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OUR PRIVILEGE IS NOW.

A HISTORY OF ST. MARY'S HALL,

UNIVERSITY OF MELBOURNE, 1918-1968.

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Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education in the Faculty of Education at Monash University.

1987.
Dedicated to members, past and present, of the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary - women who have loved me liberally.
Queer, comical, or stern,
Our privilege is now.

James McAuley
'St. John's Park, New Town'
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DECLARATION</td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</td>
<td>viii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ILLUSTRATIONS</td>
<td>xiii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. &quot;WOMEN IN TIME WILL DO MUCH&quot;</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. &quot;SOMEBODY UP NEAR THE ZOO&quot;</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. &quot;THERE'S SOMETHING WRONG IN OUR FAMILY&quot;</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. &quot;THEY ARE OUR COUSINS&quot;</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. &quot;THEIR JUST RIGHT OF A PROPER PARTICIPATION&quot;</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX</td>
<td>258</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
St. Mary's Hall, established in 1918, was affiliated to the University of Melbourne through Newman College, and administered by the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary, I.B.V.M. (the Loreto Sisters), a Catholic Religious Order for women, founded in the seventeenth century by Mary Ward.

Situated in The Avenue, Royal Park, St. Mary's Hall was a good mile from the University because of ecclesiastical hesitation about the importance of higher education for women and about woman's deepest nature.

The geographical isolation of the Hall was compounded from 1924 onwards when the religious and political differences of England and Ireland were reflected in an internal division within the I.B.V.M., with the result that St. Mary's Hall lost some of its relevance to the Institute and became isolated within it.

The isolation St. Mary's endured could have been furthered by its Catholicism, together with the sectarianism of the time and the British and Protestant nature of the University of Melbourne. That the Hall did not finally remain isolated but, on the contrary, entered into the University and into national and international affairs, can largely be attributed to the policies of its first Principal, Mother Patrick Callanan I.B.V.M. (1918-1943). The paradox inherent in her devotion to Ireland, her homeland, was that it led her to be engaged in Australian and international life to an exceptional degree. Because of her engagement, the geographical isolation of St. Mary's Hall and its isolation within the I.B.V.M. were offset by its participation in the daily and momentous events of the time.

Throughout the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s, St. Mary's Hall continued its isolation within the I.B.V.M. This was a consequence of the residue of feeling arising from the internal division within the Institute of the 1920s and 1930s and a consequence of the force of the intellectual emphasis of St. Mary's Hall which led to it being seen as elitist by some members of the Order. As a result St. Mary's remained isolated within the I.B.V.M. until the mid-1970s when the policies of new Principals and the radical changes to Religious life after Vatican II opened St. Mary's up to the rest of the Institute.

If Mother Patrick's gaze had been more often directed towards the arena of national and international events, Mother Francis Frewin I.B.V.M., the second Principal of St. Mary's, 1944-1969, took as her focus St. Mary's Hall itself, in particular its geographical isolation from the University and its dependence upon Newman College for affiliation to the University. With single-minded application over many years, Mother Francis challenged the archaic attitudes towards women which were still in existence and
the inherited ideas of Newman College's right to predominance. In 1966 the new St. Mary's College, affiliated to the University in its own right, was opened on the land next to Newman. From being over a mile away from the University, St. Mary's was now within the University campus and, with Trinity College, the closest of all the Colleges to the University proper. Its geographical isolation had been completely reversed.

"Little" St. Mary's, "somewhere up near the zoo", had transformed itself into a large, accessible, fully fledged, University College whose students had "their just right of a proper participation in and influence on university life".
The history of St. Mary's Hall is an account of how St. Mary's was isolated and how it exacerbated, relieved, offset and reversed that isolation. Within this scenario, the St. Mary's residents led their lives and, beyond all else, their reminiscences reveal that they regard as precious these times in which they lived. The history aims, then, to capture their experiences while they were at St. Mary's Hall rather than to document their later achievements. The history is, as well, a chronicle of human success and struggle, and of human strength and limitedness. That is as it should be since these are the features of each human life.

The absence of official records of St. Mary's Hall made writing the history difficult. It would seem that in the move to the new St. Mary's College in 1966 almost all written record of St. Mary's Hall 1918-1966 was destroyed. Certainly, there is no roll of students of the Hall extant. A list constructed recently by the Graduate Secretariat of the University of Melbourne, while a good beginning, was produced too late for consideration for my thesis. A few pieces of correspondence are all St. Mary's College holds of letters written over the forty-eight years of the Hall's existence and there is no archival collection at the College. Happily, letters relating to the foundation of the new College survive in the Catholic Diocesan Archives. St. Mary's Hall did not produce its own annual magazine and was only partly represented in Newman, the annual magazine of the Newman College Students' Club.
In addition to the absence of usual source material, some important material was unavailable to me. The Central Archives, Loreto Abbey, Ballarat, did not permit me access to information about the conflict in the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the 1920s and 1930s. The condition which the Newman College Council put on its permission for me to view its Minutes of the 1950s and 1960s meant that I felt unable to take up its offer. A number of individuals who played an important part in the foundation of the new St. Mary's College declined to discuss it with me. While in all these instances, I can understand the reluctance to entrust something of such import to me, it did make formulating the history difficult and, in some instances, because of the manner of the refusal, was personally hurtful to me.

In consequence of the scarcity and unavailability of written records, I have drawn heavily upon oral history sources and upon written responses to questionnaires (see Appendix) which I sent to past students of St. Mary's Hall.

I am very grateful to those people who agreed to be interviewed by me. They lent validity to my task and by their generosity made it possible: Mother Margaret Mary (Eileen) Caswell P.B.V.M., Miss Ursula Clinton, Mrs. Gertrude Doyle (O'Donnell), Miss Wynne Fanning, Father Brian Fleming S.J., Miss Pat Grano, Miss Lucy Kerley, Mrs. Nonie Moore (Wilckens), Mrs. Marie Ogge (Cranage), Miss Margaret Pell, Mrs. Lucille Quinlan (Bloink), Father E. J. (Ted) Stormon S.J., Mrs. Nancy Thomas (Barbour), Sister Borgia Tipping I.B.V.M. and others who preferred to remain anonymous.
Sr. Marie Kehoe R.S.M., A.M., the Director of the Mercy Campus of the Institute of Catholic Education, was exceptionally generous to me in her provision of weekly study leave and in her support of my successful application to the Mercy Campus Advisory Board for a substantial period of leave in which to complete the thesis.

My Supervisor, Dr. Ailsa Thomson Zainuddin of Monash University was always approachable, open and personal in her attitude to me and unstinting in her efforts. My Associate Supervisor, Professor Richard Selleck, gave me some valuable advice.

Many past students and associates of St. Mary's Hall completed questionnaires, talked with me, wrote letters to me or helped me in other ways. They include: Sr. Mary of the Eucharist (June) Aitkin O.C.D., Mrs. Betty Arundell (Parker), Miss Alice Baker, Mrs. Mary Bendeich (Conroy), Dr. Eileen Borbidge, Mr. Tom Butler, Miss Mary Elizabeth Calwell, Miss Imelda Daily, Mrs. Helen Dore (Gibson), Mrs. Marjorie Elliott (Harding), Mrs. Marie Faraone (O'Rourke), Mrs. Veronica Feely (Lake), Mrs. Janet Gilmore (Campbell), Mrs. Sheila Goodman (Rosel), Miss Jeannie Gorman, Mrs. Kathleen Grieve (Crooks), Dr. Patricia Harrisson, Mrs. Elaine Haworth (Worch), Dr. Francis Hayden, Mrs. Lou Hewett (Burnside), Mrs. Carrie Higgins (Jones), Mrs. Joan Hoy (Herd), Mrs. Olga Hunt (Lovick), Sr. M. Bernadine (Mary) Kehoe R.G.S., Mrs. Mary Kelly (Ellis), Miss Nanette Kelly, Miss Pat Kennedy, Mrs. Marjorie Kilkeary (Cox), Mrs. Ann-Marie Lean (McCallum), Sr. Genevieve (Flora) McDonald R.S.M., Mrs. Judy Meagher (Moore), Mrs. Angela Miller (Gerratty), Mrs. Colette Moorhead (Christie), Mrs. Marie Mortimer (Mahon),
Mrs. Sheila Norman (Thornton), Mrs. Maureen Paull (Scullion), Mrs. Brenda Shanahan (Ryan), Mrs. Ann Shelton (Riordan), Mrs. Geraldine Simpson (Spring), Ms. Ann Smurthwaite, Mrs. Biddy Stark (Hennessy), Mrs. Joan Strachan (Moore), Mrs. Marie Tehan (O'Brien), Mrs. Betty Usher (Molphy), Miss Mollie Winter, and others who preferred to remain anonymous.

Members of the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary completed questionnaires, talked with me, wrote letters to me or helped me in other ways, particularly my friend, Sr. Mary Wright I.B.V.M., and the staff of St. Mary's College - Sr. Jane Kelly I.B.V.M., Sr. Margaret Burchell I.B.V.M. and Sr. Anne Anderson I.B.V.M.


I would like to thank those who gave me permission to consult archival material, His Grace, The Most Rev. T. F. Little D.D., K.B.E., Catholic Archbishop of Melbourne, for permission to consult the Diocesan Archives and the Diocesan Building Authority Archives, and Mrs. Audrey D'Cruze who made most of the practical arrangements; Sr. Katherine Doyle I.B.V.M. of the Central Archives, Loreto Abbey, Ballarat, and Ms. Cecily Close of the University of Melbourne Archives.
I would like to thank Mrs. Marie Purcell for her professional approach to typing the thesis.

Finally, I am grateful to my friends who encouraged me, particularly Mr. John Gregor, who was, as always, gently understanding and insightful.

ROSEMARY WILLIAMS,
Melbourne,
ILLUSTRATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Illustration</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>St. Mary's Hall</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Mary's Hall tennis court and Royal Park.</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother Patrick Callanan</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother Elizabeth Forbes, Kevin Bradley, Father William Hackett</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918 Students</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919 Students</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phyl Busst and Mother Patrick Callanan</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Les Buissonnets</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three-storey addition</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother Patrick Callanan and Florence Hagelthorn</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The day St. Mary's won the tennis, 1925.</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926 students</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Les Buissonnets students, 1926</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928 Garden Party</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937 students</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At the Zoo</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother Francis Frewin and Mother Clare Birrane</td>
<td>240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Members of the I.B.V.M., St. Mary's Hall, 1963</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sr. Peter Claver (Margaret) Burchell and &quot;the girls on whom she was to be a good influence&quot;</td>
<td>242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother Francis Frewin and her unfailing friend, Father E. J. Stormon S.J.</td>
<td>243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guests of Graham Kennedy, 'In Melbourne Tonight'</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother Francis Frewin and Doug Thomas</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Mary's College</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

xiii
CHAPTER ONE
"WOMEN IN TIME WILL DO MUCH"

St. Mary's Hall, within the University of Melbourne, was officially opened on Saturday afternoon, the 27th April, 1918. From its beginnings it was administered by the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary (I.B.V.M.), the Loreto Sisters, a Catholic Religious Order, founded in the seventeenth century by Mary Ward, a pioneer in education for women.

Archbishop Cattaneo, the Apostolic Delegate, who had arrived in Melbourne six weeks earlier,\(^1\), blessed and opened the Hall with the formulary prescribed by the Roman ritual. Dr. Daniel Mannix, the Catholic Archbishop of Melbourne, Dr. Augustus Leo Kenny, a leading Catholic layman and a member of the Newman College Council, and the Reverend James O'Dwyer S.J., Acting Rector of Newman College, were all in attendance and ready to have their say. If there were members of the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary present, as one would reasonably expect, the newspaper reports fail to mention them and reports of their official participation in the ceremony are negligible as is any official acknowledgment of them.\(^2\)

A procession, in itself so characteristic of Australian Catholicism, made its way through the grounds, with students in

---

1. Archbishop Cattaneo had arrived at Spencer St. Station on Wednesday, 13th March, 1918, to an enthusiastic welcome from Melbourne Catholics who cheered and waved hats, Sinn Fein flags and handkerchiefs. The Advocate, 16th March, 1918, and The Advocate, 23rd March, 1918.

2. The Advocate, 4th May, 1918, p.11.
academic dress, with cross bearer and altar attendants, with clergy and Archbishops. (Once again, whether the Loreto Sisters participated remains unrecorded.) Such ritual linked Catholics to a communal history and tradition unavailable on a private or familial basis. 3

In his address from the balcony, Dr. Mannix was inclined to understate the distance of St. Mary's Hall from the University of Melbourne. Situated as it was in The Avenue, Royal Park, it was over one mile from the University.

A fine property had been secured, the only disadvantage being that it was too far from the University by a few minutes walk. However, it was the best place obtainable. 4

Dr. Mannix went on to comment on the position of women in society, a discourse which likewise did not seem to reflect adequately his hesitation, typical of the time, about the importance of higher education for women.

It was but just that women should have facilities for university studies as well as the men ... Many persons would be particularly interested in a ladies' college because of the great future before women. A leading article in a morning paper that day raised the question whether women would not be the ruling power after the war. People felt, he supposed, that the rule of men had not been altogether successful. He could not say he looked forward to women ruling everything after the war, but he thought they would hold their own, that they would probably increase their influence, and that now more than ever, when their activities and responsibilities were on the increase, they needed and deserved as much encouragement as the men. 5

4. The Advocate, 4th May, 1918, p.11.
5. idem.
Dr. Mannix's statement was a real improvement on Sir Henry Loch's comment thirty years earlier when laying the foundation stone of Queen's College. Then Governor of Victoria, he contemplated with a certain amount of alarm and dread "the tendency on the part of women to obtain positions in the world which would oust men". Dr. Mannix could feel a certain amount of safety on that score.

Archbishop Cattaneo agreed that women's influence would increase after the war. He was inclined to see a Catholic university college as providing protection against threats to Catholic belief.

... women trained at the University College would be strengthened and fortified to meet the dangers of the world and to remain steadfast in their Holy Catholic Faith and in the practice of the duties of religion.7

His fear of the threat posed by a secular environment on religious belief was echoed five years later by Archbishop Kelly in Sydney:

It is a regrettable fact that the open agnosticism or covert cynicism of much of the University teaching in Arts has injuriously affected the faith of not a few of our Catholic girls ...8

1918 was a time of bitter sectarianism in Victoria, which had come to a head at least partly as a result of Dr. Mannix's anti-conscription stance which was seen as disloyal to the British Empire. In addition, the universities were not sympathetic to

7. The Advocate, 4th May, 1918, p.11.
Irish Catholicism, although Dr. Mannix argued against the view that the Catholic Church was afraid of the light of the University of Melbourne. On the contrary, "The Catholic Church through all the ages was anxious that her people should participate in higher educational advantages".  

