Rescuing Lay Teachers in Catholic Schools from Anonymity for the Period 1870–1970

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Introduction

Over the last 25 years there has been a growing corpus of literature internationally on the history of teachers. During the 1980s, educational historians in the United States[1] became particularly active in developing this general field, while Silver[2] noted the commencement of similar activity in Canada soon afterwards. Overall, the work which emerged led Warren to conclude that educational historians had begun both to make schools and classrooms of the past accessible, and to give voice to the reflections and commentary of teachers themselves, 'the otherwise 'unremarkable' people who delivered school to the nation's children over the course of two centuries'.[3] Research in such a vein, conceptualised against a background of gender, race and class, continued in the 1990s.[4] Nevertheless, the general field of the history of Catholic teachers' lives is still much under–researched internationally. Furthermore, what little accounts there are tend towards being heroic and centre on the lives of those teachers who were priests, brothers and nuns, and who were collectively known as 'the teaching religious'.

The emphasis in many of the histories of Catholic education on the lives of the members of religious teaching orders is hardly surprising given that for over one hundred years up to the mid 1960s they dominated the Catholic teaching force in the English-speaking world, particularly in the United States, England and Wales, Ireland, Australia and New Zealand. Much of the literature on the growth of the orders presents the phenomenon as a sudden burst on the world stage of divinely inspired Catholic altruism. On the other hand, those who adopt a more secular perspective view it as the result of a complex interaction of political, social and economic forces. This perspective sees the domination of Catholic schooling from the middle of the nineteenth to the middle of the twentieth century by members of religious orders as being partly a consequence of the Church being embattled for centuries

following the Reformation. Of particular significance was the Church's loss of temporal power and a consequent all-out war on Liberalism[5] facilitated by the development of a highly organised system of ecclesiastical administration. The Catholic school came to be seen by the Church as one of its instruments for holding on to, and re-establishing its control over, the faithful. In 1864, for example, Pope Pius IX published his encyclical *Quanta Cura*, with its appended *Syllabus of Errors*, which included Proposition 48 condemning the idea that 'Catholics may approve of that system of teaching youth which is separated from the Catholic faith and from ecclesiastical authority' and which 'totally, or at least primarily, sees as its purpose the knowledge of natural science and of the social life of the world'.[6]

The staffing of Catholic schools with members of religious orders ensured that Catholic education could be provided for the 'masses' since the labour provided was cheap. It also ensured that young Catholics were shaped in a manner which served the Church's interests, the most crucial of which were to ensure the teaching of religion, the infusion of the various subjects on the secular curriculum with Catholic principles and ideals, and the creation of a religious atmosphere in the schools which was all-pervasive. Providing a basic elementary education in the 3Rs for the great mass of Catholic children was also motivated by a desire to break down the link between being Catholic and being poor. In other words, education was seen as being important in elevating the status of Catholics so that the status of the Church itself would, in turn, be elevated.[7]

While most of the work in Catholic schools was conducted by teaching religious, in their midst were lay teachers. These constitute a much under-researched group in Catholic education internationally. This paper is offered as one attempt to provoke some thought on this neglected group in the historiography of the Catholic teacher and, hopefully, stimulate research, in an attempt to fill the lacuna which exists.

The Status of the Laity within the Catholic Church

In considering the anonymity of the lay teacher within many accounts of teachers and teaching in Catholic schools throughout much of the English-speaking world in the century prior to the 1970s, it is necessary in the first instance to view the phenomenon as a reflection of the trend at the time by the religious orders to view themselves as superior to all lay people, and not just the lay teachers. A major feature of the rules and regulations governing the lives of members of religious orders was the clear instruction that they should at all times distance themselves from

the laity. The justification for this position was tied largely to the notion that the taking of vows was the very foundation of the religious life. The 'Constitutions of the Sisters of Mercy' gave expression to the centrality of this notion in stating that the 'general object' of the order was 'the glory of God and the personal sanctification of its members by means of the observance of the three simple vows of poverty, chastity and obedience'.[8]

