An Examination of the Contribution made by Cornelia Connelly and Janet Erskine Stuart to the Secondary Education of Roman Catholic Girls in England During the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century.

by

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Abstract

This dissertation examines the contribution made by Cornelia Connelly, founder of the Society of the Holy Child Jesus, and Janet Erskine Stuart, Mother General of the Society of the Sacred Heart, to the education of Roman Catholic girls during the second half of the nineteenth century.

The first chapter looks at the nature of the education available to middle-class Catholic girls in the first half of the nineteenth century and places this in the context of the start of the campaign to improve girls education. The forces that encouraged the expansion of Catholic girls' education are also analysed.

The following two chapters examine the work of Cornelia Connelly and Janet Erskine Stuart in the development of an educational system for Catholic girls. Cornelia Connelly founded the Society of the Holy Child Jesus and established the girls' boarding school at St Leonards, Sussex. In order to understand her motives, ideas and methods information about her own life has been included. Janet Erskine Stuart joined the Society of the Sacred Heart where she formulated her educational ideas and
influenced the methods employed at the Convent of the Sacred Heart, Roehampton, London.

The fourth chapter looks at the link between the educational theories, developed by Connelly and Stuart and the daily life of the two schools at St Leonards and Roehampton. Though the primary material imposed restrictions, it has been possible to establish some links between the educational aims developed by both Societies and nature of the school experiences in such areas as, the curriculum, the system of discipline and the general atmosphere at both schools.
Acknowledgements

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To my mother who gave me my first love of true stories.
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INTRODUCTION

The nineteenth century saw a dramatic increase in the number of schools providing middle-class Catholic girls with an education. Most of these schools were founded and staffed by religious orders which had made teaching part of their religious vocation. This field of education has received limited interest from historians, for example, Roach in his book *Secondary Education in England 1870-1902* published in 1991, has only two pages on this subject. This neglect may be partly explained by the rather anonymous nature of religious orders and partly by the separate development of Catholic Schools. Religious orders did not encourage individualism: the wearing of the religious habit, the vow of obedience, the spirit of self-sacrifice, all added up to a rather self-effacing, anonymous group of people. Women trained in this culture did not seek the limelight, they would never have addressed a public meeting or volunteered to give evidence to a Royal Commission as did Frances Mary Buss and Emily Davies, in 1866. Catholic education kept aloof from the mainstream and maintained a closed world of separate schools, its own teacher training colleges and a policy of only employing Catholic teachers. Many of the women, members of religious orders, have remained unknown outside this closed world. Two such women were Cornelia Connelly and Janet Erskine Stuart.
Cornelia Connelly 1809-1879, founded the Society of the Holy Child Jesus, (1) in 1846, in Derby. This was an English order, dedicated to education, which opened its first school in Derby but moved in 1848 to St Leonards, Sussex, where a very successful boarding school was set up. Connelly published her book, The Book of the Order of Studies in 1863, for use in the schools belonging to the Society.

Janet Erskine Stuart 1857-1914, joined the Society of the Sacred Heart in 1882. (2) The Order was French by origin but was already well established not just in England but as far afield as America. Stuart became a teacher and spent the majority of her time at the Convent of the Sacred Heart at Roehampton, London. She eventually rose to the position of Mother-General of the whole order. In the last years of her life she wrote The Education of Catholic Girls which was published after her death.

These two women in their active lives cover the latter half of the nineteenth century, though their influence continued far into the twentieth. These women were not radical in their educational aims, for they had no desire to change the position of women in society and they endorsed the traditional role designated at that time for middle-class girls. What these two women wanted was a through education for girls. Their educational ideas did
not originate with the pioneers like Frances Buss but were imported from France.

Connelly, an American convert, began her teaching career in the Convent of the Sacred Heart, Grand Coteau in America. She was therefore influenced by the French tradition of girls' education. This tradition was based on the monastic education provided by such groups as the Ursulines and although it shared much the same curriculum as the English tradition of showy accomplishments, its aim and outcome was usually very different. The English tradition, heavily criticized by the Taunton Commission in 1868, provided girls with a meagre education which consisted of needlework, drawing, piano playing and recitation, designed to be paraded before the family. The education provided by the Order, which Connelly knew and which trained Stuart was committed to providing girls with these accomplishments but also a liberal and philosophic education.

The educational aims of both the Society of the Sacred Heart and the Society of the Holy Child Jesus, were therefore very similar and were developed from the French tradition which put a strong emphasis on proficiency in the vernacular, rather than Latin and Greek, in the study of literature and philosophy and preparation for the outside world. The pioneers of the women's movement were also trying to give girls an education that would be more use to
them in the real world. The reality for women like Emily Davies involved economic facts whereas the real world for Connelly and Stuart consisted of a thousand temptations, to lure them away from their faith. The education provided for most English girls at this time presented the world after school as a cosy, cosseted world in which they would always be looked after, by father or husband, rather than a world where an increasing number of middle-class women would not marry and would need to earn a living. The women who led the expansion of Catholic girls’ education were equally concerned about the real world, the world that was still hostile to Catholics, either in France or England. Madeleine Barat, founder of the Sacred Heart, knew how harsh that hostility could be, her own brother had been imprisoned, for being a priest, during the Revolution. The Order was dedicated to preparing its pupils so that they could withstand any temptation and any persecution they might face. The world was evil and dangerous for Christian souls and the only protection was a strong Christian will which had received a moral training which would mean that even after, "the balls, parties and theatres,"(3) these girls would still get up for daily Mass. They must also be well taught in Christian Doctrine so that they could refute any arguments they might be confronted with. The educational aim of this system can be summed up briefly as,

to turn out, not accomplished young women, not agreeable wives, but soldiers of Christ,
accustomed to hardship, and ridicule and ingratitude. (4)

Connelly and Stuart are important in their own right, as educationalists, they are also representatives of all those hundreds of women who chose to have purposeful careers by joining a religious order and becoming teachers, nurses, social workers etc. Connelly's and Stuart's influence was not confined to the two schools of St Leonards and Roehampton, both orders had other schools which catered for a range of parental incomes and both orders were involved in elementary education and the Sacred Heart ran a teaching training college at Roehampton. The more we know about such women the more we can understand the forces that shaped Catholic girls' schools of the nineteenth century and the more we will understand the convent schoolgirl.

Although Connelly began work before the campaign for better education for women had really started, it is hard to see her as a revolutionary. Connelly started her school, at St Leonards in 1848, two years before Frances Buss opened the North London Collegiate School but Connelly was not planning to change society; she wanted her school to "make strong women, who while they lose nothing of their gentleness and sweetness should yet have a masculine force of character and will." (5)
In order to understand the educational ideas and practices of these two women it is necessary to know something of their lives. Recognizing that these women are relatively unknown, they do not appear, for example, in the Dictionary of British Educationists by Aldrich and Gordon published in 1989 I have included details of their private lives. Stuart lived a relatively conventional life but Connelly must be unique among nineteenth-century nuns. There cannot have been many nuns, who like Connelly, had been a wife and mother, a convert, an American and the founder of an English religious order. Many people who came into contact with Connelly remarked on her warm and gentle, loving spirit and her talent for dealing with children, characteristics that might be explained by her experiences as a mother. She may have understood the emotions of her pupils, separated from their families and sent to boarding school, because of her separation from her own children.

If we are to understand the past, its movements, its systems and its results we must certainly learn more about the people who designed the systems and put them into practice, Connelly and Stuart are two such people. The modern interest in women’s history is a product of the modern feminist movement, which was able to rejoice in the determination and courage of the great pioneers of the nineteenth century. Now we must be prepared to study women, who may have had rather conservative aims and methods, but
nevertheless helped shape women’s lives in the nineteenth century and left us, in the twentieth century, an inheritance we must try to come to terms with. As Antonia White recalled after the publication of her novel, *Frost in May* set in a convent school.

soon after my book... appeared I received two letters from "old children" of Lippington. One of the writers had left in 1883; the other in 1927, both were quite certain from my description of the Convent, that I must have been their contemporary. The fact I left in 1914 is irrelevant.(6)

White implies that convent education did not change over many years. The contribution made by Connelly and Stuart was long lasting. This was an inheritance that endured.
NOTES TO INTRODUCTION

1. The Society of the Holy Child Jesus will be referred to throughout this dissertation as "the Society."

2. The Society of the Sacred Heart will be referred to throughout this dissertation as "the Order."

3. Gasquet. The Life of Cornelia Connelly p.308

4. White, A. Frost in May p. 118

5. Gasquet. The Life of Cornelia Connelly p.308

PEACE AND EDUCATION

IN THE

NINETEENTH CENTURY

Penal Times

In 1791 English Catholics, for the first time in nearly three hundred years, were given the right to practise their religion and educate their children according to their faith. Catholics had to wait until 1829 before they gained political emancipation and many years were to pass before such honoured institutions as Oxford and Cambridge universities were open to them. By that time the Catholic population had grown considerably and its schools of all kinds had multiplied across the country. Even more surprising is the growth in girls' education during those years; it is this revolution in female education that is the subject of this dissertation.

During the long years of persecution the Catholic community had survived mainly in the remote parts of England usually grouped around the estates of an aristocratic family who used their house as mass centre. For most, education was a clandestine affair, carried on at home as all Catholic children, of whatever class, were excluded from schools. The "Old Catholic" (1) families had survived by withdrawing from public life and living in secluded retirement; they
sent their sons abroad to be educated at English schools, established on the continent to avoid persecution, such as Douai, founded in 1575 by Cardinal Allen and the English Jesuit schools at St Omer, Rheims, Pont Le Mousson and Verdun. These schools took the place of the Public Schools, to which their Anglican counterparts sent their sons and from which Catholics were excluded. Daughters, though never in the same numbers, were also sent abroad to convents in Belgium and France for a very exclusive and traditional education. There was one such convent in England; the Bar Convent, run by the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary, founded by Mary Ward, which was proud to boast it had not closed in 175 years. In these convents the pupils, like the nuns, were enclosed.

On April 3rd 1585 Thomas Goldwell Bishop of St Asaph died in exile in Rome. His death, was accepted, marked the end of the Catholic Hierarchy of England and Wales.(2) For nearly three hundred years following this England and Wales was administered as a mission province, until the restoration of the Hierarchy by Pope Pius ix, on the 29th September 1850. During those long years of persecution various methods of administration were tried but the truth was that ecclesiastical control was very weak; the small catholic community that survived became used to its independence. By the early years of the nineteenth century
England and Wales had been divided into eight areas controlled by eight Vicars Apostolic. These men held titular sees in Britain and reported directly to Rome. When the Hierarchy was restored the diocese of Westminster was created. The first primacy was held by Nicholas, Cardinal Wiseman, Archbishop of Westminster and Metropolitan. The appointment of Wiseman was not greeted with unanimous approval, among the new bishops were those who had been Vicars Apostolic and they now resented the imposition of authority over them. Opposition also came from those who saw Wiseman as not English enough, he had spent most of his life in Rome and many of the "Old Catholics" thought one of their number should have been given this historic position.(3)

The Development of the Catholic Community

Between the end of the penal laws and the restoration of the Hierarchy, the English Catholic community was to undergo major changes which helped shape its future for the rest of the century and to deeply influence its educational policies. These changes were: the French Revolution, the Oxford Movement and the large scale Irish immigration.

The impact of the French Revolution on Western European society, in general, was extremely varied and long
lasting, its impact on the small English Catholic community was also extensive. Priests and nuns escaping from the privations of the Revolution began to arrive in England in the last years of the eighteenth century and were welcomed by many whose sympathy was roused by antagonism towards the revolutionaries. Among those who fled to England were many religious orders which had been founded in France and Belgium by men and women from England during the penal years. These orders had provided the only opportunity for English Catholics to experience the monastic life or to have their sons and daughters education according to their faith and traditions. Apart from their obvious educational contribution once on English soil, these emigre priests and nuns also affected the Catholic community by their closer contact with Rome. Papal influence had been greatly weakened with the much looser episcopal administration experienced in Britain. These men and women were also more prepared to demonstrate their faith in public, a characteristic lacking among the indigenous Catholics partly out of habit long established during the years of persecution and partly for fear of raising the old fear of popery in the public mind. The nature and influence of these orders on education will be considered in some depth later.

The small English Catholic community that emerged from the years of persecution that ended with the eman-
icipation legislation of 1829 was soon enlarged by the large scale Irish immigration of the nineteenth century. Even as early as 1841 the percentage of the population recorded by the census as "Irish born" was 2.5. This figure is large enough especially as it was recorded before the major immigration following the famine of 1848, but it is also misleading as it refers only to those who were born actually in Ireland. (6) Children born in England, Wales and Scotland, but with one or more parent born in Ireland were not recorded as Irish, many of these, no doubt, felt themselves to be Irish. Most of the Protestant Irish settled in Scotland; it was England and Wales that saw the main Catholic migration. The Census also shows that the majority recorded were males rather females. Clearly there was, even by 1841, a great potential for growth in the Catholic population as many of these males would marry non-catholic English women and rear their children as Catholics. It was this Irish population which was to provide the Catholic community with a working class and a missionary field. The needs of this strata of the Catholic community were to be very much the concern of Cardinal Manning.

Between 1833 and 1841 John Henry Newman and his supporters, John Keble, Henry Pusey and Hurrell Froude published tracts with the aim of defending the Church of England against government interference. In Tracts for the Times (7) they tried to revitalize the spirituality of the
Church of England by re-examining its ancient catholic heritages. These tracts especially Tract xc led Newman to question his allegiance to the Church of England and to his eventual conversion in 1845 and his ordination as Catholic priest in 1847. These well published sermons which finally argued that the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England were basically Catholic in nature, raised a storm of protest both within the Church and from the Conservative Government. About three hundred disciples of Newman followed his conversion and joined the Church of Rome; a considerable number of Anglican clergy were among that number and like Newman became Catholic priests. By the 1870s there had been some 2,000 conversions, mainly by Anglicans from the High Church sector though Matthew comments that some convert households already exhibited a sabbatarian strictness which showed an evangelical element in the process of conversion.

The Oxford Movement provided the Catholic community with a middle class. It was from these converts that much of the demand for education was to come. Among them were men of education, who had benefited from the universities that the "Old Catholics" had been excluded from. It was from their ranks that liberals like Manning were to emerge and be a driving force in the Catholic educational movement. Many women converts also joined the Church and were to swell the numbers of French nuns who
provided so many of the teachers of middle-class Catholic girls in the nineteenth century.

Girls Education Pre 1850

Education in the nineteenth century was deeply divided both by class and gender. It is possible to examine middle-class girls' education separately from upper and working-class education and from middle-class boys' education. The main concern of this study is the education available to middle-class Catholic girls in England during the nineteenth century. It is also possible to see a significant change in girls' education as the century progressed. It is therefore necessary to examine the situation up to mid-century and then to look at the situation towards the close of the century. The mid-century provides a convenient division for both non-Catholic and Catholic education; in the former can be seen the first important moves in the campaign to change girls' education, i.e. the founding of Queen's College, Harley street and in 1850 Frances Mary Buss opened the North London Collegiate School. While for Catholic girls the restoration of the Hierarchy brought to England Cardinal Wiseman, who encouraged French religious orders to establish girls schools in England. He also encouraged the formation of English orders like the Society of the Holy Child Jesus for the same purpose. Manning continued this work though much of his attention was focused on the plight
of the poor. It was realized that it was from middle-class schools would be recruited the vocations to work for the poor.

It is important to remember that for most middle-class girls, of what ever denomination, for a large part of the century, education was carried out at home. Indeed it was constantly argued that home education, conducted by a mother, or, money permitting, by a governess, was the finest and most suitable form for girls. Throughout this period there was an extensive market for advice manuals on educating girls at home. Gorham has shown how the main concern of such books was not academic studies but the inculcation of femininity and that this was best carried out at home. (8) For those families who could afford to, a governess was employed as a mother substitute, to train daughters to fulfil their future roles of wife and mother in a style which made the socio-economic position of the family clear.

The aim of such an education was not to train the mind or provide a girl with useful knowledge and skills. Middle-class boys would enter a profession or have a career in business, they would one day have to support a wife and family: no such future responsibility awaited their sisters. The social position of a family was increasingly measured, as the century progressed, by the extent to which it did not
require any of its female members' labour. Thus an upper-class family could afford servants to cook, clean and sew and a governess to teach, leaving the mother and daughters to indulge only in ornamental sewing and accomplishments whose purpose was only entertainment. A lower middle-class family would require its women to do the cooking, make or at least mend their clothes and for the mother and/or eldest daughters to teach the younger ones. Industrialization had robbed most women of the satisfaction of domestic production and as the century progressed mass-produced food, ready-to-wear clothes and cheap domestic labour made it impossible for most women and girls to find fulfilling work in the home. The domestic ideology which came to dominate the century then made it an attack on femininity, to challenge or question this idleness.

This form of education could bear surprising fruits. Many of the female pioneers of the nineteenth century, such as Florence Nightingale and Emily Davies, received all or some of their education in this manner, while Constance Maynard and Elizabeth Garrett were able to engage in advanced studies after being trained at home. Janet Erskine Stuart's education was of a similar kind, she was able to play a significant role in the development of girls' education within the Catholic community as the headmistress of the Sacred Heart Convent, Roehampton. She expressed her educational ideas in The Education of Catholic
Girls which was published in 1912. The alternative to an education based entirely at home, was a short time in a small, family sized school, run by its proprietor and a small staff of women with hardly any more education than their pupils. Up to mid-century these schools were usually the product, not of some burning desire by the proprietor to educate but by economic desperation which left teaching as the only means of support. Teaching, either at a school or as a governess, was the only work a middle-class woman could do and still lay claim to her middle-class status.

Such a school was not designed to provide anything except a veneer of accomplishments in such areas as piano playing, speaking French, dancing, drawing and elaborate embroiders and similar fine crafts. Literature provides us with a useful sketch of such a school in Thackeray’ Miss Pinkerton’s Academy for young ladies. After her six years residence at the school Amelia Sedley’s report ran

In music, in dancing, in orthography, in every very of embroidery and needlework she will be found to have realized her friends’ fondest wishes. In geography there is still much to be desired; and a careful and undeviating use of the backboard for four hours daily during the next three years is recommended as necessary to the acquirement of that dignified deportment and carriage so requisite for every young lady of fashion. (9)

Pupils were not grouped according to age, ability or achievement because no progress was expected and no way
of measuring it was available. Roach has demonstrated that attendance at school for both boys and girls was erratic and frequently involved changes of school and irregular attendance; few children up to the mid-century went to one school and remained there for the whole of their education. (10) Erratic attendance at school was even more common among girls who attended these finishing schools. School life might end because of financial difficulties in the family, the need for a daughter to take over the mother’s role at home perhaps as the result of illness or the desire to see the daughter married early. Mary Anne Hearne, from a lower middle-class family in Kent found her education interrupted when her mother died of tuberculosis in 1847, when she was thirteen. A large family of younger brothers and sisters meant that Mary Anne Hearne’s education could only continue through private study until her father allowed her to attend school as a part-time pupil. (11) But school life could be interrupted for far less serious reasons as few parents laid much store by their daughters’ education.

