under the Irish National Board and preparing pupils for the Irish Intermediate Examinations, so they were somewhat prepared for the role Moran designed for them in his educational vision. At Parramatta, the sisters entered readily into the competitive system of education promoted by Moran, and Moran was ever alert to the examination successes of the Parramatta schools".²¹⁹ In 1890, three girls passed the Junior Examination in July and three more girls passed in November. One of the most successful pupils who sat for examinations at this time was Muriel Swan. She passed the Junior Exam in 1896 and passed the same exam in 1898. On this occasion she was first in music, second in French and was awarded the Fairfax prize as the top female candidate. In the following year she passed the Senior Examination, coming fifth in French. She became the first girl from the school to matriculate.²²⁰ Apart from preparing girls for the various public examinations the Sisters of Mercy also "provided a 'finishing course' for those girls who did not want to do public examinations but wished to continue their education".²²¹ Included in this curriculum were the usual subjects of "art, music and fine needlework and these along with religion formed the basis of a "finishing course'".²²²

In 1910 the curriculum taught at OLMC had not changed greatly from the subjects that were taught in the 1890's and included religion, English, maths, Latin, French, art,

geography, history, music - theory and practical, dressmaking, shorthand, typing and book-keeping, with the last two subjects being taught as part of a commercial class.²²³ The College also continued to prepare students for the various public examinations. Among the first pupils to sit for the Intermediate Certificate in 1912 were Anne Meehan (Sister Mary Beniguis), Amy Munro and Francis Grugon. In 1914 four girls were successful in the Leaving Certificate exams - Lizzie Carroll (Sister Mary Aquinas), Molly Hagan, Eileen O'Neill and Eileen Pegum. "Between 1914 and 1930 the subjects taught included English, Latin, French, Modern and sometimes Ancient History, Geography, Mathematics I and II (Mathematics in 1814 was listed as Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, Trigonometry, Coordinates, Geometry, Conics and Calculus).... Art, Music and Dressmaking were also offered In addition to Dressmaking, both plain and Fancy Needlework were offered, as well as Millinery....The commercial course remained in the curriculum during the whole of the period. Sister Casimir taught Business Principles, Shorthand and Typewriting".²²⁴ In the 1930's Botany and Economics²²⁵ were also introduced with Botany being the first foray into scientific study at the College and Chemistry and Physics being introduced in the 1940's.²²⁶

The emphasis on domestic education continued with home economics being taught in the 1930's comprising of "home management, domestic and public hygiene, household arithmetic and business methods in the home, food and dietetics, cookery and laundry..... detailed knowledge of these matters makes for efficiency and enable her to reign with dignity as queen of the home and whether in the future a girl finds herself in the position of fulfilling her own household duties or directing others to do so....."²²⁷. Home Economics was re-named domestic science in 1941 which concentrated mainly on teaching cooking to the girls. OLMC also continued to offer a "finishing course" in this period covering "home science, literature, history, languages (conversation), diction, the art of speech, public speaking, dramatic art, musical perception and appreciation, first

aid, home nursing as well as commercial subjects".²²⁸ The subjects studied in this course were different to the subjects studied under the heading of "polite accomplishments" – as they were more vocational and useful in emphasis than ornamental.

As with St Vincent's College, OLMC was recognised as a "First School of Music" and also received outstanding results in Music examinations, which students initially sat through Trinity College, London and later through the New South Wales Conservatorium of Music. An example of the results achieved by the students is highlighted by the results obtained in 1894 - out of 22 candidates 21 students passed and one received a silver medal. As with the Sisters of Charity, the teaching of music was very important to the Order, and from the beginning of their teaching career the sisters were involved in the teaching of Music in their schools. By 1910 the sisters "had earned a reputation for being 'the home of music' in New South Wales".²²⁹ Most of the surveys that were completed for the centenary publication *Mercy* refer to this fact and was cited as being one of the reasons why parents chose to send their daughters to the school. "Golden Grove became a noted music centre",²³⁰ as did the music centres at Holy Cross and Enmore. An orchestra was formed at Parramatta by the early 1890's, which included both boys and girls. Singing was also "taught at the various centres and given considerable attention from the earliest days".²³¹ Singing was considered important because of the role it played in liturgical celebrations and "special choirs prepared regularly for the Solemn High Mass for such occasions as Forty Hours Eucharistic celebration, held annually...".²³²

Sport was slow to be included in the curriculum at OLMC and was not considered a major part of the curriculum as it rarely received a mention in the Annual School Reports.

²³³ The main emphasis in the provision of exercise was to produce a healthy and disciplined body rather than engage in competition, which was regarded as unladylike and not to be encouraged. In 1896, Callisthenics, work with dumb bells and Indian clubs

was introduced into the curriculum. In 1897, seniors were included as part of this programme. A tennis court was built, "but no formal coaching was provided".²³⁴ Apart from Callisthenics, students also undertook walks in Parramatta Park and played games such as rounders.²³⁵ Basketball was introduced in 1918. In 1908 "instructors from the Bjelke-Petersen School of Physical Education were... employed for a weekly lesson for each class".²³⁶ In the 1920's "the Parramatta sisters were served by the Graham-Burrow School of Physical education, which was established in 1928 by Mrs Kathleen Burrow and her sister, Anne Graham (later Schilling), a graduate of the Juilliard School of Music and Dance, New York".²³⁷ From the late 1920's, the emphasis on playing sport changed, not only was sport regarded as necessary to produce a healthy body but also a competitive spirit was fostered by allowing students to participate in games such as basketball and tennis.²³⁸

Sisters of St Joseph

Unlike the Sisters of Charity and the Sister of Mercy, the Sisters of St Joseph, because of their commitment to teaching children of the poor rarely if ever opened schools that operated at the secondary level. In those cases where they did open a secondary school they only managed it until such time as another religious order could take it over.

Conclusion

The religious teaching orders therefore in their schools, particularly in their secondary ones, provided a curriculum and an educational environment that was very acceptable to parents of the middle class. According to Fogarty, the girls learnt not only what the sisters had to teach them of "art and letters, but they also transmitted a hidden curriculum of indefinable qualities - courtesy in speech, ease in manner and conversation, true simplicity, poise and nobility of carriage, lastly good taste and judgement".²³⁹ The sisters

provided not only a moral education but also an education that prepared their students for future life as a religious sister, or as a wife and a mother. The sisters also taught many girls who pursued more professional careers and went onto study at University. The latter particularly occurred as a result not only of the excellent education which the sisters provided but also because these women presented as strong role models, who at least on the surface appeared to be independent and to a certain extent free-thinking, who lived largely free from male control and who in many cases held positions of authority and decision-making roles. Girls, who attended Catholic secondary schools during the period under review, would have hardly ever been exposed to the presence of a man in the school environment, unless he was a visiting teacher or a member of the clergy. Within this environment girls would have been exposed to a certain female consciousness that was relevant for the time. They would also have received an education that though was standardised by the state in that a similar secular curriculum was taught and students sat for the various public examinations and were measured by the results achieved in these, was different, as a large proportion of the Catholic school curriculum was dedicated to religious indoctrination and the inscribing of a specific type of discipline upon the individual's body. What form this indoctrination and discipline took will be examined further in the next Chapter and will conclude with a final section on the "making of the Catholic body".

Chapter Notes

¹ Caine B; *Victorian Feminists*, Oxford University Press, 1992, p. 21

² Theobald M; *Knowing Women Origins of Women's Education in Nineteenth Century Australia*, Cambridge University Press, 1996, p.16

³ Burstyn J N; *Victorian Education and the Ideal of Womanhood*, Croom Helm, 1980, p. 11

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, p.31

⁶ Theobald M; *op.cit.*, p. 18

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ Burstyn J N; *op.cit.*, pp. 37-38

⁹ Rendall J; *The Origins of Modern History: Women in Britain, France and the United states, 1780-1860*, MacMillan, 1985, p. 112

- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 141
- ¹¹ *Ibid.*, p.108
- ¹² *Ibid.*
- ¹³ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 109
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 109-110
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 111
- ¹⁷ Ferrier S; *Marriage* in Rendall J; *op.cit.*, p.111
- ¹⁸ Lewis S; *Woman's Mission* in Rendall J; *op.cit.*, p.113
- ¹⁹ Aguilar C; *Home Influence: A Tale for Mothers and Daughters* in Rendall J; *op.cit.*, p. 113
- ²⁰ Pendred A E; *Remarks on Female Education, with an Application of its Principles to the Regulation of Schools* in Rendall J; *op.cit.*, p. 114
- ²¹ Martineau H; *Household Education* in Rendall J; *op.cit.*, p. 116
- ²² Grimstone M L; "Female Education" in *New Moral World*, 1, No.17 21 February 1835 in Rendall J; *op.cit.*, p. 117
- ²³ Summers A; *Damned Whores and God's Police The Colonisation of Women in Australia*, Penguin, 1975, p. 339
- ²⁴ Kyle N; *Her Natural Destiny The Education of Women in New South Wales*, New South Wales University Press, 1986, p. 50
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*
- ²⁶ *Ibid.*
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*
- ²⁸ Theobald M; *op.cit.*,1996
- ²⁹ Kyle N; *op.cit.*, p. 50
- ³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 52
- ³¹ *Ibid.*
- ³² *Ibid.*, p. 55
- ³³ *Ibid.*
- ³⁴ *Ibid.*
- ³⁵ *Ibid.*
- ³⁶ Summers A; *op.cit.*, p.334
- ³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 339
- ³⁸ *Ibid.*
- ³⁹ Rendall J; *op.cit.* p. 125
- ⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p.55
- ⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 56
- ⁴² *Ibid.*
- ⁴³ Caine B; *op.cit.*, p. 22
- ⁴⁴ Rendall J; *op.cit.*, p. 60
- ⁴⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 61
- ⁴⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁰ Wollstonecraft M; *Vindication of the Rights of Women* in Rendall J; *op.cit.*, p.61
- ⁵¹ Rendall J; *op.cit.*, p. 61
- ⁵² Wollstonecraft in Rendall J; *op.cit.*, pp 61- 62
- ⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 141-142
- ⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 143
- ⁵⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁷ Kyle N; *op.cit.* p. 13
- ⁵⁸ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁰ *Ibid.*
- ⁶¹ *Ibid.*
- ⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 14

-
- ⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 19
- ⁶⁴ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁵ *Sydney Morning Herald*; 6 January 1860
- ⁶⁶ *Sydney Morning Herald*; 2 January 1860
- ⁶⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁸ Kyle N; *op.cit.*, p. 22
- ⁶⁹ Theobald M; *op.cit.*, p.16
- ⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p.27
- ⁷¹ *Ibid.*
- ⁷² Barcan A; *A History of Australian Education*, Oxford University Press, 1980, p. 137
- ⁷³ Kyle N; *op. cit.*, p.32
- ⁷⁴ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p.33
- ⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 44
- ⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 45
- ⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 111
- ⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p.110
- ⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p.111
- ⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 113
- ⁸² Sydney Girls High School, Maitland Girls' High School, Bathurst Girls' High school, Goulburn Girls' High School.
- ⁸³ View of Sir Henry Parkes as noted by Kyle N; *op.cit.*, p.111
- ⁸⁴ Kyle N; *op.cit.*, p. 117
- ⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 45
- ⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 46
- ⁸⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 19
- ⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 20
- ⁹⁰ *Ibid.*
- ⁹¹ Kyle N; *op.cit.*, p. 62
- ⁹² *Ibid.*
- ⁹³ Quote from Cardinal Moran's Resolutions on Religious Education which he presented in the Chapter House of St Mary's Cathedral, Sydney January 16 1911. Moran said they were copies of what had been adopted by the Catholic University at Washington in the USA.
- ⁹⁴ Donovan M; *Apostolate of Love Mary Aikenhead Foundress of the Irish Sisters of Charity*, Polding Press, 1979, p. 51. This comment was made in the 1870's.
- ⁹⁵ Lewis CM; "Provision for the Education of Catholic Women in Australia Since 1840", *Phd Thesis*, 1990, University of Melbourne, 1990, p. 226
- ⁹⁶ Donovan M; *op.cit.* p.49
- ⁹⁷ Lewis C M; *op.cit.*, 233
- ⁹⁸ *Ibid.*
- ⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 234
- ¹⁰⁰ Gildea D; Mother Mary Arsenics of Foxford in Atkinson S, *op.cit.*, p.37
- ¹⁰¹ Atkinson S; *Mary Aikenhead Her life, her Work and Her Friends*, 2nd Revised Edition, M H Gill, 1882, p. 223
- ¹⁰² Donovan M; *op.cit.*, p.49
- ¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 50
- ¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰⁷ Fay B; *Critical Social Science*, Cornell University Press, New York 1987, p. 149
- ¹⁰⁸ Atkinson S; *op.cit.*, .p. 223
- ¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 230
- ¹¹⁰ Donovan M; *op.cit.*, p. 49
- ¹¹¹ Atkinson S; *op.cit.*, .p. 223
- ¹¹² Donovan M; *op.cit.*, pp. 122-123
- ¹¹³ Lewis C M; *op.cit.*, p.229

- ¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 235
- ¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 236
- ¹¹⁶ Donovan M; *op.cit.*, p. 234, Lewis C M; *op.cit.*, p. 236
- ¹¹⁷ Donovan M; *op.cit.*, p. 236, Lewis C M; *op. cit.*, p. 237
- ¹¹⁸ Sisters of Charity, *School Government Book*, 1837, p.1
- ¹¹⁹ Lewis C M; *op.cit.*, p. 235
- ¹²⁰ Sisters of Charity, *School Government Book*, 1837, p. 143
- ¹²¹ Atkinson S; *op.cit.*, p. 223
- ¹²² Covering such areas of learning as hemming; sewing; sewing and felling; stitching; stitching and felling; gathering and hocking; button holes; herringbone stitch; darning; tucking and whipping; marking; butting and making caps, shirts. Sisters of Charity, *School Government Book*, 1837, p. 143
- ¹²³ Donovan M; *op.cit.*, p. 236
- ¹²⁴ Lewis C M; *op.cit.*, p. 236
- ¹²⁵ *Ibid.*
- ¹²⁶ *Ibid.*
- ¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 276
- ¹²⁸ Burke-Savage R; *Catherine McAuley The First Sister of Mercy*, M H Gill and Son, 1955, p. 267
- ¹²⁹ This phrase is enshrined in the tradition of the Sisters of Mercy.
- ¹³⁰ Burke-Savage R; *op.cit.*, pp. 267-268
- ¹³¹ *Ibid.* pp. 53-54
- ¹³² *Ibid.*, p. 53
- ¹³³ Austin-Carroll T; *Life of Catherine McAuley Foundress and First Superior of the Institute of Religious Sisters of Mercy*, Vincentian Press, 1887, p. 173
- ¹³⁴ Burke-Savage R; *op.cit.*, p. 268
- ¹³⁵ Austin-Carroll T; *op.cit.* p. 174; Burke-Savage R; *op.cit.*p. 270
- ¹³⁶ Austin-Carroll T; *op.cit.* p.75
- ¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 170
- ¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 176
- ¹³⁹ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 177
- ¹⁴² Burke-Savage R; *op.cit.*, p. 268
- ¹⁴³ Austin-Carroll T; *op.cit.*, p. 169
- ¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 170-171
- ¹⁴⁸ Wilks P, *Mercy From Generation to Generation*, OLMC, 1989, p. 15
- ¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 23-24
- ¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 24
- ¹⁵¹ Burke-Savage R; *op.cit.*, p. 269
- ¹⁵² *Ibid.*
- ¹⁵³ Burford K; "Mary MacKillop's System of Catholic Education", *Unpublished Paper*, September 1997, p. 17. Mary MacKillop wrote this at Turin to Monsignor Kirby after she had gained this approval (3 May 1874)
- ¹⁵⁴ Lewis C M; *op.cit.*, p. 378
- ¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁵⁷ Burford K; *op.cit.*, p. 12
- ¹⁵⁸ Lewis CM; *op.cit.*, p. 382
- ¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 383
- ¹⁶⁰ Burford K; *op.cit.*, p. 13
- ¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁶² *Ibid.*
- ¹⁶³ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

-
- ¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 20
- ¹⁶⁶ MacKillop M; *Circular Letter*. 19 March 1870
- ¹⁶⁷ Lewis CM; *op.cit.*, p. 393
- ¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁶⁹ Burford K; *op.cit.*, p. 27
- ¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 28
- ¹⁷¹ Burford K; *op.cit.*, p. 28
- ¹⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 108
- ¹⁷³ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 29
- ¹⁷⁵ Her philosophy then was that while girls might be educated in the basics with the ultimate aim of becoming a good Catholic, they must be satisfied with their station in life, that is, to remain as a working class woman, who would continue the cycle of years of hard domestic work either in the home or the workforce that her mother typified. There was no place in the educational philosophy of Mother Mary that would enable working class girls to move beyond their roots, but rather the type of education they were given would enable them to live their working class lives better by being aware of what that life entailed.
- Unlike the Orders that came from Ireland, who allowed themselves to teach girls from the higher classes, thus displacing the original aim of the order, Mother MacKillop was against any attempt to pay more attention to those in a position to pay, in case the Order be diverted from its original purpose that was teaching children from the poorer class. But like the other Orders, Mother MacKillop's schools were "open" schools and did not exclude those of other faiths, giving to all equality of opportunity for a basic education. "Parents of faiths other than Catholic, were given the guarantee that their children would be allowed to participate in all the lessons and practices prescribed by the schools program for their particular classes". (Burford K; *op.cit.*, 1997, p. 31)
- ¹⁷⁶ *Freeman's Journal*, 7 November 1874
- ¹⁷⁷ Fogarty R; *Catholic Education in Australia*, Melbourne University Press, 1959, p. 343, Kyle N; *op.cit.*, p. 70
- ¹⁷⁸ Kyle N; *op.cit.* p. 73
- ¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁸⁰ Fogarty R; *op.cit.*, p. 350; Kyle N; *op.cit.*, p. 76
- ¹⁸¹ Fogarty R; *op.cit.*, p.349
- ¹⁸² *Ibid.*
- ¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 350
- ¹⁸⁴ Lewis C M; *op.cit.*, p.236
- ¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 237
- ¹⁸⁶ Kyle N; *op.cit.*, p.73
- ¹⁸⁷ Lewis C M; *op.cit.*, p. 238
- ¹⁸⁸ MacGinley M R; *Roads to Sion, Presentation Sisters in Australia 1866-1980*, Boolarong Publications 1983, p.113
- ¹⁸⁹ Lewis CM; *op.cit.* p. 238
- ¹⁹⁰ Delamont S; *Knowledgeable Women Structuralism and the Reproduction of Elites*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1989, p. 140
- ¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p.141
- ¹⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 152
- ¹⁹³ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.152-153
- ¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 153-154
- ¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p.159
- ¹⁹⁷ St Vincent's College, *Prospectus*, 1903, p.3
- ¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.* p.9
- ¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*
- ²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*
- ²⁰¹ Jarrett J; "The Commercial Education of Women in New South Wales 1890-1920", *BA Hons Thesis*, University of Sydney, 1983

-
- ²⁰² St Vincent's College; *Prospectus*, 1903, p.13
²⁰³ *Ibid.*
²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p.15
²⁰⁵ Kyle N; *op.cit.*, p. 76
²⁰⁶ Delamont S; *op.cit.*, p.149
²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 150
²⁰⁸ St Vincent's College; *Prospectus*, 1903, p.15
²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*
²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 7
²¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 15
²¹² *Ibid.*, 1913
²¹³ *Ibid.*, 1922
²¹⁴ Dowling P J; *A History of Irish Education A Study in Conflicting Loyalties*, Mercier Press, 1971, p. 142
²¹⁵ Hartnett, S M V; *The Life of Reverend Mother McAuley*, 1864, p. 129. Extract found in the Sisters of Mercy Archives, Dublin
²¹⁶ Bolster S M A; "The Sister of Mercy: A Contribution to Social History in the Nineteenth Century" a Paper read in Dublin Easter 1972 to the Irish Catholic Historical Committee, p.7
²¹⁷ Healy K; *Frances Warde*, 1973, p. 74. Extract found in the Sisters of Mercy Archives, Dublin
²¹⁸ OLMC, Parramatta; *Introductory 1888-1930*, p. 4
²¹⁹ Lewis C M; *op.cit.*, p. 277
²²⁰ Wilks P; *op.cit.*, p 21
²²¹ McGrath S M; *These Women? Women and Religious in the History of Australia The Sisters of Mercy Parramatta 1888-1988*, New South Wales University Press, 1988, p. 57
²²² *Ibid.*
²²³ Wilks P; *op.cit.*, p 37
²²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 72
²²⁵ *Ibid.*
²²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 95
²²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 94
²²⁸ McGrath S M; *op.cit.*, p. 62
²²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 66
²³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 67
²³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 69
²³² *Ibid.*
²³³ *Ibid.*, p. 62
²³⁴ *Ibid.*
²³⁵ *Ibid.*
²³⁶ *Ibid.*
²³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 63
²³⁸ Wilks P; *op.cit.*, pp. 65-66
²³⁹ Fogarty R; *op.cit.*, p. 299

CHAPTER 8

Introduction

In this Chapter I will examine the aspects of Catholic education that particularly set it apart from the education that was provided in non-Catholic schools. As discussed previously the Catholic education system and the religious teaching sisters who worked within that system were required to educate students not only in the secular subjects as determined by the state and the economy, but also the teachings of the Catholic Church. This latter requirement was initially the driving force behind educating Catholic children as the Roman Irish Catholic Church saw in its transplantation to the colony of New South Wales the opportunity to not only provide its followers with an unquestioning knowledge of the faith but also a way to produce bodies, particularly female bodies, that were “docile” and obedient and by their very nature Catholic and easily controlled.