On women's future influence, Dr. A. L. Kenny was more ambivalent, and probably more honest to his own views, when he stated that he thought there was no finer thing for women than to rock the cradle. He did acknowledge that there were many fields that women who were university educated could enter and he was unashamedly enthusiastic about the Loreto Sisters.

The success of the college was assured under the direction of the Sisters of Loreto whose success as trainers of youth he had personal knowledge. The students trained under them were distinguished for solid educational knowledge and a special graciousness of manner. The Loreto nuns had the magnificent Trinity College affiliated to the University of Washington, U.S.A. Under the Loreto banner, St. Mary's College was bound to prosper.

Dr. Kenny made a particular point of emphasising that St. Mary's was part of Newman College affiliated to the University.

He wished to impress that fact on Catholics and non-Catholics. Just as the hostel of Trinity College was part of that same College, so it was with St. Mary's Hostel, blessed by His Excellency the Apostolic Delegate that day.

10. Dr. Kenny had graduated from the University of Melbourne, M.B., 1885, Ch.B. 1886.
11. The Advocate, 4th May, 1918, p.11. There was an error on Dr. Kenny's part here. Trinity College was run by an Order unrelated to the I.B.V.M.
12. idem.
The purpose of Dr. Kenny's emphasis here is not immediately apparent since, although the Jesuits assumed responsibility for the administration of Newman College, they did not ever do so for St. Mary's Hall. Dr. Kenny's emphasis was a confirmation of the Hall's affiliation to the University through Newman and of its accompanying status. It could also serve to remind his audience of the Hall's supposedly dependent status, a rating that women's university residences had to confront constantly. The Trinity Hostel administration had experienced this with clarity in 1892 when the Anglican Bishop had reminded the Ladies Committee that they were really only a committee of Trinity College Council. In the face of this startling demonstration of their powerlessness, both the Committee and the Principal, Miss Edith Hensley, had resigned.  

The official opening of St. Mary's Hall, then, was permeated by the high profile of the clerics and the Catholic lay man which was characteristic of Australian Catholic life. It was imbued with expression of the importance of higher education for Catholic women which was singularly uncharacteristic of Australian Catholic life and Australian life generally.

Given these two features of the official opening it is easy, but misleading, to underestimate the work and achievement of Australian Catholic women which led to the establishment of St. 

Mary's Hall, and easy to underestimate the battle they had with the hesitancy present in both the wider society and in Catholic life about the importance of higher education for women.

Similarly, it is easy and misleading to attribute the opening of St. Mary's Hall simply to Dr. Daniel Mannix, as others have done. Over the years Dr. Mannix was reluctant to encourage Catholic women to participate fully in the experience and benefits of a higher education.

While it has been argued that Dr. Mannix was committed to having an educated laity who were not simple footsoldiers of the faith, there were certainly times when Dr. Mannix wanted nothing but footsoldiers, as in his de facto ban on the Catholic Worker in 1955. In his less publicised conflict with the Catholic Women's Social Guild in the 1920s, he was adamant that no support would continue while it remained affiliated with the National Council of Women. Its President, Mrs. J. McInerney, had spoken in favour of conscription at a meeting which vigorously opposed Dr. Mannix's views. In both instances, Dr. Mannix used religious authority for political purposes and for interference in lay initiatives, which in no way involved religious doctrine, ecclesiastical obedience or propriety.

15. M. Gilchrist, Daniel Mannix, Priest and Patriot, Dove Communications, 1982, pp. 219-24; and T. M. Butler, 'For the Record', Catholic Worker, Vol.1, No.5, October-November, 1985, p.4, for an account of the Catholic Worker ban. Kennedy, op. cit., pp. 30-58, for an account of the dispute between the Catholic Women's Social Guild and Dr. Mannix.
On the other hand, Dr. Mannix saw with clarity that the building of a Catholic university college was of vital importance to Catholic lay leadership and he showed an unrelenting commitment and energy in working for the foundation of Newman College.

In the two years 1915 and 1916 he attended seventeen formal meetings concerning the building programme, corresponded with a cantankerous benefactor of the College (Mr. Thomas Donovan of Sydney) and deftly handled the difficult Walter Burley Griffin; he made innumerable public and private appeals for money for the College, watched the aged Dr. Carr slowly die and jousted with Father Ryan about the Jesuit staff for Newman. 16

Dr. Mannix's commitment to the foundation of Newman created a practical environment for the push for the foundation of a Catholic residence for women to be effective.

There were quite a number of Catholic women working for it directly. Then there were those who were quietly working for it in other ways, and who were influencing those who could work towards it. 17

There are, then, two parallel processes that led to the establishment of St. Mary's Hall. One process concerns the very real achievement of Catholic women, both lay and religious, in the field of higher education for women in the years prior to 1918 and their work in persuading a clerically-dominated church, largely cocooned from the realities of women's lives, about the importance of university education for women.


When it became apparent that Catholic leadership in the community was seriously hampered by the lack of a Catholic men's university college, the work of the Newman Society, Dr. Carr, Dr. Mannix, the Jesuits, and the Catholic clergy and laity to establish Newman - our second parallel process - meant that the time was right for women to capitalise on and explicitly to express and particularise what had been inherent in their work and intentions in the years prior to 1918.

By the second half of the nineteenth century the Catholic hierarchy began to be concerned about the absence of Catholics (this meant Catholic men) at the University. In the diary of Bishop Goold, appointed Bishop to the new see of Melbourne on 9th July 1847, there is the cheerful note on 1st June, 1858, registering the election of Dr. Anthony Brownless, a Catholic, to the Vice-Chancellorship of the University of Melbourne. Both Bishop Goold and Dr. Brownless were keen to establish a Catholic university college. At the University Council meeting 11th April, 1861, Bishop Goold was the first to make an application to the University to appropriate for the Catholic Church a portion of land designated for a university college. To Ernest Scott

... this circumstance is especially remarkable in view of the fact that Newman was the last of the four denominational colleges to be erected ... Whether Bishop Goold had the intention of building a college at this time, or whether he was simply acting to protect the interests of his church with a view to future possibilities, is not apparent.19

Bishop Goold was fascinated by the prospect of a Catholic university college. In addition, he had always been attentive to any inequality between the Churches. He disputed the title Bishop of Melbourne with the Anglican, Dr. Perry in 1848,20 and opposed Anglican claims of precedence at government functions.21 While Bishop Goold was eager to establish a university college then, he was also keen to protect the interests of his Church in University land.

On 16th July 1866 the University of Melbourne Council (of which Bishop Goold was a member) temporarily reserved from sale four equal allotments of 10 acres and 12 perches as sites for the colleges. Trinity College opened in 1872, Ormond in 1881, Queen's in 1888 and Newman in 1918.

The length of the delay by Catholics to build on their reserve and their practice of allowing it to be used for public sports, with charges for admission, brought attacks from The Argus, edginess from the University and, finally, a letter from the Commissioner of Education on 29th August 1877 (addressed to each of the three denominations with unused University land):

19. Scott, op. cit., p.73.
20. The Colonial Secretary's Office found their claims equal within the law and contention continued.
Would the denominations consent, if it had no immediate plans for building, to the sale of the land and to the proceeds being shared equally between the State (for university purposes) and the denomination (for its own purposes).

On the surface at least, the Catholics roused themselves but by September 1881 cricketers were still using the land, although the Emerald Hill Hurling Club was refused permission for a Grand Hurling Match in aid of the Irish Land League!

When the residents of Parkville requested a pathway through the University grounds in 1881, the road to form Tin Alley was to be taken from the Anglican and Catholic reserves. The Catholics, while always reluctant to forfeit any land, saw that good negotiating might enable them to gain a more secure hold on their property. Trinity and the future Ormond and Queen's Colleges objected to the terms of the proposed deed. (There was a suspicion that the Catholics wanted the title to the land so they could sell it!) The Anglicans refused to relinquish any of their land. (They had held title to it since 1871.) When the Catholics requested their deed of title in 1882, they were told that it was illegal under the Abolition of State Aid Act. Negotiations were stepped up and on 2nd October 1882 a Crown Grant of the land was made to the Roman Catholics of Victoria. 22

22. In the late 1890s there was a further attempt to take the site from the Catholics (they were by then the only one of the four denominations who had not used their site). This was headed off by the Honourable John Gavan Duffy, K.S.G., under direction from Archbishop Carr. All details about the land and negotiations, from an excellent article by Brian Fleming S.J. 'Newman - the Catholic Paddock'. Newman, 1984, pp. 100-2.
On 21st June, 1887, Archbishop Carr, the second Catholic Archbishop of Melbourne, paid his first visit to St. Francis Xavier's College, Kew. The students, reflecting their Jesuitical environment no doubt, made the following request:

Would that, when for us the time comes to leave this abode of piety and learning in order to pursue our higher studies at the University — would that then we could find a similar collegiate home, where with equal safeguards of virtue and religion we would be enabled to qualify ourselves for the academic degrees. 24

In his reply, Archbishop Carr said that

There is no wish dearer to my heart than that the Catholic young gentlemen of this colony, who are hereafter to fill positions of influence and of prominence ... should in every stage of their education - primary, collegiate and university - blend with their studies the constant and ennobling influences of religion. 25

In 1888 at the annual dinner of the St. Patrick Collegians, Archbishop Carr had consolidated his position to an emphatic affirmation that

the affiliation of a Catholic College to the University of Melbourne was of practical and vital importance to them. The Catholic body would not have a centre of intellectual reunion, and that intellection position to which they were entitled on so many grounds, until they had a College so affiliated. 26

23. Dr. Goold had become the first Archbishop when Melbourne was made a metropolitan see in 1874. On his death in 1886, Thomas Joseph Carr (1839-1917) was appointed Archbishop.
24. Kenny, loc. cit.
25. ibid., pp. 9-10.
26. ibid., p.11.
A few years later a deputation of students from the University, encouraged by the Rev. W. Mangan, called on Archbishop Carr to establish a Catholic College at the University. The immediate result of that interview was the formation of the Newman Society: a society which called public attention to the need for a Catholic College at the University. 27.

The arrival in Australia in 1913 of Dr. Daniel Mannix 28 as Coadjutor-Archbishop, fresh from his work as a senator in the foundation of the National University in Ireland, finally (but not immediately) served to remove the last hesitations of Dr. Carr and the movement for a Catholic college was launched in his circular letter of 1914. 29

Dear Sir,

For many years I have given serious thought to the problem of establishing a College for Catholic students at the University of Melbourne.

The need is serious and I am persuaded that to none is this need so evident as to the Catholic graduates of that University. The burden of providing for the religious education of our children in the primary schools has been so great that I have hitherto refrained from asking our generous Catholic people to increase the tax imposed on their resources by the unfair Education laws of the State. But the coming


28. Dr. Mannix arrived in Fremantle by the R.M.S. Orama on 18th March, 1913, left the Orama in Adelaide, proceeded by train to Melbourne, arriving at Spencer St. station on 23rd March. Among those who greeted him on his arrival was Andrew Fisher, the Prime Minister of Australia, whose presence among the crowd was the result of chance since he was at Spencer St. station for private purposes of his own. Santamaria, op. cit., p.40.

of the Coadjutor-Archbishop, and other circumstances, lead me to think that the time is now opportune for an immediate effort to make better provision for the present and future generations of Catholic students within the University.

May I, therefore, invite you, as a University graduate to attend a preliminary meeting of graduates and sympathisers to be held here, in the Library, on Tuesday, April 28th, at 8 p.m. when certain proposals will be submitted for consideration and advice.

Since there is a danger that some Catholic graduates may be overlooked in this invitation, I would ask you to be good enough to extend to all such graduates of your acquaintance a cordial invitation to the meeting.

I remain,
Very faithfully yours,
THOMAS J. CARR,
Archbishop of Melbourne.31

What had become increasingly apparent was that Catholics were largely absent from the ranks of professional men.32 To Dr. Mannix, that great champion of the working class,

Catholics were kept in the lower grades of society, and no more than hewers of wood and drawers of water in this land, which claimed to be free and to give justice to every man.33

One of the main reasons that the Catholic plot of land was still lying vacant at the University, and the answer to Dr. Scott's surprise at the fact,34 was the enormous amount of money that Catholics had put into maintaining their own school system

34. See pp. 8-9.
after the Education Act of 1872. To construct their schools and
to continue to keep them operating, the Catholic people, a very
poor people, had to contribute unremittingly from their own very
meagre resources. It was an extra burden of some magnitude to
request their contributions to a university college, and something
they certainly felt. "It's the likes of me that paid for the
likes of you to be educated! Didn't we all have to put in for
Newman College."

The first World War halted the movement for the foundation of
Newman. When a donation of £30,000 from Mr. Thomas Donovan, a
Sydney benefactor, was promised, the Executive Committee quickly
reconvened. The support of the clerics for the College was
strong: in May 1914, fifty-five individual priests had promised
£16,500 between them. The fact that the Jesuits were to staff
the College was kept secret for fear that subscriptions from the
clergy would decline if they thought they were building a college
for the Jesuits. Negotiations between Dr. Mannix and the
Jesuits were lengthy and bitter. Notwithstanding, Newman College
was officially opened on 24th March, 1918, with Father James
O'Dwyer S.J. as Acting Rector, to be succeeded in early 1919 by
Father Albert Power S.J. as Rector, and Fathers Wilfred Ryan S.J.
and Dominic Kelly S.J. as the Rector's Assistants.

35. "As late as 1856, a survey showed that less than half the
Catholics could read or write. Their church was truly a church of
the poor." Campion, op. cit., p.45.
36. The remark of a domestic servant in 1922 to a graduate and
past student of St. Mary's Hall. Anonymous.
38. ibid., p.1.
The consensus to establish a male university college did not, ipso facto, include any agreement to establish a counterpart for women despite clerical rhetoric at the opening of St. Mary's Hall.

