Reflections on the Centenary of the Bushey Congregation of Dominican Sisters

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This year sees the centenary of the foundation of the Dominican sisters of Newcastle, Natal (South Africa), now based at Bushey Heath on the outskirts of London. A cause of rejoicing and of thanks to God for all that the sisters have been and done, but also for asking why we should be having such a celebration at all. Why was this religious institute founded only 100 years ago, when the history of the Dominican order as a whole goes back to the 13th century? Throughout the world, there are 158 autonomous congregations of sisters, with 35,000 professed members and 950 novices at the last count, while there is one international institute of the brethren, comprising nearly fifty provinces and forty vicariates, numbering some 7000 men, a thousand of whom are in formation. Why is there so much fragmentation amongst the sisters when the brothers have maintained, relatively speaking, a great degree of unity in their structure? It is not as if there were no sisters before the massive expansion of the numbers of women religious in the 19th century. Marie Poussepin, recently beatified, started what was recognisably a congregation which she put under the patronage of St Dominic 300 years ago.[1] At the time of St Dominic, there were groups of women who were not following a specific rule, some later becoming enclosed monasteries and others, monasteries of the third order.[2] Why is there not the organic connection between the convents of the Dominican sisters today and these forebears, as there is between the medieval convents of brothers and those of today?

Looking back at the way the sisters' congregations formed, there seems to have been three basic patterns for the way the different institutes came to be set up:[3]

1. Spontaneous and independent formation: there are several examples of this in England, mostly on the initiative of a woman. The English friars who went to the US also initiated independent congregations; the Sinsinawa Congregation was started by a lone Italian Dominican priest working in the mid-West of the US;
2. Conversion of papally enclosed monasteries to sisterhoods with active apostolates and/or foundation of daughterhouses which converted to active congregations: Germany has important examples of this,

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especially in the latter case where foundations were made in the US and South Africa;

3. Separation of houses founded by congregations from abroad or another part of the same country.

The fractured picture today is thus partly due to independent foundations being set up and partly to congregations splitting off from monasteries or mother congregations. In the first case, one could ask why independent foundations were set up, rather than attempts made to work within existing congregations. In the second, we need to examine what were the main factors in leading to a split. I suggest that both forms of separation are due to the same main factor, supported or activated by a number of subsidiary ones. The dominant factor is that the normative model for institutes of Dominican women until very recent times has been the monastery, in particular the enclosed monasteries.[4] Most of the congregations discussed here come from houses that sisters and ecclesiastical authorities alike thought of as monasteries when they were founded; separation of one house from another was expected and seen as normal. In this context, it is surprising how much the sisters tried to avoid separation and worked towards congregational or provincial structures, despite their religious formation and the expectations of them by church authorities.

Other important factors in this history of separation, all related to the monastic model, are:—the dominance of the monastic model for women religious in general, not only Dominicans; the ambiguous identity of active women religious until the turn of this century; the intervention of the local ordinary in the affairs of the sisters; the centralised constitutions with which the sisters had to cope; and the sisters' derivation of identity and unity through recognition by the Dominican brethren, rather than within their own institute. Other important factors contributed to splits between the sisters, such as large geographical distances between convents and extreme financial pressures, but these would have been felt by the brethren as much as the sisters, so they are not important in themselves for explaining why the sisters should split up and not the brothers. Using examples from the histories of the sisters' congregations in the US, South Africa and England, I hope to show how the factors listed above were working to split the sisters up from each other.[5] Most of the discussion focuses on the groups of congregations descended from the monasteries of the Holy Cross in Regensburg and St. Ursula in Augsburg. The diagrams below give an idea of the relationship between the different congregations mentioned:

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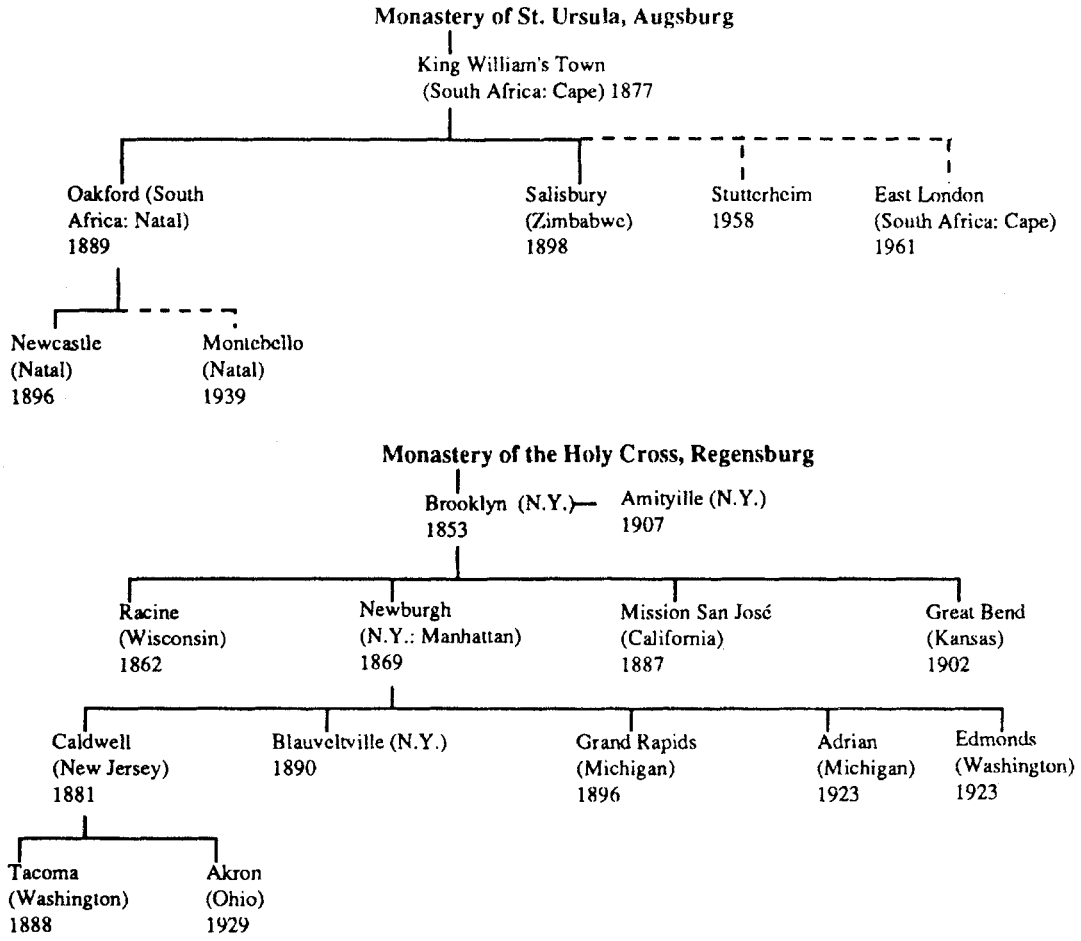

Congregations shown connected by a dotted line are not discussed in this paper.