The way in which the Church and the religious teaching orders achieved this was through the process of somatic learning, which employed various Foucaultian “technologies” to facilitate this process. In examining these “technologies” and processes those aspects of Catholic education that made it peculiarly Catholic and set it apart from the education that children received in non-Catholic schools will become apparent. In exploring the making of the Catholic body, I will examine further the texts which the Orders and the Church relied upon, specifically those of the Constitutions of the Orders, the *School Government Book*, Mother MacKillop’s *Directory*, the Catechism, the Syllabus as decried by the Pope and adopted by the Australian bishops and a number of the textbooks that were written and adopted for the purpose of teaching religion in Catholic schools, in the early twentieth century.

THE MAKING OF THE CATHOLIC FEMALE BODY

The implicit assumption underlying the aim of Catholic schooling for girls was directed "at the notion that the influence of a good, religious woman was of great importance to family life. Therefore, girls had to be educated to achieve a suitable level of religious commitment and goodness".¹ In 1862, Bishop Quinn of Bathurst "wrote that the 'solid establishment' of religion in New South Wales depended on the education of girls".² Catholic girls schools, apart from providing a secular education, educated students in a set of beliefs and a way of being that would enable them to live the rest of their lives as committed and devoted Catholics. The purpose of Catholic schools was as Turner (1992) has indicated to shape Catholics.³ This education was not only provided by the religious education, which only an individual who had committed her life to religion was seen fit to provide, but also by the disciplinary regimes that the sisters themselves internalised and subsequently passed onto their students. Both of these aspects of convent school education had as their purpose to permanently inscribe on the bodies of the girls who attended these schools the "mark" of a Catholic.

The intention of Catholic education was to produce not only "docile" and obedient bodies but also bodies that were typically represented by the Catholic female in that it was disciplined, controlled, modest, attentive, educated, useful, spiritually formed, religious, helpful, unselfish, devoted, prayerful, chaste, pure and moral. The main purpose of the Catholic schools was to ensure that the Catholic faith was passed from one generation to the next, transferring the exact same information and beliefs so that the basic precepts of the faith remained static and unchanged. As Vaughan's *Pastorals and Speeches on Education* indicated the major purpose of Catholic education was to ensure the salvation of each individual soul.

Each of the founding sisters and the Orders that developed after them had as their main aim to produce women who were "good practical Catholics".⁴ Whether this was achieved or not depended according to Teresa Magner (1909) "on how she is taught religion at school".⁵ Teresa Magner, addressing the Third Australasian Catholic Congress in 1909 on the topic "The Training of the Australian Girl" went on to state that "...the teaching of religion is the most difficult, as well as the most important, of all our tasks. Since religion must be the foundation of all knowledge, the teaching of religion must be of the best, or else the structure we raise on it will be insecure. It is a subject which should be left exclusively to experienced teachers who understand children, and know something of their home life, and of the world. Only the woman who thoroughly understands the mind of a child can know how far to go in endeavouring to instill in her pupils a great love of God and hatred of sin without working them up to that point at which they continually multiply devotions and pious practices; the reaction of carelessness or indifference is sure to follow this".⁶

The employment of religious teaching sisters to teach girls was also an important element in fostering the ideals of Catholic womanhood. Catholic womanhood was regarded as being synonymous with "'perfect womanhood' that would enhance happy, religious homes and in which women would take on subservient roles and uncomplainingly support their male partners and the Church".⁷ The religious teaching orders attracted a huge following of Catholics and non-Catholics and judging by the number of students who attended their secondary schools, was considerably more popular than any other type of secondary schooling for girls. Religious teaching sisters were particularly charged with the responsibility of educating girls as "the Catholic nun stands alone, a superb figure lifting closer to God everyone she meets. Her services are above all price – they can be measured in the infinite scales of God. Because of her unreserved sacrifice, through which she stands

closer to Christ than all others, the nun is the most potent force for the training of women and children that the world possesses".⁸ Such a belief was confirmed in the following article from the *Freeman's Journal* entitled "Convent Education": "The fruit of their (religious sisters) labours is that we have a large class of well-educated Christian women, more numerous in proportion to our own numbers than any similar class among Anglicans and Protestants, who become in their turn housewives and mothers, or the teachers of another generation either as governesses or as religious".⁹

According to Fogarty (1959), the origin of the religious curriculum came from two sources within the Church – "the legislation of the Church itself and the practices of the teaching orders".¹⁰ Pope Pius IX was largely responsible for making the major decisions in the mid-nineteenth century that affected the development of Catholic education not only in Europe and Ireland but also in colonial Australia, with the decisions entitled the *Quam Non Sine* (14 July 1864) and the *Syllabus Errorum* being specifically relied upon in Australia.¹¹ For assistance in making other decisions on education the bishops turned to Archbishops Geoghegan and Polding, and their colleagues in Ireland.¹² They were also influenced by decisions that the American bishops made in the Baltimore Council.¹³ Decisions made in this way were confirmed by the First Plenary Council, which was held in 1885. The *Act et Decretia* of this Council divided the provision of education into three sections - *De Educatione Primaria Seu Elementaria*, *De Scholis Intermedus*, and *De Educatione Universitana* which were codified from earlier synods and from the statements of bishops in their pastorals.¹⁴ By passing these decrees, the future direction of Catholic education was laid down. The second and third Plenary Councils of 1895 and 1905, respectively.¹⁵ Both of these Councils reinforced the decrees of the first Council. After World War I, Catholic

Church law was codified by Cardinal Gaspari in Rome. This codification included an arrangement of all the Church's legislation on education.¹⁶

Catechism

The Church's dogma, which Catholic students, from elementary school to university were expected to commit to memory, was contained in a document referred to as the Catechism. This book had been read and learnt "in Catholic Europe from the sixteenth century... (and) was associated with the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine, an association of lay Catholics who in addition to the catechism could normally draw on the resources of a lending library of religious books. Because it depended on a stable parish system, it (the Confraternity) was slow to become established in Ireland. Its formal establishment may be attributed to two men, James O'Keefe, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin from 1752 to 1787, and Daniel Delaney, who was appointed O'Keefe's coadjutor in 1783. Conditions were especially favourable in their relatively prosperous diocese, but they were improving everywhere, and the Confraternity spread rapidly. Its catechetical sessions in the chapel every Sunday absorbed but never entirely supplanted the previous pattern, which had been concentrated in the home and schoolroom...."¹⁷

In 1885 at the Plenary Council, the bishops made a single Catechism mandatory for Australasia. This Catechism became known as the "Penny" Catechism, which "became the basic and in many cases the only text of religious knowledge... The text was not an original but an adaptation of that issued by the National Council in 1875".¹⁸ Revised in 1936, this booklet remained the religious textbook in Catholic primary schools for eighty years. "It was written by theologians and compressed profound theological truths into simple, rhythmical language".¹⁹ An example of the format used was: "Question: Why did God Make us?

Answer: God made us to know, love and serve Him here on earth; and to see and enjoy Him for ever in Heaven".²⁰ Lewis (1990) states that "with theological precision the questions and answers of the Catechism set out the principal truths of faith, with stress laid on authority and obligations; the fact that it had to be memorized, not discussed, emphasised the stress. Such a method of teaching fitted well a religion of LAW in which obedience, deference and recognition of authority were prime virtues; it also ensured the non-seduction of liberal philosophies by helping to create the unquestioning docility of mind which has been characteristic of Australian Catholicism".²¹

Apart from teaching students through the "technology" of memorisation, the Catechism was structured in such a way that each section or lesson outlined the teachings of the Church on different matters ranging from the Creed and Commandments of the Catholic faith, through to the sacraments, sin, prayer and the problems of "mixed marriages". Students were repeatedly taught the same lesson for "the Creed was not a tool for intellectual exploration but a set of beliefs to be accepted on faith".²² The teachings of the Catholic Church as set out in the Catechism put itself "at variance with many of the prevailing educational philosophies of the time for example: the pedagogy of naturalism, deriving from Rousseau and Spencer,...the pragmatism of Dewey who rejected revelation, believed that 'faith in the Divine author' with its 'inherited ideas of body and soul' had become 'impossible for the cultivated mind of the western world' and who advocated skepticism in the 'mask and even the pose of the educated mind'".²³ The Catechism and the manner in which it was taught did not go uncriticised. It was seen by many as being "too 'technical' and 'full of professional worded definitions' that were difficult for children to understand. Others were opposed to the question and answer format".²⁴ There was also objection to the "excessive memorising" which was noted by the school inspectors "who complained of 'insufficient explanations'

and too much 'mechanical answering', of children 'even in advanced classes' and not understanding 'the answers they repeated from memory'".²⁵

Of all the subjects a religious sister taught, the teaching of the Catechism was regarded as the most important. From the earliest days of their undertaking teaching of the lower orders, the Sisters of Charity considered "the teaching and explaining of the Catechism"²⁶ as one of the "most noble and important functions"²⁷ they had to perform. In order to be capable of teaching the Catechism in the appropriate manner, a sister was required to "study diligently the catechistical works most approved of and recommended by her superiors and make herself perfectly and familiarly acquainted with the doctrine of the Church on the different articles of our belief, as it is impossible to instruct others well without being perfectly instructed".²⁸ Besides preparing for this class beforehand, it is was also necessary that the day on which she gave the instruction "she thoroughly study the particular subject in hand, arrange the order in which she will explain it and foresee the practical instruction she will impress on the children....".²⁹

The Sisters of Charity *School Government Book* went to great lengths, to specify the manner in which a sister was to present the Catechistical lesson. When giving the Catechistical work, the sister was required to stand in front of the class so that she could observe all the children in the class, thus maintaining surveillance over her charges. She was to continually set an example in relation to how her pupils were to discipline their bodies by "her modesty and gravity, by her air, by her look, by the tone of her voice, in fine by her whole exterior the importance of the exercise she is performing and how much it merits their attention".³⁰ If any of the children misbehaved while she was teaching this lesson she was expected to remember who these children were and punish them at a later time.³¹ During the instruction

the children were to be seated in their desks facing the mistress and as near to her as practicable, so as to maintain order.³² The children were required to sit erect, with their hands crossed and feet in the prescribed posture ensuring that none of the children were in any way distracted from their lesson.³³ The monitoress-general sat at the farthest end of the class-room away from the sister who was delivering the lesson, so that she could watch over those who were most distant from the sister and record their name on a slate if they misbehaved.³⁴ At the end of the session those pupils that the monitor-general had observed misbehaving were punished.³⁵ How they were punished will be discussed later in the Chapter.

Similarly, the Customs and Rules of the Order of Mercy suggested the following method of teaching the Catechism. It "should be explained simply and familiarly, suiting the explanation to the capacity of the children. Impress upon them a great horror of sin, a practical love of virtue and a desire to correct their faults, deep reverence and gratitude for the Sacraments, a special respect and submission for the ministers of God and a veneration for all that immediately belongs to God's service".³⁶ The idea that every child, particularly if they were from the working or poorer classes, throughout their life would endure a certain amount of mental and bodily suffering for which they must be prepared, featured strongly in Mother McAuley's beliefs. Religious instruction was therefore necessary to assist them in coping with this suffering and bearing it in a way that Catholics were expected to. It was also necessary to ensure that children of the lower orders received a sound moral education. Mother McAuley believed that because they were poor they were more likely to be exposed to temptation from which the privileged were shielded. According to Mother McAuley, "the restraints of society may keep the rich in subjection but virtue is the only specific for the poor".³⁷

Apart from the Catechism, various religious published a number of books on religion. One such individual was Sister Mary Dunstan Wilson, who had joined the Sisters of Charity Order in 1903. She wrote *Keep in Step with the Church* as well as writing for Catholic school papers about everyday experience in the Church, particularly liturgical life. She also wrote many teaching aids on English Literature and several general school-books. As well as education her works encompassed the discipline of psychology, writing an *Introduction to Psychology - How our Minds Work*. The Catechism was however the main source of religious learning in Catholic schools until the 1930's when a number of textbooks were published on religion. Perhaps the most widely read of these works were those of Archbishop Sheehan and his two volume book *A Child's Book of Religion and Religion*. "The former text remained the most important contribution to Catholic education in this period".³⁸ The method of teaching proposed in this book was opposite to the method employed by the Catechism "as it was the child who was encouraged to ask the question and the teacher who supplied the answer... The book also contained prayers and devotional exercises at the end of each lesson".³⁹ The aim of the book was "not only to teach children their religion, but also to teach them to be religious".⁴⁰

After Sheehan's book, other innovations in teaching religion followed, for example Sister Mary Anslem O'Brien's "Catholic Evidence" method was specifically developed for and taught to Catholic secondary school students. The Reports of Our Lady of Mercy College in the late 1930's and 1940's indicate that the girls were instructed in this method to help them defend their faith if required to do so. The religion programme at OLMC was planned to include Christian doctrine, sacred history, liturgy and in the smaller classes elementary

apologetics. ⁴¹ To assist in this study students read such works as H A Johnson's *A Critic Looks at the Catholic Church* and Sheehan's *Apologetics and Christian Doctrine*. ⁴²

The students at St Vincent's College were also provided with a special course of lectures, which were delivered by the priests of St Mary's Cathedral. The fact that priests provided this type of instruction was in keeping with the belief that only the male clergy could lecture on the spiritual and theological beliefs of the Church. To ensure that students reached a satisfactory level in their religious studies, students were required to sit for diocesan examinations, which were aimed at ensuring certain standards in the teaching and learning of religious education were maintained. At St Vincent's College the girl who achieved the highest marks in this examination was awarded a special prize. The area of "examination covered the whole Manual of Christian Doctrine - (Ferns), Schuster's Bible History, Old and New Testaments together with practical knowledge of Church vestments, the manner of serving a Priest at mass and the ordinary duties of the Sacristan". ⁴³ Why girls would be taught these duties is difficult to determine, as only boys and men were allowed to serve on the altar in a Catholic Church at this time. As well, girls attended a spiritual retreat for three days each year where once again the spiritual lectures were delivered by a priest. Mollie Beewick who attended OLMC in the 1930's recalls the retreats being given by the Redemptorist Fathers who lectured the girls on the "Ten Commandments for Modern Girls". ⁴⁴ The purpose of the retreat was to encourage the girls to spend concentrated time on praying, thinking about God and the teachings of the Church.

Prayer

Religion and what Catholicism represented permeated every aspect of a Catholic school. No aspect of an individual's being was left untouched whether the intention was to affect the

mind or the body, Catholicism and its dogma radiated from every aspect of school life. Not only were the students taught religion as a subject, but students were also instructed on how to pray and were required to practise this "technology" at regular intervals throughout the day. Eva Power who attended OLMC from 1919 to 1923 recalls the following: "Morning prayers were said at the commencement of classes, the Angelus was recited just before lunch time when the Angelus bell rang in St Patrick's Church. Prayers were said at the end of the day".⁴⁵ The purpose of this continual praying was to encourage students to focus their attention on developing a relationship with God through prayer and to remind them that they were continually in the watchful presence of the Lord.

That children were taught from their earliest days of attending a Catholic school how to pray is highlighted by Chapter 9 of the Sisters of Charity *School Government Book*, which referred to the posture and outward behaviour that the children were required to adopt at all times while praying. "They shall be taught to kneel erect not leaning on their elbows, or back on their heels, their hands closed together and their eyes either inclined or closed, which it is well to remind them helps them to fix their minds on God,....".⁴⁶ During the prayer time the sister-in-charge was required to monitor the children's behaviour and was required to walk up and down the room to maintain order and to ensure that the children at least exteriorly followed the recitor of the prayers. The children were also taught such Catholic rituals as making the sign of the cross each time before they prayed. The purpose of this was to remind each child that Jesus had died on the cross to save their souls, but with constant use and practise the motion became part of the body's disciplinary routine.

According to Campion (1988), "counting was a significant element in the religious culture of the schools. Saying particular prayers for nine days (a novena) or for three (a tridium) was

popular".⁴⁷ As well students learnt to internalise the saying of various aspirations which served to constantly remind them of their faith. "Aspirations were short invocations (lit. a breath) nearly mantras,"⁴⁸ such as "Lord Jesus have mercy on me", that because they were repeated so often, were lodged in the individual's subconscious with the result that they could come into an individual's consciousness without thought. "They had long been a feature of lay piety".⁴⁹ The rosary was also another form of prayer that Catholics engaged in, "which had a mathematical aspect for it was made up of five decades, a decade being the Lord's prayer, ten Hail Mary's and the doxology. Rosary beads allowed an individual to count their way through each of the decades".⁵⁰ As each decade was said the recitor was required to direct her attention to an aspect of Christ's life. Many families said the rosary together at night. Training students in the use of rosary beads, as well other rituals of Catholic devotion such as "morning oblations, assistance at Mass, morning and evening prayers, devotion to the Blessed Virgin, Eucharist, Meditation, were prescribed in the Manuals of the orders and were regarded as of the utmost importance, being necessary for the preservation and enlargement of [the child's] spiritual life".⁵¹ As well, students were encouraged to wear scapulars, crucifixes and medals upon which a picture of a saint had been engraved, on chains around their necks. The purpose of these were to serve as a constant reminder of their faith and in some instances, so the wearer was informed, provide protection from potential danger with various saints being allocated such roles as the patron saint of travellers, children or women.

The Partaking of the Sacraments

Students were required to regularly participate in the various Sacraments that were available to them. Students were taught about and prepared for the various Sacraments, which represented different phases of development and understanding of the Catholic faith in the

individual's life. Students were instructed on what each of the Sacraments represented as part of their catechistical learning. The Sacraments - Baptism, Communion, Confession, Confirmation, Marriage, Extreme Unction and Holy Orders constituted the ordinary channels of "graces", which according to the Church's teaching, individuals could by their "own acts lay hold of the grace encompassed by each of the Sacraments and apply to their own souls".

⁵² To induce an individual in this way would "be the immediate objective of every other element in the Church's educational program. It was this predilection of Catholic education on the supernatural that distinguished it ultimately from other forms of education" ⁵³ and encouraged the individual to move beyond the body. The partaking of the Sacraments by a Catholic was intended to help the individual live a good moral life and they were to serve as another constant reminder as to their purpose in life. Of particular importance in maintaining control was the Sacrament of Confession.

This Sacrament required the individual to become self-monitoring and internalise the ever-present gaze of God. If an individual committed a sin they were expected to confess it at their next Confession. Children were taught from an early age to assess each action, behaviour and thought for the likelihood of their committing a sin. The emphasis on sin and sinning was constantly referred to throughout the school day. Once a child had made their First Confession, they were encouraged to attend Confession at least once a week and were instructed that they could not take Communion unless they had been to Confession. It is interesting to note that women could never partake of the greatest of all of the Sacraments that of Holy Orders. This Sacrament was limited to men who chose to become a member of the clergy as they were considered the only sex suitable to perform "sacred" priestly duties. Women were not given the same opportunity or rights and as they were not male were not able to become priests and perform such duties. The partaking of the Sacraments were

regarded by the Church as setting Catholics apart from individuals who belonged to other religions as Archbishop Vaughan indicated in the Joint Pastoral he sent to Henry Parkes in 1880 and which Parkes subsequently referred to when he introduced the 1880 Education Bill. In this Pastoral, Vaughan indicated "that in the Catholic view, part of the moral force by which Christianity acted upon mankind was exerted through the efficacy of the Sacraments through supernatural graces and that these graces and influences of Christianity were operating 'throughout the whole period' of education".⁵⁴

Catholicism was according to Campion, a very sensory religion relying on a range of colours, sounds and smells as the most basic way of attracting a following who were at least initially, largely uneducated and unable to read or write. The engaging of the senses was also of particular importance as the saying of the Mass was in Latin up until Vatican II, which would have alienated Church goers if there had not been some other means of communicating with them. The service or ritual, which most actively involved all the senses, was the Benediction of the Most Blessed Sacrament. This particular ritual, although only taking about twenty minutes to perform, filled the Church with the smell of incense and candle wax saw the priest gowned in purple vestments and the use of golden vessels such as the monstrance and incense burner.

In keeping with the fact, that at least initially, a large proportion of its' adherents were uneducated, the Church also attempted to keep rituals and processes simple, by establishing a rhythmical basis to various aspects of its worshipping. "Through the year each month had its own devotional focus, for example: March, St Joseph's month, June the Sacred Heart and November, the Holy Souls. May was Mary's month. Mary altars were set up in corridors and classrooms. Miniature services were conducted by teachers",⁵⁵ in praise of Our Lady.

Another focus of devotion was that to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. "The familiar red and blue picture of Jesus bearing a wounded heart on his breast had long been the most popular image of Jesus Christ for Australian Catholics".⁵⁶

As well, statues of the saints were not limited to churches and schools, but were also to be found in smaller versions in Catholic homes. Some families even went so far as to have a small font of holy water which had been blessed by the parish priest located at the entrance to the home which the inhabitants of the home and visitors were encouraged to "bless" themselves with each time they entered. There were also special times in the Church's calendar such as Lent, Easter and Christmas, which represented different phases in the life of Christ from His birth through to His crucifixion and resurrection, which the individual was required to pay special attention and attend extra religious services. Students in particular and Catholics in general, were also expected to participate in religious processions, which were utilised to build "solidarity" among Catholics and "as a public witness of their faith".⁵⁷ Catholic schools took a major part in such demonstrations as the Corpus Christ processions and St Patrick's Day parades. In Archbishop's Moran time, St Patrick's Day celebrations were used by Moran as a means of unifying the Irish cultural identity of Australian Catholicism.