Various safeguards to ensure that members of religious orders remained faithful to their vows and stayed focused on the central objective of their way of life were instituted. One such safeguard was embodied in those rules and regulations of the orders which made explicit the need for members to have as little social interaction as possible with lay people. Overall, what was communicated was that the lay state was very much an inferior one. This was based partially on the view that in opting for the lay state one was placing oneself in a situation where much greater freedom was given to human desires, many of which were viewed as being intrinsically evil and as working in opposition to the striving for perfection in this life. Such striving, it was argued, was necessary in order to try to maximize one's chance of entering heaven after one died. The belief also was that if the religious came into regular contact with lay people, this could easily lead to a loosening of the reins on their own desires, thus threatening their commitment to the religious life and their vowed status. The Presentation Sisters, for example, were instructed to 'maintain the most guarded reserve' when dealing with 'seculars' and never to be 'in the least degree familiar',[9] the *Directory and Rules of the Christian Brothers* required members to 'abstain from frequent and unnecessary conversations with seculars',[10] and the Rules of the Loreto Sisters stated that no sister was to speak with secular persons 'or call others to speak with them, without a particular or general leave of the Superior'.[11]

Some of the orders went into various levels of detail on what was, and what was not, appropriate behaviour. Loreto Sisters, for example, were forbidden to deliver a message or a letter from a secular person to one of their convents, or from one of the convents to a secular person, without the Superior's knowledge,[12] and the 'Rules' of the Australian Sisters of Saint Joseph of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus stated that any 'conversations of a worldly nature, such topics as politics, marriages, family affairs, positions in life, superiority of birth or education, nationality, etc. are strictly forbidden'.[13] Members of religious orders were also informed that while they should be polite to lay people, they should not become in the least bit friendly. On this, the Brigidine Sisters, for example, were instructed that 'all who come to the House should be received with courtesy and kindness, but also with prudence'.[14]

All of these rules partially served the function of maintaining confidentiality about the workings of the cloister and ensuring that no opportunities were presented for discussion amongst the laity that this might be a place where human frailty existed. In particular, it was important not to speak to lay people about any conflicts between particular religious and not to give cause for gossip in the general society that members of religious communities might not always be living up to their vows. On this, the 'rules' of the Sisters of Saint Joseph of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus decreed that 'when conversing with seculars, sisters should carefully abstain from communicating any of the interior concerns, customs and incidents of the Community'.[15]

The rules of the religious also protected them from coming into regular contact with family life lest it offer its own temptations. This protection took a number of forms. For example, those religious not concerned with social work in the neighbourhood were expected to avoid the houses of pupils unless they had the express leave of their superior, and they were only to seek such leave in times of great necessity. When it was deemed necessary to meet the parents of pupils, the meeting was to take place in a very formal atmosphere in a hall or room set aside specially for the purpose. Furthermore, any conversation which was to take place was to be in as few words as possible.

The situation in England and Wales is an interesting one when considering the extent of the marginalization of parents by the religious from the educative process. Certainly much the same emphasis was placed by the Hierarchy here, as in the other countries, on parents sending their children to Catholic schools. For example, on two occasions in the late 1940s the Bishop of Salford warned his clergy that parents who sent their children to non-Catholic schools were committing a mortal sin from which they could not be absolved 'until they remedy the evil',[16] and that if they did not remedy it they were likely to be denied a Catholic burial. Here also, the Church was ever anxious to gain an increase in state financial support for its schools and used lay people as foot-soldiers in its campaigns. Nevertheless, it was senior clergy who wrote leaflets and had them printed and distributed, who prepared postcards for mailing to members of parliament, who wrote out questions to be asked of parliamentary candidates, and who organized mass meetings. In all of this activity parish organizations were harnessed for support, not direction. Indeed, it was made very clear in the Liverpool Archdiocese that leadership in education was an area of activity from which lay people were to be excluded.[17]

