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**EDUCATION FOR GIRLS IN THE HOUSE OF THE GOOD SHEPHERD IN
THE UNITED STATES, 1940 TO 1980**

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Curriculum and Foundations

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History

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents, Gilbert Dexter and Elaine Margaret Colbary Howard, who gave me the inspiration to accomplish my goals; To my son, Joseph Michael Fortunato, Jr. whose life gives me a place in the future; And to my husband, Colonel Martin Alexander Phillips III, who is my beloved kindred spirit and my rock during every storm.

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My heart is forever impressed by the beauty and grace of the women who participated in this research. Their trust and affection is regarded as the most precious treasure shared between humans. I am so grateful to the dear Sisters

of the Good Shepherd, who welcomed me with unconditional love and respect; sharing their table and quarters with me during my research. Their openness and sincerity are hallmarks of the standards of their beloved foundress, Saint Mary Euphrasia, who instructed her daughters to do all in the spirit of the institute and to be full of love and charity for all souls.

I extend a deep feeling of love and gratitude for the members in Cohort XVI, especially Dr. Kay MacAtee and Dr. Aaron Ellington. Kay has been a big support throughout the program in class and informal fun settings. She always has a delightful smile and a sunny disposition. I was encouraged to see both Kay and Aaron in the audience during my defense. Aaron provided support as no other could have. He helped me over rough spots in some of the coursework and partnered with me on class projects. Words cannot express the affection I feel for both of these individuals.

I must include a mention of "Mother Druid", Dorothea Elizabeth Davis (1913-2003). She taught me to look to nature for the most valuable lessons about life. I learned that sheep were more than a flock of animals to tend, but were teachers of a higher order. I never knew that selflessness and patience were the keys to becoming a better person and scholar until she taught me to care for the innocent lambs in her flock. Somehow there must be an ethereal connection between her and Saint Mary Euphrasia. I did not put it together until I was writing the concluding chapter of this dissertation. I miss her deeply.

Last, but not least, I thank my family. They were with me through all the personal trials such as, my husband's year-long deployment to Iraq and household damage caused by the flood in 2006. My father taught me to be fearless and brave and walk the walk. My mother taught me to be resourceful. I used these skills repeatedly during my research and thank both of them for teaching me to forge my own pathways any time I could. I am the first college graduate in the history of both sides of the family and reached the pinnacle of PhD by standing tall on the shoulders of my parents. Thank You.

**EDUCATION FOR GIRLS IN THE HOUSE OF THE GOOD SHEPHERD IN
THE UNITED STATES, 1940 TO 1980**

NANCYMARIE PHILLIPS

ABSTRACT

Convent education has sought to impart a set of moral values that would lead to a productive life, both spiritually and socially. The foundress of the Good Shepherd Sisters started a convent-based social service institution for vulnerable women and girls in Europe that evolved into a postsecondary education system in the United States for adolescent girls remanded by the judicial system. Convent education has been an underresearched area in the history of American education, and this dissertation takes parochial education for girls into account in the broad sweep of American educational developments. This historical study utilizes archival research, oral histories, student and teacher memoirs, and secondary sources to explore the Good Shepherd schools for girls in the mid-twentieth century United States. The Good Shepherd schools featured manual labor, occupational training, and academic instruction that played a significant role in shaping girls' identities.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Girls' Education in the House of the Good Shepherd, 1940 to 1980

Education provided by convents formed a foundation for spiritual and social development of girls from various backgrounds for more than 500 years. Family relationships, religious affiliation, and the girls' individual reasons for enrollment played a significant role in the level of education and training received. Troubled adolescent girls remanded by the Juvenile Court system to the House of the Good Shepherd¹ during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries entered a unique convent boarding school system specifically designed to redirect asocial behavior and instill a sense of self-respect.²

Convent education for girls in general is under-researched in the global view of women's education in the United States and other countries. Qualitative studies concerning social and personal redirection through Good Shepherd convent education written by the Good Shepherd Sisters have traditionally remained within Provincialate libraries or archives and are not readily available for public viewing. The valuable first-hand information contained in the Good

Shepherd Sisters' writings offer a rare glimpse into a specialized education and personal development system for adolescent girls that ended in 2001 in the United States because of financial difficulties and the diminishing numbers of dedicated women entering the Good Shepherd Novitiate.³

This dissertation explores and describes the policies and practices of the House of the Good Shepherd that started in Angers, France in 1829 and spread to the United States in 1842 as a self-sustaining social service home or refuge for abandoned women and girls. The study relies on archival research and oral history techniques, so that voices can be heard of women, former students and Sisters alike, who experienced the system first hand. Although the basic policies and procedures for managing and teaching the girls in their care were observed according to the foundress' instructions, some of the peripheral practices such as extracurricular activities differed because of funding or local customs. The Good Shepherd facilities throughout the United States became formal residential high schools in the 1930s, targeting redirection of troubled adolescent girls confined by the courts or distressed parents for various periods of time. In a few instances, girls presented themselves for interventions concerning their desire to leave an environment of sexual exploitation or other illegal activity. The House of the Good Shepherd transitioned from a social service refuge for women and girls to an accredited secondary boarding school system in response to laws regulating compulsory education of minor children and the needs of the confined girls.⁴

Good Shepherd School admission policies of the early nineteenth century initially permitted entrance by women and girls of varying ages, including very young girls for nonspecific time periods. Starting in the early twentieth century only troubled adolescent girls were accepted by the House of the Good Shepherd with the expectation they will remain with the Sisters for prolonged time periods of twelve to eighteen months.⁵ Family or clergy brought in girls considered incorrigible and hard to manage for various confinements ranging from several months to several years. Admission criteria in the early twentieth century limited admission to girls thirteen to eighteen years of age.⁶ Remand by the judicial system was a common practice because female prisons were crowded and could not accommodate the needs of adolescent girls. The majority of girls entering the House of the Good Shepherd in the United States during the twentieth century remained for a minimum term of one year.⁷ The preferred minimal term of confinement later extended to 18 months in an effort to have adequate time to effect a change in the girl's asocial behavior.⁸ Girls staying for shorter periods of time did not have lasting behavioral changes that affected their future life course. The United States census records refer to the consigned residents of the House of the Good Shepherd as wards, penitents or inmates.⁹ The term inmate specifically referred to girls consigned by the courts between 1940 and 1980.¹⁰

Catholic convent schools played a significant role in the history of women's education in Europe and North America between the eighteenth and twentieth centuries. Typical convent schools for adolescent girls prepared them

for adult female family roles and facilitated knowledge necessary for managing a husband's or in some cases a widowed father's households. Girls prepared for household tasks such as cooking, cleaning, rearing children, and serving male family members.¹¹ Moreover, girls received an education in Christianity in a Catholic inspired atmosphere. Non-Catholic girls were not required to study Catholicism, but had instruction in Christian beliefs and practices. Girls educated in rural convent settings raised small animals, usually chickens and tended gardens for food as part of their training. The emphasis at Good Shepherd Schools featured household tasks for daily living and acceptable womanly behaviors intertwined with an appropriate work ethic delivered within a Christian framework.¹²

Barbara Welter described the phenomenon of the "Cult of the True Woman" prevalent in the nineteenth century.¹³ The concept of learning womanly roles as described by Welter played a significant role in the development of the Good Shepherd School policies. Welter referred to the four cardinal virtues of woman as piety, purity, submission, and domesticity which figured highly in the development of Christian attitudes associated with education in the Good Shepherd schools. These four virtues were the pillars of a woman's existence. Piety bestowed dignity on a woman and prevented independence from encroaching into her thoughts. A pious woman was not distracted from the proper sphere of her home and remained humble. Purity was prized like a trophy. A fallen woman was better off dead. She could never reclaim her virtue.

Symbolically, Welter described a shriveled, dried white rose and proclaimed that death should be preferred to loss of innocence [purity].¹⁴

The girls in the Good Shepherd Schools were observed and controlled by the Sisters at all times. The girls learned to exercise self control and were trained to remodel their behavior in a socially acceptable manner. Marriage was not the aim of the girls' post release from the House of the Good Shepherd. However, the expectation was independent self care and possibly the care of other family members, such as an aging parent. The objective of the House of the Good Shepherd was not to influence the girls to enter religious life, but to instill Christian-based morals, values, and ethics.¹⁵

In North America, the increasing number of convent schools run by various orders of teaching Sisters between 1860 and 1930 emphasized an increased demand for organized education for girls and fostered the growth of Catholicism throughout the continent.¹⁶ Catholicism was largely considered an immigrant religion in the Protestant-dominated United States during this era.¹⁷ However, the Catholic convent schools emerged as a prominent private educational vehicle for girls of many faiths after 1900 because women religious were well educated.¹⁸ Historically, in countries such as France, women religious provided greater than 40 percent of all women's education.¹⁹

Submission to the re-education system in the House of the Good Shepherd permeated every waking moment of a girl's life while she was in the care of the Sisters. Although the Sisters required the girls to submit to the Good

Shepherd policies without exception, the future was not always foreshadowed by a life of lowliness or servitude to a husband or other person. Catholic identity as a wife in a Catholic family positioned the husband in a position of authority as the head of the household. The individual identity of the wife was often under his control. The Good Shepherd Sisters were not anti-marriage, but as Nancy Cott suggested in *The Bonds of Womanhood*, subjection to a husband in the sphere of a woman, did not imply inferiority.²⁰ She pointed out that a nineteenth century Christian woman was expected to suffer in silence and avoid a controversial spirit in her husband's home where she had some influence, but not necessarily any power. However, in the twentieth century a husband did not always dominate his wife and appreciated moderate individuality in the woman he selected to marry. Catholic teaching concerning family life mirrored this concept and did not specifically label the wife's opinion as unimportant in family decision-making.

Historically, training at a typical early convent school prepared Catholic girls for a religious life, but as more girls, Catholic and non-Catholic were educated in convent settings over the centuries, household and domestic responsibilities of being a wife and mother were featured over becoming intellectuals.²¹ Cott described that women were permitted to have dominion over the activities in the home, such as housework and child rearing. She believes that the "Cult of Domesticity" formulated during the postrevolutionary period of 1780 to 1835 became multiple facets of the woman's sphere extending into the

twentieth century that not only began with the household, but also expanded to roles in education, religion, and intimate friendships with other women.²² A woman formed bonds with other women who shared common circumstances that led to similar vocations in support of each other. A girl's future role in the home was to bring her family to God with her patience, diligence, and gentleness, but her role in the expansion of feminist consciousness as defined by Gerda Lerner was to perform within the realm of acceptable female vocations, such as teaching or social reform as she became aware of the knowledge associated with women's history.²³ According to Martha Vicinus, regardless of her activities the social construct required a woman to remember her subordinate place as a man's companion at all times.²⁴

The Good Shepherd Sisters began as a social service congregation and not a teaching order. However, they added the provision of education to girls in their care because of changing social needs and legal requirements regarding the education of minor children. Specific educational and developmental activities based on psychologic underpinnings of Christian womanly behavior established according to the foundress Mother Mary of Saint Euphrasia's (Rose Virginie Pelletier) guidelines became the cornerstone of the approach used by the teaching staff. These practices were consistently applied in all houses of the Good Shepherd throughout the world, with minor modifications only where cultural or ethnic influences required special attention. The consistency of the Sisters' responses to the situation involved with each penitent's re-education was

the key to the long-term success of the House of the Good Shepherd over all. During Mother Mary of Saint Euphrasia's lifetime, there were at least fifteen other lay Catholic groups taking charge of criminal women and girls that were not largely supported by the Bishops of the time. They differed from the Good Shepherd Sisters because they lacked a sense of order and purposeful organization. Each of the groups functioned independently, without a direct structure and prescribed method of reclaiming the fallen women to the fold.²⁵

In the late nineteenth century during the conversion of the Good Shepherd Sisters' mission from social service agency to educational provider, the baseline curriculum varied in some geographic regions according to Catholic school practices, but generally included reading, numbers (not necessarily arithmetic in the beginning), social arts, and some homemaking skills, such as laundry, sewing, and cooking.²⁶ Catechism was taught to Catholic girls and generalized religion was presented to the non-Catholic girls. The Sisters taught reading twice per day using religious material, permitting subliminal religious instruction for non-Catholic girls.²⁷

The Good Shepherd Sisters interjected Christianity and morality into each lesson without overtly trying to convert the students of other religions to Catholicism. In their hearts they wished all non-Catholic girls in their care to experience a religious conversion, but realistically, the Sisters focused on values and good citizenship. The goal of the House of the Good Shepherd was not necessarily to entice the girls into monastic life, but to instill values and ideals in

line with traditional Christian thinking and socially acceptable behaviors.²⁸ One criticism made by Reverend James A. Burns, a historian of Catholic education, described the over-emphasis of imitative behaviors and lack of originality in the typical convent school. He wrote that convent schools taught girls about cultural skills and presented little in the way of teaching life skills for any type of future employment outside the home.²⁹ The Good Shepherd Sisters taught both household management and limited employment skills as part of the vocational and commercial curriculum in the school.

The literature on the history of religious education reports relevant attributes of convent life and the relationship of Nuns and Sisters as educated women since the beginning of recorded religious history by describing the requirement of literacy in the monasteries.³⁰ In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, instruction of females in monastic settings incorporated training in religious letters and oral readings of prayer.³¹ Knowledge of the Nun's [or Sister's] required ability to read prayers caused the general population to equate this quality to the Nuns being educated. In the nineteenth century, wealthy families in Europe and America, both Catholic and non-Catholic, sent their daughters to the Nuns to learn the rudiments of knowledge that included reading, writing, and simple numbers necessary for running a husband's household.³²

There were many differences among Catholic female religious orders. This raises questions of how each group differed in the application of educational

policies and attainment of learning objectives with women and girls from differing backgrounds. Approaches to education used by the women religious had strong ties to their own personal roles within the Catholic religion. Before continuing, it is necessary to define two key self-descriptive terms used by the women educators to describe their level of personal obligation and interaction between the Catholic Church and the world.

The literature uses the terms Nun and Sister synonymously to describe women religious.³³ This is an inaccurate usage, however, because Nuns and Sisters differ in vows, lifestyle, and societal role. Nuns take solemn vows³⁴ for life, live apart from the world in an enclosed contemplative community, and do not take an active role in society. They are involved with worship and prayer or performance of necessary tasks associated with daily living. Nuns address each other as *Sister* during conversation. However this does not imply a distinction in vows.

Sisters, on the other hand, take simple vows,³⁵ live in congregation, and take an active apostolic role in society as social workers, teachers, or nurses. The women religious described in this dissertation are Sisters and currently live in an active community. Before Vatican Council II the Good Shepherd Sisters were enclosed [cloistered] and wore the white habit of the foundress as part of their unified identity. The Good Shepherd Sisters attained graduate and postgraduate degrees while cloistered in response to the changes to their mission and the requirements of providing accredited education. A few Catholic universities met

the Sisters' educational needs by sending professors into the convent to preside over the degree coursework. By the 1940s, many of the Good Shepherd Sisters attained high levels of education, levels that were out of reach to the majority of women who had only a high school diploma. After Vatican Council II in 1964, the Sisters were no longer cloistered and were free to attend classes at a University. The Sisters' attire was modernized to include simple dresses or trousers.

Not all Sisters were happy with the loss of the religious habit. I suggest that the habit was symbolic of their identity and modern attire did not offer the outward visual signal of being a woman religious. In 1965, there were 179,954 Catholic Sisters and Nuns in the United States. As of 1997, there were 87,644 remaining.³⁶ Some died or retired, but many left for various reasons and were not replaced. Sister Patricia Wittberg from the Order of the Visitation said she believed the "woman's movement" was partly to blame because it opened doors beyond the typical career of teacher, nurse, secretary, or Nun.³⁷ She pointed out that Vatican II stated that women religious were "no holier than anyone else." "So why bother? The role of the Nun was absolutely torpedoed by Vatican II."³⁸ The decrees of Vatican II are not the focus of this dissertation. However, for the Good Shepherd Sisters, the change of attire was a blow, but the other freedoms, such as release from enclosure enhanced their role as social workers with fallen women and girls. I have incorporated some of the stories of current and former Good Shepherd Sisters in later Chapters of this dissertation.

Historically, the women and girls in the House of the Good Shepherd referred to a Sister as "Mother" and the Sisters referred to the girls as "children" collectively or "girls." The philosophical premise of the convent system required the Sisters to demonstrate behaviors becoming of a mother figure for the girls to emulate.³⁹ The foundress extended this practice to include the Sisters under their own charge. The Sisters of the order called the superiors "Mother" and the superiors called the Sisters "daughter."⁴⁰

The exchange and application of the familial titles conditioned the women religious and the girls for subordinate positions within the convent system.⁴¹ Some of Mother Mary of Saint Euphrasia's Ursuline education influenced her ideas about reforming fallen women as demonstrated by the use of the mother figure in the design of her re-education process. Saint Angela Merici, the foundress of the Ursulines used mentoring and role modeling of the mother figure as examples of Christian womanhood in the sixteenth century.⁴² Motherhood as a philosophical framework added to Christian values offered additional benefits to the family if the mother was educated in republican values such as democracy, politics, and independence. Women had influence over husbands and families serving social and political functions according to their level of education and independence. Linda Kerber stated that as "Americans enlarged the scope, resonance, and power of republicanism" patriarchal forces lost some strength.⁴³ One could debate whether republican motherhood was a step closer to political equality or just another ploy to maintain her subservience

in the home. A woman had one foot firmly rooted in the home as the “teacher” of freedom to her children, but had the other foot loosely positioned in the social world as an unclearly defined political force. Kerber argued that “republican womanhood [motherhood] was an effort to bring older versions of the separate spheres into rough conformity with newer politics that valued autonomy and individualism.”⁴⁴

The majority of the confined girls had minimal mother figure contact or exposure to a stable family social structure before placement in the system. Consequently, they had difficulty adjusting to expected behavior patterns associated with following parental oriented instruction.⁴⁵ The Sisters modeled maternal behaviors as an example of mothering for the girls to emulate even though biologically speaking the Sisters were not usually mothers themselves. This raises questions about Sisters who profess to teach motherhood in any aspect when they have not experienced physical maternity. How could they support the notion of encouraging family life when they had left their own families to live a celibate lifestyle?⁴⁶

Critics could argue that celibacy is a counter-model for educating a Republican mother, who should be self-sacrificing for the sake of family and country. They could argue that women religious should not be educating girls because the girls’ first encounter with education will have undue influence, imprinting lasting impressions concerning subordination versus an active role in the community.⁴⁷ The Sisters’ presumed emphasis on spirituality and expected

womanly behaviors could leave young girls lacking in the knowledge of the world and democratic society. A common belief centered on the value of women teaching girls about the importance of meeting the societal definition of womanhood. Critics of convent education implied that the teachings premised in subordination and humility did not support the intellectualization of women.⁴⁸ I was drawn to this research because feminist historians of women religious, such as JoAnn McNamara and Janet Stuart Erskine, have not studied or reported about the lived experiences of girls in the Sisters' care.

Education in the House of the Good Shepherd

This study examines the policies affecting the lived experiences of the girls in the House of the Good Shepherd during the period 1940 to 1980 against the backdrop of America and Catholicism and the social atmosphere of the period. Several wars⁴⁹ and the resultant change in the socioeconomic climate framed the Sisters' instructional effort. These broad issues triggered change in the societal roles and expectations of women in the United States as they sought to fulfill the needs of the country. The Sisters responded to the workforce needs during WWII by emphasizing career-oriented work, such as stenography and merchant roles that filled the void left by those citizens who directly participated in the war effort. Domestic talents continually developed in the forefront of daily life for the students, but a sense of citizenship sparked by the Catholic Church opened new vistas. Some of the graduates enlisted in the female branches of the military and a few participants in this study trained as border guards.⁵⁰

The Good Shepherd Sister's approach to instruction, referred to as re-education⁵¹ of adolescent girls, is an under-researched aspect of women's education in America. Much of the information collected and studied for this dissertation is from the oral histories and personal stories of women, who as adolescent girls, lived at the House of the Good Shepherd in various cities and attended high school under the tutelage of the Sisters. Each participant is a volunteer. Several of the Sisters have contributed stories of their experiences in Good Shepherd Schools. The informants are the experts of their experiences and serve to corroborate and validate the data reported in this study. This study gives voice to the women involved with this form of education from the perspectives of both student and teacher.

Girls educated in the House of the Good Shepherd between the years 1940-1980 had different levels of advantage before entering the school. Many of the girls who attended the Good Shepherd schools during this 40-year period were delinquent or considered at risk and remanded by the court or child protective services. Delinquent girls in the United States during this period sometimes had the option of entering a juvenile detention facility for their term of confinement or a House of the Good Shepherd. Religion was not a consideration for admission, but girls convicted of violent crimes, such as arson, battery, or murder were not offered places for fear of harming the population of the facility.⁵² Few girls who chose the House of the Good Shepherd after conviction for a crime had two stable parents at home, and most had little

positive family influence. The House of the Good Shepherd seemed like the lesser of two evils and was often selected instead of the juvenile correctional facilities.⁵³

Some girls believed that the House of the Good Shepherd was a respite from the daily torment of home life where the home was unsupervised and chaotic. Many of the girls came from homes run by single parents who had minimal education and lived below the poverty level. Alcohol and/or substance abuse were difficult issues to overcome in this environment. One woman recounts how her drunken father beat her so severely that she had a ruptured kidney that required removal.⁵⁴ The court placed her in the House of the Good Shepherd for her last two years of high school.

Many of the girls suffered sexual abuse and various forms of domestic violence at the hands of one or both parents. Step-mothers or step-fathers were common abusers according to the women in this study. Sexual assault or molestation by the girl's father or other family member or her mother's husbands or boyfriends left lasting emotional scars.⁵⁵ Repeated sexual abuse sometimes resulted in promiscuous behavior. Promiscuous and unruly girls had many interactions with the law and were at risk for serious legal trouble as they entered adulthood.⁵⁶

For most girls, the House of the Good Shepherd was the first form of daily routine they ever experienced. Many girls had no regular times to eat, sleep, study, or do chores before they arrived. The structure and routine activities

offered a sense of stability and predictability in their lives. After 1900, most of the Houses of the Good Shepherd offered classes and industrial workshops where the girls could perform general daily tasks in a supervised environment and learn a skill for future employment. The process of learning these skills in an industrial environment, such as a commercial laundry, provided income for the facility. These productive activities continued into the mid-twentieth century.

Other girls found this highly structured environment threatening and restrictive. They craved the freedom and lack of supervision they had at home. Many of these girls ran away only to be returned to the House of the Good Shepherd by local authorities. Some girls ran away and returned more than once.⁵⁷ If a girl ran away three times, she was not welcomed back to the school.⁵⁸ She then became a ward of the court placed in a state-run facility.⁵⁹ Some girls who could not return felt deep regret for leaving and reported a sense of rejection by barred reentry.⁶⁰ Some girls who left returned voluntarily committing to a promise of taking better instruction from the Sisters.⁶¹

The majority of the girls reported feeling “safe and protected”⁶² at the House of the Good Shepherd and grew fond of the Sisters, forming attachments that lasted a lifetime. The women discussed in this dissertation are between the ages of 50 and 90 years and still recount their years in the House of the Good Shepherd with fondness, referring to the Good Shepherd Sisters as their “Heart Mothers.”⁶³ The Sisters voiced nostalgic memories of the “girls” and their experiences in the House of the Good Shepherd. The Sisters’ stories

encompassed each girl's arrival, progress [or regress], personality, and departure. The Sisters often added a short postscript about the girl's life course as far as marriage, children, and career. Facial expressions of the Sisters during my meetings with them revealed sincere emotion and engagement with the memories.

In Peekskill, New York, Villa Loretto was one of fifty-nine Good Shepherd facilities established in the United States that worked with 30,000 girls of all races aged 13 to 21 years between the years 1857 and 1957.⁶⁴ For a list of the Good Shepherd convents and schools see Appendix A. Many of the girls, graduates, and former Good Shepherd Sisters hold reunions periodically with the most recent being two years ago.⁶⁵ Other girls and graduates formerly housed at other locales of the House of the Good Shepherd and former Good Shepherd Sisters meet annually.⁶⁶

Many girls who graduated from the Good Shepherd Schools generally decline discussing their alma mater with strangers, but talk freely over the internet or through email with former students of other Good Shepherd Schools they never met face-to-face. The social implications of graduating from a boarding school for so-called "bad girls" had a suppressive effect. The social barriers and attitudes were difficult to face. Some Good Shepherd School graduates claimed to be dropouts rather than disclose where they went to school. In the early twentieth century, the Good Shepherd schools were given names in kind with regular Catholic Schools, such as the name of a Saint or

religious miracle. I note in my research with the women, that they refer to the schools they attended by the Catholic school style name and not the House of the Good Shepherd (i.e. Villa Loretto, or Villa Saint Rose). These names replaced terminology such as industrial school for girls or reform school. A few Good Shepherd schools, such as Portland, Omaha, and Cincinnati were dubbed "Girls' Town." This stemmed from a 1917 visit to the Omaha facility by Father Edward Flannigan. Later that same year he modeled his "Boys' Town" facility after the Good Shepherd schools.⁶⁷ Brochures in the archives at the Saint Louis Provincialate support the connection. One of the research participants from Portland emailed a copy of the Girls' Town brochure in PDF format for my files.⁶⁸

Headlines in the San Francisco Chronicle reported the closing of the local Good Shepherd School [University Mound School] in 1977 with the headline "*Where to Stash the Misfits?*"⁶⁹ The school began in 1932 and by 1977 had graduated or discharged 9,000 girls. The University Mound neighborhood was in an uproar over the disposition of the societal "misfits" that would have no place to reside once the school closed its doors.

The girls in the House of the Good Shepherd experienced significant changes in lifestyle while at the school, and some had little frame of reference by which to formulate their future social course post graduation. They learned some secretarial or clerking skills and took lower class jobs in retail. However, interpersonal relationship behaviors and attachment formation continued to reflect the early years of their identity with their former unstable family life. A

common theme of inability to form loving or trusting relationships surfaced during the oral history and story telling sessions. The women felt the impact caused by the abuses they suffered before arrival at the House of the Good Shepherd. Most of the women indicated they would not have made it to adulthood if they had not lived and learned with the Good Shepherd Sisters. All but two participants have expressed deep, ongoing affection for the Sisters now that they [the girls] are adults.⁷⁰

A sense of value pertaining to acceptable social citizenship and personal integrity blended by example into daily living was a hallmark of foundress Mother Mary of Saint Euphrasia's instruction and design for the re-education of troubled girls. Every action of the Good Shepherd Sisters represented a direct or indirect lesson promoting behavior befitting moral womanhood. The intrinsic framework and mission of the Good Shepherd Sisters reached beyond the religion and class origin of each girl to instill lasting impressions of piety and work ethic that played key roles in shaping the girls' identities. Humanistic theories, such as Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs⁷¹ had not been developed at the time the Good Shepherd Sisters began their re-education process. Eric Erikson's theory of childhood personality development⁷² was not in existence either, but Mother Mary of Saint Euphrasia incorporated large portions of both frameworks in her method of re-education for delinquent girls.⁷³ Her evaluation and plan of care for adolescent girls measured home life as it pertains to personality development as in Erikson's theories and motivation as in Maslow's theories for behavioral responses. The

combination of these theories, it could be asserted, formed the foundation of her approach to re-education.

Most of the Houses of the Good Shepherd received some per diem money from the state for each girl admitted from the local court from 1940 to 1980. Some Good Shepherd schools also received money from the Community Chest, currently known as the United Way, as charity providers. Families were asked to contribute financially on a sliding scale. The majority of the Good Shepherd schools supplemented their income by doing commercial laundry and sewing embroidered clothing. Rural facilities had gardens and small animal farms for provision of food. The girls in the facilities provided the manual labor as part of the re-education process. Each facility managed this workforce with slight variation according to the prosperity and socioeconomic climate of the community. Essentially, the labor supported the facility without formal wages for the workers. During the period of this study, a system of rewards and compensation was developed and implemented as described in Chapter III of this dissertation.

Some Houses of the Good Shepherd segregated girls of color because of social concerns, such as neighborhood bigotry in the location of the school. However, not all facilities practiced racial segregation. For example, Marycrest School in Cleveland and Saint Euphrasia School in Seattle had integrated student populations. Good Shepherd Schools in Chicago, Detroit, and Baltimore had separate facilities for the non-white students. In large metropolitan cities like

Chicago, the Good Shepherd Sisters established the Illinois Technical School for Colored Girls after the main school on the south side closed.⁷⁴

The Mission of the Good Shepherd Sisters and the Catholic Church

Chapter II of this dissertation describes the history of the Good Shepherd congregation from Europe to the United States. It concludes with brief histories of two Good Shepherd schools in the United States, Heart of Mary School in Chicago and Marycrest School in Cleveland. In what follows here, I discuss the Good Shepherd mission as the foundress envisioned it.

The Good Shepherd Sisters believed they had a calling and adopted the mission of working with who they termed fallen women and adolescent girls throughout the world. The Sisters adapted their day-to-day lifestyles whether it was dress, foods, or hours of prayer to accommodate the customs of the girls in their care.⁷⁵ Mother Mary of Saint Euphrasia emphasized the importance of the Sisters presenting themselves at the level of the girls' understanding.⁷⁶ They learned the languages of their charges and in the case of a Sister entering the congregation from a distant land, she would be sent back to her native land where she could hold a position of leadership responsibility over a new Good Shepherd facility.

The foundress believed that the strength of the Catholic Church and Christianity was rooted in the development of the adolescent girls who would become the women who would cement the family unit.⁷⁷ The Good Shepherd Sisters vowed to save fallen women and girls for the future of their immortal

souls. Foundress, Mother Mary of St. Euphrasia stated that "One soul is worth the whole world."⁷⁸ The registration logs document the attainment of the goal of "dying an edifying death"⁷⁹ when one of the students died while under the care of the Sisters. These common assumptions concerning the afterlife became an obligation detailed in the profession of vows to highlight their respective mission's magnitude concerning adolescent girls and women. Mother Mary of Saint Euphrasia stated the following, "You pledged yourself to labour in a special manner for the conversion of sinners, and the salvation of those poor sinful Magdalens who, under you, become penitent Magdalens."⁸⁰

In addition to the standard vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, the Good Shepherd Sisters take the following fourth vow of zeal for souls [to save souls], particularly of women and girls. "I bind myself to the labor for the conversion of fallen women and girls needing refuge from the temptation of the world."⁸¹

The House of the Good Shepherd in Louisville, Kentucky admitted its first penitent girl on September 15, 1843. She had been living in a brothel and was in poor health.⁸² The first handwritten register chronicles her admissions and departures as follows:

[Arrived] The 15th September 1843 in the Class of Penitents Mary Fitzpatrick from Louisville, Kentucky, [was] presented by her mother. Left on the 29th October 1845 to fill the place of house maid with Wm. Peters.

Entered again on the 8th June 1852 and promises to be exact to all the observances. She proposes to remain 3 months. Left on the 4th

July 1852 because she could not be contented. She resisted all reasoning and advice.⁸³

Meticulous logs and chronicles told the story of each girl in each home, particularly in the late nineteenth century. Some families dropped off girls who misbehaved or exhibited sexual promiscuity. Intellectual deficit, mental illness, or alcohol addiction did not bar entrance to the House of the Good Shepherd in the early years. Admissions included select orphan girls aged 11 years and older at risk for falling. They became members of the "preservation" class⁸⁴ and were kept separated from the truly fallen. One young woman who was near death was taken in as a charity case so the Sisters could offer her salvation of her "immortal soul" before she died. Over a period of one weekend she received the sacrament of baptism and was administered last rites before she expired.⁸⁵ Archived nineteenth century logs revealed that disgruntled husbands brought their wives for re-education. Some of the reasons included alcoholism. The eldest female penitent noted in the logs was 70 years of age.⁸⁶

On the surface convent education seemed to be a societal panacea for family instability and a source for the perpetuation of Catholicism and Christianity, but these purposes do not explain larger effects on identity formation that the House of the Good Shepherd helped to shape in the twentieth century. The piety of the Sisters served as an example of the femininity associated with what some contemporaries believed to be the natural affective qualities of a woman.⁸⁷ Large numbers of women attending Catholic mass in

proportion to men accentuated the separation of the male and female spheres. Devout women, attracted to the notions of love and forgiveness fueled the feminization of the Catholic Church. In 1854, Pope Pius IX placed women in a high regard when he asserted that Mary, the mother of Jesus, was herself conceived without sin, calling her the Immaculate Conception.⁸⁸ One hundred years later in the 1950s, Pope Pius XII proclaimed she entered heaven directly at her death without burial, establishing a Catholic religious holiday referred to as the "Assumption." These beliefs gave women hope for a greater position within the church.

Emulating Mary, (known as Marianist philosophy and behavior) became a goal of both the Sisters and the girls in their charge. Marian devotion became a baseline for controlling behaviors through the desire for belongingness in a group setting, such as becoming an official "Sodality of Mary" member. The Good Shepherd Sisters engaged the Catholic girls in Marianist philosophy. A religious organization, referred to as the Sodality of Mary⁸⁹ was formed within the school for girls to emulate the Virgin Mary in every day life in reverence of her son, Jesus. Non-Catholic girls could join as honorary members in the hopes that they might convert in spirit to Catholicism. Sodality was a group activity that supported and encouraged group cohesiveness. Each member wore an ornate identifying Sodality pin on her blouse that depicted Mary on the "Miraculous Medal" to symbolize unity.⁹⁰

Group support was two-fold in the House of the Good Shepherd. First, shared common beliefs promote agreement in the student body. Second, the nature of the teenaged girl seeks peer acceptance and belongingness. Leaders appointed to head committees earned the right to lead, and self-government systems offered the girls an opportunity to make some minor choices concerning daily life at the school. The outcome was a collective spirit that resulted in fruitful group work and projects in the interest of the school. The Sisters believed work was the solution for problem personalities.⁹¹ Group dynamics and peer influence played a large role in the scheme of working with the girls. Early nineteenth century housing was arranged in dormitory fashion. By the twentieth century, the girls were housed in group cottages according to personality and character. The living quarters housed groups of 10 to 15 girls with one or two Sisters in attendance at all times.

Gertrude Wilson was an expert of group dynamics whose work was used and referenced by the Sisters during the 1940-1980 period. Group work and dynamics steered the peer cooperation that was vital for order within the school. According to Wilson there are four outcomes of an organized group process:⁹²

1. Individuals achieve personal and social satisfaction.
2. Individual and social norms can change and modify.
3. Controls are maintained.
4. Customs, norms, and values are shared and passed on.

Wilson's theories of group dynamics were widely used in the school. The Sisters used personal and group approval as an indicator of progress in improved behavior. Inability to follow the rules placed the offending girl in a self-imposed isolation when the "good" girls did not acknowledge her acting out. Girls who entered the school demonstrating bad behaviors were shown acceptable behavior to emulate by model students who regularly enjoyed coveted privileges for their cooperation. The new girls quickly learned that good behavior earned privileges thereby enabling the Sisters to better control the environment. The customs and norms set by the school rules became a valued part of the daily activity in the school because adherence to the rules meant rewards. McGlone quotes a note written in 1948 by a student from Seattle that reflects the spirit of work, peer emulation, and group effort. The girls had the desire to belong, to be part of the group.

My Dearest Mother, Now that one of your big helpers is leaving, I would like to try and help take her place. I would like to work with C____. I know I have never been high and good like her but of late I have tried to pick up the good of my friends and I have found out the difference in good and bad. I would do all I could to imitate her. For the last three months I have been using L_____ and C_____ for my pals and models. They have helped me a great deal. And don't worry. When I needed correcting they did it and not in little words.⁹³

The Good Shepherd Sisters historically formed in France as a branch of the Our Lady of Charity of the Refuge⁹⁴ for marginalized women and girls and later evolved into a system of judicially imposed confinement featuring psychosocial readjustment, manual tasks, vocation skill-building and general

education under the name Our Lady of Charity of the Good Shepherd. Chapter II describes the history and mission of the Sisters of the Good Shepherd from France to the United States. The Good Shepherd Sisters had specific policies and procedures associated with the methods and modes of education incorporated in their mission. The educational policies and procedures are discussed in Chapter III of this dissertation. Chapter IV describes the lived experiences of the former students.

Mother Mary of St. Euphrasia and the Good Shepherd Sisters were exemplars of a highly charged mission that utilized specific methods and rationale for re-educating adolescent girls from vastly different backgrounds. The mission of reclaiming fallen women and girls was not highly publicized because the Sisters were protective of their charges. Privacy was a serious concern. A girl who entered the House of the Good Shepherd had a pseudonym to protect her identity.⁹⁵ The new name symbolized the girl's new beginning. The Good Shepherd Sisters supported the notion that each girl deserved the benefit of the doubt in the hope that a positive attitude would influence future productivity and citizenship.⁹⁶

Re-education did not merely imply learning reading and numbers. The foundress described re-education as character building and learning morals by the kind example set by the Sisters who emulate the mother role.⁹⁷ She stated "It is human to fall, but angelic to rise again. There is more virtue in repairing a fault than in never needing correction."⁹⁸ The foundress believed that re-

education was only accomplished by enclosing the girl in a controlled home-like environment and removing contact with sources of unwholesome influence. Her greatest joy was in the salvation of the fallen woman whose soul was cleansed so she could die a happy death.⁹⁹

This study of the lived experiences of the Good Shepherd Sisters and their students during the period of 1940 to 1980 explores the similarities and differences in the students, teachers, and the learning environment. The Sisters applied their foundresses' Rule and Instruction¹⁰⁰ to the task of re-educating and guiding the adolescent girls in their charge during this period of their identity formation. The Sisters were unique in their mission and service to humanity. They were not hindered by the changes in the religious and social environment over time, however, modified their mission as needed to meet the educational needs of their students.

Research Questions

Documentation of the lived experiences of the women in the House of the Good Shepherd answered the following questions:

1. What circumstances led to the girl entering the House of the Good Shepherd? What was her family history? Was she remanded by the court or admitted through another source? Did she try to run away after admission?
2. What were the girl's educational experiences in the House of the Good Shepherd? Did these experiences influence future employment and

lifestyle potential of the participant? Did she attend college or other vocational school after her departure?

3. How did the policies and procedures of the House of the Good Shepherd interface with the lived experiences of the girl's who passed through the system between 1940 and 1980? How did she feel before, during, and after her education by the Good Shepherd Sisters?
4. What role did the House of the Good Shepherd play in the girl's development into an adult? How do the participants view their lives as adult women in society?

These questions and answers when contrasted against the backdrop of the girls' lives, societal events, religious influences, and feminist thought can contribute to the body of knowledge concerning the effects of this form of convent education on identity formation in young women between 1940 and 1980. Each girl experienced the convent school setting from a different perspective and remembered the experience in her own understanding in contrast to her life experiences. I suggest that each girl has had time to reconcile her memories over forty years and has sorted out people and events she elects to remember and share. The key questions that arose concerning the women's experiences are: a) what is truth? and b) whose truth is valid? I found that using feminist standpoint theory allowed me to navigate within groups of participants gathering information about their lives in a continuous manner over a period of several years. The knowledge I gained was from the perspective of the women,

who at times debated little details of the same events from many years ago. For example, one participant who attended a Good Shepherd school in the late 1960s in New York stated she remembered eating Pop Tarts all the time, but others claimed they don't remember eating them at all. The Sisters at the school during that time period remembered that Pop Tarts were available once in a while. Although this example is a little detail, memories of larger events were discussed in a similar fashion in emails and postings to the online groups. Each woman's perspective was available in her writing from her individual standpoint. I was able to oversee all of the discussions from start to finish over a period of four years.

Susan Hekman states that feminist standpoint theory is socially constructed and seeks justifiable truths from the perspective of two central understandings: a) "knowledge is situated and perspectival" and b) "there are multiple standpoints from which knowledge is produced."¹⁰¹ Hekman posits that feminist standpoint theory is a paradigm shift in the concept of knowledge. She believes that standpoint theory not only transforms feminist theory, but re-maps discussions concerning "politics of difference" related to situated knowledge.¹⁰² Feminist standpoint theory lays the groundwork for discussion concerning the politics of differences and enables the researcher to study the female experience of a particular time and place under a particular set of relationships.

Hekman compared Hartsock's and Foucault's beliefs concerning standpoint and knowledge of truth. She describes Hartsock's premise that the feminist

standpoint approach reveals actual, but concealed social relations between males and females providing a “privileged vantage point on male supremacy.”¹⁰³

Hekman refers to Michel Foucault’s paradigm of knowledge wherein he argues the following: a) “material life structures and sets limits to the understanding of social relations”, b) the ruling class “structures the material relations of a society” creating the definition of reality, and c) the oppressed group must struggle to have the vision.¹⁰⁴ She pointed out that Foucault’s theories of sexuality, biopower, and carceral society describe how consciousness is structured by social life and how discourses define reality in society. His central concern was how the vision of the oppressed was articulated. Foucault believed that all visions are partial and perverse, whether ruling class or oppressed—situated in their own knowledge.¹⁰⁵ Hartsock believed that only the ruling group’s vision was partial and perverse and the actual relationship is derived from the vision of the oppressed.¹⁰⁶ She also states the following:

The concept of a standpoint, then, is complex and includes a series of related claims. Perhaps most fundamentally, a standpoint carries the contention that there are some perspectives on society from which however well intentioned one may be, the real relations of humans with each other and the natural world are not visible.¹⁰⁷

The forty year period of this study was influential for women and Catholicism because of significant changes associated with events of the period and modifications of the regulations within the Catholic Church itself. From a feminist standpoint, the 1960s became saturated with vision changes and perceptual influences when the women’s movement picked up momentum and

continued forward amidst the backdrop of changes in Catholicism during the Vatican II council.¹⁰⁸

Division of labor between males and females did not change with the exception of women picking up additional responsibilities. The numbers of working women increased partly in response to the movement causing a decrease in the “stay at home” mother group. Questions concerning the change in women’s lifestyles during this period were: a) who was raising the children?, b) was there adequate supervision in the home?, and c) what was the origin of the dominant discourse of the time? Despite the progression of the women’s movement, power distribution, wealth, and domestic responsibilities did not equalize.¹⁰⁹ I suggest that some of the mothers’ “freedoms” intermingled with the inequality of workload contributed to the girls’ lack of parental guidance and an increase in asocial behavior to gain attention. The fathers did not always take over the childrearing and housekeeping while the mother was working. Consequently, men still dominated women and the predominant discourse. Michelle Fine pointed out that even though women felt more liberated they continued to do the bulk of the household tasks including child care, meal preparation, and housework.¹¹⁰

Regardless of the setting, each individual participant sampled her family home and school environments through different viewpoints. The majority of the participants in my study described events in the home setting in similar terms—abuse, neglect, poverty. Nevertheless, some women saw their individual

experiences as unique. The same was true for the women's education. The education was provided to groups of girls within the same confines, but interpreted individually by each girl. Some girls excelled at their studies, others remained at remedial levels for prolonged time periods. According to Fine, consciousness was raised as educational levels increased and the girls identified with each other, but little changed on a social level.¹¹¹ Gerda Lerner defines feminist consciousness as the point when women became aware of their oppression and inequality and recognized that disadvantage was not preordained.¹¹² Lerner states that education is the platform for overcoming internal feelings of inferiority and suppression. Scholars have studied many aspects of women's education in different educational settings in various time periods and settings. However, the literature is silent concerning education of young girls remanded by the juvenile court or brought by family or clergy to the House of the Good Shepherd.

Overall, the majority of stories told by the former students and the Sisters and discussed in Chapter IV support each other in fact and demonstrate similar, but in some cases, unique points of perspective. These contemporaries identified with each other to raise consciousness of their social disadvantages and marginalization. I had the opportunity to talk to several Sisters who left the congregation. I included their stories for a view of the system through a different lens. The information given by the former Sisters could lead to other avenues of research for future studies, but mostly show that in the formation process of

becoming a woman religious in the House of the Good Shepherd there are elements of identity formation connected to how they universally applied Mother Mary of Saint Euphrasia's re-education policies and principles.

Chapter V of my dissertation offers my analysis of the data provided by the participants in this study. The limitations of my research and suggestions for future research are incorporated. The policies and procedures associated with convent education in the House of the Good Shepherd between 1940 and 1980 shaped the identities, life-course, and long-term sense of well-being of the girls who participated. Sociologic events of this time-period may have had an influence on the members of the religious communities and their work with the adolescent girls. Family structure, social class, and personal dynamics played a key role as to the reason for admission to the House of the Good Shepherd and may have long-term sociologic effects on the lives of the former students.

Theoretical Approaches for this Study

Feminist theory encourages the description of the lives of women and other oppressed and exploited groups of individuals from their own perspective as their own truth. Permitting the women to tell the stories of their experiences as they remember them gave the participants the opportunity to voice their feelings and beliefs without feeling criticized or judged. No boundaries were set concerning subject matter or words used to describe their perspective. This minimized the risk of social bias and emphasized their subjective truths not premised on androcentric paradigms. The data provided for the study came

directly from their own histories as in Lerner's notion of feminist consciousness. When the participants posted personal stories within the online communities, other members in the group read the material and learned about the experiences of women like themselves—some from other decades. The women were able to relate the commonalities of events shared to their personal accounts of life. Participants from schools in several locations requested that I help them connect with former students of other schools. I provided contact information with the permission of the participants involved and they shared stories of common experiences from their girlhoods. Many of the participants did not know there were other Good Shepherd schools in the United States and other countries.

Harding suggests that the perspective of discovery is as important as the framework of justification of data in a feminist empiricist study when social bias would alter the findings if translated in terms of male-based research.¹¹³ She points out that in terms of "socially gendered," some situations are defined as behaviors not "socially acceptable" for females, in other words not "lady-like." On the other hand she states that biological behaviors such as sexuality and child bearing are clearly domains men openly exploit, causing the female to be cast in the role of the asocial wrong-doer (i.e. prostitution and unwed pregnancy).¹¹⁴ Some of the girls in the House of the Good Shepherd were promiscuous and others were headstrong or difficult to manage. Both sets of behaviors by social standards create ire in the patriarchal social scene, causing male standards to be imposed on the girls through no fault of their own.

Konopka documents that a cold and loveless home environment causes harm to a child of either sex, even if all tangible needs are met.¹¹⁵ Most studies of juvenile delinquents during the period of this research were done with delinquent adolescent males, because by the late 1960s, boys were in the juvenile court at a rate of four to one.¹¹⁶ Konopka indicates in her research that society took a more protective stance for girls and looked for alternative solutions for their punishments. This matches the philosophy expressed by Mother Mary of Saint Euphrasia in her instructions concerning the girls assuming control and responsibility for their own behavior without being merely reactive to fear or threats of punishment. Konopka also states that less punitive measures at a facility can cause the girls within to take responsibility for their own behavior, willingly.¹¹⁷ The common bond between delinquent children and their environment is the level of emotional and psychological support or rejection received from parents.¹¹⁸ Crimes or simple asocial actions are sometimes committed by rejected adolescents in order to be part of a group when there is no importance placed on them by their families. Mother Mary of Saint Euphrasia had no special training in group process or dynamics, but she used the principles of group work and exemplars earning rewards without punishment as a framework for her re-education process.

The participants are the experts of their own experiences and only their accounts can provide information to unveil the facts and details about the systems as they experienced them and the impact the experiences had on their

identity formation. Accounts of events and locations provided by the former students and archival information and Sisters' recollections serve as sources of triangulation and verification where memories of the participants may be cloudy. I noted that during this study the women recounted many similar events and responses of the Sisters that validated to me how the standardization of the re-education process played out from theory to reality. I noted, too, that the Sisters' responses and direction of the classes in the mid-twentieth century seemed frozen in time with only minor changes since the inception of the process in the early nineteenth century. The foundress emphasized consistency and the Sisters complied in the management of the schools.

Personal bias and beliefs could influence my interaction with participants. Experiences of the participants can intersect with my experiences in obvious or cloaked details. This blend of information can be a positive or negative force in data collection and interpretation. Using feminist standpoint theory enabled me to delve into class distinctions and the relevance of sociologic manipulation and oppression and their etiologies. The women's experiences provided data culminating in research results that highlighted a feminist framework by which to interpret the experiences of a woman as she develops into an independent person in a male-dominated environment. Lois Weis described Foucault's writings about "regimes of truth." She pointed out that we need to pay close attention to the practices and discourses of the people we study, because the dissection of the lives of others must keep our own lives sharply in focus.¹¹⁹

The Good Shepherd Schools are ideal for this study because the foundation of the environment is female-oriented, yet driven by male command and control in the form of the Catholic Church. Male authoritarians who wield their power at the top of the church hierarchy ultimately restrict and direct the women who control other women throughout the social strata of the convent school. The direct contrast of the male domination (overt and subliminal) and the female activity (responsive and resistive) under the imposed androcentric constraints truly permits feminist standpoint research from more than just a perspective view, but allows evidence-based data to be presented through the experiences of the participants.

I approached and analyzed the participant's information without a preconceived notion to the best of my ability. Data analysis was performed with minimal interposition of personal feelings and beliefs as a woman. However, I was aware of potential bias or prejudice related to my personal experiences in my work as a nurse and teacher. The data directed the research as each theme surfaced. Stories and histories were collected and categorized. Comparison of themes continued until no new similarities or differences emerged.

Categories, such as the reason for admission or circumstances surrounding her release emerged from the data that formulated a model grounded in data that explained the process and interposition of each of its parts without abstract speculation. Other categories, such as daily activities, discipline, clothing, and interpersonal relationships were also common themes that arose

during telephone conversations, online postings or emails. The participants set the theme of the categories discussed and I followed their progress on a daily basis on each of the online community sites either via digest email through Yahoo groups or directly logging into the private sites without digest options, such as CafeShe.com. The literature on convent education, delinquency in girls, and feminist theory contributed to the knowledge, but did not form the bulk of the research process. The research questions were supported by triangulation of information from the literature, data from fifty former students and Sisters in oral histories and stories, archived documentation, and personal memoirs.

Methodology

Methodology and Analysis

First person stories in the form of oral history and storytelling preserve the lived experiences of which each participant is the expert. The oral histories of ten women, who were former Good Shepherd residents from several areas across the United States, are used in this study. Stories and memoirs were collected from fifty additional Sisters and former students to illustrate specific events in support of the primary historians. The educational environment provided by the Good Shepherd Sisters is no longer available to the troubled adolescent girl and could be lost from memory if not preserved. Of fifty-nine original Good Shepherd schools in the United States as of 1957, only three remain in operation. The three schools are under the direction of lay people, not the Good Shepherd Sisters.¹²⁰ This study offered an opportunity for the girls and Sisters from the

House of the Good Shepherd to relate and preserve their stories in their own words.

Patti Lather wrote about the emancipatory approaches to research that involve the participants as part of the process of inquiry.¹²¹ The research process in my study was initiated to raise consciousness and uncover the veiled past. Lather posited that the results of research do not always yield absolute truths because of the complex nature of overt and covert distortions of stored memories.¹²² I agreed with Lather when she pointed out that the issues of women bring out varied memories when researched by men. She cautioned that sociologic and historic accounts of a woman's life illustrate the truth as she knows it, but could be interpreted differently if she feels alienated and exploited by her researcher.¹²³

Gaining the trust of the women was paramount to this study. I promised not to reveal their identities without their permission. From the start of the study I opened myself to them within reasonable limits by providing proof of the following: a) my identity, b) my purpose for my research, c) my intentions concerning data use, and d) my disposition of the findings. Some of the participants were given my home telephone number. I was open to many ways of understanding and knowing despite my personal desire to catalog their experiences. I recognized that I could easily fall into a subjective stance in my interpretation. Lather warned of this and I took her lead from a feminist standpoint as described by Hekman, Harding, and Hartsock, but continued to

expand my analysis as the data emerged. Admittedly, I found myself referring back and forth between inductive and deductive analysis where the data was concerned. I gathered stories and oral histories from my participants and grounded theories began to emerge. When collecting additional data I found myself deductively looking for comparative material based on conclusions inadvertently formed. As each new facet emerged, I used each collection of stories to generate broader meanings, diligently attempting to remain on an inductive trail. I added information from the archives and from current and former Sisters to balance the reliability of the data.

Some complexity arose when inductively working with material from sources other than the former students, such as the Harris oral history project. I found flaws and contradictions that eventually balanced out once I put all the information together in Chapter IV where the lived experiences are described. Michelle Fine pointed to the need to critique the voices of the informants.¹²⁴ Fine indicated that critiquing did not invalidate or deny legitimacy of what was said. She also cautioned about missing an isolated voice when analyzing social interpretations of group data. Recognition of my personal stance and relationship to the voices, both individual and collective, was part of the critique process.¹²⁵

One contradictory example involved my participants stating that they experienced no corporal punishment at the hands of the Sisters. This data blended well with the rules of the congregation for the management of the classes that led me to theorize that the atmosphere was homelike and generally

peaceful. Further research led me to the Toby Harris interviews of twelve former residents of the closed Seattle House of the Good Shepherd. Three separate accounts of physical punishment emerged, but according to the sources, it involved only one Mother Superior who controlled the Seattle convent and school for nearly fifteen years. She was eventually replaced and later died in a Catholic nursing facility. She was mourned by many of the former students. Harris' informants did not individually suffer the abuse, but participated in its delivery under the direction of the Mother Superior. None of the actual recipients of the Mother Superior's abuse came forward to participate in my study, but Linda wrote an autobiography describing first hand events she witnessed and personally changed the names of the location and persons involved for privacy.

The participants had the power to make me leave the online groups and block information. Fortunately, the women became very comfortable and friendly. When I was not actively participating in bidirectional communication, I was in a position to observe the posted interactions and conversations of all of the groups that permitted my membership. I remained as impersonal as possible to avoid influencing their interactions with each other. At times, I felt voyeuristic using this method, but I believed this was the best way I could minimize bias on my part and limit the amount of exposure the participants had to me.

Marilyn Cooper suggested that qualitative researchers should strive to improve their methods since all research paradigms do not have the exact same beliefs concerning the following: a) what knowledge is, b) how it is produced,

and c) how it accumulates.¹²⁶ The expansion of technologic advances, such as computers, the internet, and email offered the opportunity to use online communities for qualitative research in a way that has little documentation in the literature. Gathering oral histories and stories from the participants in a free flow of ideas and topics within their own comfortable “environment” was complimented with occasional telephone calls between them and me as the researcher. Cooper pointed out that first hand connections provide information for acknowledging the subtle humanistic components not easily discovered through surveys, observations, or direct questions.¹²⁷ She indicated that knowledge is socially constructed, not absolute.¹²⁸ I found this to be true with my participants.

I feared that I would not capture the global view of their presence in my study and their existence in the realm of feminist study as a whole. Hartsock emphasized that although feminist standpoint methods had their roots in Marxist theory which was premised on oppression stemming from class, she noted that ignoring the individual differences in women continued the imbalance of power distribution.¹²⁹ I employed methods of data gathering that gave the participants the opportunity to write short or expansive responses to queries in email or hold discussions online in writing with online communities. These methods enabled me to view the women as individuals and as part of a group. Topics posted online in the group environment sometimes sparked discussions that led to contributions by several women at once. The women had the option of writing to

me privately or calling on the telephone if they wanted to express a personal thought. They were able to describe themselves and their experiences in terms and settings they chose. This gave the women the chance to edit what they wrote before I read it or to unsay something they wanted to hold back. I was able to determine reliability by comparing my notes from our conversations with their emails sent post contact. The knowledge revealed overtly and covertly supported the notion put forward by Hartsock's claim that some knowledge is more privileged than most. She said that "some knowleges are better" because they speak to more than just social relationships.¹³⁰

Having their words written (typed) by their hand took some of the subjectivity out of my interpretation and gave tangibility to their collective voices. If validity meant having trustworthy data, a blend of my objectivity/subjectivity and their exclusive subjectivity became mutually informing in bidirectional sharing. They constructed all of the information and had the chance to reflect and self-evaluate before presenting the data. Hartsock wrote about how social forces highlight different aspects of a subject (participant).¹³¹ She also stated that the definition of subject is broader than one person. In the spirit of Marxism she stated that the "subjects who matter are not individual subjects but collective subjects or groups."¹³²

As an added bonus by using this method, I was able to capture the fleeting essence of how they expressed themselves in font size and style, emoticons (symbols and smiley faces), punctuation, bold letters, lower case

exclusivity, or capitalization. A few women included school photographs, but asked that I not reproduce them. Several participants had signature lines embedded at the bottom of every email. One signature line said "How long a minute lasts depends on which side of the bathroom door you are standing."¹³³ Another signature line was "Remember...Just going to church doesn't make you a Christian any more than standing in your garage makes you a car."¹³⁴ A Native American participant used the letters "ndn" instead of the word "Indian" when talking about the Ojibwa tribe (her people). Her signature line read (in lower case) "social studies from an indigenous perspective."¹³⁵

Another feature that was lost in the reproduction for this dissertation was font color. Participant G commonly wrote in a delicate red cursive font, whereas participant R alternated between bolded purple and blue in "comic sans" font. Some women were regular writers and others would re-emerge after long periods of silence only to describe a job loss or custody battle for her grandchildren. Emotions were often shown after a particular thought was related in animated emoticons that smiled, blew kisses (or raspberries), or appeared to be winking, screaming, or crying. Others had little symbols like red roses after their names or personalized email stationary. These personality nuances would have been lost had I merely audio recorded or took notes during our encounters. I reproduced some of the reproducible text-related material, such as spelling and punctuation in later Chapters of this dissertation.