The poor state of female education was made clear when the Taunton Commission reported in 1868. The Commissioners had drawn heavily on the work done by Emily Davies and Frances Mary Buss. Davies had persuaded the Commissioners that they should investigate girls’ schools
and the education provided. The Commissioners did more than just report, they commended in very strong terms the,

want (of) thoroughness and foundation, a want of system, slovenliness showing superficiality, inattention to rudiments, undue time to accomplishments and those not taught intelligently of in a scientific manner, lack of organization a very inferior set of textbooks ... rules put into the memory with no explanation of the principles... a tendency to fill rather than strengthen the mind ... teachers have not themselves known how to teach... a long and invariable prejudice that girls are incapable of mental cultivation and less in need of it than boys.(12)

Denominational Schools

While this commendation was undoubtedly justified, there were better schools. Roach is of the opinion that schools which had a religious impulse and performed a function closer to a public foundation were more likely to provide a better education than those private schools where the main motive of the owner/teacher was economic necessity.(13) Nonconformist groups like the Quakers, the Methodists and the Unitarians established these private/public schools. The Mount school in York, was founded to teach Quaker girls. This was started in the 1820s as a private concern but soon ran into difficulties and was only saved from closure by the financial support of the Quarterly Meeting of the York Friends. The school taught girls using a curriculum very similar to that available to boys and eventually opened a senior section in
1835, to train teachers. (14) By the 1850s it had trained over fifty women. (15)

Roach also (16) describes the school founded and run by Hannah Pipe and comments that it was one of the better of the "family-like" schools. Hannah Pipe ran her school in the 1850s in South London. Her aim was to give the girls, never more than twenty-seven at a time, a good grounding in the English style curriculum (not including the classics commonly taught to middle-class boys) which would enable them to fulfil their traditional roles with intelligence and imagination. Pipe was a Methodist who included Bible reading in her pupils’ studies and was deeply concerned for their spiritual development. Pipe had received a better then average education in Liverpool where Hodgson, the Principal of the Liverpool Mechanics Institute, had set up a school for about 200 girls. The school taught an extensive curriculum and was a semi-public foundation. (8)

Clearly for a large number of Catholic girls home education remained the norm, but for those who did attend school, instead of the proprietorial schools there were the convent schools. At the beginning of the century these schools had been established in England only since the religious persecution during the French Revolution had caused them to abandon their continental homes and seek
refuge in England. Following the end of the penal laws and the anti-clericalism that swept across Europe, England received a steady flow of emigres: priests, monks and nuns. Many of these religious orders, though founded in France and Belgium, had been for English men and women, who in the penal times were unable to live the religious life in England. Most of these orders also ran schools. On their arrival in England they immediately reopened schools. Within a few years the following orders of women had arrived and settled down to the monastic life with their small schools attached.
The Canonesses of St Augustine of Louvain settled in Dorset. The Canonesses of St Augustine of the Holy Sepulchre who settled at New Hall in Essex.
The Dominicanesses settled at Atherstone.
The Franciscans went to Taunton.
The Poor Clares originality an filiation of the Mary Ward convent at Gravelines settled at Scorton, Yorkshire.
The Benedictines(Brussels) went to Winchester.
The Benedictines (Ghent) went to Caverswell Castle Staffordshire.
The Benedictines (Dunkirk) Hammersmith.
The Benedictines (Cambrai) at Stanbrook.
All these above were English in foundation despite their French and Belgium locations.
Two French orders also sought refuge at this time, they were,
the Benedictines of Montargis who settled at Princethorpe and the Visitation nuns who settled at Westbury-on-Trym. (9)

These religious orders rarely saw education as a central aim of their vocation, indeed as enclosed communities their main concern was the celebration of the Holy Office. The schools they provided were small, selective and exclusive; the girls had to be included in the enclosure and were not permitted holidays or visitors except in extreme circumstances such as the death of a close relative. These schools were invariably located in rural areas where the distractions of the world could not penetrate and were designed to provide an education that fitted their pupils for the traditional roles with a thorough grounding in Christian Knowledge. These schools attracted girls from the upper middle classes.

New Developments in Catholic Education

When the time came for expansion it was obvious that neither these old orders and their traditional schools were going to provide an education for large numbers of girls.

The demand for education, both for the poor Irish community and the newly emerging Catholic middle class,
combined with renewed persecution on the continent saw the
arrival in England of new orders with education an essential
part of their vocation. These new orders were as follows:

1836 the Sisters of the Presentation (from Ireland)
   Manchester

1839 The Faithful Companions (founded by Viscountess
   Bonnault d’ Houet) Settled in Somers Town.

1839 The Sisters of Mercy, Catherine McAuley Bermondsey

1842 The Sisters of the Sacred Heart, settled at Berrymead
   Acton.

1843 The Sisters of Province (the Institute of Charity)
   settled at Loughborough

1845 The Sisters of Notre Dame, settled at Penryn and
   Clapham

1847 The Sisters of Charity of St Paul, settled at Bambury

1847 The Sisters of the Christian Retreat, settled at
   Peckham

1848 The Daughters of the Faithful Virgin, established their
   orphanage at West Norwood

1849 The Sisters of the Immaculate Conception, settled at
   Penzance

1850 The Sisters of the Assumption, settled at Richmond
   Yorkshire.
There were also a few orders started in England at this time:

The Sisters of the Infant Jesus, at Northampton
The Dominicans of St Catherine of Siena, at Coventry (1844)
The Sisters of the Holy Child Jesus, at Derby.(17)

Many English Catholics shared Nicholas Wiseman’s view that the education of the English Catholic middle class had been neglected even though they

form the mass and staple of our society, and the "highest class" of our great congregations out of the capital, have to provide us with our priesthood, our confraternities and our working religious. (18)

Later in the same letter to Cornelia Connelly Wiseman, besides demonstrating his adherence to the traditional roles for women and their education, also went on to commend with the highest praise her work in training:

the future mothers of this (middle) class is to sanctify entire families and sow the seeds of piety in whole congregations; it is to make friends for the poor of Christ, nurses for the sick and dying, catechists for the little ones, most useful auxiliaries in every good work.(19)

Some of these orders, like the Sisters of Mercy, were dedicated to helping the poor, others ran middle class, boarding schools to finance their charity work; the Society of the Holy Child Jesus ran a school for the daughters of the wealthy while some of its nuns taught in poor schools at
Lincoln's Inn Fields, London (20) and in elementary schools in Preston (21) and St Leonards, (22) while orders like the Daughters of the Faithful Virgin, at Norwood became teachers as part of their care of orphans. (23) Very few of these nuns had any formal training as teachers and indeed often had achieved very low standards in their own studies. Cornelia Connelly being very aware of this deficiency in her novices insisted on them undertaking a course of study which she directed. (24) It is interesting to note that these religious orders were developing a sense of professionalism as teachers when very few in the non-Catholic world recognized such a need. A love of order and discipline certainly served these women well in terms of running their schools when many non-Catholic private schools were well known for their amateurish atmosphere.

The Revolution in Girls' Education

Middle-class demands for the reform of education in the Endowed Grammar Schools was prompted by the conviction that deficiencies in these schools were hampering the economic development of their class. The appointment of the Schools' Inquiry Commission in 1864 was a response to this pressure. There was a growing need for middle-class women to earn their own living as the number of unmarried women increased, but few parents in the 1860s would have been persuaded by such an argument which meant admitting
that, their daughter might not marry and that their own income would be insufficient to provide for an unmarried daughter. But the "unexpected revolution" (25) did take place, Emily Davies was able to ensure that the Endowed Schools' Act of 1869 included provision for endowments to be available for girls' schools. By 1897 there were eighty-six such schools. Within ten years the education available to girls and women had changed considerably. In 1878 all London University degrees were opened to women and by that date girls could attend schools founded by the Girls' Public Day School Company (later Trust) compete in the Cambridge Local examinations and study at a number of places of higher education such as Girton College near Cambridge, Maria Grey College for teachers and qualify through London University. Academic opportunities increased as the century drew to a close so that the 1919 Sex Disqualification (removal) Act became a logical next step.

Middle-class education changed for a number of reasons: economic necessity as the number of unmarried women increased, the demand for a more highly skilled work force, pioneers who demonstrated the capacity for girls and women to learn, the development of "vocations" such as nursing which deliberately recruited educated middle-class women. Pioneers like Frances Mary Buss, Emily Davies, Anne Jemima Clough, Dorothea Beale and Constance Maynard helped to establish teaching as a respectable job with a vocational
status comparable to Nightingale’s nurses. Organizations like the London Association of Schoolmistresses started in 1866, the North of England Council for the Higher Education of Women founded in 1867, and in 1874 the first meeting of the Headmistresses’ Association gave pioneering teachers a status and a voice which was increasingly heard and taken account of by the educational establishment. Even Oxford and Cambridge could not ignore the growing demands and achievements of women.

Convent Education

Religious orders did not require organizations like the London Association of Schoolmistresses to give them the courage to impose order, discipline and demand high standards from their pupils. In some ways it could be argued that the nuns started out with an advantage over their non-Catholic secular counterparts. Sisters serving with religious orders who saw teaching girls as part of their religious vocation already had a sense of identity, a sense of commitment and a sense of professionalism years before such ideas existed beyond the convent walls. Orders encouraged their members to see their work as a vocation in which the standard achieved was a manifestation of their commitment to their vows. This is not to suggest that all nuns were excellent teachers with high standards but they did start out with a discipline and a motivation largely
unknown among those unfortunate women who taught out of economic necessity, in schools run to apply a social polish and where the pupils had no desire to learn. It is interesting to note as a contrast, the high status education carried in the Catholic community. Nicholas Wiseman, shortly before taking up his duties of Archbishop of Westminster, commended Cornelia Connelly for her plans with the words:

The field that you have chosen for the exercise of spiritual mercies is indeed vast and almost boundless, but it presents the richest soil and promises of the most abundant return. (26)

It would be rash to suggest that all convent schools maintained a high standard of teaching and learning but it is worth noting that for some the experience of a convent education was clearly a serious matter. Literature once again provides an interesting insight, for Nanda Grey's time at the Convent of the Five Wounds (based on the Sacred Heart Convent at Roehampton) was not to be spent in frivolous accomplishments. At nine years old and only on Sundays Nanda Grey was:

allowed to read for an hour before supper. Their library consisted of three shelves of Lives of the Saints, and Letters from Missionaries from the early nineteenth century. In a small locked case there were some more frivolous works including several volumes of Andrew Lang's fairy tales, some Little Folks annuals, "Alice in Wonderland," and the works of Edward Lear. But these story-books only doled out for an hour or two on the major holidays that occurred two or three times a term.
Nanda's own choice for the week .. was a small red Lives of the English Martyrs. (27)
and at thirteen was expected to spend the four days of her retreat reading only "the Watchers of the Passion, her missal and the Imitation of Christ."(28) This was not a system of education designed to produce ladies of fashion.

While there is no suggestion in Antonia White's novel, set at the beginning of the twentieth Century, of a serious commitment to academic study or any mention of preparing for examinations and a career, the atmosphere is serious and full of the expectation of work and high standards. Some convent schools were clearly embarking on a more modern education than that provided by the fictional Convent of the Five Wounds, as early as the 1880s. St Dominic's Convent School at Harrow had four girls pass the Oxford Local Examinations (29) and at the Convent of Loretto in Manchester, at least twenty girls had received an education that culminated in the Cambridge Local Examinations and Examinations set by the College of Preceptors. (30)
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Early life and Education

Cornelia Augusta Peacock, later to marry Pierce Connelly, was born January 15th 1809 and was the youngest of six children. Her mother, Mary Peacock had been married and widowed before and had two daughters by her first marriage. The Peacocks lived in the wealthy, fashionable part of Philadelphia in the USA and the children were free to row on the Delaware river and roam about the countryside there.

The Peacocks were members of the Episcopalian Church and we know that Cornelia as young woman sang in the choir in Christ Church, Philadelphia where she met her future husband. The little we know of her education is that it was carried out at home and provided her with a proficiency in drawing and music and the ability to converse in several languages and play the pianoforte. (1) It is interesting to note that once again we have the example of a pioneer in education receiving a very traditional and limited education herself. According to Cornelia's biographer the Peacock children experienced greater freedom than was common in England at this time.(2)
In 1818 Cornelia’s father died and by the time she was thirteen both her eldest brother who was twenty-four and her mother had died; Cornelia went to live with her half sister Mrs Mary Montgomery who appears to have applied a rather strict regime on her.

Marriage and Conversion

On December 1st 1831 Cornelia Peacock married the Rev. Pierce Connelly and the ceremony was performed by the Bishop of Philadelphia. Cornelia had met the Rev. Connelly, five years her senior, through singing in the choir at Christ Church. The young Episcopalian minister was expected to go far in the Church and was highly thought of by all except Mrs Montgomery, who had forbidden the marriage. Cornelia had therefore moved to her other half sister’s house and the marriage took place.

The Connellys moved to Natchez Mississippi where Pierce became the rector of Trinity Church and the young couple settled down to parish duties. Cornelia was highly thought of; according to her biographer she was accepted in good society but was equally welcomed by the poor.(3) The Connellys started their family with a son born on December 7th 1832, Mercer. During the next few years Cornelia gave birth to: Adeline March 6th 185, John Henry June 22nd 1837
in Vienna. Mary Magdelan 22nd July 1838 at Grand Coteau and Frank March 29th 1841 also at Grand Coteau.
It was during this time that the Connellys visited New Orleans and became fascinated by a convent across the road from where they were staying. Cornelia made enquiries and before long Pierce shared her interest, soon both were convinced that the Roman Catholic Faith was the true one and they must join it.

Back in Natchez Pierce informed his bishop who expressed regret at the promising young rector's decision. (4) By the time he had taken this step and told his congregation they had been about three and half years at Natchez. In August 1835 the Connellys left Natchez for New Orleans in order to get a ship to Europe. According to Cornelia Connelly’s biographer, Pierce had decided that he wanted to be received into the Church in Rome itself. After waiting months in New Orleans for their ship to sail, Cornelia chose to be received into the Church in New Orleans by Bishop Blane because she was eager to take a full part in the Church. (5)

The Connellys finally sailed in December 1835 and arrived at Marselles in February 1836. They travelled to Rome and Pierce Connelly was received into the Church on March 27th 1836 which that year was Palm Sunday.
The Connellys become involved in fashionable society in Rome and become friends with the Earl of Shrewsbury and his daughters’ family the Rorghes. Pierce Connelly was invited to travel to England and stay at Alton Towers and while there he was introduced to the Jesuits at Stonyhurst. From this point it appears that while Pierce seemed impressed with these connections, Cornelia did not care for grand society. While separated from her husband she spent her time teaching her four year old son his first prayers and during the Cholera epidemic of 1837 she, like many of the ladies she knew, helped nurse the poor. The summer saw the Connellys travelling in Europe and Cornelia was in Vienna when she gave birth to their third child, John Henry. At this stage Pierce became concerned with family financial problems and eventually decided to return to the USA arriving in early January 1838 at New Orleans. Their return to Natchez was not particularly happy and in June 1838 Pierce, now in need of money, accepted a post as English Professor at St Charles College, run by the Jesuits at Grand Coteau, Louisiana. At Grand Coteau Cornelia came under the influence of Father Point as her spiritual director and the nuns of the Sacred Heart Convent where she was allowed to join retreats. She added to the family income by giving music lessons to the pupils at the Convent. Cornelia began to develop a close spiritual friendship with the Mother Superior of the Convent so that when she gave birth on 22nd
July 1838 to a daughter, Mary Magdelan, she asked the Superior to be a Godmother. Unfortunately the child died some weeks later.

We know from note books Cornelia kept at this time that she was deeply affected by retreats based on the spiritual exercises of St Ignatius and that she began to lay down strict rules for prayer and mediation everyday. At one point she asked to take a vow of spiritual obedience to Father Point but he refused presumably because he saw this as conflicting with her marriage vows. Detailed examination of her note book reveal her growing commitment to the spiritual life and her wish to share the sufferings of Jesus Christ by experiencing suffering in her own life. (6) In January 1840 she experienced the tragic death of her son John Henry who was badly burnt as a result of falling into a maple syrup boiler in the garden of their house. Cornelia claimed her special devotion to the Child Jesus and the Mother of Calvary started at that time. The picture built up by her biographer, is of a very strong and prayerful woman endeavouring to live a life guided by a strict religious code of prayer, daily mass and devotions and service to her husband and children. She presumably thought she was fulfilling the role of Catholic wife and mother with as much success as any woman could outside the stories of the saints.
Vocation and Separation

On 13th October Pierce Connelly announced to his wife that he wanted to be a priest. He claimed to have a vocation for the priesthood which he had had to abandon when he became a Catholic. The Connellys realized the obstacles in the way of Pierce becoming a Catholic priest. The Catholic Church demanded celibacy from its priests. Pierce Connelly believed that a petition of separation would be granted to them if Cornelia agreed to enter a convent.(7) After begging him to change his mind, Cornelia agreed to his wishes. His plans were to remain a secret while enquiries were made.

According to her biographer, Cornelia had had no thoughts of becoming a religious herself but did agree to accept Pierce’s decision to refrain from sexual intercourse and live chaste lives. Cornelia even kept their secret from her sister Mary who came to live with them and who eventually entered the Convent of the Sacred Heart as a postulant. In the midst of all this anguish and turmoil Cornelia gave birth on 29th March 1841 to her third son Frank. In September 1841 Cornelia went again to the Convent for a ten day retreat, during which according to the biographer she received the call to a religious life.(8)
The idea of a priestly vocation had not been dropped or forgotten and Pierce Connelly was advised to test the strength of his vocation, by separating from his wife and family, and travelling to Europe. On 5th May 1842 the couple separated; Pierce to travel to New Orleans and eventually to Europe. It had been decided that he should take with him Mercer, who was to be placed at Stonyhurst, in the care of the Jesuits and Cornelia with her other two children to go to a cottage in the grounds of the Convent of the Sacred Heart at Grand Coteau. At that point in her life Cornelia believed she had finally parted from her husband and she began to live, as near as possible, the life of a postulant at the Convent. Clearly she could not enter into the religious life completely as she had a very young baby and a small daughter to care for. Cornelia drew up her own rule which was sanctioned by the Mother Superior. According to the author of "The Life" she also handed over the care of Adeline to the nuns and restricted her access to both her children. This behaviour, which doubtless seems strange today, almost inhuman, was praised for showing her sanctify and resignation to the will of God. Yet her letters to Mercer at Stonyhurst reveal a warm and affectionate mother who shows interest in his school life and concern for his faults and passionate temper.

While Cornelia was at the Convent in Grand Coteau, Pierce made his way to Alton Towers where he was the guest
of the Earl of Shrewsbury for some months. In September 1842 he secured the post of personal tutor to a young man, Mr Berkerley, who was about to embark on an extensive tour of Europe. Letters to John Connelly, Pierce’s brother, reveal the enjoyment he derived from touring in Northern Europe before arriving in Rome early in 1843. (9) It is difficult not to compare his pleasure, with her sacrifice and suffering back in Grand Coteau and make a judgement about Pierce Connelly. Pierce presented his petition of separation and was told that nothing could be done unless the couple appeared together in front of the relevant Church authority and together agreed to separate.

Reunion and the Petition

In order that his wife should not make the journey alone Pierce, with Mr Berkerley, travelled to America and brought his wife back to Alton Towers. In England Cornelia now found herself propelled in society as the beautiful wife of Pierce Connelly. There seems to have been no thought as to her wishes and tastes. Within little over a year Cornelia had gone from, contented mother and wife, to quasi-postulant and then to a society beauty in England. She then became travelling companion to her husband, as he made his way slowly across Europe to reach Rome on 7th December 1843. On their arrival Cornelia was introduced to the Sisters of the Sacred Heart Convent of Trinita dei Monti. She lived in the Convent dressed as a Child of Mary as she could not yet be
enroled as a postulant. Her biographer claims that the socializing she had been forced to do since leaving America had only increased Cornelia's conviction that she was called to the religious life.(10)

It had been decided that Mercer would remain at Stonyhurst, paid for by the Earl of Shrewsbury and under his guidance; Adeline would stay at the Trinita and be under her mother's influence for many years to come; Frank would live in the grounds of the Convent in the care of a nurse until he was old enough to go to school.

