

At the outset of this study it was made explicit that the historical account would be directed to the description and sociological examination of the Good Shepherd refuge as a particular form of transformational institution. The historical evidence has been culled and ordered in relation to that objective, but in three different ways. Firstly, the long time-span of the Magdalen Movement was explored in order to recover the structure of the penitents refuge as it might be revealed in certain invariances of social form and process. That enquiry resulted in the identification of six principles which were fully or partially realised in the monastic development of refuge work: Vountary Admission, Classification, Separation, Quasi-enclosure, and Specificity of Commitment. Each was the product of historical events and the expression of a particular facet of christian ideology. These principles and the historical contexts of their realisation provided the configurational context for the other historical tasks. Secondly, the sources were engaged with an institutional emphasis for the historical reconstruction of the form and life of the Good Shepherd refuges at Angers and Hammersmith, the convict refuge, and the certified inebriate reformatory. In this way it was possible to acquire a clearer understanding of the magdalen asylum through the comparison and contrasting of these institutions with each other, and with the long-term structural characteristics. Finally the material was treated thematically in terms of the laundry work and the struggle to resist secular encroachments through Factory Act inspection and the payment of wages. This third way provided a means of distinguishing between those characteristics of the refuge which were perceived as capable of modification and those which were regarded as non-negotiable

essentials. The three modes of historical account converge to present a very clear picture of the magdalen asylum both as a subjectively held ideal, and as an actual transformational institution fully or partially expressed, or even distorted and denied, in the historical instances of its realisation.

At the heart of the historical account rests the complex nature of transformation itself. All the practical problems of refuge development, management, and control encountered by the historical actors refer back in some way to that social process. Throughout the long history of the Magdalen Movement there occurs a pre-occupation with the control and classification of the transformands, and with the dangers they are held to present to the nuns who manage the refuges. A sense of danger probably born as much from the recognition that both penitents and nuns were fellow transformands, as from any sense of the proximity of the pure and the defiled. The six principles of the developed refuge each reflected an aspect of the problem of providing a stable organisational context for the essentially dynamic and potentially disruptive process of transformation.

The rapid growth of a clear form of Good Shepherd refuge under Mother Pelletier brought into prominence other aspects of transformation, notably the status of consecrated penitents and magdalen sisters as long-term transformands, like the Good Shepherd Sisters themselves. Throughout the Magdalen Movement the relation of the refuges to secular society had generally been problematic, yet the Good Shepherd enterprise specifically espoused co-operation with the state and permitted compulsory admission. The problem of managing shorter stay compulsory inmates in a manner consonant with the expectancies of both officials and nuns was displayed at its most intractable in the story of the certified inebriate reformatory. It was a problem that arose out of the ambiguities of classification and transformation objectives. Yet the convict

refuge became readily accepted as an access point for the magdalen asylum until it was institutionally transformed into a penitents class, as the result of a perceived correspondence of transformations. The insistence that work in the world was entirely different from work in the refuge, that the laundries were not factories to be inspected, and that the penitents should not be a waged labour force, were determined by an understanding of the transformative process as totally distinct from the concerns of the secular world. The objectives and rhetorics of that struggle were clearly related to differing perceptions of the Good Shepherd transformative endeavour.

Out of this congeries of historical events there emerge certain related theoretical tasks which are fundamental to any sociological understanding of the Good Shepherd refuge and its history; and which it is the main purpose of this chapter to address:

1. A consideration of the Magdalen Asylum as a specific form of transformational institution.
2. An exploration of the nature of the social categories and social classification basic to the transformation process in the Good Shepherd refuge.
3. An exploration of the nature of the controls which bound and sustain the system of classification as a social structure.
4. The conceptualisation of the ambiguous process of transformation and the ambivalent status of transformand in both their static and dynamic aspects.
5. The provision of a sociological account of the long-term Good Shepherd transformand engaged in a unitary pattern of transformations directed to an other-worldly end within a christian ideology.
6. The integration of the theoretical understanding of classification and transformation into a sociological model of a Good Shepherd refuge.

#### THE MAGDALEN ASYLUM AS TOTAL INSTITUTION

An initial impression that the Good Shepherd establishments were somewhat akin to Erving Goffman's 'total institution' suggested that

this notion might serve as a useful instrument for theoretical analysis. Goffman had distinguished some five major characteristics in such institutions, of which the most obvious is their capacity to provide for the sleeping, feeding, working, and recreation of whole blocks of people by means of bureaucratic organisation. Manifestly, the Good Shepherd institutions described in this study had the capacity to manage batches of women by means of a rational use of time and space. However, a closer examination reveals that Goffman's other (1) major characteristics were absent or, at best, ambiguously present.

Goffman makes much of staff-inmate distance as the central mark of the total institution, but this is in no similar sense characteristic of Good Shepherd convents and their associated institutions. In the convent itself there is no meaningful distinction between staff and inmates. That Goffman could have included conventual establishments as an example of a total institution merely serves to demonstrate that he managed only to infiltrate an asylum. Admittedly, certain offices were hierarchically ranked but their holders could not be reckoned as staff anymore than the other nuns could be termed inmates. Goffman does eventually note in his conclusions that convents are (2) marked more by collegiality than staff-inmate distance. Nor in the Good Shepherd institutions themselves, whether magdalen asylum, convict refuge, or certified inebriate reformatory, was there significant evidence of staff-inmate distance in Goffman's sense. It is true that the nuns working in the institutions were staff with surveillance duties somewhat of the kind described by Goffman, and in Chapter 1 it was noted how precise those duties were. Yet the precision of the arrangements was directed at ensuring an effective separation of nuns and penitents as categories in a classification based on a common transformation process. Category differences within a transformation continuum, with its dangers of marginal anomalies, in no

wise corresponds to a social distance based a staff's capacity for movement through the outer institutional boundary and their non-participation in the transformation process. Although, under the Constitutions, no penitent could ever become a Good Shepherd nun, there was no formal bar to such a person becoming a Magdalen Sister - under Canon Law a nun in every sense of the term - or to entering another religious order. (3) Both nuns and penitents were engaged in a common assault on the self.

Apart from surveillance, Goffman based staff-inmate distance on staff integration into the wider community and on the control of communication between the two polar groups; these capacities working to maintain the antagonistic stereotypes of staff member and inmate. Returning to the convent after a period of work in the Magdalen Asylum can scarcely be understood as integration into the wider community, the more particularly as the pervasive ambience of religious life in an enclosed convent is other-worldly. If anything, the total orientation of a Good Shepherd establishment, both convent and inmate institution, was towards reconciliation and integration with a god before whom each is equal. Which is not to deny that some inmates would have held the sisters in awe, although it is quite likely that many, especially the consecrated penitents, would have combined a healthy respect for 'the Mothers' with a realistic awareness of their human foibles. Similarly, it is likely that the majority of penitents would have experienced a distance from the nuns born of their total disinclination to espouse the religious life, however more orderly they may have become in their practice of roman catholicism. But those kinds of distance hardly correspond to the central connotation of Goffman's concept which essentially involves strong relational distance. The Good Shepherd nun-penitent polarity was not a category antagonism in this sense as both were engaged in christian transform-

ation. Ideologically, it was axiomatic that the nun was a penitent, although not the converse. The nuns were in full control of communication between themselves and the penitents, but this was far more tightly proscribed than in Goffman's asylum. Any nun who communicated with a penitent on any other than matters relating to daily work or religion, even within her own place of authority, was subject to severe (4) censure which could ultimately lead to her dismissal. It is difficult to conclude that the magdalen asylum exhibited the type of staff-inmate distance characteristic of Goffman's model of the total institution.

The third characteristic of the model concerns the contrast between the symbolic payment for inmate labour and the wage-labour nexus of (5) the external world. Goffman noted this as a reflection of the attempt to solve an endemic problem of the total institution: The problem of the control and motivation of the workforce. He considered that the anticipation of wages operated as a mode of control as well as a motivation, consequently the absence of normal wages seriously compromised the very nature of inmate labour. Additionally, in a situation where all the basic human needs are catered for the motivation to work is further diminished. The normal institutional way of ameliorating this problem is by using marks or tokens which the inmates can exchange at will for small personal items such as cigarettes, sweets, or toilet articles. The major balance of such notional wages is saved as a discharge payment. The greater the productivity or application to work, the greater would be the final payment. Such a system also left open the possibility of negative control by a reduction or cancellation of tokens, or by fines charged against savings. Although Goffman recognises that the total institution is a 'forcing house for changing persons', he seems to understate the strong ideological tradition which places work at the centre of that process. (6)

In the Good Shepherd case the quintessential nature of work, a central principle of the ideology, was its role as the prime means for the assault on the self, its status as the prime instrument of mortification. For the nuns that alone was a sufficient exchange to the penitents for their labour. So far as the material base of exchange was concerned, the work of the penitents was an exchange for their maintenance in the magdalen asylum. Goffman seems to assume that the cost of meeting basic needs is primarily a charge on revenue derived from extraneous sources. Far from it being a problem to be solved, the Good Shepherd sisters positively eschewed any notion of wages, for they were seen as constituting a positive engagement into the categories of secular economic life. This aspect will be discussed more fully below. For the present it will suffice to recall the furore occasioned in 1901 by Mrs. Crawford's call for the payment of wages (7) to the inmates of charitable institutions. It was not a notion that could be introduced into the magdalen asylums without weakening the symbolism of work both as the consequence of man's fall and as a means of his redemption, nor without threatening the nuns' control over voluntary penitents. So while it may be conceded that the wage-work problem also exists in the Good Shepherd institutions, it is the exact converse of that which Goffman discerns in his total institution.

The weak control exerted through working the inmates was complimented by a more effective method of control which Goffman delineated as the fourth major characteristic of the total institution. (8) According to him the major source of control was the management of the tension between the external and internal cultures. A tension reliant for its production on the degree of permeability between the institution and the outside world. From the moment of admission institutional procedures are directed towards a separation from the presenting culture in order to facilitate the internalisation of the

inmate role. In this phase it is the institutional impermeability that is stressed. Thereafter control is exercised by distancing or approximating that past as future. It is a paradox in Goffman's analysis that a process which uses the present to undercut the past nevertheless denotes the reclamation of that past as a future goal. By managing the present as passage to a futurative past through the control of letters, visits, and discharge itself, Goffman considered the total institution to have a potent instrument of control whose central feature was the diminishing or enhancement of adult executive competency. The situation in a Good Shepherd magdalen asylum was quite different. In the first place, admission and departure were entirely voluntary, although the penurious circumstances of some of the women applying for admission must have compromised any effective choice. Nevertheless it remained a choice, even if it were the simple recognition that the magdalen asylum was a lesser evil than the workhouse. Whereas the staff of a total institution were able to control the inmates by facilitating or blocking the aspiration to discharge, there was no such aspiration to manipulate in a Good Shepherd asylum. The potency of the superior's power of dismissal worked in a different way. Where the short-stay quasi-voluntary penitent was concerned, it meant discharge before the woman herself intended to exercise her right to leave, and such a penitent might conform to institutional requirements to avert that possibility. In practice the power to discharge was used with relative infrequency. Women who were subsequently discovered to be pregnant or suffering from venereal disease were discharged (9) as their admission was contrary to the Constitution. A very small number were transferred to lunatic asylums. In other cases the sisters felt the dismissals to be a failure of hope in themselves. Consequently, dismissals only occurred when it was considered that the continued presence of a certain penitent was particularly harmful to the other



women. This was the case with women who displayed lesbian proclivities or who were persistently anti-religious. A fundamental difference between the Goffmanesque lunatic asylum and the Good Shepherd magdalen asylum was that the dynamics of the latter was institutional interiority. The Good Shepherd sister considered it a perfectly normal decision for a penitent to decide to remain permanently as a safeguard against the temptations of the world. The majority of the penitents did, of course, leave voluntarily, but the sisters did not underestimate the difficulties that faced those whose commitment to roman catholic belief and practice had been renewed during their stay in the magdalen asylum.

Goffman completed his picture of the total institution by noting the particular style of authority that was a dominant mark. (10) It was an authority whose nature is primarily determined by the tendency, in a total institution, to a multiplicity of actively enforced rulings. It is regimentary in its orientation. This quality Goffman considered to be inevitable where the institutional rules are concerned with regulated activity by batches of people. The Good Shepherd classes of penitents, prisoners, and inebriates, were certainly regimented in this sense. Yet it would probably be erroneous to suggest, as Goffman does for his asylum, that this regimentation was the product of 'the press of judgemental officials'; the outcome of the interplay between a particular mode of bureaucratic organisation and a particular style of authority. That style Goffman designates as echelon authority. A system of authority whereby any member of the staff can control and discipline any inmate in any context within the institution. In short, it was a system of total control.

The Good Shepherd system of authority was not the same. The First Mistress of the class could only exercise authority over her own class. The sisters who worked with her could only exercise authority

over that section of the class to which they were appointed, unless they were deputising for the First Mistress in that role itself. In addition to this, staff authority was supplemented by the monitorial function permitted to certain of the consecrated penitents. Only the convent superior had authority to control or correct any inmate anywhere in the establishment, no matter to which class she belonged. It was firmly established in the Constitution that no sister might speak to an inmate unless she had a designated direct charge over her, and the charges were arranged by class and work. (11) It was a classificatory or locational authority bound by context. It might be referred to as a kind of hierarchical-contextual authority to distinguish it from echelon authority. Contextual authority is far more typical of the authority that might be exercised in everyday life.

The various *officières*, as they were called, were appointed by the superior. More often than not she would consult the Provincial Superior over the appointment of the First Mistress. The First Mistress of Penitents, sometimes called First Mistress of the Class, exercised authority over the penitents only. She had no powers of control or discipline over any other class of inmates that might be conducted within the same convent establishment. She would have no say, for example, in matters concerning the women prisoners or the reformatory girls. Furthermore, she had no authority over sisters other than those assigned to help her with the class. In the convent she had no authority over any other nun. She would have the permanent help of a Second Mistress and the two of them would be assisted by other sisters assigned for varying periods of time. The Superior would give some nuns the task of 'disengaging in the Class', which meant relieving the more permanent staff for meals, prayers, meetings, and so on. The First Mistress of Penitents decided on the work assignments of the penitents: laundry, needlework, domestic, or farm and dairy.

However, once in the workplace, the penitents were under the authority of the sister in charge of that particular work. Authority was further contextualised, even within that narrower structure. In the laundry, for example, the wash-room sister could only exercise authority over the washerwoman and not over the ironers or packers. Inmates assigned to domestic work, say the kitchen, were subject to the kitchen sister and her authority extended no further. The Mistress of Penitents would not presume to exercise her disciplinary powers in the laundry or domestic areas unless very specially called upon to do so. Her most direct contact with the penitents would be in the Class, where she might be supervising those engaged in needlework, giving religious instruction, or presiding over the recreation period. Similar systems of authority operated in the classes of prisoners, inebriate women and reformatory girls. Thus all the inmates were subject to one direct superior related to the activity in which they were engaged, whether this be work, eating, recreation, or some other activity. This contextual authority is markedly different from Goffman's echelon authority, and certainly makes for a different kind of staff-inmate relationship.

Obviously the magdalen asylum, the convict refuge, and the inebriate reformatory display differing degrees of correspondence to Goffman's notion of the total institution. The latter two institutions corresponding most on the point of compulsory admission. Yet even here the total institutional control which Goffman derives from such commital is mitigated by the use of contextual rather than echelon authority and by the absence of staff-inmate distance as understood by his use of the term. Goffman attributes great significance to staff power of decision on discharge as a potent means of inmate control and somehow seems to relate this potency to the compulsory nature of admission. Yet in the two Good Shepherd institutions where this

pertained, the sisters considered that their intra-institutional control of the inmate women had been diminished. There is a certain paradox here. We have already seen that in the case of the voluntary penitent the discharge mode of control operated conversely because the ideology was characterised more by impermeability than permeability, to use Goffman's terminology. So to replace voluntary admission by compulsory admission in a Good Shepherd institution would inevitably tend to reduce control. This reduction of control has to be understood subjectively in terms of the sisters' own ideological notion of the ultimate goal of penitence and conversion. The nuns undertook the management of the convict refuge and the inebriate reformatory because of their conviction that their mission of hope and conversion could be fulfilled even within such state-funded institutions; although (12) it should not be forgotten that they had to be persuaded in each case. Perhaps they would have done better to have followed their own intuition. In actuality the degree of power over discharge was much more fundamental than in Goffman's analysis, for when exercised as a control over institutional conduct it meant consignment into the deeper reaches of the state system. In the case of the convict refuge this was very clear cut. The prison authorities would immediately recall to prison any woman whom the sisters deemed to be beyond their control or unresponsive to the intermediate system. The response of the authorities to similar contingencies in the certified inebriate reformatory was unclear, primarily because of their continuing ambivalence about the role of such institutions. Even so, discharge during sentence meant incarceration either in the state inebriate reformatory or in the county lunatic asylum. There can be no doubt that in the eyes of the Good Shepherd nuns the initiation of such discharges signified a failure in the transformations for which they hoped. This power of discharge was thus used sparingly. Such discharges, representing

as they did a movement further into the state system, were a kind of negative mirror image of the desired movement of the penitent to the deeper interior of the refuge.

The application of Goffman's denotative construction of an ideal type total institution to the Good Shepherd establishments does bring out some interesting contrasts. In the total institution the power of discharge, as movement to the exterior world, depends directly upon the institution being permeated by that world. The institutional impermeability internalised by the inmates, especially through admission rituals, is the necessary condition for control by means of its phased externalisation: A monitored and paced progress to the success of discharge back into the everyday world. By contrast, the magdalen asylum operates on a congruence between institutional impermeability and paced progress away from the external world, by an internalisation of the other-world. Thus success is measured by progress away from this world, whether it be to the ultimate role of the Magdalen Sister, to the long-term auxiliary work of the consecrated penitent, or the return of the converted penitent to the risks of life in the secular world. From the perspective of the state the convict refuge and the certified inebriate reformatory were institutions peripheral to the penal system, thus inmates who failed in them were re-absorbed into the interior of that system. Within secular penal philosophy convict refuges and certified inebriate reformatories were institutions of high permeability precisely because they represented a secular hope of return to the outside world. Thus the institutional logics of the state and the Good Shepherd tended to pull in opposite directions in those institutions.

Certainly the use of Goffman's model leads to interesting descriptive juxtapositions; to a methodological path of contrastive difference.

Although the value of this should not be gainsaid in the development of conceptual building blocks, it falls short of explanation. Goffman himself acknowledges that his model is based on the single articulation of staff-inmate distance, noting that this is bound to omit or distort certain interesting features such as role differentiation within each group, or the anomalies that arise at the interface between inmates and low-status staff. (13) Yet it is precisely on the staff-inmate distance concept that Goffman's model least applies to the Good Shepherd institutions; while it is such factors as intra-group differentiation and boundary anomalies which are most relevant. His pointers are tantalising. For example, he remarks how his primary emphasis on the polarity of staff and inmates hides the role of the long-serving low status staff as the bearers of institutional tradition and as the receivers of interface friction in the buffer zone between staff and inmates; a role not dissimilar to that of the Good Shepherd consecrated penitent, even though she was inmate rather than staff member. Tantalising as they are, they remain footnote descriptions in Goffman's account; although they will be applied later in this study.

It is worthy of note that this sensitive master of interactive description concludes his study by pointing to functional analysis as an explanatory key to the constancy in total institutions of the features he denotes. Yet the very sensitivity of Goffman's account seems to derive from his early assertion that a total institution was a 'forcing house for changing persons'. This very definition, which sensitizes his description, might have provided Goffman with the necessary terminus ad quem for a functional analysis, had he not failed to specify the direction of the personal change. It is precisely that failure which leads Goffman to subsume under the generic type of the total institution such diverse establishments as convents,

boarding schools, prisons, army barracks, and concentration camps. Ignatieff has already noted that this is Goffman's most controversial claim; that the organisational logic of the total institution grinds (14) out the same rituals regardless of purpose. He assumes that mortification means the same in each instance. Yet in a convent and its associated institutions, as in the Good Shepherd case, mortification is directed to establishing how little we need in this world, not how much we need, as in the Goffmanesque asylum. Furthermore, despite his insistence on the compulsory aspect by his use of the phrase 'forcing house', he still includes institutions which always or normally recruit voluntarily, such as convents and ships, or at least require free consent to admission. This conflation of voluntary and compulsory admission is a serious defect in the model which is not excused by his concluding admission that the model conceals this aspect.

None of these criticisms need rest on any implicit assumption that a functional analysis is necessarily teleological, but it is the absence of any teleological refinement in Goffman's model which makes it so very partial in its application to specific institutions such as the Good Shepherd establishments. Even if we were to abandon teleology in favour of some holistically integrative principle, this is also lacking. Institutional characteristics, whether singly or in combination, do not constitute such a principle, although they may be evidence of its existence. Both the subjective and objective modalities of those of Goffman's characteristics which are wholly or partially present in Good Shepherd institutions depend on the end of the transformation and on the integrative principle of voluntary admission. Goffman's model is incapable of taking these essential aspects into account. Despite the shortcomings, his model provides certain initial conceptual footholds in the pursuit of some sociological understanding of the Good Shepherd institutions. The notion of forced personal change

can serve as a starting point for a tentative sociological account of the process of voluntary transformation, which might also take account of specific institutional objectives. Although apparently the least promising of Goffman's notions, staff-inmate distance may become applicable by extending its essentially social-spatial content to include a time-distance mode. The polar distinctions between staff and inmates will need to be refined further to allow for differentiation in category contents and boundaries. In this way it may be possible to clarify the nature and working of the system of classification.

Attention thus turns to the key generic concepts of CLASSIFICATION and TRANSFORMATION operating within a specific ideological context, which underlie the six principles revealed by the historical account of the development of the Good Shepherd refuge.

#### CLASSIFICATION

The historical account has made clear the very complex system of classification that was established at Angers by 1835. Mother Pelletier had developed a refuge\* with six classes whose initial membership rested on differences in the presenting condition of the inmate and the corresponding transformational response. Angers served as the model for all the Good Shepherd foundations. The refuges with which this study is primarily concerned each had two or three classes of inmates. At its peak Finchley accommodated three separate classes of convicts, penitents, and 'preservation' women. Hammersmith had a class of Magdalen Sisters as well as penitents, and for a few years, reformatory school girls. Glasgow and Bristol each had two classes of penitents and reformatory or industrial school girls. But even

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\*In this chapter 'refuge' is used in its traditional generic sense to refer to any single class or complex of classes in association with a Good Shepherd convent, unless the context indicates otherwise.



the refuges which only catered for a single class of penitents, like Cardiff, Liverpool, and Manchester, were involved in an intricate interplay of sub-classes among the penitents, and among the nuns. Goffman's account turns largely on the distinction between staff and inmates; a basic duality of classes at once too broad and too crude to advance significantly any theoretical analysis of the Good Shepherd classification. It is necessary, therefore, to turn to other theoretical possibilities.

Rodney Needham has argued that the primary analytical task of social anthropology is to get to the bottom of a mode of classification, and it may be that social anthropology can provide useful insights into the Good Shepherd case. Both Durkheim and Mauss considered that there was a constant causal relation between cosmological ideas and social relations. The fundamental categories identified in their work on primitive classification, and in Durkheim's separate study (15) of the elementary forms of religion, were space, time, and the sacred. These were basic categories in the total symbolic classification of the Good Shepherd refuge, but apply more particularly to the process of transformation that presupposes an existing categorisation of persons. It is appropriate, therefore, to consider this aspect first. Figure 1 sets out the categories of persons in the Good Shepherd refuge.

RELIGIOUS SISTERS	INMATES
Choir sisters	Consecrated Penitents
Lay sisters	Penitents
Novices	Consecrated Preservates
Magdalen sisters	Preservates
Magdalen Novices	Convicts
Touriere sisters	Inebriates
Touriere Novices	Reformatory and Industrial school girls

Figure 1: Categories of Persons in the Refuge

The categories may be interpreted at three different levels. They all have functional attributes. Those on the nun side, together with the consecrated penitents, have specific tasks to perform in relation to the management and maintenance of a transformational situation. On the inmate side, the functional attributes are concerned with the material maintenance of the institution by manual labour. Secondly, all the categories are engaged in subjective transformation from sin to salvation, whether it be the most senior nun or the most recently admitted penitent. A caveat must be entered here: The compulsory categories of inmates may have no special commitment to conversion, despite the nuns' intentions in this respect. Finally, some of the categories are exchangeable whilst others are not. Magdalen sisters and consecrated penitents may exchange categories; the compulsory categories may become voluntary at the end of the period of detention. Penitents may not become Good Shepherd sisters, but they may become Magdalen sisters. It is only very exceptionally that a touriere sister becomes upgraded to lay sister, or a lay sister to choir sister. Exchange of category is generally associated with the transformation specific to the institution, while non-exchange is generally the result of constitutional or canon law restrictions. The classification of the different types of inmate is largely based on the secular penological principle that each type of social deviance must be kept separate from the others in order to avoid moral contagion.

The overall form of the classification is based on a common dualism with a strong ambiguous zone, virtually amounting to a third category. The class of penitents, although clearly demarcated by admission status and subsequent control practices, is essentially a class in flux. The statistical evidence in Appendices 1 and 2 suggests institutional transience and turn-over, but its transitory nature lies at a deeper level. It is a class whose members are committed or subjected to

the goal of conversion. The *raison d'etre* is transformation, and it might be argued that is precisely why the class has to be closely bounded, both physically and ideologically. It is difficult to interpret the historical evidence. The convent annals frequently refer to the conversion of penitents, taken to be signified by such events as baptisms, communions, and especially suffering deaths. Less frequently, but no less importantly, they cite the failure of recalcitrant penitents. Manifestly, in an institution so deeply committed to the work and imagery of christian conversion, such events are worthy of record in themselves and as affirmations of institutional success. Yet, they are numerically insignificant when set against the volume of admissions. Although one might concede that many a return to an ordered social life might have occurred in far less obvious or dramatic a fashion, the fact remains that the documents are silent about the overwhelming majority of penitents. It is almost as if the class of penitents had come to serve as a relational constant between the two opposing ideational categories of sin and virtue represented by the world and the enclosure. The polarity is thus maintained by the interposition of an ambiguous type of category. (16)

However, the sisters themselves would have been the first to admit that the convent is also liminal, the locus of their own transformation; but baldly stated, that overlooks one crucial difference. Both subjectively by personal commitment, and objectively under the provisions of canon law, the sisters were bound into the convent for life. Their transformation is one that can only be hopefully guaranteed by a 'good death' following a life time of fidelity to the religious vows. As one old sister put it:

'I might say that as I have just started to serve my 80th year in this world, I may look forward to exchanging it for a better before long.'

(17)

Such, too, would be the position of the Magdalen Sisters.

The case of the consecrated penitents - the model of the flock, as Mother Pelletier described them - is particularly interesting. Although their promise is renewable annually, they commit themselves in practice to a permanent or very long stay in the refuge. They cannot, or do not, wish to go on and become Magdalen sisters. They remain as penitents in the class. In a special way they attest to the rest of the penitents, by not returning to the secular world, that it is a very risky place for the maintenance of reformed christian virtue. Perhaps, far more than the Good Shepherd Sisters and the Magdalen Sisters, they exemplify a powerful value concerning the dynamic interiority of the institution: the whole thrust to an exclusion and enclosure which signifies a death to the secular world. Speaking of the religious devotions reserved to the consecrates, Mother Weld had this to say to those sisters who were mistresses of penitents:

'.... they should have something of the ordinary religious practices to distinguish them from the common penitents and to raise them somewhat higher in the spiritual life, but if any of them speak of what has passed on those occasions be strict in making her repair it or exclude her for a time - this sort of little mystery has a good effect on the others and raises their idea of consecration. Do not be too much afraid of making nuns of them: that is all very well for the ordinary penitents.'

(18)

Although there is a strong ideological tradition, especially in the Eudist refuges, of returning women to the world, there is little reference to this in Good Shepherd practice. The formal documents definitely envisage a return to the world as the norm, but it is an event rarely, if at all, stated as an ideal. It was, of course, an occurrence that had to be accepted in the case of convict and inebriate women who had completed their detention, but their transfer to the

penitents' class at that point was often viewed as the greater good, as a triumph of voluntary admission over compulsion.

The basic dualism is tied into a hierarchical classification based on the degree of transformation towards personal salvation. This is legitimated by the nuns, and ultimately by ecclesiastical authority. The devices which give it particular effect are quasi-enclosure and separation. The historical narrative has given full account of the struggle to arrive at these solutions to the dangers inherent in the contiguity of polar categories. Nuns and penitents had to be kept apart, and both had to be kept apart from the world. The categories were given by the total symbolic order derived from roman catholic cosmological postulates. Nevertheless, the realisation of separation and quasi-enclosure were often extremely difficult. The superior at Manchester looked to an influential layman:

'To prevent our poor children here being overlooked by the numerous houses that are being kept in the neighbourhood, any of which may be inhabited by their former acquaintances which would be very bad for them and might lead to many evil results - it is greatly to the good of the City that the poor erring ones under our care should be in surroundings conducive to their care which would not be the case should they be seen or recognised when out in the grounds by those whose influence would only lead them astray again.'

(19)

More controllable were abuses by the sisters themselves with regard to letting women go out of the enclosure. Writing to one superior, Mother Weld expressed her concern:

'I cannot believe it is the right thing to let the Penitents go in and out, because the Constitutions say so distinctly that when in the house they shall observe the Enclosure, and I hold that a blessing is attached to the exact observance of a Rule clearly marked whatever good reasons may appear to the contrary. This refers to sending penitents out shopping or with messages and returning to the

'class again. I do not like the places in the Class filled up by good people, when we have to refuse so many bad.'

(20)

Keeping the classes separate was a constant problem, as was the appropriate separation of the nuns and penitents. These problems often arose with the adaptation of existing buildings to new developments. Writing to Cardinal Wiseman in 1863, the first Provincial Superior, Mother Radcliffe, complained of an inability to keep the classes separate at Hammersmith because of the position and design of the church. The hasty introduction of a reformatory school class in a nearby house caused grave misgivings, as the 1st and 2nd Mistresses (21) had to live in the house with the girls, rather than in the convent.

Mother Radcliffe even ruled on details to the extent that no penitent might touch the rosary cord of a nun, nor might she go into the Throne (22) or sit on its steps.

The Throne was the term used to describe the Mistress' raised chair and desk in the Class. (See Photograph 3) Other episodes concerning separation have been cited in the historical text; the instances might be trivial in themselves, but they indicate the subjective experience of sisters and inmates in relation to their precise categorisation.

We have shown how the categories themselves were historically given in their fundamental form. The maintenance of the forms and their further differentiation is a reflection of the basic christian cosmology with its dualism of good and evil at the heart of a redemptive myth. That myth generated the categories but it is a myth which enshrines transformation. This creates a major component of passage and marginality at the heart of the total symbolic pattern. This makes it very difficult to provide a static model of the categories, except as a temporary conceptual measure. This is depicted in Figure 2.

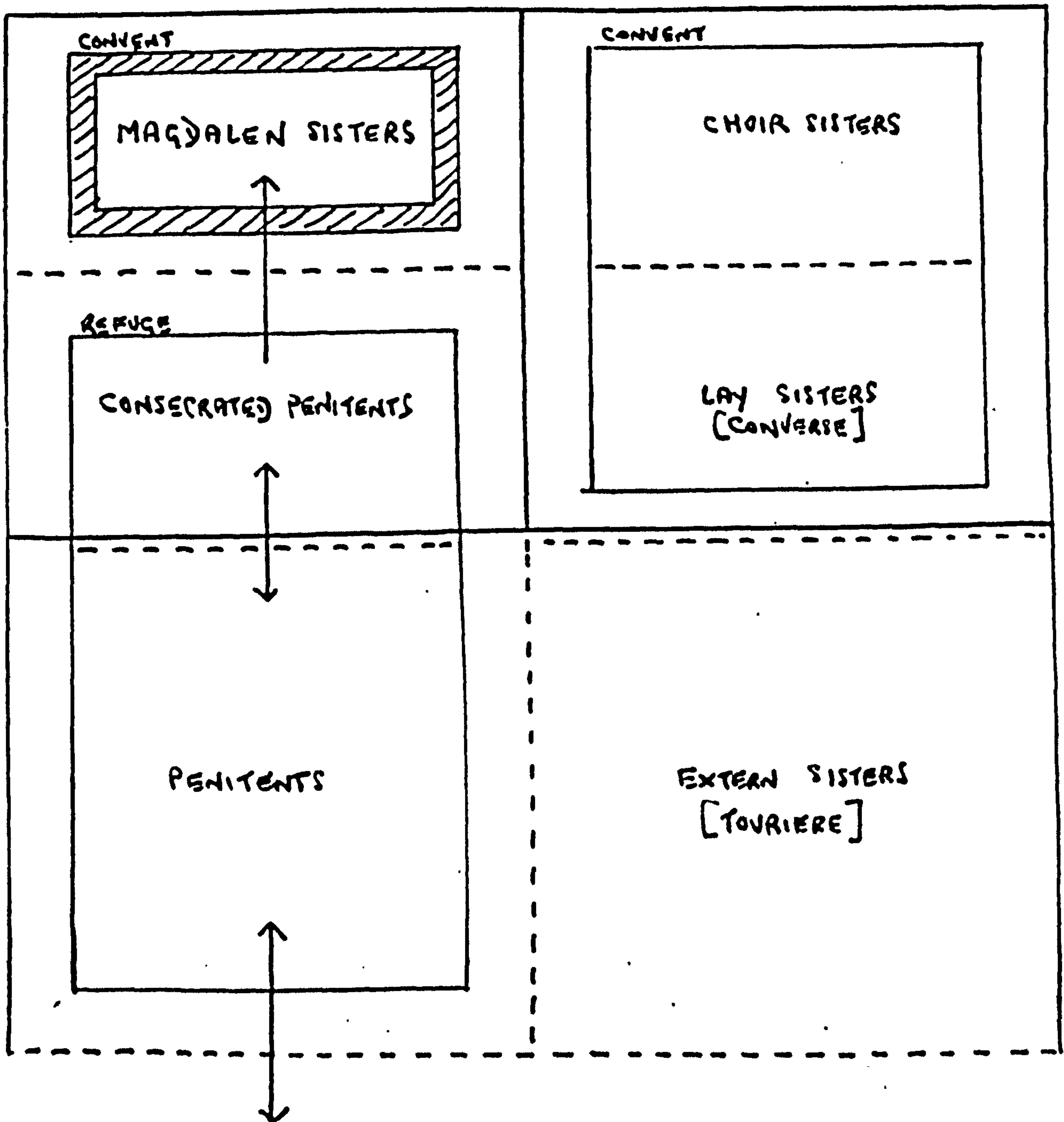


Figure 2: Spatial model of refuge classification

Although the basic duality and its associated categories were developed within christian culture, and institutionalised in the monastic life of the roman catholic church, the presenting categories of inmates were the product of an increasing tendency in 19th century Europe to classify forms of social deviance primarily for carceral and reformatory purposes. That prostitutes were assigned to the class of penitents in institutions outside public control reflects both

the traditional prime work of the Good Shepherd Congregation and the continuing public ambiguity concerning them. The convict women and the inebriate women were accepted as those categories into classes designed for them by the state and, subject to state inspection, incorporated into Good Shepherd refuges. One very significant mark of the differences lies in the retention of their own names by these inmates, unlike the penitents who received pseudonyms of christian reference.

Within the complex of cosmological symbols, all these categories are related in a unitary way which re-enacts the drama of the christian myth in the microcosmic context of the refuge. The classification in the refuge is the product of the fixed and mutable relations between the categories, and if it is to be a coherent system it requires a steady pattern of control.

Some insight into the nature of classification and control in the Good Shepherd refuge may be derived from Foucault's analysis of discipline in prisons. (23) He views discipline as a set of techniques which increase the physical force of the individual human body for the purposes of economic utility, while simultaneously diminishing these same forces for the purposes of political obedience. According to Foucault, this kind of discipline is quite unlike the monastic discipline, in which it partially originates, for the latter, by virtue of its ascetic renunciation of the body, is quite unconnected with utility. This view displays a serious misunderstanding of the nature of monastic work, yet it is readily repeated by contemporary writers on penal history, and more recently by Anthony Giddens. (24) This question is considered fully in the next chapter.

The techniques of discipline fall into two broad categories: The analytic decomposition of a mass of people by distributing them



in space as individuals, and their recomposition into classes. Distribution in space involves the techniques of enclosure, partitioning, functional coding of sites, and ranking. Foucault depicts enclosure as precisely the same as the physical boundary provided for the Good Shepherd refuge in Constitution XVII. It need concern us no further at this point. Partitioning, or the principle of elementary location, is the assignment of an individual to a particular space, always basically cellular, and thereby to establish presences and absences. It is aimed at the decomposition of collective dispositions or transient pluralities. The particular space need not be an actual physical cell, but is always at least symbolically so. Foucault actually takes the example of a dormitory in a convent refuge; another example would be the penitent's assigned chair in the Class. Partitioning is well illustrated in Photographs 1 - 3 which show the dormitory, refectory, and Class at Liverpool. By functional coding of sites, Foucault appears to mean not the allocation of particular spaces to particular functions, such as eating and work, but rather the relational forms of such usages within the compass of the enclosure. What Giddens happily terms the 'farming of space'. The relatively constant use of space in the Good Shepherd refuge reveals a relational form which centres on the church. The relatively constant use of space in a Good Shepherd laundry, while manifestly articulating the penitents to the spatial requirements of the work process, is also infused with disciplinary power. (See Plan 4) Foucault then goes on to consider the interchangeability of bodies by means of ranking. He argues that the elementary unit of discipline is not the territory or the enclosure, nor even the unit of partition, but rank. By rank he means the place one occupies in a classification. Rank is a technique that individualises bodies by a location that does not give them a fixed position; it distributes

them and circulates them in a network of relations. Rank is both hierarchical and serial. A Good Shepherd consecrated penitent would rank higher than an ordinary penitent by the criterion of transformation, but she can also move upwards to the novitiate of the Magdalen Sisters, or downwards by reversion to ordinary membership of the class. Each penitent, whether consecrated or not, has a serial rank in terms of her place in the entrance register. Ranking has connotations of movement through both space and time. While it is a distinct notion, Foucault also seems to use it as a way of referring to the dynamic aspects of partition and functional coding.

The techniques of decomposition are supplemented by the temporal control of activity through the timetable which establishes rhythms, imposes activities, and regulates cycles of repetition. Foucault's discussion here adds nothing to any perceptive account of time-tabling. It does, however, give special stress to the notion of a timetable as the means for exhausting the time of individuals. Which is, perhaps, another way of expressing Goffman's notion of the total institution as the bureaucratic organisation of people throughout the whole of the daily cycle. The Good Shepherd horarium was not so much a device for extracting the maximum time from the penitents as a means of maximising control, but that contributes to the same end result. The first part of the Foucaultian paradigm seems to amount to the creation of unitary individuality by the interchangeable occupation of spatio-temporal locations. A major difficulty is that Foucault refers to bodies as merely physical items, thereby failing to account at all for human agency. (25) By the same token it fails to account for the intentionality in the Good Shepherd understanding of penitents as voluntary inmates.

Decomposition is succeeded by a recomposition which is achieved

by the accumulation of time and the constitution of classes. Time is accumulated by its division into successive or parallel segments, each of which ends at a specific time. Foucault is referring to the chronological division of lives, where each such division ends with some kind of test or examination. All are subject to the same test of attainment or normalisation which further differentiates them as individuals:

'.... the striving of the whole community towards salvation becomes the collective, permanent competition of individuals being classified into relation with one another.'

(26)

The end result is to articulate one individual to another through the relations of chronological series and the composition of classes.

The notion has a definite application to the Good Shepherd case, but not without ambiguity. Certainly, the inmates of the convict refuge and the certified inebriate asylum move through their respective institutions to a definite end-point in time, at which they may be adjudged fit for release on licence. It would also be true that a consecrated penitent or a novice move through their probationary two /years to the point of acceptance or rejection for those categories. Yet when one tests the concept against the primary objective of religious conversion, the finite time series elides to infinity, for any here and now 'proofs' of conversions such as baptisms or good deaths are episodic. This issue will be examined more closely later in the chapter, suffice it to remark now that Foucault's use of time seriation can only apply to a Good Shepherd institution in the most extended sense, which is really to deny the essence of his analysis.

Foucault's concept of classification has a dual mode. He distinguishes the taxonomy of nature, by which he means the linking of character and category, from the taxonomy of discipline, which

through its techniques reconstitutes multiplicity. This is a difficult distinction to apply in the Good Shepherd case. The fundamental taxonomic principle for the sisters is conversion; the simple distinction between a fallen nature and a graced re-birth. Leaving that apart, one might apply Foucault's taxonomy of nature to the presenting categories of prostitute, convict, or novice. In which case, the concept is referring to the raw material of the transformative process; this would be an entirely congruent application to Good Shepherd refuges. The taxonomy of discipline is more difficult to apply because the class of penitents was constituted simply by voluntary admission, the entrants are constant raw material. Foucault's transformative objective of normalisation was subordinate to the perpetual struggle to gain or maintain conversion, and that applied as much to the nuns as to the penitents. In the Good Shepherd case, the taxonomy of discipline is best understood as the maintenance of the class over time.

Whereas Foucault had concentrated on the nature of classification and control in terms of the specific articulation of coercive power in a penal institution, Bernstein's analysis of educational institutions permits a better understanding of the pervasive nature of the control in a manifestly less coercive establishment. Bernstein's twin concepts of classification and framing can be productively transposed from an educational context to a Good Shepherd refuge. By doing so, we may gain additional purchase on the nature of control within the refuge, and on the sociological source of some of the tensions between the sisters and the public authorities. In his discussion of educational knowledge and the power relationships involved in its transmission, Bernstein develops the concept of a knowledge code. (27) This code contains and shapes three elements: a curriculum which defines what is valid knowledge, a pedagogy which defines what counts as the valid

transmission of that knowledge, and an evaluation which assesses the valid realisation of that knowledge. In so far as transformative activity is a mode of educational activity, the concept of code could be applied to an institution like a refuge. There is a curriculum of religious worship and instruction, and work skill practice; there is a specific pedagogy in the methods used by the Good Shepherd sisters; and there is an evaluation in terms of religious conversion, moral reformation, or re-integration into society. A Good Shepherd code may be illustrated by some examples thus:

EXAMPLE:		l	ll	lll
C O D E	Curriculum:	laundry work	prayer	religious instruction
	Pedagogy:	silent associated work	Mass	class teaching
	Evaluation:	packed clean linen	communion	baptism/conversion

Figure 3:                    A Good Shepherd Code

When the Figure 3 is viewed both horizontally and vertically it can be seen, even from three examples, how powerfully the elements of the code organically constitute its message; in this case, productivity, prayer and purity.

Bernstein goes on to define a timetable as the relation between a unit of time and its content. A curriculum, therefore, is a constellation of such contents arranged over time. Classification is the term that Bernstein uses to denote the strength of the boundary between the contents, and the relations between them. According to their degree of boundary maintenance, classifications can be placed on a continuum from strong to weak. It is important to note that unlike the Foucaultian model, where classification refers to content, in Bernstein's work the concept refers to the structure of the curriculum. The examples cited in the horizontal column 'Curriculum' in Figure 3

refer to content, but whereas formal liturgical prayer would have a strong classification by its immutable temporal priority at the beginning of the day, laundry work and other activities display weak classification to the degree that the laundry work sometimes occupies the time of other activities when there is a rush of custom.

Bernstein uses the term 'Frame' to refer to the form of context in which knowledge is transmitted. It denotes the structure of the pedagogy by indicating the degree of control over its context. It thus refers to the relationship between teacher and taught, and the degree of control over the selection, organisation, and pacing of the knowledge transmitted in that relationship. By transposition to the Good Shepherd refuge, framing refers to the relationship between the nuns and the penitents, or inmates of other classes, and to the degree of control held by the nuns over the type and organisation of activities within the refuge. To particularise: The type of manual labour is within the control of the nuns, along with the disposition of the workforce; or again, the nuns control the type of contact or conversation between the penitents, and between themselves and the penitents, such as the embargo on any reference to a penitent's past life.