The dominant model for women Dominicans: enclosed monasteries

St. Dominic founded his order in the early 13th century, comprising both men and women. The men belonged to a network of houses between which members could be moved and had a constitutional framework to deal with provinces held together by a central organisation and with a general chapter to allow for discussion and voting on issues of importance. This allowed fast development and dispersal of the friars without the loss of continuity of the order. A woman, however, who joined the order joined a particular monastery and stayed there, more or less, for the rest of her life as a religious. In its formative period, then, women in the Dominican order were seen first of all as *moniales*, enclosed nuns, who lived in independent monasteries. The unity of the nuns with each other was achieved through the unity of their constitutions and their recognition by the brethren, with whom they were in contact and who took responsibility for them.[6]

The continued monastic model was to be decisive for the future development of the order for women. It complemented and strengthened the social structures that women were a part of in society, marriage in particular. The nun, like the wife amongst the wealthy, was expected to stay in the confines of her home as much as possible. Both were under "local jurisdiction", so to speak; a wife, generally speaking, joined a man's family and became part of his line and family name, seeing her identity as becoming part of his, rather than the other way around. Similarly, the nuns joined and supported the order, coming under the jurisdiction of the brothers and finding their identity through being recognised by the brethren. Through the "male line", the Dominican order had both spatial unity, over extended geographical distances, and temporal continuity. The nuns became part of that and supported it, even though monasteries within themselves would have their own unity and continuity through time, independently of other monasteries.

Of these two key elements of life for women in the Dominican order—enclosed monastic life and unity/identity through the male group—the first to come under pressure was the enclosure. Women Dominicans wanted to have organised active apostolates when that became a thinkable proposition, or, in some cases, were encouraged to enter into them by bishops, especially in mission territories such as the US. Against the backdrop of the monastic tradition of independent foundations, it was almost inevitable that these women would follow the pattern established for their sex within the order, rather than the united structure that the men had been able to adopt from the beginning. The life and organisation of the sisters, even though they aspired to practical

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apostolic works, was from the beginning assimilated more to the nuns (either third or second order, though the latter were more numerous) than the brethren.[7] The sisters' sex rather than their apostolate was the decisive factor in seeing how to fit them into the existing structure of the order. Examples from the US suffice to show that the principal factor behind the break between foundations was an understanding that the houses were monasteries, like those of the second order, rather than priories linked in a provincial or congregational structure as for the brethren.

For the Regensburg nuns, four of whom came over to the US in August 1853, the first split occurred in 1860. When the number of sisters at Brooklyn had increased, both with more sisters from Germany and an American postulant, the local superior, Sister Josepha,[8] felt she could send three sisters to Second Street, Manhattan, where the priest had requested sisters on several occasions to set up a school. This was at the beginning of the school year, 1859. Sister Josepha did not contact Regensburg before doing this, but did write to the motherhouse in early 1860 when two sisters wanted to go further West to start another convent. This letter brought a reprimand from Regensburg for sending the group to Second Street without consultation. The prioress had involved the Regensburg bishop and he threatened the Brooklyn nuns with censure from Rome. But nothing happened. The professor of Canon Law at Catholic University in Washington advised the nuns that canonically their Brooklyn monastery would qualify as an independent foundation and that this would follow the usual practice of the nuns of the Dominican Order. Thus, it is not surprising that, after 1860, official communications between Regensburg and the daughter foundation ceased.[9] The first split in what might have remained a united group of sisters had taken place, on the canonical grounds that an independent monastery had been founded.[10] On similar grounds, the group that went West and ended up in Racine, Wisconsin, broke with the Brooklyn house in 1862.

The third split within the Regensburg line came in 1869. In 1865, the priest of St John's German parish on 30th Street in Manhattan asked the prioress in Brooklyn for sisters for his school. She agreed, but when August came she had no-one to send. She decided to split the Second Street community and send one half to 30th Street. The local superior at Second Street, Sister Augustine, having lost half her community, wrote to the sisters now three years established in Wisconsin, offering to pay the travelling expenses of any sisters they could send for a year. In the end, the shortfall was made up by taking in novices and postulants at Second Street, though, according to Murray: "Tradition says that Sister Augustine was reluctant to take this step at first, because once a house began to admit and train its own candidates, it was definitely on the way to

becoming an independent foundation".[11] This comment reveals two interesting points. Firstly, it is assumed that taking novices implies that the house sees itself as independent. In the early history of the brethren, individual houses took in novices without it being assumed that that was the first step in breaking off from the others.[12] The connection between taking in novices and splitting from the motherhouse stems from seeing the daughterhouse as a separate monastery in the making. Secondly, it indicates the reluctance that was felt at the idea of doing anything that might precipitate a split amongst the sisters. There is an indication here that far from falling out and splitting up at the first opportunity, the sisters rather tried to maintain as much unity with each other as possible, despite constitutions and a formation that would have predisposed them to think otherwise. This becomes clearer when it is known that all the eight monasteries founded in the Brooklyn diocese in the 1860's never split from each other, even though it would have been expected for them to do so. The groundwork was thus laid for the Brooklyn third order congregation that came into being at the turn of the century. But with a novitiate at Second Street, the split with Brooklyn was almost bound to come and they broke with each other "in peace and amity" in 1869.[13] Then in 1887, Mission San José, the Californian foundation made in 1876, split from Brooklyn. It was the prioress, Mother Seraphine Staimer, who had suggested the split in spring 1887, giving as a reason: "I am growing old and feeble, and I have plenty to do with the convents and branch houses here," and the separation was effected later that year.[14] The case of Mission San José indicates that geographical distance between houses could be enough to precipitate a split when other houses within the same diocese managed to maintain their links despite the second order tradition of independent foundations.[15] From the original Regensburg group that had arrived in 1853, four independent foundations had emerged by 1887: Brooklyn, Second/30th street (which subsequently became the Newburgh Congregation), Racine and Mission San José.

The influence of a monastic view of religious life for women can be seen in other ways too. For instance, in England, Margaret Hallahan was encouraged by Bishop Ullathorne to set up a sisterhood, and the first sisters made their profession on December 8th, 1845. Interestingly, Sister Rose Imelda Raymund-Barker writing about the third order in the 1920s, said of Mother Margaret that she "strongly repudiated the title of Foundress. She wished merely to act as God's instrument in establishing in England that form of the Third Order conventual life which had flourished on the continent since the first century of Dominican history."[16] If this is true, it is remarkable that the tradition of independent foundation was so strong as to prevent Mother Margaret from trying to link herself

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directly to one of these groups "on the continent". This was even after Mother Margaret had spent many years in Belgium, and so was not unconnected to people and institutions across the Channel. Cecily Boulding mentions that Mother Margaret had great difficulty in getting the Roman authorities to see that the different convents she had founded in England could be united into one congregation,[17] even though, as Boulding says, there is a long history of third order monasteries (without strict enclosure) and a barely shorter history in France of third order congregations. General knowledge of this history had been lost and only a great deal of work on the part of Bernard Moulaert, the prior of Ghent who was known to Mother Margaret, revealed it.[18]

Samuel Mazzuchelli should be mentioned under this heading. When he set up his sisterhood, he was concerned that they should be genuinely formed in a Dominican spirit and tradition. But he did not think they needed to belong to an existing Congregation. He tried to get Dominican sisters from Springfield to come to give his sisters a formation, but not so that they could be united in the same institute. Instead, he saw their unity with each other to be through the rule and constitutions. The kind of unity that is achievable through shared constitutions is like that between, say, different Benedictine houses that are independent of each other, yet follow the same rule. The separation of houses in the US, the independent foundation of Mother Margaret in England and Mazzuchelli's approach to the unity of the sisters all show the same monastic mindset at work.

