CORNELIA CONNELLY EDUCATOR:

HER CHARISMA AND ITS INSTITUTIONALIZATION

by

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ABSTRACT

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This is a study in the history of women's education: the focus is the life and work of an American woman educator, Cornelia Peacock Connelly (1809-1879). Connelly responded to the societal needs of Catholic England by founding the Society of the Holy Child Jesus for the education of females of all classes. This institute became the embodiment of her charisma for the work of education.

The particular concern of the study is the manner in wnich Connelly translated her life experience into a philosophy and vision of education which she implemented through a selective synthesis of educational praxis. The methodological approach illumines early Holy Child education--its pedagogical focus, educative objectives and value commitments. This is done in three stages.

Firstly, the historical, religious and sociological events which called forth Connelly's charisma and characteristic educative style and led to the founding of her Society are approached from the perspective of educational biography--focusing upon the experiences which were

educative in her life and their relationship to one another. This is followed by an examination of the manner in which Cornelia integrated and incorporated her life experience and educative style into a way of life to be lived by other women for the purpose of education. A recounting of her first foundations in the educational and historical context of Victorian England provides the purview of this enterprise. Finally, a study is made of the Book of Studies (1863), Connelly's educational handbook, from the perspective of curriculum development. Relevant portions of her Society's Constitutions are also considered. These documents represent the institutionalized formulation of Cornelia's gifted leadership in education, the means by which she transmitted it and made it available to others.

A Weberian perspective in the study distinguishes between the educative and religious dimensions of Holy Child education by separating the historical context from the tneological tradition. It also highlights Connelly's preparation of "strong women" who lose nothing of "their gentleness and sweetness...yet have a masculine force of character and will."

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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L.M.A.B.

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

This study focuses upon the life and work of an American woman educator, Cornelia Peacock Connelly (1809-1879). In 1846 this native of Philadelphia, who had lived and worked in Mississippi, Louisiana and Italy, was asked to go to England to found a religious and educative institute. The founding of such an institute for "the Education of females of all classes" was an event unprecedented in the history of English education.[1] Cornelia Connelly was also the first person, man or woman, to come from the New World to establish a Catholic religious congregation in the Old.[2]

The particular concern of this study is the educational leadership which Cornelia gave to the religious congregation she founded. The Society of the Holy Child Jesus, as the institute continues to be known, speaks of "Holy Child education," an educational philosophy and

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[1] "Rules of 1844-6," quoted in Caritas McCarthy, "A Study of the Constitutions of the Society of the Holy Child Jesus, Source, no. 4 (Winter 1975), p. 76.

[2] Positio: Documentary Study for the Canonization Process of the Servant of God, Cornelia Connelly, 3 vols. (Rome: Society of the Holy Child Jesus, 1983), 1:i.

vision attributed to Cornelia. This educational heritage forms the basis of the Society's work today on five continents.[1]

The events of Cornelia's life called forth what Hope Jensen Leichter has termed an "educative style"--"a set of characteristic ways of engaging in, moving through, and combining of educational experiences."[2] In the case of Cornelia Connelly, as a result of her deliberate effort, this educative style was incorporated into a philosophy and vision of education which she, in turn, translated into an educational praxis to be carried out by her followers.

A present goal of the School Commission for the Society of the Holy Child Jesus in the United States is: "To foster continued growth and development of Holy Child educational philosophy and vision in [their] corporate ministries."[3] Since the Society speaks of a philosophy and vision which they have inherited from their founder, the question of the relationship between the present and the past expression of this philosophy and vision arises.

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[1]The Society of the Holy Child Jesus may hereafter be referred to as the "Society" or "SHCJ" for simplicity of style.

[2]Hope Jensen Leichter, "The Concept of Educative Style," Teachers College Record 75 (1973):239-250; and Lawrence A. Cremin, Traditions of American Education (New York: Basic Books, 1977), p. 146.

[3]School Commission of the SHCJ, Drexill Hill, Pa., Minutes of the Advisory Board, Meeting of 12 January 1981.

Elizabeth Vallance has found in her research that what current theorists, such as Philip Jackson, have found to be "hidden" in the curriculum was originally of open intent. It follows that a historical study of the phenomenon of Holy Child education and the manner in which it became embodied in the Society of the Holy Child Jesus as a result of Cornelia Connelly's intentional endeavor to establish an ongoing institution, would contribute to a potential understanding of the relationship between the present and past expression of this philosophy and vision--perhaps bringing to light what has become "hidden" of the founder's original intent.

Following the Second Ecumenical Vatican Council religious congregations in the Catholic Church were asked to examine the nature of their involvement in traditional areas of service such as education. Since the purpose or work for which a congregation is established is directly related to the charism or gifted leadership of its founder, the decree Perfectae Caritates of Vatican II turned the attention of the congregations to their particular charism of foundation. The members of the Society of the Holy Child Jesus consider the Society to be the institutional

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[1]Elizabeth Vallance, "Hiding the Hidden Curriculum: An Interpretation of the Language of Justification in Nineteenth-Century Educational Reform," in Curriculum and Evaluation, eds. Arno A. Bellack and Herbert M. Kliebard (Berkeley: McCutchan Publishing Corporation, 1977), p. 605; and Philip Jackson, Life in Classrooms (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1968).

embodiment of the charism of Cornelia Connelly. "Holy Child education" is, therefore, an institutionalized expression of this charism.[1]

Max Weber in his work on charisma and institution building developed the concept of "'charisma' ('gift of grace')" building on the work of the Protestant theologian Rudolf Sohm.[2] For Weber:

> The term 'charisma' [is] applied to a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with...specifically exceptional powers or qualities. These are not accessible to the ordinary person, but are regarded as of divine origin or as exemplary, and on the basis of them the individual is treated as a leader.[3]

Cornelia Connelly is seen in the Catholic Church as one who received a "charism of foundation," that is, the "gift of grace" to found a religious congregation. In its institutionalized form this is spoken of as the "charism of the congregation," the charism of foundation in its

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[1]Caritas McCarthy, The Spirituality of Cornelia Connelly (Rosemont, Pa.: Society of the Holy Child Jesus, 1981), pp. 29-30.

[2]Weber actually states that "the concept of 'charisma' ('gift of grace') is taken from the vocabulary of early Christianity." Max Weber, "The Pure Types of Legitimate Authority," in On Charisma and Institution Building, ed. and with an intro. by S.N. Eisenstadt (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), p. 47.

[3]Max Weber, Social and Economic Organization, trans. by Talcott Parsons, ed. with an intro. by T. Parsons (New York: MacMillan Publishers, 1964), p. 358.

historic continuity.[1] "The charism of foundation is a grace given to an individual or to several individuals resulting in the existence of a 'community in mission' within the Church."[2]

To speak of a religious institute such as the Society as the embodiment of the charism of its founder is really not obtuse. In this case charism conveys a specifically acknowledged sense that it is a "gift of grace" given to an individual by God.[3] From a Weberian perspective there are three dimensions operative in the establishment of an institution--a charismatic leader, the routinization of this charisma in a depersonalized form in an emerging institution, and the institution which evolves as a result of the routinization process and serves to keep the charismatic phenomenon available to others.[4]

Mary Milligan distinguishes "three 'moments' in the process of foundation" of a religious congregation.

> These "moments," not necessarily chronological, are first of all what Vatican II has called the "original inspiration." This inspiration is in some way expressed externally, in word

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[1]Mary Milligan, "Charisms and Constitutions," Way Supp 36 (1979):46.

[2]Ibid.

[3]The Greek "Kharisma" (χαρισμα) may be translated by either the English word "charisma" or "charism." The latter expression is often used by theologians.

[4]Max Weber, "The Nature of Charismatic Authority and Its Routinization," in On Charisma and Institution Building, pp. 48-65.

> or action. A second "moment" (sometimes preceding the first) is the gathering together of a community, of a group of "disciples." A third "moment" is what I have called "institutionalization": that is, the articulation of values, goals and means in a stable form.[1]

The distinguishing trait of a "charism of foundation" is that it results in the establishment of a group for the service (such as education) of others in the Church.[2]

Lest the language become too awkward a distinction is being made here between the charism and the purpose for which that charism is received. The kinds of service to which a religious institution gives itself are an expression or living out of its charism.[3] And where "charism" refers to the grace of a founder of a Catholic religious congregation, institutional embodiment is a sign of its validity.[4] It is possible, therefore, to think of Cornelia Connelly as a charismatic leader--one whose particular charism has been recognized as present in the institution she founded.

The life and work of Cornelia Connelly are examined from a Weberian perspective in this study in an effort to clarify the relationship between the educative and

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[1]Milligan, "Charisms and Constitutions," p. 46.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Ibid., pp. 45-46.

[4]Caritas McCarthy, "The Spirituality of Cornelia Connelly: A Study of the Charism of the Founder of the Society of the Holy Child Jesus" (D.S.T. dissertation, Pontifical Gregorian University, 1980), p. 37.

religious dimensions of Holy Child education by separating the historical context from the theological tradition. It is necessary to perceive Cornelia Connelly as a charismatic leader in order to use this sociological conceptualization.[1] This is done in three stages. Firstly, the historical, religious and sociological events which called forth Cornelia's charisma and educative style, and led to the founding of the Society, are approached from the perspective of educational biography:

> focusing on the experience of education--the experience resulting from the deliberate, systematic, and sustained efforts of others... as well as the experience involved in the subject's own efforts to acquire knowledge, attitudes, values, skills and sensibilities.[2]

This is followed by an examination of the manner in which Cornelia integrated and incorporated her life experience and educative style into a way of life to be lived by others for the purpose of education. Finally, a study is made of the Book of the Order of Studies in the S. Holy Child Jesus (1863) from the perspective of curriculum development. Relevant portions of the Society's Constitutions are also

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[1] In Paul and Power Begnt Holmberg separated the historical groundwork from theological analysis by reviewing the issues from a sociological point of view. Begnt Holmberg, Paul and Power (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980).

[2] Cremin, Traditions of American Education, p. 146. This literary genre is formulated by Lawrence Cremin in Public Education (New York: Basic Books, 1976), pp. 42-43; and Traditions of American Education (New York: Basic Books, 1977), pp. 145-148.

considered.[1] These documents represent the institutionalized formulation of Cornelia's gifted leadership in education, the means by which she transmitted and made it available to others.

Although this study is not an educational biography, the literary genre explicated by Cremin is a facilitative conceptual tool for approaching Cornelia's life. Lagemann's questions offer orientation:

> Who was this woman? Where did she come from? What did she do? How did she see herself? How was she seen by others? [and]...questions that deal specifically with education.... what were the educationally significant influences throughout [this] woman's life, how were these educational and significant and what...if any, was the relationship between education and accomplishment.[2]

The Catholic Church was a significant educative institute in Mrs. Connelly's life. It is necessary to call upon its history and to be aware of the theological meaning it rendered to her life at certain times of major decision.

While a Weberian perspective is used as an organizational and interpretive tool, the literature of education

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[1]The term "Constitutions" refers to the Canonical document guiding the personal and corporate life of the members of the SHCJ. Each congregation, society or order within the Catholic Church has a unique Constitution developed by its founder or founders but also reflecting the lived experience of the institution.

[2]Ellen Lagemann, "A Generation of Women: Studies in Educational Biography" (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1978), p. 1.

and theology are used to understand the phenomenon of Holy Child education per se.

The methodological approach is designed to illumine what is termed Holy Child educational philosophy and vision, in its incipience or first stage, in such a way that it is possible to discover its particular pedagogical focus, educational objectives and value commitments of both implicit and explicit intent.

It is possible to explore the historical and sociological context of Cornelia's early life by reference to the biographical materials available.[1] Reference is also made to primary and secondary materials obtained by the Society's official archives in Italy, England and the United States. Another valuable document is the Positio: Documentary Study for the Canonization Process of the Servant of God, Cornelia Connelly prepared by the Historical Commission for the Beatification and Canonization of Cornelia Connelly.[2] Part of the purpose of the historical

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[1] M.A. Armour, U. Blake, and A. Dawson, Cornelia (U.S.A.: The Society of the Holy Child Jesus, 1979); M.T. Bisgood, Cornelia Connelly (Westminster: The Newman Press, 1961); M.C. Gompertz, The Life of Cornelia Connelly (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1922; 2nd. and 3rd. editions abridged, 1924 and 1938; 4th. edition abridged and revised, 1950); B. Hanley, "The Grace To Know Your Will," The Anthonian 57(1983):3-29; and J. Wadham, The Case of Cornelia Connelly (London: Collins Clear-Type Press, 1956; Image Books, 1960). Other biographical writings in French, German and Italian as well as brief sketches of her life also exist.

[2] This document is normally referred to as the "Positio."

documentation of the Positio is to check and record public statements about Connelly against private ones. Provision of the document by the present administration of the Society for this study has been of great assistance--particularly the portions dealing with education and the first foundations. The author also has access to twenty-two volumes of Cornelia's personal writings and the first edition of the Book of the Order of Studies in the Schools of S. Holy Child Jesus (1863), the Society's handbook of education.

This study is neither an exhaustive study of the educative praxis of the Society of the Holy Child Jesus nor of the life of Cornelia Connelly. Those dimensions of Cornelia's early and married life which are seen as contributing to the calling forth and expression of her charisma as an educator are given consideration.

The concern of the study has to do with identifying what was embodied in Holy Child education rather than the personal philosophy and spirituality of Cornelia Connelly. This is not to say that the two are mutually exclusive but the latter has been addressed in the work of Caritas McCarthy at the Pontifical Gregorian University in Rome. A descriptive history of Connelly's work in education, with a focus on its achievement and influence in England, is presently the doctoral work of J.P. Marmion at the University of Manchester in England.

In this study I do not attempt to judge Cornelia's thought or commitments, nor to engage in a simple recounting of early Holy Child education. I rather try to understand how Cornelia Connelly translated her life experience and evolving educative style into a philosophy and vision of education which had meaning, was lived by others, and became routinized in the institution she founded.

Chapter II

CORNELIA PEACOCK CONNELLY

SITZ IM LEBEN (1809-1844)

Early Life

The life story of the woman born Cornelia Augusta Peacock began in Philadelphia on January 15, 1809. Cornelia was the youngest of nine siblings including a half brother and sister, John and Isabella Bowen. Her mother, Mary Swope Bowen, of German descent and widow of a wealthy Jamaican sugar planter, had married Ralph Peacock, a naturalized American of Yorkshire origin, in 1798. It has been suggested that the names of Cornelia's maternal forebearers, "Swope" and "Steinmetz," reflect a distant European Jewish ancestry dating to the eighteenth century.[1] Whether or not this is so, Cornelia's statement later in life, "I am a cosmopolitan. The whole world is my country and heaven my home," was rooted in a sense of identity first nurtured in a home reflecting a pluralistic family heritage.[2]

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[1] A thorough discussion of Cornelia Connelly's ancestors and immediate forebearers is found in Positio, 1:1-7.

[2] Armour, Cornelia, pp. 3-4; and D 73:253, quoted in Positio, II:846.

The inheritance Cornelia's mother received from her first husband passed to the Bowen children. The annuity she received, however, together with the property which was her legacy from her great-grandfather Daniel Steinmetz, meant that the former Mrs. Bowen was a woman of considerable means. This increased the ability of Ralph Peacock to invest in various residential properties--seemingly his principal vocation. It is not known whether or not business matters were ever discussed in the Peacock household in the presence of the children, although Dawson writes, "Certainly we know from her later life that Cornelia had inherited from her mother's side of the family much of the Steinmetz business accumen."[1] Such "inheritance" is founded on life experience.

The background of Cornelia's father was very different from that of her mother. Ralph Peacock had grown up on a tenant farm in Yorkshire; Cornelia's great uncle, John Steinmetz, had been one of the principal merchants and importers of Philadelphia.[2] Cornelia's father's activities as a self-styled entrepreneur were not particularly successful. By necessity, Cornelia's mother "was the

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[1]Annette Dawson, "Cornelia Connelly: Three Characteristics," Source, no. 9 (1979), p. 65.

[2]Ibid., p. 65.

centre and head of the large individualistic family...."[1] When Cornelia was seven, her father became ill and the family moved to the country near Camden, New Jersey. Two years later, at the time of his death, Mr. Peacock's debts outweighed his assets.[2] Mrs. Peacock was able, however, to reestablish the family in Philadelphia. Four years later Cornelia's eldest brother died; her mother died the following year. "Cornelia...was fourteen years old, had resided in at least seven different houses, and had lost the three persons most dear to her within a period of five years."[3] There remained in Cornelia's immediate family three sisters and two brothers, besides herself. It was necessary that the Peacock family be separated. Cornelia went to live with her half-sister Isabella Bowen, now Mrs. Austin Montgomery.

Education

Little is known of Cornelia's formal education--particularly during the period while her parents were alive.

> Her name has not yet been discovered in any of the known records of old schools in

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[1]Bisgood, Cornelia Connelly, p. 3.

[2]Caritas McCarthy, "Cornelia and Pierre Connelly: New Perspectives on Their Early Lives," Records of the American Catholic Historical Society 72 (1961):96n.

[3]Armour, Cornelia, p. 5.

> Phildelphia, so presumably she had tuition at home, perhaps from her mother: we know this was a custom. Fanny Wright, for example, refers to a lady of high gifts in Philadelphia society who devoted her mornings exclusively to the education of her family.[1]

Certainly in later life Cornelia saw teaching in the home as a most natural part of the educative process. To her niece, Mary, she wrote in 1869:

> I hope dear that you teach your brothers & help them to understand their lessons out of School hours--[2]

And on another occasion, in 1872, she suggested to her niece, Isabella Bowen:

> but it is something to have Lizzie to teach & your Brothers too, to instruct in many ways--No doubt you teach them map drawing and etching and the figures of practical geometry--[3]

Cornelia's mother had been the daughter of Doctor Jacob Swope, a surgeon to the Colonial Army. Her uncle, John Steinmetz, supported the Revolutionary Cause and came into conflict with the English government by signing

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[1]Radegunde Flaxman, "Apostolate Studies," Source, no. 3 (1972), p. 7.

[2]CC 1:111, 26 November 1869, Hyères, France. CC stands for Collection I (Cornelia Connelly's Writings), the first number following indicates the volume, the second the page number. CC may also refer to Cornelia Connelly. This is the manner in which her writings are referenced in the Positio and for purposes of scholarship.

[3]CC 1:114, 25 September 1872, St. Leonards, England.

the Non-Importation Act of 1765.[1] It is most likely that Mrs. Peacock's own education and background made her competent to the task of educating her children. On the other hand, Cornelia may have attended one of the many small schools in Philadelphia. Flaxman also puts forward the possibility that Cornelia could have studied with her brothers or with their tutors.[2] Writing to her sister Adeline Peacock Duval in 1854 she recollects:

> Tell Ralpho that I remember his priming [pinning?] the canvas for me to try oil colors when I was about thirteen years old.[3]

The Montgomerys, with whom Cornelia lived following her mother's death in 1823, were a "well-to-do family of good social standing."[4] Isabella and her husband had no children of their own and provided Cornelia with "private tutors for her education and prepared her for her place in society."[5] Her familiarity with the social life of the well-to-do is reflected in a letter from Rome to her sister Mary in 1836. At that time she and Pierce were

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[1]Leonard A. Whatmore, "Cornelia Connelly: Gold in the Fire," reprinted from Homiletic and Pastoral Review 63 (February 1963):401.

[2]Flaxman, "Apostolate Studies," p. 7.

[3]CC 1:60, 30 March 1854, Rome, Italy. All quotations from the documented copies of Cornelia Connelly's letters or equivalent papers are copied exactly as they appear unless otherwise indicated.

[4]McCarthy, "Cornelia and Pierce Connelly," p. 97.

[5] Flaxman, "Apostolate Studies," p. 7.

the constant companions of many of the old Roman families and Catholic nobility. She wrote:

> We find no difference between the polished society of P[hiladelphia]--& the society of the English nobility excepting that they carry more humility in their politeness.[1]

Wadham, one of Cornelia's many biographers, summarizes what was most probably the content of her education during this period.

> She learnt what her contemporaries in England were learning, drawing, sewing, music, French and Italian. But she learnt more than these because Philadelphia was her home and men more often than not her teachers. She was thoroughly grounded in grammar, mathematics, history and geography.[2]

Flaxman, however, places all such surmising in perspective:

> But this per se might mean little. Bishop Rosati wrote of her in 1836:
> "...Mme Connoly [sic] femme de beaucoup d'esprit cultivé par une éducation soignée... (D Appendix:9)"
>
> Mother Maria Joseph Buckle, her earliest biographer and herself an educated woman who had known Cornelia over the whole period of her life as a religious said:
> "...her reasoning powers had been cultivated by education and she had studied logic as well as rhetoric... Arithmetic and mathematics were some of her favorite studies... (D 63:77)"[3]

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[1] CC 1:67, [1836, Rome].

[2] Wadham, The Case of Cornelia Connelly, p. 23.

[3] Flaxman, "Apostolate Studies," pp. 7-8. "D" in the above quotations stands for Collection II (Documentation presented by the Historical Commissioners), the first number

It is also known that when Cornelia was able to pursue the study of "voice and piano, art, French and Italian" as an adult in Rome she took every opportunity to do so.[1] Early on her first trip to Rome she wrote:

> I may say I have seen nothing of Rome yet though I have been out every day--but seeing it wont do--it must be studied and it will take a [sic] least a year to study it with any kind of advantage--At every step you see the most precious works of art.[2]

Cornelia, it would seem, was provided with an early experience of education which created in her a love and thirst for learning as well as the basic tools to undertake such endeavors.

Glimpses of the early educative milieu of the Peacock family are also found in the lives of Cornelia's brothers and sisters. Cornelia's three brothers were members of the Athenaeum in Philadelphia. Flaxman quotes a guide book published in Philadelphia in 1824:

> While the City Library enables the public to procure books at small expense for perusal at home, the Athenaeum furnishes a place of useful and agreeable resort, where valuable books of reference in every department of literature and science, the periodic journals

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following indicates the column, the second the page number. This is the manner of referencing in the Positio and for purposes of scholarship.

[1]Caritas McCarthy, "Through Successive Calls to Ultimate Vocation," Source, no. 11 (1980), p. 34.

[2]CC 1:61, 6 March 1836, Rome.

> of Europe and America, maps, plates, etc., may always be found and consulted.[1]

There are also indications that Cornelia's sisters, Adeline and Mary, received good educations:

> When Addie Duval found herself faced with the necessity of earning her living, she wrote to Ralph:
>
> "...you may remember all my qualifications in all the ordinary branches of an English education... (D 6:215)"
>
> Addie's claim is supported by what was said, after death, of the other sister too when she entered the Order of the Sacred Heart:
>
> "...d'une famille distinguée mais protestante. Elle était donée d'une intelligence remarquable et de beaucoup d'aptitude pour acquérir des talents et les sciences qui font l'ornement d'une jeune personne de sa condition. Elle avait recu une éducation complète... (italics mine: D 64:23,24)"[2]

As the youngest child, there is every reason to believe Cornelia's educational opportunities were as "complete" as her sisters'.

Cornelia grew up and received her personal formation in Philadelphia--a city already with a rich cultural, economic and political heritage in the relatively young nation of the United States of America. Her family's ability to draw upon its rich resources provided her with an education which included skills and talents which were

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[1] Philadelphia in 1824, p. 10, quoted in Flaxman, "Apostolate Studies," p. 5.

[2] Flaxman, "Apostolate Studies," p. 8.

to give her a self-possession and self-reliance rare in an era when women were considered to be second-class citizens. It was to be the case that Cornelia was always able to work knowledgeably with the men she encountered professionally in matters of business and education. Albeit the details are few but the provision of her parents and her family constellation were surely contributing factors.

Religious Background

According to Cremin, "It was in the language and substance of religion that nineteenth-century Americans pondered the meaning of their individual and public experience."[1] Cornelia Peacock was a member of a family which reflected the richness of late eighteenth and early nineteenth century American idealism and culture--her maternal grandfather and uncle significant persons in the move towards independence; her father an English emigrant to the New World.[2] Bisgood, one of her major biographers, may be misleading when she questions the "extent [to which] her moral development was affected by religious influences...."[3]

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[1]Lawrence A. Cremin, American Education: The National Experience, 1873-1876 (New York: Harper and Row, 1980), p. 17.

[2]Whatmore, "Cornelia Connelly: Gold in the Fire," p. 401.

[3]Bisgood, Cornelia Connelly, p. 4.

The spirit of the time allows us to presuppose religious influences; Cornelia's family history suggests some possibilities as to what these were.

Cornelia's parents were married in Christ Church, Philadelphia by the Episcopalian Bishop, William White.[1] McCarthy concludes that "this does not seem to indicate any strong religious commitment, as neither was subsequently recorded as pewholder here."[2] The preferred religious allegiances of the members of Cornelia's family have been difficult to discern throughout the research on her life. In the recent release of the Positio, the researchers speak of the "eclectic Christianity of the Peacock family circle."[3]

From 1803 until three years after his death, the family of Ralph Peacock were pewholders in the Second Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia.[4] It was there that members of Cornelia's family were buried--although no trace of her father's burial place has been found.[5]

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[1]Caritas McCarthy, "Chronology of the Life of Cornelia Connelly," Source, no. 8 (1978), p. 5; and McCarthy, "Cornelia and Pierce Connelly," p. 97.

[2]McCarthy, "Cornelia and Pierce Connelly," p. 98.

[3]Positio, 1:12.

[4]Ibid., p. 13.

[5]McCarthy, "Cornelia and Pierce Connelly," p. 97.

> Although there are no baptismal records extant from that [the Second Presbyterian] church for members of the Peacock family, nor a record of their being communicant members, the discipline in [the Reverend Jacob] Janeway's church was strict, and only fully practising Presbyterians were allowed to rent pews.[1]

It was in this setting, where the Rev. Janeway was noted for his prejudices against the Catholic Church, that Cornelia most likely received her early religious formation.[2]

The brother-in-law of Isabella Bowen, the Reverend James Montgomery, founded an Episcopal Church in Philadelphia in the 1820's, representative of the English High Church Movement at Oxford.[3] Montgomery gave great emphasis to the role of the liturgy in Christian worship. It is not certain that Cornelia was baptized in the Presbyterian Church but she was baptized by the Reverend Montgomery on 25 February 1831.[4] It was this date that she gave for her baptism when she began a register for the Society of the Holy Child Jesus.[5] It appears that she did not receive conditional baptismal when she became a Catholic in 1835.[6]

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[1] Positio, 1:13.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Positio, p. 14; and Caritas McCarthy, "Introducing the Reverend James Montgomery," Pylon XXVII (Autumn 1965): 3-6.

[4] Positio, 1:24; and Ibid., 1:27.

[5] Ibid., p. 26.

[6] Ibid., pp. 25-26.

The significance of the data regarding her baptism, for the purposes of this study, is that it is an example of the recognition by Cornelia of her Christian faith prior to her becoming a Catholic. A similar respect she always gave to others.

Cornelia's mother had been from a German Reformed background; her father from a family who had for many generations been Anglican.[1] Throughout her adult life Cornelia was noted for her restraint in speaking about her own life. An early biographer writes:

> Of [her] brothers we know nothing, partly owing to the distruction of the family papers during the Civil War,and partly because of the reticence which Cornelia, from motives of humility, always observed concerning her family and early life.[2] (Emphasis added.)

Of the motivation behind Cornelia's reticence we cannot be certain; the documents collected for the Positio indicate an open and honest communication between herself and her brothers and sisters--one in which they wrote freely of personal and religious matters. Today, Kohlberg's research indicates that:

> Moral development is dependent on such cognitive skills as the perception of reality, the organization and evaluation of experiences,

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[1] Positio, p. 12, p. 2.

[2] Gompertz, Life, p. 3.

> the making of fine discriminations, and later, during adolescence, the ability to reason abstractly.[1]

The values of Cornelia and her brothers and sisters were formed in the pluralistic context of the Protestant Christian tradition of early nineteenth-century America. It is her life as she matured and the values by which she lived which reveal the full extent of these religious influences on her moral development.

Early Marriage and Conversion to Catholicism

On December 1, 1831, Cornelia was married to the Reverend Pierce Connelly by Bishop White of the Episcopal Church, in the home of her sister Adeline Peacock Duval.[2] There is a tradition that the Montgomerys had refused to sanction the marriage and that Cornelia, in turn, sought the hospitality of the Duvals.[3] The reason for the original refusal is unclear--Pierce "was good-looking, well-educated, able to make friends easily and quite obviously marked for a good position in his church."[4] At the age of twenty-two Cornelia was her own person and, as throughout her

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[1]Rolf E. Muuss, "Lawrence Kohlberg's Cognitive-Developmental Approach to Adolescent Morality," Theories of Adolescence, 3rd ed. (New York: Random House, 1975), p. 208.

[2]Positio, 1:xix.

[3]Armour, Cornelia, p. 7.

[4]Ibid.

life, her nature expressed itself in the ability to make a decision for which she would assume the responsibility. This was a decision which would never cease to challenge all her abilities, talents, and gifts.

The newly married couple spent the first four years of their married life (1832-1835) in Natchez, Mississippi. "Natchez was a prosperous, joyous, cultivated city, and the new rector and his wife soon became popular with the people."[1] Two children, Mercer and Adeline, were born. When Mary Peacock visited them in 1835, she wrote, "they are and always have been about the happiest couple that ever breathed."[2] Flaxman writes:

> It is of the four years between marriage and conversion [to Catholicism] that we need to know so much more. It is not only that Cornelia then had the maturing experience of being wife and mother, but that the context of thought--a context vibrant with polemic--was a shaping force, and much of this would make its impact on the wife through her husband.[3]

Pierce Connelly had received his M.A. from the University of Pennsylvania in 1828, the last year of Frederick Beasley's fifteen-year term as Provost.[4] Beasley

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[1]McCarthy, "Cornelia and Pierce Connelly," p. 104.

[2]Armour, Cornelia, p. 11.

[3]Flaxman, "Apostolate Studies," p. 11.

[4]"Introduction," University of Pennsylvania Catalog of Alumni Records, cited by McCarthy, "Cornelia and Pierce Connelly," p. 103.

was the third of four senior Episcopal leaders for the University. Cremin notes that the University of Pennsylvania was one of the older, established and more liberal academic institutions, which, with Princeton and Harvard, were able to resist the influence of the evangelical movement in educational affairs during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century.[1]

The intellectual and theological journey upon which Cornelia and Pierce were later to embark had significant undergirdings. Beasley had been a student of Samuel Stanhope Smith at Princeton, and as such, brought that influence to the University of Pennsylvania. Smith, by joining intuition to induction, had propounded an expression of religious faith which was in accord with both Locke's epistemology of human development and the more traditional beliefs of Christianity. It is significant that Smith

> saw education as the enterprise par excellence for the formation of human personality and the shaping of natural character; and he tried his best to make Princeton exemplary of the unique combination of piety, civility and learning he had fashioned during his life long encounter with the Scottish moralists.[2]

Beasley fostered this educational and theological perspective at the University of Pennsylvania. Pierce Connelly, on

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[1]Cremin, National Experience, p. 67.

[2]Ibid., pp. 25-26.

graduating from the institution, had decided to become an Episcopalian minister. His university education was not free of anti-Catholic sentiment but had been received in a milieu free from evangelical and anti-intellectual influence and had included rigorous religious and intellectual nurture.[1]

The Connellys moved to the Mississippi Valley during a period of Catholic revival countered by the strong anti-catholic feeling of American Nativism.

> The religious seriousness of Pierce and Cornelia in their young adult lives can be assumed from their choosing to become, respectively, ministerial and communicant members of the American Episcopal Church, with spiritually formed consciences to the degree that their actions presuppose.[2]

The couple were High Church by choice and Pierce responded to the evangelical crusade being waged by the American Tract Society by engaging in a study of Catholic doctrine.[3] Cornelia wrote to her sister on September 1, 1835:

> Pierce has resigned his parish--he has laid aside the active duties of his ministry to examine at leisure and with care the distinctive doctrine of the Roman Catholic religion. The attacks upon the Catholics

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[1]For information regarding the influence of American Nativism on the education of Pierce Connelly, see M.D. Lynch, "Connelly v. Connelly: Aftermath-Trial by Press," Source, no. 6 (1977), pp. 14-15.

[2]Positio, 1:160.

[3]"The American Tract Society, established in 1825, published 3 million tracts during the first five years of its operation." Cremin, National Experience, p. 69. See also pp. 69-70.

> have led him into a laborious study of the controversy and he begins to doubt whether they are not more near the truth than we.[1]

Pierce had been in the process of composing a catechism for the slaves of his wealthy parishoners at the time of his resignation.[2] He had seen as an important part of his ministry the instruction of not only those preparing for confirmation but also those interested in renewing and ratifying their baptismal vows.[3] The major difference between the focus in the evangelical crusade and that which Pierce perceived in his ministry as an Episcopalian was the importance of liturgical and sacramental worship.

The American Sunday School Union had agreed at its convention in 1830 that "it would 'within two years, establish a Sunday school in every destitute place where it is practicable, throughout the valley of the Mississippi.'"[4] The goal of a "general uniformity of belief and commitment across the length and breadth of the nation" coupled with the particular attack upon Catholicism had bothered Pierce

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[1]CC 1:35, 1 September 1835, Natchez, Mississippi.

[2]Positio, 1:51.

[3]Ibid., 1:53-54.

[4]Cremin, National Experience, pp. 61-62.

Connelly.[1] In his letter of resignation to the Bishop of Tennessee, later published in The Catholic Herald, Philadelphia, Pierce stated:

> I think a more barefaced falsehood never met with credit, than, that reading and writing are necessary for the salvation of a Christian man, or for his growth in any grace or virtue....[2]

Part of the methodology of the evangelical movement included the McGuffey series of readers, a comprehensive system of reading instruction imbibed with values for the building of character and teaching of Christian morality. Similarly, "the publications of the American Tract Society and the American Sunday-School Union were also designed as systems of reading instruction.... The goal of all these systems was the creation of a literate American Public."[3] It was believed that "a literate public would also be an awakened public, one inspired by tales of the virtue of personal sacrifice and correspondingly warned against the hazards of worldly life."[4]

Pierce, himself, worked with the slaves. He was not against their education. It was the tenor of the Nativist attack on Catholicism and the denial of the validity of

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[1]Cremin, National Experience, p. 60. See also pp. 36-38.

[2]D 3:1-17, quoted in Positio, 1:66.

[3]Cremin, National Experience, p. 70.

[4]Ibid., p. 71.

liturgical worship which had concerned him. Within the Peacock family there was a shared Christian faith. Cornelia wrote of her desire for "the truth" to her sister:

> May God bless you, dear Addie, and lead us all into the truth for His dear Son's sake....[1]

Six weeks later the theme was continued:

> You ask Dear Addie why he [Pierce] meddled with controversy. To find out the truth--the blessed truth and as one who professes to teach nothing but the truth he is bound to cease preaching the moment he doubts--That faith which cannot stand the test of controversy cannot be a true one--
>
> ...act upon your own upwrite principles & in faith & charity & trust upon One who looks into the hearts of men & governs all things.[2]

During this period, when the Connellys were clarifying their religious thought, the French scientist Joseph Nicolas Nicollet, who had come to the United States in 1832, was befriended by them.

Nicollet was an astronomer with experience both as a student and teacher at the Catholic College, Louis-le-Grand, noted for its rigorous mental and physical discipline. This background served him well in America:

> The fact that Nicollet was to contribute significantly to the geological knowledge of the country he mapped in North America is remarkable because in doing so he became

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[1]CC 1:36, 1 September 1836, Natchez, Mississippi.

[2]CC 1:38-39, 17 October 1835, Natchez, Mississippi.