Finally, in Bernstein's analysis the structure of evaluation is revealed by the particular combinations of classification and framing in their differing strengths of boundary maintenance. It is the relationship between classification and frame that reveals the code at its most general level. The nature of the relationships between classification and frame affects the structure of authority and power which control the form and dissemination of knowledge. In brief, the principles of power and social control are realised through the codes, and through the codes they enter and shape consciousness. Consequently, variations

in codes are of crucial importance in social reproduction. Basically, there are four combinations revealing differing codes:

Strong Classification and Strong Framing	$C_s/F_s$
Strong Classification and Weak Framing	$C_s/F_w$
Weak Classification and Strong Framing	$C_w/F_s$
Weak Classification and Weak Framing	$C_w/F_w$

Bernstein's concepts and their derivative typology provide useful insights for a sociological analysis of the Good Shepherd refuge. It is true that he makes little reference to space, but there is no reason why the unit of time cannot be elaborated to constitute a unit of space-time. In a similar way, the notion of content may be extended to incorporate people as well as activity. These modifications do not alter the force of the two base concepts of classification and frame. Bernstein later used them specifically when he came to consider modalities of control. His conceptual apparatus will be applied in the next chapter to the elucidation of the three problems identified in the historical account. Here it is applied to a Good Shepherd convent, like Hammersmith, with a class of Magdalen Sisters and a class of penitents in a magdalen asylum.

There are three main dimensions of analysis: The most general dimension at which the refuge is seen in relation to the outside secular world; the intermediate dimension at which the refuge is considered in the context of the Good Shepherd Congregation as a whole; and the local dimension at which the refuge is analysed in terms of its own elements.

At the most general level, taking Hammersmith during its heyday in the 1880's, it is evident that the refuge is very strong in framing.

The mid-century attempt at the inspection of convents had been beaten off, there were no public controls over voluntary institutions for prostitutes, and laundry work in such institutions was not to be regulated until the early years of the 20th century. For all practical purposes the nuns had total control over the context and content of transformational activity. In the sense that the public authorities had no purview, the frame is equivalent to the enclosure (E) as representation of a strongly bounded context. It is a context in which the nuns order whatever kind of activity in whatever way they please. By the same token, the refuge stands over and against the secular world as a strongly bounded time-space unit of transformational content. Thus at this level there arises an empirical case to which Bernstein did not refer, one of complete congruence or equivalence between frame and classification in the strong mode:

$$E \longleftrightarrow F_s \longleftrightarrow C_s$$

At the intermediate level different factors come into play. The refuge has to be considered in relation to the traditions and directives of the international Good Shepherd Congregation as a whole. The Constitutions of the order govern in precise detail the relations that are to obtain between sisters and penitents, and between the penitents themselves. Moreover, this ecclesiastical legislation and the associated canon law is further refined and elaborated by the traditional practices received through the Book of Customs. At this level the context of transformational activity is controlled externally by the codified authority of the documents and by the hierarchical authority of the Superior General at Angers. This is a case of weak framing for the refuge. For example, novices could not be admitted to profession without the authorisation of the Superior General; proposals to raise capital, or to buy and sell property were referred to Angers;



the Constitutions forbid the admission of a pregnant woman to the refuge. At this level of analysis, the existence of a weak frame has no particular implication for the strength of classification within the refuge for this was also subject to the weight of traditional practice within the order generally. This is denoted thus:

$$F_w + C_s \quad v \quad C_w$$

At the local level the refuge is analysed in terms of its own elements. In this case the institution displays strong framing, for the sisters, or at least the superior and the *officières*, control totally the content and pacing of the penitential activity, and that of the subordinate sisters. In the absence of any explicit directives from the Superior General, it is the superior who interprets and applies the Constitutions to any unusual circumstances that may arise. When one comes to consider activity within the refuge, it is clear that classification is weak, with the exception of the time allotted to religious worship. The historical narrative records many instances where the whole daily schedule after Mass is re-arranged to accommodate extra laundry work, or to allow holidays in celebration of some religious festival or other special event. The superior is free to alter both the unit of time and its use. Weak classification is also evident in the interchangeability of staffing personnel at a number of levels of activity. The local case is denoted thus:

$$F_s + C_w$$

To this point, classification at the local level has only been considered as a unit of time bounding a particular activity. When the spatial dimension is added to permit the inclusion of persons, the configuration comes out rather differently. Each category of persons, whether Good Shepherd Sister, Magdalen sister, or penitent,

is strictly bound into her own class. Similarly, each activity is bounded by its own special space, whether that be laundry, dormitory, or church. Classification is, therefore, strong in the spatial mode. The same is the case for the frame, and paradoxically the configuration corresponds to that characteristic of the general dimension, but without the equivalence:

$$F_s + C_s$$

It is now possible to complete a matrix of configurations for Frame and Classification:

LEVEL	MODE	FRAME	CLASSIFICATION
General	Spatio-Temporal	s	s
Intermediate	Spatio-Temporal	w + s	v w
Local	Temporal	s +	w
	Spatial	s +	s

Figure 4: Matrix of Frame-Classification Configurations of the Good Shepherd Refuge

The matrix provides a conceptual model of the nature of control within the refuges and its degree of autonomous control in relation to the Good Shepherd Congregation and the secular authorities. It will be used in Chapter 9 to analyse the persistence of laundry work and the struggle for the control of its conditions through Factory Act inspection.

#### TRANSFORMATION

The most compelling common feature of the Good Shepherd asylums, refuges, and reformatories, a feature they share with similar state institutions of the period, is the fundamental engagement in the work

of transforming persons. The base concept in any theoretical analysis of Good Shepherd institutions must be TRANSFORMATION and it is to this concept that we now turn.

It has already been noted how Goffman's image of the total institution as a place for the coercive change of persons lacked any specific notion of the transformation itself, other than that of a vague return to the outside world. Foucault helps us somewhat more on this point. He shows how the late 18th century penal reformers conceived the prison as a space between the two worlds of crime and virtue; a space in which the individual is transformed for return to the state as normalised and re-qualified juridical subject.

Interestingly enough, prisons were regarded as an earthly image of Hell by the evangelical prison reformers. As the current protestant eschatology lacked a notion of purgatory, prison came to take on the quality of a redemptive hell which constituted a preparation for the virtues that lead to Heaven. Drawing on both the European and American penal ideas of the time, Foucault is able to demonstrate a convergence of emphasis on a future without a repetition of crime; a future to be achieved by transformation techniques that stressed the individuality of the penalty. In the new prisons of the early 19th century the cell of catholic monasticism becomes the means of reconstituting the prisoner's religious conscience and his potential for socio-economic re-engagement in society:

'They are processes that effect a transformation of the individual as a whole - of his body, of his habits by the daily work that he is forced to perform, of his mind and his will by the spiritual attention that is paid to him.'

(29)

Foucault notes, as did Goffman, that the transformation is future directed, but he goes further by delineating the process as one aimed

at preventing further criminal behaviour through the development of knowledge of the individual prisoner. As punishment moved from a representational public mode to that of the coercive manipulation of individuals, so the penal institutions developed as secretive, autonomus places. The new prisons enveloped the offender in timetables, silence, and common work. Far from punishment being such as to transform the punished prisoner into a signification of the penalty, into some exchange-value of the offence, punishment is now adjusted to the useful transformation of the individual offender. Transformation becomes a matter of individual normalisation through the techniques of a discipline conducted in the secret space between the two worlds of deviance and normality. This concept of space is important to Foucault's further analysis. We can see an immediate analogy with the convent enclosure of the Good Shepherd enterprises. It is sufficient to note for the moment that transformation presupposes a time-space distance between social categories. Giddens criticises Goffman for treating the time-space structuring of interaction as a given social milieu. It will be analysed further below and may be diagrammatically represented thus:

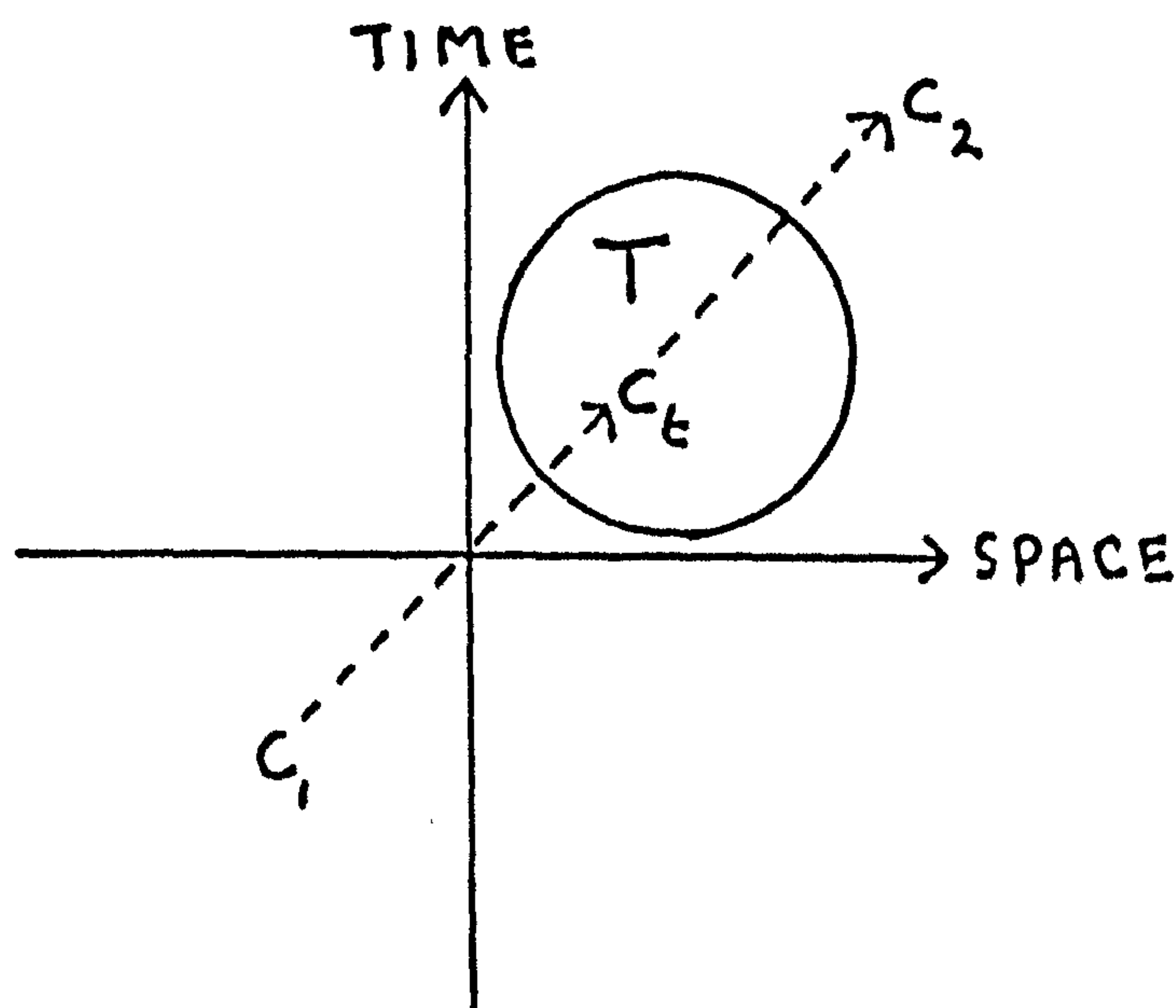


Figure 5: Time-space distance of categories in transformation

The dependence of transformation on classes of categories enables us to isolate out some of its key features as a concept. The transformation of one social category into another involves movement and elasticity, and this is the more evident as it occurs over time and space. Transformation is above all a processual concept. This feature is here designated as processional in order to emphasise both the denominative character of a category in transformation ( $c_t$ ) and the processional attributes of categories  $c_1$  and  $c_2$  into and out of transformational space. Yet as soon as a category enters the transformational zone (T) it begins to engage in a fluxy transition which, of necessity, renders it marginal and liminal. It is a state in which the integrity and clarity of the original category is at once beset with ambiguity and anomaly. To be in the space-time continuum of transformation is to be neither the initial category nor the final category. At most, the processional category is a manifestation of potential for a future category; at least, it constitutes an indefinable and amorphous non-category. It is this transitional aspect of transformation which draws our attention to the crucial question of the boundaries between categories and classes; boundaries which also mark out transformational space.

Drawing on Van Gennep, Mary Douglas characterises this transitional state as dangerous to fundamental human experience, and to the structure of ideas that order definitive social states. The danger arises from the anomaly of the transformational category and its closeness to the boundaries. That is why those in transition are segregated either physically or symbolically. (30) An apposite example, within the compass of this study, can be seen in both the ticket of leave system, and in the intermediate system, both of which constituted formal arrangements to control the passage of prisoners from detention to freedom. An 1869 report to Napoleon III, introducing the ticket of leave system

into France, actually used the words 'perilous transition'. However, Needham challenges Douglas' concept of danger on the grounds that anomaly can be a way of marking a boundary, and that the fear of danger cannot be deduced from connection with boundaries. (32)

The transitional aspect, the second feature of transformation to be distinguished, is designated TRANSITIVITY. This neologism is intended to convey the notion that the categories do more than simply process through transformational space and time, but are also reciprocally engaged with transformative agents. Otherwise, their movement would be no more than that of categories in transit. It would be process without change.

It might have been sufficient to let the analytic definition of transformation as the processional transitivity of social categories rest there, were we dealing solely with institutions concerned with compulsory inmates only. Even then it evokes too strong a sense of passivity, as if inmates were incapable of making those individual adjustments of co-operation, surface compliance, or avoidance, which Goffman so vividly described. At the heart of transformation there is an essential element of EXCHANGE or reciprocity which is often overlooked. At the more obvious mechanical level, so to speak, transformation involves the exchange of one category for another; at another level the transformation is mediated by a series of exchanges between the inmate and the institution. These reciprocal exchanges are even more crucial where inmates voluntarily submit themselves to transformation.

Exchange plays a vital role in transformation, for its capacity to bring about socialisation into the totality of the group provides a structural constancy which offsets or contains the changing states of members. Simmel regards exchange as signifying a condition or change within the related subjects, and not as something which exists

(33)  
 between them. Like Parsons, he views it as a causally connected  
 double event of possessing and giving away. (34) The notion of totality is  
 developed more thoroughly by Mauss, especially the notion of a pattern  
 of spiritual bonds that is created by the perpetual interchange of  
 spiritual matter within the total system of prestations. (35) The analyses  
 of these thinkers will be used more extensively in the next chapter  
 when we seek to understand the institutional stress occasioned by  
 attempts to move the Good Shepherd system of traditional monastic  
 exchange to an economic system.

When these theoretical considerations are taken into account  
 the concept of transformation comes to take on a three-fold character  
 and is now analytically defined as THE EXCHANGE OF SOCIAL CATEGORIES  
 BY PROCESSIONAL TRANSITIVITY.

The essential dynamic concept of transformation must not be allowed  
 to obscure an underlying invariance or structure. This may be under-  
 stood in a number of ways. Durkheim and Mauss have long since pointed  
 out that the idea of transformation presupposes a complete scheme  
 of definite concepts, a form of conceptual order which is the expression  
 of a total cosmology. (36) Manifestly, notions of converted and unconverted,  
 baptism and death, penitent and sister, to name but a few, can only  
 make sense to the inmate of the refuge and the sisters within a total  
 ideological context. This is provided by the christian monastic view  
 of the world, within nineteenth century roman catholic perceptions,  
 and the ultimate postulates upon which it is based. Put in another  
 way, that is the over-arching paradigm. Not only does the existence  
 of this structured totality make possible transformational processes,  
 but it also provides a system of transformation that allows for  
 invariance in certain respects. (37) These invariances can be  
 conceptualised in two ways: By the constant forms of the relations  
 between categories, and by the regular types of transformations to

which the categories can be subjected. Needham identifies three possibilities in each case: The relations of Opposition, Transition, and Exchange; and the transformations of Inversion, Disruption, and Nullification. (38) These notions can be applied usefully in the Good Shepherd case.

Opposition is the basic resource in the articulation of symbolic categories. At a general cosmological level, the most fundamental opposition for the sisters would be the polarity between sin and salvation. At the intermediate level of their participation in a monastic mode of christianity, there stands the opposition between the secular world and the sacralised world of the religious enclosure. In a more particular sense, the status of prostitute and penitent are confrontationally bound into the transformative nexus. Transition involves separation, marginality, and incorporation. This is well illustrated by the Magdalen Sisters, but is equally evident with the other categories and statuses. The penitent who aspires to become a magdalen sister is first separated from the class of penitents and placed in the novitiate. In the novitiate her marginality is readily apparent. She is no longer a penitent, but she is not yet a magdalen sister. Turner goes so far as to refer to marginality as an anti-structural state; it is, in any case, a very real threat to the articulated totality of the classification system. It should come as no surprise that the novices are kept well separated from the penitents, the Magdalen sisters, and the Good Shepherd sisters, until they are fully incorporated by their profession ceremony into the magdalen convent. Exchange involves the rendering of goods and services in a way which defines categories of persons and the relations between them. The Magdalen Sisters render to the penitents prayers for their conversion. The penitents render their manual work in exchange for material and spiritual



care. The Good Shepherd Sisters also give their prayers, and perceive their commitment to refuge work as the offering of their lives in exchange for the conversion of the penitents and themselves. The particularity of these examples should not be allowed to obscure the fundamental point: Certain constant relational forms provide a structured context to the instances of transformation. The continual repetition of these relational constants constitutes the probability that transformations will occur.

Of the three regular types of transformation identified by Needham, Disruption seems to be completely absent in the Good Shepherd experience. As the historical record shows, there were many spontaneous disruptions occasioned by ill-disciplined behaviour among the penitents, or production disruptions in the laundry due to an unexpected volume of work. Although these might have occasionally exercised the unintentional latent function of throwing into relief the primacy of formal institutional arrangements, they were certainly not the formally sanctioned periods of licence that constitute the Disruption type of transformation. There were two clear cases of Inversion: The feast of the Epiphany celebrates the story of the three wise men bringing gifts of gold, incense, and myrrh to the infant Jesus in acknowledgement of his kingship and sacrifice. On King's Day, as it was called, the youngest Good Shepherd sister was dressed as the superior for the day, wore her symbol of office, exercised her duties within the convent, and was accorded the due honour and respect. On the same day, one of the penitents was chosen to be the Queen of the Refuge. She was dressed in a white robe with a crown of flowers, not unlike a novice on her profession day. She, too, was treated with great deference and presided over a special tea and entertainment. (39)

By inverting the social value of the categories, the boundaries between

them were re-affirmed. The Queen of the Refuge is a symbolic role normally reserved to the Virgin Mary; the incorporation of a penitent into the role signifies the hope of a chastity regained. The parallel inversions of young sisters and penitents on King's Day, with its emphasis on gifts to one newly recognised as a salvific messiah, serves to symbolise the ultimate unitary direction of all the transformative exchanges in a Good Shepherd establishment.

The most common type of transformation in the refuge is Nullification. At the level of spiritual symbolism, when the novice lies under a black pall at her profession ceremony, she is nullified in preparation for her new status as nun. At baptism, the water nullifies the converted penitent's status as sinner in preparation for her christian re-birth. By way of material analogue, the dirty linen is nullified in the washing vat in preparation for its regeneration as clean laundered linen. When a superior leaves office she is nullified by the ceremony of deposition to prepare her for her return to ordinary status as choir nun. The new inmate is nullified by the giving of a pseudonym of christian significance:

'Their secret is known only to their superiors and for this reason their name is changed - many a one comes to be hidden that, unknown to anyone, she may get back what has been lost and make herself fit to begin life again.'

(40)


Taken together inversion and nullification (and even unintended disruptions) symbolise the ambiguous status of a subject at the marginal point between one category and another. Needham's analysis seems to apply to the actual point or moment of transformation. It still leaves us with the problem of conceptualising the long-term status of a transformand such as a consecrated penitent or nun. As Mother Weld remarked:

'The passage between the natural and the supernatural is a long one.'

(41)

The space-time configuration of transformation constitutes a totality which is at once bounded and infinite. The place of transformation is physically bounded space in the most mundane sense. Within that space the absence, presence, or distance of categories comprise a major dynamic of the social activity of transformation. These activities, often repetitively enacted in the same location, give shape and pattern to the space. Working here and praying there, for example, structures the space into localities that reflect transformation. Yet the space has a concomitant dimension of formlessness manifest in its symbolic aspect as the space between two worlds. Whether these be the mundane worlds of Goffman, Bernstein, and Foucault, or the this-world and the other-world duality of the nuns makes no difference to the uncertainty of that unbounded space. For those in transformation, the interstices between the active locations in the space stand as chartless deserts between worlds. A contrast that further energises the active locations as oases of category definition amid the essential formless flux of transformation.

The repetition of activity within a timetable also patterns and structures the place of transformation by co-ordinating locational activity with a temporal order constructed to meet the institutional techniques of transformation. This repetition is underpinned not only by the cyclic quality of 'natural' institutional time, but also by the recurrences of the liturgical calendar, which incessantly repeat in time the symbolism of the christian story of fall and redemption. Not only do the temporal orders of the daily timetable and the liturgical year inter-connect and co-ordinate transformational activity in space, but their cyclical mode serves as a powerful boundary to that space. Yet the analytic definition of transformation as the

exchange of social categories by processional transitivity also suggests a passage through time in its linear mode. Thus time, as well as structuring the place of transformation by its cyclical nature, also denotes by its very linearity a way through and beyond that structure to a new category. Linear time is also rooted in the judaeo-christian tradition, where it expresses the eschatological aspects of renewal and fulfilment. A further underpinning is thus provided; one of particular importance, as the idea of linear time is conceptually implicit in the virtue of hope so central to the Good Shepherd ideology. Paradoxically, therefore, the temporally linear experience of passage from birth to death, of pilgrimage from baptism to resurrection, is cyclically represented in the symbolism of the liturgical calendar. The point about this cycle is that it returns primarily to a logical point rather than a temporal point. <sup>(42)</sup> These are powerful epiphenomena of the actualities of life in transformative space, where all is repetition and hope of passage. Thus the co-ordinates of time and space provide a closely structured network of relationships and exchanges which constitutes the total field or configuration of transformation. This is diagrammatically represented in Figure 6, where  signifies the time-space co-ordinate (statically represented in Figure 5) and  $a_t$  signifies the agent of transformation.

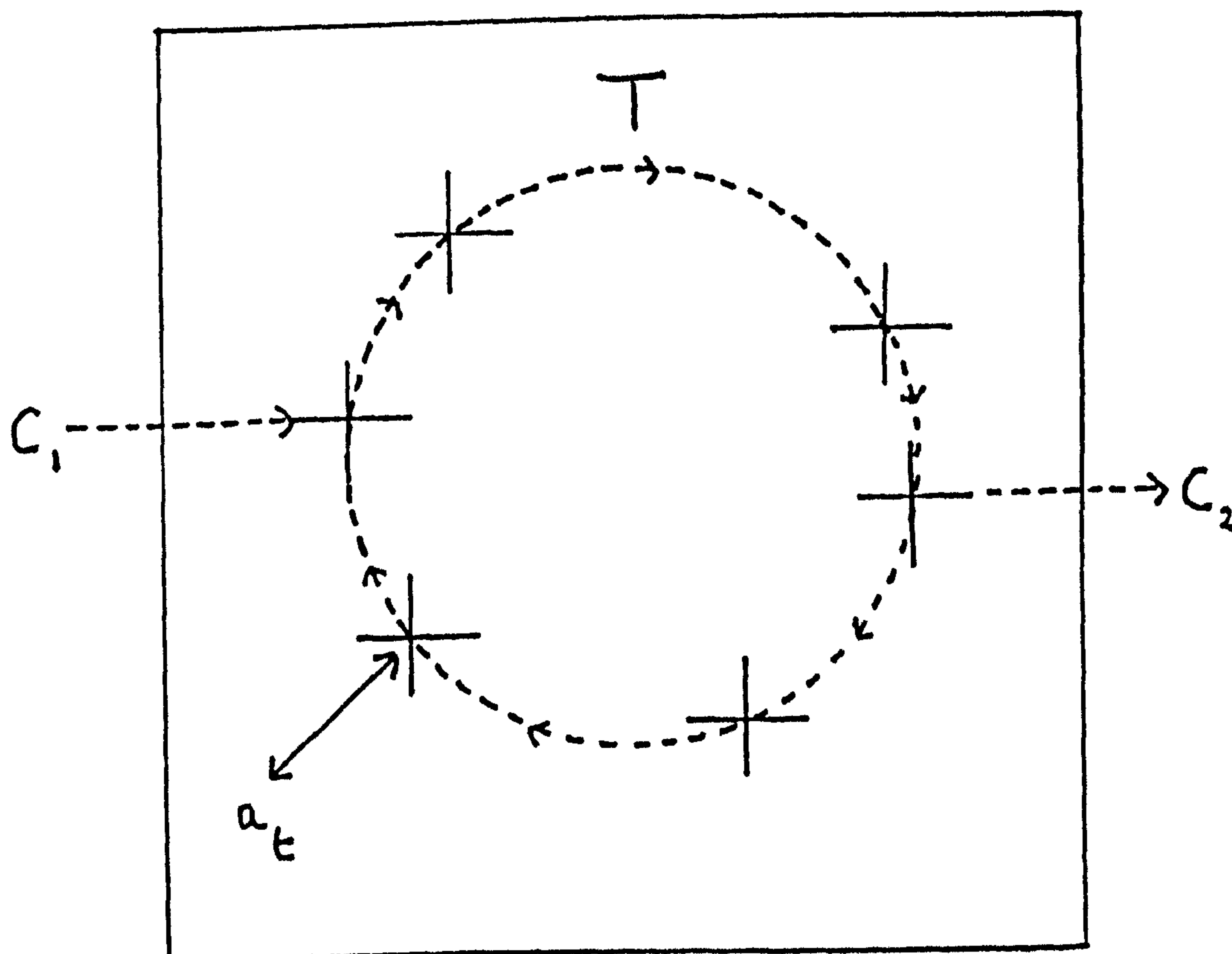
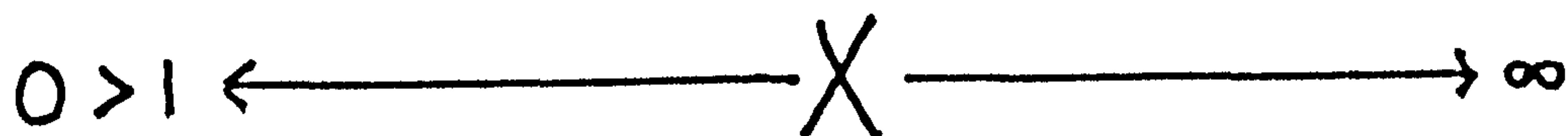


Figure 6: Dynamic structure of the total field of transformation

Foucault considered that the second phase of discipline, its recompositional mode, oriented time towards a terminal stable point; the ultimate point of normalisation at the moment of discharge from prison. In the penal context that is assuming, reasonably, that time is formally reckoned from a fixed initial point, rather like

the Jewish calendar reckons from the date of the Creation as Year 1. If a prison sentence is to end, it has to start. We might excuse Foucault for his failure to elaborate this obvious point, but in making use of the Foucaultian analysis to understand refuges, it is a crucial omission.

The christian concept of time is quite different. It reckons from the centre point of the date of Christ's birth, counting the previous years as B.C. and the following years as A.D. On the one side it is a progressive reduction, while on the other it is a progressive advance, thus:



What is unique about the christian concept of time, and this would be deeply rooted in the perceptions of the Good Shepherd sisters, is its sense of salvation history. The whole process of salvation - creation, the fall, the coming of Christ, and his second coming, are bound into a continuous time process which includes past, present, and future. Yet, all points in that line relate to the mid-historical point. This is profoundly different from the hellenistic concept of linear time on which Foucault's account is based, and is highly significant to an understanding of the Good Shepherd sisters' accounts of transformations in penitents.

The two most characteristic words for time in the original Greek text of the New Testament are  $\kappa\alpha\iota\rho\varsigma$  (kairos) and  $\alpha\iota\omega\upsilon$  (eon). Kairos is a point of time with a fixed content, and the redemptive line represented above derives from the linking of a succession of kairoi; the most important of which are the events in Christ's life, especially his death and resurrection. The kairoi represent decisive stages

of time in their separate significances, and from a human perspective God's selection of these moments is entirely arbitrary. The concept *kairos* is one which aptly encapsulates the conversion events which the nuns recount in the annals and community letters; it is these events which link together the life history of the refuge as a continuously redemptive enterprise. The record of these occurrences also conversely highlights the depth of routinization in the refuge:

'The life of a religious is so uniform, so industrious, yet so tranquil that a little incident becomes an event of great interest'.

(44)

The other word, *eon*, focusses on the extension or duration of time, conceived either as of defined or undefined duration. In the christian cosmology the distinction is not between time and eternity but between limited and unlimited time. This allows three possibilities: Time may be conceived as continuously moving backward and forwards in unending extension; as of limited duration between the Creation and the forthcoming eschatological events; and as unlimited in one direction and limited in the other, as for example the time before and after the Creation. What it amounts to is a simple rectilinear (43) conception of unending time. This conception enables us to understand the sisters' acceptance and encouragement of certain aspects of refuge life, particularly the notion that it is perfectly proper for a penitent to remain permanently, or for a very long period of time. Time is not construed like the successive quanta of the prison sentence proceeding with hellenistic grace to its inevitable conclusion. Time is open-ended. For nun and penitent alike there are the special events of conversion that can occur at any time, culminating in the special *kairos* of death.

This is a point of special importance for, although we can move

(45)

freely in space, we cannot move freely in time. So the bounded life of the transformand, already substantially limited to the functional sites of the enclosure, is further bounded not merely by the timetable, but by the symbolic significance given to temporal events. Yet, paradoxically, the essence of time is its transitional nature. <sup>(46)</sup> These notions of time are vividly illustrated in Photograph 13 which depicts penitents at work in the packing room of a Good Shepherd laundry. On one wall is a large clock whose circular face analogically symbolises the circularity of time, and from which the penitents will read off the repetitive moments of praying, feeding, and finishing. On the adjacent wall is an equally large crucifix powerfully representing the most significant event or kairos of Christ's life; the suffering portrayed there linked directly into the Good Shepherd ideology on the pains of work. Even amid the attendant sacred images of the Sacred Heart, Mary Immaculate, and St. Joseph, representing love, original impeccability, and perseverance, there stands on the mantel piece another smaller clock. So, in the place of work, the clock and the sacred images co-exist: The clock inexorably pacing the quanta of time and their painful repetitive contents; the images depicting the meaning of that content within the symbolic order of the Good Shepherd refuge. Clock and sacred image both affirm and betray each other.

These notions of time are closely related to the concept of the sacred which lies at the heart of the Good Shepherd transformation process. Following Durkheim's notion that the very possibility of transformation can lead to ambiguity, <sup>(47)</sup> social anthropologists such as Turner and Douglas view the sacred as a point of confusion at which the divine and human come together. <sup>(48)</sup> Consequently the transformand is is in a state of timeless amorphism in the liminal passage from the



profane world to the sacred world.

The major transformations that were perceived to occur in the Good Shepherd refuge, together with those that were sought to be imposed by external agencies are shown in Figure 7 as a pattern of transformations.

The teleological sequence of transformations culminates in the daily celebration of the Mass or Eucharist, which stands at the apex of the spatio-temporal structure of the pattern of transformations. The Mass is a ritual in which bread and wine are offered on an altar and consecrated by a priest. The unleavened bread is in the form of a small circular wafer called the Host, which name comes from the latin word for victim. At the moment of consecration, so roman catholics believe, the bread and wine are transformed mysteriously into the real body and blood of Christ, into his total personality. It is a sacrificial offering which re-enacts his death on the cross and his atoning sacrifice to God the Father for all the sins of mankind, past, present, and future. It derives its legitimacy from the New Testament account of the Last Supper when Jesus celebrated the Passover with his companions. As part of the ritual the priest and congregation enter into communion with God and one another by sharing in the consecrated bread, now believed to be the real presence of Christ, the Blessed Sacrament. The total ritual is at once reparatory sacrifice and strengthening food. While instructing her novices Mother Pelletier described it thus:

'Eucharist signifies thanksgiving, praise and gratitude .... Host is another word for Victim. When we have the happiness of communicating, we receive the Sacred Host, that is to say, the Sacred Victim, the Body of Jesus Christ sacrificed for us .... Later when you are engaged in the works of the Institute and the devil wages war against you with still greater fury, Holy Communion will be your support, and all the good you do will be the effect solely of the strength of God living in you.'

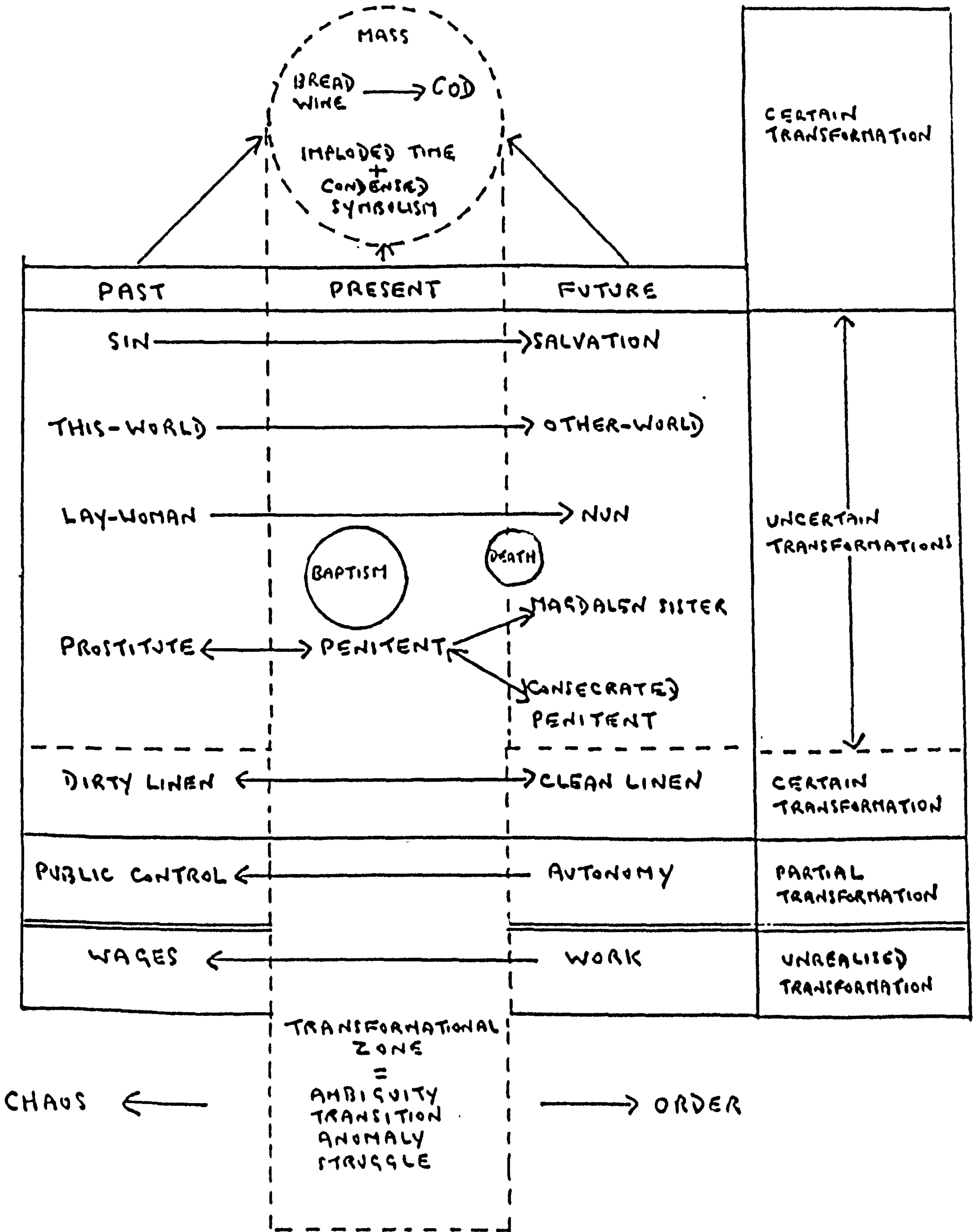


Figure 7: Pattern of Transformations

Belief in the reality of the Mass lay at the heart of the Good Shepherd nun's commitment to working for the salvation of souls. It provided the basic power and strength for all the transformations through its guarantee of spiritual grace. Douglas has commented that the condensation of symbols in the Mass is staggering in its range and depth. (50) A small circle of bread encompasses symbolically the cosmos, the whole history of the church, and unites each worshipper into the body of the faithful. Even then the meaning was not exhausted for the crux of this belief is that a real transformation has taken place by the priest's ritual actions. The sacrament is both a sign and an instrument. In addition to this, Campbell has argued following Raymond Firth, that while roman catholics acknowledge that the inner substance of the Mass is power, it is also a most potent weapon of authority over those who believe in its efficacy. (51)

In terms of our own definition of transformation, the Mass is an absolutely certain transformation whose processional aspect is totally imploded in time. Its transitivity is expressed through the legitimated agency of the priest and the consenting participation of the communicants, all of whom join him in making the offering. It is the prime kairos which gives time its christian meaning. The natural is exchanged for the supernatural by God's gift in an observable instant. It is also the prime consensus ritual; the occasion of solidarity, when all are one and equal in their unity with God. All members of the refuge, from the newest penitent to the oldest nun, are engaged in the common transformative process. It is this condensation of symbolism, and the certainty of the transformation, which render the Mass such a profound focal point in the life of the refuge. It's very efficacy, in the belief of the nuns and the penitents, provides the necessary hope to balance the uncertainty of all but

one of the other transformations. It is not in the least surprising, therefore, that this objectification and ritual re-enactment of the total salvation story should be immutably placed at the beginning of the day.

From the start of our historical account it has been abundantly clear that the *raison d'être* of the Good Shepherd congregation has been an active engagement in the transformation of sinners into penitents and converted christians. It is the major desired transformation for the women whom the sisters admitted to the magdalen asylum. In parallel, the nuns' own commitment to religious life is a personal engagement in the same transformation for themselves. All are in a permanent state of marginality. Campbell has described monastic life as institutionalised liminality, a kind of half-way house between  
(52)  
heaven and hell. It is a transformation fraught with uncertainty.

So far as the penitents were concerned there was no absolute guarantee that they would persevere in a virtuous christian life after they had left the magdalen asylum. While in the asylum, the institutional controls ensure at least a surface compliance in the ordinary rhetoric and practice of roman catholicism. Even so, the sisters feel themselves to be engaged in a battle to eradicate the pasts of the penitents. The possibility of former sexual licence re-emerging while in the asylum is an ever present threat; a threat to the orderly conversion of the penitents, and a threat of contagion to the nuns. Writing to the superior at Cardiff in 1882, Mother Weld commented:

'There is much to be considered about the young Penitents - you know it is not like theft or drunkenness when the occasion is everything. If these do not mean to be converted they will go on with their sins and make others as bad as themselves whatever pains or care we may take or however closely we watch them - We all know

'that after a certain point a penitent must be sent away.'

(53)

It is these feared possibilities that create a pressure towards permanent residence, and a pre-occupation with 'good deaths'. The account of life at the Hammersmith magdalen asylum gives a vivid picture of the centrality of death as the gateway to heaven, where at last the penitents are really safe. For the nuns, a good death, a passage to the next world 'fortified by the rites of Holy Church', is a guarantee of transformation. For some penitents, the nuns saw it as their only hope of conversion. Thus it was perfectly natural for the Provincial Superior to write to one of the refuges:

'I am so glad you have sent another child to heaven.'

(54)

Such events provide an end-point to a transformative process which all recognise as life-long, and exceptionally uncertain for the majority of penitents who return to the pervasive temptations of the secular world. It is an absolute exchange of corporeality for immateriality. If the death is painful that is an added guarantee, for the nuns believe it to be an active co-operation in the suffering death of Christ, the ultimate instrument of salvation. It represents everything the Good Shepherd sister works for and, at the same time, serves as a powerful affirmation of the validity and value of the task to which she has committed herself by the Fourth Vow. It represents a very complex system of exchanges. In christian belief, death is both the price of sin and the gateway to eternal life, or eternal damnation. The penitent who dies well while in the asylum makes that final exchange; it could go the wrong way if she returns to the world. Her good death is also a worthy exchange for the labours of the nuns. One former penitent, executed at Edinburgh, asked the chaplain who attended her

on the scaffold to write and thank the nuns for all their 'kindness and prayers'. The priest assured the sisters:

'Her last days and death have been a living sermon to all who surrounded her .... Each day she began with the Holy Communion. To that bread of strength is due the courage of dying crucifix in hand, and even joy in her countenance.'

(55)

At the base of the exchange represented by death is the voluntary admission of the penitent and her free engagement in her own conversion with the help of the nuns. It is, perhaps, difficult for the modern sociologist to appreciate the reality of these meanings for the nuns and the converted penitents, but they have to be accepted as valid in the context in which they operate. (56) The key feature is the whole thrust from the this-world to the other-world, a thrust which is matched by a dynamic of institutional interiority.

This latter point is best exemplified by the consecrated penitents and the Magdalen Sisters. Quite apart from their genuine sense of vocation to assist the Good Shepherd sisters in their work, the penitents who went on to remain permanently as consecrates, or to become enclosed contemplative nuns as Magdalen Sisters, often did so from a realistic awareness that they were unable to persevere in a virtuous life outside the refuge. Their constant marginality was institutionalised in the roles that Mother Pelletier developed at Angers to meet their case. We have already seen how the role of consecrated penitent displayed an unintended functional fit to the manpower requirements of the laundry, and how Mother Pelletier herself intended them to be an exemplary instrument of control. In addition, they also serve an important function in the transformative process. The majority of penitents, as the statistical evidence confirms, were resident for relatively short periods. They were a group whose impermanence was underwritten

by their entitlement to leave at will, which was the corollary of voluntary admission. As such they provided, paradoxically, a constant flux which came to symbolise transience and marginality. If we follow Douglas' analysis, such a large group of indeterminate transformands would pose a very real threat at the heart of an institution dedicated to transformation. There is no doubt that the sisters were sensitive to this possibility. Needham's analysis, however, suggests the alternative possibility that a group of such partially and unpredictably transformed inmates serves to define with greater certainty the categories of the sisters who are themselves transformands for life. Such a class, therefore, required an inner element of stability, and this is what the consecrated penitents provided, for they remained for life with the penitents, sharing the same dormitory, the same refectory, and the same section of the church. They symbolise both perseverance and permanence. They constituted the on-going control structure of a group which, by definition and in reality, is characterised by changing membership and unpredictable transformative outcomes.

It is in the same context that we can understand the frequent references to the baptisms of penitents in the convent annals and the community letters. Like the Mass, baptism effects a ritual transformation, the sociological significance inhering in the fact of the certain transformation, as much as in its meaning. In classical roman catholic theology the immersion in water represents not so much a purification from sin as a sacramental assimilation to Christ's death and burial. The neophyte is taken to have died to sin and to be reborn into a new life. (57) Consequently, the daily celebration of Mass and the episodic baptisms and actual deaths of penitents are closely integrated into the one symbolic order. The occasional baptism of

penitents represents an efficacious affirmation of transformation within their own unstable class. It is the ritual analogue of a real christian death, even though the ultimate outcome in terms of permanent virtue is uncertain. Apart from its meaning within the roman catholic belief system, it has a further significance in structuring the relationships within the refuge which derives from its symbolism as a re-birth. Bloch and Guggenheim have argued that baptism involves the devaluation of nature, and specifically birth with its connotation of sexual pollution, by asserting the superiority of spiritual relationships. By exchanging the natural parents for god-parents, baptism creates a juridic person in a moral religious community. Whereas the surname binds the person into his natural kin network, the baptismal name links the person into a wider social and ritual kinship. (58) Sometimes the benefactors of the Good Shepherd sisters were god-parents to the newly baptised penitent, but more often than not this role was taken by the sisters themselves. In one symbolic act, therefore, the penitent's female sexuality was nullified and a new spiritual kinship with the Good Shepherd sisters asserted. By the same token the penitent is tied into closer control.