General dominance of monasticism

The fragmentation of the Dominican sisters was primarily due to the history of independent foundations for women, whether monasteries or third order fraternities, which found their unity through being attached to the brothers of the order. The influence of this history was reinforced by the general development of religious life for women, especially as it was seen canonically. Ironically, the century which had seen the mendicant life for men develop spectacularly, was also one in which the pressures for religious women to be cloistered had burgeoned, culminating in 1298 with Boniface VIII's aptly named Bull *Periculoso*:

> We command by this present constitution, whose validity is eternal and can never be questioned, that all nuns, collectively and individually, present and to come, of whatever order or congregation, in whatever part of the world they may be, shall henceforth remain in the monasteries in perpetual enclosure.[19]

Even though the strict cloistering of women religious in solemn vows was not generally enforced until the Council of Trent, there was no

possibility of starting up a religious institute for women of any size or wide geographical dispersion that did not involve enclosure. Although Boulding points out that the "truly religious status" of conventual tertiaries was recognised by Eugenius IV (1431-47), she also shows that repeated efforts were made to try to get the tertiaries to take on an enclosed life. Such repetition, while it is witness to the persistence of uncloistered religious life, also created a climate in which the enclosed monastery was seen as the norm for religious women.[20]

Women tried other forms of community life combined with an active apostolate. Contemporaneously with the rise of the mendicants, the beguines tried to live a communal life without vows or enclosure for the most part, but the lack of recognition and formal structure meant almost inevitably they would die out, or, to preserve themselves, become monasteries of nuns. Later, women did set out to found institutes with their own identity and continuity of existence. Of these, the most famous examples are Angela Merici, foundress of the Ursulines, and Jane Frances de Chantal, foundress of the Visitation nuns. However, both groups were pressurised into accepting enclosure.[21] The Daughters of Charity were the first major women's order to succeed in capturing an active apostolate for women in a formula that was acceptable canonically. It was probably largely due to the stature of their founder and protector, St. Vincent de Paul, as well as his shrewd avoidance of the strictures of canon law that the Daughters of Charity managed to survive as they were intended. The crucial move made by Vincent was to separate the concept of a Daughter of Charity from the concept of a religious, so as to preserve them from the imposition of enclosure:

> Should the local bishop ask you if you are in religion, you will say that by the grace of God you are not, not because you have not a high opinion of religious but because if you were you would have to be enclosed and that would mean goodbye to the service of the poor. . . . Should some muddle-headed person appear among you and say, "We ought to be religious. It would be much nicer," then, my dear sisters, the Company is ready for Extreme Unction, for whoever says 'religious' says 'enclosed'—but the Daughters of Charity must go everywhere.[22]

Ambiguity of the nature of women's communities without enclosure—lay or religious?

The result, whilst creating a space for the development of an active apostolate for women, did so at a cost. The way that Vincent de Paul had worked was to accept that women religious had to be enclosed, but that the Church could still recognise corporate bodies of women doing

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charitable works, even if they were not seen to be religious. A complicated picture began to emerge. Some foundresses wanted to distance themselves from the religious life, as Vincent had done; others longed for it and tried to live in a way as close to it as possible. Neither could fully achieve their aims, and it is difficult to know whether their attitudes were not more of a reaction to the situations they were in than fixed opinions on the nature of their institutes. It was not to be until 1900 in the constitution *Conditae a Christo*, that active women religious were to be explicitly accepted as such. Even then their vows were not seen to be "solemn", as were those of the brothers and nuns of the order.[23]

The ambiguous canonical situation of the active life for women meant that it was not always clear whether different women were trying to do the same thing as each other and this contributed to some splits and new foundations which might otherwise have been avoided. In England, ten years after Mother Margaret had set up the Stone Congregation and had been designated "Mother Provincial" in England, Wales and Scotland, Emily Sandys started a Dominican sisterhood at Stroud. Was she ever advised by any ecclesiastical authority to join up with the Stone Congregation, that is, the English Dominican province (of sisters)? I think this unlikely because Sandys envisaged the community more as a secular fraternity of lay women, doing good works and praying together, than as a community of religious. However, like many third order groups, their identity was fluid and they could have moved in either direction.[24] Then two crucial things happened. Fr. Bernard Morewood O.P. was appointed parish priest at Stroud, "and from the first conceived the idea of making it the nucleus of a convent of Dominican Sisters of the Third Order", clearly taking a different line from Emily Sandys.[25] Then, Teresa Matthews joined the community. She had tried her vocation at Stone and left, but was evidently looking for the more regular life that Morewood rather than Sandys favoured.[26] The Morewood/Matthews coalition began to take over and by 1858, the community had opted definitively for "strict conventual life in accordance with Dominican Rule, and under the direction of the Dominican Fathers". Emily Sandys "generously decided to retire and leave its management in other hands".[27] This episode illustrates the fluidity between lay and religious third order communities and how difficult it could be for women starting groups of sisters to control how they developed or to know whether they were doing the same thing as each other. Perhaps if it had been clear to Emily Sandys at the beginning what Teresa Matthews wanted, she would not have welcomed Matthews in, especially given Morewood's designs on the community. When both the foundress wanted a secular fraternity, quite different from Mother Margaret's province, and her successor had had the experience of leaving

the Stone novitiate, it was almost inevitable that the sisters at Stroud, even once they had decided on conventual life, would not join up with Stone.

Similarly, in the US, splits occurred because of confusions, not about whether the group being founded was secular or religious, but whether it was "second" or "third" order. In the Regensburg line, two splits were directly occasioned by uncertainty and disagreement over status, and other splits were almost precipitated. These disagreements were not merely academic squabbles over finer points of canon law. Being second or third order had important ramifications. Second order nuns made solemn vows, like the brothers, and their state of life was considered to be higher than that of the third order sisters. Medieval canonical precedents only allowed religious to move to a "higher" form of religious life (such as one involving more ascetical practices), and not the other way around. Second order nuns had some legitimate concerns about whether they could in conscience transfer to third order status, and indeed, the provincial of the men Dominicans wrote to the sisters in Racine in 1868 telling them that they could not "come from a higher to a lower obligation". The provincial's letter is interesting in that he counsels them to "be easy in granting dispensations" and says nothing at all about enclosure.[28] He wanted them to be able to keep the status of second order nuns and to couple it with the flexibility of the third order by liberal use of dispensations. The Racine nuns, however, could see the long term problems of dealing with the situation in this way; they approached their archbishop about their status and he wrote to the Master General:

> These pious virgins beg of your paternity to declare as valid the less correct and to appoint whatever your wisdom deems proper. . . Of course, they would be much pleased in the Second Order with the dispensation from the strict enclosure and the fast. . . . However, if this grace could not be granted them, then they wish to be incorporated into the Third Order, but retain the recitation of the Divine Office, and the observance of the strict rule.