Sodalities

The sisters of the various Orders established their own sodalities and encouraged their students to join them. Sodalities had originally been started by the Jesuits and "were aimed at cultivating higher ideals and stressed the obligation of self improvement and using one's influence for good, thereby turning to account the latent capacities of leadership, and stimulating and directing them to common good".⁵⁸ Sodalities and guilds, according to

Turner (1992), "helped to maintain for a considerable time a Catholic subculture within the total framework of society. They provided ready made social groups for Catholic groups which celebrated occasions with picnics, sports days, balls, etc".⁵⁹ They also encouraged Catholics to relate to Catholics. This was regarded as important, as all religions at this time discouraged people from different religious backgrounds, mixing with each other socially and particularly discouraged mixed marriages. On this latter point the Church even went so far, at one stage as to threaten to ex-communicate individuals who entered into a mixed marriage.

At OLMC the sisters promoted the Sodality of the Children of Mary. This sodality was started in France in 1847 by the religious Order known as the Daughters of Charity. By 1876 it had extended itself to other parts of the world.⁶⁰ The girls who belonged to the Sodality "attended mass together in their parish on a designated Sunday each month and for this occasion wore a blue cloak and white veil in honour of Our Lady. In the afternoon or evening of the same Sunday they gathered to say the Little Office of Mary and have their meeting. These activities were generally preceded or followed by benediction. There was a ceremony for the reception of new members to the Sodality and when a girl left to be married she was farewelled and given a gift, which was frequently a statue of Our Lady. The sodality was used to reinforce religious doctrine and tie it to the life of the parish. The religious sisters usually had charge of the Sodality of the Children of Mary in each of the parishes in which they worked".⁶¹ Another group, which was introduced into OLMC in 1942, was the Legion of Mary. This sodality had originated in Ireland in 1921, with "the object of the sanctification of its members by prayer and active co-operation under ecclesiastical guidance in Mary's and the Church's work of crushing the head of the serpent and advancing the reign of Christ".⁶²

The Sisters of St Joseph also provided for the establishment of School Confraternities or Societies. Mother Mary MacKillop directed that there should be three of these in each of her schools, including "the Scapular, in which all the children who were enrolled in the brown scapular can be admitted, the Children of the Blessed Eucharist for children who had made their first Communion and the Children of the Infant Heart of Jesus, consisting of children from five to seven years of age, who by their infant prayers would be able to make reparation to the Infant Heart".⁶³

But what did children and young girls growing into adulthood make of the information that was being imparted to them through their religious training and the process of Catholicisation to which they were continually exposed. The message that was spread in Catholic schools was that you had to live a good life on earth in order to be saved for the next. It was obviously not only the words that were spoken in the religious education that was important but what those words meant and what message they were trying to impart. What did young children in Mother Mary MacKillop's schools make of the words they were encouraged to say and think about, when praying before the altar of Our Immaculate Mother "... we put our trust in thee, and may the drops of blood as they flow from the agonising Heart of the Divine Son, spread like a river on every side, and wash away the terrible stain of heresy and restore all to the true faith".⁶⁴ What fears did learning about the existence of heaven and hell, create on impressionable young minds? The type of teaching utilised in the schools did not encourage children to question what they had been taught but rather to learn things by memory and accept them as truth. Such doctrines and beliefs would therefore have operated as another aspect of the disciplinary "technology" which Catholic schools imposed.

“Direct” and “Indirect” Somatic Learning in Catholic Schools

The Catholic Church having over the centuries developed into a fine art, the disciplinary “technologies” examined by Foucault in his work *Discipline and Punish*, relied heavily on the application of these “technologies” in developing an educational system that would ultimately produce “docile” and obedient Catholics, particularly “docile”, obedient and submissive Catholic women. The disciplinary “technologies” that were employed in Catholic schools and class-rooms throughout the various stages of the educational process that an individual was exposed to were similar to the “technologies” that were employed in the novitiate, the teacher training college and the convent. Foucault and others ⁶⁵ as discussed in Chapter 1, argue that ongoing and continual application of these “technologies” eventually leave behind their mark on the body of both the individual and the population experiencing it. As Foucault argued in *Discipline and Punish*, the ultimate aim of the application of disciplinary “technologies” was to eternally imprison the body of the prisoner, even after his or her release in a “microphysics of power” ⁶⁶ that would serve to exercise perpetual control over his (or her) corporeal being. Fay (1987) goes further and argues that these “technologies” are actually inscribed upon the body via two levels of somatic learning – “direct” and “indirect” and in this way not only is control exercised but also oppression. ⁶⁷

Fay in answering the question: “what do students learn in school?” ⁶⁸ argues that students acquire more than just “intellectual and psychological skills and knowledge from their teachers and others”. ⁶⁹ He argues that the learning that students undergo in schools also engages the “physicality of schools” ⁷⁰ that “involves the physical bodies of students and teachers as much as their minds. Indeed, one might even go so far to say that in school the education of bodies is every bit as important as the education of minds”. ⁷¹ Students therefore

undergo an education that is not only cognitive but also incorporates two types of somatic learning "direct" and "indirect".

With respect to "direct" learning this is achieved through the use of the disciplinary "technologies", which Foucault examines in the context of the prison, but which he notes were mainly derived from monastic culture and were adapted to impose a regime of control, authority and individual docility in institutions that depended on the presence of high degree of discipline to function efficiently and competently at all times. Such institutions included the military, schools, hospitals and other institutions that required the production of bodies that represented a particular group. These "technologies" included the structuring of "time and space" ⁷² through the use of timetables and specific architectural design; requiring students "to sit, to look, to dress, to walk, to eat, to laugh, to modulate their tones of voice in particular circumstances, to gesticulate". ⁷³

Fay argues, that as the child develops and matures, she or he is also exposed to a process of "indirect" somatic learning where the student "learns to make conceptual distinctions, and on the basis of these distinctions" ⁷⁴ those who manage schools "establish rules about proper behaviour and bearing, about properly social ways of relating, about acceptable attitudes, emotions, and actions. But the important point is that these rules reinforce and are reinforced by, particular bodily and behavioural dispositions. Learning these rules involves acquiring a repertoire of bodily responses as much as learning to think in a certain way". ⁷⁵ What ultimately results from both of these types of learning is for the individual to acquire a basic way of being that is "gradually etched into" ⁷⁶ the student's "bones and muscles, and the responses they demand imprinted into their neural pathways". ⁷⁷ It is in this way, through a combination of the application of various "technologies" that operate on different levels of

the individuals' being that an individual is initiated into a particular group as a student, a religious teaching sister.

The texts used to teach religion and the Catholic environment that the students were surrounded by was given life by the religious teaching sisters who had committed their lives to God. The women, who chose to live their life by dedicating it to God in the way prescribed by the Catholic Church, had by their selection "in the first place, then their years of preparation and regular periods for the renewal of the spirit conferred upon them", ⁷⁸ were, it was believed, marked by a particular stamp or inscribed upon in a particular way so that they clearly stood out as Catholic religious teaching sisters. This special stamp was communicated to their students and others by their way of being, by the manner in which they presented their exterior selves and the way that a religious sister was to present herself as a teacher, was discussed in Chapter 4.

Demeanour of Pupils

An important aspect of the process of somatic learning in the "making of the Catholic body" was teaching students how they were to discipline their bodies for the various regimes that they were required to undertake throughout the school day. How students were to hold their bodies during prayer and while being taught the Catechism has already been briefly referred to above and were mentioned in the various texts of the Orders. Mother Mary MacKillop (1870) for example specified in her Directory, how the children were required to enter the school that is "with their arms folded before them, salute their teachers and take their places in order, singing a hymn to St Joseph as they did so. After the hymn they prayed, which was then followed by the prescribed timetable, punctuated by prayer. At twelve after the Angelus, a Hymn to our Blessed Lady and after religious instruction the children were

required to march out of the classroom in prescribed order, singing again. In the afternoon they once again entered the classroom in the same manner as they had entered it in the morning. When singing hymns the children were required to stand up with their arms folded before them. They were also required to assume this pose when repeating lessons or being visited by a member of the clergy".⁷⁹

In every lesson in a St Joseph school, "before beginning her instruction, the sister is to see that the children's attention is secured and their hands and feet in their proper position. She must insist upon their eyes being fixed upon herself, for otherwise it will not be possible to command their attention for any length of time".⁸⁰ The method of teaching the children was also very proscriptive and was as follows: "when called to class, the children had to leave their places one by one, have their bags with books in them on their arm and form a semi-circle in front of the Teacher's desk, after which the ribbon-holder (monitor) presents the books and with arms crossed the tasks are repeated by the children, questions put by the Teacher and the next day's lessons marked in the ribbon-holder's book; the class is then dismissed in the same order whilst a Monitor"⁸¹ organised another group to take the place of the last one. During the reading lesson the children had to stand in a straight line, with the one chosen to read "standing a little in advance of the rest" of the class.⁸²

Mother McAuley also insisted that the girls who attended her schools be exercised in the correct position for sitting and standing and be taught a graceful carriage and the manner in which to address their elders or members of higher classes. Her emphasis on "graceful carriage" was a middle class notion and in some ways contradicted her view that girls from the lower orders who attended her schools should only be prepared for working class lives. It also highlighted the background from which Mother McAuley originated. Since she

realised that the majority of girls would spend their lives either as home-makers in their married lives or as servants helping in the homes of others, Mother McAuley emphasised the importance of learning such home crafts as needlework, knitting and plain cooking. This aspect is also reinforced in the later Custom and Guide books - "the poorer the children the greater the obligation of the sisters to prepare them for the work they will be called upon to do in life".⁸³

MAINTENANCE OF ORDER WITHIN THE SCHOOL

As with the convent, the maintenance of order within the Catholic school was regarded as an essential aspect of ensuring that individual discipline was maintained. The *Sister of Charity School Government Book* specified eight things which were regarded as necessary to maintaining order in the schools all of which were designed to develop and maintain discipline within the child, these being:

1. the vigilance of the sister who superintends;
2. signals and signs;
3. registers and catalogues;
4. the exactness of the scholars in coming to school at the appointed time;
5. premiums or rewards;
6. corrections;
7. the appointment of monitoresses and their fidelity in discharging their duties;
8. the construction of the school's desks and forms.⁸⁴

To these may be added: timetables, division into classes, examinations and uniforms. All of the above disciplinary techniques reflect Foucault's system of maintaining and imposing

discipline on the body and are referred to in *Discipline and Punish* as the means of establishing discipline within the prison system.

1. Surveillance

Surveillance of individuals was extremely important in maintaining ongoing discipline, as ultimately every student and religious sister in a Catholic school was continually under the direct “gaze” of God. According to Fogarty (1959), “in its approach to surveillance and restraint the Church it appeared worked on two principles. First, that the effects of original sin ‘weakness of the will and disorderly inclinations’ - still survived in human nature, second that these disorderly inclinations were to be curbed and held in control, since it was better to prevent evil than let it go unchecked. On that account said Pius XI ‘extended and careful vigilance was necessary’, no amount of purely intellectual training would suffice. On this point the bishops responsible for founding the present system of Catholic education in the nineteenth century had been unanimous; similar unanimity was also to be found in the manuals of pedagogy of the orders themselves. The use of this preventive discipline was enjoined on all: the pupils were never under normal circumstances, to be left without supervision”.⁸⁵

Surveillance over children, who attended a Catholic school, did not conclude once they walked out of the school gates. Rather the surveillance was ongoing in that the children were instructed that they were always in God’s “gaze” and with monitors or later prefects monitoring their behaviour once they left the school grounds. If students were observed misbehaving in public the monitors and the prefects were required to report this behaviour and the child or children involved were punished. Apart from this, the religious sisters of the

various orders regularly visited the homes of their pupils to familiarise themselves with their family life.

The Sisters of Charity *School Government Book* instructed the sisters to visit the homes of their pupils and Mother MacKillop also encouraged her sisters to visit the homes of the families of the children they taught so as to assess the type of Catholic upbringing that their pupils were receiving. According to Burford (1997), Mother MacKillop was always careful to foster what she considered as the essential relationship of family and school. "In her teaching methods and standards, in school order and discipline, she insisted on promoting essential values with respect to the family and home. Thus regular visitation of the homes of her pupils was always a component of the sister's mission".⁸⁶ Such an attitude continued to prevail into the twentieth century, with Theresa Magner, advocating at the Australasian Catholic Congress in 1909, that "the teacher must also study the child's home environment before she can effectually teach any subject, but especially religion".⁸⁷

Foucault also refers to the fact that the Church had long recognised the interaction between family and school life on the behaviour of a child, and that in order to gain a clear understanding of whether a child was receiving an appropriate Catholic upbringing, his or her home life was to be monitored as well. "The Christian school was not simply to train docile children; it must also make it possible to supervise parents, to gain information as to their way of life, their resources, their piety, their morals. The school tends to constitute minute social observations that penetrate even to the adults and exercise regular supervision to them: the bad behaviour of the child, or his absence, is a legitimate pretext.... for one to go and question the neighbours, especially if there is reason to believe that the family will not tell the truth; I can go and question the parents themselves, to find out whether they

know their Catechism and prayers, whether they are determined to root out the vices of their children, how many beds there are in the house and what the sleeping arrangements are; the visit may end with giving alms, the present of a religious picture, or the provision of additional beds".⁸⁸ The Catholic Church in the 1860's gave plenary indulgences to Catholics who were prepared to report on other Catholics who were not attending Mass and sending their children to Catholic schools. The Church's gaze was to be all penetrating and all encompassing with all aspects of a child's life and his or her family being scrutinised once the child was enrolled in the school.

But this scrutiny was not limited to post-enrolment, it began before the child's name was entered on a class roll. As with the type of novice who was to be admitted to a religious order, Chapter 2 of the *School Government Book*, outlined who and in what circumstances a child was to be admitted to a Sister of Charity school. In order to be accepted into the school, a child was required to have a "note of recommendation from some clergyman or respectable person".⁸⁹ This may have been difficult for some parents as they may not have known a clergyman or felt comfortable requesting a "respectable" person to give their child a reference. The parents were also asked a series of questions by the sister-in-charge, such as where they lived and what other schools had the child attended. The *School Government Book* specifically instructed that if a child had attended another school and lost her place by irregular attendance she would not be admitted to a Sister of Charity school.⁹⁰ Similarly, if a child was "affected with itch, whooping cough or some other ailment, or had left other schools from caprice or love of change she was not to be admitted".⁹¹

Parents, as well as their children, were informed of the rules of the school and parents were required to ensure that their children observed the rules. These rules in the Sister of Charity

schools for example covered such matters as “regular attendance, furnishing the child with suitable books and help with learning her tasks each evening. They were also to assist in teaching them to read and to pay a penny a week for their tuition”.⁹² These rules may have proved onerous for some parents. The sisters were aware that parents, particularly in poorer classes, may be the cause of a child’s absence, as parents kept daughters home to help with the chores, look after younger siblings or to assist in supplementing the family income. In this case it was suggested that the sister-in-charge “should send for the parents and represent to them the obligation that their children be instructed, and remind them of the great injustice they are guilty of in neglecting to educate them, and how they injure their prospects in life by rearing them up in ignorances”.⁹³ But more importantly than just receiving an education, parents must be “reminded of their obligation to instruct their children or cause them to be instructed in their duties to almighty God and their neighbour”.⁹⁴ It may also have been difficult for some parents to help their children with their homework and particularly with the requirement of assisting them to learn to read. Many of the parents of the children they were teaching would have been illiterate themselves, so they would have been unable to offer any assistance to their children. The requirement to pay a penny a week may also have proved prohibitive for some parents, but no doubt the sisters would have waived this fee if necessary.

2. Signals and Signs

The religious sisters in their schools as in their convents utilised a system of bells or signals, the sounding of which were used to maintain order and to indicate when students were to change the subject they were studying or the occupation they were undertaking at a particular time. The intention of the system of signals was to ensure that all the movements in the school were performed simultaneously and that silence apart from the sound of the

signal was maintained, as students were communicated with by the use of various signs. The maintenance of silence in the school as in the convent was regarded as extremely important. The *School Government Book* was quite specific on how a child was to gain the attention of her teacher without speaking or making any other noise: "No child will ever address any Mistress without giving notice that she has something to communicate, if she be in the desk by standing up and crossing her hands on her chest, or at circles by standing in the same posture, a little distance from the circle".⁹⁵

As when the sisters heard the ringing of the bell in the convent, particular care had to be taken by the students to immediately respond to the sound of the signal in the school, as the order of the school and adherence to maintaining the timetable, was seen to depend on students responding immediately to its sound. In the Sister of Charity primary schools, children were to be taught to "desist immediately from whatever their occupation is, when they hear it, stopping when they are going around the room, or performing any exercise whatever, and any child that is seen inattentive to the signal must be punished. They must be made to understand that it is the sign that is to direct their movements, not the sound of the signal which is merely to attract their silent attention".⁹⁶ As with the mother superior in the convent, the sounding of the signal was to be regarded "as it were the voice of the Mistress calling on the scholars to attend some direction she has to give and in order to impress this on them, it is of use to exercise them in all the signs and movements, (after giving them that sign after sounding the signal) which they least expect and sometimes pausing a few seconds between sounding the signal and giving the sign requiring that during this short interval they remain perfectly quiet".⁹⁷

That the use of signals and signs were important “technologies” for disciplining the body of students is indicated by Foucault, when he explains the purpose and use of signals and signs in the following way. “Place the bodies in a little world of signals to each of which is attached a single, obligatory response: it is a technique of training, of *dressage* that ‘despotically excludes in everything the least representation and the smallest murmur....’ The training of school children were carried out in this way: ‘few words, no explanation and total silence interrupted only by signals – bells, clapping of hands, gestures, a mere glance from the teacher, or that little wooden apparatus used by the Brothers of the Christian Schools’ and the sisters, it was called *par excellence* the ‘Signal’ and it contained in its mechanic brevity both the technique of command and the morality of obedience”.⁹⁸ In the Sister of Charity primary schools, the monitoresses were also called by knocking on the edge of the desk with the side of the signal and a sign was given to them after the signal sounded so as they knew what was required of them next. This meant that both the children and monitors were trained in a system of communication that operated without the use of words and required the children to respond to various hand and body movements that would have required them to develop a keen sense of observation.

3. Registers

Another disciplinary “technology” which the founding sisters employed was the maintenance of registers and catalogues to keep records of students’ names, addresses, what class students had reached and whether they attended on a daily basis. Records were also kept of results from exams and other forms of assessment and whether or not a child had received a particular Sacrament. The Sisters of Charity School Government Book for example required that a “Report Book” be kept to record the number of children who attended school each day of the week and the payments that they made.

The Mercy Order was also insistent that records be kept of the pupils who attended their schools. The registers at OLMC contained a list of instructions on filling out the Register of Admissions book, which contained records of all students who were enrolled in the school between 1924 and 1948. The instructions were quite specific and included the following:

- “ 1. The names of the pupils should be written in full, the boys on the left page and the girls on the right page.
2. The Register Numbers must read consecutively from the first page to the end of the book. No pupil's name is to be re-entered or re-written, except under circumstances mentioned below.
3. In noting the religious denomination of pupils, the following abbreviations must be adopted:
- | | |
|-------------------|-------|
| Catholic | Cath. |
| Church of England | Eng. |
| Presbyterian | Pres. |
| Methodist | Meth. |
- And similar abbreviations for other Denominations.
4. When a child is classified, put the date opposite his name in the column denoting his class or division.....should a child be promoted to a higher class or division, the date of the transfer must be similarly registered. And in this manner also should the columns referring to First Communion and Confession be filled.
5. When a teacher has reasonable grounds for believing that a pupil has left the school, the date of leaving should be recorded in the proper column”.⁹⁹

The Register also recorded the names of the pupil's guardians or parents and what school they had previously attended.

With the St Joseph schools, Mother MacKillop personally visited the schools as often as she could, examining every pupil and keeping a record of their achievements so that she would be able to follow up on their progress in the future. This she believed “was their right, that

without evaluation and the discipline of character formation, education would be merely a pretense".¹⁰⁰ In her report books, Mother MacKillop "listed a child's name, division and class, religion with qualitative remarks for Catechism, writing, arithmetic, tables, reading (always heard and assessed individually), spelling, grammar, geography, sewing which included samples of stitches, tatting, crochet and wool work. Each student's character received a comment such as regular or irregular, diligent or idle, attentive or inattentive, obedient or disobedient. She commented too on the supply or lack of class equipment, blackboard and maps, individual slates, books and readers. On the inside cover of her Report book, she had written for reference her method of evaluating a child's proficiency. Afterwards she saw each of the sisters privately and examined them as to the way the rule of the school was kept and the regulations".¹⁰¹

4. Punctuality and Timetables

Timetables as discussed earlier were an essential part of monastic life and the sole "technology" for ensuring that various regimes and occupations were undertaken at specific times throughout the day. The timetable enabled the individual to eventually internalise what was expected of her each minute of the school day. The purpose of the timetable was therefore to: "establish rhythms, improve particular occupations and regulate cycles of repetition".¹⁰² Timetables have been relied upon for centuries to regulate the daily regime of individuals in various institutions where discipline was regarded as a necessary requirement for maintaining order and routine. According to Foucault, the religious orders were "specialists of time, the great technicians of rhythm and regular activities. But the disciplines altered these methods of temporal regulation from which they derived".¹⁰³ The altered them in the following ways:

- “ 1. By refining them – individuals began to count in quarter hours, minutes and seconds;
2. By ensuring more detailed partitioning of time;
3. By ensuring the quality of time used by constant supervision, the pressure of supervisors, the elimination of anything that might distract;
4. By ensuring that the “time measured and paid was also a time without impurities or defects, a time of good quality, throughout which the body is constantly applied to its exercise.” ¹⁰⁴

Foucault also identified other ways in which the body became temporally regulated. These included breaking down the time allocated to a particular act, such as the time allocated to practising handwriting or a musical instrument, was segmented according to time and into its “elements so that time penetrates the body and with it all the meticulous controls of power”.