> a professional in a field in which he had no previous experience.[1]

Bray notes that Nicollet expressed "his appreciation for the 'liberal and disinterested discourse which characterizes American savants.'"[2] Pierce Connelly wrote of their friendship:

> He [Nicollet] had already travelled for two years in the United States; and I could not but be amazed as well as delighted at the attention which, in the midst of his more professional labours, he had paid to all the religious and political institutions of the country.... As the natural result of our intimacy, he applied upon a variety of subjects to my experience as a clergyman and as a citizen.... It never indeed turned upon differences of religious faith, much less partook of the nature of controversy. It was more about systems of philosophy and politics, a comparison of moral views and of notes already made by each.[3]

Pierce and Cornelia were also well-acquainted with the literature of the American Tract Society.[4] Cornelia wrote to her sister:

> We have seen Miss Reeds six months in a convent & Dr. Ricci secrets & c & c & c Sunday periodicals, so you see we cannot

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[1]Martha Coleman Bray, "Joseph Nicolas Nicollet, Geologist," Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society 114 (February 1970): 38.

[2]J.N. Nicollet, Report (Washington, D.C., Report, 1845), p. 93, quoted in Bray, "Nicollet."

[3]D 3: 125-6, cited by McCarthy, "Through Successive Calls," pp. 17-18.

[4]Positio, 1:58.

> be much in the dark respecting all that can be urged against Catholicism....[1]

A letter of Bishop Rosati's indicates the influence of Nicollet on the Connellys, during this period. Referring to the Evangelical Movement:

> he [Nicollet] concluded that a Religion which used such means to sustain itself and to attack the Catholic Religion could not be animated by the Spirit of God and could not be his work. Mr. Connelly was very surprised to hear from the mouth of a foreign savant reflections which coincided so well with those which had presented themselves so many times to his own spirit, and to which he had not dared give free rein....[2]

Following Pierce's resignation from the Episcopalian Church, Nicollet introduced him to Bishop Rosati in St. Louis.[3]

Doubtless Nicollet also shared his geological findings and theories with the young couple. In 1863 when Cornelia published the Book of Studies she included in the syllabus "historical geography."[4] Was this a reflection of the frequent phrase used by Nicollet, "physical history," which Bray states "showed his realization of the importance of the observations made by generations of men before

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[1]CC 1:41, 17 October 1835, Natchez, Mississippi.

[2]D 85:7-8, trans. from the French, cited by McCarthy, "Through Successive Calls," p. 19.

[3]McCarthy, "Through Successive Calls," p. 16.

[4]Book of Studies, p. 48.

him?"[1] Cornelia also directed her teachers to "always compare the past with the present, and make use of the present to illustrate the future."[2]

Cornelia was Pierce's companion in his search for truth but he was her mentor in matters of theology. The tenents of faith which he clarified for himself and expressed in his letter of resignation to the Episcopal Bishop and his farewell sermon to his congregation, which he later published in the Catholic Herald, Philadelphia, expressed beliefs which Cornelia was to incorporate into the rest of her life.[3] On October 17, 1835 following Pierce's resignation in September, Cornelia wrote:

> Indeed independent of the authority of the [Catholic] church I cannot see how all these denominations compose the church of Christ with christ at the head and yet opposed to each other as they are, can that be one church which does not hold the unity of the faith in the bond of peace....[4]

The confidence which Cornelia had come to have in the authority of the Roman Catholic Church remained with her throughout her life.

The encounter with the Evangelical Crusade and the anti-Catholic polemic had created a crisis of faith for the young couple. Following Pierce's resignation, they

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[1]Bray, "Nicolas Nicollet," p. 40.

[2]Book of Studies, p. 50.

[3]Positio, 1:58-73.

[3]CC 1:39-40, 17 October 1835, Natchez, Mississippi.

decided to go to Rome in order to become better acquainted with the doctrine of Catholicism and to clear up Pierce's doubts regarding post-biblical miracles.[1] Their decision to leave the Episcopalian church was not altogether extraordinary for, as William James points out, "probably every religious person has the recollection of particular crises in which a directer vision of the truth...swept in and overwhelmed the languor of more ordinary belief."[2] But it is not necessarily the case, in matters of religious conversion, that conversion occurs as a result of "having the truth of what we become converted to demonstrated to us in a wholly logical or objective way."[3]

En route to Europe, the Connellys were delayed in New Orleans. Cornelia decided to act on her new convictions and entered the Church immediately although Pierce waited. Polanyi suggests that conversion occurs when the individual realizes that the religious truth perceived "holds possibilities for the attainment of richer meanings than the one we have been getting along with."[4] Cornelia's extant correspondence with members of her family throughout this

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[1] Positio, 1:90.

[2] William James, The Varieties of Religious Experience (New York: Mentor Books, 1958), p. 67.

[3] Michael Polanyi and Harry Prosh, Meaning (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975), p. 180.

[4] Ibid.

period portrays her as a woman of faith. It was at the level of faith that she wrote of a desire for peace and unity. Her entry into the Catholic Church at New Orleans was characteristic of her life--to take responsibility for her own convictions.

The choice Cornelia made in becoming a Roman Catholic would affect the rest of her life. In Polanyi's perspective conversion occurs the moment that we see "the possibilities for the attainment of richer meanings.... We 'are' converted, whether we ever willed it or not; for...we are addressed by nature to the attainment of meaning...."[1] Cornelia had sought "the truth," a meaning to life which spoke to her of peace and unity. The period of intellectual searching by her husband had also provided her with the rudiments of an informed Catholic faith. Cornelia was to insist in later years in her schools in the teaching of religion, "that nothing is to be committed to memory which has not been first well explained and illustrated."[2] Cornelia found in Catholicism the perspective she needed to give meaning to the world in which she lived and the developments in her life.

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[1]Polanyi, Meaning, p. 180.

[2]Book of Studies, p. 22.

Europe

Mention has already been made of the competency demonstrated by Cornelia in matters of business.[1] Both her maternal grandmother and mother were required to be self-sufficient persons. Her grandmother was the wife of a surgeon to the Colonial Army;[2] her mother twice a widow with young children. Mary Swope Bowen, as wife of a wealthy Jamaican planter from England, had lived at least part of the time in the West Indies.[3] As the wife of Ralph Peacock she lived in at least seven different places of residence and was often alone while her husband was away on business.[4] Neither the periodic absence of the husband in the home nor extended travel were foreign to the women in Cornelia's family history.

These same elements were an intricate part of Cornelia's life. As an Episcopalian minister, Pierce travelled extensively--"he was the only active minister of the American Episcopal Church in the whole of the State of Mississippi, over 46,000 square miles."[5] It is less

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[1]Dawson, "Cornelia Connelly," p. 65.

[2]Whatmore, "Cornelia Connelly: Gold in the Fire," p. 401.

[3]Positio, 1:5.

[4]Bisgood, Cornelia Connelly, p. 3; and Positio, 1:3-4.

[5]Positio, 1:50.

difficult to understand Cornelia's acceptance of this and Pierce's later, more lengthy absences in the context of her family history. The earliest extant correspondence of Cornelia is a letter to her husband during his visit to St. Louis to see Bishop Rosati. The letter records her handling of family, church and business affairs as well as suggestions for the extension of their properties.[1]

The Connellys, with their two children, arrived in Rome on February 25, 1836.[2] They spent almost two years in Europe, the first in the Catholic center of the world. Once Pierce had entered the Church he travelled in search of a suitable Catholic ministry as a lay person.[3] Cornelia used the opportunity to study--voice, piano, art, Italian and French.[4] She wrote:

> though I have gone through the french grammar to the end of the verbs since we parted still I find so much difficulty in holding a conversation that I have determined if possible to write a short exercise every day....[5]

Her own method of acquiring the language was to be passed on in 1869. To prepare one of her teachers to teach in France she wrote to her Superior:

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[1]CC 1:1-6, 22 September 1835, Natchez, Mississippi.

[2]Positio, 1:xx.

[3]McCarthy, "Through Successive Calls," p. 35.

[4]Ibid., p. 34.

[5]CC 1:65, [1836].

> she will be very sorry if she misses a day without two hours at French. She ought to learn a page of dialogues & you also--These with interlinear reading would get you up so at least to understand & make your way with the children--[1]

Cornelia also developed an interest in education per se. Speaking of her music teacher she wrote, "I am delighted with his method and hope under him to acquire full knowledge of the science."[2] It was to be a characteristic that she would learn with a mind to sharing her knowledge with others.

Resilience is the quality which most describes Cornelia during Pierce's search for a suitable expression of his training and gifts. Research has revealed his intention from the time of leaving the Episcopal Church to seek ordination as a Catholic priest.[3] In spite of her apparent awareness of this, Cornelia kept her own counsel.[4] All records portray her as a "charming, beautiful, cultivated wife who helped to win him royal welcome in high circles and gave him a sense of pride and worth."[5]

Pierce spent five months of their first year in Europe

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[1]CC VI:14, 18 November 1869, Hyères, France.

[2]CC 1:65, [1836].

[3]Positio, 1:92. Pierce Connelly petitioned the Holy Office on 16 March 1836.

[4]Ibid., pp. 101-102.

[5]McCarthy, "Through Successive Calls," p. 135.

(1836) as a guest of a leading Catholic layman, Lord Shrewsbury, in England--exploring his vocational prospects.[1] Cornelia enjoyed the novel experiences which Rome afforded and was not without vision or imagination regarding their future in the Catholic Church. Writing to Pierce, in England, she proposed:

> can it be possible that a man of your abilities would not be useful to the catholics of England--I cannot think so--at all events we could but stay in Germany as I told you in my last and live there....[2]

Pierce returned to Rome without definite plans for their future.

The Connellys left Rome the following April (1837).[3] Cornelia had had her year in Rome to "study" the "precious works of art. The beautiful obelisks columns statues and fountains...the magnificent churches & palaces...."[4] Their friendship with Lord Shrewsbury had included his daughter Gwendaline, married to Prince Marcantonio Borghese.[5] Roman Catholicism is a culture as well as a religion and for the new convert Gwendaline had been "a living example

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[1]Armour, Cornelia, p. 12; and Bisgood, Cornelia Connelly, pp. 17-18.

[2]CC 1:6[a] & 6[b], 22 May 1836, Rome.

[3]Positio, 1:xx.

[4]CC 1:61, 6 March 1836, [Rome].

[5]Armour, Cornelia, p. 14.

[for Cornelia] of what a Catholic laywoman, wife and mother could be."[1] For Gwendaline Shrewsbury this involved both the social role of a royal princess and the time spent "in the hovels under the Teatro di Marcello, nursing, feeding and cleansing both patient and abode."[2] This had been another kind of education for her companion from the United States and one of which Cornelia spoke to her followers in later years.[3]

While travelling together in the spring of 1837 (Cornelia was pregnant; Pierce still exploring), news of an impending financial disaster threatening the United States reached them.[4] Four months following the birth of their third child, John Henry, they sailed from Le Harve.[5]

What had the extended period in Europe meant to Cornelia in a religious sense? It was in Rome, the heart of Catholicism, that she received her Catholic education. Bisgood summarizes the influence of this period:

> Her soul was being formed to its Catholic life by the liturgy at its stateliest and

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[1] Positio, 1:96.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Bisgood, Cornelia Connelly, p. 21. Bisgood writes: "President Jackson's refusal to recharter the Bank of the United States in 1836 and his substitution of payment in specie for banknotes caused a nationwide financial panic. The cotton industry in which the Connelly brothers were engaged was seriously affected."

[5] Ibid., p. 19.

> by piety at its most intimate, and a certain character was stamped on her spirituality that remained with her to the end, a largeness and nobility combined with a confiding simplicity in her approach to God.[1]

"By the time Cornelia left Rome, she carried away a deep sense of personal loyalty to the Pope and the Holy See which remained with her throughout her life, a spiritual loyalty to the Vicar of Christ...."[2] She wrote:

> though I am so happy never, never before was so happy in my religion still we are neither of us so blind to the many abuses which belong not to the church but to the superstitions of the ignorant.[3]

Cornelia was not without perception.

What had she read? Record has it that during Pierce's absence, while guest of Princess Gwendaline Borghese at Frascati, she spent her leisure time reading the lives of the Saints--her preferences being St. Ignatius, St. Francis of Assisi, and St. Francis de Sales, all of whom marked her own thought later.[4] It is significant to Catholic spirituality and to Cornelia's formation during this period, that these men each considered themselves to have a special "call" from God to found a religious order,

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[1]Bisgood, Cornelia Connelly, p. 21.

[2]Positio, 1:95.

[3]CC 1:65, [1836].

[4]Gompertz, Life, p. 13; and Bisgood, Cornelia Connelly, pp. 18-20.

reflecting certain values for a specific purpose.

What was her personal induction into the practice of her new faith? Gompertz indicates that while in Rome she "placed herself under the direction of the distinguished and saintly Father Rosaven, S.J."[1] It was to be her custom throughout her life to seek the counsel of a spiritual director, usually a Jesuit, in matters of conscience.[2]

This European experience had taken place among the Catholic elite of Rome where the unusual circumstances of the couple's conversion had given them entrance to the most elegant of Roman social life. Cornelia wrote:

> Dear Mary, you imagine poor little American me seated at table surrounded by Princeses, Earls and Countesses![3]

But she had also been able to say:

> we find no difference between the polished society of P[hiladelphia]--& the society of the English nobility...[4]

Grand Coteau, Louisiana

Pierce Connelly had no clear prospects for his return to America. He had written to his brother for assistance

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[1]Gompertz, Life, p. 3.

[2]The role of "the Spiritual Director or the Confessor ...in the interior life of every soul who is earnestly seeking the perfection of union with God" is commented upon by James Walsh, S.J., "The Vocation of Cornelia Connelly," reprinted in pamphlet form from The Month (London: Unwin Bros. Ltd., 1959), p. 10.

[3]CC 1:63, 6 March 1836, [Rome].

[4]CC 1:67, [1836].

in securing "some clerkship in a bank, or drivership in a plantation, or mastership in a grammar school."[1] Once in Natchez Cornelia began to plan to open an academy for young women to supplement Pierce's earnings as a bank clerk.[2] Cornelia's educative style had taken form. This study has shown her desire to learn, to develop her gifts of music and art by making use of the formal advantages Rome offered. Cornelia had also expressed the desire to gain a full grasp of the "knowledge of the science," the methodology used by her music teacher.[3] There are indications that not only did Cornelia feel fully competent to the task of establishing a ladies academy but she also desired to be able to facilitate the learning of others, the mark of a true teacher.

The Jesuits, however, had recently opened a boys school in Louisiana at Grand Coteau.[4] Pierce was invited to be an instructor of English. The Religious of the Sacred Heart, whose school had been founded fourteen years earlier, asked Cornelia to be their mistress of music.[5]

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[1]Pierce Connelly, quoted in Bisgood, Cornelia Connelly, p. 22.

[2]Positio, 1:116-117; and McCarthy, "Through Successive Calls," p. 37.

[3]CC 1:65, [1836].

[4]McCarthy, "Through Successive Calls," p. 37.

[5]Bisgood, Cornelia Connelly, p. 25; and McCarthy, "Through Successive Calls," p. 37.

Cornelia's optimistic spirit was somewhat surprising. McCarthy summarizes the documentation of the period:

> Cheerfully, she again moved her family, generously she taught twenty-three lessons a week to support them when the Jesuits could not afford to pay Pierce; courageously she accepted the privations of homemaking in a forty-foot cabin housing her husband and herself, their three children and governess, and two slaves. Pierce was inclined to discouragement but he reported that his wife was "as gay as a bird."[1]

Flaxman suggests that between June 1838 and July 1843 Cornelia was treated as a full member of the staff at the Sacred Heart School. "The journal records her presence at 'cachets' (a custom which like the badge system she later incorporated into her own schools)."[2] Opportunity to sense the atmosphere, to note how it was created, to be aware of the organization of the school, and to become familiar with the educational aims and ideals of the Sacred Heart nuns through conversation were afforded Cornelia.

> It is not very likely that she will have been shown their Plan of Studies, but she will have observed what we can now read about, that the methodology of the early Sacred Heart schools was very enlightened for the period: e.g., the use of visual aids, the careful planning of work, the principle of uniting the useful with the agreeable, of instructing whilst amusing,

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[1]McCarthy, "Through Successive Calls," p. 37 with reference to D 4:19-21.

[2]Flaxman, "Apostolate Studies," p. 16.

> all of which Cornelia was later to insist on.[1]

Flaxman also notes that whereas some parts of Cornelia's Book of Studies were taken directly from the Jesuits, there is no "verbatim transference" from the Sacred Heart Plan of Studies.[2] The teaching experience at Grand Coteau was, in essence, a period of professional training for the future founder and educational leader.

Pierce Connelly taught at Grand Coteau with the Jesuits, educators by training. Doubtless the couple shared aspects of their common work. He also taught art at the Sacred Heart Convent.[3] Thus, Cornelia and Pierce received exposure to Catholic education of the highest standard for the time.

> Later when he [Pierce] had left Grand Coteau and was writing back to Cornelia from Georgetown he [took] the trouble to tell her about the arrangement of dormitories and study room in the convent school of Visitation.[4]

Together, they had developed an interest in Catholic schools.

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[1] Flaxman, "Apostolate Studies," p. 16 with reference to Janet Erskine Stewart, The Society of the Sacred Heart, 1914, p. 82.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Positio, 1:126.

[4] Flaxman, "Apostolate Studies," p. 17 with reference to D4:175.

Play and fun -- with music -- were part of the Connelly family's recreation. Pierce wrote in a letter:

> All around me is a set of the sweetest children but the noisiest--where blind men's buff gives place to Pont d'Avignon--Pont d'Avignon to Puss in the Corner and fifty chances to one but their Mama lends an arm to the medley and sends all dancing or rather stamping around and round the place till some youngster screems for assistance to be further active and fairly force mine papa to be an involuntary sharer in the disturbance....[1]

Pierce depicted "Cornelia as mother, creating an atmosphere of joie de vivre, which would often be re-created for the benefit of other people's children" in her schools.[2]

Living at Grand Coteau in constant contact with the Jesuits and the Sacred Heart nuns enabled Cornelia to pursue, without difficulty, her religious interests. From 21-24 December 1839 she made a retreat with the Sacred Heart community under the direction of Father Nicholas Point, S.J.--her spiritual director since arriving in Louisiana.[3] Cornelia's first published biographer writes that:

> In after years she told one of her nuns that in her first retreat she was converted, and that all subsequent retreats only served to complete the work of this one, in which

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[1]Pierce Connelly, D 4:41-42, quoted in "Through Successive Calls," p. 38; and Positio, 1:128.

[2]Positio, 1:128 with reference to The Pylon 29 (1968): 48-49, regarding school life with Cornelia Connelly at St. Leonard's from 1863-67.

[3]Ibid., p. 138.

> the sketch of her interior life was drawn.[1]

All Jesuits are trained with the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius, a method used to enable the individual to come to a greater awareness of herself and her relationship with God. Cornelia's Jesuit director for the above retreat indicated that she was already living an attitude of life which reflected the "third degree of humility (the attitude of soul which chooses poverty, detachment and abjection out of love for Christ, poor, suffering and humiliated)."[2] From a philosophical perspective one perceives that Cornelia had matured in her Catholic faith. As Polanyi observes, "we do not accept a religion because it offers us certain rewards. The only thing a religion can offer us is to be just what it, in itself, is: a greater meaning in ourselves, in our lives, and in our grasp of the nature of all things."[3] The Ignatian method appealed to Cornelia--it not only revealed new meanings for herself but provided a means to share those insights with others.

The educator in Cornelia again became apparent. Her sister, Mary, was visiting with the Connellys at the time of this retreat. Cornelia retold the following, regarding her sister, in a letter written in 1873:

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[1]Gompertz, Life, p. 21.

[2]Bisgood, Cornelia Connelly, p. 26.

[3]Polanyi, Meaning, p. 180.

> Her [Mary's] piety, together with the influence of practical Catholic surroundings induced her to consent to join me privately in making a short meditation on a text of Scripture, using also the book of Meds according to the Method of St. Ignatius upon which we conversed frequently during the day. In a few weeks she determined upon seeking further instructions....[1]

There was faith, "piety," in the lives of the Peacock sisters; it was natural to share religious thoughts in daily conversation. Cornelia also shared a tool which had been of personal assistance to her. McCarthy comments:

> Clearly the clarification and confirmation of Cornelia's own spiritual experience by the Exercises was immediately helpful to her for apostolic purposes, and enabled her to begin her life-long work of introducing others to their dynamism.[2]

The Spiritual Exercises became fundamental to the spirituality of the Society she founded.

The next few years in Cornelia's life were marked by several traumatic events. In February of 1840 her youngest son, John Henry, died following an accident in which he was knocked into a vat of boiling sugar.[3] On October 13th of the same year, Pierce announced his intention to immediately seek ordination for the priesthood. This would require their living together, from that time on,

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[1]CC II:82, 13 November 1873, St. Leonards-on-Sea, England.

[2]McCarthy, "Through Successive Calls," p. 42.

[3]Bisgood, Cornelia Connelly, p. 27. An infant daughter had died the previous September.

"as brother and sister." Cornelia was three-and-a-half months pregnant with their fifth child.[1]

McCarthy has traced the meaning that Cornelia found in certain synchronous experiences during this period. In the first case of John Henry's death, Cornelia had prayed a few days earlier that God will help her to serve Him with new fervor. The death of her son occurred on the "Feast of Purification," the celebration in the Catholic Church of Jesus' dedication, i.e., a giving back to God by His parents.[2] This was the beginning for Cornelia of what was to become a lifelong focus on Jesus' "humble hidden years."[3]

The focus on the "humble hidden years" of the life of Jesus, during which He lived out the fullness of His humanity as a child in an ordinary family, was more than a spiritual consolation for Cornelia. In ensuing years it became united with her perspective on life and her work in education. Events which were of significance to Cornelia were always integrated into the meaning of the greater whole.

And Cornelia was a product of her time. Interestingly, in 1836 A. Bronson Alcott had published his statement on

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[1]McCarthy, "Through Successive Calls," pp. 42-44.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Ibid.

The Doctrine and Discipline of Human Culture.[1] From 1830-1834 he had resided in Germantown and Philadelphia; between 1836 and 1837 he also published two volumes entitled Conversation with Children in the Gospels.[2] In a significant section in the former reference, in which he refers to education's misunderstanding of childhood, he writes:

> Yet few there are who apprehend the significance of the Divine Type. Childhood is yet a problem that we have scarce studied.... And, as in time sacred to our associations, the Star led the Wise Men to the Infant Jesus, to present their reverent gifts, and was, at once, both the herald and the pledge of the advent of the Son of God on the earth; even so is the hour approaching, and it lingers not on its errand, when the Wise and the Gifted, shall surround the cradles of the New Born Babe, and there proffer as did the Magi, their gifts of reverence and of love to the Holiness that hath visited the earth, and shines forth with a celestial glory around their heads;-- and these, pondering well, as did Mary, the Divine Significance, shall steal from it the Art--so long lost in our Consciousness-- of unfolding, its powers into the fullness of the God.[3]

Whether or not Cornelia ever read Alcott is unknown. That she did engage in reflection on the development of the child Jesus as model in the work of education is a matter of record which came to full expression in the founding

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[1]A. Bronson Alcott, The Doctrine and Discipline of Human Culture (Boston: James Munroe and Co., 1836; reprinted in Essays on Education (1830-1862). Ed. by Walter Harding. Gainesville, Florida: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints.

[2]Odell Shepard, ed., The Journals of Bronson Alcott (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1938), p. xxix.

[3]Alcott, Human Culture, pp. 52-53.

of the Society of the Holy Child Jesus in 1846. It is most likely that the word "child" in "Society of the Holy Child Jesus" referred not only to the term "infant" but incorporated "childhood" in Cornelia's conceptualization.[1]

The decision by Pierce Connelly to seek ordination did not change the outward appearance of the Connelly's family life although, "she [Cornelia] confided to an intimate friend many years later that had not God sustained her by a very special grace, she would have died of the anguish of that morning of Pierce's announcement [to seek ordination]."[2] Pierce left for Europe to pursue his goal and Cornelia again kept her own counsel. In Pierce's absence she lived a lifestyle modeled after that of the Sacred Heart Sisters who were also her primary social contact. With the turn of events in her family life and her sincere desire to follow God's will, there developed in Cornelia the growing conviction that she had a call to religious life. She may have been influenced, initially, by the faulty theology of the time which presented the religious state as higher than the secular. It is recorded that earlier Cornelia had "secretly rejoiced that her state in life was fixed, and that such a sacrifice would never be asked of her for she said, 'had I been a girl and

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[1] Positio, 1:261.

[2] Bisgood, Cornelia Connelly, pp. 31-32.

examining my vocation, I should always have felt that I must have given all my best to God.'"[1] Cornelia's sister, Mary, had already entered the convent at Grand Coteau.[2] At the end of a retreat in September 1841 Cornelia wrote succinctly: "Ex.vocation. Decided."[3]

Persons make decisions within their world of meanings--work out their commitments in relation to their information and understanding. As has been indicated, "a cardinal factor in the shaping of Cornelia's interior life from Grand Coteau to Derby [the first foundation of the Society of the Holy Child Jesus] [was] the Spiritual Director."[4] And the Jesuits were and remain recognized "experts" in this capacity. The decision to pursue a religious vocation was, for Cornelia, a response to God which also gave meaning and direction to her own life. Cornelia always took responsibility for her own decisions; her decision to enter religious life was dependent upon Pierce becoming a priest but not mandated by it.[5]

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[1]Bisgood, Cornelia Connelly, pp. 26-27.

[2]Ibid., p. 34.

[3]CC XXI:15.

[4]Walsh, "Vocation of Cornelia Connelly," p. 10.

[5]Positio, 1:63.

In 1843 the Connellys returned to Rome to work out their lives in the context of Pierce's aspirations. The awareness or unawareness of the suffering Pierce's actions had upon Cornelia were not apparent. Cornelia was always the supportive wife, ready to adapt, and right up until his ordination she offered to again take up their married life.[1] Cornelia, however, did not allow Pierce's activities to leave her in limbo. She was too gifted, too able herself. Moreover, her faith provided a meaning for herself, a meaning for her life and a perspective from which to view the world around her.

Milne Home, in a study of charisma in the New Testament, draws attention to the concept of suffering as a charisma, a gift, which is "given" for the building up of the Church.[2] For Cornelia to become a religious was to mean eventual separation from her children as well as the giving up of her home and country. Towards the end of her life, she wrote to one of her Superiors:

> Do not allow your heart to be wounded & if it is wounded in spite of your efforts stitch up the wound with the love of God-- A stitch in time saves nine!--I very often have to remember this & then resign myself to endure more. Very often, of late years more than ever, not to allow ones poor heart to drop blood till it withers! For

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[1] Positio, p. 161.

[2] Jane M.K. Milne Home, "What is Charisma? Part II Charisma in the New Testament," Source, no. 9 (1979), pp. 27-28.

> we do not renounce our good sentiments & heart throbbings though we try to super-naturalize them & to unite them with the Heart of Jesus....[1]

The theme of loss and suffering runs throughout Cornelia's life. It was her ability, in these early years, to overcome it, to not allow it to make her bitter, which made it a "gift" for the Church. Cornelia did not deny her suffering nor accept it passively, "for we do not renounce our good sentiments & heart throbbings." Her loss and suffering, however, did give her a true compassion for those who were "wounded" by the circumstances of their lives.

How is this woman, Cornelia Augusta Peacock Connelly, to be understood? "She is not troubled by trouble, nor disappointed by failure, she just says nothing but has her own thoughts right away behind all...."[2] At the age of thirty-five, having lived apart from her husband for a year in a convent-like setting, Cornelia was not only prepared to give up her married and family life but had also decided to enter a religious congregation. What were the roots of her propensity to self-denial?

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[1]CC VIII:17, 18 December 1873, St. Leonards-on-Sea, England.

[2]Archbishop Goodier, Society of the Holy Child Jesus, A Centenary Record, p. 9, quoted in Della Carrigan, The Catholic Teachers Colleges in the United Kingdom: 1850-1960 (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University Press of America, 1961), p. 108.

Cornelia's life was marked by the loss of those close to her from childhood. At the age of nine her father died, at thirteen her oldest brother and at fourteen her mother. As soon as she married she moved to Natchez, Mississippi--a life far removed from the culture and activity of Philadelphia. The encounter with the Nativist Movement and her consequent conversion to Roman Catholicism must have been accompanied by emotional stress as well as intellectual doubt. There is every indication that she supported her husband throughout this difficult period. It has also been suggested that she may have preceded him into the Catholic Church because she knew of his intention to seek ordination in Rome and wanted him to have a Catholic wife.[1]

Was the marriage between Cornelia and Pierce "in trouble"? There is certainly a record of Cornelia seeming to give more than she received. Cornelia's sister wrote, however, in 1835 (they had married in 1832) that "they are and always have been about the happiest couple that ever breathed."[2] Later developments between Pierce and Cornelia showed Pierce's great dependence on her for affirmation and support. How aware of this was Cornelia? Did she feel it part of her duty as a wife? Her love for Pierce seems

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[1]McCarthy, "Through Successive Calls," pp. 27-28.

[2]Armour, Cornelia, p. 11.

to have been genuine. It is recorded that Cornelia told members of her congregation "that the morning of October 13th, 1840 marked the beginning of the Society of the Holy Child Jesus and that it was founded on a breaking heart."[1] (This was the date of Pierce's telling her of his intention to seek ordination.)

"The reticence which Cornelia...always observed concerning her family and early life"[2] suggests a sense of isolation, of loneliness even in the midst of friends. Cornelia and Pierce had five children. There is little recorded about the second daughter who died as an infant. The tragic death of John Henry who was knocked into a vat of boiling maple syrup by a Newfoundland dog, and then held by Cornelia until he died, has been presented in terms of the implications it had for the spirituality of the congregation she founded. Little else is known; her spiritual notebook, in which her comments were always terse, records:

> Fell a victim on Friday--Suffered 43 hours & was taken "into the temple of the Lord" on the Purification[3].

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[1]Bisgood, Cornelia Connelly, p. 31.

[2]Gompertz, Life, p. 3.

[3]CC XXI:5, 2 February 1840, [Grand Coteau, Louisiana]. John Henry died 2 February 1840 on the Feast of Purification of the calendar of the Roman Church.

Does religious meaning given to a human tragedy denigrate the suffering? In instances of painful loss psychologists today note that a person's behavior may sometimes reflect itself in repression, suppression, and compensation. In the first instance, the person is not aware of what he is doing and the outcome is often abnormal or psychotic behavior. In the second case, the person is aware of the pain but consciously tries to prevent it from being a controlling factor in his life. The grieving process with its experience of denial, anger, depression, and, finally, acceptance, is now a recognized pattern of human behavior. Compensation may be conscious or unconscious--and psychologically it is considered to be more healthy if one is aware of what is motivating one's behavior.

Cornelia's response was to find religious consolation in the timing of John Henry's death with the Feast of Purification in the Church. She went on to integrate it into her concern for the "Holy Child." Her earliest conversion experience, her ongoing submission to the sacramental discipline of the Church and a spiritual director were the way in which she found it possible to find meaning in her life. Part of the notes from her retreat of 1 October 1842 read:

> How can we serve thee but by
> doing thy will!
> God alone! God alone![1]

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[1]CC XXI:16, 1 October 1842, [Grand Coteau, Louisiana].

"God alone! God alone!" This stance was to be present throughout the rest of Cornelia's life. Did Cornelia use religion to compensate the losses in her life? It is the role of those knowledgeable in matters of the spitirual life to judge the "healthiness" of Cornelia's growing religious experience during the events of Grand Coteau and afterwards. The observation can be made that her religious faith, expressed in and through the practices of the Roman Catholic Church, was the means by which she integrated loss and suffering into a personally meaningful vision of life.

When the Connellys returned to Rome in 1843, Cornelia took up residence at the Trinità dei Monti with the Society of the Sacred Heart. The time from 1843 to 1846 was a period of discernment and coming to terms with the direction her life with Pierce had taken and how that life could continue to have meaning for herself and others. She chose the field of education.

Chapter III

SOCIETY OF THE HOLY CHILD JESUS

GENESIS (1844-1848)

Trinità dei Monti, Rome

When Pierce Connelly left for Rome in the Spring of 1842, he took his oldest son, Mercer, with him and placed him in an English boarding school. In July of the following year he met Cornelia and the other children in Philadelphia and together they journeyed to Europe--Pope Gregory XVI having declared that they must together appear in Rome to request the matrimonial separation required for Pierce to become a priest. While Pierce was in Europe from 1842-1843 Cornelia had taught with the Sisters of the Sacred Heart and lived a semi-contemplative life. The couple arrived in Rome in December of 1843. Cornelia was received into Our Lady's Sodality at Trinità dei Monti the following January: this provided an immediate spiritual context for her life. Cornelia Connelly was thirty-five years old and the mother of three living children.

In March of the same year papal approval was granted for the permanent suspension of the couple's marriage vows thus allowing Pierce to pursue his preparation for Catholic

ordination.[1] While her husband was studying Cornelia stayed as a quasi-postulant at the Sacred Heart Convent at Trinità dei Monti; the two youngest children were enrolled in the Convent's school. The situation of the couple was unusual, to say the least. Their marriage was not dissolved by the matrimonial separation and an effort was made to minimize the effect of the circumstances upon the children. "Accordingly, for about two hours weekly, the family atmosphere was reconstituted...."[2] Today, the provision seems inadequate but this was a time when children were more apt to be cared for by their nurses and brought to their parents almost formally. It was, nevertheless, a very different situation from the one of intimacy described by Pierce at Grand Coteau.

Writings in Cornelia's spiritual notebook indicate something of her struggle during this period. One account reads:

> I belong all to God--There is nothing in the world that I would not leave to do his holy will and to satisfy him.
> My God help me to know thy will and give me the grace and the strength to accomplish it.
> I had some stray thoughts about the children. I am so happy the good Father de Villefort thinks Frank ought to stay with me until he is eight years old. I

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[1] Positio, 1:xxiii.

[2] Ibid., 1:210.

> think so too but I am so much afraid of having any reserve with God...and how could I ever refuse to the love of love?[1]

Cornelia's concern about the future of the children was not surprising in light of her decision to enter religious life. This was obviously a difficult time for her and the subjective nature of religious experience makes it the more difficult to understand. It has been suggested that the solution which seemed most viable to Cornelia in reconciling her commitment to her children, and in particular to Frank who was only three, was to pursue religious life in an uncloistered setting.[2] She wrote to her sister Adeline Duval a year later:

> for I considered myself obliged to announce to her [the Sacred Heart Superior] nine months ago that I doubted very much I should ever enter the order of the S. Heart tho I had no doubts about my vocation to religious life.... I have been prevented so wonderfully from taking any obligation upon me with respect to this french order for t [sic] is not the one for our country. our own dear country women must be led to a perfect life by meekness and sweetness and not by fear.[3]

Since Cornelia had first become certain of her desire to enter religious life, she had had close contact with the Society of the Sacred Heart. She now felt that another

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[1]CC XXl:34-35, 2 November 1844, Trinità dei Monti, Rome.

[2]Positio, 1:228-229.

[3]CC 1:52, 12 November 1845, Trinità dei Monti, Rome.

expression of religious life was more suited to American women and was, in fact, thinking in terms of founding a new congregation for her homeland.