I was at one of the first meetings - not that I paid much attention to it then. I was brought by the famous Lulu Barry, who was already for it and I was a young bit of a student then. And we went into the Archbishop's dining room for this meeting, and I have only got that memory of a beautiful dining room, of all these potentates and the Archbishop. But I do remember A. L. Kenny who was one of the major speakers, and I do remember a cheeky young undergraduate over there: a Peter Lalor, who was ready to counteract Dr. Kenny in it... But they were urging for the foundation of Newman and at that juncture I think Archbishop Carr would have given his consent, but with certain provisos, but there was no mention there of a sister college for women.41

The bar to clerical enthusiasm for a women's residence arose out of a hesitancy about the importance of higher education for women:

The old Irish element did not put women in the foreground and Dr. Mannix rather mistrusted a feminist movement. And I must say that some of the vocal feminists who were urging for it like Lulu Barry and Co. didn't impress him... As one of them said, he would give in straight away rather than listen for two hours to Lulu Barry.42

39. Lulu was the granddaughter of Sir Redmond Barry, the first Chancellor of the University of Melbourne, co-founder of the State Library of Victoria and infamous in Australian folklore as the judge who sentenced Ned Kelly to death.

40. "Peter Lalor was the grandson of the Peter Lalor of Eureka. His father was a doctor in Richmond and I think the famous Captain Joe Lalor who fell at Anzac would have been Peter's brother." Borgia Tipping, I.B.V.M. Letter to author, 28th November, 1985.


42. ibid.
Although colonial universities had been well to the fore in admitting women students, popular opinion was clear about its purpose. At the founding of the Women's College at the University of Sydney in 1889, the New South Wales Minister for Public Education was unequivocal:

We must recognise the fact that the women are the mothers of the nation ... it behoves us to see that we strengthen their judgement; that we so improve their mental faculties and so raise their intelligence that they will be better able to perform their duties in training the rising generation. If we wish to have better men we can only hope to have them by giving our children better proclivities, and giving their mothers increased power to promote their intelligence. 44

The Bulletin, "the purveyor of all unquestioned Australian assumptions", agreed that women could not be too educated provided their various functions as mother, nurse, educator and trainer of children were assisted by that education. 45

The Age had been supportive a few years earlier, but not in an entirely satisfactory way, when it proclaimed:

The critics are now trying to discover that they [university women] are overtrained and formal, and as ugly as the women of Utah. An unprejudiced visitor would certainly give a very different verdict ... it seems possible that the sex can take care of itself and that a woman does not lose what is distinctive and charming by taking a few months from frivolity and giving them up to study. 46


45. idem.

46. The Age, 7th December, 1885, p.6.
If secular attitudes were dubious, there was evidence that the Catholic Church was lagging woefully behind in the field of higher education for women.

The majority of Catholic university women among my own personal friends have received their secondary education either wholly or partly outside Catholic schools, which have shown themselves either unable or (as in my own case) unwilling to undertake the training necessary to fit the girls for university life. And in my own limited experience, I found that Catholic teachers who became aware of my determination to undertake a profession regarded my action as anything between a bad joke and a serious aberration. 47

Anna Brennan had attended St. Andrew's, Bendigo, presumably because of her objection. Similarly, Martha Bergin Tipping, the daughter of a Catholic country school teacher and pupil at Star of the Sea, took mathematics classes at Presbyterian Ladies College (having obtained permission from the Archbishop). Kathleen Fitzpatrick was "prised out of the Presentation Convent" at Windsor and transferred to Lauriston, which provided tuition in essential science for the Leaving Certificate. Inadequate grounding in the sciences was one of the reasons for Anna Brennan's two unsuccessful attempts at first year Medicine at the University of Melbourne. 48

I heard a member of one of our teaching Orders say that she did not see any use in teaching girls science. If I had had the patience to listen to her she would probably have added that women were not logical enough to learn science. That is generally what people do say who deprive the girls of any chance of cultivating that

47. Anna Brennan, 'Need of university training for women', The Advocate, 14th April, 1917, p.9.

faculty. It is rather like blaming a Chinese girl for not being a prize pedestrian after she has been treated to a scientific system of foot-binding.49

Inadequate grounding in the sciences and in mathematics was not an educational disadvantage limited to the Catholic school system. Mathematics, a compulsory subject in all first year University courses, was often poorly taught at girls schools generally, if it was taught at all. Constance Tisdall, who eventually topped the Honours list in Logic, failed the first year of her Arts course due to a grave lack of preparation in Mathematics, Latin and Greek.50

Nevertheless, the absence of Catholic women at the University led Anna Brennan to point out that in one of her years (1904-1909) she was the only Catholic woman!

In the following year two more arrived, in the next two more, making a magnificent total of five in three years. In one of those years of which I speak the Presbyterian Ladies College alone sent up 15 girls. That is to say that one non-Catholic girls’ school in one year sent as many girls for higher education as the whole Catholic body would, at the then rate of progression, have taken nine years to attain to.51

Contemporary writers, such as Kelly, have argued in parallel that the Catholic Church was the least well-disposed of the major denominations towards higher education for women.52

49. Brennan loc. cit.
50. Muirhead, loc. cit.
52. Kelly, op. cit., p.4.
of residential accommodation at the University was one measure of existing attitudes to higher education. When St. Mary's Hall was opened in 1918, there was only one other collegiate residence for women still in existence at the University, namely Trinity Hostel, rechristened Janet Clarke Hall in 1921.  

Secondly, there was no time lag between the opening of the Catholic male and female residences: they opened together and they both continued. This was atypical for other denominations. For instance, although one of the first ten residents of Queen's College was a woman who lived with the Master's family, the project for a separate women's hostel was scrapped in 1889 when a new wing for the men's college assumed priority. "Temporary lodgings were arranged, but these were abandoned in 1893."  

One has to be careful then in arguing that the Catholic Church was the least well-disposed of the major denominations towards higher education for women. Similarly, it is an error to attribute the overall absence of convent school girls at the University solely to the Catholic Church's hesitancy about their higher education. The poverty of the Catholic people and the huge cost they bore running their primary and secondary school system meant that the bishops were reluctant to call for funds for Catholic university

53. University Women's College, a non-denominational college, opened its doors in 1937 and St. Hilda's College in 1964.

54. It was not until 1964 that St. Hilda's College, a collaboration between Queen's and Ormond, was opened. Kelly, op. cit., p.27.
residences, male or female for that matter. Furthermore, for individual Catholics the cost of university fees, books and academic gowns, when very few scholarships were available, was often prohibitive.

The education of girls had been an integral part of Catholic education in Australia from its very beginning. "For a span of over fifty years ... the convent high schools constituted the only organised system of education for girls that Australia possessed", although this should not be attributed to progressive attitudes among the Church hierarchy

The Hierarchy's dependence on female labour for the development of the Catholic education system makes any assumptions of liberal clerical attitudes on the question of females' rights to education hazardous. The answer to the question of how to staff Catholic schools in Australia probably meant that the principle of equal access to education regardless of sex was not a tenable question in the Australian Church in the late nineteenth century; that need pre-empted it.

On the contrary, the clergy had a reluctance when it came to encouraging intellectual achievement in Catholic women. The pinnacle of their achievement was as Catholic wives and mothers:

55. Fogarty, in Kennedy, op. cit., p.66.
56. i.e., the female Religious Orders.
Great deeds have gifted women done
   In art and literature;
Rare grace have even science won
   From women's genius pure;
But high and broad as heaven's dome
   (Surpassing every other)
Is the life work of the queen of home
The Catholic wife and mother. 58

Accordingly, the Bishops were sometimes apprehensive about
the efficacy of the Religious Orders.

And now, my children, it is all very well to
play the piano so perfectly and to sing so
enchantingly and to speak French and Latin,
but there is something you must learn to do
that is much more necessary than all this.
You must learn how to be good housekeepers -
to sew and to cut out and mend and make your
own clothes ... to cook and to boil, to roast
and to fry. 59

The attitudes of the bishops reflected the attitudes of the wider
society which viewed intellectual women with distaste and which saw
domesticity and dependence as women's proper state. 60  Christian
womanhood required a deeply sacrificial spirit:

Natural love moves the normal woman to self-
sacrifice, almost to self-effacement. She
is proud to surrender her name, to merge her
identity in that of her husband. Supernatural love acts on the lines of nature, and
the nun gladly sinks her individuality in her
Order, her membership in which is the sign of
her special and exclusive union with the Divine. 61

58. The Advocate, 12th August, 1893, p.5.
59. The Bishop of Sale to the pupils of the Sisters of Our Lady of Sion. The Advocate, 23rd December, 1893, p.10.
61. The Advocate, 18th November, 1893, p.10.
Religious women carried out in an intensified way the sacrificial spirit of normal Christian womanhood.

Now, self-sacrifice for you has a different meaning from that which it has for people in the world - for you it is a holocaust, an entire offering of all your powers to God. 62

It is remarkable, then, in the context of the subservience, anonymity and self sacrifice expected of Catholic women that there emerged groups of women, both lay and religious, who were committed to the cause of higher education for women and who refused to accept the images constructed for them by the Catholic hierarchy.

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The Catholic Women's Social Guild (CWSG) was one group of such women. The impetus for its foundation came from a Jesuit, Fr. William Lockington:

What was particularly distinctive about this priest's view on the place of women in the Catholic Church, apart from the fact that he had any at all and that he eschewed sentimental imagery, was his emphasis on a dynamic political and social activism. 63

Lockington's views were broadened, challenged and surpassed by the first Committee of the Catholic Women's Social Guild, young single Catholic women of independent thought and professional standing in education, law and medicine.

63. Kennedy, op. cit., p.11.
Dr. Mary Glowery was its first President in 1916. She worked as a medical practitioner at the Victorian Eye and Ear Hospital and later left Australia to join a Dutch-founded Religious Order, the Society of Jesus, Mary and Joseph, running a hospital in Guntur, India. Members of the first Committee were Dr. Eileen Fitzgerald, who later became Chief Medical Officer of the Victorian Education Department; Maud O'Connell, who later founded the Religious Order, the Company of Our Lady of the Blessed Sacrament (the Grey Sisters); and Julia Flynn, who became Senior Inspector of Secondary Schools in the Victorian Department of Education in 1924.64

In brief, to paraphrase Kennedy, the political role that these women adopted was totally at variance with the image of the passive, pious, obedient, little Irish mother of late nineteenth century rural Australia, which the Catholic Church presented in the twentieth century as the ideal role of a lay Catholic woman, most of whom lived in the city.65

It was Anna Brennan, a founding member of the Guild, on its first Committee, and its second President in 1918-1920, who led the way in the Guild's advocacy for a Catholic College for women at the University. Anna, a lawyer, was born on 2nd September, 1879, at Emu Creek, Victoria, thirteenth child of Michael Brennan, farmer, and his wife Mary, née Maher. She was the second woman admitted

64. ibid., pp. 12-15.
65. The Advocate, 28th November, 1985, p.11.
to practise at the Victorian Bar and became well known in Melbourne for her activism for women's rights in matters of law.

At the annual congress of the Catholic Women's Social Guild held on 31st March, 1917, in the Cathedral Hall, Brunswick Street, Fitzroy, Anna Brennan argued against the industrial and domestic oppression of women and against the prejudice barring women from participating in higher education.

What I wish to insist upon and wish the Catholic Women's Social Guild to insist upon, is the necessity of encouraging by every means in our power, a band of purely lay women, carrying on professions or vocations in the world and fitted by a Catholic university education to so carry on - women who will leaven the life of the University itself with Catholic ideals and break down ignorant prejudices; who when they go out from the University, taking their part in public life, unaggressively but unflinchingly will use their opportunities to educate and uplift their fellow women; who last, but not least, will do their creditable best in giving the death-blow to that lingering legacy of early Victorian days, that disgracible spectre which lurks still in our secondary schools - the idea that the woman who works with hand or brain is the inferior in social status or in public credit of the woman who lives at ease on somebody else's money.

The Guild passed the following resolution arising from Anna Brennan's paper.

That this congress of the Catholic Women's Social Guild declares the advisability of giving equal facilities to women students at the Catholic university college, including the right to compete for resident and non-resident scholarships.


67. The Advocate, 14th April, 1917, pp. 9-10.

68. The Advocate, 7th April, 1917, p.17.
The resolution was presented to the Archbishop of Melbourne, Dr. Mannix.

There was no permanent branch of the Guild among Catholic women at the University and Kennedy points to the lack of any close ties between St. Mary's Hall and the Catholic Women's Social Guild. Indeed, when Constance Hoy, a member of the sub-committee responsible for the production of Women's Social Work, visited St. Mary's in 1920 to talk about the Guild, it was two rather reluctant students of the Hall, Lucille Bloink and Ursula Clinton who were shepherded in by Mother Patrick, the Principal, as potential writers for the Guild's journal. They were further encouraged by an already enthusiastic Pauline Pusterla, another student of the Hall. All three of these students became actively involved in the Guild and in the Catholic Women's League as it is now called. Ursula Clinton edited their journal, now The Horizon, for over fifty years.

There were other connections between St. Mary's Hall and the Catholic Women's Social Guild.

Martha Tipping, who was a graduate and a member of the I.B.V.M., was urging the foundation of the Hall on the nuns at Albert Park. She was a personal friend of Julia Flynn, and they were working together and, of course, my sister had the ear and the knowledge and the friendship of Mother Elizabeth Forbes I.B.V.M. It was their primal desire that there would be a Catholic College at the University.

69. Kennedy, op. cit., p.26. The St. Mary's College Past Students' Assoc. Newsletter, 1980, p.2, refers to the branch of the Catholic Women's Social Guild established at St. Mary's Hall. This is incorrect. There was a branch established at the University, as a result of Ellie Payne's enthusiasm, which did not continue after Ellie (later Mother M. Colmcille I.B.V.M.), left the University.

70. Lucille Quinlan (Bloink), Interviewed 30th May 1985 at Belgrave.

Lulu Barry, who was active in the Guild, its Secretary in 1920, and very active in the push for a university college, was a past student of the Loreto-run Central Catholic Training College at Albert Park, where she had lived while she studied law at the University.

There were others - like Miss Lulu Barry - who were keen themselves as students or past students of Albert Park urging the foundation of a women's college ... Lulu is the one who is upmost in my mind because she was legal [she was a barrister] and had a great gift of speech ... But there were quite a number working for it directly. Then there were those who were quietly working for it in other ways, and who were influencing those who could work towards it. 72

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The Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary (I.B.V.M.) had a firm idea of the importance of further education for Catholic women. An essential element of its work in Australia in the years preceding the establishment of St. Mary's Hall was work towards this goal. In July 1875 Mother Gonzaga Barry, I.B.V.M., had established the first Loreto foundation in Australia at Ballarat. She brought with her from Rathfarnham, Ireland, on the steamship Somersetshire, a well-educated and dedicated group of fellow Religious, 73 a resilience, a readiness to embrace her new country, and a commitment

72. ibid.