¹⁰⁵ A key aspect of this particular “technology” was the requirement that the body must never at any time remain idle or useless. Idleness of the body, was regarded by the Church, as being sinful and “the purpose of the timetable was to eliminate the danger of wasting time”.

¹⁰⁶ The Sisters of Charity *School Government Book* was quite specific in its reasoning as to the cause of idleness as being “a strong repugnance to book study of the confinement of school”. ¹⁰⁷ The Book went on to state that girls who stayed away from school out of idleness were “generally inclined to evil, for vice usually attends or proceeds from idleness” ¹⁰⁸ and it was this that the sisters were instructed to “fight” against by giving the child some responsibility in the school. ¹⁰⁹ In Josephite schools children lost marks if they were found idle during a lesson. ¹¹⁰ Individuals were therefore required to extract the most from every moment. They were also required to be punctual for each activity including arriving at school and for the various classes at the appointed time. The *School Government Book* required children to come to school “at the appropriate hour....as children who do not come at the regular hour cause disruption to the class”. ¹¹¹ In the Josephite schools children also

lost marks if they were late for class. ¹¹² The concern with punctuality continued into secondary school. Gladys Ashley who attended OLMC between 1930 and 1933 records that "being late for class was a real calamity". ¹¹³ The type of body that the above temporal requirements produced was a "body of exercise,...a body manipulated by authority,...a body of useful training", ¹¹⁴ in short a obedient, "docile" and disciplined body.

All the Orders relied upon the existence of a strict timetable both in the convent and their schools to guide them through their daily lives. Mother MacKillop in her 1867 *Directory* included a sample Timetable, which the children were to follow on a daily and weekly basis. This timetable specified exactly at what time the children were to learn what subjects and ensured uniformity and regularity was maintained throughout each school day. Appendix D sets out the subjects that were taught in each class and Appendix E contains a copy of the Daily Lessons for each Class and the Timetable, which was uniformly employed in Josephite schools. This document highlights how each minute of the day was accounted for and interspersed with prayer and hymn singing, as well as academic subjects.

Boarder's Timetables

At OLMC and St Vincent's College timetables, which clearly reflected the daily routine of religious sisters were established for the boarders at these schools. As with the sisters in the convents, boarders rose early for morning Mass and were allowed to sleep in only on Sundays. There were fixed periods of study each evening and on Saturday morning, and walks in Parramatta Park were allocated to the afternoons. The following is a description of the daily timetable by Marie Lahiff who was a boarder at OLMC between 1927 and 1933:

"5.20 am - 4th and 5th years arose, 5.50 am - 1st, 2nd and 3rd years arose followed by the primary girls at 6.20 am. Once dressed students went into the oratory for morning prayers.

This was followed by study in the class-rooms until just before 7 am, when all the students moved into the Parish Church for Mass. After Mass, breakfast was served and eaten in silence. The exception to this rule was Sundays and feast days when the students could communicate with each other. The students, as happened with the religious sisters in the convent, were sometimes read to during breakfast. Chores or piano practice were undertaken until 9.00 am. At morning tea time the girls were provided with bread and jam. Lunch consisted of a two course hot meal and afternoon tea was served after school. The students were allowed to play sport until 5.20 pm, after which time they were required to study. They also practised their musical instruments or elocution during the study period. At 7.15 pm tea was served at which time they were allowed to talk with each other. Night prayers were held in the Oratory and then it was back to study until 8.50 pm. They were then allowed ten minutes of recreation. The students then went up to the dressing room to wash and prepare for bed. The youngest went to bed, while the older students stayed up another hour or so to study. Last to bed were the Leaving Certificate students.¹¹⁵

The daily timetable for the boarders at OLMC, in terms of routine clearly resembles the routine that the sisters followed. As with the sisters in the convent and the children in the primary school, silence was relied upon as a major disciplinary "technology", with the boarders not being permitted to speak during meal times or in the dormitories. That the importance of maintaining silence was impressed upon the girls is reflected by each of the surveys I reviewed where there was a constant reference to the fact that students were ever mindful of not breaking any of the rules surrounding silence in the school. As with the sisters in the convent there was little if any time left to the boarders, that was not accounted for in some way and as McGrath (1988) has indicated, boarding school regime was a modified form of that of the convent. The oral history that has been collected from boarders of the period provides ample evidence of the ascetic routine of boarding school life. Kathleen Stormon who boarded at OLMC between 1920 and 1924 states that "the living quarters were meager – an enamel dish sitting on a pedestal (was our ablution means between baths –

three times a week). Apart from this lifestyle there were also specific rules which boarders were required to adhere to which Gladys Ashley (boarder between 1930 and 1933) confirms in her statement that there were "many rules relating to the behaviour of boarders".¹¹⁶

At St Vincent's College there was a specific list of Rules that boarders were required to adopt which covered such areas as maintaining silence, obedience and punctuality:

" Strict silence to be observed:

1. Going to the Chapel and returning from the Chapel
2. Before Mass and in the dormitories at night
3. In the Study Hall and outside the Dining Room

Dormitories:

1. No girl to enter another girl's cubicle without permission from the sisters....
2. Slippers must be worn at all times in the Dormitories
3. Each girl is to keep her cubicle in order and see that all brooms, mops, etc are put in the presses provided.

Punctuality:

Punctuality must be observed at the following times:

1. In answering the Mass bell at 6.45 am
2. In leaving the Dormitories at 8.30 am
3. In answering bells for meals
4. In getting ready for study and being at study at the appointed time
5. Lights are to be put out for the 1st and 2nd year at 8.30pm, 3rd and 4th year at 9.00pm and 5th year at 10.00pm.

Obedience:

At all times children must obey all members of the staff and Prefects in the absence of staff. A breach of any of these Rules means one bad mark. Five bad marks per week means loss of all weekend privileges e.g. going home, pictures, etc. Ten bad marks means the loss of cards on Sunday...."¹¹⁷

It is clear from the above that parents sent their daughters to a convent school to board not only to receive a suitable education, but also to instill in them a discipline that would follow and advance them through life.

5. Rewards

All of the Orders under review operated a system of rewards as one of the “technologies” to be employed in training the body. The Sisters of Charity *School Government Book* utilised a system of rewards or premiums, which were used to distinguish merit. There were three classes of children entitled to a premium:

- “ 1. Those who distinguish themselves for virtue and piety;
- 2. Those who were distinguished for diligence;
- 3. Those who display talent”.¹¹⁸

The first point was the most important and girls who distinguished themselves in this way were “entitled to the most valuable and honorary premiums”.¹¹⁹ The second point - diligence and application, were regarded as more important than talent.¹²⁰ The premiums were converted into a book or some article of clothing at the end of the school year.

Children who attended Josephite schools also received rewards for exemplary behaviour. The best child of the week in each class was awarded “a distinguishing ribbon, medal or rosette”.¹²¹ Ribbons were awarded for obedience, tidiness, knowing the Catechism, maintaining silence, order, achieving merit and singing with reverence and attention.¹²² The ribbons were of different colours so as to distinguish what they were for. For example, a black ribbon was given to any child who willfully broke either of the rules relating to silence and order or who told lies. Marks were awarded for tidiness, which meant that their clothes were required to be clean and tidy. Patches and darns on clothes were given extra marks,

thus reinforcing Mother MacKillop's thinking on how frugally the working class, were expected to live. Marks were given to those children who knew their Catechism thoroughly and paid attention to it. If only partially known, then a bad mark was given. Marks were awarded for doing homework well. Marks were given to children who tried to sing with reverence and attention. Clearly such a system of rewards were designed to maintain order and discipline, which Mother MacKillop conceived of as being essential to establishing a correct learning environment in a Catholic school.

Rewards were also relied upon in the secondary colleges. At St Vincent's College, to encourage acceptable behaviour within the College, a gold medal was awarded annually. "A certificate of honour was awarded to those who satisfied the teaching staff with respect to conduct, politeness, neatness, order, correct deportment, amiability and observance of Rules throughout the year".¹²³

6. Methods of Correction

The methods of correction and discipline that the various Orders used in their schools were similar and ranged from the use of corporal punishment to the employment of disciplinary "technologies" that were utilised in the convent. The type of punishment relied upon to maintain order in the school also changed when students moved from primary to secondary school.

The method of discipline that the Sisters of Charity imposed on the children in their schools was specified in the *School Government Book*. The correction of children was regarded as one of the most important functions performed in the schools.¹²⁴ The Sisters were directed to "act towards those that are committed to our care with mildness and at the same time

firmness".¹²⁵ It was up to the sister to find a balance between these two requirements and to generally determine how a particular poor behaviour should be punished. Six different kinds of correction were suggested:

1. By words – it "was recommended that the sister speak rarely in her school, so this kind of correction should be made seldom use of. Some children can be corrected with a mild rebuke or word of advice, or glare of sister's eye".¹²⁶
2. By imposing penances – which "should always be proportioned to the fault".¹²⁷ The sisters were "never to impose penances which may disturb the silence and order of the school"¹²⁸ or that were "indecent or ridiculous, such as for example gagging the children, putting... on a fool's cap or compelling them to kiss the feet of another. They should not be required to remain on their knees for too long. The sisters were instructed not to hit the children in their care, but come to know them well enough to know what penalty to impose".¹²⁹
3. By imposing tasks - for example imposing "additional tasks of learning if the child is guilty of inattention"¹³⁰ during lessons.
4. By imposing fines - requiring children to forfeit their premiums.¹³¹
5. By slapping on the hand which may be inflicted for many reasons - "not being attentive at lessons, at prayers, at Catechism; for talking or being idle at school; for not obeying immediately the signal for various exercises of the school; for having been too late...".¹³² A child was not to receive more than one slap at a time and was to be informed what it was for. The *School Government Book* specified how a slap was to be given: The slap was to be inflicted by a "slapper" not with the hand, foot or with the pointer. The child in receiving the slap was to "stand upright and extend her arm and hand, the fingers should also be extended and held close to each other. The slap should be given in the palm of the hand. If the child should draw back the hand to avoid the slap she should get two instead of one".¹³³ The mistress was also required to prevent the child from "engaging in any indecent behaviour or unbecoming manner, or contortions of the face or body before or after she has been slapped, she should also be prevented from crying aloud, or from grumbling and if she should persevere in doing these things after she has been cautioned of their impropriety, should she get another slap, or some penance be imposed; but the circumstances are of rare occurrence".¹³⁴ After a child had been

punished she was then made to "kneel in a modest manner in a convenient part of the school and there offer to God the punishment she has received as an atonement for her fault".¹³⁵ The mistress was warned that a slap should never leave a mark on the child's hand and that she should rarely have recourse to this punishment if she be "sensible, silent, vigilant, even and reserved in her manner and conduct".¹³⁶

6. Expulsion from the school - this was the last of all punishments "and was to be used when nothing else had worked. The criteria for expelling a girl included: corrupt morals; conversation and example that may draw others into vice, incorrigibility and frequently absent from school from light and trivial causes".¹³⁷

The conditions which were to determine whether or not a punishment was to be inflicted upon a child, included the following considerations:

- " 1. it ought to be pure and disinterested;
2. it ought to be charitable;
3. it ought to be just;
4. it ought to be proper and suited to the fault to which it is given;
5. it ought to be temperate - it should be rather light than too severe and not performed with precipitation;
6. it should be peaceable - the Mistress should have a perfect control over her temper and should not allow her to be carried away by passion. The receiver should receive it in a peaceable manner, with tranquility of mind or exterior modesty;
7. it should be prudent on the part of the Mistress who should not inflict it preposterously;...
8. it should be voluntarily received by the scholar - she should be made aware of her fault, the evil consequences and the injurious effect it may have on the rest of the children (if it remained unpunished;
9. it should be received in a respectful manner;....
10. it should be silent on the part of the mistress, who should not speak loudly at this time, mildly on the part of the scholar who ought not cry loud nor speak loud".¹³⁸

The Instructions also set out the faults that the mistress should avoid in giving correction and included "not punishing a child if they would not learn from the punishment, never correcting a child if it be as a result of the Mistress's own resentment, aversion or dislike toward the child, not to pull them by the cheeks, hair or rudely push them from her; and not to correct them in a sudden impatient or prompt manner or when she feels herself agitated or moved in the smallest degree to anger".¹³⁹

It is interesting to note that the application of corporal punishment was governed by the longest set of instructions in the *School Government Book*. Whether this is how the punishment was actually carried out and whether there was any limit on how many slaps a child could receive was not mentioned. The use of corporal punishment was not wholly proscribed by any of the Orders, the sisters being encouraged to use other forms of discipline, but it was still employed when deemed necessary.

Mother McAuley believed in strict discipline but disapproved of corporal punishment. In the Customs and Regulations of her Order it was stated that "a system of exact and judicious discipline should be established in the schools".¹⁴⁰ Corporal punishment was only to be used in one circumstance – "if a child was really known to say anything immoral - in this case she thought some slight physical pain ought to be inflicted".¹⁴¹ Mother McAuley instructed the sisters that "charity must be the animating principle in undertaking the duty of instruction. Now charity requires not only that we should instruct but also that we should pity, encourage and reprove the children under our care as they may require. We must be vigilant in their service, having a watchful eye over them, that we may form their minds and hearts to piety and infuse into them a desire of pleasing God in all actions".¹⁴²

The use of corporal punishment by the Mercy Order was mainly limited to their primary schools and consisted of a "sharp crack on the back of the hand with a ruler or cane".¹⁴³ In the senior school the most common offence for which students were punished as mentioned earlier, was breaking silence, the punishment for this ranged from being required to stand outside of the class-room to a more severe caning. Other punishments included being kept in or being allocated conduct marks. The latter was used particularly with the boarders when the tally of marks were read on Sunday evening, when each girl had to stand up and call out her week's total conduct marks. Varying amounts of marks were given for different offences. This type of disciplinary procedure continued to be employed at OLMC into the 1930's. It is referred to over and over again in the surveys that were completed by ex-students who were boarders and seems to have been a system of punishment that was etched in their collective memories. In later years, other types of disciplines were added which included being made to stand at the back of the class for talking in class, to loss of the privilege of the one day a month home leave. Apart from having punishment imposed upon them the girls were also to be ever mindful of their bodily demeanour and their behaviour in the classroom was expected to be very formal at all times. Students stood to greet a sister or teacher upon her entrance into the class-room, when they were addressed in class and when answering a question. All the surveys I reviewed referred to students being required to greet and speak with sisters and teachers in this way.¹⁴⁴

The level and extent to which corporal punishment was used in the Catholic schools under review, is hard to determine although a number of religious of the time requested that it be used sparingly if at all. Only one of the OLMC surveys I read referred to a feather duster being used to administer punishment.¹⁴⁵ Teresa Magner also did not encourage the use of corporal punishment stating that "it is the result of ill temper or laziness for the occasions

when this form of punishment are absolutely necessary are few".¹⁴⁶ Similarly, Father O'Reilly at the 1911 Catholic Education Conference in New South Wales, proposed a resolution which was subsequently adopted, stating "that some attempt should be made by the last year of the college course to brace the moral fibre by accustoming the senior pupils to the exercise of liberty and self-control".¹⁴⁷ These resolutions referred especially to girls' schools where the training was considered "to a large extent continental".¹⁴⁸

The Sisters of Charity also possessed other attitudes and beliefs in relation to the system of discipline that they should impose in their primary school. For example, the sisters did not believe that a girl who stayed away from school from "levity" should be punished. Rather "the only way to induce them to attend school was by exercising mildness, by gaining their affections, or by giving them some office in the school, if they are fit for it, they never should be threatened with punishment".¹⁴⁹ Such a responsibility could include assigning jobs in the classroom such as that of portress (being responsible for opening and closing the classroom door) or sweeping the classroom floor. This last duty was considered as extremely important for poor children to be able to do well. Apart from ensuring that the children kept their classroom clean and tidy, children were also expected to come to school clean and tidy both in their clothes and person. If they failed to do so, they were punished. This requirement may have proved difficult for some children as parents may not have had the same standard of cleanliness in relation to their clothes and person as the religious sisters.

The mistress was required to ensure that the children came to school "with their hands washed clean, their hair out and combed in an orderly manner and their clothes mended"¹⁵⁰ and children were punished for coming to school without due regard to cleanliness. For the sisters "education implies not only improvement of the mind but of the manner also".¹⁵¹

According to McLay (1992) this obsession with cleanliness “was endemic in convent precincts”.¹⁵² McLay suggests that the obsession may even be “connected in some way with the undervaluing of the body that prevailed theologically. Less subtly however,...in the attitudes of the day, filth was connected with poverty, drink and vice”.¹⁵³ The Sisters of Charity and the Sisters of Mercy were also “part of the reform movement within nursing which set up new standards of hygiene.... Cleanliness and order would help the sick body and the sick soul heal itself”.¹⁵⁴

One of the “technologies” of discipline employed in the Sister of Charity schools involved identifying the different personalities of the children for the purpose of imposing the type of punishment that was judged as best suiting the particular personality. It might be said that in recognising the fact that children possessed different personalities and came from different backgrounds, and that these factors may impinge upon their future behaviour, the sisters were utilising aspects of child psychology and moving away from just disciplining the body. For example the *School Government Book* stated that in almost every school there are:

1. “some children who are totally or almost totally neglected by their parents, some who are impudent and haughty, some who are greedy and unsteady,
2. some who are stubborn and obstinate,
3. some who are treated in a mild and indulgent manner by their parents, some who are mild and timid, some who are stupid, some who are delicate and sickly, some who are young and small, some who are newly come to school”.¹⁵⁵

The Book not only identified different personalities but also provided suggestions on how to manage each of these types of children’s characters. For example; with children who were neglected by their parents, the mistress was recommended to “advise them and endeavour to win them by gentle means”.¹⁵⁶ With children who were “haughty, the Mistress should speak

to them little and always very seriously”¹⁵⁷ and when a child of this personality type committed a fault she should be “humbled and corrected for it”.¹⁵⁸ These children should “be admonished of and reprimanded in private”.¹⁵⁹ The “obstinate should always be humbled”.¹⁶⁰ If the child refuses “to submit voluntarily to correction”,¹⁶¹ it was recommended that “she should be forced to it, otherwise her example may have an injurious effect on the others”.¹⁶² If a child cries out after she had been slapped, the *School Government Book* recommended that she be left “on her knees for some time in a convenient part of the school”.¹⁶³ The purpose of correction with the obstinate or stubborn child was to try and break her spirit, to make her conform to what the ideal Catholic child should be like.

The third type of child should be punished but rarely, rather their faults should be remedied or prevented by some other means as by “advising them or by mildly admonishing them in private”.¹⁶⁴ It was considered seldom necessary to punish the mild or timid child - an admonition or slight penance was regarded as sufficient for these children. According to the sisters, “stupid” children should always be punished and if they continued to be troublesome then they should be sent away all together. What is meant by “stupid” that is whether it referred to a type of behaviour or to level of intelligence is not defined in the *Book*. A “delicate or sickly child should not on any account be corrected and only a light penance should be given to them”.¹⁶⁵ The same applied to small children.¹⁶⁶ New children to the school should not be corrected until the sister became “acquainted with their character”.¹⁶⁷ In an effort to ensure new children learnt the correct behaviour they were placed next to those who were well behaved.¹⁶⁸ A child should never be corrected because the parents had asked the sisters to do so.¹⁶⁹ “If a group of children committed the same fault and the Mistress was aware that none of them knows the fault of the others, or that they believe the

Mistress to be ignorant of it", ¹⁷⁰ it was regarded "best to correct one" ¹⁷¹ of the children involved and "to pick the child who would benefit the most from" ¹⁷² the correction.

The faults that should be rarely pardoned included – "lies, fighting, theft, immodesty, and irreverence at prayer in the Church". ¹⁷³ It was suggested that liars should be severely punished. After they were punished they were required "to kneel in a conspicuous place in the school". ¹⁷⁴ If children were caught fighting then they were to be punished severely – probably by being slapped a number of times and then required to kneel in a part of the school where they were to reflect upon why they had been punished. If they were found stealing then they were to be expelled. ¹⁷⁵ For the fault of "immodesty or uttering indecent words" ¹⁷⁶ the child was to be severely punished, as she was for irreverence at prayer. The *School Government Book* instructed that correction was to be "as light as possible but accompanied with all the circumstances to sting the child with shame and remorse". ¹⁷⁷ The mistress of the school was informed that while she must assume the character of a judge she should have the heart of a mother for "love ought to dictate her words and direct her hand". ¹⁷⁸ As well the mistress must always maintain her "exterior gravity" ¹⁷⁹ which was seen as contributing to keeping the children within the bounds of "order and decorum". ¹⁸⁰ Even in this situation she was required to err on the side of silence never speaking to them too often or with too much familiarity or engaging any other unbecoming conduct. ¹⁸¹

All of the systems of punishment employed by the religious sisters were directed at disciplining the body and included aspects of punishment which the sisters inflicted upon themselves, such as kneeling for periods of time in a position where the penitent could be easily observed. In separating the child from other pupils this served not only to remove a "bad element" from the other children by shaming them but also in theory at least, gave the

poorly behaved child time to think about why he or she was being disciplined in this manner. The aim of this type of discipline, according to Foucault was to produce "a pure community" on one hand and "a disciplined society" on the other. ¹⁸² "The constant division between the normal and the abnormal, to which every individual is subjected...allows for 'the existence of a whole set of techniques and institutions for measuring, supervising and correcting the abnormal". ¹⁸³ A reading of the pedagogical texts of the religious orders, highlights the fact that punishment, physical or otherwise was one of the major "technologies" used by the sisters in not only maintaining discipline and order of the school community, but also in order to produce individuals with bodies that were "docile" and obedient.