Father Giovanni Grassi, S.J., her spiritual director during this period, was an experienced educator. He had been Rector of the College of Nobles at Polotsk under Russian rule, a teacher of astronomy and physics at Stonyhurst College in England, and President of Georgetown College, Washington, D.C., where he had been given American citizenship.[1] His spiritual direction included the sharing of the Constitutions of a congregation of which four of his nieces were founding members. "Their charism was to an uncloistered life where they would teach and work for girls and young women keeping 'open house' for them."[2] Cornelia must have resonated with their spirit for she used their Constitutions in the compilation of her own.[3] The ability of Fr. Grassi to call forth Cornelia's potential must not be underestimated; he not only knew her homeland and the Church of Rome which had formed her in Catholicism but he also had firsthand experience of the Church and Catholic education in England. His own background enabled him to give Cornelia knowledgeable assistance.

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[1] *Positio*, 1:213-214.

[2] Ibid., 1:213.

[3] Ibid.

During her stay at the Trinita Cornelia taught in the school and instructed converts while preparing for her new role in the Church. James Walsh notes that,"We know that Fr. Grassi was in communication with Bishop Fenwick of Boston before the end of 1845 about the possibility of Cornelia's making her first foundation in that diocese."[1] Seemingly, from Cornelia's letter to Adeline, this would have suited her but the need in England determined otherwise.

Cornelia was an eclectic but not indiscriminately so. The time at the Trinità provided opportunity for her to consider her family priorities and, with the assistance of Fr. Grassi, to form an emerging synthesis from her own formative experiences. She expressed it in the following manner to her brother Ralph.

> After remaining then for nearly a year longer and reflecting over the wants of the day and the means of spiritual Mercy to be exercised my Rev^{d} Father Director decided upon my coming to England to form an order upon the rule of S^{t} F. de Sales.[2]

"The wants of the day and the means of spiritual Mercy" came to be understood in terms of the educational needs of all classes of English Catholic women.

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[1]James Walsh, "WHY an American Foundress for England in 1846?", Pylon XXIII (Winter, 1961-1962):5n; and Positio, 1:216. James Walsh, S.J., is the Diocesan Postulator for the Cause of Beatification of Cornelia Connelly.

[2]CC 1:70-70^{A}, 12 September 1846, Spetchley Park, England.

"Old Catholics and New Converts"

It was noted in the previous chapter that among the friends that the Connellys made during their first stay in Rome were the Earl of Shrewsbury and his family. Lord Shrewsbury was head of one of England's "Old Catholic" families. From the time of the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829, he, with Dr. Nicholas Wiseman, hoped that the Catholic intellectual renaissance in Europe would spread to England. Wiseman

> realized that if English Catholicism was to hold its own in the modern world, and to play its part in canalizing the great movement towards Catholic principles and doctrine...it must have its outlook broadened and its isolationism broken down.[1]

Apparently Lord Shrewsbury recommended Cornelia Connelly to Bishop Wiseman.[2] The rift between the "Old Catholics" and the "New Converts" was a shared concern. By 1845 John Henry Newman, the brilliant theologian and intellectual, was being followed into Catholicism by many fellow members of the Oxford Movement.[3] The ramifications of this movement had been influential in the high church preferences of Pierce Connelly in his early ministry and the Connellys' subsequent conversion to Catholicism.

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[1]Bisgood, Cornelia Connelly, p. 63.

[2]Positio, 1:217-219; and Bisgood, Cornelia Connelly, p. 67.

[3]Roland H. Bainton, Christendom, 2 vols. (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1966), II:132-137.

In 1846, about a year after his entering the Catholic Church, Newman wrote to Wiseman from Rome:

> We must in some [way] have the Pope's sanction...considering the number of parties among Catholics in England and the coldness and suspicion which many who do not know us personally regard us.[1]

This letter, written the same month that Cornelia commenced her work in England, expresses the depth of the distrust in which the Church of England converts were held by the established Catholic society. It appears that Cornelia was brought to England to assist in the work of reconciliation between the two groups.[2] Wiseman did not initially see "Education" as the main work of the congregation to be founded by her.[3] But Cornelia's vision was broader.

When Cornelia wrote to her brother Ralph in 1846 she spoke of her time of reflection upon the immediate "wants of the day and the means of spiritual Mercy." She was an educator--for the previous "six years Cornelia had been a busy lay teacher in a convent school."[4] It has been queried:

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[1]J.H. Newman, quoted in Wilfred Ward, Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman, 2 vols. (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1897), I:454.

[2]James Walsh, Introduction to Cornelia Connelly, by Bisgood, p. vii; and Ward, Wiseman, 1:400-402.

[3]Walsh, "WHY an American," p. 5.

[4]Positio, 1:215.

> How extraordinary, therefore, that despite the educational experience of both [Cornelia and Fr. Grassi], it was not in terms of education as such that Cornelia wrote about her vision of the apostolate when she was preparing to found her Society.[1]

The author of this study suggests that it is necessary to make a distinction between the values implicit in the vision of a task and the means by which the values may be achieved. For example, even as Cornelia desired to bring her sister Mary to an increased awareness of the presence of God in her life, she used the Ignatian meditations--an educational tool.[2] Cornelia's personal history to this point in her life has shown her educative bent. And whether or not Wiseman originally thought of her in educational terms, it seems reasonable to suggest that her method of going about the work of reconciliation would have been educational in nature. When the manner in which Cornelia had previously integrated past experiences into an achieved lifestyle is considered, she appears as a educator motivated by religious commitment.

It is not surprising, therefore, that Cornelia Connelly moved into formal education in order to meet "the wants of the day and [as] the means of spiritual Mercy."[3] She,

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[1] Positio, 1:215.

[2] This occurred when Mary visited her at Grand Coteau, Louisiana, in December 1839.

[3] CC 1:70-70[A].

herself, was a woman who had had to learn to cope with the exigencies of life; she would assist others to do the same even as she would seek to enrich the lives of still others. And her vision of education was greater than the formal work of her schools. Seventeen years later, the year she published her handbook of education, in 1863, Cornelia also arranged "the first large retreat for secular ladies to be held in London."[1] The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius were followed and Cornelia "was in the house during the time to organize the retreat...."[2] Over one hundred women attended. From sharing with one person, as she had done at Grand Coteau, Cornelia had moved to provision for many. But the basic methodology and concern was the same.

In the perception of Bishop Wiseman, Cornelia was admirably suited to give leadership in 1846 to Anglican women converts--to be the female counterpart of Faber and Newman. She was thoroughly Roman in her outlook on the Church; had been initiated into those concerns seen peculiar to Catholic women by Shrewsbury's daughter, Gwendalin Talbot; "was cultured and civilized in the sense in which Wiseman understood these terms," and had a Jesuit spiritual formation.[3] Furthermore, she had "the broad-mindedness of a convert

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[1] Positio, 1:510.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Walsh, "WHY an American," pp. 5-6.

and the free outlook of an American."[1]

It is not possible to trace the exact processes in Cornelia's thought from her original vision of founding a congregation for "all spiritual works of mercy"[2] to the choice of education as a means of effecting that service. Perhaps an awareness of the power of the educational medium from her encounter with the evangelical crusade in her days in Natchez, Mississippi, was present; perhaps an awareness of her own gifts and training influenced her. Cornelia was pragmatic by nature. There was also the expressed need for better educational provision for the Catholic women of England conveyed to her by Lord Shrewsbury and, as already discussed, the counsel of the Jesuit professor, Fr. Grassi. In the first draft of a Rule prepared by her in Rome for her intended Society, Cornelia states as its primary objective: "The Education of females of all classes."[3] Thus, the plan and purpose for her Society was already determined by Cornelia when she went to England in 1846. It was her intention to have her Society educate Catholic English women of all social classes.

Significantly, the first foundation at Derby began its work with the child laborers of the Industrial Revolution

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[1]Bisgood, Cornelia Connelly, p. 67.

[2]From a letter of John Henry Newman to Miss M.R. Giberne, Maryvale, 21 July 1846. He states, "The works will be all spiritual works of mercy in opposition to corporal." Quoted in full in Positio, 1:244-245.

[3]"Rules of 1844-6," p. 26.

in a day and night school.[1] The following excerpt is from a letter of Bishop Wiseman to Cornelia often referred to as the "charter" of the Society.

> The field which you have chosen for the exercise of spiritual mercies is indeed vast and almost boundless, but it presents the richest soil, and the promise of the most abundant return. The middle classes, till now almost neglected in England, form the mass and staple of our society, are the "higher class" of our great congregations out of the capital, have to provide us with our priesthood, our confraternities, and our working religious. To train the future mothers of this class is to sanctify entire families, and sow 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 auxilliaries in every good work.[2]

From the time of the Reformation many Catholics of the upper classes were educated in Europe. In England, however, the other classes had been denied access to good educations as Catholics. Wiseman had great hope that the Catholic Church in England would not only experience revival as a result of the Oxford Movement, but also that there would be reunion with the Established Church of England.[3] Many of the "middle classes," denied access to the practices

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[1]Walsh, "WHY an American," p. 6.

[2]D 10:25-26, [19 October 1846], quoted in full in Positio, 1:262. Wiseman wrote to Cornelia six days after she established SHCJ in St. Mary's Parish, Derby.

[3]Ward, Wiseman, 1:398-406.

of Catholicism, had become Aglican over the years. Wiseman believed they would return to Catholicism. The Society, founded by a convert, was especially suited to address this potential need in Catholic education. Wiseman's letter to Cornelia reflects his ecclesiastical concerns and preoccupation with the needs of the middle classes. Cornelia, however, remained true to her original intent of providing for the educational needs of all classes of English Catholic women without prejudice.

Catholic Education of the English

When Cornelia went to England in 1846, the upper classes had been educating their children abroad for the previous two hundred years. The Catholic population was not large. "At the end of the eighteenth century the Roman Catholics in England--commonly known as 'the Romanish dissenters' or 'the papists'--were a tiny minority, about one per cent of the population."[1] The Uniformity Act of 1662, requiring all clergy "to give unfeigned ascent to The Book of Common Prayer," followed by the Test Act of 1673, excluding "from public office any who did not disclaim the doctrine of transubstantiation," had served to further isolate the Catholic population and make them protective of the faith

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[1]Alec R. Vidler, The Church in an Age of Revolution (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books, 1980), p. 42.

they had maintained.[1] Religious liberty was given to many groups with the Act of Toleration of 1689 but it totally excluded the Unitarians and the Catholics. All non-conformists were denied access to public office and to university degrees.[2] In fact, "Catholic Education of any kind had been carried on under serious difficulties since the Reformation, and Catholic schools were illegal until the Relief Act of 1791."[3]

Many of the schools which had educated the children of the upper classes abroad returned to England at the end of the eighteenth century. The great foundations of Old Hall, Stonyhurst, Ushaw and Downside for men, had managed to maintain an English tradition over the years and did not find it difficult to re-adapt to English life. In the sphere of women's education the situation was very different.[4] All of the schools were run by religious congregations.

> Where the girls were concerned, the existing convent schools almost all belonged to one of three categories, (a) enclosed communities, (b) communities foreign in origin, or (c) communities recently returned from exile.[5]

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[1]Bainton, Christendom, II:88-89; and Gompertz, Life, p. 95.

[2]Bainton, Christendom, II:90.

[3]Gompertz, Life, p. 95.

[4]Bisgood, Cornelia Connelly, pp. 65-66.

[5]Positio, 1:219.

The children who attended the enclosed or cloistered community schools wore a uniform not unlike a religious habit and were required to attend the prayer and other religious activites of the community. "There was no going home for holidays, and the world outside was never mentioned."[1] The uncloistered foreign communities, which reflected the cultures and values of their homelands, were equally unable to prepare their students for home or social life in England. Consequently, many young women like Lord Shrewsbury's daughters, Gwendalin Talbot and her sister, married continental Europeans.[2]

Thus, the limited educational background of many of the Catholic upper classes left them suspicious of the Anglican converts of the Oxford Movement. In some cases their social history had also left them with a prejudice against higher education per se, considering it to be "synonymous with worldliness."[3] Cornelia realized that it was of importance that the Catholic population as a whole assume its rightful place in England.

> Catholics and Protestants had become like different races, separated for centuries in their education and traditions, with

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[1] Gompertz, Life, p. 98.

[2] Ibid., p. 99.

[3] Ibid., p. 95.

> no personal knowledge of each other...in many cases, to stand apart, suspicious of each other.[1]

By the time that Cornelia came to England, Wiseman, too, had become aware that the only way to heal the wounds of the past was to begin with the education of the young. "A kind of education was needed which should transcend insularity and narrowness on the one hand, and yet avoid the approach of being un-English on the other."[2] What personal knowledge did Cornelia have of the English scene? Her familiarity with England was limited, but, nevertheless, Shrewsbury had introduced the Connellys to the life and education available to Catholics of the upper classes.

During the couple's first sojourn in Rome, Pierce Connelly had spent five months of 1836 as a guest of Lord Shrewsbury in England. At this time Shrewsbury offered to make himself responsible for the education of the oldest Connelly child, Mercer.[3] It is recorded that Pierce Connelly visited Stonyhurst College in 1836 and was, in fact, toasted at dinner.[4] How much of the history of

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[1]Ward, Wiseman, 1:439.

[2]Bisgood, Cornelia Connelly, p. 65.

[3]Ursula Blake [L.S. Muir], "The Connellys' First Visit to Rome, II," Pylon XXIII (1961):3-5. Blake records that there is a tradition that Cornelia was anxious about the future of her oldest son during this period when Pierce had no profession and that Shrewsbury's offer to educate the boy was seen as an answer to prayer.

[4]Positio, 1:94.

the Jesuit tradition of this prestigious school John Talbot (Lord Shrewsbury) shared with Pierce Connelly, and how much Pierce, in turn, shared with his wife is not known. But Stonyhurst College was a school with a tradition--a tradition in which Shrewsbury's ancestors had played a major role. Knowledge of this, to any degree, would have given Cornelia an awareness of the import placed upon Catholic education for the disenfranchised of England following the Reformation.

The Jesuit tradition of education at Stonyhurst College was to be a source in several ways for Cornelia's own work in her Society. In 1855 their Prefect of Studies (Principal) gave her the complete Latin text of the Ratio Studiorum (Ratio atque Institutio Studiorum Societatis Jesu).[1] Cornelia's familiarity with Stonyhurst's system of education, however, dated to Pierce's first visit there with Lord Shrewsbury and her son, Mercer's, attendance from 1844-1848.

Stonyhurst College

Lord Shrewsbury had first made provision for Mercer to attend Stonyhurst College in 1836. This school had a history which reflected the continued commitment of English Catholics to Catholic education. In 1592 the Jesuits had

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[1] Positio, II:860. The translation of the full Latin name is "The Method and System of Studies of the Society of Jesus."

responded to the need for special provision for English boys unable to obtain a Catholic education at home by opening a college at St. Omers, just twenty-four miles from the port of Calais on the English Channel. Due to the persecution of the Society of Jesus by the French this English school, considered the most important of similar schools on the Continent, was secretly moved to Bruges in the Austrain Netherlands in 1762. 1773, however, saw the suppression of the Society by Pope Clement XIV. The school at Bruges passed into secular hands but many of the students, preferring a Jesuit education, travelled (some by way of England) to Liege in France.[1]

At Liege a situation favorable to the English existed. The Prince-Bishop freed the Jesuits from their vows and the college was renamed "the English Academy."[2] The College of the English Jesuits at Liege had been established in 1616 for the study of philosophy and divinity.

> It was begun in 1616, completed and partly endowed in 1622, by George Talbot of Grafton, afterwards Early of Shrewsbury.... In 1626, through the interest of the same George Talbot, the Duke of Bavaria, who was prince bishop of Liege, settled an annual pension on this college, of the interest of two hundred thousand florins.... The college subsisted

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[1]Hubert Chadwick, St. Omers to Stonyhurst (London: Burns & Oats, 1962), pp. 281-383.

[2]George Gruggen and Joseph Keating, Stonyhurst (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. Ltd., 1901), p. 40.

> on its original footing till the suppression of the Society in 1773. It then changed its name into that of an English academy, and enlarged its plan of education.[1]

With the Jesuit faculty unofficially intact, the English Academy at Liege carried on the educational program offered in Bruges until 1793 when the French Revolution which had begun in 1789 had spread to embrace Liege.[2] Thomas Weld, an alumnus of the English Academy, offered the Jesuits refuge at Stonyhurst.[3]

The heritage of Stonyhurst College is an example of the educative tradition which Cornelia Connelly encountered in Wiseman's attempt to reconcile the Old Catholics and

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[1]F.C. Husenbeth, ed., English Colleges & Convents (Norwich: Bacon and Kinnebrook, 1849), pp. 49-50. This quotation is taken from a small book entitled Notices of the English Colleges & Convents Established on the Continent after the Dissolution of Religious Houses in England. It contains "some account of every English religious establishment on the continent, from the period of suppression of religious houses in England in the sixteenth century." The editor states that "the object has been to preserve in a collected form some records of those venerable establishments, precious moments of the piety of our ancestors; and of that enduring faith, which when persecuted in its native country, quickly took root in foreign soil, and there flourished, till by the merciful decree of Heaven it was happily enabled to live again on its own land" (p. 104). This account, published in 1849, reflects the deep sentiments among the Catholic elite which still reigned at the time of the founding of SHCJ by Cornelia in 1846. It is a fascinating source on the history of the schools available both for boys and for girls.

[2]Chadwick, St. Omers to Stonyhurst, p. 363.

[3]Ibid., pp. 393-396; and Husenbeth, English Colleges, p. 50.

New Converts. Her son's attendance there as the child of an American convert was most atypical. Fr. Grassi, her spiritual director in Rome, who had taught astronomy and physics at the College, offered her the purview of a teacher.[1] Cornelia's overall awareness of the heritage, faculty and teaching of Stonyhurst was unusual for any woman but it did not fully prepare her for Mercer's life there as a student.

Pierce must have used strong persuasion to convince Cornelia that it was in their son's best interests for him to take Mercer with him to school in England in the spring of 1842.[2] Cornelia agreed to this arrangement amidst the other significant losses in her life discussed earlier--the death of a daughter, a son, and Pierce's declared intention to seek Catholic ordination. From October of 1840 until May of 1842, Cornelia and Pierce had lived together but with abstinence from the use of their conjugal rights. Cornelia had known of Pierce's hope for ordination in the future but must have assumed that they would first of all fulfill their parental obligations. Frank had been born 29 March 1841.[3] Perhaps her agreement to allow Pierce

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[1] Positio, 1:213.

[2] Ibid., 1:xxii.

[3] Ibid.

to take Mercer with him to England in May of 1842 was the result of the way in which she had interpreted Shrewsbury's offer in 1836 as Providential and because she saw this as Divine provision for her oldest son.[1]

The circumstances, however the dynamic came about, involved Cornelia at a very personal level in Jesuit education. Pierce left Mercer at Hodder Place, the Stonyhurst preparatory school in July of 1842.[2] But, apparently because of its closer proximity to Alton Towers, Shrewsbury had him placed at Oscott.[3] Mercer was to spend his holidays at Shrewsbury's home, Alton Towers. Shrewsbury appears to have been more sensitive to the needs of the child than his father at this point.

It was en route to Rome in the fall of 1843 that Cornelia next saw her oldest son. Pierce completed a letter that Cornelia had begun to her sister, Ady, which is the only extant reference to Mercer at this time. He writes, "I have nothing new to tell you that Mercer has grown a hearty little Englishman."[4] Mercer began at Stonyhurst in January of 1844--the usual beginning of the English school

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[1]Blake, "First Visit to Rome, II," pp. 3-5.

[2]Positio, 1:169.

[3]D 4:180, quoted in Positio, 1:174.

[4]CC 1:50, 28 September 1843, Alton Towers, England.

year.[1] His educational experience at Stonyhurst was not a happy one. When he saw his mother during the school holidays of August 1846, one wonders whether or not he was able to tell her of his experiences at the school. And, if so, did this influence the priorities she set for her own schools?

The situation which Mercer encountered has been recorded. C. Raleigh Chichester was a new boy at Stonyhurst the same year as Mercer. His account offers an interesting backdrop to Cornelia's son's first year.

> Many Stonyhurst men who were boys at the time will recollect the winter of 1844-45. A very amiable and excellent ecclesiastic presided...who...could not rule.
>
> Classes reopened as usual, and things followed their course for some time; but there happened to be something more than the average number of turbulent spirits in the school. Some trifling liberties were taken with regulations; injudicious measures of repression were resorted to. One thing led to another, and the result was a state of covert rebellion, with its accompaniments of distrust and animosities.

The situation continued for two or three months but with the replacement of the rector matters were rectified.

> He sent away one or two...caused a good flogging to be administered to one or two more.... Needless to add there were angry letters in the papers, headed 'Flogging at Stonyhurst,' 'Jesuit Severity,' and so on. ... What was more important was that the tone of the school had received a blow

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[1] Positio, 1:xxii. Mercer began at Stonyhurst 11 January 1844.

> from which it did not recover for some years.[1]

This must have been a difficult introduction to Stonyhurst for Mercer and may, in part, explain his poor academic performance.[2] Cornelia was at the Trinità in Rome and how much she knew of the situation of the young lad is unknown.

The correspondence extant between Cornelia and Mercer dates from 1846.[3] Mercer was not very self-disciplined and tended to daydream.[4] It has been commented that the letters

> do not seem to fully understand the boy's predicament but they are affectionate and preoccupied about Mercer's character development and spiritual life. They could be compared favorably with much correspondence of the time between parents and children, 'dutiful sons and daughters' who were the recipients of much ethical advice.[5]

But the dilemma of Cornelia was that of any parent--the conflict between loyalty to the system and concern for the well-being of her child. She wrote to Mercer:

> you are building your Castles in the air that will never be realized in any other way than to bring you a few more ferules before the end of the week. This will make you laugh perhaps but if you will only think of the ferules that are in store it will

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[1] C. Raleigh Chichester, Schools (London: Burnes & Oates, 1882), pp. 8-10.

[2] Positio, 1:185.

[3] CC 1:18-34. There are ten letters extant between Cornelia and her son, Mercer Connelly.

[4] Positio, 1:185-186.

[5] Ibid., III:1277.

> give you the strength to overcome your imagination.[1]

Cornelia appears, however, to have been intimately acquainted with the system and her son's plight. Speaking of discipline at Stonyhurst, Barnes writes: "Corporal punishment is inflected on the hand with an instrument made of gutta-percha, which is known to the boys as the 'tolly,' to the masters as the 'ferula.'"[2] Cornelia's feelings and opinion on this aspect of English education are found in a letter to her sister-in-law many years later. At this time she was speaking of the advantages offered to her nieces as students in one of her own schools but adds:

> I wish your boys had the same though nothing wld. induce me to advise you to send them to England for their education The English boys are rough fighting boys & glory in combativeness, in Colleges-- and they get flogged too for naughtinesses, but at home with their Mothers and Sisters they are gentle as lambs and full of attention and politeness to their parents & Sisters. I always regretted having sent dear Mercer to an English College & would never have consented to sending Frank.[3]

In this letter to her sister-in-law Cornelia speaks in generalities resultant to the experiences of Mercer. She is not comfortable with the inconsistency in the behavior she has observed in English boys, with corporal punishment

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[1]CC 1:27-28, [1846].

[2]Arthur Stapylton Barnes, The Catholic Schools of England (London: Williams and Norgate, 1926), p. 166.

[3]CC 1:86-87, 26 November 1869, Hyères, France.

nor with having sent her own son to an English school.

The prospectus for the first boarding school established by Cornelia reads:

> The objects...are to give, upon the basis of the practice of all their religious duties, such a solid education...as will best enable them to fill their office in Society, while, at the same time, they will be thoroughly instructed in the details of domestic life, and in all such arts as are the most practically useful in the service of...the Church.[1]

The purpose is to provide a solid education based upon the practice of religious duties that will enable young women to fill their office in Society and their role in the home and to be of service to the Church. Wiseman had expressed the need for an English education for Catholic women. Cornelia's goal would be to develop and call forth the whole person in an integrated manner, a response, in part, to what she had found lacking in the educative experience provided in the boarding school education of boys.

Cornelia brought with her to England a wealth of educational experience from her long association with the schools of the Society of the Sacred Heart. The close ties of the Shrewsbury family with Stonyhurst College and her son's attendance there brought her into particular contact with an old Jesuit school. The two months between her

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[1] Catholic Directory 1847, quoted in Gompertz, Life, p. 121.

arrival in England in August of 1846 and the founding of the Society in October introduced her to the reality of the Catholic situation she would work in for the rest of her life.

There is record of an alleged letter Cornelia wrote to Pierce during this period. She remarks, "I am disgusted with the clergy and the grossness of the people--that seems too coarse to understand spiritual things."[1] This was later used in a pamphlet against Cornelia. A pamphlet is extant carrying the following notation in Cornelia's writing: "If I wrote this letter it was a confidential expression of momentary feeling & certainly not founded on any facts. C."[2] Until the fall of 1846 Cornelia's primary contact had been with members of the upper classes in England. Men like Shrewsbury also had personal chaplains who reflected their own lifestyle.

Whether or not the letter is authentic it does draw attention to the idealized picture of the English Catholic Church and the education of the upper classes which Cornelia most probably brought with her to England. Cornelia established her first foundation amidst the poor of Derby--still further removed from any experience of England she had previously encountered.

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[1] CC 1:8, [September 1846].

[2] Ibid.

First Foundation

The first foundation of the Society of the Holy Child Jesus was established in England on 13 October 1846 in the Midland town of Derby.[1] Seventeen years later, 24 June 1863, Cornelia published her Book of the Order of Studies in the Schools of the S. Holy Child Jesus. It was printed by the convent printing press.[2] Although in Derby for only twenty-six months, the initial apostolic work of the Sisters set a tone for the future. During this period events in Cornelia's personal life, and her experiences with the Catholics of England in education and in matters of property ownership, worked together to shape the priorities she would set both for herself and her Society in the future.

While in Rome from 1844-1846 Cornelia Connelly, with the assistance of Fr. Grassi, drew up a basic Rule for the congregation she would found. On the subject of education the "Rules of 1844-6" state the purpose of the Society of the Holy Child Jesus:

1. The Education of females of all classes.
2. The receiving into houses of retreat pious young persons preparing for their first Communion.
3. In teaching the Catechism to children and in preparing sick females for the Holy

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[1] Positio, 1:xxiv.

[2] Ibid., 1:xxviii.

Sacraments at the request of the Parish Priest.[1]

Thus, Cornelia went to Derby with the intent of educating at many levels. Initially, she worked with the poor in the Sunday Schools and Poor Schools. Later, she established a boarding school and, in addition to the training of the women who joined her as teachers, she began a pupil-teacher program. Cornelia began her work in English education on the eve of popular education being envisioned for all.

Educating the Poor

When Cornelia arrived in Derby in 1846, accompanied by Emily Bowles and two other women, there was no government support available for the Catholic Poor Schools. In 1846, the monies available for educating the poor had been increased to include the religious denominations of the country which fell outside the perogative of the National Society and the British and Foreign School Society but it was not until 1847 that the first grant was made available to Catholic elementary schools through the Catholic Poor School Committee.[2]

The young Society had obtained a facility in St. Mary's

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[1]"Rules of 1844-6," p. 26.

[2]Patrick J. McCormick and Francis P. Cassidy, History of Education (Washington: The Catholic Education Press, 1953), p. 627. The "National Society" represented the Anglican or Established Church of England and the "British and Foreign School Society" those Protestant groups such as the Quakers who opposed dogmatic religious instruction.

parish where "a Catholic poor school had been established by the parish priests, Mr. Sing and Mr. Daniel, with 200 children on the register."[1] This poor school at St. Mary's, together with a Night School, and a Sunday School--both morning and afternoon--comprised the initial work of Cornelia and the women who joined her. Although there were two hundred girls on the register of St. Mary's Poor School, average attendance numbered sixty to seventy, the others having been sent to work in the factories. Another one hundred or so young teenage women attended the Night School from six to nine in the evening; they had already worked all day in the mills. The evening program included "catechetical instruction as well as the rudiments of reading, writing and arithmetic, and the cutting and sewing of garments."[2]

Cornelia was, at the same time, establishing a religious congregation. On 16 December 1846 she, with two others, received the religious habit. The "Rules of 1844-6" on this subject reflect her nontraditional approach. It directed that "the dress [of the habit] moreover shall be of material strong and lasting and as little as possible differing from the usage of the country."[3] (Emphasis added.) Cornelia taught

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[1] Positio, 1:249.

[2] Ibid., 1:254-255.

[3] Ibid., 1:251.

the novices daily. She arranged their schedule so that they taught only ninety minutes of the three-hour evening program.[1] Cornelia was a skilled administrator and teacher. She also taught in the Poor School--both out of necessity and because she needed the particular experience the milieu offered.[2]

A letter to Lord Shrewsbury provides a glimpse of the Sunday School. It also indicates the Society's need for financial support. Cornelia writes:

> I should have written yesterday to thank you for your remembrance of us, but Sunday is a very busy day with two hundred girls to lead to Church for the High Mass after an hour's labour in teaching them, and from two o'clock until four in the afternoon teaching them to read etc. etc. Much as we deplore the state of things which renders this necessary, we cannot but acknowledge it is the only way to get hold of the working class--the factory girls. With respect to our poor dayschools, they are going on very well, but we shall never get on without some pecuniary assistance.[3]

Cornelia may have been hoping for assistance from the Catholic Poor School Committee. At this time, money for the education of the growing masses in the industrial centers was a need throughout England. In 1847, Cornelia received the Society's first government grant through the

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[1] Positio, 1:255.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Cornelia Connelly, quoted in Bisgood, Cornelia Connelly, pp. 81-82.

Catholic Poor School Committee--£ 62.10.0.[1] St. Mary's was one of twelve Catholic parishes to receive support and, although the amount was small, it was recognition of the Society's work.

Boarding School

The reconciliatory motive of bringing Cornelia Connelly to England, that is, Bishop Wiseman's desire to create a better understanding between the Old Catholics and New Converts, necessitated the education of young women of the upper and middle classes of Catholic society. The complexity of the religious and socio-economic stratification of the Catholic situation further convinced Cornelia of the need to provide "a solid education to [this] large and increasing class of Girls as will best enable them to fill their office in Society...."[2] (Emphasis added.) It was her goal "to make strong women who, while they lose nothing of their gentleness and sweetness, should yet have a masculine force of character and will."[3] Such women would bridge the chasms of prejudice. The Derby Convent was more than large enough; boarding schools were an English tradition; the demographic distribution of the Catholic families in a predominantly Protestant

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[1] Positio, 1:255.

[2] Catholic Directory 1847, quoted in Gompertz, Life, p. 121.

[3] Cornelia Connelly, quoted in Gompertz, Life, p. 308.

milieu required a residential school.

It was Cornelia's goal to prepare the young women to take their rightful place in English society--one which had for many years been denied them in part because of the inappropriateness of the education provided by the religious congregations which were either cloistered in nature or European in tradition. Neither prepared young women for ordinary everyday Catholic life but provided, instead, a quasi-religious life. Nor was there a model on the contemporary non-Catholic scene. Cornelia opened her first boarding school at Derby before the noted pioneers in English women's education, Frances Mary Buss and Dorothea Beale, had begun to teach.[1] Cornelia was able to draw on her experience with the Society of the Sacred Heart and the Jesuits--adapted to her purposes.

The first prospectus which appeared in the Catholic Directory of 1847 for the boarding school is noteworthy. It is reproduced in full.

ST. MARY'S CONVENT, DERBY, OF THE HOLY CHILD JESUS

> The objects which are contemplated in this Convent are to give, upon the sound basis of the practice of all their religious duties, such a solid education to a large and increasing class of Girls as will best enable them to fill their office in Society, while, at the same time, they will be thoroughly instructed in the details of domestic life, and in all such arts as are the most practically useful in the service of our Holy Mother the Church.

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[1] Positio, 1:257.

TERMS FOR BOARD AND EDUCATION

Twenty-five pounds per annum, to be paid half-yearly in advance. Entrance, two pounds. The children are taught English and French, Writing, Arithmetic, Geography, History, Grammar, Singing and the principles of Church music; Drawing, Plain Needlework, and every kind of embroidery, tracing, point-lace, stitch, etc., that can be useful in the service of the Church, together with the cutting out and making up of vestments, etc.

Three months' notice or a quarter's payment, is required before the removal of a child, and no allowance is made for absence.

Each child will be required to bring a knife, fork, spoon and cup; two pairs of sheets, two pillow-cases and six towels; six of each article of linen, three pairs of shoes, two aprons with sleeves of dark brown holland, one black veil, and one white one for Sundays and Festivals.

Uniform.--Winter-dress, dark blue Coburg. Summer-dress, blue mousseline de laine. A black bonnet for Winter, and a plain white straw for Summer, both with dark blue ribbon, and a large cape or cloak of the same material as the dress; any deficiency will be charged to the parents.

Age of admission from six to seventeen. Girls above the age of fourteen, who have been at any other school, will be required to bring a certificate of good conduct from the Superior of the House.

The children will only be allowed one vacation during the year, which will last from the 17th of June to the 26th of August, and the money for the children's journeys must be paid in advance.

No children will be received whose parents and guardians do not reside in the United Kingdom.

There are no extras for washing or stationery, but the parents are expected to provide the classbooks necessary, or to pay one pound per annum for the use of school-books, maps, globes, etc., and the materials of the drawings, work, etc., which the children may take away, will be a separate charge.

No weekly or regular allowance of pocket money is permitted, but whatever sum parents may think proper to allow, will be distributed at the discretion of the Superior.

> Any parents who wish their children to learn the piano are requested to give notice of it, as it is an extra.
>
> Reference can be made to the Right Rev. Dr. Wiseman, the Rev. Dr. Asperti (Chaplain to the House), or to the Superioress of the Convent.[1]

On perusing the document, the reader is struck by the attention to detail in every matter and the extensive nature of the proposed syllabus. Cornelia was not only very organized and practical in nature but also a good business woman. Doubtless she had read the prospecti of other schools and she had prepared her son, Mercer, for boarding school at Stonyhurst.

The Catholic Directory for 1797 gives the original prospectus for the Jesuit students from Liege who founded Stonyhurst. The following is an excerpt:

> The scholars are taught Latin, Greek, and all the branches of classical education, sacred and profane History, Geography and Arithmetic; and when sufficiently advanced, Algebra and Geometry, with all the other parts of the Mathematics in the respective classes. Particular care is taken that they learn to read well and write a good hand and that they speak and write French with accuracy.[2]

There is a marked similarity between this syllabus and that proposed by Cornelia. Later, when she developed her program in dramatic arts, the only equivalent was that of Stonyhurst.[3]

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[1] Catholic Directory 1847, quoted in Gompertz, Life, pp. 121-122.

[2] Catholic Directory 1797, quoted in Barnes, Catholic Schools, pp. 162-163.

[3] Barnes, Catholic Schools, pp. 171-12.

This will be discussed in reference to the Book of Studies.

The comment Bishop Wiseman made to Cornelia regarding the prospectus of St. Mary's Convent was as follows:

> I have some doubts over the prospectus, as to the teaching of French, how far, for the middle classes, it may be useful, or whether a little Church Latin would not be better, though not to be named in a prospectus. The present French literature is so wicked that the temptation to read it is better removed, though much indeed is translated.[1]

Bishop Wiseman's concern probably stemmed from the conservative nature of the Old Catholic families. But he was also a noted linguist and scholar from the days of his rectorship of the Venerable English College in Rome.[2] Cornelia resolved the situation by adding Latin to the curriculum and keeping the French.[3] Her love for the French language and culture brought her diplomatic skills to the fore even as it showed her determination to prepare the groundwork for future schools in France.

The question arises as to how Cornelia was able to extend her young Society in so many directions--the Poor School, the Sunday School and, then, a Boarding School. In part this was due to her skills of organization and manage-

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[1]Bishop Wiseman, quoted in Gompertz, Life, p. 122.

[2]A. Gasquet, A History of the Venerable English College, Rome (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1920), pp. 223-226.