The Master wrote back saying that he could not possibly accept the sisters as Second Order if they were not keeping the enclosure, but he would recognise them as Third Order.[29] Their friend, Fr Haas, told the sisters not to hanker after their lost second order status, for by accepting that they were third order, they had been "cured of an incurable illusion".[30] This example of the Racine Dominicans shows how difficult it was to resolve what was the nature of their status, given the somewhat artificial distinction between second and third order sisters, but their difficulties were minimised by the helpful advice and explanation they received. Other groups found their difficulties compounded.

Role and Intervention of the Local Ordinary

A fourth important factor in the separations between the sisters was lack of exemption from the jurisdiction of the local ordinary. This gave local bishops, especially in mission territories, great power over the sisters in their dioceses (as compared to the Dominican brothers who were "exempt" by virtue of their being a clerical institute with their provincial as their ordinary). Many splits within Dominican Congregations of sisters were precipitated by the intervention of bishops, more or less directly. Sometimes, problems came about not because of a particular bishop, but just because of the complication of dealing with the different ecclesiastical authorities. When the King William's Town Congregation in South Africa founded the house in Oakford, Natal, the sisters were responsible to three religious superiors: the bishop in whose diocese the King William's Town convent was situated, Mother Mauritia, prioress of King William's Town, and the bishop in Natal. The situation quickly became impossible to deal with. When the separation came in March 1890, Oakford became responsible only to the Natal bishop. For the sisters, the break, "was a cause of sorrow both to them and the King William's Town community."[31]

However, often it was local bishops or other clerical authorities that engineered the splits between the sisters. In the case of the split between King William's Town and their Zimbabwe foundation (Salisbury), "the break was arranged and organised by the Jesuits in Rhodesia without any consultation of the Dominican sisters in that country."[32] Having decided to obtain the break from King William's Town, the Jesuit superior contacted the motherhouse. The prioress seemed to think the sisters had been consulted and were in favour of the break, but strangely, there is no record of any letter to them to find out. Sister Eleonora of King William's Town, writing to Sister Patrick, the superior at the Salisbury house, in February 1898 talks about the split: "The Rev. Fathers Sykes and Daignault have proposed and worked out this independency, at a time when dear Mother Prioress, myself and the Sisters here thought only of a more intimate union with our Sisters in Rhodesia (Union gives strength). . . This Independency seems to have been brought about by the Superiors of the Society without the knowledge of some of your sisters. I cannot believe that you and Mothers Clare and Jacoba were quite aware of it !!!"[33] Clearly, none of the sisters on either side requested or wanted a break with each other; later correspondence between them shows that the Rhodesian sisters at least still considered themselves part of the same unit with King William's Town: "Perhaps after all the Jesuit father won't insist on separating us from King and all the better if so; we here can only wait and see what is coming . . . for you alone can guess the shock it was to us to learn, as we did, first from M. Prioress, that the King Convent Council

had consented to Fr. Daignault's plan of separation before Fr. Sykes or those at home told us anything about it. We were absolutely ignorant of the whole thing till the settlement was in the hands of the bishop, and then all our opposition came in too late."[34]

Foundations from the Second Street monastery were particularly affected by the intervention of bishops. Two of their houses (Jersey City and Blauveltville) and a whole province in Michigan were broken off from the motherhouse by them. Second Street founded two houses in New Jersey on two successive days in 1872, followed by three more in three years. The priest who had originally invited them to make one of their New Jersey foundations, St. Dominic's in Jersey City, was keen to see it split off from the motherhouse to allow the formation of the "Dominican Sisters of New Jersey". The superior, the dynamic Sister Aquinata, who had been sent out to lead the new foundation, seemed keen on the idea too. Before anything could happen, however, trouble with the "ecclesiastical superior"[35] over the method of selecting the new prioress back at Second Street resulted in Sister Aquinata being moved out of the way; she was sent to make a new foundation in Michigan. This, however, did not stop the process of separation in Jersey City going ahead. Eventually, the separation was achieved in 1881 by the parish priest and local bishop, but, amazingly, without the consent of the superior at the time, Sr. Catherine Muth. The latter indeed had promised Mother Hyacinth Scheininger, the new prioress at Second Street, "that she would never allow the Convent to be separated from the Motherhouse in New York." She was not, however, unaware of the intentions of the local priest. For instance, when he requested that the reception and profession of the sisters from the Jersey City area be held at St. Dominic's, she strongly advised the prioress to allow this "so as to keep the pastor from pursuing a course of independence from New York."[36] When, however, she found that this very thing had been accomplished by the local church authorities, she could do nothing but accept the *fait accompli*. Thus, although at the beginning, there seemed to be a mutual agreement between all the parties involved, the fact that the bishop went ahead with the split without consulting subsequent superiors indicates that it was not important to him that the views of the sisters should play a part in the decision.[37] St Dominic's eventually moved to Caldwell, New Jersey.[38]

However, the bishop in New Jersey behaved like a gentleman in comparison to his equivalent in Grand Rapids, when that diocese was created in the early 1880s. Sister Aquinata had been sent to Michigan in the late 1870s to organise something approaching a province there under the Second Street house. She was not regarded as a "provincial" but as a less independent "visitator". Nevertheless, this development ranks as one

of only two attempts at a province within the Regensburg line. Needless to say, it soon came under pressure. More priests in Michigan were asking for Dominicans and then the diocese of Detroit was split to create the new diocese of Grand Rapids. Its first bishop wanted a diocesan congregation to run the schools and, being impressed with Sister Aquinata, he determined that she should run it. He tried to get Mother Scheininger, then prioress at Second Street, to agree to a separation, but she wanted to maintain their unity and instead proposed a properly constituted province, as she had begun to set up previously. So, in 1885, all the houses in Michigan were erected into the "Province of St Joseph", with Mother Aquinata as "provincial".[39] The bishop, however, had a trump card; he asked the Pope's permission for the separation of the Grand Rapids sisters from the motherhouse during his *ad limina* visit in 1892, and received approval from him. After stopping at Second Street on his return journey to inform Mother Hyacinth of the papal consent for the separation, he wrote to the archbishop of New York to obtain the latter's consent. The archbishop responded a few weeks later, suggesting that the sisters should have a third order constitution "as much better suited for our actual wants, [since] it can easily be kept by school sisters".[40] The Michigan communities were formally told on August 30th 1894. By now, Mother Aquinata must have been quite concerned by the autocratic behaviour of the Grand Rapids bishop. She must have written to the Order's central Curia about the possibility of obtaining papal approbation of the congregation, as the copy of a reply from the Master General's assistant, explaining what to do, is in the congregational archives. She must have acted on this, for a letter giving such approbation was sent to the diocesan authorities, but the sisters never received it. It was kept at the chancery "out of fear that the sisters might take missions out of the diocese" and was only discovered just before the sisters celebrated their diamond jubilee of foundation![41]

The monastery and orphanage at Blauveltville, New York, split off from Second Street in 1890 at the instigation of the ecclesiastical superior. He wanted a novitiate to be set up there, so that the sisters who were to look after the children in the orphanage could have their own formation, independently of the teaching sisters. The connection between a novitiate and a separate canonical entity reveals the underlying monastic model again. But Blauveltville also suffered from other problems. Since its inception, it had been plagued by ethnic tensions, since most of the sisters who worked in the orphanage were poorly educated Irish women as opposed to the wealthier and better educated Germans who ran the schools, and by differences of opinion based on the needs of caring for orphans and teaching. Perhaps the sisters would have continued to

struggle on if the ecclesiastical superior had not intervened, but once the mention of a separate novitiate had been made, separation was not far off.