Each participant, whether a Good Shepherd Sister or former student between the years 1940 and 1980, voluntarily offered her history and stories of her personal experiences at the school. I located many participants through internet communities, such as Classmates.com, MSN Groups (Villa Loreto), Yahoo Groups (Villa St. Rose, Justice for Magdalens, Adoption Ireland), private online communities (CafeShe.com), and genealogy groups (i.e. Rootsweb and Ancestry.com). Initial requests for former Good Shepherd students generated multiple contacts. Many of the participants told other former "girls" about my study. Many of the participants initiated contact with me via email after learning of my research. Others called me on the telephone or left phone numbers for me to contact them. The private online communities required group approval for me to join because membership is closed to outsiders. All but one of the closed groups offered membership to me. The women in the groups that accepted me expressed positive sentiments by saying things like "No one ever cared about us before" and "I have so many things I want to say."

A moderator from the online group, "Roses" elected not to permit me access to the membership. I accepted her decision and respectfully withdrew. Many of the "Roses" members belonged to the Villa St. Rose group on Yahoo and were accessible. A few months later I received an email from a clinical psychologist and sex therapist based in Oregon whose client was a member of the online group that barred my membership. She stated that she thought a

conversation with me would be beneficial to her client. Her email to me stated the following:

...There is both a fear of being hurt or having her story distorted. She has some very interesting experiences that could be quite valuable from a woman's history perspective, but is sensitive about sharing them with a stranger. In the "bet" [*sic*] of words, I think it would be good for her to share her story.

She would also like to know if you have worked with any residents who have talked about punishments for being gay and whether this is topic that interests you and that you would handle with honesty and sensitivity.¹³⁶

The psychologist's client did not have a conversation with me, but sent several emails and a few short stories that are interspersed anonymously throughout this dissertation. This same participant belongs to another online group that did accept my membership and is active in providing stories and oral histories from several schools.

The operation of the online communities was fascinating. I was amazed at the large numbers of women involved and the level of their computer usage. Membership rosters indicate between fifty to seventy-five names in most of the groups. A few of the names were duplicated indicating multiple memberships. The participants created daily emails [also available in a once daily collective digest form] and uploaded files to an online storage area for the members of the group to share. Some wrote personal autobiographies to share with me and the group. A few participants had personal websites where they posted their writings for others to read. Most of the women communicated with me in email or private phone calls. I audio recorded only the women who consented to be recorded. I

took written notes for those who did not wish to be recorded. The most interesting data was generated by each woman when she emailed material to me. Her personality was demonstrated in colored or decorative fonts.

I realized the personal and delicate nature of the material generated by these groups of women and expressly stated my intent was a research study of their lived experiences in the House of the Good Shepherd. In my requests for membership in each online community or group I wrote a letter of introduction stating my purpose and making my personal contact information available. I indicated that my graduate advisor's name and contact information was available on request to validate my work. I shared that I was a registered nurse and that I was a tenured professor at a community college in northeastern Ohio. I gave my personal and professional website addresses and offered my Dean's name and contact information. Some women requested my home phone number and I gave this information as requested.

In addition, I went to St. Louis and stayed with the Sisters at the Convent of the Good Shepherd on two separate occasions to research in the Provincialate archives. Many of its papers were uncataloged or in the early stages of categorization. The House of the Good Shepherd had nine Provincialates that were later consolidated to seven, then five and finally in recent years to two. Materials pertaining to the House of the Good Shepherd in the United States were divided between St. Louis, Missouri and Jamaica, New York. All of the historic information acquired during the consolidation had not been cataloged

and was still boxed. I had access to school records from one half of the country in the St. Louis Provincialate. This did not include individual student records. Those were stored at a separate facility. Sister Marjorie Hamilton, the current archivist was of immense help with my use of the materials both published and unpublished. I was provided a workspace, private sleeping quarters, and meals.

During meals and recreation hours I had the opportunity to gather first-hand stories from the Sisters, whose experiences ranged from teaching to counseling the girls in their care. Sister Lourdes had been stationed in several houses during her many years as a Good Shepherd Sister. She is the Saint Louis point person for a women's self help project known as "Handcraft for Justice." Women in depressed areas of the world make crafts to earn money. Most of the Sisters were elderly and retired, but a few were at the Provincialate for respite from duties elsewhere. One young prospective postulant candidate was on the premises learning English in hopes of being selected as a future Sister. I had the opportunity to visit the attached infirmary where elderly infirm Sisters were cared for by medical staff.

I conducted the core of my research through dialogues and interviews some audio recorded or documented in written notes, if that was less intimidating to the participant. Other sources of data included written memoirs, interpersonal and group emails, telephone conversations, and primary documents from the archives of the St. Louis Provincialate. Sister Marjorie

provided a set of former student and Sister oral histories recorded by Toby Harris in 1999 for the King County Landmarks and Heritage Commission in Seattle, Washington. Each story was compared and aligned with known facts of the time period and locale. Participants who offered accounts of experiences stemming from the same events provided details that supported comparison of interpretations. Comparisons in this regard corroborate and give validation to the histories as remembered by the women. Each participant presented her lived experiences in the manner and order of her choosing. The privacy of each former student participant was maintained and by request, I have not used their names in this dissertation. Many of the women related same or similar stories so actual identities do not contribute to the value of the research.

I did not use formal questions for the former students. However, pertinent topics were explored and documented as the conversation progressed. I opened the dialogue by stating "tell me about your school experiences with the Good Shepherd Sisters." Key components identified in each discussion included: school attended and years (duration of stay), circumstances of entry, parental and sibling information (family life), friends, other education, career, marriage, and children. These base components branched into details such as grades, psychologic attitude, personal philosophy, and religion. I did not ask race or ethnicity questions because I wanted to learn how the women viewed themselves and if they identified with any particular culture. Some sent pictures in email that provided some data. All of the images sent were of white females. I

did not identify any Black or Asian women in the former student participant group. All participants had the option to omit any subject that caused discomfort. I let them lead the conversation. For a copy of my data collection sheet see Appendix B.

I relied on my experiences of working with women and girls of all ages as a registered nurse during my interviews and dialogues. From a feminist standpoint I recognized my participant's vulnerability and respected the trust they freely gave me. In my career I have been involved with pregnant adolescent girls and other troubled women through Booth Memorial Hospital formerly of Cleveland, Ohio.¹³⁷ Thirty-two years of experience in surgery has taught me the value of developing an instant rapport with surgeons and critical patients to gain trust during tense or delicate situations. I applied similar approaches with the participants in my study. As a tenured college professor I work with and counsel many single mothers and other women as nontraditional students struggling to improve their lives through education. The culmination of my experiences and the education required for the performance of my roles as a nurse and educator provided an understanding of developmental structure associated with the identity formation and maturation of young girls in various circumstances and in various life stages. All of my participants went through developmental stages with differing degrees of identity formation and identity confusion, yet shared common bonds associated with their experiences in the family home and in the House of the Good Shepherd.

Incorporation of limited reciprocity between me, as the researcher, and the participants during the initial phases of data collection provided exchange of information such as establishing connections between smaller isolated groups and well-known groups of former students. The connections and relationships have continued since late 2004. The trust established between me and the women was strong. Lather described how reciprocity between the researcher and the participants benefited the research process.¹³⁸ I made personal and professional information about myself available to each participant during the oral history and story-telling sessions. Disclosure about me seemed to put the women at ease. Some of the participants expressed the desire to connect with others in the study. Several women did not know there were other Good Shepherd facilities throughout the United States before I began my research. I provided a link between New York and Oregon. One woman thought her school was the only “bad girls’ school in existence.”¹³⁹ In this dissertation, I bring to light the stories of the students and the Sisters in the House of the Good Shepherd.

CHAPTER II

HISTORY OF THE GOOD SHEPHERD SISTERS: FROM FRANCE TO THE UNITED STATES

Overview

This chapter will describe and explain the formation and mission of the Our Lady of Charity of the Good Shepherd congregation and its role in the development of social service refuges for abandoned, *fallen women*.¹⁴⁰ The use of the term “fallen women” throughout this Chapter refers to women and girls who have engaged in asocial behaviors such as petty crimes, sexual promiscuity, vagrancy, or drunkenness.¹⁴¹ Regina Kunzel points out in her book, *Fallen Women, Problem Girls* that throughout history, men have defined acceptable standards of behavior for women, but women took the lead in seeking the redemption of other women.¹⁴² Evangelical women’s groups ran various refuges and protective shelters for fallen women, but offered little in the way of concrete rehabilitation. Unlike other religious or secular women’s groups that offered only basics like food and shelter, the Good Shepherd Sisters developed a systematic method of what their foundress called “re-education” for asocial women in a

home-like, long term setting. In twenty-first century terms, re-education means teaching the women to conduct themselves in socially acceptable ways using a model of reconditioning and rehabilitation by example. I use the term “asocial” in this dissertation to describe the fallen women’s behavior as opposed to the term “antisocial”. Asocial describes the woman who was exhibiting actions against societal norms for survival, whereas antisocial denotes hostile acts against society. The Good Shepherd Sisters’ congregation was the first Catholic institution of its kind operated by women religious expressly for the purpose of saving the fallen woman and restoring her to a socially acceptable state for her return to society.¹⁴³ Catholic Bishops throughout the world requested establishment of Good Shepherd institutions in their cities because the Sisters were very methodical and successful in their work.

I apply the term, *social capital* to the Good Shepherd Sisters to show the value of interpersonal relationships in the home and the social environment and their importance in women’s identity formation. Robert Putnam in his book *Bowling Alone* states “...social capital improves our lot by widening our awareness of the many ways our fates are linked.”¹⁴⁴ Social capital can be good or bad. Rachel Fuchs describes how poverty was closely linked to asocial behavior in working class women in France and social reformers of the time believed that poor working class women perpetuated poverty by bearing children who grew into impoverished adults.¹⁴⁵ Social capital comprised of poverty and subordination passed from one generation of women to the next did not offer

opportunity for growth or improvement of living conditions. Exposure to the collective problems of poverty and poor living conditions did not foster behavioral attributes that upheld trusting and cooperative relationships between women and society.

Historically, men controlled women's lives and defined their behavior. According to Gerda Lerner, in *The Creation of Patriarchy*, patriarchal-based societies¹⁴⁶ over-shadowed women's efforts to exercise independence. Men were considered superior to women in a paternalistic synergy. Women were passive and remained subordinate which supported the hierarchy of a patriarchal society. Male dominance was dependent on female subordination.¹⁴⁷ Women's oppression and in some cases, exploitation, resulted in part from dependence on men for sustenance and protection.¹⁴⁸ To survive, a poor woman with no permanent man in her life engaged in asocial behavior and was labeled deviant.¹⁴⁹ Lerner argued that women "collaborated in their own subordination" because they allowed men to exercise power in their sex-gender roles.¹⁵⁰ Women passed this passivity on to their children, thus the longevity of paternalism. Men controlled the labor market, the churches, and the household. The Good Shepherd Sisters provided a place of safety and social reform to displace the prevailing atmosphere of hopelessness and insecurity for women who wanted to turn their lives around, without dependence on a man.

Knowledge of the origins of the policies and methods for social reform, or re-education as it was termed by the Good Shepherd Sisters is important

because few changes in their practices took place from the beginning of the congregation in 1835 to the twenty-first century. Mother Mary of Saint Euphrasia described to the Good Shepherd Sisters the timelessness of her methods in the following instruction:

There must always be an influx of new ideas, to prevent the work from becoming superficial, tiresome, and worthless. This does not mean that the methods must change, that the Sister who successfully helped to readjust a class of problem girls, twenty years ago, is incapable of continuing her direction with the same success, because she may be unaware of the technical terms of the newest sciences—Sociology.¹⁵¹

The history of the Good Shepherd Sisters and their work with fallen women is a two-fold story that spans a period of more than 300 years. The first part of the Good Shepherd Sisters' history began in the seventeenth century with a French priest, Father John Eudes¹⁵² who founded the Our Lady of Charity of the Refuge congregation in Caen, France during the Counter/Catholic Reformation in the age of Louis XIII.¹⁵³ The second part of the Good Shepherd Sisters' origin continued with Rose Virginie Pelletier, later to become Mother Mary of Saint Euphrasia, who entered Our Lady of Charity of the Refuge as a postulant in the early nineteenth century and a branch that became a separate congregation known as Our Lady of Charity of the Good Shepherd. The branch she formed to save troubled women and girls throughout the world became known for its service to the rejected females of society. The following sections describe how the institutions began and how the policies and practices developed into lasting methods that continued in-force to the twenty-first

century throughout the world. Every Good Shepherd novice was trained at the Generalate in Angers, France according to Mother Mary of Saint Euphrasia's compiled teachings referred to as *Practical Rules for the Religious of the Good Shepherd for the Direction of the Classes*.¹⁵⁴ Each action of the Sister was methodically prescribed and calculated to create a sense of desire for industry and change that would spark a sense of self-respect and self-reliance in the women and girls in their care.

Founding of Our Lady of Charity of The Refuge

Father John Eudes

The Our Lady of Charity of the Refuge was started in the seventeenth century against the backdrop of the Counter Reformation in the beginning of the Age of Enlightenment. The Counter Reformation was the Catholic Church's response to Protestantism and the attacks by Protestant reformers. The Age of Enlightenment was a European phenomenon of intellectualism that questioned society, nature, and man.¹⁵⁵ Father Eudes was more concerned with internally reforming and educating Catholic priests. He was a prolific writer of influential religious material of his time and contributed to the spirit of Counter Reformation and the dissemination of Catholic beliefs. His works offered little to the Enlightenment movement in the secular population. Although Father Eudes is credited with founding the Our Lady of Charity of the Refuge, his first priority continued to be improving the priesthood. The era in which he lived was

highlighted by religious reforms, both Protestant and Catholic, and social changes that impacted the lifestyle of the French citizens rich and poor alike.

Catholicism lost widespread support during the Protestant Reformation in the sixteenth century.¹⁵⁶ Catholic leaders from Europe met in a series of meetings referred to as the Council of Trent that took place in intervals from 1545 to 1563. The meetings resulted in the reformation of Catholicism as a whole, with authority to enact reforms without papal intervention.¹⁵⁷ Protestants were invited to send non-voting representatives to the sessions, but declined.¹⁵⁸

During the latter part of the Protestant Reformation between 1562 and 1592, French Protestants known as Huguenots¹⁵⁹, backed by Elizabeth I of England and German princes, participated in seven wars with the Catholic resistance on French soil.¹⁶⁰ The Huguenots were finally defeated at La Rochelle in 1628 by Cardinal Richelieu resulting in a strong influence of Catholicism over governmental affairs. Schools were affected. Each school in France was licensed to operate by the diocese. As per parental preference, education was provided by religious teaching orders for boys and girls with single-sex classes. Each parish¹⁶¹ had public schools referred to as *petites écoles* that were considered inferior compared to the schools run by individual religious teaching orders.¹⁶²

The Good Shepherd Sisters refer to John Eudes' work with the Our Lady of Charity of the Refuge as the primitive origins of the House of the Good Shepherd and view his part of their history as crucial to the story. The use of the term *primitive* is intended to reflect the basic framework of the Good Shepherd

organization as it evolved over three centuries. Catholic religious groups use the term to indicate a beginning or start. Father Eudes and his philosophy¹⁶³ concerning the Our Lady of Charity refuges for women in France were critical to the underpinnings of the Good Shepherd Sisters' congregation and mission. He was drawn into saving the fallen women by socially active lay-women of his parish.¹⁶⁴ His instructions for refuge management and his ideals concerning the salvation of lost souls formed the foundation for the foundress of the Good Shepherd Sisters' constitution and social service institutions for girls. His instructions were carried out during his lifetime and continued with little change though the twenty-first century.

During the early days of the refuge, Father Eudes asked the Visitation Sisters to help with the moral training of the penitent women. Stock points out that informal education of women in a setting dominated by "female values" was more liberating than formal education offered by male teachers.¹⁶⁵ The social function of re-education or training of fallen women filled a need for elevating them to a respectable level in society. Father Eudes believed that the Visitation Sisters' behaviors and repentant nature would influence the fallen women within the refuge by example.¹⁶⁶ However, critics believed that a fallen woman was not worth the effort of saving. The assumption was that the redemptive results of a virtuous rehabilitation would not last because of the imperfect nature of women inherited from Eve and her role in original sin.¹⁶⁷ Father Eudes' friends and colleagues told him there was nothing more "weak and inconsistent" than poor

fallen women and opening a refuge for them to find virtue was a waste of his time.¹⁶⁸ Forward religious thinkers of the seventeenth century believed that women were created by God and could be spiritually saved through faith.¹⁶⁹ Mary, as the mother of Jesus, was the example used to demonstrate that women had worth and potential for good.¹⁷⁰ Mary was a woman considered to possess dignity and grace, especially since she was chosen by God to bear the Messiah. Fallen women accepted by the refuge were referred to as *penitents* to reflect repentance and a desire to reclaim lost virtue. Father Eudes gave the following example to clarify his beliefs concerning the comparison between Eve as the cause of original sin and Mary, the redemptive force: "...Close your ears to the whisperings of the serpent; be not children of Eve, who listened and allowed herself to be seduced, but be children of Mary, who conquered and crushed the serpent beneath her feet."¹⁷¹

The first Our Lady of the Refuge facility was sponsored by two wealthy benefactors in Caen and run by a converted Protestant, Marguerite Morin.¹⁷² With the encouragement of the Visitation Sisters, Bishop Hedley of Bayeux granted permission to open a chapel for the penitents and Sisters. The Bishop stated that "To found an Order of religious who should vow themselves to take in and reform the fallen of their sex was a new and bold step."¹⁷³ The civil authorities issued a formal license to operate the Our Lady of Charity of the Refuge in 1641 and within a year French King Louis XIII, who supported the Counter Reformation and the restoration of Catholicism, gave his approval.

Father Eudes imposed enclosure¹⁷⁴ on the convent and followed the Rule of St. Augustine¹⁷⁵ concerning the daily religious activities of the Sisters. Morin preferred the strict behaviors of the Ursulines¹⁷⁶ in contrast to Father Eudes' preference for the more relaxed Visitandine approach.¹⁷⁷ In 1644, Father Eudes asked Mother Margaret Frances Patin of the Visitation Sisters to help train new postulants for service in the refuge by teaching the practices of observing holy vows, such as obedience and conducting daily religious life.¹⁷⁸

Father Eudes developed rules and instructions that when enforced separated the women religious from the penitents in their care, yet referred to all the women of the refuge as his daughters.¹⁷⁹ No relationships or friendly exchanges were permitted between the Sisters and penitents beyond offering instruction. The penitents were never left unsupervised and were under observation at all times. Women could enter if they desired repentance. They could leave at any time. Religion was not a consideration. Father Eudes prayed for the conversion of the Protestants, but did not force Catholicism as a condition remaining in the refuge. These practices became the cornerstone for the operation of the congregation of Our Lady of Charity of the Refuge and later formed the foundation for the Rule of the Sisters of the Good Shepherd. The Catholic Diocese formally approved the refuge in 1644. The Bishop officially recognized Our Lady of Charity of the Refuge as an approved canonical institution in 1651.¹⁸⁰

Identity formation of the Sisters was deeply embedded in religious symbolism that included profession of vows, donning specialized and distinct attire, and taking a new religious name. In 1652, the first five young women completed their postulant requirements in the Our Lady of Charity of the Refuge congregation and petitioned Pope Urban III for permission to take final vows.¹⁸¹ The Pope consented and they had a clothing ceremony wherein each woman donned special attire to symbolize her death to the world and her rebirth in religious life as a professed Sister.¹⁸² The special attire given by the Bishop and worn by the women religious constituted a large part of their identity.¹⁸³ Individual Orders of Nuns and congregations of Sisters had separate and distinct attire that set them apart as collective groups from each other and the rest of society. A new name in religion was conferred at the clothing ceremony. Each new Sister of the refuge took the first name of Mary in honor of the mother of Jesus. In the style of the French religious naming system the Sisters' new religious names included the term "of" preceding the saint or religious event and represented a new identity in religious life. The religious name selected by the Sister was a Christian saint or religious event, such as a miracle. One example of this terminology is Sister Mary of the Assumption. This naming style tradition continued into the twentieth century.

Although Father Eudes implemented the refuges for women and is considered the founder of the congregation of Our Lady of Charity of the Refuge, the mission of the refuge never became his first priority. His main concern

continued to be the education and reform of priests, tending to the spiritual needs of the Sisters only sporadically. He founded the Eudist priesthood, but never received papal approval for his new congregation. He was frequently away and counted on the Visitation Sisters' presence to run the refuge from day-to-day until the newly professed Sisters were able to take over the convent. When Mother Patin of the Visitation died in 1668, a new Superior was elected from the professed Sisters she trained at the refuge.¹⁸⁴ The Visitation Sisters permanently withdrew to their own convent after the Our Lady of Charity of the Refuge Sisters took over the management of their own facility.

Before his death at age seventy-eight in 1680, Father Eudes wrote the following excerpted instructions to the Sisters of Our Lady of Charity of the Refuge about their continuing mission and responsibilities to their charges:

...do four things: the first is to speak more to your Sisters by your deeds than by your words, being the first at every exercise, and endeavor to comport yourself in such a way as to be an example of all the virtues; the second, is to guide your subjects with the greatest charity and benignity, preventing them in all their corporal and spiritual needs, testifying to them in all things that true motherly heart should beat in the breast of every mother; take care of them, be tender to them, and most cordial in your manner to all and each; the third, to be very exact and very exacting in everything relating to obedience, and to the observance of your Rules and Constitutions; the fourth, is to have the greatest care taken of the Penitents, and forget nothing that ought to be done for their conversion; for since the house has been established for this particular end, it is in the accomplishment of that work depends all the graces that God will bestow. As long as you shall fulfill all the duties that belong to this institute God shall bestow abundant blessings on your community; but if you should neglect this work He will abandon you and give you his wrath instead, both as to the spiritual and well as the temporal.¹⁸⁵

The focus of the Our Lady of Charity Refuge was based on the desire to lead fallen women back to virtue under the direction of women religious. Poor, uneducated, single women had few options for employment during this period and usually took jobs as domestic servants. Social Catholic welfare groups believed that poor single women, who worked for wealthy employers, were at risk for physical abuse, seduction, sexually transmitted diseases, and unwanted pregnancy.¹⁸⁶ The goal of the refuge was to reform fallen women so they could be respected by society and take care of themselves. Habits of industry, such as sewing or doing laundry provided the women a means of earning a living when they left the refuge.¹⁸⁷ The aim was not necessarily to create wives and mothers, but to shed the label of “fallen” and find a pathway to virtue.¹⁸⁸

The social and moral reclamation did not include provisions for equal education and opportunity for women, despite the progression of the Enlightenment into the eighteenth century. The Age of Enlightenment carried with it a desire for independent secular thought for men outside the cloister. This independent thought was not translated into day-to-day intellectualism associated with educating women. Philosophers who originated from several countries in Europe propelled the expansion of knowledge with avowed mistrust of national policies, publication of essays concerning their opinions, and by participation in the expanding circles of intellectuals found in the salons of Paris.¹⁸⁹ Rousseau’s book *Emile*, set a tone that influenced the separation of the sexes in education. He believed that women were intended for the pleasure and

comfort of men and had no need of independent thought, only the reason necessary for obedience.¹⁹⁰ The only philosopher who supported equality in education for women was the Marquis de Condorcet. He stated that education should be the same for men and women.¹⁹¹ Although the Age of Enlightenment retained elements of Christianity such as belief in a creator, moral behavior, and the possibility of an afterlife, the ritualistic practices associated with religion did not play a large role. Morality was not based on religion, but consisted of "the greatest good for the greatest number."¹⁹²

In 1685, the Edict of Nantes assuring freedom of religion for the French Protestants was revoked by Louis XIV. The Huguenots migrated to Protestant countries. In some French cities, the remaining Protestant girls were required to attend Catholic schools despite the fact that the laws concerning compulsory education were not uniformly enforced.¹⁹³ By 1724, a royal ordinance was issued that required every parish to have male and female teachers to keep the sexes separate during classes. Since there were fewer qualified female teachers for the girls, education was not distributed equally between the sexes. Most large French cities had primary schools and at least one college for men. Medical schools and universities were well attended. Girls were usually educated by Nuns. Stock documents that the inequality of educational opportunity varied by geographic area. By 1790, 26.88% of the women in France could read and write compared to only 17% of women in the city of Dauphiné.¹⁹⁴ Before the start of the French Revolution, education was available to all classes of citizens through local

parishes and was compulsory in some provinces.¹⁹⁵ Kelly estimates that 562 secondary schools were in operation.¹⁹⁶ Over all, the secular education provided to females in France at this time was mostly moral training with some aspects of reading and writing interposed. The purpose was not to develop the intellect, but to build moral character of wives and mothers.¹⁹⁷ Andy Green documents that national education in France took much longer to evolve into a state run entity.¹⁹⁸ Green states that secondary education was state controlled by 1802, but it was not until 1833 that control of primary schooling was relegated to specialized committees.¹⁹⁹ He points out that forty six percent of schooling was provided at Catholic institutions. Around mid-nineteenth century France licensed and inspected schools and oversaw the creation of examinations. Finances were organized by the government. The teachers were trained and certified by the bureaucracy. Compulsory free education at the primary school level was made universally available by 1882 when the Jules Ferry Law was enacted.²⁰⁰

Father Eudes laid the groundwork for the re-education of the fallen women in the refuges he founded, but did not become involved with day-to-day affairs. He believed in the influential power of the behavioral example first set by the Visitation Sisters and continued by the Our Lady of Charity Sisters in their interactions with each other and with the penitent women in their care over the following centuries. The records do not reflect the exact number of women who passed through all the French refuges in the early years. However, for the remainder of the seventeenth and into the eighteenth centuries, four fully staffed

Our Lady of Charity refuges in France expanded to seven with 300 penitents.²⁰¹ Each individual refuge was run independently by the professed Sisters of each refuge with no consolidated management to oversee the daily operations. Resources were not evenly distributed and some of the convents suffered from abject poverty. The refuges continued to be operated as independent facilities into the twenty-first century.

The following section describes how the Our Lady of Charity of the Refuge congregation became the spring-board for the Good Shepherd Sisters to branch out and separate as social service institutions for girls throughout the world. Father Eudes' counsels and detailed instructions based on Augustinian rules formed the underpinnings of the Good Shepherd philosophy and methods for re-education adapted by Mother Mary of Saint Euphrasia in the nineteenth century that continued into the twenty-first century. Her influence and management style led to the creation of a consolidated Generalate that assumed full control of the Good Shepherd congregations by the early nineteenth century.

Founding Of Our Lady Of Charity Of The Good Shepherd

Background

The events that took place from the death of Father Eudes in 1680 to the founding of the Good Shepherd Sisters in 1835 resulted in major changes in Catholicism and its influence on French society. The growing financial conflicts between the government, the clergy, and the general population of France

played a large role in the Revolution, the over-throw of the monarchy and the subsequent rise to power of Napoleon.

Napoleon did not approve of the vast influence of the church as a political force, but found that cooperation was important between church and state. He crowned himself Emperor in 1804 after taking the crown from the Pope's hands. Napoleon wanted to send a clear message that he was the ruler of France and was not subject to the powers of the Catholic Church. He imposed the Napoleonic Code over his territories and other geographic holdings to the displeasure of Rome. These codes specified religious freedom and downplayed Catholicism as a political influence. He eventually overpowered Rome and imprisoned the Pope in 1809, who died in detention.

Napoleon permitted the refuges to reopen.²⁰² The refuge at Tours reopened in 1806. Other refuges reopened in Vannes, Caen, and LaRoche. The Sisters of Our Lady of Charity of the Refuge returned to their mission of reclaiming fallen women by 1809. The re-opened refuge at Tours in particular is important to the history because Rose Virginie Pelletier, the foundress of the Sisters of the Good Shepherd found her vocation at this refuge in 1813.

***Rose Virginie Pelletier (Later Known as
Mother Mary of Saint Euphrasia)***

Doctor Julien Pelletier and his wife were part of the Catholic underground in Vendee, a province in northwestern France where priests hid from the Revolutionary Party and secretly performed religious ceremonies in family

homes. Many of Dr. Pelletier's neighbors in Vendee were executed for practicing Catholicism, so he fled with his wife and children to a small island, Noirmoutier, off the southern coast of Brittany where he continued to practice his religious beliefs in secret.

Rose Virginie Pelletier²⁰³ was born July 31, 1796. She was conditionally baptized by her parents at birth because there were no priests on the island until 1800. Rose Virginie's father died suddenly at age 54 in November, 1806.²⁰⁴ Pelletier had her First Communion in 1807 at St. Philbert's Church followed by her Confirmation a year later. She later recalled her First Communion to her friends in terms such as having felt her first divine ecstasy during the experience.²⁰⁵ Harris writes that post Revolutionary France gave rise to beginning scientific studies of the psyche that included analysis of dreams and mystic experiences that were influenced by religious practices.²⁰⁶ Early French psychiatrists and neurologists viewed religion in terms of superstition.²⁰⁷ They believed that the Catholic "unconscious" was indirectly encouraged by the belief system in place during the nineteenth century and sometimes gave the impression of delusions or demonic possession. A person experiencing a mystic event would assume bodily poses or feel physiologic sensations such as ecstasy.²⁰⁸ Many of the mystics were women which suggested a link between femininity, hysteria, and religion. However, not all mystics were women.²⁰⁹ Sara Horsfall, a researcher in religious apparitions, states that apparitions and visions have been recorded since the fourth century when Marian devotion was growing

among Christian sects.²¹⁰ Pope Pius XII called the nineteenth century “a century of Marian predilection”.²¹¹

Pelletier attended an Ursuline run school for girls in Noirmoutier from age twelve to fourteen and then reluctantly moved with her mother back to the west coast of France.²¹² She was separated from her brothers and sent to Tours to attend the Christian Academy run by family friend, Madame Pulcherie Chobelet du Bois-Boucher, which was the first girl’s school in Tours to re-open after the Revolution. Rogers describes two secular school reforms for girls enacted by the post revolutionary government that included appointing female inspectors and requiring qualifying examinations for teachers.²¹³ Lay teachers were required to hold a teaching certificate to validate passage of an examination consisting of grammar, arithmetic, history, and geography.²¹⁴ Pelletier’s biographers document that she was an avid reader and was able to translate her readings into practical application. The quality of her education was comparable to upper level schoolwork, but no formal system of secondary education for girls existed at the completion of Pelletier’s schooling.²¹⁵ Precise documentation of convent boarding school curricula in the post-revolutionary period is unavailable since the inspectors did not visit and report about them. Teaching Sisters were not required to take examinations for certification. The women religious directed their efforts at “re-Christianizing” girls rather than directing them into marriage or religious life.²¹⁶

Mary Wollstonecraft addressed single-sex education for girls post revolution by stating that children should be educated together and excited into thinking for themselves about the same objects.²¹⁷ She pointed out that keeping women together in ignorance did not mean each individual woman was innocent or virtuous. Wollstonecraft believed a woman's exercise of reason gave her the choice of selecting virtue or not.²¹⁸ Stock interprets this to mean that women cannot be expected to be truly virtuous until they are independent of patriarchal influence.²¹⁹ Pelletier's teacher and mentor at the Academy, Pauline de Lignac inspired her and encouraged her to follow a religious vocation by extolling the beauty of virtue by example.²²⁰ Their relationship was very close and lasted throughout their lives.²²¹ I believe that Pauline de Lignac served as a surrogate mother for a short time during Pelletier's adolescent years after her mother died in 1813.²²² Pauline's words of encouragement were later recounted by Pelletier as she prepared herself for a religious life in the service of others. "Show them how lovely virtue is and then there will be no necessity for dwelling upon the loathsomeness of vice."²²³

This quote brings Rousseau's education of Sophie to mind. Rousseau's prevailing thought concerning the education of women revolved around not encouraging independent thought beyond knowing right from wrong. Wollstonecraft described how Rousseau believed women only needed enough reason to be obedient.²²⁴ He did not think a woman would be able to determine the virtuous path if she had to make an independent decision. Rousseau wrote

that a woman was not capable of abstract or speculative thought because her natural state of mind was to be dependent on a man.²²⁵

The Our Lady of Charity of the Refuge at Tours was situated close to Chobelet's Christian Academy. The building was large, mysterious, and surrounded by high walls. Her mentor, Pauline, explained that "girls who loved too much pleasure" were sent there.²²⁶ Pelletier was intrigued with the mission of the Sisters of Our Lady of Charity that represented more of a spiritual need than a physical or social need. An anonymous Sister described the historic work of the refuge in this way:

Even the world marvels when it is suddenly reminded of the power of the life within the walls of these houses of God, which zeal founded and zeal maintains. It sees before it the ideal city, fairer than Plato's ideal, the city where the souls dwell in peace, laboring and praying under submission to authority appointed by God. For the most part, the world knows nothing of the order which reigns in such houses: it is only revealed by some special occasion.²²⁷

On holidays the students from the Christian Academy were permitted to share food and religious teachings with the penitents at the refuge. Pelletier, on one such occasion, stood in the chapel doorway and saw kneeling figures dressed in white robes with black veils. The impression of this sight remained in her mind.²²⁸ She had received a letter from a Sister at the Our Lady of Charity of the Refuge convent telling her that "the Mother of God wished for Rose to join the refuge and not enter another congregation."²²⁹ She secretly met with Mother Mary of Saint Joseph LeRoux, the Prioress of the Our Lady of Charity Refuge, to discuss the process for entering the congregation.

She notified her guardian, Monsieur Marsaud by letter that she wished to enter the refuge and become a Sister. He initially refused her request and told her if she wanted to be a Sister, she could join a respectable Order such as the Ursulines or the Sacred Heart. Eventually, he relented and gave his consent, but told her she could not take her final vows until she was twenty-one years of age.²³⁰ Pelletier entered the Our Lady of Charity Refuge at Tours in October, 1814 where she entered the novitiate and served as a postulant in secular garb for eleven months to appease her family.²³¹

She became a novice in September, 1815. At her clothing ceremony she received the white robe, belt, scapular, mantle, crucifix sans corpus, and a black veil from the Superior of the congregation.²³² The symbolism attached to the identity of wearing the habit of the religious was like a testimonial to her new identity and vocation.²³³ Pelletier wanted the religious name Teresa of Avila²³⁴ because she admired the Carmelites. The Mother Superior told her that she needed to select a less famous name to reflect her need for humility. She selected the name Euphrasia.²³⁵ Her religious name became Sister Mary of Saint Euphrasia and she took her final vows in 1817.²³⁶ These vows incorporated the three standard Augustinian vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience and the special fourth vow of zeal for souls.²³⁷ Her clothing ceremony was attended by several prominent people of Tours, because the Pelletier family was known for devotion to the Catholic Church and her desire for a religious vocation became well known in many social circles.

Her initial assignment was to serve as Second Mistress of Penitents.²³⁸ She excelled in that role and demonstrated an exceptional ability to assess the personalities and individual needs of the girls. Shortly thereafter, she was elevated to the position of First Mistress of Penitents using the process of teaching and leading by a motherly example as she followed the long-standing instructions of Father Eudes in her work with the penitents.²³⁹

Her superiors remarked how there was something beyond the ordinary about her personality and demeanor. They documented how they thought "she would do great things some day."²⁴⁰ Monsignor Nogret, Bishop of Saint Claude commented that "If she had been a man she would have been Pope....She has more masculine intellect than any man in Angers."²⁴¹ Although the congregation was in strict enclosure, she later noted that despite the austere surroundings she felt liberated in her whole person in the attainment of her "cherished vocation."²⁴² Wiesner documents women of the upper class, who hold positions of elevated rank within a convent have power over property and other persons within the facility.²⁴³ In 1825, at the age of twenty-nine, she became the Mother Superior of the Tours refuge with the support of Father Monnereau.²⁴⁴ She was the youngest to ever hold that role.²⁴⁵ As the Superior, she was "Mother" to the Sisters and women in the refuge. They became her Daughters.²⁴⁶

In her first year as Superior, she started a separate contemplative group within the refuge in Angers known as the Sisters Magdalen²⁴⁷ based on the Third Order of Mount Carmel Rules.²⁴⁸ The Sisters Magdalen was formed in 1831

exclusively for the women and girls in the refuge who wished to live a contemplative life in enclosure under the governance of Our Lady of Charity of the Refuge, but were ineligible to formally become a professed Sister.²⁴⁹ Girls who had been admitted to the refuge for reform as penitents or as preserves for protection were ineligible to enter the congregation as women religious according to the Our Lady of Charity Constitutions and Rule.²⁵⁰ The Sisters Magdalen lived in seclusion and did not interact with the Sisters or other penitents in the refuge. At their clothing ceremony they took the first name Magdalen and received a simple brown woolen Carmelite habit, scapular, black bandeau and veil and took the three standard simple vows. The fabric for the first four Magdalen habits was a gift from the local Carmelite convent as a token of their esteem and fraternity with the Sisters Magdalen.²⁵¹ The Magdalens lived in separate quarters, performed penance, and rigorous recitations of specialized offices [prayers].²⁵² They occupied the remainder of the day with the production of altar bread [hosts] for use in Holy Communion services and sewing intricately embroidered altar vestments to earn their living. Becoming a Sister Magdalen was a lifetime commitment.²⁵³

Some of the penitents desired to temporarily enter religious life without making a life-long commitment as a Sister Magdalen. Provisions were made for "consecrated penitents," referred to as *consacrées*, to remain with the Sisters by making a renewable vow of consecration to the Virgin Mary after a period of probation.²⁵⁴ They wore simple black secular garments with a special emblem on

front. Their special attire set them apart from the main body of girls and established an identity of importance and influence. Consecrées, as former penitents or preserves, were ineligible to be candidates for the Good Shepherd novitiate as prescribed by the rule of the congregation. They agreed to remain in the refuge for a minimum of one year at which time they could renew their vows on an annual basis. If the girl wished to remain for several years, she could profess perpetual consecration and wear a silver cross as an emblem of the simple vow. The effect of the consecrées' influence on the other penitents has not been studied, but their presence within the main body of penitents set them apart in a documented position of admiration and leadership. They were often chosen as group leaders and mentors for ordinary penitents and newly admitted girls. The consecrées stood out "like officers in a regiment of soldiers" in their black garments and badges.²⁵⁵

Creation of The Good Shepherd Sisters:

Separation from Our Lady of Charity of The Refuge

Mother Mary of Saint Euphrasia experienced more mystic visions that influenced her to create a separate branch of the refuge congregation that could expand into other cities.²⁵⁶ She had been a member of the Our Lady of Charity of the Refuge convent for sixteen years and found that the congregation was "frozen in the present and not able to move forward."²⁵⁷ A request for a fallen women's refuge came from the Bishop of Angers.²⁵⁸ In 1829, five Sisters moved with Mother Mary of Saint Euphrasia into an empty cotton factory called

Tournemine and set up a modest chapel with donations obtained by local patrons and priests. One benefactor, Count Augustine de Neuville, pledged 38,000 Francs to the refuge for a foundation in Angers. He funded a new chapel in 1832 with a central altar and a cruciform floor plan to allow for separation of the Sisters, penitents, preservatives, and Sisters Magdalen in four separate wings. For this donation, he was considered the founder of the new convent and refuge.²⁵⁹ He remained unmarried and privately donated his vast wealth and most of his property to Mother Mary of Saint Euphrasia and her Sisters during his lifetime.

Mother Mary of Saint Euphrasia named the new facility in Angers Our Lady of Charity of the Good Shepherd Refuge and called her new fledgling congregation the Sisters of the Good Shepherd. The Sisters who started this new venture were deeply inspired by her personality and charisma.²⁶⁰ The symbol of the *Good Shepherd* was used in the seventeenth century by an unofficial woman's shelter in Angers run by a woman called Sister Theresa that was disbanded during the Revolution.²⁶¹ Coincidentally, the shelter was known as Saint Mary Magdalen's Home.

The image of the Good Shepherd carrying a lamb across his shoulders has symbolized finding the "lost" since the times of the ancient Greeks.²⁶² Mother Mary of Saint Euphrasia adopted the Good Shepherd and his lost lamb as her symbol for reclaiming women and girls lost in sin. Her philosophy mirrored Jesus' parable of the lost lamb in Mathew 18:12-14 of the Bible. Luke 15:4-7 reflects a

similar theme stating that the Good Shepherd would leave ninety-nine sheep in the pasture to seek one lost lamb. The following parable is found in several forms in the New Testament:

Suppose one of you has a hundred sheep and loses one of them. Does he not leave the ninety-nine in the open country and go after the lost sheep until he finds it? And when he finds it, he joyfully puts it on his shoulders and goes home. Then he calls his friends and neighbors together and says "Rejoice with me; I have found my lost sheep." I tell you that in the same way there will be more rejoicing in heaven over one sinner who repents than over ninety-nine righteous persons who do not need to repent.²⁶³

The newly formed Good Shepherd Refuge in Angers was in dire need of supplies and staff. The main Our Lady of Charity of the Refuge convents were each independently run and did not offer to share provisions or staffing. Mother Mary of Saint Euphrasia began to work for permission to establish a Motherhouse or Generalate in Angers to manage the Good Shepherd congregation in order to establish additional refuges and convents and share resources in other countries in a universal manner.²⁶⁴ She believed that "union constitutes strength."²⁶⁵ She was told, in paternalistic style by Vicar General Father Regnier, that Rome [the Pope] would not pay any attention to her request to form a Good Shepherd Generalate because she was a woman. Lerner attributes this form of subordination to the existence of male and female spheres wherein each sex has a role and dividing lines are not crossed.²⁶⁶

In response to being held in a subordinate position Mother Mary of Saint Euphrasia had a mystic dream wherein she saw a Holy man dressed as a

Cardinal who told her he was her protector and that her request to form a Generalate would be honored. In 1834, she met Cardinal Odescalchi, who was the holy man in her dream who told her how his fondest wish was to found a refuge for fallen girls.²⁶⁷ He became her champion and supported the formation of the Generalate and the expansion of the Good Shepherd congregation to other countries. In 1835, Pope Gregory XVI approved Mother Mary of Saint Euphrasia's request to form a Good Shepherd Generalate which opened the path for controlled expansion of the congregation throughout the world. The Pope had the Good Shepherd Sisters change the white belt they wore to a soft blue. The distinction between the two congregations was signified in part by this change in attire.²⁶⁸ Pope Gregory later remarked that the work of the Good Shepherd Sisters was the "brightest gem in his crown."²⁶⁹

Breaking away from the original refuge and forming the Good Shepherd Sister's congregation with a Generalate caused significant controversy among Catholic Church leaders. Opposing forces created many obstacles and harsh feelings against Mother Mary of Saint Euphrasia. Papal approval of the Good Shepherd Generalate was not unanimously supported by the Bishops, because it took control of the individual Good Shepherd convents located in their parishes out of their jurisdictions. The religious leaders believed that the creation of a Good Shepherd Generalate would specifically trigger the demise of the existing Our Lady of Charity of the Refuge convents over which they had complete local control. However, this fear was never realized. The Our Lady of Charity of the

Refuge convent continued operation and later expanded to include individual convents in many areas of the world, including the United States in 1855.²⁷⁰

Mother Mary of Saint Euphrasia was accused of being personally ambitious rather than demonstrating the need to branch out as a separate congregation. Her charismatic personality was known to be persuasive and sometimes intimidating. As a child, she was willful and outspoken. She recognized these traits in herself and practiced humility and self control. Her biographers document that she spoke in soft vocal tones with slow, careful speech. Regardless of the opposition from many of the Bishops in France, she maintained a calm demeanor and persisted in the formation of the Good Shepherd Generalate. By 1841, twenty-six Good Shepherd convents had been established in France and other countries with 500 professed Sisters, 130 Novices, and 1200 girls in the Penitent class.²⁷¹ The move to the United States in 1842 is discussed later in this chapter.

Enclosure at the Good Shepherd convents was strictly enforced. A tunnel was dug between the motherhouse at Angers and Saint Nicholas Church across the street so the Sisters could go between the buildings without leaving the grounds.²⁷² In the beginning of the congregation, the Sisters could not go out into public to find penitents or to solicit donations. A group of lay-Sisters, referred to as Touriere Sisters²⁷³ (Outdoor Sisters) was established to interface with the outside world and protect the rule of enclosure. They took simple vows and wore black habits.

In the early days of the Good Shepherd refuge in Europe, troubled girls presented themselves or were brought by relatives or civil authorities. Some Protestant ministers brought women and girls for rehabilitation. Some opposing Catholic Church leaders took the stand that the interdisciplinary mission of caring for fallen women and sheltering preserves posed the potential problem of commingling corrupted and virtuous females.²⁷⁴ The Good Shepherd Sisters addressed this issue in the design of the physical facility. The building had sections designated for the separation of different classes [types] of women and girls housed in the refuge. In 1842, anti-Catholics in Angers publicized young girls who escaped from the legal custody of the Good Shepherd Sisters in Angers, claiming ill treatment.²⁷⁵ This was a popular form of anti-Catholic activity against many convent systems throughout the nineteenth century in areas of Europe and North America.²⁷⁶ Many of the published accounts were embellished or false and designed by Protestant ministers to denigrate Catholicism as foreign and mysterious. Despite periodic controversies at the refuges in Angers and other locations, the number of Good Shepherd convents increased.

The Good Shepherd Sisters remained independent of the original Our Lady of Charity of the Refuge facility. Mother Mary of Saint Euphrasia had another mystic vision wherein the Good Shepherd Sisters established houses for the reform of fallen women all over the world without concern about lack of funds. She considered this a fulfillment of her vow of poverty. Another woman religious named Sister Clare had a vision of a field of daisies wherein stood a multitude of

white-robed Sisters. In their midst stood the Virgin Mary who told them to consecrate their work for the salvation of souls.²⁷⁷ These visions encouraged the Good Shepherd Sisters to continue their work and expand despite the financial hardships. The first Good Shepherd convent outside Europe was in Louisville, Kentucky in 1843.²⁷⁸

The First House of The Good Shepherd Convent in the United States, Louisville, Kentucky, 1943

The Sisters of the Good Shepherd opened refuges in Europe, Asia, Africa, Australia, South America, and New Zealand. They arrived in North America in December 1, 1842 at the written request of Bishop Benedict Joseph Flaget of the Bardstown diocese.²⁷⁹ In his letter he requested five or six Sisters, who were “young enough to learn English and filled with the Holy Spirit for they will have much to suffer.”²⁸⁰ In 1842, the population of Louisville, Kentucky was approximately 30,000 with 5,000 Catholics.²⁸¹ The Bishop estimated there were many “lost women” for the Sisters to save in Louisville.²⁸² The immigrant population was mainly Irish and German Catholics. Social issues associated with poverty included alcoholism, prostitution, and petty crime. His letter inquired how the Sisters would raise adequate financing for the journey and how many Sisters would undertake the mission.²⁸³ The Bishop originally set money aside for a Good Shepherd convent but had to divert the funds toward a new cathedral.

Four Good Shepherd Sisters led by Sister Mary of the Angels Porcher, newly appointed Superior, went to Louisville, Kentucky to establish the House of

the Good Shepherd.²⁸⁴ Each Sister was of a different nationality for diversity in a country of immigrants. Sister Mary of Saint Joseph Looney was the only Irish-born Sister of the group and the first English speaking Sister accepted as a Postulant by the Good Shepherd Sisters at the Motherhouse in Angers, France where all the Sisters received their training. She was a good instructor of English for the foreign-born Sisters destined to settle in the United States.

In preparation for the establishment of the House of the Good Shepherd in the United States, Mother Mary of Saint Euphrasia instructed the departing Sisters to ransom [buy] slaves and fill the classes with them if they had the opportunity.²⁸⁵ The foundress had identified the needs of racially diverse girls as early as the early nineteenth century. The Sisters were instructed by their foundress to care for girls of all cultures and ethnic backgrounds and treat them the same, under the same roof if possible. Father Olivieri frequently traveled to Alexandria, Egypt on mercy missions and purchased [referred to as ransoms] many young slave girls of African, Arabic, and Egyptian descent from the marketplace and delivered them to the House of the Good Shepherd in Angers, France until African houses could be established.²⁸⁶

Mother Mary of Saint Euphrasia described in her instructions to the Sisters the perils of the young girls of color throughout history. As a young girl she remembered hearing stories from the sailors about the abuse of African girls. She emphasized the need for kindness and a feeling of belonging to her flock regardless of color. The first African House of the Good Shepherd opened in

Cairo, Egypt in 1843 where the girls were of fifteen nationalities and nine different religious sects.²⁸⁷ Mother Mary of St. Euphrasia pointed out how much she loved all her sheep, white and black.²⁸⁸

These black sheep, my dear daughters, for whom I have longed many years, are the poor negresses [sic] barbarously stolen from their parents, or sometimes even sold by them for a few pieces of silver. What a joy for us to be able to assist in delivering these unfortunate captives from slavery.

What care we shall take of them! What pains we will take to instruct them! My heart bounds with joy when I think that Ethiopians, Nubians, and Abyssinians will receive the white robe of baptism here.²⁸⁹

All girls were welcome in the first House of the Good Shepherd in the United States regardless of color. The first facility in the United States was named Maryhurst and was not segregated. The evening before their departure, the Sisters of the congregation assembled for the final farewell. Each professed Sister in turn, including Mother Mary of Saint Euphrasia, stooped to kiss the feet of the five departing travelers. A young novice described the event by quoting a passage from Isaiah 52 in the Bible "How lovely are the feet that announce peace."²⁹⁰

Sister Mary of the Angels wrote in a letter to the Generalate in Angers that the ocean voyage was 31 days in duration and quite harsh. Archbishop Hughes of New York ordered them to wear secular clothing for safety upon arrival in New York and during overland travel to their destination. Their white habit attracted attention and curiosity seekers.²⁹¹ The road trip from New York to Louisville took seven weeks during which time they periodically stayed with the congregations

of the Sisters of Charity and Mercy. Upon arrival in Louisville in December 1842, they temporarily lodged in the town of Portland, Kentucky at the Cedar Grove Convent with the Sisters of the Loretto²⁹² for nine months until a suitable convent could be established. During the waiting period, the Good Shepherd Sisters studied the English language and local customs in preparation for the task of “saving the lost girls” of Louisville. Knowledge of local beliefs and practices was part of the foundation upon which Mother Mary of Saint Euphrasia based her method of re-education for the girls in the care of the Good Shepherd Sisters. In her Conferences and Instructions she stated:

In speaking of religious matters, we must adapt our language so that the children can understand. We must use images that are familiar to them. In religious language, certain everyday words take on an unusual meaning. We must avoid using learned expressions when they can be replaced by others more familiar to our children.²⁹³

The Sisters initially selected a house to purchase, but at the last minute, the seller refused to sign the agreement. He feared arson or a riot if he sold to Catholics. Bigotry was a powerful force in the community.²⁹⁴ Vandalism and other property-related crimes, such as arson were common in response to foreigners owning land. The poor Catholic Irish immigrants found little welcome in the Protestant-dominant cities like Louisville, St. Louis, and Philadelphia. Fisher documents that the second largest immigrant group, the Catholic Germans, fared better and developed working relationships with the Protestants where they settled.²⁹⁵ Poverty led to increased crime causing riots and fighting casting a shadow of mistrust and dislike between the immigrants themselves and the

locals. Moreover, Catholicism was considered mysterious and was not widely accepted in Kentucky.²⁹⁶

Bishop Chabrat intervened and purchased a lot in Louisville for the Sisters with funds acquired by the Society for Propagation of the Faith. The new convent building was constructed, garden layouts planned, orchards planted, and space allotted for a cemetery.²⁹⁷ Local builders were fascinated by the floor plan with its divided spaces and were even more curious when the *grille*²⁹⁸ was installed to separate the Sisters from the public reception parlor. Bishop Flaget permitted public tours of the convent behind the enclosure for a limited time after the facility was erected to satisfy the townspeople and decrease rumors of mysterious happenings behind closed doors.

Nativist thinking in America stemmed from an irrational fear in the dominant population of strangers with ethnocultural and religious differences.²⁹⁹ There were three dimensions of nativist prejudice against Catholic religious houses: 1.) unknown religious practices and controls, 2.) inhabitants were strangers, and 3.) racist separatism (non Anglo-Saxon heritage).³⁰⁰ America was a white, Anglo-Saxon Protestant country based on privatization of religious belief and Catholicism was not privatized.³⁰¹ Religious practices for Catholics were not open to personalization in a democratic sense.³⁰² People in the towns believed that the Catholic strangers wore "odorous" clothing and brought disease and caused bad weather.³⁰³

Anti-Catholic literature was published throughout the nineteenth century and read with interest, causing suspicion concerning the activities of the women within the convent.³⁰⁴ Cloistered life for men and women was an unusual lifestyle not completely understood by non-Catholics.³⁰⁵ Sisters were a curiosity because of their attire and inaccessibility. The practice of Marian devotion was viewed with skepticism and the ritualistic Catholic traditions appeared overly ornate and garish.³⁰⁶ Protestants viewed marriage as the natural way of life for a woman and considered a Sister's celestial betrothal to Christ and celibacy as supernaturally against the laws of nature.³⁰⁷ In cities where Orders of teaching Sisters ran convent schools, they were accepted for their knowledge and teaching skill by Catholics and non-Catholics alike. Periodic controversies arose, but as time passed the local townspeople developed a cautious comfort level with the Good Shepherd Sisters and their work. Eventually local Louisville authorities, families, and clergy brought girls to the Sisters for re-education.

The first House of the Good Shepherd in the United States was ready for occupancy and accepted the first penitent girl in September, 1843. The classes of girls were housed separately from the Sisters and Magdalens in dormitory-style rooms. The 1850 United States census listed the first girls as *wards*.³⁰⁸ As the numbers of penitents increased, the Good Shepherd Generalate in Angers sent word that two more professed Sisters would be joining them in their work.³⁰⁹

The summer of 1855 was tumultuous because of threats by an activist political party called the "Know-Nothings."³¹⁰ They started rumors that the

Catholics were unable to think for themselves under the influence of the Pope and had tampered with the voting process.³¹¹ Twentieth century author Paul Blanshard explained the beliefs behind this anti-Catholic mindset in his book *American Freedom and Catholic Power*. He described how Americans have been willing to fight and die side-by-side for democracy regardless of religion, but in terms of Catholicism as a life-style within a democratic environment, American Catholics have no choice in their representatives in the Roman Catholic hierarchy.³¹² American Catholics feared being branded or excluded from religious rites if they spoke out or declared personal views contrary to the Catholic Church.³¹³ Protestants had little understanding of control exercised from a non-governmental source, such as the Vatican in Rome.³¹⁴

The Know Nothings sent threatening letters to the Good Shepherd convent creating a state of fear in the women. Local supporters of the convent and Catholic men devised a plan by which to protect and evacuate the Good Shepherd convent residents in the event of an attack on the facility. The women were to form two groups and exit through separate doors. The first group was to make their way to Mrs. Webb's house and the second group was to go to Mrs. Deppen's farm. In the riot, the Louisville Good Shepherd convent was not damaged. This political riot on August 6, 1855, later known as "Bloody Monday", caused the deaths of many Irish and German immigrants from poor neighborhoods. Scores of homes and businesses burned to the ground during

the violent clash between Democrats and the Know-Nothing party. Financial recovery took many years.³¹⁵

The Good Shepherd Sisters later started additional schools throughout the United States in response to invitations extended by the Bishops of the local parishes. Space and the lack of documentation prohibits the complete description of the histories of each of the 59 individual schools opened by the Good Shepherd Sisters in the United States during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Similar operational, financial, and administrative issues were mirrored between the schools as they opened, conducted their mission, and eventually closed. The archival records also reflect subtle relaxation of the rules regarding enclosure in 1920 to permit Sisters to attend college classes and meetings. Parlor grilles separating the Sisters from visitors in the reception parlor were eliminated around this time.