Regarding the situation in Ireland, it is not an overstatement to observe that here parents were almost completely barred from taking any

part in the policy process at the school level. O'Connor[18] has put the situation bluntly, arguing that the only place for parents in the system was 'as providers of children'. O'Flaherty has put it in similar terms: 'In the matter of schooling, the parents' role was often that of delivering their offspring to the agents of the system, who processed them in a time honoured fashion and returned them with a mind-set of absolutes and certainties'.[19]

Ensuring that parents were kept distanced from the schools was part of an overall strategy on the part of the religious to maintain an enormous degree of physical distance between themselves and the laity. In this way, they were positioned to safeguard both the privacy of their communities and their own commitment to their vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, thus minimising any temptations which might have encouraged them to leave and join the world of the laity. Furthermore, through being regularly reminded of the arguments which were put forward to justify their aloofness and engaging in associated practices, they were regularly reconfirmed in the conviction that their way of life was superior to others.

The Marginalization of Lay Teachers Within Catholic Schools

The lay teachers in the schools run by the religious were viewed in the same way as the laity in general, namely, as leading a lesser form of life in the eyes of the Lord. A major consequence of this was that they were excluded from school policy development. In this way, the religious promoted the notion amongst any pupils attracted by the prospect of becoming a teacher in a Catholic school that if one were to work outside of the parameters of the religious life one would be of inferior rank and status. In particular, there was no entertainment of the possibility that married life or living as a single person outside of religious life, might enhance one's qualities as a teacher and a school manager.

Thomas,[20] speaking specifically about the Australian scene from the early part of the nineteenth century, has argued that for the bishops there was no sense in the laity being part of the Church's mission. This was because of the strength of the following view in their minds:

> The world was seen as essentially evil; Catholic youth were susceptible to the wickedness of the world and needed to be reminded of the other world. Catholic schools were vital in the battle against evil; they could provide the necessary vigilance and control over youth. Character training was important; it would initially occur in the home but the school would continue the battle to ward off evil influences.[21]

Such a view was echoed at the other end of the globe, in Ireland, by Cardinal Paul Cullen, deemed 'one of the two or three most influential ecclesiastics of the entire nineteenth century'.[22] For Cullen education was essentially a preparation for the 'eternal never ending existence beyond the grave'[23] and he criticized as absolutely wicked any education which based its aims on purely earthly affairs.

Fifty years later the Irish Loreto Sisters stated their position in similar terms: 'It is necessary that children should be thoroughly instructed in the truths and percepts of the Catholic Faith, so that they may adhere to it through all difficulties and temptations, and show forth Christian teaching in their lives'.[24] In this, they were repeating the sentiments of the Pastoral Address of the Catholic archbishops and bishops of Ireland to their flocks on the occasion of the Plenary Synod held in Maynooth in 1927:

> The ultimate end of his existence, namely, the salvation of his immortal soul, is what really matters for every man, and education which is not systematically directed to help him towards this end, is fundamentally defective in its aim .... For Christians, therefore, there can be no question of approving of any system of education in which moral and religious teaching does not find a foremost place.[25]

John O'Hara, Cardinal-Archbishop of Philadelphia, was arguing along almost identical lines nearly thirty years later:

> The secularist who denies the existence of the soul, writes a thousand books to explain what makes Johnny tick. The Catholic teacher who follows up the secularist, up a dozen blind alleys, wastes precious time and risks failure. The good nun who spends as much time praying for Johnny as teaching him, takes Johnny as he is, soul and all, and never has to worry about his conditioned reflexes.[26]

As the Hierarchy saw it, only a teaching force with the dedication and commitment of the religious could meet their perceived need and be a sufficient safeguard against the growth of secularist paradigms for interpreting the human condition, particularly those of the social sciences.