Sometimes, bishops brought about splits by forcing through constitutional changes. The Brooklyn houses, as mentioned above, transferred to third order status and government in 1896. Probably not unrelated to the change was the admission of sisters of third order status to train to be nurses; a local priest who was starting a hospital had asked the sisters to do this in 1869, the same year as the break with Second Street came.[42] At any rate, as soon as Mother Antonina Fischer had been elected prioress in 1895, she discussed with the bishop the extensive use of dispensations that they had to make in order to carry out their apostolate. The bishop then went ahead and commissioned one of his assistants to compose a third order rule for the sisters, which was based on the Stone constitutions. It was circulated to the sisters and after two years of "trial and study", a final version was sent round to all of them with orders to observe it fully, without their agreement in the matter. Many of the sisters were very opposed to the change, and focused their hostility on Mother Antonina rather than the bishop. Since nothing could be done to reverse the change, their only means of registering their disapproval was to vote her out at the first possible opportunity, which they did in 1901. Feeling obliged to leave the convent, she decided the following year to answer a request she had received from Great Bend, Kansas, and six others went with her. She must have been further hurt when the Brooklyn bishop insisted that she and the others sign an agreement "renouncing all claims on the motherhouse and promising never to return". A comment of Mother Pia's, foundress of Mission San José, indicates that Mother Antonina was probably the "fall guy" for the bishop who was the real power behind the change: "They are very much under the direction of the bishop. . . He is master of the house, not the superior."[43]

Sometimes, although the intervention of the bishop was the actual means of bringing about a split, circumstances indicate that, had he not done so, the sisters would have been withdrawn. In these situations, it is understandable that bishops would do everything they could to keep sisters in their diocese. Sisters were enormously important in mission dioceses. Bishop Jolivet of Natal, for instance, saw the value of schools, many of which contained large numbers of non-Catholics. In one of his letters to Rome he wrote: "Preaching certainly gains a few conversions, but the best means is through the school, where the bonds of esteem, confidence and even affection are formed, and prejudice is broken down".[44] They were also an important financial resource in the diocese. Bishop Delalle, a later incumbent at Natal, undertook little building because of lack of money, "but strongly encouraged congregations of

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sisters to subsidise the parishes by paying the parish priests for their services as chaplains and by maintaining the churches and enabling the clergy to function. It was a foregone conclusion that the food, laundry facilities and frequently, travelling expenses were provided by the sisters".[45] When the sisters at Newcastle entered into a "collaborative agreement" (or the nearest equivalent around 1920) with the brothers of the English province, the terms put forward by Mother Rose were:

> We hand over:
>
> House and grounds free of rent.
> Furniture, crockery etc free
> Carriage, horse and push bike.
> Salary for each priest £100 and laundry done at the convent.[46]
>
> The Fathers are responsible for the upkeep of the above and are also responsible for their own cooking etc.[47]

Similarly, the sisters paid the expenses for the visitation of a friar from the curia of the Master in Rome. When he later returned as Apostolic Delegate to South Africa, he wrote to Mother Rose asking for money to furnish his residence. She sent £100—the salary for a Dominican priest for one year! So, the sisters were an important source of finance for the diocese and the brothers of the Order.

With this in mind, it is not surprising that in 1895, when Northern Natal was suffering a severe recession, Bishop Jolivet asked Sister Rose and the sisters with her to consider breaking with their motherhouse. Scarce economic resources in the region meant that the convent school faced decline; the Oakford motherhouse was likely to withdraw the sisters from Newcastle. While Sister Rose was resting and recuperating at her brother's, the bishop wrote to her asking her to consider breaking away from Oakford and she accepted. Each of the sisters was given the option to stay or to return to Oakford; three decided to go and five to stay. In circumstances such as these, it is hard to condemn the splitting up of the two congregations. It would have been imprudent for the Oakford sisters to have kept a house in an area that would have been a serious financial drain on them; at the same time, the courage and perseverance of the sisters who stayed despite inevitable hardship knowing the good they could do, has to be applauded. The sisters were willing to sacrifice the long term advantages to them of remaining a united group for the short term needs of the Church in the area, though the decision was made easier for them by the tradition of separation between the sisters. More than likely, if the brethren had been in such a situation, it would not even have been a question for them whether they should split off and stay, or remain united and go. Their tradition of remaining united would have decided the

issue. Whether the decision to stay or to go is considered to be better depends on the view one takes of the relative importance of local needs to the long term future of the institute. It is not immediately obvious which is the "better" answer, or even if they can be compared.

Centralised Constitutions

A fifth clearly discernible factor favouring the splitting of women's congregations was the centralisation written into their constitutions, stemming from their monastic roots. This may well have been reinforced by an underlying assumption that they were not good at making decisions.[48] As a result, constitutions did not allow for localised decision-making, and even the simplest decisions had to be referred to the motherhouse. Clearly, where communication was difficult and/or the superior did not really understand local conditions, the only rational solution was to split from the motherhouse. Several examples from the history of the Dominican sisters in the US and South Africa indicate that centralised constitutions contributed to the fragmentation of congregations. But before going further into this point, it is worth reiterating here that the constitutions also envisaged that houses would split off from each other once they were well enough established, a fact well known to the local ecclesiastical authorities. When the local priest to St Dominic's in Jersey City petitioned the bishop to have the house separated from Brooklyn, the bishop wrote in reply: "I more willingly give the consent, as the Rules and Constitutions of the Dominican sisters favor the independence of their houses".[49]

When new foundations were made, they were not split from each other at the first opportunity, but were constituted as "branch houses", with the prioress of the motherhouse retaining responsibility for both. Permission had to be obtained for the smallest items of business, as can be seen from the correspondence of Sister Rose with the prioress at King William's Town while she was the superior at Potchefstroom: 'She wrote numerous letters to Mother Mauritia asking, for instance, if they may order necessary goods even though they had little money, which rooms they may use as refectory and classrooms, whether the children may have a holiday on the patronal feast, whether a particular sister may teach a certain class or subject. During April and May 1890, Sr Rose complained of not receiving any answer to her letters and requests. There was constant worry about the payment of bills and by 24th May, desperation point was reached when the Title Deeds were due to be delivered and transfer dues would cost £400. Sister Rose writes:

> What must I do? We have nothing in the bank. I am just scraping everything to pay the bills. This quarter I can do nothing, but, please

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> God I will be able to send you something next quarter. I bought meal, thirty bags at £2.3s per bag; we use five bags in a month. Please dear Mother Prioress, let me know what we can do.[50]

Since no reply came, Sister Rose had to take her own initiative. She borrowed money from her own sister to pay for the title deeds. However, the deeds were made out in the name of the prioress of the convent at Potchefstroom, instead of the prioress of King William's Town as they should have been. This left the prioress of the motherhouse suspicious that Sister Rose was planning to split Potchefstroom off from King William's Town, and their relations became strained. In this case, both Mother Rose and the bishop had no intention of bringing about a split; rather, they were both quite offended at the idea. But given the history we have seen so far, Mother Mauritia was probably quite justified to be concerned, and not long after the event, she moved Sister Rose to a different convent. Eventually, tensions between the two became so great that, by mutual agreement, Sister Rose moved from King William's Town to the Oakford Congregation.