As of December 2007, the two congregations, the Sisters of the Good Shepherd and the Sisters of Charity of the Refuge were negotiating plans to reunite and merge in the mission of saving fallen and abandoned women. The votes cast by the women religious indicate that the merger may take place within a year or two. This is an ironic turn of events. One hundred seventy two years have passed since Mother Mary of Saint Euphrasia and her followers separated from the main body of the Refuge because of lack of support and consistency. Historically, each facility operated by The Sisters of Charity of the Refuge was independently run which was problematic when one convent had more money or

goods than another. Their refuges remained independent of each other. On the other hand, the formation of the Good Shepherd Generalate under Mother Mary of Saint Euphrasia uniformly managed assets and prevented inequity between the individual Good Shepherd facilities. The Generalate continues to control each Good Shepherd convent regardless of location as of 2008. Mother Mary of Saint Euphrasia did not have the opportunity to travel to the United States. She died in 1868.³¹⁶ At the time of her death there were 110 houses throughout the world. By WWI there were 340 houses world-wide with a census of 80,000 residents.³¹⁷

Two Examples of the Expansion of the House of the Good Shepherd in the United States

In the following two sections I selected two former locations of Good Shepherd Schools to describe, Chicago and Cleveland. The archival documentation of these two locations in the Saint Louis Provincialate exemplifies how the Good Shepherd Sisters: 1.) established their convents and schools, 2.) modified their mission to meet societal need, and 3.) implemented the traditional Good Shepherd policies and procedures to meet the needs of the women and girls they served. The records of these two schools provide an overview of distinct situations not seen in the archival records of the other Good Shepherd school locations. Although other schools had unique and similar attributes, the records do not offer the same clear contrasts in documented form. The Chicago Good Shepherd facilities were segregated and did not take pregnant girls at any

time. The Cleveland facility was always integrated and later expanded to house pregnant teenage girls.

Chicago offers an example of adversarial relationships between the Catholic hierarchy, the socioeconomic environment, racial tensions, anti-Catholic sentiments, and the Good Shepherd Sisters. Although the Sisters were invited to establish the Good Shepherd facilities in the greater Chicago area by the Bishop of the time, the striking documentation of the social and economic difficulties reflected the common need for self-sufficiency and perseverance despite opposing forces of the competing visions of the Catholic chain of command.

Cleveland provides a good example of the Good Shepherd Sister's social service to marginalized women and girls and progressive expansion into an educational environment. No specific accounts of racial strife or anti-Catholic activity were documented. Financial difficulties and changes in numbers of penitent girls necessitated several location changes over the years. The focus eventually centered on delinquent girls exclusively because reimbursement from the county helped with the expenses of running the school. As the social climate changed, the census of the school decreased causing the facility to cease residential services. A distinct diversification of their mission in Cleveland later included caring for unwed mothers, which was a rare branch of their social services offered in only a few other locations, such as Peekskill, New York. When the Cleveland school closed its doors in 2001, the Sisters took up the social service of post abortion counseling in Avon, Ohio.

The Good Shepherd Sisters in Chicago 1859 to 1976

Chicago was a young city of twenty six years in 1859 when Bishop Duggan asked the Good Shepherd Sisters to take over the management of a temporary female refuge run by the Sisters of Mercy on the west side of the city for wayward Irish and German immigrant women. The refuge, called a *Magdalen Asylum*,³¹⁸ was started in anticipation of the Good Shepherd Sisters taking over, and implementing their policies when they arrived. Mother Mary of Saint John the Baptist Jackson, as Superior, and three Sisters were sent from Saint Louis to fulfill the Bishop's request.³¹⁹ The Good Shepherd Sisters supported the facility by doing local laundry and needlework. Donations of cash from the local Catholic parish³²⁰ came in slowly. As additional poor, troubled immigrant women and girls were admitted, the facility became known as the House of the Good Shepherd. The poorhouses and prisons in Chicago during the nineteenth century held many impoverished and destitute immigrant women, who turned to asocial behaviors to survive, such as drunkenness, prostitution, and petty crime. The matron at the women's prison reported that of the fifty women incarcerated, thirty-seven of the women were Irish.³²¹ Many of these women were brought to the Sisters for re-education.

Catholicism, as an immigrant religion in the U. S., was dominated by Irish priests and Sisters in Chicago and other major cities. The Irish domination of the Catholic Church continued into the late 1940s, because within the hierarchy of the American Catholic Church, all but one of the native-born Cardinals

throughout the country were from Irish-born immigrant families.³²² In nineteenth-century Chicago, the Catholic immigrant Germans established parishes of their own that served the cultural needs of their families with components of the mass delivered in their native language. As the city grew, the Archbishop's policy required the region to be divided into one square mile parishes within the city limits. Many parishes were subdivided by resident nationalities into foreign-speaking clusters. Some of the parishes had as many as seven Catholic Churches by the mid-twentieth century.³²³ Initially the immigrant population was largely Irish and German, but other groups, such as Italians and Poles, moved in and added subdivisions of ethnic parishes of their own.³²⁴

The immigrant Germans separated themselves from the Irish Catholics, although all were equally poor. Local non-Catholic Chicago residents developed a sense of anti-Catholic and anti-foreigner bigotry, although in some areas varying levels of religious and cultural difference were tolerated in limited degrees.³²⁵ Fund-raising led by Bishop Duggan for building the larger Good Shepherd quarters caused unrest over the use of public money for a private Catholic institution. Anti-Catholic threats were made by towns' people in northern Chicago.³²⁶ The first permanent convent was burnt to the ground by unknown persons, but a new, three-storey brick convent was built in its place with the option to purchase adjacent lots nearby.³²⁷ The burning of convents by anti-Catholic groups throughout the United States was not an uncommon activity in the nineteenth century. Suellen Hoy describes how many convents and other

Catholic facilities in the United States burned to the ground, particularly before the Civil War.³²⁸ Hoy points out that the residents in many American cities resented the use of fund-raising for secular causes, especially to house undesirable women.³²⁹

In the mid nineteenth century, wealthy Protestant women opened the *Erring Woman's Shelter* to compete with the Sisters, but they only could accommodate 31 women and girls compared to 89 housed with the Good Shepherd Sisters. The Protestant shelter for fallen women closed after a few years.³³⁰ By 1864, poverty among the immigrants in Chicago caused more than an estimated four thousand women, mostly Irish, to turn to prostitution for their livelihood earning the title of "Wickedest City in America" for Chicago.³³¹

The Good Shepherd Sisters opened the Chicago Industrial School for Girls at the request of Archbishop Patrick Feehan to care for dependent and neglected girls. The focus of their mission had shifted from women to adolescent girls between the ages twelve to eighteen because of financial constraints. The girls were separated into two classes: preservates [girls at risk for falling] and penitents [already fallen or delinquents needing reform]. The school and residence on the north side of town was designated for delinquent girls consigned by the court and a separate school and residence was established on the south side for dependent preserve girls. Delinquents consigned by the court could leave at the completion of their sentences, but they were permitted to return at will any time. Some penitents returned and some never left. The

girls who returned had the option of becoming a consecree with yearly simple vows of consecration to the Virgin Mary or making a lifetime commitment as a Sister Magdalen with solemn vows. Older girls, who wished to consecrate themselves, were welcomed to stay on for their lifetime as productive members of the congregation family. The Sisters took in preserves in an effort to protect them until they reached the age of majority. Preserves, too, had the option of consecration or becoming a Sister Magdalen.³³²

In the first 20 years of operation in Chicago, the Good Shepherd Sisters cared for approximately 3400 girls. The average census in the north side facility was 43 Sisters caring for 375 girls. The south side facility housed 210 girls cared for by 19 Sisters. The Juvenile Court gave the Sisters \$15.00 per month per delinquent girl. The average length of stay was eighteen to twenty-four months. Other agencies sending dependent girls paid \$25.00 per month per girl.³³³

The House of the Good Shepherd ran at capacity for twelve years until the Chicago fire of October 9, 1871 burned the facility. The losses to the Good Shepherd Sisters exceeded \$200,000.00.³³⁴ No one from the convent was injured. The Daughters of Charity and the Sacred Heart Sisters gave shelter to the Good Shepherd Sisters and their charges.³³⁵ Most of the girls were sent to other Good Shepherd convents in other states. Women over the age of twenty were sent to the Erring Woman's Shelter. The Sisters, under the direction of Mother Mary of the Nativity began to plan the rebuilding of the Chicago convent with donations and minimal insurance reimbursement. Other Houses of the Good

Shepherd sent money and goods. The Chicago Relief and Aid Society donated linens and household items. Cash gifts of several thousand dollars arrived over the following year.³³⁶ Families with delinquent girls in the home were asked to contribute a small fixed sum each month. Girls with no family support were not denied admittance.³³⁷

Enclosure was suspended while the Sisters over-saw the rebuilding process of the new House of the Good Shepherd on the north side of the city on Grace Street. The structure was rebuilt in sections with the end design intended to resemble a Maltese Cross in Gothic style. By 1880, The House of the Good Shepherd and the Heart of Mary School had a census of 271 girls, 43 Sisters, and 22 Sisters Magdalen.³³⁸ According to Hoy, the majority of the women, Sisters and girls alike, were white and of Irish descent. Eight of the penitent girls were Black.³³⁹

The Good Shepherd Sisters viewed all of the girls as members of families rather than as individuals. Causative factors for admission were termed as “circumstantial reasons” regardless of how or why the girl came to the House of the Good Shepherd. The Sisters formed positive approaches that supported the notion that the penitents and the preservatives were “good girls from bad homes.”³⁴⁰ The prevailing thought was the girls would likely be blue collar laborers and the best training they could receive would be reading, writing, arithmetic, thrift, and cleanliness.³⁴¹

Members of a social group formed in 1888, the Illinois Women's Alliance,³⁴² believed that the penitents were being held against their will like slaves, and demanded entrance to inspect for imprisoned females.³⁴³ Leaders of the Alliance believed that the Sisters were only accepting girls to receive funding from the county. The city officials documented that the money obtained for sheltering and reforming girls went directly to the Industrial School and not to the Sisters directly and upon completion of a court ordered confinement, each girl was free to leave at will. The Sisters refused admittance to the Alliance for an inspection, but instead invited the Mayor and other city officials to attend a tour. The tour party was very impressed with the facility and complimented the Sisters' work with the girls to the dismay of the critical women's group.³⁴⁴

Working class and poor women in Chicago were employed as domestics, seamstresses, or laundresses.³⁴⁵ The Good Shepherd Sisters prepared the girls for these occupations by teaching the necessary skills and supervising actual work as part of the sustenance of the facility. The Good Shepherd facility was constructed with a large commercial laundry attached to help with the financial sustenance of the convent. The girls used the most modern equipment. Girls under sixteen years were not required to work in the laundry, but they learned and practiced lace making and embroidery of fine linens instead. Touriere Sister, Mary Martha Shine delivered the laundry by hand since the convent had no horse and buggy. Hospital linens were spread out in the sun for ultraviolet sanitation before washing to prevent cross contamination from sick patients. Difficulties

with the conveyance of the laundry caused the Sisters to focus on fancy needlework. Increased income allowed the Sisters to purchase their first sewing machine.³⁴⁶

By 1909, over 18,000 girls had been under the care of the Sisters since they arrived in Chicago. The Chicago Industrial School for Girls that officially opened on the south side of the city at Prairie and forty ninth street in 1889 could accommodate 200 girls consigned by the Cook County Juvenile Court. An independent Board of Trustees oversaw the school to maintain financial separation of the school and the House of the Good Shepherd. Monies allotted for the school were not to be used for maintenance of the convent. Every aspect of the daily running of the school and convent was performed by either the Sisters or the girls. The county inspector found the Sisters to be independent in everyday maintenance of the facility.³⁴⁷

The Illinois Juvenile Court Act of 1899 [the first in the country] supported the placement of children into the custody of religious who were the same religion as the parents if possible.³⁴⁸ The Good Shepherd Sisters were successful with the Chicago Industrial School for Girls until 1911 when Archbishop James E. Quigley stepped in and decided to take charge of all the confined girls and move them into Feehanville, later known as Maryville Academy, a co-ed educational setting in Des Plaines, Illinois. The Archbishop's rationale for the move was to keep siblings of different sexes together.³⁴⁹

The Industrial School building stood vacant and the Archbishop offered to buy it since the Sisters held the deed. The Sisters refused to sell the building and opened a new school with Black girls in mind instead. The “Great Migration” from the south to northern cities, such as Chicago and Cleveland was beginning as African Americans sought jobs and better economic opportunities.³⁵⁰ Young Black girls were considered at risk for falling prey to crime as they arrived in the impoverished neighborhood of the Black Belt.³⁵¹

The Catholic Church found alliances with Chicago’s immigrant populations that included Irish, Germans, Italians, and Polish. Black residential areas on the south side of Chicago were equally poor, but were not included in many charitable activities of the Catholic Church.³⁵² In January, 1911, the Good Shepherd Sisters under the direction of Sister Mary of Saint Julitta Fitzpatrick converted the Chicago Industrial School for Girls into the Illinois Technical School for Colored Girls, accepting Black girls aged six to sixteen years despite the protests by their neighbors in the adjacent upscale neighborhood at 49th street and lack of support from the Catholic Church. White girls were welcomed also, but none requested entry. The former Board president of the original Technical School, Catholic businessman, Charles Mair, refused to accept a board position overseeing the new mission—that of serving “colored girls.” He stated that he did not want to be “identified” with the Sisters’ “new work.”³⁵³ Other former supporters followed suit and indicated their concern about the influx of Blacks into the northern part of the city where the Sisters had another school for white

girls, Heart of Mary. Few Blacks lived near the north side at that time and the neighbors did not want to encourage northern movement of other races.

Neighborhood groups, such as the white-sponsored Hyde Park Improvement Protective Club met with Bishop Quigley to request a ban on the work of the Good Shepherd Sisters and their school for Black girls in the former south side technical school facility that was located near the upscale Hyde Park neighborhood. The Bishop assured the concerned white citizens that it would be a long time before any number of Black girls would enroll in the school because they were not commonly involved with Catholicism and the school would ultimately fail.³⁵⁴ The Bishop did not stop the Sisters from opening the school. The Hyde Park Improvement Protective Club appealed to Governor Charles Deneen, protesting the "invasion of their community by Negroes", but he ignored its request. The Governor and Secretary of State James A. Rose sent letters of support to the Sisters indicating their work was necessary and they gave complete backing to the school. The school was opened and became successful in its mission to the surprise of the dissenting Bishop.

The Cook County Juvenile Court observed a "color line" and no longer sent white girls to the facility after it changed names.³⁵⁵ Judge Merritt W. Pinckney, a Unitarian, of the Cook County Juvenile Court supported the school and sent the first twenty-five Black girls to the school for re-education by the Good Shepherd Sisters.³⁵⁶ Girls remanded by the Juvenile Court were supported by \$15.00 per month from county funds.³⁵⁷ The Sisters applied for corporate

status to safeguard their charter and legal rights to the deed to their property. The Technical School operated initially as an orphanage for Black girls, but shortly thereafter became a boarding school where local Black families of middle to low income enrolled their daughters. Poor Black single mothers, who could not adequately supervise their daughters while working fourteen hours per day as domestics, sent their daughters to the Good Shepherd School. Girls from homes broken by death or divorce were also welcomed. Some of the girls went home on weekends, while other girls considered at risk for harm remained in residence at the school year-round.³⁵⁸ Other kindergartens and schools were racially segregated so the opportunities for education for Black girls were marginal outside of the Good Shepherd School.³⁵⁹

Supporters of the school spoke on its behalf at local council meetings because the Sisters could not leave the enclosure. Reverend John T. Jenifer, a retired minister, of the African Methodist Church, who was born in slavery, stood in defense of the Sisters. He said "It is better that these dependent Negro girls be taken care of than be left to drift into evil and become a menace."³⁶⁰ Reverend Jenifer said the school was "indispensable" for imparting Christian values. He acknowledged that most of the Black students were not Catholic, but Protestant. Complaints about decreased property values caused by an increasing Black population were offset by supporter's backhanded comments such as "the Sisters are among the whitest people I ever saw."³⁶¹ The critics tried another approach claiming that Blacks should only care for Blacks and Catholics should

not care for Protestant girls, regardless of color. This protest went unheeded. Amanda Berry Smith Orphan Home located twenty miles south of the "Black Belt"³⁶² accepted Black Protestant children through the Cook County Juvenile Court system, but could only accommodate thirty to forty children at a time. This home closed in 1918 after a devastating fire.³⁶³

By 1926, the Illinois Technical School for Colored Girls became more of a boarding school for disadvantaged Black girls than a refuge for the fallen woman as the original mission of the Good Shepherd Sisters described. The Technical School was self sufficient and self-contained and eventually dropped the terms "for Colored Girls" from the school's name. The average census of the school at this time was around 120 Black girls. Approximately two thirds of these girls were not Catholic.³⁶⁴

Activities at the school ranged from vocational training to sponsoring a Girl Scout troop, number 342. Uniforms were worn for school periods and personal clothing was worn after school hours and on weekends. Attire and identification as part of a group was emphasized on a daily basis. Belongingness and formulation of identity was an integral component of the re-education process developed by Mother Mary of Saint Euphrasia. Associations within the school were intended to displace former asocial connections with undesirable outside influences and create a sense of pride and purpose in the girl's life.

Most of the weekday was spent in academic study. Every grade had some religion or Bible study in the curriculum to support the moral and spiritual

development of the girl. Music lessons were available after school. By 1930, there were pianos in each classroom and in the auditorium. The enclosed property was large enough to accommodate a softball field surrounded by a paved walkway where the girls practiced roller skating. The selection of classes and extra curricular offerings was integral to the success of the school since few organizations believed in the education of Black girls as a worthwhile endeavor. Each girl had chores after school that served to enhance the girl's character and supported the facility. Creation of a well-rounded personality with a healthy body and mind fostered self reliance and the potential for a productive life. Graduates of the school often enrolled their own daughters for an education with the Sisters.³⁶⁵

The south side Illinois Technical School operated for forty-two years. The neighborhood became unsafe and crime was increasing. In 1953, the Sisters of the Good Shepherd closed the school and sold the property to the Catholic Diocese for one dollar. Social welfare groups supported the use of foster families over institutionalization of the girls. The Sisters Magdalen, known as the Contemplative Sisters of the Good Shepherd after 1985, moved from Chicago to Milwaukee. The old Industrial School building was converted into Saint Euphrasia's Day Nursery by the Franciscans. The Sisters from the closed Illinois Technical School relocated and operated the Heart of Mary High School for troubled girls aged 13 to 18 years in the north side of Chicago until 1976. The delinquent girls were housed there for intense rehabilitation and re-education.

The following section describes the Good Shepherd school in Cleveland, Ohio. The main differences between the Chicago and Cleveland facilities were population-based and service-oriented. Chicago featured racial segregation with separate schools for Whites and Blacks. The school on the north side had predominantly White girls, but eight Black girls were admitted. The south side school was operated solely for Black girls after 1911. Cleveland, on the other hand, was integrated from the beginning and later admitted pregnant girls. Chicago did not admit pregnant girls at any time.

The Good Shepherd Sisters in Cleveland 1869 to 2001

The work of the Good Shepherd Sisters was respected among the Catholic hierarchy in France and North America during the nineteenth century. Several Cincinnati-based Good Shepherd Sisters including Mother Mary of Saint Joseph David visited their Good Shepherd Generalate in Angers, France in 1862. They had a chance meeting with Bishop Louis Amadeus Rappe, a French priest who was assigned to the Cleveland, Ohio diocese as its first Bishop.³⁶⁶ He was intrigued by the mission of the Good Shepherd Sisters and their work with troubled girls and in 1868 requested approval from the Pope for a House of the Good Shepherd in Cleveland. The Pope approved the plan and gave permission for the Good Shepherd Generalate to establish the House of the Good Shepherd in Cleveland. The Cincinnati convent could not spare more than two Sisters to relocate, so the Saint Louis, Philadelphia, and Louisville convents each sent one

Sister as part of the newly forming Cleveland congregation. Four Sisters led by Mother Mary of Saint Joseph David as Superior arrived in Cleveland in 1869.³⁶⁷

Bishop Rappe purchased property on Lake Street, which was considered the outskirts of the city and had a temporary residence built until the main convent and residence for the girls was erected at Carnegie and East 30th Street.

Bishop Rappe gave the following advice during the first mass at the house:

My children, you have come to the city of Cleveland where a large field awaits you; cultivate it and remember that it is not you who has chosen to come, but it is the Lord who has selected you to labor in this part of his vineyard. Be faithful laborers; the harvest is very great, many souls await your help. Do not allow anyone to perish through your want of zeal.³⁶⁸

Cleveland, dubbed "Forrest City" was a moderate-sized metropolis bordered by open country with vineyards and farms. Bishop Rappe divided the Cleveland diocese into sixteen parishes with the intention of preventing ethnic-based enclaves from forming. He believed that immigrants should "Americanize" as soon as possible to acculturate into the local society.³⁶⁹ I believe that some of his attitudes towards acculturation stemmed from the fact that he was born, raised, and educated in France and never really mastered the English language.³⁷⁰ The immigrant population of Germans and Irish had increased significantly from 1820 to 1830 because of construction on the Erie and Ohio Canals.³⁷¹ By the 1860s there were concentrated areas of ethnic groups near job sites, such as the docks. Bishop Rappe was concerned with the growing alcoholism and crime involving the Irish laborers in the Ohio Valley and continued to try to prevent ethnic-based parishes.³⁷² The German immigrants

were reluctantly given German-speaking churches in their neighborhoods after multiple complaints to the Pope.³⁷³ The Irish complained because most of their priests spoke French. Complaints by these groups concerning Bishop Rappe's policies concerning the prevention of nationality-focused parishes eventually caused him to resign in 1870.³⁷⁴

The House of the Good Shepherd admitted approximately twenty girls of many ethnicities each year.³⁷⁵ The shortest stay was three months and the longest stay was three years and ten months. The Sisters assigned a new name to each girl admitted to protect her anonymity. The new name symbolized beginning a new life.³⁷⁶ The Angel Guardian School was started by the Sisters with six preserve girls aged nine to seventeen. The Sacred Heart Training School was established for penitent girls aged 15 to 16 years. By 1874, the Juvenile courts began placing delinquent girls in the Sacred Heart School for social rehabilitation. Other girls were placed by relatives or entered voluntarily. Funding for the girls remanded by the court came from Cuyahoga County. Families of the new admissions in both preserve and penitent classes were asked to contribute money for expenses associated with caring for the girls. Other benefactors included Jephtha Wade, John Huntington, William Gordon, and Joseph Perkins.

Sewing, knitting, and laundry services were added as an industrial training project and a revenue producing activity. The girls in the Sacred Heart Training School used these activities as vocational training for post-release employment.

The convent and surrounding buildings were paid off by 1886 with monies earned by the work of the girls in the Sacred heart School and the sale of the house on Lake Street. By 1893, the Sisters were able to begin adding additional wings to the building with the money they raised through charity events and handiwork of the residents in the facility. The Sisters Magdalen continued to be self-sufficient by embroidery and baking altar breads for resale. The convent property supported gardens and small animals for food, such as chickens.

By 1900, most of the new admissions were teenaged girls from the Cuyahoga County Juvenile Court, although there were still a few admissions into the preserve class of the Angel Guardian School. Mother Mary of Saint Lawrence supervised the educational programs for the various grades that offered formal "school days" of five-hour duration. Coursework included domestic science and physical culture. Music lessons were available after school hours giving the girls the opportunity to study voice or an instrument. The commercial laundry operated by the school was phased out in the late 1930s so the girls could spend more time in academic coursework. This caused the loss of some revenue. The Community Chest and the Welfare Federation of Cleveland supplemented some of the losses. The Sisters agreed to temporarily take in women from foreign countries while the government performed background checks. The FBI paid a stipend of \$1.25 per day.

The highest recorded census including the Good Shepherd Sisters, Magdalens, and all the girls numbered over 200. Crowded conditions made it

difficult to keep the Magdalen, penitent and preservative classes separated. Thirty girls were consigned by the court yearly by 1918 and this increased to eighty girls per year by 1925. The length of stay varied, but some stayed as long as three years. Space constraints worsened when the Sisters lost parts of their property at East 30th with the growth of Cleveland and widening of Carnegie Avenue in the 1920s. The rapidly expanding city impinged on the privacy and productivity of the facility. Some of the Sisters and their charges suffered from environmental illness caused by pollution because trucks used Carnegie Avenue as a main artery into the city. Noise constantly disturbed the tranquility that was considered part of the management of the troubled penitents' rehabilitation. The Sisters began looking for a larger, quieter place to build a new facility. Finding a large enough tract of land for an affordable price was the goal.

In Euclid Village, The Louis Harms family had a hillside farm that produced grapes and other orchard fruits. The Sisters of several convents, including the Good Shepherd Sisters were welcome to pick the grapes from certain sections of the vineyard. On one occasion, exact year not documented, while the Sisters were gathering grapes, Sister Mary of Saint Joachim buried a statue of Saint Joseph³⁷⁷ on the side of a hill in the hope that the Sisters would find property as beautiful upon which to build a new convent.³⁷⁸ The practice of burying a Saint Joseph statue during a real estate transaction is considered an act of devotion.³⁷⁹ In 1920, the 26-acre Harms property became available and was purchased by the Good Shepherd Sisters for \$75,000.00 under the direction of

Superior Mother Mary of Saint John Berchmans McGarvey. The location was named Providence Heights.

Mother Mary of Saint John Berchmans McGarvey traveled to Angers, France and visited the Our Lady of Lourdes shrine. During her prayers, she felt the calling to duplicate the Lourdes shrine in Providence Heights. While still in France, Father Ekert gave the Superior Mother a handful of stone hewn from the Lourdes grotto to reinforce her desire to build the shrine. Donors provided money to establish a shrine to Our Lady of Lourdes, complete with religious statuary and a grotto. The first Good Shepherd Guild was formed to help raise money. The shrine became nationally famous, attracting pilgrims from all over the world. In 1924, the site was proclaimed a "hallowed spot" by Archbishop Joseph Schrems of the Cleveland diocese.

In 1924, the Good Shepherd Sisters' convent moved to Providence Heights. The Angel Guardian School was accredited in 1930 to operate classes for preserve girls at the new site through the sixth grade. This partial move helped alleviate some of the over-crowding at the East 30th street location, but did not ease the financial stress caused by the depression years.³⁸⁰ The census of the older troubled girls continued to increase and income was severely restricted. Mother Mary of Saint Euphrasia's *Instructions for the Religious of the Good Shepherd for the Direction of the Classes* advised the Good Shepherd Sisters that when financial issues arose the prime concern was to continue the care of the delinquent over the preserve. Her rationale for this pointed to the

numerous philanthropic groups who looked after orphans and dependent children. The preference of these groups would remain with children deemed innocent according to social mores while few organizations reached out to save the erring. By 1932, the decision was made by the Sisters to focus on delinquent girls in the ninth through twelfth grades. New girls in the Angel Guardian elementary grades were no longer admitted and the preserve program was gradually phased out. In 1949, the Angel Guardian School officially closed. Remaining preserve girls were placed in foster care by the Cuyahoga County Children's Services Department.

The Providence Heights location in Euclid, Ohio was not suitable for erecting additional school buildings and dormitories for the increasing number of delinquent girls. It was difficult to maintain separation between the classes and security for observing the confinement of the court-remanded girls was a concern. The property's status as a public shrine encouraged pilgrims from all over the world to come for religious services. Privacy was a problem. In 1952, the shrine and surrounding property was sold to the Cleveland Diocese and was no longer operated by the Sisters of the Good Shepherd.³⁸¹

The 50-acre Sullivan Estate on Route 20 at East 290th Street in Wickliffe Village became available in 1947. The Sisters purchased the land from Lucy Sullivan for \$50,000.00 with the help of the Bishop and Catholic Charities. The Walter Butler Construction Company was contracted to build a new school, convent, chapel, and residences for the girls. The Sisters from Providence

Heights moved into the new facility, Marycrest, in April, 1948. The delinquent girls from the Sacred Heart School on East 30th street were transferred to Marycrest the following month. Bishop Edward Hoban presided over the opening ceremonies and offered his blessing for the success of the new facility. There were 26 Cleveland-based Good Shepherd Sisters and 127 girls in their care in 1948. A total of 9,000 girls were cared for in the Cleveland House of the Good Shepherd from 1869 to 1948.³⁸²

The Sisters were keenly aware that their spiritual and social work was not widely known and misconceptions concerning placement of “a bad girl” in the House of the Good Shepherd could result in a stigmatized girl when she returned to society. The Sisters explained that “these are not bad girls...they are good girls taken from a bad social environment.”³⁸³ The girls were no longer referred to as penitents, but simply referred to as girls or children. The name Marycrest was given to the facility in the hopes that the girls could take pride in their personal and social growth and not experience difficulties because they were in a residential re-education program. Several participants in my research pointed out that they would tell people that they dropped out of school, even though they graduated, to avoid explaining why they attended a Good Shepherd School.³⁸⁴

Marycrest operated like a traditional residential high school while continuing to employ the original re-education techniques for social rehabilitation put forth by the foundress of the Good Shepherd Sisters. Little had changed in the practices and methods used by the Sisters in their work. Chapter III of this

dissertation discusses the policies and procedures of re-education uniformly used by the Sisters at all of the Good Shepherd run schools. The policies are compared to the lived experiences of the Sisters and girls in the schools.

Three residential dormitories were arranged according to the girls' behaviors as part of a system of privileges. Lourdes Hall (later named Saint Euphrasia Hall) was the residence assigned to the new arrivals. As the girls' behavior stabilized and improved they were moved into the Sacred Heart Hall where more privileges were available. The highest privilege was the permission to move into Immaculate Heart Hall. The girls in Immaculate Heart Hall were Sodality of Mary³⁸⁵ members and served as "Big Sisters" to the other girls, serving as an example for model behavior. Living in Immaculate Heart Hall was considered the greatest reward.³⁸⁶

Everyday activities included academic instruction, domestic science, cultural studies, and physical education. The Marycrest girls aged between 14 to 16 years formed a basketball team that won the Northeastern Ohio Basketball Championship in 1950. The girls earned the privilege of playing on the team by meeting the expectations of the Sisters and following the rules of the school. Failure to comply resulted in loss of playing privileges. On one occasion, their coach, Mr. Monk, begged Sister Mary of Saint Philomena the house mother to allow the star player to defer loss of privileges for a day. The Sister refused. The girl had to sit out a championship game.

A wide range of extracurricular activities were offered at the school.

Archived photographs from Marycrest show the girl's marching band participating in holiday parades on Euclid Avenue in Wickliffe, Ohio on several occasions. The property had a small stable that housed two retired police horses. The girls cared for the horses as part of a vocational learning experience under the direction of Mr. Monk. Catholic Charities paid for the installation of a swimming pool.

The Wickliffe Marycrest location was in Lake County, and this posed some logistical and financial problems. The first problem was the location. Girls sent by the Cuyahoga County court were out of the Cuyahoga jurisdiction, and the funding became a question between the two counties. Another financial problem was the initial outlay of money for the property. The deficit did not permit the construction of more than three dormitories. The census did not reach the anticipated number of 200 girls. The coffers lost significant sources of funding with the decision to only accept delinquents. The facility's income was not consistent concerning the care of delinquent girls from Cuyahoga County, and the stipends previously received for Preserve girls were no longer available. The Cuyahoga County girls were far from their homes in terms of bus routes for family visits. Many families did not own cars and used public transportation.

The Advisory Board held raffles and carnivals under the guidance of the local Saint Felicitas parish. Between 1952 and 1953, around \$30,000.000 dollars were raised, but this was not enough to prevent a significant financial deficit. The work of the Sisters Magdalen raised around \$61,000.00, but the expenses of

the facility were still more than the revenue. Reluctantly, the Sisters in collaboration with Bishop Hoban located the smaller 22-acre Marcus Hanna estate South of Cleveland in Independence in mid-1952 and made plans for moving Marycrest. The large Wickliffe property was purchased by the Cleveland Diocese and converted into Borromeo Seminary and High School. The Seminarians indicated the immediate need for the Wickliffe property.

The departure from the Wickliffe property was accomplished in stages under the direction of Mother Mary of Saint Beata Warnig in late 1952. The total census of the facility was 117. The student body numbered 77 girls. In January 1953, Sister Mary of Saint Denis Rice and two other Sisters took possession of the property in Independence, Ohio and began redesigning the existing mansion to suit the mission of working with delinquent teenage girls. The remaining Sisters and girls were temporarily moved to Camp Isaac Jogues in Madison, Ohio until November, 1953 when the new "Marycrest School" in Independence was ready for full occupancy. The Sisters Magdalen³⁸⁷ remained secluded in the Wickliffe convent until May, 1954, when their Independence convent was ready for occupancy.

The cleaning and preparation of the Wickliffe facility for use by the priests was expedited with the help of the Vincentian Sisters, who came to assist with the manual chores in keeping with the modified enclosure required of the Good Shepherd Sisters and the separation of the Sisters Magdalen from the penitent class. The Independence Marycrest chapel was completed and blessed by Bishop

Hoban in June, 1955. All of the girls in the school attended the ceremony, although approximately ten percent were not Catholic. The name Marycrest was retained and the mission statement for the school was as follows: "The mission of Marycrest is to foster the total development of those served by promoting their physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual growth and by providing opportunities for them to recognize their abilities and talents in an atmosphere conducive to love and acceptance."³⁸⁸

The community numbered 17 Good Shepherd Sisters and 28 Sisters Magdalen at the main convent in 1958. Catholic Charities contributed twenty-five percent of the operational funding, and special repair money was contributed by the Community Chest. No monies were contributed by the state. Between 1946 and 1967 Catholic Charities picked up a total of \$642,000.00 in financial deficits incurred by the facility. By 1964, an additional wing was added to the convent to manage the administrative affairs of the convent under the direction of Sister Mary of Saint Alberta [known as Sister Anne Marie after Vatican II]. In 1966, the licensure for residential facilities limited the number of persons living at Marycrest to a total of 87. The total census of residents [Sisters and girls] decreased to 70 by the 1970s.

A steady decrease of new postulants entering the Good Shepherd congregation necessitated the addition of increased numbers of lay staff to supplement the workforce. Changes in the rules for enclosure that permitted greater freedom in apostolic ministry opened the doors for the Sisters to hire five

lay teachers and other social work staff that worked in 8-hour shifts. The first lay program director, Dr. George Golias was hired to oversee the school.

The Advisory Board established a Good Shepherd Guild with Joseph and Bea Pojman at the helm. They served as benefactors and graciously sponsored fund-raising events to meet expenses and pay off debts. The activities included car raffles, festivals, card parties, and breakfasts. These charity events were offered yearly until 1972. One of the Marycrest girls was nominated as Miss Independence and drew the winning raffle ticket for the car. These events were community-wide and employed up to 250 workers.

The Cleveland *Plain Dealer* published an article in 1982 that described Marycrest as being like basic training in the Army. The rules were very strict and purposeful. The student census at that time was 51 girls between the ages of 13 and 17 years who were remanded by the court for offenses ranging from shoplifting to prostitution. Others were sent to Marycrest for incorrigible behavior and crimes such as arson. Some girls came from other states, but around eighty percent were from the Cuyahoga County Juvenile Court system.³⁸⁹ According to the article, forty percent of the girls came from abusive and neglectful families living significantly below the poverty level. Girls who exhibited violent natures or who refused to conform to the behavioral modification programs at the school were not accepted. The average length of stay at the Independence Marycrest was 18 months. Follow up questionnaires were sent to graduates by school officials, but very few were completed and returned. There were not enough

responses to formulate statistics about the effects of the Marycrest experience for their records.

In the late 1980s, Marycrest expanded its mission to include pregnant or parenting teens under the direction of Sister Monica Nowak.³⁹⁰ A three year grant of \$30,000.00 was given by Catholic Charities to develop new parenting programs for troubled girls. The "New Life" program was designed to aid the girl through the first three months of parenthood. Seven new mothers and their babies and a number of pregnant teens were accommodated by the facility. The fathers of the babies were included in family instruction and counseling, although they did not live at the facility. Baby care supplies and equipment were given to the girls at discharge from the facility.³⁹¹

Marycrest School closed September 11, 2001 because of declining enrollment, decreased funding, and fewer Sisters entering the novitiate. The convent on the premises closed in 2003. The property was under consideration by the Royal Manor Health Group for the construction of senior housing, but a neighborhood committee attempted to block the sale. In January 2007, the board of Saint Maron's church made an offer on the land for relocation of their church from Cleveland. The sale of the former Marycrest property had been blocked by the city planning commission, because of concerns over increased water and sewer usage and traffic issues. Saint Maron's board filed a lawsuit against the city of Independence claiming discrimination and was awarded the right to build their new church on the property. The city may take the

opportunity to claim *eminent domain* and assume the boundaries of the property for water conservation or cemetery expansion according to the Vice Mayor Kurtz.³⁹²

In summary, the history of the Good Shepherd congregation spans three centuries beginning in France and covering every continent of the globe. The Good Shepherd Sisters formed their organization as a separate branch of the independently run Our Lady of Charity of the Refuge congregation in the nineteenth century to consolidate resources and establish a central administration under their foundress. The two congregations are presently developing plans to reunite as one body in a common mission of saving the fallen woman in the twenty-first century. The Sisters preliminary plans include the following: a) providing refuge and safe houses for women and children in third world countries, b) offering post abortion counseling, c) working against rape and domestic violence, and d) seeking justice for the oppressed. As the two congregations prepare to merge the formal mission statement has not been finalized. There are no plans at this time to build any schools.

CHAPTER III

THE GOOD SHEPHERD POLICIES IN THE UNITED STATES, 1940 TO 1980

This Chapter explores the applied policies and procedures used by the Good Shepherd Sisters in their work with troubled and delinquent girls in the United States from 1940 to 1980. The majority of the Good Shepherd schools were located in areas identified by the Catholic hierarchy as needing rehabilitation facilities for dependent and delinquent girls, although girls from other cities or states could be admitted. The socioeconomic environment played a role in the need for Good Shepherd facilities in lower to middle income areas where delinquency rates were high. The Sisters applied the institution's policies according to their foundress' instructions and looked to the literature and research of the time to validate the methods they employed.

Socioeconomic Influences on Juvenile Delinquency

The sixty participants in my study, women who attended Good Shepherd schools as girls, identified themselves as either dependent or delinquent using terms of their own choosing, such as abandoned or dependent, abused, bad,

difficult, mouthy, delinquent, and troubled. Dependent girls were minors removed from the home at the direction of the legal system and considered at significant risk for asocial behavior. Many delinquent girls were the product of their environments. Some had been sexually or physically abused. Mental abnormalities were sometimes at the root of delinquent and asocial behavior.³⁹³ Delinquents, as defined by the United States Children's Bureau fail to follow established norms in society because of environmental influences as described in the 1947 publication about juvenile delinquents.

...delinquents are the children who have been deprived of what they need—emotionally, socially, and sometimes physically deprived. Their delinquencies arise from the failure of their homes and communities to meet their fundamental needs.³⁹⁴

Studies done in 1959, 1963, and 1971 validated the parental influence on the girls' behavior. The root cause of girls' bad behavior was attributed to parental attitudes, behaviors and inadequate supervision in the home in addition to a predominantly low socioeconomic status. Parental neglect of the children resulted in delinquency and asocial behavior.³⁹⁵ The attitude of mothers toward their delinquent children was studied in 1959 by Madoff.³⁹⁶ He studied fifty mothers of institutionalized adolescents, average age fourteen years with a seventh grade education. His control sample was fifty-seven mothers of non-delinquent children of the same age and education. Both samples were split half and half for Catholics and Protestants. The median maternal age was thirty-eight years, and their educational completion level was tenth grade. The mothers of

the delinquents were employed in service jobs as waitresses or domestic servants. The control sample mothers were in a higher socioeconomic earning bracket working in secretarial or teaching positions. Madoff described the significant attitudinal differences as pathogenic in terms of punitive feelings, martyrdom, dominance, and authoritarian attitudes for the mothers of delinquents and the opposite for the mothers of nondelinquents.³⁹⁷

The dimensions of parental behavior in the middle to lower classes as perceived by adolescent girls and boys were studied by Droppleman and Schaefer in 1963.³⁹⁸ Catholic and Protestant adolescents of both sexes in the seventh grade and eleventh grades were surveyed concerning the differences between maternal and paternal approaches to parenting. The findings revealed that girls saw their fathers as rejecting, neglectful, and ignoring. Mothers used more covert and indirect methods of control such as guilt, intrusiveness, possessiveness, and protectiveness than the fathers for children of both sexes. Lower class parents exercised less control over the child's autonomy. The fathers over all punished more frequently and harshly than the mothers of any group. The mothers in all groupings were found to be more loving and affectionate and less ignoring and neglecting than the fathers.³⁹⁹

A study done in 1971 by Dr. Robert Hoene, S. J. and Sister Alena Bernert, RGS looked at the family backgrounds of 194 delinquent girls in Grand Rapids, Columbus, Cleveland, and Louisville Good Shepherd facilities.⁴⁰⁰ Surveys were used to gather data from the girls. The researchers found that eighty-six percent

of the girls were white, from larger cities with a median age of sixteen years. Authoritarian structure of their homes before admission is described as “missing” or “loose.” One or both parents were living at the time of admission to the facility. Deceased parents died before the girl was eight years old. Some of the parents had remarried or had taken other partners. Religious affiliation was predominantly Protestant, followed closely by Catholic. The girls studied were from middle to lower income class and were middle children between two to four siblings. According to the data, forty percent of their older and younger siblings had problems with local authorities.⁴⁰¹

The girls described their mothers as “dominating” or “pathetic.” The mothers had average intelligence, but were unable to cope with stress. Some of the mothers were described as promiscuous. Dr. Hoene documents that remarried mothers equaled the numbers of mothers who were married to their first husbands, but unmarried (widowed, divorced, or single) made up one third of the total number.⁴⁰²

The study described their fathers as rejecting or demanding and closely paralleled the mothers in demographics.⁴⁰³ The men were described as blue collar workers with poor coping skills and alcoholic tendencies. The fathers’ marital status and religious affiliation is statistically comparable to the mothers. The girls describe their fathers as neglectful and generally absent from the home. Previous parental incarceration ranged around eighteen percent for mothers and fifteen percent for fathers.⁴⁰⁴ Fathers and mothers expressed a

positive attitude for the work of the Good Shepherd Sisters and approved the placement of their daughters in the facility.⁴⁰⁵

A few of the girls in the House of the Good Shepherd during 1940s to 1980s identified themselves as second generation immigrants in their histories. Families emigrated from Europe and settled in many major cities in the United States. Specific statistics about the exact racial and nationality mix of Good Shepherd students throughout the United States were not tallied at all of the schools or were lost and are not available, but according to Diane Ravitch immigration patterns to the United States from 1880 to 1920 shifted from Germans, Scandinavians, and people from Great Britain to Russians, Poles, Jews, and Italians.⁴⁰⁶ The cultural shift was reported in popular media to be negative, consisting of illiterate, criminal and dependent personalities coming to America.⁴⁰⁷ The public outcry against open immigration caused congress to enact laws to restrict entry to the United States beginning in 1920.⁴⁰⁸ American citizens resented the use of tax dollars for non-American children and did not support the use of taxes for parochial schools. Ravitch points out that the role of the free tax-supported public school was to "Americanize" immigrant children by teaching English and essential knowledge to help them participate in a "democratic industrialized society."⁴⁰⁹

In the early part of the twentieth century the Good Shepherd Sisters had many first generation immigrant girls in their care either as preserves or penitents ranging in age from seven to nineteen. The provision of an American

education for all girls in their care, regardless of national origin, became a prime directive for the Sisters, but financial circumstances led to focusing on wards of the court and delinquent girls aged thirteen to eighteen by the 1940s. This was the biggest universal policy change for the Good Shepherd Sisters in the United States in the period of my study.⁴¹⁰ The decrease in census of the younger dependent girls in the school began in 1931 and fell to the lowest level in 1953.⁴¹¹ This eliminated girls younger than thirteen years and older than eighteen from being admitted after 1938 and caused the closing of the Good Shepherd elementary schools throughout the United States.⁴¹²

Girls in custody at the time of their eighteenth birthday could remain until their twenty-first birthday to complete a period of remand during the period of my study. Some girls remained in residence at will to finish high school, because if they returned to their original homes they historically did not complete their educations. In the early twentieth century most of the girls stayed with the Good Shepherd Sisters less than three years, although some were in residence for up to six years.⁴¹³ One participant in my study was in custody for five years. This was the longest residency reported during my research.⁴¹⁴

Financial support for the Good Shepherd Schools was mostly from charity, sales of the handiwork of the Magdalens and students, commercial laundry, parental contributions (as available), and monies received from the court for the support of remanded girls. Revenues varied according to locale of the school and the ability of the families to contribute for their daughters.⁴¹⁵

Sharon Wood, in her book, *The Freedom of the Streets* documents that the local government in Davenport, Iowa requested a Good Shepherd Home in their city for their female delinquents.⁴¹⁶ This invitation was not generated by local Catholic authorities. The Davenport city officials voted to fund the project with tax money with only one dissenting vote from the only Jewish member of the board. The Sisters turned the offer down because there were already two Good Shepherd Homes in Iowa [Sioux City on the western border and Dubuque on the eastern border] and they did not want to be subject to local secular governance in their daily operations.⁴¹⁷

At the beginning of the twentieth century nearly all American children in Northern states attended a minimum of elementary school to the level of the eighth grade.⁴¹⁸ The Sisters applied their system of re-education to accomplish this task. The goal was to teach self-reliance and empower the girls to find employment sufficient enough to take care of themselves and possibly contribute to their families' income. The common belief in the American public school was that every child "could improve and rise" according to individual ability and effort.⁴¹⁹ The Sisters initially had little teacher or social work training other than the methods developed by Mother Mary of Saint Euphrasia they learned at the Motherhouse in Angers, France during their novitiates. The Good Shepherd Sisters were enclosed throughout the world until the late 1920s when some of the rules were relaxed so they could get college educations and teaching degrees. State and local governments required equivalent teaching and social

work personnel standards in public and private facilities for children in custody. During the period studied all the accredited Good Shepherd high schools had certified teachers.⁴²⁰

Each Provincialate sent Sisters to local universities for advanced degrees. Some of the colleges sent professors to the convent to provide classes for the Sisters. The education of the Sisters prepared them for changes in the American educational system that included grouping children according to intelligence testing and adapting the curricula according to the ability and learning style of the student.⁴²¹

Making a living was an important aspect of the education given to the girls in the Good Shepherd Schools. The socioeconomic events immediately leading to 1940 foretold the importance of industrial and vocational training to survival in the struggling American economy. The socioeconomic climate of the 1930s of the United States was a strained period in American history. The stock market crash of 1929 left the country in a long lasting financial depression. In a speech given at the National Democratic Convention in 1932, then Governor Franklin Delano Roosevelt promoted his ideas to the American public using phrases such as "break foolish traditions" and "New Deal."⁴²² He proposed some financial programs he believed would relieve the financial crisis looming over the country.

Historians hold differing opinions about the management of the economy and Roosevelt's approach to the underprivileged and elite citizens.⁴²³ Some historians have described the New Deal as a reform movement committed to

restructuring power between the underprivileged and the elite. Later historians of the 1960s and 1970s have interpreted Roosevelt's policies as supportive of the existing social order.⁴²⁴ A cornerstone of Roosevelt's first term in office was the National Recovery Administration (NRA). The key points of the NRA were as follows: 1.) intercommunication between companies to set prices and production, 2.) collaboration with labor unions, and 3.) increased governmental controls.⁴²⁵ Bishop Karl Alder of Toledo stated that the NRA and Roosevelt followed Pope Pius XI's 1931 encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*⁴²⁶ and was in keeping with Catholic philosophy of redesigning the social order. The New Deal modified the American economy for individuals, families, and exploited groups.⁴²⁷ The Federal government was tasked with offering direct financial relief, creating work programs for the underemployed and forcing employers to pay fairly.⁴²⁸

Female Juvenile Delinquency and Poverty

The result of the New Deal was manifest in many facets that interfaced with the girls entering the Good Shepherd School. In the early 1940s the majority of the girls came from poor families who lived from relief check to relief check issued by a patriarchal government. The Social Security Act of 1935 and Aid to Dependent Children helped some single mothers provide for their dependent children and the expansion of foster care systems offered shelter to children of both sexes removed from parental care.⁴²⁹ Living in federal housing projects kept many of the poorest families segregated and stigmatized by

erecting the homes in the worst sections of towns.⁴³⁰ Some viewed this form of welfare as an attempt to socialize incomes.⁴³¹

The girls were in the crossfire of poverty and failure and were at great risk for social replication of their lifestyle in their future offspring. Girls in impoverished areas who were convicted for petty crimes and prostitution were offered the option of adult prison or entering the House of the Good Shepherd for rehabilitation, regardless of religion. Research studies of the time showed that crimes committed by girls were related to sexual misbehavior in fifty percent of all female juvenile delinquency.⁴³² Morris postulated that females were seeking relationships with males to replace missing affection in the home.⁴³³ Sister Marjorie Hamilton, archivist at the Saint Louis Provincialate, continually reminded me during my research that "these were not bad girls...they were girls from bad homes."⁴³⁴

Konopka's 1970 study of delinquent girls revealed that many of her subjects believed they were not at fault for their social maladjustment.⁴³⁵ In my analysis of her findings I question how the loss of self-control and lack of conscience is always someone else's fault, even in the poorest of families. Not every girl acts out in response to unstable family dynamics. McGreevy illustrates the structure of the wholesome family ideal is at the core of Catholic thought and that father should be the breadwinner and the mother should be attentive to child rearing.⁴³⁶ He quotes John Ryan as saying it was "imperative that a wife and mother should not engage in any labor except the household."⁴³⁷

William McGucken, a prominent Catholic educator of the 1930s and 1940s, described the loss of moral character in the face of poverty and bad home life. He described the lawlessness and juvenile delinquency resulting from unstable homes that reject standards of right and wrong.⁴³⁸ Konopka directed McGucken's observations toward the etiology of troubled girls from bad homes in the light of what today's sociologists term social capital. She pointed out that we cannot define the juvenile delinquent with one definition, level of intelligence, or one environment. She wrote that there is no question that crowded housing and faulty relationships can drive a girl into acts of delinquency as an outlet for hostility and insecurity in a deprived home life.⁴³⁹

The participants in my study were powerless to change the people and most processes in their environments during adolescence, but were capable of restructuring personal responses to accommodate environmental influences under the guidance of the Good Shepherd Sisters. Before entering the Good Shepherd School, the participants in my study did not adjust to these influences in a socially acceptable manner. The absence of positive social capital as a personal asset resulted in admission to the House of the Good Shepherd. Social capital was beneficial or detrimental to each individual girl based on the exchanges between herself and her environment. The participants in my study responded to their environment with overt sexual behavior, stealing, truancy, lying, and incorrigibility. These exchanges were interactions that enabled the girls to establish individualized positive or negative relationships with the people

and activities in their homes or community [civic] lives when compared to researchers of the time period.⁴⁴⁰

Every participant in my study expressed a sense of powerlessness, helplessness, and rejection at home as a teenaged girl (and as a pre-teen) and wanted to belong to a group for protection and acceptance in a Maslowian sense of belonging—as a sense of security, protection, and acceptance. The Good Shepherd Sisters were keenly aware of this need and sought to recreate a home life surrounded by caring adults. All participants in my study reflected how they believed the Sisters were responsible for their survival to adulthood. Although the participants currently range in age from fifty to ninety and attended Good Shepherd Schools in various locations throughout the United States, the sentiments are uniquely comparable. Konopka summed this up when she wrote the following: “One of the keys to understanding the girl in conflict is her feeling of loneliness in the faceless, anonymous world of adults. The second major key is the rapid cultural change and its particular impact on the adolescent girl.”⁴⁴¹

Education and Poverty

The immediate decade before 1940 was plagued with joblessness and poverty caused by the Depression. Compulsory schooling age was enforced to remove teenage workers from the labor roles to increase jobs for adults.⁴⁴² Most American children between the ages of five and seventeen were in school. Educational standards were greatly improved by the 1940s with approximately eighty percent of American teenagers enrolled in accredited high schools

assigned to either a vocational or academic program.⁴⁴³ Ravitch explains that despite poverty and assignment to a particular track of study, the public schools offered opportunity for advancement. Not all public schools were run equally, though. Financial concerns according to geography or regional philosophy played a role in the offering of education for the general population of public school children. By the 1940s, property taxes increased to aid public schools, with expanding high schools, causing concern for Catholic families who were already paying out of pocket for Catholic school. By 1947, enrollment in Catholic high schools reached 467,000 students with yearly expenditures of \$127.00 per student.⁴⁴⁴

Some local districts funded school buses and school lunches for all types of school children and Louisiana's Supreme Court allowed for purchase of textbooks for parochial and public school.⁴⁴⁵ The Supreme Court in New Jersey ruled that busing parochial school children did not violate the separation of church and state [in *Everson v. Board of Education* (1948)].⁴⁴⁶ Protestants viewed this as a step toward public support of a private school and Catholics looked at this ruling as though hopes of federal funding had failed, but took advantage of whatever public subsidies were available for nonreligious text books and transportation.⁴⁴⁷

In the 1960s, Paul Blanshard documented the fight between the United States government and the American Catholic Church in the lobby effort for tax dollars for parochial schools. Cardinal Spellman demanded an equal share of

federal money for Catholic schools. President Kennedy countered with case law demonstrating that funding religious schools was unconstitutional. He stated that he supported the complete separation between church and state. In 1961, Kennedy proposed federal spending of two billion dollars for public schools.⁴⁴⁸ The National Council of Churches lauded the president for this stance and in particular, the Protestant leaders voiced stronger acceptance of Kennedy and his fulfillment of campaign promises to honor the separation of church and state.⁴⁴⁹

Underemployment was addressed with an emphasis on vocational training following John Dewey's method of "learning by doing."⁴⁵⁰ The Good Shepherd Sisters supported this method in their vocational classes (cooking, cleaning, and sewing) and in their commercial courses (cosmetology, clerking, typing, stenography, and bookkeeping). The girls in their care performed daily tasks that were incorporated with vocational training. The girls lived in groups of fifteen to twenty under the direction of a Sister (First Mistress, later known as the House Mother) and her assistant (Second Mistress). Every month, the routine jobs in the school, such as cooking, cleaning, and gardening were rotated among the groups of girls. The jobs helped sustain the facility and provided training for potential future home making or employment. Two studies done in the late 1950s reported that the average teenaged girl in the community at large had some responsibilities in the home ranging from light housework to babysitting.⁴⁵¹ The studies revealed that the girls believed that in adulthood, housekeeping or homemaking would be their responsibility as a married woman. The girls in the

study were influenced by mother roles observed in the home according to the studies.⁴⁵² Mussen and Parker researched the identification of a girl with her mother and reported that “imitative learning of a model’s behavior increases immediately after nurturant interaction between the model and the child.”⁴⁵³ Behaviors of a non-nurturant model [mother] are equally imitated by the child.⁴⁵⁴

Negative attitudes identified in the study concerning housework stemmed from varying levels of importance of the tasks and negligible responsibility for proper performance of the job, such as cleaning up after dinner as opposed to preparing the meal. The girls’ mothers performed the important work of cooking the meals and the girls performed menial tasks of servitude, such as setting and clearing the table. Performance improved with increased ability to participate in decision making and performance of the productive aspects of the task, such as planning the menu and preparing the meal.⁴⁵⁵

Job examples in the Good Shepherd School included laundry and ironing detail, kitchen prep and cooking, gardening, housecleaning, and sewing. The Sisters assigned age-appropriate tasks and did not expect every girl to perform at the same level on every job. One participant from the mid-1950s remarked how her favorite memory was from her monthly rotation in the laundry. She stated that she still irons her pillowcases so she can smell the scent of the linen and steam.⁴⁵⁶ Another former student recounted how she absolutely hated working in the laundry. After her graduation and release she bought a cheap iron and buried it in the backyard in memory of the time she spent in the laundry.