[3]Gompertz, Life, p. 122.

ment. In a little over two years the community at Derby had also increased in number from three to twenty-one.[1] Each day was organized for the best use of time--from the hours allotted to prayer and meditation to the duties of the convent and schools. The first commitment of the young women who joined Cornelia was to their preparation for a vowed religious life. Together they lived an institutionalized lifestyle which focused on their religious obligations. Cornelia's perspective in founding an uncloistered community, however, was to adapt the traditional lifestyle of religious congregations so that it would not detract from but enrich the apostolate, or work, of education for which it was meant.

As with the Religious of the Sacred Heart, the social and educational background of the women who entered the Society meant that not all were suited to the teaching profession. In the Society of the Sacred Heart, with whom Cornelia had had so much contact, there were both "choir" and "coadjutrix" religious. The former, who themselves had good educational backgrounds, were teachers whereas the latter, also attracted to the particular spirituality of the Society of the Sacred Heart, did the practical work--leaving the others free for academic preparation and teaching. The choir religious also took a fourth vow, in addition to

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[1] Positio, 1:253.

the traditional vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, of consecration to the education of youths.[1]

Initially, Cornelia called her Lay Sisters, who took care of the non-teaching duties and preparation of meals, "House Sisters." This freed the "School Sisters" to attend to the task of educating.[2] It was not until 1854, after her Society had become established in its work in the field of education, that Cornelia added "a fourth Vow of Charity, in consecrating themselves to the education of youth...."[3] In the traditional teaching congregations the two groups of Sisters lived quite separate lives but not in the young Society. In 1869, however, Cornelia was obliged by Propaganda Fide of the Vatican to arrange for separate "recreation" for her House Sisters and School Sisters. "Recreation" was the only time of the day that the Sisters were free from obligatory silence.[4] The daily sharing of this social time together had expressed their shared responsibility in the apostolate of education. Cornelia's American egalitarian spirit, however, was overruled by canon law; the Church was still bound by conformity to the European tradition

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[1] M. O'Leary, Education with a Tradition (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1936), p. 111.

[2] "Constitutions of SHCJ, 1846-53," quoted in McCarthy, "Study of the Constitutions," p. 58.

[3] "Abridgement of the Constitutions of SHCJ, 1853-4," quoted in McCarthy, "Study of the Constitutions," p. 80.

[4] Positio, 1:253; and II:1069.

of social stratification. The response of her Society to Rome's ruling was painful for Cornelia but actually an indication of the spirit of equality which she had fostered. The women, when separated into their respective groups, found it difficult to believe that Cornelia could not have prevented the canonical legislation.[1] This seeming stratification was only reversed after Vatican II.[2]

The work for which the members of the Society came together was "the Education of females of all classes" in England.[3] A letter of Bishop Wiseman to the Jesuit Provincial in September of 1846 spoke of Cornelia's community about to be established in Derby "for the purpose of educating the poor and middle classes, and training school mistresses."[4] When Cornelia began her work in England, no teacher training college for Catholic men--or women--existed.

Teacher Training

The training of teachers was included in the work for which Cornelia founded the Society of the Holy Child Jesus from the beginning. As with the teaching orders, such as the Jesuits and the Religious of the Sacred Heart, it was

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[1] Positio, II:1278.

[2] Ibid.

[3] "Rules 1844-6," p. 26.

[4] D 10:14, quoted in full in Positio, 1:260-261.

her intention to prepare her followership to teach; it was also her intent "to meet the wants of the day" by training laywomen.[1]

As early as the sixteenth century the English schoolmaster and educational writer Richard Mulcaster (1531-1611) pleaded "'that this trade requireth a particular college.'"[2] In 1835 ten thousand pounds was granted towards the erection of normal or model schools out of an increasing awareness of the serious lack of competent teachers in England. By 1839 these monies had still not been utilized because of the divide between the National Society and the British and Foreign School Society. The Committee of Council of 1839, the first national Committee for Education, with Dr. James Kay (later Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth) as first secretary, was formed with the hope of forming a national normal school. But the control of the National Society and the British and Foreign School Society was too great. In 1833 twenty thousand pounds, granted for the erection of school houses throughout England, had finally to be divided between the two groups for anything to occur. Again in 1839 the Committee of Council, against their wishes, were obliged to share the 1835 grant between the Societies.[3] It was not until 1847

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[1]CC 1:70.

[2]McCormick and Cassidy, History of Education, p. 451.

[3]P. Sandiford, Training of Teachers in England and Wales (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1910), pp. 41-42.

that the Catholic schools received any support although the Committee of Council of 1839 recorded their reservations about the dispersion of the 1835 monies and did "not feel themselves precluded from making grants, which shall appear to them to call for the aid of Government, although the applications may not come from either of the two mentioned Societies" with the grant monies of 1836 and 1837.[1] The Catholic Poor School Committee was set up in 1847 as the intermediary body between the Catholic Schools and the government because of this provision.

The Committee of Council of 1839, under the leadership of Kay, had desired to set up a national, non-sectarian normal school "where students in training could reside, a model boarding school for 450 children, and a day school for 250 children in which the student-teachers could realize the application of the best methods of instruction."[2] The Committee did manage to retain a degree of national control over teacher education by reserving the right of inspection "in order to sercure a conformity to the regulations and discipline established in the several Schools, with such improvements as may from time to time be suggested by the Committee."[3]

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[1]"Report of the Committee of Council, 1839," in L. Russell, Recent Measures for the Promotion of Education in England (London: Ridgeway Picadilly, 1839), p. iv.

[2]Sandiford, Training of Teachers, p. 42.

[3]Report, p. iv.

In 1836 a training college for female teachers was established by the Home and Colonial Society in Gray's Inn Road; the Battersea Training School, sponsored by Kay-Shuttleworth, was opened in 1840 to train men "of lowly origin" to be teachers of pauper children. The latter was turned over to the National Society in 1843.[1] Cornelia Connelly was to be a pioneer in the field of training Catholic lay women but her experience with the Society of the Sacred Heart had provided her with a uniquely Catholic resource. Carrigan, writing on Catholic Teachers Colleges, observes that

> a perusal of the histories of religious Teaching Congregations reveals some type of preparation for their young religious for classroom duties but which was limited to the novitiate of the individual communities. There, instruction and practice in the predominating spirit of the religious founders was given. For example, the Ratio Studiorum, the method used by the Jesuits in 1599, is still functional in Jesuit schools.... Teacher training in religious communities therefore antedates the movement for the institution of Teacher Training Colleges in 1840.[2]

Cornelia had actually taught with the Sisters of the Sacred Heart at Grand Coteau and in Rome and had perhaps received instruction from teachers of this congregation noted for its quality of education. While at Grand Coteau

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[1]Sandiford, Training of Teachers, p. 47.

[2]Delia Carrigan, The Catholic Teachers Colleges in the United Kingdom 1850-1960 (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University Press of America, 1961), p. 42.

Pierce had taught with the Jesuits at St. Charles College. En route to England from Rome in 1846 Cornelia spent three months at Assumption Convent, Paris. "Here she had prolonged opportunity to discuss education and visit the school."[1] This congregation, founded by Milleret de Brou (Blessed Marie Eugénie) had been founded in 1839 to meet the needs of the girls of the upper classes of French Society.[2] It is interesting to note in a letter of the twenty-nine year old founder, when discussing whether or not to encourage Cornelia to enter her congregation, that she dismisses the idea because she finds her too Jesuit in her ideas and too tied to England and America. She writes: "Elle cherche le monastère où elle doit se fixer. Je ne pense pas toutefois que ce soit chez nous, elle est trop jésuite dans ses idées, elle tient trop à l'Angleterre ou a l'Amérique."[3] The letter also indicates that Mère Eugénie tried to convince her otherwise but Cornelia was convinced that Jesuit help was essential for her new congregation.[4] Cornelia's spiritual director in Rome, Fr. Grassi, had been an experienced Jesuit

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[1] Positio, II;847.

[2] Ibid., p. 848.

[3] Extrait de la lettre 1724, vol. 9, de Mère M. Eugénie de Jésus au P. d'Alzon, Paris, 13 Mai 1842, quoted in Positio 1:242-243.

[4] Ibid.

educator in Europe and America. Thus Cornelia had in a sense been trained in the Jesuit system (the Society of the Sacred Heart acknowledges their debt to the Ratio Studiorum). In Mère Eugénie Cornelia encountered a peer in woman's education who felt she was too male-oriented to educate women. ("Elle aime à être gouvernée par des hommes, elle aurait tout ce qu'il faudrait pour élever parfaitement de petits garçons").[1] For Cornelia the Jesuit rationale provided an "intellectual instrumentality" she would adapt "to meet the wants of the day."

John Dewey speaks of "intellectual instrumentalities" in contrast to "prescriptions for belief." The purpose of Cornelia's work, in her words, was "to meet the wants of the day." At the time she was first considering the need for trained teachers, Cornelia was fresh from a rich teaching experience with the Society of the Sacred Heart. Cornelia had been free enough in herself, however, to know that their shared lifestyle was not meant for her own future. Similarly, the "Education of females of all classes" in England could not be carried out without the preparation of lay women as well as members of her Society for the teaching profession. And this would require the adaptation of the Jesuit tradition in education--something Cornelia and her Sisters would

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[1]Extrait de la lettre 1724, vol. 9, de Mère M. Eugénie de Jésus au P. d'Alzon, Paris, 13 Mai 1842, quoted in Positio 1:242-243.

actively engage in in the development of their own philosophy and vision of Holy Child education. Thus, Cornelia's purpose was greater than that of founding a teaching congregation modelled after the Jesuits. Together, her Society and the lay women they prepared would address the educational needs of females of all classes and abilities.

From the early nineteenth century in England Catholic lay teachers had helped religious congregations to meet the growing need in education.[1] Prior to that education among the Catholic population was still suppressed by the government. The Monitorial System of Dr. Andrew Bell (1953-1832) and Joseph Lancaster (1778-1838) had been adapted by many. It had been developed originally as a result of the dearth of teachers. Older and more able students were trained to answer the demand. Such a system required that primary attention be given to the management of the school. The "method" adopted was the institution of routine drills carried out by the older students within the individual classes. Learning was necessarily by rote and the system lent itself to the excessive use of emulation and rewards.[2] Lancaster records, in his accounts for 1803, sixteen guineas being spent on 5,000 toys for 217 students.[3] Such a system

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[1]Carrigan, Catholic Teachers Colleges, p. 42.

[2]Sandiford, Training of Teachers, pp. 34-38.

[3]Ibid., p. 35.

gave little attention to meaning--something which would be a focus of Cornelia's curriculum for Holy Child education.

The beginning of Catholic Teacher Training Colleges in England occurred with the opening of Hammersmith Training College for men in 1852.[1] In 1847 the Catholic Poor School Committee had been set up by the Vicars Apostolic. "Significantly, this Committee comprised only two laymen and eight clergy and centered the responsibility for future Catholic education irrevocably on the Church."[2] This meant for education, as in all matters in the English Catholic Church, the "transfer of power and leadership from Catholic laymen who had played such a vital role since penal days to the bishops and clergy."[3] In 1848 one of the two lay men, Scott Nasmyth Stokes (a Cambridge Convert) "recommended St. Mary's Convent for a Government grant to aid in the establishment and maintenance of a teacher training college."[4] This was to have been the first Training College sponsored by the Catholic Poor School Committee. Stokes wrote to Cornelia's Bishop regarding the intended training college in his diocese:

> It must be years before we could take this position in respect to the Training School

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[1]John Hurt, Education in Evolution (London: Rupert Hart-Davis Ltd., 1971), p. 107.

[2]Positio, 1:499.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Ibid., 1:258.

> for Male Teachers, since the young men who will form the nucleus of it have not yet commenced their own training term. But with regard to female teachers the case is different.... The Bishops in Synod assembled have approved of Derby Convent as a training school for Mistresses. That convent, as far as buildings go, possesses all the requisites for a Normal School and its position is perhaps as central and accessible as any spot in England.[1]

At this stage in Catholic education there was very little money. Moreover, all the dimensions of the bureaucratic hierarchy were present: approval by the Synod of Bishops did not guarantee approval by the local bishops. Derby, however, was accessible to all of England and St. Mary's Convent had the physical amenities necessary to qualify for a government grant. Stokes continues:

> It would accommodate sixty young women readily, and affords precisely the case we want to take to Government.... It appears to me that by seizing this opportunity we might secure great advantages to Religion and Education in England. The Nuns at Derby have represented to the C.P.S. Committee that the training of Mistresses is their chief desire and the first object of their Institute.[2]

Stokes, on behalf of the Catholic Poor School Committee, expressed the great need for a training college. It was not until 1856, however, that this provision was made for training Catholic lay women in England.

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[1] D 10:122 d-e, quoted in full in Positio, 1:263-269.

[2] Ibid.

Although this college was not opened in Derby, it was realized by Cornelia at St. Leonards in 1856.[1] The Derby college had been approved by both the Bishops and the Catholic Poor School Committee and it is worthy of note that they considered Cornelia adequate to the task of training teachers only two years into her new foundation. While at Derby Cornelia was able to obtain grants to train pupil-teachers in the school.[2] This was in itself a milestone for it meant, as would have been the case with the teacher training college, that government assistance was extended to an institution conducted by teachers who were not only Catholic but women religious.[3]

The pupil-teacher system was another innovation of Sir Kay-Shuttleworth--one for which the model came from Holland. Having observed pupil-teachers during a visit to that country in 1837, his plan was to replace the discredited monitorial system. In the modified English system, the intention was to select pupil-teachers from the best of the monitors in the class. In 1846 the relatively new teacher training colleges in England were demanding better prepared candidates and this was one way of meeting that need.[4] The

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[1] Positio, 1:259.

[2] Ibid., 1:500.

[3] Ibid., 1:263.

[4] Sandiford, Training of Teachers, p. 44.

Catholic Poor School Committee was able to build on the legislation of the Privy Council in 1846 by establishing a pupil-teacher program at Derby. Later, at the St. Leonards Training School, qualified pupil-teachers were permitted to go on to further teacher-training.[1]

The nineteenth century was, as in all areas of English education, a time of both great need and progress in Catholic education. The foundations which followed Derby were Cornelia's attempt to address those needs for which her Society was most suited.

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[1]Bisgood, Cornelia Connelly, p. 159.

Chapter IV

EXPANSION (1848-1863)

In December of 1848 Cornelia Connelly left Derby and moved her Society to St. Leonards-on-Sea near Hastings on the English Channel. St. Leonards was to be the permanent home and Mother House of the Society of the Holy Child Jesus for the next one hundred and twenty-eight years.[2] Cornelia's purpose in coming to England had been "to meet the wants of the day" through "the Education of females of all classes." This now involved three areas: the need for an appropriate education for the daughters of Old Catholic families of the upper classes; the dearth of trained teachers for already established schools, a situation not unique to the Catholic population; and the inadequate provision for the education of the poor.

The Derby foundation had immediately immersed the new Society in the Poor School apostolate. The Irish Potato Famine, beginning around 1845, had increased the already

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[1] Armour, Cornelia, p. 53.

[2] Positio, I:389. The Society was at St. Leonards from December 1848 until December 1976.

burgeoning population of the industrial centers where country people were flocking in search of employment. Without time for preparation for teacher training or the living of vowed religious life Cornelia and her first followers had been thrown into the midst of the educational needs of St. Mary's parish in Derby--the Day School, the Night School and the Sunday School.

Nevertheless, in 1848 the rudiments of a boarding school also existed. Two girls from the Derby boarding school had accompanied Cornelia, seventeen women and their chaplain to St. Leonards.[1] One half of the group making up the young Society were converts to Catholicism--bringing with them an intellectual and spiritual perspective more bold and cosmopolitan than that traditionally associated with English Catholics of the period.[2] Within a few years St. Leonards included a boarding school, poor school and teacher training college, and the Society had expanded its work to London (1851), Liverpool (1852), Preston (1853), and Blackpool (1956).[3]

If Cornelia had done nothing from 1846 onwards other than the work entailed in establishing a religious congregation in its spiritual life and apostolic thrust, she would

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[1] Positio, 1:390-391.

[2] Ibid., 1:391.

[3] Ibid., 1:497.

have been fully occupied. Pierce Connelly, however, found it difficult to cooperate with the permanent marriage separation he had initiated. This introduced a dimension of personal suffering into Cornelia's life marked by the motto: "Courage, Confidence and Silence."[1] A brief recountal of the tragic story puts in context the personal perspective from which Cornelia was required to live and work over the years.

"Connelly versus Connelly"

The unusual circumstances of Cornelia's personal life, dependent as their development was upon her husband's conviction that he was called to the Catholic priesthood, became the focus of a turn of events in 1848 which could only have transpired in Victorian England. Pierce Connelly had been ordained a priest in Rome on 6 July 1845. At the offering of his first Mass his daughter Adeline made her First Communion and Cornelia sang in the choir.[2] When he learned that Cornelia would begin her work in England he made arrangements to precede her to that country by becoming the assistant chaplain at Alton Towers.[3] The full significance of the respective directions their lives had taken

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[1] D 68:25, quoted in Positio 1:389.

[2] Positio, 1:xxiii.

[3] Bisgood, Cornelia Connelly, p. 90.

was not, it seems, clear to Pierce.

When Pierce visited St. Mary's Convent in Derby on 4 March 1847 unexpectedly the following year, it was made clear to him that such visits between himself, now a priest, and Sister Cornelia were not appropriate. Cornelia was fulfilling the canonical year of noviceship in religious life required by the law of the Church; propriety in the predominantly Protestant country had deemed it necessary to place the children in boarding school: the family meetings recommended in Rome were no longer possible. In Wiseman's view it was not considered proper for a Catholic priest to visit his wife, the superior of a religious convent.

Pierce responded to the realization that he no longer had ready access to Cornelia with a series of irrational accusations and actions. Once Cornelia had made her religious vows (21 December 1847) he realized she was no longer under his control and "he pretended to have discovered a plot on the part of the ecclesiastical authorities to take the children out of his control, and without a word to their mother removed them from their schools and fled with them to the Continent."[1]

Having learned of the virtual kidnapping of her children by their father, Cornelia wrote in her spiritual notebook:

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[1]Bisgood, Cornelia Connelly, p. 93; and Positio, 1:290. This occurred in mid-January 1848.

> Jan. 21. In union with my crucified Lord and by His most precious blood, in adoration satisfaction thanksgiving & petition I, Cornelia vow to have no future intercourse with my children and their Father beyond what is for the greater Glory of God & is His manifest will, known through my director & in case of doubt on his part through my extraordinary--
>
> Gloria Patri de[1]

Cornelia's ongoing struggle is apparent. At the Trinità Cornelia had been concerned regarding "some stray thoughts about the children" saying, "I am so much afraid of having any reserve with God...and how could I ever refuse to the love of love."[2] In January of 1848 Cornelia had no way of knowing how things would eventually work out in her relationship with Pierce, but, in essence, she chose to give precedence to her commitment in vowed religious life. This would result in her never seeing any of her children again until they were adults.[3]

Cornelia was living a religious life centered around prayer. Her spiritual formation was Ignatian in nature. In the Spiritual Exercises where St. Ignatius's purpose is to lead the excercitant to conversion and choice of state in life, he also insists that there are certain commitments or choices in life which cannot lightly be reconsidered.

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[1]CC XXI:60, 21 January 1848, St. Mary's Convent, Derby.

[2]CC XXI:34-35.

[3]Cornelia never saw her eldest son, Mercer, again. He died of yellow fever in New Orleans in 1853. Positio, 1:xxvi.

Decisions to do with the happiness of others fall into this category.[1] In the spiritual pilgrimage undertaken by Pierce and Cornelia the unusual choice to separate had been made--a response to their understanding of God's will.[2] But provision for their ongoing parental roles in a style not altogether unusual in the boarding school mentality of the mid-eighteen hundreds had also been made.

Now Cornelia was put in the position by Pierce to choose between her commitment in vowed religious life to God and her family. This woman who had written during a retreat in Rome in 1844, "how could I ever refuse to the love of love" might be said to have fallen in love without restriction, a characteristic of "religious enlightenment."[3] Her choice could not be based upon simply an intellectual consideration of what was right or wrong; the choice needed to flow from her truest self within, to be a decision in response to her knowledge of God's will. This is the context in which the words, "I, Cornelia, vow to have no future intercourse with my children and their Father beyond what

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[1]William Johnston, The Inner Eye of Love (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1978), pp. 149-150.

[2]The defective theology of marriage and celibacy of the nineteenth century was commented on earlier. McCarthy summarizes its influences on the Connellys in "Through Successive Calls," pp. 83-90.

[3]CC XXI:35. There is a recognizable pattern to spiritual development even as there is to physical and psychological growth. The comments regarding CC's spiritual growth are based on Johnston's treatment of this aspect of Ignatian spirituality. Inner Eye of Love, pp. 149-150.

is for the greater glory of God & is His manifest will" may be understood (Emphasis added). It is to be noted in this interpretation of the events that Cornelia did not remove herself from an external check of her decisions. The role of her spiritual director was to evaluate the decision she reached from his knowledge of the pattern of the spiritual life. The fundamental test, assuming the person is mentally healthy, is whether or not the decision brings a sense of inner peace. Cornelia's decision was understood and supported.

Pierce Connelly, however, had no way of knowing Cornelia's response to his taking of the children to the Continent. He proceeded to Rome where he posed as the founder of the Society of the Holy Child Jesus even presenting a modified version of the Rules in Italian. The Sacred Congregation acted on it immediately, assuming it to be a legitimate document.[1] Cornelia wrote an explanatory letter to the Roman authorities in May, as soon as she learned of Pierce's actions. But the damage had been done. Pierce had deleted the Jesuit foundation intended by Cornelia for the Society and she spent the rest of her life working with the hierarchy in order to obtain a proper articulation of the spirit of the Society of the Holy Child Jesus. Her Rule did not receive Papal approbation until 1887, eight years after her death in 1879

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[1] Positio, 1:290-291; and III:1285. CC initially drafted a set of "Rules" for the Society. Later these were spoken of as the "Rule." The more inclusive canonical statement is properly termed the "Constitutions of the SHCJ."

and following that of Pierce in 1883. The Constitutions of 1887 were based upon Cornelia's original drafts.[1] Cornelia, as a result of Pierce's actions, never received the official recognition her work merited.

When Pierce returned from Rome in 1848 he again presented himself at St. Mary's Convent. The outcome was tragic. Cornelia refused to see him while he remonstrated in the parlor for six hours. He vowed vengeance on all concerned. Regarding the scene, Cornelia wrote in a letter to Lord Shrewsbury:

> I have now destroyed every hope he may have of ever having authority over the Convent, and shown it in the clearest way.

She also stated:

> When...Mr. Connelly has proved his sincerity by sending my little girl to me, he may have the necessary intercourse by letter, and even an interview.
>
> You may imagine my dear Lord Shrewsbury how much all this costs to my feelings....[2]

Pierce's behavior became frenetic. By the end of 1848 he had apostatized and instituted proceedings for restitution of conjugal rights through the Court of Arches, the ecclesiastical court of the Church of England.[3] While the latter action may have been the recommendation of his

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[1]Armour, Cornelia, pp. 69-80. The role of the "Constitutions" in the life of a religious congregation, and the nature of its "spirit" are discussed in the first chapter.

[2]CC II:72, 16 June 1848, St. Mary's Convent, Derby.

[3]Bisgood, Cornelia Connelly, p. 100.

solicitors,[1] it demonstrates how desperate he had become. In a letter to Shrewsbury dated the 28 December 1848 he vowed, "I will now never cease till Mrs. Connelly is placed absolutely & unreservedly under my controul."[2] In the alleged Rule presented by him in Rome he had included a memorial, "for a small Congregation which the good God had for a long time inspired me to found with the aid of a holy woman well known to me who was most docile to me."[3] (Emphasis added.) Pierce Connelly craved power.

"Cornelia is written about and her life dramatized for its inherent human interest and poignancy."[4] The purpose of this study, however, is related to her contribution to education and the factors which called forth and formed her charisma in this field. To understand her it is helpful to understand her husband but a full discussion is not called for. Rather, certain conclusions and observations are included. Reference to further information is made for those who are interested.

It is often wondered what kind of marriage could have been shared by Cornelia and Pierce to have resulted in their separation. Part of this may be explained in terms of Pierce's need for recognition and the fact that the theology

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[1] Positio, 1:320.

[2] Bisgood, p. 101.

[3] Ibid., p. 94.

[4] Positio, II:1116.

of the day presented priesthood and religious life as "higher" states of life than marriage. But how could Cornelia have been so blind to his problems? There is no doubt that Cornelia and Pierce truly loved one another. Cornelia from her childhood, and the death of all those closest to her, had learned to make the best of life's situations. Georges Cruchon, a French psychologist, has made a careful study of Pierce's behavior and suggests that Cornelia may have met his psychological needs.[1]

> In...Cruchon's hypothesis, the presence of Cornelia gave Pierce a sense of security; their mutual love had healed the emotional scars of childhood.... Psychologically, then Pierce might survive a crisis without his wife, but not without the felt support of his substitute "mother" for he was basically immature.[2]

That Pierce may have needed "the felt support of his substitute 'mother'," and that Cornelia met that need is somewhat ironic for it was Cornelia's "mothering" qualities which helped to establish so successfully Holy Child education. Cornelia instructed her teachers to regard the children entrusted to them "as the most precious charge that the love of Jesus could confide to them, and [that] they should

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[1]Georges Cruchon, "The Case of Pierce Connelly," Source, no. 5 (Autumn 1976), pp. 5-19, translated from the French study "Etude psychologique de Pierce Connelly." The study is also found in English in Positio, Appendix II A (III:A22-A34). It provides an analysis of Pierce's behavior and statements as well as remarks made about him by his family.

[2]Positio, 1:287.

cherish a truly maternal love for them."[1]

In January of 1849 Cornelia was served with a citation in a suit for the restitution of conjugal rights. Bishop Wiseman supported her fully and arrangements were made so that she was not required to appear in person in court. The initial judgement was in favor of Pierce, the judge ruling that the legal separation effected in Rome was illegal in England. Cornelia's counsel lodged an immediate appeal to the Privy Council and in 1851, when the case was retried by the Judicial Committee of that body, the judgement of the Court of Arches was reversed with provision for the defendant to re-form the Allegation by pleading and setting forth the marriage laws of Pennsylvania. Due to lack of financial means Pierce Connelly was obliged to let the case drop. "In the end it was his wife who paid the costs in 1856 to save him from being committed to prison for debt, and the case of Connelly V. Connelly was closed...."[2]

"Connelly versus Connelly" was not a private affair. Not only did the press debate the issue but Pierce also published a series of pamphlets abusive of the Church and Catholicism. He never maligned Cornelia but rather portrayed

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[1]Cornelia Connelly, Book of Studies, p. 77. In the SHCJ the professed Sisters were addressed as "Mother" until 1968.

[2]Bisgood, Cornelia Connelly, pp. 103-104. Extensive documentation of Cornelia v. Connelly is found in Positio, 1:315-381 and the Study of the Case: Connelly v. Connelly in Ibid., Appendix III (III:A35-A47).

her and himself as victims of the Catholic Church.[1] One comment on a copy of the "Case of the Rev. P. Connelly" (1853) carries a notation by Cornelia. She writes, "I am persuaded that Mr. C. can never in heart cease to love the Holy Catholic Church, but his love was always more a love of sentiment than of sacrifice--and therefore less to be trusted."[2] This note was made five years after Pierce first filed suit. It may represent a lingering doubt experienced early in their marriage; perhaps it is an earlier observation the full significance of which Cornelia understood only as she matured. In either case, the comment draws attention to the differences in their self-images and perspectives. Pierce saw himself a victim of Catholicism whereas Cornelia saw herself as one who had freely sacrificed out of religious conviction.

Between 1848 and the reverse of the decision of the courts in favor of Pierce, Cornelia had remained in England in spite of the threat to her safety--for she could have been imprisoned. "A flight like this would be an acknowledgement of some cause for flight, which would be contrary to the truth."[3] Although Pierce never criticized Cornelia

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[1]Copies of some of Pierce Connelly's pamphlets are found in Positio, Appendix IIB (III:A 34a, b, & c).

[2]Cornelia Connelly, quoted in Bisgood, Cornelia Connelly, pp. 104-105.

[3]CC II:64 [May 1849].

personally in what he wrote he did alienate their children from her. He returned mail unopened and refused to allow them to correspond with her. Mercer Connelly died of yellow fever in New Orleans in 1858 without their being reunited.[1] "She gave way to her grief and refused to be comforted."[2] It was one of the most difficult times of her life. Adeline was forty-two when she visited her mother in 1877--probably for the first time.[3] It is known that Frank visited his mother in 1867 and several times after that.[4] Eventually Pierce returned to the Anglican communion and became rector of the American Episcopal Church in Florence in 1868.[5]

The outcome of the religious pilgrimage of Cornelia and Pierce Connelly was not happy. For the purposes of this study, the question is not, "Did Cornelia abandon her children?" but, "What lasting effect did this have on Cornelia Connelly?" It is recorded that once, when a Sister broached the topic, of which Cornelia never spoke, she replied:

> The remembrance of my children never leaves me. I would not be without this precious jewel of the cross. The soul cannot work for God

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[1] Positio, 1:186. Synopsis of Mercer's life in Ibid., I:185-186.

[2] Bisgood, Cornelia Connelly, p. 112.

[3] Positio, 1:39. Synopsis of Adeline's life in Ibid., I:186-188.

[4] Bisgood, Cornelia Connelly, pp. 114-115; and Positio, 1:188. Synopsis of Frank's life in Positio, 1:188-189.

[5] Armour, Cornelia, p. 50.

> supernaturally till Our Lord has shut by sorrow the door to all merely natural enjoyment: "Except the grain of wheat fall into the ground and die, it remains alone, but if it die it will bear much fruit."[1]

The suffering caused by the loss of her children was carried silently. She integrated it into her ongoing life by giving to it religious meaning, her service in the Catholic Church motivated by sacrificial, not sentimental love. From the age of thirty-nine Cornelia had next to no contact with her children: the second half of her life was committed to the provision of education for the children of others.

Inheritance of St. Leonards-on-Sea

When the Society moved to St. Leonards, "Connelly versus Connelly" had not been resolved. Pierce had just begun legal proceedings in the Court of Arches for the restitution of conjugal rights.[2] St. Leonards-on-Sea was to be home to Cornelia for over thirty years and she would say of it before her death in 1879, "Old St. Leonards dearer than all places on earth."[3] But the years were not easy. Besides the interference caused by Pierce, and the sorrow embraced on being separated from her children, the

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[1]Cornelia Connelly, "Spiritual Counsel," quoted in Cornelia Connelly, God Alone (Springfield, Illinois: Templegate, 1960), p. 54.

[2]Positio, 1:xxv.

[3]CC VI:66b, 21 January [1879], St. Leonards, England.

residential rights of the Society were in constant question until 1864.

Cornelia had moved her Society to the remote location on the south coast of England with the understanding that as long as it was able to fulfill its "original and professed purpose of educating females, etc." the property at St. Leonards would remain in its hands."[1] The fifteen acres which constituted the St. Leonards property had been purchased by the Rev. John Jones, at the request of Lady Stanley, for the purpose of founding a religious community such as the Society of the Holy Child Jesus.[2] The final conveyance of the Trust, however, was never processed and on the death of Jones in 1850, the legatee was found to be Colonel Charles Towneley.

For many decades the rights of the Catholic Church and clergy were suppressed in England. The Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 had not cleared up all problems. Between 1783 and 1830 all but six Mass centers in England were dependent on either endowment by a family or royal patronage. The question which arose with regard to St. Leonards was whether or not the diocesan priest, Jones, responsible for the mission,

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[1]D 11:72, Extract from Conditions for the Assignment under a Trust of Certain Freehold and Personal Property to the Religious Community of the Holy Child Jesus, 1848, St. Leonards Parish Archives, from Positio, 1:394-396. The property was originally named "All Souls" but "St. Leonards" is used for simplicity throughout this study.

[2]Positio, 1:494.

had the right to bequeath it to Towneley or was it the rightful inheritance of the diocese of Southwark.[1]

Towneley as the eldest nephew of Lady Stanley was, in fact, the natural heir to St. Leonards and decided to follow through on his aunt's desire to provide for the Society.[2] But in the process of his developing the Trust Deed, Cornelia found herself at odds with Cardinal Wiseman, who wished to establish a "Marine Residence" for his personal use, and Bishop Grant, who claimed the property's facilities for the use of the mission church.[3] Cornelia did not succumb to their desires. Noted for her submission to her superiors in matters of religion, she followed Towneley's advice, acting on her own principles and common sense. Towneley, as a member of Parliament, was especially sensitive to the matters not yet resolved between the Church and State.

Cornelia was at this time an embarrassment to the Church. Shortly after the death of Jones, Pierce had won his suit for restitution of conjugal rights. It was another fifteen months before this decision was reversed.[4] Pierce claimed, among other things, that Cornelia was being held

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[1] Positio, 1:382-383; and 1:444.

[2] Ibid., 1:444.

[3] Ibid., 1:401; and 1:420-422. Much of the difficulty arose because the implications of the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 had not been worked out in terms of civil (government) and canon (Church) law. The hierarchy of the Church was not restored in England until late 1850.

[4] Ibid., 1:405.

against her will by Wiseman and other ecclesiastics.[1] All of this was carried in the press. But the responsibility Cornelia felt for the work and reputation of the Society led her to abide by the Will of Jones and Towneley's ensuing Trust Deed for the Society in 1852.

It was not, however, until 1864 that the Trust Deed establishing St. Leonards as a center of education for Catholic females was accepted ecclesiastically by means of a decree issued by Pope Pius XI.[2] This necessitated the building of separate churches for the Society and the parish with a degree of separation that saddened Cornelia. Her Society was not cloistered but others could no longer attend their liturgies.[3]

From the time that Pierce Connelly began his legal proceedings through the deliberations over the St. Leonard's property, Cornelia lived in a state of unknowing and uncertainty with respect to her personal future and that of the Society. As a leader she was limited in terms of those with whom she could share. But in her isolation and her probable loneliness, she retained her vision. To the members of her congregation she wrote in 1856:

> Remember that you all have three Superiors--
> God--your Religious Superior--& your own

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[1] Bisgood, Cornelia Connelly, p. 128.

[2] Armour, Cornelia, pp. 55-56; and Positio, 1:415.

[3] Positio, 1:491-494.

> conscience.... Make of your conscience a strict & diligent Superior.[1]

The Rule of life by which the Sisters lived fostered an interior silence and provided opportunity for prayerful reflection. It is recorded that Cornelia "constantly impressed" on the Sisters that they pray to have "delicacy of conscience."[2] She would say, "Ask Our Lady to give you great certainty of conscience."[3]

It was such self-knowledge that enabled Cornelia to carry on with the work of education from 1848 to 1864. A "calmness and decision of character" marked her demeanor throughout the years hiding the periods of critical reflection and what she called many "a heart-wearying and unprofitable anxiety."[4] Cornelia's strength of character and sense of purpose mitigated against the events which might have destroyed the leadership needed for the young Society.

It was, perhaps, Cornelia's ability to give practical leadership, while keeping the larger vision, which enabled the apostolate of Holy Child education to take root. The two young women who accompanied the Society from Derby to St. Leonards were the seed for an envisioned boarding school. Record has it that the morning after their arrival, lessons

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[1] CC VIII:92, 5 January 1856.

[2] D 75:646, quoted in Positio, 1:407.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Bisgood, Cornelia Connelly, p. 129; and D 11:185, quoted in Positio, 1:389.

began as if there had never been a move.