73. The other members of her party were professed nuns of the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary (I.B.V.M.) - Dorothea Frizelle (at St. Mary's Hall in 1918), Xavier Yourelle, Boniface Volker, Berchmans Stafford, Gertrude Quinn, Aloysius Macken, Bruno McCabe. There were two future postulants with the party - Helen Hughes and Margaret O'Brien. Mary Oliver, I.B.V.M. Love is a Light Burden. Burns, Oates & Washbourne Ltd., London, 1950, p.58.
to the ideals of Mary Ward, the founder of the Institute, who had believed without apology in the need to educate girls properly.

Working in the first half of the seventeenth century in the context of Reformation England, Mary Ward had aimed to educate young women so they could profitably embrace either the secular or Religious life.

... her philosophy of education was both Christian and humanistic as she had a high regard for secular learning as a civilising experience and a Christian concern for the dignity of the individual. 74

She challenged the prevailing view of man's superiority present in the Catholic Church (and in the wider society)

It is not veritas hominis, verity of men,
non verity of women, but veritas Domini. 75

And she insisted, then, that girls should receive an education equal to that of boys, as far as was practically possible in her time.

There is no such difference between men and women that women may not do great things! ... And I hope in God it will be seen that women in time will do much. 76

Her conviction that women could do much was unpopular with the prominent opinion of the time that a woman's place was in the home or in a secluded convent. 77

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76. idem.
77. ibid., p.141.
When we attest then to Mother Gonzaga's firm adherence to the ideals of her Founder we point, at least in part, to her concern for a comprehensive education for women in a society and Church largely unsympathetic and hostile to it. A sensible school for girls, she posited, is

a school where the whole child is educated according to the capabilities, talents, tastes and position in life which God has given her ... It should begin in the infant school and end in the university or in the domestic college.78

Her philosophy of education, then, recognised the diversity of individual women at a time when women were treated largely in a single category. It acknowledged the range of capabilities and preferences of women when Church and society had conveyed a clear mandate as to their role. Her philosophy called for an educative approach which was developmentally based, ranging from kindergarten to university:

It reflects a concern for the educational development of girls from all levels of society quite striking in an age when even universal elementary education was in its very primitive stage of evolution.79

And, while her philosophy was not free from the classbound consciousness of the Victorian age, it called women to a freedom that their society and their Church were reluctant to bestow. It is hard to be sure how much Mother Gonzaga would have delineated the sort

78. Gonzaga Barry I.B.V.M. 'A sensible school for girls'. Eucalyptus Blossoms, 15th December, 1890, pp. 27-29.
79. Wright, op. cit., p.40.
of contrasts I have drawn here. As a follower of Mary Ward, she would have been keenly aware, one would have thought, of the very real possibilities for conflict both from within and without her Church.

A further feature of Mother Gonzaga's philosophy was her refusal to translate her strong links with Ireland into the establishment of an Irish school system here in Australia. On the contrary, both the title of and her writings in *Eucalyptus Blossoms*, the newspaper of Loreto Abbey, Ballarat, begun as early as 1886, indicated how much she observed and embraced colonial Australia with its particular and rapidly changing circumstances. Instead of proceeding with her gaze firmly on the home country she had found so difficult to leave, she perceived that it was Australia which could pave the way in the establishment of a better system of education for women.

... we do, therefore, trust with confidence this, or perhaps a better system of woman's education will be realised in this new land, and copied from us in the older homes of culture and civilisation.

Indeed, Loreto Abbey had become one focus of the push towards higher education for women. Academic excellence, liberty of spirit, education in arts and science were keenly valued, and students were prepared for matriculation from 1885. Personal and academic connections with the University of Melbourne were

81. Oliver, *op. cit.*, Chapter 5, pp. 53-65.
established. On 18th May, 1887, the very newly elected Chancellor of the University, Dr. Anthony Brownless, visited the convent and school at Loreto Abbey. When the University Extension Lectures were begun in 1891, the Abbey was keen to participate and on 3rd December, 1891, the first of a series of University Extension Lectures was given there. Professor Edward Morris gave the first lecture on the "Romantic Movement in English and French Literature". When the Professor gave his second lecture on 18th February, 1892, students writing in the school diary record:

Professor Morris gave his second lecture on Literature. Found it very interesting. Between each lecture we are to write and send him an essay on whatever subject he may prescribe. This is not quite so interesting.

The issue of higher education for women was candidly debated in Eucalyptus Blossoms. Daisy Cussen, in her article on "The intellectual training of girls" argued that "mental culture in women does not, as some people imagine, infer a corresponding neglect of ordinary duty ..." and came to a stirring conclusion. "'No nation ever yet was great whose women did not glory in its greatness' and I would say not only glory in it, but contribute to it".

Bella Guerin, the first woman graduate of an Australian university (University of Melbourne, 1883), was employed as a teacher at

84. Eucalyptus Blossoms, 1st June, 1887, p.45.
86. Eucalyptus Blossoms, 10th December, 1892, p.45.
87. Daisy Cussen, 'The intellectual training of girls', Eucalyptus Blossoms, 10th December, 1886, p.16.
88. ibid., p.17.
Loreto Abbey, Ballarat. She wrote, then, with first hand experience and zeal.

... Victorian girls have been first in the Queen's Dominions to win and wear the great laurels of university degrees ... Thoughtful students of social progress welcome this new development of women's intellect as a matter for decided congratulation, and they seem to expect that some real benefit will derive from it for society in general. 89

Furthermore, Bella was conscious of the lack of support for higher education for women in the Catholic community:

In this matter of real practical encouragement and assistance for girls desirous of thoroughly developing their intellect, it is to be regretted that very little, if any, interest is evinced by the members of our community who have means at their disposal. 90

And she was clear about possible courses of action:

Clever girls are in many cases not of rich parents, and the expense, inseparable from the university career, often proves an insuperable obstacle to their undertaking it ... We seem, therefore, to stand most in need of the establishment of scholarships for Catholic girls, which would enable those amongst them capable of succeeding to pursue university courses. 91

In a recent history of women in the University of Melbourne, it is argued that in the Catholic Church as Bella Guerin soon found out, intellectual pride in women was not encouraged. Family tradition maintains that the nuns at Mary's Mount, Ballarat,

89. Bella Guerin, 'Higher education of women', Eucalyptus Blossoms, 10th December, 1886, p.6.
90. ibid., p.7.
91. ibid., p.8.
the Loreto convent where she first worked after graduation, rebuked her for taking her academic distinction too seriously. 92

While I have no real argument with Kelly's general claim that the Catholic Church did not take pride in the intellectual achievement of women (although I earlier made some important qualifications), I would argue with her locating this attitude amongst the members of the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Ballarat who were, as already indicated, in the forefront of education for women, both in the Church and in the wider society. Family tradition can often be one-sided. In this case, it needs to be balanced with the recognition Loreto Abbey gave to Bella's academic achievement by employing her as a teacher there in the first place and by publishing her writings on the importance of higher education in the newspaper of the school. 93

There is no doubt that Mother Gonzaga Barry, at Ballarat, saw intellectual and educational endeavour as important always within the context of the achievement of personal maturity and responsible contribution to the family, to the Church, and to society. 94

It is possible that any difference of opinion with Bella was a matter of emphasis. Whatever the case, to locate the argument that the Catholic Church did not encourage intellectual pride in women with the Loreto Sisters at Ballarat is to do an injustice to

92. Kelly, op. cit., p.5.
93. "... the very fact that these articles appeared in a magazine published by the Loreto nuns suggests that the nuns who developed the educational policy of the Loreto schools would have considered the ideas valid." Ann R. McGrath, 'Some Convent School Traditions in Victoria 1860-1910'. Unpublished Masters thesis. University of Melbourne, 1964, p.376.
94. Wright, op. cit., p.36.
their views and work in education and to their self-education. More specifically, it diverts one from the fact that this was the very group of Catholic women who were influential in the foundation of St. Mary's Hall, the Catholic College for women at the University of Melbourne, and who have administered it right up until the present day.

The Loreto Sisters had brought with them to Australia a tradition which had as one of its essential tenets a commitment to the education of women: "to mould and fashion the student to a full consciousness of her dignity as a Christian woman in society endowed with intelligence". It was this tradition which led to their concern about the lack of encouragement for Catholic women to further their education.

Shortly after 1877 the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary introduced a five-year programme for pupil teachers at St. Joseph's primary school, Ballarat, under the direction of Mother Hilda Benson I.B.V.M. (1845-1920). In 1884 it opened the Dawson Street Training College which was jointly planned by Mother Hilda and Mother Gonzaga Barry to meet the needs of the diocesan schools. As its foundation Principal, Mother Hilda drew on her education at Notre Dame Training College, Liverpool, and the Dawson Street College was remarkable for its five-year course of study.

95. Deirdre Rofe I.B.V.M in Wright, op. cit., p.34.
Despite Dr. Carr's enthusiasm for a Catholic university college for men, he was reluctant when Mother Gonzaga Barry wrote to him in 1895 about a Catholic women's hostel at the University. In 1894 in England she had seen the Catholic hostel opened at Cambridge. Her letter to Archbishop Carr, dated Whitsunday, 3rd June, 1895, is full of the phraseology that Religious women used to address their ecclesiastical superiors - they had been well trained by reiterated precept to communicate in humility with the bishops.

My Dear Lord,

I did not like to intrude on your time for the last month, knowing you were engaged on a subject of great importance, but now that it has been brought to so glorious an ending I am going to trouble Your Grace about a little matter that Mother Berchmans of Loretto, Albert Park, mentioned to you last time you were there. You may remember she spoke to you, My Lord, about an humble attempt to establish a Catholic ladies' hostel for girls who desire to pursue their studies in connection with the university, and at the same time under the safe protection of the Church and in a Catholic home atmosphere. I have been informed that your Grace approves of the project and kindly gave your permission to make a trial. Before taking any decisive step, I would like to put before Your Grace the plan we had in view for a beginning and, if Your Grace approve of it, can try it, but if any other way seems better to your mind, we will most gladly adopt it and feel grateful for the suggestion.

As the students of this hostel will have to attend lectures at the university and some classes in the day school, whilst at the same time they will prob-

97. See above pp. 11-13.
98. Oliver, op. cit., p.187.
100. Mother Berchmans Stafford, I.B.V.M., who came to Australia in 1875 as part of the first Loreto foundation in Australia. The spelling of "Loretto" changed to "Loreto" from c.1901 in Australia. For information concerning the change, see The Loreto Magazine, Rathfarnham 1896.
ably require rather more liberty out of study hours than would be compatible with the regularity of conventual life, I thought the hostel would be better under the management of competent secular ladies, who would at the same time carry out Your Grace's views and those of the nuns regarding the young ladies in their charge. Such persons seem to be at our hand here in the person of Mrs. Murtagh, sister to our late dear Bishop, Dr. O'Connor, and a Miss Barry, sister of my own.

It is the same to these ladies to live in Melbourne as in Ballarat, and they are willing and anxious to devote their time and energies to any good cause. They intend to take a furnished house in Melbourne for the winter and we can make use of it for a ladies' hostel if we like to do so. It would be a beginning without any outlay on our part, and if it succeeded it would perhaps lead to something more. If Your Grace would give it your patronage and kindly suggest the form of prospectus and a plan of studies to be pursued, I would have no fear after the first initial difficulties had been surmounted, with the help of God and Our Blessed Lady.

We have been looking for a suitable house but, up to the present, the best seems one to let, fully furnished, in Gipps St., East Melbourne - there was one nearly opposite to the university but it was taken after a few days. There are others in every way suitable but too far out of town.

Do you, My Lord, think the house in Gipps Street would do? It is quite near the Protestant Bishop, Dr. Goe's, house!

I must not trespass on Your Grace longer. I would not do so at all only I know the great interest you take in the advancement of Catholic education. Believe me, my dear Lord, your devoted child in Christ.

Mary J. Gonzaga Barry I.B.V.M.

Dr. Carr's brief and prompt reply was written on 9th June, 1895.

101. Bishop of Ballarat from 1875 until his death in 1883.

102. Dr. Field Flowers Goe (1832-1910), Anglican Bishop of Melbourne 1887-1901.

My dear Reverend Mother,

The plan now submitted is substantially different from that which was proposed, at least as I understood it, when I visited the convent.

The plan did not contemplate a separate house at all. I feel we should come in for a great deal of adverse criticism if we acted on the plan now contemplated. The house would be neither secular nor religious. The students would be far away, both from the university and the convent.

What I understood was that they were to lodge near the convent so that their studies might be directed by the nuns and that they might be assisted also by them from the spiritual point of view.

If the students were to lodge in different houses, recommended by the nuns, I think a great deal of the difficulty would be got over.

I remain, dear Reverend Mother,

Very faithfully yours,

THOMAS J. CARR. 104

Mother Gonzaga wrote to Sir Anthony Brownless, the Chancellor of the University of Melbourne, on 22nd July, 1895, informing him of Dr. Carr's decision and asking him for his continued support. Whether it was good judgement on her part to rely on his support remains in question as his record concerning women's participation at the University was mixed. While he had fought a single-handed battle in 1871 to allow the matriculation of women, 105 he


was one of the three dissenters in 1887 when the University Council carried the motion ten votes to three that women be admitted to degrees in Medicine. 106

However, Mother Gonzaga was quite ready to persuade him.

Dear Sir Anthony Brownless,

I do not know if you remember my writing to you some time ago about a Catholic hostel in connection with the university. His Grace, the Archbishop, was spoken to regarding it by the Superior of the Loretto Convent, Albert Park, and I understood from her that His Grace was favourably inclined towards it, but in a letter I received from him later he says he fears "it would excite adverse criticism" and be a failure. He rather recommends the young ladies lodge wherever they like and attend the university or our schools.

They will not do this, I feel quite certain. They come back here to the boarding school for Matriculation, if they wish to go on further with their studies, they seem to think there is nothing for them but to go to some of the Protestant institutions, as they say we Catholics have none.

At present there is a house, 17 Burlington Terrace, Lansdowne Street, East Melbourne, rented by my sister, Miss Barry, and a sister of our late Bishop, Dr. O'Connor, Mrs. Murtagh - these ladies have taken the house for the winter season and to oblige us would accommodate two or three young lady students. But, of course, this has not the attraction of a ladies' hostel. Yet, if we could get some rich Catholic to give a couple of burses, I would supply the students and with good brains.