On 1st April 1844 the Deed of Separation was signed and on the 9th April Cornelia was accepted as postulant at the Trinita. On the 1st May Pierce Connelly was ordained in Minor Orders with a view to being ordained in the Society of Jesus. In June Cornelia made a solemn vow of perpetual chastity, in order to free her husband from the marriage so he could be ordained. The following month Pierce was ordained, not as a Jesuit, he had decided not to join the Society, but as a secular priest and he said his first Mass at the Trinita to which his wife and daughter came.(11)

the Founding of the Society of the Holy Child Jesus

According to her biographer, Cornelia did not enter the Convent of the Trinita with same sense of religious
study of notes made during retreats, made at the Trinita, show Cornelia to be obsessed with suffering, death and desolation. (12) During the November retreat of 1844 she recorded that she could not listen to the teaching given and could only respond with a dogged commitment to her beliefs even though she was not experiencing any sense of spiritual well being. (13) The author of the "Life of Cornelia Connelly" describes this period in her life in conventional religious terms, namely, as a period when God was testing her vocation and strengthening her to be all the more dedicated to his service. (14) Modern analysis would probably describe this state as a nervous breakdown and who could have blamed her. Within a very short period she had been through several traumatic experiences. Her biographer also claims that Cornelia was also a victim of discord and discontent in the Society of the Sacred Heart. The Society had been founded in France but had recently moved its Mother house to Rome and altered its Constitutions. In 1843 the authorities in Rome had intervened and changed the Constitution back. These disagreements and changes had caused ill feeling and resentments within the Order. While Cornelia was at the Trinita the Convent was visited by the foundress, Madame Barat. According to Cornelia’s biographer, Cornelia and Barat showed a strong liking for each other and it maybe that this contact convinced Cornelia of two things, that she was not ready to become a sister in the
Society of the Sacred Heart and that her true vocation lay in founding her own order of nuns.(15)

It is at this point that Nicholas Wiseman begins to have a great influence on Cornelia's life. We are told that the two had met during her first visit to Rome 1837-1838; At that date she was a recent convert, staying in Rome with her husband and young children. It seems that the acquaintance was renewed and that Wiseman was, at least in part, responsible for suggesting to Cornelia that she start her own society. Wiseman was also a friend of the Earl of Shrewsbury and between them seems to have come the idea that Cornelia was the ideal person to undertake the education of English Catholic girls as part of their overall plan for the conversion of England. Towards the end of 1845 Cornelia had an audience with Pope Gregory XVI who asked her to draw up a Rule for a society of women dedicated to the education of girls.(16)

Cornelia's position at the Trinita must have been an awkward one: a postulant in one order writing the rule for another at the request of the Pope while still responsible for two young children. There is very little detail in the "Life" about this stage in her life. We know that she left Rome towards the end of April and stayed for a couple of months in a convent in Paris before moving on to England. Wiseman advised her to begin her work in the
Midlands so she went to St Joosph’s House, Birmingham where she was welcomed by the Sisters of Mercy. Meanwhile Pierce Connelly had been given the second chaplaincy at Alton Towers. The children had also come to England with Cornelia.

The Society at Derby

Within a very short space of time Cornelia began to get recruits to her new Society including a maid from Alton Towers who had known Cornelia as a guest at the house. Between Wiseman and the Earl of Shrewsbury it was decided to offer the new Society a convent at Derby. A new Catholic church had just been paid for by the Earl of Shrewsbury at Derby and it had been dedicated to St Marie, by Wiseman and attached to this Church was a convent and parish school. When she saw the Convent her immediate reaction was that it was too grand for the small group of nuns who set up home there. Very little is said in the "Life" about the educational work of the Society at this time. There is a great deal of detail about the organization and spiritual development of the Order. For example, all the nuns, including Sister Connelly, as Wiseman now called her, dressed as novices. The nuns were involved in teaching in the parish school and we are told that they trained over 200 girls in the Sunday School.(17)
After their first year the Society opened a small boarding school for the girls of wealthy families. These girls were expected to help with teaching the Catechism to poor girls in the parish. An advertisement for the boarding school appeared in the Catholic Directory and tells us something of the type of education to be provided.

Just before her move to Derby Cornelia suffered a severe blow of losing both Adeline and Frank. Pierce decided that the children should go to school: Adeline to the Convent of the Holy Sepulchre at New Hall, Chelmsford Essex and Frank, aged four, to a school in Hampstead for very young Catholic children. This was such a change in the agreed plan for the children and so must mark the beginning of Pierce’s destructive attitude towards his wife. On the 21st December 1847 Cornelia made her perpetual vows as a sister in the Society of the Holy Child Jesus. It seemed to all concerned that the paths of Pierce and Cornelia were forever to be divergent and that she at least would be able to settle down to that quiet, disciplined and dedicated life that she had been seeking ever since their separation in Grand Coteau.

Within two years of its foundation the Society had twenty-one postulants but it also began to have financial problems. The debt on the Convent became a pressing problem aggravated by the removal of Wiseman from the Midland
District to London where he could no longer influence events in Derby. His own commitment to solve their financial difficulties proved impossible to carry out. There also seems to have been some hostility between the Society and Bishop Ullathorne. Wiseman's solution was to find the growing Society a new home, and a house at St Leonards, near Hastings, was suggested. It was owned by the Rev. John Jones who was willing to let part of it as a convent. The St Leonards site had a number of points to recommend it: it would remove the Society from the ill feeling that had arisen between the Society and the parish clergy (partly caused by the Society's chaplain Dr Asperth); it would relieve them of an enormous debt and it would place them once again under the spiritual guidance of Wiseman. It was thought to be an excellent place to establish a boarding school. By December 1847 the Society had begun to move to St Leonards.

Pierce Connelly's Attack on Cornelia

Before its move, the Society and Cornelia had had to suffer the embarrassment and distress of an unannounced visit by Pierce Connelly. The mention of this visit is the first indication in the "Life" that Pierce Connelly was not prepared to allow his wife the "freedom" their official separation had given her. Sometime later in the early months of 1848 Pierce appears to have travelled to Rome. He seems to have tried to interfere in the Society's business
in two ways: firstly he tried to get the Society exempt from the jurisdiction of their bishop, a situation unheard off and secondly he seems to have tried to get the Constitution changed to one submitted by him. Both actions were at first unknown in England. Cornelia was dismayed and upset and Wiseman was furious. it had to be made quiet clear to the authorities that Pierce Connellly had no right to speak for the Society.

Pierce Connellly removed Adeline from her school at Chelmsford and sent her abroad with Frank. Cornelia according to the laws at the time had no right to object. it seems that Pierce’s object was to force his wife to communicate with him and he may have expected her to follow the children to try and get them back. This scheme certainly failed and Cornelia wrote to the Earl of Shrewsbury asking him to persuade Pierce to stop trying to interfere in the affairs of the Society.(18) Whether the Earl did try to influence Pierce is not recorded: in June 1849 Pierce arrived at the Convent unasked and demanded to see Cornelia. Dr Asperth refused to allow Pierce access to the Convent, though it is not clear whether Cornelia had authorized the refusal. He assumed she had and there was an angry scene with Pierce refusing to leave for several hours. Sometime later Pierce threatened to publish his wife’s letters to him. Cornelia assured Wiseman her letters contained nothing that could embarrass her or the Church.
In December 1849 Pierce Connelly applied to the Court of Arches for the restoration of Cornelia to "her rightful place as wife and mother." (19) His demand was for the restoration of his conjugal rights.

Wiseman arranged for his solicitor to discuss the matter with Pierce’s solicitor but the situation was extremely embarrassing and upsetting. Wiseman’s horror at Pierce’s demand shows clearly in his letters. Here was an ordained Catholic priest under a vow of celibacy demanding conjugal rights from a wife, he had persuaded to separate from him and who had taken a solemn vow of perpetual chastity in Rome in front of the Pope’s representative. The problem was that with Cornelia and Pierce both living in England and under English law the arrangements made in Rome had no legal status. The Court of Arches was the Church of England’s court for matrimonial issues and the only authority even for those not members of the Church of England. On 25th January 1848 Cornelia was issued with a court order instructing her to return to her marriage. At this point Pierce renounced his priesthood and his conversion to the Catholic faith.

In May the case of Connelly versus Connelly was held in the Court of Arches and found in Pierce’s favour. Wiseman on Cornelia’s behalf immediately lodged an appeal but fearful for her safety she was advised to leave England.
Cornelia refused to leave behind her Society, her school and most of all her vocation; the Earl of Shrewsbury offered to pay for her journey and safe keeping on the continent. She remained true to her vows and her new loyalties and would no take the easy way out. Worries for her safety even extended to advising her not to walk alone in the gardens of St Leonards in case Pierce tried to kidnap her.

At the time of the Privy Council’s examination of the appeal there was strong anti-Catholic feeling in the country encouraged partly by sensational accounts in the press and partly by rabid pamphlets written by Pierce. Despite this the appeal was successful and Cornelia was at last safe. Pierce finally left England and spent the rest of his days as rector of the American Episcopalian church in Florence. He brought his children up as protestants and convinced the youngest two, at least, that their mother had wronged him. Mercer as a young man chose to join his American relations and found employment with his uncle John Connelly. He died of yellow fever in 1853. Cornelia was never able to reconcile her children to her though Frank did visit the Convent at St Leonards after his mother’s death.

A Modern Explanation

It is hard to understand Pierce Connelly’s behaviour. Cornelia’s biographer was convinced that his conversion to the Catholic faith was genuine but she does not put forward
any theory to explain his behaviour after the founding of the Society. Though some doubt, on reflection, must be cast on his conversion: in New Orleans Cornelia’s eagerness to become a full member of the Church and be able to receive the sacraments led her to be received in America while Pierce, despite the delay of several months in sailing, was determined to wait until his reception into the Church could take place amid the splendours of Rome. Surely a convert eager for the nourishment of full communion with the Church would want no delay of any kind. Pierce’s delay suggests a heart set on glory and self importance rather than a sincere desire of the convert for admission to the Church.

It maybe that his wish to be a priest was genuine; he had, after all been in Holy Orders before but there is another explanation. During his first visit to Rome in 1837-1838 he may have became mesmerised by the pomp and ceremony of the Church and back in Grand Coteau he experienced a strong desire to be at the heart of the Church and so sought ordination. At first he had wanted to be a Jesuit but the Society of Jesus would not accept him. In Rome it was suggested that he join the Orthodox church, in which married clergy were allowed but promotion to bishop was only available to celibate. He rejected the idea. As an ordinary priest he then became the second chaplain at Alton Towers, there was already a chaplain there. This post did not carry the social position or prestige he
craved. On his two visits to Rome and his visit to Alton Towers before ordination he had been fussed over by society, no doubt as something of a novelty and perhaps as the husband of the beautiful Cornelia. This "failure" may have become more obvious to him at the very time when his wife, the friend and correspondent of Bishop Ullathorne and Wiseman, the latter soon to be the first Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, was collecting together a growing number of postulants all eager to join her Society. Pierce Connelly was a nobody at the very time when his wife was becoming a foundress, a spiritual guide and a respected teacher of girls. It is also possible that he began to suspect that some of his social successes both in Rome and in England were due, not to him but to his wife and that without her that success would never be repeated. If this interpretation is correct then his attempt to have his conjugal rights restored was prompted by jealousy and spite at his wife’s success.

The Society continues to develop

From the early days Cornelia made a point of helping converts. She took the daughters of two Church of England priests, Garside and Cavendish who had become Catholics in 1850. She was all too aware of the sacrifices involved in converting. The School and the Society continued to flourish at St Leonards. On 8th January 1851
Cardinal Wiseman, created the first Archbishop of Westminster only four months before, visited the School and was entertained by the teachers and pupils including a drama called "Joan of Arc" which one of the nuns had written for the occasion. (20) But his visit was not greeted by all with enthusiasm. There was strong anti-Catholic feeling in the area and an anti-Catholic pageant was staged outside the Convent during the Cardinal's visit. Later an effigy of the Pope was burnt on the beach but no harm came to the nuns or their guest.

The Society was flourishing and was thought very highly of by Wiseman. Anxious about the lack of schooling available to poor Catholic children in London he asked Cornelia for nuns to teach at schools in Lincoln's Inn Fields and Gate Street. In order to do this work the Society acquired accommodation in London and Cornelia herself went with the nuns to London to start the new convent.

The Society had its set backs and made mistakes. In 1852 five sisters travelled to Liverpool to work in schools for the poor. Apart from their work for the poor these nuns, under the leadership of Mother Emily, also opened a school for young ladies and by borrowing large sums of money from her brothers she started a teachers' training college. Soon there seems to have been some disagreement
between the Sisters and the local clergy because they were asked to leave the parochial schools. The college, too, was not a success and with mounting debts that Cornelia could see no way of meeting, Mother Emily was recalled to St Leonards and the college was taken over by the Sisters of Notre Dame. Mother Emily left the Society and the other sisters eventually withdrew from Liverpool.

Not put off by the events in Liverpool the Society also sent nuns to Preston as a result of an invitation from the Jesuits. They taught in three elementary schools, though they seem to have disliked the pressure government examinations of such schools put them under. Within a short time of establishing their boarding school at St Leonards the Society opened an elementary school for the poor of the community and employed lay teachers to assist in it. At about this time John Henry Newman asked if the Society would undertake work in Birmingham but Cornelia refused.(21) Perhaps Cornelia was already unhappy about developments in Liverpool, or she felt the Society already over stretched; it is suggested that Newman and Cornelia did not like each other. Newman may have found this independent American woman too forceful for his cloistered Oxford bred personality.
At St Leonards

Cornelia was committed to developing all the talents both of her pupils and of the nuns. She herself was an accomplished artist and drew and painted including pictures of St Ignatius, one of her favourite saints and the Mother of Sorrows, a devotion that doubtless had very deep personal meaning for her. She encouraged the nuns to paint statues and make vestments. She was extremely practical and shocked many by such modern ideas as using a sewing machine. She had designed the habit of the Society to be simple to make and easy to launder; she avoided the pleats and ruffs favoured by many religious orders at the time.

Despite a certain degree of anti-Catholic feeling in the country at the time and strong dislike of the Convent in the local community, Cornelia refused to compromise and arranged a procession on the 1st May, around the garden carrying a statue of Our Lady. Their fears were not realized, no unpleasantness took place; on the 1st June she arranged another procession this time the gates were left open so that passers-by could observe the event. No protest took place but Cornelia was described as "that bold woman" by the local press.(22)
Her Educational Ideas

Clearly many of those entering the noviciate were not educated themselves to a standard acceptable to Cornelia. She insisted on an intense course of study as part of their preparation as novices. (23) She was surprised that most of the novices were so poor at reading no one would want to listen to them. It maybe that her expectations were high because of a superior American education she had received.

Cornelia was not restricted by any outside rules or regulations, there were no public examinations for the girls to take, not for some years to come, and as her pupils would not need to earn their living and could not have careers, she could provide a wide ranging education. In this situation of no external controls or measures most girls' schools at the time provided a poor system of education but Cornelia had other plans. Even before the great reformers had begun to make their impression on female education Cornelia had set to work. Drawing on her experiences at the Convent in Grand Coteau, at the Trinita and in Derby she was determined to provide a sound education. She believed in a liberal education. All the pupil studied literature, geography, history and languages. Older pupils also learnt philosophy, logic, astronomy,
geology, arithmetic and heraldry. There were few textbooks available for the teachers, who produced their own. (See photocopies of geography diagrams, notes on architecture,) The oldest girls, before leaving school, read the Gospel of St John in Greek and all ages did needlework both plain and artistic which culminated in the production of church vestments.(24) She was determined to set high standards, and professional specialists were brought from London to teach elaborate embroidery including gold work and lace making. A printing press was set up and run by the community and the girls were taught modelling.(25)

By 1863 Cornelia had formalized her ideas into a coherent system which she explained in the "Book of the Order of Studies." This small but detailed educational manual was published for use by the Society in its schools and continued to influence its ideas and organization throughout the nineteenth century and beyond.

The Book of the Order of Studies is a remarkably detailed manual for use in the Society's schools. It is divided into sections that explain how the school is divided into grades, how each of these grades are then taught as classes. The Book also provides instructions for the Mistresses on how to teach Religious Instruction, Grammar, Spelling and Dictation, Reading, Arithmetic, Geography, History, Composition, Drawing, Music and needlework. Other
sections lay down the rules for the school including those
governing behaviour in the refectory and the dormitory. There are instructions on how prizes should be awarded and
distributed. There are also sections which instruct the
Mistresses (the nuns) on their own behaviour and professional
etiquette and the special duties of the Mistress of Order
and the Prefect (ie the Mistress) of Studies. Finally there
is the Syllabus section in which precise information is
given for all the subjects taught.

The Book provides a useful insight into how the
School at St Leonards was run and gives some idea of what it
was like to be a pupil there but it also provides us with
information about Cornelia Connelly’s educational ideas and
what she required from her teaching staff. The experience
of the girls attending the school will be dealt with in a
later chapter.

Throughout the "Method" section of her book, Cornelia Connelly emphasizes the need for explanation before
anything is learnt by heart. She is determined that the
children will understand what they learn hence she starts
her section on spelling with:

The conditions for good spelling. (1.) The eye
must be familiar with the forms before the pupils
are required to reproduce them; therefore spelling
should follow not proceed reading. (2) All
instruction in the forms of a language should be
based upon an understanding of the meaning,
therefore they should know what words mean before they spell them. (25)

and repeats this principle throughout her book. Dictation, so popular with educationalists during the nineteenth century, was also to start with understanding so the instruction is:

(1) Let the sentence that is to be written be read through slowly and distinctly, and loud enough to be heard by all. (2.) If the lesson has not been previously read, (which is very desirable) let the Mistress give here such explanation and analysis as are necessary to render the subject and language clear to the pupils; this must however be made briefly, as it is not the primary object of the lesson. (26)

She also tells her teachers to revise yesterday’s lesson before proceeding with a new lesson. She also recommends, especially in the lower grades, that as many senses as possible are employed to help the children learn. A frequent instruction is to incorporate into the lesson activities that include looking at the Demonstration Board, that is using the eye, writing on slates or paper, that is using the hand and reciting the lesson with the teacher and individually, so using the voice. This sequence is repeated in the sections on reading, spelling and dictation.

Reading lessons, in the lowest grades, meant learning to read but in the higher grades these lessons involved the training of the voice so that the children
could read out loud. By the highest grades teachers were looking for the following six qualities from their pupils:

1. Purity of utterance. By taking care of the vowel sounds.
2. Distinctness of utterance. By taking care of the consonants.
3. Correctness of accent and emphasis. These three points secured, form correct pronunciation.
5. Deliberateness of utterance.
6. Modulation. (27)

At this level reading lessons were clearly more to do with elocution and social training than the educational study of literature. Reading aloud was one of those accomplishments that girls were expected to display to doting parents and prospective husbands but which had no practical use.