She said that she never ironed anything after that.⁴⁵⁷ The kitchen work attracted several of the girls. A participant from the mid-1960s frequently requested to work extra hours in the kitchen and later became a cook.⁴⁵⁸ Some of the girls who hated kitchen work often got into mischief in the kitchen (food fights...etc.) and lost Sunday night movie privileges as a result.⁴⁵⁹

One benefit for females was the enticement to enter the profession of teaching as job security, despite low wages. World War II created a significant teacher shortage which meant jobs for those women who entered teacher training.⁴⁶⁰ However, none of the participants in my study of four decades entered the teaching profession. Most participants from the 1940s and 1950s found clerking or office jobs after release. One woman had a brief job as a newspaper columnist.⁴⁶¹ Some of the women in my study worked briefly at miscellaneous minimum wage jobs and then married and divorced multiple times. Two participants, who attended during the late 1960s, became social workers⁴⁶² and two participants from the early 1970s became nurses.⁴⁶³

Several other participants from the mid-1960s joined branches of the military service, specifically the Navy and the Army. Of this group, one participant became a United States border guard.⁴⁶⁴ I found this choice of profession intriguing. She explained to me that a border guard has more power than the police, because a border guard does not have to honor the fourth amendment concerning search and seizure. From a feminist standpoint I see this career choice as her attempt to overcome the sense of powerlessness and

abuses she experienced throughout her childhood and adolescence. As I listened to this participant's stories I was reminded that Lois Weis and Michelle Fine pointed out that we must listen closely to the "discursive underground" and "political critics" if we are to truly support a democratic public sphere of equality.⁴⁶⁵ This participant described a steady stream of letters she produced and mailed to senators, politicians, government officials, and commissioners in her jurisdiction protesting ecologic breaches, pollution, and news stories of unfair treatment of other citizens. She credits the courage instilled in her by the Sisters during her two years in the House of the Good Shepherd for her ability to take a stance on social issues.⁴⁶⁶

Catholic Attitudes Concerning Racial Integration in Education

Racial prejudice created barriers not easily transcended by all American children. McGreevy adds that placing children into groups of any type and preventing groups from intermingling threatens American democracy, since democracy itself is based on a blend of ethnicity and religious beliefs.⁴⁶⁷ By 1946, the Vatican issued a statement declaring racial segregation as immoral. St. Louis parishes received letters instructing the Catholic schools to admit Black students. White parents protested, but were quelled with threats of excommunication from the Catholic Church.⁴⁶⁸ The Sisters were instructed by their foundress to treat girls of all races equally one hundred years before the Vatican stated that segregation was immoral. The Good Shepherd Schools for black and white girls in Baltimore were separate in the beginning, but later

consolidated the students into one facility by 1945. Community standards in some locales caused the Sisters to separate the white girls from the black girls in different buildings on opposite sides of town such as in Chicago and New Orleans.⁴⁶⁹

Other specialized contemporary communities of Sisters were started and managed specific ethnic groups which influenced the student racial mix in some cities.⁴⁷⁰ The Oblate Sisters of Saint Francis were black Sisters who started industrial schools in Baltimore specifically for poor black children of both sexes.⁴⁷¹ The Oblate Sisters' industrial schools later included general education subjects aimed at preparing black children for a larger role in society.⁴⁷² In 1946, Mrs. Roger Putnam founded *Catholic Scholarships for Negroes* in concert with the Oblates Sisters to offer the opportunity for black children to attend institutions of higher education. Grants were not limited to Catholic applicants, because proportionately, black Protestants outnumbered black Catholics twenty-five to one in America after WWII.⁴⁷³ I found no documentation of Oblate Sisters opening their schools to white children and no prohibitions by the Catholic Church that prevented any congregations of Sisters from opening "black only" schools.

Harold Buetow documented the American Catholic Church's efforts to teach black children useful trades so they could "be part of the country's prosperity, make their presence known, and to exercise influence in bettering their status."⁴⁷⁴ Buetow points out that by 1948, Catholic schools, hospitals, and

parish services were desegregated in large cities such as Chicago by orders issued by local Cardinals and Bishops. The Illinois Technical School run by the Good Shepherd Sisters was originally opened to meet the needs of Chicago's black girls, but was open to girls of any race who wished to attend.⁴⁷⁵ The Oblates ran a school in Chicago (Holy Name of Mary) exclusively for black children from 1941 to 2002.⁴⁷⁶

The Good Shepherd Sisters did not routinely generate retrievable data about the numbers of racially diverse students at each school. Ephemera, such as photographs and news articles from the period, show black and white girls in classes together in five of the schools' records in the Saint Louis Provincialate. The question of race was not asked during the history and storytelling sessions in my study because I wanted the women to define themselves in their own terms. None of the participants in this study stated they were black. The study of the girls' identity formation was framed by how they saw themselves in relation to the entire student body as a whole not as individual members of a racial group. Two participants identified themselves as Native Americans.⁴⁷⁷ Their tribal affiliations were not a focus during their high school years, according to their oral histories. They were admitted to the main student body and not separated according to ethnic heritage. The reconnection with their heritage was highlighted by stories and memories that took place several years after graduation. Native American girls were always included in the main body of students. The Good Shepherd Sisters did not run Indian Boarding Schools

exclusively for Native Americans like other religious orders, such as the Ursuline Sisters and the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament.⁴⁷⁸

Good Shepherd Facilities for Female Juvenile Delinquents

The Good Shepherd students were referred to as “girls” or collectively as “the classes” by the Sisters. The participants in my study still refer to themselves as girls and members of specific classes [i.e. St. Maria Goretti’s class or St. Ann’s class] and indicated they would like me to refer to them as girls in conversations with them. The term “class” or “classes” described the grouping of the girls according to the reason they were in the care of the Sisters, whether they were delinquent⁴⁷⁹ or dependent ward of the court, and the dormitory or cottage of residence. The classes were named for a religious mystery or a saint and represented the name used for each residence hall occupied by the particular group of girls. For example, the preserve girls were in St. Germaine’s class at the school in Peekskill, New York and the penitent girls were in St. Joseph’s class. The United States Census listed the girls as “wards,” “penitents,” “at reform school,” or “at school” until the early twentieth century when the all of the girls in residence were universally referred to as inmates.⁴⁸⁰

The use of the terms penitent class or preserve class were used routinely in the nineteenth century, but were used sparingly and finally eliminated during the late 1930s to prevent the girls’ developing a sense of stigma associated with being considered a “bad girl.” However, by the 1940s, most of the students were delinquent teenagers referred by the juvenile court or

girls considered incorrigible and brought to the Sisters by family or clergy. By the 1940s the schools run by the Good Shepherd Sisters were accredited four year high schools for troubled girls between the ages of thirteen and nineteen.⁴⁸¹

Many of the girls participating in my study believed they were branded as misfits by society and would not have conquered their sense of failure and inner conflict had they not experienced the environment provided by the Good Shepherd Sisters. Most of the girls stated that they believed they would be dead or victims of the street had not the Sisters taken them in. Their preadmission and post-discharge attitudes are largely reflected in the lived experiences of the girls who have grown into adulthood and become senior citizens. The girls who attended the Good Shepherd Schools during this period contributed their lived experiences in this study to illustrate the effect of the re-education process on their identity formation and how their interactions with the Sisters, their policies, and each other left lasting impressions that lingered into adulthood. The Sisters who contributed to this study offered stories and facts associated with their assignments to various Good Shepherd Schools in the United States in the same period. Together, the histories and stories of the girls and the Sisters are compared to the policies in effect during the forty years in this study.

The guiding force behind the policies and practices of the Good Shepherd Sisters was a collection of documents written by the Sisters based on the philosophy of foundress Mother Mary of Saint Euphrasia's *Practical Instructions*⁴⁸² for the re-education of fallen women and girls developed during

the nineteenth century. The foundress did not write the volumes herself, but rather the Sisters documented each principle and statement for her in book form to create a lasting written dossier for the current and future Sisters to follow. Many concepts in the Practical Instructions were directly extracted from the system established by John Eudes for the Our Lady of Charity of the Refuge Sisters where Mother Mary of Saint Euphrasia was a professed Sister. The Practical Instructions continue to guide the Sisters' mission into modern times.⁴⁸³

Every Good Shepherd Sister served her novitiate period⁴⁸⁴ at the motherhouse in Angers, France, regardless of where she would be assigned for her future service. Each novice was specifically trained in the methods of re-education prescribed by the foundress during her lifetime and was required to learn how to apply each principle in the care of the girls. The foundress was explicit in this regard. The importance of standardization according to her methods reflected every detail of her planned approach to rehabilitation of the asocial girl. Her attention to every detail was fastidious. Mother Mary of Saint Euphrasia stated the following in her instructions to the Good Shepherd congregation:

Instruct yourselves thoroughly in all that relates to the institute, even in the smallest things. Be very attentive, gathering grain by grain, like little birds, the spiritual food that is given you.⁴⁸⁵

She identified and outlined each aspect of her re-education process and held the expectation that the Sisters would exercise each carefully planned approach. Just before their formal profession, the novices were assigned to

teaching and assisting tasks in preparation for “governing” [directing] the classes. Their role models were the professed Sisters, who were experienced in working with delinquent girls using the foundress’ methods. The official policies and procedures of the House of the Good Shepherd covered each aspect of the congregation from religious formation as a Sister, to the conduct of instruction for the classes, to the structure of the physical plant. Every action of the Sisters was carefully thought out and coordinated with the individual needs of the girls in mind. The girls were treated with “royal respect” since they would become future inhabitants in the kingdom of heaven. Her purpose was to save lost souls from their sins in a religious sense, but she also instructed the Sisters in the tolerance of individual cultural and religious issues outside of Catholicism and Christianity. The balance of Catholic versus non-Catholic girls varied according to location, but in some areas of the United States and other locales in the world, the majority of the girls in the home were not Catholic.⁴⁸⁶ The Sisters were permitted to exercise discretion in the application of some of the policies.⁴⁸⁷ Considerations for state-mandated general education requirements were observed at all times, but did not change the over-all mission of the Good Shepherd Schools. The instruction offered in the Preface of the book to the Sisters is as follows:

Our Sisters will understand that the recommendations in this little book are not all positive rules. They must discern between the essential directions for the treatment and government of the classes and recommendations of minor importance, which may vary with countries or circumstances. The Superioress of each house should decide on these small matters.⁴⁸⁸

The Sisters recognized that regional differences might influence acceptable limits of behavior and that patience was sometimes the most important ingredient in the remedy for bad behavior. The girls were under observation by one or more Sisters, 24-hours per day. Yoshino, a researcher in educational psychology, observed that teachers have the opportunity to study their students and understand their problems in an effort to prevent delinquent behaviors.⁴⁸⁹ Misunderstanding classroom disobedience, lying, and disregard for rules clouds the interpretation of the real meaning of behavior. He points out that all children must be held to the same standards and the behavior was the issue, not the child as an individual. Acting out was an expression of "inner conflict and troubled feelings" and not necessarily delinquent behavior worthy of punishment.⁴⁹⁰

Punishment is a curative remedy after a forbidden act has been committed, but continual surveillance is preventive, both of the forbidden act and of giving punishments.⁴⁹¹ Re-education as defined by the foundress was in place non-stop during the girls' confinement. Practices and relationships at the House of the Good Shepherd differed from state reformatories, but had similar overtones concerning command and control of the students and interestingly, the Sisters themselves. Foucault wrote extensively about organizational discipline and the creation of "docile bodies."⁴⁹² Docile bodies are controlled and dominated by a patriarchal system that defines and partitions a prescribed place, regulates schedules and the use of time, and regulates a series of repetitive acts

that impart knowledge with increased complexity.⁴⁹³ The Sisters were regulated by the *Constitutions and Rule* derived from St Augustine as the patriarchal source, adapted by their foundress in a style that caused them to perform the same or similar actions in a prescribed manner during explicit time frames. This carried over to the expected behaviors of their students as defined by the "Practical Rules for Direction of the Classes", wherein the students had established timeframes and tasks that were performed within the controlled environment of the House of the Good Shepherd. The processes of control functioned like wheel within a wheel wherein I see a patriarchal system controlling docile bodies--the Sisters--, who in turn created secondary docile bodies--the girls.⁴⁹⁴

Although the foundress was not professionally trained as an educator or professional in the humanistic or behavioral sciences, she was tuned into the analysis and assessment of each girl and her needs as an individual and was a keen judge of character. She targeted the spiritual persona that was hidden by each individual girl's asocial behavior. Re-education was a process of causing behavioral changes that would enable the girls to move back into society equipped with the self-respect needed for a successful and productive life. The Sisters behaved as mothers to the girls.⁴⁹⁵ The goal was to create an exemplar for the girls to emulate in their identity formation as young women, who would, in the future, take care of themselves and not be dependent on others. The Good Shepherd foundress implied that most of the girls in their care would be

poor and of lower social status and that it would be best to instill a love of industry in their hearts, because they would probably be lifelong working class women.⁴⁹⁶ The process was described by the Sisters as “solid moral training and thoroughness in religious and intellectual development commensurate with the girl’s ability.”⁴⁹⁷ Each facet was referred to by the Sisters as part of a psychologically sound program.⁴⁹⁸

Mother Mary of Saint Euphrasia’s format for re-education included a well-rounded basic education, vocational training, and social rehabilitation. The girls were not specifically directed into marriage or religious life, but were encouraged to be secure, self-reliant, and responsible for their own actions. Three issues were interwoven with known aspects of girls’ known vocational endeavors as described by Edwin Lewis’ research in 1965. He first pointed out that planning the future for a girl was complex since she was not always the recipient of the same educational preparation as a boy and that secondly the training given to a girl did not always meet her emotional and intellectual needs. Lastly, most teachers and counselors did not give useful advice concerning how to plan for a multi-optional future.⁴⁹⁹ Lewis found that many girls interviewed in the 1950s planned to marry and have children. The girls who wanted a vocational career planned to work only as a “safety net” in case marriage did not work out for them. He found that after marriage women who went to work after the children were in school rationalized the return as the need for extra money. Working after

marriage met emotional and intellectual needs that were unmet by wifely duties and tasks of motherhood.⁵⁰⁰

As discussed earlier in this dissertation the girls admitted to the House of the Good Shepherd were prohibited from entering the congregation as a formally professed Sister, however they could later return or remain in cloister under the direction of a formally professed Good Shepherd Sister. The women in the cloistered group were known as a Sisters Magdalen from 1825 to 1970. The Magdalens were renamed and known from 1970 to 1985 as Contemplatives of the Cross and later renamed again and known since 1985 as Contemplative Sisters of the Good Shepherd. Two participants, one from the mid 1950s and one from the early 1960s entered other communities of women religious for a short period of time after graduating from the Good Shepherd School. Both of the women left their congregations after a few years and married. One of them divorced and remarried. She told me that joining the other congregation of Sisters was not the same as being a Good Shepherd Sister.⁵⁰¹ Both participants have five children and many grandchildren. The *Constitutions and Statutes* of the Good Shepherd Congregation, also known as the Rule, are explicit in barring former residents from entering the congregation.

Should any one of their number wish to become a religious, she shall be sent to some convent having as its object the reception of Penitents, for they can never be received as Religious in this or in any other house of the same order, whatsoever qualifications or talents they may possess. They may, however, be admitted amongst the Magdalens when they have been sufficiently tried, if the Superior considers them suitable and deserving.⁵⁰²

Mother Mary of Saint Euphrasia issued a series of *Conferences and Instructions* aimed at each aspect of her congregation and its mission.⁵⁰³ This set of teachings issued by the foundress differed from the Constitutions and Statutes and the Practical Instructions in that it included all actions of the religious personnel and lay-staff as well as the day-to-day activities of the facilities. Overall, these three sets of documents [in book form] set the standard for the Sisters to follow in the management of the congregation of Sisters and for the re-education of the girls. Girls from bad environments were conditioned to identify with the moral environment of the House of the Good Shepherd over a prolonged period of confinement in the hopes of dispelling delinquent tendencies and developing socially acceptable behaviors.⁵⁰⁴

Comparison between a state run delinquent facility and the House of the Good Shepherd can be made on several levels between 1940 and 1980. First, any girl going through the juvenile court system was accepted into the state juvenile detention center without any special application process. The state facility could accommodate large numbers of girls at the tax payer's expense. The girls were put directly into the mainstream population without consideration for their reason for entry. The purpose behind the girls' confinement was punishment and restitution.⁵⁰⁵ Second, the girl could have an early release for good behavior and probation for a determined period of time. Personnel at the state facility have specific roles and receive pay for their time. Konopka described their "mean" dispositions and "lack of interest" in the girls.⁵⁰⁶

In contrast, the Good Shepherd Sisters were selective about the reformability of the girls they admitted. Girls selected for admission had to agree to adhere to the rules of the house. Smaller numbers of girls were accepted and not placed with other girls until their psychologic and physiologic state was known. Some financial support was received from the court system and charities for girls serving sentences. Private admissions were funded by families as possible. One girl, Charmaine, was admitted by the court, but her mother paid \$50.00 per month until she was eighteen.⁵⁰⁷ Other girls were combination private pay and court funded. The purpose of admission was reform and rehabilitation. The period of court remand was not negotiable, although private admissions were released at the request of a relative. The Sisters ran the facility without personal financial compensation and the hired lay-teachers shared a common commitment for the well-being of the girls.⁵⁰⁸ Betty Ferguson was a lay teacher in the 1950s. She described her experience to journalist Toby Harris as follows:

...it was a very pleasant experience for me. And in talking to some of my friends, they thought it was like a prison or something. I was there for twelve months and I think the girls who were able to come here were really quite fortunate because the Mothers did exude love and kindness...they were strict with them. The Sisters of the Good Shepherd did take care of what we used to call wayward girls...I think it was their training, to try to help these girls and try to make up for some of the emotional lack in their lives.⁵⁰⁹

Admission to the House of the Good Shepherd

A 1953 study of the Omaha, Nebraska House of the Good Shepherd revealed that primary and secondary reasons led to referrals of delinquent girls to the home.⁵¹⁰ In some cases a girl could have more than two delinquent behaviors that led to placement with the Good Shepherd Sisters. The most common primary reasons for admission alone or in combination with another secondary reason included incorrigibility, sex offenses, running away from home, stealing, and truancy.⁵¹¹ Contributing factors to delinquency included lack of parental supervision, gross parental neglect, resentment of one or both natural or step-parents, delinquent peers, stubbornness, sibling resentment, poor adjustment in school, and intellectual retardation.⁵¹² The oral histories and stories presented by the participants in my study supported these facts and did not vary between these former Good Shepherd students.

Acceptance into the House of the Good Shepherd became more selective during the period 1940 to 1980. Dependent girls younger than thirteen were no longer accepted since financial resources were limited and other alternatives, such as foster care were more available.⁵¹³ Delinquent teenage girls could be remanded by Juvenile Court decree or could be brought in by parents or guardians. In rare instances, teenage girls could request admission. One participant in my study from the Midwestern region climbed the wall surrounding the school in the middle of the night and sat on the steps behind the kitchen until dawn. After three attempts, the Sisters finally arranged to admit her.⁵¹⁴ Regardless of the girl's circumstances for entrance, there was some financial

consideration and support either by social service agencies, the court system, charities, or family contribution.⁵¹⁵

Race and religion were not barriers to admission to the House of the Good Shepherd. Any girl of reasonably normal intelligence⁵¹⁶ could be admitted by the request of herself, her family, a referral agency, or the court system. Self referral was least common, but some girls who had previously been in the care of the Sisters would occasionally request readmission for short periods of time for personal reasons. They were usually readmitted and stayed for a few months until they were able to care for themselves in the world. Some of the returning girls wanted to enter the class of the Sisters Magdalen and remain for life in consecration. The foundress' instructions concerning the arrival of a new penitent girl were as follows:

...rejoice every time a child presents herself for admittance to our classes, and receive her with the greatest charity, considering her as sent by God, to be sanctified. Our poor Penitents when they arrive are, in general, crushed and despondent or reckless. The best means of bringing them to good is to make them understand that the past is quite past, that with a new name they are likely to commence a new life, that they will be judged and esteemed only by their conduct in the house.⁵¹⁷

On arrival, confidentiality was maintained by giving the girl a new name, usually that of a Saint. The girl was encouraged to begin a new life and leave the past behind.⁵¹⁸ The Sisters instructed to use only her pseudonym and not reveal her previous life situation as she worked to restore her self-respect and confidence. Many of the girls shared their real names in secret and stayed in contact with each other after release. The Sisters were instructed to never

inquire about the girl's past or her reason for admission. If her past was known, it was not discussed with her or anyone. The girl's name and pseudo name were documented in the house log book by the reception Sister along with the date, name and address of the person bringing her in, her religion, country or state of origin, and stated reason for admission. The entry was updated when the girl left the house and her disposition. If she re-entered the facility, this was added to her original entry.

Parents could bring an incorrigible daughter to the House of the Good Shepherd through the recommendation of a social service agency such as Catholic Charities, Girl's Protective League, or the Children's Aid Society. The Sisters viewed the girl being surrendered by her family as a girl needing special study and treatment. She was not considered a juvenile delinquent in the same sense as a law breaker and the Sisters would plan a specialized program aimed at helping the individual girl reform her past bad behaviors into good habits and attitudes. Mother Mary of Saint Euphrasia taught that weak, neglectful, and indulgent parenting or on the other hand, overly strict parenting was the most common causes of a girl's asocial behavior. The girl could be in the care of the Sisters for twelve to eighteen months as needed. Some girls stayed longer by their own request. Families were expected to provide some financial support to the facility.

A female juvenile delinquent would be given a Writ of Commitment by the county court in her district. (See Appendix C) The document would include the

girl's birth name, charges/infractions, period of remand, and the judge's signature for assignment of custody. A social worker assigned to the House of the Good Shepherd would evaluate the girl for potential admission to the facility for re-education. If the girl was deemed "hopeful for the possibility of re-education and social readjustment" she was further evaluated for her mental status through IQ testing.⁵¹⁹ Slight mental retardation in a girl was acceptable if she could benefit from the curriculum, but the so-called feeble-minded were not considered capable of re-education and this disqualified the girl for admission. A girl must have the mental capacity to understand and learn new behaviors or the re-education process would not be effective for social rehabilitation. In the 1950s, a minimum IQ of 70 was required for admission, but by 1961 the minimum level was increased to 75.⁵²⁰ In 1952, Marycrest in Wickliffe, Ohio reported seventy-seven girls age thirteen to eighteen were tested with the average IQ 98.3. Ten girls had IQs between 110 and 117 and three girls had IQs between 129 and 135.⁵²¹

Arrival at the House of the Good Shepherd

A girl's arrival in the reception area of the House of the Good Shepherd was timed for early evening around 5:00 P.M. and carefully planned so the girl was delivered by a parent, guardian, or social worker and met at the door by a mature reception Sister, who would be her main support until she was assimilated into one of the classes. The visual image when the white-robed Sister opened the door left a lasting impression on each of the participants interviewed.

The newly admitted girl was instructed to call the reception Sister and all other Sisters "Mother" as directed by the foundress: "You must serve both as guides and mothers to help these children; they should find comfort in their trials and help in their trouble. The more they are inclined to evil, the greater should be our compassion for them."⁵²²

First impressions of the facility either positive or negative had an effect on the girl's course of re-education and ultimate outcome from the experience. Introversion or extroversion factored into the girl's responses to her new environment and companions. Every aspect of her reception in the home was calculated to offer the best first impressions possible.⁵²³ The reception was warm and respectful in order to defuse resentment and resistance to the new environment.⁵²⁴

Each girl presented with differing affects ranging from anger and belligerence to tearful resignation. One non-Catholic participant admitted in 1964 described fear at the sight of the Sister in her long white habit, blue tassel, and black veil. She stated "... [It has been] at least 45 years ago now, since I entered Reception and met Mother B____...all dressed up like that. I was soooo scared. I then moved on to Marian Hall, where I lived until I went back home after a year."⁵²⁵

The girl was isolated in private living quarters near the reception area, away from the main student body for several days to a few weeks until she was evaluated by a physician, dentist, social worker, and psychologist. All of her

personal belongings, including clothing were confiscated and carefully packed away for return to her at the time of her departure from the facility. Any money brought for her use was placed in an envelope with her name on it and put away for her expenses during her residency. The reception Sister remained with the girl to gain her confidence. In some situations, a trusted senior student was assigned as a "big sister" and stayed with the new girl to explain the rules and procedures of the facility. The big sister was described in the Practical Rules as follows:

...the new arrival should be confided to a person on whose devotedness, discretion, and virtue, we can rely, who will watch over her carefully. This is one of the most delicate charges we can give any of our children; we should choose a person of mature age and cheerful disposition, gifted with the tact to amuse and distract.⁵²⁶

If the girl met the required IQ of 75, the admission process would continue and would include the following:

1. Assessment of the [criminal] charges. Crimes of violence, arson, or major theft were not acceptable and resulted in rejection.
2. Sexuality and sexual activity. Girls with known overt homosexual tendencies were not admitted. Known prostitutes or highly sexually active girls were accepted, but were not put with the other girls in cottages or dormitories. Sexually active girls sometimes arrived with sexually acquired diseases or infections. These were treated

by local physicians.⁵²⁷ Pregnant girls were sent to mother-baby homes with nursing Orders of Sisters.⁵²⁸

3. Religious training. If the girl was Catholic, the Baptismal certificate and First Communion record were obtained. The Confirmation date was validated. If the girl was not Catholic the Sisters determined if there was any other religious affiliation. The Sisters provided Bibles for denominations other than Catholic. The Good Shepherd Schools were nonsectarian, but the Sisters believed that religious instruction enriched the peace and happiness of the girls in this world and the next.⁵²⁹
4. Psychologic assessment results. A social worker was assigned to each girl. Suicidal girls were not accepted. Mental and/or emotional handicaps were closely monitored. Individual behaviors and group interactions were observed twenty-four hours per day. The foundress taught that a shepherd had to observe the individual sheep in order to truly know them. Each girl was treated as an individual.
5. Psychometric and intelligence tests were given during the diagnostic phase of admission. Some of these were court-ordered; others were administered by the school psychologist. Placement in a particular grade level was done according to test results.

6. Physiologic assessment results. Physical problems were treated, eyeglasses were issued as needed, dental problems corrected, and nutritional needs assessed. Local physicians provided some services gratis. Parents were asked to contribute money for health care as possible. All monies collected on behalf of a particular girl were reserved for her needs alone and not placed in a common fund. The Sisters believed that physical health issues could lead to behavioral problems. A resident registered nurse was available on a daily basis. Each girl had a check up every six months.

Assignment to Living Quarters

After the girl was assigned to her initial dormitory, the First Mistress⁵³⁰ would work to gain the girl's trust. The girls usually took between one and six months to adjust to the rules and routines. The days were fully scheduled, but slow paced to accommodate the adjustment period. The role of the First Mistress included planning and directing activities, admonishing and counseling, and being watchful over the girl's progress. She met with all of the staff [Second Mistress, teachers, and aids] in her dormitory or cottage once per week to review progress or regress. Although twelve to fifteen girls were assigned to each First Mistress, the care was focused on meeting the needs of each individual while maintaining order within the group. Understanding the girl's demeanor and attitudes was important to the success of the Sisters' re-education program and the girl's opportunity to advance to increased privileges.⁵³¹

Many girls expected to be punished when they arrived; instead they found warmth and unconditional patience.⁵³² Charmaine, a student who graduated in 1951, had a history of running away from home, promiscuity, and stealing and was awaiting sentencing from the court. She had a conversation with another girl in the detention area of the court who told her about the Good Shepherd Sisters and their work with troubled girls. Charmaine requested admission to the House of the Good Shepherd instead of Juvenile Hall even though she was not Catholic. She described how she felt nurtured and that she stayed several years longer than her court sentence required of her. She did not try to run away like many other girls did.⁵³³

Firmness was preferred to severity in tone of voice. The First Mistress never had to validate herself to the girl and was never to raise her voice or repeat an instruction more than once. The girls were not to be placed in a position of judging the Sisters. Arguments concerning rules were not entertained between the Sisters and the girls. Entering into a rebellious discussion with a girl concerning an instruction undermined the authority of the command.⁵³⁴ Sister Virginia Hinks related a story about her confrontation with one of the girls:

I had an experience that was on my own personal experience and it taught me a lot. I remember once I told a girl to do something and she said to me "why do I have to do that?" And I said to her "because, I told you to do it ." After I came away from the confrontation, I thought that was really arrogant of me to say that to her. It taught me a really big lesson of not listening to people and of imposing my will on somebody else. I went and talked to her about that. It was a tremendous learning experience for me. I think that our girls, as well as the women we deal with today, need to be respected.⁵³⁵

The dormitories (or cottages in some facilities) were planned to house girls with similar behaviors and problems. Each collection of girls was referred to as a class. As the girls showed improvement in behavior or progression to self control, they moved to different dormitories with more relaxed behavioral objectives. Each move was an encouragement and a symbol of trust and confidence. Most schools had at least one dormitory or later cottage that was desired over all the others. In this most privileged environment, the girls had more freedom in their personal schedules and the opportunity for supervised trips or jobs away from the school. The names of individual living quarters were different in each city, but each facility had the same stratified arrangement for separating the classes according to the compatibility of the girls and the reason for her admission. The Cleveland-based Marycrest Handbook for students described the separate living quarters as follows:

1. Lourdes Hall: New girls stayed in Lourdes Hall. The environment was closely monitored twenty-four hours a day by the First and Second Mistresses.
 - a. Recreation is held within the hall and the girls in residence were not eligible to intermingle with the other girls in other halls. Points could be earned for good behavior at all facilities that were redeemed for privileges or purchases in the school store. The accrual and redemption of points (some facilities

referred to the lost of points as demerits)⁵³⁶ became the cornerstone for a reward-punishment system.

- b. All of the girls were required to attend church on Sunday and holy days. Catholic girls were permitted to attend church more frequently with special permission. Non-Catholic girls could use Bibles of their own faith.
- c. The girls were placed in school grades according to ability. Placement in vocational, commercial or regular high school was determined in part by the ability and interest of the individual girls.
- d. Visitation by immediate family was arranged once a month by the Sister in charge. No off campus visits were permitted.
- e. Each girl met with her social worker as arranged. No set schedule was documented. Psychologist appointments were planned as needed.

2. Marian Hall: Girls were moved to this hall when they demonstrated improved behavior and cooperation. Privileges increased with continued improvement of behavior.

- a. Recreation was not limited to the confines of the residence hall. The girls were permitted to participate in school sports and extracurricular activities (i.e. band, basket ball, and drama club).

- b. Church was mandatory every Sunday and holy day. The girls were free to attend any other daily service as desired. Non-Catholic girls could use Bibles of their own faith. In some facilities, ministers of other faiths arranged for religious services other than Catholic as an added privilege.
- c. School was continued as started in Marion Hall for continuity. Girls could progress and take accelerated programs as available. Special consideration was given to a girl with a talent for a particular activity, such as accounting or typing. Girls could participate in the school bank or school store using school money earned with accrued points.
- d. Visits were held one Sunday per month. On rare occasions an off campus visit could be planned once per month as a reward for good behavior.
- e. Social Services were arranged per individual need. The girls had set appointments with their social workers twice per month. The school psychologist met with the girls on an as needed basis.
- f. Failure to progress in behavior could result in return to Lourdes Hall or expulsion, meaning return to the parents or social service group who brought her to the school.

3. Regina Hall: Girls could earn the right to move to Regina Hall after demonstrating good behavior and after serving a purposeful rotation in the reception area as a Big Sister. This was a transitional step toward re-entering society and completion of confinement. Girls in this hall could earn the privilege of holding a Saturday job off campus for extra money. Demonstration of improved social skills, increased leadership, and trustworthiness was expected in Regina Hall.
 - a. Recreational activities at the school were led by the Regina Hall girls. The leadership and examples set were used to impress newly admitted girls. All available activities were available girls in Regina Hall.
 - b. Church services were mandatory on Sundays and holy days. Non-Catholic girls in Regina had the option of attending services off campus under supervision.
 - c. School work was determined by the girls' abilities and preferences for vocational, commercial, or general education. Increased personal freedoms could include attending some classes at an external Catholic high school if the parents could afford tuition. This was not an option at many of the schools.

- d. Visits by family increased. Weekend home visits could be planned once per month. Special occasions, such as birthdays and holidays could be included.
- e. Social Services were planned on an individual need. Routine visits with the social worker were planned once a month either on campus or at the social worker's office. Geography of the individual school location could dictate the availability of this option.
- f. Failure to progress in behavior after reaching the Regina Hall level could result in return to Lourdes Hall or expulsion. A trial period in Lourdes Hall was the most common penalty for a breach of behavior in Regina Hall, but was rare.

Religious Considerations

The school in the House of the Good Shepherd was nonsectarian, in that the schools accepted girls without regard to religious affiliation. However, attention was given to the individual girls' spiritual needs as part of the "home-like" setting. Consideration was given to Catholic girls and non-Catholic girls. The Catholic girls attended catechism classes daily as part of the school curriculum. Prayers were never so long that the girls became tired during the recitation for fear they would avoid prayers out of boredom. Chaplains also offered Catholic religious instruction separate from regular school hours as appropriate. Instructions were basic and not highly embellished with stories of mysticism,

ecstasies, or visions. The foundress stated that using these religious events could stimulate ridicule and mockery of Catholicism. Religious spirituality must be voluntarily practiced if it is to be genuine. She pointed out that the best way to indoctrinate the religion was to emphasize religious holidays, such as Easter and Christmas and to celebrate other Christian events including Lent and Pentecost. Catholic holy days dedicated to Mary and other saints were used to illustrate specific moral lessons.⁵³⁷

Catholics marrying non-Catholics played a role in producing girls without any specific religious training. For the marriage to be sanctioned by the Catholic Church, the non-Catholic spouse was required to agree to raise all children born in the union as Catholic.⁵³⁸ The children were often baptized Catholic at birth, but not schooled in Catholic teachings. When these girls came into the House of the Good Shepherd, the Sisters assumed the role of the family in teaching Catholic doctrine to the Catholic-born girls. McGreevy documents that interfaith marriages increased during the 1950s and families moved away from the city centers toward the suburbs – leaving the embrace of the Catholic parish where the local priest oversaw the family unit, encouraging a Catholic education for the children.⁵³⁹

In the House of the Good Shepherd, a religious pretest was sometimes administered to ascertain the Catholic-born girl's baseline knowledge of Catholicism and periodic questionnaires were used to measure progress during religious instruction. The Sisters found that periods of private, individualized

religious instruction encouraged more knowledge retention and interest than months of group training. The girl could privately ask questions without feeling embarrassed by the group. Commonly, the duration of confinement ended before religious instruction was complete; therefore, intense training sessions in the Catholic religion were presented to the Catholic girls. The Sisters were able to uphold their mission of saving the “fallen” soul and foster Christianity in the form of Catholicism in the lives of the girls.

The non-Catholic girls at the Good Shepherd facility were not required to attend daily religion classes. They were not required, but expected to attend church services on Sundays. The teacher could teach basic Christian ideals, but did not force the students to accept a particular set of principles, particularly those found in Catholicism. Parents were informed that the facility was Catholic-oriented and their daughter may pick up on some of the religious practices by association with other girls. The Good Shepherd philosophy concerning spirituality was aimed at providing a basis for forming ideals of personal conduct that would enrich their lives on Earth and in an afterlife.⁵⁴⁰ Girls who wished to be baptized in the Catholic faith during the period studied were encouraged to wait until they left the facility before making a commitment to convert to Catholicism. The prevailing thought was to support inner conviction rather than responding to environmental influence in making a religious choice. In some circumstances, girls could obtain parental consent for the sacrament of baptism to be performed at the school by the local Priest.⁵⁴¹

A key element in formulating instruction in religion or in any subject was to know the inner character of each girl. Most of the individual information was gleaned by the First Mistress during individual conferences with the girls. The First Mistress was the only person permitted to have private talks with a girl for personal issues or reprimand. Knowing the inner thoughts a girl enabled the Sisters to predict and prevent unwanted behaviors.⁵⁴²

Physical Hygiene

Physical hygiene was a first step toward maintaining or improving health. Cleanliness was an absolute expectation of each girl and considered part of the curriculum. Girls, who had poor personal hygiene were taught cleanliness and learned respect for their own bodies by meeting the standards set by the Sisters. The vocational classes included beauty culture classes. Hairstyling and haircuts could be done there. Most facilities required hot baths two or three times per week with incremental showers in-between. Girls assigned to work in the kitchen were required to bathe daily. Girls with known venereal disease had separate bathing facilities.⁵⁴³

Each girl had her own toilet articles, such as a comb, brush, toothbrush, soap, drinking cup, wash cloths, and towels with her personal number on them were folded a certain way.⁵⁴⁴ These items were issued by the facility and were positioned in the exact same spot in each girl's locker or demerits would be given. Charmaine described the lockers as follows:

...there were rules around what you put in your locker and where did you put it. What did you hang up versus what you put on the

one shelf versus what you put on the floor. There were certain places for everything.⁵⁴⁵

The girls had the opportunity to use accrued points to purchase additional personal toiletries and cosmetic items in the school store. Lingerie and socks were hand washed nightly and hung to dry near the girl's bed. Thick bobby socks were worn and sometimes did not completely dry before morning. The girls wore saddle oxfords with their uniforms for school and were permitted to change into casual clothing in the evening and on Saturday. A Sunday dress with nylons and a hat were worn to church on Sunday and holy days.⁵⁴⁶

Teenage Pregnancy and Reproductive Issues

Girls who had children out of wedlock were sometimes brought to the Sisters for rehabilitation, but only in a few Good Shepherd homes in the United States, such as in New York, Hawaii, and later in Independence, Ohio. The facilities in the House of the Good Shepherd were not designed for pregnant girls and childbirth. Moreover, Sisters were not trained in nursing. Disposable sanitary supplies were issued to each girl.⁵⁴⁷ A trusted girl, usually a Sodality member, was given the responsibility of documenting the number of sanitary supplies used by each girl and giving the written report to the house doctor each month.⁵⁴⁸ Occasionally, the discrepancy of usage revealed an undiagnosed illness or pregnancy in a girl recently admitted to the facility. Any girl found to be pregnant was sent to a mother-baby maternity home. Sister Virginia Hinks recounted how pregnant girls were managed in Seattle and Hawaii: "At that time, if a girl ever came and was pregnant...she was out the next day, because

that is a different kind of care that we could not do. Although in Hawaii, we took care of unwed mothers, young pregnant girls. But, that was Catholic Charities.”⁵⁴⁹

Sister Mary William McGlone told a story about a pregnant girl who slipped through the screening process:

One Christmas we had an Indian girl with us. We had a seamstress who made all new dresses. They [the girls] wore uniforms those days, and she made all new dresses for Christmas for them....When she fitted this girl, M____, I think was her name, she said “You’re getting so fat.” ... Christmas morning ...one of the girls said that “M____ had terrible pains during the night, cramps.”... I got some Midol and sent it up to M____. The next thing I knew the directress was on the phone to the hospital. A little baby boy had been born in the dormitory. Surprise to everybody. Even the girl said “I did not know.” I suppose it’s possible.⁵⁵⁰

None of the participants in my study indicated arrival at the House of the Good Shepherd as an unwed mother. McGreevy indicated that Catholic women in general had more babies between 1940 to 1950 than non-Catholic women because of the prohibition of birth control and abortion.⁵⁵¹ The birth rate to Catholic women remained constant regardless of the religion of their spouse. During my research I questioned whether this was a form of social reproduction. Poverty and sexual vulnerability of many young women placed them at risk for unwanted pregnancy. The daughters frequently found themselves in the same biologic reproductive cycle as their mothers and continued the social reproduction of having abortions or bearing children outside of a family union, religion, not withstanding. Birth control and abortion were mortal sins and could

be grounds for excommunication from the Catholic Church, despite the marital status of the pregnant female.⁵⁵²

Leontine Young did a study of unwed mothers in 1954 and found a pattern of domination in the home of one parent, usually of broken homes although a two-parent home was often dominated by one parent. Religion did not play a role according to her study.⁵⁵³ Sexual mores of the 1940s and 1950s generally meant degradation of the pregnant girl and shame to her family.⁵⁵⁴

In contrast, Protestant homes for unwed mothers of the time approached the pregnant adolescent girl with salvation in mind.⁵⁵⁵ The motto of the YWCA was "Everything we do is religious" and the Florence Crittenton Home's motto was "Go and sin no more."⁵⁵⁶ Attendance at daily religious services in the Protestant homes was mandatory for the women. In Cleveland by 1966, most unwed pregnant girls in the Booth Memorial Salvation Army home were non-white, between the ages of eleven and nineteen and were planning to keep their babies.⁵⁵⁷ The Salvation Army took in pregnant girls not necessarily considered delinquents with the mission of keeping them on a path toward redemption. The immediate need in this setting was the birth of the child and the care of the mother-baby pair in a healthy, safe environment. Rehabilitation, such as learning a skill was not a consistent part of the process. Most of the girls and their babies, if they did not adopt out or use foster care, were housed in the facility for no less than three and no more than six months.⁵⁵⁸ This is hardly enough time to effect change in earning potential or self care.⁵⁵⁹

The religiousness of the Protestant homes is reflected in a case study done of the Florence Crittenden Center in Cleveland by Marian Morton. According to Morton's research, a secular worker in the home reported that the only classes were religious and Bible-oriented studies well into the 1970s.⁵⁶⁰ In my experience during the late 1970s as a scrub nurse for Cesarean sections on teen girls at the Booth Memorial Salvation Army hospital in Cleveland, during her Cesarean section I overheard one thirteen year old ask her Aunt, "Auntie, who gets this one?" The girl's mother was not present and this was not her first pregnancy. I will never forget this experience.

Sexuality and Sex Education

Health education from the Sisters included some aspects of sexuality, but only as it pertained to respecting her body and keeping it pure. Particular sexual acts [conjugal] were not discussed by the Sisters, but later coursework during the 1960s about human sexuality sometimes included a trip to a secular school for classes offered by lay health teachers. Some of these sessions included films about pregnancy and childbirth.

Sexuality was disguised in terms such as immorality, promiscuity, and sinfulness. Sex was not a subject easily acknowledged or approached by the Sisters or the girls during the 1940s to 1980s. Many of the participants in my study of this period relayed stories of sexuality in their homes—voluntary and involuntary, as in rape or incest by family members or her mother's boyfriend. Some of the girls were removed from their homes because of sexual abuses.

Some participants acknowledged covert homosexuality. Although this was not deeply explored in this study it was not totally ignored as a source of oppression from a feminist standpoint. One participant described some girls in the Good Shepherd Home had engaged in kissing other girls, but not much happened beyond touching and a few caresses.⁵⁶¹

Other girls were admitted for overt sexuality and prostitution. Each girl had some connection to her female identity through the biologic processes associated with womanhood and her archetypal animus.⁵⁶² Mary Daly counters this Jungian concept with the premise of stereotypical sex roles imposed by patriarchal Catholic theologians who keep the restrictive role of the "eternal feminine" aloft.⁵⁶³ The symbolic significance of a woman is not the sum of her biology, history, or social position, but is characteristic of her true person as she forms herself into a self-created entity. Daly points out that the eternal feminine hinders the emancipation of women.⁵⁶⁴ Goldenberg supports the growth of feminist theory by moving beyond the unchanging feminine to the identification of feminist archetypes.⁵⁶⁵

Sexuality was suppressed and ignored at a time when the girls needed clear answers to their questions and understanding from their mother figures. Shame and guilt were commonly attached to discussions about virtue and morality. The girls were not to dress in front of each other and were instructed to dress, seated on the edge of the bed inside their bedclothes before leaving

their bedside. Several participants recounted this experience. Charmaine described dressing as follows:

Modesty? Much modesty, many rules about the modesty business. You did not dress standing up. Most people sat on their beds. You were inside your nightgown like a tent... You learned to stay either under your covers or somewhere you were covered up, until you had your clothes on, then you could stand up, because by then you had your skirt on or slip or something.⁵⁶⁶

The Sisters took a vow of chastity and were assumed to be virgins at the time of the formal profession of vows. Having no real world experience in human sexual relations, I question how the Sisters could teach the girls about sexuality from a practical standpoint. Several participants mentioned that sex education was nonexistent, but others had biology classes with lay teachers. The physiologic facts were cut and dried. Physiologic anatomy, basic menstrual function, and hygienic practices were taught. The psychologic aspects of the girls' bodies and how they functioned in conception and childbirth were largely ignored. Publications aimed at Catholic girls for sexual morality training during this time were not written by females, but by male priests. The priests were bound by vows of chastity and were also assumed to be virgins at the time of their formal profession of vows. I question how a male religious would have the physiologic and psychologic knowledge necessary to describe female sexuality from a realistic standpoint.

One such book aimed at teaching sexual morals to adolescent girls, written by Father Rohrbach in 1959, opened his introduction by saying: "...teen-

age girls are wonderful...I've come to know a little bit about what makes a teen-age girl tick. I say a little bit, because I don't think anyone knows a lot about what makes a teen-age girl tick, not even the teen-age girl herself."⁵⁶⁷ He indicated that his book is a series of informal discussions about being a teen female intended only for the eyes of the high school girl and not her "baby sister."⁵⁶⁸

Father Rohrbach used the analogy of Puritans thinking sex was fundamentally evil and Pagans thinking unrestricted sex was the most important human plaything. He countered this illustration by explaining how sex was designed to bring a man and a woman together for the purpose of making a family and that sex outside of marriage was a serious sin.⁵⁶⁹ He relates the story of Tamar from II Samuel 13 in the Bible. I paraphrase his version of the bible story here for simplicity:

Amnon, the son of King David, fell in love with Tamar. He loved her so much that he fell ill with desire and took to bed. By a clever trick, Amnon arranged for Tamar to come to his home. She resisted his advances, but he overpowered her and had his way. Amnon immediately pronounced his hatred of Tamar and had his servants throw her from the house and lock the door.⁵⁷⁰

Father Rohrbach stated the moral of the story was "Amnon [was] manifesting a typical masculine approach to the matter...he'll feel only disgust for you."⁵⁷¹ He tells them to keep their "noses clean" and they will be respected. He fails to tell the whole story of Tamar leaving out the important parts concerning kinship, sexual assault, and Judaic law.⁵⁷² He made it look like Tamar had a choice about going to her brother's home to serve him a meal.

I reviewed the literature concerning the story of Tamar and I found Father Rohrbach's version of the biblical lesson misleading. According to the *American Standard Edition* and the *New World Translation* of the Bible, Tamar was Amnon's half sister [King David was the father of both]. Amnon fell ill with desire for her and became bed-ridden. He devised a scheme wherein Tamar was ordered to come to his room to cook a meal and help feed him. As a dutiful daughter of King David, she was obliged to comply and serve her brother. He over-powered and raped her. Tamar cried and told him that all he had to do was ask for her hand in marriage and he could have taken her legally. He immediately hated her and threw her into the street. King David took no recourse against Amnon. A man who raped a woman was required to marry her and remain married to her for life according to Judaic law.⁵⁷³ This law was in itself not in the favor of the woman who would be required to marry her rapist. Tamar's older brother took her in and later killed Amnon.

The priest made Tamar look like an evil temptress. Using this approach for teaching abstinence with rape and incest victims was one more way of punishing the girls who held no power over their own bodies in their homes. Victims of sexual abuse have difficulty defining their experiences and commonly blame themselves in an effort to retrospectively gain control of the events.⁵⁷⁴ He later used the example of St. Maria Goretti, a teen age girl who died rather than submit to illicit sex. Her motto was "death rather than sin."⁵⁷⁵ Father Rohrbach

believed that appropriate sex education was to teach girls that they are the "sources of sin for others."⁵⁷⁶

Sexual behavior was not tolerated in the Good Shepherd School. Several participants in my study mentioned lesbianism and experimentation with same sex activities behind the Sister's backs. Participant D said that the sexual contact in her school was mostly kissing and touching, but others claimed more sexual behavior took place. Participants, S and L, said that they both knew they preferred girls over boys and later committed to female partners, with whom they remained for many years. Participant S said that she and her current same sex partner are a celibate couple.⁵⁷⁷

Daily Routines

Sleep and rising schedules were regulated by the Sisters ringing little bells or stating a line from a standard prayer to which the girls would respond in unison. Every activity was timed and calculated to maintain order and impulse-control.⁵⁷⁸ There were no clocks in the sleeping areas for the girls. Jackie remembered her wake up call from the First Mistress [Sister] in the following memory:

We didn't have clocks. We got up early...The bell. Mother Serena would come in, ring the bell and say "glory to God"...and we had to answer it and get on our knees by the bed...she'd say the first part of the prayer and we'd have to answer it.⁵⁷⁹

Saturdays and off-days were days for sleeping in. Saturday schedules were for general housekeeping and personal activities. Sundays were for spiritual activities, evening movies, and some family parlor visits. Sundays and School

days had a set schedule for rising. The typical daily activity schedule varied between facilities, but the following is representative of the typical weekday routine:⁵⁸⁰

6:00 A.M. Rising

6:30 A. M. Mass

7:00 A.M. Breakfast

7:30 A.M. Duties as assigned and recreation

8:30 to 11:45 A.M. Academic subjects

12:00 to 1:00 P.M. Lunch and recreation

1:00 to 4:00 P.M. Vocational subjects (referred to as "employments")

4:00 to 5:30 P.M. Recreation (Band practice 4:30 to 5:30 P.M.)

6:00 P.M. Dinner

8:00 P.M. Study hour

9:00 P.M. Bedtime

Housekeeping tasks were performed by the girls. They left their beds open to air until after breakfast, and then arranged the bedding in a tidy manner. Linens were laundered and changed weekly during which time the bed was open to the air for the day. Blankets were hung in the sun when possible and the frame cleaned with detergent. The dormitory floor was washed by girls assigned to the task on a rotating schedule.

Clothing was laundered onsite in the residential laundry. Undergarments and night clothes were purchased from local merchants. A local shoe salesman

measured each girl's foot and brought shoes into the facility. In some schools, the girls were taken to the shoe store. Uniform skirts and blouses were worn during school hours at most facilities and other comfortable attire was worn during off-school hours.⁵⁸¹ The Sisters believed that clothing color and style helped set the mood and morale of the setting.⁵⁸² Uniforms set a formal attitude and worked well for the school environment where proper behavior and comportment were expected. For some girls, uniforms represented institutionalization and a form of punishment. The fabrics used to make uniforms differed between the schools based on climate and economics of the facility. The use of tasteful personalized clothing after school and on Saturdays reflected a relaxed atmosphere and a sense of individuality.⁵⁸³

Some of the vocational classes were based on clothing design and construction. This worked well by giving the girls the opportunity for self-expression by allowing them to design and make trendy outfits for after school wear. Textile manufacturers donated fabrics for the girls to create fashion attire. Many girls became proficient and were able to make a living as seamstresses after release from the facility. Some of the girls sold their handiwork to earn money for new biology supplies. Others sold fine embroidery to purchase Sodality jewelry.

Not every girl was able or liked to sew, so ready-made clothing was available, too. Some of the Sodality girls were permitted to go into the city to purchase fabric or store-bought outfits as a privilege. The school store had a few

clothing articles for purchase with privilege points. Each girl had one or two Sunday dresses. Some facilities permitted co-ed dances in the late 1970s where the girls wore fancy party dresses or formals.

Mealtime was important because many of the girls arrived in a malnourished state. The Sisters knew that they could not gain the trust and attention of the girls if they were hungry and unhealthy because of a poor diet. Balanced meals were carefully planned for their growing bodies. Some girls had special dietary needs as prescribed by the physician, so the Sisters assured the food preparation and content was appropriate for each girl. The refectory (dining hall) was appointed with colorful curtains and tableware. The furniture was arranged in small group tables that seated six or eight to create a home-like atmosphere. The food was served family style by the girls working in the kitchen.⁵⁸⁴

Girls who refused to eat were not forced, but were not given undue attention. Refusal to take a meal was a play for attention in some girls. Missing one or two meals was not considered a serious problem. If too many meals were skipped, the girl was taken to see the physician. Sometimes the refusal to eat was because of dislike for particular food items. In some instances, the food was subtly changed and made more palatable.⁵⁸⁵

During the period of this study, the girls were permitted adequate time for the meal and pleasant mealtime conversation was allowed. The Sisters did not eat with the girls, but sat on a dais at the head of the room observing the girls.

If a girl wanted to speak to the Sister, she had to stand near the Sister's chair until recognized, then, the girl would kneel beside the Sister's chair and address her as "Mother" before speaking.⁵⁸⁶

In the late 1940s, many Latin American girls immigrated to New York. The Sisters at Saint Germaine's in Peekskill modified several facets of the re-education process to include features of the Latin American culture. Periodically, the play yard was decorated like a hacienda, with colorful banners and decorations depicting a Mexican fiesta. Foods served included chili and taco-like snacks. The girls ate in the yard in picnic fashion. The sharing of ethnic food and culture helped the new girls assimilate into the population of ongoing girls with a sense of belonging and mutual understanding. The Sisters filmed the events in color and showed the movies now and then as part of the Sunday movie night reward.

Cooking and dishwashing tasks were shared by the girls under the supervision of the Sisters. In some facilities, groups of girls took turns working in the kitchen on a rotating monthly schedule. The assigned kitchen tasks are planned to accommodate other activities in the girls' schedules, such as band or drama practice. The participants in my study and Toby Harris' oral history interviewees voiced pleasure and enjoyment in the music of the era, but complained about not being permitted to listen to male singers. If a masculine voice came over the radio, the station was switched⁵⁸⁷.

Physical education included sports, such as basketball, archery, skating, volley ball, tennis, and other sports. Hiking and day camping provided diversion from the daily routine. All of the able bodied girls were required to take part in the physical activities. Many of the schools had swimming pools and the girls loved the opportunity to get their exercise in the pool. One participant told stories about how she used to jump in the pool with all her clothes on to make the Sisters angry. Some of the girls at Marycrest in Cleveland performed a water ballet every year on the second Sunday in August. The Sisters believed that adequate physical activity would decrease or displace the sexual drive in some of the sexually active teen girls.⁵⁸⁸

Psychological Affects

Psychological aspects of care for girls in the House of the Good Shepherd during the years 1940 to 1980 included analysis of attitudes toward home and family, group and solo activity, and structured settings. Home and family were topics not shared with the general population of the school. Each girl redefined her own persona during her stay with the Sisters. Some girls were transferred in from other states or even other countries to remove them from undesired influences. Some girls did not keep personal information secret and shared experiences with other girls in the facility. These revelations later made it possible for the girls to keep in contact or find each other after leaving the facility. Some are in contact, even to date.

Many of the girls arrived at the school with hostility toward school and structured environments in general. Delinquents commonly delighted in being truant and having a good time on their own. Some of these girls were either very bright or bored with the schools they attended or dull and saturated with feelings of inferiority caused by repeated failures in outside schools.⁵⁸⁹ One oral history participant, Sister X who wished to be anonymous, stated the following concerning the education of the girls: "I was not as strict as other teachers perhaps because I was aware that they had failed many times and I wanted them to succeed if at all possible."⁵⁹⁰

The Sisters' biggest obstacle in general education was undoing the impression created by previously unsuccessful school experiences. The Sisters tried to replace, or temper the sense of craving for a good time with the enjoyment of learning and personal achievement. The focus of the facility was to retrain or re-educate girls to recognize their own potential and to generate a desire for a fulfilling future. Sister Mary William McGlone sums up the process as follows:

She is placed in the Home of the Good Shepherd, not as a punishment, but in the hopes that she will mature into all the beauty of womanhood with knowledge, abilities and ideals which evolve into a happy life, and which, in turn, she may share with others.⁵⁹¹

Psychologic and intelligence testing was done to determine the specific educational and developmental needs of the individual girls. Girls with mild mental retardation were placed in groups featuring occupational activities within

their ability and the resources of the facility. Girls with similar high intelligence scores were grouped together to take part in various levels of academic and vocational coursework. Forethought was given to each girl's potential post graduation living situation and her ability for self sufficiency. In some situations, vocational skills were the main subject combined with personal development. As the girls became more confident they could request a full standard high school course load.⁵⁹²

The physical plant was designed to accommodate the best psychologic approaches available to the Sisters. Much thought and planning was done to create the best atmosphere for learning. The foundation for the physical environment was premised on fresh air and sunlight. Land selection and space allotment were planned to have open areas for gardening, recreation, and building expansion as needed. In some facilities specifically constructed for Good Shepherd schools, windows were planned to admit light most of the day. Even windows in lower levels of the building, such as basement rooms were positioned strategically to provide optimal periods of sunlight. Marycrest, built in the Wickliffe, Ohio area in the late 1940s through the mid 1950s, was a good example of this type of architectural planning.⁵⁹³

The schools were equipped with audio-visual equipment, libraries, and other essentials related to academic and vocational learning. The girls attended school for five to six hours per day all year round with no summer break. Two hours was used for academics and three to four hours was used for vocational

subjects. Each individual classroom session had twelve to fifteen students and lasted thirty-five minutes.⁵⁹⁴ Girls were entering and leaving at various points during the school year so a routine school calendar year was not feasible. Girls were tested and placed in classes aligned with their ability to catch up with the rest of the class. A girl could progress through the coursework and move to the next grade level ahead of the rest of the class. Many of the girls had irregular school attendance and had much remedial learning to make up. The remedial classes were small, usually one to five students to minimize the sense of embarrassment about difficulty in a course.⁵⁹⁵ The academic classes were comparable to the parochial and public schools of the time. Offerings included basic math, literature, science, and art. Homework was done in the classroom and not during the after school hours. Several girls won scholarships for college and academic awards.⁵⁹⁶

The philosophy behind the education provided by the Good Shepherd Sisters was that no component of the educational experience was independent from the rest. The academics were tied in to the vocational courses. For example, every girl was required to take the home economics course, also known as *Domestic Science*. Some girls attended college and other postsecondary educational schools on remote campuses as a measure of earned trust. One participant described how she attended a private Catholic woman's college on a grant after high school graduation in 1964 and that the Sisters provided her with \$40.00 per month pocket money.⁵⁹⁷

The Sisters employed lessons using everyday life scenarios; for example, helping the girls to make the connection between academic learning and vocational learning by planning and budgeting for meals then cooking and serving them. Math [finances] and health science [nutrition and diet] were used for this activity. Other functional examples included sewing and designing clothing that required the use of math and basic geometry for measuring fabric and using machinery for affixing the pieces together. Many Good Shepherd schools had a residential laundry [some were also commercial] wherein the girls learned how to care for clothing while helping to provide some resources for the facility. The commercial laundries in the schools were progressively closed because the mandatory requirements for school attendance decreased the time available for the girls to work. In 1959 at Peekskill, New York, senior girls with excellent behavior records were selectively permitted to baby sit for local residents.⁵⁹⁸

Extracurricular activities included dramatics, athletics, dance [tap and ballet], music, and glee club. The Sisters documented that few of the girls knew how to play or use leisure for relaxation.⁵⁹⁹ The extracurricular activities often closely related to the vocational courses. School functions were not held in the residential buildings in order to create a distinction between the industry of learning in a classroom versus living in a home-like environment. The girls produced performances by using skills learned in the classroom. They put on plays and concerts, performed ballets, and sang as a choir. The costume design

and sewing was done by girls proficient in those arts. Around 1948, the Peekskill girls produced a Spanish-themed operetta so the Puerto Rican girls would have the chance to show off their cultural music and song. The event was very successful according to the girls who recounted the festivities.