> The two young ladies who had accompanied the Sisters...were taught everything suitable to their age and rank with as much regularity as if they were a large school. Walks were regularly taken by them in the country, and nothing was spared to render them happy under the charge of the sisters. Mother Connelly superintended their studies and examined their progress every month.[1]

It may be that the immediate organization of the daily schedule was even more important to the uprooted Community of eighteen women than to the two students.[2]

Immediately on the arrival of the Sisters at St. Leonards, Cornelia established a daily routine. She had done the same thing in Derby. In both cases, the facilities they found were poor and the "routinization" of life enabled them to live comfortably together and to fulfill the obligations of a vowed religious life. A little over two years later, Cardinal Wiseman asked Cornelia to expand her work and open a mission house of the Society in London.[3] The time between 1849 and 1851 was devoted to building up the Society in its religious life and to the educational apostolate of St. Leonards.

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[1]D 65-69, quoted in Positio, 1:397-398.

[2]Bisgood, Cornelia Connelly, p. 120.

[3]Positio, 1:407.

St. Leonards' Apostolate

Jones had understood, from the time of Bishop Wiseman's proposal that the Society move to St. Leonards, that

> a normal school for training instructresses for...poor schools, throughout the country in proportion as the community's means enable them to do when called on by competent authority [would be established].[1]

With this was to be combined

> a boarding school devoted to useful education and particularly to such arts as are most useful in domestic+ [sic] most acceptable to the service of the Church.[2]

In addition, "a poor school for poor female children of the neighborhood" was to be provided.[3] The plans, considering the geographic location of the property, were ambitious but the isolated region enabled Cornelia to experiment freely with teaching and training methodologies thus laying a solid foundation for later educational endeavors.

Five months after the Society took over St. Leonards, Jones laid the foundation stone for the Poor School.[4] This educational work had to be built up from almost nothing. In a letter to Cardinal Barnabò fourteen years later, Cornelia notes that "St. Leonards and its district, comprising about

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[1]D 11:143-145, Extract from John Jones' Last Will and Testament executed 20 May 1849, read 25 March 1850, proved 20 June 1850, from Positio, 1:408-409.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Positio, 1:400.

49 miles in length, [still] has barely a Catholic population of about 250, almost all very poor."[1] Nevertheless, the Girls' Day School established in 1849 met a need and in the beginning "a large number of highly respectable children joined the poor children as there was no middle school in the place."[2]

Until 1856 there were never more than sixteen resident students in the boarding school. By 1863 the number had risen to fifty.[3] Cornelia would have preferred to run a single school for the children of both the middle and upper classes but was forced to bend to the wishes of Bishop Grant who deemed it necessary to abide by the accepted norms of the socially stratified society of Victorian England. Sir Kay-Shuttleworth, the major educational reformer of the time in Britain, also assumed that popular education meant a separate education for the different classes: "education could be used as a means of preserving the existing social order."[4] The basic skills which the pupils brought to the boarding school and day school for the poor would have made common classroom teaching very difficult. But Cornelia reflected the egalitarian spirit of her homeland and shared

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[1]D 65:69, quoted in Positio, II:832.

[2]Gompertz, Life, p. 299.

[3]Positio, II:836.

[4]Tholfsen, ed., Sir Kay-Shuttleworth, p. 34.

Mann's aspirations that a common educational experience, where possible, would erode unnecessary class differences.[1]

Nevertheless, Cornelia did find it necessary to establish two similar schools in 1864--a "Highest School" for "Young Ladies" and a "Middle School" serving the daughters of the less affluent.[2] The Middle School was a compromise for Cornelia but it is witness to her courage and conviction that the children who attended the two schools were given essentially the same education. To a concerned parent, she wrote:

> Of course it is impossible to keep a school at the same pension of £20 per an: as select as the Upper School which is £50 per an: But I assure you we have had & always have children at the lower school of the highest reputation such as daughters of officers, Architects, Solicitors.... The children are not mixed with charity children, who are but a few in number.... Regarding the education they receive, it is of the very highest being in all respects the same as that of the Highest School & certainly you could find none better throughout England or the Continent.[3]

Her own son, Mercer, had attended Stonyhurst only because of the generosity of Lord Shrewsbury. Although Cornelia and Pierce had shared the life of the upper class in Rome,

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[1]Tholfsen, ed., Sir Kay-Shuttleworth, p. 34.

[2]Radegunde Flaxman provides an excellent overview of the state of girls' education in England at the time in "The Young Ladies' School at St. Leonards," Source, no. 2 (Winter 1971), pp. 31-34. See also Bisgood, Cornelia Connelly, p. 163.

[3]CC IV:62, 8 November [1866], St. Leonards, England.

Cornelia must have felt an identification with the parents of the children who attended the Middle School at St. Leonards.

The schools at St. Leonards, together, provided a cross section of English society. A number of children, the daughters of disenfranchised converts from the Oxford Movement, were educated without cost.[1] Cornelia used music and the liturgy to bring everyone together.

> The choir was formed by those who could really sing well, and they all assembled together for lessons or practice without regard as to the department from which they came--Professed Sisters, Novices, Postulants, and children from the different schools.[2]

This choir often sang for the liturgy of the parish--providing a quality of worship seldom found in Catholic England. The children from the different schools also attended each other's plays.[3]

The St. Leonards' apostolate expanded to such a degree that by 1863 there were two hundred inhabitants: professed nuns, novices, postulants, training college students, pupils of the boarding school, and domestic trainees.[4] In 1856 Cornelia had opened the Teachers Training College with ten Queen's Scholars and some private students. The remote

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[1]Gompertz, Life, p. 305.

[2]D 74:355, quoted in Positio, II:870.

[3]Positio, 1:II:836.

[4]Ibid., 1:454.

location provided opportunity to experiment with the educational theories of Pestalozzi, Rollin, and Fénelon. She had also familiarized herself with the work of the English practitioners such as the Mayos and Currie. But even before the expansion of St. Leonards to include a Teacher Training College, Cornelia had opportunity to test the quality of her teacher preparation in her own Sisters who went to London, Liverpool and Preston. London provided the first challenge to the Sisters' creativity and ability to adapt.

Growth

Within ten years of her arrival in England, Cornelia Connelly established from St. Leonards auxilliary foundations in London (1851), Liverpool (1852), Preston (1853), and Blackpool (1856).[1] In 1862 the first contingent of Sisters went to America.[2] St. Leonards remained the "Mother House" and as such was Cornelia's permanent residence, center of government for the Society, and "home" to the Sisters wherever they might work.[3] In her early years, Cornelia had lived and worked on the American frontier, the land of missionaries to the New World. At the age of forty-three

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[1] Positio, I:497.

[2] Ibid., II:565.

[3] Ibid., I:382.

this woman from the New World was establishing "missions" in the Old.

Cornelia was part of the effort of the churches of the nineteenth century, both Protestant and Catholic, for social reform.[1] The restoration of the Catholic hierarchy in 1850, following the Religious Disabilities Act of 1846, permitted religious communities within Catholicism to reassert the Church's traditional preoccupation with social order. In 1848 Wiseman reported that in London alone there were fifteen thousand Catholic children with no means of education.[2] The humanitarianism of the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century, together with the ethical sensitivity of Pietism, were influences from the Continent which served to raise the consciousness of those perceptive to the needfulness of the growing poor in industrialized England. The Religious Disabilities Act had freed Catholics, such as Shrewsbury, and converts, like Marshall and Allies, to express freely their religious opinions and allegiance to Rome, as well as to work for the education of the illiterate Catholic poor.[3]

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[1]Bainton, Christendom, II:146.

[2]Positio, I:501.

[3]Bainton, Christendom, II:146; and Catholic Encyclopedia, 1967 ed., s.v. "Uniformity, Acts of" by G. De C. Parmiter. Shrewsbury had set up The Catholic Institute in 1838 which was superseded by the Catholic Poor School Committee in 1847. Positio, I:499. Marshall became the first government inspector of Catholic schools in 1848. Hurt, Education in Evolution, p. 53n. Allies was employed as Secretary to the Catholic

Cornelia's "first mission" was to London to accept responsibility for the education of between four and five hundred girls in Gate Street. The responsibility for this school was that of the missionary rector of the parish attached to the Sardinian Embassy in Lincoln's Inn Fields. Such parishes dated from penal times when Catholics, forbidden to worship in public places, were serviced by the embassy chapels of Catholic counties.[1] The Catholic Relief Act of 1791 had made it possible to build public churches; the restoration of the Catholic hierarchy made it easier to take advantage of the Religious Disabilities Act of 1846 and to move towards universal education for the Catholic young.[2] Wiseman had brought Cornelia to England in 1846 because of his concern for the education of the middle classes; experience in the London district from 1847 onwards brought him into contact with the destitute and the starving Irish immigrants of the city. Education of the poor would also ameliorate crime.[3] Wiseman now desired that the Society also work in London's poor schools.[4]

Poor School Committee following his conversion to Catholicism in 1850. Positio, II:1059-1062. Cornelia was well-acquainted with all three men both professionally and personally.

[1] Positio, I:501; and III:1320.

[2] Ward, Wiseman, I:205; and Positio, I:505-509.

[3] Positio, I:262 and 502; and Ward, Wiseman, I:502.

[4] Cardinal Wiseman asked Cornelia to open the first mission in Gate Street in February 1851. Positio, 1:407.

The first school was located at 14 Gate Street. The Sisters, five in number, used the attic and basement of the four-story building as living quarters. The classrooms were situated on the floors between. Cornelia was not distressed by the fact that her "first mission" was among the poor and "with none of the conveniences or the beautiful surroundings of St. Leonards."[1] Her vision was to meet "the wants of the day...[as] the means of spiritual Mercy."[2] The Sisters were also poor:

> For many years their breakfast...consisted of bread and a little very poor water or dripping, with a cup of weak tea or coffee.... For lunch, the sisters who taught had two small pieces of bread and dripping and a bottle of milk and water, though, as the water predominated, it is more correct to say water and milk....[3]

Many of the Sisters were as unprepared by their background and education for this type of life as Cornelia had been on her arrival in Derby.

London was a city of the very poor and very rich, their living areas bordering on one another. The environment of Gate Street was a milieu from which Dickens drew his characters in his treatises on the plight of the oppressed. Gate Street bordered on Drury Lane. Jo, the Crossing-Sweeper in Bleak House came from "Tom-all-Alone's," a slum in the neighborhood of Clare Market and Drury Lane:

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[1] D 68:53, quoted in Positio, I:501.

[2] CC 1:70-70[A].

[3] D 68:55-57, quoted in Positio, I:502-503.

> Jo sweeps his crossing all day, unconscious of the link [between his life and that of others] if any there be. He sums up his mental condition, when asked a question, by replying that he "don't know nothink." He knows it's hard to keep the mud off the crossing in dirty weather, and harder still to live by doing it. Nobody taught him, even that much; he found it out. (Emphasis added.)[1]

This portrayal of Jo's social and personal disorganization is elaborated upon:

> Jo lives--that is to say, Jo has not yet died--in a ruinous place known to him by the name of Tom's-all-Alone's. It is a black, dilapidated street, avoided by all decent people.... Now, these tumbling tenements contain, by night, a swarm of misery. As on the ruined human wretch, vermin parasites appear, so, these ruined shelters have bred a foul existence that crawls in and out of gaps in walls and boards....[2]

The name of the street, "Tom's-all-Alone's," and the penetrating description of its inhabitants' alienation, depict an anomie seldom found in the history of the human race.

It was from areas such as this that the children taught by the Sisters came. The Catholic Poor School Committee reported for the Gate Street schools in 1850:

> Of these schools, established for our own poor, street-sweeping, orange-selling, ragged and

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[1]Charles Dickens, Bleak House (London: Penguin Books, 1971), p. 272. Bleak House was first published in 1853 within two years of the first SHCJ foundation in London. Descriptions by Dickens of areas frequented by the Sisters are noted in Bisgood, Cornelia Connelly, p. 138 (Sketches by Boz); and Positio, I:502 (Oliver Twist).

[2]Dickens, Bleak House, p. 272.

> shoeless boys and girls, it will be the highest praise to state that they have been the means, during the last year, of bringing 600 children to their First Communion.[1]

The full significance of the formal reception of six hundred children into the Church through the programs of the school is better understood in the light of Dickens' depiction of the anomie of Jo, the Crossing-Sweeper. The children were being provided with the skills of reading, writing, and arithmetic--unlike Jo who was required

> to shuffle through the streets, unfamiliar with the shapes and in utter darkness as to the meaning, of those mysterious symbols, so abundant over shops, and the corner of streets, and on the doors, and in the windows![2]

The Church also provided a source of identity, both personal and social, and an orientation to the future, that is, meaning for life.

This is not to say that the ideal was always achieved. But the Sisters of the Society were able to adapt what they had learned at St. Leonards to the London situation. At the end of 1852 Her Majesty's Inspector Marshall wrote of the Gate Street School:

> The judicious efforts which have been made to improve this school by introducing a new organization and by securing the services of highly qualified teachers, have been attended with great success, and whatever can be accomplished

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[1]D 31:1, The Catholic School, Journal of the London Poor School Committee, February 1850, quoted in Positio, I:503.

[2]Dickens, Bleak House, p. 274.

> by patient and practised skills may now be anticipated with confidence.[1]

"Patient and practised skill" and the ability to adapt were qualities from her own life that Cornelia nurtured in the Sisters. When hostility to Catholic women in religious habit made it dangerous for the Sisters to walk in the streets, they dressed in secular garments.[2]

The work in London expanded in 1854 to include the poor schools attached to the Spanish Embassy chapel of St. James in Spanish Place. In response to "the wants of the day" two of five Sisters worked with the sick and the poor of the parish. Responsibility was accepted for the poor schools in Homer Place in 1858. This apostolate continued for over one hundred years.[3]

This was a time marked by two great contributing factors to the poverty of the City. There was the influx of starving Irish immigrants, as the Irish Potato Famine peaked in 1848. To this was added the personal and social demoralization introduced by industrialization. Many of the children, who the Society taught, had parents who had left cottage factories and come to the city in search of employment.

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[1] D 23:15, quoted in Positio, I:503.

[2] Positio, I:503.

[3] Ibid., 1:505. A more complete discussion of the SHCJ apostolate in the Poor Schools during this period is found in Positio, I:503-509.

The 1850's was the period prior to the realization of any of the compensating benefits of the Industrial Revolution. The perspective which the Sisters brought with both concern for the individual and the desire to fit that person to take her place in society is probably the reason for the long success of Holy Child schools for the poor in London.

It was Cornelia's intention on going to England to become engaged in "the Education of females of all classes."[1] In addition to their work in Gate Street and another poor school in Bunhill Row, the Society opened a fee-paying day school in Queens Square, Holburn in 1853. By 1858 a Middle School was opened in Bentinck Street and this was transferred to Upper Harley Street in 1860.[2] Here a boarding school and day school for Young Ladies of the upper class were also established. In 1863 Cornelia organized the first retreat for ladies to be held in London--one hundred women attended and followed the Exercises of St. Ignatius.[3]

Thus by 1863 Cornelia had in some way accomplished educational activities in each of the three areas envisioned in Rome. The Society was involved in "the Education of

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[1]"First Draft of a Rule," quoted in McCarthy, "Studies in Spirituality," p. 26.

[2]During the years the Sisters moved from location to location in order to continue to live together as a single community. As the number of poor schools in their jurisdiction increased, the number of teachers increased proportionally. See Positio, I:501-512.

[3]Positio, I:510.

females of all classes"; they had "received into houses of retreat pious Ladies..."; and they had taught "Cathechism to children" and been active "in preparing sick females for the Holy Sacraments at the request of the Parish Priest."[1] With her American upbringing Cornelia could not have imagined the complex system of social stratification to which it would be necessary to adapt in England. But London provided the total spectrum of need and opportunity. It was a learning experience after which the "missions" in Liverpool, Preston and Blackpool were patterned.[2]

The years from 1852 to 1863 provided scope to integrate the routine of religious life with the apostolate of education. It was the period of refinement for the praxis of Holy Child education. In 1850, at the time of the formal approval of the Rule by Bishop Wiseman, Cornelia added the proviso that the "Primary and essential object of...[the SHCJ] vocation" was "the Education of females of all classes."[3] It is not surprising then that the Catholic Directory in 1862 and 1863 gives notice of a fee-paying school (geared to the working class) where, "Children whose parents wish them to become pupil-teachers have every advantage afforded them with a view to that object."[4] Fundamental to "the Education

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[1]"First Draft of a Rule," p. 26.

[2]See Positio, I:523-564.

[3]"Rules of 1844-6," p. 26.

[4]D 23:66, quoted in Positio, I:510-511.

of females" was the provision of teachers. The pupil-teacher program was the most established one in the Society's work. It had begun with the first foundation in Derby. Moreover, it prepared others to carry on the work in which the Sisters were engaged that they might "be ready to go wherever the greater service of God and the good of souls in educating females may be looked for."[1] Cornelia had also seen from the time of the Derby foundation the need for a more advanced form of teacher preparation.

Teacher Training College

At times the story of Cornelia's life reads like a novel. Her attempt to become involved in the much needed work of teacher preparation immeshed her in the complexity of English governmental structure--especially in relation to the Catholic Church. In 1848, while still in Derby, Cornelia accepted the task of establishing a teacher training college from the English Vicars Apostolic.[2] The Bishops were conscious of the acute need for trained women lay teachers in the Catholic schools of England--a country which was still officially Protestant. Although it was not possible to establish the training college, five pupil-teachers were

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[1] Constitutions of SHCJ, 1861, quoted in McCarthy, "Studies in Spirituality," p. 26.

[2] Positio, 1:259.

accepted in Derby: these women entered the Society of the Holy Child Jesus and completed their training at St. Leonards.[1]

Until 1847 attendance at a normal school was a necessary condition of teacher certification in England.[2] This meant that none of the Catholic women religious who belonged to established teaching orders were legally certified. What has been viewed as a backwards step in the process of teacher education in England eventually worked to the advantage of these orders. In 1855 a number of the Sisters took the Teachers' Certificate Examination--one of them coming out first.[3] By 1856 at least ten of the Society's members had obtained the government's teaching certificate.[4]

The nucleus of five pupil-teachers from Derby was, within eight years, able to form the staff of a training college as well as staff schools at St. Leonards, and in London, Liverpool, Preston and Blackpool. During the first years Cornelia was unable to supply teachers for all of the requests which were made for it was necessary that precedence be given to the preparation of the Sisters for religious life and future responsibility in the Society. Not everyone

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[1] Positio, 1:264 and II:850.

[2] Sandiford, Training of Teachers, p. 51.

[3] Gompertz, Life, p. 326.

[4] Positio, II:954.

understood Cornelia's priorities. As early as September of 1849, John Henry Newman wrote to the Society asking it to begin a school for him. Newman does not appear to have understood the need for the two-year novitiate.[1] The reply reads in part:

> It would be very prejudicial to the spiritual good of novices to pass their Noviceship in so much active work as must be the lot if there are no others in the house at Birmingham. We were obliged to pass our Noviceship in this manner but....[2]

From 1848 to 1851 was a period during which Cornelia was laying the groundwork for the ongoing integration of religious life and the apostolate of education.

Newman also expected that the women he referred to Cornelia for the purpose of entering the Society would be returned to him for his school.[3] Newman's primary concern was his work for the renewal of the Catholic Church in England whereas Cornelia's work of education was a matter of ongoing discernment. The women who entered the Society were committed to serve in its institutions. Moreover, the women who entered did so with different educational backgrounds. The period of required preparation for teaching differed accordingly.[4]

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[1] Positio, II:954.

[2] D 24:5-6, Extract of a letter of Emily Bowles to Father John Newman, 24 September 1849, St. Leonards, England, quoted in Positio, II:985-986.

[3] D 24:6-7, quoted in Positio, II:985-986.

[4] Positio, II:853.

The case of "Connelly versus Connelly" during this period was detrimental both to the Society and to the work of renewal in the Catholic Church. An excerpt from one of Newman's letters is illustrative of the hurdles Cornelia had to overcome:

> It will not be safe to take up Mrs. C.'s cause too warmly. She is a Yankee, I suppose this is the reason, but anyhow, though she is a very good woman, it is difficult for an Englishman to follow her. Our Bishop is afraid of being called in, lest his words should tell against her, and so apparently against the Catholic cause.[1]

Cornelia was not without awareness of the threat posed to the future of the Society and its work by Pierce Connelly's actions. This early period of spiritual consolidation and professional education was mandatory for the life of the Society of the Holy Child Jesus.

Nevertheless, for a few years in the fifties the resources of the Society became overextended. In 1852 the Society was asked to go to Liverpool and work in schools there. Part of the provision made by the Committee of Council on Education in 1839, and extended to include Catholic schools in 1847, was that only schools evaluated by government inspectors would receive grant monies. The first Catholic inspector appointed was T.W.M. Marshall in 1848.[2] For a

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[1]Extract of a letter from Cardinal John Henry Newman to William Monsell, 11 May 1851, Birmingham Oratory, from Charles Stephen Dessain and Vincent Ferrer Blehl, eds., Letters and Diaries of John Henry Newman (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ltd., 1963), XIV:280-281, quoted in Positio, II:985-986.

[2]Hurt, Education in Evolution, PP. 32-33.

period he was responsible for all of the Catholic schools in Great Britain.[1] At the time the Society went to Liverpool it still came under his jurisdiction and for 1851-52 H.M.I. Marshall's report indicates "a general improvement in organization, discipline and teaching methods" for St. Anthony's School following the arrival of the Holy Child Sisters.[2]

The Sisters had taken up residence in Liverpool in March of 1852.[3] In October Marshall filed his Report for St. Helen's School in the center of Liverpool where

> very few...children could even read...[soon sustained] advantageous comparison with many... older institution[s]. About 90...are now reading second and third books..., and 70... work...the simple rules [of arithmetic]. In grammar, geography and Scripture history, and the moral and religious [instruction],... the work is almost marvellous.[4]

The improvement was outstanding in spite of the dire poverty encountered and on 22 December 1852 Bishop Brown wrote regarding the Sisters who had taken over the Liverpool schools that

> they conduct the Schools under their care in an excellent manner, that they have an amiable method of training their children to habits of piety and that seeing the valuable fruits of their labours we highly

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[1] Hurt, pp. 53-54.

[2] Positio, 1:524.

[3] Ibid., 1:xxvi.

[4] Report of H.M.I. on the Poor School at St. Helen's, Liverpool, 20 October 1852, London, p. 753, quoted in Positio, II:864.

> approve of their being in the Diocese of Liverpool.[1]

The early years of the Sisters' work in Liverpool were appreciated by all concerned.

In 1853 S.N. Stokes was appointed Her Majesty's Inspector for the Roman Catholic schools in the Northern and Western District.[2] Stokes, as a member of the Catholic Poor School Committee in 1848, had recommended to the Bishops that Cornelia begin the first Catholic Training College in England.[3] In 1850 a training college for men had been founded at Hammersmith but there remained no program for Catholic lay women.[4] Even before his government appointment in 1853 Stokes, in August of 1852, approached Sr. Emily Bowles about the possibility of the Society setting up a women's training college.[5] Cornelia met with Bowles and Stokes in 1853 and agreed to the purchase of property provided they were "assisted by the Poor School Committee, and by a Grant from Government."[6]

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[1]D 24:25, Extract from the Statement of Bishop Brown to the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide, 22 December 1853, Liverpool, England, from Positio, 1:533.

[2]Hurt, Education in Evolution, p. 63n.

[3]D 10:122 d-e, from Positio, 1:263-264.

[4]Carrigan, Catholic Teachers Colleges, pp. 63-76.

[5]Positio, 1:525.

[6]D 25:110, Extract from Notes written by Mother Connelly re Report House, 1857, from Positio, 1:536-537.

One of the problems of the period, concluded by the Watkins Report of 1854-55, was that the standards adopted by the inspectors of the various denominations differed.[1] Hurt feels that "some of the claims were beyond all belief."[2] According to the Watkins Report, "The Roman Catholic Northern and Western district [H.M.I. S.N. Stokes], which is nineteenth in its number of certified teachers, is eighth in its attainments of children."[3] In the field of Catholic education, no allowance was made for teachers who were members of religious congregations and had received nongovernmental training and, therefore, had not taken the certification examination. The Report may, however, have increased Stokes' concern that there be a Catholic teacher training college in his jurisdiction.

Cornelia spent from January to April of 1854 in Rome. "During Cornelia's absence in Rome, without her or her deputy's knowledge, Sr. Emily Bowles purchased Report House, Liverpool for a teacher training college."[4] The resulting debt was in excess of £6,000. Not only had Emily Bowles undertaken a financial liability in the name of the Society which was not legal according to Canon Law, but neither she

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[1]Hurt, Education in Evolution, p. 62.

[2]Ibid., p. 63.

[3]Watkins' Report, P.P., 1865, XLII:9, quoted in Hurt, p. 63.

[4]Positio, 1:xxvi.

nor the Society had the resources to repay it.[1] Negotiations were undertaken with the Catholic Poor School Committee to obtain a grant but, within a year of its voting for a grant to the Society, the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur offered to provide a college at their own expense.[2] It was estimated that the original outlay of the Sisters of Notre Dame was £10,000.[3] Rupert House of the Society of the Holy Child Jesus was closed in October of 1855.[4]

During this period, from early 1854 onwards, the work in the schools, the responsibility of Emily Bowles, was more than she could handle. The Liverpool enterprise had expanded beyond the means of the Society. "Lack of funds and of a sufficient number of qualified staff hampered the work in Liverpool poor schools."[5] Cornelia had to follow the recommendation of Mother Alphonsa Kay, on the latter's arrival in Liverpool to replace Emily Bowles as Superior, and by May of 1855 her Sisters had withdrawn from all of their teaching commitments.[6] The closure of Rupert House was a double failure--the work sacrificed to begin a training college had only resulted in debt.

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[1]Bisgood, Cornelia Connelly, p. 145n.

[2]Positio, 1:527.

[3]Mary Linscott, Quiet Revolution (Glascow: John S. Burns & Sons, 1966), p. 112.

[4]Positio, 1:xxvi.

[5]Ibid., 1:524.

[6]Bisgood, Cornelia Connelly, p. 147.

Throughout the embarrassing affair H.M.I. Stokes sided with Emily Bowles in blaming Cornelia for the failure of the Society's venture. It is quite possible that he did not understand the legal structure of religious institutions in the Church and the necessity of working within the Code of Canon Law.

> The worst effect of the débâcle was to undermine the confidence of the clergy in the probity and efficiency of the Society, and to arouse in the mind of government officials a prejudice which was to influence events in a few years time.[1]

Mr. Stokes, however, was not denied his women's training college. The Sisters of Notre Dame, who had an established reputation both in religious and secular teaching in England, had been cognizant of the need.[2]

The first Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur received their government certificates in December of 1855; on 2 February 1856 these women religious formed the staff of Mount Pleasant Training College in Liverpool.[3] At the bidding of H.M.I. Marshall and with the support of Cardinal Wiseman and Bishop Grant Cornelia, with the assistance of a government grant, also opened a training college for poor school teachers the same month.[4] Ten Queen's Scholars and some private

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[1]Bisgood, Cornelia Connelly, p. 147.

[2]Carrigan, Catholic Teachers Colleges, pp. 76-86.

[3]Linscott, Quiet Revolution, pp. 110-111.

[4]Positio, II:1057.

students arrived at St. Leonards February 6th--just four days following the opening of the Liverpool college.[1] S.N. Stokes expressed his disapproval of the latter endeavor.[2]

It is difficult to understand Stokes' attitude for 1856 was a decisive year for Catholics completing the five-year pupil-teacher program. In 1850, the Queen's Scholarship plan had been introduced and those persons completing their apprenticeship were eligible to enter the Queen's Scholarship examination.[3] Those successful were to be awarded grants of £20-£25 at a training college for up to three years. If unable to attend a Catholic school, the alternative was a non-Catholic center. It is not to be wondered that "the obligation to train teachers which Cornelia accepted at Derby..." was upheld by the Bishops and the Catholic Poor School Committee.[4]

Stokes was the inspector for the north and Marshall for the south. Shortly after the St. Leonards Training College opened, Cornelia wrote to Marshall:

> I hear Mr. Stokes is going every week to the Lpl. Training School--you must not be outdone--St. Leonard is the place for your Summer residence....[5]

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[1] Positio, I:xxvii; and 1:434.

[2] Ibid., II:1057.

[3] S.J. Curtis and M.E.A. Boultwood, History of English Education Since 1800, 4th ed. (London: University Tutorial Press Ltd., 1966), p. 62.

[4] Positio, II;851; and 1:500.

[5] CC V:33-34, 13 February [1856], St. Leonards, England.

Cornelia was anxious that she have Marshall's observation of her methodologies but confident enough to refuse the assistance of a certified lecturer from another school. Another letter to Marshall reads:

> I hope you will not be dissatisfied when I say that I do not want the certified lecturer--I really do not want her--Do not be anxious about our success--If at Midsummer you wish me to have a professor I will certainly follow your advice. At present the Students are not equal to the advantages they already have.
>
> I shall be very glad to see you and to have your opinion upon their present course of lectures & studies.[1]

Cornelia is candid with Marshall--aware of the resources she had to offer the students and of their relative ability to benefit from them. Her regard for Marshall is also evident--both with respect to his constructive criticism about the curriculum she had established and his judgment on whether or not she needed outside assistance.

Although Cornelia was head of the Society and Principal of St. Leonards Training College ultimate authority regarding matters pertaining to it rested with Bishop Grant. For example, in 1855 she was obliged to first receive his approval for the building of a lecture room, library and study room to meet government training school regulations if she could attain the funds.[2] Cornelia was also accountable

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[1]CC V:35-36, 14 February [1856], St. Leonards, England.

[2]Positio, II:961.

to the government inspector, H.M.I. Marshall and the Catholic Poor School Committee. The government regulations determined the curriculum, the awarding of grant monies, and the number of students who could be accepted under a given set of conditions. At one point Cornelia was frustrated in her attempt to prepare their students for the external examination because they had followed the syllabus sent to them, which had been initially prepared for male students, and the examination was adapted for women--Cowper replacing Shakespeare.[1] The strictures were many.

As early as 1856 Thomas W. Allies, Secretary to the Poor School Committee, sought the assistance of Marshall in recruiting students for St. Leonards Training College. The remote location in the south of England and small local Catholic population were problematic. Although Marshall described the training college as "by far the best Training School in the Kingdom," he was concerned about the inadequacy of the practicing school.[2] There was an insufficient number of poor Catholics in the area to provide the needed variety of teaching experience for the trainees.[3] Having written to Bishop Grant about the situation in 1857, Marshall included this criticism in his Report to the Poor School

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[1]CC V:36-37, March 1856, St. Leonards Training School.

[2]D 36:143, Letter of Marshall to Stokes, 14 June 1857, quoted in Positio, II:1058; and D 37:70, cited in Positio, II:1057-1058.

[3]Positio, II:1057-1059.

Committee in 1858.[1]

This was a situation that Cornelia could do little to ameliorate. By 1858 there were thirty-one students at St. Leonards and fifty-one in Liverpool.[2] In the account of their work in England during this period the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur make no mention of the Society of the Holy Child Jesus or of St. Leonards Training College. Rather, Linscott speaks in terms of responding to the need for teachers of the poor of mid-nineteenth century Catholic England.[3] The spirit of competitiveness between the colleges appears to have been introduced by authorities other than the respective administrations of the two colleges. From the perspective of Mr. Allies, Secretary to the Poor School Committee, the dearth of qualified Catholic lay teachers was so great that it was natural to seek assistance with recruitment for St. Leonards. There was a sufficient number of qualified candidates for Cornelia to be able to establish the policy of not accepting those who had failed the Queen's Scholarship examination.[4]

Bishop Grant also introduced a dimension of rivalry between the two colleges. In 1857 an examination in Religious Knowledge, not required for government certification, was

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[1]D 37:70, cited in Positio, II:1057-1058.

[2]Sandiford, Training of Teachers, p. 52.

[3]Linscott, Quiet Revolution, pp. 109-119.

[4]Positio, II:1059-1060.

scheduled by him for the 29th and 30th of December. Cornelia, concerned that this would not allow the students to rest or visit their homes before taking up their positions at their new schools, requested a change.[1] Grant replied:

> The question of a few days with their families before they begin their schools is a small matter in comparison with the loss of a Religious Prize or Certificate from the Poor School Committee, and with the loss of character to the St. Leonards Training School.[2]

Cornelia's respect for authority in the Church was well known but "this did not preclude a frank dialogue when her conscience required it or the bishop demanded the impossible."[3]

In the case of Religious Knowledge in the Training School the results of the diocesan examinations did not compare favorably with the other Colleges at Hammersmith and Liverpool. Mr. Allies feared that St. Leonards would suffer vis-à-vis the Poor School Committee. The chaplain at St. Leonards, who taught part of the course, explained to Grant in 1862 that "though the other Colleges might achieve greater verbal exactness, uniformity did not ensure accuracy."[4] It was also his opinion "that the St. Leonards papers contained more substance and thoughtfulness and were to that extent preferred."[5]

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[1] Positio, II:963; and III:1411.

[2] D 36:177-178, 14 December 1857, quoted in Positio, II:963.

[3] Positio, II:724-725.

[4] Bisgood, Cornelia Connelly, p. 158.

[5] Ibid.

The introduction of competitiveness in the area of religion even as the Catholic training colleges were being established was unfortunate. It contradicted the ideal Cornelia had set for the educative process--that of integrating religious, moral and intellectual life.

The discrepancy in the results of the Religious Knowledge examination did not worry Cornelia. The Bishop requested that she give less time to the Drawing program and more time to Religious Knowledge but she pointed out that the same amount of time was allotted to the latter as in the other colleges.[1] Obliged, however, to follow his instructions Cornelia "saw the links which she had so carefully constructed between religion and the beautiful in Christian art being destroyed."[2] The fine arts were the means by which Cornelia, as a Christian educator, sought "to make visible the invisible" things of God. Art was central to her philosophy of education.[3]

From the founding of St. Leonards Training College in 1856 Cornelia acted as Principal. Other responsibilities in the Society prevented her from teaching but she planned the curriculum and timetables, supervised the lectures, and was noted for the personal interest she took in the work and progress of each student. Response, however, to the

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[1]Bisgood, Cornelia Connelly, p. 158.

[2]Positio, III:1393, with reference to D 41:129.

[3]Ibid., II:871-873. The manner in which CC incorporated Art into Holy Child education is explored in detail in the next chapter.

plea of a widowed mother to accept her daughter who had failed the Queen's Scholarship examination at another school, resulted in unanticipated persecution. In 1860 Cornelia relaxed the rule she herself had established of not accepting such students and enrolled Annie McCave under her mother's surname of Kavanagh. The rationale was that this would not set a precedent to admit other failures at St. Leonards. Annie would use her own name when registering as a private student for government examinations or grants.[1]

The following year, Annie McCave had to be cleared of copying on an external examination; the other student admitted she was the guilty one. At this juncture, however, "Mr. Stokes [now H.M.I. for the College] volunteered the deliberate misinformation that he had refused to give the reading examination to Annie McCave in June because she had been presented to him under a false name."[2] He demanded Cornelia's resignation as Principal of St. Leonards.[3] Allies and Grant worked to clear Cornelia's name. In June of 1862 Mr. Allies was obliged to inform her that she must resign and present another name for principal of the training college. This was a civil request from the Privy Council's Committee for Education: Cornelia had been condemned without a hearing.

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[1] Positio, II:1059-1060.

[2] Ibid., II:1060.

[3] Ibid., II:1060, with reference to D 39:105, D 39:142, and D 39:146-148.