Much of the curriculum laid down by Connelly met the traditional demands of parents for their daughters to acquire accomplishments but her instructions show that she wanted these taught thoroughly, beginning with basic knowledge and skills and building on them to a high standard of skill and appreciation. This approach can be seen in the teaching of music and drawing. The children were to receive lessons in singing, in piano and in the theory of music. The children were to receive training in Tonic Sol-fa, in rhythm, in melody, the staff, notes, intervals and modulator. The purpose of the rhythm lessons, for example, was so that:
They will then be thoroughly taught the value of notes in their different kinds applied to the various measures, the deviation and relation of notes, and the various rests—Triplets and the Grades of time.(28)

That the emphasis on understanding music not as a recreational pursuit but as a serious part of education is also shown by the detailed study the children were given on the Staff. Lessons were expected to cover among many details the lines of the staff as it is used at present, explain that ancient music was written on eleven lines and that the middle line was called Do, and that from this centre line which in reality is always Do, was formed the staff of the treble or violin clef taking the five upper lines; and that of the bass taking the five lower lines. Explain also that the soprano clef, alto, and tenor are all formed from the original stave which took its name from the eleven strings of the ancient lute or shell, the centre note of which was always Do.(29)

Clearly young ladies emerging from this sort of education could not be critiqued as lacking the rudiments and depth of knowledge denied to so many of their contemporaries. Of course one of the aims of singing lessons at St Leonards was to provide church music of a high standard and all the children were taught the hymns for the services on Sundays. As music was not treated as a showy accomplishment, neither was drawing. Connelly was an accomplished artist and many examples of her work can be seen in the archive at Mayfield.
Under the heading of "Drawing" besides instructions on sketching, perspective etc there is also listed six sections on: Model Drawing, Illuminating in the Old Masters Style, Water Colours, Guache, Oil Painting and Ivory Miniatures. Each section contained details of the most minute kind including instructions on the use of colours and even to recommending the frequent changing of the water when doing Water Colours. The impression given in this part of the book is of an expert giving directions to those she knows to be of a lower standard in a field very close to her heart. The status Connelly wanted for the fine arts was made clear at the very beginning of her section on "Drawing" where she declares

In our schools we are not to consider Drawing as an extra or superlative art left to the choice of any one to follow or leave out, but, on the contrary, as a Christian Art and one of the most important branches of education, second only to the art of spelling and writing, and in some respects even beyond the languages, as it is in itself a Universal Language addressing itself to the ignorant as well as to the most refined. It is to be noted that drawing educates the eye in all perceptible beauty and order, and that it leads to the cultivation of a habit of observation, the only habit by which knowledge generally can be obtained. Nor is it to be considered an accomplishment, but as an Art, which has its philosophy as well as its poetry.(30)

Thus Connelly was not interested in shallow entertainment but in a rigorous education which would provide the girls with knowledge, understanding and a sense of discipline, all
essential if Catholic girls were to survive in a society which could still raise cries of "no-pogery!"

Connelly's book also contains detailed instructions on the courses to be followed on arithmetic, geography, history, composition and needlework. For each subject there is also a syllabus with books to be read and areas to be studied. In each case there is an attempt to begin with what is familiar to the children and then to move gradually to more complex ideas and themes. Thus in History the youngest children are to be taught stories of great men and only after sometime should any attempt be made to teach chronologically placing these great men in context. This system can also be seen in geography lessons where the children are first taught to understand the layout of their school and neighbourhood before being introduced to maps. Arithmetic was to be taught using counters, measurement was to be studied with models, and money was to involve the use of coins so that the children could learn both from listening and touching. Fractions were to be explained by dividing apples amongst the class. The course would perhaps have been better labelled "mathematics" for it included algebra and Euclid though the only mention of geometry is within the "Drawing" course.

The needlework course may reveal a certain ambivalence in her educational aims. Clearly the girls who
attended St Leonards for most of the nineteenth century were not expected to work, either in their own homes, where all domestic tasks would be done by servants, or outside the home where most careers were still barred to women and where any other form of occupation was beneath their social position. Yet the girls were taught sewing, that is not just fancy embroidery, but hemming, over seaming, stitching and button holes. So why were they taught skills it seems unlikely they would ever use? The answer may lie in the worries often expressed about girls’ education in the nineteenth century, that too much studying would damage their femininity and impair their womanhood. Connelly was an educational pioneer but she was not a revolutionary; plain practical sewing may have been a way of allaying criticism and redressing the balance back to traditional female activities.

There is another aspect to the importance given to needlework by Connelly. Both nuns and girls spent time making church vestments. The making of such vestments was clearly not seen as a mundane drudgery but a honourable and privileged task that any Catholic woman would be proud to undertake. There must have been a growing demand for vestments, from newly created parishes and an expanding Church, which would mean that many of these girls would continue to make such vestments after they left school. The
status then given to needlework was partly religious and the mistresses were told to encourage their pupils:

to offer each stitch to the Holy Child Jesus, and to weave golden garments of love to cover His tender limbs; and again at a another time to form a crown of golden love to repair the pain and suffering of the Crown of Thorns; and again another day offering each stitch done in the most prefect manner possible for the relief of the souls in purgatory, or for the intentions of the Superior, &c, in short she (the mistress) should form some definite object and purpose of charity for the hour of work. (31)

and so it must have been hard to complain that learning to hem and seam was irrelevant or demeaning.

Religious instruction was a timetabled lesson but it was viewed both as just another branch of knowledge and as the opportunity to instil in the children a moral code which would sustain them throughout their lives. But religion was not confined to a particular lesson, it flowed through every aspect of life and every hour of the day. The children were woken by a prayer, every lesson began and ended with a prayer, as did all meals and there were daily services in the Chapel as well as Mass. As we have seen many lessons culminated in some religious activity, thus music produced hymn singing, needlework ended in Church vestments and "drawing" provided illustrations of holy themes. Indeed the most basic educational aim of Connelly was to teach the children what it meant to be a Catholic and to provide them with a habit of life which would enable them
to maintain their faith. At this stage in the century there were large numbers of converts and Connelly welcomed their children so it is also possible that many of the first generation of children at St Leonards had not experienced that early nurturing which Catholic children are usually exposed to.

Once again we see Connelly's concern for understanding and explanation before learning something by heart. Learning the Catechism is not mentioned until almost the end of the section devoted to the youngest children. The youngest children, in the First Grade, are to be taught by stories. Stories from the Old and New Testaments and stories of the saints and early martyrs. Her wish is that they should have:

Almighty God (placed) before them in the light of a tender and loving Father — a kind and good Creator — who made us all and created everything- who has bestowed upon us all we thus leading their young hearts to a sincere love of His Goodness. (They should not yet be taught to look upon God in the exercise of His power as a judge or as a punisher of sin.) (32)

Her selection of stories for this age was heavily weighted in favour of the New Testament and this was soon followed by stories of guardian angels and stories of the early Church. The purpose of these stories was to teach them "the principal articles of faith" (33) and only then are they to be told about sin and how it is punished because her aim in
these lessons was to bring before them "the goodness of God and His claims on (their)... love and gratitude." (34)

Learning the catechism was an integral part of every Catholic child's education, but Connelly does not appear to have made it the principal one for her school. Once again the stated aim is not to instil some rote learnt dogma but rather:

to cultivate in the pupils a great reverence for, and love of God, which can be done by inspiring them with a high degree of His greatness, power, and goodness.(35)

and only after each part of the Catechism has been well explained and each point amplified are the children to commit it to memory.

Instructions on teaching the Second and Third Grades are not so detailed as for the youngest children. The concern is still for understanding and details are given as to the right way to teach parables or text from the Bible. Connelly wanted her teachers to spend sometime placing these stories in their geographical and cultural setting. She cautions them against two major faults: "vagueness" which she claimed would arise from not understanding the aim of the parable, and trying to teach too much at one time and "over-straining the analogy" which
results from too much detail which then distorts the spiritual truth.

In these two grades there is more emphasis on Christian Doctrine as found in the Creed, the Commandments and the Sacraments. Teachers are directed to go through these thoroughly, writing notes on the Black board which pupils copy and learn. These children were also taught the Office of Our Lady, the Offices of the Church, popular devotions and of course the meaning and doctrines relating to the Mass.

It would, however, be a mistake to read into Connelly’s instructions on explanation and understanding, a modern interpretation of what these lessons were like. It is unlikely that they involved a free and easy discussion of doctrine and a shared interpretation of text. This was certainly not the usual style of such lessons and there is a hint of this in Connelly’s concern that only one textbook should be used by the class when studying doctrine and she suggests:

it is better not to allow them to read or study privately any other textbooks on the subject as they may follow a different arrangement and thus confuse their ideas before they have sufficient judgment to digest these things for themselves. (36)
The Book of the Order of Studies is essentially a practical guide for teachers. Connelly was writing at a time when most women teachers were little more than child minders who imparted their own meagre knowledge and understanding in a confused and illogical manner. Attempts at raising this standard were under way. Connelly was prepared to go into minute detail in order to ensure both a uniformity of instruction and a standard which met her ambitions.

Each section dealing with a particular subject gives some indication of what the aims should be for the classes, sometimes this was an overall aim for the whole subject, or as in the case of geography it was specific to the Grade. Thus the teacher was told that at this early stage:

the first lessons are intended to give the pupils correct notions of distance, relative position and elementary notions of physical and political geography, using the book mentioned in the syllabus. (37)

but for other sections this introduction tended to be more philosophical as in the case of history where a lengthy statement was made that:

"History" has always been considered as the light of ages, the depository of events and the faithful evidence of truth; it opens to us every age and every country; keeps up a correspondence between us and the great men of antiquity, and sets all their actions, achievements, virtues and faults
before our eyes. It may likewise be of service in exciting the curiosity of that age, which is ever desirous of being informed, and in inspiring a taste for study by means of the pleasure inseparable from it. (38)

Clearly there was a need to educate the Mistresses as well as the children and there are a number of directions to the former to study for themselves and prepare their own notes for example to enable them to teach "Drawing" to her standard she recommended that

a weekly lecture or Reading on Elementary Art embracing Light, Shade, Colour and Christian Art, &c, which may be taken either privately, or among the Mistresses collectively, as the Superior shall direct, and the substance of it shall be reproduced to the children.(39)

and of course in many cases there were very few textbooks for them to use. There are examples in the Mayfield archive of diagrams and note books produced by the teachers to fill this gap. (See examples of geography and architecture.)

The Book contains a vast amount of detail concerning the organization and progress of lessons which in some cases seems to be leaving very little room for teachers to act on their own initiative. Thus teachers of the Second Grade are told to:

write the whole lesson on the D. Board (demonstration) and let the pupils copy it on their slates or into their books, as by this method .. when this has been done the exercise in reading follows.
1. The Mistress reads a portion of the lesson.
2. The pupils read it simultaneously.
3. The pupils read it individually.
4. Then follows spelling.
5. Then examinatory questions (not too many be careful not to turn the lesson into an "object" or history lesson.)
6. Then they can copy the lesson or write it from dictation, or write what they can from memory a brief abstract of it, which is at once an exercise in writing, spelling, and composition, besides cultivating the memory and imagination. (40)

Some of the most detailed instructions are to be found in the section on arithmetic which occupies ten pages of the book; history takes no more than two pages to describe. The amount of detail to be found in this section is well illustrated by the following extract:

Each number must be taken separately and a lesson be given on its power, e. g. lesson given on "one." Draw on the D.B. (demonstration board) one line, one 0, &c, separate one ball from the others on the ball frame, point to various things in the school having them similarly named with stress on the number. Let the pupils mark "one" line, 0, &c, on their slates.(41)

The instructions continue through all the first ten numbers and on into addition, subtraction etc. which may be an indication of the importance given to arithmetic and/or an example of the need to compensate for a serious lack of knowledge and experience on the part of the teachers. On the other hand it may reveal a prescriptive style of leadership.

This desire for efficiency was not just confined to the class room, the whole book is peppered with ideas for
the smooth running of the school, as in the case of music lessons which:

are to be ordered so as not to interfere with the lectures or classes, and a time-table of the hours of the lessons shall be hung on the walls of the Music rooms. The practising hours also shall be marked on another time-table to be hung upon the wall where it may be conveniently seen by the pupils and by the Sister in charge. (42)

and to ensure that pupils are not left hanging about in passages and that valuable practising time is not lost

The Mistress of Order or another Sister appointed for this purpose, shall take the children to their music-lesson five minutes before the time so that they may be on the spot to replace the child who leaves the piano; and the same order is to be observed with the practising hours. She shall be careful that the pupil presents herself to the Master or Teacher with a polite and respectful demeanour, holding her book erect before her chest, and making the usual respectful salutation to her teacher. (43)

Some details and directives do seem to be rather excessive; was it, for example, necessary to tell the mistress taking a needlework lesson to:

be watchful and diligent in walking around to inspect the work of each child, and in showing what is necessary to advance her rapidity and skill in the art of needle-work. (44)

What sort of teacher needed the kind of instructions which told her to see:

(1.) ... that each child has her pen, ink, book and blotting paper which saves time and avoids interruption.
(2.) Let her stand, or sit, where she can see and be seen, and be heard by the whole class.
(3.) Give the sign to begin by tapping the book with a pencil. (45)

Yet clearly Connelly was aiming for a high standard of professionalism from her teachers and wanted to make this quite clear by including in her book directions on checking, correcting and marking the pupils' work. To Connelly the correcting of errors in spelling lessons was the most important part and so she instructed that:

(1.)... the Mistress prints the misspelt word on the Demonstration Board.
(2.) Let the pupils spell it simultaneously.
(3.) Let the Mistress explain it, give derivations &c.
(4.) Let the pupils spell it individually, especially the one who misspelt it at first.
(5.) Let a sentence be made containing this word. (orally)
(6.) Let the pupils write from dictation another sentence with the word in a different position. (46)

In another place her teachers are told to "let the pen be drawn through the word, so as entirely to obliterate it lest the incorrect form be impressed on the mind." (47)

It is clear both from her book and from details of her life, that Cornelia Connelly wanted a professional standard from her teachers and that she expected all the Society's schools to work according to the same system and order. There are three sections where this is the main purpose they are: Common Rules for the Mistresses of the School, Rules for the Mistress of Order and Rules for the
Prefect of Discipline. There are thirty-seven rules for all mistresses to follow which cover the general intention of the school, that is to train the pupils in "the pracicee of those virtues by which He (God) is most pleased" (48) and also establish the atmosphere of prayer and order. It is here that mistresses are told what prayers to start and finish lessons with and how to maintain a sense of order by insisting "that modesty and silence be observed; therefore they must not permit any useless questions or arguments during the lessons, neither must their be any loud laughing or talking during class or study-time." (49) Mistresses were also responsible for the orderly movement of the pupils about the school by:

seeing that the pupils arrange themselves silently and modestly on going out and entering the class room in single file... to observe a similar order at every change of locality, e. g. in going to or from the Chapel, Refectory, School-hall or playground. (50)

Many of the rules listed in this section are about the duty of the mistresses to prepare their lessons, keep order and discipline, not to deviate from the syllabus and how to give and supervise punishments. They are also encouraged to establish a high degree of respect among themselves and between themselves and the pupils this was expressed in rule thirty four under the heading "Mutual Respect" in which she stated:
Mistresses shall on all occasions show great respect for each other; one must never countermand the orders of another, but on the contrary uphold each other’s authority by every means in their power. Community affairs are never to be spoken of to the children, nor remarks made upon the Mistresses except such that are edifying. One Mistress is not to be compared with another. (51)

Elsewhere, in the same section, they are also forbidden to be "more familiar with one pupil than another, neither let them seek private conference with any of the children without permission." (52)

The Mistress of Order was given seventeen rules for her guidance. Though this section has undergone a lot of revision, enough of the original survives to give an overall impression. The Mistress of Order, was not responsible for the syllabbi and the teaching, she was responsible for the behaviour of the pupils, the cleaning and ventilation of the school, dealing with the abuse and breaking of apparatus by the pupils, checking their personal appearance and making sure lessons began and ended on time. The main method for controlling the pupils appears to have been a system of good points awarded in each class by the class teacher. These good points were added up each week. Cards were issued to every pupil according to the number of good points they had received. Once a month a conference was held by the Mistress of Order when certificates were issued according to a hierarchy based on the cards of merit issued each week. These certificates were designated, in
descending order of approval, Honour, Satisfaction and Approbation. It is not clear if any system existed for giving cards with negative statements. "Good Points" were calculated under the headings, Conduct, Discipline and Lessons. It is pointed out that no marks are to be calculated for Sundays.

There may not be any indication of the giving of "bad points" but we do know that pupils misbehaved and were given punishments. Punishments appear to have consisted of learning lessons, it seems, by heart and pupils were expelled a step that could only be taken by the Superior.

The instructions for the Prefect of Studies has undergone total revision, in the same handwriting that appears throughout the Book of the Order of Studies. The Prefect is first reminded that she is in charge of souls redeemed by God and that one day she will have to give an account of her work to God. She is told to develop a maternal love for these children.

Her main area of responsibility appears to have been the spiritual welfare of the children. There are instructions on her duty to arrange spiritual conferences for the various ages and precise details on how the children should enter and leave the Chapel. It was the Prefect’s duty to supervise the instructions for the sacraments of
Penance and Communion and to organize weekly confessions for the whole school.

Finally this section ends with the general direction

to study the Order of Studies she should make herself familiar with the Book ... "Order of Studies" and let her take care that all the rules and methods are exactly observed. Not to change the Order of Studies. She may not change any of those things that are in the syllabus or Book of the Order of Studies, nor dispense with anything therein required. (53)

and gives her the responsibility of handing on the tradition to new mistresses who must

retain the method of teaching which is approved and when necessary let her (the Prefect) be present when the lessons are given. She must sedulously maintain all the old customs which will cause ,,, (the manuscript not clear for one word) less to blame the frequent change of Mistresses.(54)

In keeping with many boarding schools of the time, the girls spent most of the year at school only coming home for about five weeks in the summer. Christmas and Easter were spent at school, though an effort seems to have been made to provide a holiday atmosphere for the pupils. Ordinary lessons appear to have been suspended and time was spent on drawing, painting, needlework, trips into the countryside and games such as charades. Simple
entertainments such as play acting were provided by the girls with many of the plays written by the nuns. (26) There seems to have been some disquiet among parents about play acting but Cornelia was very positive about its benefits. She believed that acting encouraged the girls in their education and improved their deportment. Performances at St Leonards were of a high standard and were frequently praised. (27) There seems to have been mixed feelings in the Nineteenth Century about girls putting on plays. Clearly some parents disapproved but no such doubts appear to have worried the teachers at St Leonards.
NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

1. Gasquet,. The Life of Cornelia Connelly by a member of the Society of the Holy Child Jesus p. 4

2. Ibid., p. 3

3. Ibid., p. 5

4. Ibid., p. 7

5. Ibid., p. 9

6. Ibid., p. 25

7. Ibid., p. 32

8. Ibid., p. 37

9. Ibid., p. 55

10. Ibid., p. 63

11. Ibid., p. 82

12. Ibid., p. 77

13. Ibid., p. 79

14. Ibid., p. 84

15. Ibid., p. 84

16. Ibid., p. 87

17. Ibid., p. 120

18. Ibid., p. 158

19. Ibid., p. 165

20. Ibid., p. 207

21. Ibid., p. 197

22. Ibid., p. 210

23. Ibid., p. 225

24. Ibid., p. 288
25. Connelly, C. *The Book of the Order of Studies* 1863 p. 27

26. Ibid., p. 29
27. Ibid., p. 37
28. Ibid., p. 69
29. Ibid., p. 69
30. Ibid., p. 54
31. Ibid., p. 71
32. Ibid., p. 19
33. Ibid., p. 20
34. Ibid., p. 20
35. Ibid., p. 21
36. Ibid., p. 23
37. Ibid., p. 47
38. Ibid., p. 50
39. Ibid., p. 56
40. Ibid., p. 35
41. Ibid., p. 38
42. Ibid., p. 72
43. Ibid., p. 73
44. Ibid., p. 73
45. Ibid., p. 28
46. Ibid., p. 30
47. Ibid., p. 29
48. Ibid., p. 81
49. Ibid., p. 84
50. Ibid., p. 86
51. Ibid., p. 89
52. Ibid., p. 83
53. Ibid., p. 100
54. Ibid., p. 100
Janet Erskine Stuart, like Cornelia Connelly, was involved in the education of Catholic girls during the nineteenth century. Unlike Connelly she did not found her own religious order but joined, the well established, Society of the Sacred Heart.