By the late 1940s, each school had some form of newsletter or yearbook. The girls wrote, edited, and printed the work themselves. The end product produced by the girls themselves was a source of joy for the Sisters, because the fruit of their work was manifest in ways that made each girl recognize her self-worth and creativity. Self-respect fostered better behaviors and the hope that spiritual salvation was closer for the girls met the Sisters' mission of using social service to potentially save the souls of the lost.

Consistent reinforcement of the daily schedule and routine permitted the girls to have a sense of organization and stability. The Sisters forbid telephone calls unless permission was requested for an important reason. All communication with the outside world was strictly controlled. Newspapers were not permitted. The girls were not permitted to have home visits for major holidays until the 1970s or 1980s because interactions with the home environment undermined newly established routines causing regression in behavior. Special rewards for grades or behaviors sometimes enabled a girl to visit home for a birthday or special event. The girls were permitted to go home if a family member was ill or had died. Provisions were made for unmarried mothers to visit their babies as appropriate. The Sisters helped the girls procure

little gifts to take home when necessary. Girls, who had no known family or who were disowned received extra attention from the Sisters, who believed that nurturing was important to the re-education process.

Part of the surveillance process included censoring all parcels and mail. Family could write as often as they wished, but gifts of food or clothing were permitted only at Christmas, Easter, and the girl's birthday. The families were instructed not to bring any sweets or goodies on visiting day. The girls could write once per month to family members or others as designated by the court. The family was advised that the girl was expected to purchase her wants and needs from the school store with her bonus points as a reinforcement of good behavior. Families were permitted to visit once per month on the second Sunday of the month from 1:30 TO 5:00 P. M. and an extra visit could be allowed for the girl's birthday. In facilities where large numbers of girls were in residence, the visitation schedules were rotated.⁶⁰⁰

Rewards and Positive Reinforcement

Rewards and recompense were preferred means for managing behaviors. Knowledge of each individual girl helped the Sisters identify the preferences that would yield best behaviors and progress toward re-education. Girls could accrue points for good behavior and later redeem the points for treats and privileges. Rewards included such things as Sunday movies, field trips, and membership in the Sodality of Mary.⁶⁰¹ Sodality membership was an enviable possession and of great social value. It was a form of student government complete with

Constitutions and Bylaws. Participation in a form of student government develops individual initiative and honor. The girls felt trusted which in turn raised morale of the group. The foundress pointed out that "the badge of sodality are regarded as the greatest recompense and should not be granted too easily".⁶⁰²

Each Sodality member wore a an identifying pin or badge on her school uniform that displayed a Miraculous Medal with the engraved image of the Virgin Mary on a blue cord or ribbon. The Sodality medal was bestowed during a fancy ceremony in the chapel held three times per year on special religious holidays. The event was crowned with an elaborate feast in the dining hall in the new inductees' honor. Catholic girls could earn the privilege of induction into the Sodality after a period of a few trial months as a Green Ribbon girl and a majority vote from the Sisters who work with her.

Sodality meetings were held in the afternoon after classes. The Sodality was mostly a religious function in nature, but also sponsored parties and galas. The Mother Superior served as the faculty advisor and students were elected from the body to serve as President, Vice President, Secretary, Treasurer, Chairman of each dormitory, and Class representatives from each grade. Minutes were kept and a vote required a majority vote to pass. Non-Catholic girls could be associate members. Association with the Sodality symbolized using exemplars, such as Mary and the Saints for self-development and shedding previous influences, such as movie stars, fashion models, and beauty queens. Older girls in the Sodality had leadership roles and positions of trust. They were commonly

assigned to mentor younger girls like big sisters or to help the Sisters with special tasks like monitoring other girls. The group goal was to create an atmosphere of stability and self-discipline. Suspension from the Sodality membership was one of the penalties for bad behavior. This was a form of disgrace to the girl.⁶⁰³

Most Good Shepherd schools had a school store that stocked personal items such as cosmetics, clothes, sweets, and other personal items for purchase with school points. The schools had a merit point system, or "school dollars" that could be earned by the girls for good behavior or for making the honor roll. A girl could begin accruing points after she was in residence for three weeks. In some settings, the girls would start out with a certain number of points each month. If she finished the month with the majority (75% or more) of her original points, she could bank it towards money to use at the yearly bazaar. Other schools offered stars that accrued into larger numbers of reward points to spend in the school store. Many girls were smokers before admission. They were permitted to smoke cigarettes outside during recreation period after dinner. Special rewards involved attending outside plays or events in the company of a Catholic Charities worker.

Rendering rewards and recompense varied by the season of the year and the location of the school. Activities commonly practiced in winter, such as sledding or ice skating were more available in rural settings. Urban schools had different availability of supplies and treats than rural schools. Facilities located in

isolated locales sometimes had difficulties in obtaining little niceties, such as certain sweets or toiletries. In the later part of the 1950s, most of the schools had black and white televisions. Several participants described watching Bishop Fulton Sheen on television on Tuesday nights. Very few other shows were permitted.

Disciplinary Considerations

Bad behavior resulted in the loss of points, or demerits. Actions taken by the Sisters in response to certain behaviors were categorized as preventative or punitive. Prevention of unwanted behaviors was more definitive and beneficial to the group as a whole if the girl desired to improve her character. Prevention was preferred to punishing. Punishment was a last resort, because it did not solve any problems or redirect unacceptable actions. The Sisters were instructed by their foundress not to raise their voices or strike the girls under any circumstances. If a girl was punished, the goal was to have her feel sorry of her own accord and not wish to commit the act again. At no time was the entire group punished on behalf of one girl. Removal of a pleasure was considered more effective in this regard than depriving them of a necessity, such as food or sleep, although sometimes dessert was forfeited. In some facilities, the girl was required to write her family and explain that the Sunday visit time would be shortened or canceled as a result of bad behavior.

Talking in the dormitory was considered a serious offense. If caught talking, the girl lost all points for that particular day. The foundress gave the following instruction concerning silence,

The great silence, observed by the religious with a view to meditation, should be rigorously imposed on the children...They should be obliged to go to the dormitory in silence...all noise avoided...Order and silence would be easily maintained by having but one rank and causing the children to recite a prayer whilst walking...when the sign to leave is given, the rank is formed in the middle of the dormitory, the First Mistress places herself at the

head in order to arrive first in the classroom and see that all is done in perfect silence.⁶⁰⁴

Physical punishment of a girl, such as standing for hours with her arms stretched out in a cross-like manner was cause for the girl to harbor anger and spite without feeling remorse for bad behavior. Harsh physical measures, such as corporal punishment against the girls were forbidden by the foundress in the following instruction from the Practical Rules:

...never strike the children...always be faithful to this recommendation...harsh measures do not correct the penitents and only render us culpable before God and man...I wish it observed everywhere on all occasions.⁶⁰⁵

Some of the girls thought to be “wild children” were not fearful of punishment. In these cases, the girl only had attention because of bad behavior before arrival at the House of the Good Shepherd. These girls were hungry for any attention from anyone and felt no disgrace or remorse. Provocative behaviors got them noticed, so they had no fear of punishment. The Sisters understood this phenomenon and had a way of overlooking certain harmless naughtiness in favor of supporting appropriateness. A girl considered naughty was not put in isolation, but instead was put with trusted staff personnel, who could observe her demeanor and guard her safety. Mother Mary of Saint Euphrasia stated “solitude is a bad counselor for a child who is not good.”⁶⁰⁶

The Sisters were advised to individualize punitive actions in response to bad behavior. If a girl was a habitual offender, her loss of privilege was greater

than for a girl who merely slipped up once in a while. This was the measure of justice given in fairness to human frailty. Equal punishments in this case would have ended the bad behavior, but in fairness, would not have been balanced with all factors considered. The foundress instructed the Sisters to handle disciplinary actions in the following manner:

...Speak little and punish rarely...The fewer restraints placed upon the children the more effectual they will be...These children are more easily touched by being shown that their faults render their good qualities useless.⁶⁰⁷

Running Away

Girls remanded by the court would sometimes elope (run away) despite close observation by the Sisters. The girls were said to have “jumped the fence” when their absence was discovered. One of the reasons for remand by the juvenile court was chronic running away and truancy. Habitual runners sometimes continued their quests for freedom and excitement after placement with the Sisters. Running away from the parental home versus running away from the House of the Good Shepherd differed in several respects. Adolescent females who ran away from home multiple times during the years 1940 to 1980, were responding to an unhealthy family or school situation according to research done by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.⁶⁰⁸ The study showed that the runaway girl had little parental support for her personal problems with family life or school. Most of the girls reported that there was physical or emotional abuse in the home. Harsh physical punishments and sexual

molestation accounted for much of the abusive treatment.⁶⁰⁹ Many, but not all, episodes of running away were preceded by bad school experiences.

Delinquency was a factor in many cases before, during or after leaving home.⁶¹⁰

Delinquent companions increased the likelihood of a girl running away.⁶¹¹

The Sisters recognized through their re-education training and teacher education that adolescents desired independence and autonomy, but still wanted familial ties.⁶¹² Although the Sisters created a surrogate family environment and used techniques of progressive trust and independence in their work, girls occasionally ran away. Some girls returned of their own accord, promising to never run again and others were returned by local authorities. Many of the participants in my study ran away, but returned one way or another. An ironic twist was offered by one participant, who begged to be taken in by the Sisters in the first place, but ran away from the Good Shepherd facility with a group of girls who befriended her. I asked her why she ran away if she loved the place so much and she told me that she wanted to be "one of the gang," so she went over the fence with the others, but regretted leaving almost immediately.⁶¹³ The Sisters were patient about taking girls back, but were sure to extract promises of better behavior and no additional elopements. No severe punishments were given. Multiple run attempts barred readmission because of the disruptive nature of the event.

Release from the House of the Good Shepherd

Release or discharge from the facility is usually based on the duration of sentence imposed by the court. Privately admitted girls stayed for an agreed upon period determined by the re-education needed. The average stay was eighteen months to two years for the training to be effective. The longest length of continuous stay noted in this study was a participant who stayed at Marycrest in Independence, Ohio for five years. Oral histories collected by Toby Harris reflected some girls leaving after three or four years as high school graduates and returning for two or three additional years as lay teachers after college. Before leaving the House of the Good Shepherd for good, the girls were given more freedom to leave the grounds for things like working a part time job, attending a community college, or visiting a theater. Some facilities had transitional housing that permitted trusted girls to interface with the outside world before release.⁶¹⁴

On rare occasions a girl would be transferred back to the custody of the social welfare worker for return to the court for disposition. The foundress warned against allowing a "wolf to enter the fold."⁶¹⁵ The Sisters were instructed to take necessary measures to remove any girl who posed harm for the rest of the girls. One of the Sisters told me about a troubled young girl who started a fire in the facility. The girl eventually admitted what she had done and the Sister assured her that she would not be punished by the staff. The event was reported

to the Fire Marshall and he promptly took the girl into custody, removing her from the care of the Sisters.⁶¹⁶

A girl's departure was not announced ahead of the actual discharge date. She might have an idea that she was being scheduled for release, but never knew for sure until the actual day of departure. The departing girl was called to the Sister's office for a talk while a trusted senior girl went back to the dormitory and packed her belongings. Each girl was given a suitcase with a few changes of clothing and shoes to get her started in the world. Any confiscated personal items she brought in with her were packed and brought to the reception area. The timing of the discharge was planned so the family or social worker arrived to take the girl immediately after her meeting with the Sister. Several participants in my study felt bad about this method of release because they did not have the opportunity to say goodbye to their friends. Jackie Moen Kalani was in the Good Shepherd facility for three years when the senior student called her out of the laundry where she had been working to tell her that Sister Serena wanted to see her.⁶¹⁷ When she arrived at the Sister's office she was told that the social worker was coming to get her and her packed bags were waiting for her by the front door. Jackie was taken back to her family. When she unpacked her clothes she found little candies and hand lotions neatly tucked in the corners of the suitcase. Jackie said that Mother Serena was like that, full of surprises. Jackie did not get to say good bye to her friends. She did later find many of them and stayed in contact over the years, participating in reunions and parties.⁶¹⁸

In summary, the policies and practices of the House of the Good Shepherd were universally applied throughout the United States from 1940 to 1980. The participants in my study told me stories of their Good Shepherd days that were very similar from start to finish. The women or former “girls” as they prefer to be called have universally stated that if it were not for the Mothers (Sisters) they would not have made it to adulthood. Oral histories gathered by journalist Toby Harris, echo the same sentiments. Vivian Burrows Sherbourne stated the following:

It was a home to me...a daily life for me...I was happy to be there after a while...I loved it. They loved me and they showed it...no one ever done [*sic*] that before in my life...you have to come from what I come [*sic*] from to understand what I’m saying...it saved me from becoming a prostitute or a drug addict.⁶¹⁹

Few statistical records are available to document the actual success of the Good Shepherd methods of working with troubled girls. In 1966, the Sisters claimed an eighty percent success rate for the girls who went completely through the re-education process.⁶²⁰

The following Chapter discusses the lived experiences of the sixty participants who were either students or Good Shepherd Sisters in the United States from 1940 to 1980. Ten women shared their oral histories and fifty women provided stories and memories from this time period. The former students described their lives before, during, and after attending school in the House of the Good Shepherd. The Sisters corroborated many of the stories because they were in the same facilities as the participants. The consistency of

the experiences paralleled each other regardless of location. Representative stories are grouped by context to illustrate the common bonds of the women who participated in this study.

CHAPTER IV
LIVED EXPERIENCES IN THE HOUSE OF
THE GOOD SHEPHERD, 1940-1980

The participants in my study shared memories of their years in Good Shepherd homes across the United States from 1940 to 1980. Most were sent to the Sisters through the juvenile court system and others were brought to the home by family or clergy. Their stories constructed a picture of troubled adolescent girls from various backgrounds who were taken in by the Sisters of the Good Shepherd for rehabilitation and resocialization. Regardless of the location of the school, each girl had a similar school experience because of the philosophy and consistent methods employed by the Sisters in their process of re-education started by their foundress. Select segments of their stories are presented in this Chapter.

Sixty participants from Good Shepherd schools in twenty states are represented. The participants volunteered their memories of the Good Shepherd Schools they attended between 1940 and 1980. The archives at the Saint Louis Good Shepherd Provincialate provided information about additional schools. In

the process of interviewing the participants I had the opportunity to gather stories from some of the same Sisters who provided their care. In addition, journalist from Washington State, Toby Harris, gathered oral histories from twelve former girls and Sisters who lived in the Seattle home before it was demolished. Harris' collection was published in 1999. The combined histories and memoirs from Harris' journalism and my research wove a tapestry of sadness, happiness, eagerness of adolescence, uncertainty, and hope. This project revealed a blend of turmoil, repressed or projected emotion, and --for some participants-- resolution. One prevailing theme that persisted among the participants was the expression of gratitude for the patience and love given by the Sisters despite episodes of anger and rage when girls were first admitted. The strongest thread in this research was the gratitude the students expressed for the Good Shepherd Sisters echoed in the statement "if it weren't for the Sisters, I'd be dead."⁶²¹

The topics covered in this Chapter reflect collective topics offered in story-form to describe their lives surrounding their experiences with the House of the Good Shepherd. Some of the stories described the girls' lives before and during admission to the home. Incidences of adolescent social maladjustment and developmental issues are reflected through sexual tensions associated with abuses from family and encounters with other students. Key topics both positive and negative are explored concerning day-to-day activities during their residence at the school that created lasting personal impressions.

Adolescent Years and Parental Relationships

The participants in my study described their teen years as turbulent, violent, and filled with family stress. Delinquency for girls in the forties took the form of running away, stealing, and promiscuity.⁶²² Charmaine described her juvenile delinquency leading to the House of the Good Shepherd in the following terms

...I had just turned fifteen...I was running away, getting kicked out of school, a little bit stealing, kind of running the streets, and sexually active. That was causing everybody distress, me included, and I had already been in several different foster homes and schools before that. I met someone when I was in detention, in early forty nine...I don't remember her name...and for some reason, this place sounded like it was the place I wanted to be...I told the social worker that I'm going to continue to run away until you send me to the Good Shepherd Home...something that sounded very comforting about the Catholic Church and the Sisters...I was not Catholic...I never ran away from here...If I had stayed on the street I would not be alive.⁶²³

Delinquent girls in the juvenile court system in the 1940s were housed together in detention centers pending trial or placement in probationary foster care.⁶²⁴ In the case of Charmaine, she had been in several foster homes and detention centers. She had identified with street life and was rejected by her family. Participant G wrote and posted a short history for this study. I deleted the school name and Sister's name by request, but left her punctuation and emotional expressions intact. She described her young years in the following terms:

We were girls from dysfunctional homes. Actually, most of us came from very VERY abusive homes...physically and in many cases, sexually. You have to understand, that when I went there, back in 1954-1956, nobody cared much about what happened between the four walls of a home. We were considered "property" of our parents, and nobody wanted to hear what was going on, let alone help us. We developed "survival skills"...and most of us fought the abuse with our mouths...and had a bit of chips on our shoulders. These "survival skills" served us well in future years, as we walked the path of life. It also was a bit of a negative factor, as many of us became strong women with strong ideas (some people call me stubborn...LOL!)

My sister (2 years younger than me) was sent to [school name deleted] two months before me. She had been raped by some of the football "stars" in our high school. My mother said she couldn't handle the "embarrassment" of it all...so the court sent my poor little sis to St Rose...and she had done nothing wrong except go practice tennis in the park in broad daylight.

Two months later, in [school name deleted], they discovered she had become pregnant by that rape...and she was transferred to [school name deleted]. She left the day before I arrived...and I didn't get to see her. Most of us were sent there by the court. We thought we were sent there because we were "bad girls"...in spite of the fact that we couldn't see where we had done anything seriously wrong. Oh yes, a bit of smoking, skipping a few classes, and mouths that wouldn't quit. Actually, very normal teenageritis, as we learned when we raised kids.

Mother J_____ was good enough to let me write to her [little sister] while she was there. She gave birth to a lovely little boy at age 14...and the state made her sign him out for adoption...and sent her to a foster home. I did not see her for over two years...and seldom, through the years, did we speak of little James, as I knew it brought deep pain to her...

A couple of years ago we were going through some old letters my mom had in a box (she died in 1993). In there were all the letters I had written to my little sister, telling her how much I loved her and supported her. And the letters from her, telling me how much she loved and needed me. We never saw those letters until two years ago...her counselor had been asked by my mom to hold all letters and send them to her...

We finally held each other almost fifty years later, and cried the tears...and knew how much we had loved each other back then...and cried for little James... That is one of the reasons she is my very dearest friend.

Most people, just thought we were "wayward girls"...since our parents, instead of taking responsibility for their own bad parenting skills, usually told people that was why we were there (sigh).

Not only did they do a helluva lot of damage to us...but made it look like we were in [school name deleted] because we had been "bad"...further damaging us, as we tended to believe them, too. We weren't sent to [school name deleted] because we were bad...we were sent there to protect us from our abusive parents! It was our parents who should have been there...but that's not how it worked back then.⁶²⁵

Parental guidance and involvement was described as lacking or nonexistent by most of the participants. Very few of the delinquent girls had close bonds with a parent figure.⁶²⁶ One participant from the western states wrote a fictional story about Christmas and included some factual information about moving to a new neighborhood next door to a poor family with a little girl her age. Her writing expressed a range of emotions such as empathy and kindness. I saw her story as a subliminal memorial to her ambivalent feelings about her mother. She incorporated lessons learned from her biological mother and the Good Shepherd Sisters as mother images about sharing and love. In her fictional Christmas story, she described giving her favorite toy, Pug, to the poor neighbor girl as a Christmas gift. She explained that much of the story stemmed from her actual experiences as a preteen girl. She used many telling phrases like

the following in her story: "Mommy are you proud of me now?" And her mother replied, "Of course dear. You always make me proud."⁶²⁷

Her rationale for writing the story was cathartic and healing for guilt she felt about her later relationship with her mother. She described the actual scenario behind the story as follows:

We really did move to a new house and everything is a true description of events etc until we "go" next door. They did have a daughter my age and we played at school. Mom would send extra things in my lunch for her. D_____ would hide at my house sometimes when the "spirits" made the parents violent. She also was a Brownie in my mother's group unbeknownst to her mother. My mother did teach me to care about people and to share. However, the people next door were not the kind of people who would have given us a chance to be friendly. They were poor because the parents plied themselves with "spirits." They were scary on a daily basis. I am surprised Santa made it to the house in one piece. So I wrote this with the ideas and attitudes my mother would have thought to be appropriate and could have been true if the alcohol hadn't been the major problem.⁶²⁸

The same participant was in the House of the Good Shepherd as a teenager 1964 to 1966 and lost her mother after a surgical procedure. She requested to go see her mom, who was ill, but the Sisters would not consider letting her visit home before her initial adjustment period of three months was completed. She did not discuss her father other than he picked her up at the home and took her to her mother's funeral. She described the experience of losing her mother in an email excerpted here:

I left [the Good Shepherd Home] after my mother died. I was very angry. Mother P_____ didn't know but I blamed her until I was older. I had asked to go see her after a surgery in January 1966. Mother P_____ said no as it wasn't three months and I needed to

stop being a baby. Then April 2, 1966, Mother P_____ told me after mass I was going to go see my mom and to get ready. When I got to the car everyone was so quiet. I asked where mom was and my father told me she died that morning. I went numb and nothing could get in. After all just a couple weeks earlier I had sent a letter to her wondering why she wouldn't come see me and if she wasn't going to come see me I didn't care if I ever saw her again.

If I had only known the baggage that letter was going to cause. I got my wish, I never saw my mother again. I felt I had killed her and Mother P_____ let me. It took so many years to sort that one out. I still feel the pain of that letter but I knew it had nothing to do with Mother P_____. I believe she had been kept in the dark as much as I was. When I got back, Mother P_____ asked me how my mother was. I turned on her with all the vengeance I could muster and said "Just fine she died this morning". Not another word was said as she marched me to that big door.

By August she [Mother P_____] kicked me out because she said there was nothing more she could do to help me. But I did come back some months later and asked to come back. She said no and she also told me that day I would marry the first guy to say he loved me and she was right, however we were together 35 years until he died. He was my first everything and I stuck it out. Well now that I have bored you with that I hope you still allow me to write.⁶²⁹

This participant expressed guilt feelings after her mother died. She expressed feeling rejected by the "Mothers" at the Good Shepherd home when Mother P_____ refused to allow her to return to the facility after her release. Her tone in her emails to me reflected her need for my approval after revealing the story of her mother's death.

Parental and step-parent abuse was commonly reported by the participants. Most of the physical abuse reported in my study was in the lower socioeconomic groups. The girls who claimed abuse also claimed living in poverty. Vivian told stories about beatings her father gave her as a nine year old.

She began the story with a statement about her appreciation for the Good Shepherd Sisters and led into a story about her father and nine siblings.

[about the Sisters]...If I had a problem or something, I could go to them without fear of being backhanded against the wall or if I needed something...I did not ask for Kotex from my parents, I didn't ask for a bra from my parents, I didn't ask for nothing [*sic*] from my parents because I was afraid of being hit...going into the Good Shepherd and being there for a certain amount of time, I began to feel very safe.... I could make a mistake and not be abused for it...

I wouldn't be here. I wouldn't. That's the thing people don't understand about me is that because I give so much for what they did for me. They gave me a life and they gave me values and morals and I don't have that. I think today, my dad tried, in his own roundabout way, but you don't take a child like he did me when I was nine; he sent me looking for Cheryl, Tory and Penny [siblings] and he saw me pick an apple off a tree. When I came home, I got a switch and when he got done with me, I was bleeding so bad that he had to hide me for a month. I looked like a zebra...My dad, I think he loved us in his own way. So did my mom. I think my mom hated us...she loved us and hated us at the same time. In them [*sic*] days, parents got away with that. I ran away finally and that's when my caseworker put me in the Good Shepherd home.

I have seven sisters and one of them I like. I don't hate them. I'm just not part of their lives. I have one brother I like because he takes care of his kids. I have a twin brother (Charles) I'd like to find.⁶³⁰

Parental attitudes and abuses directly affected the children before and after going to the Good Shepherd home. The description Vivian gave of her parents closely matched the descriptions identified in my research and research studies of others in several Good Shepherd homes across the country.

Punishments were physically harsh from fathers and emotionally abusive from

mothers.⁶³¹ The participants in my study reported feeling unloved and neglected by their families when they entered the Good Shepherd facility.⁶³²

Social Adjustment

Vivian recounted her arrival at the House of the Good Shepherd. She stated:

...As far as I knew they could keep me there forever...I had no say-so in my own life...When you walk into the building, there's an entryway and then a very looong [*s/c*] hallway...to the left was Mother J____'s office. I went in there and Mrs. K____ [the social worker] was with me and she introduced me to Mother J____...a few years before that, my sister, J____ was in there and J____ was her "pet"...In her eyes J____ could do no wrong.

...they told me I was to call them "Mother" and I said "pfft, you're not my mother. I won't call you Mother. I will call you anything but that!" I was a brat. I was a real brat, but I did end up calling them Mother...⁶³³

Although the Sisters worked with the social workers to time the arrival of the girls, some arrivals did not go as planned. Jackie, age seventeen, arrived late on a Monday night in 1949 accompanied by a Deputy. She was from a middle class Catholic family and had been attending a Catholic girl's high school. She shared the following memory of her admission to the House of the Good Shepherd.

My twin sister had married in February and she quit school...and I said "well, if she can get married and quit school, I can quit school and not get married." ...They [her parents] didn't like that idea very well...they were spending a lot of money sending me to St. Mary's Academy in Portland. And so my uncle, who was the sheriff in Wahkiakum County had access to the court system...and he said "what this girl needs is a man's firm hand [meaning the judge]." So with my uncle's influence the judge pronounced me incorrigible and I was driven here late Monday night in February in 1949 by the Deputy, who said "well, honey, do you want to stop at a motel tonight?" I said "just take me where I am going."...So when I got there it was late. Mother W_____ answered the door...I had my sheet music under my arm and she said "what's that?" I told her it

was my music and she said "you won't be needing that." And she took it. To this day I don't know where it is. It disappeared.

...she took me up with a little flashlight and showed me a bed and I saw the wire across the window. I went to brush my teeth...I had to be very quiet...It was not a pleasant night. I was pissed off.⁶³⁴

Another girl, Linda came from a low socioeconomic background like many of the other participants in my study. She asked me to use her first name and wrote much of her history in an autobiographical essay. She was twelve when she was admitted to the house of the Good Shepherd for the first time (in 1957), left when she was thirteen; and was seventeen when she was readmitted to finish high school. She was the illegitimate daughter of a woman who was mentally retarded as the result of a head injury at age eight. Linda had lived with her mother since the age of two, except for a brief period wherein she was removed from the mother's home because of parental neglect. The neighbors called social services because she and her baby brother were tied to their beds with dog leashes. She referred to her mother by her first name, H____. She described her origins in the sexual terms and constructs she developed as a growing teen girl in the 1950s:

I was conceived in the back seat of a car near the Pacific Ocean, or so I've been told. I've spent many a day fantasizing about the father I must have somewhere. I was sure he was a rich handsome prince or a famous movie star... Good girls didn't get pregnant in those days. If they fucked they didn't tell. If they got raped it was their own damned fault. Having a kid without being married was bad no matter how you looked at it... I was shaken into cruel reality one day when H____ told me my father was a rapist, that this man had raped her in a car near the ocean while her younger sister screamed and watched. I'm still looking for that prick, goddamn it, but the fantasies are over.⁶³⁵

Linda had a nervous habit of rocking back and forth in response to stress. This physical activity provoked ire in the family home and later had the same effect on the Sisters. One Sister made her write lines that said "I must not rock. I must not rock." Living at home with her mother and step father was a daily regime of beatings and sexual abuse. Her mother was not a prostitute, but was known by the local authorities as a promiscuous woman who fit the maternal stereotype identified by the contemporary research of female delinquents of the 1950s and 60s.⁶³⁶ The child-parent bond was a passively connected ownership of each other not rooted in love and affection. Linda said she was not wanted or needed. She was just "there."

H_____ decided not to have me adopted out. Or maybe she never really "decided" anything but simply and naively just continued to lead her life no matter how complicated. She was sent to a Wage Home by the state, who had decided she was a wayward girl. And that's what the state called her ever after.⁶³⁷

Sexual Abuse

In 1954, at age ten, Linda fell from a tree and fractured her left hip. She was hospitalized and had surgery to repair the break. She convalesced at home in a body cast. While immobilized, her step father sexually molested her multiple times in the guise of giving her physical therapy that required manipulation of her legs in a wide abducted [spread] position and flexion at the hip. He always placed his hands on her genitalia and fondled her breasts while moving her legs. After the removal of her cast, he molested and sexually penetrated her for the next three years. He stated she "offered no resistance to his advances and

seemed to like it."⁶³⁸ At age twelve Linda learned to gamble and developed an overtly sexual persona that she used to make money from the boys in the neighborhood as she describes in the following paragraph from her autobiographic essay:

Unfortunately the world became more tolerable than home. The housing project we lived in was built during WWII for all the people who moved into the area at that time. Our gang used to dress up in old Halloween costumes and put on plays for the kids in the neighborhood. We'd put up curtains on the archway and collect two cents from everyone before starting. I also played good craps so between this and my little sexual bouts with the gang I made out all right. My best trick was a little fat kid with a paper route. I'd meet him in an abandoned factory, and he'd pay me faithfully every week after he got paid. I hated everything male. I never believed anyone when they said they wouldn't blame me for something. Once they get what they want from you they're out to get you. I had just acquired this new body with full breasts and hips and pubic hair; and before I could fully explore it myself and feel confident with it, a whole population of males had experienced it in some way or another. I got very gloomy and distant.⁶³⁹

After one particularly brutal beating in 1957, the neighbors called social services and Linda reported her step father's sexual abuse to the authorities. She became a ward of the state. Linda was rejected by the local Catholic orphanage because she knew too much about sex and she refused to go to a foster home where she might be molested again. The state psychiatrists made statements such as "you really liked it, didn't you?" She said that statement confirmed the "male control over women."⁶⁴⁰

Her step father confessed to the abuses and was sentenced to a prison farm for first offenders for a short time. He claimed that ten year old Linda

seduced him during her physical therapy and continued to do so for three years after she was no longer bed ridden. Upon his release, his wife [Linda's mother] took him back and they had three more children. Linda shared a copy of her father's probation officer's recommendations in support of his release. The letter caused much grief for her.

He is certainly not psychotic and he does not appear to be the victim of a psychoneurotic type personality. I do not believe that he should be considered a sexual psychopath and I feel "that the present offense can be explained on the basis of an accidental association with the girl in question whose behavior and medical needs have presented the temptation to the type of behavior indicated above. This behavior is, of course, extremely ill-advised and indicative, of course, of impaired judgment, but I do not consider it in the light of a sexual deviation. In the light of the above, it is my opinion that he is not a sexual psychopath, and further, that the type of behavior herein is not at all likely to be repeated and consequently I feel that he is a reasonably good risk for probation."⁶⁴¹

Linda walked with crutches because of a poorly healed left thigh and hip joint and entered the House of the Good Shepherd in 1957 while still using them to ambulate. Her asocial personality problems were the result of physical and sexual abuses, social isolation, poor attendance at school, and minimal interaction with other children. She was removed from her mother's home and made a ward of the juvenile court. The social worker took her to the Good Shepherd Sisters. Linda was frightened and described her initial experience as follows:

Mrs. _____ drove me in the county car to the Convent of the Holy Terror. I was numbed by all the doors being locked behind me. Why? The nun took me from hallway through parlor,

downstairs, upstairs, downstairs through an enormous hallway, to a cottage with thirty or so girls in it. I was still on crutches and the girls stood silent, staring at me. I soon found out this school was like a reform school. If you weren't tough when you went in, by Christ you were when you left. We were all children being punished for what adults had done to us.

I was alone and locked in a room. Down the hall I could hear a girl crying. She was in isolation, a little room inside a room. "Isolation" was an extreme sort of penance and girls who were out of control were sent there. I was afraid of being alone and in the dark and kept myself covered and listened to the noises around me hoping I would live until morning. The windows were barred but in the morning I tried to open them. I wanted to get out although I didn't know where I would go. A nurse came in the morning and brought me to an office and told me to undress to the waist and a male doctor felt my breasts and I was sent back to my cottage.⁶⁴²

Linda's autobiography pointed to a life surrounded by parental abuse and neglect. She was sexually active from a very young age and it is difficult to separate voluntary activity from sexual abuse. She was a very hard little girl who grew into a tough emotionless woman who described herself as "vacant of feeling."⁶⁴³

She left the House of the Good Shepherd, but returned at age seventeen. She said she found more safety in the company of women as did other participants in this study. She did not claim to be a lesbian, but she did find certain pleasure in hugging and kissing some of the girls in a close body contact manner. Other former students stated they engaged in kissing and fondling of other girls in the home. Linda referred to the gay girls as "Tink" or "Tinkerbell." I note that in other facilities where lesbian activity is described the gay girls were also nicknamed Tinkerbell. None of the participants from different schools using

this name to describe lesbians knew each other. The name spontaneously evolved into use in reference to lesbianism.⁶⁴⁴ Some of the participants mentioned girls in the school who had slaves, meaning lesser known girls who would do anything sexual or otherwise to stay in the good graces of a popular girl. Vivian described her experience with gay girls to Toby Harris as follows:

I didn't believe in gay people. I didn't really know about it, but I knew it was wrong... I can remember the first time I walked in and caught two girls together. I got sick...Mother J_____ didn't accept it, but it went on...I was never involved sexually, but I seen a lot of it go on. Some of it was forced by the girls. These girls were tough; they were not some "meecy-mow" off the street...I threw a girl out the bathroom door one time. She would not leave me alone. We'd call her Tinkerbell.⁶⁴⁵

The acceptance of same sex relationships after graduation and into adulthood was described by an east coast participant who attended a Good Shepherd school from 1963 to 1967 and currently lives in a long-term same sex relationship. She indicated her relationship remains celibate. She told me that she would rather deal with animals, machines, and computers than other humans. She did not use any gay descriptors such as Tinkerbell when talking about her school years, but she offered this comment to describe her identity as an adult.

Well it was only a matter of time when someone in the neighborhood would approach me with the question of my sexuality. A neighbor and I got talking about family, and can't remember exactly how it got started by she said she had an idea, but doesn't like to pry. Yah right! I said well, if you think you know you might as well get it off your chest.

She began by saying that once upon a time when two women lived together it was assumed they were lesbians. She said she was

afraid she might hurt my feelings if she just came out and asked. To which I said, I don't know why people assume that would hurt my feelings, seems to me that people project their own insecurities. Anyway I told her I haven't hidden anything, that anyone with a brain could see that I was gay. She said she would not tell anyone else, and I said I didn't care if she did, that would simplify things for me. The four families I know have been friendly, if they are not all of a sudden, I will know who my friends are, if I end up with no friends, then so be it, won't be the first town that is homophobic in the states.

Of course I don't assume that small towns are all homophobic, but as a rule if they are as religiously inclined as this one they generally are. We shall see.⁶⁴⁶

Conditioned Responses and Developmental Issues

Another viewpoint about the Good Shepherd approach to emotional control and social adjustment was added by a former Good Shepherd Sister, B____ who was in a congregation from 1960 to 1965. She was a young woman at the time and was assigned to a facility on the East Coast. She came from a middle class family and had not experienced the extremes of sorrow and abuse demonstrated by the girls. She said she was unprepared for the tragic lives she encountered, although her own mother threatened to "put her in a home" when she misbehaved as a child. She described her own home life as troubled, but did not want to elaborate. I sensed that she identified with the girls in the home on some deeper level, but could not bring her feelings to the surface for the discussion with me. She was not one of the teachers and had no college degree.

The rules followed by the Sisters explicitly forbid them to touch the girls or show any emotion in response to their anguish and tears. The *Practical Rules* state "We should not touch the children nor allow them to touch our clothes, still

less allow them to embrace us."⁶⁴⁷ B___ pointed out that not every girl was hostile and hard to manage. Some were broken little girls who needed love and comfort. She said that she wanted to hug the girls as they cried. She said that her idea of being a "mother figure" was to cuddle and hold the girls when they needed support. She left the Good Shepherd congregation and contemplated joining another Order of Sisters. She met a man and married. She said she delights in "mothering" her own children and works as a transcriptionist for a large company.⁶⁴⁸

The *Practical Rules* state that "girls who have been brought up in convents, removed from all evil associations, and carefully instructed in their religious duties, are sometimes found less able to cope with the difficulties of the world, than others who have been brought up in perhaps very indifferent homes."⁶⁴⁹ Although Foucault was not an example used by the Sisters in their work with the troubled girls, the domino effect of the creation of docile bodies expanded three-fold as the stories and experiences emerged in my research. Docile bodies (the Sisters) were created by a docile body (their foundress) as described earlier in this dissertation. In turn, an extension of docile bodies was created in the students. The process created three layers of humanity that took no breath without calculating every move for fear of provoking the layer above. Every moment was planned as was every material resource. This process maintained order and structure and did not encourage independent thought or action on the part of any person within the system regardless of role. A few girls

were able to fly under the radar, playing pranks and sneaking around behind the Sisters backs. These stories are recounted later in this Chapter.

Most girls settled into the daily activities within a month of admission. A few girls took as long as six months. Some girls viewed their lives with the Good Shepherd Sisters as the first real home they had, others saw the experience as punishment. The re-education process reprogrammed the girls into a uniform body with responses not unlike Pavlov's dogs—performing actions in response to a stimulus. The majority of the participants remarked about the lasting effects of the rigid daily routine on their adult lives. One participant reported that she still folds her towels and pillowcases like she did in the Good Shepherd laundry forty five years ago. She said she irons her pillowcases so she can smell the aroma associated with the mangle (large industrial iron) she operated at the home where she felt safe and protected.⁶⁵⁰ Another participant relayed a story about purchasing an iron after her release so she could bury it in the backyard, never ironing anything again.⁶⁵¹

The girls molded themselves into the fabric of the environment and adapted to the Sisters' decision-making. If they rebelled beyond control, they were sent away from the school and barred re-entry. The Sisters were supposed to be preparing the girls for life on the outside from the moment they arrived. The prevailing thought was that a girl should not be told she should strive for more than she can competently achieve in order for her to see the potential for

success. She should be encouraged to develop herself within the realm of her abilities.⁶⁵²

Another common theme that emerged during the conversations with the former girls was that they felt unprepared for the world outside the Good Shepherd home. I interpreted comments concerning inability to adapt to the outside world as a sign of institutionalization, or conditioned response that interfered with individual identity formation and the accomplishment of developmental tasks associated with moving the adolescent into adulthood. Charmaine did not want to leave the home even though she graduated from high school and college. She returned as a lay teacher, living on campus until the Mother Superior told her she had to move on with her own life.⁶⁵³

Most of the research of the 1950s looked at the development of "normal" sixteen year old girls in a "normal" environment. Psychosocial problems of delinquents were commonly compared to normal adolescents with minimal room for deviation.⁶⁵⁴ Little was studied outside of the conventional realm of teen girls experiencing common teenaged issues and even less was studied concerning delinquent's moral reasoning.⁶⁵⁵ A study done in 1953 by Schoeppe, Haggard, and Havighurst featured five developmental tasks of "normal" adolescence that I believe formed the root cause of the Good Shepherd girls' delinquency. The tasks studied in normal adolescents were as follows: a) learning an appropriate sex-role (overt and covert); b) achieving emotional independence of parents and

other adults (overt and covert); c) developing conscience, morality, and a set of values; d) getting along with age-mates; and e) developing intellectual skills.⁶⁵⁶

Although, Schoeppe, Haggard, and Havighurst studied normal teens their findings can be applied to the Good Shepherd girls by extension. For example, the researchers determined how the home and cultural environment influenced the life history of the maturing adolescent. They studied successful teens as they moved from one developmental task to another and documented the events surrounding each transition. I suggest that as I review the formative life events of the women in my study, they had little or none of the environmental support until they entered the Good Shepherd facility. I believe that significant developmental stagnation took place in their homes compared to the teens in the 1953 study. Continued family support of the teens in the Schoeppe, Haggard, and Havighurst study carried them forward into young adulthood where they made an acceptable place for themselves in society.⁶⁵⁷ The highest developmental achievers in their study came from the most supportive homes and conversely, the lowest attainment of satisfactory development was found in adolescents with inconsistent home and social lives.⁶⁵⁸

The Sisters of the Good Shepherd provided developmental support for the five tasks within the confines of the facility and their rules. There was little the Sisters could do once the girls were released into a world considered cold and unfriendly to those labeled former delinquents. No official post-release developmental studies were done with the Good Shepherd girls, but I suggest

that once they entered the facility, they developmentally progressed if not fully aligned with the development of peers on the outside, particularly as they reached later adulthood. This is evidenced by the progress made in tasks described as intellectual growth by moving from remedial classes to formal progressive academic coursework, getting along with age-mates (simple cooperation versus fighting), and gaining a sense of independence (within the confines of the home) to a limited degree by self-control and earning privileges. I noted that girls who exhibited self-control earned special privileges such as membership in the Sodality, gold stars or merit points for school dollars, ability to attend classes away from the facility, and holding part time jobs after school at local establishments. All of these highly valued privileges were within reach for the girl who worked for and earned them. I cannot say that the girls continued to advance in identical developmental degrees as their peers post release.

The 1953 study shows that successful entry into the outside world only to enter a male controlled life-style for normal girls was the most important goal without actually stating this expectation. The researchers pointed out how a girl structured her own environment in subtle ways regardless of cultural constraints because overt demonstration of her true wants and needs was not universally acceptable. The normal girls had to learn to work within the established patriarchal system. The girls in the 1953 study followed the defined cultural norms for girls with little deviation when learning her sex-role, gaining independence, relating to friends of both sexes, developing morals and values,

and gaining intellectual skills. The congruence of the girls inner and outer persona was in silent conflict, because although they sought to be accepted socially and possessed little autonomy or freedom to explore other options without negative social effects. The girls from the Schoeppe, Haggard, and Havighurst study were able to model themselves and conform to expectations of society as “little ladies” to please others.⁶⁵⁹

Love, Affection, and Trust

Girls in the Good Shepherd schools often arrived with personal issues and confused sex-roles or developed confusion during confinement. Sex roles and relating to peer age-mates was sometimes bordered by a blurred boundary. Some of the girls were lonely and looking for any attention, exposing themselves as easy prey for same-sex attention. Another theme uncovered in the many discussions I had with the participants in my study was that they were afraid to give and take affection from anyone, including future mates and children. Several participants clearly told me that they had no capacity for love or trust. I found this to be paradoxical, but in some ways true. In the online environment they always signed notes and emails to each other and later to me “with love” or “Luv.”⁶⁶⁰ Stories offered by participants described multiple marriages and children fostered out as soon as they were born. Several participants married and remained married to one partner, but this was not the majority. All of the women had one or more pets that were personified and included in conversations with me. Participant R sent me an email stating that “mr.b” [her

Chihuahua who preferred his name spelled in lower case] was happy to hear I was guarded by two of his persuasion.” I have two dogs [a Chihuahua mix and a Boston terrier] of which the women of two separate online communities [East and West Coast] insisted I post photographs in the online albums. As soon as I complied, the number of participants increased. Some of the participants seemed more open and trusting after I posted the pictures of my dogs. Participant R remarked, “no one ever cared about us [meaning the Good Shepherd girls] before.”⁶⁶¹

I noted that several of the women stepped in, and took custody of their grandchildren when social reproduction loomed over their own troubled daughters and sons. The term social reproduction used here implies that the people and events associated with the living environment made a lasting impression on the girl’s interpretation of social expectations and behaviors. As the girl grew to maturity the learned attitudes and behaviors were mimicked, or reproduced in the same asocial manner as demonstrated by the adult role models. My impression upon learning of this phenomenon was the need for future research concerning social reproduction and its effects on second generation and third generation post delinquent mothers. Some of the participants’ children grew into the “normal” stereotype of good citizens. Participant G lost her son in an accident and suffered serious bouts of depression that caused her to leave her job and drop out of a college course she was taking in journalism. Other participants’ children became involved with drugs and other

illegal activities. One young man is serving prison time for murder. His mother asked the online group for prayers during his sentencing.

Konopka found that few girls outside of the institutional setting preferred same-sex intimacy. She reported that the largest number of same-sex exposures were in institutional settings because there was no other outlet for an adolescent girl's sex drive.⁶⁶² Linda's autobiography described her relationship at age thirteen with another girl of the same age in the home and their problems with one of the Sisters who was abusive. Linda referred to herself and her little girlfriend L___ as "Mary's ugly ducklings." The physical closeness was a panacea for abuse. This experience is excerpted as an example from thirteen year old Linda's autobiography.

When I was in penance in the cottage, I had to eat at a small table facing the wall in the dining room and also sit alone in the chapel. Fortunately a, kid by the name of L___ was on penance as much as I was. We were bonded to each other and swore never to tell on one another. The others were forever finking on each other, and on L___ and me. L___ and I'd whisper back and forth and pass notes in penance. Mother C_____ would scream my name so it sounded more like *"dirty whore"* than Linda.

L___ was tall and boyish looking. She asked Mother one day if she could cut her hair. L___'s hair was down to her shoulders. Mother C___ was feeding her cat. Mother loved her cat, so she said sweetly, "Yes, L____, you may cut your hair." After dinner Mother C_____ stormed in the door and screamed, "L____!" She grabbed L___ by the shoulders and forced her to her knees. Mother told her to get outside, because she was disgusting and trying to act like a boy. So L___ knelt in the fog for a couple of hours until Mother C_____ decided she could come back in...

L___ crawled over to my bed and slid under the covers. She covered her head with the sheet. We wrapped our arms around one another, holding each other tightly... In the light from the

window, I could see her eyes. The housemother was closed off in her cell between the two dormitories. Two long rows of beds were lumpy with softly snoring girls... I could feel her half-grown breast pressing against mine.

"I hate Mother C____."

"I know. She's too mean-I'd like to kill her."

"Let's kill her then."

"Yeah, but how?"

"Why don't we push her down the stairs?"

"Naw, she'd probably only get a bruise or something. L____ slipped back to her own bed that was across from mine."⁶⁶³

Discipline and Punishment

Chapter III of this dissertation discusses rewards and positive reinforcement. The foundress emphasized that rewarding good behavior was more effective than punishment in maintaining control. Discipline refers to controlling physical behaviors by enforcing rules to maintain order as opposed to punishment which is an action performed after the fact. Foucault wrote that the power behind enforcing discipline was constant observation and the power behind punishment was most effective in front of an audience.⁶⁶⁴ The Sisters used observation as a method of control and watched for signs of pending bad behavior. They tried to deflect discord and distract the girls from breaching the rules because prevention was preferred over penalty. The extent of the Sisters' observation attempted to mimic, but did not truly compare to Jeremy Bentham's Panopticon where all activities were observed at all times.⁶⁶⁵

All of the participants mentioned some form of penalty for bad behavior. Some spoke of losing points or stars, others talked or wrote about loss of a

privilege. The northwest coast girls had many common experiences with a form of mild punishment they called the "choo-choo." None of the other girls from other schools mentioned this form of punishment. The choo-choo refers to the seating on a train. If a girl was told by a Sister to ride choo-choo, she would put her chair in the hall outside the door facing the statue at the end of the hall. If several girls were told to ride choo-choo for some group infraction, they would line up the chairs in single file facing a statue at the end of the hall like the seats on a train. Silence was maintained. The usual time for the choo-choo discipline was Sunday night when the student body assembled for movie night. The choo-choo was assembled outside the gymnasium door where the penalized girls could hear, but not see the featured movie. Participant R joked about the experience and told me that she was so bad most of the time that she earned the right to be the caboose on the choo-choo.

I asked about the statue at the end of the hall. No one could remember exactly who the saint was. One participant jokingly said she still makes her bed every morning immediately when she rises in case a Sister walks by so she won't have to "ride choo-choo" for being sloppy. Several participants joked about riding choo-choo for telling silly stories or using a curse word. As a discipline, this form of punishment seemed to be a fond memory. Participant G sometimes referred to the choo-choo as the "shame train" and expressed her thoughts about the choo-choo in the following excerpt from an email,

I think a favorite memory for all of us, as silly as it sounds, was the hard wooden chairs. I remember sitting in the hallway in a line with

the other girls who had too many demerits on Sundays. You could hear the movie but not watch it. And your butt got soooo sore. We have named that experience "The Sunday Choo-Choo."⁶⁶⁶

The participants in my study rarely said anything about mean or abusive Sisters. However, Linda made this statement about Mother C_____

Everyone in the convent feared Mother C_____ and most of the girls kissed her ass to avoid being punished. She had a face that drooped over her habit like a bull dog's and was the kind of tyrant who would make rules that were easiest to break and hardest to follow. She got pleasure out of punishing people. She told us over and over that the reason we were there was because we were being punished for our sins.

The women interviewed by Toby Harris told a few stories about one Sister in Seattle that did strike a few of the girls in anger and had a reputation for picking favorites. This Sister was later replaced by another Sister who was kinder and not described as abusive. Charmaine described the abusive Sister who had a reputation for hitting girls.

I only saw Mother Serena do it...I never hit anybody...I just stood around...I felt I was part of it because the tacit agreement I had with Mother Serena was that I would stand by her in anything and I just worshiped her. She was a parent figure to me...I never talked about it with her before she died...I went into therapy about ten years ago and started dealing with it then.⁶⁶⁷

Jackie described being a favorite of Mother Serena. She said,

...she came up to me and put her arm around me...kindof...and I didn't realize then that was a big thing to have Mother Serena pay that kind of semi-affectionate attention. And she says "how's my girl?"... I said "she's not your girl" and shrugged her off. I had a bad attitude. She let me go and then later that morning she called C____, V____, and B____ over and she introduced me to them and said "show this girl around. Show her how to have a good time."...She ran the school with an iron hand...she was the one who

decided how long you stayed... If I wanted to get out of here, I had to get into Mother Serena's corner, so to speak.⁶⁶⁸

Participant M was Jackie's friend and attended the Good Shepherd school. She said she read a book or story that said the "road to hell was paved with the heads of Mother Superiors." She recalled a conversation with her birth mother several years after Mother Serena had died. Her mom said, "I wonder what Mother Serena would think of you now that she is in heaven." Participant M said, "What makes you think she's in heaven?"⁶⁶⁹

None of the girls in my study who gave oral histories or offered any other documented source, claimed sexual abuse by the Sisters at any time. Many girls previously experienced sexual activity either by choice or force and they knew that sex could be used to barter for human emotional closeness either real or imagined and used this method in the home. The Sisters could not erase previously experienced psychologic impressions or physiologic abuses, especially with those deemed delinquent.

Containment within a limited range of same-sex peers offered no options for diversity in sexual development during adolescence. Mother Serena called girls who liked girls "mushpots." She had a raspy voice and used terms like "slop cart", "bold stump", and "smart Jack" when belittling girls who displeased her. Jackie said that Mother Serena made up words that sounded like swearing and described how no one wanted to be called a mushpot because she believed that was the worst thing you could call a girl. Jackie described how Mother Serena took a girl out in the yard and sprayed her down with the garden hose to

humiliate her for being a mushpot.⁶⁷⁰ I suggest that the few abusive religious personalities described by three former girls in the Harris interviews are an extreme minority and not the rule.

The girls' primary exposure to males took place before admission to the House of the Good Shepherd and that set of circumstances was usually abusive or sexual. After release, a girl's reintroduction to relationships with males of all ages was distorted because her construct was limited to a set of secret fantasies created during her adolescence. This is evidenced by comments made in the oral histories and stories concerning boys and relationships post release offered by the women. As with typical teen girls, the participants in my study indicated they thought boys were cute and desired to have a boyfriend for dating and possible marriage. The exceptions to this came from the girls who truly preferred a same-sex relationship. Participants L and S are prime examples, although they were in facilities on opposite ends of the country in different decades. They entered into long-term same sex relationships with outsiders after leaving the facility.⁶⁷¹

Between 1940 to the mid 1970s the girls in the home were not allowed male contact outside of select family or teachers, they were not permitted to listen to males singing, and outside media such as television, radio, and printed media were restricted. Workmen were always kept behind walls or other physical barriers. One participant described how some boys tried to scale the twelve foot wall surrounding the student's garden and as they showed their faces over the top the Sister in attendance turned the garden hose on them.⁶⁷² Participant G

talked about Good Shepherd school dances in the late 1950s. She said, "I almost forgot about the dances...with all girls. I would love to be able to zip back and just peek in at those dances...all girls, with those big crinoline skirts. But, surprisingly enough, we truly had a great time!"⁶⁷³ Participant R talked about the school dances in the 1960s that she considered as funny ways the Sisters tried to create "normal" entertainment for the girls.

There were many truly funny things that happened, usually having to do with some really weird activity the Mothers would come up with...The Senior Prom (with picked over donated gowns and NO BOYS - that was funny). The Friday night dances - with only each other to dance with - FUNNY.⁶⁷⁴

Participant R brought up specific types of music forbidden to the girls and the rationale for not permitting the girls to play certain songs

It was more the artist, rather than the songs...no Elvis, no Jerry Lee Lewis, no Bill Haley, etc. Pat Boone was OK, the Lettermen, 16-Candles, - nothing considered "black" music (was supposed to "rile" you all up) no music considered "controversial" by the morals of the day. Nothing "banned in Boston" or anywhere else. Remember, this was the early days of Rock and Roll - everyone over 30 hated it and was sure it would corrupt our tender minds, turn us into junkies (reefer madness) and send us all to hell.....HA!⁶⁷⁵

The rules concerning male contact relaxed in the late 1970s and boys from local Catholic schools were invited to attend the senior prom. Participant S described a boy-girl dance on her sixteenth birthday

We had dances with just us girls, but every once in awhile we did get to invite real live boys! I remember two while I was there... It was on my 16th birthday! The band played "Happy birthday sweet 16" and today is "S____'s Birthday!" I was dancing with this guy, -- He was Gorgeous!! He wrote his phone number on his name tag and I pinned it under my name tag and snuck it back to the dorm.

I was supposed to call him when I went home, but I never did. I ran into him years later. Small world. We recognized each other instantly. Of course, we were both married by then, but it was neat anyway. We had a coffee date and caught up on each others lives.⁶⁷⁶

Institutionalization is a process of operating a closed dependent environment with a prescribed set of social norms and values that condition the members to function as a collective identity. Classical conditioning, in a Pavlovian sense, is a psychologic science that employs a neutral stimulus to cause a desired (conditioned) response. The girls rose in the morning to the sound of the Sister's bell and immediately knelt at the side of the bed with their hands tightly clasped and together recited a specific prayer. When they visualized her presence, in unison they said "We wish you good morning, Mother." Under other circumstances outside of the school environment, the sound of a ringing bell would merely catch the girls' attention, but not stimulate physical behaviors such as kneeling or recitation. The girls were not permitted to leave the bedside until everyone had dressed within the confines of their nightgowns and had formed a single file line down the center of the dormitory in preparation for using the bathroom. One participant wrote the following concerning the morning routine:

I remember lining up at the bedroom door in the morning. Being called to go to the bathroom & not being able to speak to anyone...I remember at night time, lining up to brush your teeth & you couldn't talk to anyone. I think I was half asleep for morning prayers just about every morning! Most of it seems like a blur, but the things I remember are quite clear.⁶⁷⁷

Another participant stated "Yes, I remember lining up to say morning prayers too. I remember bath time. We had to line up for everything!"⁶⁷⁸ Jackie told Toby Harris that they did everything "like ants, in mass."⁶⁷⁹

Day to Day Preparation for Life outside the School

Some of the former girls said the structured environment taught them the benefit of learning self-control and organization and others said it caused them to feel lost and unprepared to make their own decisions as adults in the outside world. Some of the girls made good lives with careers and families as a result of improved self image. Others did not fare well, falling into drugs or alcohol. One participant described the effect of a Sister's control over her life.