The economic dimension to this situation should not be overlooked. After all, the employment of lay teachers was not an attractive proposition since it would have meant a drain on scarce financial resources. Archbishop John Ireland of the American Catholic Hierarchy, expressed this openly when, on addressing the Twelfth Annual Convention of the National Catholic Association in the USA in 1915, he stated:

> I name our teaching Brotherhoods and Sisterhoods. To them this morning, in the name of Catholic education I bow in reverence and gratitude. Nothing but a divinely-fashioned Church could have produced them .... Our Brotherhoods and Sisterhoods it is, that permit our Catholic schools to exist. They are prodigal of their labors for the merest shade of pecuniary retribution. Without them the financial burden of Catholic schools were insurmountable; without them Catholic schools should have long ago closed their doors. Our Brotherhoods and Sisterhoods it is to whom we owe the high degree of efficiency which is the glory of our schools. [27]

However, such a public pronouncement that the religious were valued mainly for their free labour was unusual. What was more common was to downplay the financial savings to the Church, place the emphasis almost totally on the activity of members of religious orders as being intrinsically noble and a great sacrifice and, at the same time, portray the lay teacher as substitute.

In the USA, the irony of treating the lay teacher as being second best was, as O'Donnell points out, that they had been a part of Catholic education there from its beginnings.[28] Throughout the eighteenth century many of the Catholic schools which were opened were staffed primarily by lay teachers. As Catholic schools grew throughout the nineteenth century, however, the lay teachers played a much less vital role as they were being rapidly replaced by sisters and brothers. O'Donnell, quoting the Fourth Provincial Council of Baltimore in 1840 by way of illustration, goes on to argue that a concurrent development was the attribution of special qualities to the work of the religious:

> It is but a few years since the schools which the female religious orders and congregations so usefully superintend, were extensively spread abroad through our Union. Already you have gathered rich fruits from the exertions of those virtuous and laborious sisters .... Now we may feel confident under the blessing of heaven, that in a short period our female children will have secured to them ... the perfect boon of as perfect a system of education as need be admired.[29]

The lay teacher was rapidly becoming a second-class citizen in a world dominated by the religious.

Thomas demonstrates how this view of the lay teacher also found expression in the public pronouncements of the Catholic clergy and the Hierarchy in the Colony of South Australia during the nineteenth century. He reminds us that Fr. Tenison Woods, after establishing the Australian order of the Sisters of St. Joseph of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus in the colony, argued in 1869 that 'no lay teacher ever tried or even pretended to give the untiring earnest care to the spiritual welfare of the children

which the Sisters would and did, and what it was their first object to effect' and he praised the Sisters for their devotedness 'to their self-imposed task'.[30] Thomas then goes on to demonstrate that this reflected the pattern of pronouncements by successive members of the Hierarchy. For example, Bishop Sheil argued in 1867 for the need for superior schools for girls on the basis that the superior education imparted there would be combined with 'that pure and exalted moral training which can be obtained nowhere else so well as within the walls of a Convent school'. Similarly, Bishop Murray of Maitland referred in 1868 to the devotion of the religious teachers to the cause of education for no private or personal gain,[31] Archbishop Vaughan made a claim in 1879 that parents knew the advantage of bringing their children into direct contact with teachers who were 'living examples of highest sacrifice',[32] and Bishop O'Reilly spoke in 1890 of the 'school class as the nun's family circle, the schoolroom as her home, and the relationship between the sister and her class as having a religious sanction' and bearing 'the impress of a heavenly seal'.[33] These pronouncements established the pattern of thought which was to remain dominant until well into the latter half of the twentieth century.

The religious themselves also promoted the notion that they were of a class superior to that of the lay teachers since their commitment to teaching was part of a larger commitment to the most heroic way of life. The 'Rules' of the Sisters of Saint Joseph of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus gave expression to this perspective when they mandated for members as follows: 'When it is necessary to speak with seculars, it should be done in such a manner that people of the world may be edified and understand that they are speaking with spiritual persons, who care nothing for the vanities of the world'.[34] In similar vein, the Constitutions of the Sisters of Mercy stated that members should distance themselves from lay teachers, as these were 'seculars' and that 'it is by unnecessary communication with seculars that the religious spirit departs from Communities, and that the spirit of the world enters with its train of abuses and relaxation'.[35] Such rules hindered the sharing of educational experiences among religious and lay teachers. Also, both groups did not engage in regular dialogue about the development of curriculum and pedagogy in the schools. This situation did little to raise the morale of the lay teachers and generate enthusiasm amongst them for their work.