Early Life and Conversion

Janet was born on the 11th November 1857 in the village of Cottemore, in Rutland, where her father was the vicar. There had been twelve other children born to the Stuarts before Janet but only seven were alive in 1857. On the death of her mother Janet came under the care of her elder sister, Theodosia, known in the family as Doddie. Theodosia was very friendly with the daughter of the Earl of Gainsborough, whose house was close by. This connection was to prove of great importance in Janet’s life. (1) Janet’s care and education appears to have been the responsibility of a series of German, French and Swiss nurses and governesses from whom she gained her fluency in these languages.
According to Monahan, Janet described herself at the age of eleven as happy but two events changed that: her beloved sister, Doddie, became an invalid and Janet, through her brother’s influence, began to study philosophy especially Aristotle. Doddie’s illness meant that Janet was left very much to herself and Aristotle began to weaken her religious beliefs so that by the time she was twenty she called herself an agnostic.(2) By her early twenties Janet was showing a keen interest in education. Her brother had gone to Uppingham School, which she had visited and was impressed by the School and its Headmaster. She became involved with the village school at Cottemore. She took a keen interest in the pupils and spent time teaching at the school. Monahan suggests Janet had already read educational material at this stage in her life. (3)

On March 6th 1879, Janet was received into the Catholic Church, at the altar of the Sacred Heart, Farm Street, London. This reversal from agnostic to Catholic appears to have been brought about by two key people. The first was the new Earl of Gainsborough who had become a Catholic. Gainsborough and his family were close friends of the Stuarts. Janet was much affected by one of Gainsborough’s daughters becoming a Sister of Charity. After reading books lent to her by the Earl of Gainsborough, especially one about St Francis of Assi, Janet went to talk to Father Gallwey, a well known Catholic priest. It was
Gallwey, the second key person, who convinced Janet to become a Catholic. (4)

Between 1879 and 1881 Janet appears to have spent a large part of her time in the country pursuits of hunting and fishing. She also made visits to hospitals and workhouses in London and visited Ireland where she helped with a Sunday school but it seems as if she was looking for some direction for her new life as a Catholic. In July 1881, at Father Gallwey’s suggestion, Janet agreed to go on retreat to the Convent at Roehampton. The Convent at Roehampton had been founded by the Sisters of the Society of the Sacred Heart in 1848 and was now well established with a boarding school on the same site. During this retreat Janet studied the spiritual exercises of St Ignatius. (5) From this point on she seems to have been considering the religious life and wrote to Father Gallwey on the subject. She was attracted to the Society of the Sacred Heart but seems to have felt that they did not do enough for the poor. After visiting several convents and after a spiritual experience, in Regent’s Park, in May 1882 she became convinced that she had a vocation to the religious life. Father Gallwey, it seems, recommended her to the Society of the Sacred Heart. (6) In September 1882 Janet began her noviate at Roehampton, London.

Madeleine Sophie Barat and the Society of the Sacred Heart
The religious order that Janet entered in 1882 was a well known French teaching order that had been founded by Madeleine Sophie Barat.

Madeleine Sophie Barat (7) was born on the 12th December 1779 in a cottage in Joigny in France. Her education up to the age of eleven was in no way unusual for the time. She attended the local village school for about two years during which time she was taught to read and write French and a little Latin. She studied arithmetic and learnt her catechism. When Madeleine was eleven, her elder brother, Louis, who had been studying at the seminary at Sens, returned home. Louis Barat, wanted to be a priest, but at twenty-two he was considered too young, so he had come home to work as Professor of Mathematics. Louis was much affected by his younger sister and was determined to win her for God.(7) It is not clear what he had in mind but he certainly made himself her teacher and spiritual guide.

Louis Barat taught his sister the same curriculum that the boys at his college followed, that is, Latin, Greek and mathematics, he used the same books and set her the work done by the boys.(8) Hence Madeleine had a boy’s education. At first she was unwilling but soon she came to enjoy her studies and developed a love of books. He taught her German and Italian and trained her in religious matters. Madeleine’s education continued for three years but in 1793
Louis went to Paris, to try and escape the persecution of clergy, he was, however, denounced to the Committee of Public Safety and was imprisoned for two years. It was at this time that Louis managed to send Madeleine a picture of the Sacred Heart of Jesus and Mary. (9)

On his release from prison Louis was convinced that Madeleine’s future lay in the religious life, though he was not clear in what way this would take shape. In 1796 Louis took Madeleine to Paris where her studies became solely religious. She studied the Bible, the Fathers of the Church and theology. Monahan describes the relationship between brother and sister in terms that seem very strange today. She says that Louis showed no affection for his sister and even refused a present she tried to give him. He enforced a strict regime which involved long examinations of conscience and an austere life. (10) The reason given for this behaviour is that Louis was training his sister so that she would be ready for any task God might call her to perform. Considering the revolutionary times they were living in, real hardship was a possibility.

It was in 1800 that Madeleine first met Father Varin who was convinced that France needed religious orders of both men and women who would undertake the education of boys and girls. The Revolution had swept away hundreds of monasteries and convents and many priests had been executed.
Education had been taken away from the Church and made the responsibility of the state which was to remain anti-clerical for much of the nineteenth century. At this stage Madeleine appears to have been considering the life of a Carmelite nun but Father Varin was convinced that with her university style education she should become a teacher. Soon after her meeting with Father Varin, Madeleine moved to another district of Paris and was joined by three other women: Mademoiselle Loquet, Octavie Bailly, Marguerite Maillard. (11)

The Start of the Order's Educational Work

In November 1800 Madeleine Barat consecrated herself to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. Early in 1801 she took her embryonic order to Amiens where they were to take over a school there. In 1802 Father Varin formally assembled the small community and placed Barat at its head. Barat had been unwilling to assume the position of superior because she was still only in her early twenties. The community began to grow, even though Mademoiselle Loquet decided she did not have a religious vocation and left. By 1804 the Society of the Sacred Heart was firmly established and Barat was already planning to start a house in Grenoble. She was to found over a hundred houses during her lifetime.
The Society of the Sacred Heart was very successful in France and was soon taking over houses that had, before the Revolution, belonged to other religious groups like the Poor Clares who did not reform after the persecution was over. By 1830 the Order had twenty-two houses in France, six in America and two in Italy. But this rapid expansion had its drawbacks. There was quite a lot of arguing over the nature of the Constitution which would govern them. In the early years the community at Amiens, after Barat left there, produced their own Rule and for some years a split seemed inevitable. (12) The years from 1839 to 1843 saw much discontent in the Order mainly over attempts to change its constitution to be more like the Jesuits. From the its earliest beginnings the Society of Jesus had been looked to as a model, but Barat was not convinced it could be copied too closely, she wrote, "I do not think... that women can be governed as men." (13) It was at this time that the Mother House was moved from Paris to Rome, a change that caused difficulties with the French Government. In 1843 the Pope intervened and changed the Constitution to one more suitable and closer to the original. During this difficult time Barat visited Rome and met Cornelia Connelly at the Convent of the Trinita dei Monte. (14) By 1848 further expansion had placed Sacred Heart convents in Canada, England, Ireland, Poland, Belgium, Austria and Spain.
Educational Ideas

Barat was a well educated woman and she was committed to providing the best education possible for the girls in the care of the Order. The aspirations of French parents for their daughters were very similar to those held in England. Barat, like many women engaged in Catholic education, was not radical in the content of her curriculum; she was not involved in challenging the assumptions made about the role of women in society nor was she campaigning for the sort of opportunities that would soon characterize the Women's Movement. She was, however, interested in providing the best, traditional, education. Barat's aim, has been described by O'Leary to be, to give dignity to a girl by means of an education in manners, taste and ideals, an education which is significantly expressed by the French word "elever" since it implies the ennobling of the whole person. The independence desired for a woman was not the fruit of a successful career, but rather the right and peaceful self-reliance of a mind which carries within itself resources for its own happiness and healthy occupation; and a character so much at peace with itself that it need not seek for excitement abroad. (15)

Barat decided the best way to deliver such an education was to produce The Plan of Studies, which was first printed in 1805. This document went through a number of changes; it was amplified in 1833 and 1850 and again during the 1860s. The programme set out was to be followed in all the schools
of the Sacred Heart but enforcing this uniformity proved difficult. In the early days of the Order, Barat held regular meetings, every six months, to discuss the Plan of Studies and to modify it where necessary. These meetings involved both discussion of the content and methods to be used. These meetings are, therefore, an indication of the seriousness of Barat’s wish to produce a professional body of teachers who could be relied upon as teachers and involved in designing the programme. Clearly the Order was not to be some amalgam of well meaning amateurs or inept spinsters who had failed at everything else. In 1848, for example, she became worried about a decline in the standard of teaching given to the youngest children, there had also been concern expressed by parents, so she decided to choose a small number of nuns who were thought to be among the most learned and to send them out to visit the Sacred Heart houses:

they will be as it were our inspectrices and if this task is accomplished with the earnestness and devotion which should animate our work the confidence of parents will be restored.

In 1850, still determined to maintain a uniformity of curriculum and style, Barat appointed Mother d’Avenas as mistress-general-of-studies. Her duties involved maintaining the character of its education and she produced a series of manuals for each class containing literary
extracts. These manuals proved very successful and some were still in use at the end of the century.

The efforts to provide the same education to their children regardless of what country they lived in were ultimately useless, in the face of growing state control, in many parts of the world. Public examinations also began to create external pressures on the Sacred Heart schools. By 1914 the battle was almost over, so that Janet Erskine Stuart could declare:

"exterior uniformity is indeed no longer possible in all our countries, but we must preserve that union which is our strength, a union resting upon singleness of aim, upon agreement as to principle, and the essentially religious and philosophical and literary character of our education. Methods of teaching still can and should be constantly perfected; We must take into account the tendencies of that modern world which awaits our pupils when they leave school; We must arm them for a struggle to which they were not, formerly, exposed and we must keep in the front rank, as a preparation for life, that education of the Society of the Sacred Heart which was left us as an inheritance by our Blessed Mother."(19)

By the time Stuart wrote this the struggle to raise women teachers from a child minding status was well under way and for some had been won. Curriculum uniformity was now no longer so necessary once the professional status of its teachers was assured. Professionals can be allowed to make informed, independent decisions. Central control may no longer have been seen as the only way of maintaining that
sense of commitment that Barat had striven for in the early
days.

When Barat began to formulate her Plan of Studies
she had a long tradition to draw upon. The tradition of
monastic education for girls had disappeared, in France as a
result of the Revolution, it had gone in England with the
Reformation and had long been forgotten there; the French
Revolution did close most monasteries and convents but this
was for a comparatively short time and the knowledge and
experience of teaching girls was not forgotten. Barat was
able to draw on the educational work done by the Ursulines
who had built up a reputation for commitment to the
education of girls. Angela Merici had established the
Ursuline order during the sixteenth century, in Northern
Italy. Although these Ursulines were not a teaching order,
as such, they did take on the responsibility for protecting
and teaching girls, rich and poor. When Angela Merici began
this movement there were many in the Catholic Church who
shared Ludovicus Vives's views that girls should be kept
shut away, especially from their brothers, in case they
develop a taste for male company, fed very little meat in
case it inflame their passions and taught only enough to
read their prayer books and the lives of the saints.
Fenelon, among others, put forward a different argument
though still based on the conventional view of the female
role in society. He argued that good education was essential for girls because they were so weak. This weakness must be countered with strong religious instructing and a preparation for life:

Ursuline education made the child understand from the beginning that life is not all pleasure. The little girl learnt the meaning of sacrifice and the demands of daily duty. The future awaiting her would never be free from crosses, and she must be prepared for it. (20)

The Ursuline convent and school in the Rue St Jacques, Paris, drew up the "Reglement des Ursulines" in 1673 and this was used for many years and greatly influenced other educationists. It contained minute details on the teaching of girls and describes how the school is to be organized. According to O'Leary it is possible to see this inheritance in the various editions of the Plan of Studies and by the 1820 version:

that the content has developed. With Fenelon, Madame de Maintenou, Racine and Rollin, the Order continues to lay stress upon the mother-tongue, giving a setting to the study of literature by suppling that indefinable background of history, mythology and etymology. (21)

Girls taught by the Order studied the French language, it was given great prominence so that some girls outside France were almost bilingual which was seen as a great social advantage. The status given to French pushed Latin to a less important position. Other languages were not at first taught as it was assumed that girls wishing to study German
and Italian could spend sometime in convents in those countries. Literature was begun only when the pupils had a firm grasp of their own language. Philosophy was also taught from the beginning as was history. Gradual changes were made so that by the 1850s a more academic balance had been established with foreign and classical literature, natural history and general knowledge now forming the curriculum. The girls were taught those staples of nineteenth century education, reading, writing and arithmetic. Spelling and composition also appear in the Plan of Studies with instructions on the best methods of teaching this. Needlework and embroidery were taught and prizes were awarded for the best examples of this. Drawing, singing and piano lessons were also given. The acquisition of knowledge was not the primary purpose of this education; according to O'Leary

In the chapters on literary and historical studies, the Plan points out the training of mind and character, of the imagination, judgment, emotion, and right conduct afforded by these studies. Indeed, every branch of the syllabus is considered from this point of view, from the mental discipline it affords. Without holding extreme views on this subject the Society of the Sacred Heart has never abandoned the belief in the possibility in some kind of formal training. It has always tried by means of suitable exercises to develop the inherent capabilities of a child. Hence it has set value upon the formation of good mental and moral habits, on external discipline, and on an environment conducive to study. There is no point about which the friends of the Order have commented more favourably than this mental discipline which comes largely from the philosophical course, however elementary and unpretentious this may be... it is everywhere one
of the most salient characteristics of the education of the Society of the Sacred Heart. (22)

The concern of the Order was for a total education which would influence the girls for the rest of their lives and provide them with a framework by which they could judge the difficulties they would face. With this aim in mind Barat rejected the call by some in the Order for specialist teachers. Specialized knowledge was not her concern. She wrote:

After careful consideration this proposal, has been unanimously rejected on the grounds that without achieving the results it might seem to promise, it would rather destroy what is in reality the most important factor of our mode of education. I speak of the unbroken influence of a mistress-of-class, a true religious who with zeal and enthusiasm makes full use, under the direction of the superior and of the mistress-general, of the various branches of the curriculum, in order to secure the chief aim of our education, the moulding of the minds and hearts of our children. (23)

By the time of her death in 1865, Barat had founded some 105 houses and the Order had spread throughout Western Europe and across then Atlantic to both Canada and the USA. Yet in many ways the work had only just began. The education of girls was still in its early stages both within the Catholic Community and in the secular field. Barat was canonized by the Catholic Church in February 1905. The educational work of the Order continued under successive mother-generals. In England much of this work was done under the guidance of Janet Erskine Stuart.
According to her biographer, Monahan, Stuart was not very happy as a novice because she tried to copy the other nuns rather than to find her own way. What she was happy with, was teaching, she described the best teachers as those who have two loves: the love of knowledge and the love of children. In 1884 she was given a class to teach English, Christian Doctrine and Arithmetic to. She was also put in charge of supervising the study of the youngest novices. She took very seriously her duties as mistress-of-class and saw it her duty to observe her children very carefully; she likened this to the work of a naturalist. Even in these early years she made a strong impression at Roehampton and was very influential with Mother Digby who was superior there. In 1889 she made her profession as a nun at the Mother House and was immediately made sub-mistress of novices. In 1892 she became the Mistress of Novices and was soon to be made Superior at Roehampton, when in 1894, Mother Digby was made Mother-General. As the Superior at Roehampton some of her ideas were rather unconventional. She used Alice in Wonderland, Alice Through the Looking Glass and The Ship that Found Itself as aids in the spiritual life. She read some of these books aloud to the community. She was to become Superior Vicar of the English convents and then finally Superior General, in the
latter capacity she embarked on extensive journeys that enabled her visit all the Order's houses as far afield as South America and Japan. She wrote on many matters, mainly for the community and its schools but she published two books: *The Education of Catholic Girls* was published in 1912 and *The Society of the Sacred Heart* which was published after her death in 1923. From these two books and events at Roehampton it is possible to examine her ideas on education. She did not leave a detailed teaching manual as Connelly did but it is possible to understand her aims, methods, the curriculum and the atmosphere she wanted for the schools of the Order. Stuart's ideas are based on the tradition in which she was trained and worked as a teacher. She makes some attempt in her *Education of Catholic Girls* to address some of the issues facing education in the early twentieth century, but as she does not display any desire for changes in the teaching methods to be employed in English Sacred Heart schools, her ideas remain firmly in the century before and are therefore relevant to this study of nineteenth-century Catholic education for girls.

Aims

In all her writings it is clear that the central aim which pervades all subjects and all aspects of school life, was religion. Religion was to be taught as a separate subject, called lessons in Christian Doctrine, but it was also to be expressed in Nature Study, in Art, in History where the pre-
eminence of Church history was accepted; religion was also to be found in the code of manners the children were to be trained in. Bad manners are a form of selfishness which can be countered by a devotion to Our Lady. This commitment to the teaching of religion is so fundamental to the work of the Order it seems almost unnecessary to discuss it. The Sisters of the Sacred Heart took four vows, besides the usual chastity, obedience and poverty, they took the vow of teaching the young. Stuart saw the work quite clearly, if "even a child well-grounded in its faith, may be an apostle, and therefore to reach the children," (25) was indeed the most important purpose of education; more important than any examination or any notion of usefulness. The measure of success was not examination results or careers achieved (she never mentions careers) she assumes that the traditional roles will await them, but the way the girls continued to practise their faith for "the children are to be educated for life in the world, and that most of them will be called to exercise their influence and do their duties at the head of Catholic Homes," would be the true test of the Order's work. Any harshness experienced in achieving this aim, of preparing girls to be good Catholics in their future homes, was therefore explicable in terms of the need to develop the strength of character that would be needed in the outside world. This character training meant that children must be seen and understood as individuals therefore
each child (is) to be itself, and to surround it with an atmosphere of so much attentive affection that it may be unconstrained and let out its real self with its good as well as its worst points... so it may be taken in hand to correct its defects and taught to know and control itself. (26)

This aim of character formation, like the religious aim, to which it is so closely linked, influenced most aspects of school life so, for example, their reading material must be very closely supervised because young girls could not be expected to show self restraint and Stuart's advice as a guiding principle is that no book should be allowed in the school which encourages "rebellion and doubt" (27) the latter certainly referring to religious doubt: the worst fault that a Sacred Heart pupil could fall into.