The expense of board and lodging, £1 a week, and college fees, would alone be required. I think this is a chance to make a beginning without any great outlay, that we Catholics should not lose.

106. Scott, op. cit., p.103.
If it were once begun and succeeded in attracting students, it might lead to something else of more importance, and everyone to whom I spoke, amongst whom were two Bishops, approved of it. But the great drawback is pounds, shillings and pence. The wonder worker, St. Anthony, has been asked to find that for us.

Whether it ever comes to anything or not, we intend this year D.V. to take a new step in advance for the good of our young people here, both nuns and pupils. And we have invited a lady, a Miss Bell, from Cambridge, to come here and assist us establish the newest and best method in our high and primary schools. Miss Bell is a good Catholic and a personal friend of mine. She was in the University Dublin before going to Cambridge, and you will see by the enclosed letter what Miss Hughes, who is an authority on education, thinks of her.

I also send you copy of Miss Bell's last letter to me. She entertains very large ideas of our future Catholic ladies' college. Would to God they would be realised.

The Manchester meeting will interest you, I think, and I will only say now if you know of any lady student desirous of a nice Catholic home whilst in Melbourne, you can kindly direct her to 17 Burlington Terrace, where she will have every care and attention.

With kindest regards from all the community here, believe me, dear Sir Anthony,

Faithfully, in Jesus Christ,
MOTHER J. GONZAGA BARRY IBVM.

In 1905 the Act for the Registration of Teachers and Schools was passed and gave the necessary impetus for a greater emphasis on teacher training. Archbishop Carr and the Bishops of Ballarat, Sale and Sandhurst requested that the Loreto Sisters establish the Central Catholic Training College, Albert Park, which was opened in 1906.

Mother Hilda Benson was its first Principal and a Miss Barbara Bell, the Mistress of Method. Miss Bell had passed the examinations in theory, history and practice of education conducted by the Teachers' Training Syndicate in 1895 at Cambridge and had come to Australia at the request of Mother Gonzaga to assist in the training of teachers for the I.B.V.M. 108

Mother Gonzaga had already outlined her ideas for the training of teachers in the 1890's. She envisaged a college where Religious could receive instruction in the science of education and where young women could be prepared for the profession of teaching by qualified persons and could pursue university studies under the care of Religious. 109 Accordingly, the Central Catholic Training College had a group of students who boarded there and had a certain amount of tuition there, but who went across to the University to undertake degree courses. Its dual role emphasised the importance the I.B.V.M. gave to the further education of women and provided a practical precedent, centralisation and focus for the movement towards a Catholic university college.

Its staff were being educated, both formally and informally, in a manner that would assist them in administering a university residence. Mother Elizabeth Forbes I.B.V.M. was one of the


109. Gonzaga Barry I.B.V.M. 'Suggestions - A College to train teachers for secondary schools'. Undated paper, probably written in the mid-1890s, as there are references to her 1894 visit to England. Central Archives, Loreto Abbey, Ballarat.
first fifteen students at C.C.T.C. With a B.A. degree behind her, she spent 1906 completing a Diploma of Education. When Barbara Bell left for New Zealand in 1909, Mother Elizabeth took over as Mistress of Method and also assumed a large portion of the burden of running the College from the ageing Mother Hilda. By 1914 Mother Elizabeth was Principal with Mother Patrick Callanan, I.B.V.M., who had completed her Diploma of Education at the College in 1906-07, as both the Vice Principal and one of the two Mistresses of Method. Both women were to staff St. Mary's Hall when it opened in 1918.

The distance of C.C.T.C. from the University highlighted the need for a residence in closer proximity. Sister Borgia Tipping I.B.V.M., travelled from Albert Park convent to the University as a student.

... it was rather a lengthy business ... it meant catching the tram up St. Kilda Road and changing trams when you got into the city, and so on to the University for the day. And getting back to the college, and so forth.

The trip was not without certain hazards. Sr. Borgia Tipping I.B.V.M., Sr. John Moore I.B.V.M. and Sr. Catherine Dowden I.B.V.M. often accompanied each other to the University.

Catherine was supposed to have a sort of financial bent ... she was always given charge of the purse and we had to depend on her, and we were getting off at the Town Hall to change trams to get the South Melbourne tram. John and I got off and the tram went on with Catherine. We had no money and she didn't like it at all having to walk back to get us.

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112. ibid.
There were other hazards as well.

In those days we had to wear a stiff forehead band and the veil and we had to wear gossamer over that. And while we were in town, the gossamer was down .... One of my memories is of a small child on the street calling out: Mummy look, those men are putting their veils over their faces.113

The Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary both implicitly in its work in education and explicitly continued the push for a women's residence at the University. In February 1916 Mother Hilda wrote to Sister M. Eucharia I.B.V.M. at Loretto Hall, a university residence in Stephen's Green, Dublin, to learn details of the College. The reply to her letter was delayed by the Easter Week Rebellion

... and the unhappy events that followed so occupied our minds that it seemed for the time impossible to concentrate one's thoughts on the ordinary events of life.114

When her reply was finally penned in November 1917 (almost two years later) the war having further discouraged correspondence, she sent full details of their own hostel and the house rules of the "two great women's colleges at Cambridge - Girton and Newnham - both of which I know well".115 From Mother Gonzaga's time on, then, there was a continuity in the push for a women's residence at the University.

113. ibid.


115. ibid.
All through, Mother Hilda's idea had been that there would be a Catholic college for women at the University and when Mother Gonzaga died in 1915 she and Mother Elizabeth Forbes would not rest satisfied until the fulfillment of that scheme. 116

When Dr. Mannix called on the Albert Park convent on the 4th April, 1917, his instructions were that the Sisters of Loreto make arrangements with Mr. Michael Mornane (brother of Sister Stanislaus Mornane I.B.V.M.) to secure a house near the University as a residence for women students. 117 The years of negotiation for a women's residence were finally successful.

It was remarkable that in an age that had viewed Catholic women's proper role as the queen of the home and as in arranging hyacinths for the altar there emerged a group of Catholic lay women who were articulate about the needs of higher education for women and who refused to accept the image the Catholic hierarchy had of them. Linked with them as educators and friends was an Order of Religious women, the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary. In times that expected Religious women, in particular, to be extremely self-sacrificing and self-effacing, it was remarkable that women such as Mary Ward and Gonzaga Barry should hold a clear vision of the importance of education for women, the practical wisdom to implement it, and the ability to communicate and encourage the development of that ideal in those who accompanied them and followed them.

Figure 2. St. Mary's Hall tennis court with Royal Park in background. 1923.
When St. Mary's Hall opened in 1918, it faced Royal Park on the corner of The Avenue and Walker Street, and it had the air of a comfortable, large private home.

Its lawns and flower beds, its tennis court fenced with climbing roses, its balcony where young girls loitered, chatting, the earnest rippling of piano music from within, might suggest to a casual passer-by a house with a large family of daughters entertaining friends. 1

Parkville, itself, had the air of a district that had once seen better days. In fact, many of its families had suffered heavily in the Bank crashes of the 1890s. The houses were mid- to late-Victorian. Some had declined to boarding houses and rented rooms, some had become colleges or institutions. Some still looked private, genteel and well-kept in a modest way. Lucille Bloink (1919-1920) found that

There were no traffic lights at all, not even down in the city where policemen on point duty controlled it, more or less. (My husband coming from London in 1922 noted in his diary that our traffic regulation was appalling.) Motor vehicles were on the increase, but the tramp of Clydesdale hooves drawing beer wagons from Carlton or hay from the Hay Market (where the Hospital is now) was a louder sound and not irritating to the ear - pastoral in fact. 2

Cable trams ran along Royal Parade - a two-penny ride for St. Mary's Hall students late for a lecture. They made little sound except when the gripman (driver) clanged the bell to warn straying

1. Lucille Quinlan (Bloink). Letter to author, 20th June, 1985. Lucille Bloink was a resident student at St. Mary's Hall, 1919-1920. Where possible, on the first mention of a past student of St. Mary's, her years of residence will be bracketed in the text.
2. ibid.
students out of the way. "The good old cable-trams had a maximum speed of 12 miles per hour, but they ran so frequently that it was a better service than the present one."3

Australia itself seemed unchartered.

We could still feel the newness of the country. We were so far away from everything. There was a freshness and a newness and the open country was at the gates of every little town.4

Behind the newness of Australia and the colour of Parkville life was a world at war. Eileen Caswell (1918), a student of the Central Catholic Training College (CCTC), Albert Park (and of St. Mary's Hall in 1918), saw the first Australian soldiers march off to the War.

I stood on Spencer Street with a group of other people - the whole street was lined - and saw the first group of soldiers go to the war. They walked down Collins Street, turned into Spencer Street and went under the bridge. I can see them now: and we waved all the time. We had little flags to wave them off ... We were sad to think that they were going.5

The St. Mary's students of 1918 were conscious of the Great War, and applied themselves to their studies with a certain seriousness. For Carrie Jones and her friends "The world was very unsettled and we were young and had to live accordingly".6

6. Carrie Higgins (Jones). Questionnaire, December 1985. Caroline Jones was at St. Mary's Hall 1918-1921 in stew. vacs. and as an external student.
The University, as a whole, supported the War. "High culture after all was held to repose in Britain, gallantry and service were familiar components of the Public School code".7

Among those who opposed Australia's involvement in the War and who opposed Conscription were Melbourne's Catholics, overwhelmingly Irish and working class, led by Dr. Mannix:8

Now, whether it comes from the pulpit, from the bench or from the Bar, it is a very silly thing, as well as an unpatriotic thing, to say that Australians should put the Empire before their country.9

With the execution of the leaders of the Easter Rising of 1916, the issue of British conduct in Ireland added a passion to Dr. Mannix's stance.10 Feelings ran high on both sides of the issue as Gertrude O'Donnell (1918-1920), a member of the University Historical Society, was to witness.

In 1918 we used to go to Historical Society meetings at Uni. They were held in one of the lecture rooms. R. G. Menzies and Clem Lazarus were the brilliant ones. R. G. Menzies was finishing his course - a wonderful speaker. It was the year the war ended. One night after a meeting, the Historical Society


8. idem.


students threw another student, Guido Baracchi, into the university lake which was in front of Wilson Hall ... Feelings ran rather high.  

When St. Mary's Hall opened on Thursday, 14th March, 1918, it had nine resident and ten non-resident students. These first students came to a colourful Parkville environment and into a University and city very conscious of the Great War.

St. Mary's students broke their first stew vac (now known as 'swot vac') with Armistice rejoicings and general excitement, conscious of the celebration around them.

We looked out the side gate from the Hall, along the street to where the trams used to go - they were double decker trams, cable trams. The people were up there on the top of the tram, all screaming and singing - they had been down in the city making all sorts of noises and it was very exciting. Shouting and so on. People let their heads go with the relief and excitement of it.

11. Gertrude Doyle (O'Donnell). Undated notes in papers held at St. Mary's College. Gertrude O'Donnell was a student at the Hall from 1918-1920 (and an avid reader of the London Punch while in residence).

Guido Baracchi (1887-1975) was thrown in the lake because he was the author of an article in the Melbourne University Magazine which declared that the war was not "primarily our affair". He was a foundation member of the Communist Party of Australia. "Guido Baracchi, at 83, explained his ideological development: 'In expansive moments I occasionally brag of having been at kindergarten with Casey, at school with Bruce and at University with Menzies, adding that, between them, they made a Bolshevik of me'." Ruth Campbell, A History of the Melbourne Law School 1857-1973. Faculty of Law, University of Melbourne, 1977, p.22.


For Vera Jennings and her fellow Trinity Hostel students

the day of the Armistice was a very definite experience, unlike anything that had happened since or is ever likely to occur again. For we believed unquestioningly that it was the end of war. 15

The first St. Mary's students were all Australian-born and their origin was mostly from the British Isles with Ireland having the largest representation. 16

Melbourne University in general was much the same except that Irish names did not, of course, predominate. But the outstanding fact was that, in the period under study and for some years after, Australia was a homogeneous population from the British Isles. 'Foreign' names usually derived from descendants of the Gold Rush pioneers. Asians were very few because of the White Australia policy. Newman and St. Mary's had none in my time. 17

The pioneer students of St. Mary's Hall, those of 1918-1923, came from the country, interstate and city in almost equal numbers. When Lucille Bloink came down from Ballarat in 1917 to sit for a Newman Scholarship, she took the examination at the Cathedral Hall in Brunswick Street, Fitzroy, as Newman College had not yet been completed. It was the first time she had ever been to Melbourne.


16. One student was a clear exception - Ariel Seligsen, a Jewess from Perth, but she too was Australian born.

17. Lucille Quinlan (Bloink). Letter to author, 19th September, 1986. Lucille Bloink was resident at St. Mary's Hall 1919-1920.
I had been to Geelong from Ballarat and that was considered quite a journey. I had never been to Melbourne for the simple reason that I had no relatives there to visit; we had relatives in Geelong. It was quite an adventure to go to Melbourne, and I didn't like the place very much - cable trams and the smell of petrol. However, it was quite an adventure. 18

Although Lucille had been born at Newlyn, a farming district between Ballarat and Daylesford, her family had moved to Ballarat where her father worked as a clerk and her mother continued as a music teacher. Her mother had directed the family's moves towards being closer to a better school - Sacred Heart College, Ballarat East, conducted by the Sisters of Mercy - and to the Church (as she was often the church organist).