Allies felt the action was more directed against Catholic education in general than against Cornelia per se.[1]

Nevertheless, the whole affair had begun with the acceptance of Annie McCave. Cornelia's letter to Allies of June 3rd speaks of this:

> Yes--all could have been avoided if only the girl had not been put in which was my own fault, in which my sole object was to give her two chances of success. If Mr Stokes had acted like a friend or a gentleman, and not like a spy and an enemy the thing would never have happened, but he came as an enemy and acted out his enmity to the end, and I trust it will end by his never being allowed to come to us again.[2]

A friendship and mutual respect existed between Cornelia and Allies which allowed a straightforward exchange of feelings and thought on the matter.

Stokes continued to bring charges against St. Leonards. He accused them of returning papers to students for the correction of spelling mistakes. He was proven wrong.[3] Finally a letter was intercepted from Stokes to J.R. Morell which appeared to indicate a conspiracy against St. Leonards.[4] Stokes' censureship did not end there--Mr. Morell and Mr. Lynch were accused of helping pupil-teachers taking an

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[1] Positio, II:1060-1061.

[2] CC V:15, 3 June 1862, St. Leonards, England.

[3] Positio, II:1060.

[4] Ibid., with reference to D 39:85.

examination under their scrutiny.[1] Cornelia again wrote to Allies:

> There is no doubt that Mr. Morell & Mr. Lynch were most exact in keeping to the rules established by the P[rivy] C[ouncil] which were read daily before the Exam. began; But Mr. Morell & Mr L could best answer whether they admitted any return of paper that might in any individual case bring them under censure.[2]

Mr. Morell had shown poor judgment at St. Leonards by leaving the pupil-teachers alone during the writing of an examination; Mr. Stokes had left the Liverpool Training College for an hour and a half during his administration of an examination the previous year.[3] Cornelia had little control over such matters.

The recounting of this complex story draws attention to the difficulties in the teacher education system as set up by the Committee of Council for Education. Not only were there the Government policies and guidelines to be followed but within the Catholic world there was a polity onto itself. Her Majesty's Inspectors for the Catholic schools reported to the Bishops and the Catholic Poor School Committee; they also reported to the Committee of Council. Finally, Cornelia was worn down by the "inspections with all their annoyances and excitements" and decided, on consultation with the

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[1]Hurt, Education in Evolution, pp. 54-55; and CC V:20.

[2]CC V:20, 9 July 1862, St. Leonards, England.

[3]Ibid.

Community, to recommend to the Bishop that the college be closed and replaced with "a middle school to equal the Training School in general usefulness."[1]

Robert Lowe, following the Newcastle Commission inquiry in 1858 into the state of popular education, introduced in 1862 a Revised Code of Education with the policy of payment by results.[2] This new legislation was to become the primary reason for the closing of St. Leonards.[3] The Revised Code limited the number of pupil-teachers, abolished Queen's Scholarships, and made a diminished capitation grant dependent on successful performance for two years after leaving the training college.[4] In 1861, 71.0% of the students at St. Leonards were Queen's Scholars.[5] The St. Leonards Training College, financially dependent upon such grants and scholarship monies, was left with no alternative but to withdraw its services to the educational community.

Formal notice of the intent to withdraw was given to the Committee of Council in October of 1863. A report submitted to Mr. Allies the previous March records that:

> The St. Leonards training college had at that time 37 students and had trained 85. The number employed in teaching was 56, of the

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[1]CC V:21.

[2]Curtis and Boultwood, History of English Education, pp. 70-73.

[3]Positio, II:832.

[4]Bisgood, Cornelia Connelly, p. 163.

[5]Hurt, Education in Evolution, p. 108.

> remainder 4 were dead, 6 married, 7 private governesses, 3 incapacitated by bad health, 4 in religious training, 4 were seeking situations, and 1 at home.[1]

In the eight years that St. Leonards Teaching College was in existence the Society of the Holy Child Jesus, under the leadership of Cornelia, prepared over one hundred and twenty women for the teaching profession.

On the closing of St. Leonards the Chairmen of the Catholic Poor School Committee, Lord Langdale, wrote to Cornelia:

> You have voluntarily withdrawn the Training School at St. Leonards from Inspection after a period of eight years during which it has trained more than a hundred Teachers for the Catholic body. The Committee on this occasion of the severance of a tie which has joined you with them through these years, desire me to express to you their thanks for the advantage which has accrued to Catholic Education from the exertions of your Sisterhood. They are convinced that the Sisters of the Holy Child will continue to dedicate the great talents in teaching, which the Government Inspectors have pronounced them to possess, to the glory of God, and the training of the young in our Holy Faith.[2]

The years had been difficult but the experience was not without benefit for the Society. The person who suffered most was Cornelia. Apart from the correspondence extant there is little record of her thoughts on the course of

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[1] Positio, II:1065, with reference to D 40:19.

[2] D 40:55, Letter of Charles Langdale to Cornelia Connelly, 9 April 1864, London, England, from Positio, II:1064-1065.

events. Cornelia's motto was, "Courage, Confidence and Silence."[1] Her response was to integrate perceived failure and false accusations through her spiritual life. A recurrent theme in her writings is the "hidden life of the child Jesus":

> If you have Faith, you will learn the value of a suffering & hidden life, and it is to this life you are especially called by the very name [Sisters of the Holy Child Jesus] you bear.[2]

The difficulties and complications had been many but the ability of the members of the Society to teach, and to prepare others to do the same, was never questioned. The St. Leonards Training College was important in the growth of the Society, providing increased opportunity to experiment with various educational methodologies and practices. One year before the College opened, Peter Galleway, S.J., Prefect of Studies [Principal] at Stonyhurst, had given Cornelia the full Latin text of the Jesuit Ratio Studiorum. One of the Sisters, Maria Buckle, translated this into English.[3] Thus the full text of the Ratio Studiorum was added to the educational resources upon which Cornelia drew--her teaching experience with the Society of the Sacred Heart and the literature and materials of the day.

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[1] D 68:25, Laprimaudaye, Annals SHCJ, Part I, quoted in Positio, I: 389.

[2] CC VIII:92, 5 January 1856.

[3] Positio, II:860.

Following the tradition of the Society of Jesus and the Society of the Sacred Heart Cornelia had compiled an initial manuscript for use in the Society in the late 1850's. But in 1863, she produced the Book of the Order of Studies in the Schools of the S. Holy Child Jesus.[1] Privately printed, this was a handbook for use throughout the Society. It provided a full rationale of what was to be done in the apostolate of education and included a thorough section on teaching methodologies. The Book of Studies addressed the needs of all the types of schools served by the Society in 1863.[2]

The goal Cornelia had in mind on coming to England was "the Education of females of all classes." This she hoped to achieve through the founding of the Society of the Holy Child Jesus. An examination of the Book of Studies, from the perspective provided by the Rule of life of the Society, as it pertains to education, will provide understanding of how she translated her educational leadership into a philosophy and praxis which might be carried on by others.

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[1]This is usually referred to as the Book of Studies.

[2]Positio, II:860.

Chapter V

HOLY CHILD EDUCATION

In 1863, seventeen years following the establishment of the first Holy Child foundation in England, Cornelia Connelly, on a printing press in one of the Society's convents, produced the Book of the Order of Studies in Schools of the S. Holy Child Jesus, 1863.[1] The Book of Studies was the evolutionary product of the Society's early experience in education--beginning with the ideas and background Cornelia brought to England, refined and developed in the schools of Derby, St. Leonards, London, Liverpool, Preston, and Blackpool, and culminating in a comprehensive handbook for the Society's work in Europe and America where leadership could be provided only at a distance. The first school in America had been established in 1862 in Towanda, Pennsylvania, and to these Sisters was sent the Book of Studies.[2]

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[1]The book, privately printed, bears no name as author. It is commonly referred to as the Book of Studies. In the literature of the SHCJ it is considered to be the work of Cornelia Connelly, cf. Positio, II:830.

[2]Gompertz, Life, p. 343; and Positio, II:861. Every Superior in the SHCJ was to receive a copy of it. See CC XXIX:34.

Documents presently extant in Europe would provide the basis for an informative study of the process of development of the Book.[1] In this study, however, the Book of Studies is examined in the context of Holy Child education from the perspective of curriculum development. Curriculum, for this purpose, is conceived of as

> the formal and informal content and process whereby learners gain knowledge and understanding, develop skills, and alter attitudes, appreciations, and values under the auspices of the school.[2]

The more inclusive notion of "Holy Child education" refers to the formal and informal content and process whereas the Book of Studies contains the formal structure of the curriculum. Because of the nature of the teaching and learning process, it is not always possible to make a distinction between the two; the Book of Studies was the formal handbook for use in Holy Child schools of the period.

Ideal of Holy Child Education

The Preface to Cornelia's handbook of education commences:

> We have before us the "Book of Studies," which is simply the same sort of guide as

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[1] Positio, II:859-861. In particular CC's "Common Place Book" (CC XXIII, XXIV, & XXV) and "Educational Directives" (CC XXXVIII).

[2] Ronald C. Doll, Curriculum Improvement: Decision Making and Process, 5th ed. (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1982), p. 6.

> a chart is to the traveller. We must use it in the same way to assist us in the sweetly laborious duty of Education.[1]

Cornelia's goal was "to meet the wants of the day" through education; education was "the means of spiritual Mercy" chosen.[2] But what is meant by "the sweetly laborious duty of Education" is found only by referring to the Constitutions of the Society for education is inextricably bound to its religious purpose.[3] Whereas the Book of Studies concerns itself with the praxis of education in Holy Child schools throughout England and America in 1863, and "aimed to maintain unity in matters of education in the expanding Society,"[4] the Constitutions express the vision or ideal inherent in its spirit.

When Cornelia came to England in 1846 she brought with her the first draft of her conceptualizations for Holy Child education. In 1861 she printed an abridged form of the Constitutions for the general use of the members of the Society of the Holy Child Jesus that they "might work on & gain their own experience."[5] From a sociological perspective it is to be remarked that she was so conscious

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[1] Book of Studies, n.p.

[2] CC 1:70-70[A].

[3] The definition of terms such as "Constitutions" are found in the first chapter.

[4] Isabel Shields, "Resumé of The Book of Order of Studies," in McCarthy, "Study of the Constitutions," p. 147.

[5] CC 45:14, quoted in McCarthy, "Study of the Constitutions," p. 13.

of the need for the Constitutions to be an expression of the lived experience of the members of the young Society. Max Weber describes this as the process of routinization and institutionalization of charismatic leadership.[1] Once again Cornelia may have learned from her affiliation with the Society of the Sacred Heart. Madeleine Sophie Barat, their foundress, was noted for the provision she made for ongoing revisions of their Plan of Studies. "All her [Madeleine Sophie's] revisions and changes were made with the same leading idea to do the best for the children, and to use the experience gained by her own teachers and those of the world."[2] It is highly probable that in her extensive association with the Society of the Sacred Heart (1838-1846) Cornelia had become aware of this line of thought and characteristically adapted it for the successful growth of her own Society.

The goal or "object" of Holy Child education, as expressed in the Constitutions of 1861, reads:

> Thus the end of this Society is not only to provide for our own salvation and our greater perfection, but as far as possible with the assistance of divine grace, and as far as accords with humility, to employ ourselves for the salvation of our neighbour, especially--

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[1]See first chapter.

[2]Maud Monahan, Saint Madeleine Sophie, Foundress of the Society of the Sacred Heart, 1779 to 1865, with a Preface by Cardinal Bourne (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1925), p. 75.

> 1. In the education of females of all classes of society.
> (a) In the highest schools.
> (b) In middle and training schools.
> (c) In charity day-schools and industrial orphanages.
> 2. In receiving into houses of retreat, pious ladies, catechumens, neophytes, and young persons preparing for their first Communion.
> 3. In profitable and necessary relations with externs, especially by teaching the Catechism to children, and preparing sick females to receive the Sacraments at the request of the parish priest.
> Note.--It is understood that the second and third of these works are subordinate to the first (education), which is the primary and essential object of our vocation.[1]

Summarily, the "primary and essential object" of the vocation of the members of the SHCJ was "the education of females of all classes of society" for the "salvation" of all concerned. The Book of Studies, with its all-encompassing curriculum, reflects the involvement with life to which Cornelia's incarnational commitment to the Holy Child Jesus led her but the Constitutions provide a purview on the ideas, beliefs, values, attitudes and commitments cultivated through the Book's learning activities. In Roman Catholicism "salvation is basically regarded as the deification of man by participation in supernatural grace... man's destiny is nothing less than participation in the

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[1]Constitutions of the SHCJ, Abridged, 1861, in McCarthy, "Study of the Constitutions," pp. 79-80.

divine life."[1] For Cornelia "salvation" began as a manner and attitude towards life to be cultivated by the individual in society. Its source was God's loving and sovereign presence to humanity. This incarnational Christology was to foster a quality of life to be nurtured by her Sisters through education.

The introduction quoted above regarding "the end" of the Society makes it clear that the work of education could not be separated from the purpose and shared life for which Cornelia founded the Society: the apostolate of education was the practical expression of the quality of life and ultimate meaning to which the Sisters committed themselves. The preamble to the prospectus for the first boarding school should be read in this light:

> The objects which are contemplated in this Convent are to give, upon the basis of the practice of all their religious duties, such a solid education to a large and increasing class of Girls as will best enable them to fill their office in Society....[2] (Emphasis added.)

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[1]Van A. Harvey, A Handbook of Theological Terms (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1964), p. 225. This is in contrast to the emphasis, particularly in evangelical theology, on salvation as the restoration of a broken personal relationship with God. The Connellys' conversion to Catholicism was initiated by their reaction to the Evangelical Crusade in America. Cornelia appears to have been drawn naturally to the full development of the doctrine of the Incarnation, the emphasis of Catholicism.

[2]Catholic Directory 1847, reprinted in Gompertz, Life, p. 121.

Bishop Wiseman had been concerned that a truly English, Catholic education be provided for women of the middle classes.[1] In 1820 the Society of the Sacred Heart had set down as "a guiding principle that children should be taught all that was necessary to fit them to do their work in the world."[2] Moreover, Madeleine Sophie Barat structured her educational program on the credo that "women had a great mission in the modern world, and that their power of influence was incalculable."[3] For the young women to be educated in Holy Child Schools, Cornelia, her Sacred Heart experience to her credit, was determined to provide a "solid education ...as will best enable them to fill their office in Society." For Robert Gagné and Leslie Briggs "educational goals are those human activities which contribute to the functioning of a society (including the functioning of an individual in the society), and which can be acquired through learning."[4] The educational schema envisioned by Cornelia would contribute to the functioning of English society for it was designed to enable young Catholic women to assume their

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[1]Letter of Bishop Wiseman to Cornelia Connelly, 19 October 1846, Oscott, quoted in full in Positio, 1:262-263.

[2]Monahan, St. Madeleine Sophie, p. 3.

[3]Ibid., p. 62.

[4]Robert M. Gagné and Leslie J. Briggs, Principles of Instructional Design, 2nd ed. (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1979), p. 45.

rightful place as individuals both in English Catholic society and in Society as a whole.

This education was to be given "upon the basis of the practice of all their religious duties." Holy Child students would know who they were as Catholics. Preliminary to her comments regarding "the end" of the Society, Cornelia provides her rationale:

> And it is particularly necessary at this time when all seems to tend towards relaxation and instability, to bring up and to strengthen the young in a spirit essentially opposite; and how can we better secure this great end than by vividly unfolding in the course of our education the beauty of morality, charity and truth of the One, Apostolic, Holy, Roman Catholic Church, and this in such a manner, as not only to confirm the children of the Faithful in their belief, but also to attract and bring the children of indifferent parents to appreciate and embrace its divine doctrines.[1]

One remarks Cornelia's concern for moral development.[2] Her values are intrinsic to her method of achieving her purpose--she speaks of "vividly unfolding...the beauty" of the tenets of "morality, charity and truth of the...Church." The Book of Studies, in turn, aims to develop these values through the learning activities and life of the school.

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[1] Constitutions, 1861, p. 79.

[2] For a full consideration of this subject see Mary Elizabeth Scowins, "A Study of the Psychological Principles of Character Training Embodied in the Book of Studies and the System of Training of Mother Cornelia Connelly," (M.A. dissertation, Fordham University, 1945). In the Preface to the Book of Studies CC speaks of "moral and intellectual" development rather than of "character training."

Following the above statement Cornelia resolves:

> And since the Church in her divine universality encourages the means of education best adapted for each particular state of life, we are especially bound to act in unison with her, and to meet the wants of the age, while leading children to true piety, and the practice of solid virtue.[1]

In the last two quotations the "hidden agenda" is explicated.[2] The Constitutions make clear the concern of Holy Child teachers for the spiritual well-being of those entrusted to them--whether it is to confirm "the children of the Faithful" in their belief or "to attract and bring the children of indifferent parents to appreciate and embrace" Catholicism. That Cornelia was not concerned about the ethic of what today would, in part, be termed "proselytizing" must be understood in the spirit of Victorian England.

Firstly, she speaks of "the children of indifferent parents." (Emphasis added.) Whether these children were the children of lapsed Catholics or non-Cathlics, it was a time when religious instruction in popular education was

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[1] Constitutions, 1861, p. 79.

[2] The agenda is "hidden" to the students but not to the teachers--requiring integrity on the part of the latter. The problem arises when educators are unaware of their hopes and aspirations, conscious and unconscious, for their students. CC provides guidelines for the Sisters in "Common Rules for the Mistresses of the School," Book of Studies, pp. 77-80. She cautions: "The Mistresses will inculcate piety and that which belongs to it in private Colloquies, but in a manner not to appear to allure anyone to our Society." Ibid., p. 79.

looked to "to raise the moral level of the masses."[1] To provide children with a religious basis for character development was the mandate of the day. Furthermore, Cornelia headed a Catholic society which would naturally provide Catholic religious training. But her clear articulation of her educative ideal of providing such a solid Christian foundation for the children with whom the Society would work may also be seen as the outcome of her own journey into Catholicism and the purpose for which Wiseman had her come to England. The reconciliation of the "Old Catholics" and "New Converts" would take place among the children.[2] She would educate into the fullness of her own Christian experience from her days in Rome.

While responsive to the various educational needs presented to the Society, Cornelia's ideal of providing a truly Christian education for young Catholic women--that they might come to "view every matter in a Christian light"[3]--became concreticized in a philosophy of education,

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[1]Trygve R. Tholfsen, ed., Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth on Popular Education, Classics in Education, no. 49 (New York: Teachers College Press, 1974), p. 11. Morality was a major preoccupation in Victorian England. Tholfsen shows how Kay-Shuttleworth attempted to imbue popular education, for the purpose of social control, with middle class values through religious training (pp. 1-40).

[2]Wiseman's "mandate" to the SHCJ (his letter of 19 October 1946) addressed the needs of the middle classes and the potential for "indirectly providing the exercise of noblest charity in future through others" but Cornelia did not neglect the poor schools for this need. Positio, 1:262-263.

[3]Book of Studies, p. 80.

a selective synthesis of educational thought and practice not written "about" but implemented in Holy Child schools with the assistance of the Book of Studies. This perspective on knowledge will be pursued separately.

Philosophy of Education

The educative and formative influences in the life of Cornelia Connelly, prior to her founding of the Society of the Holy Child Jesus in 1846, have been carefully followed. There emerged in this woman a distinctive "educative style," a characteristic manner of "engaging in, moving through and combining of educational experiences."[1] This was exemplified during her first stay in Rome when she took every opportunity to "study" the culture of the city as well as painting, language and voice.[2] The learning activities which attracted Cornelia were of a participatory nature. And on her return to America she shared with others, through teaching, what had enriched her own life.[3]

Cornelia appears to have been a student at heart, always open to new knowledge: "knowing by doing" in John

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[1]Cremin, Traditions of American Education, p. 146.

[2]CC 1:61; CC 1:65; and McCarthy, "Through Successive Calls," p. 35.

[3]During one period at Grand Coteau Cornelia taught twenty-three music lessons a week. See McCarthy, "Through Successive Calls," p. 37.

Dewey's words.[1] Of her music teacher in Rome she wrote: "I am delighted with his method and hope under him to acquire full knowledge of the science."[2] The pattern in Cornelia's life remained consistent. Ill in 1858, at the time of her son Mercer's death, she sent for a copy of the newly published Burchett's Geometry. She proceeded to assign herself several problems daily--perhaps to mitigate her overwhelming sorrow.[3] However, she "not only mastered the content but also designed a graded system for the school."[4] Significantly, the Book of Studies places this course in a section on "Perspective" in the Drawing syllabus.[5]

It is the Art or Drawing unit of the Book of Studies which is most uniquely Cornelia's own in her curriculum.[6] Research has shown that "no comparable course of Art, whether in the dept of its philosophy or in the breadth of its practice has been found by experts in English schools of

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[1]John Dewey, Democracy and Education (New York: The Free Press, 1966), pp. 184-195.

[2]CC 1:65, 1836.

[3]Gompertz, Life, p. 186.

[4]Shields, "Resumé," p. 149.

[5]Book of Studies, pp. 54-56. The term "Drawing" includes sketching, water colours (including illuminating) and oil painting.

[6]Shields, "Resumé," p. 148.

the period."[1] Cornelia introduces the subject as follows:

> 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 speaking 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 the most refined.[2]

For Cornelia, Art is a "universal Language," the means by which the fullness of Christian experience and awareness of the Divine can be brought to consciousness. To this end one hour of Drawing was part of the daily schedule for all students.[3] It was also considered a worthy vacation and holiday pastime.[4]

The value of drawing is that it "educates," Cornelia exhorts. "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

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[1] J. Marmion, quoted in Positio, II:892.

[2] Book of Studies, p. 53. This is very different from James Currie to whom CC refers in many subjects. He writes: "In speaking of drawing as part of the work of the common school, we do not seek to place it on the same level of importance with writing or the other branches of elementary instruction: for it cannot be said to be necessary to the pupil in the sense in which those are." James Currie, Common School Education (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co., 1884), p. 329. CC used the earlier British edition.

[3] Ibid., p. 2.

[4] Ibid., p. 7.

habit by which knowledge generally can be obtained."[1] In Cornelia's view the individual comes to "knowledge" by participating in the world around--actively perceiving its "beauty and order." This Drawing course is a frequent topic in Cornelia's correspondence with her teachers. One letter comments: "I have never asked the parents abt the Drawing as it is our course of education whether it is desired or not. They will soon take to it when they are enlightened."[2]

In Holy Child schools drawing was not to be considered as an accomplishment "but as an Art, which [had] its philosophy as well as its poetry."[3] As a "universal Language" it set the tone for approach to knowledge; as a course of study it was Cornelia's attempt "to gather together the varied details of the world and life into a single inclusive whole."[4] Philosophy is the effort to comprehend, to make ideas clear. Poetry may simplify events but nevertheless represents them in a manner "more fully perceived and evaluated than the jumble of happenings in

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[1] Book of Studies, p. 53.

[2] CC VI:8, 19 September [1868?], Mayfield, England.

[3] Book of Studies, p. 53.

[4] Dewey, Democracy and Education, p. 324.

any person's actual history."[1] It is these aspects of philosophy and poetry which provide the guiding principles in Cornelia's curriculum as a whole. She reaches out to the work of others but her choice of material and method is determined by a concern for the comprehension and appreciation of the immediate as the way of growing in "knowledge." "As Cornelia included geometry in the drawing syllabus, she was concerned to show how truth and beauty are related in creation."[2]

When the Book of Studies was published in 1863 it presented "One Method of Teaching"--"Let her [the Prefect of Studies (School Principal)] take care that new Mistresses retain the method of teaching which is approved...."[3] (Emphasis added.) Every Superior in the Society was provided with a copy of the Book of Studies and it was her responsibility to see that its methodologies were implemented by her school administration.[4] The material in the Book of Studies is Cornelia's selective synthesis of the teaching experience in Holy Child schools, particularly the eight years of the Teacher Training College at St. Leonard's.[5]

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[1]Suzanne K. Langer, Feeling and Form (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1953), p. 212.

[2]Marmion, quoted in Positio, II:892.

[3]Book of Studies, p. 91.

[4]Positio, II:861 with reference to CC XXIX:34.

[5]Shields, "Resumé," p. 146; and Positio, II:859-861.

It is, in part, a collaborative effort: "In a notebook of Cornelia (CC 24:16) can be found a series of specific questions asking a particular sister to compose a syllabus in a definite subject."[1] Gompertz writes, "I have heard... that she constantly talked over the methods of teaching with the nuns, & willing accepted their ideas and contributions."[2] While Cornelia "certainly compiled & issued the book herself," and set the goal of "One Method," the contents are based upon concrete, practical and shared experience.[3] Cornelia Connelly was confident that the ideal she had expressed in the Constitutions for the apostolate of education could be realized if the Book of Studies was "used" as "the same sort of guide as a chart is to a traveller."[4]

If the Book of Studies is seen as something separate from the shared life of the members of the Society, the dimension which makes it alive or living is lost. The Constitutions of a religious congregation "legislate" a particular lifestyle, set a certain standard accented by particular commitments and values. The several sets of

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[1]Shields, "Resumé," p. 148.

[2]Extract from an unpublished letter of M.M.C. Gomperts [sic] to Rev. M.M. Amadeus Atcheson, 2 February 1932, in McCarthy, "Study of the Constitutions," p. 149.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Book of Studies, Preface, n.p.

"Rules" included in the Book of Studies should be read as "exhortations and prescriptions" for persons with certain responsibility and, as later, might have been more appropriately included in the Constitutions.[1] The focus upon the spiritual welfare of the children in the Constitutions has been noted. The first of the "Rules for the Prefect of Studies" reads:

> The End.--The Prefect of Studies is to understand that it is her duty and she is chosen for no other reason than to assist the Superior in so ruling and moderating studies in our Schools, that the pupils may make no less progress in knowledge than in righteousness of life.[2] (Emphasis added.)

The quality of the learning experience was not to be infringed upon by religious concerns.

The prescribing of a "Rule" on paper does not guarantee that it will be followed but the institutional nature of religious life in Catholicism has meant that such "exhortations and prescriptions" have been given heed. It is contrary to the purpose of religious life not to make every attempt to actualize its ideal in the chosen area of service or work. In the Society of the Holy Child Jesus arrangement was also made by Cornelia for ongoing study

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[1] See McCarthy, "Study of the Constitutions," p. 1. The "Rules for Prefect of Studies"were included in the SHCJ Constitutions of 1887 which received Papal appropation. Ibid., p. 147.

[2] Book of Studies, p. 40.

on the part of the Sisters who taught:

> When lectures are given in the Schools, the Sisters should be assiduous in attending, and in preparing for them; and when they have heard them in repeating them; & in places where they have not understood, making enquiry of the Visitor of the Studies; in others, where needful, taking notes, to provide for any future defect of memory.[1]

In fact, the provision that Cornelia made for the pursuit of knowledge by the members of the Society resulted in one of her Sisters probably being the first woman religious in Britain to obtain a university degree.[2]

It is the pursuit of study for the integration of knowledge and religious life which is so striking in Cornelia's thought. She sets the ideal that even though the Sisters may "never call into exercise what they have learned, let them be persuaded that to have undertaken the labours of study as is fitting out of mere obedience and charity, is a work of great merit in the sight of Our Dear Lord."[3] Cornelia took her inspiration from the Ignatian Rule but with her own purpose in mind--"a perfect imitation of Our Lord, and...the highest practice of

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[1]"Constitutions of the Society of Holy Child Jesus, 1846-53," in McCarthy, "Study of the Constitutions," p. 62.

[2]This was Elsie Gompertz who attended St. Leonards from the age of 13 (1893). Positio, III:1437.

[3]"Constitutions, 1846-53," p. 62.

perfection that is set forth in the Holy Gospels."[1] The incarnational dimension was expressed in the enjoyment and appreciation of life's activities:

> She used to say she did not know what was meant by "human interest," for if everything was done for God, every act was an act of worship and religion.... Everything might be made supernatural by purity of intention.[2]

As a consequence of Cornelia's intellectual and personal freedom the label "wordly" was affixed to St. Leonards for many years. "Be yourselves," she would say, "only make those selves all that God wants them to be."[3]

Cornelia's work as an educator was more a product of her life experience and giftedness than a theorized philosophy. Extant sources give witness to this.

> I think that you will find that Mother Foundress rather adapted than originated, though she had a faultless intuition in dealing with concrete circumstances and with individuals, and great personal influence. Those who knew her used to dilate upon her brightness, vitality and joy, and how she could make anything "go" by her presence and persuasive energy.[4]

This charismatic quality of leadership she translated into provision for the propagation of Holy Child education, the Book of Studies--"As in her other writings, Cornelia...

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[1]CC XIII:13 Letter to Bishop Grant, 4 March 1862, St. Leonards, England.

[2]From a letter quoted in Gompertz, Life, p. 299.

[3]Gompertz, Life, 3rd ed., 1938, p. 69.

[4]Private Letter, quoted in Scowins, "Psychological Principles," p. 11.

absorbed, adapted and re-presented in her own inimitable way, the best ideas of the past."[1] The observations about Cornelia's manner of pursuing the implications of her philosophy are consistent. An unpublished letter of M.M. Gomperts [sic] to Rev. M.M. Amadeus, reads:

> I remember on researching the sources of the Book of Studies being strongly impressed with C.C.'s power of adopting and adapting the best ideas of others, rather than using her own originality.[2]

Gompertz concludes:

> I should be inclined to say that she had very little originality, but a perfect genius for selecting the best from other people's ideas.[3] (Emphasis added.)

It is such reference to Cornelia's force of personality and her capacity of drawing on the best of others, and then adapting for a specific use, which point to her charisma or gifted leadership in education.

Because Cornelia did not write about her philosophy of education per se, and perhaps because "she could make anything 'go' by her presence and persuasive energy," the significance of the quest for Learning which guided her in her selective synthesis of educational praxis has been underestimated. It has been observed that

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[1]Shields, "Resumé," p. 147.

[2]Gomperts [sic], "Unpublished letter," 2 February 1832, quoted in McCarthy, "Study of the Constitutions," p. 148.

[3]Ibid.

> Cornelia's Book of Studies...is the chief source of information about both ideal and practice but it tells the reader what to do more fully than what was her philosophy of education.[1]

To a degree this is true for

> Cornelia was not an innovator; she took methods others had worked out, applied them, blended them, adapted or discarded them, filtered them all through her own, strong, transfigured common sense.[2]

But the Book of Studies on close examination is a careful attempt to bring into practice a philosophy of education to be lived both by those who teach and those who learn. For "on the side of the attitude of the philosopher and of those who accept [her] conclusions, there is the endeavor to attain as unified, consistent and complete an outlook upon experience as possible."[3] Cornelia designed her curriculum with this goal in mind. This is the essential meaning of "philosophy" --"love of wisdom."

Cornelia's love of wisdom is most succinctly expressed in her Drawing syllabus when she writes of the philosophy and poetry of Art. All life is to be studied but its mystery cannot be fully captured. "Whenever philosophy has been taken seriously, it has always been assumed that it signified

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[1] Positio, II:830.

[2] Eleanor Slater, "March of Teaching and March of Perfection," Catholic Educational Review 60 (1962):227.

[3] Dewey, Democracy and Education, p. 324.

achieving a wisdom which would influence the conduct of life."[1] For Cornelia this is the ideal expressed in the Constitutions of providing a truly Christian education for women that would enable them to take their rightful place in society, the Church and the family.[2] And to do this it was her counsel to her Society: "We have to learn to make strong women who, while they lose nothing of their gentleness and sweetness, should yet have a masculine force of character and will."[3] It was to this purpose that Cornelia organized the curriculum for Holy Child schools.

Organization of the Curriculum

Gompertz writes that Cornelia "believed in a liberal rather than in a specialized curriculum for women; that they should have a general acquaintance with all the great branches of knowledge with which mankind has been occupied throughout the ages."[4] The expression "general acquaintance" did not mean superficial. Building on the classical tradition of a thorough grounding in languages, but with

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[1] Dewey, Democracy and Education, p. 304.

[2] "Prospectus, 1847," quoted in Gompertz, Life, p. 121.

[3] CC, quoted in Gompertz, Life, p. 308.

[4] Ibid., p. 388.

a special emphasis on the vernacular--the most important branch of education was the art of speaking and writing[1]--Cornelia's Book of Studies provides specific methodologies for the teaching of Religion, Grammar, Spelling and Dictation, Reading, Arithmetic, Geography, History, Composition, Drawing, Music, and Needlework. Every subject was to be taught with the ideal of the Society in mind: the Sisters were to devote "themselves with their whole hearts to their [the students'] salvation and making each separate branch of education to secure this end."[2] The teaching of the subjects was not only to facilitate mastery but to contribute to character development. Hilda Taba writes that "few curriculum designs give equal weight to scope of content covered and scope in intellectual powers, habits of mind, skills and attitudes to be acquired."[3] Not so with Cornelia.

The simplicity of the first lines of the Book of Studies belie their significance:

> Division of the School.--The school shall be divided into three grades, viz.--Elements, Grammar and Literature.[4]

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[1]Book of Studies, p. 53.

[2]Ibid., pp. 77-78.

[3]Hilda Taba, Curriculum Development (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1962), p. 383.

[4]Book of Studies, p. 1.

The school is structured around the study of the English language. The three "grades"--Elements, Grammar and Literature--each incorporate four years of schooling. This division of the school is a direct adaptation of that proposed by the Jesuit Ratio Studiorum as implemented at Stonyhurst.[1] "Literature" replaces "Rhetoric" for the most advanced students reflecting the emphasis on the vernacular rather than the classics.[2]

For the second grade, years five through eight of schooling:

> The Division of Time...shall be as follows: In the morning two hours of study and class on Grammar and Reading, one hour on Writing, and one hour on accessory lessons in the vernacular. The first three hours shall always be employed on alternate days on the study of the vernacular, and on the language which is considered the most necessary for a finished education; as for example in the nineteenth century the French language is the passe-partout.[3]

Early emphasis on the development of English language skills is followed in the fifth year of school (average age nine to eleven) by the introduction of a foreign language taught "by the same methods as the mother tongue, i.e., as in the elementary grade of reading, the Look and Say system,

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[1]Hubert Chadwick, St. Omers to Stonyhurst, p. 71; and Gruggen and Keating, Stonyhurst College, pp. 254-258.

[2]Gruggen and Keating, Stonyhurst College, p. 257.

[3]Book of Studies, p. 1.

and by interlinear reading."[1] Cornelia's aim was to achieve full facility in the foreign language being taught. Thus, "the Recreations are to be passed in speaking the language taught on that same day" with memorization of sixty lines the penalty for failing to do so on three successive days--"which would rarely happen."[2]

The curriculum provides detailed instructions regarding the use of repetition and memory, explanation, reading, writing, notes of lectures, transcribing, and correction of compositions. Individuality was to be acknowledged; proficiency in self-expression encouraged. "In the higher classes, let each one form her own style" of penmanship and "the style of writing is to be especially the subject of criticism" in the compositions assigned weekly on alternate subjects of the syllabus.[3]

How did Cornelia come to establish this emphasis on language? The Sacred Heart Plan of Studies put great stress upon the mother tongue.[4] This, however, does not fully explain Cornelia's stance for:

> While a predominant place was given to the study of French literature [by the Plan of Studies], the influence of old ideals is clearly seen. Under each heading of the

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[1] Book of Studies, p. 6.

[2] Ibid., pp. 6-7.

[3] Ibid., pp. 4-5.

[4] O'Leary, Education, p. 168.