Stuart takes no account in either of her books, of the possibility that the Catholic girls she was writing about would need to work, on leaving school, or would want a career. She takes very little notice of public examinations, except to complain of their effect on the syllabus. She singles out the case of history for special mention, which she says has been reduced to facts, dates and summaries by the demands of the public examinations. She is against girls preparing for public examinations and has no time for the argument that girls should study the same courses as boys. Like many educationists of the nineteenth century, she was convinced that "the strain of equal studies is too great for their weaker physical organization" (28)
and that their education should be planned with this in mind. This view allows her to discount the importance of mathematics. She dismisses mathematics by declaring that

the success of girls in the field of mathematics is in general, temporary and limited, it means much less in their after life than in that of boys. For the few whose calling in life is teaching mathematics have some after use... (but) From the point of view of practical value it proves of little use, and as mental discipline something of more permanent worth might have taken its place to strengthen the reasoning powers.(29)

Having dismissed mathematics what did Stuart expect girls to study instead; literature certainly, history and a lot of time spent on learning to read aloud. Although Stuart did not have feminist ambitions for her girls she did aim for academic standards in those subjects she felt appropriate. She approved of further study and hoped that;

when school-room education is finished what we may look for is that girls should be ready and inclined to take up some further study of history, by private reading, or following lectures with intelligence, and that they should be able to express themselves clearly in writing, either in the form of notes, paper, or essays, so as to give an account of their work and opinions to those who may direct these later studies.(30)

Yet she makes it clear that the girls she has in mind are more likely to spend their time in leisure pursuits than in serious higher education, by her hope that:

of what they had learnt of European History will enable them to travel with understanding and
appreciation, that places with history will mean something to them.\(^{(31)}\)

Stuart also appears to favour the cultivation of accomplishments, an educational aim more in keeping with the first half of the nineteenth century; she wants girls to learn to read aloud and recite poetry and she spends sometime recommending how the art of conversation should be cultivated. Reading aloud appears to have no great educational worth, it is a "party trick" designed to entertain. Her instructions on conversation contain very little about the need to have something interesting to say.

Her conservative position is shown also in comments on the whole issue of equality in education. She declares

the whole controversy about equality in education involves less bitterness to Catholics... that we have less difficulty... in accepting a fundamental difference in ideals for girls and boys. Our ideals of family life, of spheres of action which co-operate and complete each other, without interference or competition, on masculine and feminine types of holiness amongst canonized saints give a calmer outlook upon the question involved.\(^{(32)}\)

Stuart has no sympathy with feminist ideals but she is anxious to make it clear that the Order is concerned about women and declares

the Society of the Sacred Heart is essentially a feminine Order, a woman’s Order, seeking in its... life a woman’s excellence, the perfection of womanhood and so far as it can be learned,
God's ideas and Mary's on what a woman can be.

(33)

Method

Stuart drew very heavily on the traditions of the Order. She assumed that schools would be small and that teachers would be able to give individual attention to the children. Although she does not speak as if all the teaching will be done by the nuns, she does emphasize the important part the teachers will play in maintaining that Catholic atmosphere which was so essential. What she did expect from teachers was a high degree of commitment which must first of all mean

that we ourselves should care about what we teach, not that we should merely like history as a school subject, but that it should be real to us, that we should feel something about it, joy or triumph or indignation, things that are not found in textbooks... we should believe that it all matters very much to the children and to ourselves.(34)

Love of the work did not mean that she wanted specialist teachers; she maintains the old dislike of specialization and says that members of the Order only take university degrees for outside use; within the community such qualifications carry little status.(35) Specialization would of course reduce the contact between the children and the class teacher; contact which was necessary if the children were to be closely studied.
In her book The Society of the Sacred Heart she says that the discipline used in the Order's schools has been criticised by posing certain questions. These questions give us some idea of the methods used. She says people ask about the "strict silence" (36) which was imposed on the children as they moved about the school and on special religious occasions. Silence of course is a long tradition in most religious communities both as a means of self-discipline and as a aid to religious devotions: both motives were at the basis of school silences. She also raises the question of supervision and the ban on particular friendships; the supervision was constant and meant that the teachers could study the children and train them to overcome what were judged as character faults. Friendships were not encouraged between small groups and no one was expected to have a close friend. The exclusiveness of such friendships was thought to be damaging to the sense of community and implied a preference for certain pupils while others were left out. Such preferences were thought to encourage pride in oneself, a serious fault. This concern for particular friendships may also show a concern for the danger of homosexual feelings developing in a close single sex community. Stuart also says that it has been noted that in the Order's schools there is an insistence on play and games. Recreation was certainly part of the normal daily timetable and team games were encouraged; according to O'Leary the girls at Roehampton played cricket and tennis in
the 1870s (37) and that she contrasts this to the restraint found in most English high schools at the same time. The girls in Antonia White's fictional account of the school at Roehampton play baseball as part of their hour long midday recreation. (37) This encouragement of team games and strenuous exercise is rather surprising especially as it does not quite fit the picture of wanting a girl to grow up to the best a woman ought to be it is in two things we must establish her fundamentally, quiet of mind and firmness of will; quiet of mind equally removed from stagnation and from excitement... the best minds of women are quiet, intuitive and full of intellectual sympathies; (38)

Team games did fulfil the useful role of providing an organized and supervised way of using up recreation time that might otherwise have been spent in cliques and schoolgirl intrigues.

The Curriculum

There are no great surprises or innovations in the subjects that Stuart expects Catholic girls to study. She discusses mathematics and it has already been shown that she did not believe a large amount of time should be spent on it because it would not play a large part in their adult lives. She is also unhappy about the inclusion of science in their curriculum. Stuart's concern here is the danger of raising questions which girls will not understand and she refers to
school science as the equivalent of "baby talk" (39) and therefore does not equip them to find the answer to questions even the great men of science disagree on. She would prefer that girls spent time on nature study; a subject more suited to their interests and important for it cultivates the power of observation and a love of nature.(40) Stuart was well known at Roehampton for her own love of nature. The preference for nature study rather than science is presumably because the former does not require an inquisitive mind nor provide an opportunity to raise awkward questions that would impinge on areas covered by their Christian Doctrine lessons.

Stuart believed that girls were more inclined to studies that involved the imagination rather than science and mathematics. She wanted girls to concentrate on the literary side where art and philosophy dominate.(41) Stuart wanted the literary side to predominate because she believed it provided "greater power in the guidance of life" (42) than science. Stuart wrote with enthusiasm for the teaching of modern languages to girls; she believed that they were useful socially and commercially though the commercial side was far less important than making available the rich literature that each language would provide. She was of course speaking from a very strong tradition in the Order, the teaching of French was always of great importance regardless of what country the Order's schools were in.
French was more important than the classical languages, but then the French educational system, since before the Revolution, had placed the French language before Latin, unlike in Britain where the unreformed Grammar Schools and Public Schools had favoured Latin above the teaching of the English language. French was also the lingua franca of the Order and therefore had an increased status among its members and they displayed a high level of proficiency in it. Stuart’s argument for the study of modern languages was also based on her belief in Liberal Education rather than one wholly designed to be useful therefore she wrote:

the special fitness of modern languages in a girl’s education does not appear on the surface, and it requires more than a superficial, conversational knowledge to reap the fruit. This social and at the present the commercial values are obvious to everyone and of these the commercial value is growing very loud in its assertions, and appears very exacting in its demands... A knowledge sufficient for business correspondence is not what belongs to a liberal education; it has a very limited range, hard, plain, brief communications, supported on cast iron frames, inelastic forms and crudest courtesies, a mere formula for each particular case and a small vocabulary suited to the dealings of every branch of business. We know the parallel forms of correspondence in English, which gives a meaning of communication but not properly a language. Even the social values of languages are less than they used to be as the finer art of conversation has declined. (43)

Once again we see her concern is for the social values she does not show any awareness of careers that these girls might pursue. She recommends that learning French would be
the best choice for English girls even though she says
German is easier as it is closer to English but:

its grammar is of less educational value than
French, and it does not help as French does to the
acquirement of the most attractive of other
European languages. (44)

This seems a rather strange argument for learning one
language and not another. It appears to be the justifying
of a bias towards French rather than a sound educational
position. Latin, of course, needed little justification for
its study in Catholic schools. Stuart makes the point that
to Catholics, Latin is not a dead language and without some
knowledge of it no educated Catholic girl can take a proper
part in the Church’s devotions. (45) She does not necessarily
link this with studying the classics, some of whose writers,
being pagans, she did not want Catholic girls reading.

It has been shown that she favoured the teaching
of history and even envisaged girls continuing to study it
after school. Her main interest in the teaching of history
to the younger girls appears to have been to fire their
imagination and provide them with heroes and heroic actions
to admire. (46) In the early days the emphasis must be on
good stories for:

the story teller is turning to the pioneer of the
historian coming in advance, to occupy the land,
so that History may have staked out a claim before
the examining bodies can arrive in the dry season
to tread down the young growth. (47)
She believed that history could not be taught without expressing opinion on right and wrong but she recognized that children needed to question and make judgments for themselves. She wanted girls of sixteen to study modern history so they could understand the forces that were at work in their own times. She was, of course, writing on the eve of the First World War.

English literature as we have seen was more important to Stuart than mathematics, in the education of girls. Spelling and composition were important aspects of English lessons and recitation was seen as an important part of a girl’s training. Stuart also spends time on discussing the art of good conversation which she accepts is hard to teach as a subject but nevertheless should be a major concern of girls’ schools. There are rules, however, that she believes can be taught:

not to be seen bored, not to interrupt, not contradict, not to make personal remarks, not to talk of oneself... not to get heated and not to look cold, not to do all the talking and not to be silent, not to advance if the ground seems uncertain and to be sensitively attentive to what jars - all these... are troublesome to obtain but exceedingly necessary. (48)

These instructions seem to stem from the accomplishment aspect of girls’ education for it is hard to imagine any boy being given these rules. The rules do not suggest a speaker
with anything interesting or important to say, for surely caring about what a person says would be a breach of these rules. Women in the nineteenth century who expressed strong views were seen as dangerous, socially inept or blue stockings. Stuart's ideas on teaching girls good conversation suggests that her view of women was rather a conservative one. Her comments suggest the drawing-room, the parlour and many hours spent on small talk rather than of busy lives, careers and serious occupation.

Stuart devotes a whole chapter of her book The Education of Catholic Girls, to manners. She laments what she sees as a decline in manners and spends a large part of the chapter arguing for the retention of conventions and observances which are thought of as unnecessary by the modern age that is the early twentieth century. She claims that part of the problem is that manners and religion are linked and without the latter it is difficult to train children in good manners. She claims that children in Catholic schools have better manners because "there is something to appeal and to uphold and something to love" (49) by which she meant Our Lady's protection, all the saints and the devotion of the priest. Bad manners were therefore easily explained as the sin of selfishness. For

is not all inattention of mind to the courtesies of life, all roughness and slovenliness, all crude unconventionality which is proud of its
self-assertion a "falling from love" in seeking self? (50)

and the solution is a:

well instructed devotion to Our Lady and an understanding of the Church’s ceremonies... (where) we may learn how human intercourse may be carried out with the most perfect external expressiveness. (51)

She suggests that good manners cannot be taught from a book and not to large numbers of children at the same time. Manners can only be taught to a child by the person closest to them in authority and then as an individual because:

in each nature selfishness creeps out on one side rather than another, and it is this which has to be studied, that the forward may be repressed, the shy or indolent be stimulated, the dreary quickened into attention and all the other defective sides recognized and to be literally taken in hand and modelled to a better form.(52)

Having studied the individual, the teacher must follow a long course of daily training that will include nagging and teasing.

The chapter on manners gives a very strong indication of that close supervision for which the Order’s schools were famous. This study of each child as an individual with such concentration on faults begins to have a rather oppressive feel to it. It is also clear that training in manners was really a system of character formation.
Conclusion

Stuart's educational ideas were not innovative, she drew heavily on the traditions of the Society of the Sacred Heart which in turn had founded its teaching aims on the old methods popular in pre-revolutionary France. Stuart was satisfied with the educational achievements of the Order and was trying to hold on to those values and methods that had served them so well for most of the nineteenth century and she assumed would suit the twentieth century equally. The system she claimed had produced children that were recognizable as, "very strong, very innocent, very determined to do something for God in their lives." (53) and she quotes an unnamed American Archbishop as saying, "when I want to start a good work in my diocese I look round for a child of the Sacred Heart." (54) Such an endorsement of the Order's method meant more to Stuart than any record of public examinations taken or qualifications won, after all their foremost aim was to produce good Catholic girls who would throughout their adult lives remain loyal to the training they had received at a school of the Sacred Heart.
### NOTES TO CHAPTER 3

1. Monahan, M.  *The Life and Letters of Janet Erskine Stuart* 1922 p. 5

2. Ibid., p. 17

3. Ibid., p. 20

4. Ibid., p. 30

5. Ibid., p. 36

6. Ibid., p. 44


8. Ibid., p. 7

9. Ibid., p. 9

10. Ibid., p. 15

11. Ibid., p. 26

12. Ibid., p. 41

13. Ibid., p. 50


16. Monahan, M.  *Saint Madeleine Sophie* p. 71

17. O’Leary, M.  *Education with a Tradition* p.165

18. Ibid., p. 174

19. Ibid., p. 174

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54. Ibid., p. 91
LIFE IN THE CONVENT SCHOOLS
OF
ST LEONARDS AND ROEHAMPTON

The following chapter attempts to give some indication of what it was like to be a schoolgirl, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, at St Leonards, Sussex, run by the Society of the Holy Child Jesus and at the Convent of the Sacred Heart, at Roehampton, London. These two schools are being considered together because the ideas of Connelly grew out of her experience of the educational system employed by the Society of the Sacred Heart and so much of what happened at St Leonards has its parallels with events at Roehampton. Stuart’s involvement with the Roehampton school has been made clear and that her educational ideas grew out of, and helped to form, the teaching provided there.

It is not easy to establish what a school is like for the pupils who attend it. It is one thing to formulate educational theories, draw up schemes and rules and to put them into operation, and quite another to know how they worked in practice for the children and their teachers. A major problem with this form of investigation is that, most of the archival material preserved by schools, gives a very favourable view. Schools do not usually keep adverse material produced by disaffected parents and pupils. Material produced by pupils and preserved by the school tends to be those items sanctioned by the school
establishment, such as, entries in school magazines and flattering memories of school days. Given this difficulty this makes Antonia White’s novel *Frost in May* (1) and her *Child of the Five Wounds* (2) valuable sources of information because she attended the Convent at Roehampton and left in disgrace. Her memories are therefore not wholly favourable, though she does not display a rabid hatred of the system. Accepting the obvious problems of using a novel as a historical source it does provide insight and information about the Roehampton Convent. In her novel White renames the Roehampton school, the Convent of the Five Wounds, and places the school at Lippington, a fictional suburb of London. Her heroine is called Nanda Grey, who is sent to the school at about the age of nine by her recently converted father. In adult life White left the Catholic Church. After her death, Susan Chitty, White’s daughter edited a collection of her mother’s writing under the title, *As Once in May* which also contained an unfinished autobiography of which *A Child of the Five Wounds* forms part.

Bomb damage during World War Two has resulted in much archive material relating to the School at Roehampton being lost. The Society of the Holy Child Jesus escaped war damage and has accumulated an extensive archive partly because of the Society’s long struggle to have Connelly
canonized; they have been most diligent in preserving material relating to her and her schools. There is, unfortunately, no equivalent source to Frost in May for the school at St Leonards. This means that most of the material available from pupils at St Leonards falls into the flattering category rather than the disaffected.

The Timetable

In both schools each day began with a bell and a prayer; at St Leonards each child responded to "Blessed be the Holy Child Jesus," with "now and for ever more. Amen."(3) At Roehampton the salutation had a more gloomy ring with "the precious blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ" followed by, "wash away our sins." (4) This and the rising bell rung at about 6.30 am, was followed by washing and dressing. This had to be done with the "most perfect modesty," (5) which meant that as much as possible of the body had to remain covered during this procedure. White describes how during the weekly bath, this insistence on modesty, even extended to wearing a calico cloak while actually in the bath; they had to screen even their own eyes from their nakedness.

Once dressed the children then proceeded to the Chapel for prayers and Mass. Connelly in her "Rules for the Dormitory"(6) stresses the need for silence during these
procedures. Breakfast took place at about 7.15 am which must have felt a long time after getting up. The rest of the day was punctuated by prayers: every meal began and ended with grace, every lesson began and ended with prayers and three times a day the children recited the Angelus. There were also Night Prayers before bed and a final blessing in the dormitory.

Both schools took children from about the age of eight to about eighteen and the schools were divided according to age. At St Leonards there were three divisions of the school each containing three classes: divisions are referred to as "grades" in The Book of the Order of Studies. There seems to have been very little difference between the timetable for the younger children and the older ones. Lessons began at 8.00 am and continued until some time after 7.00 pm every day, Monday to Saturday, only on Sunday were there no classes. It is not clear from the timetable in The School Report Book 1861-1865 whether the child had any recreation time in the morning. The significance of the two timetables is not clear; the first table shows nothing for the time between "2½" and "5½" though from Connelly's book it seems that the afternoons were taken up with drawing, needlework, foreign languages, music and religious instruction. (7)
The day ended as it had began with a visit to the chapel where Night Prayers were said, each class being accompanied by its teacher. Undressing in the dormitory was done behind the curtains which made each bed space into a cubicle. But the regulations and supervision did not end with bedtime. On her first night at school the heroine of *Frost in May* Nanda Grey, is reprimanded for not lying on her back in bed. She is told it is more becoming to lie straight in bed with her arms laid across her chest. She is told the reason for this is

if the dear Lord were to call you to Himself during the night you would be ready to meet Him as a Catholic should... and remember to let the holy Name of Jesus be the last word on your lips.(8)

According to the *Book of the Order of Studies* movement round the school was done in silence. Silence is frequently mentioned in the rules Connelly wrote; we can but conjecture on just how silent these children were. Catherine Harper certainly broke the rules at St Leonards; she is recorded as being "insolent in the clothing room"(9) where the rule was certainly silence.

Lessons

From The *Book of the Order of Studies* most lessons were either half an hour long or an hour. Classes were small, the close supervision which was a cornerstone of
their educational system made small classes essential. Both schools took children from abroad, at Roehampton children came from France, Spain, Austria, Portugal and Ireland; at St Leonards there was a much smaller percentage of non English children. Of course at Roehampton there was a much stronger concentration on French than at St Leonards which was established to give a more English style education. The curriculum that these children followed has already been established. In the early days of St Leonards there were few textbooks the staff could use, so they made their own.