At the end of 1918 Lucille sat again for a Newman scholarship, this time at Newman College itself:

It was even more of an adventure, to go to this strange-looking building, which was startlingly new then - the sandstone was bright yellow and the dome with its green copper was unsullied by the smog of Melbourne. The gardens hadn't been laid out yet, and there seemed to be a wilderness of clay all around it. However, I was fascinated by the strange architecture and the unusual lighting, which was quite new, and the furniture. 19

Newman College, the newly-built Burley Griffin exhibit, was seen by some then as an architectural oddity. To Thomas Donovan, its


The Newman scholarship examinations of 1917 began on Monday, 19th November. Candidates could select any two or three of the subjects offered but no credit was to be given "for merely superficial knowledge". Each open scholarship was of the value of £25 to £60 tenable for one year of an undergraduate course and might be renewed each year. The Advocate, 17th November, 1917, p.15; The Advocate, 10th March, 1917, p.16; The Advocate, 22nd September, 1917, p.10.

benefactor, the design emphasised "the wildest freaks in building ever imagined", and rumour had it that the Archbishop was not over-pleased with the result, feeling it was too squat. 20 Even the 'Varsity Anthem of 1918, sung at the Freshers' Welcome in Melba Hall, commented:

This is Newman College, you see
It has lately been enlarged, sir
I think with me you'll all agree
that it ought to be camouflaged, sir.21

A country fresher of 1918 who came from Euroa to St. Mary's Hall was Pauline Pusterla. While Pauline had been born in Barooga, N.S.W., her family had later moved to Euroa where her father managed the local picture theatre (in the age of silent movies) and Pauline had attended the Brigidine Convent, Wangaratta. 22

From the Ballarat District, with Lucille Bloink, came Ursula Clinton (1919-1921) who had grown up in Illabarook, twenty-eight miles from Ballarat and had been educated at Loreto Abbey, Ballarat. Her father was a country school teacher. Lucille and Ursula, together with Eileen Mardling and Florence Pitt, won 1919 residential scholarships to St. Mary's Hall. 23


21. Vera Jennings reproduces the whole 'Varsity anthem of 1918 in Dow, op. cit., p.3.

23. The Advocate, 21st December, 1918, p.25.
After the scholarship exams,

... we were invited over to St. Mary's Hall by Mother Patrick and Mother Elizabeth to be looked over, I suppose. We were at this rather imposing looking house, which looked like some gentleman's residence rather than an educational institution. I found Mother Patrick and Mother Elizabeth most approachable; they asked me questions about my family and where we came from, and were we Australian-born, and so forth. 24

The Ballarat contingent also included Stasia Slattery from a farming family in Bald Hills. A 1920 fresher, she had experienced something of city life already through her boarding school days at Vaucluse, the Faithful Companions of Jesus (F.C.J.) school in Richmond. Another Ballarat East student, at school with the Sisters of Mercy at the same time as Lucille Bloink, was Catherine Lamont.

From Springhurst, on the railway line between Wangaratta and Wodonga, came first cousins Eileen and Kathleen Mardling. Their family had a country store and the two cousins had attended Brigidine Convent, Beechworth. 25 Julie McCormack had attended the same convent, including commercial subjects in her schooling - bookkeeping, precis and commercial correspondence. 26

Mary Lea Wright, a cousin of the Josephite founder, Mary MacKillop and a niece of the Mother Rectress of St. Vincent's Hospital, had been educated at Loreto Convent, Portland and Loreto

25. The Advocate, 22nd April, 1918, p.23.
Abbey, Ballarat. With her at Portland was Gertrude O'Donnell, the daughter of a country policeman, and sharing her experience of Loreto Abbey, Ballarat, was Kathleen Strachan whose family were well-known business people in Hamilton. Also from the country came Phyl Busst from Bendigo and an Anglican school to take up residence at St. Mary's Hall.  

Interstate students included Eileen Caswell from a wheat and oat farm in Tasmania. Intending to join the Presentation Order there, Eileen came to Melbourne to continue her education under the guidance of the Sisters of Loreto. It was on the recommendation of Dr. Deiany, the Archbishop of Hobart, and a firm supporter of the Sisters of Loreto, that she did so. Eileen had been resident at C.C.T.C. Albert Park, from 1914 to 1917. By 1915 she had completed 2nd Year Arts, in French I and II (Honours), Mathematics I and II, English I, Logic and Psychology I. By 1917 she had completed her Arts course and was ready to transfer to St. Mary's Hall when it opened in 1918 while she completed her Diploma in Education.

Eileen was a good friend and fellow student of Rita Fitzpatrick from Deloraine, Tasmania. When Eileen transferred from C.C.T.C. to St. Mary's Hall, with her were Emmie Draper and Florrie Fitzgerald. Florrie had begun her first year in Arts in 1915,

27. Her mother was Catholic; her father Protestant.

when she had completed French I, Logic and Psychology I, and English I. 29 From Hobart, in 1919, came an older student "who gave us stability". Aileen Murphy, who had already completed a Bachelor of Arts at the University of Tasmania, wanted to study Medicine, then unavailable in her home State. Similarly, Iris Shield's sister found a full medical course unavailable in Queensland and the two sisters took up residence at Trinity Hostel until 1918 when Iris converted to Catholicism and transferred to St. Mary's Hall. From Queensland as well was Sheila McDermott, who had completed an Arts Degree and arrived in Melbourne to undertake a Diploma in Education, and Lilya Smith, who came from Brisbane, where her mother kept a book store.

Rosa Spriggs arrived from Kalgoorlie to study Music at the Conservatorium. From Perth, and a Jewish family, was Ariel Seligson, a musician. Her father was a jeweller who had sent his daughter to Loreto Convent, Perth. Also from Perth was Bernie O'Dea who was keen to study Medicine but later changed to Law. Her father, whose firm she later joined, was a solicitor in Perth.

From Sydney in 1918 came Mary McMahon, who began Law while in residence at St. Mary's; and from Mt. Gambier, South Australia, came Mavis Englebrecht. Mavis had been educated at Loreto Abbey, Ballarat (with Ursula Clinton) and was first resident at St. Mary's in 1919 enrolled in Medicine.

Melbourne students who were pioneers at the Hall included Beryl Hennessy, Essie Dooley, Emmie Draper, Carrie Jones, Marie Tiernan and Mona Murphy. Marie Tiernan resided in Brighton and had attended the Presentation Convent, Windsor before she came to St. Mary's Hall in 1918 to study Arts and Law. Her father was a lawyer and she later became a partner in his law firm - William, Crawford and Tiernan. 30

Essie Dooley, a great friend of Iris Shield, was from Melbourne, as was Emmie Draper, who had been at Loreto, South Melbourne and C.C.T.C. before beginning at St. Mary's Hall in 1918. By 1916 Emmie had completed the Trained Primary Teachers' Special Certificate. 31 Ena Smith had also been at C.C.T.C. Albert Park, and had received her registration as a teacher at the end of 1915. 32

Carrie Jones, whose family was very keen on education, was also Loreto-educated. "My father, an ex-student of St. Patrick's Ballarat went around to all the different Catholic schools and liked Loreto the best." 33 Carrie had attended the Loreto Convent School at Albert Park and then Loreto Abbey, Ballarat. In 1918 her family was living in Parkville and Carrie came across to St. Mary's on a daily basis and for stew vac. She recalls that also with her at St. Mary's were Vera McKernan and Ena Smith.

32. idem.
Vera McKernan had been educated at Catholic Ladies College, East Melbourne, run by the Sisters of Charity, where she had excelled in algebra and trigonometry. In 1916 she won a Department of Education secondary studentship which entitled her to a three years' course at the University (free) and £30 per year towards expenses. 34

Florence Pitt, who came to the Hall in 1919, was an only child whose parents lived in Glen Iris. Her father was with the P.M.G. Department and in her early years she had attended "Clifton" in Malvern, a day school run by the Sacre Coeur nuns and then Loreto Abbey, Ballarat, where her mother had been educated. Florence completed her Junior Public examinations in 1915, the same year as Ursula Clinton but was a resident of St. Mary's for one year only as she became homesick and then attended occasionally as an external student. She completed two degrees - Arts majoring in Latin and Science majoring in Geology. 35

Also at Loreto, Ballarat, was Beryl Hennessy. She came to St. Mary's Hall from 1918 to 1920 as a non-resident student and studied Arts at the University. She attended tutorials and other functions, such as in 1918 when she and Carrie Jones participated in the Annual Retreat conducted by Father Moloney. 36

34. The Advocate, 5th February, 1916, p.25
   See also "Wendy", loc. cit.
Lorna Bray's family ran a hotel in Lonsdale Street, just up the hill from St. Francis Church towards Queen Street. Lorna had attended Catholic Ladies College, East Melbourne, where she had completed her Junior Public in 1916 and had won a C.L.C. Newman Exhibition in 1918 - a gift of the old collegians. She arrived at St. Mary's in 1919 to study Medicine. Mona Murphy's family also ran a hotel in the Northcote area when she came to St. Mary's Hall in 1918 to study Arts.

A friend of Lorna and an external student of the Hall was Jean Grant. Educated at University High School, she worked full time as a telephonist in her first year of Medicine to prove to her mother, a widow, that she was serious about her profession.

Mollie Cantwell came from Camberwell where she lived opposite Our Lady of Victories Church in Burke Road. She had attended the Faithful Companions of Jesus (F.C.J.) Convent School in Wattle Road, Hawthorn, and then Genazzano. Mollie and Marie Tiernan teamed up in a recital and tableaux of Mary, Queen of Scots, in a concert in aid of St. Mary's, at Cathedral Hall in March, 1918.

Girlie Byrne, Vere Carolan and Win Keogh were Sacre Coeur girls. Vera was an orphan. All three studied Arts, Win Keogh attending St. Mary's as an external student. The Sacre Coeur students seem to have made quite an impression. A past student of St. Mary's of 1918 recalls:

The Advocate, 5th April, 1919, p.12.  
39. The Advocate, 30th March, 1918, p.11. Dr. Mannix's hand-painted programme was of an Irish round tower, with shield and shamrocks.
It is interesting when I think back of the different types of girls from the different Catholic Schools. The Sacre Coeur girls - you could tell them a mile off - how they walked, how they spoke, and their whole attitude. I supposed we were all supposed to be ladies as such, but they were a little bit over the 100%. But very polite. 40

Students from the various Catholic schools were similar in their excellence of their basic education ... They were sound in their Faith. Not to practise it was so rare as to be remarkable. Certainly, there were differences. Loreto girls had been given perhaps a broader education in Literature [Catholic literature] and Art while the other Orders concentrated on university examination requirements. All emphasized the same basic ideals of Catholic womanhood. 41

The social differences among the pioneer students of St. Mary's were not great. Some were more comfortably off than others but none could be called rich.

One or two, maybe three, could afford expensive clothes for some special occasion like going to the Races or to a Ball. There was no display of wealth that I remember. We were much of a muchness. Those whose parents were 'comfortable' enough to pay for their daughter's education were careful how they spent it. It certainly cost a deal more to come interstate for a degree course and those who did seemed to belong to the 'more comfortably off', or have friends to help them. 42

While there were students from comfortable backgrounds at the Hall, then, one has the sense of the care that most students had to take over money.

40. Anonymous.
42. "Catholics were very rarely among the rich and not frequent in the professional classes [in Australia]." Ibid.
I supplemented my meagre pocket-money from home by working for George Taylor & Staff (the original Taylor's Coaching College) in my spare time, for two shillings and sixpence an hour. I even drew up some of his first English syllabuses, for even less: George was not highly qualified himself, but a very shrewd businessman. He had then a poky set of shabby rooms in Little Collins Street behind the Athenaeum somewhere... He told me years later I had thrown away a fortune when I gave up working for him. 43

Country students seemed to live quiet and studious lives. "They were always academically intent. They had to justify themselves." They did not go out much, socially, "finding Melbourne strange and not as friendly as home". City students, especially the students from Sacre Coeur, had a social round of private entertainments and Balls in the dancing season. City students were intent on their studies as well. "The frivolous ones were a very small minority and did not finish their courses. However, they made life entertaining for the rest of us." 44

Resident students felt they belonged to the University and interested themselves in clubs and societies and sports. Non-resident students "didn't have time for such things. Going to and fro to lectures and maybe working part-time somewhere kept them fully occupied". 45

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45. ibid.
Whatever the geographical place from which the first students came, and whatever their financial circumstances and schooling, they came to a university residence which was unequivocally Catholic. From its beginning, St. Mary's Hall was administered by a Catholic Religious Order, the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary (I.B.V.M.), the Loreto Sisters. The purchase of the Hall was finalised on the 5th December, 1917 - the date the final signature was made to the contract - and the Sisters set about furnishing it on 12th February, 1918, following instructions from Dr. Mannix for them to do so moderately.46 Students from C.C.T.C. Albert Park assisted them in preparing the Hall for residence. Eileen Caswell was one of the assistants:

There were no polishing machines and we did the polishing. When I say we, not the students but the Loreto Sisters and a few of us from Loreto, Albert Park, before the place was open. The way we polished was for one to sit on the mat and two to pull her along. Well, that's how we had to polish the rooms. There was no other way; we did a good job and enjoyed it, I think. We would take it in turns at pulling, until we got it in good order.47

The first community of the Sisters of Loreto moved into the Hall on 4th March, 1918. They were Mother Dorothea Frizelle (Superior), Mother Patrick Callanan (Principal), Mother Elizabeth Forbes, Mother Mechtilde Farrell, Sister Catherine Dowden, Sister Mildred Dew, Sister Juliana O'Shannessy and Mother Consuelo Buckley. Sister Patricia Flood arrived later.

46. Anonymous and undated diary on the purchase of St. Mary's Hall. Central Archives, Loreto Abbey, Ballarat.
The first Principal was Mother Patrick Callanan I.B.V.M. - Principal from 1918 to 1943. Born Eileen E. Callanan at Clonakilty, County Cork, Ireland, the eldest of a large family, she came to Australia at the end of 1900 together with four other young Irish women, and she entered the Loreto novitiate at Ballarat. She followed novitiate and post-novitiate courses in teacher training and taught matriculation in 1903 (under supervision) and in 1905. She completed a Diploma of Education at the University of Melbourne in 1908 and a Bachelor of Arts Degree in 1915. She was for many years on the teaching staff and Vice-Principal of C.C.T.C. Albert Park, and from its inception in 1912 the Loreto Free Kindergarten had her support and encouragement.

As the first Principal of the Hall, Mother Patrick was unashamedly Irish and Catholic. In Australia at that time to be Irish was, by and large, to be Catholic. Mother Patrick had a passionate interest in Ireland and was an Irish patriot 'agin the English'. Ursula Clinton recalls:

It was very exciting really at St. Mary's at the time of the Irish trouble. Mother Patrick was Irish, and was she Irish! The Easter Rising was in 1916 but the fighting between the Black and Tans and the Irish was going on while we were there - and Arthur Collins and the establishment of the Republic. And she was very interested.

48. The Advocate, 1st January, 1916, p.28. Subjects she completed for her Arts degree were English I and II, Ancient History, British History I and II, Latin I, Logic I, Mathematics I, Constitutional History I, Public International Law, Political Economy, European History and Chemistry I.

49. St. Mary's personnel were active in the Loreto Free Kindergarten. Mother Elizabeth Forbes was its treasurer 1920-21. Emmie Draper and one of the Mardling cousins went to its meetings. Mrs. Alston, its sometime President, was also on the Ladies Committee of the Hall. The Advocate, 4th August, 1921, p.9; The Advocate, 20th September, 1923, p.18.