7. Monitors, pupil-teachers, prefects

Another "technology" that was utilised to maintain control and order and to assist in the imposition of discipline was the appointment of monitors and pupil-teachers from the best behaved and most intelligent children first in the school and later in the class. The use of monitors and pupil-teachers to maintain order in the class-room was discussed in the Chapter on teacher training with their basic function being another level of surveillance as well as providing some back-up teaching and resource maintenance. Similarly, the role of the prefect, a system which had been devised by Matthew Arnold in England to extend "the principal's hegemony" ¹⁸⁴ was adapted to Catholic girl's schools after 1875 ¹⁸⁵ and operated to maintain order and discipline in the school.

8. Design of school and furniture in the class-room

As the school building was to be a "mechanism for training", the design of the school and the class-room were also recognised as one of the "technologies" that could be employed to

ensure order was maintained in the school and that bodies of individuals were appropriately disciplined. The architectural design of the school building and class-room were considered important agents of bodily control with the main purpose of the design being "to render visible those who are inside it" ¹⁸⁶ at all times and from all locations. More generally the purpose of a particular design was so that it "would operate to transform individuals, to act on those it shelters, to provide a hold on their conduct, to carry the effects of power right to them, to make it possible to know them, to alter them". ¹⁸⁷

Religious teaching orders realised very early in their development of school systems the importance of the design of the school building and class-room in ensuring that each student was potentially observable at any given moment. As early as the 1830's, the Sisters of Charity in their *School Government Book* included the dimensions of the ideal school and the design for placement of desks in the class-room. The Sisters of Charity school was planned so that no more than 126 or at most 140 pupils were enrolled at the one time and so that the Mistress and children could carry out their duties easily. To emphasise the mistress' authority in the classroom and to ensuring that she was able to constantly observe and supervise the behaviour of her students, her desk was situated on a platform - a foot from the ground with two steps. The pupils were required to sit in rows in front of the sister-in-charge and the monitors were positioned around the room, according to their duties and level of responsibility. Initially, children in the primary schools worked on slates as part of a group or circle with their own individual monitor. In time when blackboards, ink and paper and smaller classes were introduced, the teacher stood at the front of the class to give the lesson with students taking notes from the blackboard. Monitors were also replaced by pupil-teachers and prefects. As well in Catholic schools Mary altars were installed in class-rooms

and crucifixes, holy statues and pictures were also added to increase the level of perceived surveillance and constant monitoring.

Division into classes

The division of the school into classes, initially according to level of educational attainment and later according to age, in which children were taught the content of subjects at various levels of difficulty, progressing from one class to the next when they had mastered the knowledge of the previous class. The Sisters of Charity *School Government Book* provides an example of how children were divided into classes according to their level of educational attainment. The first class that students found themselves in was "Class Number 1" where the children were taught the alphabet, the Lord's Prayer, Hail Mary and three questions and answers from the first chapter of the Catechism. By "Class Number 8" the children had been taught to read Reeves' History of the Bible or some other History or moral work. In this class, the historical Catechism was completely committed to memory, so as to ensure that the Church's beliefs were impressed upon their minds, making them obedient and unquestioning servants of the faith. In time, with the introduction of compulsory education, the system of placing children into classes according to their level of educational attainment was replaced by students being required to attend school from the age of four or five and generally not being able to move onto the next class, until they had mastered the curriculum for that school year.

According to Foucault, the division of pupils into classes was "a new technique for taking charge of the time of individual existences; for regulating the relations of time, books and forces, for assuring an accumulation of duration, and for turning to ever-increasing profit or use, the management of mastering of time....The discipline which analyses space, break-up

and re-arrange activities must also be understood as machinery for adding up and capitalising time".¹⁸⁸ Foucault states that this breaking-up of pupils into various classes was achieved in the following ways:

- " 1. Isolating the period of training and practice; do not run the instruction and subject content of lower classes with that of the higher classes.
2. Organise these threads according to an analytical plan".¹⁸⁹ For example, gradually teaching the information contained in a subject by beginning with the easiest material and progressing onto the more difficult – to teach a child to read by beginning with the alphabet, then simple word formulation and then more difficult words. As well as actually learning the subject content the imparting of any learning should be accompanied with the learning of the skills and gestures of any practical subjects or behaviour such as writing, sewing, praying, standing, sitting. The learning of these skills should commence with "simple" instructions such as the position of fingers, feet, back, hands – "basic elements for useful actions that also provide general training in strength, skill, docility".¹⁹⁰
3. Each of these levels of instruction should be finalised preferably with an examination. The examination will show "whether the subject has reached the level required, of undergoing that each subject undergoes the same apprenticeship and of differentiating the abilities of each individual".¹⁹¹

Examinations

From the beginning of the introduction of a formal education system, requiring students to sit for examinations to measure their progress was another one of the "technologies" that operated to maintain order and discipline within the school. Examinations were included in the *School Government Book* and were a constant feature of the school curriculum by the beginning of the twentieth century. Students were required to sit for examinations at regular intervals throughout the year. The results of yearly exams decided whether a student was ready or not, to move up to the next class. The sisters and the bishops in the nineteenth century realised that if they were to attract adequate enrolments, particularly Catholic ones,

then they must provide a curriculum that was not only comparable to the curriculum offered in the state system, but that was also of a standard that achieved the required results at the various publicly held examinations. From its earliest days, the Mercy Order had laid down that the schools of the sisters should be in no way inferior to the state, but "should rather be superior in every way, for the greater Glory of God".¹⁹² Records from both St Vincent's College and OLMC highlight the number of students from these schools who regularly sat for examinations and the success of these students at these exams. Even if a student did not wish to sit for a public exam, they were still required to sit for an internal exam in their various subjects, with exams being held at St Vincent's College at least four times a year.¹⁹³ The Prospectus from the College kept a progressive tally of the number of students who had passed the various exams, as well as those who successfully gained entry to Sydney University, Sydney Teacher's College and the public service. At St Vincent's College, students were required to pass an entrance exam to the College as a final requirement of their primary school study. For those students who chose to follow a commercial vocation, St Vincent's held exams in connection with the National Business College.

The results achieved by the students at the various public examinations were therefore used to assess how well one school was performing in relation to another, or more specifically how the Catholic education system was faring in relation to the public education system. Many of the students surveyed at OLMC referred to the excellent reputation that the College had for educating girls and cited this as being the reason why their parents had chosen to send them to the College.¹⁹⁴

Apart from a measure of achievement, the examination according to Foucault, was another means of surveillance, which could be imposed upon a student.¹⁹⁵ Examination is "a

normalizing gaze, a surveillance that makes it possible to qualify, to classify and punish. It establishes over individuals a visibility through which one differentiates them and judges them. That is why in all the mechanisms of discipline the examination is highly ritualised".

¹⁹⁶ Further, according to Foucault, the following was achieved by a system of examinations which students sat for at regular intervals throughout the school year:

1. Progress is monitored and students remain continually "visible" to the teacher. It is this fact of constantly being seen, being monitored, assessed "that maintains the discipline individual in his subjection". ¹⁹⁷ At the same time the examination process "objectifies" students by making them an object of continual assessment. ¹⁹⁸
2. "The examination leaves behind it a whole meticulous archive constituted in terms of bodies and days". ¹⁹⁹ This has resulted in the development of "disciplined writing" also disciplined study and revision and disciplined thinking. ²⁰⁰
3. The examination surrounded by all its documentary techniques, makes each individual a "case". ²⁰¹ As a "case" the individual may be "described, judged, measured, compared with others, in his very individuality and it is also the individual who has to be trained or corrected, classified, normalized, excluded". ²⁰²
4. It is the examination which "by combining hierarchical surveillance and normalizing judgement, assures the great discipline functions of distribution and classification, maximum extraction of forces and time, continuous genetic accumulation, optimum combination of aptitudes and thereby, the fabrication of cellular, organic, genetic and combinatory individuality. With it are ritualized those disciplines that may be characterised in a word by saying that they are a modality of power for which individual difference is relevant". ²⁰³

The Uniform

Another form of discipline, which was introduced into the school system, was the uniform. Initially, children attending schools did not wear uniforms, coming to school in their everyday clothes. In time, uniforms were introduced for both primary and secondary schools not only, as the word suggests to ensure uniformity, but also to ensure that one student did not show another up by the quality of the clothes she was wearing. The introduction of

uniforms into schools also served other purposes. According to Sherington, Petersen and Brice (1987), the "school uniform was one of the vehicles of corporate identity. In the nineteenth century pupils did not in general dress alike. They wore ordinary clothes to school". ²⁰⁴ As the "esprit de corps" of schools was increasingly emphasised (and this occurred as much in Catholic girls schools as in boys schools), "it became more and more desirable that all pupils should dress alike". ²⁰⁵

As time went on, a common uniform for each school belonging to a particular religious order was designed and students were expected to wear it. By the 1930's, a specific uniform for Catholic school girls had been prescribed by the Orders which included the wearing of hats, gloves and blazers and while in keeping with the ladies' fashion of the day, also served as a disciplinary "technology" in that all students were to wear it in a particular way. Regular inspections were carried out by the sisters to ensure all students complied with the uniform specifications - stockings worn, shoes polished, nails clean and unpolished, no jewellery or makeup, school tie knotted in the correct manner, pinafores clean and the uniform worn at the correct length. If students did not meet any of these requirements then the girl concerned was punished. Apart from wearing their uniforms correctly, girls were not to eat in public or behave in any manner that was regarded as being inappropriate for a Catholic young lady. Thus they were expected to be self-monitoring practising self-control and restraint and remembering that even outside of the school grounds they were under the scrutiny not only of the sisters, but also the public.

The style of uniform in the convent schools was largely dictated by the fashion of the day. At OLMC, boarders were expected to wear a black dress with a white collar, ²⁰⁶ (similar in colour combination to what the sisters wore) but day pupils at least initially, could wear any

type of dress.²⁰⁷ There was no restriction on the style of the boarder's dress - lace collars were allowed to be worn, as was a certain amount of jewellery. Hat and gloves were also required to be worn outside of the school grounds.²⁰⁸ A uniform for day students was introduced in 1914. It was of tussore silk and of a milk coffee colour.²⁰⁹ Eventually, boarders were only required to wear the traditional black dress with white collar and cuffs on Sundays, with the collar and cuffs now forming part of the uniform and not left to the decision of the individual girl as to whether or not she wore them.²¹⁰ A large cream panama hat was worn in summer and a navy colour hat was worn in winter. A black overcoat was worn in winter, which was later replaced by a navy blazer.²¹¹ Gloves were expected to be worn, a requirement that continued well into the twentieth century. In the 1920's, a tennis uniform was introduced consisting of a white over blouse and skirt, white stockings and shoes with a panama hat.²¹² This was a standard tennis outfit for a young lady tennis player at this time. The uniform worn in the various schools was also occasionally re-designed or updated, usually as a result of changes in fashion and in 1927 there was a further change of uniform at OLMC. The uniform now consisted of a long-waisted over blouse on a band, made of fuji silk with a black pleated skirt. A black jumper was worn in winter. A black pinafore was worn over the uniform, during school hours. Boarders still wore the black dress on Sundays in winter and summer, with detachable white cuffs and collars. The style of uniform underwent further changes in the 1930's.

Students at St Vincent's College also were required to wear a uniform. It is interesting to note that the uniform of the boarders always differed from the day pupils and at OLMC boarders entered the school through a different entrance to the day pupils. Why the sisters sought to keep the day pupils separate from the boarders is unclear, although it is possible that the sisters did see the boarders as a potential source of vocations and as such did not want them

“contaminated” by news on what was happening in the outside world. There is also some mention in the OLMC surveys that the girls who were boarders came usually from a higher socio-economic class than the day pupils.²¹³

THE FEMALE CATHOLIC BODY

The “technologies” discussed above together with the process of somatic learning were specifically utilised in Catholic schools to produce a body that was typically Catholic. The sisters as we have seen included these “technologies” in the texts that they wrote and had prepared, assisting them in creating an environment that was reminiscent of the discipline that existed in the convent and which necessarily operated to set these schools apart from state schools. But what type of body, particularly female body, did this very specific type of education produce? What type of life, were women educated in Catholic schools expected to live? As the theory of “dualism” continued to be embraced by the Catholic Church and was taken over by science, women remained tied to their bodies in a way that made it difficult for them to escape their assigned biological identity. A Catholic woman if she did not choose to become a religious sister was as discussed in the previous Chapter expected to assume a subservient role in a Catholic family reproducing the next generation of Catholics within the confines of the home. It was for one or other of these roles that Catholic girls were educated. As most Catholic women chose the latter role, then it was absolutely necessary that the religious education that girls received at school “have a beneficial influence on the formation of character, qualifying Catholic girls to preside over homes, which will be the pivot of Catholic intellectual life. Home is the domain of the wife and mother. Let her, then, be possessed of a trained and well-informed mind on matters of religion and the Church will have a rallying point in that home”.²¹⁴

To assist in the development of “good” and obedient Catholic wives and mothers, was the proclamation by Pope Pius IX in 1854, of the Doctrine of the “Immaculate Conception of Mary”. After centuries of portraying Mary in a variety of roles – as the Mother of God the Son, as pure and virginal, it was her humanity, which was emphasised in this Doctrine, in an attempt to provide women, who chose not to become religious sisters, with a satisfactory role model of what the Church expected of them. This Doctrine “asserted that Mary was miraculously preserved from the physical and moral effects of original sin”, ²¹⁵ having conceived her son Jesus Christ, without sexual relations. “Despite its medieval overtones, the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception had a distinctly modern and Victorian resonance. Free from sin, tainted by neither carnal knowledge nor desire and as a result exempt from the feminine condition of experiencing the pains of childbirth and the discomfort of lactation and menstruation, with which Eve and all her descendants had been cursed, Mary became the model that women were supposed to emulate as far as possible and the patroness of celibate men and women”. ²¹⁶

According to Danylewycz (1987), “the image of Mary embodied in the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, validated, reflected and reinforced the dominant attitudes that were developing toward women in this period.... In secular terms the dogma of the Immaculate Conception was analogous to the ideology of “true womanhood” ²¹⁷ or “perfect womanhood”. “Both cast woman in the role of helpmate and sought to protect society from ideological currents and political movements that challenged existing social divisions. Furthermore, both elevated the role of women as social guardians and purifiers to unprecedented heights, while denying women the right of self-autonomy and equality. The collusion of dogmas like the Immaculate Conception with the dominant role men played in all levels of public life, feminist theologians” ²¹⁸ such as Mary Reuther argues, “is no

accident".²¹⁹ As Reuther explains: "official Mariology validates the twin obsession of male fantasies toward women, they urge both to reduce the female to the perfect vehicle of male demands, the instrument of male ascent and at the same time of all that pulls him down into bodiliness, sin and death. Mariology exalts the virginal, obedient, spiritual, feminine and fears all real women in the flesh".²²⁰ And as Warner (1990) succinctly states "the cult of Mary became inextricably interwoven with Christian ideas about the dangers of the flesh and their special connection with women".²²¹

Casting women in this role as purifier while at the same time arguing that women were particularly susceptible to sin because of the nature of their bodies, resulted in the Catholic Church being extremely strict in its teachings on women and sex. A woman, in the eyes of the Church had a special propensity to sin and therefore was at all times to be pure in body and mind and if she chose the path of motherhood she was to remain chaste until her marriage. Stories of girls, who remained virgins despite being threatened in terrible ways by men, were continually repeated to female students throughout their secondary education. For example, the story of Maria Goretti, born in 1890, was murdered at the age of eleven by a young man from her village, whom she knew. He tried to rape her, and when she resisted, stabbed her many times with a stiletto. She was taken to hospital where she forgave the rapist and was made a Child of Mary by her local priest. She died the next day, July 6, 1902. In 1947, Pope Pius XII beautified her by public decree: "Italian girls especially, in the fair flower of their youth should raise their eyes to Heaven and gaze upon this shining example of maidenly virtue which rose from the midst of wickedness as a light shines in the darkness God is wonderful in His saints Now he has given to the young girls of our cruel and degraded world a model and protector, the little maid Maria who sanctified the opening of our century with her innocent blood".²²²

In 1950 the Pope canonised her as a saint. I can remember one of the sisters who taught me continually repeating the story of Maria Goretti and how she had protected her "virtue" and consequently been made a saint. Another woman "recalled in a book of memoirs that at her convent school the nuns played their charges a dramatised tape of this exemplary scene, which consisted of much heaving and sighing punctuated by the bloodcurdling cries of the victim".²²³ According to Warner, "Maria Goretti's resistance was, it is stressed, protracted. In the legends of the martyrs before her, every act in the torturer's handbook cannot kill them".²²⁴ Virginity, has been upheld by the Church as the only state in which a woman can be truly pure of body. "Virginity confers extraordinary strength, that spiritual virtue is mirrored by physical powers".²²⁵

The Church's re-generation program was an onerous one as once a woman was married she was expected to have as many children as possible, regardless of the circumstances of the family. Birth control for Catholic women was out of the question and as such they became slaves to their bodies by the never-ending possibility of pregnancy and caring for others. That this was the Church's view is eloquently described by H. M. Moran, a Sydney cancer specialist who published the following description of his experience at one Sunday Mass in his memoirs *Viewless Winds* in 1939:

"I sat one Sunday morning amidst the throng of a poor parish church where the people all glowed with a simple faith. Next to me was a tired-looking, prematurely worn woman, whose hands were hardened and cracked with rough work. To the pulpit came puffing a bull-necked, over-fed priest who had great rolls of fat about his middle.....He began with the usual exhortation for more generous offerings.... Then he passed to the main theme of his sermon, Birth Control....the violence of his denunciations appalled me. He flayed those who resorted to prevention. He ridiculed woman's preoccupation with her body. He jeered at those who whined about economic difficulties. The worn women at my side stirred uneasily

in her seat, crossing and re-crossing her feet. 'Selfishness' – 'Selfishness' he thundered. I found myself picturing this woman's household, each day with its problems of debts to be faced. When I left my seat she was on her knees praying fervently, her head bowed down. She, poor woman, had taken the veil of a hard marriage. A huge hole gaped in her stocking above the right heel". ²²⁶

So this was the type of discourse that Catholic woman continued to be and had been subjected to for centuries. Many words were spoken and written by various individuals to describe the way that women and their bodies should be. These words included "moral, subservient, nurturing, selfless, passive, dependent, chaste, modest, pure, submissive, cultured, accomplished, useful, philanthropic, devoted, pious, disciplined, civilised, obedient, restrained, docile, controlled". Such words, the context in which they were spoken, by whom and at what time, sought to construct the type of body that a nineteenth or early twentieth century Catholic woman should possess. Some of the words listed above, were specifically employed by Catholic leaders in various discourses to indicate to women what characteristics were expected in the Catholic female body. Of particular importance was the requirement that she be "modest, moral, pious, devoted, disciplined, obedient, controlled, pure and chaste".

Conclusion

The period under review was an important time in the history of the establishment and provision of a Catholic education system in New South Wales. The Church had one major aim and that was to produce generations of obedient and faithful subjects. Ensuring that all children received a Catholic education was a priority for successive bishops who believed that such education should begin in the home and continue in Catholic schools, specifically established for this purpose and managed by the various religious orders who migrated or

were established in the new country. Initially, the religious sisters were concerned with educating the poorer classes in primary or elementary schools, providing these children with a rudimentary knowledge in the three R's and needlework for girls. They also instilled in them through direct and indirect methods of teaching and learning what Catholicism was about and what were the requirements of living their life as a "good" Catholic. Within this process of Catholicisation, the religious sister utilised various disciplinary "technologies" to educate not only the mind of the individual but also the body so that it was Catholic in its being. This education and socialisation was particularly important for girls, as it was with them either as a religious sister or a mother that the responsibility of raising the next generation of children rested.