The dominant view of the religious also meant that they only considered employing lay teachers as a last resort. From their early days in Ireland, the Christian Brothers were able to rely largely on their own resources, supplementing their teaching force with trained monitors rather than with paid lay teachers.[36] This arrangement, however, was not

always possible overseas. For example, in the 1880s when Brother Ambrose Treacy was directing the expansion of the Brothers in Australia, he called on outside trained teachers to assist with more specialised work.[37] Nevertheless, his correspondence, as Greening points out, shows an obvious tone of condescension, suggesting that mere lay teachers were not as qualified as the Brothers in conducting school business.[38] He was convinced that the presence of Christian Brothers in classrooms was essential for the proper implementation of their educational system which stemmed from their monasticism, and he feared that lay teachers would not understand the ethos of a Brothers' school.

The Christian Brothers' view of the lay teacher persisted well into the twentieth century. It found expression in the 'directory and rules' where it was stated that Brothers were required to avoid 'engaging in political conversations with assistant teachers'.[39] By 'assistant teachers' was clearly meant lay teachers. What was being made plain through this terminology was that a lay teacher was to be employed in a school only when no nun, religious brother or priest could be found to fill an essential teaching position. The Brothers also promoted the view that lay teachers could not possibly approach teaching with the same degree of responsibility as could nuns, religious brothers and priests, and also that they would ignore their duties unless they were constantly monitored. Thus, individual brothers were told that they would need to ensure 'the same conscientious discharge of duty from the lay teachers, who ought not to be allowed to bring newspapers into the classroom, much less to read them therein'.[40]

The view of the lay teacher as somebody who could not be trusted because of his inferior status within the religious' hierarchy of vocations was so strong that individual brothers were also instructed 'as a help to the proper supervision of the pupils', to so arrange their own classes as to have the other pupils in the room under observation. 'This would ensure', it was concluded, that 'to a certain extent, they will never lose sight of the children who are in groups or classes around the maps or blackboards, or reciting lessons, or in charge of Assistant Teachers'.[41] Kehoe, on analyzing the testimony of lay teachers working for various religious orders in Australia, concluded that the adoption of such a demeaning view had practical implications which were unpleasant. In particular, they often had to use the students' toilets, had to have lunch on their own, and were not privy to any of the discussion concerning school matters, which was often done by the religious around the breakfast or dinner table.[42]

Nevertheless, the lay teacher was not to disappear from the schools. As the provision of Catholic education, particularly in the twentieth

century, continued to expand in various countries faster than the expansion of the religious orders the employment of more and more lay teachers became necessary. This was accompanied by a certain softening of approach, with some religious orders openly declaring that their lay counterparts should enjoy good working conditions and be happy in their schools. Even so, the approach was that of benevolent employers towards their employees rather than one informed by a view that they were partners with the lay teachers in the provision of Catholic education. On this, O'Donnell[43] has recalled that during the late 1940s, and on through the next decade, a series of studies was conducted on the status of the lay teacher in various parts of the USA. With a few minor differences, the findings of all these studies were generally the same; 'lay teachers, men and women, in elementary and secondary schools, felt that they were being treated kindly but not professionally'.[44] O'Donnell concluded that, generally, the lay teacher was not involved in the shaping of school policy, participation at faculty meetings was confined to procedural questions, and administrators were quite open in stating that while they considered lay teachers did an adequate job, they would replace them with religious if they became available.

The move towards treating lay teachers kindly, even if not yet regarding them as equals professionally, nevertheless continued. In Ireland, for example, the Conference of Convent Secondary Schools offered the following advice in the 1940s to religious sisters regarding the treatment of lay teaching staff:

> We must not forget that the pupils in our convent schools are, sometimes, for several hours daily, taught by secular teachers, and girls can be very much impressed by the outlook of these mistresses. It would therefore be well that these secular teachers should be working under conditions that would enable and encourage them to be loyal to the nuns and to give of their best to the girls taught by them. Adequate salaries and better pension and insurance schemes for secondary teachers are desirable and, when possible, every school should provide suitable, convenient and comfortable staff-rooms, cloak rooms and dining rooms for their secular staff.[45]