> scheme on which the children were examined the "classics" are given first place, and evidently used as the norm with which other works of all other languages are compared.[1]

French education had been significantly influenced by Charles Rollin who had recognized and pursued the rights of French language and the national literature in his Treatise of Studies.[2] It is to "Rollin's Belles Lettres" that Cornelia makes reference in her rationale for the Reading course in the highest grade.[3] It must also be kept in mind that Cornelia had grown up in Philadelphia where the weight of Noah Webster's (1758-1843) argument for a purified American English, as a means of unifying the nation, had been heard. Webster believed that every child should be taught to speak, read, and write the English language--to an American norm.[4] For the English Catholics of the middle classes a cultured knowledge of the vernacular would open doors in society; knowledge of French was, in Cornelia's own experience, the language "passe-partout" to the Continent and Catholic society abroad.

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[1]Monahan, St. Madeleine Sophie, p. 70.

[2]Gabriel Compayré, The History of Pedagogy, trans. W.H. Payne (Boston: D.C. Heath & Co., 1910), p. 235. Rollin writes, "It is a disgrace that we are ignorant of our own language; and if we are willing to confess the truth, we will almost all acknowledge that we have never studied it." Ibid., p. 242.

[3]Book of Studies, p. 35.

[4]Cremin, National Experience, pp. 261-270.

There is in the Book of Studies an echo of the seven liberal arts--the foundational trivium of grammar, rhetoric and logic underlying the more advanced quadrivium of arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music. "All those subjects not included in Grammar and Literature" are termed "Accessory Studies." "And it must be remembered that good writing with correct spelling are of primary importance, superseding all other studies except that of 'Christian Doctrine.'"[1] With this strong vernacular foundation the curriculum of the boarding schools explodes--there are courses in history, geography, mathematics; the senior girls also study philosophy, logic, astronomy, geology and architecture. Reading, needlework, drawing and music--all with appropriate instruction--are part of the daily schedule. Many of the sixth form girls read St. John's gospel in Greek before they left school.[2] The School was home for the students with the exception of a four to five week vacation in summer. This provided the time needed for the ambitious schedule.

The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum and Sacred Heart Plan of Studies were used for reference by Cornelia but "the conclusion has been reached that Cornelia Connelly did not

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[1]Book of Studies, p. 6.

[2]Gompertz, Life, pp. 288-289. This provides a summary but all of the information regarding the design of the curriculum is in the Book of Studies.

copy either the Ratio of the Jesuits nor the Règlement of the RSCJ."[1] The freedom afforded by the private nature of the boarding school at St. Leonards, together with its geographic isolation, provided opportunity in the early years for innovation and experiment with different methods and activities. Cornelia was not without her critics. "When, in default of qualified nuns or secular mistresses she engaged masters on her staff she met with violent opposition."[2] At Grand Coteau Pierce had taught at the Sacred Heart Convent but the English were not as practical.

The circumstances of the school, with some children in attendance from the age of four onwards, allowed for in-depth teaching in the spectrum of subjects which made up the breadth of the curriculum content. Today the emphasis on memory work, dictation, neat copies of corrected compositions, as well as the limitations of the textbooks available might bring into question the efficiency of many of the methods and activities. School, however, for the boarders was a total experience. Gompertz records the process in the study of grammar:

> For instance, in Grammar the teaching at first is to be entirely oral and analytic, avoiding the use of grammatical terms until the principles are thoroughly understood. Examples are not to be taken from books, but supplied

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[1] Shields, "Resumé," p. 147.

[2] Gompertz, Life, p. 297.

> by the mistress or pupils, as they will thus be "more interesting." The children are to be led gradually upward through conversation and reading, parsing and analysis, to the study of structure and derivation of words, and finally to Universal Grammar, wherein speech is to be studied "philosophically, giving general and universal principles of language." A short course in the elements of logic concludes this branch of learning.[1]

The study of a subject, spread over a span of twelve or more years, provided rich opportunity for the development of the intellectual powers, habits of mind, skills and attitudes" characteristic of the field of study."[2]

It was Cornelia's pattern to proceed from the simple to the complex, from a thorough introduction to the immediate, in a "step by step" approach, to a philosophical grasp of the general and universal principles of a subject. The study of history, for example, is organized so that the students "may afterwards be able to study history

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[1]Gompertz, Life, p. 291. The sources available to Gompertz, together with her personal knowledge of Holy Child education as a pupil, student teacher, teacher and educator provide a unique perspective to her descriptions of the implementation of the Book of Studies (Life, pp. 288-311). The Life is based upon an unpublished manuscript by Francis Bellasis (1842-1927) who also wrote from personal knowledge as a pupil, novice and professed religious in the SHCJ (Positio, II:897-898). Bellasis was personally responsible for the preservation of the first biographic manuscript by M.J. Buckle (Ibid., II:1127). Buckle was a boarder at St. Leonards from 1857 to 1861 (Ibid., III:1399, 79n). Gompertz was at St. Leonards from age 13 (1893), the first woman religious in Britain to obtain a university degree and taught psychology at Cavendish Square Training College. Between 1920 and 1921 she "rethought and re-wrote the full-scale Bellasis biography" for publication in 1922 (Ibid., II: 1437-1438, 69n).

[2]Taba, Curriculum Development, p. 383.

philosophically."[1]

> Teach so that the pupils may "Peep in upon the people of other ages in the cottage and in the hall," and examine into the life led by foot-prints they have left behind, in
> (1.) The events recorded by them.
> (2.) Their struggles with enemies at home and abroad.
> (3.) Their comportment at those crises, which in individuals as well as nations, are true tests of real greatness.[2]

Integration is achieved by use of material from other fields. The directions continue:

> Various other helps may be called in, as--
> (4.) The current literature of the period, wherein the expression of the popular mind was faithfully portrayed.
> (5.) State of the Fine Arts, Painting, Statuary, or Sculpture, and chiefly architecture, all these helping to throw light upon the national characteristics of a period.[3]

The latter suggestions reflect Cornelia's own educational journey in Rome especially her love for Art.

Religious instruction and Christian worship, music, drawing, and drama contributed a great deal to the integration of the learning activities proposed in the Book of Studies--bringing together the cognitive and affective experiences of the school. Of the early years of the English Jesuit college at St. Omers, before its establishment at Stonyhurst, one of its chroniclers wrote:

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[1] Book of Studies, p. 50.

[2] Ibid., pp. 50-51.

[3] Ibid., p. 51.

> A neat domestic theatre served for their [the students'] diversion, or to teach them a genteel way of behaving and carriage, and to brake them of that Bashfulness, so natural to y^e English.[1]

Cornelia, doubtless familiar with the Stonyhurst tradition, made drama an intricate part of Holy Child education. Believing that "the living book of practical training is even more important than the printed course in books," she saw performing in plays as a means of preparing Catholic girls to take their place in society.[2] "She believed that in acting they acquired grace of deportment and speech, and lost any undesirable awkwardness."[3]

The plays provided opportunity to use the skills acquired in rhetorical reading, "to enter into the spirit of the writer, to seize his ideas...to test the force of his arguments, the justness of his feelings...to place themselves in his position in order that they may speak his thoughts."[4] Cornelia in the choice of material for "Elocution of Rhetorical Reading" took direction from Rollin:

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[1]Father Hoskins, S.J., quoted in Gruggen and Keating, Stonyhurst College, p. 21. The introduction of drama at St. Omers in the sixteenth century reflected the spirit of contemporary England and the tradition grew through the years at Bruges and Liege to be part of Stonyhurst life in the nineteenth century. Ibid., pp. 173-180.

[2]CC, quoted in Gompertz, Life, p. 297.

[3]Gompertz, Life, p. 297.

[4]Book of Studies, p. 35.

> But above all we should be careful to prefer whatever is capable of forming the heart and inspiring it with sentiments of generosity, disinterestedness, contempt of riches, aversion to injustice, and insincerity, in a word, whatever will make an honest man, and still more a perfect Christian.[1]

It was the observable contribution to self-understanding and openness to correction by the children which won over the skeptics of Cornelia's "Holy Child Theatre."[2] One student later wrote, "I never knew myself until I acted the character of others in the St. Leonards plays in my happy school days."[3]

One of the Sisters records:

> I well remember the patience with which Mother Connelly instructed the little actresses of our first grand play--Comus--and how she made them suit their actions to the words. Then she herself devised and worked the most elaborate dresses, and herself dressed little Sabrina as a water nymph, and painted the river scene with her own hands with the help of the sisters.[4]

Cornelia was herself involved at every level of the educational process when possible. There is an interesting precedent to the event recorded here. In 1837 Dr. Wiseman

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[1]Attributed to Rollin's Belles Lettres, Book of Studies, p. 35.

[2]Gompertz, Life, pp. 297-299.

[3]D74:305-306, "Biography of the Servant of God by Mother Francis Bellais, SHCJ," quoted in Positio, II:871.

[4]Quoted in Gompertz, Life, p. 298.

assisted his students at the English College in Rome with the painting of the scenes for the first play they acted--one he had written, the setting of which was America.[1] Cornelia lived several months at Palazzo Simonetti, where Lord Shrewsbury resided, while Pierce was in England in 1836 and must often have met Shrewsbury's friend, Mgr. Nicholas Wiseman, rector of the English College during this period.[2] There is no record of Wiseman's response to the productions at St. Leonards but he must have felt empathy with the creative spirit of this American woman.

It was not possible to provide the full diversity of activity in the Day Schools for the poor children that filled the schedule of the boarders. But Cornelia's original intention was to educate "females of all classes" and her principle methodologies were the same for all. The following notes, written specifically for the Poor or Day Schools, were made by Cornelia in the early 1850's:

Day Schools--Holy Child Jesus

> If asked what is our system of educating girls in the day schools we should certainly be right in answering that it is founded on the mixed system of the model schools of the day--that is, it embraces simultaneous, monitorial and individual teaching and training, including as far as possible to simultaneous teaching in classes.

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[1] Rev. Mr. Kyan, letter quoted in Ward, Cardinal Wiseman, 1:256.

[2] Positio, 1:xx.

> The G[s] Schools include only those who are past their 7th year and all below that age are left in the Infant School where they are taught on the same system as far as it may be applied to Infants.
>
> We may begin with the lower classes and these children we will suppose, as we generally find it so, do not know how to read or write; these classes are kept fixed and all new comers pass on till they find the level of their abilities. All learn reading, writing & Arithmetic.
>
> The upper classes should learn Grammar & Geography and at least be in the second books in use for reading. The first class monitresses in reading should be taught the rules, that is the art of reading so as to be able to teach their classes with certainty and distinctness & to make them understand that it is an art. This they can never do without a certain portion of grammatical knowledge.
>
> The simultaneous lessons are given on fixed subjects, first opening the minds of the children by object lessons then taking them into Geography and natural History; Mathematical, Political & local geography, bringing in what they have been taught in the object & Picture lessons--Nat. His--etc., etc.--and besides these an amount of general knowledge applied to each country may be introduced but this must be done in a clear, distinct and orderly method that the minds of the children may not be weighted down with a mass of "Useful knowledge" (?) tending to confusion & uncertainty of ideas from which they can only draw doubtful conclusions and unfixed principles.[1]

The use of simultaneous, monitorial and individual teaching and training are adapted to the subject areas concerned. Cornelia speaks of "simultaneous teaching in classes." In

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[1]CC XXIV:28-29, Notes made by CC in her Common Place Book, Part II, probably early 1850's, St. Leonards, England. Positio, II:876-877.

the Book of Studies each class covered two years.[1] This concept of simultaneous teaching is an adaptation of that strongly advocated by Currie who suggests classes of eighty or a hundred "wherever the common nature and common intelligence of the children are to be brought into play..." except where "the child is acquiring some instrumentary branch of knowledge...."[2] Cornelia's classes were smaller and more specialized. Much of what is said in these early notes is presented in greater development in the Book of Studies and has been discussed above. "A clear, distinct and orderly method" is felt to be the means of providing learning so that it leads to knowledge which may generally be applied according to fixed principles. The theme is consistent.

Her Majesty's Government Inspector filed the following report in 1853:

T.W.M. MARSHALL'S REPORT

(Published by the Poor School Committee, 1853.)

ST. LEONARDS-ON-SEA: 105 GIRLS.

> Building excellent. Desks excellent. Furniture excellent. Playground excellent. Books abundant and good. Apparatus abundant. Organization excellent. Methods mixed, and

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[1] Book of Studies, p. 1.

[2] James Currie, Early and Infant School Education, 7th ed. (Edinburgh: Simpkin, Marshall & Co., 1865), p. 17. This was a reference text used by CC, Book of Studies, p. 31. The "simultaneous" method is used in teaching younger children to read (Ibid., p. 32).

> applied with rare skill and judgement. Discipline excellent. Instruction of the highest order.
>
> It is impossible to witness without admiration the results obtained in this very interesting school, in which consummate skill in the art of teaching, unwearied patience, and the most persuasive personal influence, have combined to accomplish all the rarest fruits of Christian instruction. The school is now one of the most perfect of its class in Europe.[1]

This evaluation was made approximately seven years after the founding of the Society. Cornelia was responsible not only for the success of the school but for the training of the teachers who demonstrated "consummate skill in the art of teaching, unwearied patience, and the most persuasive personal influence...to accomplish all the rarest fruits of Christian instruction." The sources in educational theory and practice which she drew upon reflect her knowledge and understanding of the learner. A closer examination of these sources will help to explain how she was able "to meet the wants of the age."

Knowledge of the Learner

The primary educational influence immediately evident in the methodologies and treatment of children proposed by Cornelia in the Book of Studies is Pestalozzian in nature.

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[1] T.W.M. Marshall's Report, published by the Poor School Committee, 1853, reprinted in Gompertz, Life, p. 300.

Research has shown that:

> There is no specific evidence that Cornelia ever used Pestalozzi's book How Gertrude Teaches Her Children (1801), but there is a great deal of scattered evidence that she selected textbooks and methods derived from the Pestalozzian school of thought. There is a similarity between her methods and his, but not necessarily any derivatives from his theories.[1]

Pestalozzi, with Rousseau and Froebel, believed that the role of the teacher was to facilitate the natural development of the child.[2] The goal of education for Pestalozzi was "the natural, progressive, and harmonious development of all the powers and capacities of the human being."[3] His practical work in education led him to conclude that the fundamental principle of instruction was to reduce all subject matter to its constituent parts and to use these as the basis for teaching methodology. Termed "the ABC of Observation" by Pestalozzi, his principles implied the following basic procedures:

> 1. Reduction of subject matter to its simplest elements, objective and concrete in character;
> 2. Grading these elements psychologically, or according to their difficulty for individual students--from the simple to the complex;
> 3. Observation of these elements; and

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[1] Positio, II:839. How Gertrude Teaches Her Children provides the clearest exposition of his educational views.

[2] James Mulhern, A History of Education (New York: Ronald Press Co., 1946), p. 362.

[3] Ibid., p. 365.

> 4. Expression by the pupils of impressions regarding the elements thus observed.[1]

The Preface of the Book of Studies, introducing Cornelia's educational thinking, reads:

> In training and teaching children it is absolutely necessary to walk step by step, to teach line by line, to practise virtue little by little, in act after act, and only by such acts of virtue as are suited to the age and stage of moral and intellectual development of those we are guiding.[2]

This reference to "guiding" the children "step by step" and in "act after act" suited to their "age and stage of moral and intellectual development" by Cornelia meant, too, that the practical must always be expressed. It was actually Dr. Chalres Mayo, an Anglican cleric who, after spending three years with Pestalozzi, adapted his principles for use in the Infant School program in England. Mayo emphasized Pestalozzi's two main principles of teaching--that learning starts with the child's own experience (both sensual and mental) and that teaching needs to be graded in accordance with the developing intelligence of the child.[3] The educational writings of Charles Mayo and his sister, Elizabeth Mayo, were probably a major source for Cornelia. In the methodology outlined for Reading,

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[1]Mulhern, History of Education, p. 364.

[2]Book of Studies, n.p.

[3]S.J. Curtis and M.E.A. Boultwood, History of English Education Since 1800, 4th ed. (London: University Tutorial Press Ltd., 1966), p. 117.

she refers the teachers to "Mayo's Model Lessons 'On Form'."[1]

Cornelia's methodological outline for the Reading course for the lowest grade is markedly Pestalozzian in nature but also shows her ability to integrate from other sources. This is demonstrated initially in the stage preparatory to learning to read:

> First Stage.--The "Look and Say" method, of reading without spelling, Alphabetic or Preparatory is to be used for very young children.
>
> Apparatus.--Large and small alphabets, cards of letters, letter boxes, Reading Cards, on which to find the letters.
>
> Method.--1. The Mistress draws attention to the forms of letters. Shows them those made of straight lines, of curves, and of both combined. She points out resemblances, differences, and groups them according to the former.
>
> 2. Then the pupils make the different lines and parts of letters on their slates. They then form the whole letter in the same way.
>
> 3. They are now exercised in finding the letters among the cards. "One child can print on the Demonstration Board, another places it in the letter-case, another points to it on the Reading Card. The object of this exercise is to excite interest, and thus keep up their attention by the love of activity, so natural to children."[2]
>
> 4. Then the Mistress makes familiar words, and perhaps easy sentences with the letters thus learned. She sketches the objects on the

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[1] Book of Studies, p. 31.

[2] This is almost verbatim from Charles Rollin as quoted in Compayré, History of Pedagogy, pp. 239-240.

> board, telling stories about them, judiciously, not wasting time, &c. These objects should be preceded and accompanied by lessons on form. (See Currie's Infant Education and Mayo's Model Lessons "On Form.")[1]

A careful reading of the above reveals that Cornelia followed the logical consequence of teaching the children to read in this manner: she taught the children to print, not write in script.[2] In the third section, she reinforces the procedure by adopting and adapting the work of Rollin.

Other Pestalozzian sources are found among Cornelia's references--"Tate's Arithmetic," Physical Geography by Guyot and The Manual of the Boston Academy of Vocal Music on the System of Pestalozzi by Mason.[3] Tate taught at the Battersea Training College where Kay-Shuttleworth advocated Pestalozzian methods in the teaching of mathematics.[4] Guyot was a former student of Pestalozzi's assistant, Ritter; Mason studied with Pestalozzi's friend, the noted Swiss composer, Näegli. Both Ritter and Näegli had applied Pestalozzi's principles to their own fields and developed the learning theory and practice for them.[5]

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[1] Book of Studies, p. 31.

[2] Gompertz notes that this method was not introduced into the London Council Schools until 1920. Life, p. 292.

[3] Book of Studies, pp. 42, 46, 49, and 69.

[4] Slater, "March of Teaching," p. 228.

[5] Frank Pierrepont Graves, Great Educators of Three Centuries (New York: Macmillan Co., 1929), pp. 142 and 162.

It appears to be from the specialized practitioners of Pestalozzi's educational psychology that Cornelia chose and developed the methodologies for Holy Child schools.

The teaching of geography was also based upon Pestalozzian principles. Not only was Guyot of this school of thought but Professor Sullivan's Method of Geography for beginners and Geography Generalized reflect his admiration for Pestalozzi.[1] The Dublin University Magazine states: "Dr. Sullivan's school-books are distinguished by one great principle--that of simplifying the subject taught, and of bringing out, in a few plain and striking rules, the great leading ideas of the science in hand."[2] Gompertz describes the teaching of geography at St. Leonards:

> Geography was taught in such a way as to kindle imagination and provoke interest and thought. The human element was kept prominent. The children were first led to notice the occupations of the people around them, then to turn their thoughts to the appearance, dress and occupations of the people of other countries. Clear and vivid descriptions were aimed at by the mistresses and constant appeal made to the imagination. The class were led to study the physical features of their own neighborhood, and so to picture the scenery of other lands, and were aided as much as possible by pictorial and oral illustration. They were taught to understand

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[1]R. Sullivan, Sullivan's Popular Education (London: Longman, Green, Longman & Co., 1863), pp. 177-200.

[2]Ibid. This is a critical note found on the rear cover of the book.

> maps by drawing plans of their own classroom, etc.[1]

Cornelia delineated the "step by step" process by which pupils might become familiar with their playground, schoolroom, and neighborhood. Then the people, the physical and climatic features of their own environment were studied, followed by other peoples and lands, "describing, comparing and contrasting" them with what was most familiar.[2]

A fundamental principle in Pestalozzian instruction is that "faculties are strengthened through use."[3] Sullivan expands upon this:

> The term education is derived from two Latin words which may imply to unfold or develop; and when it is used in this, its proper sense, it means a gradual development and improvement of all the power and faculties of man, from his infancy to his manhood.[4]

The term "faculty" was not always used in this general sense referring to any ability, natural or acquired, to perform an act. In the study of literature, in the highest grade, The Book of Studies gives the direction:

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[1]Gompertz, Life, p. 293. A footnote is included in the section on the "Organization of the Curriculum" regarding the unique perspective which Gompertz is qualified to give in descriptions such as this.

[2]Book of Studies, p. 46.

[3]Lewis Flint Anderson, ed., Pestalozzi (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1931), p. 5.

[4]Sullivan, Popular Education, p. 9.

> To enter into the meaning of literature, explaining from H.E. Cardinal Wiseman, its connexion with Language and Races, and the development of the faculties of the mind; showing how the nations who excel in one faculty, excel in a corresponding branch of literature.[1]

The intellectual spirit of the day still admitted to belief in separate faculties to be developed through education.[2] At one point Cornelia sought assistance to improve the heating of the Training School because the cold "will certainly not assist the sharpness of the intellectual faculties of the young women...."[3]

The phrenologists believed that the constituent faculties of the mind lay dormant until exercised. Faculties such as memory, will, reason, and perseverance were "the muscles of the mind" needing to be strengthened through exercise. Subsequent to exercise they were thought to operate automatically. Thus, learning was thought to be a matter of strengthening or disciplining the faculties of the mind which combined to produce intelligent

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[1] Book of Studies, p. 26.

[2] James Simpson, Necessity of Popular Education as a National Objective (Edinburgh: Adams and Clarks Black, 1834), pp. 82-188. Simpson proposes that it is through the right education of the faculties that societal problems caused by the ignorant poor will be corrected.

[3] CC V:2-3, Letter to Educational Authorities, 22 January [1857], St. Leonards, England.

accountable behavior.[1]

James Currie, whose Early and Infant School-Education was a major resource for Cornelia, builds his principles of early education on an "intellectual training of the faculties."[2] The Book of Studies makes specific reference to his notes on Reading in the infant school.[3] Currie writes:

> Reading, to children, with the view of stimulating the imagination, must be carefully regulated in amount. It is not prudent to let this faculty be dormant; but it is worse to over-excite it.[4]

The common sense which lies behind such suggestions was probably what attracted Cornelia to Currie. Her focus was never merely the conceptual framework of the theorist. In preparing and instructing her teachers, her primary concern was the education of the children, not reliance on the correctness of incorrectness of a theory. Cornelia selected with a view to achieving her goal.

Nevertheless, there is in Cornelia's curriculum an emphasis on the importance of memory work--albeit "expla-

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[1]Morris L. Bigge, Learning Theories, 3rd ed. (London: Harper and Row Publishers, 1976), p. 276.

[2]James Currie, Early and Infant School-Education, 7th ed. (Edinburgh: Simpkin, Marshall & Co., 1865), pp. 18-65.

[3]Book of Studies, p. 31.

[4]Currie, Infant School, p. 126.

nation of every lesson to be learnt is to be given fully before the memory is taxed"--characteristic of the learning theory of the phrenologists.[1] The Book of Studies places the directions regarding memory work at the beginning under the "Order of Studies." "On Friday they shall repeat all they have learnt in the foreign languages, and on Saturday all they have learnt in the vernacular."[2] Gompertz records that "at one period a Dr. Pic was engaged who undertook to improve memories...."[3] If one considers this with the reference to Wiseman's research on the connection between the development of a particular faculty and the achievement of excellence in a corresponding branch of literature against the extensiveness of the curriculum provided by the Book of Studies--both the diversity of subjects and the scope within individual subject areas--it is possible to suggest the reasoning behind Cornelia's teaching. Each subject was first taught in a "step by step" process moving from the simple to the more complex. This attended to the developmental nature of child growth. The various faculties of the mind, on the other hand, were strengthened by study in many areas--and this was augmented by special exercise through memory work.

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[1] Book of Studies, p. 3.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Gompertz, Life, p. 296.

> The faculties of the mind are thus brought into play--conception, imagination, the reasoning powers are all exercised in such a way as to conduce the separate cultivation of each, and to the harmonious development of the whole.[1]

It is to Charles Rollin (1661-1741), whose Treatise on Studies (De la manière d'enseigner et d'étudier les belles-lettres par rapport à l'esprit et au coeur) published in the first half of the eighteenth century out of concern for educational reform in France, that Cornelia refers in the teaching of history.[2] The following introduction to the subject and the directions for the youngest children probably find their source in Rollin via the Plan of Studies of the Sacred Heart Society:

> "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.[3]

This philosophy, with particular note of the moral lesson and the cultivation of intellectual "taste" to be gleaned,

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[1]Quoted from Parker's English Composition by CC in the Book of Studies, p. 52.

[2]Compayré, History of Pedagogy, pp. 232-236.

[3]Book of Studies, p. 49.

provides the ambience for the study of history. In the first or lowest grade:

> History.--All history at this period should consist of stories, biographies from Sacred History, and the history of the native country of the pupils; likewise stories from the life of our Lord and of the saints, either told or read.
>
> History may be looked upon as "the first master to be given to children, equally serviceable to entertain and instruct them, and to enrich their memory with an abundance of (religious) facts."--Rollin[1]

History was to be a vehicle of moral and religious education.

What was it that attracted Cornelia to this particular educational emphasis of the Religious of the Sacred Heart? O'Leary, writing of Sacred Heart education in Education with a Tradition, presents Rollin's work as a masterly exposition of a liberal education."[2] She quotes Rollin:

> I would have history to be the child's first master, since it is so well fitted both to instruct and to amuse the young. I would let history enrich the children's memories with a thousand pleasing and useful facts, or stimulate their natural curiosity until a taste for serious work has been insensibly developed.[3]

Cornelia's paraphrase of Rollin is a succinct summary of essentially the same meaning. Rather than "a thousand

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[1] Book of Studies, p. 49.

[2] O'Leary, Education, p. 31.

[3] Ibid., p. 36.

pleasing and useful facts" she speaks of "an abundance of (religious) facts." In the schools of the Sacred Heart Society a course of study, based upon Rollin's view of sacred history as the foundation for the study of all history, had been developed by Père Loriquet, S.J. According to O'Leary, "This study of history, a characteristic feature of French education, has always been looked upon as a most precious inheritance by the Society of the Sacred Heart."[1] Cornelia, drawing upon her teaching experience with the French Sacred Heart Plan of Studies, adapted their study of history to her purposes in Holy Child education for English Catholics coming to terms with their own country's history.

The use of sacred history as the foundation for the study of history may have attracted Cornelia but she also makes specific reference to "Rollin's Belles Lettres," indicating she may have read the sources.[2] Compayré draws attention to aspects of Rollin's pedagogy which Cornelia would have found in keeping with her purposes and preferred methodology: Rollin made provision for historical reading adapted to the needs of the young; "he knew how to introduce into the exposition of facts great simplicity and

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[1] O'Leary, Education, p. 37.

[2] Book of Studies, p. 35.

great facility." "And especially he attempted to draw from events their moral lesson."[1] This latter quality would have had special appeal for Cornelia for, building on her Jesuit spirituality, she saw the training of character intrinsic to the instructional aspect of education.

In the above light, it is interesting to note that Rollin has been called the "Fénelon of History" because it was to Fénelon (1651-1715) Cornelia turned in the teaching of religion.[2] Her introduction to "Religious Instruction" reads:

> Religious Instruction may be considered under two aspects: i.e. Moral and Intellectual. As an intellectual branch of knowledge it is subject to the same laws of teaching as other branches of study. In its moral aspect it aims not only at imparting knowledge, but at excerting influence on the character and on the heart, and must be presented to the children in a form suited to their capacity.[3]

Although Cornelia wrote that the children "must be made to feel the difference existing between religious instruction and other lessons" this was not to be at the expense of instructional competence.[4] Her religious instruction course was designed to avoid that which would make learning

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[1] Compayré, History of Pedagogy, p. 245.

[2] Ibid. See Book of Studies, pp. 20-21.

[3] Book of Studies, p. 19.

[4] Ibid., p. 21.

distasteful and to provide an opportunity to come to know God as "a tender and loving Father, a kind and good Creator, Who has made us all and created everything, who has bestowed upon us all we possess...."[1] The half-hour before supper, following a visit to the chapel, was reserved for religious instruction.[2] In the teaching of catechism "it must be always in mind that nothing is to be committed to memory which has not been first well-explained and illustrated."[3] And so it is not too much like school for the younger children--"Notes or Lessons are not at all necessary here."[4]

Cornelia found support for some of her thinking in Fénelon's writings but typically adapted them to her own thought. It was part of Fénelon's creed, to a fault, that "pleasure must do all."[5] In the sphere of moral education he proposed an indirect method of instruction feeling sermons and lectures were too authoritarian.[6] It is on the subject of "teaching by stories" that Cornelia cites Fénelon. Stories of the Old and New Testament, and of virtuous persons in the history of Christianity, were

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[1] Book of Studies, p. 19.

[2] Ibid., p. 15.

[3] Ibid., p. 22.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Compayré, Education, pp. 171-172.

[6] Ibid., p. 180.

to be used to provide children with a sense of religious history.

> They will be accustomed to see God doing all in everything, and secretly leading to His designs such creatures as seem most remote to them. But care must be taken to select such stories as convey the most pleasing and sublime images, as we must use our utmost endeavors to show forth religion in its beauty and augustness to children.[1] (Emphasis added.)

Cornelia believed that in religious instruction children "should not...be taught to look upon God in the exercise of His power as judge or a punisher of sin" until their love and appreciation of Him was so great that they did not desire to grieve Him.[2]

Pestalozzi, Sullivan, Currie, Rollin, Fénelon--educators to whose theory and practice Cornelia referred--but none of which she adopted in total. Her experience as a teacher with the Society of the Sacred Heart had introduced her to French educators such as Rollin and Fénelon. But Cornelia Connelly was first of all a mother: she had supervised the early education of her daughter and sons. She writes that in the teaching of religion the children "must be led to feel strongly their relation to God--that of a child towards a parent."[3]

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[1] Book of Studies, p. 21. This is part of a passage attributed to Fénelon.

[2] Ibid., p. 19.

[3] Ibid., p. 21.

The love and respect which Cornelia had for the individual child, and the consequent concern for the best education possible is a value which is repeated throughout the Book of Studies--"The pupils must be watched over and spoken to with the greatest sweetness and charity...."[1] In an age when the Biblical dictum "spare the rod and spoil the child" was virtually unquestioned in England, Cornelia wrote on the subject:

> Punishment.--Let not the mistresses be too hasty in punishing, nor too eager in seeking faults, 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 also from abusive word or actions, neither may they ever call any pupil by any other name than her Christian name or full name, nor by her surname only.[2] (Emphasis added.)

Both physical and psychological damage were guarded against. Cornelia's disapproval of corporal punishment in Mercer's school was noted earlier. Her attitude to the child, based on her own experience as a mother, and moderated by her commitment to religious life, grew out of her spiritual life. It was the latter, based on experience, which guided her choices. This she expresses as follows:

> The Mistress shall at all times strive to gain the hearts of their pupils to the love and imitation of the virtues of the Holy Child Jesus, by the practice of humility, sweetness,

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[1] Book of Studies, p. 87.

[2] Ibid., p. 85.

> gentleness, and love, not by a weak and familiar love, but a love that is noble, tender, and disinterested; and they may be well assured that if dead to themselves and united to our Lord, the interior spirit which will animate them, will suggest what is fitting under all circumstances for the spiritual wants of each and all.[1]

The spirit of the times included religious principles as guidelines for teaching. Moreover, Cornelia was a Catholic educator and woman religious whose own spiritual journey had led her to commit her life to both the teaching of children and the preparation of others to do the same. In the above quotation, she speaks out of her own experience and her dependence on "the interior spirit" to guide and direct her choices. The research of this study indicates Cornelia also did her "homework," was aware of the intellectual beliefs of the time. Her knowledge of the learner reflects the spiritual and intellectual ideal she held for the Society--and was the product of her practical life experience as mother, educator, and woman religious.

Primary Focus of the Curriculum

It was just nine years into the reign of Queen Victoria when Cornelia Connelly, mother and educator, came to England to found the Society of the Holy Child Jesus. The industrial age had begun. Concern for social reform was growing. For English Catholics it was a time

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[1] Book of Studies, p. 78.

of increasing participation in the full life of British society. Cornelia would not have thought consciously in this mid-nineteenth century environment of child-centered, society-centered and subject-centered curricula. But "the wants of the age," as understood by this Catholic woman founder, from America via Europe, would have brought the claims of each to her attention. Cornelia's attitude towards knowledge and the curriculum established in Holy Child schools is evidence of this. The attraction she felt to the work of Pestalozzi and related practitioners reflect her interest in the development of the child--a growth in understanding in one who has first parented. The purpose for which she came to England--"the Education of females of all classes" in the Catholic Church--provided the context and values for all that was undertaken. And her previous experience in education set a standard to be matched--the modified classical curricula of the Jesuits and the Society of the Sacred Heart.

In the "Constitutions" of 1853-54 she writes:

> Since the Church in her Divine Universality does not limit the researches of true Science, we may not despise the means of Education to supply the wants of the age....[1]

A translation of an original French draft, this wording was changed under Bishop Grant--perhaps because of the

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[1]"Abridgement of the Constitutions of the Society of the Holy Child Jesus, 1853-54," in McCarthy, "Study of the Constitutions," p. 79.

natural science connotation given by the positivist school of thought to the word "Science."[1] The use of "la Science" in French would have referred simply to systematic, rigorous study appropriate to a subject area. The revised version of 1861 reads instead, "since the Church in her divine universality encourages the means of education best adapted for each state of life...."[2]

Cornelia, however, did not limit the interpretation of "the means of education best adapted for each state of life" to popular sentiment. She considered the study of mathematics profitable for young women and believed that the study of geology would not undermine the tenets of Christian belief.[3] As the head of a religious congregation Cornelia was, herself, a business woman. It was, however, not only practical knowledge that concerned her but also the values inherent in beauty and faith. Her Drawing course required a knowledge of geometry; the Connellys' early friendship with the French explorer and geologist, Nicollet, had enriched her spiritual life. The curriculum of the Book of Studies expresses her attitude to all the branches of knowledge: she did not feel it necessary to prescribe limits to knowing.[4]

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[1] Positio, II:857.

[2] Constitutions, 1861, p. 79.

[3] Positio, II:868.

[4] Ibid., II:841 and 857.

A Christmas letter in 1875, to her nieces Bella and Lizzie Bowen, contains a revealing reflection:

> If I were you I should rouse up from Texas & not get swamped there. Knowledge is power [emphasis added] & there is no use in going to sleep when active energy would make us all the more useful & happy.[1]

"Knowledge is power." It enables. Its utilization brings happiness.

This was a time when reformers on both sides of the Atlantic were growing in awareness of the potential of popular education for the facilitation of social reform, industrial progress, and growth in national wealth. Cornelia's initial wording that "we may not despise the means of Education to meet the wants of the age" was in keeping with the Zeitgeist. Cremin points out that "Mann recognized that knowledge was power, but the power to do evil as well as good. Hence, the education of free men could never be merely intellectual; values inevitably intruded."[2]

Cornelia's entire curriculum was value-oriented:

> As an intellectual branch of knowledge [religious instruction] is subject to the same laws of teaching as other branches of study. In its moral aspect it aims not only at imparting knowledge, but at exerting an influence on the character and on the heart,

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[1]CC I:114[A], 16 December 1875, St. Leonards, England.

[2]Lawrence A. Cremin, The Transformation of the School (New York: Vintage Books ed., 1964), p. 9.