I hated being part of her daily rigid routine. I never questioned her strict rules and I blindly obeyed them. Every movement made was controlled by her hand bell or her hand clicker. Nothing was out of order and every activity was on schedule, even bathroom time. There was no disobedience to her rules. If one didn't live up to her academic standards, you were severely punished. She asserted her authority by humiliation in front of your classmates. I was one of those students and my life was a nightmare. My emotional being was at great risk and I was too young to realize the damage she placed upon me. She stripped away whatever self-esteem I possessed. At the end of those two years I became anxious, fearful, and shattered.⁶⁸⁰

Another participant indicated that her experience was not ideal, but describes that she did benefit from lessons learned at the school.

Life in the late 50's for good Catholic girls in my town was very sheltered. By the end of my senior year, I decided not to enter a convent and take my chance on a job and, hopefully, marriage and a family - the only choices for poor girls. I married my kindergarten sweetheart and had a daughter, M____. My school experience has left me with some negative experiences, but I have benefited from the school on several levels. Most especially I was

taught respect for myself and others. Much of my formation of conscience happened in those days.⁶⁸¹

Participant E described her life as a result of her experiences in the Good Shepherd home. She had some difficulties with a wild life-style at first, but later joined Alcoholics Anonymous and is proud of her accomplishments. She works with chemically dependent women. She married and had several children and is a grandmother. She shared this story for my research.

My views on my younger years- I was not a great student in school and I'm sorry to say that I was a bit of a trouble maker. Hence, [school name deleted]. For various stupid reasons I dropped out in 9th grade, but went back to school when I was pregnant with my 3rd child. With tutoring from two very special teachers I am proud to say that when I took my GED test, I scored extremely well.

My life has turned out to be much more than I ever expected, I have been truly blessed. I am a friend of Bill's. (His writings taught me to live life on life's terms, one day at a time.) I tend to be a workaholic and I love my job. I have a very off beat sense of humor and love a good joke.

I'm working on getting my college degree "piece meal". At one time I worked a full time job, a part time job and went to school part time. Boy, I really burnt myself out! Now, I take things much slower. I'm not in school right now, but every now and then the "urge to learn" comes over me and I enroll in a class. It may take me a while, but I'll get there.

One participant from the northeastern states described her experience at one of the Good Shepherd schools and its effects on her life:

I can speak for myself. Being at [school name deleted] changed my life. Yes, I hated it when I was there but in retrospect it was the best thing for me. I know that I am not the only one that feels this way. We all share a common bond. I was there because of problems at home and I kept running away from foster homes.

I ran away too many times. I think however, if I had not gone there I too might have been much worse. Even though I hated it at the time I now think it was the best thing that could have ever happened to me. I remember one time I ran away and took 14 others with me. Boy was Mother M_____ pissed off. It is kinda funny. But over the years I have felt so guilty for my behavior. I guess it is the Catholic in me that feels the guilt.⁶⁸²

Another participant described the meaning of the school experience in her adult life and her appreciation for the lessons she learned with the Good Shepherd Sisters. [this excerpt is a direct insertion without editing by author other than deleting the school name].

...but i too went to [school name deleted].....but let me tell you....boy did i hate that place when i was there....i was there for 4 yours.....graduated in 1969....[school name deleted] was the best thing that ever happened to me....i learned alot there.....enough to help me become a good mom....and a good wife.....i really miss the school.⁶⁸³

Another participant was eager to add her experiences from 1964 to 1968 and the Good Shepherd school she attended on the east coast to my study. She described the lasting relationships between herself and the Sisters. The relationships lasted over the years through email, cards, letters, and reunions. Her comments about the Mothers and "heart sisters" ties into a school on the west coast that uses similar terminology about "heart mothers" and "heart sisters." The women from the East Coast had not met or spoken to the women on the west coast until their participation in my study. Her comments are as follows:

I correspond with many of my classmates and the Mothers on a regular basis. We have annual meetings and reunions that last for a week at a time. This helps to take us back to a time of group living,

when we were at our most impressionable years. My GS classmates are my 'heart sisters'. I will forever be grateful to the GS nuns for structuring my life.⁶⁸⁴

One participant from Cleveland sent an email with her opinion of her time in the House of the Good Shepherd. She described her experience as follows:

I was there in 1966-1969 and let me tell you, I sure appreciate it. I don't know where I'd be...It was run by the Sisters of the Good Shepherd and they lived in the halls [dorms] with us ... it was the only real home I ever had until I grew up and made one for myself.⁶⁸⁵

I had an email from another former Cleveland girl who was privately placed with the Good Shepherd Sisters. This participant wrote in a very illiterate manner and only communicated one time for this research study. This email excerpt is unedited for spelling or form as an example.

hi i went to [school named deleted] in 1977,i was done with program in 1979,grat.took cosy.now am a nusre thank god for [school named deleted] it did the world for me ,i used to hate school,so my parents placed me privatly cost a fortune i made great friends there now there tearing the place down i would love tp talk to you when i was there the nuns still ran it good sherpard thats why my folks went there it was taken over for the state till.years ago when they ruined it took away the real reason for the school and put druggies ther killers preangat youg kids⁶⁸⁶

The daughter of a former Good Shepherd student contributed some memories her late mother shared about living in the House of the Good Shepherd during the 1940s in one of the mountain states. Her mother entered the home when both of her parents were killed suddenly and she was made a ward of the court. She was sixteen and remained with the Good Shepherd Sisters

for three years. The Sisters taught her mother typing and shorthand and to play the cello. Her chores included working in the kitchen and laundry. The daughter reminisced about lessons her mother taught her concerning life in the following passage from an email to the author:

Mom taught me everything that the sisters taught her, so I feel as though the sisters were my teachers as well. I've learned how to cope with the difficult things in life, and have a strong faith in God because of their philosophy of life. The sisters touched so many lives that they are not even aware of, such as people like me, who have never met them (I corresponded frequently with Mother F_____ during the 1980's and 1990's, [the Sisters] passed on their teachings to us. I am so lucky to have been able to learn from them.

Mom used to say the very same thing: That she didn't know what would've happened to her had she not gone to the convent. She had no family and the convent was a safe haven for her, as well. The sisters shaped her life and made her the good, kind and caring lady I knew as my Mom. They were a big part of her life, and my life as well.⁶⁸⁷

Vivian told Harris in her oral history that she loved it there and she was sad when she left because she was going out into a world she didn't know. She indicated that there was insufficient after care counseling and that would be one of the things she would change if she had the option. She was fourteen in 1959 when she went into the House of the Good Shepherd and stayed for four years. It took her a month to settle in to the routines and six months to fully feel like part of Mother J_____'s class. The Sisters wanted her to stay and complete high school. The Sisters taught her morals and values. She left in 1963 without graduating and stated she "knew nothing of the world."⁶⁸⁸ Participant G had a

good experience with the Good Shepherd Sisters and summed up the few exceptions in how each girl perceived her experience in the facility then and now. She explained her opinion this way

Most of us felt that our years in the care of the Good Shepherds was a feeling of safety, comfort, and peace, after years in turbulent home situations. No young girl likes to be "locked up" during her teen years, but most of us have wonderful memories of our stay there. There are a couple [of former students] who have different memories, but we have come to realize that it was due more to perceptions and personalities at the time... The only truth to those years was each person's perception of it...

We first started coming together a little over two years ago [2002]. A few of the girls gathered on the internet...then as we found more girls in our search, more joined in. E-mails were flying like mad...so we set up a site where we could meet more easily. So many memories were shared...some funny, some painful, some were things we thought we thought up, only to find that others in previous classes had done the same thing!

It didn't matter what year we attended...the memories were basically the same. We cover from the late '40's through the early 70's. And as we have met the girls from Seattle recently, we find that their memories are basically the same, too...

Just remember...there is no "truth"...it is all in the perception of each single girl who was there. Each has their own "truth"...and we accept it that way.⁶⁸⁹

Clothing

Most of the participants in my study brought up the topic of clothing, either the Sister's voluminous habits or various types of clothing worn by the girls for specific activities or times of day. Each article of their clothing was marked with their identification number. Several participants still remembered their number. During the school day the girls wore uniforms. The style and

components of the uniform varied from school to school because of the available resources or climate. The essential elements for school wear commonly included either a blue or green jumper or skirt with a white blouse, a cool weather sweater, buck or saddle shoes, bobby socks, and appropriate undergarments. The clothing was laundered in the residential laundry by girls assigned to the area. The clothes were not wash-and-wear permanent press fabric. One girl described how she got around the problem task. She said "Sprinkle and roll and unroll and iron. I used to just iron the front of my uniform blouse because the sweater covered up the sleeves and the back."⁶⁹⁰ Two participants explained some of the uniform fashions with tongue in cheek in one of the online postings

We also had some lt. blue wool jumpers that were pretty decent and fairly new in '65. The pumpkin orange blouses that went with the grey jumpers were definitely an assault on teenaged fashion sense of the day.⁶⁹¹

I think those uniforms were a form of abuse...LOL ! The small girls got the XL sizes...the larger girls had to try to fit in a size 10... There was no such thing as size considered when they handed out the uniforms...To me, the worst (at least when I was there) were the bulky long culottes we wore for gym, and as shorts on hot days! Especially considering at that time that short shorts were in...sigh.⁶⁹²

The girls were encouraged to style their hair using rollers or permanent waves, but were not to pierce their ears or wear makeup. Sodality pins and badges were worn pinned to the blouse as a status symbol. The skirts were eight gore ballerina-style made of taffeta or satin worn with white frilly blouses. Sunday clothes differed for class officers to show distinction among the ranks.

The officers had little capes with matching beanies adorned with white feathers. Sodality members wore a blue satin cord around their necks with a miraculous medal attached. Some of the older girls had a blue satin sash worn across their outfit like those seen on Miss America. Photographs in the archives show this attire in group shots.

Charmaine described her uniform for high school and explained that she loved to wear it all the time. She remained at the Good Shepherd home after high school (graduation 1951) while she earned her undergraduate degree in sociology at Seattle University. Mother S_____ bought her nice clothes for college, but she elected to change back into her uniform when she came home for the evening. When she graduated from college in 1955 and she stayed on with the Sisters in the convent school as a teacher of typing, shorthand, literature, general math and algebra. She continued to wear her student uniform as a teacher. She stated "I loved my uniform. That might sound funny, but I was used to and most comfortable in my uniform at that time."⁶⁹³ Mother W_____ finally told her she needed to wear her nice clothes as the teacher, so she reluctantly gave up her uniforms. Participant G reinforced the impressions of clothing and societal implications from her teen years in the Good Shepherd facility during her "domestic science course"

It's funny now...but I remember hearing a lot of crap in home economics classes back in the late 40's and '50's! I remember when we were supposed to wear a suit, hat, and white gloves to apply for a job? Even to be a clerk in a store, or a usherette in the movie theatre. You never wore glasses...that would scare guys off because they would think you were s-m-a-r-t... I don't want to go

back there. They were simpler times...but I doubt if the modern woman could survive them now... Well...back then it was men who made the rules...for women ! (but no rules for themselves). And a lot of them haven't changed. What has changed is that we no longer follow the rules...⁶⁹⁴

The West Coast girls made many jokes about the uniforms, especially the gym suits. Participant G complained about the long length of the gym suits in comparison with the "short-shorts" of the day. Participant R stated the girls were not allowed to wear pink and black together, because it made them look "cheap" and sarcastically told a story about the conformity of the clothing and that a few privately admitted girls had some nicer personal attire

One of the nice things about those awful uniforms was that at least some of us had something to wear and no one dressed better than the others. I know that not all of us came with a steamer trunk full of designer clothes. Except perhaps for P____. I think it was she who had a blue velvet dress.⁶⁹⁵

I communicated with other former students at this West Coast school who knew about this legendary blue velvet dress. It was very unusual for clothing this nice to remain with the girl who brought it in. According to participant G the girl who owned the dress was the daughter of the local police chief. She was spoiled and incorrigible so her father brought her to the Sisters to learn about being poor. The rest of the girls gave her a hard time. Participant R questioned how P____ turned out as an adult because she was not nice to be around.

Activities of the Sisters

Mother Mary of Saint Euphrasia was formed and trained as a Sister according to the Our Lady of the Refuge constitutions and took her four formal vows of poverty, chastity, obedience, and zeal. When she founded the Good Shepherd Sisters, she formed and trained the Sisters of her congregation in the same framework as she followed in becoming a woman religious. Every moment of every day was prescribed like a template. Rising, reciting offices [prayers], and retiring on a specific schedule led to a special prayer as each element of the religious garment was donned. Every little pin, every fold, every detail was followed exactly as instructed by their rules. Bathing was done while wearing a bath chemise and not exposing their bodies.⁶⁹⁶

The Sisters were never to eat, drink, sleep, cry, laugh loudly, or use the restroom in the presence of a student.⁶⁹⁷ The Sister's behaviors did not escape notice by the girls. The girls were under observation by a Sister continuously, but the girls were covertly observing the Sisters at the same time. Sisters were assigned their own recreation in cycles so they could relieve each other for necessary activities, such as eating or sleeping. The First Mistress and Second Mistress (later referred to as House Mother or House Director) covered for each other and slept in shifts in small rooms (cells) with privacy windows in the dormitory where their assigned class of girls resided. Linda said "Mother came to each bed at night and splashed holy water on us to bless us before we slept. She didn't kiss us goodnight because it was a sacrilege to touch nuns." If a Sister was

required to rise at night to urgently tend to a girl she was instructed to wear a full dressing gown and apply her guimpe⁶⁹⁸ and veil before entering the girl's area. The girls were mischievous and found that causing a Sister to rise at night and don special attire quickly was good sport. Vivian described peeking into the little window of the Mother J____'s room and seeing the Sister without her habit.

I can remember one time I peeked and saw Mother J____ in her nightgown and hair. I wasn't supposed to see that, but I wanted to. She had her hair cut real short like a man, because they weren't allowed to have long hair. They only wore habits...a nun's outfit weighs forty pounds.⁶⁹⁹

The Sisters' habits were a fascinating aspect of the environment. One participant described taking a dance class in the Good Shepherd school and feeling clumsy. The Sister, who taught the class kept telling the girl to watch her feet, which were covered by the hem of her white habit. Another girl discussed imitating Mother W____ by placing the cover for the typewriter over her head like a veil and strutting about. Mother W____ walked in during the display and was very stern about the disrespect shown for the Sisters. Later that night the girl overheard Mother W____ in the Sisters' rooms recounting the event to another Sister about the girls dressing like nuns and how funny they looked. "Mother W____ roared with laughter."⁷⁰⁰

The Sisters followed the trend for wearing modified habits after Vatican II in 1964. The white robes and black veils were discarded and tunics were worn with modified veils. Many elderly Sisters were emotionally attached to their habits, but obediently donned the newer attire. Mother P_____ was elderly and

infirm before her death in the 1980s. When she died the Sisters gave her a modest funeral. She wanted to be buried in her original habit from the pre-Vatican II era and left instructions for the Sisters to follow concerning her wishes. There was a longstanding tradition of Sisters being buried in full Good Shepherd habit with a crown of white roses on their heads. Their foundress was buried this way. Unfortunately, her written wishes were not discovered until after she was buried and her effects were placed in storage. The girls were sad that Mother P_____'s wishes were not followed.

Participant G said that she recently purchased a video copy of the comedy film *The Trouble with Angels* starring Haley Mills as a "gift for the Sisters in their old age." The movie was filmed in 1966 and tells the story of two teen girls at a Catholic girls school who play pranks and challenge the patience of the Sisters. She said she thought the Sisters would enjoy a good laugh in the convent infirmary recalling the pranks the girls pulled behind their backs so many years ago. Participant B brought up the movie in an email during my study.

By the way, I sat through the yearly showing of *The Trouble With Angels* last night with my granddaughter...and once again laughed my head off watching "us" !!!!! But it had an almost eerie feeling to it this year...because I realized that we had been walking through all those same memories! It was like watching "us"...by watching "us" on the tape!⁷⁰¹

The west coast girls recount the movie at their reunions and hold mini trivia contests for fun. One participant remembered her attachment to the movie in the following email excerpt

Just watched Trouble with Angels, for the thousandth time, and cried....I thought of Y_____ and J_____ C_____ and M _____ and J_____ and E____. There where more but the brain can be feeble.....I remembered the things we all went through, and how glad I am now to have had the years with them and Our Heart Mothers.⁷⁰²

The girls enjoyed a few jokes behind the Sisters' backs. One prank they pulled was to walk next to one of the Sisters and extract a black pin or two from the fold in her veil. These pins were forms of straight pins like those used in dress making except the Sisters used them to secure their habits. One participant described the girls' fun with Sisters' veil pins. "We would walk close to the Sister and take a pin without bothering her. Then we'd wear them crossed on our uniforms."⁷⁰³ Other girls were too afraid to take the pins, but would collect them if found on the ground.

Farley and Farley did a study in 1972 that looked at how institutionalized delinquent girls evoked reactions from the authority figures by exhibiting particular good or bad behaviors to gain some control in their environments. Clandestine acts, such as taking veil pins or playing pranks on each other fulfilled lower level needs for independent acts outside of the permitted activities. Girls experienced intrinsic stimulation by satisfying personal triumphs in out-smarting anyone in their immediate vicinity, including each other. Charmaine told a story about how she caught a little grey mouse and put it in Mother Serena's bathroom on the edge of the tub. She heard Mother Serena shriek and run out of the bathroom. She figured Charmaine pulled the prank and started yelling so loud

that her false teeth fell out of her mouth and slid under Charmaine's bed. Charmaine had to retrieve the teeth and suffer the tongue lashing. Years later, they both laughed about it.⁷⁰⁴ Participant M said she used to call her "ma screeemaaa" because she screamed at the girls.⁷⁰⁵

More serious stimulus-seeking behavior such as running away created a sense of excitement not found in day-to-day activities. According to the Farley and Farley study, success in permanently leaving the facility was not the most important gain for the girls, but the challenge of actually getting out was the thrill.⁷⁰⁶ Each type of stimulus generated differing levels of emotional return. It did not matter that most of the escapees were caught and brought back. One participant mentioned she remembered how angry the Sister was when called in the middle of the night to pick up a runaway from the police station. She remembered the cold atmosphere in the station wagon as the Sister drove her back to the facility. Running away in general was stimulated by the desire to rebel against the facility and the wish to see old friends.⁷⁰⁷

Running Away

Most of the participants told stories about running away. The location of the school attended did not make a difference. The girls sent there as delinquents were the common escapees. Some of the girls would go to great trouble to earn the right to be in the trusted groups only to have the opportunity to run away. Participant J wrote a story about the 1970s and how an elaborate

plan was hatched by the girls who earned the privilege of a field trip to the city for a special event.

During the summer of 1970, some of us were fortunate enough to be chosen to go to the City to see an off Broadway production, "Fantastics". I guess there were 20 of us including a few Brothers, a Nun or two, a few Summer counselors, and of course a bunch of girls wanting to get wild and crazy in the City. So we pile into the famous Convent Bus, now a shade of blue, (but it was not the "Magic Bus"). "Give me a bottle of Beer cuz the wheels of the bus go round and round"...lol. So off we go. A few of the girls are smirking and plotting their escape, some glad to get out of the cage, and the rest just out for the ride. The play was great, Jerry Orbach starred, I still have the program somewhere. After the show, the ones plotting their escape somehow got lost on their way to the bus parked 2 blocks away. So the rest of us just stood around, while a counselor, a Nun and a Brother were on a search and seizure mission. Then low and behold the red bubblegum machine was a whirling and making its' presence known. And guess what? There were 3 riders in the back of the car. Guess the Cops had a heads up on all of us, such as descriptions, clothing etc. The Cops said that they were too easy to find and stuck out like a sore thumb. I can't remember the names of the girls that took the detour.⁷⁰⁸

Another participant from the 1970s said that she ran away now and then, but the Sisters took her back. She described her experience in an email as follows:

I used to run away regularly & they always took me back. My report card always said AWOL on it. I remember Mother M_____ always coming to get me in the station wagon after the cops found me. It was always a long ride, so she wasn't all to happy with me... I also remember the time 4 of the girls broke into Mother's office & stole the group's money & ran away. They got caught a few days later, but never came back to [name of school deleted].⁷⁰⁹

Participant V was anxious to describe her experience because she spontaneously left without a plan and returned on her own. Her friend escaped and never returned. She recalled several girls who left in the following excerpt:

J_____ grabbed me by the arm and said lets go! This was while we were on a field trip to the City! We ran then walked to 106th street in Manhattan where we parted company.....I was gone one full day. I never saw J_____ again. I remember Mother E_____ wasn't too happy with me when I came back... D_____ ran away that summer, C_____ jumped the fence and caught her middle finger on the barbwire. She had 50 stitches.....she was sent to live in a half way house in the Bronx.⁷¹⁰

Stories about running away were popular topics with the former girls and Sisters. Each person had an experience or escape attempt to talk about. One former Sister told me that she and another Sister were assigned to be the "bailout squad." The phone would ring in the middle of the night and the Sisters would dress and go to the police station to pick up a run away or two. Before they left the convent, one Sister would raid the kitchen and pack a snack in case the girls were hungry. The Sister stated that the foundress would have fed the hungry body to sooth the troubled soul rather than respond in anger.⁷¹¹

Extracurricular Activities

Although the girls attended school year round they had little to say about the daily coursework other than being in the vocational classes or commercial courses. A few participants talked about entering the Good Shepherd school after long periods of truancy from public or other parochial schools and falling behind. The Sisters evaluated every girl as an individual and started her re-education with remedial class work so she could catch up to her peers. Most of the girls

who finished twelfth grade graduated with the class. Photographs in the archives show girls in white academic regalia with white caps and gowns. Some graduating classes had four or five graduates. Larger cities usually had more graduating seniors.

One subject that came up with the participants was sports and exercise. Several schools had swimming pools where the girls were taught to swim and learn lifeguard skills. One participant talked about swimming in our online discussion.

I didn't like putting on a bathing suit. I didn't like to shave my legs
So you never saw me at the pool. I learned to swim at NYU
because I had to get the grade, if not I would still not know how to
swim.....don't like the Ocean water or public swimming
holes...To get me in a bathing suit now, HA! Do they sell tents?⁷¹²

Other girls really enjoyed the pool. Some described jumping in with their clothes on to try to make the Sisters react. Others brought up water games and ballets. Marycrest, in Wickliffe had water ballets and sold tickets for extra money. Participant V talked about her experience with swimming.

I can remember the swim classes. They were giving us courses on
being a life guard and we did some stuff like water ballet if I
remember correctly. I remember the teacher that did the life guard
part was brutal. When we took the final test we had to 'save' her
and she practically drowned some of the girls. She would grease
herself up with baby oil to make it hard.⁷¹³

The Sisters provided regular exercise periods for the girls. The rules forbid standing around in groups without interacting such as in a sport. Archery was featured at one school and participant S won a bronze medal in competition. She said, "I loved it and did really good, still remember the black and blue on my

inner arm from incorrectly holding the bow! Mother M___ taught me.”⁷¹⁴ A few of the schools had softball teams. Not every girl was skilled at the sport. One girl said she was always getting hit by flying bats because she was the catcher. Participant V joked about “keeping her eye on the ball” since that is where it struck her when she missed the catch. One participant really enjoyed the sport and had several comments to make. Her enthusiasm for the game peeked through as she shared this particular memory in an email.

The one thing that I remember the most is Softball...I have always liked being in the outdoors, so softball was a great excuse. The summer of 1970 we beat all the schools in our league and went to [school deleted], I think, for the next level. B___, played catcher, J___ played short stop, H___ played second base, and they all kicked ass. I even landed 2 pop flies. Unfortunately one strong hitter got injured, can't remember her name, and the other had an asthma attack, don't remember her name either. Needless to say, we lost the game. Brother J___ brought our wounded egos and raggedy asses home in the station wagon. Sister had cake and ice cream ready for us when we got back. Seemed like there was always cake and ice cream in our group.

Religious Activities

Every participant had something to say about the religious atmosphere in the House of the Good Shepherd. Some comments were positive, some were negative, and others were simply awestruck by the regalia and ceremonies of the Catholic Sisters. I followed the example of Travers in his 1961 study of religious motivation and delinquency in juveniles aged ten to seventeen years.⁷¹⁵ He did not use the terms religion or religious to mean superficial acts like attending mass or going to confession. Religion in my study implies a commitment

specifically to Roman Catholicism and, like Travers, the term religion and its variations is not indicative of a particular set of observances. The personal belief in a religion played a role in forming the identity of many of the participants in this study after exposure to the Sisters regardless of native faith. In some girls the force of religion was a treatment and respite for their human woes and served later as prevention for self-defeating behaviors.

Many of the emails and written stories from the women contain religious statements such as "I will pray for you" (meaning for me and my research) and "Father protect us" or "I pray Father" (in response to sharing a personal story with me). These types of statements were made to me and about me. Some of the women referred to me as a "heart sister" meaning that I was welcome. The Good Shepherd Sisters who hosted me at the Saint Louis Provincialate stated that I was one of them in the spirit of research.

Many of the participants in my study were not Catholic and were sometimes overwhelmed by the rigid behavioral controls of the House of the Good Shepherd. The sight of Sisters in their white habits and black veils was on one hand quite unusual, yet "impressive in a hard to explain way," according to one non-Catholic participant. She remarked that she loved bedtime when the House Mother walked by each bed sprinkling the girls with holy water. She said she wished she could have had a good-night kiss from her real mother, but she said the holy water was the next best thing. Non-Catholic and Catholic participants in my study all remarked about the initial impression of the white-

robed Sisters and their controlled demeanor. Three participants later entered other orders of Sisters after graduation because they were barred from entering the Good Shepherd congregation. None of these young women stayed more than a year or two with the other congregations. Participant C from Saint Louis told me that nothing could satisfy her admiration for the Good Shepherd Sisters. She spent six months in a Franciscan Order in Ohio, but they "just did not compare to the Good Shepherd Sisters."⁷¹⁶ One Catholic participant stated "I swear every Catholic girl I knew as a kid wanted to be a nun, including myself... that was until I went to [school name deleted], that thought was gone pretty fast after that."⁷¹⁷ This participant described an incident after leaving the Good Shepherd school when she was out celebrating and ran into another student who was planning to become a Sister with another congregation.

I remember a woman from that time. She was becoming a nun, whatever you called that in 1968. I went out to celebrate my birthday with my twin at a gay night club in upstate New York. On my way to leave there she sat at the bar with I can't remember who, she was so freaked out that when I turned to say hello she was gone...⁷¹⁸

Not all the former girls remained Catholic into adulthood. Participant M described her feelings in an email about Catholicism as a seventy-six year old woman as follows:

There are many reasons why I left the Catholic Church - many - mainly the hypocrisy of it all. I do think one day we will see the demise of the Catholic Church and I do not feel it is that many years off. I so remember the old Baltimore Catechism that was "crammed" down our throats. Most of their rules and laws are man made and change like the wind.

I do believe in my God and also Blessed Mother and have devotion to several "saints" and have had that for many years but I do not belong to any "organized religion" at this point in my life. I do not have to run to a Church to pray to my God. I also deeply resent these multi-million dollar edifices that are built to go and "worship" Him. That money could be better spent to help people. Just build simple buildings if one feels they need the Church.

I really think I agree with Jesse Ventura "that religion is for the weak-minded." I grew up a Catholic - went to [other] Catholic schools even a University and raised my children as Catholics and sent them to Catholic schools as well. They left the Church even before I did.⁷¹⁹

Release from the House of the Good Shepherd

The participants in my study did not elaborate about their discharge from the Good Shepherd facility. Each time I approached the subject, it was brushed aside. When I later read Harris' oral histories, I understood the reluctance of my participants to discuss a painful separation from what became their closest bond to a home life during their re-education process. I learned from the Harris histories that the girls were never informed in advance of their departure date. The discharged girl was suddenly called to the Mother Superior's office for a conference while a trusted senior girl or aide went to the girl's cubicle and collected her belongings. When the personal effects were collected the girl and her suitcase were escorted to the main parlor where her ride was waiting for her. Linda described her discharge experience in her autobiography as follows:

The longer I lived in the convent the more dependent I became. And the more dependent, the more I grew to like it. But one morning I woke up to a cap and gown and was told to get out and find a job. There wasn't any such thing for someone like me. I

didn't know how to take care of myself; and they told me I had a low IQ... Potential employers didn't like the clothes on my back and they didn't like anything they'd heard about those girls from the convent.

Convents are sometimes like protective wombs. The entire place was fenced in. Ivy covered the cyclone fence; and the fence was hidden by a hedge. The only man was the gardener-carpenter-plumber combination, and he was very old and never lifted his eyes. The other men we saw wore robes and babbled in Latin on an altar at morning mass. I was relieved to be with women, but I felt guilty about it. The people in control of my life were convinced I was almost normal now, and I didn't want to screw it up. That could be dangerous. I spent a great deal of time pretending I was normal, nourishing their fantasies.⁷²⁰

The girls in the Good Shepherd schools had many common experiences. Most of the participants spoke fondly of the Sisters, still calling them “Mother” even though that practice was stopped in the 1970s. The few allegations of abuse were from one location and the Sister responsible was relieved of her duties.

Sister Valerie, in her oral history session with Harris explained that they tried to keep each girl until she graduated from high school, because if she left before then she would likely not finish school. When her release was eminent, the social worker would check the home for suitability. If the home seemed unstable, arrangements were made for foster care or a safe rooming house. Charmaine described the exit process in her oral history as follows:

...that was a common thing—that the girls were only told that morning. She [meaning any girl] was told she was going home. Someone came to get her. They had packed her things and she was gone. One of the things she regretted was not being able to

say goodbye to anybody...One of the reasons was you weren't to have any contact with other Good Shepherd girls after you left.

...my job was to go up and get all of their clothing, most of their clothing was in the metal locker and there was a certain way of doing it. Everybody had a long bathrobe...you were to lay the robe on the bed and then take out the clothes and other belongings and lay it inside the robe. Then you folded the robe over and brought the bottom up and tied it. The packet of clothing was brought down to Mother Serena's office...She went through every single thing...mail, everything.

No one left without a good supply of clothing and toothpaste and things of that sort and if you were an older girl going out on your own you had more than someone who was going back to her family...Everybody went out pretty well outfitted...Everybody got a suitcase when they went out...they came in with paper bags, but they left with a suitcase.

Jackie described her departure in her oral history to Harris.

Mother Serena led me to the double doors and my bags were packed...There was no closure, no saying goodbye...she told me the social worker was coming to take me to the train. I started to cry. She said, "Go out there and make a woman of yourself." I still get goosebumps when I think of that day. When I got home I found that she had stuffed little hand lotions and little candy bars into the corners of my suitcase.

Mother Serena was a strong, controlling woman with some cruel personality traits. If she favored a girl, she would provide extra little treats such as the lotions and candy bars she put in Jackie's suitcase. Although the stories of her abusive practices seem to oppose the Good Shepherd philosophy, there were girls who adored her. Mother Serena's behavior was an isolated case according to the majority of the women in my study. Charmaine cared deeply for Mother Serena and described her sadness when she died. She had served as the

Mother's secretary for several years after completing college. The Mother Superior who took charge after Mother Serena died saved her personal effects and presented them to Charmaine as she would have done for the next of kin. Charmaine described her feelings in the following edited excerpt from Harris' interview.

...this was Mother Serena's little prayer book...this was given to me when she passed away. I did not go to her funeral. I could've gone...I just couldn't. It was too much for me emotionally...they gave me this [the prayer book] and her black shawl. If a Good Shepherd historical display is developed and there'd be a place for it when I pass away, I intend to will my Good Shepherd material here...

There are little markings in her prayer book...these were her favorite sayings. She was a sweetheart...I had to incorporate in my adult years that all people, Mother Serena included, have a good and a bad side...until I got into therapy I couldn't see them in her, she was perfect. Through the process I've gone through in growing up and of incorporating both sides, Mother Serena has become more of a real person to me. I still love her dearly.⁷²¹

Learning the stories and histories of the former Good Shepherd girls gave me the opportunity to view their lived experiences through a prism that separated each individual personality into multi-colored layers. The layers represented the girls' memories, developmental growth, maturation, and acceptance of their life course. The convergence of the experiences into a contextually congruent period of Good Shepherd history gave me and the participants an opportunity to share in an empowering phase of feminist research. Their resultant identity formation is partially evidenced by their interpersonal relationships and their willingness to trust me with their personal

stories of a painful adolescence. The women in my study reviewed this period in their past lives and revisited events they had long forgotten and some instances repressed. They began as troubled teen girls who entered the reception room at the House of the Good Shepherd feeling resentment for the "Mother" who met them at the doorway and grew into appreciative caring individuals who cried when they left to face the world on their own. The girls were not the only people affected by the process. The Sisters were catalysts of change in the lives of the girls and as a result were changed in the process. They shared stories that reflected their deep, ongoing affection for the girls and reinforced the veracity of the histories offered by the former students. Chapter V summarizes the theoretical findings and limitations of my study and offers suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Composite Experiences

Between 1940 and 1980 the policies and procedures of the House of the Good Shepherd were guided by the state, the instructions of the foundress, and the dogma of the Catholic Church. The school itself was a gendered space run by women religious, but governed by patriarchal beliefs and values. The school policies and procedures exacted a form of discipline that caused the girls to conform to a sense of order and compliance or they were not permitted to stay. The secular components of the school curriculum met the state's requirements for accredited education. The religious atmosphere indoctrinated certain values and a sense of morality associated with Christianity and as much as possible, Catholicism.

The participants in my study were women who began as groups of girls from lower socioeconomic backgrounds who spent their high school years in the House of the Good Shepherd. I believe that many early life problems for the girls stemmed from inadequate parenting and the socially reproduced abuses that

that left life-long physical and emotional scars. Common themes and experiences surrounding relationships with parents or guardians began a life course wherein the girls inconsistently accomplished essential developmental tasks described by Erikson that preceded adolescence and finally, womanhood.⁷²²

The breakdown of their emotional and psychological growth processes during adolescence led to asocial behaviors as a means of coping and in some cases, survival. As the girls grew from school age into adolescence, they could not clearly define who they were and molded themselves into personalities compatible with peers who had similar backgrounds. Their experiences were socially constructed before and during confinement in the convent school as adolescents and were later reproduced in many of their offspring. The girls' identity formation was influenced by forces that controlled them and left them vulnerable.

In the case of the participants in my study, the confinement was imposed by the juvenile court system or extended families because of delinquency or dependency. The social solution to controlling the girls' behavior was confinement in gendered spaces, such as convent schools. According to the participants in the study, the convent school experience was neither all good nor all bad, but left them feeling vulnerable and dependent. The majority of the girls went away from the school after discharge with an element of fondness and respect for the Sisters who rendered care during their confinement, but many former students also carried painful memories. The summary of the lived

experiences of the Good Shepherd students from their girlhood to later adulthood explored in the following sections reveals their progression towards the development of feminist consciousness as defined by Gerda Lerner.⁷²³

Developing Feminist Consciousness

Gerda Lerner stated that the creation of feminist consciousness consists of women doing the following: a) becoming aware they are part of a subordinate group that has suffered wrongs, b) realizing that subordination is socially created and not preordained, c) developing a sense of sisterhood, d) autonomously defining their goals and strategies for changing their condition, and e) developing alternative visions of the future.⁷²⁴ Using Lerner's theories associated with developing feminist consciousness the participants in my study recognized their subordinate status and acknowledged the wrongs they experienced. Most of them believed that their social condition was the result of people and events in their environment, although some blamed themselves for acting out. The ongoing online communities demonstrated their bonds to each other through sharing experiences and histories. Some groups met for reunions. Many of the girls needed help from the Sisters and each other to define how to approach the future, although the approaches used were not always effective.

The following sections describe select aspects of the former students' identity formation and development of feminist consciousness revealed by my research between twenty and forty years post-discharge from the House of the Good Shepherd.

Persistent Sense of Shame and Guilt

A controlling factor in the re-education process was the imposition of shame and guilt for wrongdoing. The Sisters tried to get the girls to feel truly sorry for breaking the rules, but the girls, in retrospect, interpreted this as learning shame. On admission, many of the girls exhibited varying degrees of asocial behavior in the school and did not readily respond to shaming techniques. Participants discussed having guilt feelings for bad behavior after an adjustment period in the school of between one to six months. Guilt feelings surfaced when they did something that caused the Sisters to focus on a negative personality trait. Some girls said that disappointing the Sisters they admired was particularly distressing. Girls who were not concerned with how the Sisters viewed their behavior were sometimes set up as an example to the rest of the students to induce shame. The overshadowing lesson of "being good and doing good"⁷²⁵ saturated the daily activities of the school and was used to displace the confusion of the girls' lives before admission.⁷²⁶

Doing good and being good were social constructs with boundaries set outside the natural inclinations of troubled teenaged girls. Some girls had difficulty following school rules because they did not learn a sense of social governance in the family home.⁷²⁷ Several of the participants who admitted participation in small pranks or teenaged silliness in the school reported feeling guilty or shamed, but not necessarily "sorry" when reprimanded by the Sisters for the smallest infractions. Most of the participants described elements of shame

or low self esteem during various points while students at the school. However, not all of the participants expressed this emotion. A few participants told stories about witnessing intentional shaming of girls as an example to the rest of the student body. One girl in the Seattle Good Shepherd home was forced to wear her soiled bed sheet around her neck all day after wetting the bed during the night. A sign was placed around her neck that said "fish." ⁷²⁸ No explanation was made concerning this choice of wording for the sign.

Guilt feelings persisted for the participants in my study. Many of the women continued to feel inferior when they did not meet the expectations of others after discharge, such as spouses or children. They occasionally used terms in online conversation such as "I feel Catholic guilt" or "I felt guilty, too" in response to comments by another former student concerning emotional lessons from the convent school. Some of the women identified guilt in each other and reminded each other not to "take guilt trips" when egocentric experiences were described online.⁷²⁹ One participant lamented the one year anniversary of the passing of her male friend and made this statement to the online group in response to their concern for her sadness..."for some reason I am feeling guilty for having the tears and the hurt, when I have sisters [meaning the former students] and friends that are hurting and are in worse positions than I."⁷³⁰

Participant G spoke of the absence of guilt from another perspective in the following excerpt from a posting to her online community. She claims the absence of guilt, but demonstrates a subliminal level of guilt for stealing.

"I was stealing milk off porches so that my little boy would have some (that was the good old days when they delivered milk to the houses). I never felt guilty about that...still don't...although I still can't bring myself to laugh about it...But...that is what made us survivors...a skill that can serve us for the rest of our lives...!!!!"731

Failure of Emotional Development

Many of the women in the study were unable to get past the emotional void left by their fractured families and continued to feel emotionally empty after living in the House of the Good Shepherd. I found that the participants were afraid to have feelings for others because they feared being hurt. I believe the emptiness began in the family home long before they entered the convent school. I believe that the girls served as emotional surrogates for each other to a limited degree and continued in this role after leaving the school. As adolescent girls, they were important to each other, but were not a substitute for a stable, loving family. The adults serving as mother-figures in the school did not palliate the emotional needs of the girls because their policies prohibited emotional connections between the Sisters, lay-teachers, and students. I found that as the women matured into their senior years, their fondness for each other became more pronounced and less guarded. The Villa Saint Rose online community is the best example of this finding. They average between twenty five to thirty five emails to each other per day wherein they routinely speak in fond terms regarding emotions.

Male figures, such as fathers, step fathers, or others reinforced the failure of trust with physical and sexual abuse as described in Chapter IV of this

dissertation. Failure to meet the remaining developmental milestones theorized by Erikson progressively positioned the vulnerable girl as prey for an abuser by the time she reached adolescence. By the time the average delinquent girl was brought to the House of the Good Shepherd she was behind in school, had minimal inspiration for industry, was overtly sexually active, had little in the way of confidence in her abilities, and had no plans for the future. The stories offered by the participants revealed identity confusion and personal isolation that continued into adulthood. "Normal" sex role modeling was not learned by watching their parents in the homes—it was learned on the streets.⁷³² Sexuality became an expressive outlet after discharge for some of the girls either with random males or same-sex experimentation. I found that many of the women became self-absorbed and developed dependency on drugs or alcohol as young adults post release from the school, but later resolved their problems by entering therapy or joining organizations such as Alcoholics Anonymous. Of the women in the study, none claimed to continue substance abuse other than alcohol beyond the age of forty.

Inability to Nurture

Nurturing was generally absent for many of the girls as infants and they failed to interpret and learn age-appropriate nurturing skills during their toddler and preschool years.⁷³³ By the time the girl reached adolescence, she was confused about her emotions and did not always select appropriate behaviors when seeking attention from her superiors and peers. Confusion concerning

emerging sexuality sometimes led to promiscuity. Consequently as adults they believed they were not confident in their ability to adequately perform nurturant tasks associated with childrearing or developing stable emotional relationships because they had few or no nurturing adults during their formative years.⁷³⁴ In my opinion, the women in my study failed to progress beyond emotional phases associated with early adolescence until they were well beyond middle-age. Erikson pointed out that a child's failure to "self delineate" or develop his or her identity prevented true engagement with others because the child did not know itself.⁷³⁵ The boundaries normally set by healthy nurturing were replaced by faulty family relationships or same-sex friendships within the school that were blurred or confused attentions interpreted as love or caring.⁷³⁶

The girl often tolerated abusers in her family home because she believed she had no alternative besides running away or taking to the streets. The abused girl did not usually go to the authorities to report being abused or to escape from her abuser. As many of the participants described, they felt as though there was nothing they could do as powerless children and blamed themselves for provoking anger in the adults in their environment. Intervention on their behalf usually came from the outside after the girls had multiple arrests for petty crimes, prostitution, or running away. Domestic disturbances reported by neighbors sometimes resulted in the removal of the girl from the home, making her a ward of the court. The authorities sometimes discovered abuse in the

home as a result of the girl's interaction with the juvenile court system and not because the girl actively sought help.⁷³⁷

Interpersonal Relationships

The participants in this study were interdependent in their teen years and developed similar perceptions that followed them into adulthood. I find that the roots of their identity had similar foundations and did not progress in a stair-step succession as Erikson described for healthy developmental stages. They had difficulty establishing their lives as individuals post release from the school and seemed to define themselves more as part of a group that was outside the norm or of lesser importance than the rest of society. The majority of the participants had difficulty expressing love and emotion because they did not feel worthy of the love of others. Most of the women had multiple live-in partners or marriages as young adults, but only two of forty-two women in the study remained married to their first husbands. As they progressed to older years the majority of them had settled into comfortable second or third marriages. One participant joked about having five husbands. She is sixty, single, and employed as a live-in caregiver for an elderly man. Other participants had been widowed or divorced at least once and remarried in their later years. Two women had long term same-sex partnerships in excess of twenty years after being married and divorced soon after leaving the school.

The childbearing years were complex periods in their lives. The participants did not identify themselves as having maternal tendencies. Some of

the women described the inability to nurture their own children and a few women surrendered custody of one or more babies to other family members, foster care, or adoption. Linda described the self-induced abortion of her first pregnancy, but later carried three other pregnancies to full term, doting on her children obsessively.⁷³⁸ Another participant who was unwed gave her first-born baby for adoption and was “found” by her daughter twenty years later. They met and developed a cordial relationship that continues sporadically to date. The same participant also had a son she later surrendered to his father (her third husband) when they divorced. She has occasional contact with her son and rarely sees him.⁷³⁹ She did not discuss any other pregnancies, abortions, or births. She was one of the more verbally affectionate participants online in her writing and is very attached to her dog.

Careers and Continued Education

The majority of the women expressed difficulty coping with the outside world after leaving the house of the Good Shepherd, however most managed to get jobs and earn a modest living in typical female roles such as housekeepers, store clerks, or as secretaries. Several of the women attended college, although most never finished, giving marriage or hardship as the reason for dropping out. Participant R has had several different jobs since the study began. Two of the jobs required her to move to Montana and then back to Washington State.

Religion and Spirituality

The majority of the participants in my study were non-Catholic and resented confinement in the convent school at first even though they had a choice between the convent and a juvenile detention center. However, between one and six months after admission they adapted and found a comfort level in the routines and rituals of the convent, regardless of their religious affiliation. Some of the participants, both Catholic and non-Catholic, admired one or more Sisters and tried to model themselves in kind. Some girls expressed the desire to enter a religious vocation because they believed the lives of women religious were “intriguing” and filled with good acts.⁷⁴⁰ Several stories reflected how the seasonal rituals associated with Christian holidays (e.g. Christmas and Easter) and the celebrations during Catholic religious holy days (e.g. May crowning of Mary and Saint’s name days) felt special and exciting with fancy foods and parties. Catholic girls were required to attend mass every Sunday and had regular catechism classes every day. Non-Catholic girls were encouraged to attend, but not forced to go.

Several Catholic-born participants resented being forced to attend religious activities because they were not brought up in a formal Catholic environment even though they were baptized Catholic at birth. Non-Catholic girls often attended mass on Sundays and many of them remarked how they were fascinated by the pomp and regalia of the church environment. Some non-Catholic participants indicated that this was a significantly memorable part of

their Good Shepherd school days. Formal faith practices were rejected by many of the Catholic participants in adulthood because religious ritual and dogma were associated with patriarchal traditions that excluded women.⁷⁴¹ From a feminist perspective, this exclusion meant that women continued to be repressed and had little, if any voice or power to effect changes in Catholicism. Former Sisters who shared their stories reinforced this point and enumerated multiple reasons for leaving the congregation. One former Sister indicated that she left the Sisterhood because the Catholic Church barred same-sex relationships, required vows of celibacy, and did not support females entering the priesthood.⁷⁴² Participants who graduated from Good Shepherd schools and entered other religious orders did not stay long enough to reach final vows because they did not believe they could follow all of the practices in the Catholic tradition without questioning fairness and equality for both sexes.⁷⁴³

Participants Write Their Experiences

I believe the use of the spoken and written word as the foundation for my methodology expanded new avenues for qualitative as well as feminist research. Letherby and Zdrodowski used written aspects of this methodology for studying women who had image problems and found that the use of combined oral history-autobiographical methodology for data collection offered the participant a role in the research process by self-selection and self-definition.⁷⁴⁴ They noted that women who lived at a distance preferred to write about an experience and their research was based on a series of letters. Their participants

were mostly white, heterosexual females who told others about the project causing the participant numbers to “snowball.”⁷⁴⁵ The researchers shared their personal information with their participants in a reciprocal atmosphere in a similar fashion described by Lather.

My study reinforces their methods. I found that after several former Good Shepherd students trusted me they told other former students who in turn contacted me with stories about their school days at the Good Shepherd home. I collected ten oral histories and fifty storytelling participants who communicated through emails and postings to closed online communities. Most of the data reflected similar experiences. In my analysis I grouped the information by topics, such as running away, clothing, use of the term Tinkerbelle, “riding choo-choo” and families. I selected specific examples with strong commonalities to report. Fine pointed out that when a researcher selects, edits, and deploys representative voices in a tailored fashion to represent a group, the individual voices are stripped of their individualization and become politicized.⁷⁴⁶ She acknowledged, however, that such grouping is essential for analysis of the data.

Letherby and Zdrodowski advertised in printed media such as magazines and newspapers for participants in their study. They speculated why women did and did not respond to their published requests for research participants. They theorized the following about the women’s beliefs and response rates: a) fear of trusting a stranger with personal information, b) fear of being stigmatized by admitting they had image problems that met the criteria set by the study, c)

isolation from the request to participate, d) actual participants needed someone to talk to about their issues, e) networks of friends precluded the need to talk about issues with others, f) placed no value on the usefulness of research, and g) had no need to talk about their experiences. I found these seven points intriguing. The researchers only used requests for targeted participants in printed materials such as newspapers and magazines that fit their interest groups. They pointed out since they primarily used written communications the process was time-consuming because each contact required a written response.⁷⁴⁷ I found the written process to be time consuming, but a better representation of the women's accounts of their lives. Letherby and Zdrodowski reported that their participants were thankful and appreciated the chance to be part of the study. The participants in my study expressed gratefulness and stated no one cared to know about them and their life journey before.

Lather warned against personal bias and imposition of personal definitions of events. Fine wrote about the importance of the researcher's recognition of an unacknowledged stance concerning the use of voice as a source of data.⁷⁴⁸ Self reflection was a two-edged sword for me and the women. Stories they told reminded me of personal and professional experiences that shaped my identity. I learned that repressed memories were painful whether they or I took ownership of them. After some of the conversations and data analysis I found myself with tears in my eyes for them. Letherby and Zdrodowski referred to themselves as "agony aunts" after working with their women's problems for a year and said

that no amount of reading or preparation could have prepared them for the emotional side of the project.⁷⁴⁹ I took this to heart in the analysis of everyday life for my participants from 1940 to 1980 and how I interpreted their identity formation as adults.

I balanced and validated the data offered by the former students when I turned my attention to the Good Shepherd Sisters. I stayed in the convent with them on two occasions (2006 and 2007). They shared the archives of the schools located in their Provincialate, where I found data from many of the schools my participants attended. Student files were maintained at another location and were not made available for the study. Many of the Sisters at the Provincialate contributed stories or confirmed stories told by the women in my study. The participants ranged in age from fifty nine to ninety. My experiences were not unlike theirs in some respects. Lather speaks of reciprocal relationships wherein the teacher becomes the student and the student becomes the teacher.⁷⁵⁰ This process created awareness of the social issues of their school years, but also of their middle to senior years. The women were exposed to me and I was open to them for nearly four years through the online communities. When not actively conversing with the women, I was present for all online activities of the individual communities.⁷⁵¹ I was informed of births, deaths, and marriages. I knew when several women were diagnosed with various diseases such as diabetes and cancer. I occasionally fielded questions concerning the Good Shepherd Sisters' history and processes for former Good Shepherd students and

other graduate students doing research into areas such as the Magdalen Asylums⁷⁵² run by several convents in other countries.

The socioeconomic climate from 1940 to 1980 was uncertain for the majority of the participants in this study and opportunities for them as dispossessed children were fewer than in twenty-first century society as adults. Fine documents that feminist consciousness expanded greatly between 1960 and 1980, but powers controlling women's lives and the distribution of labor and wealth have changed little to date.⁷⁵³ None of the Good Shepherd schools had a surplus of money or goods, but provided for the girls' basic needs and additional niceties as possible. The final demise of the Good Shepherd schools was attributed to financial difficulties and decreased referrals by the juvenile court system.⁷⁵⁴ Many of the participants stated that they wished the Good Shepherd schools were still open for the troubled girls in today's society.

The participants in this study were the experts of their experiences at that time, but also had knowledge of today's society for comparison as informants. I did not consider their comparison of life between then and now as a contaminant. The accuracy of their memories was only as valid as their perception of selected events. Comments made by participants in the online communities during this study stimulated conversation and roused stored memories in several members who in turn added to the content. When more than one woman described an event each contributor added aspects that were recognized or remembered by other members of the group. The Villa St. Rose

group referred to this activity as “rememberies.” They used the term rememberies to intentionally start a topic of discussion, such as clothing styles or favorite foods. No other group identified or labeled memory stimulating activity for the purpose of starting a topic of group discussion.

According to Susan Hekman truth and knowledge are socially constructed.⁷⁵⁵ Over time, the women grew in consciousness concerning their invisibility and learned to reroute their social existence. They did not totally stagnate in the same social conditions of their younger years. This growth followed Hekman’s beliefs that identity is not formed into a fixed condition by one force, but by individual groundedness comprised of sex, gender, and sexuality.⁷⁵⁶ Many of the women used terminology that reflected distinction between the past and present. Phrases like “that was then” or “I would not do that now” were common during our communications. Stories about their oppressed childhoods leading up to admission to the Good Shepherd school that I found particularly disturbing were recounted with amazing calm and resolve. The women developed more knowledge about the powers around them as they matured. I was reminded of legends of sages who grew in wisdom and empowerment with age. From a developmental standpoint in their senior years the women attained the positive aspect of the final stage of Erikson’s developmental tasks—Integrity versus Despair wherein the adaptive strength is wisdom and the ego is in order.⁷⁵⁷

Letherby and Zdrodowski raised the question of how the women really feel after sharing deep parts of their pasts, especially when they share stories of abuse or loss.⁷⁵⁸ I noted that when the women shared sad stories about their childhoods they also told stories about good things they experienced. Most of the good things were events they experienced in the Good Shepherd school and afterwards. I had the impression that they did not believe that their lives were only a series of bad experiences.

I believe the mutual reciprocity in our interactions gave the women a degree of power that generated enormous amounts of data. The participants were in control of the information they gave me and I believe I imparted a sense of nonjudgmental acceptance to them. In my opinion, the underlying power behind the personal strength in these women was distributed in commitment to unconscious feminist thought.⁷⁵⁹ They developed the unconscious desire for social change as oppressed teens even though they had no formal indoctrination in feminist theory. Their feminist consciousness was evidenced by acknowledgment of their subordination to others and the recognition of social influences that hindered independent development. The participants frequently referred to having a lower status than others in society. They often referred to themselves as “bad girls” and “unwanted.” Lerner posited that feminist consciousness evolves when women formulate their own futures based on goals and plans for the future.⁷⁶⁰ The participants did not set many successful goals as young adults, but later as mature mothers and grandmothers, they moved

forward with attainable work goals and plans for helping the younger generations in their families.⁷⁶¹

The women in my study were open to the possibility that my research would shed light on their experiences and reveal information that would contribute to the greater knowledge of women's studies. I believe the participants went through developmental phases of personal growth that ranged from low self esteem as children to progressive self respect as senior citizens.

The inequality between the sexes in society was clearly visible when they were young and experimenting with sexuality or committing petty crimes that sent them to juvenile court. The social attitudes were not remedied but for the confinement of the troubled girl. Many of the women saw therapists over the past forty years on and off because of the blame associated with the label "bad girl." Rousseau said that woman was "framed for the delight and pleasure of man"⁷⁶² so theoretically if a woman (or girl) positioned herself as the giver of a "good time" she was not rewarded for being the "pleasure" of man, but was punished instead. Her choices were limited to a detention center or a convent. Either way the girl continued to bear the label of deviant.⁷⁶³

The participants in the study were pre-baby boomer women (born pre-1946) and were subject to more stereotypical gender constraints than women born later in the twentieth century. Although the girls in the Good Shepherd school came from different backgrounds, they had many things in common concerning feminist consciousness.⁷⁶⁴ Their formative years were laden with

physical and emotional stressors that separated them from the mainstream cohort of age-mates. They formed a separate cohort of females that arose from the convergence of differences and formed a single collection of troubled girls placed in a controlled environment. The women's position on social justice and the maldistribution of power was complimented by their desire for change and their recognition that change was possible.⁷⁶⁵ The belief in change was important to the success of the re-education offered by the Good Shepherd Sisters. If the girl did not project receptiveness to personal change she was not accepted in the home.⁷⁶⁶ The women in the study believed in the changes they could make in themselves with the help of others and entered the House of the Good Shepherd with a sense of hope for the future.

Research Questions

What circumstances led to the girl entering the House of the Good Shepherd? What was her family history? Was she remanded by the juvenile court or admitted through another source? Did she try to run away after admission?

Most of the girls were delinquents or made wards of the court by authorities and admitted to the House of the Good Shepherd through the juvenile court system from 1940 to 1980. A few girls were private admissions. The majority of the families were from lower class families with one or two parents/step parents that were alcoholics or abusive. Many of the parents had run-ins with the law at one time or another. Not all the juvenile delinquents

came from impoverished homes. Some of the girls were overindulged and had inadequate parental supervision. These girls were frequently incorrigible, truant, sexually promiscuous, or runaways. The Sisters viewed the girls as “good girls from bad homes” regardless of their previous personal faults. The girls who were offered the choice of confinement in the Good Shepherd home versus a juvenile detention center often chose the Good Shepherd home regardless of religion. Part of the acceptance process was the potential for re-education.

Girls remained in the custody of the Sisters for their full term of confinement unless they ran away. Many of the girls tried to run away in rebellion to enforced confinement and strict rules. Very few ran away and stayed away. A significant number of girls returned of their own accord and others were returned by authorities. If a girl ran away three times, she was not accepted back by the Sisters because of the disruptive nature of the escapee-search process. Many of the participants in the study planned escape or actually ran away at least once during her time with the Sisters.

In what can only be speculative, I suggest the following reasons for enrollment in a Good Shepherd school: 1.) delinquency, 2.) promiscuity, 3.) incorrigibility, 4.) truancy, and 5.) running away. A few girls were admitted because of dependency that led to becoming a ward of the court. The Sisters accepted a few dependent wards of the court because they were determined to be at risk for delinquency.