The branch house system could work when the houses were close together, as the Brooklyn example shows. But when they were far apart, as in the case of the Californian mission from Brooklyn and the Oakford mission from King William's Town, communication difficulties and the difference of point of view were bound to introduce tensions and pressure for a split, since there was no mechanism in the constitutions for resolving these differences. As mentioned above, two attempts at setting up a province were made in the US, both from the Second Street house, one in Michigan and the other in Washington. In these and other cases, when provinces were set up or considered, bishops or local priests usually saw them merely as a prelude to a complete break between the houses in the province and the motherhouse. The parish priest in Jersey City was thinking of the New Jersey convents as a province before he and the bishop managed to get the convent in his parish to split off from Second Street.[51] The bishop of Grand Rapids agreed to the erection of a province when Mother Scheininger tried to postpone or redirect his efforts to split these sisters off from Second Street too. The superior in each of the two provinces could admit candidates to the novitiate in the province and move sisters within her territory. Murray says of the idea of provinces:

> there was no constitutional provision for this state of affairs, since the women had never been intended to develop provincial structures. They seem to have improvised a system, loosely based on what they knew of the fathers' practices, but without chapters or election of the superior at provincial level.[52]

Superiors were all appointed from the motherhouse in New York. This was entirely fair, since, although the sisters were experimenting with the idea of provinces, they were still bound by their monastic constitutions that put the appointment of superiors in the hands of the prioress. The motherhouse was also ultimately responsible for the financing of the houses in the province and providing enough personnel for the activities undertaken there. Similarly, sisters in the province were able to vote in the election of the prioress of the motherhouse, a bone of contention for those actually living there, and could themselves be candidates in the election. Local ecclesiastical authorities would complain about these moves in either direction. The ecclesiastical superior for Second Street, for instance, in the early part of this century complained that well-trained sisters were being sent to the Washington province because of the needs there and that this was putting too much strain on the young, inexperienced sisters left in the East.

Identity and Unity through the men's order

The aspect of life for the early Dominican women that remained the least affected by changing circumstances was that the sisters had still to find their unity and identity through the men's order. In 1864, the prioresses of Kentucky, Ohio and Tennessee convents wrote a joint letter to the Master General in which they asked to be accepted under the jurisdiction of the Order. If they could have managed this, not only would they have felt their identity to be more secure, but also they would have been able to escape the immediate jurisdiction of the local ordinary in a way that only came to them formally with *Conditae a Christo* nearly 50 years later. The Master, however, replied that he had "no option in the matter" and that "Monasteries of the Third Order in which Sisters pronounce simple vows, everywhere are not under the jurisdiction of the Order but of the respective Bishop."[53] However, beginning with the nuns at Racine, as was mentioned above, the sisters were received into the Third Order. Once they had this recognition, the sisters felt clearer about their identity; Mother Hyacintha at Racine, for instance, in writing of it to Mother Pia, could say: "Since then, we have the assurance of really belonging to the Order and of really being Dominicans. We have a quiet conscience and are happy. Don't hesitate to follow our example."[54] More importantly, without it they could not get recognition as a Dominican Congregation of Pontifical Right, once *Conditae a Christo* had formally established the possibility.

Given the source of identity and unity for the sisters, it is not surprising that two important attempts at unification amongst the sisters considered here were initiated by Dominican friars. Bede Jarrett

encouraged the five groups of sisters founded in England to form one congregation in the late 1920s. They agreed, subject to conditions, the most important of which was that sisters who had joined a particular congregation would not be forced to move to a house that had been of another congregation when they had joined. These conditions were not accepted, but, as happened so often before, the sisters were not consulted over whether they still wished to go ahead with the amalgamation without them. The hurt that this caused is still felt even today.

Nevertheless, Jarrett did try to work with the sisters, unlike Jordan Gijlswijk in South Africa. The latter arrived as Apostolic Delegate, the first to South Africa, in 1923; two days after his arrival, he informed all Dominican sisters that he had been assigned by the Holy See, through the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, to be their Ordinary. A letter soon followed from Gijlswijk, saying that the Sacred Congregation "regrett[ed] very much" that the sisters were split into different congregations: "How splendid and encouraging is the prospect of one day seeing all Dominican sisters united as one great army, valiantly assisting the missionaries in their laborious work, striving together with them for the spread of holy Faith and for the greater glory of God!"[55] The means of achieving this was a new set of constitutions that all the congregations in South Africa were required to accept; Gijlswijk was going to send them on soon. The sisters, having been told that they were not allowed to vote on whether to accept these constitutions at a general chapter, felt that at least they should be able to see the constitutions before having to accept them, but Gijlswijk insisted that they had no choice and that he would enter into no further discussion with them about it. As a result of Gijlswijk's intransigence, the sisters engaged in frantic activity to avoid having to come under his jurisdiction, which they did eventually manage to achieve. We cannot know whether Gijlswijk would have been successful, had he not been so autocratic. As it was, the efforts the sisters made to avoid having to deal with him destroyed any prospect there might have been of uniting them under his jurisdiction.

Conclusions

Throughout this paper I have emphasised the social and historical factors that favoured the separation of the sisters. However, I am not suggesting that the choices and actions of the sisters were determined by their environment, or that personality clashes, jealousies or personal vendettas did not play their part. The sisters themselves were by no means always opposed to separation from each other. Mary Theresa Matthews had been in the novitiate in Stone, and left it, before muscling into Emily Sandy's project in Stroud and taking it over. Alice and Lucy Thorpe quarrelled after starting the Sparkhill Dominicans, N.Y., in 1868; Alice became

Mother Catherine Antoninus, whereas Lucy left to co-found or join the Albany Dominicans, also in N.Y..[56] There certainly were very human quarrels and disagreements involved in many of the splits and separations between the sisters.

Nevertheless, these disagreements were more like catalysts in a split rather than fundamental causes. Disagreements amongst the sisters met with a set of circumstances in the Church that favoured separation amongst them much more than it did amongst the brothers. Added to this, the type of work the sisters were doing could be done just as well by a local group as by one that belonged to a united order, and they were more under the control of the local church if they were split up. The brethren, despite experiencing problems of personality and interpretation of constitutions no less severe than the sisters, had almost the opposite incentives. Staying together would help to support their large, independent study houses; exemption from local jurisdiction might be some way off if one broke away to start something new. The high profile and stature of the Dominican Order in the Church could only benefit those who stayed united to it; these and other reasons indicate that the brethren had strong incentives to maintain a more united group. Breakaway women's orders were more likely to be protected, positively encouraged or, on occasion, forced into existence by the local clergy who benefited by having the sisters under their control. Despite the circumstances favouring splintering the sisters usually attempted to keep a family likeness—a common name, or to be affiliated to an ancient order. In this sense, the sisters did what they could to keep together despite circumstances that favoured their separation. Once *Conditae a Christo* had established the religious character of institutes of women without enclosure and had formally recognised the concept of the Pontifical Institute, then, miraculously, the splintering seems to stop. Congregations began to be able to stay together, even across large geographical distances; the ones considered here that split after this (Adrian, Edmonds, Akron) were all from diocesan congregations. Houses of the Bushey Congregation in England, for instance, have managed to stay united to those in S.Africa.