The symbolism also connects an important aspect of the redemption story with the actual magdalen-madonna polarity in the refuge. Man's primordial Fall is seen as necessitating the virgin birth of Jesus to Mary, the model of the Good Shepherd sister. Baptism therefore reflects the transformative potential in the relationship between the penitent and the nun. As most penitents were already baptised, the practice of giving pseudonyms on admission can be interpreted as a quasi-baptism carrying precisely the same significance and practical quasi-kinship effects as in the actual ritual. It is particularly interesting that the baptismal name of a novice was often given as pseudonym to any penitent who happened to enter the magdalen asylum



(59)

at the same time as the novice entered the convent. This expressed their common transformative purpose. It should not be overlooked that the nuns themselves were given new names on entering the novitiate. All the sisters were given the name of Mary as well as a specific name, usually a saint or an event in the christian story. For convenience ordinary surnames have been used in this study. Mother Weld was known in the congregation as Mother Mary St. Ignatius; Mother Regaudiat was Mother Mary of St. Joseph; other nuns had names such as Sister Mary of the Holy Cross, or Sister Mary of the Incarnation.

The other major transformation concerning the penitents was the possible progression to Magdalen Sister. In Chapter 2 it was recounted how Mother Pelletier developed this inner order of nuns, true nuns in every canonical respect. This was the ultimate transformation for a penitent and required an exceptionally long period of probation. They were not admitted to solemn vows until 21 years had elapsed, during which period they renewed simple vows annually. Their work was prayer and penitence for the apostolic task of the Good Shepherd Sisters. Mother Weld wrote of one penitent who was thinking of becoming a Magdalen Sister:

'The best conversions are always those who give up everything. One of our Magdalens did exactly what she has done nearly 20 years ago and to this day she has never let her family know and she owes her perseverance to her silence.'

(60)

The Magdalen sister completely retreated from the world and represented the refuge at its deepest point. At one level, the exceptionally lengthy probation reflects the Good Shepherd sisters' perception of the penitents as erratic creatures whose struggle to overcome sexual promiscuity and drink are beset with setbacks and unpredictabilities. At another level, it symbolises the trans-

formational distance between the penitent and the nun. A papal dispensation would be required to leave the Magdalen convent after solemn vows, so her perseverance is rewarded, so to speak, by a canonically guaranteed safety from the temptations of the world. She entered at will, but she cannot leave at will. Her progress in transformation is also reflected in her exclusion from laundry work, in which even the Good Shepherd sisters engage. Instead, the work of the Magdalen sister consisted in fine needlework, the making of ecclesiastical vestments and altar linen, and the manufacture of the unleavened bread wafers for Mass. Their special task was prayer and, as a contemplative order, the orientation towards a mystical unity with God was explicit. They stood squarely within the most rigorous tradition of enclosed contemplative monasticism. To some of the penitents they might have seemed an ideal of conversion, or even an encouraging token of transformative possibilities. To the sisters they represented not only the crown of their achievement, but also a salutary reminder that the magdalen could overtake the madonna in true conversion and penitence.

The Good Shepherd sisters were never under any illusion that their own transformation was often a struggle against personal inclinations. The private correspondence of the superiors abounds with encouragement to overcome spiritual struggles, and with advice on countering worldly temptations or aversion to the work with penitents. One superior writes in 1871:

'Now you will think that I am very sorry that I gave you all this unnecessary pain - By no means, I am very glad of it, and trust it will be good practice for you! The next time you are called on to do more for the honour and glory of God I hope you will be able to look your cross in the face without all those tears and shall I say it - cowardice! What does it matter how or where we work for the Order so long as we do work?' (61)

Some of these struggles were most deeply expressed when sisters left the order. One who was about to leave after 5 years, on the eve of her own sister's profession, pleaded with her to pray:

'That I may never for one moment run the risk of losing my faith or in the smallest degree offend against my Vow of Chastity which is the only one not dispensed - I ask you this most urgently - as I know the dangers before me in the World and I know my own weakness by experience.'

(62)

Another wrote of her 'terror of the children' and her difficulties with prayer, going on to remark:

'On top of this there was the spring with its trials, the old longing for freedom, long walks across the hills, and to wander on God's beneficial earth at will. This longing did not lessen as the summer came and went.'

(63)

Even the sisters who surmounted similar longings and struggles had to constantly guard against the unsettlement that could come from association with the penitents. In 1880 one of the Provincial Superior's circulars had this to say on the matter:

'Books which describe the life our poor children begin with are not good either for Sisters or Children .... we must be most careful not to familiarise ourselves with this sort of thing: it lowers the mind in a way which many would not believe and consequently hinders our work with the children. For the same reason we cannot be too particular in not allowing expressions learnt from the children to be heard or repeated in the Community.'

(64)

The point being that there is a commonality of intent and activity among the sisters and penitents which is controlled and obscured by the precise classification and separation arrangements. The whole transformative system is integrated in the one direction of personal salvation. It is a system underpinned by the circularity of prayer and sacramental grace, from the supreme daily moment of the consecration

at Mass to little acts of prayer and penance by the humblest penitent. Within the refuge these were powerful meanings. There is a very strong symbiosis between penitent and sister, each of whom requires the other for her transformation. It is a unity of enterprise summed up neatly by the chapter heading of the novel 'Home of the Lost Child' written by Sister Raimbach in 1850:

1. The Convent
2. The Asylum
3. Nature and Grace
4. Grace and Peace
5. Peace and Rest

(65)

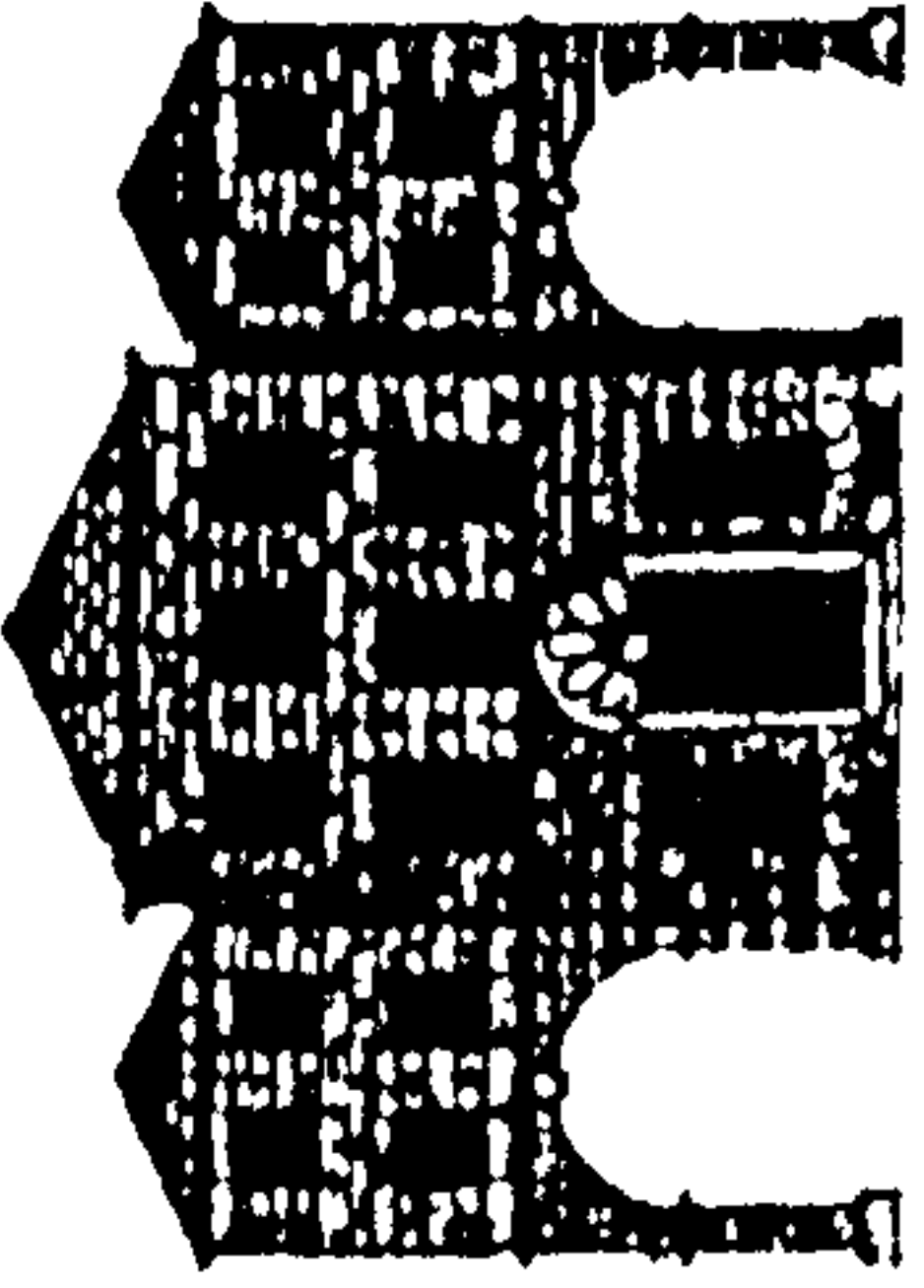
The material transformations effected by the laundry process were discussed in Chapter 6, and will be subject to a more detailed analysis in the final chapter. However, there are some aspects that may be briefly mentioned at this stage. The most obvious is that the transformation of dirty linen into clean laundered linen is certain, and immediately rewarded by the customer's payment. The only other certain transformation, from the refuge perspective, is that of the bread and wine at Mass. Paradoxically, therefore, the essential uncertainties of the other transformations - the central task of the refuge - are bounded by the certainty of the most sacred ritual transformation at the apex, and by the most material and polluted transformation at the base. We will return to this shortly in considering the total configuration of the transformation table. The laundry, like the Mass, produces the transformed objects for all to see, but also provides the economic nexus with the secular and profane world. Significantly, the very circularity of its constant input and output matches the turnover of penitents in the refuge. The same items from

the same customers are constantly re-cycled for cleaning, thereby providing a reminder of the pollution of the world, and the inevitable re-pollution on return there. At the same time it is the material basis of the technology of salvation within the refuge. The laundry is a very powerful symbolic analogue of many features of refuge life. The laundry ties the refuge into some very basic aspects of the secular world and there is a certain poetic ambiguity in this. The word secular derives from the latin word used in the endings of nearly all roman catholic prayers - per saecula saeculorum, for ever and ever. Prayer goes on for ever and ever, and so does the washing of dirty linen. However, we must not anticipate the later discussion.

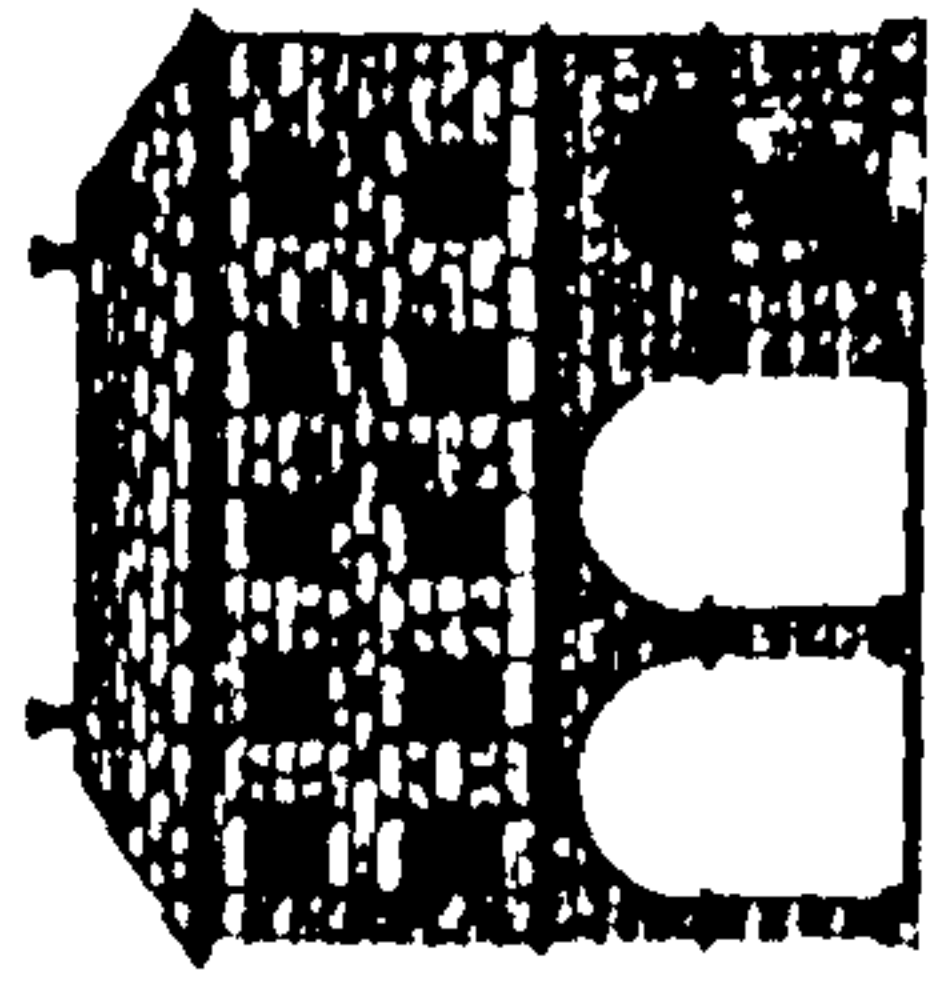
The other two partial or possible transformations, the subject of dispute between the sisters and external authorities and pressure groups, are discussed fully in the final chapter. They are addressed very briefly in the following discussion of the total configuration of transformation.

The central column in Figure 7, bounded by broken lines, represents the transformational zone. The region of anomalous confusion and ambiguity. There are a number of paradoxes. Within the zone there are definite categories, those of novice and penitent in passage. Correlatively, those who have made the passage achieve a more definite and institutionalised status as transformands, as nuns or consecrated penitents. The baptisms and deaths occurring within or at the boundary of the zone are oases of relatively certain transformation in the desert of ambiguity. The transformational exchanges can be read off the diagram horizontally. It will be noted that the general thrust of the exchanges is future-orientated; this represents not only an emphasis on the permanence of the transformative task, but the other-worldly objectives of the Good Shepherd mode of transformation as well. In the two cases of the penitents and the laundry, there is

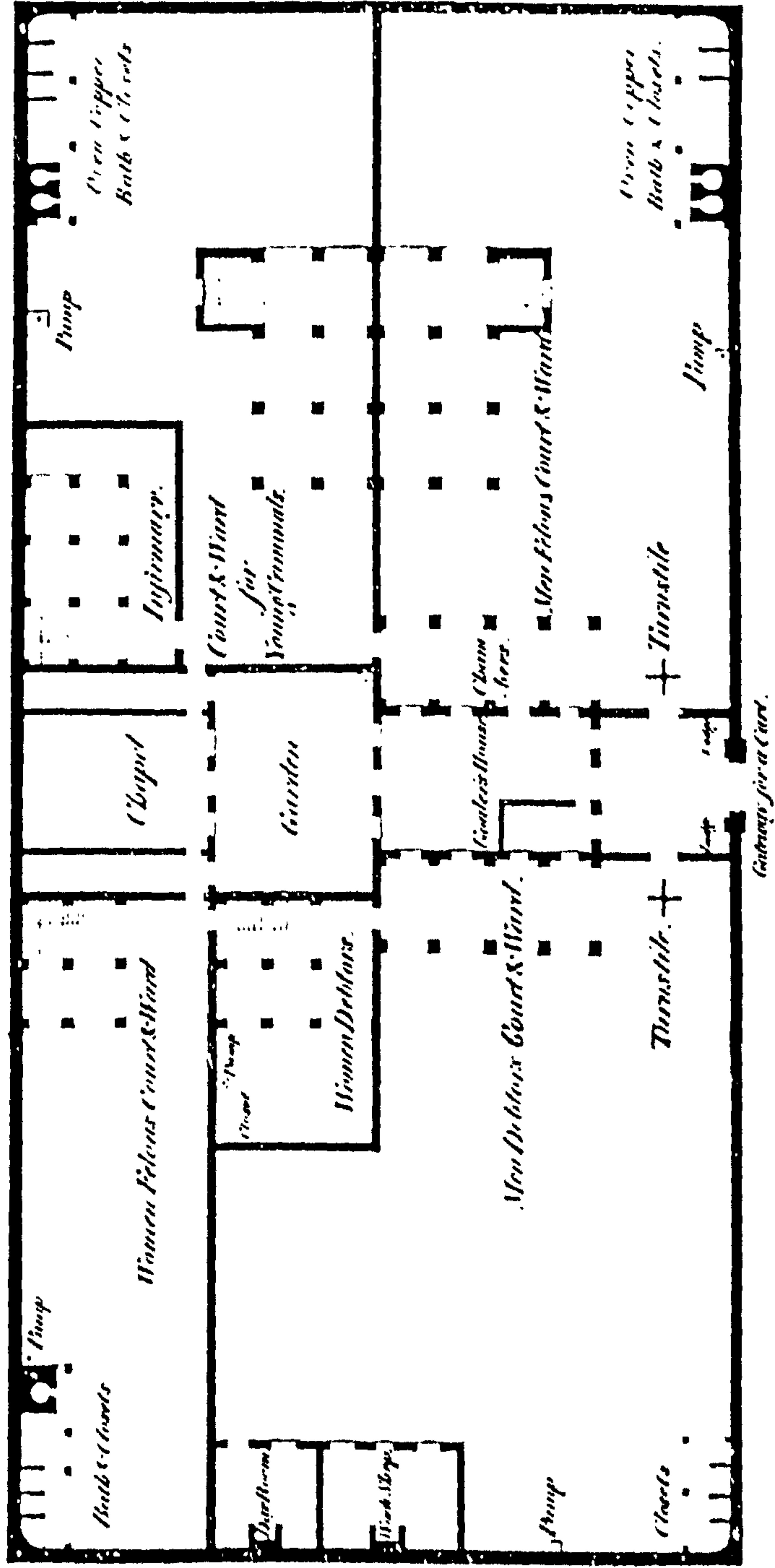
movement in both directions, perhaps more aptly depicted as circularity. This is fundamentally important: If a general movement from society to the other-worldly dimension, with its timeless and spaceless connotations, is to remain relevant, that relevance can only be procured by contact with the secular world. Consequently, the transformational categories within the zone not only provide a boundary marker for the oppositional categories in the 'Present' and 'Future' columns, but repetitively tie in the transformands to those in the world they seek to serve. The exchange between institutional autonomy and public control was fiercely resisted for reasons which are accounted in the next chapter. It was only partially achieved by the public authorities in the case of the magdalen asylum, although conceded by the sisters ab initio in the case of the convict refuge and the certified inebriatee reformatory. Suffice it to comment here that any means of public control would tie the sisters into the secular world in a manner that they would generally perceive as inimical to the other-worldly orientation of their enterprise. The exchange of wages for the penitents' laundry work was never conceded; this is also discussed at length in the next chapter. We can note here that such a concession would have transformed the penitents into employees working for gain, thereby striking a radical blow, so the sisters thought, to the fundamental ideological base of the refuge. By the same token the refuge would exchange a partial engagement in the economic nexus of the market for an engagement which would correspond to normal market enterprise. The special significance of the Mass is represented by its place at the head of the transformational zone, and its conceptualisation in some ways contradicts the Douglas mode of interpretation. As the central ritual of the roman catholic belief system, it represents man as co-spatial and co-temporal with the events of Calvary. Yet



Front of Hoage & Debtors Ward



Front of Men Filous Ward



Size of the Whole, & Proportions of the Parts, to be determined by the general Number of Prisoners.

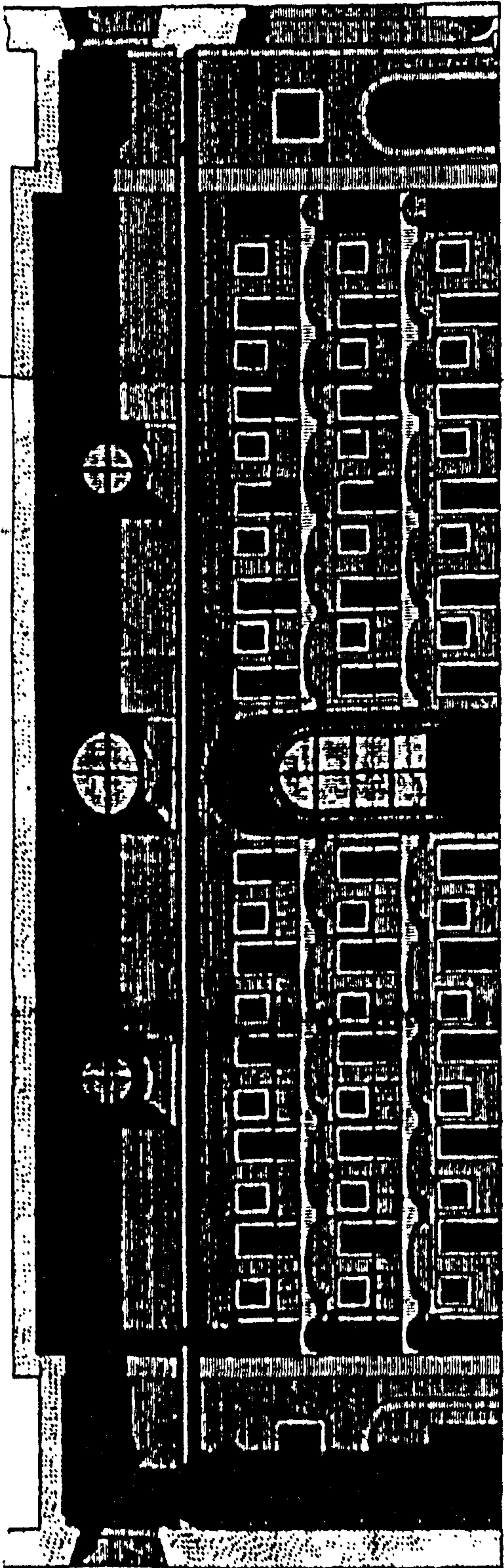
it also represents the sacralisation of the actual transformations occurring here and now in the refuge. Far from representing the sacred as anomalous and marginal, it signified definite categorical and bounded transformation, upon which the social solidarity of all the transformands was grounded and integrated.

#### THEOPTICON

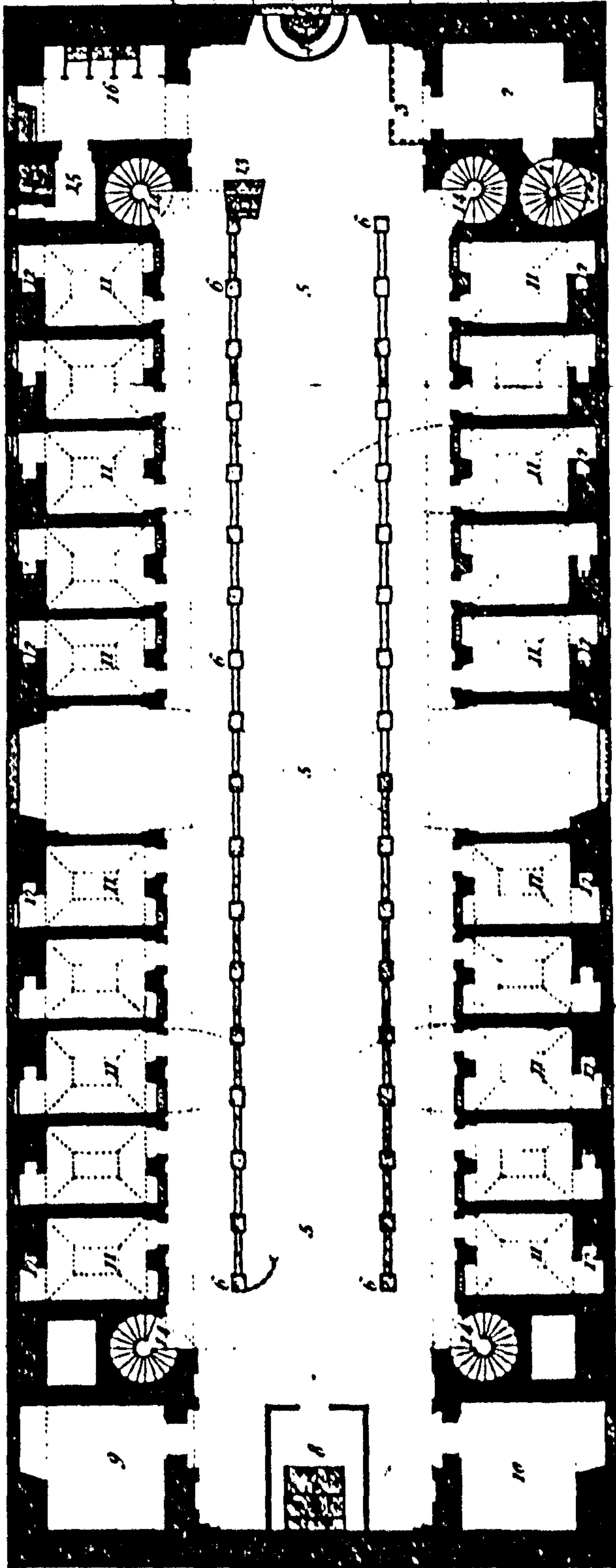
At several places in this analysis we have referred to the institutional controls achieved through classification and transformation, commenting at one point that the most potent instrument was the Mass. We have dealt exhaustively with the symbolic articulation of this potency, particularly in terms of temporal implosion and cosmological significance. Even so, the full extent and significance of this potency can only be adequately understood by setting it in its spatial context. It remains, then, to consider spatial aspects of the church.

Plan 4 reveals how the convent and the different classes are articulated to the church. By placing the church in a strategically central place in the total institution, the Good Shepherd sisters were doing nothing new. John Howard's plan of a model prison (shown opposite) provided just that, not to mention a surrounding arrangement of separated classes. (66) The Silentium at Rome and the house of correction at Milan (shown facing adjacent pages) actually eradicated a separate church, but incorporated a sanctuary and altar at the focal point in the cell block itself. (67) Much later, even the sceptical Dr. Branthwaite, had included a chapel in his model plan for a certified inebriate reformatory. Significantly, he placed the chapel and the hospital outside the institution walls in symmetrically opposite positions,





Section of the Gallery.



- 1 Stairs from the Street
- 2 Keeper's Room
- 3 New-ten Racks for  
wards
- 4 A Fountain
- 5 The Hall where  
they Work
- 6 Benches with chairs
- 7 A large Window
- 8 The Altar

- 9 The Vestry
- 10 The Accountants Room
- 11 Lodging Rooms
- 12 Seats
- 13 Place of Chastisement
- 14 Stair Cases to Prison
- 15 Keeper's Room
- 16 A Small Room
- 16 Rooms for fuel



asserting perhaps that neither was directly involved in the transform-  
 (68)  
 ative work of the reformatory, but were really places of sanctuary.

Given the religious rhetoric in which the reformation or rehabilitation of the convicted and insane was cocooned, and the place of the chaplain's sermon as focus and food for solitary recollective remorse, the persistent incorporation of churches into carceral architecture need not over-concern us. They were certainly not explicitly conceived nor extensively used as instruments of control in penal practice. Yet the religious tradition was there.

Historians of the development of modern prisons have made much of Jeremy Bentham's idea of a panopticon, an architectural form in  
 (69)  
 which he sought to combine constant surveillance with productive labour. The cells were arranged on the outer perimeter of a circular building so that the light shone right through to the governor's kiosk at the centre. From there he could observe all the prisoners in silhouette, without being seen himself. Inspection and control were combined in a unidirectional mode due to the anisotropic vision created by  
 (70)  
 the architectural form. Although this idea was never realised in its precise detail, the notion of a central tower with radial wings became a common derived model, first realised at Pentonville and Millbank. Bentham liked to draw attention to the similarity between the apparent omnipotence of the invisible governor with the God of the 139th Psalm:

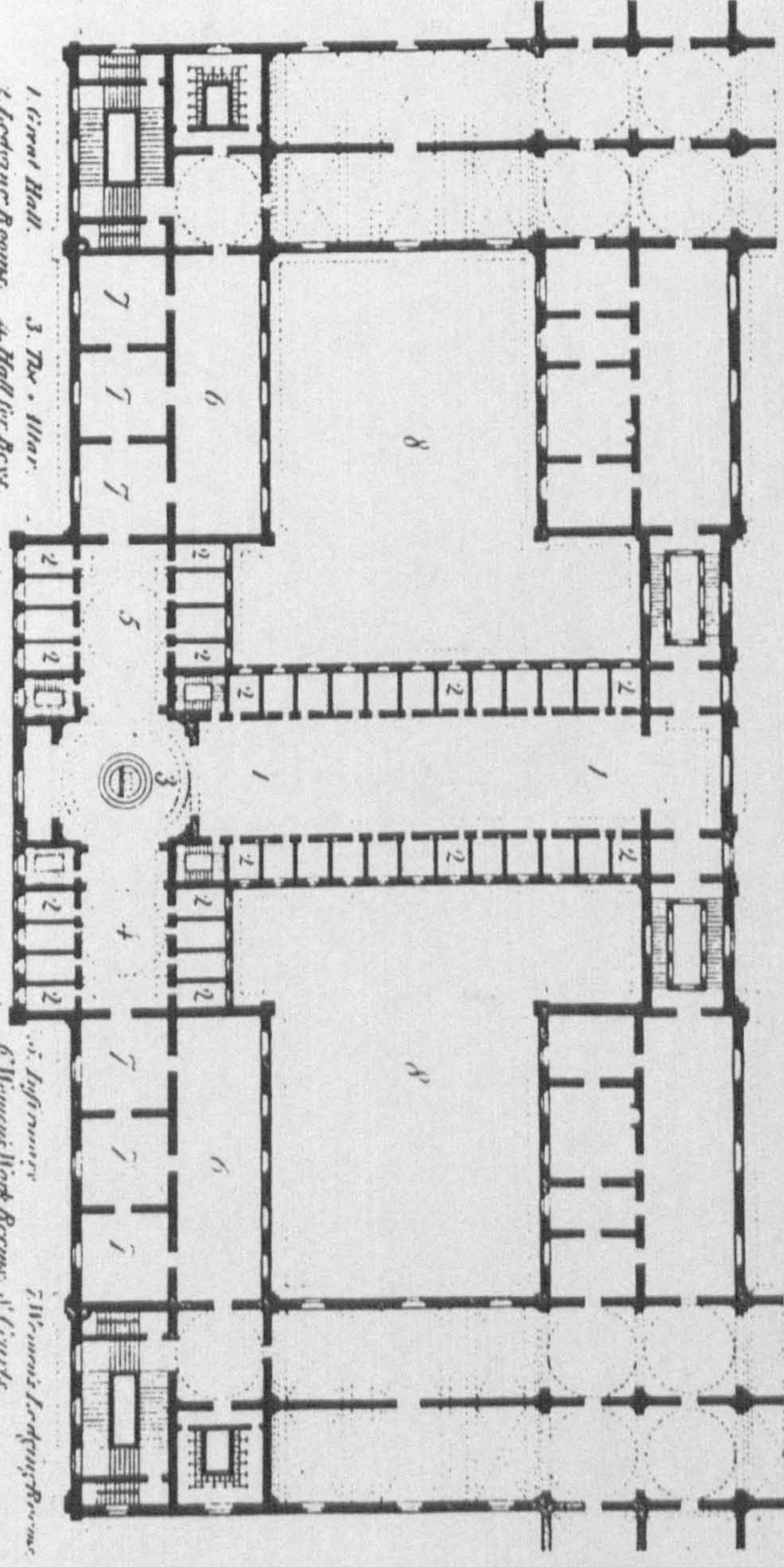
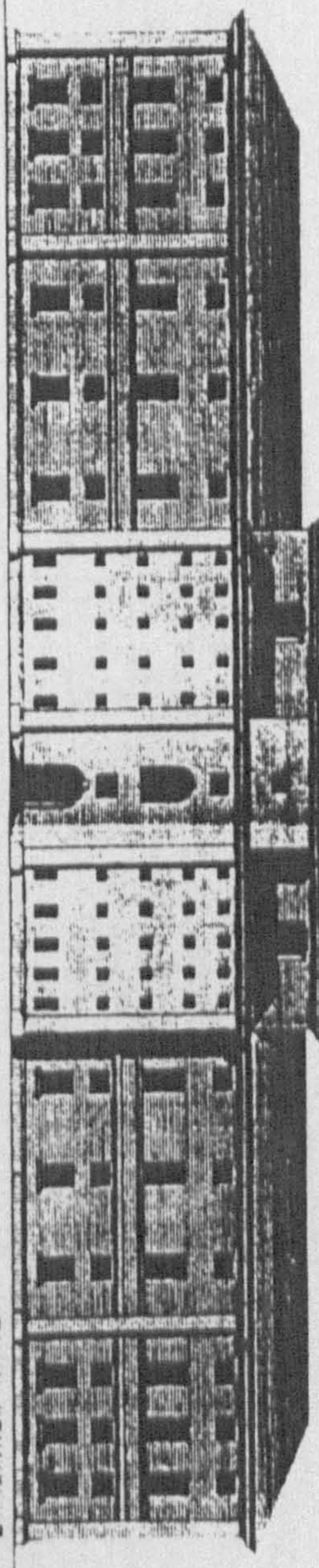
'O Lord, thou hast searched me out and known me:  
 thou knowest my down-sitting and mine up-rising,  
 thou understandest my thoughts long before. Thou  
 art about my path, and about my bed; and spiest  
 out all my ways.'

Surprising imagery from a materialist like Bentham who was possibly trying to convey to the evangelical prison reformers the capability

*La Cour de l'Université.*

M I L L A N N.

*The House of Parliament.*



1. Great Hall. 3. The Mar.  
2. Lodging Rooms. 4. Hall for Bays  
5. Light Rooms  
6. Women's Work Rooms. 7. Courts  
8. Women's Lodging Rooms

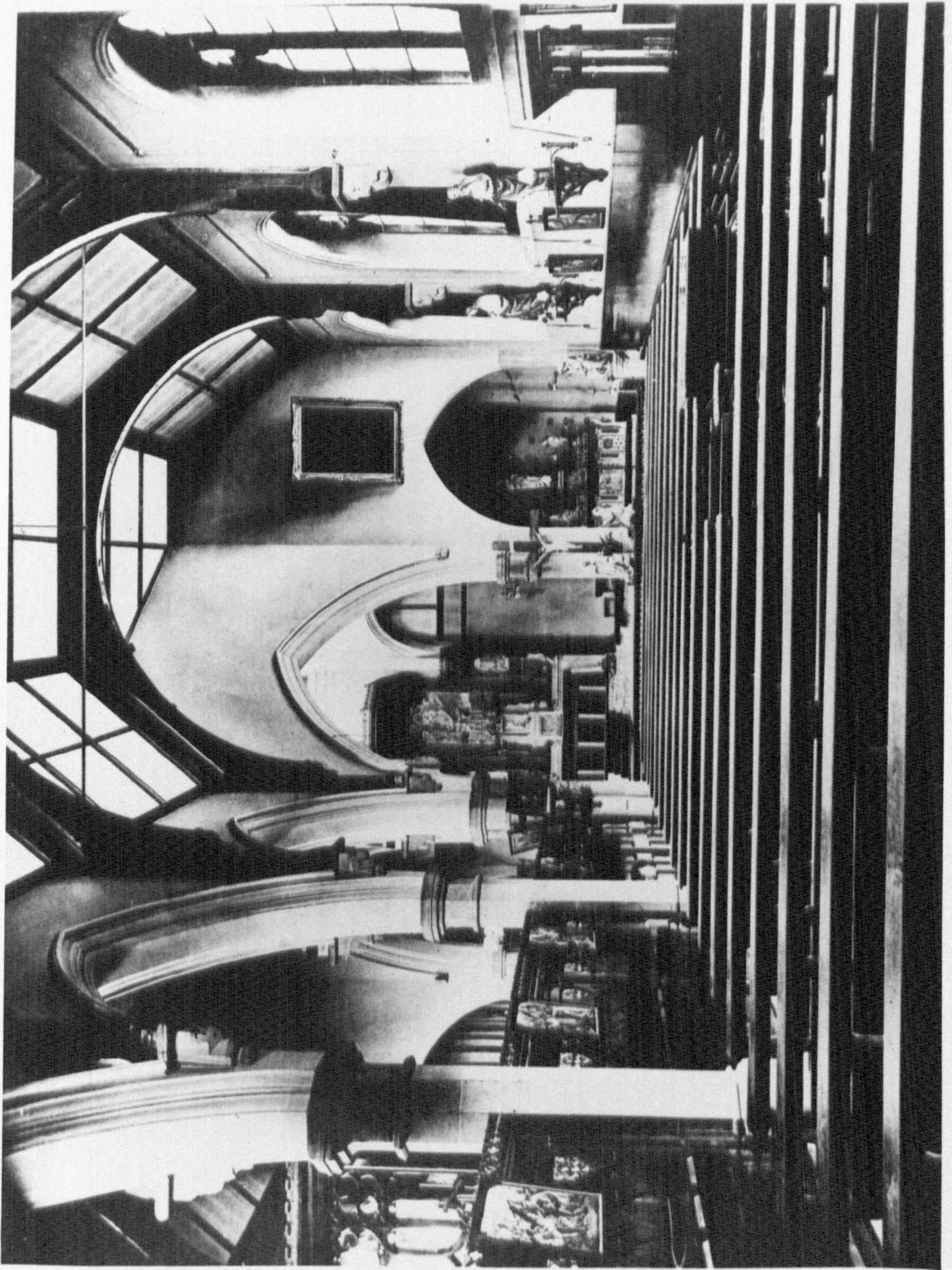
The Rooms are 11' 6" high, except those the English Room



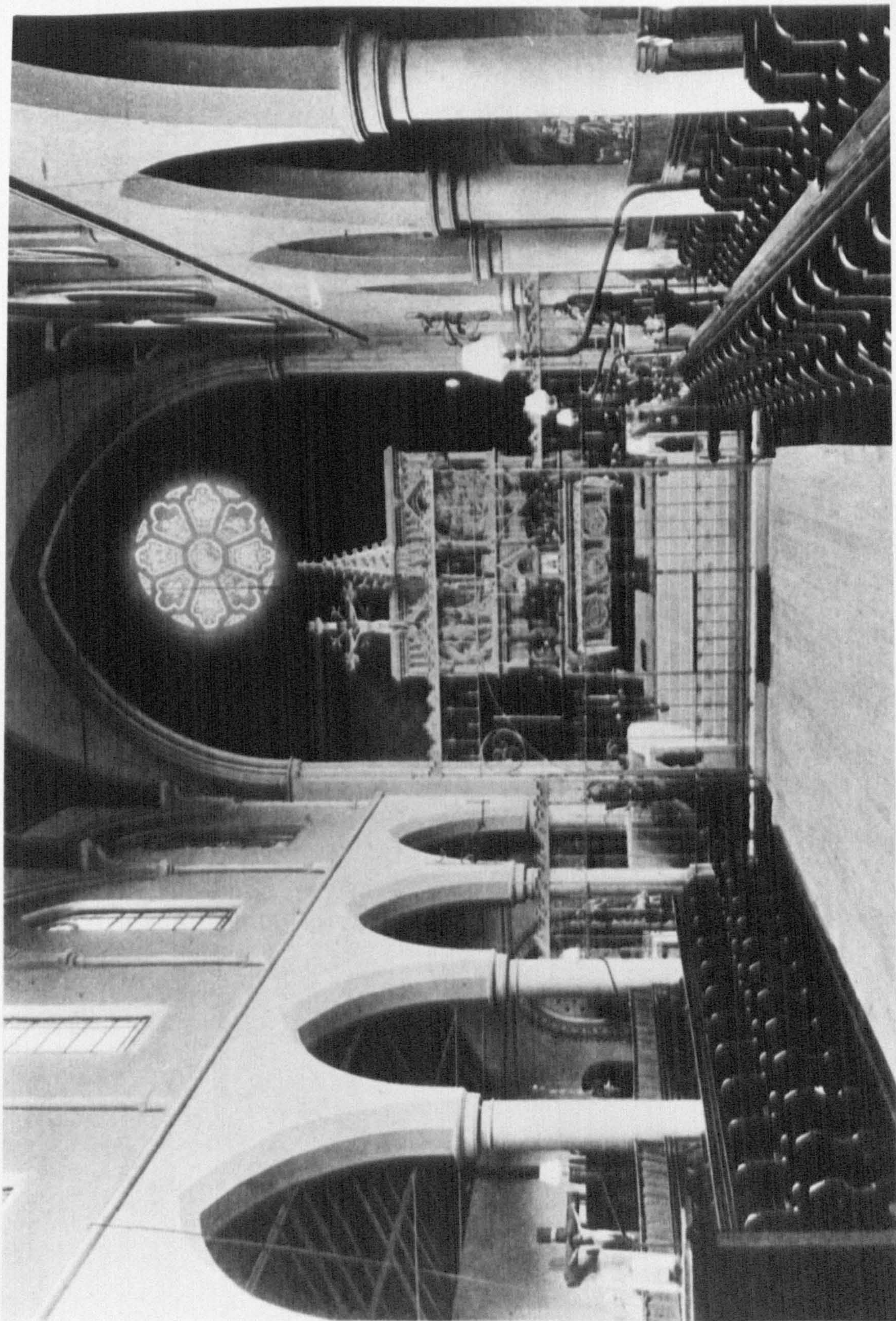
Photograph 15: The High Altar in the Church at Ford (Liverpool) c.1895



Photograph 16: The Nuns' Choir in the Church at Ford (Liverpool) c.1895



Photograph 17: The Penitents' side of the Church at Ford (Liverpool) c.1895



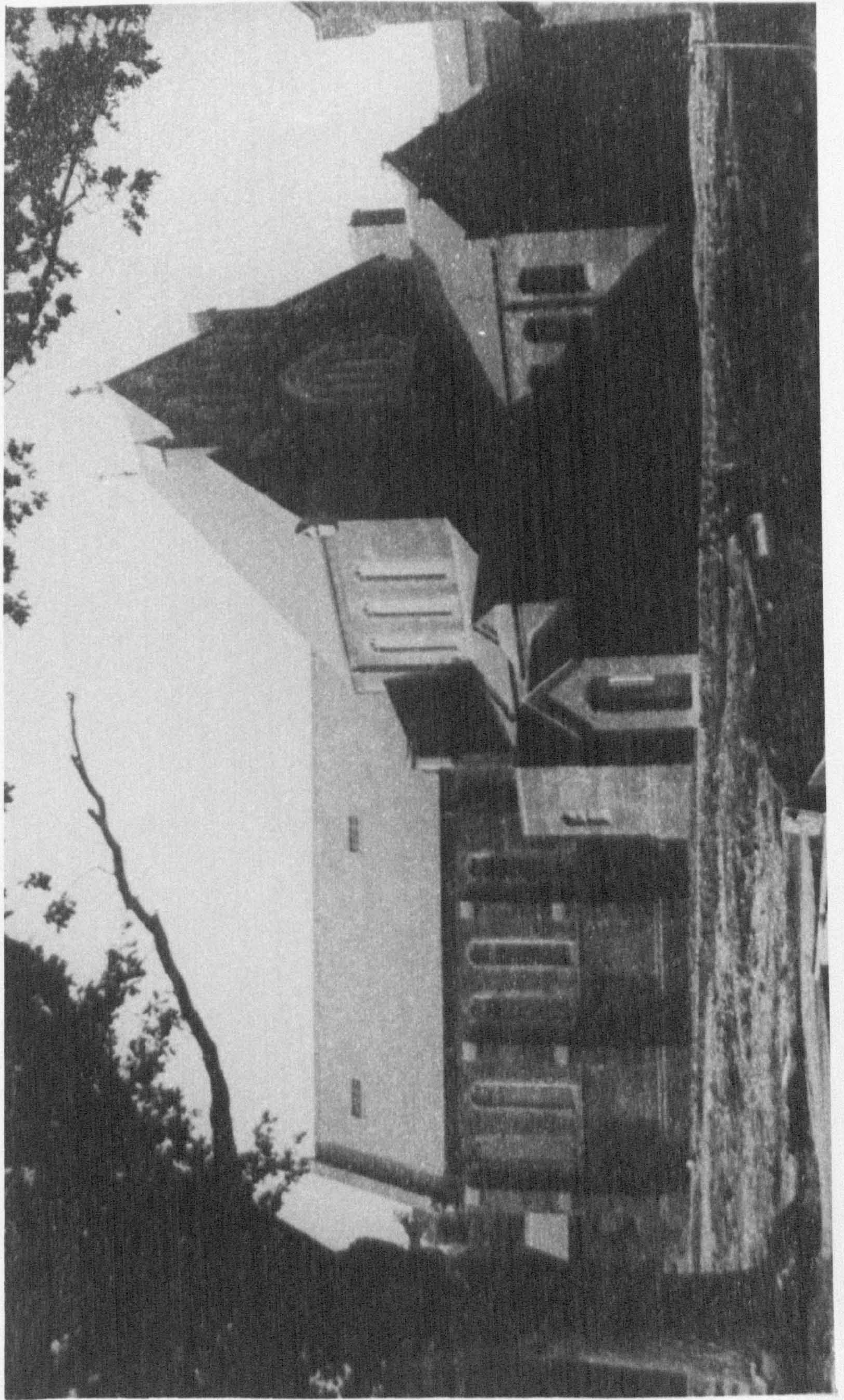
Photograph 18: The Nuns' Choir at Finchley 1901

of the new architectural form for subjecting inmates to the disciplines of surveillance. Ignatieff considers that the imagery in the general idea was that of the 'eye of the state'.<sup>(71)</sup> Although Foucault agrees with this notion, he rather stresses the contrast between the visibility and transparency of the panopticon and the darkened spaces thought to be typical of lazarets, madhouses, and convents.<sup>(72)</sup> This visibility was an apposite instrument for the new technology of power, contrasting severely with the old architectural forms that made power manifest through mystery. In short, it was an architectural change that reflected the transformation of penological discourse in the early 19th century. Poster has recently criticised Foucault for missing the possibility of interpreting the panopticon as a God-surrogate.<sup>(73)</sup> Such a criticism fails to recognise that Foucault's prime object of analysis was the prison as a non-reducible and specific modality of power.