What were the educational experiences in the House of the Good Shepherd? Did these experiences influence future employment and lifestyle potential of the participant? Did she attend college or other vocational school after her departure?

Each girl had psychologic testing and a physical examination. The court assigned the girls to the home for terms of between eighteen months to several years. The girl was isolated from the main body of students for several weeks and assigned to a "big sister" who mentored her and helped her adjust to the rules of the house. When the isolation period was complete, the girl was assigned to a dormitory based on her personality and reason for admission. Girls with similar problems were housed together with several Sisters in residence as supervisors and confidants, twenty-four hours per day. The girls had the opportunity to earn merit points toward extra privileges and eventual reassignment to a dormitory with more privileges. The Sisters used the point system as a means of teaching discipline, which was a method of behavioral control.

Each girl was evaluated for her IQ level and was placed in remedial studies as needed. Each girl had the option of moving into general studies and catching up with her age cohort in the classes. Some of the girls accelerated their educations and finished the high school requirements ahead of time. The educational experiences included vocational classes such as domestic science and commercial coursework such as book keeping and secretarial skills.

Generally, girls who graduated from the high school were discharged from the facility. However, accelerated graduates were offered the option of applying for scholarships and grants for college. Some of the girls lived at the House of the Good Shepherd while they attended college and returned to work as lay teachers.

Christian teachings were part of the curriculum. All of the girls had training in values and religion at some level, although the non-Catholic girls were not forced to convert to Catholicism. In fact, girls were not permitted to convert to Catholicism without parental consent. A former student could not become a Sister of the Good Shepherd per the congregation's rule and constitutions. If the girl's religious faith was known, she was supplied with a Bible of her faith and could attend church services if transportation and supervision was available, particularly in the 1970s. Some of the local churches arranged for girls to attend religious services. Non-Catholic girls were not forced to attend mass, but were strongly encouraged to go. Several non-Catholic participants in the study remarked how they liked attending mass and especially loved holiday services and ceremonies perfumed with incense and fresh flowers of the season.

Catholic girls had the option of becoming a Consecrate, taking yearly renewable vows of consecration to Marionist ideals or of joining the Sisters Magdalen, which was a cloister within a cloister especially designed for those who desired a religious life with vows for life. Other religious activities included

selection for the Sodality of Mary which was a school-sanctioned sorority with rules and a constitution that had significant influence over the student body.

How did the policies and procedures in the House of the Good Shepherd interface with the lived experiences of the girls who passed through the system between 1940 and 1980? How did she feel before, during and after her education by the Sisters?

The participants in the study had similar responses about their time in the House of the Good Shepherd. The former students voiced their appreciation for the time they spent at the school and expressed affection for the Sisters and each other. Many former students stated they had little capacity for love of others. I noted that many of the participants showed more affection for their pets and grandchildren than for some of their husbands and children. Very few married and remained married to one husband. Their families seemed more stable as they passed middle age and entered retirement.

Many of the women said they rebelled against confinement at first, but settled into the routines within a few months and enjoyed having daily structure in their lives. When they spoke about the overall experience, they compared the negative life at home with the positive time they had with the Sisters. None of the participants in my study had a negative opinion of the Sisters and their work with the girls. They all had a "favorite" Sister and spoke fondly of her. Many were still in contact with each other more than forty five years after leaving the

school. Some of the participants had lost contact with their classmates and re-established their relationships only recently.

Formal release from the House of the Good Shepherd was not preannounced to the girl before discharge. She was told she was leaving while another trusted girl packed her belongings. There was no chance to say good bye to her friends or to the Sisters who served as surrogate mothers during her confinement. Many of the girls who remained until graduation from the high school said they did not feel ready to live in the outside world where the environment seemed cold and unfriendly compared to living with the Sisters.

What role did the House of the Good Shepherd play in the girl's development into an adult? How do the participants view their lives as adult women in society?

The majority of the participants said they would not have lived to adulthood were it not for the Good Shepherd Sisters. The general consensus was that the Sisters taught them values and beliefs they carried into adulthood. One participant who was the daughter of a former student (now deceased) remarked how she felt she was indirectly raised by the Sisters. Her birth mother was brought to the Sisters as a ward of the court, not as a delinquent. Her mother transferred lessons learned, such as organization, manners, and cleanliness from the Good Shepherd Sisters to her.

Many of the women said they had difficulty re-entering the world after the convent school, where the Sisters controlled nearly every move. In the school

few decisions were autonomous and life was generally even paced and uncomplicated. Rest and activity was scheduled and recreation was limited to certain games and sports. Entertainment was carefully selected for specific attributes that supported “lady-like” qualities and did not create a sexually charged atmosphere.⁷⁶⁷

As stated earlier, many of the graduates felt unprepared to meet the challenges of the outside world. Most had some marketable skill learned in the commercial classes, but had difficulty managing their time as adults in an unsupervised milieu. Self-discipline was difficult for many who had never lived on their own before. Although the theme of their re-education was teaching them to take care of themselves, many of them developed dependencies on the Sisters. Most of the positive feedback was given for following the rules and not demonstrating independent thought. Weitzman documented that dependent behaviors earned attention for girls because it made them look compliant and cooperative.⁷⁶⁸ I believe this dependent nature left the girls vulnerable to others in the post-release environment.

The Sisters tried to be sure that girls who were released had a stable environment to live in. Some girls returned to family homes, some moved into single-sex rooming houses, and others married immediately after release. Very few went into other religious houses as Sisters or Nuns. Several who began the pursuit of a religious vocation did not complete the process to final profession of VOWS.

Many of the women had multiple marriages and divorces. However, several married immediately after release and remained married until the partner died. A few entered long term same sex partnerships. All of the participants in the study including those who identified themselves as lesbians gave birth to at least one child within five years of graduation or release from the school. Most had at least two children within ten years. Of the children born to the women, many had difficulty with juvenile delinquency, drugs, or other illegal activity. An exact number is not known because several women did not share this information.

Most of the women became grandmothers. Several women stepped in to assume custody of grandchildren when their own children were unable to take on parenting roles. Some of the reasons included incarceration, addiction, and death.

Limitations of the Study

The Good Shepherd archives in St. Louis were in process of reorganization. Materials not yet cataloged were in unlabeled cardboard boxes. The North American congregation of the Sisters of the Good Shepherd was previously divided into nine Provinces. These were later divided into seven, five, three, and finally two Provinces with archives sorted into equal halves. The archivist was in process of organizing boxed materials as they arrived. I had unlimited access to all cataloged and uncataloged materials and papers.

Cataloged materials were somewhat informative, but not especially useful for this study.

Most research of juvenile delinquency between 1940 and 1980 was done with boys or included them in the mix with the girls. I believe more work should be done with retrospective data exclusively concerning delinquent girls and their outcomes. Earlier in this dissertation I referred to Konopka and her research concerning delinquents. She indicated that she believed that girls were treated differently than boys and were offered less severe alternative punishments when they broke the law. I believe this is understudied and requires more data collection before a complete analysis can be performed.

Participants were working from memories from over forty plus years previous to this study. Many had fuzzy or selective memories with the exception of particular incidents. I found that the participants' memories were like puzzle pieces. Some puzzle parts fell together succinctly and other parts had no apparent association with each other. Nilsson's research of memory in aging individuals found that women performed better in long-term memory tasks. He posited that the components of memory are divided into short-term and long-term applications.⁷⁶⁹ Short term-memory, also known as "working memory" pertains to thoughts, ideas, and experiences occurring within a conscious time period of seconds, minutes, and hours.⁷⁷⁰ Long-term memory is more complex and incorporates multifaceted experiences and retained knowledge from multiple segments of a lifetime. Reliability of memory depends on several parts of long-

term memory acquisition such as a) perceptual memory which is automatic sensing and learning about the environment, b) semantic memory which is an association of speech, reading, and understanding communications, c) procedural memory which is the implicit attainment of behavioral skill (walking or riding a bike...etc.), and d) episodic memory which is encoded as explicit personal experiences and recollections specific to one's past.⁷⁷¹ Episodic memory can be triggered by a stimulus, such as conversation, sensory input, or other cues from the environment and is the only part of memory that reverts backward in time for retrieval of information.⁷⁷² The women in the study relied heavily on their episodic memories when describing their lives and experiences in the Good Shepherd school.

Nearly all participants requested to be anonymous. Several requested that I not audio record our conversations. This is a limitation because future researchers may have difficulty locating the exact participants from this study for additional information or follow up. The participants had a fear of being exploited for their past association with delinquency and social standing.

All of my participants were voluntary informants. No participant identified herself to me as African American, but two did identify themselves as Native American. I believe that the absence of African American participation may be caused by the lack of online access. They may not have maintained contact with other former students or Sisters and may not belong to the particular online communities identified for the study.

Little in the way of selective samples was available. Student records were not available for review for retrospective study. Studies of particular Good Shepherd schools may prove interesting by geographic location. I was intrigued by the two Native American women and their discussions of chanting sessions and Pow-Wows. They did not indicate that they had to relinquish ethnic identity as in the "Indian boarding schools." They were both Christian before attending the school, though. Neither girl was Catholic.

Suggestions for Future Research

Studies that would compliment and continue my research include the following:

The Future Outlook for the Sisters of the Good Shepherd

What is the future of the foundress' mission if the Sisters of Our Lady of Charity of the Refuge and the Sisters of the Good Shepherd merge convents? Plans are underway to merge the two convents in the near future. The Good Shepherd Generalate is a unique entity among convent systems and closely governs the Good Shepherd Sisters. The Refuges continue to operate independently without central governance. Few new candidates enter either system and the numbers of elderly and infirm Sisters is disproportionately large compared to active members. The St. Louis convent had thirty-five infirm Sisters and six active aged Sisters, for example. Only one young potential candidate for the postulancy was under consideration for acceptance as of 2007. Neither convent system takes in "fallen women" as described in their mission statements.

The three remaining Good Shepherd schools are owned and operated by lay groups.

***What were the Experience of African American and
Minority Students in the House of the Good Shepherd?***

In the past, local customs caused a few Good Shepherd schools to segregate African American and minority students in separate facilities. Examples of the few segregated schools include New Orleans House of the Good Shepherd, Saint Euphrasia in Baltimore, and Illinois Technical School for Colored Girls. However, the Good Shepherd homes and schools were not designed to accommodate segregation by separate physical facilities or financial duplication. The foundress instructed the Sisters to seek out and save “black sheep” as described in Chapter II of this dissertation. No facility was segregated after the mid-1950s. Most of the schools had a racially mixed population at all times. Photographs from schools attended by the participants in this study show African American students in the student body dating back to 1940. Examples of integrated schools included include Villa Loretto in New York, Marycrest in Cleveland, and Villa Saint Rose in Portland. Oral histories of former students from the closed Illinois Technical School for Colored Girls would make an interesting study. This was the only Good Shepherd school specifically identified for African American girls.

***What is the Relationship between Women Who Were Labeled
Delinquent as Teenagers and their Children and Grandchildren?***

The participants in the study related stories that demonstrated inadequate parenting and nurturance when they were children and adolescents. In turn, they had difficulty parenting and demonstrating emotions with their own children. During the research process I found that several of the participants stepped in as surrogate parents for their own grandchildren. Some of these women relocated their homes to accomplish this role. One participant noted in her oral history that her grandmother offered limited parenting in place of her incapacitated mother. Other participants were not queried about this form of care during this study.

***What is the Relationship of Social Institutionalization and Imprinting
of Socially Deprived Adolescent Females and How They Function
Outside of the Protective Environment?***

The participants in my study claimed they had difficulty managing their lives after leaving the controlled environment of the school. None stated they felt emotionally harmed by the experience and in fact verbalized gratitude to the Sisters for the time spent in their care. One participant from the 1950s contributed a poem about the Good Shepherd Sisters that was printed anonymously by a fellow student in her 1958 yearbook. See Appendix D for the Good Shepherd Sisters poem.

Most participants indicated that they felt lost and unable to make appropriate decisions post release as individuals. Specific research about women and their processes for developing independence and decision making after leaving other controlled environments could reveal added knowledge. I believe that additional studies about facilities housing delinquent girls and their life course after leaving would be a good comparison.

In Conclusion

Mother Mary of Saint Euphrasia and her Sisters of the Good Shepherd formed a congregation in the nineteenth century for the purpose of saving the fallen woman and as a result became a specialized pillar of support for many troubled teen girls in the United States, who would have been otherwise cast off by society and regarded as not worthy of attention. The Sisters established systems and methods for working with and teaching the girls that foreshadowed many later prominent psychologic theories, such as Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs and Erikson's developmental stages. Identity formation and value reinforcement were fostered by using a mother-like image and role modeling in the hopes of providing an exemplar for each girl to follow as she developed the fortitude and self-respect necessary to make a stable place for herself in the world.

The lived experiences and the current lives of the women in this study reflect the long-term effects of a bygone era of Good Shepherd re-education that has disappeared from our landscape. The participants in this study voiced sadness in the knowledge that Good Shepherd-run schools are no longer

available for troubled girls in the United States. Many women stated that they wish they would have had the House of the Good Shepherd available for their own daughters during their troubled years. This study revealed previously unknown data concerning education in the House of the Good Shepherd, but also opens the door for future research about girls' education in convent systems in the United States.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

HOUSE OF THE GOOD SHEPHERD LOCATIONS

1. Washington State 1890 to 1996
 - a. Seattle
 - b. Spokane
2. Oregon 1892 to 1993
 - a. Portland
3. Oklahoma 1932 to 1980
 - a. Tulsa
4. New York 1868 to 1983
 - a. Peekskill
 - b. Dix Hills
 - c. Long Island
 - d. Brooklyn
 - e. Troy
 - f. Buffalo
 - g. Albany
 - h. Manhattan
5. California 1904 to 1977
 - a. San Francisco
 - b. Los Angeles
6. Tennessee 1875 to 1997
 - a. Memphis
7. Washington D.C. 1883 to 1966
8. Iowa 1903 to 1963
 - a. Sioux City
 - b. Dubuque
9. Connecticut 1893 to 1972
 - a. Springfield

- b. Hartfield
- 10. Rhode Island 1904 to 1955
 - a. Providence
 - b. Huntington
- 11. Maryland 1864 to present*
 - a. Baltimore (*Open under direction of lay staff)
 - b. Calverton
 - c. Silver Spring
- 12. Louisiana 1859 to 1962
 - a. New Orleans
 - b. Bridge City
- 13. Missouri 1849 to 1968
 - a. St. Louis
 - b. Kansas City
 - c. Florissant
 - d. Normandy
- 14. Texas 1897 to 1964
 - a. Dallas
 - b. San Antonio
 - c. Houston
- 15. Montana 1889 to 1978
 - a. Helena
- 16. Florida 1995 to 2000
 - a. Orlando
- 17. Hawaii 1976 to 1984
 - a. Honolulu
- 18. Arizona 1930 to 1998
 - a. Phoenix
 - b. Holbrook
- 19. Illinois 1859 to 1976

- a. Chicago
 - b. Peoria
- 20. Minnesota 1868 to 1970
 - a. Saint Paul
- 21. Indiana 1873 to 1968
 - a. Indianapolis
- 22. New Jersey 1875 to 1970
 - a. Wickatunk
 - b. Morristown
 - c. Newark
- 23. Wisconsin 1877 to 1972
 - a. Wauwatosa
 - b. Milwaukee
- 24. Colorado 1883 to 1968
 - a. Denver
- 25. Massachusetts 1867 to 1970
 - a. Jamaica Plains
 - b. Marlboro
 - c. Springfield
 - d. Boston
- 26. Nebraska 1894 to 1968
 - a. Omaha
- 27. Nevada 1962 to 1970
 - a. Los Vegas
- 28. South Carolina 1947 to 1969
 - a. Batesburg
- 29. Georgia 1991 to 1998
 - a. Atlanta
- 30. Kentucky 1843 to 1982
 - a. Fort Thomas

- b. Louisville
- c. Newport-Covington

31. Pennsylvania 1849 to 1970

- a. Philadelphia
- b. Clarks Summit (Open under direction of lay staff)
- c. Reading
- d. Scranton
- e. Norristown
- f. Germantown
- g. Fox Chase

32. Ohio 1869 to 2001

- a. Cleveland
- b. Wickliffe
- c. Independence
- d. Cincinnati
- e. Columbus

33. Michigan 1883 to present*

- a. Dearborn Heights
- b. Detroit (*Open under direction of lay staff)
- c. Grand Rapids

APPENDIX B

ADULT FEMALE WHO ATTENDED SINGLE-SEX CATHOLIC EDUCATION FROM FIRST HAND ACCOUNTS

Name: _____

Date: _____ ID No# _____ Autobiography.....Biography (by
who _____)...article.....book

Source: _____

Reference: _____

| | | | |
|-----------|--------------------------------|---------------|--|
| Decade | Age of girl Nationality | Duration | Reason for entrance Pregnancy? Orphaned? |
| Name real | New name | Nickname | Mother Father Was real name secretly shared? |
| Friends | Nuns(Sisters) | | Continued contact |
| Leisure | | | |
| Health | | | |
| Religion | Catholic | Other | Impact? Vocation? |
| Married? | Divorced? Widow? | Alt lifestyle | Relationships |
| Children | Adopt out? Abort? | Unwed? | Reproductive history |

| | | | |
|----------------|-------------|-----------|---|
| Education | | | <p>Describe your education</p> <p>Define moral education</p> |
| Name of School | Grade level | Scores | <p>Classes required</p> <p>Favorite classes</p> <p>Memorable lessons</p> |
| Work life | | | <p>Career</p> <p>College</p> |
| Personal | Positive? | Negative? | <p>Describe the experience</p> <p>How did this time impact your life?</p> |

APPENDIX C
WRIT OF CONFINEMENT SAMPLE

Juv. 521-J

BARRETT BROTHERS, PUBLISHERS, SPRINGFIELD, OHIO

COMMITMENT

The State of Ohio, Knox County.

Juvenile Court

WHEREAS, has been brought into
this Court charged with truancy and incorrigibility

and has been examined by me on said charge, and it appearing that said

..... is
 a truant from her home and school and incorrigible

THEREFORE, I command you to receive said

..... into your custody, there to remain
until further order of this Court.

Given under my hand this 8th day

of January A. D. 19 34

Robert J. Gorman
Judge and ex-officio Clerk of the Juvenile Court

APPENDIX D

THE SISTERS OF THE GOOD SHEPHERD

'Mid the silent hush of the cloister
Where the vesper anthems swell,
In deeds of love and kindness,
A band of virgins dwell.
In robes of creamy whiteness,
As pure as the forms they enfold,
Shedding a lustre around them
More fair than the brightest gold.

The Sisters of the Good Shepherd
Here follow the Master's call,
Cheering the weak and lowly
And breathing peace to all.
Home, friends and parents
Are only things of the past;
Toiling, prayer and suffering
Alone is their daily task.

What matters if the roses
Have faded from their cheeks!
Are they not helping their Master
To bring back His "wandering sheep"?
Prevailing the weak and the tempted
To shun the path of sin,
Their doors are ever open
To let the wanderer in.

Anonymous Student 1958

¹ The House of the Good Shepherd (HGS) is the formal name of the facility. In some circles after 1940 it is referred to as the Good Shepherd Home or Home of the Good Shepherd. The formal name will be used for the purposes of consistency in this dissertation.

² Sisters of the Good Shepherd. 1943. *Practical Rules for the Use of the Religious of the Good Shepherd for the Direction of Classes*. Translated by RGS Mother Marie Verger. 2 ed. Angers, France: Good Shepherd Sisters.

³ Sister Marjorie Hamilton, archivist at the Good Shepherd Provincialate, Saint Louis, MO, in personal communications with author July, 2006 and July, 2007.

⁴ Sister Renee in personal communication with author, July 2007.

⁵ Sister Marjorie in personal communication with author, July, 2006.

⁶ Ibid. Facilities had different age limits because of minor differences in regional needs.

⁷ McGlone, Sr. Mary William. 1951. Foster Homes versus Institutions. Term Paper, Psychology, Seattle University, Seattle.

⁸ Sister Lourdes in personal communication with author, July, 2007.

⁹ United States Census reports dated between 1880 and 1930.

¹⁰ Sister Marjorie in personal communication with author, July, 2006.

¹¹ Welter, Barbara. 1966. "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860." *American Quarterly* 18, no. 2. p.151-74.

¹² Sister Marjorie in personal communication with author, July, 2006.

¹³ Welter, 1966. The "Cult of the True Woman" that was the common opinion in the mid-nineteenth century that every woman should be trained a proper, virtuous woman. The concept of virtue and industry was strongly reflected in the underpinnings of the Good Shepherd policies for re-educating a young girl with the exception that the girl would be capable of taking care of herself instead being dependent on a man, per Sister Marjorie, July 2006.

¹⁴ Ibid, p. 152.

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- ¹⁵ Sister Marjorie in personal communication with author, July, 2006.
- ¹⁶ Brewer, Eileen Mary. 1987. *Nuns and the education of American Catholic women 1860-1920*. Chicago: Loyola University Press. p. 14-17.
- ¹⁷ Perko, F. Michael. "Religious Schooling in America: An Historiographic Reflection." *History of Education Quarterly* 40, no. 3 (2000): 320-38.
- ¹⁸ Ibid, p. 7-11.
- ¹⁹ Stone, Judith F. 2000. "Anticlericals and Bonnes Soeurs: The Rhetoric of the 1901 Law of Associations." *French Historical Studies* 23, no. 1: 103-28.
- ²⁰ Cott, Nancy F. 1977. The bonds of womanhood: "Woman's sphere" in New England, 1780-1835. 1 ed. New Haven: Yale University Press. p. 70-74.
- ²¹ Stock, Phyllis. 1978. *Better than Rubies: A History of Women's Education* New York: Putnam Books. p. 92-93.
- ²² Cott, 1977. p. 66-67.
- ²³ Lerner, Gerda. 1993. *The Creation of Feminist Consciousness*. New York: Oxford University Press. p. 274.
- ²⁴ Vicinus, Martha. 1973. *Suffer and Be Still: Women in the Victorian Age*. Indianapolis: Indiana University Press. p. 48
- ²⁵ McVeigh, Jane T. 1997. *Rose Virginie Pelletier: The Woman and Her Legacy*. 1 ed. Lanham, MD: University Press of America. p. 40.
- ²⁶ Brewer, p. 9, 34-35.
- ²⁷ Burns, James A. 1908. *The Catholic school system in the United States: Its principles, origin, and establishment*. 1 ed. New York: Benzinger Brothers. p. 73-75.
- ²⁸ Martin, Sr. Marie. 1946. *The Ursuline method of education*. 1 ed. Newark: Quinn & Bodin Company, Inc. p. 11-13.
- ²⁹ Burns, James A. 1937. *A history of Catholic education in the United States*. 1 ed. New York: Benzinger Brothers. 30-31.

³⁰ Stock, p. 24-25.

³¹ Kolmer, Elizabeth. 1978. Catholic women religious and women's history: A survey of the literature. *American Quarterly* 30 (5 Women and Religion):639-651.

³² Stuart, Janet Erskine. 1912. *The education of Catholic girls*. 1 ed. Brisbane: The Newman Press. p. 81, 87.

³³ Sister Marjorie in personal communication with author, July 2006. *Women religious* is the term used by Nuns and Sisters to describe their vocation.

³⁴ Sisters of the Good Shepherd. 1988. *Sisters of the Good Shepherd Constitutions and Statutes*. New York: Sisters of the Good Shepherd. Vows are promises to God that are perpetual (solemn) or temporary (simple). Vows made by Nuns and Sisters incorporate poverty, chastity, and obedience as part of Canon Law. Solemn vows by Nuns are perpetual, ongoing.

³⁵ Makowski, Elizabeth. 1997. *Canon Law and Cloistered Women: Periculoso and Its Commentators, 1298-1545*. Edited by Kenneth Pennington. Vol. 5, Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Canon Law. Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, Simple vows are time-limited and renewed at intervals voluntarily

³⁶ Waldman, Amy. "The Silence." *The New York Times*, December 21 1997

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Sisters of the Good Shepherd. 1943. The Good Shepherd Sisters believed that the example of the mother in the daily environment was necessary for the development of future mothers who would in turn be good examples for their daughters.

⁴⁰ Merici, Saint Angela. 1993. *The Rule, Advice, and Testament of Saint Angela Merici for the Company of St. Ursula*. Translated by Olga Lombardi Melaragno. Pepper Pike: Ursulines, This document is referred to as the *Primitive Rule of Angela*. Angela Merici called her followers "daughter" and instructed them to refer to each girl as "daughter", [translation from the first original Italian dictation of 1532. Angela was illiterate and had a trusted male secretary]. The

original document went through several revisions under the direction of male church leaders after Angela's death in 1540.

B. Sisters of the Good Shepherd. 1943. *Conferences and Instructions of Saint Mary Euphrasia Pelletier, Foundress of the Generalate of the Congregation of Our Lady of Charity of the Good Shepherd of Angers*. 2 ed. Westminster, MD: Newman Press, Mother Mary of St. Euphrasia called her followers "daughter" and instructed them treat each girl as a "daughter" in her Conferences and Instructions originally published in English in 1907. The reprint edition in 1945 includes notes made by individual Sisters during their instructional sessions with their foundress.

⁴¹ Boardman, Anne Cawley. 1955. *Good Shepherd's fold: A biography of St. Mary Euphrasia Pelletier*, 1 ed. New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers. p. 60.

⁴² Merici, 1993.

⁴³ Kerber, Linda. "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History." *The Journal of American History* 75, no. 1 (1988): 9-39.

⁴⁴ Ibid. p. 20.

⁴⁵ Sisters of the Good Shepherd. 1943. Each Good Shepherd facility followed a set of policies associated with methods of re-education from sinful, unproductive lives to respectable, productive Christian lives. Mother Mary of Saint Euphrasia created methods for her "daughters" [Sisters of the RGS] to use for the education of the girls. Some practices differed slightly between facilities because of resources or local custom.

⁴⁶ Stone, p. 120.

⁴⁷ Ibid, p. 120.

⁴⁸ Ibid, p. 121.

⁴⁹ Sister Marjorie in personal communication with author, 2006. World War II, Korea, and Viet Nam

⁵⁰ Participant R in personal communication with author, 2005, 2006)

⁵¹ Sisters of the Good Shepherd, 1943. Re-education is the term used by the foundress to describe psychosocial adjustment and life learning experienced by the girls as they prepared to re-enter the secular world after their confinement was complete.

⁵² Sister Lourdes in personal communication with author, 2007.

⁵³ Personal communication with former students (R, 2005; G, 2006) The choice of the House Good Shepherd over a juvenile detention facility was a common theme among the participants in this study.

⁵⁴ Participant P in personal communication with author, 2006).

⁵⁵ The majority of the women who offered their oral histories indicated they had been raped or molested before arriving at the House of the Good Shepherd.

⁵⁶ Sister Marjorie in personal communication with author, 2006.

⁵⁷ Ibid. 2006. The Good Shepherd Sisters referred to girls leaving without proper discharge as "jumping the fence".

⁵⁸ Participant D in personal communication with author, 2005.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Several former students described feelings of loss and rejection when they were denied reentry after the third escape. One former student, D indicated that she was happy to leave and be free of everyone. She ran away and did not get caught. She later was one of the few participants in this study to finish college and enter a professional career as a nurse. She has married once and remained married.

⁶¹ Sister Lourdes in personal communication with author, 2007.

⁶² Participant R in personal communication with author, 2006.

⁶³ Participant R in personal communication with author, 2006. The Sisters wore a silver 2-sided heart pendant locket containing their vows around their necks before Vatican II in 1964, Mary and child on one side bordered on the left by roses and on the right by lilies, Jesus as the Good Shepherd on the other framed in the words "Vive Jesus et Marie."

⁶⁴ Conniff, James C. G. 1957. *The Good Shepherd story*. Peekskill, NY: Sisters of the Good Shepherd. P. 46.

⁶⁵ Participant S in personal communication with author, 2005.

⁶⁶ Participant R in personal communication with author, 2006.

⁶⁷ Sister Marjorie in conversation with author, 2006. According to the Associated Press the name of Boys' Town was changed to Girls' and Boys' Town between 2000 and 2007 after the closure of the Good Shepherd school in Omaha. The new name did not catch on. The name was changed back to Boys' Town in December, 2007 and the logo changed to a boy carrying a girl on his back because girls make up 50 percent of the census in the facility. For more information see www.wtopnews.com and www.boystown.org

⁶⁸ Ibid. Boys' Town was immortalized in 1938 as a movie starring Spencer Tracy and Mickey Rooney.

⁶⁹ Hinkle, Warren. "Where to Stash the "Misfits"?" *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 29, 1977.

⁷⁰ Personal communications with all former student participants except, L, 2005 and D, 2005 resulted in affirmations of ongoing [into adulthood] affection for the Good Shepherd Sisters. I found it interesting that the two former students named here joined all the others in assuming a posture of protection of the Sisters when I began this study. One student had been an escapee, who remained at large and never returned. The other remained in custody for her term of confinement. Both students express affection for the other former students and maintain close contact with their groups through two separate online communities. These two former students do not know each other.

⁷¹ McVeigh, p.97. Abraham Maslow (1909-1970) developed his theory of hierarchy based on a human's needs ranging in primitive through reaching personal full potential. Additional information can be found at <http://allpsych.com/biographies/maslow.html>.

⁷² Ibid. Eric Erikson (1902-1994) developed his psychosocial theories of childhood development based on his studies with Anna Freud, daughter of Sigmund Freud. He believed that children

moved into adulthood in stages and could suffer an “identity crisis” at any stage. Additional information can be found at <http://allpsych.com/biographies/erikson.html>.

⁷³ McVeigh, p. 97-99.

⁷⁴ Hoy, Suellen. 2006. *Good hearts: Catholic sisters in Chicago's past*. 1 ed. Chicago: University of Illinois Press. p. 74-77.

⁷⁵ McVeigh, p. 108-109.

⁷⁶ McVeigh, p. 39.

⁷⁷ McKiernan, Mary Justin. 1945. *The Order of St Ursula*. 1 ed. New Rochelle: Ursuline Provincialate.

⁷⁸ Bernoville, Gaetan. 1959. *Saint Mary Euphrasia: Foundress of the Good Shepherd Sisters*. 1 ed. Westminster, MD: Newman Press. p. 165.

⁷⁹ Notations in the Good Shepherd student register dated 1843, Louisville, Kentucky concerning student deaths. In the St. Louis archives.

⁸⁰ Sisters of the Good Shepherd. 1943. Mother Mary of Saint Euphrasia's Conferences and Instructions, Chapter II.

⁸¹ Bernoville, p. 181.

⁸² Sisters of the Good Shepherd. 1984. *Letters of Saint Mary Euphrasia Pelletier, 1796-1868*. Edited by RGS Sister Mary of Saint Bernadette Fox. 1 ed. Bar le duc, France: Sisters of the Good Shepherd.

⁸³ First Good Shepherd registry entry dated September 15, 1843. Located in St. Louis archives.

⁸⁴ The preservation class of preadolescent girls was taken in to the House of the Good Shepherd as a protective measure. They were not serving a term or sentence. The girls were registered as preservates to save them from fall prey to evil.

⁸⁵ St. Louis archives. Good Shepherd registry entry, 1843. This young woman [Martha Coffman] was 24 years of age. An unidentified woman brought her to the House of the Good Shepherd because she was turned away from the hospital. The young woman died within 36 hours during

which she was "converted", baptized, given absolution, extreme unction, and made her confession.

⁸⁶St. Louis archives. Good Shepherd registry entry, 1843. The husband confined his elderly wife because of alcohol addiction in 1846.

⁸⁷ Stone, p. 125.

⁸⁸ Chinnici, Joseph P., Dries, Angelyn. 2000. *Prayer and Practice in the American Catholic Community*. Edited by Christopher J. Kauffman, American Catholic Identities: A Documentary History. New York: Orbis Books. P. 35-36. The Immaculate Conception was a Marianist notion highly supported by Catholics starting around 1854. The Assumption of Mary is a celebrated feast day commemorating her death. After this time, visions of the Virgin Mary increased in number. The proclamation was signed by a quill pen prepared by a Good Shepherd Sister of Imola who served as Pius IX's secretary while he was still a Cardinal.

⁸⁹ McGlone, 1954. Sodality is a form of devotion that is incorporated into daily life. The Sodalists in the House of the Good Shepherd followed the Marianist tradition.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Wilson, Gertrude. 1949. *Social Group Work Practice*. Edited by Marion Hathaway. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, p. 36-37.

⁹³ McGlone, 1954.

⁹⁴ Our Lady of Charity of the Refuge is a congregation of Sisters that is still in existence today. They are located in several countries including the United States. The Sisters of Good Shepherd are a branch of this main group. Talks are under way to re-combine the two groups of Sisters into one organization to share resources because the missions are closely related.

⁹⁵ Sister Marjorie in conversation with author, July, 2006.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ McVeigh, p. 38-41.

⁹⁸ Sisters of the Good Shepherd, 1943.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Sisters of the Good Shepherd. 1943. Clearly outlined practices that are documented in book form by the foundress for the Good Shepherd Sisters to use with the re-education of girls.

¹⁰¹ Hekman, Susan. "Truth and Method: Feminist Standpoint Theory Revisited." *Signs* 22, no. 2 (1997): 341-65.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Foucault, Michel. 1980. *Power/Knowledge. Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977* Edited by Colin Gordon. New York: Pantheon Books P. 80-83.

¹⁰⁶ Hartsock, Nancy C.M. 1983. *Money, Sex, and Power: Toward a Feminist Historical Materialism*, the Northeastern Series in Feminist Theory. Boston: Northeastern University Press. p. 117-18.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, p. 117.

¹⁰⁸ Vatican II convened between 1962 and 1965 and implemented changes that rendered the Catholic Church forever changed. The services could be offered in common English, the attire of the men and women religious was no longer restricted to ritualistic habits, and many dated rules were relaxed. For additional information see Leddy, Mary Jo; DeRoo, Remi J.; Roche, Douglas. 1992. *In the Eye of the Catholic Storm: The Church since Vatican II*. Edited by Michael Creal. Toronto, 1992.

¹⁰⁹ Fine, Michelle. 1992. *Disruptive Voices: The Possibilities of Feminist Research*, Critical Perspectives on Women and Gender. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press. p. 3-4.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Lerner, 1993. p. 274.

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- ¹¹³ Hartsock, Nancy C.M. 1998. *The Feminist Standpoint Revisited and Other Essays*, Feminist Theory and Politics. Boulder, CO: Westview Press. p. 107-27.
- ¹¹⁴ Ibid.
- ¹¹⁵ Konopka, Gisela. 1970. *Group Work in the Institution*. New York: Association Press. p. 190-191.
- ¹¹⁶ Ibid, p. 193.
- ¹¹⁷ Ibid, p. 222.
- ¹¹⁸ Ibid, p. 193.
- ¹¹⁹ Fine, Michelle; Weis, Lois. 2003. *Silenced Voices and Extraordinary Conversations*. New York: Teachers College Press. p. 68.
- ¹²⁰ Sister Marjorie in conversation with author, July 2006. The 3 schools in existence as of 2008 are Clarks Summit, PA; Baltimore, MD; and Detroit, MI.
- ¹²¹ Lather, Patti. "Research as Praxis." *Harvard Educational Review* 56, no. 3 (1986): 257-77.
- ¹²² Ibid.
- ¹²³ Ibid.
- ¹²⁴ Fine, 1992. 217-19.
- ¹²⁵ Ibid, p. 219.
- ¹²⁶ Cooper, Marilyn M. "On Objectivity in Qualitative Research." *College Composition and Communication* 48, no. 4 (1997): 556-61.
- ¹²⁷ Ibid.
- ¹²⁸ Ibid.
- ¹²⁹ Hartsock, Nancy C.M. "Comment on Hekman's "Truth and Method: Feminist Standpoint Theory Revisited": Truth or Justice?" *Signs* 22, no. 2 (1997): 367-74.
- ¹³⁰ Ibid
- ¹³¹ Ibid.
- ¹³² Ibid, p.371.

¹³³ Participant J signature line in email.

¹³⁴ Participant H signature line in email.

¹³⁵ Participant P signature line in email.

¹³⁶ Email from Ruth Parvin, PhD clinical psychologist to author, 2006.

¹³⁷ Booth Memorial Hospital was a 48-bed Salvation Army hospital for women located on the East side of Cleveland until 1985. My role was working in surgery for cesarean sections and other surgical procedures on the women and girls between 1975 and 1981. The home for unwed mothers and the home-like birthing center were attached.

¹³⁸ Lather, 1986.

¹³⁹ Participant R in personal communication with author, 2005.

¹⁴⁰Fuchs, Rachel G. 1992. *Poor and pregnant in Paris: Strategies for survival in the nineteenth century*. New Jersey: Rutgers University Press. Concerning the fallen woman in France: Fuchs describes how mainstream social Catholics held conservative views concerning women and morality. Social economists of the time believed that giving financial aid to single women and unwed mothers would increase the incidence of immoral behavior and lack of industry in females. The emphasis was placed on women as mothers who were the key to orderly family and social life. For additional information concerning "fallen women" see Russell, Mathew S. J. 1910. *The Life of Blessed John Eudes*. London: Burns and Oates. P. 51.

John Eudes established a congregation of women religious to protect and sanctify female penitents. His intent was to start the first refuge for fallen women run by women religious. Sisters of the Good Shepherd. 1989. *Study of the Original Charism of Our Lady of Charity According to Saint John Eudes*. Translated by Sister Mary of Saint Rita Morrison. Edited by Sisters of the Good Shepherd. 1 ed. 5 vols. Vol. 4, Studies in Good Shepherd Heritage. Cincinnati: Cincinnati Province of the Good Shepherd. P. 16. Prostitutes roamed the streets of French cities in large numbers because of poverty and lack of employment.

¹⁴¹ Kunzel, Regina G. 1993. *Fallen Women, Problem Girls: Unmarried Mothers and the Professionalization of Social Work, 1890-1945*. New Haven: Yale University Press. p. 2-3. A fallen woman is considered the object of salvation for the evangelists and social workers who exercise scientific methods to redirect behaviors to meet acceptable standards for society. Kunzel debates professional methods versus amateur approaches to working with troubled girls.

¹⁴² Ibid, p. 5.

¹⁴³ Fuchs, p. 53-54.

¹⁴⁴ Putnam, Robert. 2000. *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. New York: Simon and Schuster. P. 288-290.

¹⁴⁵ Fuchs. p. 54

¹⁴⁶ Lerner, Gerda. 1986. *The Creation of Patriarchy*. New York: Oxford University Press, p. 233-234. Lerner defines patriarchy as male dominance over women and children. She extends this influence over society as a whole. P. 239, Lerner indicates that patriarchy takes on different characteristics over time, but remains male dominant.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid, p. 9.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid, p. 239. Lerner points out that the father had absolute power over the household with the support of the entire family. In return for this power, he owed the family safety and financial security.

¹⁴⁹ Schur, Edwin M. 1984. *Labeling Women Deviant: Gender, Stigma, and Social Control*. 1 ed. New York: Random House. P 3-7. Deviance can be described as any label that causes the individual to feel devalued or lower than her oppressor.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid, p. 234.

¹⁵¹ Teresita, Sister Mary of Saint. 1993. *The Social Work of the Sisters of the Good Shepherd*. 1 ed. Cleveland, OH: Cadillac Press. p. 92.

¹⁵² Russell, p. 5, 27. John Eudes (1601-1680). In 1641 he began open air ministries and undertook a personal mission of reforming priests. He believed that priests should be as perfect as

possible as examples to the Catholic families of the newly forming parishes of Counter Reformation France.

¹⁵³ Dickens, A.G. 1968. *The Counter Reformation*. New York: W.W. Norton and Company, Inc. p. 7.

¹⁵⁴ Teresita, p. 93.

¹⁵⁵ Lerner, p. 210. She indicates that the human mind is powerful tool.

¹⁵⁶ Kelly, Bernard W. 1953. *A Short Survey of Church History*. 7 ed. London: Sands & Co. LTD. p. 50.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid, p. 56. The Council was convened over a period of eighteen years to define and support the articles of faith outlined by the Roman Catechism of the Catholic Church. Temporary adjournments were taken to avoid plague and wars. The conclusion of the Council of Trent marked the beginning of Catholic resistance to Protestant oppression.

¹⁵⁸ Dickens, p. 108-115. At the first session of the Tridentine Council attendance was low. A total of 31 Bishops and 50 other theologians and canonists. Representatives were from Italy, France, Germany, and Spain.

¹⁵⁹ Kelly, p. 59.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid, p. 60. The fighting resulted in the destruction of an estimated 40,000 churches and religious houses in France and the deaths of more than 4,000 religious of both sexes.

¹⁶¹ McGreevy, John T. 1996. *Parish Boundaries: The Catholic Encounter with Race in the Twentieth-Century Urban North*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. p. 9, 21. Parishes were collections of Catholic individuals that lived in a common geographic area defined by the local Catholic Church. The parish was part of the Catholic identity that played a large role in the social and cultural life of the families. McGreevy points out that parishes were immobile and sometimes fell into a ghetto culture as financial circumstances became bleak. See also Coriden, James A. 1997. *The Parish in Catholic Tradition*. New York: Paulist Press. p. 106-107. Parish groups had

similar political views. The region was referred to by the parish name, usually that of the local church.

¹⁶² Stock, Phyllis. 1978. *Better Than Rubies: A History of Women's Education* New York: Putnam Books, p.78-79.

¹⁶³ Father Eudes had three points to his philosophy: 1) We must feel the suffering of others and have compassion for their troubles and discomforts; 2) We must want to help; 3) We must do something. Put words and feelings into action. Joly, Henri. 1932. *Life of Saint John Eudes*. Translated by CM Joseph Leonard. London: Burns Oates & Washbourne LTD. p. 156.

¹⁶⁴ Russell, p. 52. In 1636, a well-known Catholic lay woman of Caen, Normandy, Madeleine Lamy, questioned why he did not care for the cast-off, "fallen women" going into ruin through poverty and neglect. She pressured Father Eudes to help in her cause and he responded by procuring a larger rented house to shelter the penitent women.

¹⁶⁵ Stock, p. 13-14.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid, p. 51. In the beginning there were no dedicated congregations of Sisters or religious Orders of Nuns with the mission of saving fallen women. Some of the affluent women in Caen had tried to help fallen women by rehabilitating them in their homes.

¹⁶⁷ Wiesner, Merry E. 2000. *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*. Edited by William Beik and T. C. W. Blanning. 2 ed., New Approaches to European History. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 26-27.

¹⁶⁸ Conway, Katherine. 1926. *Fifty years with Christ the Good Shepherd: The story of the fold in Newark, New Jersey 1875-1925*. Norwood, MA: The Plimpton Press. p. 5.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹⁷⁰ Kane, Paula. 2001. *Gender Identities in American Catholicism*. Edited by Christopher J. Kauffman, American Catholic Identities: A Documentary History. New York: Orbis Books, p. 83-84.

¹⁷¹ Joly, p. 158-159.

¹⁷² Russell, p. 55-56. Morin was difficult to work with and eventually pressured most of the new postulants to leave. She eventually resigned her post and left taking all but two lay workers with her. She opened an orphanage using Father Eudes trained personnel.

¹⁷³ Russell, p. 53.

¹⁷⁴ Makowski, Elizabeth. 1997. *Canon Law and Cloistered Women: Periculoso and Its Commentators, 1298-1545*. Edited by Kenneth Pennington. Vol. 5, Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Canon Law. Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press. p. 1-4.

Periculoso, or enclosure as its known was imposed on convents in 1298 by Pope Boniface VIII to decrease public exposure to women religious.

McNamara, Joann Kay. *Sisters in Arms: Catholic Nuns through Two Millennia*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996. For additional information see Wiesner, p. 216.

¹⁷⁵ Sisters of the Good Shepherd. 1890. *The Rule of Saint Augustine and the Constitutions for the Religious of the Congregation of Our Lady of Charity of the Good Shepherd*. Angers, France: Sisters of the Good Shepherd. P. 1-15. This document outlines and describes the expected behaviors of the Sisters and defines the vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience.

¹⁷⁶ McNamara, P. 464. Ursuline Sisters took the three standard vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. They added a fourth vow of educating women.

The process of Ursuline education included training in religion, motherhood, and state.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid, P. 465-467. The Visitation Sisters were founded by Francis de Sales and Jeanne de Chantrell in the early 17th century. They had two roles: 1) prayer and contemplation; 2) visiting and caring for the sick of the same sex. The Visitandine philosophy was repentance-based and not rehabilitation-focused. Initially the Visitation Sisters were informal. Around 1622 they were ordered enclosed and had to take the three traditional vows.

¹⁷⁸ Sisters of the Good Shepherd. 1890. P. 23. Mother Margaret Frances Patin of the Visitation Sisters agreed to oversee and implement the process of training the new Sisters for the refuge. Occasionally, she would spot a promising young postulant and send her from the refuge to

become a Visitation Sister at her home convent. Mother Patin trained the Sisters of Our Lady of Charity of the Refuge for more than 17 years. However, her primary loyalties were to her own congregation. She had no genuine interest in reclaiming fallen women. She died in 1668.

¹⁷⁹ Sisters of the Good Shepherd. P. 25. The Rule and Constitutions were explicitly fashioned by Father Eudes to create the fourth vow of instructing Penitents. He also designated that a wall be built around with one entrance for the use of the Sisters and to answer critics' questions concerning collection of fallen women and the potential for their influence over women religious.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid. P. 25. The addition of a fourth vow pertaining to the salvation of the penitent woman in addition to the traditional three vows was implemented to acknowledge the specific mission of the refuge in contrast to other religious houses for women.

¹⁸¹ Ibid, P. 26. Renee Eustache de Taillefer became Sister Marie of the Assumption. She later became the congregation's Superior.

¹⁸² Clarke, A. M. 1895. *Life of Reverend Mother Mary of Saint Euphrasia Pelletier: First Superior General of the Congregation of the Our Lady of Charity of the Good Shepherd of Angers*. 1 ed, Quarterly Series. London: Burns and Oates, Limited. P. 52. A simple white habit was donned to symbolize purity because the color white is associated with the attire of angels. A black veil was worn to symbolize death to the world and humility. A blue cross sewn into the robe over the heart represented the color of heaven's reward. A modified Visitandine cross was worn to symbolize the refuge. The silver Visitandine cross was shaped like a heart with the mother and child on one side and lilies and roses on the other.

¹⁸³ Kuhns, Elizabeth. 2003. *The Habit: A History of the Clothing of Catholic Nuns*. New York: Doubleday. P. 1-9. The attire known as a habit worn by Sisters and Nuns has historically been associated with women religious, who have set themselves aside from the general population. After Vatican Council II (1962-1965), the habit was no longer required and the number of women religious decreased by over one half. I speculate the loss of the habit took with it a key element of the women's identities. Orders that still wear religious attire have lost fewer members. P. 3.

¹⁸⁴ Joly, p. 147. Renee Eustache de Taillefer entered the novitiate and was later professed at Our Lady of Charity of the Refuge.

¹⁸⁵ Translated from a letter in French by a Sister of the Good Shepherd, undated. In the archives of the Saint Louis Provincialate of the Sisters of the Good Shepherd.

¹⁸⁶ Fuchs, p. 53.

¹⁸⁷ Bernoville,. p.153.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid, p.183-184. Mother Mary of Saint Euphrasia stated "...Teach Christian doctrine to our dear children so that, when they return to the world, they will be able to persevere in good and practicing Christian virtues".

¹⁸⁹ Ibid, p. 262.

¹⁹⁰ Stock, p. 106-107.

¹⁹¹ Ibid, p. 113. The belief of the Enlightenment philosophes was that the mind was a blank slate and if the children all received the same education they would then be equal. Women were not specifically mentioned.

¹⁹² Ibid, p. 261.

¹⁹³ Ibid, p.79.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid, p. 79-80. Stock points out that many of the statistics were gathered from numbers of women who were able to sign a marriage contract. Signing one's name does not imply a full ability to read and write.

¹⁹⁵ Kelly, p. 89.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid. p. 89-90.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid, p. 80.

¹⁹⁸ Green, Andy. 1990. *Education and State Formation*. London: Macmillan. P.4-5.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

²⁰¹ Clarke, p. 49.

²⁰² Rogers, Rebecca. "Competing Visions of Girls' Secondary Education in Post-Revolutionary France." *History of Education Quarterly* 34, no. 2 (1994) p.155. Napoleon wanted four female religious groups to resume organized management of social service. The four congregations of Sisters would run the hospitals (Charity Sisters), educate girls in day schools or boarding schools (Ursuline Sisters), care for female orphans (Mercy Sisters), and rehabilitate delinquent girls (Our Lady of Charity of the Refuge).

²⁰³ Sisters of the Good Shepherd. 1899. *Life of Mother Mary of St. Euphrasia Pelletier*. London: Burns & Oates, Limited. P. 10.

²⁰⁴ Clarke, P. 11.

²⁰⁵ Bernoville, P. 24. She felt a religious calling at her communion. Rose later recounted the spiritual experience to her Sisters at the Good Shepherd convent. For more information concerning mystic experiences see also Harris, Ruth. "The "Unconscious" and Catholicism in France." *The Historical Journal* 47, no. 2 (2004): 331-54.

²⁰⁶ Harris, p. 333.

²⁰⁷ Ibid, p. 337.

²⁰⁸ Ibid, p. 336.

²⁰⁹ Ibid, p. 336.

²¹⁰ Horsfall, Sara. "The Experience of Marian Apparitions and the Mary Cult." *The Social Science Journal* 37, no. 3 (2000) : 375-84.

²¹¹ Ibid, p. 375.

²¹² Bernoville, p. 26.

²¹³ Rogers, Rebecca. "Boarding Schools, Women Teachers, and Domesticity: Reforming Girls' Secondary Education in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century." *French Historical Studies* 19, no. 1(1995) p. 156.

²¹⁴ Ibid, p. 158.

²¹⁵ Ibid. p. 160. Secondary education for girls in France increased significantly after 1821. By 1830 parameters providing minimal guidelines for girls' secondary education and female teachers' qualifications were more clearly defined.

²¹⁶ Rogers, 1994. p. 167-169. Napoleon did not want the girls to strive for competitive independence. He wanted a system of educating girls to be domestic women. In some respects, convent schools undermined marriage by leading women away from family life as defined the by the state.

²¹⁷ Wollstonecraft, Mary. 1792. *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*. London: Dover. P. 128.

²¹⁸ Ibid. p. 25. Wollstonecraft states that women should have the faculty to develop their own conscious virtue.

²¹⁹ Stock, p. 118.

²²⁰ Wollstonecraft, p. 197.

²²¹ Clarke, p. 31.

²²² Ibid, p. 33-34.

²²³ Ibid, p. 31.

²²⁴ Wollstonecraft, p. 64. For additional information concerning Wollstonecraft and her opinions concerning *Emile* and Rousseau's beliefs see Stock, p. 118.

²²⁵ Ibid, p. 119. A woman incapable of reason cannot be expected to teach a child how to reason.

²²⁶ Clarke, p. 39. The older girls were told the facts about the lifestyle of the fallen women of the refuge.

²²⁷ Sisters of the Good Shepherd. 1899, p. xxxii.

²²⁸ Ibid. p. 26-27, 39-40.

²²⁹ Ibid, p. 29.

²³⁰ Ibid. P. 45.

²³¹ Ibid, p. 31.

²³² Ibid, p. 32-33. A blue cross was worn inside the robe over her heart to remind her of Christ's passion and that the cross leads to heaven. The silver engraved heart placed around her neck had an engraved image of the Blessed Mother and Holy Child on one side and lilies for chastity and roses with thorns for Jesus Christ on the other. The thorns were to protect the Sister from the world that would try to sever her from her vocation. Additional information concerning the importance of identity formation and group belongingness attached to attire can be found in Thomas, William. "The Psychology of Modesty and Clothing." *The Journal of Sociology* 5, no. 2 (1899) p. 249.

²³³ Clarke, p. 53.

²³⁴ Sisters of the Good Shepherd (1899), p. 33-34.

²³⁵ Ibid. P. 34.

²³⁶ Ibid, p. 29. The first name of Mary was given to each Sister of the Refuge and to each of the Good Shepherd Sisters (Daughters) by Mother Mary of Saint Euphrasia.

²³⁷ Ibid, P. 37, 47.

²³⁸ Sisters of the Good Shepherd. 1943.

²³⁹ Teresita, p. 89.

²⁴⁰ Bernoville, p. 52. See also Sisters of the Good Shepherd (1899), p 49.

²⁴¹ Sisters of the Good Shepherd (1899), p 49.

²⁴² Bernoville, p. 46.

²⁴³ Wiesner, p. 215.

²⁴⁴ Sisters of the Good Shepherd, (1899). p. 59. She received special dispensation to bypass the required age of 40 years of age according to the Rule of the congregation. The Council of Trent commonly held that a Superior should be at least 30 years of age and 5 years professed. She was canonically elected May 21, 1825 because she was found to be the most qualified for the role. The vote was unanimous.

²⁴⁵ Bernoville, p. 60.

²⁴⁶ Teresita, p. 16.

²⁴⁷ DeBoer, Esther. *Mary Magdalene: Beyond the Myth*. Translated by John Bowden. Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 1996. p. 3-11. Mary Magdalen was wrongly identified as a woman taken in sin and pardoned by Jesus Christ in the New Testament of the Bible. The name Magdalen became synonymous with a fallen woman around 500AD. She is now believed to be one of the esteemed apostles and possibly the wife of Jesus.

²⁴⁸ www.ocarm.org The Third Order of Mount Carmel Rule (tertiary) rule modification for the Sisters Magdalen is based on a contemplative life in cloister designed in 1455. Their habit consisted of brown wool similar to monks and they took vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. The main work of the group was prayer for the salvation of the sinner. Historically, Tertiaries could live in the community following simple vows and acting in obedience to the Prior, who serves as a spiritual director in charge of a monastery. Their activities could be active or contemplative.

²⁴⁹ Clarke, p. 74-75. In the early days of the Good Shepherd congregation a few penitents tried to become Sisters and failed. The Sisters Magdalen was formed to accommodate the needs of the ineligible penitent.

²⁵⁰ Sisters of the Good Shepherd. (1943) P. 182-183. Ineligibility to become a Sister of the Good Shepherd included being a penitent, former criminal activity and illegitimacy. Any woman or girl who had been in the preserve class was ineligible because she had been in the care of the Sisters. See also Sisters of the Good Shepherd, 1900. *Rules and Observances of the Sisters Magdalens of the Good Shepherd of Angers*. Sisters Magdalen may take the three vows of religion for the first ten years. After the tenth year they can take perpetual vows and remain in the House of the Good Shepherd as a Sister Magdalen for life. P. 21.

²⁵¹ Bernoville, P. 64. The Carmelites were cloistered and worked to save souls by prayer. They were demonstrating collegiality with Mother Mary of Saint Euphrasia's efforts to save souls by

active re-education of fallen women. The Carmelites supported the contemplative prayerful life of the Sisters Magdalen.

²⁵² Documents located in the archive at St. Louis Provincialate. Accessed July, 2007. The Sisters Magdalen practiced perpetual silence rising at 4AM and retiring at 9PM. One hour of recreation followed each of their two meals during which they could speak. In 1964 they were known as the Sisters of the Cross to shed the erroneous associated with Mary Magdalen as a "fallen woman". Their names no longer included "Magdalen". They took their baptismal names and renewed their vows on September 14th each year. In modern times, they are known as the Contemplative Sisters of the Good Shepherd and have merged with the main body of the congregation.

²⁵³ Sisters of the Good Shepherd. 1900. p. 21.

²⁵⁴ Clarke, p. 104-106. Some of the young girls considered more "frivolous than vicious" were in need of protection from falling prey to the world. These protected girls were housed separately as preserves. This practice was phased out in the late 19th Century.

²⁵⁵ Clarke, p. 313.

²⁵⁶ Ibid, p. 78. One account concerning her mysticism involved her sitting at the deathbed of a young Magdalen and asking the dying girl for a favor. She asked the young girl to serve as a holy ambassador and speak to God when she got to heaven to confirm that the refuge was to expand. The young girl died that evening. Throughout her life, Mother Mary of Saint Euphrasia sent her Daughters [Sisters] forth to found refuges without concern about lack of funds. She considered this a fulfillment of her vow of poverty.

²⁵⁷ McVeigh, p. 34-35. Mother Mary of Saint Euphrasia believed that the Sisters had experienced many tragedies during the French Revolution and were fearful concerning growth.

²⁵⁸ Bernoville, p. 74. Madame d'Andigné, a wealthy patroness, recommended the work of Mother Mary of Saint Euphrasia and the refuge at Tours to Monsignor Breton as a starting point for the new refuge at Angers.

²⁵⁹ Ibid, p. 81. de Neuville's mother had left 30,000 Francs for the purpose of helping abandoned women at her death in 1827 before the establishment of the Our Lady of Charity of the Refuge in Angers.

²⁶⁰ McVeigh, p. 35.