Mother Patrick was also very keen on Irish literature.

We were brought up on Synge and Yeats ... She introduced us to the writers of the Gaelic renaissance who were full of poetry and idealism, the voices of men and women fighting for the survival of their Irish culture, Pearse and Plunkett, Yeats and Lady Gregory, James Stephens. She was also interested in the Irish language.

She employed a tutor in Gaelic and persuaded Ursula Clinton and myself to join the classes. Unfortunately, the gentleman who was recommended to her turned out to have a weakness for whiskey and he didn't last very long - so our Gaelic studies were cut short. But she continued to supply us with Irish literature - there was a good deal of it coming out at the time.

Mother Patrick's Catholicism did not constrain her to conventionality:

I don't know that I've ever met anyone as interesting as she was. People might say that she was moody; she'd drift along and perhaps not see you almost. She was a dreamy gifted wonderful person, poetically minded, who painted water colours. She was also the tutor in English.

Mother Patrick was unequivocally Catholic and in the Hall's daily life Catholicism was no less of the essence. The first Mass was celebrated there on 7th March, 1918, the feast of St. Thomas Aquinas, by Fr. T. O'Dwyer S.J., while his brother, Fr. J. O'Dwyer S.J., offered the first Mass at Newman College on the same day. The Provincial of the I.B.V.M. (1915-1923), Mother Stanislaus Mulhall I.B.V.M. made a special point of attending. Mass was

51. ibid.
offered every morning in the chapel at the Hall. Attendance was voluntary (except for Sunday) and it was always at a time too early for students.

Comedy reigned over the year's final Sunday when our revered and aged Father W- who had appalled us all year by the astoundingly early hour at which he arrived, failed to appear at all, and willy nilly all the students marched in disorder over to Brunswick. 55

The Rosary was recited after dinner in the chapel or in the drawing room and on certain evenings Mother Patrick would read with great feeling from St. John's Gospel which she loved. 56

One night a week the Rector of Newman would come over for Rosary, Benediction and a lecture. Father Albert Power S.J., Rector of Newman from 1919 to early 1923, 57 lectured to the students on Thomas Aquinas; on the proofs of the existence of God; and on what, as Catholic students, they would need to know to answer the obvious questions they would come up against if they were studying philosophy or ethics at the University.

He also lectured on such things as common fads of the day. Spiritualism was one such thing some people were mad about. He gave us the history of it and put us wise on why it was a dangerous thing to pursue. 58

55. "Wendy", op. cit., p.36.
57. The Acting Rector of Newman for 1918 was Father James O'Dwyer S.J. (The Advocate, 8th March, 1919, p.26). Fr. Albert Power S.J. took up his appointment as Rector early in 1919. He was succeeded by Fr. Jeremiah Murphy S.J. in early 1923. (The Advocate, 4th January, 1919, p.14; The Advocate, 29th March, 1923, p.15.)
Mother Patrick, nicknamed M.P. by the students, directed them towards the great Catholic writers of the day - Belloc and Chesterton. She subscribed to *The New Witness*, a paper edited by them - "a very witty shrewd paper which I devoured."  

Certain material she thought inappropriate.

I remember one day, in 1920, she found me reading Dostoevsky's *Crime and Punishment*. Lil Smith, a med. student, recently come down from Brisbane, where there was no full medical course, must have lent it to me. Lil thought it incredible that someone as old as I was then - nineteen - should know so little of what went on in the world. Mother Patrick, on the other hand, merely murmured as she passed by me, 'You're too young', and sailed away in the grand manner she had in spite of her high boot and her limp, *Crime and Punishment* in her hand. She was probably right. I was a great swallower but a slow developer. My mind was limited to innocuous English and French classics. Anyway, I was finding the Russians incredibly verbose and crazy and the atmosphere of the masterpiece horribly depressing. I did not contest the issue with her and Lily thought me a weak creature.

While administratively quite separate, the Catholicity and the Irishness of St. Mary's Hall and Newman College drew them together (and, as already indicated, St. Mary's Hall was affiliated to the University through Newman College).

In the early days of St. Mary's the Rector of Newman, Fr. Albert Power, was Irish and so was M.P. ... the Irish influence was very strong. Australianism came in later on. Fr. Jeremiah Murphy, of course, was Irish too - more Irish than Father Albert Power. They leaned back to Ireland much more than later on. They regarded it as Home.

59. ibid.
60. Lucille Quinlan (Bloink). Letter to author, 20 June, 1985. I doubt that Archibald Strong would have approved. "Once, on referring to a Dostoevsky novel in a pass class, Archibald Strong was greeted by puzzled stamping. He blinked harder than ever. 'I should be very sorry to think that there was anyone in this class not familiar with the works of Dostoevsky!'" Jennings in Dow, *op. cit.*., p.16.
If, as we have seen, the Jesuits were diligent in the spiritual life they offered the students of St. Mary's Hall, they were not lacking in the academic assistance they provided either. Half way through her course in Arts, Lucille Bloink considered transferring to a Law degree for which first year Latin was an essential subject. She went off to Fr. Dominic Kelly's tutorials at Newman.

When I saw the Latin exercises that the Newman fellows were doing, I knew I couldn't do them. I made an attempt and Fr. Kelly handed me back my book and said, 'I'll come over to St. Mary's and give you some extra tuition'. So he would push-bike over (and he wasn't a young man) and he took me back to the beginning. So with the help of Fr. Kelly, I got through. 62

The students from Newman and St. Mary's were encouraged to socialize. A number of St. Mary's students had brothers at Newman. After initial restraint, diplomats clad in tennis trousers came over to breach the gap. 63

... the theologs who greeted us from an upstairs window over the way to the tune of World War I ditties, 'The Bells of St. Mary's' and 'Over there! Over there!' were never invited. 64 Newman men were in a different category. We had pleasant little evenings dancing and singing in the drawing room. There were even tête à tête, in the conservatory adjoining. Quite discreet and late Victorian, in spite of fox-trotting and slow-waltzing. 65

When Newman College held its first social venture for 1919, St. Mary's students, Carrie Jones, Beryl Hennessy and Girlie Byrne played in the orchestra. The following year, at the Newman musical event, Ariel Seligson played a piano solo, 'Danse Negri'; Sheila McDermott sang 'Land of the Sky Blue Water'; and Girlie Byrne played 'Sweet Hawaiian Moonlight' in an instrumental trio. 66

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64. Ridley College was adjacent to St. Mary's - on the other corner of The Avenue and Walker Street, where it is today. "The pop songs were a sentimental one, 'The Bells of St. Mary's' and a Yankee song of the 1914-1918 War, 'Over there! Over there!', meaning that the Yanks were coming over there to save Europe - rather late in the day."
The staff of Newman College was not unfamiliar to St. Mary's students. When Miss Ryan, the matron of Newman from its inception, left for London (by the 'Ulysses') in May 1921, the St. Mary's students presented her with a silver-mounted scent bottle. Ap67 7

Apart from social events, St. Mary's students participated in the University sports, carnivals and examinations under the Newman banner. The close link between the two residences did not always ensure that relations were harmonious. There were certainly disputes between the Heads and between the Student Clubs:

There was a ball at the Conservatorium and I sent home for a dress. But before the night we had a falling out with the boys at Newman. Something happened - I never knew what - and the Sisters wouldn't let us go with the boys. They secured partners for us and we went in to meet them. When I met mine he was a grown up man with a bit of a moustache. I got a bit of a surprise when I met him.68

If there were domestic differences at times between the two Catholic colleges, there were ideological differences between Melbourne Catholics. There were those who supported Dr. Mannix's anti-conscription stance and there were those who opposed it.

A particular opponent of Dr. Mannix was Benjamin Hoare, a prominent Melbourne journalist. The St. Mary's students themselves were not preoccupied with politics as such, though most of them were great admirers of Dr. Mannix, and certainly Mother Patrick was; anything Irish went to her heart.

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Mother Patrick and the nuns supported Dr. Mannix because they were Irish. Mother Patrick was Irish through and through. Ireland was going through the trauma of the civil war at the time and Dr. Mannix was quite outspoken in his support for the Irish asserting their independence. 69

One Committee Day, when the students were invited to have afternoon tea with the Ladies Committee, Mrs. Hogan told them this story.

I paid a call on Mrs. Hoare 70 [paying calls was still part of the social scene]. And as I was walking up the drive to the front door, I thought to myself, now I must be very careful not to say anything rash or tactless. And what do you think were the first words I said when I met Mrs. Hoare: I said, 'Good afternoon, Mrs. Mannix'. 71

There was a committee of ladies "who came from the upper stratum of Melbourne society, who used to come once a month and devise ways and means of making money to help St. Mary's". 72 The Ladies Committee was formed at a meeting held at the Hall on 28th March, 1918. 73 Members of the Committee included Mrs. Annie Brenan, Mrs. Hogan, Miss Connie Hoy, Mrs. Dynan, Mrs. Mary Alston, Mrs. O'Loughlin, Miss Byrne and Miss Ethel (Dolly) Castle. 74

Another equally important function of the Committee was to introduce students to the social world as a way of training them for their future role as leaders of Catholic women, which Mother

70. Benjamin Hoare's wife.
72. ibid.
73. Anonymous and undated diary on the purchase of St. Mary's Hall. Central Archives, Loreto Abbey, Ballarat.
74. Connie Hoy was also in the Catholic Women's Social Guild, and Mary Alston became President of the Loreto Free Kindergarten.
Patrick certainly thought they should become. "She thought we should be cultured and, what would you say, well-balanced, not eccentric. She didn't believe in the blue stocking type of woman at all". 75

The students themselves were in awe of the Ladies Committee. Past students remember society as far more hierarchical then than now and felt themselves distanced from those in authority. 76 At the opening function of the Hall

... one of the anxious freshers rushed with nervous affability up to a lonely, but majestic, dame and gushingly offered to show her the house. 'But, my dear child', cried the outraged lady, 'I am on the Committee. We are your mothers. We brought you here'. Exit the too amiable student. 77

The Ladies Committee ran Garden Parties and Afternoon Teas at the Hall in the presence of Dr. Mannix. The Advocate followed his engagements:

A very pleasant afternoon was spent at St. Mary's Hall, The Avenue, Royal Park, on Monday afternoon, the 6th inst, when the Sisters, Committee and Students entertained His Excellency the Apostolic Delegate, His Grace the Most Rev. Dr. Mannix, Archbishop of Melbourne, and the visiting prelates, at afternoon tea. Other guests included Very Rev. A. Power S.J. (Rector of Newman College), Rev. Wilfred Ryan S.J., Rev. G. Kelly S.J., the Right Rev. Mgr. Ormond, D.D., Rev. R. Peoples (sec. to His Grace Archbishop Kelly), Rev. M. D. Finan, and Count O'Loughlin. While afternoon tea was being served three of the students contributed a short musical programme which was much appreciated by the distinguished guests. 78

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76. Wynne Fanning. Interviewed 23rd January 1986, at Kew. Wynne Fanning was at St. Mary's from 1923 to 1927. Vera Jennings recalls: "We may have been too acquiescent. We accepted the 'generation gap' was great then. We felt immature and had considerable respect for the opinions of our elders", in Dow, op. cit., p.23.
77. "Wendy", loc. cit.
78. The Advocate, 18th October, 1919, p.17.
There were Café Chantants, as at the Grand Hotel on the 4th October, 1919. The musical programme, always a feature, was presented by Madame Evelyn Ashley, Mr. Walter Kirby, and Mr. E. Leahy. "Miss Agnes O'Keefe played the accompaniments in her usual faultless style. Di Gilio's Band rendered selections of popular music." 79

Musical entertainment was a great favourite of the Committee (though in 1921 it did arrange for the Rev. P. A. Vaughan, Dr. Mannix's private secretary, to lecture on the Archbishop's "controversial" world tour). 80 Dolly Castle, a member of the Committee, became well known in Gilbert and Sullivan opera: "Dolly used to sing at every one of these afternoons; and she always sang the same song - 'Poor Wandering One', out of Gilbert and Sullivan." 81 The students thought it was marvellous being entertained in such style by the Committee and those from country boarding schools particularly appreciated the food "but I don't think they made much money". 82

The students contributed musically. Nell Clements, one of the four St. Mary's freshers of 1923, with Wynne Fanning, Lesley White and Florence Hagelthorn, used always to be collected by

79. The Advocate, 18th October, 1919, p.25. Di Gilio's string band was almost a fixture at University functions up until 1925. Kelly, op. cit., p.84.
80. "Controversial" is an understatement! For an account of the drama on the high seas, see Santamaria, op. cit., pp. 103-114, and for an account of the lecture see The Advocate, 9th September, 1921, pp. 6-7.
81. Dolly was a sister of Amy Castle, a dramatic soprano of the day. Lucille Quinlan (Bloink). Interviewed 30th May, 1985.
82. ibid.
Mrs. Annie Brenan, the President of the Committee, when she wanted music on tap. Nell was a violinist studying at the Conservatorium. To repay her, Mrs. Brenan took her to a performance of Gus Bluett, the Australian comedian, where they sat in the front row and Nell struggled with the conversation. 83

Mrs. Brenan was the strongminded woman on the Committee. She lived around the corner from the Hall in Royal Parade. The students felt the need to be on their best behaviour in her presence. 84 Mrs. Brenan had brought up a family of daughters who were mostly in the dancing world. Her daughter, Jennie Brenan, had opened her first dancing studio in 1904 at 163 Collins Street, and taught ballet, ballroom and fancy dancing with her sisters, Margaret and Eileen. Newman men, beginning at University in the dancing years of the century, attended a class once a week, accompanied by the St. Mary's Hall students. 85

The practice stood them in good stead for the Newman Ball. Each University College had its own Ball in the dancing season in second term. The Balls would be held very stylishly, often at the St. Kilda Town Hall. 86

84. And they observed others behaving with similar deference to her. "The cable tram would stop right at the door - despite all the rules - always right at her door. She'd get off. She'd walk around and say, 'Thank you, Conductor'. 'That's all right, mum'. Then, while the tram waited, she'd waddle up the road. 'Thank you, Driver'. 'That's all right, mum'. And then she'd go off." ibid.
86. Members of the University would be present, as in 1920, when the Registrar, Mr. Bainbridge, and the Warden, Dr. McInerney, attended. Mrs. Stein, the Acting Lady Mayoress, Messrs Hawkins and Armstrong from Trinity College, and Mr. Lewis from Queen's College were also there. Newman, 1920, p.31.
Indeed,

We wore a long frock and long white gloves and there were matrons there to keep an eye on the proceedings. Each of us had a programme and a pencil. It used to be said of Mrs. Byrne, who had a daughter doing Medicine, that she used to take Girlie's card and fill it up. She would go around to the young men and ask them to fill Girlie's card, and make quite sure that Girlie didn't dance with the wrong young men. 87

Indeed,

There were several girls who had their mothers present - stately looking matrons, you know, very elegantly dressed. It was rather off-putting for the girls from the country who didn't have mothers of that elegance. 88

Mother Patrick herself knew a wide variety of people and encouraged them to visit the Hall. Mr. Walter Burley Griffin and his wife, Mrs. Marion Lucy Griffin (nee Mahony), used to visit frequently.