Recent splits amongst the sisters in England, such as the formation of the Dominican Sisters of St. Joseph, Ashurst, revolve around issues of observance, and are therefore quite different from the splits that occurred before. They resemble more the development of the Observantine houses of men Dominicans in Italy during the 14th and 15th centuries; one may hope that they will have a positive effect on the religious observance of the sisters and brothers as a whole, as their Italian counterparts did.

Having looked at the sources of fragmentation and division amongst the sisters in the past, what prospects are there for future union and unity

of organisation amongst them? Just as in the trade union movement, so amongst the sisters, the move towards union is in vogue. Partly, this may be a result, as with the trade unions, of their increasing unimportance and marginalisation. But nevertheless, there is now an international federation of Dominican women, joint novitiates and joint apostolates and projects amongst the sisters of different congregations. Does this mean that the factors which dominated the history of the sisters in the past and led to their splintering have been overcome or are no longer powerful?

The tradition of monastic independence for the houses of women religious no longer has the dominance it once had, with a significant and well-established tradition of active sisters in the Church and the Order. Although the constitutions of the two congregations with which I am familiar have yet to develop their voting apparatus or their legislation for provinces to the extent that would be workable and desirable, there is a lived experience now out of which such constitutions are conceivable and possible.

With regard to the intervention of local bishops, the future is less certain. Since Vatican II, there has been less distinction made between male and female orders in the exercise of local church jurisdiction than there was in the past, though historical precedents still mean that the ethos of the sisters is more oriented to the diocese than that of the brothers. But probably more importantly, religious in general are not as important to bishops as they once were, at least in the Western world. The combined effect of a more positive theology of the laity and of fewer people in religious orders such that their impact in the Church has decreased a great deal means that to some extent they are freer to pursue their own preferred forms of organisation and government without intervention from outside authorities. Whether this would continue if religious became of central importance again is an open question.

Yet one, fundamental characteristic of the early position of women in the Order still stands unaffected by all these changes. The source of continuity and identity for the sisters remains the institute of brothers. The sisters' institutes are united with each other by being "aggregated to", or recognised by, the brothers. In this, they resemble the monasteries or third order fraternities; each group has its particular form of relationship with the brethren. For the monasteries, who conceive of themselves as separate entities, and the lay fraternities who need to operate with the particular group of lay people and brethren or sisters in a local area, the fact that they are split up from each other is not problematic. The monasteries have their federations in order to get together and support each other; the lay Dominicans have their congresses and inter-fraternity meetings, and this contact is by and large enough to maintain a group identity and mission. It

is only the sisters for whom finding their source of identity through the brethren rather than in themselves is actually detrimental to their life. They need integrated structures so as to be able to move personnel to where they are needed, to support houses of study, to plan and run apostolates without having to negotiate different general chapters with different priorities and congregational barriers on a day-to-day basis. Experiences of amalgamations in the past have often been painful, not least because all too often, the views of the sisters were not treated with respect. It is understandable, given this past, that the sisters are wary of moves towards unification. While the sisters continue to find their unity and identity through the brethren, however, they are not likely to be able to unite with each other. The pain and difficulty of going through the process of unification will not be deemed worthwhile when a ready-made, alternative source of unity exists. There is, nevertheless, a real though less obvious price to pay for this source of unity than in doing the hard work to unite with each other. By uniting themselves around something outside themselves, the sisters become, ironically, alienated from and decentred by their very centre. It is not within themselves; it is within another group and outside their direct influence. Today, it is fundamentally because the sisters have accepted a "decentred" position in the Dominican Order—finding their centre through the Dominican brethren—that they do not have their own unity and centre. They have chosen to find their unity, centre and identity in being recognized by the central authorities of the Friars.[57]

There are two basic ways of overcoming this. Either the sisters create their own centre, no longer looking to the brethren to unite them, and working for their own unity, or the sisters become part of the existing centre, through the creation of one institute of both brothers and sisters. Otherwise, there is no solid basis of unity amongst the sisters, and the long history of fragmentation and separate development they have been through only compounds this lack.

1 However, her institute was not recognised by the brethren of the order as Dominican until 1897, a year after the Bushey congregation was founded.

2 Hinnebusch, W. A., *The History of the Dominican Order: Origins and Growth to 1500*, Alba House, N.Y., 1965, p. 378, hereafter referred to as "Hinnebusch".

3 I am grateful to Sr. Cecily Boulding OP for pointing this out to me.

4 According to the latest figures, there are 236 monasteries of Dominican nuns, enclosed and contemplative, with over 4000 professed members and some 200 novices: some are under the immediate jurisdiction of the Master of the Order, most are organically linked to the province of the Friars in whose territory they are to be found, all being independent of one another though usually in a regional federation. They trace descent from the nuns at Prouille, the first community that St Dominic founded.

5 In particular, I have made extensive use of two histories: Murray, M. C., *From Second to Third Order: Transition in the Ratisbon Family of American Dominican Women*

from 1853 to 1929, unpublished PhD thesis, hereafter referred to as "Murray"; Cleary, C. , Murphy, E. and McGlynn, F., *Being Driven Forward: An Account of a Centenary of Ministry by the Dominican Sisters of Newcastle, Natal,* forthcoming, hereafter referred to as "*BDF*".

6 Although I have not made, nor come across, a careful examination of why women did not make the transition into the mendicant movement, it seems principally due to the particular view of enclosure for religious women that had been developing in the church up to that time. For a good discussion of this, see Tibbets Schulenberg, J., "Strict Active Enclosure and its Effects on the Female Monastic Experience (500–1100), in Nichols, J.A. and Shank, L.T., *Distant Echoes*, vol 1 of 3 under the general title of *Medieval Religious Women* , Cistercian Studies Series, n. 71, Cistercian Publications Inc, 1984, pp. 51–86. Even Dominican friars were subject to suspicion because of the "wandering" involved in their apostolate, despite a tradition of enclosure and stability amongst male religious that was much less tight for men than it was for women. See Hinnebusch, p. 138.

7 For example, sisters setting up communities with an active apostolate were often sent to houses of the second order for initial formation, rather than sharing in any formation that the brethren received.

8 Local superiors were not referred to as "Mother", since daughterhouses were considered to be an extension of the motherhouse and under the authority of the prioress there.