However we might interpret the detailed concept of the panopticon, the general idea has relevance to the spatial articulation of power in the Good Shepherd refuge. These relevances are combined with differing distinctive features into a new concept of control here termed the THEOPTICON.

On several occasions in previous chapters attention has been drawn to the practical problems encountered by the sisters in ensuring separation and classification in the church, especially during the improvising stages of a new foundation. The plan and photographs show the settled forms of these arrangements. Photographs 15-17 of the church at Liverpool show a parallel arrangement of the sisters choir and the penitents church, with the dividing screen running to a pillar facing the middle of the high altar. Photograph 18 of the church at Finchley also shows a parallel arrangement but with the nuns choir taking pride of place before the high altar, the two side



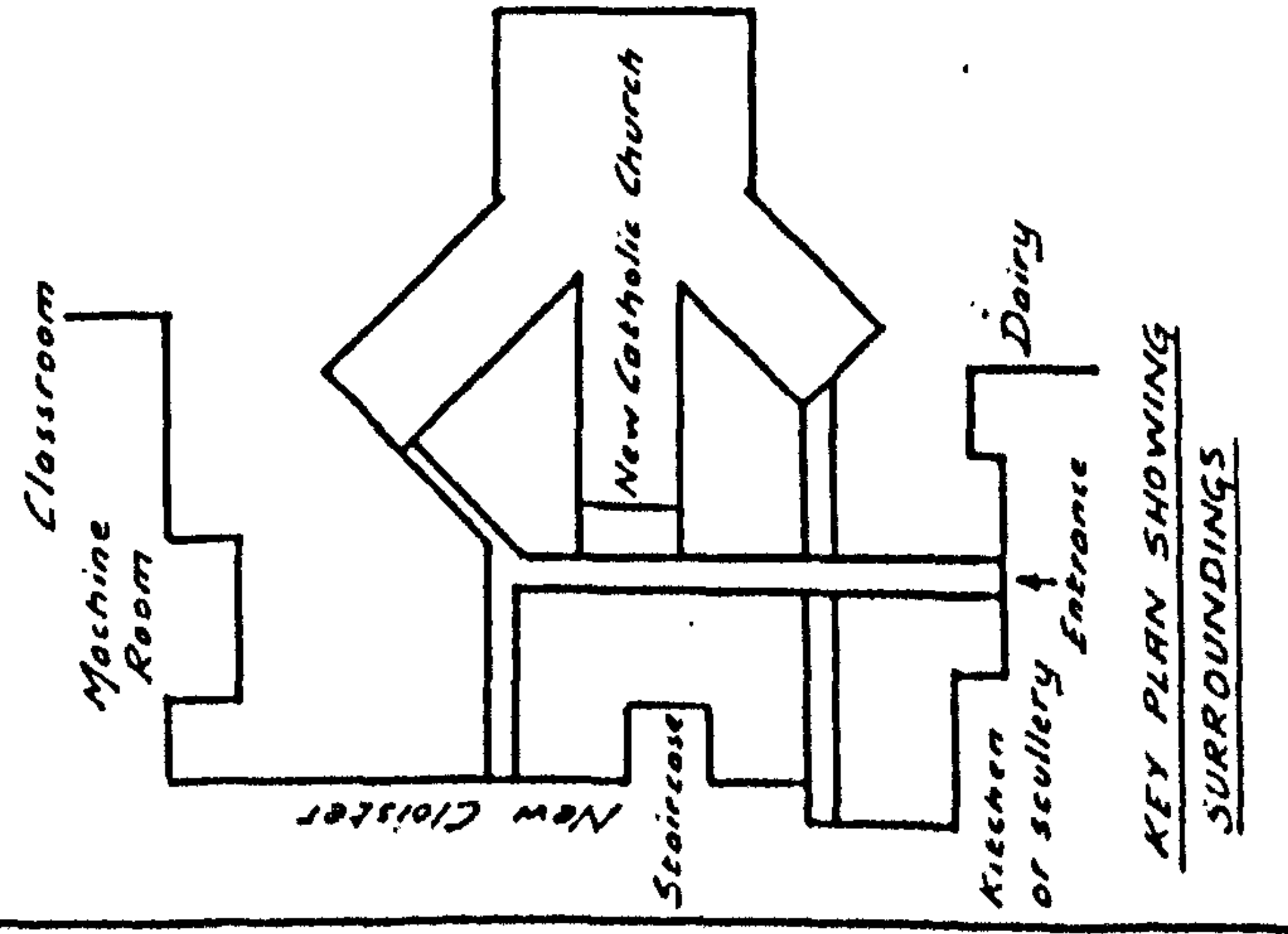
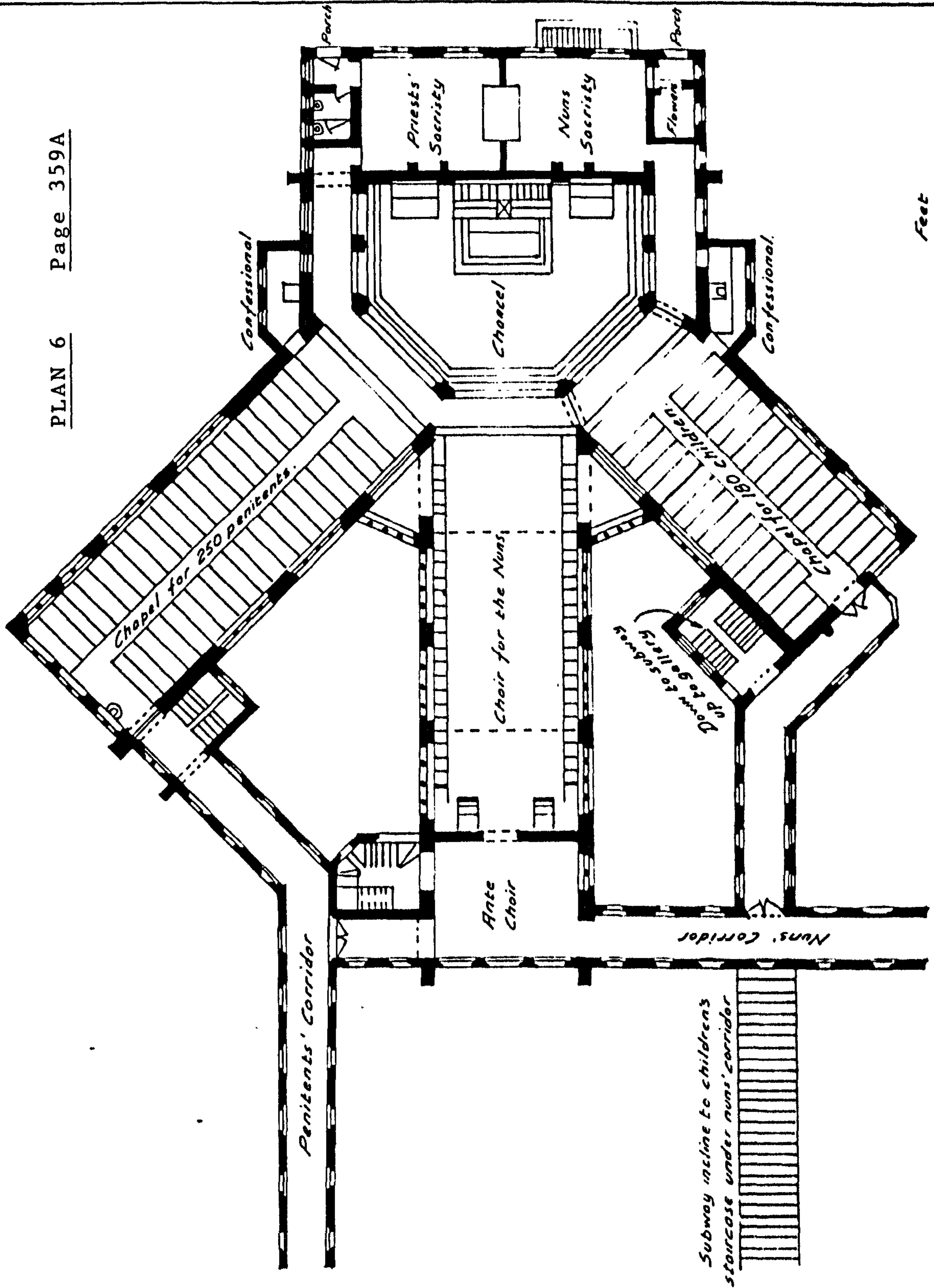


Photograph 19: The Fan-shaped Church at Staplehurst



750/3

Photograph 20: The Fan-shaped Church at Bishopton



NEW CATHOLIC CHURCH - CONVENT OF THE GOOD SHEPHERD  
 DALBETH  
 Reproduced from the original dotted - circa 1870

naves housing the convict women and the penitents. Photographs 19 & 20 taken together with Plan 3 show a fan-shaped arrangement at Staplehurst (the successor house to Ashford), at Bishopton (the successor house to Glasgow), and at Glasgow. Although each class was separated, all were able to share in the ritual actions taking place in the sanctuary, without seeing each other. When, occasionally, there was only partial vision, it was still possible to see the consecrated Host held aloft by the priest at the most sacred moment of the Mass, still possible to see and smell the rising clouds of incense, and still possible to hear the sanctuary bell and the ritual latin of the celebrant. Although the fan-shaped church is redolent of the radial penal architecture derived from Bentham's idea, it was a relatively late development with the Good Shepherd sisters. The precipitating factor in 1899 at Ashford, for example, had been the overcrowding, where it was adopted:

'.... with the hope of meeting the difficulty of the classes and community having a good view of the altar'.

(74)

It is not without significance that the idea was copied from the church of a roman catholic lunatic asylum run by nuns in Kent.

Unlike the unidirectional panopticon, the Good Shepherd theopticon was bi-directional in several respects. The symbolic representation of God in the Mass as immanent presence and reality placed all members under His eye, and in turn, they were able to gaze on Him. The reciprocity went further than that, for all present in the church were held to be participants in the salvation story then being enacted; and this was verbalised through the repetitive exchanges of liturgical salutation and response between priest and congregation. Finally those who received communion brought themselves to the altar steps

contiguous to their section of the church and received the symbolic object which to them was the real body of Christ himself. Consequently, there was a total bi-directionality in vision and spatial movement. The supervising nuns ensured, as best they could, that each member of a class did not converse with her neighbour, but focussed her attention on the sacred mysteries. Paradoxically, a ritual group solidarity co-existed with the decomposition of the class into individuals bound into an equal but separate and direct relationship with God; the source and model of the entire transformative enterprise. In effect, it was a case of Foucault's notion of the redistribution of bodies carried through in a ritual mode entirely different from his own mode of a directly mediated technology of power.

It could be rebutted that the spatio-temporal restriction of the sacred activities of the refuge excluded the divine surveillance from the remaining activities of the day. In which case it would be the very converse of the universal surveillance of the panopticon. Such a criticism would overlook several factors. In the first place, a portion of the consecrated bread is always retained in a tabernacle in the church, which then becomes to the believer literally a house of God. This means that the nuns and the penitents have a sense of co-presence with the Powerful One - both source of punishment and reward, as well as object of the religious quest. Secondly, quite apart from the concept that balances immanence - the subjective experience of divine omnipresence (and therefore of surveillance), it was customary to say prayers and sing hymns while at work in the laundry, at times stipulated in the Regulations for Penitents. For example:

'At five o'clock they shall say all together and aloud whilst working, the Rosary of Our Lady; then they shall keep strict silence, during which those who have

the capacity for it may meditate.'

(75)

In this kind of way the bi-directionality of the theopticon was maintained during the day. Giddens considers it characteristic of prisons and asylums that there is a forced continuity of co-presence

(76)

among the inmates. In the case of a Good Shepherd refuge this continuous co-presence extends further to include the religiously symbolic source of carceral and transformative power.

#### CLASSIFICATION AND TRANSFORMATION

The concept of classification and transformation can now be combined into a grid of the type shown in Figure 8.

The square represents the transformational zone bounded by a frame displaying various degrees of strength. The vertical axis of the grid represents the degree of transformation, while the horizontal axis represents the degree of classification, each respectively containing notions of time and space. A penitent on entry is signified by a small alpha, and at the highest point of transformation by a small omega, as are the consecrates. The novice sister is signified by a capital alpha and the professed sisters are signified by a capital omega. The use of small and capital letters serves to distinguish the various lay-women categories from those of the nuns. The tourière sisters who have made their simple vows are signified by a modified capital omega. The grid makes it possible to place each category at an appropriate transformation-classification co-ordinate within the transformational zone. The grid may also be read at another level, /with the frame representing the enclosure. The whole space to the left of the vertical can represent the various coded sites of the inmates, while that on the right represents the two convents. The church would

TRANSFORMATION AND CLASSIFICATION GRID

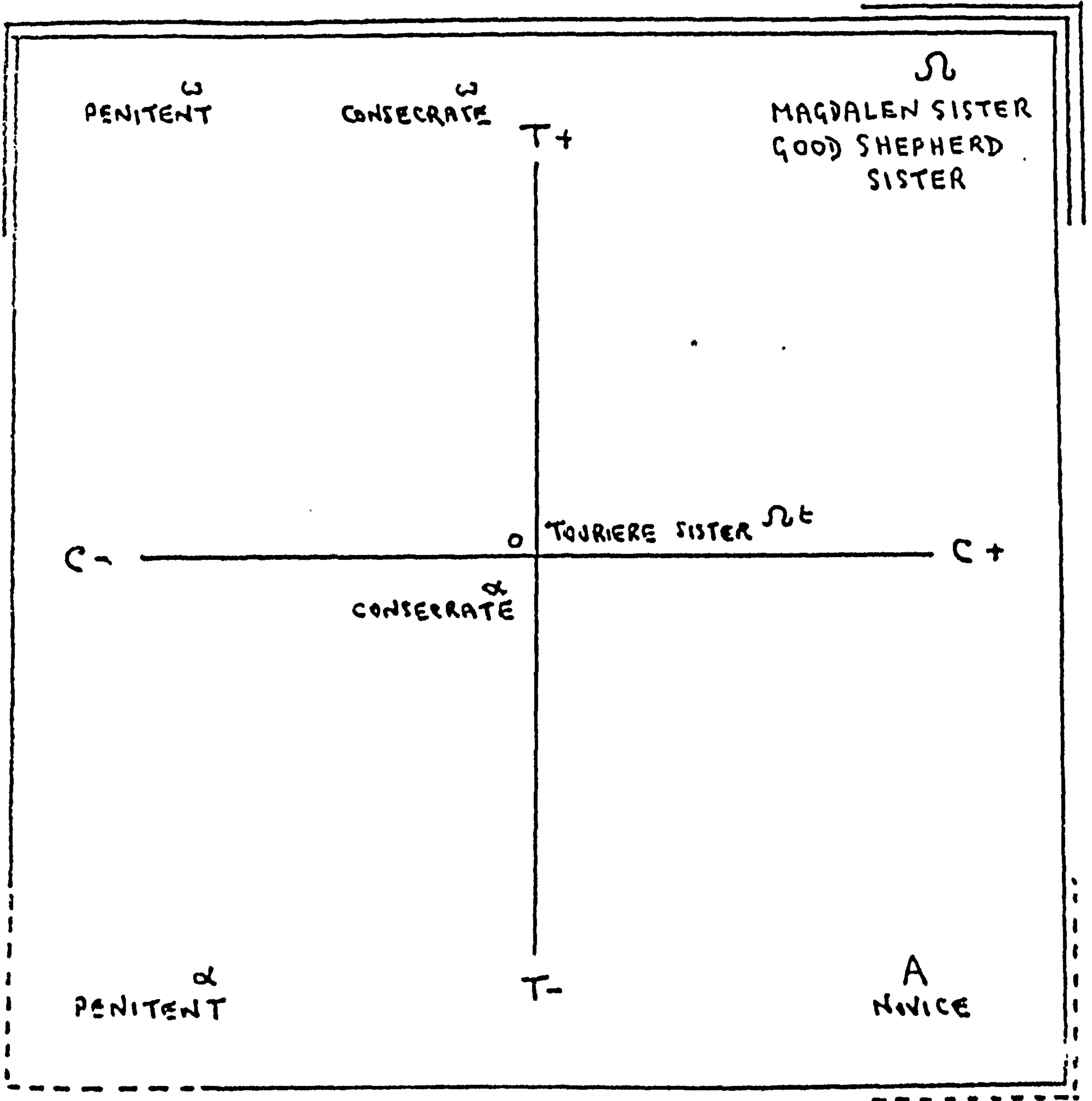


Figure 8: Grid of transformation and classification

be directly at the top of the vertical. The space below the horizontal line can correspond to the transformational zone depicted as the centre column in Figure 7; while the space above the horizontal can represent the position of the more permanent transformands.

The newly admitted Penitent  $\alpha$  is located close to the weakest point in the frame, which would be the relatively constant location of the majority of penitents with limited transformational movement in that quadrant. The most complete transformation of a penitent within her own category, representing low classification in the refuge as a whole, is located at Penitent  $\omega$ . Typical of such a penitent is the woman who remains in the refuge more or less permanently, or who leaves to rejoin her family or to enter domestic service.

A penitent who enters a probationary period prior to consecration increases both her degree of classification and her degree of transformation. She thus moves downwards from Penitent  $\omega$  towards the central co-ordinate of the axes as Consecrate  $\alpha$ . If she is successful, she will remain in that classification but move vertically over time to Consecrate  $\omega$ . Consecrates who give up the status can move horizontally to Penitent  $\omega$  or downwards diagonally to the region of Penitent  $\alpha$ . At all stages admission and departure is possible through the weak frame at the lowest co-ordinate.

If a penitent or consecrate are accepted into the Magdalen Sisters novitiate, they increase their classification but decrease their transformation by a diagonal downward movement across the whole zone. From this location Novice<sup>A</sup> (Magdalen) increases transformationally through time and space to Magdalen Sister  $\Omega$ . The Magdalen Sister is located in the top right hand corner of the grid, closest to the strongest boundary, as she is enclosed in a convent within a convent. The complete polarity of penitent  $\alpha$  and Magdalen Sister  $\Omega$  are evident



from their diagonally opposite location in the zone, and by the total change of strength in the frame. A Magdalen Sister  $\Omega$  who left would either proceed horizontally across the top of the zone to Penitent  $\omega$  or move diagonally downwards to depart like any Penitent  $\alpha$ .

Good Shepherd novices would enter directly at the bottom right hand corner into a high degree of classification as aspirants to the religious life. The frame at that point is signified as weak and strong to represent both the potential enclosure of the novice and her freedom to depart upto the point of profession. The frame is not signified in the same way at the bottom left hand corner as the penitents, although they live within the enclosure, are not subject to its ultimate canonical limitations, hence the notion of quasi-enclosure. The Good Shepherd Novice  $A$  is admitted as either a lay or choir novice and proceeds through her profession and her years of religious life to Good Shepherd Sister  $\Omega$ . She is placed further into the zone than the Magdalen Sister  $\Omega$ , as she is free to leave her convent in order to move within the confines of the refuge as her duties dictate; whereas the Magdalen Sister  $\Omega$  can never leave her own convent. A Good Shepherd Sister  $\Omega$  who was dispensed from her vows would move vertically through the zone and depart at her original entry point. The verticality of her de-transformation aptly reflecting the frequent sense of disgrace and failure experienced on return to lay life.

The tourière or extern sister enters like any other novice but her transformation leads her to the null point on the axes as Tourière Sister  $\Omega^t$ . Here is a crucial and paradoxical location. The name tourière derives from the french word for the turning-box or dumb-waiter through which letters and goods were originally passed into a monastic enclosure. Her role has been described in Chapter 1.

She is free to move between all parts of the refuge except into the interior of the two convents and to pass back and forth to the external secular world for the essential purposes of the convent and refuge. It is a paradoxical category institutionalising non-classification and non-transformation. A high turn-over of these sisters in simple vows was accepted as normal. Although the original constitutions had recognised the dangers in their very necessary role and tried to build in safeguards, (such as making them answerable to the Superior only, giving them the choice of wages, and so forth) they were often castigated when they succumbed. Of one, a sister wrote:

'A child has said, 'if you want to find Sister X  
you are sure to find her talking to a man'!

Other superiors referred to her as 'like having a corpse in the house'  
(77)  
She left of her own volition and was dispensed ex post facto.

This interpretation of the grid has only referred to the extreme co-ordinates of each category in the interest of clarity. A plot of all the co-ordinates would reveal a multiplicity of trajectories in the transformational zone. A static numerical plot would reveal the cartography of the zone, and this is shown in Figure 9 using the data derived for Hammersmith in 1866. It can be misleading to represent concepts diagrammatically but the images provided help us to understand the complex and dynamic constellations of categories in a transformational institution. This is especially evident when the grid is read in conjunction with the pattern of transformations shown in Figure 7.

This sociological analysis has been ordered around the six theoretical tasks outlined at the beginning of the chapter; they were tasks suggested by the events and subjective perceptions recovered in the historical account. They were analytic tasks germinal to the

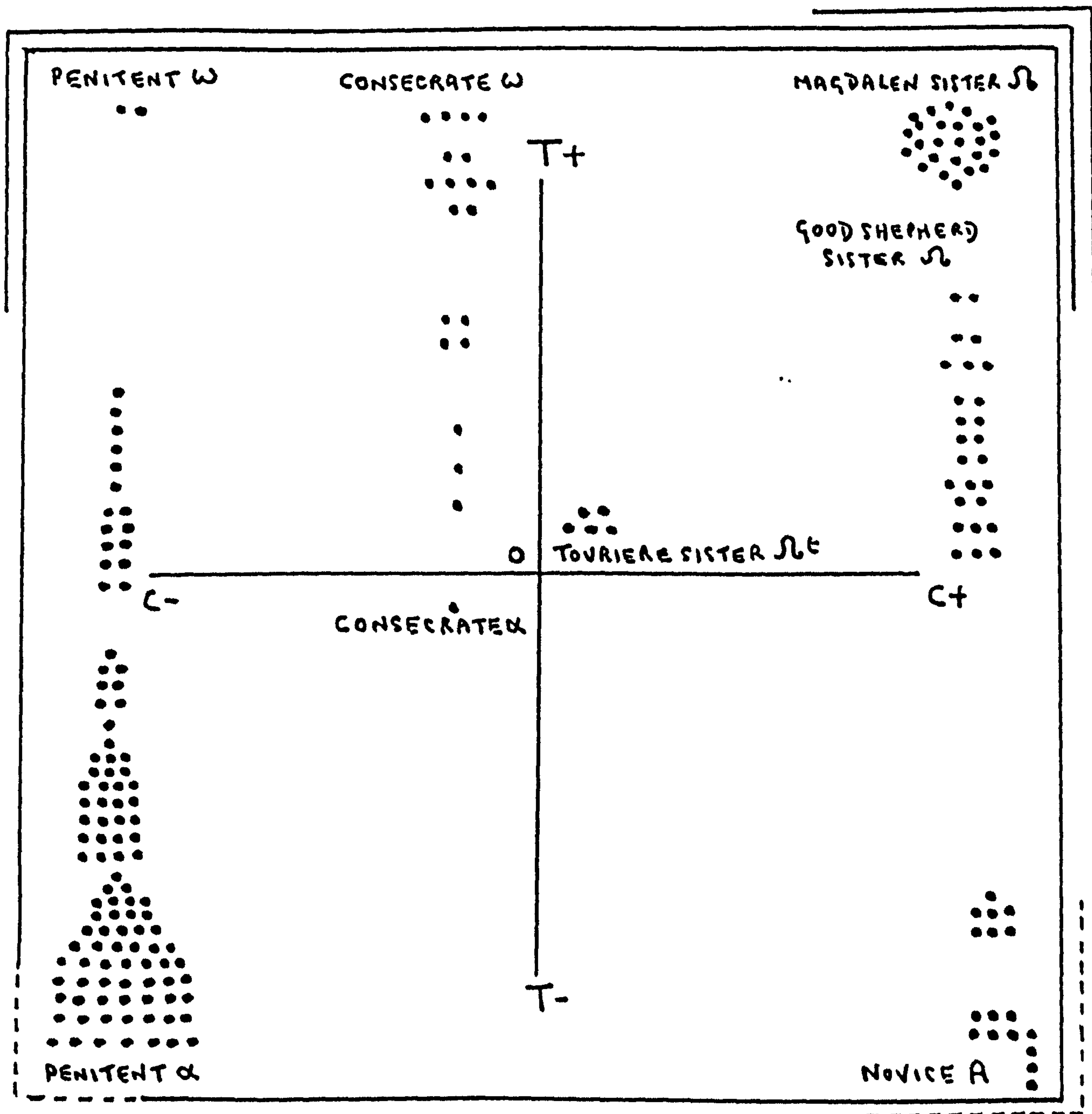


Figure 9: The nuns and penitents at Hammersmith in 1866 plotted on the Transformation-Classification Grid

construction of a sociological model of the Good Shepherd refuge as a transformational institution. Although Goffman's concept of a total institution failed to account adequately for the particular organisational characteristics of the magdalen asylum, it did permit an initial analytic purchase on the two key generic concepts of classification and transformation adduced from the historically evolved principles of the Magdalen Movement. Drawing on differing traditions and areas of interest in sociology and social anthropology it proved possible to arrive at a more refined understanding of the system of classification and transformation in the Good Shepherd refuge, and of the social categories upon which they were based. The explicit focus of interest in the present research has been the nature of transformation in the Good Shepherd refuge. The theoretical analysis has thus been primarily directed to its sociological elucidation. The very nature of transformation as dynamic marginality presented particular conceptual difficulties, the more especially as the penitents class combined an unstable transient element with a body of long-term transformands directed to other-worldly goals. The conceptualisation of classification and transformation necessarily entailed a theoretical address to the question of institutional control; and that would have been so even if issues of control had not arisen in the historical account.

In so far as the structure and process of transformational activities in the Good Shepherd refuge may be held to be adequately accounted sociologically, then to that degree we have a model or framework for further analytic use. At the least, an heuristic device with which to move from a sociologically sensitive historical account to a more rigorous sociological analysis of an historical form of a transformational institution. However, the sociological model may be viewed as more than a formal conceptual description for it

is the product of an analysis of the social relations and processes characteristic of the Good Shepherd refuge. To that degree it is a sociological explanation of a particular type of organisation. In that sense the chapter may be allowed to stand in its own right as an adequate sociological account of the salient features of the narrative drawn out of the historical sources. That was the prime and explicit theoretical endeavour.

However, the fulfilment of the immediate research objective, whatever its degree of methodological and theoretical adequacy, does not exonerate the sociologist from two important professional obligations: The need to test his theoretical artifact in the analysis of cognate phenomena; and the necessity of assessing his work in the larger context of cognate sociological theory and research. The first of these obligations is fulfilled in Chapter 9, where the sociological analysis is used to address the three problems thrown up by the historical analysis itself. The second obligation to locate the particular analysis critically within the broader context of sociological endeavour is undertaken in the conclusion to this thesis.

CHAPTER 9: A SOCIOLOGICAL ADDRESS TO THREE HISTORICAL PROBLEMS

The historical reconstruction and the sociological analysis have been ordered around the nature of transformation in the magdalen asylum. However as the story of the Good Shepherd work in Britain unfolded certain other aspects arose out of the historical narrative itself; unexpected issues, deserving of exploration, but which at first sight seemed unconnected with the main research enquiry into transformation. Three such issues or problems predominated:

- I. Why was laundry work chosen as the dominant type of work for the penitents, and why did it persist for such a long period?
- II. Why did the Good Shepherd Sisters resist the Factory Acts regulation of the magdalen asylum laundries, when they had for long accepted the principle of government inspection of other aspects of their work?
- III. Why did the nuns, despite public pressures from roman catholics and protestants alike, refuse to pay wages to the penitents?

To some extent these questions have been answered by the narrative itself at the level of their emergence in specific historical events. The main task of this chapter is to analyse these problems sociologically, largely by addressing them with the classification and control model and the pattern of transformations developed in Chapter 8. The analysis of Problem II is prefaced by a necessary consideration of penal work. With Problem III, the wages issue, there is also an additional examination of the empirical evidence, while some aspects of the work of Talcott Parsons and Georg Simmel are used to aid the analysis. The primary object of the chapter is to elucidate the transformational import of the three problems, a task which incidentally evaluates the analysis developed in Chapter 8.

PROBLEM 1: THE CHOICE AND PERSISTENCE OF LAUNDRY  
WORK AS THE DOMINANT FORM OF WORK FOR  
THE PENITENTS.

One of the more intriguing questions raised by the historical narrative concerns the origin and long-term persistence of laundry work as the primary type of work undertaken in Good Shepherd establishments in Britain. It is doubtful whether the question of origin can be taken much further than the discussion in Chapter 6. The evidence adduced there seemed to point to the view that the introduction of laundry work at Hammersmith was a discriminating response to the available employment opportunities. It could only be accounted an unusual choice in the context of the traditional inmate labour of the refuges of Our Lady of Charity where needlework predominated; a form of work which remained the norm at Good Shepherd houses on the continent throughout the 19th century. That the nuns were able to overcome the weight of tradition in accepting Mr. Robson's advice indicates a realistic acceptance of the need to secure regular work and income within the constraints of their own West London situation. Indeed, it might be argued that there was little room for choice. Mr. Robson had astutely recognised the beginning of a rapidly expanding demand for a service which was within the capability of a predominantly unskilled workforce to provide. Furthermore, it is quite likely that he would have known that laundry work was becoming well established as the basic work for women prisoners in the prisons of London. Both economically and institutionally, laundry work was quite likely to have seemed a self-evident form of employment. The later foundations would have taken their lead both from Hammersmith's success in the laundry business and from its pre-eminence as the mother-house of the order in England. That laundry work quickly established itself

as the traditional employment is evident from the experience of those houses which seemed to embark upon it with scant regard for its viability as a business enterprise in their own localities.

However powerful economic necessity might have been as a motivation to the initial choice of laundry work, it is unlikely to have persisted in the magdalen asylums had it been inimical to their purpose and organisation. That the general success in the laundry business would have provided its own impetus is undeniable, but achievement in commercial enterprise could well have been perceived by the sisters as alien to the real objectives of the Good Shepherd Congregation; as holding the danger of an accommodation to the material values of the secular world. Given these real possibilities, it is necessary to look more closely at the persistence of laundry work as the dominant employment of the women in the magdalen asylums.

The detailed account of Good Shepherd laundry work elaborated in Chapter 6 provides some important answers, but primarily in material and logistic terms. It was shown there how the six basic characteristics of laundry work were compatible with the objectives, organisation, and activities of the magdalen asylum. The sequential nature of the laundry process was shown to be congruent with the imperatives of classification and separation. It was evident that the internal organisation of the whole refuge had a flexibility that rendered it well able to cope with the variable volume of business and the rapid throughput of work endemic to the laundry trade. The labour intensive and largely unskilled nature of the work was matched by the numbers and employment qualities of the work force constantly available in Good Shepherd establishments throughout the 19th century and beyond. Convincing evidence has been adduced to show how the ideology and practice of a Good Shepherd institution would tend to



produce, according to its own logic, a substantial group of longer-stay women, as well as a small core of more deeply committed women, the consecrated penitents. Those groups not only balanced the high turnover with an element of stability, but also provided the cadre of skilled workers necessary to any substantial laundry business. There the question of persistence might have been left. Yet, to understand the persistence of laundry work solely in terms of its logistical and organisational correspondence is to overlook its nature as a powerful and visible analogue of the work of transformation. Before turning to that mode of analysis, the organisation of the work force will be considered further using the modified Bernsteinian paradigm developed in Chapter 8.

In Chapter 6 it was shown in detail how the life of the asylum and its internal order was not radically disrupted by the unpredictable volume of work. This apparent contradiction between the needs of the laundry and the needs of the refuge can be understood further by the application of Bernstein's concepts. The configuration of classification and frame for the local level of the refuge shown in Figure 4 of Chapter 8 is:

Temporal mode:  $F_s + C_w$

Spatial mode:  $F_s + C_s$

At the more particularised level of the laundry within the refuge it is clear that one configuration holds for both modes. As the laundry work is sequential, it is clearly bounded in time and space for each stage. Ironing can only occur after washing, for example, and each stage of the process is located at a separate functional site. Strong classification is inherent in the organisation of laundry work and this is wholly compatible with the classification and separation

requirements of refuge organisation. Framing, too, is strong, as the sisters in charge have complete control over pacing the work and the deployment of the workforce within the confines of the laundry. The combination of strong classification and strong framing at both the temporal and spatial modes indicates a powerful structure of control. It also reveals a powerful code of sequence and demarcation which is entirely consistent with the ideological ambience of the Good Shepherd refuge.

The laundry configuration  $F_s + C_s$  has now to be set within the mixed configuration of the refuge as a whole, in order to indicate how the potential of the laundry to disrupt the refuge is accommodated. Paradoxically, the strong frame of the refuge as a whole permits a weak temporal classification at the same total level. This permits flexibility of labour use. For example, if a refuge were required to launder the linen of a transatlantic liner in a two or three day turn round, as happened not infrequently at Liverpool and Glasgow, the whole of the labour force could be deployed to this task by a temporary adjustment of the overall timetable in that week. This would not be possible if there were strong temporal classification at the total institutional level. It was precisely the absence of a strong frame at the certified inebriate reformatory which reduced the internal flexibility of that institution; a situation which not only led to difficulties of control but also to a considerably reduced business efficiency in the laundry. The perfect congruence between the strength of the spatial classification in the refuge as a whole and in the laundry provided the necessary balance to the flux of temporal re-arrangement. Thus the threat of disorder was drastically reduced. This was a potent element of control, especially in the convict refuge and the certified inebriate reformatory. The application of Bernstein's

concepts helps us to understand the nature of the articulation between laundry work and the form of the refuge, thereby allowing us to take further purchase on the question of persistence.

Thus far the discussion leaves out of account the relations between laundry work and transformative activity. At the most simple level, laundry work is the transformation of dirty items into clean items. As such it constitutes the material base of the Good Shepherd technology of salvation by the exchange of money for services rendered. It also constitutes the transformative work of the penitents. That it was suitable as penance cannot be denied. Of the Surrey House of Correction (now Wandsworth Prison), Mayhew had remarked that washing was the sole form of hard labour, and it was reported that at Northallerton goal the women considered the treadwheel to be nowhere near as hard as washing clothes. (2) There is no reason to suppose that the Good Shepherd penitents found it any different, and the hot steaming conditions of repetitive ironing must have been barely less taxing. Whether the short-stay penitents experienced it as any more than a harsh and exploitative exchange for board and lodging is a matter of conjecture, other than to note that a high proportion of women left within one month. (See Appendix 1: Table 5) But these considerations take us little further than to suggest that the sisters were doing no more than to conform to general institutional practice so far as female inmate labour was concerned.

A deeper examination of the transformative aspect may suggest more fundamental reasons for the persistence of laundry work than the manifest congruence of the organisational forms of laundry and refuge. The earlier theoretical analysis arrived at a definition of transformation as the exchange of social categories by processional transitivity. This definition will now be related analogically to the actual process of laundry work in order to demonstrate its powerful

latent function as the symbol of transformative activity.

When the soiled linen arrives it is disassociated from its owner by being sorted into item types in common with the linen of other customers. It is further depersonalised by being marked with a laundry number. This is a process similar to the reception of a woman into the magdalen asylum. On arrival she is assigned to the Class and becomes one of the penitents. It is forbidden to refer to the past, and to signify the break the new penitent is given a religious psuedonym. She is always referred to by this name while in the asylum, and is required to wear the uniform clothing of the institution. The more fundamental analogy is that between the sinner, the fallen woman, and the dirty linen. Both the penitent and the linen enter the refuge to be cleansed. Both arrive polluted by 'the world'. Set in the general context of 19th century prudery, and in the particular context of roman catholic attitudes to bodily functions, the soiled linen might well have constituted a powerful symbol of all that was to be eliminated, shunned, or hidden, if spiritual purity and conversion were to be achieved. It was usually the most recent entrants among the penitents who were assigned to the washing. It was the hardest and the most unpleasant of the laundry tasks. The first actual laundry sequence matched perfectly the stage of transformation at which the new or short-stay penitent finds herself. She is there to pound and rub and to squeeze out the dirt from the linen. By that disciplined and penitential task she pounds out her own sin as the first step to virtue.

The symbolic analogue goes deeper. Douglas has noted how dirt is the by-product of a systematic ordering and classification of matter. As such it constitutes the residual category rejected from the normal system of classification. Consequently, the reaction to dirt is

(3)  
 continuous with other reactions to ambiguity and anomaly. It was noted earlier how an original category is beset at once by ambiguity and anomaly on its engagement into the transformative process. In Chapter 1 it was recounted how the liminal ambience of convent life and the contiguity of nun and penitent were pivotal issues in the controversy over refuges. The washing of soiled linen symbolically encapsulates the very heart of these dangers and contradictions. Once in the tub, the linen is neither clean nor dirty. It is referred to as 'the washing', a substantival use of the participle which itself expresses process. In her discussion of boundaries, Douglas comments (4) on the role of the body as a model that can stand for any bounded system. It follows that bodily orifices symbolise the specially vulnerable points of marginality. A large part of the washing was of bodily soiled undergarments and bed linen, potent and unpleasant reminders both of the reducibility of the spiritual life, and of the tenuous nature of the struggle to overcome sexual vice and to maintain chastity. The dirty linen is a condensed symbol of anomaly and danger. It is interesting to note, in passing, that the manufacture of 'linge privé' (5) at Nancy was a matter of contention between the bishop and the nuns. Apart from the disgust expressed by the penitents, the only other direct reference to the nature of the soiling is to be found in an 1846 reference to one of the customers, Mrs. Wargrave, an eccentric (6) lady who sent her cat's laundry for washing. In the episode where the penitents rebelled against sorting the dirty linen, it was described as 'coming in from the world', a phrase that conjures in the conventual context images of secular profanity.

Drawing on Eliade, Douglas remarks on the anthropological (7) significance of water, and her analysis seems to apply in this case. In water everything is dissolved, and this is precisely the symbolism

of christian baptism. The immersion signifies death. It is a nullification of the past which purifies and regenerates. The dirt itself, which derives its force from its capacity for boundary transgression, becomes an apt symbol for creative formlessness. The constant circulating of dirty linen and clean linen matches the constant circularity of the short-stay penitents. As dirt is an affirmative pre-condition of cleanliness, so is sin of virtue. Mother Pelletier grasped the point precisely when she told the novices that they owed their own vocations as Good Shepherd nuns to the existence of the penitents.

The symbolism of baptism and washing can be further related to the giving of psuedonyms to the new penitents. These names were always of saints or events in the christian story, such as Agatha, Teresa, Nazareth, or Seven Sorrows. The creation of a new kinship between nun and penitent, as mother and child, was a powerful mode of symbolic control which transforms domination into an act of creation. Despite the flux and formlessness of dirt in the washing water, the garment remains an identifiable garment. Likewise, the penitent in transformation retains an identity under her new psuedonym, an identity firmly incorporated into the complex symbolic structure of the convent refuge, and one which confers a ritual kinship with the nuns. A kinship well expressed by Mother Weld:

'Remember, the work for the children is our rule and our life; and everything, Divine Office, Fasting and all, are to give way to that. A Religious of the Good Shepherd cannot go to Heaven without her children.'

(8)

Steam-power and mechanisation has a major role in bounding the system and in expressing certain symbolic aspects. The fact that it was not possible to mechanise the exchange from one sequence to

the next served as a constant reminder that transformation was hard work. It also served to express the discontinuity of categories, an emphasis which provided an important balance to anomaly and formlessness. It further underwrote the sequential nature of the work as analogue to the progressive stages of inmate life. It was a material representation of Foucault's notion of seriation. The complex interconnections of the pulley system of transmitting the power from the steam engine to hydro-extractors, calenders, ironing machines, and ventilating fans, bound all processes into the one system of power. It relates one functional site to another in terms of motive force, paradoxically providing both energy and stability. The steam itself can be seen as an important integrative factor. As well as powering the prime mover, it also served to heat directly the water in the boiling coppers, the rollers of the various calenders, and the air of the drying closets. Exhaust steam was injected into the engine or the drying room, and spent steam from other parts of the system were condensed to provide a renewed source of water. It represented a very closed system, although it is interesting to note that laundry engineers located most failures in the system of piping - the unintended orifices of the material technology. The perpetual circular transformation of water into steam, and back again into water, is analogous to the process of combining hot clean water with dirty linen in a transformational exchange leading to cold dirty water and clean linen. One constant pre-occupation of laundry engineers was the possibility of grease returning to the system through exhausted steam and causing further pollution to the linen. (9) Additionally, there was always the possibility of the primary energy source, coal, spoiling the clean white linen with soot or coal dust. Coal in the wrong place is dirt. We saw in Chapter 4 how this could arise through poor architectural

planning.