Chapter Notes

¹ Kyle N; *Her Natural Destiny The Education of Women in New South Wales*, New South Wales University Press, 1986, p. 67

² *Ibid.*

³ Turner N; *Catholics A Social History*, Volume 1, Collins Dove, 1992, 150

⁴ Magner T; "Training of the Australian Girl", *Paper presented to the Third Australasian Catholic Congress*, 1909, p. 202

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Kyle N; *op.cit.*, p. 67

⁸ OLMC, Parramatta; *Introductory 1888-1930*, pp.15-17

⁹ *Freemans Journal* 7, November 1874

¹⁰ Fogarty R; *Catholic Education in Australia 1806-1950*, Melbourne University Press, 1959, p. 383

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 384

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ MacCurtain M and O'Dowd M; *Women In Modern early Ireland*, Edinburgh University Press, 1991, p. 217

¹⁸ Fogarty R; *op.cit.*, p. 393

¹⁹ Lewis CM; "Provision of the Education of Catholic Women in Australia Since 1840", *PhD Thesis*, University of Melbourne, 1990, p.14

²⁰ *Catechism of Christian Doctrine Adapted for Australia by 2nd and 3rd Plenary Councils 1939* 12

²¹ Lewis CM; *op.cit.*, p.14

²² Campion E; *Australian Catholics*, Penguin, 1988, 146,147

²³ Fogarty R; *op.cit.*, p.392

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 393

-
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*, p.394
- ²⁶ Sisters of Charity; *School Government Book*, 1837, p. 58
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 59
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*
- ²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 60
- ³⁰ *Ibid.*
- ³¹ *Ibid.*, p.61
- ³² *Ibid.*
- ³³ *Ibid.*
- ³⁴ *Ibid.*
- ³⁵ *Ibid.*
- ³⁶ Sisters of Mercy; *Customs and Rules*, 1862
- ³⁷ Austin-Carroll T; *Life of Catherine McAuley Foundress and First Superior of the Institute of the Religious Sisters of Mercy*, Vincentian Press, 1887, p. 166
- ³⁸ Fogarty R; *op.cit.*, p. 396
- ³⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁰ *Ibid.*
- ⁴¹ Wilks P; *Mercy Generation to Generation*, OLMC, 1989, p. 73
- ⁴² Campion E; *op.cit.*, p. 149
- ⁴³ St Vincent's College; *Prospectus*, 1903, p. 4
- ⁴⁴ OLMC survey undertaken for the publication of the book by Wilks P; *op.cit.*
- ⁴⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁶ Sister of Charity; *School Government Book*, 1837, p. 57
- ⁴⁷ Campion E; *op.cit.* , p. 145
- ⁴⁸ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 146
- ⁵⁰ *Ibid.*
- ⁵¹ Fogarty R; *op.cit.*, p. 419
- ⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 417
- ⁵³ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 418
- ⁵⁵ Campion E; *op.cit.*, p.142
- ⁵⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 144
- ⁵⁸ Fogarty R; *op.cit.*, p. 413
- ⁵⁹ Turner N; *op.cit.*, p.193
- ⁶⁰ McGrath M S; *These Women? Women and Religious in the History of Australia The Sisters of Mercy Parramatta 1888-1988*, New South Wales University Press, 1988, p. 64
- ⁶¹ *Ibid.*
- ⁶² *Ibid.* p. 65
- ⁶³ MacKillop M; *Directory or Order of Discipline for the Sisters of St Joseph of the Sacred Heart*, 1870, p. 91
- ⁶⁴ MacKillop M; *Directory, op. cit.*, p. 87
- ⁶⁵ Turner B S (1984, 1991),; Frank A (1991); Grosz E (1994)
- ⁶⁶ Foucault M; *Discipline and Punish The Birth of the Prison*
- ⁶⁷ Fay B; *Critical Social Science*, Cornell University Press, 1987, p. 146
- ⁶⁸ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 147
- ⁷¹ *Ibid.*
- ⁷² *Ibid.*
- ⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 148
- ⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 149

-
- ⁷⁵ *Ibid.*
⁷⁶ *Ibid.*
⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p.150
⁷⁸ Fogarty R; *op.cit.*, p. 388
⁷⁹ MacKillop M; *op.cit.*, pp. 81-82
⁸⁰ Burford K; Mary MacKillop's System of Catholic Education, Unpublished Paper, 1997, p.23
⁸¹ MacKillop; *op.cit.*, p. 82
⁸² MacKillop; *op.cit.*, pp. 81-82
⁸³ Sisters of Mercy; *Customs and Guide*, 1862
⁸⁴ Sisters of Charity; *School Government Book*, 1837, p. 79
⁸⁵ Fogarty R; *op.cit.*, pp. 402-403
⁸⁶ Burford K; *op.cit.*, p. 31
⁸⁷ Magner T; *op.cit.*, p.203
⁸⁸ Foucault M; *op.cit.*, p. 211
⁸⁹ Sisters of Charity, *School Government Book*, 1837, p. 13
⁹⁰ *Ibid.*
⁹¹ *Ibid.*
⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 14
⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 90
⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 91
⁹⁵ *Ibid.*
⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 84
⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp84- 85
⁹⁸ Foucault M; *op.cit.*, p. 166
⁹⁹ Sisters of Mercy; *Register of Admissions OLMC*, 1924-1948
¹⁰⁰ Burford K; *op.cit.*, p.25
¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26
¹⁰² Foucault M; *op.cit.*, p. 149
¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 150
¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 151
¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 152
¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 154
¹⁰⁷ Sisters of Charity; *School Government Book*, 1837, p. 89.
¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*
¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*
¹¹⁰ MacKillop M; *op.cit.*, p. 83
¹¹¹ Sisters of Charity; *School Government Book*, 1837, pp. 87-88
¹¹² MacKillop M; *op.cit.*, p. 83
¹¹³ OLMC ex-student Survey undertaken for the book by Wilks P; *op.cit.*
¹¹⁴ Foucault M; *op.cit.*, p. 155
¹¹⁵ Wilks P; *op.cit.*, pp. 83-84 taken from OLMC ex-student survey
¹¹⁶ OLMC ex-student Survey
¹¹⁷ Sisters of Charity Archives, no date
¹¹⁸ Sisters of Charity; *School Government Book*, 1837, p. 93
¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*
¹²⁰ *Ibid.*
¹²¹ MacKillop M; *op.cit.*, p. 82
¹²² *Ibid.*, p. 83
¹²³ St Vincent's College, *Prospectus*, 1903, p.5
¹²⁴ Sisters of Charity; *School Government Book*, 1837, p. 95
¹²⁵ *Ibid.*
¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp 98-99
¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 99

-
- ¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 100
¹²⁹ *Ibid.*
¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 101
¹³¹ *Ibid.* p. 102
¹³² *Ibid.*, p. 104
¹³³ *Ibid.*
¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 105
¹³⁵ *Ibid.*
¹³⁶ *Ibid.*
¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 106
¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp 107-109
¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp 109-110
¹⁴⁰ Sisters of Mercy; *Customs and Regulations*
¹⁴¹ Austin-Carroll T; *op.cit.*, p.165
¹⁴² Sisters of Mercy; *Customs and Guide*, p 97
¹⁴³ Wilks P; *op.cit.* p. 71
¹⁴⁴ OLMC ex- student Survey undertaken for the book Wilks P; *op.cit.*
¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*
¹⁴⁶ Magner T; *op.cit.*, p. 204
¹⁴⁷ Fogarty R; *op.cit.*, p. 405
¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*
¹⁴⁹ Sisters of Charity; *School Government Book*, 1837, pp. 89-90
¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p.139
¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*
¹⁵² McLay A; *Women Out of Their Sphere*, Vanguard Press,1992, p. 394
¹⁵³ *Ibid.*
¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*
¹⁵⁵ Sisters of Charity; *School Government Book*, 1837, p.111
¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*
¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 112
¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*
¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*
¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p.113
¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p.114
¹⁶² *Ibid.*
¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, p.115
¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*
¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 116
¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*
¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 117
¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*
¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 119
¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*
¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*
¹⁷² *Ibid.*
¹⁷³ *Ibid.*
¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*
¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 120
¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 124
¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p 122
¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 123
¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 125
¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

-
- ¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁸² Foucault M; *op.cit.*, p. 198
- ¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 199
- ¹⁸⁴ Sherington G, Petersen R, Brice I; *Learning to Lead A History of Girls' and Boys' Corporate Secondary Schools in Australia*, Allen and Unwin, 1987, p. 16
- ¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p.30
- ¹⁸⁶ Foucault M; *op.cit.*, p. 172
- ¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 172
- ¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 157
- ¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p.158
- ¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁹² Sisters of Mercy, *Customs and Directory*, 1865, p. 13
- ¹⁹³ St Vincent's College, *Prospectus*, 1903, p. 9
- ¹⁹⁴ OLMC ex-student Survey undertaken for the book by Wilks P; *op.cit.*
- ¹⁹⁵ Foucault M; *op.cit.*, p. 161
- ¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 184
- ¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 187
- ¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 189
- ²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*
- ²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 191
- ²⁰² *Ibid.*
- ²⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 192
- ²⁰⁴ Sherington G, Petersen R and Brice I; *op.cit.*, p. 54
- ²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*
- ²⁰⁶ Wilks P; *op.cit.*, p. 39
- ²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*
- ²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*
- ²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 78
- ²¹⁰ *Ibid.*
- ²¹¹ *Ibid.*
- ²¹² *Ibid.*
- ²¹³ OLMC ex-student Survey undertaken for the book by Wilks P; *op.cit.*
- ²¹⁴ OLMC, *Parramatta: Introductory, 1888-1930*
- ²¹⁵ Danylewycz M; *Taking the Veil An Alternative to Marriage, Motherhood and Spinisterhood in Quebec 1840-1920*, McClelland and Stewart, 1987, p. 39
- ²¹⁶ *Ibid.*
- ²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 41-42
- ²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 42
- ²¹⁹ *Ibid.*
- ²²⁰ *Ibid.*
- ²²¹ Warner M; *Alone of All of Her Sex The Myth and Cult of the Virgin Mary*, Picador, 1990, p. 67
- ²²² *Ibid.*, p.71
- ²²³ *Ibid.*
- ²²⁴ *Ibid.*
- ²²⁵ *Ibid.*
- ²²⁶ Moran in Campion E; *op.cit.*, pp. 108-109

CONCLUSION

The preceding Chapters of this thesis have explored how the Irish Catholic Church as a dominant institution in colonial New South Wales in the period 1860-1930, went about producing through its various discourses a particular type of body, particularly a Catholic religious teaching sister's body that was "docile" and obedient in nature and demeanour. The Church achieved this by employing the process of somatic learning and by imposing a regime of disciplinary "technologies" upon the collective and individual body of the religious order and the religious sister. The Church in producing and training this body then relied on it to educate and train generations of children and girls to also become obedient and "docile" Catholic women, who would in their own time go on to become religious sisters themselves or good Catholic wives and mothers.

The Christian Church and later the Catholic Church adopted a dualistic approach of thinking to individuals and their being, separating the mind from the body in such a way that the mind or reason was attributed to men and the body or lack of reason was attributed to women. The Church relied on this allocation of the mind to men and the body to women, to tie women to their bodies and specifically to the role and function of reproduction, so as to exclude them from achieving a closeness with God in the same way that men were able to. The only way that women were able to achieve a similar though not equal closeness with God was by denying their "femaleness: and becoming like a man. Consequently, when men and women

sought to live together in single sex communities with the purpose of dedicating their lives to God, women's community life was more tightly controlled and regulated by men who dictated the manner in which women were to live such a life. Religious communities of women that were founded prior to the nineteenth century, had to live behind the enclosed walls of the convent, remain chaste, wear a particular type of dress, recite the Divine Office, adhere to a strict daily timetable and impose strict disciplinary regimes upon themselves. They unlike men who joined religious orders were in theory not allowed to freely go about in public or assist individuals in need. A few women did attempt the latter but the Church only allowed them to pursue this path temporarily.

In the early nineteenth century to accept a religious vocation, as it was referred to, women were required to submit to an extensive training program which employed the process of "direct" and "indirect" somatic learning and the familiarisation with various disciplinary "technologies" that would dominate the rest of their religious lives. As the Catholic Church, particularly the Irish Catholic Church emerged from centuries of oppression in Ireland, it sought to re-invigorate its faithful, who were mainly of the lower orders, by educating their children not only in the basics of reading, writing and arithmetic but more importantly in the tenets of the faith. The Catholic Church, who in previous centuries had sought to limit the lives of religious women by the requirement of enclosure, now turned to female religious to provide this education in schools that were specifically administered by the Church. To enable religious women to undertake this work, they took a fourth vow at their

profession which permitted them to assist the poor by educating them, caring for them when they were ill and visiting them in their homes. When colonial New South Wales found itself populated with large numbers of Irish Catholics and individuals who were considered in need of "moralising" and "civilising", the Catholic Church transplanted itself to the new colony with the aim of securely engrafting and establishing itself in this new domain. The Catholic Church achieved this by encouraging numerous religious teaching orders to migrate to the colony and by overseeing the establishment of home-grown religious teaching orders in the colony itself.

All of the women who came to the colony as religious sisters or who sought to join the Sisters of St Joseph in Australia, were trained and disciplined in a specific way of life, a way of life that was at times incredibly hard and austere. They were generally strong and determined women, who had given up the only other alternative that the Church provided them with - marriage and family life - for a life of celibacy, obedience to the Church and unending service to the poor. They, however, unlike their married sisters were given the opportunity to participate in careers and professional lives that allowed them to develop as individuals and women, even if this development was within the context of the male dominated patriarchal Church. Many of these women achieved great things in the area of education and in improving the opportunities of children and girls who would possibly have remained uneducated for their entire lives. They also served the Church by reproducing

generations of appropriately moulded Catholic girls who as mentioned above, either became mothers or religious sisters themselves.

This thesis has sought to explore the transplantation and establishment of the Catholic Church and female religious teaching orders in colonial New South Wales who had as their specific purpose the education initially of the lower orders and later of girls in secondary Catholic colleges. By examining the lives that female religious teaching sisters submitted themselves to including the training that they underwent and the disciplinary regimes they imposed upon themselves it is possible to ascertain that these women by virtue of their convictions were able to effectively reproduce the Catholic Church through generations of Catholic children, particularly girls, and as such played a major role in its continued dominance over the lives of Catholics, at least until changes in society started to appear around the time of the Second Vatican Council.

This work adds to greater understanding of how committed and single minded religious teaching women were in achieving their ultimate goal of oneness with God and the contribution they made to the Catholic education system in New South Wales in the period 1860 to 1930. I have approached this study from the perspective of examining how these women upon entry in to religious life severed their ties with the outside world and entered into a world of total discipline and obedience, where every minute of their day was accounted for in some way and every action and thought was offered to God. In submitting themselves to this life, these women also

submitted their bodies to a process of training that resulted in them being ensconced in bodies that were clearly those of a Catholic religious teaching sister. Such training was analogous to Foucault's (1977) description of the training of the soldier and the type of military body that such training produced. To explore how this type of body was produced I have combined Fay's (1987) process of "direct" and "indirect" somatic learning and Foucault's imposition of disciplinary "technologies", and argued that the process of somatic learning involves the imposition of various Foucaultian "technologies" to produce this very specific type of body, which once acquired the religious teaching sister sought to impose upon her students. The level to which she was able to achieve this imposition was only limited by the requirements of the state and the Church's desire to maintain the Catholic education system within the limits set by the state.

As stated in the Introduction, the writings on the body of Foucault, Turner, Fay, Frank, Grosz and others have been employed in this thesis to uncover the history of a group of "silenced" bodies namely Catholic religious teaching sisters and the students that they taught. These theorists have provided a theoretical framework within which to explore the lives of these women who in the name of the Catholic Church subjected their bodies and the bodies of their charges to the process of somatic learning and the endless disciplinary "technologies" with the ultimate aim of producing a typically Catholic female body, that was clearly recognisable and self-perpetuating.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

Alford K; *Production or Reproduction: An Economic History of Women in Australia 1788-1850*, Oxford University Press 1984

Atkinson S; *Mary Aikenhead Her Life, Her Work and Her Friends*, 2nd Revised Edition, M H Gill, 1882

Austin A G; *Select Documents in Australian Education 1788-1900*, Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons, 1963

Austin-Carroll T A; *Life of Catherine McAuley Foundress and First Superior of the Institute of Religious Sisters of Mercy*, The Vincentian Press, 1887

Barcan A; *A History of Australian Education*, Oxford University Press, 1980

Beckett J C; *The Making of Modern Ireland 1603-1923*, Faber and Faber, 1966

Belanky M F et al; *Women's Ways of Knowing*, Basic Books, 1986

Bennett J and Forgan R (ed); *There's Something About a Convent Girl*, Virago Press, 1991

Brown P; *The Body and Society Men, Women, and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity*, Colombia University Press, 1988

Burford K E; *Unfurrowed Fields A Josephite Story New South Wales 1872-1972*, St Joseph's Convent, 1991

Burke-Savage R B; *Catherine McAuley The First Sister of Mercy*, M H Gill and Son Ltd, 1950

Burstyn J N; *Victorian Education and the Ideal of Womanhood*, Croom Helm, 1980

Caine B; *Victorian Feminists*, Oxford Univeristy Press, 1992

Campbell K (ed); *Critical Feminisms. Argument in Disciplines*, Open University Press, 1992

Campion E; *Australian Catholics*, Penguin, 1988

Campion E; *Rockchoppers Growing Up Catholic in Australia*, Penguin, 1982

- Carette J R; *Foucault and Religion Spiritual Corporality and Political Spirituality*, Routledge, 2000
- Carey H; *Truly Feminine, Truly Catholic*, New South Wales University Press, 1987
- Chadwick O; *The Reformation*, Penguin, 1964
- Clarke P; *The Governesses Letters from the Colonies 1862-1882*, Hutchinson, 1985
- Cleverley J; *The First Generation*, Sydney University Press, 1971
- Colin L; *The Practice of the Rule*, The Mercier Press, 1957
- Copelman D M; *London's Women's Teachers Gender, Class and Feminism 1870-1930*, Routledge, 1996
- Cornwell J; *Hitler's Pope The Secret History of Pius XII*, Penguin, 1999
- Corrigan U; *Catholic Education in New South Wales*, Angus and Robinson, 1930
- Danylewycz M; *Taking the Veil An Alternative to Marriage Motherhood and Spinsterhood in Quebec 1840-1920*, McClelland and Stewart, 1987
- Delamont S; *Knowledgeable Women Structuralism and the Reproduction of Elites*, Routledge, 1989
- Diamond I and Quinby L; *Feminism and Foucault Reflections on Resistance*, Northeastern University Press, 1988
- Donovan M M; *Apostolate of Love Mary Aikenhead 1787-1858 Foundress of the Irish Sisters of Charity*, Polding Press, 1979
- Douglas M; *Purity and Danger An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*, Routledge, 1966
- Dowling P J; *A History of Irish Education A Study in Conflicting Loyalties*, Mercier Press, 1971
- Emilsen S; *Dancing on St Dom's Plot A History of Santa Sabina and Santa Maria del Monte*, Strathfield, Santa Sabina College, 1994
- Fay B; *Critical Social Science*, Cornell University Press, 1987

- Feartherstone M, Hepworth M and Turner B S; *The Body Social Process and Cultural Theory*, Sage, 1991
- Feher M (ed); *Fragments for a History of the Human Body* Vols I and II, Zone, 1989
- Foale M T; *The Josephite Story Mary MacKillop and the Sisters of St Joseph 1866-1893*, Sisters of St Joseph, 1989
- Fogarty R; *Catholic Education in Australia 1806-1950*, Melbourne University Press, 1959
- Foucault M; *Discipline and Punish The Birth of the Prison*, Penguin, 1977
- Fraser A; *The Weaker Vessel Woman's Lot in Seventeenth Century England*, Mandarin, 1983
- Freeman J O (ed); *Women: A Feminist Perspective*, Mayfield Publishing Company 2nd edition, 1975
- Gardiner P; *Mary MacKillop An Extraordinary Australian*, C J Dwyer, 1993
- Garland D; *Punishment and Modern Society A Study in Social Theory*, Clarendon Press, 1991
- Geser F; *Canon Law Governing Communities of Sisters*, B. Herde Book Co, 1938
- Giddens A; *Modernity and Self Identity Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*, Polity Press, 3rd edition, 1993
- Gies F and Gies J; *Women in the Middle Ages*, Barnes and Noble Books, 1980
- Gorham D; *The Victorian Girl and the Feminine Ideal*, Croom Helm, 1982
- Gross T P and Gross FL; *The Making of a Mystic Seasons in the Life of Teresa of Avilia*, State University of New York Press USA, 1993
- Grosz E; *Sexual Subversions*, Allen and Unwin, 1989
- Hamilton E; *The Life of Saint Teresa of Avilia*, Anthony Clarke Books, 1982
- Harrison V V; *Changing Habits A Memoir of the Society of Sacred Heart*, Doubleday, 1988

Heffernan T J; *Sacred Biography Saints and the Their Biographies in the Middle Ages*, Oxford University Press, 1988

Henderson A; *Mary MacKillop's Sisters A Life Unveiled*, Harper Collins, 1997

Herr F; *The Medieval World Europe 1100-1350*, Wederfield, 1993

Hester M; *Lewd Women and Wicked Witches A Study of the Dynamics of Male Domination*, Routledge, 1992

Holmes G; *Medieval Europe*, Oxford University Press, 1988

Holy Cross College Woollahra; *1908-2001 Celebration of Our Education*, 2001

Hutton S and Stewart P (eds); *Ireland's Histories*, Routledge, 1991

Jacobs-Brumberg J; *The Body Project An Intimate History of American Girls*, Random House, 1997

Jacobus M; *Reading Women Essays in Feminist Criticism*, Methuen, 1986

Jaggar A M and Bordo S R (eds); *Gender/Body/Knowledge/Feminist Reconstructions of Being and Knowing*, Rutgers University Press, 3rd Edition, 1992

Johnson P D; *Equal in Monastic Profession Religious Women in Medieval France*, University of Chicago Press, 1991

Johnson P; *A History of Christianity*, Penguin, 1976

Jones C and Porter R(ed); *Reassessing Foucault Power Medicine and the Body*, Routledge, 1994

Keen M; *Medieval Europe*, Penguin, 1968

Kennedy S; *Faith and Feminism Catholic Women's Struggles for Self -Expression*, Studies in the Christian Movement, 1985

Keohane N O, Rosaldo M Z and Gelpi B C (ed); *Feminist Theory A Critique of Ideology*, University of Chicago Press, 1982

Kieber A and Wolpe A (eds); *Feminism and Materialism*, Routledge Kegan and Paul, 1978