The archive of the Society at Mayfield has a number of these books on geography, architecture and heraldry. All these books show a high degree of specialized knowledge and are beautifully laid out with carefully drawn illustrations. (see appendix iii) There were very few examples of pupils' work. There was one exercise book belonging to Helen Mary Petre dated 1884, it contained work done by the pupil and comments made by the teacher. A large part of the book is blank and it seems to contain work for both English and History. The History section contains notes on Roman History, the Punic Wars and the 1690s Parliament. There is an exercise on "Parsing" which contains the teacher's comment, "very careless, Helen! Scarcely one word is finished."(10) It is unwise to draw too many conclusions from one source but the book does illustrate two things: the type of work expected from pupils at St Leonards and the detailed correction of work by the teachers.
Children at St Leonards in the first few years of the school, did a monthly test in a number of subjects, the results were recorded in the School Report Book 1861-1865 (see appendix iii) The results were recorded in two ways: against the name of each child grades were recorded and on separate pages for each class, the names of the "best" and the "worst" were listed for English and History. In most cases there are three pupils listed as best and three listed as worst. It is not clear whether the children were given this information. According to the present archivist for the Society of the Holy Child Jesus, school report books were strictly confidential. This report book also gives us comments about particular pupils such as Mary Allies and Florence Colegrave whose "composition books very neatly and well written" (11) while on the same page is recorded that De Castro’s was "very untidy and badly written." (12) It is very difficult to make any judgments about the quality of their work, none was available to examine, other than that already mentioned, and there is no way of knowing what standard was set. There were of course no examinations that could be used, except those designed by the school. Public examinations for girls were not available until Emily Davies’ campaign opened Cambridge Locals to girls first as a concession in 1863 and permanently by 1865 though it was some years before they were widely used. St Leonards was relatively quick to take such examinations. In 1880 four
girls were entered for the Oxford Local Examination and within a few years the school became a public centre for these examinations and most girls were entered. Roehampton was still not entering pupils for public examinations in the first decade of the twentieth century. Yet there is an atmosphere, produced by these reports and monthly examinations, of hard work and high standards; there is the feeling that the work mattered and children were encouraged to make progress. Antonia White was able to compare her convent education with the one she received at St Paul’s Girls’ School London, which she attended after being expelled from Roehampton. She wrote:

Most people laugh at a convent education. In my own experience it was at least as good, if not better than, the one I received later at the best type of English High School. At Lippington (ie Roehampton) it was hoped that none of us would ever fall into such dire necessity as to be forced to earn our living, so we competed for no public examinations. We were educated, purely and simply, for a civilized and leisured life. The curriculum may have been narrow, the outlook biased, but the teaching was admirable and there was no lesson at Lippington that I did not enjoy... Language, music and the history of painting were taught with far more intelligence and efficiency at the Five Wounds (her fictional name for the Convent) than at any ordinary secular school and we also learnt such old-fashioned, but useful accomplishments as reading aloud and writing tolerable letters. (13)

Recreation

Connelly laid down that the children in schools of the Society should have regular recreation periods. Recreation followed each meal and there were two longer
periods, one at midday and one in the evening. Recreation began and ended with bells and here once again the children were carefully controlled; Connelly laid down the rule that

unity of amusement or employment must be maintained during the hours of recreation; no one, therefore, will be allowed to keep herself apart from the general recreation, nor will any private reading be allowed. (14)

Recreation is obviously a generic term which covered activities such as the mistress of class reading aloud to her class from books declared recreational (15) and outdoor exercise that might require "garden cloak and hood, gloves and galoshes" (16) This variety was also experienced at Roehampton where

Nanda looked forward everyday to the afternoon recreation, when instead of playing organized games under the merciless eyes of Mother Frances, the Junior School turned up and down the long alley under the plane trees, munching bread and jam and listening to Mother Potier... There were stories of saints and angels, and animals, of good children who died on the day of their First Communion. (17)

Nanda Grey was entertained with another story as part of the celebrations on the Feast of the Immaculate Conception. At the end of the day when all the religious ceremonies were completed the younger children were told a ghost story by Mother Potier. The story surprisingly macabre, did, however, have a moral to it: the heroine was saved because she remembered to pray. (18) White recalled in her
autobiography, *As Once in May* that there was usually some sort of amusement at the end of the day such as ghost stories or games like charades and even imported entertainment such as performing dogs. (19) Team games have already been mentioned as part of the recreational pursuits.

Meals

All meals were eaten in the refectory where the whole school assembled. Connelly has seven rules relating to behaviour in the refectory. (20) These rules are reminiscent of monastic life. The girls were expected to keep silent unless given permission to speak and all meals began with a Grace and ended with a Thanksgiving. During dinner and supper reading aloud from the lives of the saints, the New Testament and Thomas a Kempis, provided the girls with spiritual nourishment. How the girls were seated for meals, at St Leonards, is not clear but according to White at Roehampton, they were arranged in family groups, that is a range of ages sat together with a "president" and "Sub- president" (21) in charge of each table. These posts of responsibility were held by girls from the senior school who had be awarded the "blue ribbon" for excellent behaviour. These girls were in charge of distributing the food but they had a moral responsibility as well because,

one of the duties of a president... is to prevent the conversation from being too emphatic, too
worldly, or too much confined to certain members of the table. (22)

There is of course no way of knowing what the quality of the meals was. Any comments by White's heroine about unpalatable fat and cabbage cannot be given a great deal of status. Good food is literally a matter of taste and it is unlikely that White would have retained memories of delicious meals.

Rewards, Crime and Punishments

Both schools ran an elaborate system of rewarding good behaviour with cards that either carried letters, A B C, (23) or statements that ranged from "very good," to "indifferent," and "bad" which were handed out weekly. (24) The accumulation of good cards would result in being awarded a ribbon, worn across the chest, each one coloured according to age of the pupil and degree of good behaviour. Blue ribbons, at both schools, were awarded among the older pupils for piety and virtue as well as good behaviour. A blue ribbon was voted for by both pupils and staff. At St Leonards prizes were given, twice a year, in about March and just before the summer holidays to holders of the highest ribbons. These two blue ribbons were, first honorary and second class, there were also three "accesserunt" green ribbons and one red, for encouragement. (25) From archive material (see appendix iii) it would appear that by 1872, the number of ribbons awarded had increased, perhaps to take
account of an increase in the school population. Clearly from this material the giving out of ribbons was a great occasion. At Roehampton cards were given out once a week and at the end of eight weeks ribbons were awarded according to the accumulation of cards. The giving out of cards took place on Saturday nights at a gathering of the whole school, a ceremony called, "Exemptions." (26) If Nanda had accumulated eight "very good" cards in as many weeks she would have qualified for the most junior of ribbons, the pink one. (27)

Both schools gave prizes for achievement in class. At St Leonards, prizes and the names of winners were recorded in a book, that also contained the distribution of ribbons. From The Book of Prize winners and Accesserunts 1869-1879 (28) we can see that, in 1872, prizes could be won for English Grammar, geography, Italian, German, French, painting, drawing and needlework. These subject prizes were awarded to one pupil in each of the four classes. From the small amount of evidence relating to Roehampton, prizes were awarded but few details are available. Nanda Grey won a book two years running for geography and English. (29) Prize giving ceremonies will be dealt with other special events in the school year.

There is no explanation in Connelly's rules as to what sort of behaviour would result in being given a "bad"
conduct card. There was no evidence, in the archive, of who was awarded such cards, this is hardly surprising, schools do not make an effort to record and preserve lists of their wrong doers. There certainly were "wrong doers" from the comments made in the School Report Book 1861-1865 which contains teachers' confidential reports on pupils next to their names and class grades. The poor condition of this manuscript source made following some of the comments difficult. From the class of forty-two pupils it is possible to extract some names who have had comments added to their grades, A B or C, pupils with high grades rarely have a comment as well, some pupils have no grade just a comment:

E. Fellows, insolent and deceitful.
L. Clifford, idle, saucy fox, untruthful.
E. Bellow, rude, devil may care style. (no grade)
Agnes Fellows, grumbler.
Alice White-Beabe, grumbler.
F. La page, talking in dormitory.
L. Duke, snappish.
C. Harper, rude and idle.
A. Duke, quarrelsome, wishes to go home, selfish and conceited.
H. Joyce, lazy in getting up and rude, no hounour, disobedient, calling names.
B. De Castro, complaining, lazy, deficient in mind.
M. Hoy, greedy bear, insolent.
Jane Power, keeps aloof.
M. D'Arcy, saucy and rude.(30)

It seems safe to assume that children described as "idle" and "insolent" were not in receipt of a good conduct cards or a ribbon. What actually happened to these children is hard to discover. In the section of her book, "Common Rules
for the Mistresses of the School," Connelly advises her teachers not to be too hasty in punishing, nor to eager in seeking fault, but let them dissimulate when they can do so without injury to anyone, and not only must they never use corporal punishment, but they must abstain from any abrasive word, or actions, neither may they ever call any pupil by any other name than her Christian name or full name... For slight faults let the culprit forfeit her good points, or kneel down for a few minutes... When any of the Mistresses find it necessary to impose a penance on any of the pupils, and the lesson has to be learnt or written at the time of recreation, let the Mistress go to the room, sit there till the pupil knows and repeats the lesson and then let her take the child to the general recreation.(31)

Learning a lesson by heart and loss of recreation time, seems to have been the punishment recommended for serious misbehaviour. Serious faults had to be reported to The Prefect of Order and there was provision in the rules for expelling pupils.

There are three examples of wrong doing in White's novel. Nanda Grey loses her "very good" conduct card and her chance at a pink ribbon for rubbing off the history tests from the blackboard.(32) For which deliberate sabotage of the lesson, her only punishment, appears to have been the giving of the "indifferent" card by Reverend Mother. Monica Owen, the dunce of the Junior School, on being found to have filled an exercise book with dogs drawn as caricatures of the nuns, is first isolated in the retreat house and then expelled from the school.(33)
Nanda Grey is herself expelled from the Convent of the Five Wounds when she is fourteen. Nanda’s crime was to start to write a novel in which two characters are described as having unspeakable vices. The novel was meant to end with a dramatic conversion and entry into religious orders for both characters. Nanda was not given a chance to explain, when the manuscript was discovered, she was expelled from the school. Mother Radcliff, the Reverend Mother, explains to Nanda why she cannot be given another chance,

I have been watching you Nanda, I have seen you growing up, intelligent, warm-hearted, apparently everything a child should be. But I have watched something else growing in you, too—a hard little core of self-will and self-love. I told you once that every will must be broken completely and reset before it can be at one with God’s will... I am only acting as God’s instrument in this. I had to break your will before your whole nature was deformed. (34)

While it is worth reminding ourselves that this is fiction it is possible to hear echoes of some of the points made when looking at the educational system advocated by the Society of the Sacred Heart during the nineteenth century. Radcliff has watched her pupil and she has spotted faults of character and has decided that this fault must be removed. Close supervision of their pupils was a noted characteristic of the Order’s system and the moulding of their pupils characters a stated aim. Radcliff’s speech rings true. We
also have the non-fictional, if not less biased account, of her expulsion in White’s autobiography.

On my fourteenth birthday a terrible disaster befell me. For some months before that I had been a puzzle to the nuns and to myself. Outwardly I had behaved quite well even to the point of being awarded the coveted green ribbon for good conduct. But, deep inside me, a tough little core of rebelliousness was growing, I was hardly aware of it myself, but the nuns with their infallible eyes, knew all about it and watched me with suspicion... (I had) an uncontrollable desire to write a novel... I wrote three burning chapters. It was meant to have an extremely moral ending in which the heroine became a Carmelite and the hero a Jesuit but it would be more exciting if I made them all very bad at first... there was one of those sudden secret inspections of desks and the manuscript disappeared... The catastrophe did not come until Easter Sunday which that year coincided with my birthday. I was actually lighting the candles on my cake when I was summoned to the parlour... I was given no chance to explain... I was accused of perversity, corruption and indecency. And I was told that, though not officially expelled, I must leave the school at once... the nun who had been responsible for my disgrace came and talked to me... the real fault (she explained) lay in my essential vanity and stubbornness. "Our own wills can do nothing but harm unless they are humbly united to the will of God... Your will had to be broken and re-set in God’s own way." (34)

All this appears extremely harsh and hasty but it must be remembered that both schools, at Roehampton and St Leonards, were dedicated, not primarily to producing well educated girls, nor to passing examinations, nor to preparing their pupils for a career, but to turning out young women who would be "very strong, very innocent, very determined to do something for God in their lives." (35) The sincerely held view was that, in order for these girls to survive in the
corrupt world outside the school, a world still hostile to Catholics, they needed to be trained like soldiers to withstand temptation and hardships. Any form of moral weakness, self-indulgence or vanity must be removed in order to repair weakness and strengthen commitment and resolution. If the methods used were sometimes over the top, out of proportion or even cruel, it must be remembered that many school children experienced corporal punishment at school and at home and hundreds of children were being treated harshly and with cruelty in factories and mills, throughout the nineteenth century, with a lot less justification than could be put forward by these nuns.

Catherine Harper

Catherine Harper attended St Leonards between 1855 and 1867; she joined when she was six years old and there were only fourteen other pupils in the school, when she left there were over fifty. Many years later she wrote an account of her school days which is quoted in The Life of Cornelia Connelly 1809-1879: A woman styled Bold by Radegunde Flaxman, published in 1991. She described herself as "a tiresome, wilful child, for I had been greatly spoiled by my dear father."(36) A large part of her reminisces were favourable to the school. She recalls the kindness of Cornelia Connelly and her warm good humour. Yet she was not a "goodie goodie" comments gathered from The School Report.
Book show her to have been, "rude, idle, insolent in the
clothing room, lazy." (37) These comments were not written
about her at the age of six but when she had been at the
school some years; the comments belong to the period 1861 to
1865. During these years her grades are all Cs; a change
only begins to show in 1863 when one B grade is recorded but
by 1865 she has even got an A grade for literature.

The reason for Catherine Harper's reformation, may
have been, as she claims, the love and warmth of Cornelia
Connelly who she describes as having a sweet smile but a
stern voice. The interest and success at literature may be
seen from various items in the archive which show Harper
starring in plays etc. In 1861 she was a character called
"Sebastian" in the play "Fabiola," she was Curan in "King
Lear" in 1865. She also took part in a farce called,
"Caught by the Ears" (38) though no date is given for this
entertainment.

In later life Catherine Harper was to recall that
the religion, the piety, "was mixed up with our daily life
in a happy, loving spirit, which never made devotions
tedious or distasteful." Such good memories of the school
at which she had clearly not been the perfect pupil are
testimony to the success of the educational system which
Connelly put into practice at St Leonards.
Holidays and Special Occasions

When Connelly started her school at St Leonards there were no school holidays, as we know them today. The children remained at school for most of the year with a summer holiday of a couple of months. This meant that most of the important feasts in the Church’s calendar were celebrated at school. Apart from these special days, the school routine would be abandoned for such events as prize day, a visit by a bishop or a cardinal, the day the children made their First Holy Communion, when someone took their vows as nun and of course every Sunday was a holiday from the usual lessons. As the century progressed the school year began to take on the present shape of three terms with the feasts of Christmas and Easter falling in the holidays.

At St Leonards there were no lessons on Sundays but it did involve going to Mass twice and attending the chapel for Vespers. The children also studied the gospel of the day. There were two sessions devoted to writing letters, an activity Connelly believed to be extremely important. (39)

Holidays did not just mean the absence of lessons but special events and entertainments to be arranged. According to her rules:
On the eve of holidays of the 1st and 2nd Class, the Prefect (a mistress) with the pupils, shall determine upon how the holiday shall be passed and she shall then propose their wishes to the superior to approve or not, as she judges expedient or proper.(40)

What special arrangements the children were allowed to make in the early days is not clear but by the time of the first issue of The Interpreter in 1901 some activities had become traditions.

There was a tradition at St Leonards that on St George’s Day, the Irish girls entertained the English ones and vice versa on St Patrick’s day. According to the account in the school magazine, The Interpreter, St George’s day began with a procession in honour of Our Lady the night before. The actual day was greeted with loud music and shouts. Breakfast, dinner and supper were organized so that the Irish hostesses waited on the English guests. Before dinner the two groups seem to have played a rather energetic game known as "Cache Cache" (41) and after dinner a long walk seems to have been the main activity. Walking, along with drawing, music and reading, was a holiday activity recommended in the rules.(42) After supper the whole school, including the nuns, assembled in the school hall for an entertainment which appears to have taken the form of a review.
There were prize giving ceremonies at St Leonards with usually a bishop as the guest of honour. From various sources including a collection of concert and play programmes, it is clear that such days usually included theatricals, for example: in 1879 the school acted the play "Fairyland, in 1883 "Scenes from King Lear" were performed, in 1894 there was a concert involving recitations, piano and violin solos, in 1897 there were scenes from The Merchant of Venice and in 1899 a play called Rip Van Winkle was staged. (43) Other examples have already been mentioned in connection with Catherine Harper.

There were holidays at Roehampton and doubtless for much the same reasons as at St Leonards, though because of its more international atmosphere, feast days like St George's probably did not figure so much. White describes, in her novel, how the Feast of the Immaculate Conception was celebrated:

the corridors were hung with garlands of evergreen... (and) red Chinese lanterns in perilous places. In the morning there were wild games of hide and seek all over the garden. Mother Frances... led a panting, racing band up and down the alleys.... Then came the distribution of ribbons... In the afternoon there was a grand reunion of Old Children.... At 5 o'clock there was a solemn Benediction.... Before they went to bed there was a great treat for the Junior School, one of Mother Potier's "special stories." (44)

This description has a more stiff and organized feel to it than the pupil led, celebrations at St Leonards. Other
special occasions are recorded in the novel. There is Nanda’s First Communion day which was a mixture of solemn religious activity and open day with parents visiting the school. There is also the three day holiday to mark the Cardinal’s visit. The visit, to open a new building of the school, is the opportunity for the children to perform scenes from Dante and for a special prize giving and distribution of ribbons.(45) There were the unexpected holidays like the one announced by the ringing of the "holiday bell" when the news arrived that the foundress was to be canonized.(46)

The Pupils

There is very little evidence to tell us about the children who attended the school at Roehampton, apart from the characters in White’s novel. While it may be acceptable to use this novel for background information, an historian cannot safely draw too many conclusions from characters in a novel. White has admitted that the events of her novel are largely autobiography but we have no assurance that all her characters are strictly drawn from life.

There is far more evidence concerning the pupils who attended St Leonards. Information about many of these pupils have already been extracted from report books, prize lists, amateur theatricals and photographs.(see appendix
iii) Connelly, from the earliest days at St Leonards, attracted the old Catholic families of Clifford, Welds and Peters. Hilare Belloc sent his family there and converts like Thomas Allies, who led the Catholic Poor School Society and worked closely with Cardinal Manning for the education of poor Catholics, sent his daughter Mary to the school. According to the archivist at Mayfield some families have been loyal to the School for three and four generations. Of the children who attended the school between 1850-1879, research done by Marmion, has uncovered what happened to 278 of them and he has found that, 36 of them became sisters of the Society of the Holy Child Jesus, 58 joined other religious orders and of the rest many married.(47) Clearly a good proportion of the children felt called to the religious life; many religious orders experienced a large number of vocations in the nineteenth century, it has been suggested that this was one of the few ways that middle-class women could do useful work such as teaching and nursing.

With such a large number of ex-pupils entering religious life, it would be easy to think of these girls as minatory nuns or even cast in the mould of plaster saints, already wearing their halos. To counter this picture it is worth remembering the comments in The School Report Book 1861-1865 concerning punishments and the fact that even in 1863, when Connelly wrote the rules for the school, she
included, the way to punish and expel pupils. In 1884 a supplementary list of rules was formulated by Sister Aloysia, these rules may give us an insight into how the girls were behaving, new rules are often a reaction to actual incidents. Thus the new rules forbid children to, cut each others hair, eat in the dormitory, wear each others clothes, write home without permission and to ask parents to take them home for a holiday. All of which gives us a picture not of "plaster Saints" but of normal school children prone to pranks. (48) These rules also advise the children not to fill their letters with school incidents because "a thing may appear in quite a different light when written down," (49 ) there is also advice on how to behave at home during the holidays which includes being willing to sing when asked and being kind and charitable to servants. (50)

It is possible to get some understanding of the girls at St Leonards from their school magazine. Between 1899 and 1900 the Sixth Form kept a hand written magazine called Smuts and in 1901 the school began to produce a printed magazine, The Interpreter. Smuts was written by the Sixth Form on a monthly basis, in a leather bound book. It contains a great variety of entries such as serious accounts of school journeys, for example, to Paris during which the girls visited the Paris Exhibition sites, jokey letters to the editor, competitions, advertisements and gossipy news.
The "Seccotine" advertisement is a good example of the humour to be found in the book and the quality of the work. The author displays a fine sense of humour, a topical content, there are clear references to the Boer War and she has spent time on illustrating it. (51) There are other examples of school girl humour under the "Wanted" (52) slogan, i.e. what to do about drowsiness on Friday afternoons, and items like "Police News" (53) which certainly gives us a picture of normal healthy school girls of the type recognizable even in the late twentieth century.