Once the clothing has been washed it moves on through the sequences of mangling, drying, and ironing. These are processes which return the clean item to its pristine form. A crumpled wet shirt is transformed into a starched and folded shirt, or a sodden heap of a bed sheet is returned to its flat, folded, pure identity. There is an important analogy here also. Goffman vividly described the degradation rituals in total institutions, seeing them as the means for creating a plasticity rendering the new inmates available for effective re-socialisation within the given form of the mental hospital, or some other such place. 19th century penal practice also made much of the initial period of solitary confinement as occasioning the psychological deconstruction necessary to later reformation. It can be likened to the actual washing in the laundry process, for the cleansing leaves the garment with a degree of formlessness and the potentiality for re-constitution in its original form. The penitents who have persevered longer in the refuge are the ones usually assigned to this task. They have graduated from a close association with the actual washing to the work of mangling, folding, and ironing clean linen; the task of completing its transformation into recognisable laundered garments. These are tasks analogous to their own transformation as they persist in the penitential activity. They, too, are gradually being put together as good christian women, ready for return to the lives of wives or servants, or even for further progress to the rank of consecrated penitent or magdalen sister. Finally, the cleaned and laundered items are resorted into their customer sets and packed in a very orderly manner for return to their owners. The regenerated linen is personalised once more. As we have already shown, this work is the special preserve



of the consecrated penitents, and even the choir sisters join in when there is heavy custom. Both artefact and worker represent the respective end-points of the analogically related transformative processes. These penitents are being packed to go home - heaven; home to their owner - God.

Both the material and the symbolic factors were mutually reinforcing, and the analogies between them must have contributed very substantially to the persistence of laundry work over such a long period. It may be objected that the recognition of such analogies is more the product of a retrospective analysis than of the subjective experience of the sisters or penitents. It has already been acknowledged that only two letters of penitents have come to light, although there are many second hand records of their attitudes in the convent annals and the private correspondence of the sisters. The convent annals contain sufficient allusions to substantiate, at least, some awareness of the analogies. In some cases it may even take the form of humour. This is evident in the account of a water pollution problem cited in Chapter 6 (page 216). The phrase 'right path and bounden duty' is a play on a familiar text in the Roman Missal which habitually prefaces the Canon of the Mass containing the sacred words of the consecration of the bread and wine, the ultimate transformation in roman catholic experience. But even if such indicators of subjective awareness were not historically recoverable, the closely weaved organisational correspondences and symbolic interconnections reflect the underlying transformative principle, or code, which regulates the whole. To return to Bernstein's model, it is the code which realises the principles of power and control, and it is through the code that they enter consciousness. Even were it possible to claim that the work was chosen by the nuns for this very reason, which manifestly

it was not, then there could hardly be a form of inmate employment which so perfectly matched the transformations to which the inmates were subjecting themselves. It could be argued, conversely, that had the chosen employment not corresponded organisationally, or with symbolic latency, to the aims and organisations of the Good Shepherd refuge, then it would not have persisted over so long a period.

#### PROLEGOMENON TO PROBLEM II: THE ELUSIVE NATURE OF PENAL WORK

Many issues concerning the nature of work surface in the historical account of the Magdalen Movement and its 19th century development into the complex establishments of the Good Shepherd Congregation. By the end of that century, in both France and Britain, the difference between secular work and work within the refuges had become a crucial issue for both the Good Shepherd Sisters and the public. These issues cannot be adequately understood and analysed without some adumbration of the history of penal work and the controversies that ran persistently through four centuries, even to the present day.

In Chapter 1 brief reference was made to work first becoming a major element in penological practice with the establishment of bridewells or houses of correction in the reign of Edward VI. At first conceived as training centres for various classes of the poor, under Elizabeth 1 they were developed into a country-wide system for controlling vagrancy. (10) The system was based on three main principles: Confinement to disciplined labour for the acquisition of habits of industry; the application of the revenue for inmate labour to the maintenance of the institution; and the deterrence of idleness and vagrancy in the outside world. (11) The bridewells were owned and managed by the local justices, and up to the end of the 17th century

they were generally successful. The inmates were usually given regular wages, and it was occasionally stipulated that the governor should  
(12)  
pay the same rate as for free labour.

Work was the common element in giving effect to the three principles. Yet, from the start, its role was seen as primarily economic. The priority was given to autonomous institutional maintenance. This self-maintenance objective was never fully realised in practice, with the result that budget deficits became an increasing burden for the justices. In the view of Melossi and Pavarini this was not surprising, as they considered the houses of correction were really places for teaching  
(13)  
the disciplines of production rather than places of genuine production. In time the justices began to use the bridewells for punitive rather than reformative imprisonment, and this added further impetus to the shift away from the original concept. This gradual deterioration of the system led the justices to delegate full control of the system to the masters or governors who worked the inmates for personal gain, often in appalling conditions. By the end of the 18th century the use of prison labour for private profit making had reached scandalous proportions and was one of the factors in the movement for the reform of the prisons.

Two years after the publication of John Howard's masterly survey of the prisons in Britain and Europe, the 1779 Penitentiary Act provided that prisoners should labour in association at work:

'.... of the hardest and most servile kind, in which Drudgery is chiefly required and where the work is little liable to spoiled by Ignorance, Neglect, and Obstinancy.'

(14)

The type of work recommended by the Act was sawing stone, polishing marble, and chopping rags. This appears a practical enough provision:

It allowed for low skill and maximised the punitive effect. Yet the Act was not implemented due to government reluctance to accept that felons could be re-integrated with the community. The strong tradition of eliminating felonious criminals by execution or transportation held its ground. However, the Act had resurrected the notion of work as a cardinal element in disciplinary control, an idea which had a quick effect on the conduct and organisation of the county goals. (15)

In the early 19th century many local prisons became regular factories because such a use fitted both the needs of discipline and the reduction of costs to the rates. The women were generally employed in sewing and laundry work, while the men were normally engaged in weaving and tailoring. As the Webbs noted, it was an expedient policy that led to prolonged controversy. Those who favoured the reformatory aspect of work pointed to the incentive and rehabilitative potential of accumulating savings and learning a trade. There were others who doubted this because the devices necessary to profit maximisation neutralized the reformatory effects of work. One such device was the fairly obvious necessity of relating wages and comforts to productivity; a practice that tended to favour the stronger and more resourceful prisoner over those inadequate inmates whose reformation through work was a particular object of the local goals. The organisation of production on a processual basis also led to the association of prisoners in large workrooms. Many reformers considered association highly undesirable because of the problem of moral contagion and criminal re-socialisation. Such reformers felt that payment should be related to the time quantum and to regularity of work rather than to productivity. Ideally, they considered that the greatest reformative effect would be achieved by non-remunerative work done in cellular isolation. Whatever might have been the detailed arguments of the

penal reformers, there was substantial public objection to prison employment. This was based on the view that as prison employment compared favourably with the harsh realities of life outside the walls, the deterrent effect of imprisonment was reduced. Furthermore, penal labour constituted an essentially unjust competition to free labour. It was also a matter of comment that prison labour had rarely been profitable. In any case, it was felt that the advent of machine production had drastically reduced, if not fully eliminated, the economic potential of manual labour.

(16)

It is notable how in all this controversy no-one had questioned the penological necessity of work itself. John Howard had been much influenced in his own thinking by the great labour houses of Amsterdam, Ghent, and Rome. He specifically affirmed that one of his motives in providing an account of these establishments was to dispel the English prejudice against compelling prisoners to work. Nowhere in 'The State of the Prisons' does he make out any sustained penological case for work. To him it was a self-evident means of discipline and reformation. An axiom abundantly proved, in his view, by its efficient realisation in the European institutions that he had inspected. He noted of the French:

'(They) are now sensible of the bad policy of confining persons in idleness; for of late they have set their prisoners to work'.

(17)

However, axioms are informed by silent assumptions and in Howard's case it has been argued that they were largely derived from non-conformist religious beliefs, and their association with the development of the factory system. In a thoughtful analysis, Michael Ignatieff maintains that a 'technology of salvation existed for earthly use by the State'.

(18)

The prison represented a kind of hell on earth. A

region of guilt and remorse which provided an earthly analogue of eternal damnation. It was the equality of all men as sinners, the universality of guilt so powerfully preached by the Methodists, that gave the image a profound legitimacy, and extended the possibility of reformation to even the worst criminal. What does not come out fully either in Howard's own writing, or in Ignatieff's commentary, is the way work is deeply implicated in the biblical account of Man's fall and redemption, and therefore in the prevailing christian ideology. This notion of work as both a penance for man's original disobedience, and as a means for his reformation has been outlined in Chapter 1. It rests at the heart of the principle of transformative work basic to the Good Shepherd refuges.

The omission in Howard's rhetoric of any direct reference to work as a primordial penalty may signify no more than the acceptance of an assumption whose very silence testifies eloquently to its universal validity in the religious context of the day. That may be so, but Howard's other empirical and practical self was much influenced by the success of the nonconformist factory proprietors. It was from them that Howard had gleaned the principles of scientific management, with its underpinning of religious and moral reformation. In that modality, work was an instrumental necessity, more a virtue than a penance. Work was seen more as the touchstone of a respectable character than as the consequence of a shared peccability. The silent assumption and the surface ideology complemented one another, but the emphasis rested squarely with work as virtue, rather than with work as penance. It was the compelled practice of virtue that brought the habits of moral order.

Alongside these religious notions of penal work, there existed other more materialistic and mechanistic conceptions related to a

view of criminality as a medical or social pathology. In this view criminals were either defectively socialised persons whose short-run hedonism brought them into conflict with the law, or insane people whose illness rendered them incapable of behaving within the prescribed social limits. In either case the remedy lay in resocialisation and the acquisition of new habits of mind. Writing in respect of the insane, Samuel Tuke the founder of the York Retreat had this to say:

'.... of all the modes by which the patients may be induced to restrain themselves, regular employment is perhaps the most generally efficacious .... the leading principle here is to prevent idleness, to preserve every power of the mind and body constantly occupied, and never allow it to flag or to retire upon itself.'

(19)

Routinization and repetition, especially through disciplined work, was considered the most effective method of resocialisation into moral behaviour. The nexus between repetitive work and moral order was common to both the materialist and the religious perspectives. Bentham, in particular, had based his proposal for prison reform on the notion that the inculcation of a disciplined life through the routinization of repetitive work would lead to its internalisation as moral duty. (20)

To this end he proposed the Panopticon, a total institution combining complete control with inescapable surveillance. It was to be 'a machine for grinding rogues honest'.

Bentham had intended that the use of inmate labour should be put out to contract, but in such a way as to avoid the abuses of the earlier system. In his view it was in the contractor's own interest to maintain the health and productivity of the work force, but that any residual tendency to abuse could be offset by checks on the contractor's discretion. In other words, he combined a system of rules with economic interest. (21) Bentham's rationally worked out

proposals were rejected as placing too much emphasis on convict labour. His critics considered that his pursuit of institutional self-maintenance through the use of inmate labour was an exploitation of the convicts, which detracted from the notion of work as a penance for sin and as a moral good in itself. Although Bentham's panopticon remained to influence custodial architecture, his employer-worker model of the prison using market incentives was decisively rejected in favour of a bureaucratic model based on rules and inspection. Thus the trend was set for the eventual reduction of work to mere non-productive activity; a trend which reached its nadir with the introduction of the treadmill and similar devices.

However much the treadmill may be interpreted as an ingenious method of isolating the moral component of labour as exhaustive regular movement rather than productivity, it arose as much from an unwillingness to engage in the expensive capitalisation required to establish a prison factory. (22) The position in France during the same period was quite to the contrary, and as this was the period during which Mother Pelletier was developing her own refuge and engaging in closer collaboration with the French prison authorities, it is a matter of consequence to this account. The French central prison system was at its peak in the 1830's and 1840's when penal policy was focussed on the notion that any efficient rehabilitative system must be associated with a profitable productive system. This would create a waged labour force, and this was considered the most important instrument of moralisation. (23)

O'Brien points out that the tendency in recent socio-historical accounts of prisons to adduce similarities with institutions like monasteries, army barracks, or factories actually obscures the fact that in nineteenth century France prisons became factories which were



capitalised and administered, in their production aspects, by outside  
 (24)  
 entrepreneurs. This was the situation throughout the nineteenth  
 century in France. The payment of wages to prisoners certainly raised  
 two contentious questions. The first concerned the difficulty of  
 reconciling a concept of punishment with the giving of wages for  
 productive labour; while the second dealt with the associated problem  
 of the relation between prison labour and free labour.

At the 5th International Penitentiary Congress at Paris in  
 1895 a prominent place was given to the discussion of a prisoner's  
 right to wages in return for productive labour. The Congress did  
 not concede such a right, but accepted the usefulness that many  
 continental penal systems found in awarding a *pécule*, or proportion  
 of profit, part of which could be spent in the prison. The balance  
 was invested during sentence, with the interest going to the State.  
 In Britain, even so, the gratuity was abolished for ordinary prisoners,  
 the equivalent sum being diverted to the after-care associations.  
 Sir Ruggles-Brise arguing that the gratuity alleviated the punitive  
 objective unnecessarily, and that the present discharge gratuities  
 (25)  
 were used profligately on release. O'Brien notes that the French  
 penal administrators had identified a powerful control instrument  
 in wages and consequently came to regard wage-labour as an essential  
 (26)  
 mechanism of a punitive regime. In this case she seems to draw  
 on Foucault's analysis that as prison wages are a legal fiction, there  
 being no contractual capacity, then they persist as the means of  
 constituting a power relation whose empty economic form effects the  
 potential submission and adjustment of the prisoner to the productive  
 (27)  
 apparatus of capitalism. Both authors cite the prison director  
 of Clairvaux in 1834:

'I do not know how to concede that work

'exercises an essentially reforming effect on them. But I do consider work in any large prison to be the sweet guarantee of order, peace, and quiet.'

(28)

The conflict between free labour and prison labour had been addressed by the 4th International Penitentiary Congress meeting at St. Petersburg in 1890. It had been a politically charged issue in France for a long time. Foucault cites evidence that free workers went on strike on a number of occasions in the 1840's in protest against the reduction of their wages by unfair prison competition. The agitation was protracted, especially as France was in a serious economic crisis of high inflation and low employment. The only response of the government was to bring out the established arguments about the different nature and objectives of penal work that we have already

(29)

recounted. The Congress, dealing with the same issues some 50 years later, considered they could be resolved by recommending that prisons restricted themselves to the production of goods that would be consumed

(30)

by other state institutions. A practice that had been early carried to its extreme in the English public works prisons at Dartmoor and Portland. It became the standard British policy, the best known example being the ubiquitous mailbag. It was a policy substantially achieved in the prison laundry system, as Mayhew has graphically depicted in 'Criminal Prisons of London'. The 1908 Interdepartmental Report on the Law relating to Inebriates had specifically argued that outside sales might be avoided if the certified inebriate reformatories co-operated in production and consumption, probably creating a larger remuneration for the inmates than they would gain from products sold

(31)

in the free market.

There were two other issues of importance which occupied less attention: Whether prisoners should work under the same regulated

factory conditions as other workers; and whether they should be covered  
 (32)  
 by workers compensation arrangements. In Britain, the prison work-  
 shops were exempt from the Factory Acts, as their application there  
 was considered likely to be subversive to discipline, and worker  
 compensation could not apply to non-contractual employment.

The controversy about the nature and administration of penal  
 work persisted through the 19th century. At the first I.P.C. meeting  
 in London in 1872, the British government had argued that the danger  
 of competition had been greatly exaggerated, and that neither the  
 trade unions nor outside traders realised how small the competition  
 really was. Furthermore, prisons could never become factories as  
 this would involve the purchase of machinery, which would not only  
 compete with the prison labour itself, but also compete for government  
 (33)  
 capital. So the argument seemed to move back towards an understanding  
 of penal work as an activity essentially different from ordinary work.  
 Thus, there came about a complex rhetoric partly constituted by a  
 retrospective official justification for not providing the necessary  
 resources and facilities to make prison workplaces run on an ordinary  
 contract basis; and partly constituted by an amalgam of utterances  
 from prison reformers, social philosophers, and criminologists.

In 'Prison Ethics' Herbert Spencer based his argument on the  
 premiss that all are compelled to work by the very nature of social  
 existence. Idleness, therefore, can only lead to criminality, which  
 is best cured by the forced routine acquisition of work habits directed  
 to the self-maintenance of the inmates. Like his contemporary Col.  
 Henderson, Director of Convict Prisons, and the later sociologist  
 Gabriel Tarde, Spencer favoured the intermediate system as the means  
 (34)  
 of gradually restoring prisoners to normally waged work. But within  
 this view is the implicit assumption that there are two different

kinds of work; penal labour and free labour.

In 1899 William Tallack, the influential secretary of the Howard Association, took a view devoid of niceties. He advanced the case for a distinctively penal labour on the ground that the only true economy in the prison service was the reduction of offenders; a primary objective that was best achieved by making inmate labour fully deterrent. Not only was such work an instrument of a basic economy, but it was also a means of justice for the honest free worker. State labour, although free of the entrepreneurial abuses of the other system, was generally non-profitable. He concluded that proper penal labour should compete with free labour in order to meet the claims of the tax-payer who ultimately resourced the prison system. The prisoner would be paid no wages, and poor work would be subject to punishment. The unwaged hard work would be deterrent to the prisoner, re-imburse the tax-payer, and inculcate work habits and skills for life after prison. He dismissed objections to such competitive work on the ground that trade unionists were socialists and selfish demagogues. (35)

By 1894 a government committee chaired by Herbert Gladstone, had concluded that despite the efforts to introduce gainful employment since 1872, there still remained a great deal of punitive and unproductive labour. The polemicist, Tighe Hopkins, writing some years later at the end of our period, attributed the failure of the attempted reforms largely to the dominance of the militaristic prison officers over the trade officers, commenting:

'.... the prisoner being transformed into a well drilled and astonishingly obedient automaton .... never were there such fine drilled, dumb, lamb-like creatures in their cells.'

(36)

This prolegomenon has outlined how, over four centuries, some

basic functions of penal work have persisted in varying degrees of combination and conflict. They may be summarised as:

INSTITUTIONAL MAINTENANCE

DETERRENCE

DISCIPLINE AND CONTROL

REFORMATION AND REHABILITATION

The balance between them varies from time to time, and they receive differing emphases from reformer and expert alike. These differences gave rise to tensions, both within prison administration and in the campaigns for prison reform. One major tension was that between the notion of a prison as somewhere analogous either to a factory or to a kind of moral hospital; another tension centred on the conflict between work as physical deterrent and control mechanism or as a means of reform and normalisation towards productive work. Another major tension concerned the relationship between institutional maintenance and inmate wages. The controversies over the nature of penal work reveal a considerable range of variation on those themes, and by the end of the nineteenth century the lack of a unitary concept still remained. Perhaps the question was really reducible to some unarticulated sense of difference between real work and penal work. If work was the first moral category, as Marx claimed, then one might not expect penal labour to be work. For not only was it frequently disconnected from any economic nexus, but the prisons were generally held to contain those excluded from society for lack of moral sense. In prison, work might be expected to be the final moral category, the signification of a transformation achieved. Thus by the beginning of the 20th century an eminent German criminologist, Aschaffenberg, could aptly capture what a modern industrial society required of its

prisoners:

'He becomes a member of a well-ordered, self-contained organism, in which everything is regulated to the minute. The carefully planned rules of the institution keep the limits of his rights always before his eyes, he learns to obey, learns to submit, becomes accustomed to order and cleanliness, and, above all - he learns to work.'

(37)

PROBLEM 11: THE RESISTENCE TO FACTORY ACTS  
REGULATIONS OF THE MAGDALEN  
ASYLUM LAUNDRIES

We have already described in Chapter 2 how Mother Pelletier specifically incorporated into the Good Shepherd Constitutions a provision for the compulsory admission of girls and women committed for determinate periods of detention by lawful authority. This involved her in collaboration with the State and tokened her acceptance of a degree of public control, as well as her agreement to the inspection of such classes. Thus in the very first clause of the most fundamental and formal document of the Congregation there exists an implied legitimacy for some degree of public oversight.

The question of public control was not even an issue when the first Good Shepherd reformatory school was established at Bristol in 1856 and at Glasgow in 1858, nor during the entire existence of those institutions. Public control of the convict refuge and the certified inebriate reformatory, begun in 1866 and 1899 respectively, was a necessary and acceptable pre-condition for the Good Shepherd Sisters' engagement in those works. There may have been differences and misunderstandings between the nuns and the Home Office over some details of application, but the general principle of government oversight was not challenged. We know from the historical accounts in

Chapters 4 and 5 that the availability of government finance was a partial reason for this acquiescence, but it is also true that the Good Shepherd sisters generally felt that the management of these institutions was entirely consistent with their ideological objectives.

By contrast the historical accounts in Chapter 3 and Chapter 7 reveal how vigorously the Good Shepherd Sisters resisted a succession of attempts at the public control of the convents and the magdalen asylums. They managed to avoid such burdens as the poor rate and taxation, the application of the charity law, the inspection of convents, the regulation of the magdalen asylum laundries by the Factory Acts, and the payment of wages to the inmates.

The problem thus arises: Why did the Good Shepherd Sisters resist over a long period the regulation of the nine magdalen asylum laundries by the Factory Acts, when they had accepted the principle of public control over the convict refuge and the certified inebriate reformatory from the start? The rhetoric and argument of the protagonists have been fully recounted in the historical chapters. The present discussion seeks to examine the problem from a more theoretical perspective. The wages question, although very closely related, has been separated out for analysis in the next section.

One of the remarkable features in this long controversy was the degree to which those who sought to impose Factory Acts regulation (the pro-inclusionist lobby) had assumed that work in penal and reformative institutions was identical in nature to work in the free labour market. We refer to this as the assumption of congruence. It is remarkable in the light of the sustained criminological and penological debate that persisted through the 19th century. That debate was outlined in the prolegomenon to this discussion and it still awaits resolution. The assumption of congruence stands in equally marked contrast to

the explicit definition and functions of work incorporated in the Good Shepherd Constitutions and the other basic statements of practice.

Some of the mixed motives for bringing the magdalen asylum laundries under the Factory Acts have already been indicated in Chapter 7, even so there can be little doubt on the historical evidence that their reformatory character was recognised by the bodies agitating for control. No person or organisation questioned their existence or their aims as such; to do so would probably have tended to weaken the support for control and intensified the opposition. Consequently, a prime tactic to gain control was to assume congruent definitions of work. One way of demonstrating that congruence was to allege sweating practices similar to those in the industry as a whole, or by referring to the success of the charitable laundries as unfair competition to the commercial sector.

The effect of the assumption of congruence would be to attack the Good Shepherd Sisters' transformative work at its very roots, because it involves weakening the frame, weakening the taxonomy of bodies, and undermining the system of classification. In this way it threatens the ideological base of the whole enterprise, it weakens the whole system of disciplinary control within the magdalen asylum, and it dissipates the role of the transformands by according them the rights of ordinary workers. These possibilities can now be examined in terms of the conceptual model developed in the previous chapter, beginning with the Matrix of Frame-Classification Configurations.

(Fig. 4 Chapter 8)

It may be helpful to remind ourselves that classification reveals the structure of the curriculum; frame reveals the pedagogy; and classification and frame together reveal the evaluation, and at the most general level, the code. It is through the code that the principles



of authority and control are realised. Codes are therefore crucial to social reproduction. Consequently, any variations in the configuration have far reaching effects.

The general level of the matrix refers to the relation of the refuge to the external world. Prior to laundry regulation the spatio-temporal configuration displayed a complete congruence between frame and classification:

$$E \longleftrightarrow F_s \longleftrightarrow C_s$$

In the context of the inspection controversy the frame, as concept of the most generalised control over relations and activities in the refuge, is a key target. The imposition of external authority, even over one aspect of refuge life, the laundry, must weaken the frame. Now we have already seen that a weak frame is typical of the configuration at the intermediate level when the refuge is considered in relation to the Good Shepherd Congregation as a whole:

$$F_w + C_s \vee C_w$$

Why then is the strength reduction of the frame so serious a change in the former case? Several observations may be made: Firstly, the nature of the two external authorities who reduce frame strength are wholly different; one represents the external secular world, with its differing ideology and practice; the other represents the very authority which formally legitimates the work within an identical ideological context. Secondly, the maintenance of the appropriate frame strength in each case entailed different strengths of classification. At the general level it was shown how frame and classification are both strong and conceptually equivalent or congruent. A change in one necessarily entails a change in the other. If a reduction

of frame strength is occasioned by factory inspection, then conceptually a reduction in classification strength would be expected thus:

EXTERNAL SECULAR AUTHORITY  $\longrightarrow F_w \rightleftharpoons C_w$

This would have entailed no necessary contradiction at the intermediate level where classification strengths co-existed in differing degrees:

$F_w + C_s \vee C_w$ ,

nor even at the local level, where classification was weak in the temporal mode:

$F_s + C_w$  ;

unless one assumes that the weakening of the frame at the general level entails reductions of frame strength at the local level AND then entails similar reductions in classification strength, neither of which necessarily follows.

These were assumptions evident in the arguments of the Good Shepherd Sisters, largely because they had mistakenly construed the pressure for factory regulation of their laundries as involving the more general convent and institutional inspections envisaged in the defeated convent inspection bills of the 1850's. Their misapprehension was also exacerbated by their uncomfortable awareness of the Good Shepherd problems in France, where the inspectorate had powers of surveillance that extended to all aspects of the refuge, and not merely to the workplace. Yet the French inspectorate's powers were no different from those applied by the Home Office to the convict refuge and the certified inebriate reformatory. We saw in Chapter 7 how the sisters made hurried attempts to raise the general standards in the magdalen asylums against the day that such an inspection might occur.

It was some time before the sisters were persuaded that Factory Act regulation was directed solely at the hours and conditions of work in their laundries, but even that was bad enough for them. Despite the stringent conditions laid down for the actual laundry premises, there were significant concessions when the Act came into effect: A schedule of hours and holidays that could be arranged to reflect local requirements was to be submitted, no statutory notices on hours and holidays need be displayed, and inspectors could be refused private interviews with the inmates.

Bernstein's concepts refer to boundary strengths and not to contents. The strong frame at the local level permitted weak classification in the temporal mode. The capacity to re-order the temporal boundaries given in the timetable of the asylum as a whole permitted a necessary flexibility to the laundry in its capacity to meet characteristically unpredictable demands, both in volume and throughput. If there had been strong classification in the temporal mode this would not have been possible. The strong frame enabled the sisters to ensure adequate manpower with an efficient rate of turn-over and an adequate level of skill. A weakened frame would certainly have reduced this managerial discretion, and the sisters had had experience of this with the convict refuge and the certified inebriate reformatory. In those institutions their reduced control over inmate admission and departure, and its effect on the workforce, reduced the effectiveness of the laundry as a source of institutional revenue. This is not surprising given the different configuration:

$$F_w + C_s \text{ in the spatio-temporal mode.}$$

Quite contrary to the charges of sweating, at least so far as length of working hours were concerned, the hours and holidays were

well within the permitted maximum, as Mary Abraham confirmed. So the submission of the scheme presented no problems. We must note that the configuration of the laundry itself remained at  $F_s + C_s$  in the spatio-temporal mode; this was so intrinsic to the nature of the work that it could not be altered without total inefficiency. However, the capacity to sustain that configuration depended crucially on the maintenance of a strong frame combined with weak classification at the level of the refuge as a whole.

Foucault's concept of classification has two modes, a conceptual distinction which we noted in Chapter 8 did not quite fit the Good Shepherd case. Nevertheless, we found it of use in conceptualising categories such as penitent, convict, and inebriate, and their maintenance in different classes over time.

It is a particular and basic characteristic of the magdalen asylum that entry is voluntary, and that the sisters must be satisfied that the entrant really desires to reform. The Constitutions also liken the establishment to a hospital. The inmate is therefore required to take on the role of a patient suffering from moral sickness. This is a crucial classification (in Foucault's sense) and one on which the work of conversion depends. Inclusion under the Factory Acts would involve a re-classification of the inmates as ordinary workers with a consequent displacement, at least partially, of the patient-penitent role. The public authorities, through the imposition of universally regulated conditions of work, implicitly grant the status of normal workers to the inmates. Clearly, this is a transformation that threatens the work of the sisters by weakening the classification system that underpins their activities. At best it produces an ambiguity of control. This is evidenced by the degree to which both roman catholic and protestant refuges successfully resisted the posting of statutory

notices on their premises, and the right of inspectors to interview inmates. One of the nuns' most crucial powers lay in their capacity to control the degree of stigmatisation on departure, mainly by their assessment and support for employment potentiality. This was a potent instrument for the control of women who were often erratic and disturbed. Controlling the number of inmates was essential to the efficiency of the laundry, upon which the maintenance of the refuge depended. The normalisation of status as workers could work against this control. Yet as normalisation aims at reformation, the struggle on this point was likely to concern the rate at which normalisation proceeds, rather than the fact of normalisation itself. Either way, the issue goes back to control.

We saw how Foucault conceived the distribution of inmates through time and space as a basic control technique. It is difficult to see how Factory Acts regulation could have affected this to any significant degree. The convent laundries, for example, had never combined the drying and ironing in one room, nor coalesced them into one process, a practice which the Act sought to control. There was nothing in the Act which would have militated against the separation of the classes. The fear that the control of hours and holidays would reduce the necessary flexibility of work had been shown, by Miss Abraham, to have been a misunderstanding. Given that there was little in the Act which would have affected the partitioning and taxonomy of bodies, one must look for some other cause for the resistance by the sisters. The point is that no matter what crucial details the Act left unaffected, its very application affirms that, from the public and official point of view, the refuge is to be considered a factory. Such a definition cuts right across the notion of a charitable home or hospital and it compromises the other-worldly aims of the total endeavour. It

is significant that, at the end, the roman catholic bishops asked that inspection might be carried out by the reformatory school inspectors. Had this been granted it would have been an effective symbolic affirmation of difference and a counter to the normalisation tendencies of the factory model.

In terms of the concepts that have been used, the sisters compromised on classification in order to maintain the strength of the frame. The term classification is used here in the sense of both Bernstein and Foucault. It has already been noted that the efficiency of the laundry operations depended on a weak Bernsteinian classification and a strong framing in the refuge as a whole. The strong classification intrinsic to the laundry work remained unaffected. In Foucault's use of the term, classification was reduced by the Act, in that the classification of inmates into certain deviant categories might be weakened, at least at the level of work. However, strengthening the Bernsteinian classification meant that the weakening of the Foucaultian classification could be restricted to the level of work alone, thus safeguarding the institution as a whole. These concessions were so notional in practice that strong framing was maintained and the ideological integrity of the refuge safeguarded.

Thus far we have engaged the discussion within the terms set by the historical controversy, as if the assumption of congruence was unproblematic. This is far from being the case, as the prolegomenon has revealed. The Good Shepherd Sisters would certainly have subscribed to all the characteristics of penal work other than deterrence, so they were not faced with the dilemma of choosing between a purely physical activity and productive labour. Although they tended to adopt the penological rhetoric in their dealings with the public authorities, if this furthered their objectives, they already had

their own explicit ideology of work formally written into the Constitutions and the Book of Customs. Throughout the struggle to resist Factory Act regulation of the laundries, three separate discourses are at play: The pro-inclusionist discourse where the assumption of congruence rests on a factory model of work; the penological discourse with its uneasy model of penal work; and the Good Shepherd discourse with its model of transformative work. At various stages in the controversy the three discourses overlapped, coalesced, and conflicted, each seeking to establish a mastery over the others. The penological discourse has been treated in the prolegomenon; it is necessary here to give a sufficient account of the other two in order to advance discussion.

In Chapter 1 we briefly outlined the meaning and symbolism of the traditional christian concept of work, adverted to the Good Shepherd constitutional statement which formalised the hospital model of the refuge, and noted how the directions of the Mistress of Work given in the Book of Customs disconnected work from the secular world. These formal documents were continually glossed, primarily in the instructions of Mother Pelletier, and in the formulation of practical rules which were collated and published in 1898. 'Practical Rules  
(38)  
for the Direction of the Classes' was produced:

'.... not to propose new practices, but to assure the observance of those which have been transmitted, for more than 60 years, in our Congregation.'

The main sustained commentary by Mother Pelletier is to be found in one of her instructions to the nuns entitled 'Love of Work' (39) which she opens with these words:

'Love work, my dear daughters, it is a means of delivering you from great temptations. Rather than do nothing wind yarn.'

After briefly reviewing the idea of work as a divine institution arising from God's response to Adam's sin, and illustrating its central role in christian monasticism, Mother Pelletier goes on to develop four major themes: Labour as the chief austerity to be practiced by the nuns, on which she remarked:

'It is less, incomparably less, painful to labour than to be lost eternally. Understand thoroughly that our Institute is intended for work.'

In other words, it is the central means of the Good Shepherd sister's own transformation. Her second theme developed the idea of self-maintenance, particularly the notion that in making foundations the sisters must labour to support the house and the inmates. Thirdly, she much stressed that where work was lacking, it must be provided from within: embroidery, knitting and so on; but, above all:

'You must contrive to procure work for the classes. Sewing suits them best.'

She went on to remark that the sisters' work was primarily for the good of souls, leading into her fourth theme: The great difference between the work of Good Shepherd nuns and the work which is done in the world. In brief, it is an essential expression of the 4th Vow commitment to the salvation of souls:

'An enclosure where everything is productive is an immense resource for an establishment. Zeal and energy serve and support a house.'

The conference was shot through with encouragement for the various types of work in the refuge, her comments stressing the inter-dependence of one on the other. It is a sustained affirmation of transformative penance, means of support, defence against sin, difference from secular work, all directed to the one end of the salvation of their souls



and those of the penitents.

The Practical Rules concentrates on the management of the penitents, and the section on work begins:

'The Religious of the Good Shepherd, having in their classes, with but few exceptions, poor children who will have to gain their livelihood by honest labour, it is necessary to form them to work, and to inspire in them a love of industry.'

Great emphasis was placed on the desirability of the sisters actually working at the tasks alongside the inmates, to instruct and control them by example. The work instructions were to be very clear, but no reasons were to be given as this could lead to a sister's authority being challenged. So far as possible the tasks allotted to the inmates must suit their age and abilities. The work schedule must be carefully planned to make full use of the inmates' time, for fear God might be offended.

The Practical Rules reflect Mother Pelletier's commentary on the constitutional documents. Yet its glosses fill out the Good Shepherd discourse on work by emphasising inmate labour as preparation for work in secular life, to which most will return; and by relating that labour to aptitude. These are two aspects which seem to have figured little in the case advanced by the British Good Shepherd sisters. To be fair, there does seem to be a contradiction, or at least an ambiguity, in the discourse, for work is portrayed sometimes as being disconnected with secular affairs, and at other times as being a preparation for future secular life.

From the various documents and commentaries, we can abstract the key features of the Good Shepherd discourse on work:

TRANSFORMATIVE PENANCE DERIVED FROM THE PRIMORDIAL PUNISHMENT  
 INSTITUTIONAL MAINTENANCE  
 DISCIPLINE AND CONTROL  
 REFORMATION AND REHABILITATION

But it is work conducted in a monastic establishment conceived as a home or moral hospital.

The factory model of work which lay at the base of the pro-inclusionist assumption of congruence had its most classic expression in Andrew Ure's 'The Philosophy of Manufacture'. Writing in 1835, he advanced an organic model of the factory:

'.... a vast automaton, composed of various mechanical and intellectual organs, acting in uninterrupted concert for the production of a common object, all of them being subordinated to a self-regulating moving force.'

(40)

A notion, we might note in passing, which could well fit a Good Shepherd steam-powered laundry. Anticipating the Spencerian and Parsonian modes of analysis, he went on to identify three principles of action, or organic systems, each serving three different interests: the mechanical serving the operative, the moral serving the factory master, and the commercial serving the state. The mechanical was subordinate to the moral, but both co-operated to produce commercial efficiency:

'They form a body qualified to discharge its manifold functions by an intrinsic self-governing agency, like that of organic life.'

(41)

Ure then goes on to develop the moral and religious aspects of factory work. He notes that factories condense populations, and as this facilitates combinations of workers, there is the possibility of revolt. In his view this can be forestalled by training in morals

and religion, concluding:

'It is, therefore, excessively the interest of every mill-owner to organise his moral machinery on equally sound principles with his mechanical for otherwise he will never command the steady hand, watchful eyes, and prompt co-operation, essential to excellence of product .... There is, in fact, no case to which the Gospel truth, 'Godliness is great gain', is more applicable than to the administration of an extensive factory.'

(42)

The key features of work that can be derived from Ure's reflections are three-fold:

ORGANIC SUBORDINATION TO A CENTRAL MOTIVE AND MORAL FORCE

RELIGIOUS-MORAL REFORMATION PRECEDES EFFECTIVE WORK

SALVATION IS PRODUCTIVE SUCCESS

P. D. Anthony would probably consider Ure's philosophy a good example of the development of a new ideology of work necessary to restore the moral content of work extracted by utilitarianism and laissez faire policies associated with it; a development required (43) to create and control a better motivated and more compliant work force.

We can now attempt to relate the three discourses. It is clear that the Good Shepherd discourse corresponds very well to the penological discourse. The most significant difference between them lies in the contrast between the homogenous stability of the Good Shepherd discourse over a long period, and the constantly changing balance and emphasis of the elements in the penological discourse. The absence of deterrence in the Good Shepherd case is the main denotative difference. Yet given that the Good Shepherd documents and commentaries indicate an ambiguity between work as penance and work as rehabilitation, it might be argued that deterrance is the secular expression of penance. In their compulsory institutions the Good Shepherd Sisters were directly

involved in the deterrence question, although they found this more difficult to handle in the certified inebriate reformatory than in the convict refuge. Even so, as they viewed those institutions as liminal to the magdalen asylum, their traditional discourse was retained.

There was always confusion in the penological discourse as to whether prisons corresponded in any degree to factories, actually or propaedeutically; or whether they were totally characterised by their transformative function of returning honest workers to society. The Good Shepherd discourse consistently retained a model of the institution as hospital, primarily concerned with christian conversion. Whether the penitent returned to secular life or not, conversion was the a priori transformational outcome. In some ways the factory discourse, despite its emphasis on religious moralism as an integrating factor, is the converse of both the Good Shepherd discourse and the penological discourse. The former sees moral and religious reformation as a precondition to effective work, whereas the other two view work as the precondition of reformation, whether secular or religious. Finally, there is the fundamental opposition between the teleologies of the factory and the refuge: The one finding that salvation for both worker and employer inheres in the organically co-operative achievement of commercial success, while the nuns and penitents find salvation in the conjoint practice of transformative penance, and the shared experience of conversion. However, Anthony makes the point that the incorporation of the moral element into factory ideology led to a new paternalism which related back to a religious base in God. (44) It is the difference between God as primarily means and God as primarily end; primarily so, because in Good Shepherd practice and ideology God is both means and end.

There is an unexpected irony. Anthony suggests that the social

and penal measures taken in the 19th century to clear up the idle and dissolute was a necessary and complementary measure to the realisation of a new factory ideology. (45) By engaging in reformatory and industrial school work, the convict refuge, and the certified inebriate reformatory, as well as in the network of magdalen asylums, the sisters were unwittingly assisting in the moralisation of the workers necessary to the production of a compliant workforce, whose ultimate function would be to produce that material and financial success so contrary to the Good Shepherd pursuit of poverty and spiritual values.

Given the many overlaps in the discourses, it is easier to understand why the pro-inclusionists were able to make the assumption of congruence in their attempts to bring factory regulation to the refuges. Given the fundamental differences in the discourses, as well, it is not surprising that the Good Shepherd Sisters resisted for so long and with such vehemence. What the controversy reveals by the rupture, discontinuity, opposition and overlaps in the differing discourses is that the discourse on work was itself transforming, and the Good Shepherd Sisters were caught at the heart of that transformation by historical conjuncture.

The crux of the issue was that the very application of Factory Acts symbolised the status of refuge as factory, and this brought to a head the hidden struggle over who had the authority to establish boundaries between the sacred and the secular. In Chapter 7 we identified this as the real principle at issue. The problem for the sisters was, that while they might display their mastery over their own discourse, they were caught by their need to achieve recognition in this world as an institution of genuine social utility, and as corporate bodies with full legal personality; and by an apparently contradictory need to demonstrate that their primary concern was with

the other world. This dilemma caused the sisters to produce disjunctive discourses which enabled the pro-inclusionists to link with the one and to ignore the other. The same disjuncture left them open to the charge that they operated secular factories under the guise of monastic institutions.

It was Godfrey Lushington who pressed that charge with a sustained logic admirable to read, as we recounted in Chapter 7. He called for inspection of a radical kind to counter the secluded exploitation of the penitents, as he saw it. His logic and clarity did not deny his poetic sentiments for, with the unkindest cut of all, he likened the Good Shepherd Sisters to Polyphemus - the one-eyed giant for whom Homer wrote:

'...the lonely shepherd of sequestered flocks, who  
had no truck with others of his kind but lived aloof  
in his lawless way.'

(46)

The transparent panopticon, transformed as theopticon, is now likened to the monoptical monster who lured the unwary to his cave - a true transformation of polarities. The issue goes back to the symbolic centre of discourse rather than to the surface controversies in which they are clothed, and here we can turn briefly to Gusfield. (47)

The struggle over Factory Acts regulation can be seen as a symbolic crusade in which the pro-inclusionists seek to establish the complete dominance of their view of factory work, already legally affirmed in the Acts. That the lobbyists represented many differing perceptions of the Acts and the Good Shepherd laundry is no matter; whether it be improved conditions and hours for laundry workers, the reduction of alleged unfair competition, the self-interest of the inspectorate, or an expression of anti-catholicism. The amendment of the Acts would symbolise and affirm the common conviction that charitable laundries

were really factories. It would also symbolise and affirm a denigration of the Good Shepherd institutions and their roman catholic ideology. The other-worldly is brought under the increasingly regulatory activity of an increasingly secular state. The Good Shepherd sisters understood this very well, as Chapter 7 reveals. Very much later, one Good Shepherd sister put the issue in these succinct terms:

'In reading (the Home Office Inspector's) surgery remarks, in spite of all the sweetness, one's initial reaction is - STATE CONTROL. They want to worm their way in, and manage our Classes for us.'

(48)

The issues did not arise with the convict refuge and the certified inebriate reformatory for they were inspected by definition, and in any case they were not magdalen asylums, the principle work of the Good Shepherd Sisters. It is their deep understanding, both intuitive and explicit, that the Factory Acts would cut right through their essential ideology which explains the firmness of their resistance. They managed to avoid the symbolic defeat by conceding the legislative amendment and inviting inspection, and this was largely on their terms. They were astute enough to use the time gained by resistance to alleviate the poor residential and dietary standards in the refuges, fearing that the official inspections would involve complete institutional enquiries. Factory Acts regulation made little difference to the actual organisation and deployment of the workforce. The payment of wages, which would have definitely shifted them towards an economically calculable relationship with the penitents, they resisted successfully throughout the entire 130 years that they managed laundries.

## PROBLEM III: THE REFUSAL OF WAGES TO THE PENITENTS

The third central question raised by the historical narrative concerns the failure of the sisters to concede wages to the inmates of the magdalen asylums, even though they had conceded the principle of public control over laundry working conditions. It will be recalled how the Good Shepherd Sisters had initially rebutted Mrs. Crawford's argument for the payment of wages to inmates by challenging her financial case rather than her ideological justification. It may have been that they did not wish to engage in ideological questions, or that their sincere conviction as to the practical feasibility of wages precluded any deeper discussion of the question. In approaching the issue here, the financial aspects will be considered first.

Mrs. Crawford had made maintenance estimates based on current private and public practice, and arrived at an annual per capita figure of £18.20. <sup>(49)</sup> This was equally divided between the cost of a bed and the cost of food and clothing. In her private document the Good Shepherd Provincial Superior was quick to point out that the lodging facilities in the magdalen asylum included much more than a dormitory bed. The charge proposed by Mrs. Crawford for that element would only pay the annual interest on the loan raised to make that provision. Furthermore, the actual cost of food and clothing was £12 per capita annually. Capital investment apart, and even accepting Crawford's lodging figure, the annual maintenance cost, the Provincial argued, <sup>(50)</sup> came to at least £21, an excess of £3 over her composite figure. It is difficult to interpret the draft calculations of the Good Shepherd Sisters, as their figures do not seem to relate to any of the figures in the official account books; while the size of inmate population <sup>(51)</sup> varies from one computation to the next.