9 Murray, chp II, p. 22.

10 This split is particularly poignant as the Regensburg monastery had originally been a community of beguines that had been encouraged to become an enclosed monastery, probably around 1233. If there had been some way for these women to preserve their religious identity while doing charitable works, in a way not unlike the brethren of the order, perhaps this painful split between Regensburg and Brooklyn could have been avoided. The monastery at Augsburg, the progenitor of all the South African congregations, had also originally been a community of beguines, so the same thing could be said of them. See Hinnebusch, p. 402.

11 Murray, chp II, p. 24–25.

12 Hinnebusch, p. 298.

13 Murray, chp II, p. 25.

14 Murray, chp II, p. 36.

15 More on the importance of geographical distance can be found in the section on centralised constitutions.

16 *The Conventual Third Order of St. Dominic and Its Development in England*, by "a Dominican of Stone" (who was Sr. Rose), Burns and Oates, London 1923, p.39, hereafter referred to as *The Conventual Third Order*.

17 Cecily Boulding has pointed out to me that it may be relevant to note here that there were no third order monasteries in England before the reformation and only one second order monastery.

18 Boulding, M. C., Dominican Third Order Sisters: *A brief account of the origin and history of the Conventual Third Order*, unpublished paper. Further light is thrown on this by Mother Rose Columba Adams, a member of the Stone Congregation and foundress of the Adelaide Dominicans. Mother Margaret, just before going to Rome to gain approval for her congregation, called Adams in, even though she was at the time only one of the junior sisters. Adams wrote: 'she . . . told me she was going to Rome about the affairs of the Community, and added, "I do not know what turn things may take; but would you not rather be enclosed than cease to be a Dominican?" Of course, I said I would". Ignorance of the history of uncloistered Dominican women was such that even Mother Margaret at this stage was not sure whether such a life was possible. Brownlow, W., *Memoir of Mother Mary Rose Columba Adams, O.P.*, Burns & Oates,

1895, p. 266.

19 As quoted in Suenens, Cardinal L. J., *The Nun in the World: Religious and the Apostolate*, trans G. Stevens, London, 1962, p. 39. See also Tibbets Schulenberg, op. cit.

20 Boulding, op. cit., p. 4.

21 See Suenens, op.cit., pp. 40–41.

22 St. Vincent de Paul, *Correspondences, Entretiens, Documents*, vol. IX, p. 533, Librairie Lecoffre, Paris, 1923, trans. in Suenens, op. cit, p. 41–42.

23 Leo XIII, "Constitutionis Conditae a Christo", *Codicis Iuris Canonici Fontes*, ed. P. Gasparri and J.C. Serédi, vol. III, Rome 1925, n. 644, pp. 562–566. It was only with the revision of the Code of Canon Law in 1983, which abolished all differences between vows except for temporary and perpetual, that their vows were given the same recognition as those of the brethren and nuns. Secular institutes were not recognised as an entity until 1947.

24 *The Conventual Third Order*, p. 60.

25 *The Conventual Third Order*, p. 59.

26 One cannot help a wry smile on reading in *The Conventual Third Order*, "Father Bernard was not slow in recognising Miss Matthews's [sic] valuable personal qualifications. . ." p. 59. Although she was obviously a competent organiser with many talents, was her most "valuable qualification" that she agreed with him rather than the foundress?!

27 *The Conventual Third Order*, p. 60.

28 Murray, chp. VI, p. 22.

29 In answer to a request from the Jersey City community for clarification of their status, the master deemed that they could not be a second order house because houses of the second order had to have enclosure and solemn vows. They also could not have a network of houses as a quasi-congregation, since having general chapters and moving sisters between houses would not be 'in harmony with the spirit of enclosure'. Murray, chp. VI, p. 22.

30 Murray, chp VI, p. 12.

31 Itself founded from Second Street; see under the next heading.

32 *BDF*, chp II, pp. 5–6.

33 Sr. Aquina, "The Break with King William's Town", *Each for All*, n. 23, March 1976, p. 45.

34 Aquina, op. cit., p. 47–48.

35 Aquina, op. cit., p. 49.

36 A cleric appointed by the bishop to represent him. He had great powers, including the ability to depose a prioress.

37 Murray, chp VI, p. 24.

38 Hinnebusch, pp. 233–242, describes the interventions in the workings of the men's order by outside authorities. What is striking is how the friars had the possibility under canon law to defend themselves against such impositions, and how rarely they occur in comparison to what happened to the sisters.

39 Murray, chp VI, p. 31.

40 This development is considered further under the section on constitutional centralisation.

41 Murray, chp VI, p. 34.

42 Murray, chp VI, pp. 15–16.

43 Murray, chp.II, p. 30 and chp. VI, pp. 18–20.

44 Murray, chp.VI, p. 19.

45 Sr Martin-Marie, "The Oakford Foundation: Mother Gabriel Foley", *Each for All*, n. 23, March 1976, p. 51.

46 *BDF*, chap V, p.8.

47 As a comparison, the Zimbabwean sisters mentioned above received £10 per sister per annum during the same period. In reality, they were receiving salaries from the BSA company for their work as nurses, but the Jesuits had managed to arrange things such that the sisters' salaries were paid to them and from this they gave the sisters a small allowance, keeping the rest of the money for their missions. It took until the sisters' chapter in 1969 for the allowance given to them to be increased substantially to the princely sum of £120 p.a., more or less what the Dominican friars were getting from the Newcastle Dominicans in the 1920s.

48 *BDF*, chp IX, p. 6.

49 See, for instance, Tillard, J. M. and Congar, Y., eds.,*Unam Sanctam*, vol. 62, Les Editions du Cerf, 1967, pp. 119–120. Tillard, while commenting on *Perfectae Caritatis*, argues that constitutions for women religious need to be different from men's. The reason he gives for this is that women are more authoritarian and focused on tiny details than men.

50 Murray, chp VI, p. 25.

51 *BDF*, chp. II, pp. 6–7.

52 Murray, chp IV, p. 17.

53 Murray, chp IV, p. 18. One of the problems the sisters had was that it was unclear what was the nature of their authority. Only priests have the "power of governance" in a general sense. One model put forward was to say that superiors in a non-clerical religious institute had "domestic" power, on the model of the power of parents in a household. This model worked well when it was applied to one monastery, but when authority needed to be exercised across thousands of miles and diocesan boundaries, it was less easy to apply. This may well have held up the development of provinces among the sisters, but I have not had the opportunity as yet to investigate this influence.

54 *BDF*, chp.III, p. 2.

55 Murray, chp II, p. 10 and chp IV, p. 2.

56 Information supplied by Sr Cecily Boulding OP.

57 In order to be recognised as "Dominican" by the Sacred Congregation for Religious, the sisters must be recognised by the Master of the Order. What they do not need to do is to make this recognition the basis of their unity which they can work towards amongst themselves.

Kyssegyrlan Vuched or Ymborth yr Eneit

John Ryan, OMI

Sir John Morris Jones, the most distinguished pupil of Sir John Rhys, collaborated with the latter in editing a Jesus College manuscript. This work appeared in 1894 in the Medieval and Modern Series of *Anecdota Oxoniensia* under the title of *The Elucidarium and other tracts in Welsh* from *Llyuyr Agkyr Llandewivrevi, A.D. 1346* (Jesus College Ms. 119) (The Book of the Anchorite of Llanddewifrefi). A note added to the

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