The overall impression is that this was a space for the girls to express themselves, there are no signs of teacher interference, where they were free to poke fun at the school, the nuns, themselves and the outside world. There seems to be a certain degree of anti-establishment feeling expressed in such things as "Letters from the Devil" (54) and the various cartoons with nuns in them. (55) These girls were given a degree of freedom that seems rather surprising when one recalls the detailed rules of The Book of the Order of Studies, the conservative aims of their education and the doctrinal nature of their religious education and strict observances.

If the girls who attended St Leonards during the second half of the nineteenth century were given the freedom that Smuts implies then perhaps people like Catherine
Harper's memories of a loving spirit and a warm caring atmosphere, are not the result of hindsight and rose tinted spectacles. It is certainly a lot harder to imagine the girls at Roehampton being allowed an equivalent magazine. The Mother Radcliff, of White's novel, would not I suspect, have seen the funny side of letters signed by the devil nor would she have laughed at the "fainting" cartoon.(56) Yet White recalls that the children at Roehampton were high spirited and that this was encouraged by the nuns.(57) She says that there was the usual naughtiness in the school but it was independence that the nuns were most suspicious of and set out to remove it from any child displaying signs of it. It is this sense of control which seems to come from all the rules, the reports and from White's autobiography and her novel. These children, whether they attended St Leonards or Roehampton existed in a world of strict censorship. All letters were read before being delivered to parents, all books were vetted before being issued to the children and those story books that were allowed were kept locked away until a holiday was declared. Both schools believed in constant surveillance of the children, even when Nanda goes to meet her parents in the school parlour, there is a nun there to supervise.(58) Weekly reports were made about the girls as part of this system and to allow the nuns to build up a picture of each pupil in order to impose a strict moral and character training. There were rules about friendships, the girls at Roehampton were forbidden to spend
their recreations in pairs because it was thought to encourage particular friendships which were judged unsuitable and even dangerous. Finally to redress the balance a little, it must be remembered that even White did not reject this form of education. She recalls with what contempt she held the education provided by St Paul’s High School and how little of what she learnt there has stayed with her, unlike the lessons she received at Roehampton. (59) If White having experienced this rigid system did not reject it, neither should modern opinion, it after all belonged to a different age before the developments of child psychology and before the modern horror of severely punishing the child. Many of the girls of Roehampton and St Leonards will have had brothers at schools where fagging and corporal punishment were normal. Equally we should remind ourselves of the close supervision most middle-class girls experienced at home by their nanny, governess and mother.
# NOTES TO CHAPTER 4


3. **Connelly, C.** *The Book of the Order of Studies* 1863 p.13

4. **White, A.** *Once in May* 1990 p.152

5. **Connelly, C.** *The Book of the Order of Studies* 1863 p.13

6. **Ibid.** p. 13

7. **Ibid.**, p. 2

8. **White, A.** *Frost in May* p. 35

9. **School Report Book 1861-1865** St Leonards

10. **Exercise book of Helen Mary Petre Mayfield Archive Sussex**

11. **The School Report Book 1861-1865** Mayfield Sussex

12. **Ibid.**

13. **White, A.** *As Once in May* p.160

14. **Connelly, C.** *The Book of the Order of Studies* p.9

15. **Ibid.**, p.9

16. **Ibid.**, p. 15

17. **White, A.** *Frost in May* p. 47

18. **Ibid.**, p. 69

19. **White, A.** *As Once in May* pp. 157-158
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<td>22.</td>
<td>Ibid., p. 30</td>
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<td>27.</td>
<td>Ibid., p. 48</td>
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<td>Flaxman, R.</td>
<td>Cornelia Connelly: A Woman Styled Bold</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>The Interpreter</td>
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42. Connelly, C. *The Book of the Order of Studies* p. 9

43. *Concert Programmes* from an envelope marked St Leonards Programmes. Mayfield archive Sussex

44. White, A. *Frost in May* p. 68

45. Ibid., p. 171

46. Ibid., p. 114


49. Ibid.

50. Ibid.

51. Smuts manuscript Mayfield archive. See Appendix iii

52. Ibid.

53. Ibid.

54. Ibid.

55. Ibid.

56. Ibid.

57. White, A. *As Once in May* p. 155

58. White, A. *Frost in May* p. 36

59. White, A. *As Once in May* p. 160
CONCLUSION

The reform of education was one of the great social issues that occupied governments, Churches, social reformers and philosophers. By the end of the century Parliament had investigated most educational institutions and had legislated for every social class, every age group and every stage of education from infant schools to universities. It is, as part of this spirit of reform that we must examine the changes that took place in female education in the nineteenth century and it is as part of that development that Catholic education for girls must find its place.

Catholic girls like their Anglican counterparts had little choice or opportunity, at the beginning of the century but by the end, there was across England a multitude of Catholic girls’ schools. Almost every large town in England, by 1900, had a convent school, some were day schools, others were boarding and many were a mixture of both. Many of these schools had a foreign flavour, they were of French or Belgium origin, but some like St Leonards were an English foundation.

The women’s movement which began to campaign for better education for girls in the 1850s and 1860s was not the force behind the development in Catholic girls education. The factors at work were, the increase in the
Catholic middle class, the arrival in England of refugee religious orders from the persecutions on the continent and the work of Cardinals Wiseman and Manning. The expansion of schools for Catholic girls was well on the way by 1850.

This dissertation has shown the work of two women, Connelly and Stuart, in the expansion and development of Catholic girls education. As early as 1863, Connelly had formulated and published her educational methods which owed their origins, not to English liberal education, but to the French tradition which she had worked with both in America and Italy. This French tradition was also being adapted for English use, at Roehampton, where the Society of the Sacred Heart was at work.

English pioneers like Emily Davies saw the way ahead for girls education was in following the same curriculum as boys and proving the equality of female intelligence by competing for the same examinations. Connelly and Stuart did not follow this path. Girls' education for them must be through and effective but they were prompted by the wish to equip girls with a strong moral and religious training; a training that would keep them loyal to their faith in adult life.

The criticisms levelled at girls education, by the Taunton Commission in 1868, are well known and often quoted;
Catholic girls schools were not investigated by the Commissioners, if they had been they might have had to change some of their report. The Commissioners found girls schools without system; they would have found both St Leonards and Roehampton working to a planned order of study the former using Connelly's own methods and the latter using Barat's plan. The Commissioners complained that the education provided was superficial and without attention to the rudiments; anyone who has read Connelly's detailed instructions on the teaching of reading, arithmetic and music, in her book *The Book of the Order of Studies*, would know that children at St Leonards were taught the basic skills of a subject very thoroughly before moving on to more complex activities. The Commissioners found that a lot of time was spent on accomplishments which were not taught intelligently; White tells us that the education she received at Roehampton was based on the old accomplishments of music, singing and reading aloud but she claims these lessons were intelligently taught and were more agreeable to her than anything she learnt later at a high school. Connelly wanted the girls at St Leonards to spend a lot of time on drawing but her aim was not trivial she believed drawing to be a good training in observation. The Commissioners found that girls were expected to commit a large amount of work to memory without any explanation of the principles behind it; Connelly reminds her teachers, throughout her book, that nothing must be learnt before it
is explained, especially the catechism. Connelly also encouraged the development of the children’s imagination and Stuart lamented the decline in the importance of the imagination in history. The Commissioners complained of the standard of textbooks used in girls schools; this dissertation has testified to the high quality of textbook being used in the early days, at St Leonards, where staff made their own books. The Commissioners also criticized the quality of the teachers, claiming they had little education themselves; both Connelly and Stuart had received the "in-service" training provided by the Society of the Sacred Heart, to its teachers and its novices.

No doubt there were, during the latter half of the nineteenth century, bad convent schools where the teaching was inferior but this was not true at St Leonards and Roehampton. These two schools may have provided a limited curriculum, they may have imposed a restrictive code of discipline and they may have had a narrow view of what a woman should be, but they did have qualified teachers with a sense of purpose, a sense of commitment and a high standard which judged everything they did as part of their religious vocation. Girls who attended St Leonards and Roehampton knew they were being taught by women who cared; they cared about their pupils; they cared about the lessons and monthly examinations; they cared about welfare of their pupils and they cared about the outcome of their education.
The education provided by the convent schools of England was traditional, restrictive and biased but it was through, systematic and capable of taking on new ideas. St Leonards began to enter girls for public examinations in the 1880s and even Roehampton had to take notice of the demand for science and mathematics. The convent schools of England did what they set out to do, they provided the Catholic community with its wives and mothers well-grounded in the principles of their faith and it provided the country at large with teachers, nurses, social workers, managers of orphanages and reform schools and missionaries who either as religious or lay people gave good service to the Catholic community, the country and the world.
# APPENDIX I

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Origin of the asteroids.
# APPENDIX II

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THE CHAPEL AT ROEHAMPTON
1922
CHAPEL OF THE SACRED HEART, ROEHAMPTON

FATHER VARIN, S.J. MOTHER STUART. MOTHER DIGBY.
# APPENDIX III

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**Afternoon**

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### Other Notes

- **Mom:** Brith.  
- **Dad:** Brith. 
- **Sister:** Brith. 
- **Her:** Brith. 
- **Son:** Brith. 
- **Daughter:** Brith.
Result of the Montpelier Examination for April

2nd Class English History

3rd Class English History

Worth

Beck

Archbold

Mary Frey

Julia Rye

Frey M.

Frager

Lucy Clifford

Jane Muffett

Alice M.

Allier

Bessie de la Baro

Mary Hale

Bessie D.

Worth

Beck

Helen Pollen

Alice Hannon

Annie Pollen

Reyn Hale

Lucy Marrett

Mary Allier

Composition Books

Florence Stepney

Very neatly written

Worth's writing very bad

de la Baro's Composition Books very neatly written

Worth who have succeeded well in their drawing

Deven Maps & Drawing V. Good

Mary Allier Deen Good

Pollens Model Good

Deevia D'Arcy Maff Model V. Good

Maps very good

Writing & Printing of the Third Class

Good indeed.

Whole the Examination was very satisfactory.
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Inscans Order

Distribution of Proceeds

April 22, 2022

[Diagram of a column]
A.M.G.

Distribution of Ribbons

April 10th 1872.

The first Honorary Ribbon of Good Conduct has been merited and obtained by

Miss Monica Ains

The second " " " " " " " " by Miss Isabel Arnold & Miss Blanche Maxwell.

The first Accessory of Good Conduct has been merited and obtained by

Miss Janet Booth & Hon. Miss Eleanor Petre

The second " " " " " " " " by Miss Mary date, Miss Freida Walton & Miss Beatrice Arnold.

The third " " " " " " " " by Miss Kate Magee & Miss Minna Ahn.

The best ribbon of encouragement has been awarded to

Miss Adela Parker.

The prize for application in the 2nd Annual Class has been awarded to Miss Julia Ryan & Miss Janet Poole.

The " " Upper 4th Class " " to Miss Hon. Mrs. Petre.

The " " Lower 4th Class. " " to Miss Alice Tack.

The " " 3rd Class. " " to Miss Hon. Monica.

The " " 2nd Class. " " to Miss Ains.
The Prize for English Grammar has been received and obtained by:

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<tr>
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<td>4th</td>
<td>Gertrude Bishop</td>
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<td>Eva Roett</td>
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The Prize for Italian:

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<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>Miss Mary Lucy Fletcher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th</td>
<td>Clementina Dorman</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The Prize for German:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Name</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>Miss Mary Baker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>Monica Mint</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Prize for French has been awarded as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Winner</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>Miss Therese de laubenque</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>Ethel Palmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>Cecilia Simonson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th</td>
<td>Catherine Magee</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Prize for Painting was awarded to:

- Miss Monica Flint

The Prize for Drawing was awarded to:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Winner</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>1st</td>
<td>Miss Mary Paley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>1st</td>
<td>Beatrice Arnold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>Emily Ryan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th</td>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>Annie Delphine</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Prize for Needlework was awarded to:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Winner</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>Miss Therese de laubenque</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>Beatrice Arnold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>Catherine Magee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th</td>
<td>Monica Rehe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Another of the carriages containing Sir F. Vane, M. Christian M. T. Weld, May Covy, Jane Power, Camille de Bonay, Henriette Bredey, Gabrielle Baringfield, Lola Gonzalez, Lucy Wallersey, Catherine Lambert, of Cecile Bellsom, the Harvard etc.

Walkers: Catherine Hanmer, M. Beatrice, Mary Allen, Theresa d'Arcy, Mary of Arcy, B. de Castro, St. Angela, Julia Eyre. Florence Colby

The old Palace, Mayfield. The refectory.

Our Dinner.

Sketches made at the First Mayfield Picnic, 1862, by Cecil Bellasis.

(Slightly reduced)
PRIVATE THEATREIALS,
FRIDAY, JULY 25th, 1879,
WILL BE PERFORMED BY
The Young Ladies of the School of the Holy Child Je;
ST. LEONARDS-ON-SEA.

"FAIRYLAND."

DRAMATIC PERSONAE:

Hollyhock (King of the Fairies, "Monarch of all he surveys,"—which is not much, as he is not a Surveyor) ........ Miss Bethe
Baron Box (His Prime Minister, so much overworked that he is in Love spirits and getting Dizzy)...... Miss Teresa Bullock
Prince Marigold (An Oli Glop, who, wishing to strike a match with Princess Bluebell, is unable to kindle a spark of affection in her, and so is compelled, for his own safety, to strike only on the Box) ........ Miss Monica Parki
Prince Lupin (A Young Beau, who has a narrow escape of being hung for a Belle) ........ Miss Margaret Kh
Princess Everdee (M.D., a stern upholder of Women's Rights) ........ Miss Joy
Princess Bluebell (A delicate, clinging flower, requiring support)...... Miss Adeleine O'NE
Sergeant Snapdragon (An active and intelligent Officer) ........ Miss Teresa Parki
Deadly Nightshade (An imp in familiar terms with Princess Everdee) ........ Miss Harold Bar
Lily Dale (A little Mortal) ........ Miss Louise Willia

FOLLOWS BY DISTRIBUTION OF PRIZES.
To Mr. Benedict Sparkles of the Netback.

War Office:

No very important engagements have taken place lately, but there has been some sharp skirmishing with Lieutenant Fräulein.

Section sticks like British plug by which we hold our frontier firm.
The very sticky customer

Seco-line

When you've finished printing, rub some secoline on your mouth, and ask them if they sell wi' you. Drop into your stationers with your mouth wrenched, and you're home of Tortelli.
When "Scrooge" did not the British

General "Scrooge" I am afraid it's all up with us unless our men stick to their posts better than they have been doing. I don't know what to do. I'm tired of telling them that if they will only stand their ground! These British bull-dogs will fly before us, but I might as well look to the wall.

Scrooge Why and by me? I'll make them stick to their posts in times

hum
Sir: Reduction of all. If more, see note. If more,

So raised the Transal war of 1899. An

If successful result cannot be stated.

To anything else but "Sealed"
ADVERTISEMENTS etc:

WANTED!!!
Cure for red noses
Also best pattern of nose drops (lined & padded)
Apply to H.C. or H.D. this office

USE
CLAVY'S FIZZ!!!
Best remedy for painting
Hysteries
Insomnia
Hockey bruises
Ear-ache
Chilblains
And many other diseases
So numerous to mention.
Sold in the dispensary.
Universal remedy!!!!!!

Can any kind reader suggest a means of
transporting oneself from
the 6th form classroom
To the music rooms in less
Than two minutes?

WAR NEWS can be had
On applying to General
M. M. Joseph S.H.C.S. P.S.G. M.M.
Chief of War Office. (6th Form, M Building)

WANTED!!!
A cure for DROWSINESS
On Friday afternoons between
Half past four and 5 o'clock.
Simply bring this Ad

An account of yesterday's
engagement between 1st. H.M.S.
Support by British Naval Ensign
To H. Shanken. War Office.
Competition

By Miss P. N.
Alice Worsley

Alice Worsley speaks an infinite dealt of nothing, more than any girl in all the IV form, her reasons are as two grains of wheat laid in two bushels of chaff; you shall search all day till you find them, but when you have them they are not worth the search.

Bernadette Fox

We know her as the wind man knows the cuckoo, by the lead voice.
Police news.

Miss Bernhardt was taken up for being late for meditation was fined 1 discipline mark. Misses Irene Shannon and Ilse Forsley were examined for waste of time and fined 1 Conduct mark. Miss Stewart received a severe reprimand for her disorderly behavior.
No 2. The painting of females

Dear Mrs Edith,

I hope you will accept the enclosed contents ofCREMENT (I know you spell it with a "c" instead of a "t". My sluggish brain is not equal to writing an article this week.) - Chops.
1. Primary Sources

a) Manuscript

The Archive of the Society of the Holy Child Jesus (Mayfield Sussex)

1. Exercise Book of Helen Mary Petre
2. The Book of Prize Winners and Accesserunts 1869-1872
3. The School Report Book 1861-1865
4. Smuts
5. The Rules by Sister Aloysia
6. Miscellaneous: Concert Programmes, Prize Day Programmes, photographs and classroom textbooks

b) Oral

Conversations with the Archivist, Mayfield Sussex

c) Printed

1. The Interpreter 1901
   (School Magazine The Society of the Holy Child Jesus Archive Mayfield Sussex)
2. Connelly, C. The Book of the Order of Studies 1863
   (Archive Mayfield Sussex)
3. Stuart, J. E. The Education of Catholic Girls 1911
   The Society of the Sacred Heart 1923

d) Other Printed Material

1. The Tablet Vol. 56 No. 2370 1885

2. Secondary Sources

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<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Year(s)</th>
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<td>Banks, O.</td>
<td>Faces of Feminism 1988</td>
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<td>Beck, G.A.</td>
<td>The English Catholics 1850–1950</td>
<td>1950</td>
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<td>Bennett, D.</td>
<td>Emily Davies and the Liberation of Women 1990</td>
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<td>Bryant, M</td>
<td>The Unexpected Revolution 1979</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Burstyn, J.N.</td>
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<td>Caine, B.</td>
<td>Victorian Feminists 1991</td>
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<td>Culler, A.D.</td>
<td>The Imperial Intellect 1955</td>
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<td>Girls Growing Up in Late Victorian and Edwardian England 1981</td>
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<td>Cornelia Connelly: A Woman Styled Bold 1991</td>
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<td>Gasquet,</td>
<td>The Life of Cornelia Connelly (by a member of the Society of the Holy Child Jesus Foreward by Gasquet) 1922</td>
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<td>Gorham, D.</td>
<td>The Victorian Girl and the Feminie Ideal 1982</td>
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<td>Green, V.H.H.</td>
<td>A History of Oxford University 1974</td>
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<td>The Life of Cornelia Connelly (by a member of the Society of the Holy Child Jesus Foreward by Griffin) 1922</td>
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<td>Hunt, F.</td>
<td>Lessons For Life 1987</td>
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<td>Ledochowska, T.</td>
<td>Angela Merici and The Company of St Ursula Vol. 2 1968</td>
<td>(translated by Mary T. Neylan)</td>
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<td>Lee, J.M.</td>
<td>Catholic Education in the Western</td>
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</table>
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