Mrs Crawford was advancing the idea that the balance remaining after the deduction of maintenance from a notional average wage of free laundry workers should be saved for each penitent against her departure. Her estimate of the average earnings of washers and ironers approximates very closely to those cited by Booth in his survey, and stood at about (52) 13 shillings per week. A Good Shepherd penitent might then expect to accumulate about 6 shillings a week on her 'wages'. Crawford expected this to be a first charge on the laundry revenue. The Good Shepherd Sisters approached the matter differently. Ignoring the standard of the current average wage in the commercial sector, they simply divided the net laundry and needlework income by the total number of penitents in the magdalen asylum to produce a per capita output. This they referred to as a penitent's annual earnings and calculated it at £16, acknowledging that they left out of account the labour input of the nuns themselves. Thus the gravamen of their case was that the laundry output did not even meet Crawford's lower estimate of maintenance.

The problem with the debate was that each side worked with a different notion of a wage and a different context of accounting. Mrs. Crawford was treating the institutional laundry as an accounting entity in itself, whereas the sisters had always accounted within the total context of the refuge, i.e. the convent and its associated institutions. Consequently, the debate could not be empirically settled on the basis of any truly comparable financial data. Additionally, Crawford was working on the simple assumption that any properly managed laundry would show a profit, as she had no knowledge of institutional laundry revenues. Moreover, she gave no indication of the scale of the institution from which she had derived her basis of comparison for inmate maintenance, nor any justification for restricting that

cost to food and clothing.

It is possible to test the question empirically on the basis of the official accounts and registers. The detailed calculations are set out at Appendix 7. In 1869 at Hammersmith, the latest year prior to the introduction of steam power for which complete data on revenue and labour is available, the annual inmate maintenance costs were at least £8.77 per capita for food and clothing. The net annual laundry income was at most £15.95 per capita. These figures seem to sustain Crawford's contention that some sort of wage or gratuity could be paid to the penitents. But even within a laundry context this is too simple a calculation, for 5 sisters were engaged virtually full time in the laundry, not to mention the 25 who had jobs directly connected with the overall management and conduct of the magdalen asylum.

A more realistic calculation would take into account other institutional incomes and costs. These calculations are included in Appendix 7 and indicate that if the laundry is regarded as a totally disconnected enterprise, with more accurate costs and labour power, the net income would be £1,219 per annum and the maintenance costs would be £1,245 per annum. This leaves no room for wages, real or notional, and leaves out of account institutional maintenance costs ranging from rates to heating and building repairs. These total £729 against receipts of £495, largely from donations and a notional allowance for the laundry nuns' labour. When inmate institutional costs are incorporated with general institutional costs, there is a deficit of nearly £1,500 which is put at par by the laundry income, the balance carried forward from the previous year, and the small convent balance. The convent is self-supporting, and its revenue constitutes only about 20% of the total institutional finances. What Crawford failed to

grasp was the completely integrated nature of the laundry, institutional, and property revenues. The closest examination of the accounts suggests no possibility of any but the most notional payment to the penitents, if that.

It is difficult to make the calculations with the same degree of precision for the period of the actual controversy, as the data on manpower is less complete. Even so, an examination of the 1903 accounts of Hammersmith, Finchley and Liverpool, set out at Appendix 7, support the broad conclusions of the 1869 Hammersmith analysis. The substantial profits of the laundries were absorbed into the institutional costs of the magdalen asylums. If Crawford's formula is applied, there is sufficient margin in each case to make some kind of payment to the penitents, the maximum possible varying from £2.20 at Liverpool to £3.55 per annum at Hammersmith. This would be a far cry from the average commercial wage less inmate maintenance, which would have worked out at £12 per annum. Even to have paid out the sum available would have produced deficits of between 9% and 14% on institutional finances. As was the case with Hammersmith in 1869, the convent communities can be shown to be self-supporting when their income and expenditure is differentiated from the general institutional accounts. This effectively rebuts one of the main criticisms by George Ryder that we mentioned in Chapter 7. The pro-inclusionist lobby had not specifically referred to the absence of wages as a factor in the success of the charitable laundries, and generally accepted that they were not carried on for gain. At the same time, proprietors of large commercial laundries often complained of the unfair competition (53) occasioned by the lower prices which the charitable laundries charged; one of these owners even going so far as to say that he knew of an (54) institutional laundry which did £5,000 of laundry work at a loss.

The Good Shepherd accounts clearly indicate that the net laundry income could not be accounted a gain in the sense of commercial profit or re-investment, and there were certainly no instances of magdalen asylum laundries running at a loss as a matter of policy. Prompt action was taken to rectify such a situation, even to the point of closing the whole refuge as happened at Glazenwood in 1872.

Capital was not accumulated from the laundry or from the other forms of work in the magdalen asylum, but derived solely from the sisters' dowries and legacies. Canon law required dowries and inherited wealth to be invested during the life time of a nun, while the interest could be applied as the superiors saw fit. These monies only became available for capital funding after a sister's death. However, they constituted a substantial security for loans, and this was the main method for raising sufficient capital to build the refuges and laundries. In fact, the sisters breached canon law by funding much of the building of the Finchley complex directly from sisters' dowries and legacies, (55) for which they were taken to task by Cardinal Manning. By 1885, £40,000 had been expended on Finchley and this had all been raised (56) directly from the sisters' capital funds, or against its security. Sometimes, other properties were re-mortgaged or special appeals were mounted. This happened in 1886, for example, to provide for the building (57) of a new laundry at Hammersmith. So far as the wages controversy was concerned, it is important to note that in no sense could capital be said to have accumulated from the labour of the penitents.

Even though the Good Shepherd Sisters had won the financial argument in the terms in which it had been set by Mrs. Crawford, the controversy did not go away. It might have been possible to provide for some kind of wages by the adjustment of expenditure priorities within institutional revenue. That no such policy was adopted suggests a

profound ideological resistance. It is this aspect of the question which will now be addressed.

The ideological argument between the nuns and those influential roman catholics who pressed for the payment of wages has been recounted in Chapter 7. The full details of that narrative will not be repeated here, but certain key issues and concepts will be abstracted for theoretical analysis. The pro-wage group rested their case primarily on the two issues of social justice and good rehabilitative practice. The financial evidence allows us to discount the alleged injustice that the sisters were supported by the penitents. The main thrust of the argument rested on Leo XIII's then recent teaching that wages were a fundamental personal right due to a worker on the basis of commutative justice. (58) A man's labour, he taught, was personal and necessary; personal, in that the productive strength belonged to him, and necessary as it maintained his self-preservation. Although a man is free to work or not, to receive a wage or not, these are abstractions, because the law of the necessity of labour over-rides personal freedom in the face of the higher duty to preserve one's life. Consequently natural justice, regardless of any wage bargain, requires that any remuneration ought to be sufficient to support a frugal and well behaved wage-earner. That was the basic position from which Leo XIII expected workers to improve to the point where they could accumulate savings. (59) This was the doctrinal basis for Ryder's assertion that good work demands good wages, although he couched it simply in terms of justice and charity. The exchange of labour for wages (less maintenance costs) was the necessary condition for good human relations in the magdalen asylum. Ryder's model can be depicted thus:

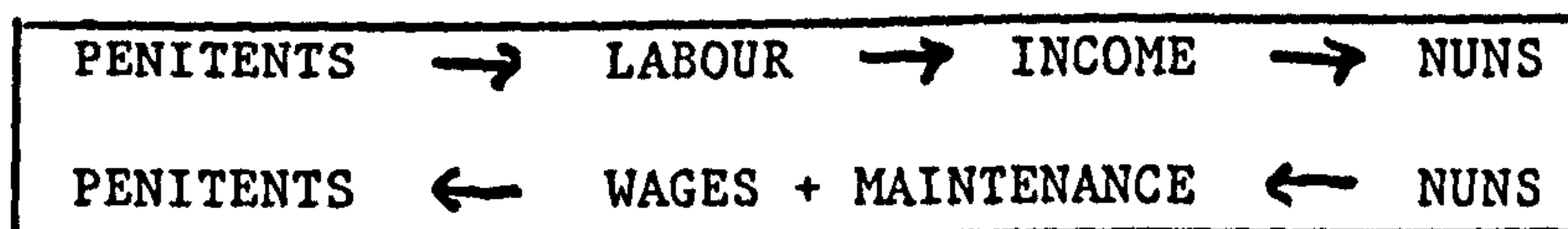


Figure 1: Ryder's model of wages

While agreeing with all this, Crawford had made refinements in the sense that wages was the only secure future-directed rehabilitation that would fit the penitents for a realistic re-entry into the world. They would have been provided with an experience of work as it is in secular life. The model can thus be modified to depict the penetration of the religious world by a quasi-secular experience:

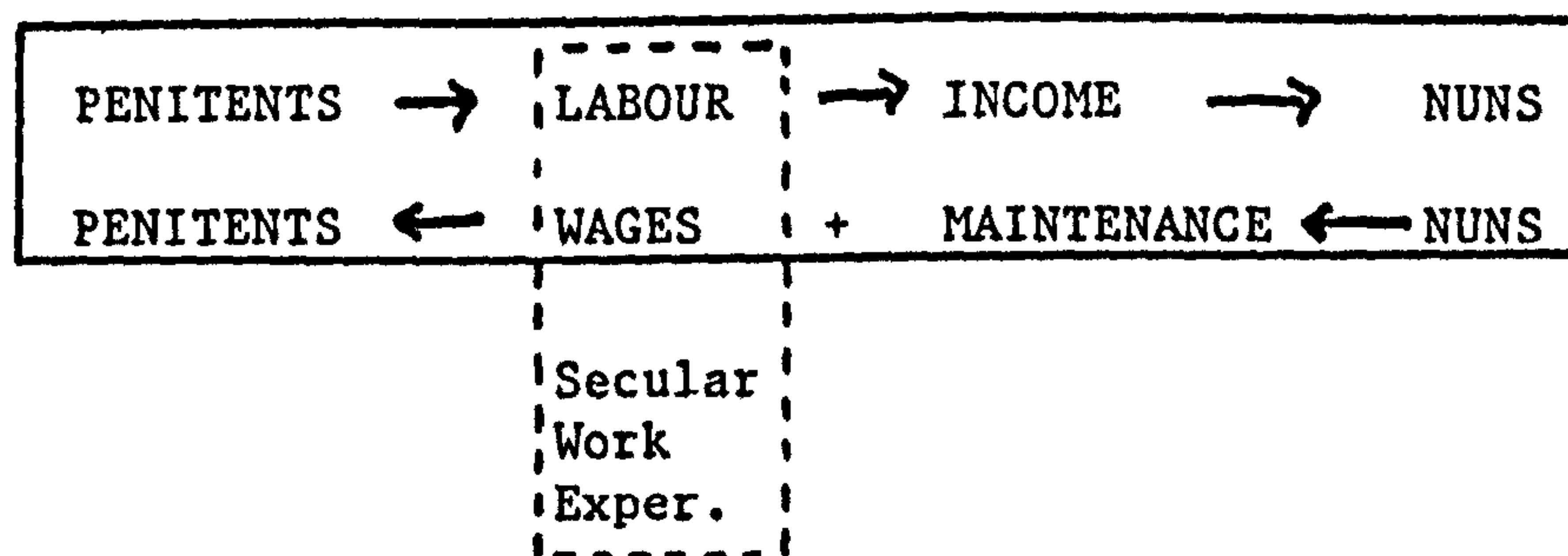


Figure 2: Crawford's model of wages

In either case the primary nexus of exchange between the nuns and the penitents would be money.

The sisters did not challenge the notion of exchange between labour and something else, even though they thought that a subsidiary exchange in the total context of transformational exchanges. The penitents were exchanging their labour for a mother's spiritual and physical care, to the degree that it produced a major material part of the institutional support. The penitent entered freely, sick in soul, to regenerate herself into a christian life in an institution

akin to a hospital or home. The motivation was different from that of women entering factories, laundries, or domestic service. Prayer, manual work, and community life were the means of transformation and were carried on in a quasi-filial relationship. The introduction of wages would reduce this relationship to a cash nexus. The sisters, therefore, operated with the following model:

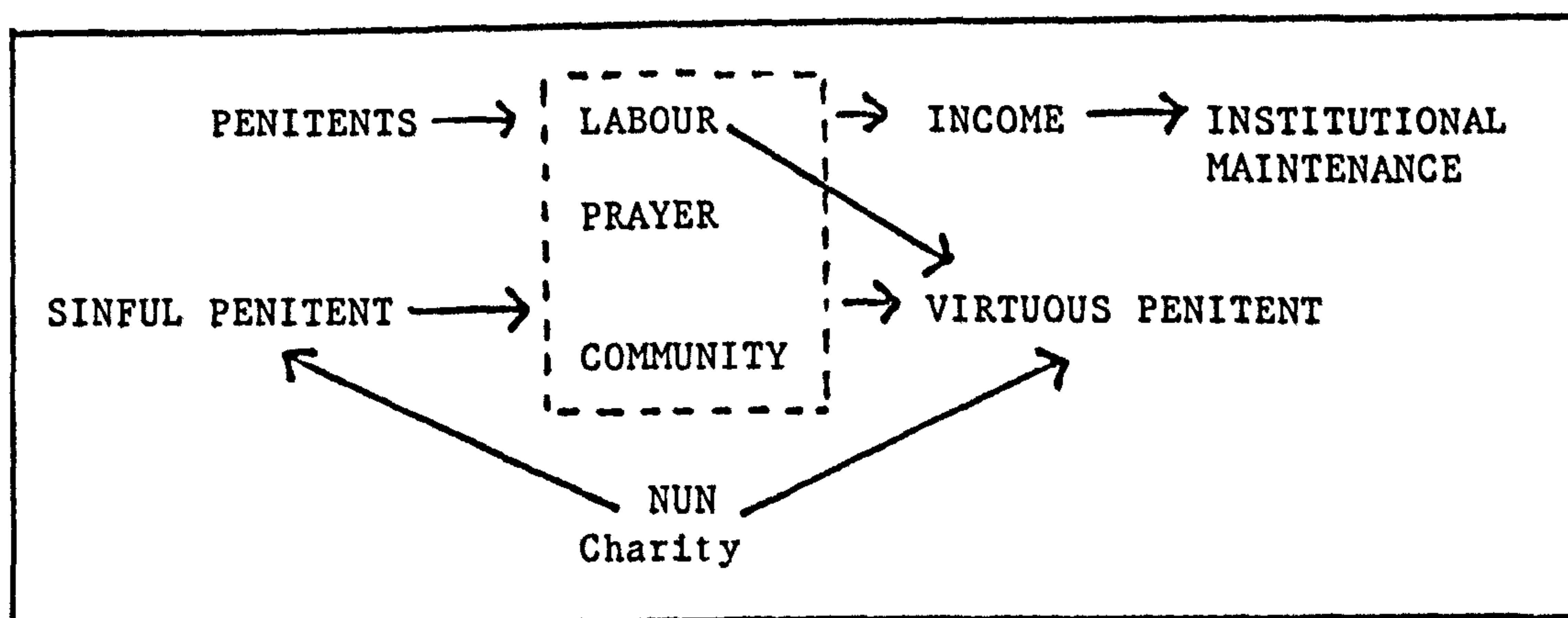


Figure 3: Good Shepherd Model of Labour exchange

The basic conflict was between the perception of the magdalen asylum as an institutional factory, or at least a sheltered workshop on the French model of an *Hospitalité par le Travail*, on the one hand, and a home-hospital for those suffering from moral disease on the other. There was also the conflict between 'real work' and 'penal work', which lay at the heart of the inspection controversy.

At the general level discussed in Chapter 8 the refuge displayed a complete congruence of strong frame and classification. Were the sisters to have conceded payment which bore some reference to an external commercial standard, then the frame would be weakened. It may be rebutted that such a weakening already existed through the receipt of customer payment. Yet we noted in Chapter 1 how there already existed precise instructions in the Book of Customs to keep secret from the penitents the identity of the customers and the prices charged.

It is abundantly clear from the primary sources that the Good Shepherd ideology specifically disconnected the work of the penitents from the cash exchange and reduced its relation to the everyday world. Thus at the general level of the magdalen asylum's relation with the world, the sisters refusal to pay wages can be seen as a maintenance of strong framing. At the local level of analysing the institution in terms of its own elements, the introduction of wages, as the sisters explicitly recognise, could be potentially very disruptive. It will be remembered that at this level of analysis the configuration in the spatial dimension was  $F_s + C_s$ . Each category of person was strictly bound into her own class. To pay the asylum inmates is to weaken their status as penitents. It would put the constellation of categories into dis-equilibrium and radically alter the evaluation element of the code expressed through the pattern of classification and framing. In the words of one nun, the payment of wages was 'an idea that would simply stop the machine'.<sup>(60)</sup> As Bernstein's paradigm refers to the strength and weakness of the boundaries rather than to their content, it cannot take the analysis at this point much further. Further analytic purchase may be taken on the problem by the application of the notion of double interchange at the boundaries of sub-systems developed by Parsonsand Smelser.<sup>(61)</sup>

In their discussion of the economy as a social system, these sociologists gave particular attention to the nature of the congruence between the inputs and outputs among the sub-systems associated with the four functional imperatives of adaptation (A), gratification (G), integration (I), and latent pattern maintenance (L). Adaptation is the prime function of the economy, gratification is primarily a matter of the power associated with the attainment of goals, integration is concerned with the solidarity of the social system as a whole,



while latent pattern maintenance is directed to ensuring the appropriate value orientations in the units of the system. By taking each sub-system in turn in relation to the other three, they were able to identify six boundary interchanges:

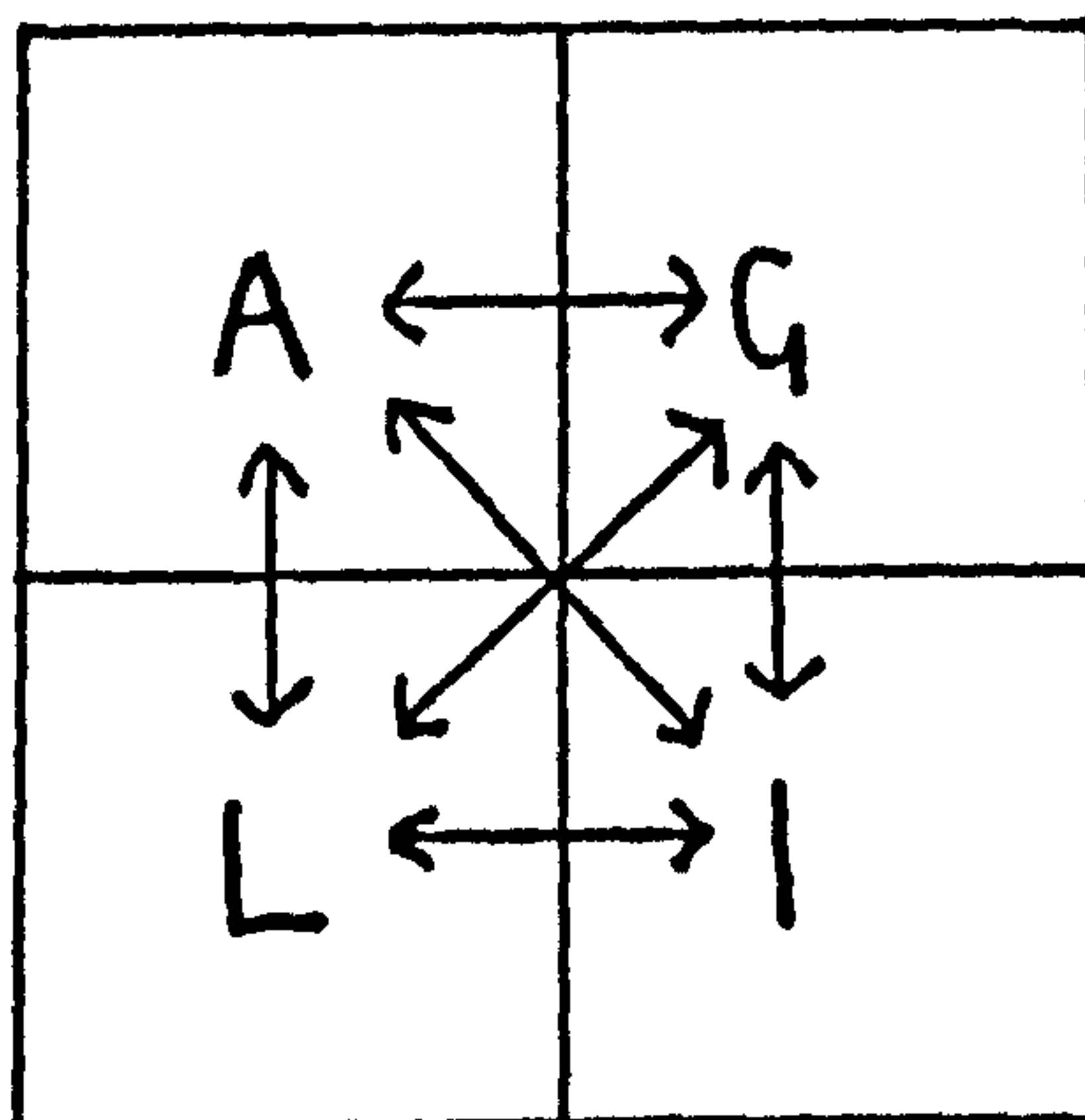
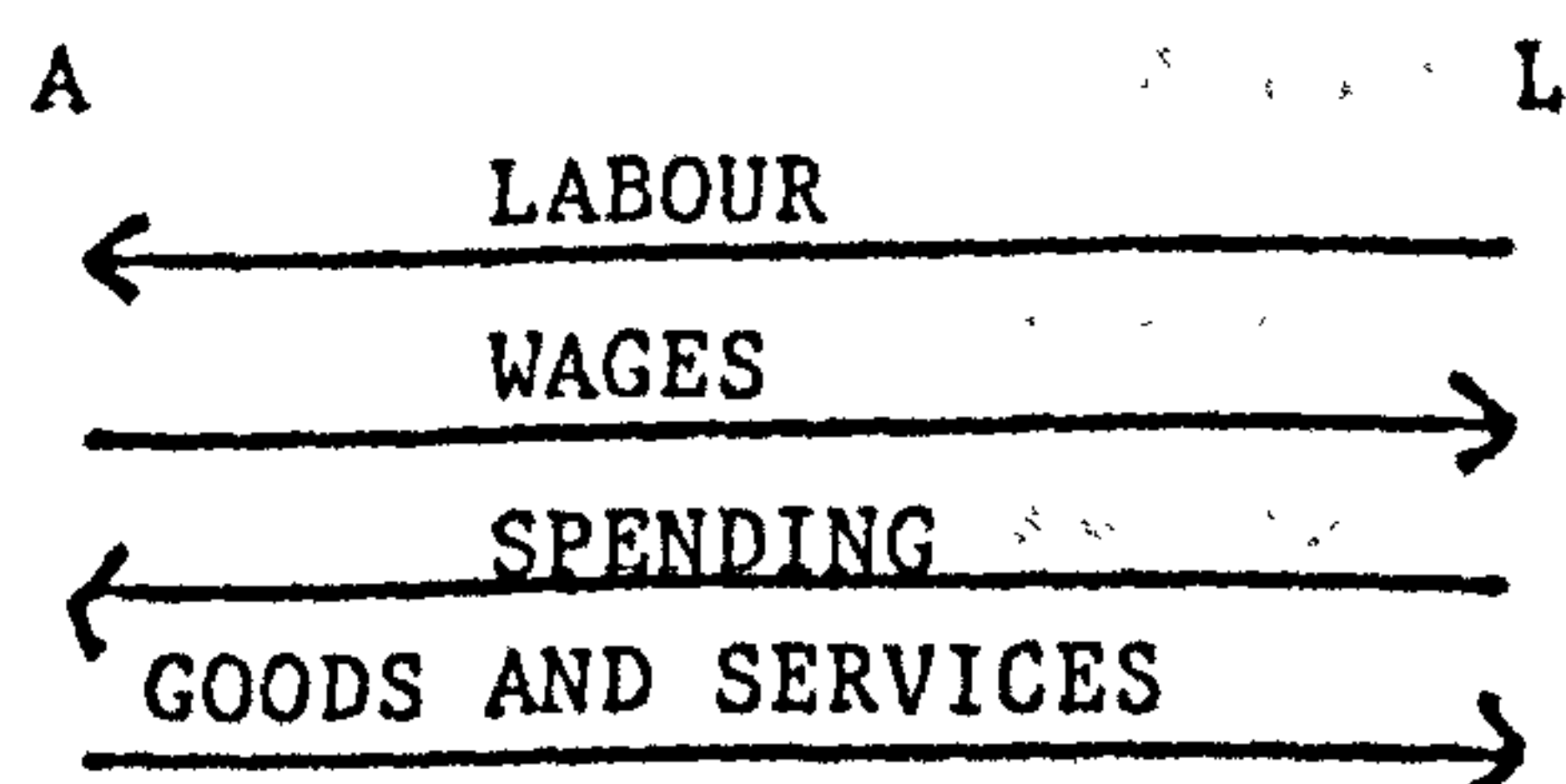


Figure 4: Sub-system boundary interchanges

(Parsons and Smelser)

From the point of view of economic activity, the crucial interactions are  $A \leftrightarrow L$ ,  $A \leftrightarrow G$ ,  $A \leftrightarrow I$ . The analysis of these interchanges can be applied to the concrete case of the Good Shepherd refuge, and that most directly relevant to the wages issue is  $A \leftrightarrow L$ .

Parsons and Smelser identify the household as the specific institution of pattern maintenance, whose primary output is the organisation of human motivation through socialisation into the central cultural patterns of the social system. To fulfil this function it meets its needs by the exchange of labour for goods and services. The primary interchange across the A-L boundary is not the result of a direct specific transaction. It is effected by the intermediate mechanism of money thus:



The duality of the interchange is based on two factors, the division of labour and the divergence of interest between firms and households. The household cannot obtain its total goods and services from the specialised employer of the breadwinner. As firm and household are located primarily in different functional sub-systems they have different primary goals, improved production in the one case, and social life in accordance with cultural patterns in the other. Money is the mediating mechanism as it overcomes the division of labour by generalising the power of the household to control decision over the exchange of goods. Money also enables the household to symbolise its place in the social system. It is this dual function which enables money to perform its social function.

This analysis is partially valid when applied at the general level of the relations of a Good Shepherd establishment to the external economy as a whole. The laundry income enables the nuns to obtain the goods and services necessary to the everyday maintenance of the institution. It could not exist without the interchange. Indeed, from their point of view, the very generalised abstract nature of money as mediating mechanism maintains their essential separation from the world. The analysis is less applicable when one considers the second aspect of money as the symbolisation of prestige. The nuns did seek a paradoxical prestige in the eyes of the world as an other-worldly institution with primarily spiritual goals. Such prestige is largely materially symbolised by the convent and institutional buildings, such as the Pugin church at Hammersmith, or the purpose built complex at Finchley. Little money was spared on the church sanctuary and altar and their adornment. Such expenditure was the precipitating factor in the major rift between the Good Shepherd sisters at Nancy and their bishop. Cardinal Manning was moved to comment

when asked to allow Devonshire marble for the church pillars at Finchley:

'There is in your training an element of severity and self-denial. Let us not depart from it by an indulgence of taste, even in the building of the Church, whilst souls are insufficiently provided with a refuge from their dangers.'

(62)

Either way, the building of churches and impressive transformative institutions is financed from capital and not from revenue income; it has already been established empirically that capital was not accumulated from inmate labour. In this aspect, therefore, the analysis does not hold true.

The model is more revealing when it is applied to the Good Shepherd establishments as a system in itself. Parsons and Smelser have pointed out that the functional differentiation of the system and the concrete structure of its collectivities are overlapping classifications. This is very apparent in the Good Shepherd case, as the following adaptation shows:

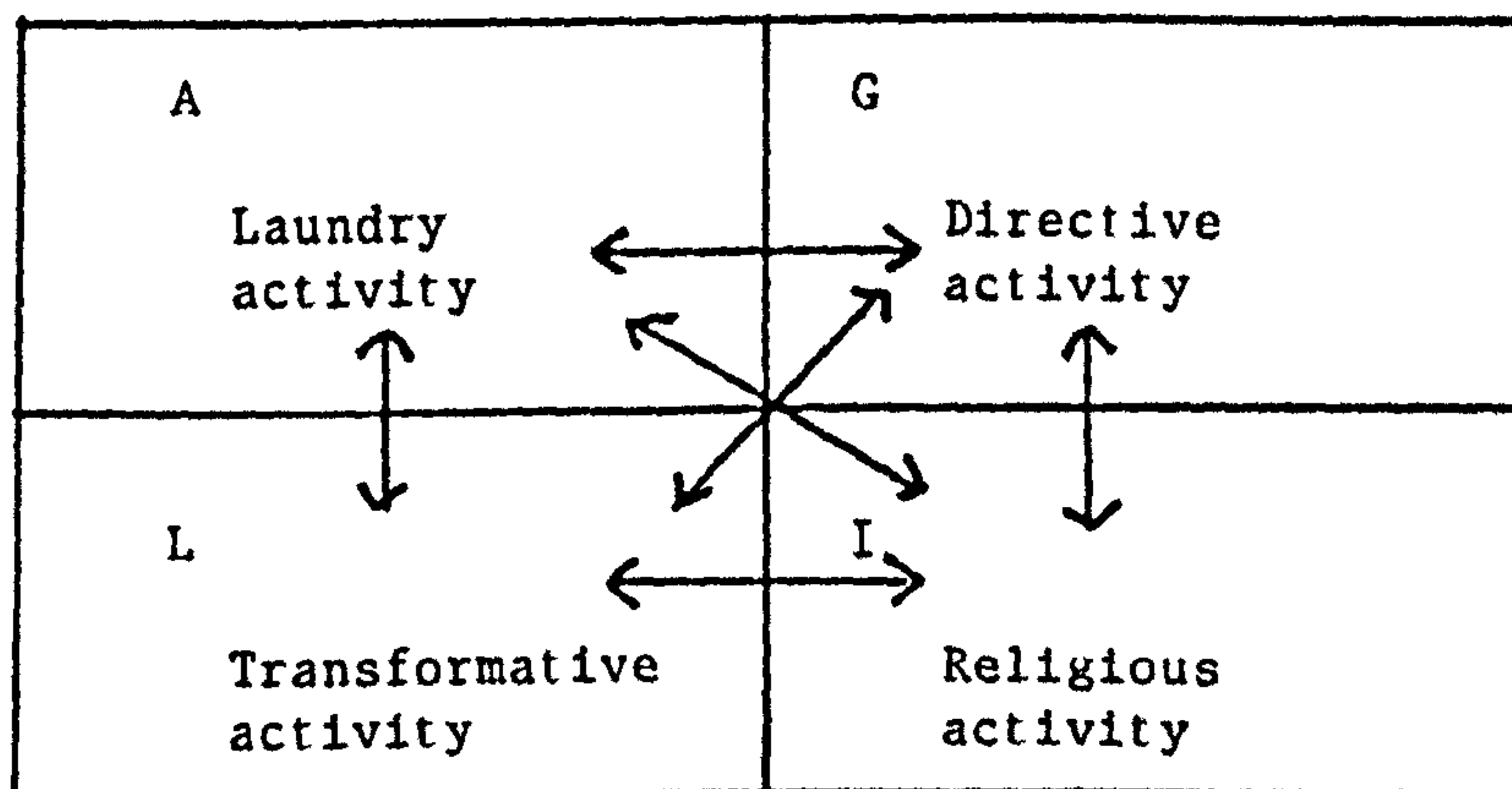


Figure 5: Sub-system boundary interchanges in the Good Shepherd Refuge

The wholly analytic nature of the model is at once apparent, for at the level of concrete social activity A and L are almost entirely

conflated. The laundry work is a substantial element of the transformative activity, itself bound up with the re-socialisation process, which is the primary function of the sub-system L. The function of that sub-system within the totality of the transformative system is manifest rather than latent. Consequently there is no necessity for any mediation in the exchange. The sisters' claim that inmate labour is exchanged directly for the transformative input is sociologically valid in this application of the Parsons-Smelser model. To double the exchange by means of wages would actually disrupt the integration of the two sub-systems in question by the interposition of a 'money-space' between the previously co-incident boundaries. The interchange can be direct in the Good Shepherd case precisely because there is no radical division of labour nor divergence of interest between the two sub-systems. This leads to a certain paradox at the heart of the wages controversy. The proponents of wages essentially charged the nuns with actually running a factory for gain, despite all the rhetoric of homes, hospitals, refuges, and other-worldly goals. So far as the critics were concerned, the conduct of a factory without waged labour was a clear case of exploitation. The sisters did not deny that a laundry existed within the home they provided for the penitents. It was this very identity or overlap which rendered wages not only unnecessary but positively harmful. Consequently, both sides to the dispute came to base opposing claims on the same premiss.

Identities and differences of a similar order become apparent when the interchange with the other two sub-systems are considered. Although they are not directly concerned with wages, the Parsons-Smelser way of conceptualising them throws light on the issues. The primary input of the gratification sub-system is the supply of capital for the pursuit of system goals. The mediating mechanism is the capacity

or power to control this process, seen at its most general in the fiscal policies of the government. Towards the end of Chapter 7 it was noted how the sisters consistently engaged in attempts to evade these controls over the disposal of their capital. It was a vital matter, for not only did they generate the capital themselves, but it was the primary means of realising and symbolising institutional goals. The interchange with the integrative system was probably a more crucial matter as the introduction of a money element here struck at the basis of its spiritual symbolisation. Parsons and Smelser viewed money at this interchange as the symbol of the incorporation of new life style patterns relevant to the symbolisation of integration. This does connect directly with the wages issue for, along with Marx, the authors are really saying that the value of labour power included not only the price of the means of existence, but also a moral and historical element represented by those goods and services which are traditionally included in the subsistence level. (63) This traditional element in the Good Shepherd context is not an inclusion but an exclusion. A major integrative symbol in the life style is austerity and asceticism, consequently subsistence is reduced to pure necessity. Any wages, real or token, which would enable the penitent to buy 'luxuries' would weaken the power of an integrative system symbolised by spiritual grace. It is ironic that Marx's notion of absolute impoverishment applied precisely to those thrown out of the productive process, as it was from their ranks that the penitents were largely drawn. It is an even greater irony that he referred to them as the 'Lazarusschicht' of the working class, for it was an explicit part of Good Shepherd imagery for the sister to liken the penitent to a Lazarus whose rising from the dead she patiently and hopefully awaited. (64)

At the core of the wages controversy lay the issue of money itself,

for in many ways it constitutes the pure oppositional category to the nature of religious ritual as the integrative instrument and signification of the religious community. Georg Simmel has argued powerfully that money is the reification of the general form of existence. He noted that men symbolised elements of their existence by objects such as wedding rings, uniforms, contracts, and religious sacraments. This ability to construct symbolic objects he considered to attain its greatest triumph in money as the representation of pure interaction in its purest form. It constituted a totally adequate expression of man's relationship to the world. In the same way as religious rites are the tools that enable an individual to attain goals he could not attain directly. (65) So strong is the analogy that Douglas, in a more specific context, considers money to be a perfect metaphor for ritual. It provides a fixed and recognisable sign and a standard of evaluation, it mediates transactions, and it links the present (66) and the future. Marx identifies its dual character as the universal equivalent and the means of exchange. Such a pervasive mechanism and symbol of exchange in the secular world stands over and against the spiritual symbol of exchange in a Good Shepherd establishment. Simmel identifies the issue precisely:

'The frequent animosity of the religious and spiritual temperament towards money matters may perhaps be traced to its instinct for the similarity in psychological forms between the highest economic and the highest cosmic unity and to its awareness of the danger of competition between monetary and religious interest.'

(67)

Simmel notes that there are two points of correspondence between the idea of money and the concept of God. Firstly, both constitute a unifying point of an innumerable sequence of purposes. The very struggle to obtain money is a precondition for the happiness of a

totally resourced life, in the same way that the search for God, the *raison d'être* of the religious life, leads to an ultimate contentment of soul. Secondly, wherever the salvation of the soul is conceived as the final purpose, poverty is regarded as the necessary means for overcoming the primary evil of possessing money, whose universal and abstract instrumentality renders it the real symbol of the devil. Money is opposed by the absolute form of its own negation. Addressing the novices on the vow of poverty, Mother Pelletier had this to say:

'Our holy Constitutions require of us a perfect despoilment; that we be perfectly stripped of everything .... in poverty you will find riches, and that he who possesses nothing has everything, because God has taken upon Himself the care of his life .... Remember your vocation is too sublime to allow you to remain grovelling on the earth. Aspire to higher things as becomes Religious, and correspond to the designs of God over your Institute.'

(68)

It could not have been lost on the Good Shepherd sisters that money played a part in symbolising both poles of the magdalen-madonna opposition. The nuns were normally required to bring a dowry on admission to the order. These sums could be nominal in the case of women who came from poor families, but they were often substantial additions to the capital funding of the order. Reference has been made to the significance of capital for the realisation of the ideological objectives, and these run in teleological sequence to the ultimate purpose of the salvation of souls. In an ideological sense, therefore, capital runs to its own negation. In some cases, though, it may be that the sisters are evaluated in terms of capital. One sister who left was quoted by her brother as saying:

'That at the time there was a great want of Sisters in the Order; and she is also under the impression that this disposed them to be less particular in admission, and she thinks, from a remark she heard

'of a sister, in admitting those who had a fortune.'

(69)

The other significance of the dowry rests in its role as the means of tying the sisters into a quasi-kinship network in the religious community, a role similar to that of the dowry in marriage arrangements. The dowry that the nun brings on her final profession is the acknowledgment and compensation for the transfer of economic responsibility from the parents to the community, and signifies her incorporation into the virginal sorority. In this case money is incorporated into the ceremonial exchange of the this-world for the other-world, and purified in the process. (70) It plays a part both materially and symbolically in the maintenance of the traditional context of religious virginity.

The role of money in prostitution stands in radical opposition to its role in the accomplishment of religious profession. The payment of money for sexual intercourse dissolves a brief relationship in a way that is characteristic of market transactions. The affective neutrality of the prostitute-client relationship is perfectly represented by the objective instrumentality of money. The indifference of the client towards its use by the prostitute stands in complete contrast to the context bound utility of the nun's dowry. Far from signifying a relationship of determinative categories, in the case of the prostitute money signifies the reduction of those involved to their generic sexuality; in particular, the reduction of the woman to a pure sexual instrumentality of complete interchangeability. (71) The nun is committed to the pursuit of souls as ends in themselves, prostitutes are pursued as means in themselves. The contrast could not be greater. One of the reasons that the nuns advanced for refusing wages to the penitents was the use to which they might be put after departure from the magdalen



asylum:

'They are made tidy and return to those who sent them - wages to them would mean the means of sin straight away.'

(72)

Not only were the wages seen to be a disruption to the desired effects of transformation, but they were clearly a threat to the quasi-filial relationship between the 'children' and the 'mothers'. This perception exemplifies a further contradictory aspect of money as the means of mutual dependence and personal liberty. (73) The payment of wages would have the effect of transforming the personalised familial relationship of sister and penitent into the impersonal relationship of employer and employee. This would create a different mode of dependency and provide for the penitent a resource for individual freedom. This in turn would reduce the sisters' power of control. The introduction of wages would not only create a contradiction of transformation, but also a transformation of the traditional transformational activity itself. Within the symbolic order of the nuns, the payment of wages would have the effect of nullifying the status of the inmate as penitent, thereby ironically preparing her for the return passage to a this-worldly status of a kind from which the sisters sought to rescue her. This is matched perfectly by the return of the dowry to a nun who leaves the order. Given the reciprocities and contradictions in the symbolic and economic role of money in the traditional Good Shepherd context, it is hardly surprising that the sisters successfully resisted the pressure to pay wages, and never did so during the entire period that they operated laundries.

### CONCLUSION

The explicit aim of the research has been to provide an historical account and a sociological examination of the Good Shepherd refuge as a particular form of transformational institution. Within that ambit the specific theoretical engagement has been with the process of transformation and its structural context. In conclusion, we now turn to some aspects of the research which may be construed as indicating its general relevance within the broader concerns of social science.

At its most general level, the study may be seen as an essay in the relationship between history and sociology. Of necessity, the research could not have been undertaken without historical enquiry. There was no other way to derive the data, although the task might have begun with the initial development of the Good Shepherd refuge at Angers in 1835. There would have been good general warrant to have started there for sociology has been traditionally at ease with a century that witnessed its own discrete development, and which much occupies the attention of many social historians. The theoretical concerns of sociology continually resonate with the issues, born of industrialisation, that were confronted by the classical sociologists. It is largely within that context that a recent group of sociologists and social historians have involved themselves with the historical recovery and analysis of carceral and reformatory institutions. To that degree their analysis may be viewed as constrained and distorted. For the present research to have remained within the nineteenth century would have similarly trapped its analysis within the confines of the events to which it has been addressed, whereas the exploration of (1) of the *longue durée* has provided a kind of ethnographic distance. The adoption of that approach was a research choice made explicit at the

beginning of the study. It owes much to Braudel's discussion of the relation between history and sociology, and it resulted in the uncovering of certain invariances and structural forms in the long history of the Magdalen Movement. It was an archaeological task, an ordering of historical traces, which in its own turn brought an understanding to the nineteenth century events and produced the conceptual beginnings of the theoretical analysis.

Giddens has argued persuasively in his most recent work that it is not possible to draw any distinction between history and sociology that is coherent or intellectually defensible:

'History is the structuration of events in time and space through the continual interplay of agency and structure, the interconnection of the mundane nature of day-to-day life with institutional forms stretching over immense spans of time and space.'

(2)

It is in precisely these terms that our account of the Good Shepherd refuge has been engaged. It has brought in a dimension of social totality which appears lacking in some cognate studies. Foucault's work may be considered in this respect. Although parts of his analysis of the modern prison were fruitfully applied to the magdalen asylum, that application reflexively pointed to certain weaknesses in his account.

Foucault's treatment of prisons reveals a basic misunderstanding of those aspects of monasticism which he considers germinal to the development of the modern prison. In this he is followed by other revisionist historians, as Cohen describes them. Although Foucault is more cautious than Ignatieff and Melossi and Pavarini (and latterly Giddens), he assumes that monastic discipline was a basic model for nineteenth century penal practice. This is quite plausible if the analogy is restricted to the containment of space by the enclosure

(3)

and to the exhaustion of time by the horarium, but it is much less than satisfactory when the nature of penal work and the meaning of time are considered. It is part of Foucault's method to allow the sources to speak for themselves, often with dramatic effect; and he is not averse to the use of modern commentary. Yet he does not allow the monastic sources to speak for themselves, nor does he even refer to the substantial corpus of contemporary historical scholarship on monasticism. <sup>(4)</sup> These lacunae are very evident in his discussion of penal work. Foucault latches onto the monastic discipline of work as if it were somehow disconnected from utility or economic imperatives; as if it were solely related to the submission of the body. The fact that he sets aside Mabillon's monastic model of prisons (of which Melossi and Pavarini make so much) at least suggests a certain hesitancy. Yet the examination of a monastic rule, or some reference to the research on the economic development of monasteries would have exposed a fundamental <sup>(5)</sup> distortion in Foucault's interpretation. Jacques Leonard, a not unsympathetic critic, describes his style of historiography as 'a <sup>(6)</sup> bride abbatue, comme un cavalier barbare'.