- King M L; *Women of the Renaissance*, University of Chicago Press, 1991
- Kung H; *The Catholic Church A Short History*, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2001
- Kyle N; *Her Natural Destiny The Education of Women in New South Wales*, New South Wales University Press, 1986
- Lanford G; *Education, Persons and Society*, MacMillan, 1985
- Lerner G; *The Creation of Feminist Consciousness from the Middle Ages to 1879*, Oxford University Press, 1993
- Lloyd G; *The Man of Reason Male and Female in Western Philosophy*, Methuen, 2nd Edition, 1980
- Loudon M; *Unveiled Nuns Talking*, Chatto and Windus, 1992
- Luddy M; *Women in Ireland 1900-1918 A Documentary History*, Cork University Press, 1995
- Luttrell J; *Worth the Struggle Sydney Catholic Schools 1820-1995*, Catholic Education Office, 1996
- Lyne D; *Mary MacKillop Spirituality and Charisms*, St Joesph's Generalate, 1983
- MacCurtain M and O'Dowd M (ed); *Women in Early Modern Ireland*, Edinburgh University Press, 1991
- MacGinley M R; *A Dynamic of Hope: Institutes of Women Religious in Australia*, Crossing Press, 1996
- MacGinley M R; *Roads to Sion Presentation Sisters in Australia 1866-1980*, Boolarong Publications, 1983
- MacLaine A G; *Australian Education*, Ian Novak Publishing Co, 1974
- Martin L H, Gutman H and Hutton P H; *Technologies of the Self A Seminar with Michel Foucault*, University of Massachusetts Press, 1988
- Mc Grath S; *These Women? Women and Religious in the History of Australia The Sisters of Mercy Parramatta 1888-1988*, New South Wales University Press, 1988
- McLay A; *Women Out of Their Sphere*, Vanguard Press, 1992

McNamara J A K; *Sisters in Arms Catholic Nuns Through Two Millennia*, Harvard University Press, 1998

McNay L; *Foucault and Feminism*, Polity Press, 1992

Mercy Teachers' College; *75 Years of Catholic Teacher Education 1909-1984*, Institute of Catholic Education, 1984

Miller J; *The Passion of Michel Foucault*, Harper Collins, 1993

Mithoul A and Grace W; *A Foucault Primer Discourse, Power and the Subject*, Melbourne University Press, 1993

Mosher Stuard S (ed); *Women in Medieval Society*, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1976

Norman E; *Roman Catholicism in England*, Oxford University Press, 1983

O'Donoghue S M X; *Mother Vincent Whitty Women Educator in a Masculine Society*, Wilke and Co. Ltd, 1972

O'Brien F; *Called to Love Mary MacKillop*, St Pauls, 1993

O'Farrell P; *The Catholic Church and Community*, New South Wales University Press, 3rd Edition, 1985

O'Farrell P; *The Irish in Australia*, New South Wales University Press, 1986

O'Regan P; *A Changing Order*, Allen and Unwin, 1986

O'Sullivan M M K; *'A Cause of Trouble' Irish Nuns and English Clerics*, Crossing Press, 1995

Oxley D; *Convict Maids The Forced Migration of Women*, Cambridge University Press, 1996

Parkes H; *Fifty Years in the Making of Australian History*, 2 Volumes, Longmans, Green and Co, 1892

Perinelle J; *God's Highways The Religious Life and Secular Institutes*, Blackfriars Publications, 1958

Peter S M; *Dauntless Daughter of Desires The story of Mary MacKillop and her work 1866-1966*, Sisters of St Joseph of the Sacred Heart, 1965

- Poole R; *Morality and Modernity*, Routledge, 1991
- Rabinow P (ed); *The Foucault Reader*, Pantheon, 1984
- Randell K; *Henry VIII and the Reformation in England*, Hooder and Stoughton, 1993
- Ranelagh J; *A Short History of Ireland*, Cambridge university Press , 1983
- Raymond J; *A Passion for Friends Towards a Philosophy of Female Affection*, Beacon Press, 1986
- Rendall J; *The Origins of Modern Feminism Women in Britain, France and the United States 1780-1860*, MacMillan, 1985
- Ryley Scott G; *The History of Corporal Punishment*, Senate, 1996
- Scarry E; *The Body in Pain The Making and Unmaking of the World*, Oxford University Press, 1987
- Sherington G, Petersen R C and Brice I; *Learning to Lead A History of Girls and Boys Corporate Secondary Schools in Australia*, Allen and Unwin, 1987
- Sherington G; *Australia's Immigrants 1788-1978*, George Allen and Unwin, 1980
- Shorter E; *A History of Women's Body*, Pelican Books, 1984
- Taylor C; *The Making of the Modern Identity*, Cambridge University Press , 1989
- Threadgold T and Cranny Frances A; *Feminine Masculine and Representation*, Allen and Unwin, 1990
- Tuana N; *The Less Noble Sex Scientific, Religious and Philosophical Conceptions of Women's Nature* , Indiana University Press, 1993
- Turner B S; *Body and Society Explorations in Social Theory*, Basil Blackwell, 1984
- Turner I S; *The Training of Teachers in Australia*, Australian Council for Educational Research, Research Series, No. 61, Melbourne University Press, 1943
- Turner N; *Catholics A Social History*, Volumes I and II, Collins Dove, 1992
- Turner N; *Ways of Belonging Stories of Catholics 1910-1990*, Collins Dove, 1993
- Turner N; *Which Seeds Shall Grow?* Collins Dove , 1988

Turney C (ed); *Pioneers of Australian Education A Study of the Development of Education in New South Wales in the Nineteenth Century*, Sydney University Press, 1969

Warner M; *Alone of Her All Sex The Myth and Cult of the Virgin Mary*, Picador, 1976

Weber M; *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, Allen and Unwin , 1930

Welton D (ed); *The Body*, Blackwell, 1999

Wilks P; *Mercy From Generation to Generation*, OLMC, 1989

Wiley B; *Nineteenth Century Studies*, Penguin, 1949

Willis S; *Women, Faith and Fetes*, Dove Communications, 1977

Thesis and Articles

Ash J; "The discursive construction of Christ's body in the later Middle Ages" in Threadgold T and Cranny Frances A; *Feminine Masculine and Representation*, Allen and Unwin, 1990

Bartky S L; "Foucault, Femininity, and the Modernization of Patriarchal Power" in Diamond I and Quinby L (ed); *Feminism and Foucault Reflections on Resistance*, Northeastern University Press, 1988

Bashford A; "Nursing Bodies: Gendered politics of Health in Australia and England, 1860-1910", *PhD Thesis*, University of Sydney, 1994

Bolster S M A; "Catherine McAuley, Her Educational Thought and its Influence on the Origin and Development of an Irish Training College" in *Two Century Lectures*, OLMC, Blackrock Co. Carysfort 1877-1977, 1981

Bordo S; "Anorexia Nervosa: Psychopathology as the Crystallization of Culture" in Diamond I and Quinby L (ed); *Feminism and Foucault Reflections on Resistance*, Northeastern University Press, 1988

Burford K; "Mary MacKillop's System of Catholic Education", *Unpublished Paper*, 1997

Burley S; "None More Anonymous? Catholic Teaching Nuns, Their Secondary Schools and Students in South Australia 1880-1920", *M.Ed. Thesis*, University of Adelaide, 1992

Burley S; "The Silent Sisterhood(s) Catholic nuns, their public work and influence for social change in Australia in particular South Australia 1880-1830", Paper presented at the *International Conference for Research in to Women's History*, University of Melbourne, 1998

Cleverley J F; "Governor Bourke and the Introduction of the Irish National System" in Turney C; *Pioneers of Australian Education A study of the Development of Education in New South Wales in the Nineteenth Century*, Sydney University Press, 1969, pp. 27-58

Coburn C K and Smith M; "Spirited Lives: The Religious Community as Educator of American Women, 1870-1918", Paper presented at *History of Education Society Conference*, Chapel Hill, 1994

De Giorgio M; "The Catholic Model" in Duby G and Perot (ed); *A History of Women in the West Part IV Emerging Feminism from Revolution to World War*, Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1993

Frank A W; "For a Sociology of the Body: An Analytical Review" in Featherstone M, Hepworth M and Turner BS (ed); *The Body Social Process and Cultural Theory*, Sage, 1991, pp. 36-102

Jarrett J A; "The Commercial Education of Women in New South Wales 1890-1920", *B A (Hons) Thesis*, University of Sydney, 1983

Lash S; "Genealogy and the Body: Foucault/Deleuze/Nietzsche" in Featherstone M, Hepworth M and Turner BS (ed); *The Body Social Process and Cultural Theory*, Sage, 1991, pp.256- 280

Lewis C; "Provision for the Education of Catholic Women in Australia since 1840", *PhD Thesis*, University of Melbourne, 1990

Magner T; "The Training of the Australian Girl", Paper presented at the *Third Australasian Catholic Congress Proceedings*, 1909, pp. 202-208

McLay A; "The Feminisation of structures in Religious Orders" in Franklin M A; *The Force of the Feminine, Women, Men and the Church*, Allen and Unwin, 1986

Radford Reuther R; "Christianity" in Shanna G; *Women in World Religions*, State University of New York, 1987

Smith D E; "Sociological Theory: Methods of Writing Patriarchy" in Wallace R A (ed); *Feminism and Sociological Theory*, Sage Publications, 1989

Smyth E; "'Much Exertion of the Voice and Great Application of the Mind' Teacher Education within Congregations of St Joseph Toronto, Canada, 1851-1920" in *History of Education Review*, Number 3, 1994, pp. 97-114

Trimingham Jack C; "Sacred symbols, School ideology and the Construction of Subjectivity" Paper presented at ANZHES Conference, 1997

Trimingham Jack C; "School History: Reconstructing the Lived Experience", *History of Education Review*, Volume 26, No. 1 1997

Trimingham Jack C; "The Lay Sister in Educational History and Memory", Paper presented at ANZHES, University of Auckland, 1998

Turner B S "Recent Developments in the Theory of the Body" in Featherstone M, Hepworth M and Turner BS (ed); *The Body Social Process and Cultural Theory*, Sage, 1991, pp. 1-35

Turney C; "William Wilkins-Australia's Kay-Shuttleworth" in Turney C (ed); *Pioneers of Australian Education A study of the Development of Education in New South Wales in the Nineteenth Century*, Sydney University Press, 1969, pp. 193-245

Williamson N; "The Feminisation of Teaching in New South Wales: A Historical Perspective" in *Australian Journal of Education*, Volume 27, No. 1, 1983

Primary Resources

Sisters of Charity Potts Point

Rules and Constitution of the Congregation of the Sisters of Charity, 1833

School Government Book, 1837

Idioguez F X; Practices of the Novices of the Society of Jesus, 1838

General Customs of the Pious Congregation of the Religious Sisters of Charity, 1860

Rules of the Religious Sisters of Charity, 1866

General Customs of the Pious Congregation of the Religious Sisters of Charity, 1869

Rules and Constitutions of the Congregation of the Sisters of Charity, 1912

Constitution of the Pious Congregation of the Religious Sisters of Charity of Ireland, 1927

Pious Practices for the Observance of the Novices of the Pious Congregation of the Religious Sisters of Charity, 1933

Formula for the Domestic Assembly, 1936

Constitutions of the Pious Congregation of the Religious Sisters of Charity, 1936

Annals of Bethania, 1930, 1936

Custom Book of the Religious Sisters of Charity, 1950

Rules of the Mistress of Novices, Handwritten, no date

Father Sturdy's Interior Sentiments at our Colleges, Handwritten, no date

Training College for Catholic Teachers and School of Music, Paper

St Vincent's College; Prospectus, 1884, 1903, 1913, 1922, 1942

Manuscript Notebook of Mother Mary John Cahill, 1838

Biographies of Sisters

Sisters of Mercy Parramatta

Rules of Sisters of Mercy Handwritten by Catherine McAuley 1833 (preserved in the archives of Sisters of Mercy Dublin)

Thoughts from the Spiritual Conferences of Mother Catherine McAuley, 1846

Expositions of our Rule and Constitutions as we have learned to understand them, 1865

Constitutions of Sisters of Mercy, 1865

Meditations of the Sisters of Mercy Before Renewal of vows by the Late Right Rev Dr Grant Bishop Southgate, 1874

Guide for the Religious called Sisters of Mercy Part III, 1888

Book or Directory listing what is expected of nuns/novices Handwritten, typed around 1915.

Customs and Minor Regulations of the Sisters of Mercy, 1920

Thoughts from the Spiritual Conferences of Mother McAuley, 1946

Familiar Instructions of Mother McAuley, 1886

Biographies of Sisters

OLMC Parramatta, Introductory 188-1930

OLMC Parramatta, Register of Admissions, 1924-1948

Sisters of St Joseph North Sydney

Wood J T; Rules of the Institute of St Joseph for the Catholic Education of Children 1867

A Book of the Rules, Instructions etc for Sisters of St Joseph Sacred Heart Chaplet Office Adelaide

Mother Mary's Account of the History of the Congregation 1866-1900

Mackillop M; First Draft of the Revision of Father Woods Rule of 1867

Mackillop M; Directory or Order of Discipline of the Sisters of St Joseph of the Sacred Heart, 1870

Mackillop M; Observations on Father Wood's Rule Rome 1873

Bianchi F K; Other Comments on Father Wood's Rules Rome 1874

Mackillop M; Circulars to the Sisters 1870-1909

Rules for Interior Guidance Commissioned by the General Chapter March 1875

Minutes of the First General Chapter 1875

Constitutions of Sisters of St Joseph in Australia (Translated from Italian), 1875

Rules for the General Guidance of the Sisters of St Joseph of the Sacred Heart, 1883

Rules for the General Guidance of the Sisters of St Joseph of the Sacred Heart, 1917

Constitutions of the Sisters of St Joseph of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus, 1920

Meditations for Every Day of the Week and other Occasions, 1909

Directory and Community Prayers, 1930

Other Resources

Sydney Teacher's College *Calendar* 1907, 1913, 1919, 1927, 1943

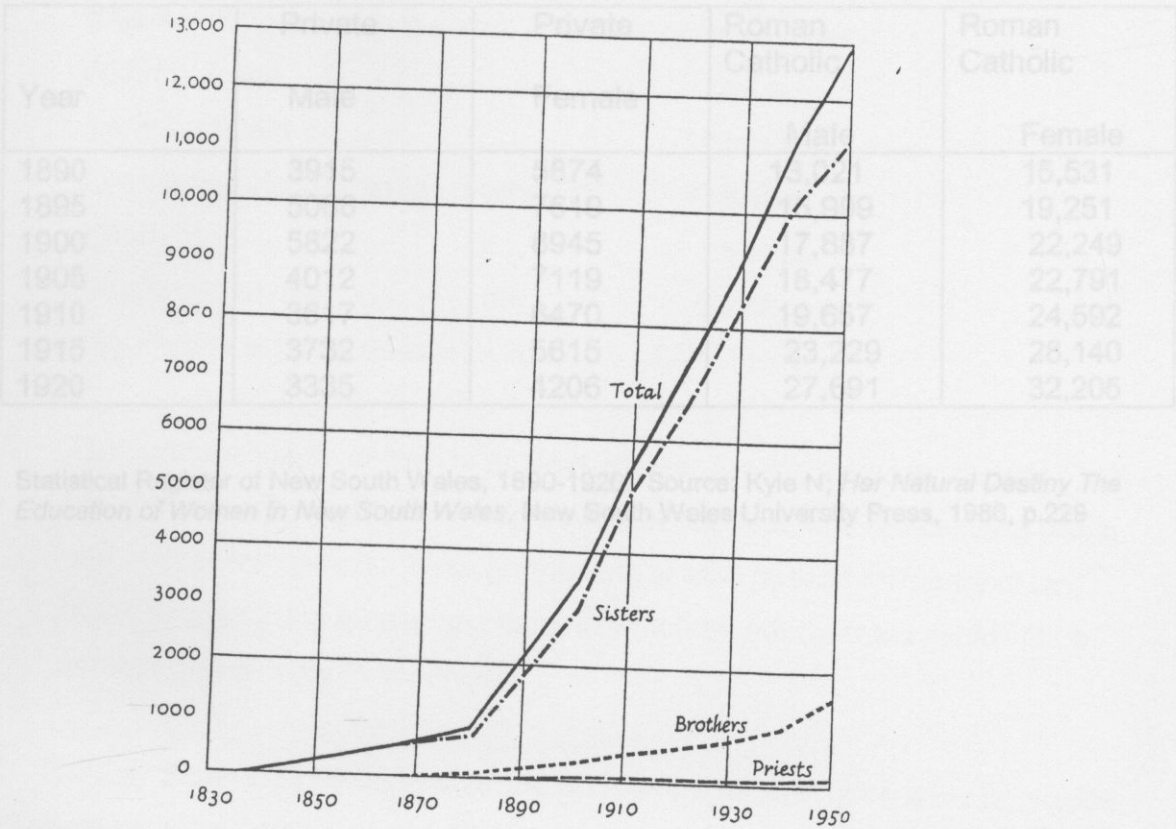
Sydney Morning Herald, January 1860

Catholic Standard, January 1877, September 1878

Freeman's Journal, June 1858, January 1859, July 1859, August 1860, August 1874, November 1874

APPENDIX A

GRAPH A1



Increase in the number of religious teachers in Australia. Source: Fogarty R; Catholic Education in Australia 1806-1950, Melbourne University Press, 1959, p. 280

TABLE A2

Enrolments, private (undenominational) and Roman Catholic (denominational) schools 1850-1920

Year	Private	Private	Roman Catholic	Roman Catholic
	Male	Female	Male	Female
1890	3915	5874	13,021	15,531
1895	5066	7619	15,999	19,251
1900	5822	8945	17,887	22,249
1905	4012	7119	18,477	22,791
1910	3617	6470	19,657	24,592
1915	3732	5615	23,229	28,140
1920	3335	4206	27,691	32,205

Statistical Register of New South Wales, 1890-1920. Source: Kyle N; *Her Natural Destiny The Education of Women in New South Wales*, New South Wales University Press, 1986, p.229

APPENDIX B

- "1. The Habit worn in our Congregation is of black twilled woolen stuff reaching from the throat to the feet, plaited around the waist, with a train, inner sleeves fitting close to the arm, and wide outer sleeves.

Width of Habit,	4 yards
Length of train	16 inches
Length of outside sleeves finished	32 inches
Width of do,	6 inches
Depth of hem on do,	6 inches
Lay Sisters outside sleeves, width	23 inches

2. The cincture (girdle or belt) is of black leather two inches wide, fastened by being passed through a horn ring sewed at one end, and descending within one inch of the ground. Through this ring is also passed a Rosary of large black beads strung on a steel chain, to which an ebony cross inlaid with a smaller one of ivory is appended.
3. The Lay Sisters' Rosaries are strung on brass wire, and have a brass crucifix, instead of the ebony cross. The foundress would not allow any other beads to be worn visibly. It is become customary for the Professed Sisters to wear a brass crucifix 4 inches in length in the cincture.
4. The veil of the Professed is of Nun's crape, or light woolen material of the kind, bowed out from the face, of different lengths, to suit the stature of each Sister.
- | | |
|--|------------------------|
| 1 st size (tallest Sister), | 1 yard 12 in. finished |
| 2 nd size (ordinary height), | 1 yard 8 in. finished |
| 3 rd size (very low stature), | 1 yard 5 in. finished |
| Depth of hem, | 2.5 in |

5. Lay Sister's veil, 4 inches below the elbow; length when finished (ordinary height) 1 yard 7 inches. Two breadths are put in each veil; the width of material of the three sizes is:-

1 st size	40 and 42 inches
2 nd size	38 inches
3 rd size	36 inches

6. The Novice's veil is of clear, but not transparent, white muslin reaching 4 inches below the elbow, with a domino of white calico.
7. The domino of the Professed is made of black luster, or Orleans cloth, and reaches 3 inches on either side of the guimp, and long enough at the back to reach the chair when sitting.
8. The coif (a close fitting cap worn under the veil) is of Scotch Holland, or fine calico, closed around the face, but divided in the front from the throat downwards, for 5 inches with a hem 1.5 inches deep, having a piece of French dimity (a light strong cotton) inserted after the manner of a frontal straight across the forehead.
9. The guimp is of the same material, descending in front from within about 2 inches of the cincture, with a lined hem 2.5 inches wide.
10. The church cloak is of white serge, cut in a semi circle, within 3 inches of the ground, and only sloped sufficiently to fit the throat where it fastens under the guimp.
11. The Professed Sisters both of the Choir and of the Lay Sisters, wear a silver ring, engraved with a pious motto, on the third finger of the right hand; no other rings are worn.

12. The Postulant's dress is of black stuff, made plainly in the secular manner, with a large cape of the same, reaching below the waist, a small cap of plain white net, and a black dotted net veil fastened over it.
13. The outdoor dress is a close bonnet of fine twilled woolen stuff, with a thick silk gauze veil tied on it, the strings of the bonnet and the veil are of black ribbon, and no other trimming allowed but a curtain at the back and a plain band round the bonnet, of the same stuff.
- 14 .A cloak of black twilled woolen stuff, or German cashmere, or of black broadcloth, according to the season, fastened up the front, sufficiently long to conceal the habit and underclothing. There are arm-holes, a deep falling collar, and a neckpiece (both lined) to the cloak, and the white collar of the coif is worn over it.
- 15.The summer cloak is lined all through with black glaze muslin. Black gloves, strong boots, loose hood of black cloth, are also worn, if the weather requires such protection.
16. When a Postulant wears the outdoor dress, a collar resembling that of the coif, is pinned around her neck, over the collar of the cloak. A black silk neckerchief is allowed.
17. The religious habit, including veil, coif and guimp is not made out of the convent.
18.
19. It is customary for the Sisters to wear a black stuff lined petticoat; blue check muslin pocket-handkerchiefs; and flannel vests during the winter months are allowed.