A number of years later, in 1951, the same view was captured well in Australia in the following extract from the minutes of the Fifth National Catholic Education Conference of Directors and Inspectors of Schools at Hobart:

> The Conference notes with dismay the alarming shortage of vocations to the religious teaching orders .... Catholic lay teachers of good moral character and of sound educational qualifications can be a valuable asset, and in some cases

> are increasingly necessary, in Catholic schools. In this way, provision should be made for their training and financial support.[46]

At the same time, however, the Conference continued to defend the employment in secondary schools of priests, religious brothers and religious sisters who were not registered teachers, arguing that while they might not have university degrees, they were much more suitable than lay university graduates because of their greater religious, moral and social convictions.[47] In this, the Conference was echoing a commentator in the USA around the same time who argued that a 'human being who is suited to teaching and who has taken vows should be a better teacher than the same person without any vows'.[48] In other words, while the decline in vocations forced the religious to adopt a more welcoming approach towards the lay teacher so that teaching in Catholic schools might become more attractive, there was no change in the mind-set which caused them to see their way of life as being superior.

Overall, then, the lay teacher in secondary schools throughout much of the English-speaking world, was, in the words of a former Secretary of the Department of Education in Ireland, 'always the hired man *(sic)*'.[49] This situation prompted one lay teacher in Ireland in the 1950s to argue that he was a member of a 'stop-gap profession', stating:

> Secondary teaching in Ireland today can hardly be called a career. A career implies stability and the idea of being able to rise in a profession and of becoming 'something' in it, as not infrequently happens in law and medicine. In secondary teaching one cannot rise .... A secondary teacher may take postgraduate courses and perfect himself in his own line up to the point of becoming a scholar of worth, but there is no professional peak-point which he can obtain in the sense in which a barrister may become a judge or a medical practitioner may become a specialist.[50]

The general view was consistent with that which was expounded by a certain James J. Walsh, who commented as follows regarding the situation in the USA in the 1930s: 'It is against the spirit and aim of the Church to employ in secondary schools any more lay men and women than necessity dictates. A religious teacher for every youth is the ideal of the Hierarchy'.[51] It was to be well into the 1960s before the religious orders ceased to view lay teachers as fulfilling 'an essentially inferior and supplementary role'. [52]

By the late 1950s change was on the horizon. Catholic education continued to grow throughout the English-speaking world. The attitude of the Church in the various countries concerned required school places for every Catholic child. This often meant that no limit was placed on enrolments, with class sizes growing as a result. The situation was

compounded when, in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the number of people entering religious orders decreased, while others began to move out of classroom teaching and administration into new forms of apostolic work. The inability of religious congregations to meet the increased demand for teaching staff meant that increasing the recruitment and employment of lay teachers, often trained in government institutions, became the only real alternative. The change in the mixture of staff led to the appointment of lay principals and the withdrawal of religious congregations from individual schools. Catholic schools were now returning to the pattern of the earlier part of the nineteenth century of lay teachers dominating the teaching force. These, of course, were teachers who had not been through the lengthy period of spiritual formation of those they replaced.

A new attitude towards the lay teachers on the part of the religious also began to emerge. Various writers advanced the position that lay teachers should be accepted as valuable contributors in the Catholic school, contributing, as one of them put it, to 'the freeing up of the rather stringent and authoritarian ideological basis of intellectual life which characterised Catholic schools'.[53] Bennett[54] also recalls the emergence of the argument that lay people would be able to give a better preparation for the sacrament of marriage such that it could be considered as a normal vocation. It was not long until the next stage was reached, namely, the appointment of lay principals and the withdrawal of religious congregations from individual schools.

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The aim of this paper has been to attempt to rescue the lay teacher in Catholic schools from historical anonymity. Certainly it is true that up to the mid-to-late 1960s lay teachers were in a minority in many Catholic schools throughout the English-speaking world and that this situation had prevailed for over a century. However, the bulk of the works which act to shape our views on Catholic teachers during the period tend to ignore the lay teacher completely. This is not surprising since the great majority of them have been produced by the religious orders and they have concentrated on eulogising their members. They are admirable as attempts to provide some record of the activities of the teaching religious before the orders themselves become extinct. However, by neglecting to recognise the lay teachers, or to down-play their role, they have perpetuated a practice which they operated when they were in the ascendancy.