Foucault appears not to have ascertained that the duplex form of medieval idea of work as both penance and virtue, grounded in the creation myth and the redemptive story, does not in any way disconnect it from real productivity and external economic engagement. In the particular case of the present research sufficient documentary and statistical evidence has been adduced to indicate the degree to which organised production in the refuges involved a calculable element in the monastic idea of work. It may be thought that these are merely historiographical complaints. Although that would be serious enough, the charge is more fundamental. Foucault seems to excavate inadequately the very discourse from which he seeks to establish discontinuity

and transformation. In his terminology, it is a failure of genealogical analysis, and it has led him into a distorted cartography of the monastery. (7) Similar problems arise with his analysis of penal space and time. Suffice it to note that his discussion of the cell emphasises but one aspect of its monastic utility and symbolism. Time is, perhaps, the most interesting case of his omission in the culling of sources, and that has been fully discussed in Chapter 8.

Much has been gained from Foucault's more generalised methodological concepts, and from his analysis of power as a system in itself. The basic criticism that has been suggested by this research is that his application of these concepts and methods to carceral institutions is suspect on historiographical grounds. It is at least arguable that an analysis is no better than the methods used to adduce its raw material. Foucault's apparent failure in this respect is no doubt determined by his use of narrative as a fiction which can facilitate the transgression of the established order of discourse; a transgression (8) that can serve as a political strategy. Whether sociological work could or should be disengaged from social criticism and political practice is a perennial issue. To that extent one may mute the criticism that Foucault's work on prisons fails to constitute a methodologically valid advance in sociological penology. Despite the persuasiveness of his case that the method of genealogical disconnection reveals the discourse as a modality of power in its own historical moment, its adoption in this research would have denied an understanding of the difficulties that arose in utilising the Good Shepherd discourse as a modality of power in nineteenth century penal and reformatory practice. (9) In short, it would have pre-empted Braudel's imperative to understand history as a dialogue between structure and conjuncture, as an exploration of the interface between enduring institutions and

(10)  
contingent events. In that work, history and sociology come to constitute a methodological unity.

At a less general level, the research may be viewed as a form of empirical test of the trans-institutional applicability of those aspects of Bernstein's work which have been utilised in this analysis. His paper on the classification and framing of educational knowledge was an attempt at a theoretical level to understand the relationships between the symbolic orders, forms of social organisation, and the codes which shape experience. Bernstein concluded that paper with an emphatic observation that the application of his concepts required empirical evidence at every point. (11) Although he addressed that comment primarily to sociologists of education, it is clear in several parts of the paper that he considered his conceptual apparatus to be of general significance. Indeed, he acknowledges his indebtedness to the social anthropologist Mary Douglas who, for her part, makes use of Bernstein's work in her account of natural symbols. The present research has a particular significance in that it tests Bernstein's concept of boundary (and its power and control components) by transposing it from an educational context to the analysis of monastic and quasi-monastic institutions.

Although Bernstein's model has not allowed for the possibility of an equivalent identity between frame and classification, it considerably enhanced the theoretical analysis of the magdalen asylum. At the same time, it provided a necessary complement to Foucault's content based notion of classification. Considerable insight into the structural nature of control in the magdalen asylum, and its degree of independence from external sources of power, were derived from the differing combinations of frame and classification that could be related in the theoretical model of the refuge. Within the specific

compass of this research, the validity of that way of conceptualising the magdalen asylum was justified by its manifest capacity to elucidate structural aspects of the three problems that had been raised by the historical narrative. The research provides a useful test of Bernstein's scheme which gains strength from its application to a quite different type of social institution than that with which he had been primarily concerned. The transposition of a set of concepts from the sociology of education to sociological penology points ironically to the advantages to be gained by reducing the strengths of the boundaries between the sub-disciplines of sociology. That may be no more than a theorisation of eclecticism, but more fundamentally it points to an unavoidable transformative inversion that occurs in research practice; an inversion whereby the object of research reflexively becomes the ordering and integrative factor for the theoretical discourse. We had pointed to that possibility in the introduction, and it is one that is especially prone to occur in sociological historiography.

Bernstein does not gainsay the theoretical nature of his endeavour to show how the structure of classification and framing may reveal the distribution of power and the principles of social control. Even so, he has been criticised for an excessive formalism and for an ahistoricism born of his structural-functional assumptions. (12) The explicit grounding of Bernstein's theoretical concerns in the Durkheimian understanding of classification as structuring structure has been taken to make him susceptible to the symbolist fallacy of reducing (13) power relations to relations of communication. It is a susceptibility that is increased by his failure to ground his analysis in historical (14) circumstance. Although Bernstein recognises this difficulty, he seems caught in the contextual specificity of his concern with the theoretical and empirical status of his thesis. Despite the extensive

empirical research it has generated within the sociology of education, it remains largely disengaged from a sustained historical reference.

The modest relevance of the present research is that it provides a comparative institutional test that is grounded in historical data ranged across a substantial time-span.

We may now turn to consider the specifically theoretical relevance of the research as an attempt to conceptualise the structural and processual nature of transformation. Both Bernstein's work and that of the contemporary social analysts of prisons have a common fundamental reference to the nature of social reproduction; a reference which is apparent in much other sociological work. That emphasis not only tends to obscure the transformational element in social reproduction but limits any notion of social transformation as a process of social change. Goffman, despite his explicit concern with the social transformation of persons mediated through a specifically context-bound series of interactions, omits an analysis of the precise sociological nature of that mediation. The former writers limit themselves to the replication of structure, while Goffman treats structure as a given social constant without any further analysis.

The first part of this study was concerned with the identification of structures and their problematic realisation and maintenance in historical events. This instantiation of structure in the reproduction of social systems is taken by Giddens to be the proper focus of sociological analysis. (15) But he makes the point that the reproduction is essentially transformative because structure is not manifest with empirical similarity. (16) In his view the rules of transformation, what we have termed the principles of ideology and practice, generate an infinite range of empirical contents which have an identity through their relations to those rules. (17) Yet it is difficult to escape



a sense that he may be confusing empirical distance over time, the past and present parameters of transformation, with the actual process of their relation. Our own definition of transformation as the exchange of social categories by processional transitivity incorporates both agency and structure, and attempts to conceptualise the difficult co-occurrence of social amorphism and structure. A difficulty with the social reproduction approach is that it assumes a continuing equivalence of end-categories in any pattern of transformations. It is not denied that the eighteenth and nineteenth century history of the Magdalen Movement may be largely understood in terms of structural reproduction, but they are structures rationally ordered in relation to a teleology of subjective transformations. Christian conversion, metanoia, is not concerned with the reproduction of equivalence. It is the very research object, the magdalen asylum, which saves the analysis from any notion of social reproduction as equivalent transformation.

Although the Good Shepherd refuge was not chosen for study with any prior theoretical intention, its historical reconstruction and conceptual elaboration may be viewed as relevant to broader sociological enquiry in three main ways. Firstly, it draws attention to the necessity of theorising the precise nature of the process that occurs at the heart of any transformation. In that sense the research is a micro-sociological complement to Goffman's style of analysis. Secondly, by setting that process within a pattern of transformations located in a time-space reference, we are able to modify those aspects of the concept of social reproduction which stress the determinative nature of socialisation as an equivalent reproduction rather than as a production of difference. Thirdly, the initial research emphasis on the long-term production and reproduction of structures engages

an historical methodology with organisational analysis in a way that suggests critical possibilities.

Although we have identified a deficiency in Goffman's account of the asylum, it provided a fairly obvious start to our analysis. This was so because of its address to the ways in which organisational forces influence personal identity and bring about moral shifts in the careers of inmates. Conversely, Etzioni's work, despite its emphasis on organisational power and control, was not utilised in the theoretical discussion, as its comparative typology is not concerned with the transformational processes that occur within organisations. In any case, certain aspects of his analysis, particularly his notions of scope and pervasiveness, are direct and acknowledged transmutations (18) of Goffman's concept of the total institution. Although Etzioni's scheme is mainly concerned with organisational control, an aspect we explored through Bernstein and Foucault, his typology can be empirically weak and misleading because of its reliance on the one (19) key variable of compliance. Etzioni does consider religious organisations as examples of normative compliance structures, but his work here also lacks any detailed historical reference. In this sense he overlooked a source of empirical data that might have balanced the contemporaneity of his account and led to a modification of his typology. The general point I am advancing, by reference to organisational analysis, is well put by Braudel:

'It is not history which sociologists, fundamentally and unconsciously, bear a grudge against, but historical time - which is a reality that retains its violence no matter how one tries to bring it to order and break it down.'

(20)

The sociologist tends to avoid this difficulty by what one might term co-temporal ethnocentricity. This research has made an attempt to

avert that real possibility.

The sustained historical investigation central to the research has sought to recover both the structure and the life-events of the Good Shepherd magdalen asylum, but in a manner that renders it available for sociological analysis. In that may rest its substantive contribution to the sociological historiography of transformational institutions. Out of a theoretical analysis primarily restricted to the nature of transformation it was possible to develop the new concept of the Theopticon. It is a concept which brought a more adequate understanding of the modality and articulation of power and control in a voluntary reformatory institution. The Good Shepherd refuge, with its interpenetration of convent and magdalen asylum, does not fit readily into the existing typologies and analyses of cognate organisations; nor into the more recent discussions of emerging systems of social control in nineteenth century industrial societies. Simply to grasp the secular similarities of form and function is to miss the refuge's first-order religious legitimation and its extra-temporal teleology. The attempt to formulate these aspects in sociological terms has been a first consideration and a main difficulty in the research. Ethnographic distance, conceptualisation, and theorisation always bring with them a risk of symbolic violence to the subject of the research, despite the desire to sustain a methodology that is at once both appreciative and objective. It is the perennial dilemma of the sociologist who wishes to allow that the rationalisation of action is the fundamental component of social activity, while recognising that it is always bounded by an historical context. (21) Thus we have to accept that our reconstruction of the past is necessarily one that would not be wholly familiar to the dead Good Shepherd sisters and their penitent women. We may quietly return them from our distanced intellectual

ordering to the silences of history.

Vire 'jonne et affaire

(1. notes d'Alphonse de...  
San. Histoire de Lorraine)  
L. 21 Décembre. 1847.  
J. Guichard.



Je vous rassemble de tous  
les pays et de toutes les contrées  
de l'union pour chanter ma  
gloire et publier mes merveilles

I AM THE GOOD SHEPHERD

Que l'on honore et l'on aime et l'on aime,

Je vous rassemble... et de toutes les contrées...  
de l'union pour chanter ma gloire et publier mes merveilles...  
Je vous rassemble de tous les pays et de toutes les contrées de l'union pour chanter ma gloire et publier mes merveilles.

Table 1: The Growth of Good Shepherd Institutions in Britain 1841-1911

Location	Date of Foundation					
	Convent	Magdalen Asylum	Reform. School	Indust. School	Convict Refuge	C.I.R.
Hammersmith	1841	1841	1857-1859 (1)	1861-1864 (2)		
Glasgow	1851	1851	1858-1891 (3)	1892		
Bristol	1851	1851-1856  1861 (4)	1856			
Liverpool (Ford)	1858	1858				
Finchley	1864	1877		1864-1866 (5)	1872	
Brook Green	1866-1877	1869-1877 (6)			1866-1872 (7)	
Manchester	1867	1867				
Glazenwood	1869-1872	1869-1872 (8)				
Cardiff	1872	1872				
Newcastle	1888	1888				
Ashford (Middx)	1899	1905				1899-1906 (9)
Liverpool (Wavertree)	1903	1903				

Source: BPRAA: H-110

Notes to Table 1

1. Transferred to Bristol 1859.
2. Transferred to Finchley 1864.
3. The reformatory school was closed in 1891 due to a serious decline in admissions during the previous 3 years and the industrial school was certificated in the following year.
4. The penitents' class was disbanded in 1856 to make room for the new reformatory school. The 5 consecrates stayed to help with the school and the other 35 women were either transferred to the magdalen asylum at Hammersmith or found employment.
5. The industrial school was given up to release nuns for the new work with women convicts at Brook Green. The Finchley premises were leased to the archdiocese of Westminster until 1870 when work began on building a new convict refuge.
6. The penitents' class was transferred to Finchley and the convent closed when the lease on Eagle House expired in 1877.
7. The convict refuge was transferred to new buildings at Finchley in 1872
8. Glazenwood was closed due to the difficulty of procuring sufficient work for the penitents in a rural area and to release capital for the development of Finchley.
9. Admissions were stopped in 1903 but inmates continued to serve out their sentences until 1906.

Table 2: Total number of women in different magdalen asylums as sporadically revealed by all sources

Year	Convent							
	H.	G.	B.	L.	F.*	M	Gl.	C.
1841	14							
1843	25							
1844	40							
1845	54							
1847	63							
1852			25					
1855			40					
1856	100	42	38					
1857	100	40	4					
1859	100	34	2	50				
1861	106	44	1	56				
1862	106	25	23	65				
1863	106	25	30	64				
1864	100	25						
1865	106	32	48	73	28			
1866	102	110						
1867	106	36	100	75	22	11		
1869	106	104	98	96	19	15	12	
1871		110						
1872	110		157					
1874	112							
1875			150					
1877					130			
1882								120

H. Hammersmith  
 G. Glasgow  
 B. Bristol  
 L. Liverpool  
 F. Finchley \* including Brook Green  
 M. Manchester  
 G. Glazenwood  
 C. Cardiff

Sources: Convent Annals, Community Letters, Provincial Registers

Table 3: Number of women admitted in each year shown

Year	Magdalen Asylum			
	H.	G.	B.	F.
1841	6			
1846	35			
1851	76	46		
1856	68	47		
1861	67	25	4	
1866	57	31	59	
1871	55	66	63	18
1876	88	118	73	97
1881	83	99	46	98
1886	86	91	45	110
1891	121	92	61	76
1896	92	122	69	85
1901	87	135	80	97
1906	141	115	55	90
1911	122	106	49	132

Table 4: Proportion of women who left within the year of their admission

Year	Magdalen Asylum			
	H.	G.	B.	F.
1841	0			
1846	31.4			
1851	21.0	47.8		
1856	41.2	48.9		
1861	47.8	75.0	0	
1866	52.6	45.2	25.4	
1871	34.5	51.5	17.5	44.4
1876	52.3	55.1	12.3	52.6
1881	39.7	52.5	0	36.7
1886	36.0	47.3	2.2	42.7
1891	45.4	51.1	32.8	42.1
1896	40.2	32.8	36.2	38.8
1901	31.0	52.6	30.0	40.2
1906	48.2	55.7	23.6	38.9
1911	56.5	53.8	18.4	43.9

Proportion = % of annual cohort of admissions



Table 5: Length of stay in the magdalen asylum as % of cohort of admission

Year	Up to 1 month				Between 2 and 5 months				Between 6 and 9 months			
	H.	G.	B.	F.	H.	G.	B.	F.	H.	G.	B.	F.
1841	33.0											
1851	3.9	34.9			19.7	28.3			5.2	6.6		
1861	31.4	28.0			16.6	24.0			3.0	12.0		
1871	25.6	32.2	9.6	27.8	20.0	34.9	17.4	22.3	1.8	0	4.8	11.1
1881	28.8	34.3	*	19.3	12.0	19.2	*	33.6	8.4	6.0	*	7.1
1891	22.4	30.4	9.8	21.0	24.0	21.0	21.3	28.9	15.7	4.0	8.1	6.5
1901	13.7	40.8	11.2	17.5	22.8	22.2	22.5	32.0	12.6	6.0	10.0	7.2
1911	20.5	31.1	6.0	23.8	37.8	29.2	12.2	26.0	8.2	7.5	4.1	9.1

\* Accurate figures are not available as the Bristol Register was entered very inadequately during 1881

Sources for Tables 3, 4 & 5: GSBA: R-6/1-3; R-10/1-3; R-14/IA & 1; R-22/1 & 2;

Table 2.1: The number of women admitted annually, with percentage who left within the same year, and laundry receipts

Year	Admissions	% left in same year	Laundry Receipts £
1841	6	0	
1842	10	0	
1843	8	12.5	
1844	22	13.6	
1845	31	21.2	640
1846	35	31.4	
1847	54	37.0	774
1848	51	31.4	737
1849	50	24.0	1085
1850	63	41.3	1165
1851	76	21.0	1208
1852	95	40.0	1441
1853	80	35.0	1490
1854	50	36.0	1376
1855	82	41.5	1459
1856	68	41.2	1804
1857	53	37.7	1922
1858	68	33.8	2020
1859	49	42.8	2032
1860	80	47.5	1997
1861	67	47.8	2044
1862	48	41.7	1994
1863	49	38.8	1861
1864	57	40.3	1870
1865	55	40.0	1851
1866	57	52.6	2148
1867	52	42.3	2060
1868	78	32.0	2064
1869	53	35.8	2098
1870	58	46.6	2043
1871	55	34.5	2074
1872	63	57.1	2148
1873	76	63.1	2145

cont.....

Table 2.1 cont.

Year	Admissions	% left in same year	Laundry Receipts
1874	59	45.8	2377
1875	89	51.7	2421
1876	88	52.3	2332
1877	70	37.1	2459
1878	97	61.8	2449
1879	89	48.3	2415
1880	67	28.3	2434
1881	83	39.7	2503
1882	73	39.7	2304
1883	83	15.7	2507
1884	94	18.1	2628
1885	121	35.5	2523
1886	86	36.0	2331
1887	109	34.9	2445
1888	131	42.7	2760
1889	76	51.3	3040
1890	93	35.5	3125
1891	121	45.4	3001
1892	96	40.6	3024
1893	114	39.5	3006
1894	74	37.8	3061
1895	99	46.5	3336
1896	92	40.2	3377
1897	102	48.0	3250
1898	106	41.5	3245
1899	83	60.2	3427
1900	100	41.0	3772
1901	87	31.0	3758
1902	100	40.0	3562
1903	100	41.0	3477
1904	105	40.9	3914
1905	118	40.7	3699
1906	141	48.2	3588
1907	136	56.6	3464
1908	152	54.6	3292
1909	118	54.2	3348
1910	142	52.1	3616
1911	122	56.5	3728

Table 2.2: Length of stay in the magdalen asylum as % of cohort of admission

Period of stay	Year							
	1841	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911
1 week	0	1.3	16.4	11.0	10.8	11.6	5.7	8.2
2 weeks	0	0	12.0	7.3	7.2	5.0	2.3	3.3
3 weeks	0	2.6	3.0	5.5	3.6	1.7	3.4	7.4
4 weeks	33.0	0	0	1.8	7.2	4.1	2.3	1.6
2 months	0	7.9	6.0	7.3	2.4	5.0	5.7	15.6
3 months	0	2.6	4.6	0	4.8	5.0	3.4	7.4
4 months	0	5.3	6.0	9.1	4.8	6.6	8.0	10.7
5 months	0	3.9	0	3.6	0	7.9	5.7	4.1
6 months	0	1.3	1.5	1.8	1.2	6.6	4.6	3.3
7 months	0	1.3	0	0	1.2	0	4.6	4.1
8 months	0	1.3	0	0	2.4	7.4	3.4	0
9 months	0	1.3	1.5	0	3.6	1.7	0	0.8
10 months	0	2.6	0	3.6	0	1.7	1.1	3.3
11 months	0	1.3	0	3.6	1.2	1.7	0	0
12 months	0	6.6	0	1.8	1.2	0.8	1.1	3.3
More than one year	67.0	40.8	32.8	43.6	35.0	33.1	41.3	19.7
Not Known		19.9	16.2		13.6	0.6	7.4	7.2
100% =	6	76	67	55	83	121	87	122

Table 2.3: Age Structure as % of annual cohort of admissions in 1866, 1878, 1888, 1908

Age	Year			
	1866	1878	1888	1908
Under 15		10.3	3.1	
15-19	19.3	33.0	30.5	27.0
20-24	33.3	20.6	17.6	19.1
25-29	19.3	10.3	10.7	8.5
30-34	3.5	8.3	6.1	13.1
35-39	3.5	5.2	6.9	13.8
40-44		4.1	1.5	5.3
45-49		1.0	1.5	6.6
50-54		2.1		5.3
55-59				1.3
N/K	21.1	5.1		
100% =	57	97	131	152

Table 2.4: Average ages of the annual cohorts of admissions in 1866, 1878, 1888, 1908

Year	1866	1878	1888	1908
Average age	22	24	24	29

Table 2.5(a): Composition of the Class on 31st December 1866 by year of admission and as % of original cohort of admission

Year	% of the class	% of the original cohort
1843-45	1.9	3.2
1846-50	8.8	3.6
1851-55	10.8	2.9
1856-60	13.7	4.4
1861-63	11.8	7.3
1864	9.8	17.5
1865	16.7	30.9
1866	26.5	47.4

100=  
102

Table 2.5(b): Method of referral of women admitted in 1844 compared with that of the 1866 Class

Method of referral	1844 Class	1866 Class			
		At 31.12.1866		Leavers from 1866 Adm.	All women resident at some time in 1866
		Pre-1866 Adm.	1866 Adm.		
Self	17.1	8.0	22.8	36.7	14.4
Family	24.4	6.7	7.0	3.3	6.8
Clergy	26.8	54.7	43.9	40.0	50.0
Other Persons		25.3	22.8	16.7	24.2
Not known	31.7	5.3			3.3
100 =	41	75	57	30	132

Table 2.5(c): Length of stay of members of the Class at 31st December 1866

Period	Less than 1 year	1-2 years	3-4 years	5-9 years	10-14 years	15-19 years	20+ years	Not Known
% of Class	26.5	26.5	9.8	12.7	9.8	9.8	3.9	1.0

100 = 102

Table 2.5(d): Age Structure of the 1866 Class

Age	Pre-1866 group at admission	Pre-1866 group on at 31.12.1866	Whole Class at 31.12. 1866
15-19	37.3	10.7	16.7
20-24	32.0	21.3	24.6
25-29	8.0	17.3	16.7
30-34	6.8	6.7	4.9
35-39	5.3	14.7	11.7
40-44	2.7	14.7	10.8
45-49	1.3	8.0	5.9
50-54	1.3		
55-59			
60+		1.3	1.0
N/K	5.3	5.3	7.8
100 =	75	75	102

Table 2.5(e): Religious Progression of the Penitents in the Class at 31st December 1866

Mode of Progression	Pre-1866 Adm.		1866 Adm.		Whole Class	
	No.	%*	No.	%*	No.	%*
Initiation Rites <sup>1</sup>	42	56.0	10	37.0	52	51.0
Consecrates	20	27.0			20	20.0
Eventually Consecrates	6	8.0	1	4.0	7	7.0
Magdalen Novices <sup>2</sup>	4	5.0	1	4.0	5	5.0
100 =		75		27		102

\* Rounded to whole %

<sup>1</sup> Baptism, Confirmation, and First Communion while in the refuge

<sup>2</sup> All 4 of the pre-1866 did not go on to Profession: 2 left and 2 returned to the class as Consecrated Penitents

Table 2.5(f): Eventual outcome up to 1922 for Penitents in the Class during 1866

Outcome	Pre-1866 Adm.	1866 Adm.	1866 Leavers	Whole Class
Permanent residence*	42.7			24.2
Death in the refuge	6.7			3.8
Placed in employment	18.7	8.9		14.4
Returned to family	5.3	14.0	13.3	9.1
Transferred to another Good Shepherd refuge	6.7	1.7	3.4	4.5
Placed with another religious order	1.3			0.7
Voluntary departure	8.0	50.9	63.3	26.5
Magdalen Convent	1.0	1.7		1.5
Sent to hospital		3.5		1.5
Dismissed	4.0	12.3	13.3	7.6
Not Known	5.6	7.0	6.7	6.2
100 =	75	57	30	132

\* Defined as a period of residence of 10 years or more. In the event, all these women died in the magdalen asylum having remained there for between 10 and 58 years

Table 2.5(g): Eventual length of stay for the Penitents in the Class on 31st December 1866

Period in Years	Pre-1866 Adm. %	1866 Adm. %	Whole Class %
1-4	28.0	92.6	45.1
5-9	9.3		6.9
10-14	10.7		7.9
15-19	6.7		4.9
20-24	8.0		5.9
25-29	12.0		8.9
30-34	2.6		1.9
35-39	5.3		3.9
40-44	1.3		1.0
45-49	4.0		2.9
50-54	2.7		1.9
55-59	2.7		1.9
N/K	6.7	7.4	6.9
100 =	75	27	102

Sources for the tables in Appendix 2: R-6/1-3; R-8/1-3;  
R-4/13-14



Letter of 'Theresa' to Pope Pius IX

(Referred to at page 114f.)

July 1869

Blackfriars Road  
Magdalen Lodge Hospital

Your Majesty Excellent

Holeyness most Graishous father, i have not aney thing to plead for myself before you of aney merit whatsoever i feal to be just what i am, an unwhorthy penitent before you, i have no one that i can go and plead any case two, your Priets i do not like to go two, therre is no that i can turn two but you for support under my disconsolate state of mind, if your most Graishous Excelencey and common father of your flock will lend a willing ear to a poor petitioner prayer for you Hily father Benedicktion and blessing, but that is what i little expect to obtain, but i believe that Jesus is and will be to me yet the Good Shepherd, for he as charged sutch as you to feed his flock, and i am the one he as left the ninety and nine to find, and being gently on his shoulder, i pray to yourself, holy father, a little place of a Grotto Cave in some desert spot, and to such a place i might be led, by the spirit of God buy your prayers and sackerifyce of the Mass seackreatly to yourself, no one knowing it but yourself and God alone, i choice to be idea again unknown to this perfideys world, and all his objectts, i beg from your holeyness a Death head as an acktion of your blessing and to left me see that you have not quite cut me off from the Church. i do not know what to do but to sen to you, and shurely you will grant me some temporal blessing if not spiritual support, all and every body is obliged to obey your king and pontiff the hed of the Church, i will submit to your sovering power even to enter again on a conventual life, but i find it difficult to obtain admisshion, you can get Admisshion somewhere for me, if you send to the Lodge of the Magdalen hospital, 115 Blackfriars Road, London - Surrey - a letter from your holeyness to the good priest who sent me in the good shepherd, our lady of Charity, i will take it to him if i can or send it, so as he will have it, if you tell him what will be best to do, shurley you will grant your will towards me what you wish me to do as being god's will. And i will submit to your law - i return many thanks to the

Revd. father o niel, St johns weed, the Church of our lady, for all his care he had of me. do say some prayers that i may become an anchorit - that is my spirit - Your humble servant AND penitent

Miss -----  
115, Magdalen Hospital  
Blackfuars Road, London.

Modern rendering

Holy Father,

Your Holiness, most gracious father, there is nothing of any merit whatsoever that I can plead before you for myself. I feel just as I am before you, an unworthy penitent. There is no-one I can go to and make my request. I don't like to trouble the clergy, and in my despair and hopelessness there is only you that I can turn to; that is, if Holy Father, as common father of your flock, you will grant my request and give me your blessing. However, I hardly dare to hope to get that, but even so I still believe that Jesus is and always will be the Good Shepherd. He has given people like you the task of feeding his flock. I am the one he has left the other ninety-nine to find. Because He holds me safe, I ask you, Holy Father, to find me a quiet place of solitude. Pray secretly and say Mass secretly for me that I may be led to such a place. Only you and God will know that I have chosen to be hidden again from this wicked world and the Devil's plans. As a sign of your blessing, Your Holiness, I ask for an emblem of death, and some token that you have not cut me off from the Church. I just do not know where to turn except to you, and surely you will give me some practical help, if not spiritual support. After all everyone is obliged to obey the Queen as well as the Pope, the Head of the Church. If you can arrange it, but I will submit to whatever decision you make, I will enter the convent again, but I find it difficult to obtain admission. You have the authority to obtain admission for me. Please write to the good priest who sent me to the Good Shepherd house at Hammersmith. Send it to me at the Magdalen Lodge Hospital at Blackfriars Road and I will make absolutely sure that he receives it. Tell him whatever you think is best and I will accept that as God's will. I will completely accept your decision. I would like to say how much I appreciate all the care shown to me by Fr. O'Neil of Our Lady's church at St. John's Wood. Please pray that I may follow what is in my heart and become a hermit.

Your humble servant and penitent  
-----

Letter of 'Annette' to Joseph Chamberlain

4, North Terrace,  
Alexander Square,  
South Kensington

Sept 12th 94

Dear Mr. Chamberlain,

I have left the Convent for a few days in order to write to you. Will you send me a little pocket money now and then to find me in some little things that I may require. I have been in the Convent some little time about 4 months and I like it very much, but I find it very hard not having a farthing in my pocket. No one I know knows anything about me or where I am excepting yourself now. The nuns were very kind to me and they are expecting me back again. I only left them to write this letter as I did not know if you would like my writing from there. I intend going back the latter end of this week or the beginning of next week. I am staying now at the address given at the top of the letter. The Convent address is

Miss-----

c/o Mother Mary St. Ethelburga

Convent

Good Shepherd

Hammersmith

I do not require anything until I go back as I'm staying with a little friend. Only I should like to know before going back if you will let me have what I ask. I intend remaining in the Convent for good, so if you really can send to me sometimes I will be much happier.

Yours very sincerely,

-----

P.S. They read all the letters at the Convent before giving them to me.

Source: University of Birmingham Library Special Collections:  
Joseph Chamberlain Papers.

Note: The name has been omitted in accordance with the GSBA rule that no name may be revealed until 100 years after a penitent's departure from the Magdalen Asylum.

APPENDIX 3: CONVICT REFUGE STATISTICSTable 3.1: Number of women in the refuge at given dates

Date	Prisoners	Free Women	Total
9.3.1867	24	14	38
31.10. 1867	18	22	40
19.12. 1867	15	6	21
31.12. 1869	46	4	50
3.12. 1887	27	40	67

Sources: GSBA: R-3/2; A-2/5/13; A-17/4  
 PRO: H045/9318/1602/18

All the remaining tables in this appendix are compiled from the four Convict Refuge Registers: R-25/1-4

Table 3.2: The number of women discharged from the refuge 1866-1922

Period	Number
1866-70	216
1871-80	684
1881-90	468
1891-1900	50
1901-1910	16
1911-1920	18
1921-22	3
Total	1455

Table 3.3: Marital Status of the women convicts 1866-1890

Status	Number	%
Single	591	43.20
Married	509	37.21
Widowed	188	13.74
Not known	80	5.85
Total	1368	100.00

Table 3.4: Age Structure of the Women Convicts 1866-1890

Age	Number	%
Under 20	11	0.80
20-24	158	11.55
25-29	300	21.93
30-34	297	21.71
35-39	209	15.28
40-44	166	12.14
45-49	99	7.24
50-54	62	4.53
55-59	36	2.63
Over 60	30	2.19
Total	1368	100.00

Table 3.5: Employment of women convicts at date of conviction

Occupation	Number	%
Laundry	62	4.53
Needlework & Tailoring	69	5.03
Domestic Service	44	3.22
Charwomen	77	5.63
Textile Factory	87	6.36
Factory	126	9.21
Hawkers & Dealers	111	8.11
Rag-Sorters	5	0.37
Mosaic Workers	7	0.51
Warehouse Workers	5	0.37
Other	28	2.05
Unemployed	511	37.35
Not Known	236	17.25
Total	1368	100.00

Table 3.6: Length of sentences of Penal Servitude

Years	Number	%
3	18	1.32
4	32	2.34
5	337	24.63
6	15	1.10
7	874	63.89
8	10	0.73
9	1	0.07
10	77	5.63
N/K	4	0.29
Total	1368	100.00

Table 3.7: Place of Conviction

Region	Number	%
North West	751*	54.90
North East	217	15.85
East Anglia	6	0.44
West Midlands	24	1.75
Midlands	83	6.07
West Country	13	0.95
London & Home Cnts.	242	17.69
Wales	32	2.34
Total	1368	100.00

\*Includes Liverpool as the largest urban concentration with 329 (24.05%) and Manchester 181 (13.23%)

Table 3.8: Type of Offence

Offence	Number	%
<u>Property Offences:</u>		
Stealing	996	72.81
Receiving	40	2.92
Burglary	38	2.78
Criminal Damage	2	0.15
Arson	5	0.37
	<u>Sub-Total: 1081</u>	<u>79.03</u>
<u>Crimes of Violence:</u>		
Robbery with violence	47	3.44
Grievous Bodily Harm	36	2.63
Manslaughter	15	1.10
Abortion	1	0.07
Attempted Murder	1	0.07
Murder	1	0.07
	<u>Sub-Total: 101</u>	<u>7.38</u>
<u>Other Offences:</u>		
Forgery and Uttering Counterfeit Coin	37	2.70
False Pretences	7	0.51
Child Stealing	2	0.15
Perjury	3	0.22
	<u>Sub-Total: 49</u>	<u>3.58</u>
Not Known	137	10.01
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1368</b>	<b>100.00</b>

Note on the Registers

The abstraction of the statistical data was a difficult task as the registers are not arranged in columns and are entered in written form. (See Appendix 4) Furthermore, the registers are essentially Discharge and Licence Supervision Registers. In some cases the chronological sequence was transferred to other parts of the registers in order to use up blank or reverse pages. No actual admission dates were entered until the late 1870's, consequently the statistical tables are based on the number of women discharged. One page was allotted to each woman convict and the entries are often very crowded and in different styles of handwriting. Like the penitents registers, there was no on-going tally of the actual number of women in the refuge at any given date.

Table 3.9: Known outcome for women discharged 1866-90

Year	Number Discharged = 100	Recidivism *	Returned direct to Prison %	Admitted to Workhouse %	Transferred to Magdalen Asylum %	Returned to Magdalen Asylum %	Employment Δ %	Emigration %
1866	40	40.0		2.5	2.5	7.5		10.0
1867	45	37.7		2.2	8.9	8.9		
1868	31	32.2		6.5	9.7	6.4		
1869	43	39.5	2.3		4.6	4.6		
1870	57	19.3			3.5	1.7	1.8	1.8
1871	82	39.0				17.0	1.2	1.2
1872	50	20.0	2.4			16.0	2.4	2.4
1873	81	35.8				23.4	1.2	1.2
1874	74	25.7	2.7		4.0	13.5	20.3	20.3
1875	46	41.3	2.2		4.3	10.9	4.4	4.4
1876	65	41.5			1.5	26.1	3.1	3.1
1877	50	48.0	2.0		2.0	24.0	2.0	2.0
1878	75	48.0	2.7		4.0	18.7	4.0	4.0
1879	73	35.0	4.1			10.9	1.4	1.4
1880	88	40.9	3.4			4.5	2.3	2.3
1881	59	49.1	1.7			8.5		
1882	71	50.7			2.8	8.4		
1883	91	40.6				12.1	1.0	1.0
1884	63	42.8	4.8		4.8	17.5	7.9	7.9
1885	39	33.3			2.6	20.5	7.7	7.7
1886	51	11.8	3.9			7.8	3.9	3.9
1887	34	5.9			2.9	14.7		
1888	28	21.4				3.6	3.6	3.6
1889	16	31.2					6.3	6.3
1890	16	12.5			6.2	12.5		

\* Comprising revocation of licence and re-conviction after expiry of licence  
 Δ Employment found by nuns on discharge N.B. Average recidivism 1866-90 = 33.7%



APPENDIX 4: SIX EXAMPLES OF CONVICT REGISTER ENTRIESMARY ANN JONES Reg. No: 212

Age 40, single. No trade or occupation.  
 Crime - larceny from the person after previous conviction of felony.  
 Committal 13th February 1863 Liverpool. Conviction 18th March 1863.  
 Liverpool Sessions. Sentence 7 years penal servitude. Previous  
 convictions - 1847 October September stealing money, 9 months.  
 1851 December stealing money, 10 months. 1857 October stealing  
 handkerchief, 7 years penal servitude. Liverpool Gaol - summarily  
 convicted - vagrancy 3 times, prostitution 49 times, drunkenness 17  
 times. Obscene language 1 time, exposing person 3 times.  
 Can neither read nor write.  
 Complexion fresh, hair iron grey, eyes grey, height 5 ft. Average and  
 mark left side upper lip. General prison character and conduct good.  
 Parkhurst forfeit 280 marks Remission.  
 On licence till March 1870  
 Discharged 15th February 1868.  
 Address - Ann Callen, Castlebellingham, City South, Ireland.  
 Received letter March 6th.  
 Returned to the Refuge 21st March.  
 Went out May 4th 1868 for Liverpool.  
 Reported herself at the Central Police Office Liverpool May 8th in a  
 beastly state of intoxication.  
 Reides at 46 Goascoyne Street John Logan  
 28th June 1868 reported as having been admitted an inmate of the  
 Parish Workhouse Brownlow Hill.  
 2nd October 1868 sentenced to a months imprisonment and her licence  
 afterwards revoked.

MARY ANN HITTON Reg. No: 305

Alias Clarkson. Age 31, married with one child. Washerwoman.  
 Stealing 8 sovereigns from the person at Huddersfield  
 Committal 21st January 1865. Conviction 23rd February 1865 Wakefield  
 sessions. 5 years penal servitude. Previous convictions, 16 summary  
 convictions.  
 Can read and write.  
 Complexion sallow, hair dark brown, eyes dark brown, height 5ft. ½in.,  
 stout, marks various.  
 Prison conduct good.  
 On licence till February 1870.  
 Discharged 9th July 1868.  
 10th July reported herself at Huddersfield Borough Police. James  
 Withers Sup. Reported by J. Withers, Sup. of Police Huddersfield,  
 September 30th. Back Busiton Road.  
 September 15th 1869 reported by Head Constable Huddersfield as  
 sentenced on 10th December to 10 years penal servitude for robbing  
 from the person.  
 September 21st in prison, Behaving well  
 Returned to the Refuge 6th February 1878.  
 Sent out for fighting October 1878.

MARY NEWALL Reg. No: 274

Age 23. Single. Laundress.

Receiving after previous convictions, Liverpool, 21st March 1868.

7 years penal servitude. 11 summary. Liverpool December 1864, Burglary 18 months.

Height 5 ft., brown hair, blue eyes, fair complexion, scar on right hand.

on licence till 20th March 1875.

Discharged 22nd March 1873 to go to service.

Address - Mrs. Grant, 25 North Grove, Mildway Park.

Received letter 28th March, 1st April.

Called 24th April.

Returned to Refuge, June 1873.

Address - Dr. Magenis, 1 Ruston Road, Kingston.

Went to situation July 1873.

Called 18th August, 8th September.

Left situation 14th November 1873.

Went to another 16th November. Mrs. Ivory, Finchley.

Visit December, January 1874.

Left Mrs. Ivory. Gone to service with Mrs Powess, Phillimore Garden, Kensington.

Visit April 1874, 7th May. Left situation

Went to service in France. Mrs. Cose, 29 Place Duquelin, Dinan, Cotes du Nord, Letter May 30th, June 15th.

Letter July. Broswood Court, Pembridge, Hertfordshire.

Left Broswood 3rd May 1875. Went to Liverpool.

Returned to Refuge 10th May 1875.

Went to service June 1875 at Mrs. Mann, Hill House, Firtree Heath, Kilvedon, Essex.

Left situation and returned to Liverpool November 1875.

Returned to the Refuge 27th December 1875

Went to service 1876. Mrs. Doughs, Bayswater

Left situation February 1876.

Went to service March 1876. Artro Villa, Pembridge Gardens, North Kensington.

June 1876 went to 21, Ladbroke Gardens, Notting Hill.

Went to Brussels with her mistress.

Returned May 1877 and went to service at Mrs. Woods, Clarendon Villa, St. Margarets, Twickenham.

Mary Newall, 2nd May, doing well.

Address - 9 Boundary Street, Cellar, Liverpool.

Letter August 1881. respectably married, same address, name now Morgan.

Visit 27th September.

Letter October, January 1882.

Address - 10 Bostock Street.

Letter April 1883, asking for assistance. 36 Lyons Street, Bootle.

Letter June 1883, May 1884, September. 3, Couch House, Mile end Liverpool.

Letter April 1885, July 1886, March 1887, August 1887, 33 Back Boundary Liverpool.

Stanley Road, Liverpool. Letter May, June, August 1888.

14 Court 6 House, Newsham, Scotland Road, Liverpool.

Letter 1889, same address. Letter 1890, 91, 92.

ELLEN SMITH Reg. No: 607

Age 26, married. No trade or occupation. Larceny from the person after previous conviction of felony. Liverpool Sessions April 1851. Stealing a coal, 12 months. Committal 3rd August 1863; conviction 6th August 1863. Liverpool Sessions. 4 years penal servitude.

Read and write imperfectly. Prison conduct very bad. 1st August 1864 violently assaulting Prison Matron, Miss Ellen Gardner, by striking her several blows on the face and head, scratching her neck and pulling her hair, threatening to murder her the first opportunity after 2 previous reports for improper language and impudence.

Complexion fresh, hair dark brown, eyes hazel. Height 5ft. 4½in. Cut on right eyebrow.

Left November 26th 1866.

Address - Mr. Hugh Bullen, Primrose Mount, Bootle Street, Liverpool. Licence revoked 27th July, having been convicted of disorderly conduct and sentenced to one months imprisonment at Liverpool Police Court on the 18th of that month.

5th August 1867 John Logan Clerk

Applied to return to the Refuge June 1876. Returned 1876.

Left and went to London.

Reconvicted.

MARY COTTER Reg. No: 616

Alias Murphy. Age 33, single. No trade or occupation.

Felony after previous conviction of felony, midsummer 1860. 3 years penal servitude. 2 previous convictions - 4 years penal servitude.

Committal 22nd May 1863 Cardiff. Conviction 30th June 1863 Cardiff.

Can read and write. Prison conduct in Cardiff very bad; Millbank good; Parkhurst tolerable.

Complexion fresh, hair brown, eyes blue, height 5 ft.

Left Octobrr 23rd 1866.

Address - Mrs Edys, Temperance Hotel, St. Mary's Street, Cardiff.

Received letter October 25th.

Postal Order £1.0.3. October 31st.

Acknowledged November 6th.

Received letters on November 16th, 26th, 28th and December 3rd.

December 4th sent Postal Order balance of gratuity £1.4.11.

Acknowledged December 6th.

Received letter December 24th, January 11th 1867, and February 15th.

Address - John Donovan, St. Mary's Street, Cardiff.

The Workhouse, Cardiff.

Apprehended and committed for trial having committed a series of robberies.

J.B. Stockdall - Captain of Police - Cardiff, S. Wales. May 16th 1867.

Returned to the Refuge from Westminster Prison.

Reconvicted May 4th 1884

Left January 13th 1885.

Readmitted 15th January.

Left June 24th 1886.

Readmitted October 14th 1890.

Left July 12th 1893.

CATHERINE RILEY

Reg. No: 791

Age 23 years. Height 5ft. 3ins., pale complexion, brown hair, grey eyes.  
 Convicted April 1869. Liverpool Sessions.  
 Crime larceny and previous convictions. Sentenced to 7 years.  
 Conduct in Refuge. Good.  
 On licence till 4th April 1876.  
 Went to service 3rd February 1874. Address - 367 Albany Road, Camberwell, London.  
 Received letter 9th February 1874, 16th March.  
 Very good report 6th April.  
 Visit.  
 Left situation 9th July.  
 Went to service July. Mrs Fruwhitt, Long Lodge, Hurch End, Finchley.  
 Getting on well September 1874.  
 Going on well March 1875, July 1875.  
 Changed situation August 1875. Mrs Mugone, Belsize Park Road, Hamstead.  
 Left situation December 1875.  
 Took lodgings in Finchley.  
 Went to service in February 1876. Mrs. Longman, High Street, Highgate.  
 A letter returned to above address 9th March 1876 stating that neither name was known in High Street, Highgate.  
 March 24th informed by Sup. of Police that C. Riley was believed to have sailed in February 1876 from Plymouth in the ship Benna for Port Adelaide, South Australia.  
 Received paper 5th August 1876 announcing arrival in May 1876.