> and must be presented to the children in a form suited to their capacity.[1]

This stance did not apply only to religious instruction. In Reading:

> But above all we should be careful to prefer whatever is capable of forming the heart and inspiring it with the sentiments of generosity, disinterestedness...., in a word, whatever will make an honest man, and still a more perfect Christian.[2]

Her niece Bella had attended St. Leonards and Cornelia encouraged her to teach her brothers and sister, Lizzie.[3] "You certainly need attention to what you are doing and application of your mind, but you have the ability if only you determine to conquer the natural frivolity of your character."[4] The power gained through knowledge is related both to intellectual and moral development.[5]

Cornelia's expectations of Bella are those of an aunt for a niece and are expressed with openness and frankness. "Do not take this as a scolding for you know I have only your good in view...."[6] The sentiments expressed by Cornelia are also those of a woman, who

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[1] Book of Studies, p. 19.

[2] Ibid., p. 35.

[3] CC 1:114, 25 September 1872, St. Leonards, England; and CC 1:116, 6 December 1877, St. Leonards, England.

[4] CC 1:116.

[5] Book of Studies, Preface and p. 19.

[6] CC 1:116.

over the years, had experienced the fruit of study in her own life. Even more signficantly she felt that Bella's education at St. Leonards had prepared her to take responsibility not only for herself but also in relation to others. The original Holy Child prospectus of 1847 had set the goal of enabling girls "to fill their office in Society."[1] Here it is helpful to make a distinction between a society-oriented curriculum which aims to meet societal needs and a curriculum which prepares children for the contingencies of society. Cornelia's concern was the latter and, for this reason, the primary focus of Holy Child education was the full Christian development of the individual. The "Christian" aspect of the curriculum provided the moral context for all that was undertaken but studies were to be ordered in such a way "that the pupils may make no less progress in knowledge, than in righteous of life."[2]

To speak of "the full Christian development of the individual" may sound esoteric and pietistic. Cornelia, however, was explicit about her belief system and those who chose Holy Child schools for their children presumably understood what it meant to receive a Catholic education. Moreover, she did not err on the side of conservatism

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[1]"Prospectus, 1847," reprinted in Gompertz, Life, p. 121.

[2]Book of Studies, p. 90.

with respect to the subjects studied. It was more often the case that she had to justify the breadth of activity chosen--be it drama, dancing,[1] or the teaching of mathematics and geology. Her aesthetic sense found educative expression in many ways:

> Mother Connelly did not require the children to be dressed in dowdy or sombre garments, but encouraged, with a view to their future, a reasonable attention to dress and appearance. A bright blue frock was worn at first, later, crimson was chosen, and at another time the uniform was a silver gray dress trimmed with velvet.[2]

Cornelia both loved beauty and was aware of the importance of self-esteem.

The focus of the Holy Child curriculum is child-oriented for a purpose--to enable young women "to fill their office in Society." This required attention to the content of the curriculum in order that equal attention be given to moral and intellectual development. Intellectual and moral development included provision for the development of an aesthetic sense, as in the case of Needle-Work: "They must also be taught to apply their knowledge of geometry and free-hand drawing to the models to be worked, and no models are to be given that will not bear criticism in the artistic sense."[3]

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[1] Book of Studies, p. 16.

[2] Gompertz, Life, p. 301.

[3] Book of Studies, p. 72.

It has been said that "art is the name for the whole process of intelligence by which life, understanding its own conditions, turns them to the most interesting or exquisite account."[1] The development of an "artistic sense" was fundamental to Cornelia "in training...children to a practical knowledge of the true Faith."[2] (Emphasis added.)

Teaching and Learning

In the Preface to the Book of Studies, Cornelia summarizes her educational approach:

> In training and teaching children it is aboslutely necessary to walk step by step, to teach line by line, to practise virtue little by little, in act after act, and only by such acts of virtue as are suited to the age and stage of moral and intellectual development of those we are guiding.... Line by line, and step by step, in all learning and in all virtues, form the whole educational system.[3]

It has been shown above that Cornelia drew principally upon the work of the Pestalozzian school of thought for the methodologies of the "One Method" which comprise the

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[1] Irwin Edman, Arts and the Man (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1967), p. 12.

[2] CC V:29, Letter to the Honorable C. Langdale of the Poor School Committee, 11 April [1864].

[3] Book of Studies, Preface, n.p.

Book of Studies.[1] The period in which she lived in England, with accent on the need for moral development through formal education, always inclusive of religious instruction, was at odds with the learning theory of many of the romantic naturalists but not with that of Pestalozzi.[2] Although Cornelia would not have agreed completely with Pestalozzi's theology, or understanding of God, she was a practitioner and selected from her own perspective what would facilitate learning in Holy Child schools. In the area of moral training she turned to Fénelon and Rollin--selecting and adapting what was useful.

Cornelia was not unique in this respect. Educational practice in Great Britain drew on varied understandings of the learning process. It was believed by many that learning occurred through mental discipline. Theistic mental discipline considered human beings to have a bad-active mind substance which remained active until curbed; the humanistic perspective saw the mind as being of a neutral-active nature which developed substantively through cultivation of the intellect. The understanding of the theists was a carry-over of St. Augustine's and John Calvin's interpretation of original sin. The humanists,

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[1]See earlier section on "Knowledge of the Learner."

[2]Pestalozzi, "Moral Education" in excerpts from How Gertrude Teaches Her Children, in Lewis Flint Anderson, ed., Pestalozzi, pp. 86-94.

dating to Plato and Aristotle, focused on human potential developed through the training of intrinsic mental powers in classical study.

On the Continent there was a commitment by the romantic naturalists to the good-active natural person. Rousseau, Froebel and Pestalozzi each sought to facilitate the natural development of the child with as little coercion as possible--believing that the natural being grows up unfolding that which nature has enfolded within. Pestalozzi developed the implications of Rousseau's emphasis on the process of growth and development for formalized learning.[1] But for Pestalozzi, "the child must not be left to chance, to the random influences of blind nature."[2]

Be it conscious or unconscious, a philosophy of education guided Cornelia in her structuring of Holy Child education. Her selective synthesis of educational praxis was an attempt at unity in thought and action, "a wisdom that would influence the conduct of life."[3] It was not an easy task. In Literature she turned to Wiseman--with his emphasis on the development of the intellectual faculties.[4] But she does not appear to have been

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[1]Bigge, Learning Theory, pp. 1-33.

[2]Anderson, Pestalozzi, p. 6.

[3]Dewey, Democracy and Education, p. 324.

[4]Book of Studies, p. 26.

attracted to the phrenologist's conception of the human being's basic moral and actional nature. In the teaching of Religion she directs:

> The object of lessons...is to consecrate to God the opening mind of the pupils by giving them a knowledge of His goodness; and their hearts, by leading them to love Him in such manner as shall influence them in the formation of good habits and the practice of virtue suitable to their age.[1]

There is, here, an effort to bring religious experience and instruction into harmony with the nature and capacity of the child. To speak of the "opening of minds" with the goal of response "suitable to their age" brings to mind an aphorism of Pestalozzi:

> He who seeks out, with faith and fervent sincerity, all that is sacred and exalted in human nature, will gain a God-like power over all that is divine within us, shedding warmth and light upon any man receptive to the sacred and divine, as God's own sun pours down upon the earth.[2]

There is no evidence that Cornelia was familiar with Pestalozzi's writings but Pestalozzian ideas, so persuasive throughout Europe and England at the time, were reflected in her work.[3]

Cornelia, however, was working within the religious doctrine of Catholicism which recognizes the human being's

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[1] Book of Studies, p. 19.

[2] Heinrich Pestalozzi, The Education of Man: Aphorisms, trans. Heinz and Ruth Norden, with an Intro. by William H. Kilpatrick (New York: Philosophical Library, 1951), p. 3.

[3] Positio, II:839.

propensity to sin. Her response, not unlike the Jesuits, was to build a program which would develop and strengthen character. She writes:

> It seems...an indubitable fact that the deepest impressions are made on the children's characters before they come to reason; hence it is of great consequence that religious instruction to young minds should be suited to their age and capacity.[1]

The approach is not to focus on the child's possible failure in interpersonal actions but:

> All the catechism...ought to tend 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. They must be led to feel strongly their relation to God--that of a child towards a parent. Their total dependence on Him, and consequently the entire submission they owe Him.[2] [sic]

It is the relationship with God, "that of a child towards a parent" which is to be nurtured in religious instruction. That the child has the capacity to respond to God and to express this in a quality of life which is loving is very clear in Cornelia's directions. It is a perspective which reveals her respect for the potential of the child. The admonition to provide "instruction...to young minds suited to their age and capacity is thematic of the Book of Studies.[3]

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[1] Book of Studies, p. 19.

[2] Ibid., p. 21.

[3] This has been pointed out in the Preface regarding moral and intellectual development. In the teaching of

Cornelia was concerned that in the educational process there not be an unnatural division between learning and life. The route she followed, adapting Fénelon and Rollin with their pietistic tendencies, reflects the sensitivity which comes with concern for the achievement of learning for the pupil rather than concern to show that learning has taken place.[1] For example, it is possible to distinguish among the uses of the word "teach":

> X teaches Y that religion is
> X teaches Y to be religious
> X teaches Y how to be religious[2]

Faith is an essential part of the Christian's life: faith is knowing "how to be religious." It was Cornelia's aim that the children "be accustomed to see God doing in everything, and secretly leading to His designs such creatures as seem most remote [historically] from them."[3]

The mark of the "One Method" of the Book of Studies is that Cornelia attempts to teach the children "how to

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music CC cautions that "as soon as there is an appearance of weariness in attending to the explanation necessary, it will be better to leave further advancement to a following lesson and exercise the voices of children in reading music suited to their age and ability." Book of Studies, p. 67. A sensitivity to physical and spiritual, as well as moral and intellectual, development is apparent.

[1]Israel Sheffler, The Language of Education (Springfield, Ill.: Chas. C. Thomas, Bannerstone House, 1960), p. 75.

[2]Ibid., p. 99.

[3]Book of Studies, p. 21, attributed to Fénelon by CC.

be..." artistic, musical, Christian. In every subject area there is a development from the simple to the more complex. In geography, "the pupils should be led from the known to the unknown, there should be comparison and contrast between things abroad and things at home"; in the study of grammar at the highest level the purpose was "to enter into the meaning of literature."[1]

To teach in this manner required that the teacher be a "practitioner" of her subject. Before the engagement of a new lay teacher Cornelia wrote:

> Ask Mth Agnes to see her & judge whether she is really worth having & that she is capable of teaching Music & playing herself to aid the touch of the children.[2]

In the teaching Sisters, the integration of knowledge and faith-values was to be the norm. A letter reads:

> "My dear Sisters
> I wish you all to get "Bromby's Grammar". It is the most perfect little logical thing to be found & has reached the eighth edition without ever coming to our notice. I think we must make it a point of conscience to get certain new books (to send them from house to house) of the specimens of the day. At least for a time & just at this time when the march of teaching is going at such a wonderful pace. God grant we may march at an equal pace in the path of perfection....
> "Simplicity seeks God
> "But purity finds Him
> "May your Simplicity seek & may a daily

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[1] Book of Studies, p. 47 and p. 26.

[2] CC VI:50, Letter to Mother Xavier, 5 September [1877], Mayfield, England.

increase of purity find Him."[1]

Optimum learning conditions for the children were for Cornelia those which build on a life in which there was an awareness of God's love and sovereign presence. "Her sense of fundamental truth led her to seek in education the reality which underlies life, for which time education is but a preparation."[2] The Book of Studies translates her educational leadership into practice which others may follow. Her giftedness was her ability to reduce "complexity of detail to extreme simplicity of approach."[3]

> Let us not want "to fly by ourselves least we leave our pupils behind to be lost in a mist. Line by line, and step by step, in all learning and in all virtues, form the whole educational system.[4]

Evaluation

The ideal of providing a truly Christian education for young Catholic women that they might come to "view [every] matter in a Christian light"[5] is the animating

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[1]CC VII:14, "Letter to Mothers Teresa, Emily, and Lucy," n.d.

[2]O'Leary, Education With a Tradition, p. 236.

[3]Slater, "March of Teaching," p. 235.

[4]Book of Studies, Preface, n.p.

[5]Ibid., p. 80.

spirit of Cornelia's philosophy of education, her attempt to attain through the educative experience "as unified, consistent and complete an outlook upon experience as possible."[1] The teachers are instructed to "esteem above all things in their pupils those qualities which make them truly great in the sight of God."[2] The first of the "Rules of the Schools of the Society of the Holy Child Jesus" reads:

> Let all who belong to the Schools...understand that it is of primary importance that they be imbued with piety and other virtues as much as with liberal knowledge.[3]

The value system and emphasis on moral and Christian development in Holy Child schools provided a definitive context for the teaching and learning processes.

With this awareness of Cornelia's ideal and Christian standard for Holy Child education it is interesting to read a former pupil's recollections. Such recollections reveal part of the hidden curriculum, "the pupil's own curriculum whereby...she copes with the school's bureaucratic organization and arrangement and with...her social relationships inside the school."[4]

Catherine Harper was an early pupil at St. Leonards.

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[1]Dewey, Democracy and Education, p. 324.

[2]Book of Studies, p. 77.

[3]Ibid., pp. 9-10.

[4]Doll, Curriculum Improvement, p. 6.

Her father had been an Anglican clergyman who had joined the Oxford movement and become a Catholic.[1] She writes:

> [Mother Connelly] had great sympathy for children, and did not try to force upon them wisdom beyond their years. We all loved her and thought her very holy, and would consider ourselves honoured by a smile and a few words from her. Often I came in for rebukes for bad behavior, and at these times she could be very stern. But the general atmosphere of St. Leonards was one of joy and contentment. There was no spying on the part of the nuns, but we were greatly trusted, and trained to a high sense of honour--a method that achieved its end. There was a sense of freedom and broad-mindedness about the school that was delightful.[2]

Although the strength of Cornelia's presence was apparently felt by the children, there is nothing to indicate that the atmosphere of St. Leonards was oppressive. Rather, Catherine Harper speaks of "joy and contentment," and the affirmation of being trusted.

She continues:

> Our lives were made happy by numerous little treats and customs on different occasions, to which we looked forward eagerly.... At other times, we had long walks or picnics, where were pure joy.
>
> With all this gaiety and fun, there was mingled a most attractive spirit of piety. Our dear Lord and His Mother, our Guardian Angels and the Saints were mixed up with our daily life in a happy, loving spirit, which

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[1] Gompertz, Life, pp. 304-305.

[2] Extract from letter of Catherine Harper, quoted in full in Gompertz, Life, pp. 305-307.

> never made devotions tedious or distasteful. We were supplied with motives which raised our obedience to school regulations on to a high plane.[1]

There was, it seems, a good religious experience provided, for the pupils of St. Leonards, "mixed up with...daily life in a happy, loving spirit."

The integration of religion and other activities did not happen by accident. Catherine Harper was not only the daughter of a former clergyman but also became a Sister of Charity. This may partly explain her ability to speak so clearly of her response to life at St. Leonards. Cornelia, for example, did not believe that children should be forced to go to Church. In a letter to Bishop Grant she writes:

> Regarding the Visit to the Blessed Sacrament the children are allowed to go down at 5½ every day besides going down after supper when the Litanies are said, but they are not obliged to go. We generally find much more real piety when we do not exact practices that are not of obligation.[2]

An effort was made to provide an environment in which children could experience a degree of personal freedom and choice in their religious response.

Holy Child pupils, as noted above, were "to be imbued with piety and other virtues as much as with liberal knowledge."[3] "Piety and virtue" refer to spirituality

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[1] Gompertz, Life, pp. 305-307.

[2] CC XII:92, Letter to Bishop Grant, 14 July [1861], St. Leonards, England.

[3] Book of Studies, pp. 9-10.

and quality of life, relationship to God and to others, rather than to stark morality, the explication of what is right or wrong. But the cultivation of piety and virtue, all other things being equal, leads to the moral life. The highest standard of moral responsibility was further inculcated in a "contest" of formal written examinations which took place twice a year.

The "Laws of Writing for the Examinations" govern every aspect of the custom.[1]

> The contest in writing will be divided into distinct days; two compositions will be written daily, three hours being allowed for each paper. One paper must be written on each branch of study. All the pupils must be present on the day, and at the hour appointed, for unless the Compositions be written at the time specified, no account will be taken of them.[2]

Not only must the student be present for the examination but:

> Each one shall adopt a character for her composition, which she shall design accurately upon the paper instead of her name; and she shall inscribe her name together with the character she has chosen, on a paper which she shall give to the Prefect only, who, after the judgment has been given, shall compare the character and names to discover the winner of the prize.[3]

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[1] Book of Studies, pp. 73-75.

[2] Ibid., pp. 74-75.

[3] Ibid., p. 74.

The other "laws" cover all the intricacies which are required for a formal examination process. It is a "contest" designed to call forth the highest performance from those capable of academic excellence. "Prizes for success in different branches of study will be given once in the year before the great vacation."[1]

Outstanding intellectual achievement was distinguished from good conduct and application to study for which prizes and badges were awarded twice yearly. In the lowest grade prizes were not given but ribbons of encouragement "awarded by votes, both of the mistresses and pupils, and the [final] decision...made according to the report of the conduct of the pupils, given throughout the year by the mistresses."[2] The system of awards is complex--including prizes for music theory, needlework and Christian doctrine. The "Distribution of Prizes" was a grand event, "the names of the Victors...publicly announced in due form, amid the concourse of Bishops and Priests, and in the presence of the Religious Community."[3] Cornelia was a pioneer in education of this nature for English Catholic women. She not only used every means to call forth the best from her students but she was preparing them to

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[1] Book of Studies, p. 75.

[2] Ibid., p. 76.

[3] Ibid.

take their place as "strong women" in Society. This also required that Catholic society, in the Church, should take note of them. A former student does note that Cornelia's "kindest words at Prize Day and other Exhibitions were generally for the less brilliant students who had failed to attain distinction."[1] Apparently everyone was afforded some kind of recognition.

The discussion of Cornelia's methodologies and educational praxis earlier makes it clear that the yearly formal examination and prize-giving custom was part of a greater whole.

> Examinations were a form of repetition, part of the system, and according to the School's Inquiry Commission a very rare feature in girls' schools with the result that many of the pupils had no incentive to work.[2]

In Holy Child schools tests were also given weekly and monthly. The breadth of the curriculum provided great diversity of expression. Oral tests were given where suitable; concerts, plays and other displays of the students' work were included in their evaluation.[3] All varieties of learners would have found opportunity for success.

Cornelia was an artist at heart. In the schools she insisted upon beautiful surroundings, order, proper

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[1]Gompertz, Life, p. 304.

[2]Positio, II:862.

[3]Book of Studies, pp. 17-18.

reverence; "whatever was beautiful in its most perfect expressions spoke of God."[1]

> For this the children were trained how to sing great music beautifully, to work designs beautifully, to speak great poetry and act or paint the stuff of life as beautifully as they could.[2]

Beauty and the development of an artistic sense were the means by which Cornelia brought the cognitive and affective together: art was "a universal Language."[3]

"Above all, [the children] were to enter into the liturgy with zest and joy."[4] A former student writes that Cornelia "loved the liturgy of the Church, and had the gift of spreading this love among us."[5] This love and appreciation of the liturgy of Catholicism was something Cornelia brought with her from Rome. It was unique and rare at the time in England because Catholicism had been suppressed for so many years. But more important for the educative process, liturgical worship in its fullness is a highly developed form of religious practice. Its expression involves imaginations, music, rites and ceremonies, doctrine and myth. Polanyi speaks of worship

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[1] Positio, II:873.

[2] Ibid., II:872-873.

[3] Book of Studies, p. 53.

[4] Positio, II:873.

[5] Quoted in Gompertz, Life, p. 306.

as a "liturgical summons."[1] It introduces another dimension into life:

> Through the myth we dwell for the moment in Great Time and are one, not only with one another and with our fathers, but all with All. We PARTICIPATE IN an ultimate meaning of things.[2]

The Christian faith fostered in Holy Child schools was of a mature nature into which knowledge, thought and moral conduct might be integrated.[3]

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The ideal and philosophy of education which Cornelia Connelly attempted to implement during her lifetime has been kept alive by the Society she founded. Cornelia had an intuitive sense of what would work in the educative process. The success of her curriculum and Holy Child schools, as well as her failures, cannot be explained completely in terms of the sources upon which she drew. It is necessary to take into account the pattern of her life, and the socio-historical and religious factors which guided her in the selective synthesis of educational praxis she established. She always submitted to the wishes of Church authority where opinion differed from her own.

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[1]Polayni, Meaning, p. 180.

[2]Ibid., p. 153.

[3]Positio, II:813.

But with her she carried a sense of personal freedom and integrity which enabled her to make the best of any situation.

Cornelia Connelly translated her educational vision into what has been termed "Holy Child education." The Constitutions and the Book of Studies of the Society of the Holy Child Jesus are the vehicles by which this vision and Cornelia's gifted leadership in education were made available for others: these documents and the Society she founded are the institutionalized expression of her charisma. Further discussion of this phenomenon is required.

Chapter VI

CONCLUSION

This study has given attention to the pattern and response of Cornelia Peacock Connelly to the varied circumstances of her life. Cornelia became a gifted educator. At the age of thirty-seven this American woman responded to the social and religious needs of Catholic England by founding an institute for "the Education of females of all classes."[1] This institute, the Society of the Holy Child Jesus, became the embodiment of her charismatic leadership.

From 1848 to 1863 Cornelia's charisma gradually became depersonalized in the institute she founded. The lived experience of her followership and the demands of the apostolate of education called for her leadership to be "routinized" in the growing Society. The essence of her original vision and ideal remained. By 1863 the Book of Studies, containing the "One Method" of Holy Child education, was available for use throughout the Society in England and America. This, together with

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[1]"Rules of 1844-6," p. 26.

the Society's Constitutions, expressed the values, goals and means of carrying on the work of "Holy Child education" in Cornelia's absence. Her charisma had become "institutionalized," made available for others who had the capacity to respond to her vision and ideal.

There exists today a debunking of the idealism of the founders of such educational institutions. Michael Apple, employing neo-Marxist argumentation, perceives the educator as involved in a political act. He explores the relationships between education and economic structures and the linkage between knowledge and power.[1] His approach is to seek to

> explicate the manifest and latent or coded reflection of modes of material production, ideological values, class relations, and structures of social power--racial and sexual as well as politico-economic--on the state of people in a precise historical or socioeconomic situation.[2]

Holy Child education took root in mid-nineteenth century England at the height of the Industrial Revolution and the backlash of the Irish Potato Famine, amidst a highly stratified class structure and the use of religion to propagate that structure and the Victorian ethic. Moreover, it was an educational system directed to a Catholic minority, in an officially Protestant country, just

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[1]Michael W. Apple, Ideology and Curriculum (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979), p. 1.

[2]Donald Lazere, "Mass Culture, Political Consciousness, and English Studies," College Education XXXVIII (April 1977): 755, quoted in Apple, pp. 1-2.

recovering from the suppression of penal times. Such material provides fertile research for the revisionist studying educational history.

The ideal to which Cornelia gave birth, however, was not formed by the culture of nineteenth century England. The aforementioned forces operative in England were encountered by her with a perspective and perception developed in the sophisticated city of Philadelphia, on the moving frontier lands of Mississippi and Louisiana, and at the cosmopolitan center of Catholicism, Rome. Cornelia Connelly was an American wife, mother and educator with an ideal--the ideal of providing a truly Christian education for young Catholic English women that would "enable them to fill their office in Society."[1] The implementation of her philosophy and vision was necessarily affected by the vested interests of the groups with whom she worked in England--but Cornelia brought a vision which could be adapted because it was born of a culture where she had experienced another kind of individual freedom.

This study was addressed to achieving a fuller understanding of Holy Child education, the institutionalized expression of Cornelia's charisma, in its incipience. The Society of the Holy Child Jesus continues its work internationally today, ascribing its impetus to Cornelia's

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[1] Catholic Directory 1847, quoted in Gompertz, Life, p. 121.

ideal, to the philosophy and vision of education which she developed in England in the mid-eighteen hundreds. Berger and Kellner draw attention to the particular value of the work of Max Weber and the "spirit of Weberianism" in understanding such social phenomena:

> While Weber was...committed to the scientific rationality of the modern West, he had a very distinct understanding of what this meant for the study of human affairs: human affairs don't speak for themselves, they must be interpreted.[1]

Holy Child education is the product of the life and work of Cornelia Connelly. In her conception it was committed to the full Christian education and human development of Holy Child students in order "to make strong women who, while they lose nothing of their gentleness and sweetness, should yet have a masculine force of character and will."[2] Holy Child education was idealistic, it was ambitious. Most significantly, it was the product of a woman's life accented by suffering and misunderstanding.

An understanding of Holy Child education in its beginnings necessitates an appreciation of its founder's story. "There is a particular existential attitude in patiently, carefully being attentive to the meaning of

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[1]Peter Berger and Hansfried Kellner, Sociology Reinterpreted (Garden City: Anchor Books, 1981), p. 10.

[2]CC, quoted in Gompertz, Life, p. 308.

other people's lives, to the 'deciphering' of the inner meanings of social phenomena."[1] Cornelia was asked to sacrifice church, home and family by a husband who wished to pursue his vocation as an Episcopal minister in the Catholic priesthood. After much reflection, and several years, she did so. She, in turn, responded to the educational needs of Catholic females in England, founding the Society of the Holy Child Jesus. The curriculum this American educator developed, adaptable to the needs of all social classes, addressed the exigencies of nineteenth century England in a manner that was visionary, charismatic and intellectually sophisticated. Only a person with a vision of what could be, and the ability to instill that vision in a followership, could have established a selective synthesis of educational thought and practice which would both meet and go beyond the bureaucratic definitions of class needs in a foreign country entering upon the goal of popular education.

What was the "inner meaning" Cornelia brought to this venture? It is perhaps the dimension of accepted suffering which explains Cornelia's capacity for conversion--conversion understood as the total reordering of priorities in life not the changing of the components of life and personality. By the age of fourteen Cornelia had moved

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[1]Berger and Kellner, Sociology Reinterpreted, p. 10.

at least seven times and lost both parents and her oldest brother. From the first information available, however, her biographers portray her as a woman in love with life and with a thirst for knowledge of the world around her. She studied music, voice, painting and modern languages as an adult in Europe. These accomplishments she translated into the means for others to learn and to enjoy life.

The losses in Cornelia's life which might have brought about personal disintegration and despair instead called forth initiative and the ability to educate and give leadership to others. It is not that Cornelia did not suffer nor that she denied her suffering. She did develop a personal philosophy of life which she summarized in the motto, "Courage, Confidence and Silence."[1] The charismatic strength of her personality enabled her to pursue the establishment of the apostolate of education in spite of the opposition and misunderstanding associated with "Connelly versus Connelly," "the St. Leonards affair" and "the Liverpool débâcle."

The name for the Society she would found first "came" to Cornelia while still in Rome in 1845.[2] It was during this period that she had decided not to become a member of the Society of the Sacred Heart. The name, "Society

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[1] D 68:25, quoted in Positio, 1:389.

[2] D 68:6, quoted in Positio, I:215.

of the Holy Child Jesus" embraced the hidden life of the child Jesus. The Christology of the Incarnation was very meaningful to Cornelia from the time of her son's death at Grand Coteau, Louisiana, and throughout her life as she sought to integrate the various roles of mother, wife, teacher and leader. For Cornelia Holy Child education contained in its name "the value of a suffering and hidden life" first expressed not so much in the infant life of the child Jesus as in his childhood with his parents in Nazareth.[1] This "inner meaning" of Holy Child education was an attitude towards life and a quality of living to be nurtured in Holy Child students enabling them "to become strong women..." and "to fill their office in Society." Cornelia's faith perspective overcame difficulty; it did not foster passive acceptance of the difficult events of life.

Weber's work on charisma and institution building provides a way of distinguishing between the educative and religious dimensions of early Holy Child education by separating the historical context from the theological tradition. From the perspective of education, Cornelia responded to the needs of Catholic females in England with the wealth of experience her own educational journey had given her. The state of English education in the

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[1]CC 8:92; Positio, 1:261; and Luke 2:48-52.

mid-eighteen hundreds, and the regulations enacted by the Committee of Council for Education, obliged her to abide by their pronouncements in all but her private boarding schools. Her own educational experience, so eclectic in nature, did more than prepare her to simply adopt a Catholic syllabus prepared by others. Cornelia chose not to become a member of the Sacred Heart but she freely adapted their Plan of Studies and the Jesuit Ratio Studiorum for her own purposes--with the perspective and perception of an American wife, mother and teacher. The losses and suffering in her own life opened her to the needs, problems, and presence of suffering in the lives of the children taught by her Society.

To appreciate the sociological dimension operative in the expression of Cornelia's charismatic leadership is not to deny her charism in the eyes of the Church. It is to see her as a woman who encountered the difficulties of her life experience in a way that enabled her to work within the religious and social necessities of her historical situation to meet an expressed need. The Catholic Church was the vehicle which enabled her to undertake this task of education; it was her chosen value context.

The ideal of providing a truly Christian education for young English Catholic females was Cornelia's way of using education to provide "as unified, consistent and

complete an outlook upon experience as possible."[1] Her philosophy of education presumed its influence on the conduct of life through the inculcation of Christian values; her vision of what was "Christian" incorporated the breadth of her life experience and went beyond the boundaries of the Victorian ethic. God was to be found everywhere and in everything.[2] Holy Child education sought to enable its pupils "to view the invisible things of God through the medium of the visible."[3]

This study may be of value to the present members of the Society of the Holy Child Jesus who seek "to foster the continued growth and development of Holy Child education" by bringing to their attention the practicality of Cornelia's original enterprise.[4] This American woman's love of knowledge and appreciation of art and music were translated into a selective synthesis of educational thought and praxis which had as its goal the education of young women competent "to study history philosophically," "to enter into the meaning of literature," and to understand the "universal Language" of art.[5] Cornelia educated for the

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[1]Dewey, Experience and Education, p. 324.

[2]Book of Studies, p. 21.

[3]Ibid., p. 80.

[4]School Commission Minutes, 1.12.81.

[5]Book of Studies, p. 50; p. 26; and p. 53.

perception of the connection between knowledge and values, for a knowing that searches out meaning and understanding. This was the means she chose to create "strong women" prepared "to fill their office in Society."

Elizabeth Vallance found in her research that what current theorists have found to be "hidden" in the curriculum was originally of open intent.[1] It may not be what has become "hidden" over the decades in Holy Child education which needs to be rediscovered so much as what may have become "lost" of the practicality of the woman who educated for the exigencies of life. Practices which become irrelevant are dropped; the rhetoric which accompanied Cornelia's rationale is, in many cases, anachronistic. One might ask, however, whether or not the purposes behind her educational practices are perceived and provided for in the present curricula of Holy Child schools.

In early Holy Child schools Cornelia addressed the question of identity--preparing individuals to take their place in Society as "strong women." She reinforced a sense of personhood by providing a Christian education which emphasized the essential goodness of God. This was expressed through the simple everyday goodness of love--"the value which belongs to a person rather than the value we find in an idea or a pattern."[2] The young person

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[1] Vallance, "Hiding the Curriculum," p. 605.

[2] H. Richard Niebuhr, The Meaning of Revelation (New York: MacMillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1960), p. 138.

of the twentieth century experiences a religious anomie--the Absolute or God having no relevance to everyday life--not known to Cornelia or her teachers. The challenge to Holy Child educators today is found in this arena. Are they able to restore to their students a view of the world such that the meaning of their Christian faith provides a philosophy and vision of hope, of "representations of the way things could indeed be?"[1]

Today, the men and women who teach in the Society's schools, which strive to foster the continued growth of Holy Child philosophy and vision, may choose to exhibit the same concern for the individual person as did Cornelia. Be they members of the Society or not, the educational heritage of Holy Child schools calls them to mature Christian faith, to a philosophy and vision of education which sees life as an integrated whole and enables its students to encounter life with the ability to reflect and understand, to wonder and experience awe, to appreciate and respond to the aesthetic.

Since Vatican II the members of the Society have rewritten their Constitutions to reflect Cornelia's charism in today's world. In the field of education, where the Society considers Holy Child education to be an institutionalized expression of Cornelia's gifted leadership,

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[1]Polanyi, Meaning, p. 160.

it is perhaps time to prepare a new handbook of education with a curriculum designed to address the concerns of the late twentieth century. The young adult of today must be prepared to live in a world in constant flux. The human race has become a global people; the economy of the world is undergoing a re-ordering; the problems and needs of the Developing nations present an ever new challenge to the nations of the West who cannot meet the needs of their own poor.

How would Cornelia respond? Specific religious, social and historical forces called forth her educative style and charismatic leadership thus shaping her vision and philosophy of education. It was, however, the practicality of her nature and ability to adapt to express situations which enabled Cornelia to translate her philosophy and vision into a selective synthesis of educational praxis. A sense of mission accompanied Cornelia's work: "To meet the wants of the day...." There is the continued need to translate this mission, embraced in Holy Child philosophy and vision, into a curriculum capable of preparing young adults to take their place in society, with the ability to adapt in a meaningful and purposeful way, to the changing circumstances of a dynamic society and world.

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GLOSSARY

Charism of Foundation: The gift received by a person or persons for the founding of a religious congregation in the Catholic Church. The term includes all the qualities in the person which make the enterprise both possible and unique.

Charism of the institution: "A religious congregation's shared faith-vision, its shared values and their expression in the life and mission of the congregation. Particular works are an expression of the congregation's fundamental call." It is the "charism of foundation" in its historic continuity.[1]

Constitution: The canonical document whose purpose is "to express clearly the faith-vision of the group and to express the ways that [can] assure continuity in the [congregation's] quality of life and service."[2]

Charisma: "A certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with...specifically exceptional powers or qualities. These are not accessible to the ordinary person, but are regarded as of divine origin or as exemplary, and on the basis of them the individual concerned is treated as a leader."[3]

"Charisma may be either of two types. Where this appellation is fully merited, charisma is a gift that inheres in an object or person simply by natural endowment. But charisma of the other type may be produced artificially in an object or person through extraordinary means. Even then, it is assumed that charismatic powers can be developed only in people or objects in which the germ already existed but would have remained dormant unless by some ascetic or other regimen."[4]

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[1]Milligan, "Charisms and Constitutions," p. 51, and pp. 45-46.

[2]Ibid., p. 52.

[3]Weber, Social and Economic Organization, p. 358.

[4]Weber, Sociology of Religion, p. 1.

Routinization of charisma: "The process whereby either the prophet himself or his disciples secure the prominence of his preaching and the congregation's distribution of grace, hence securing the economic existence of the enterprise and those who man it, and thereby monopolizing as well the privileges reserved for those charged with religious functions."[1]

Depersonalized charisma: "The routinization of charisma acts in the following way:

> "From a unique gift of grace charisma may be transformed into a quality that is either (a) transferable or (b) personally acquirable or (c) attached to the incumbent of an office or to an institutional structure i.e."[2]

Weber in considering the question of routinization maintains his view of charisma as a unique phenomenon. "We are justified in still speaking of charisma in this impersonal sense only because there always remains an extraordinary quality which is not accessible to everyone and which typically overshadows the charismatic subjects."[3]

Institution: A social institution, that is, "the sum total of the patterns, relations, processes, and material instruments built up around any major social interest."[4]

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[1]Weber, Sociology of Religion, pp. 60-61.

[2]Max Weber, "Charisma: Its Revolutionary Character and Its Transformation," in N. Birnbaum and G. Lenzer, eds., Sociology and Religion (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1969), p. 193.

[3]Ibid., p. 191.

[4]H.P. Fairchild, ed., Dictionary of Sociology and Related Sciences (Totowa, N.J.: Littlefield, Adams & Co., 1970), p. 284.