By excluding lay teachers from school policy development, the religious promoted the notion that they were eminently more suited to administering the schools because of their religious commitment, their total devotion to their work, and the fact that they were not distracted by family demands and problems. In this way, as in others, they regularly reinforced within themselves their own sense of superiority over lay people, thus regularly reconfirming their conviction that theirs was the superior way of life. My hope now is that educational historians will consider this conclusion and test it for different parts of the English-speaking world and for various sub-periods in the century preceding the early 1970s. It may also be that there is scope for comparative studies. Recently, for example, Vanderstraeten[55] has drawn attention to how the presence of laymen was thought to endanger the identity of Catholic schools in Holland and Belgium in the early 1900s. Furthermore, while the lenses through which the Hierarchy and the religious orders viewed the lay teachers are reasonably well understood, we have hardly any studies on how the lay teachers viewed themselves. By investigating these and related issues it could be that, in the fullness of time, we will come to a deeper knowledge of the role and status of the lay teacher in Catholic education during the heyday of the religious teachers and thus contribute to the growing knowledge-base on the history of the lives of teachers of all types internationally.

NOTES

1. See, for example, L. Cuban, *How Teachers Taught: Constancy and Change in American Classrooms, 1890–1980* (New York: Longman, 1984), and B. Finkelstein, *Governing the Young: Teacher Behaviour in Popular Primary Schools in Nineteenth Century United States* (London: Falmer, 1989).
2. H. Silver, 'Historiography of education', in T. Husen and T. N. Postlethwaite (eds.), *International Encyclopedia of Education* (London: Pergamon, 1994), pp.2607–2618.
3. D. Warren, 'Messages from the inside: Teachers as clues in history and policy', *International Journal of Educational Research*, Vol. 13, 1989, p.379.
4. See, for example, R. J. Altenbaugh (ed.), *The Teacher's Voice: A Social History of Teaching in Nineteenth Century America* (London: Falmer Press, 1992); B. Finkelstein, 'Classroom management in the United States: Evolving terrain of teaching', in N. K. Shimahara (ed.), *Politics of Classroom Life: Classroom Life in International Perspective* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1998), pp.11–48; G. McCulloch, 'Classroom management in England: Theoretical and historical approaches to control and discipline', in N. K. Shimahara (ed.), *Politics of Classroom Life: Classroom Life in International Perspective*, pp.85–106; K. Rousmaniere, K. Dehli and N. de Coninck-Smith (eds.), *Discipline, Moral Regulation, and Schooling: A Social History* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1997); I. Grosvenor, M. Lawn and K. Rousmaniere

(eds.), *Silences and Images: The Social History of the Classroom* (New York: Peter Lang, 1999).