20. The Sisters do not leave of any part of the religious dress during the day, except the outer sleeves when engaged in the school, hospitals, etc; and in manual work.

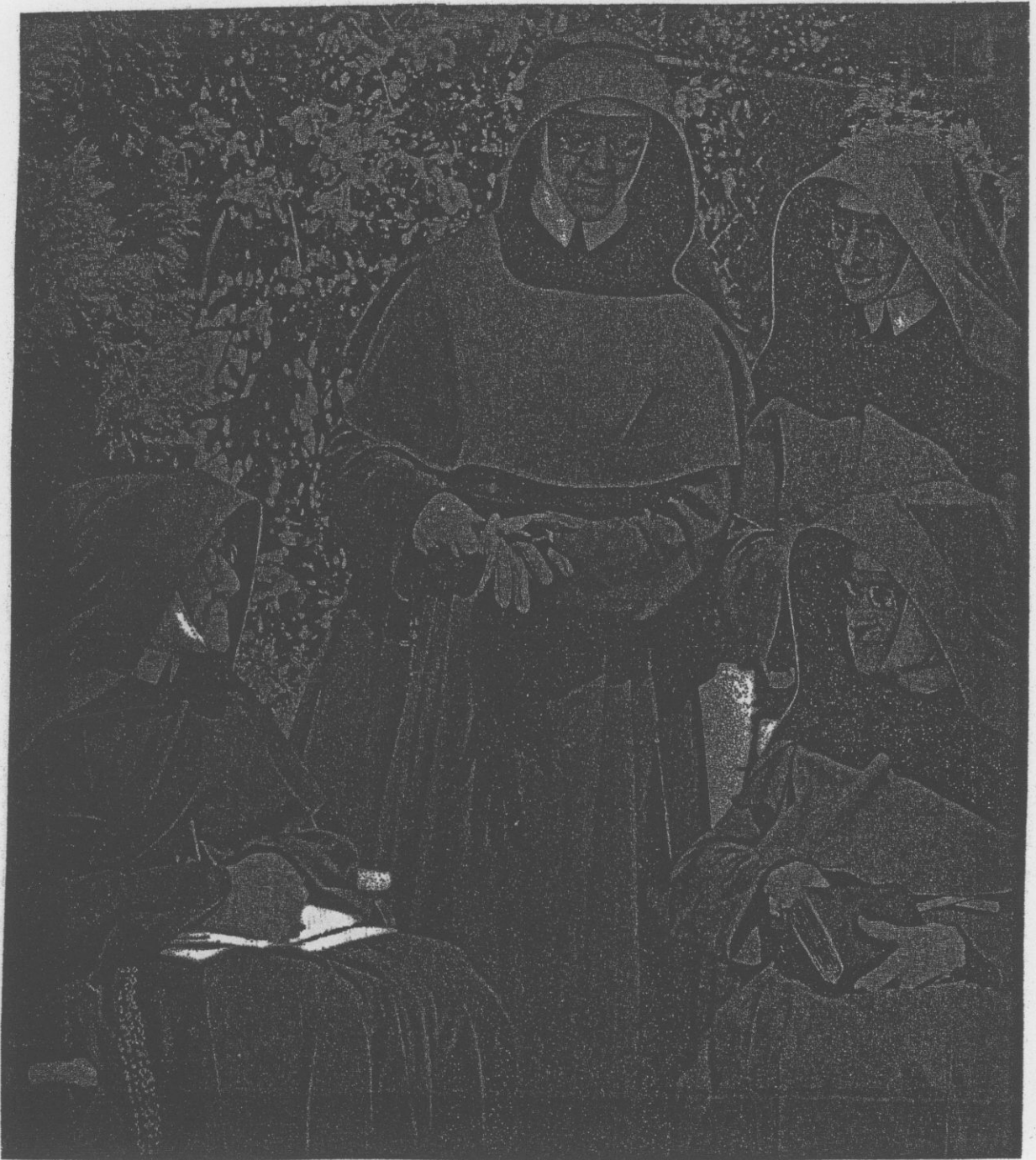
21. The Professed Sisters and the Novices wear a night veil of white calico.

22. The Lay Sisters habit has no train. They wear a white apron at the common exercises, and a check one when engaged in manual work".

(The Customs and Minor Regulations of the Religious Called the Sisters of Mercy, at the Parent House, Baggot Street and its Branch Houses (Dublin 1882))

APPENDIX C

DAILY LESSONS FOR EACH CLASS.



Prayer, repetition in all the classes.

Photo of Religious Sisters of St Joseph taken from Peter S M; *Dauntless Daughters of Desire The Story of Mary MacKillop and Her Work 1866-1966*, Sisters of St Joseph, 1965, p.49

APPENDIX D

DAILY LESSONS FOR EACH CLASS.

SECOND CLASS.—*Monday*, Tables, Spelling, Poetry, and the same for the week.

FIRST DIVISION OF SECOND CLASS.—*Monday*, Grammar, Spelling, and Tables.

Tuesday, Geography, Spelling, and Tables.

Wednesday, Grammar, Spelling, and Tables.

Thursday, Geography, Spelling, and Tables.

SECOND DIVISION OF SECOND CLASS.—*Monday*, Grammar, Spelling, Poetry, and Tables.

Tuesday, Geography, Spelling, Poetry, and Tables.

Wednesday, Grammar, Spelling, Poetry, and Tables.

Thursday, Geography, Spelling, Poetry, and Tables.

THIRD CLASS.—*Monday*, Grammar, Spelling, and Mathematical Geography.

Tuesday, Geography, Spelling, and Weights and Measures.

Wednesday, Grammar, Spelling, and Poetry.

Thursday, Geography, Spelling, Weights and Measures.

FOURTH CLASS.—*Monday*, Grammar, Spelling, Mathematical Geography, and Weights and Measures.

Tuesday, Geography, Spelling, Poetry, and English History.

Wednesday, Grammar, Spelling, Prose, and Irish History.

Thursday, Geography, Spelling, Poetry, and English History.

FIFTH CLASS.—*Monday*, Grammar, Greek Roots, Ancient History, and Poetry.

Tuesday, Geography, Latin Roots, English History, and Irish History.

Wednesday, Grammar, Spelling, Ancient History, and Prose.

Thursday, Mathematical Geography, English History, and Irish History.

FRIDAY, repetition in all the Classes.

Daily Lessons taken from MacKillop M; *Directory or Order of Discipline for the Sisters of St Joseph of the Sacred Heart*, 1870, p.85

APPENDIX E
TIME TABLE. — Morning.

9.15—Hymn to St. Joseph, Morning Prayers and Dictation.
9.30—Writing.
10—Arithmetic.
11—Tasks.
12—Examination of Conscience, Angelus, Calling the Roll, and Catechism.
12.30—Recreation and Dinner.
1.30—Children Reassemble.

CHILDREN TAKE THEIR PLACES, SINGING HYMN AS THEY DO SO.						
	1st Class		2nd Class	3rd Class	4th Class	5th Class
1.30 to 2.00	Write Copy on Slates	1.30 to 2.00	Read	Parse on Slates	Read	Parse and enter same in Books
2.00 to 2.15	Oral Lesson	2.00 to 2.15	Copy from Grammar or Geography	Read	Parse and enter same in Books	Read
2.15 to 2.30		2.30 to 2.45	MONDAYS AND THURSDAYS			
2.30 to 2.45	Make Tables and Letters on Slates	2.30 to 2.45	Plain and Fancy Needlework, Boys Book-keeping, &c.			
2.45 to 3.15		2.45 to 3.15	TUESDAYS, WEDNESDAYS, & FRIDAYS			
3.15 to 3.30	Spell and Read Lessons	3.15 to 3.30	Lecture or Gallery Lesson—that is, explanation of either Map or Globe, Charts, Globes, &c.			
3.30 to 3.45		3.30 to 3.45	TUESDAYS AND WEDNESDAYS			
3.45 to 4.00		3.45 to 4.00	Mapping Lessons			
4.00 to 4.15		4.00 to 4.15	FRIDAYS			
4.15 to 4.30	Exercise	4.15 to 4.30	Darning and Patching, Boys Book-keeping, &c.			
4.30 to 4.45		4.30 to 4.45				
4.45 to 5.00		4.45 to 5.00				
5.00 to 5.15		5.00 to 5.15				
5.15 to 5.30		5.15 to 5.30				
5.30 to 5.45		5.30 to 5.45				
5.45 to 6.00		5.45 to 6.00				
6.00 to 6.15		6.00 to 6.15				
6.15 to 6.30		6.15 to 6.30				
6.30 to 6.45		6.30 to 6.45				
6.45 to 7.00		6.45 to 7.00				
7.00 to 7.15		7.00 to 7.15				
7.15 to 7.30		7.15 to 7.30				
7.30 to 7.45		7.30 to 7.45				
7.45 to 8.00		7.45 to 8.00				
8.00 to 8.15		8.00 to 8.15				
8.15 to 8.30		8.15 to 8.30				
8.30 to 8.45		8.30 to 8.45				
8.45 to 9.00		8.45 to 9.00				
9.00 to 9.15		9.00 to 9.15				
9.15 to 9.30		9.15 to 9.30				
9.30 to 9.45		9.30 to 9.45				
9.45 to 10.00		9.45 to 10.00				
10.00 to 10.15		10.00 to 10.15				
10.15 to 10.30		10.15 to 10.30				
10.30 to 10.45		10.30 to 10.45				
10.45 to 11.00		10.45 to 11.00				
11.00 to 11.15		11.00 to 11.15				
11.15 to 11.30		11.15 to 11.30				
11.30 to 11.45		11.30 to 11.45				
11.45 to 12.00		11.45 to 12.00				
12.00 to 12.15		12.00 to 12.15				
12.15 to 12.30		12.15 to 12.30				
12.30 to 12.45		12.30 to 12.45				
12.45 to 1.00		12.45 to 1.00				
1.00 to 1.15		1.00 to 1.15				
1.15 to 1.30		1.15 to 1.30				
1.30 to 1.45		1.30 to 1.45				
1.45 to 2.00		1.45 to 2.00				
2.00 to 2.15		2.00 to 2.15				
2.15 to 2.30		2.15 to 2.30				
2.30 to 2.45		2.30 to 2.45				
2.45 to 3.00		2.45 to 3.00				
3.00 to 3.15		3.00 to 3.15				
3.15 to 3.30		3.15 to 3.30				
3.30 to 3.45		3.30 to 3.45				
3.45 to 4.00		3.45 to 4.00				
4.00 to 4.15		4.00 to 4.15				
4.15 to 4.30		4.15 to 4.30				
4.30 to 4.45		4.30 to 4.45				
4.45 to 5.00		4.45 to 5.00				
5.00 to 5.15		5.00 to 5.15				
5.15 to 5.30		5.15 to 5.30				
5.30 to 5.45		5.30 to 5.45				
5.45 to 6.00		5.45 to 6.00				
6.00 to 6.15		6.00 to 6.15				
6.15 to 6.30		6.15 to 6.30				
6.30 to 6.45		6.30 to 6.45				
6.45 to 7.00		6.45 to 7.00				
7.00 to 7.15		7.00 to 7.15				
7.15 to 7.30		7.15 to 7.30				
7.30 to 7.45		7.30 to 7.45				
7.45 to 8.00		7.45 to 8.00				
8.00 to 8.15		8.00 to 8.15				
8.15 to 8.30		8.15 to 8.30				
8.30 to 8.45		8.30 to 8.45				
8.45 to 9.00		8.45 to 9.00				
9.00 to 9.15		9.00 to 9.15				
9.15 to 9.30		9.15 to 9.30				
9.30 to 9.45		9.30 to 9.45				
9.45 to 10.00		9.45 to 10.00				
10.00 to 10.15		10.00 to 10.15				
10.15 to 10.30		10.15 to 10.30				
10.30 to 10.45		10.30 to 10.45				
10.45 to 11.00		10.45 to 11.00				
11.00 to 11.15		11.00 to 11.15				
11.15 to 11.30		11.15 to 11.30				
11.30 to 11.45		11.30 to 11.45				
11.45 to 12.00		11.45 to 12.00				
12.00 to 12.15		12.00 to 12.15				
12.15 to 12.30		12.15 to 12.30				
12.30 to 12.45		12.30 to 12.45				
12.45 to 1.00		12.45 to 1.00				
1.00 to 1.15		1.00 to 1.15				
1.15 to 1.30		1.15 to 1.30				
1.30 to 1.45		1.30 to 1.45				
1.45 to 2.00		1.45 to 2.00				
2.00 to 2.15		2.00 to 2.15				
2.15 to 2.30		2.15 to 2.30				
2.30 to 2.45		2.30 to 2.45				
2.45 to 3.00		2.45 to 3.00				
3.00 to 3.15		3.00 to 3.15				
3.15 to 3.30		3.15 to 3.30				
3.30 to 3.45		3.30 to 3.45				
3.45 to 4.00		3.45 to 4.00				
4.00 to 4.15		4.00 to 4.15				
4.15 to 4.30		4.15 to 4.30				
4.30 to 4.45		4.30 to 4.45				
4.45 to 5.00		4.45 to 5.00				
5.00 to 5.15		5.00 to 5.15				
5.15 to 5.30		5.15 to 5.30				
5.30 to 5.45		5.30 to 5.45				
5.45 to 6.00		5.45 to 6.00				
6.00 to 6.15		6.00 to 6.15				
6.15 to 6.30		6.15 to 6.30				
6.30 to 6.45		6.30 to 6.45				
6.45 to 7.00		6.45 to 7.00				
7.00 to 7.15		7.00 to 7.15				
7.15 to 7.30		7.15 to 7.30				
7.30 to 7.45		7.30 to 7.45				
7.45 to 8.00		7.45 to 8.00				
8.00 to 8.15		8.00 to 8.15				
8.15 to 8.30		8.15 to 8.30				
8.30 to 8.45		8.30 to 8.45				
8.45 to 9.00		8.45 to 9.00				
9.00 to 9.15		9.00 to 9.15				
9.15 to 9.30		9.15 to 9.30				
9.30 to 9.45		9.30 to 9.45				
9.45 to 10.00		9.45 to 10.00				
10.00 to 10.15		10.00 to 10.15				
10.15 to 10.30		10.15 to 10.30				
10.30 to 10.45		10.30 to 10.45				
10.45 to 11.00		10.45 to 11.00				
11.00 to 11.15		11.00 to 11.15				
11.15 to 11.30		11.15 to 11.30				
11.30 to 11.45		11.30 to 11.45				
11.45 to 12.00		11.45 to 12.00				
12.00 to 12.15		12.00 to 12.15				
12.15 to 12.30		12.15 to 12.30				
12.30 to 12.45		12.30 to 12.45				
12.45 to 1.00		12.45 to 1.00				
1.00 to 1.15		1.00 to 1.15				
1.15 to 1.30		1.15 to 1.30				
1.30 to 1.45		1.30 to 1.45				
1.45 to 2.00		1.45 to 2.00				
2.00 to 2.15		2.00 to 2.15				
2.15 to 2.30		2.15 to 2.30				
2.30 to 2.45		2.30 to 2.45				
2.45 to 3.00		2.45 to 3.00				
3.00 to 3.15		3.00 to 3.15				
3.15 to 3.30		3.15 to 3.30				
3.30 to 3.45		3.30 to 3.45				
3.45 to 4.00		3.45 to 4.00				
4.00 to 4.15		4.00 to 4.15				
4.15 to 4.30		4.15 to 4.30				
4.30 to 4.45		4.30 to 4.45				
4.45 to 5.00		4.45 to 5.00				
5.00 to 5.15		5.00 to 5.15				
5.15 to 5.30		5.15 to 5.30				
5.30 to 5.45		5.30 to 5.45				
5.45 to 6.00		5.45 to 6.00				
6.00 to 6.15		6.00 to 6.15				
6.15 to 6.30		6.15 to 6.30				
6.30 to 6.45		6.30 to 6.45				
6.45 to 7.00		6.45 to 7.00				
7.00 to 7.15		7.00 to 7.15				
7.15 to 7.30		7.15 to 7.30				
7.30 to 7.45		7.30 to 7.45				
7.45 to 8.00		7.45 to 8.00				
8.00 to 8.15		8.00 to 8.15				
8.15 to 8.30		8.15 to 8.30				
8.30 to 8.45		8.30 to 8.45				
8.45 to 9.00		8.45 to 9.00				
9.00 to 9.15		9.00 to 9.15				
9.15 to 9.30		9.15 to 9.30				
9.30 to 9.45		9.30 to 9.45				
9.45 to 10.00		9.45 to 10.00				
10.00 to 10.15		10.00 to 10.15				
10.15 to 10.30		10.15 to 10.30				
10.30 to 10.45		10.30 to 10.45				
10.45 to 11.00		10.45 to 11.00				
11.00 to 11.15		11.00 to 11.15				
11.15 to 11.30		11.15 to 11.30				
11.30 to 11.45		11.30 to 11.45				
11.45 to 12.00		11.45 to 12.00				
12.00 to 12.15		12.00 to 12.15				
12.15 to 12.30		12.15 to 12.30				
12.30 to 12.45		12.30 to 12.45				
12.45 to 1.00		12.45 to 1.00				
1.00 to 1.15		1.00 to 1.15				
1.15 to 1.30		1.15 to 1.30				
1.30 to 1.45		1.30 to 1.45				
1.45 to 2.00		1.45 to 2.00				
2.00 to 2.15		2.00 to 2.15				
2.15 to 2.30		2.15 to 2.30				
2.30 to 2.45		2.30 to 2.45				
2.45 to 3.00		2.45 to 3.00				
3.00 to 3.15		3.00 to 3.15				
3.15 to 3.30		3.15 to 3.30				
3.30 to 3.45		3.30 to 3.45				
3.45 to 4.00		3.45 to 4.00				
4.00 to 4.15		4.00 to 4.15				
4.15 to 4.30		4.15 to 4.30				
4.30 to 4.45		4.30 to 4.45				
4.45 to 5.00		4.45 to 5.00				
5.00 to 5.15		5.00 to 5.15				
5.15 to 5.30		5.15 to 5.30				
5.30 to 5.45		5.30 to 5.45				
5.45 to 6.00		5.45 to 6.00				
6.00 to 6.15		6.00 to 6.15				
6.15 to 6.30		6.15 to 6.30				
6.30 to 6.45		6.30 to 6.45				
6.45 to 7.00		6.45 to 7.00				
7.00 to 7.15		7.00 to 7.15				
7.15 to 7.30		7.15 to 7.30				
7.30 to 7.45		7.30 to 7.45				
7.45 to 8.00		7.45 to 8.00				
8.00 to 8.15		8.00 to 8.15				
8.15 to 8.30		8.15 to 8.30				
8.30 to 8.45		8.30 to 8.45				
8.45 to 9.00		8.45 to 9.00				
9.00 to 9.15		9.00 to 9.15				
9.15 to 9.30		9.15 to 9.30				
9.30 to 9.45		9.30 to 9.45				
9.45 to 10.00		9.45 to 10.00				
10.00 to 10.15		10.00 to 10.15				
10.15 to 10.30		10.15 to 10.30				
10.30 to 10.45		10.30 to 10.45				
10.45 to 11.00		10.45 to 11.00				
11.00 to 11.15		11.00 to 11.15				
11.15 to 11.30		11.15 to 11.30				
11.30 to 11.45		11.30 to 11.45				
11.45 to 12.00		11.45 to 12.00				
12.00 to 12.15		12.00 to 12.15				
12.15 to 12.30		12.15 to 12.30				
12.30 to 12.45		12.30 to 12.45				
12.45 to 1.00		12.45 to 1.00				
1.00 to 1.15		1.00 to 1.15				
1.15 to 1.30		1.15 to 1.30				
1.30 to 1.45		1.30 to 1.45				
1.45 to 2.00		1.45 to 2.00				
2.00 to 2.15		2.00 to 2.15				
2.15 to 2.30		2.15 to 2.30				
2.30 to 2.45		2.30 to 2.45				
2.45 to 3.00		2.45 to 3.00				
3.00 to 3.15		3.00 to 3.15				
3.15 to 3.30		3.15 to 3.30				
3.30 to 3.45		3.30 to 3.45				
3.45 to 4.00		3.45 to 4.00				
4.00 to 4.15		4.00 to 4.15				
4.15 to 4.30		4.15 to 4.30				
4.30 to 4.45		4.30 to 4.45				
4.45 to 5.00		4.45 to 5.00				
5.00 to 5.15		5.00 to 5.15				
5.15 to 5.30		5.15 to 5.30				
5.30 to 5.45		5.30 to 5.45				
5.45 to 6.00		5.45 to 6.00				
6.00 to 6.15		6.00 to 6.15				
6.15 to 6.30		6.15 to 6.30				
6.30 to 6.45		6.30 to 6.45				
6.45 to 7.00		6.45 to 7.00				
7.00 to 7.15		7.00 to 7.15				
7.15 to 7.30		7.15 to 7.30				
7.30 to 7.45		7.30 to 7.45				
7.45 to 8.00		7.45 to 8.00				
8.						

Time Table taken from MacKillop M; *Directory or Order of the Sisters of St Joseph of the Sacred Heart*, 1870, p.86