HANNAH HOLMES

Reg. No: 229

Age on discharge 37 years. Height 5ft. 8in. Hair black, eyes brown, complexion allow. Where born Ireland. Married. Trade knitter. Scar on both arms, mark on cheek.  
 Address at time of apprehension Leeds  
 Whether summarily disposed of or tried by a jury. Jury.  
 Place and date of conviction Leeds Sessions 3rd July 1864.  
 Offence for which convicted Larceny from the person and previous convicted Sentence 7 years penal servitude.  
 On licence till 21st July 1872.  
 Conduct while in Refuge Good.  
 Previous convictions - December 1856, Leeds, Idle and disorderly prostitute, 1 month.  
 April 1858, Leeds Idle and disorderly prostitute, 1 month.  
 March 1860, Leeds Idle and disorderly prostitute, 1 month.  
 September 1858, Rogue and Vagabond, indecent behaviour, 3 months.  
 October 1860, Leeds, Idle disorderly prostitute, 1 month.  
 Six other convictions for same offences.  
 1862, Leeds, stealing 12 6 months.  
 1863, Leeds, stealing 18 6 months  
 Discahrged November 17th 1870.  
 Address 10 Post Office Gardens, Leeds, Yorks.  
 Reported. Address - 10 Wellington Gardens, Kirkgate, Leeds.  
 Reported 20th January 1871. .

APPENDIX 5: THE CERTIFIED INEBRIATE REFORMATORY

Table 5.1: Total number of women at Ashford C.I.R. on  
31st December 1899-1906

Year	Admissions	Re-admissions (1)	Discharges	Estimated Disch. (2)	Total
1899	42		1		41
1900	36	16	25		58
1901	24	18	48		52
1902	53	10	43		72
1903	20	9	42	2	57
1904			8	7	42
1905			2	21	19
1906				19	0

1. 47 of the re-admissions were after revocation of licence and 6 were re-admitted after conviction for a completely new period of detention
2. After Case no. 121, a woman who was admitted during 1902, only 8 discharges were recorded due to bad entry keeping. The missing information has been complemented by using the date of expiry of sentence, although some of the women may have been released earlier. Of 8 cases that were recorded, 6 were transferred to the S.I.R., 1 to hospital, and 1 to the county lunatic asylum.

Source: The source for all the tables in this appendix is the official register GSBA: RX-8/1

Table 5.2: Age structure of women at initial admission 1899-1906

Age	Number	%
Under 20	3	1.71
20-24	7	4.00
25-29	29	16.57
30-34	35	20.00
35-39	40	22.86
40-44	28	16.00
45-49	15	8.57
50-54	6	3.43
55-59	2	1.15
60+	3	1.71
N/K	7	4.00
TOTAL	175	100.00

Table 5.3: Previous occupations of the women 1899-1906

Occupation	Number	%
Domestic service	37	21.15
Laundry	30	17.14
Flower-sellers & Hawkers	24	13.71
Housewife*	23	13.14
Needlework	11	6.29
Factory	7	4.00
Other	11	6.29
Unemployed	29	16.57
N/K	3	1.71
TOTAL	175	100.00

\* This figure comprises 19 designated as married and 4 as housewives. It may be that the larger group were women estranged from their families and unemployed.

Table 5.4: Previous convictions for drink-related offences

This information was not recorded in the register for the first 96 women admitted. As the overwhelming majority of the 175 women were committed under Section 2, we know that each must have been previously convicted of at least 3 drink-related offences. The first 96 women are known to have been very difficult, consequently their rate of previous convictions was probably in the very high range.

Previous convictions for drink-related offences	Number of women	%
3-10	24	30.38
11-20	16	20.25
21-30	17	21.52
31-40	7	8.86
41-50	8	10.13
51-100	4	5.06
100+	3	3.80
TOTAL	79	100.00

Table 5.5: Offences for which the women were initially committed to the Ashford C.I.R.

Offence	Number	%
<u>Section 1:</u>		
Wilful Damage	1	0.57
Child cruelty	4	2.29
Child neglect	3	1.71
N/K	1	0.57
<u>Sub-total:</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>5.14</u>
<u>Section 2:</u>		
Drunk and disorderly	47	26.85
Drunk and riotous	77	44.00
Drunk, disorderly & riotous	19	10.86
Found drunk	11	6.29
Drunk	7	4.0
N/K	5	2.86
<u>Sub-total:</u>	<u>166</u>	<u>94.86</u>
TOTAL	175	100.00

Table 5.6: Length of sentence by year of admission

Length of sentence (Months)	1899 %	1900 %	1901 %	1902 %	1903 %	Total %
12	2.38	13.88	12.50	7.55	5.0	8.0
15		2.78	4.17			1.15
18	16.67	5.56	8.33	3.78		7.43
24	45.24	13.11	33.33	26.42	10.0	32.00
30					5.0	0.57
36	35.71	41.67	41.67	60.38	80.00	50.28
N/K				1.89		0.57
100 =	42	36	24	53	20	175

Table 5.7: Length of actual period of detention served

Period (Months)	Number	%
up to 6	39	21.55
7-12	69	38.12
13-18	50	27.62
19-24	17	9.39
25-30	-	-
31-36	6	3.32
TOTAL	181*	100.00

\* Includes 6 who were admitted for a second period of detention.

Table 5.8(a): Disposal of women from the C.I.R. 1899-1906

Method of disposal	Number	%
Discharged on completion of sentence	29	16.57
Discharged on licence	116	66.29
Transferred to a protestant C.I.R.	1	0.57
Discharged by Home Secretary	4	2.29
Transferred to Temperance Hospital	2	1.14
Transferred to lunatic asylum	10	5.71
Transferred to S.I.R.	13	7.43
TOTAL	175	100.00



Table 5.8(b): Outcome for women released on licence 1899-1906

Outcome	Number	%
Licence revoked	44	37.93
Discharged by Home Secretary while on licence	3	2.59
Discharged on completion of licence	69	59.48
TOTAL	116	100.00

Table 5.8(c): Ultimate outcome for all women at Ashford C.I.R. 1899-1906

Outcome	During Sentence	Completed Sentence	Completed Licence	Licence Revoked	Total	
					Number	%
Returned to locality of offence		14	11	12	27	20.44
Returned to family		5	8	15	28	15.47
Direct to domestic service		3	6	7	16	8.84
Temperance Hospital	2		1	1	4	2.21
Magdalen Asylum		1	1	2	4	2.21
Discharged by Home Secretary	4			3	7	3.87
Lunatic Asylum	10			3	13	7.18
S.I.R.	13			5	18	9.95
Protestant C.I.R.	1			1	2	1.10
Prison				1	1	0.55
N/K		6	42*	3	51	28.18
TOTAL	30	29	69	53 $\Delta$	181	100.00

$\Delta$  Includes 6 re-admitted to new periods of detention

\* Due to little information from Case 121 onwards

APPENDIX 6: THE GOOD SHEPHERD LAUNDRY

Number of Nuns permanently engaged in the laundry work

Year	H.	G.	B.	L.	BG.	F.
1843	2					
1844	2					
1851	4(1)					
1856	4(1)	1	2(1)			
1857	4(1)	1	1(1)			
1858			1(1)	1		
1859	3(2)	1	2(1)			
1860			1(1)			
1861	3(1)	1		1		
1862	4(1)	2	1(1)	1(1)		
1863	2(1)	1	1(1)	1(1)		
1864	4(1)	2		1(1)		
1865	3(1)	1(1)	3(1)	1(1)		
1866				1(1)		
1867	2(1)	1(1)	2(1)	1(1)	1(1)	
1869	4(1)	1(1)	2(2)	1(1)	1(2)	
1871		1(1)				
1872	3(1)		1(1)			
1874	3(1)					
1875			1(1)			
1877	4(1)					
1887						2(2)

The figure in brackets indicates the washroom sisters, and they are additional to the laundry sisters. Where 2 washroom sisters are indicated, there were two laundries operating in parallel.

Sources: BPRAA: HC-35  
 GSBA: A-2/5; A-5/7; A-8/2; A-9/6; R-3/1-2  
 Clifton Diocesan Archives

Magdalen Asylum Horarium

5.00 Rise  
5.30 Morning Prayers  
5.40 Work  
6.30 Mass  
7.45 Breakfast  
8.15 Work  
11.45 Dinner  
12.15 Recreation  
1.15 Work  
3.30 Tea  
4.00 Work  
6.30 Supper  
7.00 Recreation  
8.00 Story Book  
8.30 Night Prayers and Bed

Source: GSBA: 13/4/10

Access to Room

Part of Window over Entrance

Existing  
Washing  
Troughs

Existing Washing Troughs

Existing Washing Troughs

# Wash-house

Plan used for manpower calculation on p. 237

Soap  
Boiler

50 HP Motor  
fixed in place overhead

200 shirt Washing Machine with  
14 frames for 500 shirts on top

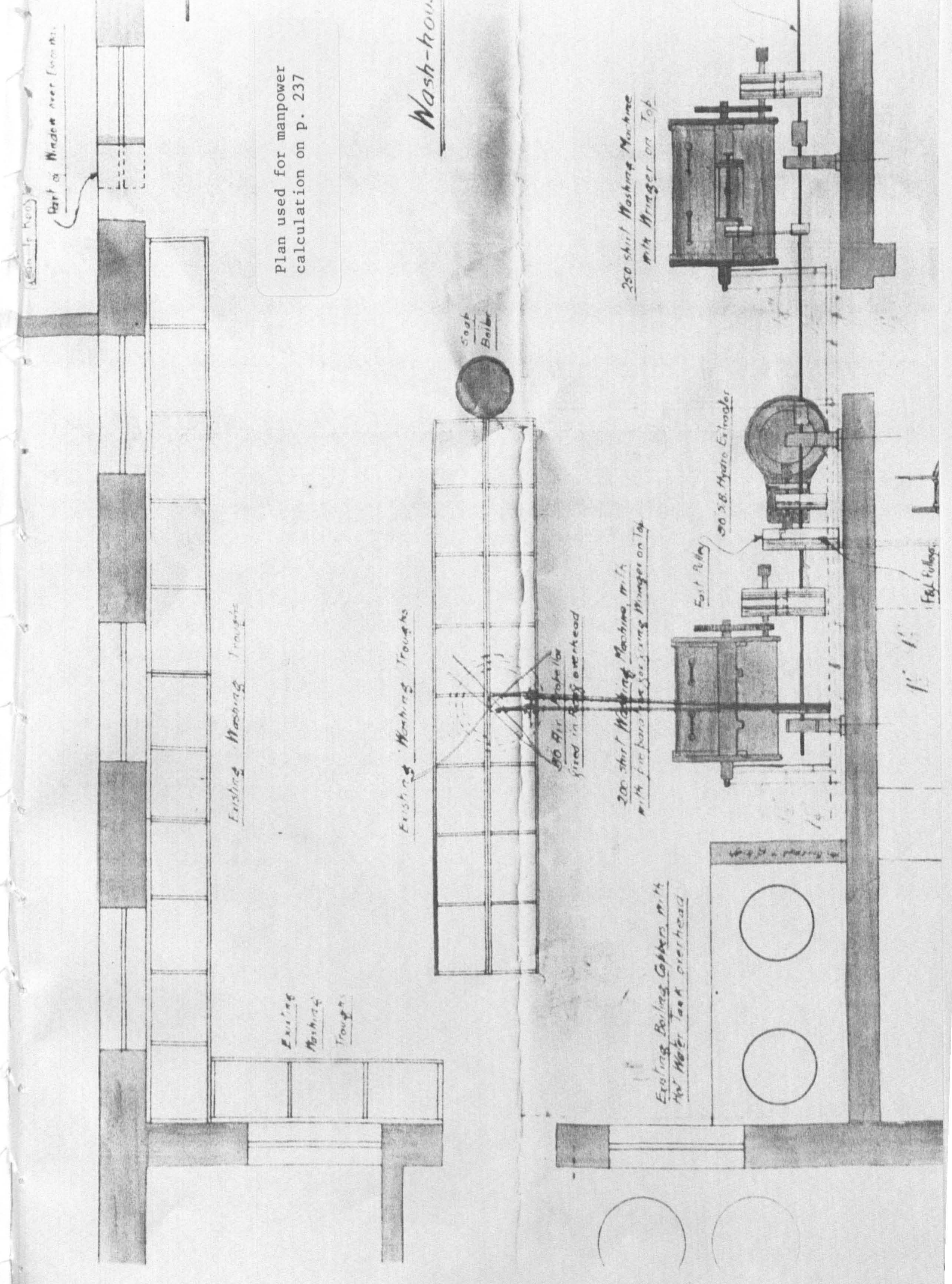
Existing Boiling Copper with  
Hot Water Tank overhead

Fast Alley

50 HP Motor Extender

250 shirt Washing Machine  
with 14 frames on top

F&L Pulley



APPENDIX 7: THE WAGES CONTROVERSY

Hammersmith Income and Expenditure 1869

<u>Receipts</u>	£	<u>Expenditure</u>	£
Laundry	2098	Community Expenses	128
Needlework	233	Servicing & Repairs	52
Sisters Annuities & Pensions	492	Insurance	32
Donations & Subscriptions	264	Legal Fees	100
Penitents Entrance Fees	74	Taxes & Rates	72
Sales	10	Food	1578
Interest on loans	51	Laundry	503
Legacies	3	Household & Maintenance	162
		Medical	95
		Clothes - nuns	135
		- penitents	59
		Fuel	102
		Horse, Garden & Farm	243
1868 Balance	171	Miscellaneous	71
	<u>3396</u>		<u>3332</u>

Source: GSBA: R-8/1

The Income and Expenditure account covers all aspects of the convent and the institution associated with it. Some items can be separated out to the penitent side or to the nun side. Other items overlap both areas of activity. The same applies to the work assignments of the sisters.

Mrs Crawford's Formula

1. Inmate Maintenance (M) = Food and Clothing costs of penitents
2. Net Laundry Income (P) = General Profit
3. Maximum 'Wage' (W) = Difference between average commercial laundry wage and M per capita
4. W must be first charge on P but need not be the maximum
5. Labour (L) = Total number of penitents

Application of Mrs Crawford formula to the 1869 accounts

L = 100

Food Costs (£1578) include nuns and penitents, therefore:

Food Costs for penitents =  $\frac{1578}{177} \times 100 = 892$  (77 nuns)

Clothing £59

Penitents Entrance Fees £74

M =  $892 + 59 - 74 = \underline{£877}$  or £8.77 per capita

P = £1595 or £15.95 per capita

W =  $£33.8^* - £8.77 = \underline{£25.03}$  \* Average commercial wage

But W is in excess of P, therefore pay £15.95 i.e 6/- per week

Notes on the Crawford formula

1. It omits the five nuns who worked full-time in the laundry and who constituted a crucial and responsible element of the work-force. As nuns give their services free, they would not have diminished the margins for wages, and their labour would have increased laundry output. It might be expected that this output would be excluded from any wage charge on the general profit. This would reduce per capita output of the penitents to £15.19.

2. Mrs Crawford assumes all 100 penitents would work in the laundry, whereas the analysis in Chapter 6 shows that no more than 80% would have done so.

3. Her restricted definition of inmate maintenance, leaves out of account such items as medical care, nursing, and living facilities other than dormitories.

4. She totally separates the financial base of her calculation from other institutional income and costs, and from other labour inputs.

Taking these factors into account we can attempt to redistribute expenditure and income items on a differentiated basis.

Re-analysis of the 1869 Hammersmith Account

<u>Differentiated receipts</u>	£	<u>Differentiated expenditure</u>	£
Laundry income	2098	Laundry costs	503
Needlework income	233	Community expenses	128
Sales	10	Nuns clothes	135
Donations & Subscriptions	264	Penitents clothes	59
Legacies	3		
Penitents entrance fees	74		
Sisters annuities & pensions	492		
Interest on loans	51		
1868 Balance	171		
	<u>3396</u>		<u>825</u>
 <u>Undifferentiated receipts</u>		 <u>Undifferentiated expenditure</u>	
NIL		Servicing and repairs	52
		Insurance	32
		Legal fees	100
		Taxes & Rates	72
		Food	1578
		Household & Maintenance	162
		Medical	95
		Fuel	102
		Horse, Garden & Farm	243
		Miscellaneous	71
			<u>2507</u>
	<u>£3396</u>		<u>£3332</u>

The undifferentiated expenditures have to be apportioned to the laundry, magdalen asylum, and convent (including magdalen sisters convent). This will be calculated on a weighted basis reflecting both the nun labour and differential practice (e.g. the nuns have a more simple diet than the penitents and less heating). The accounts are therefore revised as follows:

Laundry Account

Receipts: £2098

Expenditure:

Consumables & Equipment	503
Horse	43
Servicing & Repairs	30
Fuel	75
	<u>£651</u>

Net laundry income = £1447

Labour: Nuns 3.5 Novices 4 equivalent to 15 penitents  
 80% of penitents = 80  
Total: 95

Per capita output =  $\frac{1447}{95}$  = £15.23

Nuns output = £228

Penitents per capita output =  $\frac{1219}{80}$  = £15.24

(leaving out of accounts nuns who are drafted in for emergency packing and sorting)

Inmate Maintenance

	£		
Clothes	59		
Food	1132	=	$\frac{1578}{177} \times 127$ to reflect lesser diet of nuns
Medical	54	=	$\frac{95}{177} \times 100$
	<u>£1245</u>	=	£12.45 per capita

Institutional Costs of Magdalen Asylum and Convent

<u>Receipts</u>		£	<u>Expenditure</u>		£
Donations and subscriptions		265	Servicing & Repairs		22
Legacies		3	Insurance		32
Nuns work		228	Legal Fees		100
Taxes and rates		72	Taxes and rates		72
Household & Maintenance		162	Household & maintenace		162
Fuel		27	Fuel		27
Garden & Farm			Garden and farm		243
			Miscellaneous		71
		<u>495</u>			<u>729</u>

Community Account

<u>Receipts</u>		£	<u>Expenditure</u>		£
Needlework		233	Clothes		135
Sales		10	Food		446
Annuities & Pensions		492	Medical		41
Interest on Loans		<u>51</u>			
		<u>£686</u>			<u>£622</u>

Per capita nun maintenance = £8.08

Summary

Total institutional costs = 1245 + 729 = £1974  
 Total institutional income = £495  
 Deficit = £1479

Community account balance = 64  
 1868 balance = 171  
 Laundry income (net) = 1219 (1447 less nuns earnings of 228)  
£1454



Application of Mrs Crawford's formula to the 1903 Accounts of  
Hammersmith, Liverpool, and Finchley

	Hammersmith	Liverpool	Finchley
Laundry & Needlework Income	4 184	3 516	6 044
Less costs	<u>962</u>	<u>986</u>	<u>1 688</u>
	3 162	2 530	4 356
Less inmate maintenance	<u>2 452</u>	<u>2 302</u>	<u>3 547</u>
	£ 710	£ 228	£ 809
Inmate numbers	200	104	300
Notional wage	£3.55	£2.19	£2.70

Source: GSBA: R-8/1; RX-5/1; RX-6/1

## Archive abbreviations:

BPRAA	Archives Administratives Maison Generalice du Bon Pasteur Rome
BPAH	Archives Historiques du Bon Pasteur d'Angers
GSBA	Good Shepherd British Provincial Archives
AMM	Archives Departmentales de Meurthe et Moselle
BPAF	Bon Pasteur Archives de la France
CD	Clifton Diocesan Archives
SJE	Archives of the English Province of the Society of Jesus
HL	Hammersmith Library Local Records
PRO	Public Record Office

Introduction

1. GSBA: 1/4 Unpublished life of Mother Regaudiat by Sister Emma Raimbach Vol. 2 p.151
2. Pugin A. (1841) p.54
3. Bloch M. (1984) p.65
4. Braudel F. (1980) p.50
5. Stone L. (1979) p.17
6. Becker H. p.11
7. Hay C. (1980)
8. GSBA: 6/2/2 Mother Weld to Sister Roskell 11th Nov. 1871

Chapter 1

1. Bloch M. (1984) p.29f.
2. Braudel F. (1980) p.26
3. The general approach to the recovery and interpretation of the historical data is influenced by the Annales school.
4. Luke 7: 36-50
5. Dumas A. (1869)
6. Cloarec M. Unpublished note 1980
7. Bruley E. (1931) pp.13-15
8. Chapman J. (1870) p.126
9. *ibid.*
10. Hopkins T. (1898) p.222
11. Bruley E. *op. cit.* p.9
12. Gaillac H (1971) p.115
13. Cloarec M. *op. cit.*
14. Chapman J. *op. cit.* p.127
15. Hopkins T. *op. cit.* p.224
16. du Chesnay (1) pp.35-36
17. Ory J. (1891) p.633f.
18. *ibid.* & Dumas a. *op. cit.*
19. Gaillac H. *op. cit.* p.115
20. Notably in 1625-27, 1649-52, 1661-62, and 1693-94
21. This paragraph is heavily reliant on Mandrou R. (1974) and Saint-German J. (1965)
22. Gutton J. (1971) p.131
23. Foucault M. (1971) p.63

24. du Chesnay B.(1) op. cit p.35
25. Joly H. (1932) p. 87f.
26. This brief and very condensed summary of some aspects of 17th century French religious life is very reliant on Rops D. (1958) & Kearney H. (1969)
27. Salgado G. (1977) p.186
28. 43 Eliz. c. 2 1601
29. Ignatieff M. (1978) p.11
30. Webb S. & B. (1922) p.14
31. Howard J. (1929) p. 47
32. Doerner K. (1981) p.15
33. ibid.
34. Foucault M. op. cit. p.41
35. Howard J. op. cit.
36. Doerner K. op. cit. p.15 & Ignatieff M. op. cit. p.53
37. From the Foundation Decree 1656 cited by Foucault M. op. cit. p.47
38. Foucault M. & Doerner K. op. cit.
39. Foucault M. op. cit. p.46
40. Doerner K. op. cit. p.98
41. ibid. p.99
42. ibid. p. 16; Foucault M. op. cit. p.54; Ignatieff M. op. cit. p.32  
Howard J. op. cit. pp133-134; Webb S. B. op. cit. p. 28
43. Anthony P. (1977) p.39
44. Weber M. (1974) pp.182-183
45. Chapman J. op. cit. p.127
46. Hopkins T. op. cit. p.108
47. ibid. p.230
48. Lawson W. (1969) pp.43-48 & Delcambre E. & Lhermitte (1948)  
pp.124-125
49. Martin E. (1901) pp.154-157
50. Gaillac H. op. cit. p.119n.
51. Martin E. op. cit.
52. AMM: H2752-2806
53. ibid.
54. du Chesnay B(1) op. cit. p.37
55. Gaillac H. op. cit. p.119
56. du Chesnay B.(1) op. cit. p.36
57. Ory J. op. cit. p.632
58. Portais C. (1898) p.137 & Uzureau C. pp.8-18
59. Urseau C. (1891) & Port C. (1881) p.74
60. Eudes J. (1909) Vol X  
Milcent P. (1981)  
de Montzey C (1874)  
Lebrun C. (1934)
61. Costil P. (1890) Vol 1 pp56-57
62. Ory J. op. cit. p.10
63. du Chesnay B. (1) op. cit. p.40
64. Branchereau P. (1976) p.55
65. Hopkins T. op. cit. p. 109f. See also du Chesnay B.(2) p.260
66. Ory J. op. cit. p.339 & p.629
67. ibid. p.29
68. ibid. p.41f.
69. Costil P; ed. (1890) op. cit. p.241
70. Ory J. op. cit. p.110
71. Eudes J. (1909) Vol X Letter XXV. The reference to the Nancy Sisters not having obtained Bulls is erroneous.

72. Ory J. op. cit. p.115
73. ibid. p.116
74. Until recently Eudes' biographers had attributed to him the invention of the 4th Vow for refuge sisters, but it is clear that this was already in use at Nancy at the times Eudes founded the Caen refuge.
75. Notre Dame de Charite (1737) p.29
76. ibid. p.30
77. ibid. p. 32
78. ibid. p.35
79. ibid. p.50
80. ibid. p.53
81. ibid. p.54
82. ibid. p.77
83. Stopp E. (1962) p.206
84. Notre Dame de Charite (1739) Part 4 p.174
85. ibid. p.173
86. ibid. p.180
87. ibid p.308
88. ibid. p.310
89. Hostie R. (1972) p.35
90. Campbell-Jones S. (1979) p.85.
91. Doerner K. op. cit. pp.114-115
92. Anthony P. op. cit. p.38
93. Ory J. op. cit. p.641
94. Cada L. (1979) p.36

## Chapter 2

1. The main biographical details of the early life of Rose-Virginie Pelletier are taken from the three major biographers who worked from primary sources:  
 Portais C. (1898)  
 Pasquier H. (1893)  
 Georges E. (1942)  
 Other works on Mother Pelletier are to be found in the bibliography
2. Pasquier H. op. cit. Vol 1 p.28
3. Portais C. op. cit. Vol 1 p.109f.
4. Pelletier St. M.E. (1907) p.408
5. Ory J.(1891) p.539f.
6. Portais C. op. cit. Vol 1 p.73f.
7. Vide page 43 supra
8. Handley M. (1940) p.98
9. Georges E. op. cit. p.50
10. Poinset M. (1968) p.71
11. Portais C. op. cit. Vol 1 pp.117-118
12. BPAH:l-C.M. Les Actes du Proces de Canonisation: Temoinage de R.P. le Dore p.181
13. Unpublished letter translated by Fr. C. Guillon and made available by the Eudist Fathers Archives in Rome:  
 Mother Pelletier to the Superior of the Refuge of Our Lady of Charity at Saint Briec 12th. December 1826
14. Poinset M. op. cit. p.74 describes the class as inclusive of both orphans and preservation girls; Bruley E. (1931) p.32, Georges E. op. cit. p.57, and Portais, C. p. 133 refer to orphans only; and Pasquier C. op. cit. makes not reference. On balance it seems likely that there was one class containing

both types of child. The separate small boarding school for the catholic education of children of middle class parents was probably a temporary expedient and, given Mother Pelletier's explicit views, it is not shown on the diagram of the Tours Refuge.

15. Handley M. op. cit. p.105 & Powers G. (1940) p.117
16. BPAH:l-CB Vol3 Mother Pelletier to Mother David 18th March 1838
17. Unpublished letter translated by Fr. C. Guillin:  
Mother Pelletier to Mgr. Sillani, Archbishop of Colombo, Ceylon
18. George E. op. cit. p.57
19. Portais C. op. cit. p.134n.2
20. Vide page 46 supra
21. Vide n.75 Chapter 1 references supra
22. Vide page 38 supra
23. Vide n.79 Chapter 1 references supra
24. Vide pages 29-31 supra
25. Chevalier L. (1973) p.116
26. McDonald L. (1982) & PRO:H045/OS5799
27. Perrot M. (1975) pp.67-91 & May M. (1973) p.15
28. Hugo V. (1959) Extract cited in Chevalier L op. cit. p.115
29. Gaillac H. (1971) p.21f. & pp.140-141
30. Portais C. op. cit. p.141
31. *ibid* p.144
32. BPAH:RA-4 Mother Pelletier's conference to novices 14th January 1867 quoted in Annales de Monastere de Notre Dame de Charite du Bon Pasteur d'Angers Redaction IV p.2
33. Chassagne S. (1970) esp. pp.85-93, 209 & p.278f.
34. BPAH:RA-4 Annales IV op. cit. p.6
35. *ibid*. p.56
36. Pelletier St. M.E. (1907) p.373 (French edition)
37. BPAH:RA-2 Annales op. cit. Redaction II p.18
38. BPAH:RB-1 Premier Livre du Chapitre p.12
39. *ibid*.
40. BPAH:RB-2 Catalogue des Religieuses de la Congregation de Notre Dame de Charite du Bon Pasteur, Professe de la Maison Mere d'Angers Register Entry no. 11
41. BPAH:RA-1 Annales op. cit. Redaction I p.24
42. BPAH:RB-1 Premier Livre du Chapitre p.48
43. BPAH:RA-4 Annales IV op. cit. p.114
44. Gaillac H. op. cit. p.27 f.
45. Powers g. op. cit. p.185
46. BPAH:l-CB Vol 2 Mother Pelletier to Mother Lavoye at Metz
47. Pezzoli D. (1964) p.52
48. BPAH:RA-4 Annales IV op. cit. p.114
49. Bon Pasteur (1839) Regles des Souers Penitentes Consacres du Bon Pasteur 1st Edition
50. Each of the houses was founded as a result of requests from bishops and lay people who had heard of the work at Angers and who already seemed to regard it as a quite distinct order from Our Lady of Charity.
51. Notre Dame de Charite (1739) Part 3 Article V p.16
52. Vide n.12 supra
53. Pinas A (1901) p.259f.
54. BPAH:RA-4 Annales IV op. cit. p.45
55. BPAH:RB-1 Premier Livre ud Chapitre p.36
56. *ibid*. p.77

57. Pinas A. op. cit. p.262 & Perain O.(1976) p.18f.
58. Memorandum of the Tours Refuge to the Bishop of Angers  
19th May 1833
59. Decret relatif a l'Establissement d'un Generalat pour les Dames  
du Bon Pasteur in Bon Pasteur(1836) p.46
60. Bref pour L'Erection de Generalat in Bon Pasteur (1836) p.46
61. Bon Pasteur (1836) Constitutions pour les Religieuses de la  
Congregation de Notre Dame de Charite du Bon Pasteur d'Angers  
Constitutions LI & LII pp.167-177
62. Ibid. Constitution XXXII pp.122-124
63. Ibid. Constitution II p.68
64. Vide page 49 supra
65. Bon Pasteur(1836) op. cit. Constitution I p.64
66. Gaillac H. op. cit. p.116 & Pinas A. op. cit. p.263
67. Georges E. op. cit. p.xii
68. Joly H. (1901) p.7
69. Pinas A. op. cit. p.259f.
70. Comment by Mgr. de Chilleau quoted in Portais C. op. cit. p.126
71. Vide n.12 supra

### Chapter 3

1. Mayhew H. (1861) p.xxxv
2. See for example:  
Pearson M. (1972) which refers to Cardinal Manning's concern  
but makes no mention of roman catholic work  
Basch F. (1974) does not include roman catholic institutions  
among the refuges she cites  
Trudgill E. (1976) refers to Church of England and evangelical  
work only
3. Rock P. (1976) p.354  
Stedman-Jones (1976) p.296
4. Gruggen G. & Keating J.(1901) p.48f.
5. BPAH:l.C-9 Count de Neuville to Mother Pelletier 22nd April  
1833
6. BPAH:l.C-10 ibid. 30th January 1839
7. Norman E. (1984) p.29f.
8. BPAH:EA-6 Sister Levoyer to Mother Pelletier 11th May 1840  
'We have learned from Mademoiselle Santerre that  
there are several homes like ours held by  
Protestants.'  
She referred to them again in her first letter from  
London on 1st June 1840 as each 'composed of 3 Or 4  
hundred'.
9. Longford e.(1972) Vol 2 p.113f.
10. BPAH:RA Livre d'Annales Version1(IIA) p.220f.
11. Vide n. 8 supra
12. BPAF: Livre de Couvent de Lille
13. BPAH:EA-6 Sister levoyer to Mother Pelletier 1st June 1840
14. BPAH:EA-6 Fully described in the exchange of letters between  
Sister Gabriel of Lille and Mother Pelletier May  
to July 1840
15. BPAH:RA Livres d'Annales Version 2 p.208
16. Vide n. 10 supra
17. BPAH:RB-2 Catalogue des Religieuses, entries 439, 444, & 445
18. Vide n.10 supra
19. BPAH:l-CB Mother Pelletier to Sr. David 8th July & 23rd July  
1840; Mother Pelletier to Sr. de Couespel 20th July 1840

20. Maupoint A.(1864) p.5 & p.279f. and  
BPAH:l-CB Bishop Herce to Mother Pelletier July to  
December 1840
21. BPRAA:CB Vol V 1920 Mother Pelletier to Sister Regaudiat  
14th November 1840
22. Hawkes J. (1982)
23. GSBA:R-5/1 Hammersmith Annals Vol 1 p.7
24. Faulkner T.(1839) p.239f. & 391f.
25. GSBA:l/20 Unpublished manuscript life of Mother Regaudiat 1852  
by Emma Raimbach Autograph version p.27
26. Vide n.10 supra
27. Gillow J.(1887) Vol 3
28. Bisgood M. (1963) p.116f.
29. BPRAA:CB Vol V 1920-1942 Mother Pelletier's letters to Sister  
Regaudiat from 14th December 1840
30. Vide n.10 supra
31. Vide n.29 supra
32. ibid.
33. Vide n.10 supra and BPAH:HC-35 Hammersmith Community Letter  
18th November 1841
34. BPRAA:CB Vol 5 1924 Mother Pelletier to Sr. Regaudiat  
26th January 1841
35. GSBA:l/20 pp.29-30
36. BPRAA:CB Vol 5 1924
37. BPAH:l.C-8 Bishop Herce to Mother Pelletier 9th February 1841
38. GSBA:l/13 Unpublished edited version of Emma Raimbach's Life  
of Mother Regaudiat p.31
39. ibid.
40. BPRAA:CB Vol 5 1926 Mother Pelletier to Sr. Regaudiat  
10th February 1841
41. GSBA:l/20 p.35
42. BPRAA:CB Vol V 1930 Mother Pelletier to Sr. Regaudiat  
17th March 1841
43. GSBA:R-4/1 Hammersmith Chapter Book Vol 1
44. GSBA:R-6/1 Hammersmith Penitents Entrance Book Vol 1 p.2
45. ibid. & GSBA:R-4/1
46. GSBA:R-5/1 p.14
47. BPAH:HC-35 Hammersmith Community Letter 18th November 1841
48. GSBA:R-6/1
49. BPAH:HC-35 Hammersmith Community Letter 18th November 1841
50. ibid.
51. BPRAA:CB Vol 5 1942 Mother Pelletier to Sr. Regaudiat  
12th December 1841
52. GSBA:R-5/1 p.11
53. ibid p.27
54. GSBA:l/20 p.43
55. BPRAA:CB Vol 5 1950 Mother Pelletier to Sister Regaudiat  
8th November 1842
56. GSBA:R-4/1
57. GSBA:l/20 p.157f.
58. GSBA:R-5/1 p.23
59. ibid p.19
60. ibid pp.25-27
61. GSBA: R-4/1 & R-6/1
62. GSBA:R-5/1 pp.29-30
63. GSBA:A-2/5/2 Hammersmith Community Letter 8th December 1844  
& GSBA:R-4/1
64. BPRAA:CB Vol V 1959 Mother Pelletier to Mother Regaudiat  
2nd November 1844

65. GSBA:A-2/5/2 & R-4/1
66. GSBA:A-4/5 Hammersmith Book of Benefactors and Subscribers  
& BPAH:HC-35 Hammersmith Community Letter 2nd November 1844
67. GSBA:R-6/1
68. GSBA:A-2/5/2 & R-4/1
69. *ibid.*
70. GSBA:R-6/1 p.9
71. GSBA:R-5/1 pp.34-35
72. GSBA:A-2/5/3 Hammersmith Community Letter 8th January 1846
73. *ibid.*
74. GSBA:R-5/1 p.34
75. *ibid* pp. 32-33
76. *ibid* p. 34
77. *ibid.*
78. GSBA:R-6/2 Hammersmith Penitents Entrance Book Vol 2 1888
79. Finnegan F.(1979) p.76  
Tait W.(1852) p.32
80. GSBA:R-3/1 Provincial Register 1865
81. GSBA:R-5/2 Hammersmith Annals Vol 2 1887  
GSBA:R-6/1 1848
82. GSBA :A-2/5/2 & R-4/1
83. GSBA:R-5/1 p.38
84. *ibid.* p.45
85. *ibid.*
86. *ibid* p.39
87. BPAH:HC-35 Hammersmith Community Letter 15th December 1845
88. GSBA:R-5/1 p.53
89. *ibid.* p.59
90. *ibid.* p.61
91. *ibid.*
92. HL:PAH/1/6 Hammersmith Vestry Book 1847-60 pp.37-47
93. HL:PAH/1/5 Hammersmith Vestry Book 1836-45
94. BPAH:HC-35 Hammersmith Community Letter 21st December 1849  
& GSBA:R-5/1 p.99
95. GSBA:R-5/1 p.157
96. GSBA:R-4/1
97. Angers General Council to Mother Regaudiat 15th July 1850  
cited in R-5/1 p.154
98. GSBA:R-5/1 p.181
99. GSBA:R-5/1 p.49 and R-6/1 p.20
100. *ibid.*
101. GSBA:R-5/1 pp.183-185 and R-6/1 pp. 38, 104, & 115
102. GSBA:R-4/1
103. GSBA:R-8/1 Annual Receipts and Expenditure Book  
& RX-2/2 Daily Receipts and Expenditure Book
104. Manton J (1976) p.225 The Government Inspector, Rev. Sydney  
Turner, never felt at ease with nuns yet he was surprised at  
at the results of the Good Shepherd reformatory an industrial  
schools which ranked among the best, reclaiming 7 or 8 girls  
out of ten.
105. GSBA:R-5/1 p.291f.
106. GSBA:A-2/5/5 Hammersmith Community Letter 27th December 1857
107. GSBA:R-8/1
108. GSBA:R-13/1 Bristol Annals Vol 1 p.152
109. GSBA:R-5/1 p.326
110. *ibid.* p.399f.
111. GSBA:R-13/5 p.482 & R-27/3 Cardiff Annals 1886
112. GSBA:A-2/5/7 Hammersmith Community Letter 24th December 1862
113. GSBA:R-14/2 Bristol Reformatory School Register



114. GSBA:R-5/1 p.433
115. GSBA:R-5/2 p.306
116. Greg w.(1850) p.471
117. Acton W.(1870) p.266f.
118. Charles Dickens to Angela Burdett-Coutts 1847 quoted in Orton D.(1980)
119. For the account of Urania Cottage see:  
Orton D.(1980) p.116, 132-146, & 179  
Collins P.(1965) p.94f.  
Healey E. (1978) p.93f.

#### Chapter 4

1. Shaw A.(1966) Chapter 13.
2. *ibid.*
3. Bartripp P.(1981) p.155
4. McDonald L.(1982 p.404
5. Tomlinson M. (1981) p.133
6. Ruggles-Brise E.(1921) p.29
7. Tallack W. (1889) p.29
8. PP (1863) Paper 3190 p.70
9. Taylor F. Irish Homes and Irish Hearts (1867) p.29f.  
(typescript copy)
10. PRO:HO45/9318/16208/1
11. PRO:HO45/9318/16208/3
12. PRO:HO45/9318/16208/2
13. *ibid.*
14. PRO:HO45/9318/16208/4
15. PRO:HO45/9318/16208/8, 10 & 13
16. PRO:HO45/9318/16208/7 and see also:  
Kerr C.(1922) & Gallwey P.(1890) pp.125-163
17. PRO:HO45/9318/16208/11 and McConville S.(1981) p.427  
A third refuge was eventually established at Streatham
18. GSBA:R-24/3 Brook Green Annals (2nd Redaction) p.2
19. GSBA:R-20/1 Finchley Annals Vol 1 p.3
20. GSBA:R-24/3
21. PRO:HO45/OS6840 Mr. E. Ryley to the Secretary of the Poor Law  
Board 23rd February 1859
22. SJE:DZ Canon John Morris to Cardinal Wiseman 10th September  
1862
23. GSBA: R-24/3
24. GSBA:A-17/3/6 Lady Lothian to Mother Weld 26th April 1865
25. Faulkner T. (1839)
26. GSBA:A-17/6 Minute Book of the Committee for Catholic Female  
Prisoners 10th February 1866
27. *ibid.* 16th February 1866
28. GSBA:A-17/1/1 Canon Jacques to Archbishop Manning  
14th January 1866
29. GSBA:A-17/1/2 Draft reply of Canon Morris 14th January 1866
30. GSBA:A-17/2/1 Canon Morris to Mr. Theodore Galton  
26th January 1866
31. GSBA:R-5/1 Hammersmith Annals Vol 1 p.509
32. GSBA:R-24/3 p.5
33. GSBA:R-5/1 p.510
34. *ibid.* p.511
35. GSBA:R-24/3 p.6
36. GSBA:A-17/2/2 Mr. Galton to Mother Weld 27th February 1866

37. GSBA:A-17/2/3 Mr. Galton to Mother Weld 27th February 1866
38. GSBA:A-17/2/4 Mother Weld to a committee member 8th March 1866
39. GSBA:R-25/1 Convict Refuge Register Vol 1 p.5A
40. GSBA: R-5/1 p.514
41. *ibid.*
42. *ibid.*
43. GSBA: A-17/3/5 Lady Lothian to Mother Weld 5th March 1866
44. GSBA:R-5/1 p.517
45. GSBA:A-17/1/9 Canon Jacques to Bishop of Namur 18th March 1866
46. GSBA:R-24/3 p.7
47. GSBA:A-17/1/10 Enclosure in letter of Mr. G. Cunninghame to Canon Morris 23rd April 1866
48. GSBA:A-17/6 26th March 1866
49. GSBA:A-17/2/5 Archbishop Manning to Mr. Cunninghame 28th March 1866  
& A-17/3/14 Lady Lothian to Mother Weld u.d.
50. GSBA:R-5/1 p.518
51. *ibid.* p.522
52. GSBA:A-17/1/8 Canon Jacques to Mr. Cunninghame 13th April 1866
53. GSBA:A-17/2/6 Mother Weld to Committee 26th April 1866
54. GSBA:A-17/3/3 Lady Lothian to Mr. Cunninghame April 1866
55. GSBA:A-17/2/9 Mother Weld to Committee 17th May 1866
56. GSBA:A-17/6 26th October 1866
57. *ibid.* 8th February 1867
58. GSBA:A-17/4 First Report of Eagle House Refuge 1867 p.6
59. PRO:HO45/9318/16208/16 and GSBA:A-17/6 6th December 1867
60. PRO:HO45/9318/16208/17
61. PRO:HO45/9318/16208/32
62. GSBA:R-24/3 p.17
63. GSBA:A-17/4 p.9
64. Barnado Mrs & Marchant J.(1907) p.154f  
Bready J.(1935) p.212f.  
Williams A.(1953) pp.126-131  
Williams G.(1966) p.125f.  
Orton D.(1980) pp.134 & 145  
Collins D.(1965) p.101
65. GSBA:A-17/4 p.10
66. GSBA:R-24/3 p.44
67. Report of the Progress and Work of the Society for the Relief of Discharged Catholic Prisoners 1878
68. GSBA:A-5/2 Hammersmith Annals Vol 2 p.214
69. GSBA:R-24/3 p.36
70. W. Fisher, Superintendent of Hammersmith Metropolitan Police to the Commissioner 27th January 1870 quoted in GSBA:R-24/3
71. GSBA:R-20/1 p.220
72. GSBA:A-17/4 p.3
73. Manton J.(1976) p.193
74. GSBA:R-5/2 p.227
75. GSBA:R-25/3 Convict Refuge Register Vol 3 D106 p.321
76. GSBA:R-20/1 p.272f.
77. GSBA:A-17/8 Convict Refuge Book of Incidents p.44
78. *ibid.*
79. *ibid.* p.63
80. Smith A.(1962) p.125f.
81. GSBA:A-5/13 Finchley Community Letter 3rd December 1887
82. GSBA:R-25/1 p.73 No.637
83. PRO:HO45/9318/16208 nd GSBA:RX-2/4 Hammersmith Account Book

84. GSBA:R-24/3 p.39
85. GSBA:A-2/7
86. GSBA:R-20/1 p.77
87. ibid pp.78-79
88. GSBA:R-24/3 p.60
89. GSBA:R-20/1 p.84
90. ibid. p.145
91. ibid. p.148
92. ibid. p.151-152
93. ibid. p.152
94. GSBA:A-2/5/13
95. GSBA:RX-6/1; RX-5/1; RX-2/5 1903 Account Books for Finchley, Liverpool, and Hammersmith
96. GSBA:A-22/10
97. GSBA:R-25/4 Convict Refuge Register Vol 4 p.336 No.R13

### Chapter 5

1. 61 & 62 Vict.c.60 1898 Inebriates Act
2. Greenwood J.(1869) p.332
3. HarrisonB.(1971) p.19f.
4. McHugh P.(1980) p.170
5. Acton W.(1870)  
Logan W.(1871)  
Tait W.(1852)  
Mayhew H.(1862)
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53. A photocopy of the plan is shown at Appendix 6.
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