5. See E. O. Hanson, *The Catholic Church in World Politics* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1987), p.30.
6. Cited in J. Molony, *The Roman Mould of the Australian Catholic Church* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1969), p.111.
7. This is the central argument in M. P. Magray, *The Transforming Power of the Nuns: Women, Religion and Cultural Change in Ireland, 1750–1900* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).
8. The Sisters of Mercy, *Constitutions of The Congregation of the Australian Union of The Sisters of Our Lady of Mercy*, (Canberra, Australia: The Sisters of Mercy–General Motherhouse, 1960), p.2.
9. The Presentation Sisters, *Constitutions of the Presentation Sisters* (Cork: Hickey and Byrne, 1928), p.27.
10. The Christian Brothers, Directory and Rules of the Congregation of the Brothers of the Christian Schools of Ireland, (Dublin: The Christian Brothers, 1927), p.169.
11. The Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary, *Rules IBVM* (Dublin: IBVM, 1914), p.27.
12. *Ibid.*
13. Sisters of Saint Joseph of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus,*Customs and Practices of the Sisters of Saint Joseph of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus.* (Sydney: Sisters of Saint Joseph of The Most Sacred Heart of Jesus, 1949), p.12.
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid*, p.14.
16. Salford Diocesan Archives [SDA] Marshall 200/145.
17. Minutes of Liverpool Catholic Action Board 7 April 1944; 5 May 1944 Liverpool Diocesan Archives. [LA] Downey Papers S1 VII A/3.
18. S. O'Connor, *A Troubled Sky–Reflections on the Irish Educational Scene* (Dublin: Educational Research Centre, St. Patrick's College, Dublin, 1986), p.34.
19. L. O'Flaherty, 'Management or control? For what purpose?' *The Secondary Teacher*, Vol. 23, No. 1, 1994, p.4.
20. V. Thomas, 'The role of the laity in Catholic education in South Australia from 1836 to 1986', (unpublished PhD Thesis, The Flinders University of South Australia, Adelaide, Australia, 1989).
21. *Ibid.*, p.183.
22. E. O. Hanson, *The Catholic Church in World Politics*, p.34.
23. Evidence furnished by Cullen before the Powis Commission, printed in P. F. Moran (ed.), *The Pastoral Letters and other Writings of Cardinal Cullen, Archbishop of Dublin, Vol. 3* (Dublin: Browne and Nolan, 1882), Vol. 2, p.677.
24. Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary, *Constitutions of the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary for the House Dependent on the General Mother-House, Rathfarnham, Dublin* (Dublin: Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary, 1938), p.44.
25. 'Pastoral Address', *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, Vol. 30, 1927, p.536.

26. T. T. McAvoy, *Father O'Hara of Notre Dame* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1967), p.411.
27. Quoted in H. J. O'Donnell, 'The lay teacher in Catholic education', in F. M. Perko (ed.), *Enlightening the Next Generation: Catholics and their Schools 1830–1980* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1988), pp.254.
28. *Ibid.*, p.257
29. *Ibid.*, p.261.
30. Quoted in V. Thomas, 'The role of the laity in Catholic education in South Australia from 1836 to 1986', p.182.
31. *Ibid.*
32. *Ibid.*
33. *Ibid.*
34. Sisters of Saint Joseph of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus, *Customs and Practices of the Sisters of Saint Joseph of the Most Sacred Heart of Jesus*, p.7.
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44. *Ibid.*
45. Conference of Convent Secondary Sshools' Records. Report entitled 'Conference Commission: Summary Report 1945', UNISON Offices, 23 Merrion Square, Dublin, Ireland, p.3.
46. See file entitled 'General Educational Matters'. Box 29. File 5'. Archdiocese of Perth Archives. Perth, Western Australia.
47. See, for example, Annual Report of the CCSS 1947, p.49.
48. E. A. Fitzpatrick, 'Lay teachers and religious perfection', *Catholic School Journal,* December 1941, p.341.
49. S. O'Connor, 'Post-primary education: Now and in the future', in *'Studies', Post Primary Education: Now and In the Future* (Dublin: The Talbot Press, 1968), p.25.
50. 'A lay teacher' (pseud.), 'The stop-gap profession', *Cork University Record*, No. 15, 1949, p.23.
51. J. J. Walsh, 'Lay teachers in Catholic secondary schools', *Catholic School Interests*, January 1931, p. 78. Nevertheless, by the late 1950s it was becoming increasingly obvious that lay teachers would have to be taken on in ever increasing numbers in Catholic schools in the US. Tracy recognized this in his PhD study in 1958, declaring that a diocesan-wide program should be planned

for the hiring of lay teachers, their financial status should be made comparable to that of public school teachers and tenure should be granted. See H. M. Tracy, 'Status of the lay teachers in Catholic schools in the United States', (unpublished PhD dissertation, Fordham University, 1958).

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54. R. W. Bennet, 'Changes in the Catholic school system in the Maitland Diocese resulting from the increased proportion of lay teachers staffing these schools', (unpublished M. Ed. Thesis, Newcastle University, 1978), p.192.
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