²⁶¹ Ibid, p. 80. Saint Mary Magdalen's Home was founded in 1640 by Monsignor de Rueil.

²⁶² Muller, Valentine. 1944. "The Prehistory of the Good Shepherd". *Journal of Near East Studies* 3, no.2. p.87-90.

²⁶³ American Standard Bible, Luke 15:4-7.

²⁶⁴ Clarke, p. 114. The plan included training all future novices at the motherhouse in Angers before sending them to remote convent. Training was standardized and specialized to the mission.

²⁶⁵ Coughlin, Mary Foote. 1909. *A New Commandment: A Little Memoir of the Work Accomplished by the Good Shepherd Nuns in Chicago*. Chicago: Sisters of the Good Shepherd, p. 17.

²⁶⁶ Lerner, P. 234-235.

²⁶⁷ Bernoville, p. 104.

²⁶⁸ Teresita, p. 21. The silver heart they wore was engraved with the image of Jesus as the Good Shepherd with the mother and child on the reverse side.

²⁶⁹ Ibid. p. 125. For additional information see Boardman, p. 142. Thirteen Bishops wrote letters against the formation of the Generalate.

²⁷⁰ Ibid. p. 12. The Our Lady of Charity of the Refuge opened in Buffalo, New York. Other independent houses of the same congregation opened throughout the United States. Growth was slow for the Our Lady of Charity of the Refuge and by 1938 only 10 convents were established throughout the world.

²⁷¹ Bernoville. p. 120. By 1937 the Good Shepherd Sisters established 340 convents throughout the world. For more information see Teresita, 1938. p. 23.

²⁷² Clarke, p. 314.

²⁷³ Touriere Sisters took three vows and wore black habits. They could come and go to conduct the business of the convent, such as fund raising and gathering penitents. These lay-Sisters were usually less educated and sometimes illiterate. They were merged into the main body of Sisters in the 1920s. See also Hoy, 2006. p. 54-55.

²⁷⁴ McVeigh, p. 38.

²⁷⁵ Clarke, p. 253.

²⁷⁶ Examples include Maria Monk. 1836. *Awful disclosures of the Hotel Dieu nunnery of Montreal* and Rebecca Reed. 1835. *Six months in a convent*. Reed's book sparked Protestant minister Lyman Beecher to give a sermon about the devil and the Pope. Angry crowds burned the Charlestown convent to the ground. A good account of the event can be found in Schultz, Nancy Lusignan. 2000. *Fire and Roses: The Burning of the Charlestown Convent, 1834*. 1 ed. New York: Free Press. P. 83, 93, 116-117. Reed's book was later ruled to be false.

²⁷⁷ Sisters of the Good Shepherd, 1899. p. 98-99. Sister Clare had symbolic visions. See also Fisher, James T. 2002. *Communion of immigrants: A history of Catholicism in America*. New York: Oxford University Press. p. 61.

²⁷⁸ Teresita, p. 29.

²⁷⁹ Degis, Sister Euphrasia. 1979. *Saint Mary Euphrasia: Spirit and Charism*. Translated by RGS Sister Mary of Saint Jacinta Morrison. Peekskill, New York: Sisters of the Good Shepherd, 1979, P. 91-92.

²⁸⁰ Ibid, p. 92. Bishop Flaget's letter of 1841 to the Good Shepherd Sisters in Angers, France.

²⁸¹ Fisher, P. 55-57. See also Boardman, p. 172-173.

²⁸² The diocese of Louisville, Kentucky is described in detail at the website:

www.newadvent.org/cathen/09386a.htm.

²⁸³ Clarke, p. 104.

²⁸⁴ Degis, P. 84-85.

²⁸⁵ Catholics varied on the question of slavery. Jesuits in Maryland owned slaves in 1830. Around 1837-1838 the slaves were sold, rather than freed. Advertisements in the *Catholic Advocate* offered slaves for sale indicating a preference for other Catholics as purchasers. Fisher, p. 53. In 1839, Pope Gregory XVI condemned the slave trade. Fisher states that free blacks usually lived in the same areas as the poorest of immigrants and shared many of the same hardships. Fisher, p. 56.

²⁸⁶ Powers, Gabriel Francis. 1993. *Redemption: The Life of Saint Mary Euphrasia Pelletier*. 3 ed. Cincinnati: Sisters of the Good Shepherd. P. 244-245.

²⁸⁷ Ibid, p. 108. The Sisters were required to know the cultural practices wherever their convents were established.

²⁸⁸ Sisters of the Good Shepherd, 1943.

²⁸⁹ Sisters of the Good Shepherd, 1943. Mother Mary of Saint Euphrasia's Conferences and Instructions Chapter XXXII.

²⁹⁰ Degis, p. 94-95. Kissing or washing of the feet in veneration is symbolic of humility. Christ washed the feet of his disciples in humility. Additional discussion of this ritual can be found in Powers P. 249.

²⁹¹ Boardman, P. 178.

²⁹² The Sisters of the Loretto were the first American Sisterhood with no originating ties to Europe. The community was founded in 1812 in Kentucky by Mary Rhodes, Christina Stuart, and Nancy Havern. A Belgian Catholic missionary, Father Charles Nerinckx was their spiritual director. Their mission was teaching. Fisher, p. 32.

²⁹³ Bernoville, p. 184.

²⁹⁴ Fisher documents massive immigration to the United States from Europe between 1826 and 1856. The Catholic population in the United States increased from 250,000 to 3 million over a span of 30 years. Fisher, p. 40-43. The Irish potato harvests were adversely affected by blight

between 1845 and 1850 causing the deaths of 1 million Irish people by starvation. During this time 1.8 million people immigrated to North America.

²⁹⁵ Ibid. p. 50-51. The Germans were more farmer-oriented and formed their own parishes near the inexpensive farmland. This caused conflict with the Irish-dominated Catholic Church. The Germans wanted to remain separated in their own communities.

²⁹⁶ Ibid. p. 46-47.

²⁹⁷ Sisters of the Good Shepherd, 1933. *Blessed Mary of Saint Euphrasia*. London: Burns Oates & Washbourne. P. 272.

²⁹⁸ Ibid, p. 271. The parlor grille is a physical barrier comprised of bars used to enforce enclosure within a cloister. Sometimes referred to as a grate.

²⁹⁹ Friedman, Norman L. "Nativism." *Phylon* 28, no. 4 (1967): 408-15.

³⁰⁰ Ibid.

³⁰¹ Massa, Mark S. 2003. *Anti-Catholicism in America: The Last Acceptable Prejudice*. New York: Crossroads Publishing Company. p. 3, 13-17, 25.

³⁰² Ibid.

³⁰³ Friedman, 1967. See also Welter, Barbara. 1987. "From Maria Monk to Paul Blanshard: A Century of Protestant Anti-Catholicism." In *Uncivil Religion: Interreligious Hostility in America*, edited by Robert N.; Greenspahn Bellah, Frederick, 235. New York: Crossroad Publishing Company. Welter describes the nativist fear convents posed to the cult of domesticity by allowing women to live on their own. p. 47.

³⁰⁴ Ibid, p. 45. See also Massa, p.25. He describes the fear of women who live alone and manage their own affairs. One irrational suspicion was that Nuns and Sisters were kept isolated for the pleasure of the unmarried priests.

³⁰⁵ Fisher, p. 47.

³⁰⁶ Ibid, p. 62.

³⁰⁷ Stone. p.120.

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- ³⁰⁸ The US census records for Kentucky list the young Preservate girls as wards from 1850 to 1910. In 1910, 1920, 1930 all girls are listed as inmates in census records.
- ³⁰⁹ Sisters of the Good Shepherd, 1933. p. 277. Sister Mary of Saint Syncletia Tehle and Sister Mary of Saint Magdalen Clover arrived on June 29, 1844.
- ³¹⁰ Fisher, 54-56.
- ³¹¹ Ibid, p. 63.
- ³¹² Blanshard, Paul. 1949. *American Freedom and Catholic Power*. Boston: Beacon Press, p. 5-6.
- ³¹³ Ibid, p. 5.
- ³¹⁴ Ibid, p. 8.
- ³¹⁵ Sisters of the Good Shepherd, 1933. p. 282.
- ³¹⁶ Ibid, p. 406-408. Mother Mary of Saint Euphrasia died on April 24, 1868. She was canonized on May 2, 1940 by Pope Pius XII. For additional information consult Boardman, p. 245-248.
- ³¹⁷ Teresita, p. 23.
- ³¹⁸ Hoy, 2006. p. 47. A Magdalen Asylum is a place designated for the care of prostitutes and abandoned women and girls.
- ³¹⁹ Coughlin, p. 33.
- ³²⁰ McGreevy, John T. 1996. p. 9-11, 15, 21.
- ³²¹ Hoy, Suellen. 1997. Caring for Chicago's women and girls: The Sisters of the Good Shepherd 1859-1911. *Journal of Urban History* 23(3):260-293. p. 264.
- ³²² Blanshard, 1949, p. 27-28.
- ³²³ Skerrett, Ellen, Kantowicz, Edward, Avella, Steven. 1993. *Catholicism, Chicago Style*. Chicago: Loyola University Press. p. 8, 55.
- ³²⁴ Ibid, p. 9-12.
- ³²⁵ Hoy, 1997. p. 263.
- ³²⁶ Ibid, p. 265.
- ³²⁷ Coughlin, p. 37.

³²⁸ Hoy, 1997. p. 266.

³²⁹ Ibid, p. 267.

³³⁰ Ibid, p. 266. 270.

³³¹ Ibid. p. 267. An estimated population of 109,260 in Chicago in 1860. The number of prostitutes was taken from the *Chicago Tribune*, July 20, 1864.

³³² Coughlin, p. 46. The Magdalens were not introduced in Chicago until 1869. Six girls entered the Sisters Magdalen as postulants.

³³³ Undated, unsigned document in the archives of the Good Shepherd in St. Louis

³³⁴ Undated, unsigned document in the archives of the Good Shepherd in St. Louis.

³³⁵ Coughlin, p. 58.

³³⁶ Hoy, 1997, p. 271.

³³⁷ Ibid, p. 276.

³³⁸ Ibid. p. 275.

³³⁹ Ibid, p. 272. Some of the Black girls were of mixed race and termed Mulatto.

³⁴⁰ Conversation with Sister Marjorie at the Saint Louis Provincialate, 2006. Boys Town of Omaha, Nebraska uses a phrase similar to this to describe the boys in "Boys Town". The Good Shepherd School in Cincinnati was called "Girls Town" to mirror the work aimed at girls that paralleled Father Flannigan's school.

³⁴¹ Hoy, 1997. p. 275.

³⁴² Ibid, p. 283.

³⁴³ Coughlin, p. 102. For additional discussion see page 149. Coughlin describes the need for a specific period of time for the re-education process to be effective. Court-ordered girls were required to remain for the duration of their sentence. Girls admitted by other means were free to go at any time.

³⁴⁴ Ibid, p. 102.

³⁴⁵ Knupfer, Anne Meis. 1997. "If You Can't Push, Pull, If You Can't Pull, Please Get out of the Way": The Phyllis Wheatley Club and Home in Chicago, 1896-1920." *The Journal of Negro History* 82, no. 2: 221-31. Issues concerning employment for women consisted of finding jobs and child care. Knupfer notes that in 1910, 86% of Black women in Chicago worked as domestics or laundresses. This created a problem for the working mother who was away from home as long as 14 hours per day. Child care was provided by older siblings or lodgers.

³⁴⁶ Coughlin, p. 38. Sister Martha was a common sight on the streets of Chicago with her laundry baskets. She persuaded William O'Brien, a prominent business man to financially sponsor the purchase of equipment for increasing seamstress production. Donations of cash came in slowly.

³⁴⁷ Hoy, Suellen. 2001. "Illinois Technical School for Colored Girls: A Catholic Institution on Chicago's South Side, 1911-1953." *Journal of Illinois History* 4, no. 3 (2001): 103-22

³⁴⁸ Hoy, 2006, p. 281. Timothy Hurley, president of the Catholic Visitation and Aid Society established county inspections to facilitate the process of placing Catholic girls into Catholic institutions.

³⁴⁹ Ibid. p. 71-79.

³⁵⁰ Marks, Carole. 1985. "Black Workers and The Great Migration North." *Phylon* 46, no. 2: 148-161. Between 1900 and 1960, more than 4.8 million African Americans migrated from the south to northern cities, particularly Chicago, Cleveland, Pittsburg, New York, and Detroit.

³⁵¹ The "Black Belt" is an area of African American population running north and south, transecting the mile zones, bounded on the east by Cottage Grove Avenue. The north and south are divided by the river. The poorest African American families lived in the northern part of the Black Belt. Ford, Richard G. "Population Succession in Chicago." *The American Journal of Sociology* 56, no. 2 (1950): 156-60. See also Hoy, 2001. p. 104.

³⁵² Ibid, p. 104.

³⁵³ Ibid, p. 107.

³⁵⁴ Ibid, p. 109. See also Hoy, 2006. p. 75-77. The Bishop mistakenly thought only Catholic Black girls would be admitted.

³⁵⁵ Ibid, p. 105.

³⁵⁶ Hoy, 2006. p. 76.

³⁵⁷ Ibid, p. 79.

³⁵⁸ Ibid, p. 113. Very few groups offered care for Black girls. As late as 1953, Chicago Protestants had no private home that accepted Black children of either sex.

³⁵⁹ Knupfer, 1997. p. 226. Black girls and women who migrated to Chicago from the South had difficulty finding jobs and affordable housing. They were at risk for entering the sex trades.

³⁶⁰ Ibid. p. 110.

³⁶¹ Ibid, p. 77. This was a popular joke because the Sisters were Caucasian and dressed in white habits.

³⁶² Drake, J. G. St. Clare. 1944. "Profiles: Chicago." *Journal of Educational Sociology* 17, no. 5: 261-71.

³⁶³ Hoy, 2001. p. 113-114. The Amanda Smith Orphan Home opened in 1899 and was later chartered as an industrial school for girls.

³⁶⁴ Ibid, p. 115.

³⁶⁵ Ibid, p. 117. Hoy documents additional information about graduates enrolling daughters in her book *Good Hearts*, 2006, p. 82.

³⁶⁶ Lewis Amadeus Rappe was the first Bishop of the Cleveland diocese (established in 1847). At the time of his appointment, the northern third of Ohio was one diocese. Areas surrounding Toledo (1910) and Youngstown (1943) became separate dioceses with their own Bishops. The greater Cleveland Diocese consisted of fourteen counties. Ohio Historical Records Survey Project Service Division Work Projects Administration. 1943. *Parishes of the Catholic Church Diocese of Cleveland*. Cleveland: Cadillac Press. p.11-15. For further overview and discussion see the online Encyclopedia of Cleveland History at <http://ech.case.edu>.

³⁶⁷ The Sisters were the following individuals: Mother Mary of Saint Alphonsus Ernalsteen, Sister Mary of Saint Gertrude Schuler, Sister Mary of Saint Desithy Wiri, and Sister Mary of Saint Ursula Cohen.

³⁶⁸ Teresita, p. 49. See also the Marycrest School Handbook. 1948. Sisters of the Good Shepherd, Wickliffe, Ohio.

³⁶⁹ <http://ech.case.edu/>

³⁷⁰ Ohio, Historical Records Survey Project, 1943. p.11-15.

³⁷¹ Callahan, Nelson J., Hickey, William F.1978. *Irish Americans and Their Communities of Cleveland*, Cleveland Ethnic Heritage Series. Cleveland: Cleveland State University. P. 143-146.

³⁷² Ibid, p. 145. The documentation indicates that 90% of the crime involved Irish immigrants aged 15 to 35.

³⁷³ Ibid, p. 144.

³⁷⁴ Ohio Historical Records Survey Project 1943. p. 14-15.

³⁷⁵ The class structure of the girls included preserves, penitents, Sisters Magdalen, and Good Shepherd Sisters. Each of these classes lived separate from each other.

³⁷⁶ Conversation with Sister Marjorie, July, 2006.

³⁷⁷ Coughlin, p. 45.

³⁷⁸ Saint Joseph is the patron Saint of carpentry and real estate. Burying a statue of Saint Joseph upside down in the soil facing away from the property is a legend that promotes the satisfactory sale or purchase of property.

³⁷⁹ Sisters of the Good Shepherd Shepherd. 1941. *Saint Mary Euphrasia Pelletier*. 1 ed. Angers, France: Sisters of the Good Shepherd. P. 131.

³⁸⁰ The building at East 30th Street was completely vacated by the Good Shepherd Sisters in 1948 and leased to the National Guard until 1959 and was torn down in 1960. The land was sold to the Carnegie-Cedar Company for \$125,000.00.

³⁸¹ The shrine continued to operate as a holy site, but was sold to the Diocese of Cleveland for \$80,000.00 in 1952. The Sisters of the Blessed Trinity took charge of the operation around 1958 at the request of the Sisters of the Good Shepherd.

³⁸² Archival records in the Cleveland box at St. Louis Provincialate, July, 2006.

³⁸³ Conversation with Sister Marjorie, 2007.

³⁸⁴ Participants R, 2005 and L, 2006 stated they would rather be dropouts than tell anyone where they went to school.

³⁸⁵ Sodality of Mary is described in Chapters I and III. This organization is based on emulating Marion behavior in a religious sense.

³⁸⁶ Sisters of the Good Shepherd. 1948. *Marycrest School*. Cleveland, Ohio: Sisters of the Good Shepherd.

³⁸⁷ The Sisters Magdalen were in process of changing their name to the Contemplative Sisters of the Good Shepherd, which is the name they currently use in 2007. The archives use both terms at this point. The new name became official after 1964 with the implementation of the Vatican Council II changes in Catholic practices.

³⁸⁸ Sisters of the Good Shepherd. 1948. *Marycrest School*. Cleveland, Ohio: Sisters of the Good Shepherd.

³⁸⁹ Gitlin, Lisa. December 2, 1982. *No nonsense school for girls*. Cleveland Plain Dealer.

³⁹⁰ Maslanka, John. December 23, 1988. *Marycrest to aid pregnant girls*. Catholic Universe Bulletin.

³⁹¹ Communication with Sister Monica 2007.

³⁹² <http://planning.co.cuyahoga.oh.us/blog/labels/Independence.html> Accessed December, 2007.

³⁹³ Reeves, Margaret. 1929. *Training schools for delinquent girls*. New York, Wm. F. Fell Company Printers. p. 243-245.

³⁹⁴ United States Children's Bureau. "Understanding Juvenile Delinquency." In *Publication No. 300*. Washington D. C., 1947.

³⁹⁵ Shaw, Clifford R. "Are Broken Homes a Causative Factor in Juvenile Delinquency?" *Social Forces* 10, no. 4 (1932): 514-24.

³⁹⁶ Madoff, Jeff M. "The Attitudes of Mothers of Juvenile Delinquents toward Child Rearing." *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 23, no. 6 (1959): 518-20.

³⁹⁷ Ibid.

³⁹⁸ Droppleman, Leo F.; Schaefer, Earl S. "Boys' and Girls' Reports of Maternal and Paternal Behavior." *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 67, no. 6 (1963): 648-54.

³⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁰ Hoene, Robert E.; Bernert, Sister Alena. 1971. "The Family Background of Good Shepherd Girls." St. Louis: House of the Good Shepherd. Located in the archives at the Good Shepherd Provincialate, St. Louis, MO.

⁴⁰¹ Ibid.

⁴⁰² Ibid.

⁴⁰³ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid. Mothers were classified as promiscuous or alcoholic. Reason for incarceration of the father is not listed.

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁶ Ravitch, Diane. 2001. "You Are an American." In *School: The Story of American Public Education*, edited by Sarah Mondale and Sarah B. Patton. Boston: Beacon Press. p. 64-65.

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁴¹⁰ Sister Mary of Saint Anthony. 1953. "Population Study of the Home of the Good Shepherd, Omaha, Nebraska." University of Saint Louis. p. 22.

⁴¹¹ Ibid. p. 29.

⁴¹² Ibid.

⁴¹³ Ibid, p. 68.

⁴¹⁴ Participant P. Email to author, 2007.

⁴¹⁵ Sister Marjorie. Conversation with author, 2006.

⁴¹⁶ Wood, Sharon E. 2005. *The Freedom of the Streets: Work, Citizenship, and Sexuality in a Gilded Age City*. Edited by Linda K. Kerber Thadious Davis, Gender and American Culture. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. p.190-191.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid.

⁴¹⁸ Ravitch, 2001, p. 63.

⁴¹⁹ Ibid.

⁴²⁰ College coursework was undertaken by the Sisters during the period studied in preparation for teacher certification in accordance with accreditation standards for schools in their respective states.

⁴²¹ Ibid, p. 66.

⁴²² Ibid, p. 8-9.

⁴²³ O'Reilly, Kenneth "A New Deal for the FBI: The Roosevelt Administration, Crime Control, and National Security." *The Journal of American History* 69, no. 3 (1982): 683-58.

⁴²⁴ Ibid, p. 638.

⁴²⁵ McGreevy, John T. 2003. *Catholicism and American Freedom: A History*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company. P. 152-153.

⁴²⁶ www.papalencyclicals.net/Pius11/P11QUADR.HTM

⁴²⁷ Conkin, Paul K. 1992. *The New Deal*. Edited by Abraham S. Eisenstadt John Hope Franklin. 3 ed, The American History Series. Wheeling, Illinois: Harlan Davidson, Inc. p. 21-22.

⁴²⁸ Conkin, p. 56-57.

⁴²⁹ Maloney, Sister Mary of the Holy Infant. "Educational Endeavors of the Good Shepherd Schools." Dissertation, Western Reserve University, 1953.

⁴³⁰ Conkin, p. 64.

⁴³¹ Conkin, p. 56. Some critics pointed out that the welfare state was socialistic and encourages irresponsible lifestyles causing character decline and self reliance. Others felt it was an unfair advantage and a handout to palliate, not solve the economic problems. The welfare state continues to date.

⁴³² Morris, Ruth R. "Female Delinquency and Relational Problems." *Social Forces* 43, no. 1 (1964): 82-89. Morris describes the differences between the crimes committed by girls versus boys. She points out that boys are five to ten times more likely than girls to be delinquents. She believes that this is the result of sex-role indicators, because male and female siblings from the same environment commit crime at rates consistent with the study.

⁴³³ Ibid.

⁴³⁴ Sister Marjorie. Conversation with the author, 2006.

⁴³⁵ Konopka, Gisela. 1970. *Group Work in the Institution*. New York: Association Press. p. 191-193.

⁴³⁶ McGreevy, 2003. p. 154-155.

⁴³⁷ Ibid.

⁴³⁸ McGucken, William. 1934. *The Catholic Way in Education*. Chicago: Loyola University. p. 111-112.

⁴³⁹ Konopka, Gisela. 1970. p. 191-193. Konopka indicates that by 1967, four times as many boys as girls were brought into juvenile court as girls with thirty-five percent appearing before the judge for a second time.

⁴⁴⁰ Portes, Alejandro. "The Two Meanings of Social Capital." *Sociological Forces* 15, no. 1 (2000): 1-12. Portes discusses current definitions of social capital and illustrates that social capital cannot

be voluntarily acquired without investment of material resources and established ties with other individuals.

⁴⁴¹ Konopka, Gisela. 1966. *The Adolescent Girl in Conflict*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall. p. 77-76.

⁴⁴² Ravitch, Diane. 1983. *The Troubled Crusade: American Education 1945-1980*. 1 ed. New York: Harper Collins Publishers. p.10.

⁴⁴³ Ravitch, 2001. p. 64.

⁴⁴⁴ Widen, Irwin. "Public Support for Parochial Schools: Why the Issue Has Re-Emerged." *History of Education Journal* 4, no. 2 (1953): 58-72. Widen states that at this time [1947] over 3,000,000 Catholic students between the ages of six and eighteen were attending public schools.

⁴⁴⁵ McGreevy, 2003. p. 182-183.

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁷ Ravitch, 1983. p. 30-31.

⁴⁴⁸ Blanshard, Paul. 1963. *Religion and the Schools: The Great Controversy*. Boston: Beacon Press. p. 122-124.

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid

⁴⁵⁰ Ravitch, 2001. p. 67.

⁴⁵¹ Duvall, Evelyn Millis. "Research Finds: High School Girls and the Tasks of Homemaking." *Marriage and Family Living* 22, no. 4 (1960): 368-69, Duvall reports about the 1957 survey of Camp Fire Girls and the 1956 study of Girl Scouts aged 11 to 18 in the United States performed by the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan. The studies showed that the girls' interests in the tasks were related to the importance of the job and the level of expected responsibility and decision-making associated with the performance of the tasks.

⁴⁵² Ibid.

⁴⁵³ Mussen, Paul H.; Parker, Ann L. "Mother Nurturance and Girls' Incidental Imitative Learning." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 2, no. 1 (1965): 94-97. Mussen and Parker compared two groups of girls: mother-nurtured and non-mother nurtured. Both groups of girls

imitated the behaviors of their mothers. This study was funded by the National Institute of Mental Health and the University of California Institute of Social Science.

⁴⁵⁴ Ibid. p. 96.

⁴⁵⁵ Duvall, 1960. p. 369.

⁴⁵⁶ Participant G. Email to author, 2005.

⁴⁵⁷ Participant P. Email to author, 2006.

⁴⁵⁸ Participant T. Email to author, 2005.

⁴⁵⁹ Participant S. Telephone conversation with author, 2006.

⁴⁶⁰ Ravitch, 2001. p. 67. Ravitch states that school enrollment doubled every decade between 1890 and 1930. Black students in the south had few opportunities to attend high school until the mid-twentieth century.

⁴⁶¹ Participant G. Email to author, 2005.

⁴⁶² Participants T and P. Individual emails to author, 2006.

⁴⁶³ Participants D and S. Individual telephone conversations with author, 2006.

⁴⁶⁴ Participant R. Telephone conversation with author, 2005 and 2006.

⁴⁶⁵ Fine, Michelle; Weis, Lois 2003. *Silenced Voices and Extraordinary Conversations*. New York: Teachers College Press. p. 69.

⁴⁶⁶ Participant R Telephone conversation with author, 2005 and 2006.

⁴⁶⁷ McGreevy, 2003, p. 186.

⁴⁶⁸ McGreevy, 2003. p. 210.

⁴⁶⁹ Hoy, 2001. p. 92.

⁴⁷⁰ <http://www.oblatesisters.com/History.html>

⁴⁷¹ Buetow, Harold. "The Underprivileged and Roman Catholic Education." *The Journal of Negro History* 40, no. 4 (1971): 373-89.

⁴⁷² Ibid, p. 381.

⁴⁷³ Ibid, p. 385. Buetow uses the example of three Nuns teaching eighty-three black students in one school. Only one of these children was Catholic.

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid, p. 383.

⁴⁷⁵ Hoy, 2001. p. 103.

⁴⁷⁶ Hoy, 2006. p. 97. The Oblate school for black children closed for lack of enrollment and budget shortfalls.

⁴⁷⁷ Participants P and B. Email communication with author, 2006.

⁴⁷⁸ Ibid, p. 381.

⁴⁷⁹ Konopka, 1970. p.186. The term delinquent is used to describe underage girls who have gone against the laws and regulations of society. Most of the girls entering the House of the Good Shepherd during this period of study were delinquents, remanded by the Juvenile Court for a prescribed period of time for nonviolent crimes. Actual numbers are not available.

⁴⁸⁰ United States Census reports dated 1860 through 1930. Year: *1930*; Census Place: *Louisville, Jefferson, Kentucky*, Roll: *753*; Page: *1A*; Enumeration District: *9*; Image: *361.0*. Listings under House of the Good Shepherd, Home of the Good Shepherd, Good Shepherd Home, Convent of Our Lady of Charity of the Good Shepherd.

⁴⁸¹ Sister Marjorie. Conversation with author, 2006.

⁴⁸² Sisters of the Good Shepherd. 1943 *Practical rules for the use of the religious of the Good Shepherd for the direction of the classes*. Compiled by the Sisters of the Good Shepherd, Saint Paul, MN. In the archives at the Saint Louis Provincialate. Mother Mary of Saint Euphrasia's Conferences and Instructions were compiled by her congregation and were not written as a single book by her as the author during her lifetime. PDF format copy is available at www.google.com in the Google books section.

⁴⁸³ Reflected in the Constitutions and Statutes of the Good Shepherd, 1983 edition, in the archives of the Saint Louis Provincialate.

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- ⁴⁸⁴ Farrell, Ambrose; St. John, Henry; Elkisch, F.B. 1956. *The Education of the Novice*. Westminster, MD: Newman Press. p. 10-76.
- ⁴⁸⁵ Sisters of the Good Shepherd. 1943. p. 26.
- ⁴⁸⁶ Anthony, 1953. p. 61.
- ⁴⁸⁷ Sisters of the Good Shepherd. 1943. Introduction.
- ⁴⁸⁸ Ibid.
- ⁴⁸⁹ Yoshino, I. Roger. "The Classroom Teacher and the Pre-Delinquent." *Journal of Educational Sociology* 33, no. 3 (1959): 124-30.
- ⁴⁹⁰ Ibid.
- ⁴⁹¹ Sisters of the Good Shepherd. 1943. P.110.
- ⁴⁹² Foucault, Michel. 1995. *Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Translated by Alan Sheridan. 2 ed. New York: Vintage Books. P. 136-37. Foucault wrote that a body can be improved and transformed after being subjected to a particular discipline, control, and exercise.
- ⁴⁹³ Ibid, p. 138-61. Foucault describes in detail how the use of enclosure, regulated timetables, and repetitive industry imposes domination and regulation of those within the system.
- ⁴⁹⁴ Ibid, 136.
- ⁴⁹⁵ Good Shepherd Sisters, 1943. P. 100-101.
- ⁴⁹⁶ Ibid.
- ⁴⁹⁷ Cusik, Sister Mary of Saint Anna-Michael. 1946. *Mother Mary of Saint Euphrasia's way compared with present day trends in rehabilitation of the delinquent girl*. Thesis, Teacher's College of the Athenaeum of Ohio, Cincinnati.
- ⁴⁹⁸ Programs are not synonymous with courses of instruction. Many of the girls were delinquent, so social personality traits were given equal attention during the re-education as were academic topics.
- ⁴⁹⁹ Lewis, Edwin C. "Counselors and Girls." *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 12, no. 2 (1965): 159-66

⁵⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁰¹ Participant C. Telephone conversation with author, 2007.

⁵⁰² The Constitutions of the Congregation of Our Lady of Charity of the Good Shepherd. 1988. In the archives of the Good Shepherd Provincialate, St. Louis.

⁵⁰³ Sisters of the Good Shepherd. 1945. *Conferences and Instructions of Saint Mary Euphrasia Pelletier, Foundress of the Generalate of the Congregation of Our Lady of Charity of the Good Shepherd of Angers*. 2 ed. Westminster, MD: Newman Press. Mother Mary of Saint Euphrasia's Conferences and Instructions for the daily management of the congregation have been compiled by her congregation and were not written as a single book by her as the author during her lifetime.

⁵⁰⁴ Yoshino, p. 128.

⁵⁰⁵ Konopka, 1970. p. 199-200.

⁵⁰⁶ Ibid. p. 200, 224.

⁵⁰⁷ Harris, Toby. "Charmaine Nissen Ashcraft." In *Home of the Good Shepherd*. Seattle, Washington: King County Landmarks and Heritage Commission, 1999.

⁵⁰⁸ Engh, Jeri. "New Hope for Girls in Trouble." *U. S. Catholic* 1966.

⁵⁰⁹ Harris, Toby. "Betty Hausmann Ferguson." In *Home of the Good Shepherd*, 13. Seattle: King County Landmarks and Heritage Commission, 1999.

⁵¹⁰ Anthony, 1953. p. 61.

⁵¹¹ Ibid.

⁵¹² Ibid. p. 65-66.

⁵¹³ McGlone, 1951.

⁵¹⁴ Participant C. Telephone conversation with author, 2007.

⁵¹⁵ Engh, 1966.

⁵¹⁶ Anthony, 1953. p. 48-49. A study of 150 girls in Omaha IQ tests administered revealed IQ ranges between 132 to 58. These results are not used without taking other learning and social aspects into account.

⁵¹⁷ Ibid.

⁵¹⁸ Engh, 1966.

⁵¹⁹ Multiple notations in the St. Louis archives mention the use of IQ testing, but no specific IQ test is identified as being universally applied to the girls. Maloney, 1953 documents the use of Stanford-Binet and Wechsler-Bellevue Intelligence tests at Marycrest, in Wickliffe, Ohio. The other schools do not document the tests used. No examples of the actual tests used were found in the archival holdings in the St. Louis Provincialate.

⁵²⁰ Sisters of the Good Shepherd. 1961. "Admission Criteria: Policy and Program Statements ", edited by Sisters of the Good Shepherd, 6. Baltimore, MD: Sisters of the Good Shepherd.

⁵²¹ Maloney, 1953. p. 166.

⁵²² Ibid. pp. 54, 98-99. All of the Sisters are called "Mother" by the girls. The First Mistress was synonymous with Housemother and was the residential mother to all the girls in her dormitory. Her role was to counsel, admonish, direct, and plan her individualized care in concert with her school teacher, social worker, vocational director, and health care providers. The First Mistress made recommendations concerning methods for working with the individual girls. She was responsible for maintaining the girls' secrets and confidences.

⁵²³ Jacobson, Wilhelmina E. 1945. "First Impressions of Classmates." *Journal of Applied Psychology* 29, no. 2:142-55.

⁵²⁴ Conniff, p. 87.

⁵²⁵ Participant S. Email to author, 2008.

⁵²⁶ Sisters of the Good Shepherd. 1943. p. 174.

⁵²⁷ Most physicians offered their services gratis. Others were on retainer through the board of health. Many times the physician was a woman, which was a secondary counselor to those girls who needed counseling outside of the Sisters' realm of expertise. (i.e. sexual matters).

⁵²⁸ A few Good Shepherd Homes took in pregnant girls, but this was not their mission. Marycrest in Cleveland, OH and Villa Loreto (Mount Saint Florence) in Peekskill, NY were examples of exceptions to the pregnant girl acceptance provision.

⁵²⁹ Sisters of the Good Shepherd. 1943. p. 57.

⁵³⁰ Sisters of the Good Shepherd. 1943. p. 58. The First Mistress was the directress of the girls and other personnel in her dormitory. Her second in command was the Second Mistress. P. 78.

⁵³¹ Engh, 1966.

⁵³² Ibid.

⁵³³ Harris, Toby. "Charmaine Nissen Ashcraft." 1999.

⁵³⁴ Sisters of the Good Shepherd. 1943. p. 34. Mother Mary of Saint Euphrasia gave specific instructions concerning authority and what it is. She said the "Authority is a certain air, a certain ascendancy which commands respect and obedience. It is neither age, nor high statue, nor tone of voice, nor threats, that give this authority---but a character and mind equal, firm and always self-possessed, guided by reason and never acting by caprice or passion. These are the qualities and talents that keep all in order, establish exact discipline, cause rules to be observed, save reprimands and prevent all faults."

⁵³⁵ Harris, Toby. "Sister Virginia Hinks." In *Home of the Good Shepherd*. Seattle, WA: King County Landmarks and Heritage Commission, 1999

⁵³⁶ Harris, Toby. "Sister Mary William McGlone." In *Home of the Good Shepherd*. Seattle, Washington: King County Landmarks and Heritage Commission, 1999.

⁵³⁷ Good Shepherd Sisters, 1943. p. 17.

⁵³⁸ McGreevy, 2003. p. 181.

⁵³⁹ Ibid, p. 220.

⁵⁴⁰ Cusik, 1946.

⁵⁴¹ Sister Marjorie. Conversation with author, 2006.

⁵⁴² Sisters of the Good Shepherd, 1943. p. 194.

⁵⁴³ Rice, Sister Mary of Saint Denis. 1936. *Programs and policies in the Good Shepherd institutions*, Catholic University of America. Washington, D.C. p. 43.

⁵⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁵ Harris, Toby. "Charmaine Nissen Ashcraft." 1999.

⁵⁴⁶ Rice, 1936. p. 47. Rice describes clothing as part of identity.

⁵⁴⁷ Rice, 1936. p. 44. Flannel menstrual pads with the girls' initials were used in the early part of the 1940s. Each girl was issued 12 pads that were washed daily and returned to her. Disposable sanitary supplies [Kotex] were newer and more costly in the 1940s, but gained popularity through the 1950s. After that, reusable flannel pads were not used. Tampons were not encouraged, but were available in the later 1970s and 1980s.

⁵⁴⁸ Rice, 1936.

⁵⁴⁹ Harris, Toby. "Sister Virginia Hinks." 1999.

⁵⁵⁰ Harris, Toby. "Sister Mary William McGlone." 1999.

⁵⁵¹ McGreevy, 2003. p. 231-232.

⁵⁵² Ibid. p. 232.

⁵⁵³ Young, Leontine. 1954. *Out of Wedlock*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc. p. 41-40.

⁵⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁵ Morton, Marian J. 1993. *And Sin No More: Social Policy and Unwed Mothers in Cleveland 1855-1990*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press. p. 44-47.

⁵⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁷ Ibid, p. 103.

⁵⁵⁸ Ibid, p. 52-53. Catholic DePaul homes and the Salvation Army required a minimum three month stay for pregnant girls in 1989. In the 1930s the confinement was 1.5 months. Compared with twenty three hours for the birth only, in 2008.

⁵⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁶⁰ Ibid, p. 51.

⁵⁶¹ Participant D. Telephone communication to author, 2006.

⁵⁶² Goldenberg, Naomi R. "A Feminist Critique of Jung." *Signs* 2, no. 2 (1976): 443-149. The theory of contrasexual personalities in males and females is the notion that males have a hidden female psyche and conversely a woman has a hidden male psyche. Both sexes have their own levels of libido, however, expression of libido is discouraged and criticized in girls.

⁵⁶³ Daly, Mary. 1968. *The Church and the Second Sex*. Boston: Beacon Press. p. 147-148.

⁵⁶⁴ Ibid. p. 149-150.

⁵⁶⁵ Goldenberg, p. 448.

⁵⁶⁶ Harris, Toby. "Charmaine Nissen Ashcraft." 1999.

⁵⁶⁷ Rohrbach, Peter Thomas, OCD. 1959. *A Girl and Her Teens: A Positive Program for Teen-Age Girls*. Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company. p. 6.

⁵⁶⁸ Ibid, p. 6.

⁵⁶⁹ Ibid, p. 31.

⁵⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁷¹ Ibid, p. 40-41.

⁵⁷² <http://www.jewfaq.org/toc.htm>

⁵⁷³ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁴ Hengehold, Laura. "Remapping the Event: Institutional Discourses and the Trauma of Rape." *Signs* 26, no. 1 (2000): 189-214.

⁵⁷⁵ Ibid, p. 46.

⁵⁷⁶ Ibid, p. 42.

⁵⁷⁷ Participant S. Telephone conversation with author, 2006.

⁵⁷⁸ Engh, 1966.

⁵⁷⁹ Harris, Toby. "Jackie Moen Kalani." In *Home of the Good Shepherd*. Seattle, Washington: King County Landmarks and Heritage Commission, 1999.

⁵⁸⁰ Schedule excerpted from the 1948 Vista Maria Handbook for students. Michigan. In the archives at the St. Louis Provincialate.

⁵⁸¹ Rice, 1936. Each girl had at least 2 "good" dresses, 4 sets of undergarments, 4 sets of sleep wear, 4-6 pr of socks, 2 pr of shoes, 3 work outfits, bathrobe and slippers, and hankies. Each has a coat and mittens, galoshes, and a few sweaters. These items were later provided by the families or referring agencies. The school provided uniforms and white blouses.

⁵⁸² Ibid.

⁵⁸³ Rice, 1936. p. 47.

⁵⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁸⁵ McGlone, 1951.

⁵⁸⁶ Harris, Toby. "Vivian Burrows Sherburne." In *Home of the Good Shepherd*. Seattle, Washington: King County Landmarks and Heritage Commission, 1999.

⁵⁸⁷ Harris, Toby. "Charmaine Nissen Ashcraft." 1999.

⁵⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁹⁰ Harris, Toby. "Anonymous Sister." In *Home of the Good Shepherd*. Seattle, Washington: King County Landmarks and Heritage Commission, 1999

⁵⁹¹ Harris, Toby. "Sister Mary William McGlone.", 1999

⁵⁹² Engh, 1966.

⁵⁹³ Sisters of the Good Shepherd. *Marycrest School*. Cleveland, Ohio: Sisters of the Good Shepherd, 1948.

⁵⁹⁴ Conniff, p. 96.

⁵⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁹⁶ Engh, Jeri. "New Hope for Girls in Trouble." *U. S. Catholic* 1966.

⁵⁹⁷ Participant R. Telephone conversation with author, 2005.

⁵⁹⁸ Conniff, p. 96.

⁵⁹⁹ Rice, 1936.

⁶⁰⁰ McGlone, 1951.

⁶⁰¹ The Sodality of Mary is described in Chapter one of this dissertation. See also McGreevy, John T. 2003. *Catholicism and American Freedom: A History*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company. P.31-32. Describes the influence of sodality membership of young males in the same way it is influential for young women.

⁶⁰² Sisters of the Good Shepherd. 1943. p. 117.

⁶⁰³ McGlone, 1951.

⁶⁰⁴ Ibid. p.156.

⁶⁰⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁰⁸ Department of Health, Education and Welfare. "Runaway Youth: Annual Report on Activities Conducted to Implement the Runaway Act." Washington, D. C.: Office of Human Development Services Administration for Children, Youth, and Families, 1977.

⁶⁰⁹ Young, Robert L. "Runaways: A Review of Negative Consequences." *Family Relations* 32, no. 2 (1983): 275-81.

⁶¹⁰ Ibid, p. 277.

⁶¹¹ Ibid.

⁶¹² Ibid.

⁶¹³ Participant C. Telephone conversation with the author, 2007.

⁶¹⁴ Engh, 1966.

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- ⁶¹⁵ Sisters of the Good Shepherd, 1943. p. 180.
- ⁶¹⁶ Sister Lourdes. Personal conversation at the Saint Louis Convent, 2007.
- ⁶¹⁷ Harris, Toby. "Jackie Moen Kalani." 1999.
- ⁶¹⁸ Ibid.
- ⁶¹⁹ Harris, Toby. "Vivian Burrows Sherburne." 1999.
- ⁶²⁰ Engh, 1966.
- ⁶²¹ Participant R in telephone conversation with the author, 2005. One of the opening statements I heard in my first oral history session with Participant R. All participants in ten oral history sessions made this statement in similar terms. Forty-eight of the fifty storytellers used similar terms to describe the impact of the Sisters. I note similar statements in the twelve Toby Harris interviews of 1999.
- ⁶²² United, States Children's Bureau. "Understanding Juvenile Delinquency." In *Publication No. 300*. Washington D. C.1947.
- ⁶²³ Harris, Toby. "Charmaine Nissen Ashcraft." In *Home of the Good Shepherd*. Seattle, Washington: King County Landmarks and Heritage Commission, 1999.
- ⁶²⁴ McGlone, Mary William. "Foster Homes Versus Institutions." Term Paper, Seattle University, 1951.
- ⁶²⁵ Participant G in written autobiography to author, 2005.
- ⁶²⁶ Droppleman, Leo F.; Schaefer, Earl S. "Boys' and Girls' Reports of Maternal and Paternal Behavior." *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 67, no. 6 (1963): 648-54.
- ⁶²⁷ Participant C-1. Christmas story sent to author in email, 2005.
- ⁶²⁸ Participant C-1 in a written autobiography to author, 2005.
- ⁶²⁹ Participant C-1 in email to author, 2005.
- ⁶³⁰ Harris, Toby. "Vivian Burrows Sherburne." In *Home of the Good Shepherd*. Seattle, Washington: King County Landmarks and Heritage Commission, 1999.
- ⁶³¹ Droppleman and Schaefer, 1963.

⁶³² Hoene, Robert E.; Bernert, Sister Alena. "The Family Background of Good Shepherd Girls." St. Louis: House of the Good Shepherd, 1971.

⁶³³ Ibid.

⁶³⁴ Harris, Toby. "Jackie Moen Kalani." In *Home of the Good Shepherd*. Seattle, Washington: King County Landmarks and Heritage Commission, 1999.

⁶³⁵ Participant Linda P. In her autobiography to author, 2005.

⁶³⁶ Participant Linda P. in her autobiography to author, 2005. See also Hoene, Robert E.; Bernert, Sister Alena. 1971.

⁶³⁷ Ibid.

⁶³⁸ Ibid.

⁶³⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁶⁴¹ Participant Linda P. supplied an excerpted copy of the probation officer's letter and court transcript.

⁶⁴² Participant Linda P. In her autobiography to author, 2005.

⁶⁴³ Ibid.

⁶⁴⁴ Locations using term Tinkerbelle for lesbians included New York, San Francisco, Seattle, and Portland.

⁶⁴⁵ Harris, Toby. "Vivian Burrows Sherburne." 1999.

⁶⁴⁶ Participant S in email to author, 2006.

⁶⁴⁷ Ibid, p. 205.

⁶⁴⁸ Participant B. In telephone conversation with author, 2005.

⁶⁴⁹ Sisters of the Good Shepherd. 1943. *Practical Rules for the Use of the Religious of the Good Shepherd for the Direction of Classes*. Translated by RGS Mother Marie Verger. 2 ed. Angers, France: Good Shepherd Sisters. P. 214.

⁶⁵⁰ Participant G. in email to author, 2005.

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- ⁶⁵¹ Participant P. in email to author, 2006.
- ⁶⁵² Ibid, p. 222.
- ⁶⁵³ Harris, Toby. "Charmaine Nissen Ashcraft." 1999.
- ⁶⁵⁴ Jurkovic, Gregory J. "The Juvenile Delinquent as a Moral Philosopher: A Structural-Developmental Perspective." *Psychological Bulletin* 88, no. 3 (1980): 709-27.
- ⁶⁵⁵ Ibid.
- ⁶⁵⁶ Schoeppe, Aileen; Haggard, Earnest A.; Havighurst, Robert J. "Some Factors Affecting Sixteen-Year Olds' Success in Five Developmental Tasks." *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 48, no. 1 (1953): 42-52.
- ⁶⁵⁷ Ibid.
- ⁶⁵⁸ Ibid.
- ⁶⁵⁹ Ibid.
- ⁶⁶⁰ Participants G and R are excellent examples in emails to author, 2005, 2006, 2007.
- ⁶⁶¹ Participant R in telephone conversation with author, 2005.
- ⁶⁶² Konopka, Gisela. 1976. *Young Girls: A Portrait of Adolescence*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall. p. 44-45.
- ⁶⁶³ Participant Linda P. In her autobiography to author, 2005.
- ⁶⁶⁴ Foucault, Michel. 1995. *Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. Translated by Alan Sheridan. 2 ed. New York: Vintage Books. 125-55.
- ⁶⁶⁵ Ibid.
- ⁶⁶⁶ Participant G in email to author , 2005.
- ⁶⁶⁷ Harris, Toby. "Charmaine Nissen Ashcraft." 1999.
- ⁶⁶⁸ Harris, Toby. "Jackie Moen Kalani." In *Home of the Good Shepherd*. Seattle, Washington: King County Landmarks and Heritage Commission, 1999.
- ⁶⁶⁹ Participant M in email to author, 2005.
- ⁶⁷⁰ Ibid.

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- ⁶⁷¹ Participant L sent an email to the author that made a passing comment about her daughter and granddaughters. At some point she had a relationship with a male.
- ⁶⁷² Participant G in email to author, 2005.
- ⁶⁷³ Participant N in email to author, 2006.
- ⁶⁷⁴ Participant R in email to author, 2006.
- ⁶⁷⁵ Ibid.
- ⁶⁷⁶ Participant S-2 in email to author, 2005.
- ⁶⁷⁷ Participant R-2 in email to author, 2007.
- ⁶⁷⁸ Participant L-3 in email to author, 2006.
- ⁶⁷⁹ Harris, Toby. "Jackie Moen Kalani." In *Home of the Good Shepherd*. Seattle, Washington: King County Landmarks and Heritage Commission, 1999.
- ⁶⁸⁰ Participant D-1 in personal written communication to author, 2006.
- ⁶⁸¹ Participant L-2 in personal written communication with author, 2006.
- ⁶⁸² Participant L-3 in email to author, 2006.
- ⁶⁸³ Participant L-4 in email to author, 2006.
- ⁶⁸⁴ Participant L-5 in email to author, 2006.
- ⁶⁸⁵ Participant D-2 in email to author, 2005.
- ⁶⁸⁶ Participant B-2 in email to author, 2006.
- ⁶⁸⁷ Participant N in email to author, 2006.
- ⁶⁸⁸ Harris, Toby. "Vivian Burrows Sherburne." 1999.
- ⁶⁸⁹ Participant G in email to author, 2005.
- ⁶⁹⁰ Participant P in email to author, 2006.
- ⁶⁹¹ Ibid.
- ⁶⁹² Participant G in email to author, 2006.
- ⁶⁹³ Harris, Toby. "Charmaine Nissen Ashcraft." 1999.
- ⁶⁹⁴ Participant G in email to author, 2005.

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- ⁶⁹⁵ Participant R in email to author, 2006.
- ⁶⁹⁶ Sister Marjorie in conversation with author, 2007.
- ⁶⁹⁷ Sisters of the Good Shepherd, 1943. p. 204.
- ⁶⁹⁸ Full one piece head and neck covering worn under the veil.
- ⁶⁹⁹ Harris, Toby. "Vivian Burrows Sherburne." 1999.
- ⁷⁰⁰ Harris, Toby. "Charmaine Nissen Ashcraft." 1999.
- ⁷⁰¹ Participant B in email to author, 2005.
- ⁷⁰² Participant B-6 in email to author, 2005.
- ⁷⁰³ Participant B-5 in email to author, 2005.
- ⁷⁰⁴ Harris, Toby. "Charmaine Nissen Ashcraft." 1999.
- ⁷⁰⁵ Participant M in email to author, 2005. Jesse Ventura was the former governor of Minnesota. He is an outspoken atheist who made this statement during an interview with *Playboy* magazine in 1999. He was the only governor who refused to support the National Day of Prayer.
- ⁷⁰⁶ Farley, Frank H.; Farley, Sonja V. "Stimulus-Seeking Motivation and Delinquent Behavior among Institutionalized Delinquent Girls." *Journal of Counseling and Clinical Psychology* 39, no. 1 (1972): 94-97.
- ⁷⁰⁷ Ibid.
- ⁷⁰⁸ Participant J in email to author, 2006.
- ⁷⁰⁹ Participant P-9 in email to author, 2006.
- ⁷¹⁰ Participant V in email to author, 2005.
- ⁷¹¹ Former Sister Veronica in telephone conversation with author, 2008.
- ⁷¹² Participant S in email to author, 2006.
- ⁷¹³ Participant V in email to author, 2006.
- ⁷¹⁴ Participant S in email to author, 2006.
- ⁷¹⁵ Travers, John F. "A Study of Religious Motivation and Delinquency." *Journal of Educational Sociology* 34, no. 5 (1961): 205-20.

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- ⁷¹⁶ Participant C in telephone conversation with author, 2007.
- ⁷¹⁷ Participant V in email to author, 2005.
- ⁷¹⁸ Ibid.
- ⁷¹⁹ Participant M in email to author, 2005.
- ⁷²⁰ Participant Linda P. In her autobiography to author, 2005.
- ⁷²¹ Harris, Toby. "Charmaine Nissen Ashcraft." 1999.
- ⁷²² Erikson, Erik H. 1959. *Identity and the Life Cycle*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co. p. 128-29.
- ⁷²³ Gerda, Lerner. 1993. *The Creation of Feminist Consciousness*. New York: Oxford University Press. p. 274-276.
- ⁷²⁴ Ibid, p. 274.
- ⁷²⁵ Mulvey, Anne; Gridley, Heather; Gawth, Libby. "Convent Girls, Feminism, and Community Psychology." *The Journal of Community Psychology* 29, no. 5 (2001): 563-84.
- ⁷²⁶ Sister Marjorie in conversation with author, 2006.
- ⁷²⁷ Ibid.
- ⁷²⁸ Harris, Toby. "Charmaine Nissen Ashcraft." In *Home of the Good Shepherd*. Seattle, Washington: King County Landmarks and Heritage Commission, 1999.
- ⁷²⁹ Participant G to online community, 2004.
- ⁷³⁰ Participant S to online community, 2004. Unedited for style or grammar.
- ⁷³¹ Participant G to online community, 2004.
- ⁷³² Weitzman, Lenore J. 1979. *Sex Role Socialization*. Palo Alto, CA: Mayfield Publishing Company. P. 5-7.
- ⁷³³ Ibid, p. 18-19.
- ⁷³⁴ Ibid.
- ⁷³⁵ Erikson, p. 134.
- ⁷³⁶ Ibid.
- ⁷³⁷ Sister Marjorie in conversation with author, 2006.

⁷³⁸ Participant Linda in autobiography to author, 2006.

⁷³⁹ Participant R in conversation with author, 2005.

⁷⁴⁰ Mulvey, 2001.

⁷⁴¹ Ibid.

⁷⁴² Participant Former Sister V in conversation with author, 2008.

⁷⁴³ Participants C and P in conversations and email to author, 2007.

⁷⁴⁴ Letherby, Gayle; Zdrodowski, Dawn. "Dear Researcher" The Use of Correspondence as a Method within Feminist Qualitative Research." *Gender and Society* 9, no. 5 (1995): 576-93. Most of their participants were solicited from written publications like newspapers and magazines. They did not use online communities.

⁷⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁴⁶ Fine, Michelle. 1992. *Disruptive Voices: The Possibilities of Feminist Research*, Critical Perspectives on Women and Gender. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.1992. p.218.

⁷⁴⁷ Letherby and Zdrodowski, 1995.

⁷⁴⁸ Fine, 1992. p. 218.

⁷⁴⁹ Letherby and Zdrodowski, 1995.

⁷⁵⁰ Lather, Patti. "Research as Praxis." *Harvard Educational Review* 56, no. 3 (1986): 257-77.

⁷⁵¹ Online communities included Good Shepherd-L (Listserve), Good Shepherd Reflections, Classmates, four different Yahoo groups, CafeShe (private same-sex), MSN groups, Rootsweb, and Ancestry.com.

⁷⁵² Magdalen Asylums were convents run by several different orders of Sisters through out Ireland and select regions of the world for confining penitent women and girls. The purpose was to reform women who were employed in the sex trades, petty criminals, or otherwise troublesome to polite society. Other philanthropic groups ran Magdalen Asylums through non-Catholic women's groups. In some countries, such as Ireland, the allegations of life-long imprisonment and slave-like abuses were attached to the running of laundries where the women

were confined to" wash away their sins." There was no public outcry and local jokes were made about how bad girls do the best laundry. For additional information read Frances Finnegan's book *Do Penance or Perish*. She highlights four main convents in Ireland where the laundries were in operation until 1996. Some of the "penitents" were confined at age fourteen and remained until age seventy-two. Another good source is a DVD documentary *Sex in a Cold Climate* that shows interviews with four Magdalen Laundry survivors from the 1950s and 1960s.

⁷⁵³ Fine, 1992. p. 3.

⁷⁵⁴ Sister Marjorie, 2006.

⁷⁵⁵ Hekman, Susan. "Beyond Identity: Feminism, Identity and Identity Politics." *Feminist Theory* 1, no. 2 (2000): 289-308.

⁷⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁵⁷ Erikson, p.134. See also Capps, Donald. "The Decades of Life: Relocating Erikson's Stages." *Pastoral Psychology* 53, no. 1 (2004): 3-32 for a discussion on the attainment of final stages in Erikson's life cycle schema.

⁷⁵⁸ Letherby and Zdrodowski, 1995.

⁷⁵⁹ Lerner, p.193.

⁷⁶⁰ Lerner, p. 274.

⁷⁶¹ Ibid.

⁷⁶² Rousseau, Jean Jacques. *Emile* Translated by Barbara Boxley. London: J. M. Dent, 1974

⁷⁶³ Chassin, Laurie. "Identifying with a Deviant Label: The Validation of a Methodology." *Social Psychology Quarterly* 44, no. 1 (1981): 31-36.

⁷⁶⁴ Peltola, Pia; Milkie, Melissa A.; Presser, Stanley. "The "Feminist Mystique": Feminist Identity in Three Generations of Women." *Gender and Society* 18, no. 1 (2004): 122-44.

⁷⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶⁶ Sister Marjorie, 2006.

⁷⁶⁷ Weitzman, p. 6.

⁷⁶⁸ Weitzman, p. 26.

⁷⁶⁹ Nilsson, Lars-Goran. "Memory Function in Normal Aging." *Acta Neurology Scandinavia* 107, no. 79 (2003): 7-13.

⁷⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷⁷² Ibid. for additional information concerning memory formation see also Gathercole, Susan E.

"The Development of Memory." *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry* 39, no. 1 (1998): 3-27.