She was an artist who used to love painting the Tasmanian gums. Her niece, Clare Myra Smith, I think her name was, came out from America to stay with them for a while, and she came over a few times. She startled us in those days by saying that she was studying Engineering at an American university. 89

St. Mary's students spent many evenings at the home of the Bradleys.

The Bradley family was a family who lived nearby. Kevin was a pianist; Reg was a violinist; Charles was a singer; and we could go down there every Sunday night and the house would be packed out, even under the kitchen table. The musical nights were wonderful. They played and discussed good music. 90

88. ibid.
The students played cards - euchre and poker - and sang songs around the piano, and they spent hours talking at night about their lives.

Sometimes we would have an afternoon free of lectures, and perhaps early in the year before study mattered terribly much we would go in to the pictures. There were various theatres where you could have the afternoon's entertainment for 3d. We'd go to the Melba Theatre in Bourke Street, where Coles now is, and where Coles' Book Arcade was alongside. (As a child, Coles' Funny Picture Book was in every home. It was full of stories, riddles, puzzles, pictures, etc.)

The Victoria Market offered students the opportunity of buying skeleton keys or a Family Bible (Authorised Version, 2/6d.), or a picture of The Last Supper for 6d. The students rummaged at the bookstalls amongst old magazines, encyclopedias, dictionaries, medical and psychological treatises and children's school books.

In the depths of perambulators they observed

no beaming child but the pallid face of a cauliflower surmounted by a bunch of daffodils and half covered by a brand new tea kettle. From time to time, there really is a baby in these carriages sucking a dummy, and quite undisturbed by the family dinner which reposes on his toes.

The University itself had a feeling of leisure:

There was space between the various schools, room to move about, for grass to grow and people to linger and talk. There were even cows grazing calmly in the open space between the professors' modest two-storey houses and the central buildings.

St. Mary's students attended the University Orientation Social in Wilson Hall.

Wilson Hall itself, the old gothic one, belonged to a world quite remote, like a picture from a history book. So did the greying cloisters of the Old Arts building with its grubby lecture rooms and stone stairs leading to cubby-holes where grand professors lurked like spiders over their lecture notes and our poor essays. It was better outside and by daylight, naturally, strolling with new friends along the avenue of Moreton Bay figs by the muddy little lake where some elegant young gum trees allowed themselves to be reflected and ducks disported and seagulls fought for crusts thrown by students sprawling on the grass.


There were endless arguments, chiefly at meals, between the Arts and the Med. students over the merits of their respective courses. Meds were few but never silenced. One became famous for her dictum that medicine must be the superior course, because 'doctors were always the highest society in any town'. The Arts students retorted by classifying her colleagues as the 'illiterate meds'. The medical course appeared too strenuous to allow much time for non-medical reading. But there was a glamor about the course because women were still feeling themselves pioneers in it, especially in an age when girls of well-off families still did not take up jobs after leaving school but remained at home to help mother entertain and to look around for a husband of their own social status. To be 'studying med' could be thought quite daring.

One has the sense that tutorials at St. Mary's, particularly in the Arts, were rather vague.

94. Destroyed by fire in 1952.
... very little tutoring was done at St. Mary's in my time. As a matter of fact, Mother Patrick was nominally our tutor in English but there were never any set times. Mother Patrick was a law unto herself; I think she was an invalid too. So that when Mother Patrick was able, she took you; and if she wasn't able she would vaguely tell you to read something. So, mostly we were left to ourselves. 97

Mother Elizabeth tutored in philosophy, ethics and psychology. As Catherine Forbes, she had begun her Arts degree at the University of Melbourne in 1893. She was an active member of the Princess Ida Club, being the opening debater in 1895 on the topic "that the education of a woman should be wide rather than deep". She graduated B.A. in 1897, having had great trouble passing Latin. 98

Sr. Catherine Dowden tutored in sciences and mathematics. She had a strong mathematics background, doing both Pure Mathematics (Honours) and Mixed Mathematics in her Science degree which she began, at the University of Melbourne, in 1915. 99 In addition, St. Mary's students attended tutorials at Newman.

At least one student seemed to lack knowledge of exam technique.

For Finals, we could choose our own subject for a long essay. We could bring in material. And all the others, I realised when I was there, had little slim books of verse. I decided to do

98. Information from the University of Melbourne Archives.
Victor Hugo's novels. I arrived with a great bag of novels and I dived into this one, then into another one, etc. The nuns never thought of you not knowing. 100

And another thought that the amount of study required was not really understood.

Does anyone know a way of persuading one's superiors that one is not really aiming at ... [an] exhibition, but merely endeavouring to get through the unavoidable minimum of work demanded by the Professors. 101

Nevertheless, the students' academic results were creditable. In 1919, to take one year, Lucille Bloink gained first class honours in French I (proxime accessit first place) and second class honours in English I; Ursula Clinton, second class honours in English I and History I; Beryl Hennessy, second class honours in French II and in Advanced Ethics and third class honours in Philosophy I; Carrie Jones, third class honours in Philosophy I and in Advanced Ethics; Eileen Mardling, second class honours in German II and third class honours in French I and English II; Kathleen Mardling, third class honours in French I and English II; and Iris Shield first class honours (second place) in Sociology. 102

Apart from formal academic pursuit, Ursula Clinton and Iris Shield wrote frequently for the Newman magazine. Ursula shared the Rector's prize, judged by Archibald Strong, then assistant pro-

100. Anonymous.
102. The Advocate, 31st January, 1920, p.12. "Sociology ... had been called Political Science, and may again be for all I know, but it contained a brief course in heredity". Geoffrey Hutton, in Dow, op. cit., p.29.
fessor in English, for the best poem of 1920 with her entry, "Sursuum Corda". Patrick O'Leary, in The Advocate, assessed her work as fine and promising, and Iris Shield's prose he viewed as bookish but original and with some sense of style. 103

Like all students, St. Mary's students had to negotiate with the lecturers.

Economics was called Political Economy, and was a joke subject. People took it if they wanted to fill up. They would ignore the lectures until third term and then swot up somebody else's notes. Anyone could get through Polecon, as it was called.

When I decided that I might be a lawyer I had to start doing Polecon. So I thought I'd better let Professor Harrison Moore know of my existence so I waylaid him in the cloisters one day and said:

'Excuse me, sir, I've just enrolled in Political Economy' - this was half way through second term - 'I would like to sit Political Economy at the end of the year.'
'I beg your pardon', he said, 'Are you aware that this is the middle of second term?'
'Oh, yes; and I'll have to hurry up, won't I?'
He said, 'Do you imagine that you take up a serious and exacting subject like Political Economy in the middle of second term?'
I said, 'Oh, well ...'
I can't remember what I said, because I must have had in mind that it was no use; he would most

103, Ursula's poetry 'Sursuum Corda', 'Query', 'Life is a song' is in Newman 1920, p.9; Newman 1921, p.50, and Newman 1923, p.4 respectively.

The Rector's prize for 1920 is announced in Newman 1920, p.4.

Iris Shield's articles 'Victoria Market' and 'The narrowing horizons' can be found in Newman 1921, pp. 15-16, and Newman 1920, pp. 53-4 respectively.

Patrick O'Leary conducted 'The Literary Page', The Advocate, 2nd December, 1920, p.3.
certainly fail me for my impudence. I couldn't tell him that everybody said it was such a silly subject that it wasn't worthwhile doing anything about it until nearly third term.  

When one St. Mary's student, who commenced an English and French Honours combined course in 1923, "investigated why I wasn't getting through in English, the teacher, Enid Derham, said, 'I don't like your style'. That was all. It was no help to me."  

As Catholics, St. Mary's students were conscious of their newness at the University. Mother Patrick encouraged them to participate in the Newman Society. "The point was, I felt, even then that we were standing up as Catholics even in a little way." Marie Tiernan was a member of its Executive Committee 1921-24, Iris Shield, its Assistant Secretary, 1921-1922, and Mollie Cantwell on its Committee 1922-1923. Julie McCormack volunteered to canvass for new members. Rosa Spriggs played the piano at conversazioni in the Cathedral Hall. Lorna Bray and Emmie Draper assisted the organisers of the Annual Balls.  

The Debutante set of the Newman Society Ball of 1919 (trained by Mrs. Rowlands of Richmond) included Lorna Bray, Eileen and  

105. Anonymous.  
107. The Advocate, 28th April, 1921, p.16; The Advocate, 23rd May, 1922, p.21; The Advocate, 19th April, 1923, p.10.  
108. The Advocate, 28th April, 1921.  
110. Ibid.  
111. The Advocate, 18th October, 1921, p.12.  
Kathleen Mardling, Carrie Jones, Jean Grant and Girlie Byrne. 113

The Society's lectures provided more intellectual fare:
"The Artillery in France" by Captain Bryan, 1919; 114 "Reconstruction" by Australian War Correspondent, C. E. W. Bean; 115
"Business as Science" by T. M. Burke, 1921; 116 and "The Church's Mandate to Teach Revealed Truth" by Rev. A. Power S.J., 1922. 117

There were bushwalks to Warrandyte, Mt. Dandenong, Hurstbridge, Mt. Donnabuang and Belgrave. 118 In case they were having too good a time of it, there was the "year-by-year peevish attack" 119 on the Society by the Newman College students concerned about confusion arising from the similarity in the names of the College and the Society. 120

Mother Patrick and Father Jeremiah Murphy encouraged their students to participate in the University. Frank McManus reminds us that, if there was an unwillingness for Newman men to be involved in University life, Jeremiah Murphy successfully combated it and opposed any suggestion that Newman be a ghetto. 121

114. The Advocate, 3rd May, 1919, p.29.
115. The Advocate, 26th July, 1919, p.17.
118. The Advocate, 13th May, 1921, p.14; 30th June, 1921, p.23; 4th August, 1921, p.9; 13th July, 1922, p.17; 26th October, 1922, p.21 respectively.
120. See Newman 1919, pp. 52-3; Newman 1920, p.5. After discussions the Society resolved finally not to alter its name in May 1922. It saw itself, with Dr. Mannix, as responsible for establishing the movement which led to the building of Newman College. See The Advocate, 28 April, 1921, p.16; 4 May, 1922, p.28; 23 May, 1922, p.21
121. McManus in Dow, op. cit., p.50.
St. Mary's students belonged to the Historical Society, the Public Questions Society and the French Club. They participated in Commencement Week at the Block Arcade, and in the University Carnivals. In 1920 at the Carnival held to raise funds for the Women's University College, they ran an Arts and Craft stall, under the Newman banner. The Newman men ran the Ocean Wave. 122

The St. Mary's Students' Club was inaugurated during first term 1921. The first Senior Student of the Hall was Kathleen Strachan, who first held the office in 1922. Kathleen encouraged the students to participate in the Women's Stunt Night "to show we are here at the University". Wynne Fanning impersonated Professor Chisholm (French) one year, and she remembers watching him for days, not listening to his lectures, carefully observing his mannerisms. Another year the St. Mary's students acted Kipling's Just So Stories. 123

St. Mary's students participated in University and College sport under the Newman banner. Lilya Smith won the inter-college 100 yards sprint at the Women's Sports in 1920 and in 1921, with Phyl Busst runner-up in 1921. The tennis four in 1920 were Sheila McDermott and Rosa Spriggs (first pair) and Stasia Slattery and Kathleen Mardling (second pair). They defeated Queen's in the

first round but were defeated by Trinity in the Final. In 1921 the tennis four were Moira Hannan, Phyl Busst, Rosa Spriggs (Captain) and Stasia Slattery. 124

St. Mary's students were separated by social class from at least some of the other students.

The Prince of Wales came to Melbourne during that period and I remember overhearing a conversation in the clubhouse. A student from Trinity Hostel was talking in posh tones about poor Beatrice Irvine, in residence at Trinity Hostel and daughter of the Lieutenant Governor of Victoria. Bea couldn't go to the Ball that night where the Prince of Wales was to be because she had caught the measles! 125

The influenza epidemic of 1919 was unaware of the complexities of social class and swept through Melbourne. "The playful pneumococcus found that it suited his arrangements to pay us an informal visit." 126 Lucille Bloink and Ursula Clinton were the only two at St. Mary's who did not succumb to it. Work was practically suspended. Lucille went home to Ballarat and discovered that her family had it. She sent for her sister who was a trainee nurse to come and nurse her mother. Eileen Caswell was meant to return from Tasmania in 1919 to sit a supplementary exam. The 'flu deterred her from returning to Melbourne and she applied to the Tasmanian Education Department for a position. It appointed her to Glenorchy (just out of Hobart) but before she

124. Newman 1920, pp. 36-7; Newman 1921, p. 30, p. 68. Moira Hannan came from Queensland. She was a musician, studying at the Conservatorium.
could take up the position the 'flu broke out in Tasmania and the
colleges were closed until final term. 127

From the Hall's beginnings there was debate over its geographical location. Rosa Spriggs, a pioneer student, wrote in 1921:

That we should be nearer the University is essential if ever St. Mary's is to mean anything for the majority of Catholic girls attending the University. The present location is entirely unsuitable from the point of view of time, energy, distance and expense. Then again, the social side is out of the question; and numerically we are not representative of the number of Catholic girls at the University, where there are at least eighty who cannot reside at St. Mary's even if they wanted to, for we can only house fifteen. What we should have is a College, amid homelike surroundings, much nearer the University, but not necessarily within the Newman grounds, for by the time the architects have finished the College itself there will be no room for any other buildings. A woman has powers and depths which no book-learning can touch, and so no education can be too wide for her; it may easily not be wide enough. 128

Whether a Catholic women's college should be erected in the Newman area was one issue formally argued at the Newman College debates in 1921. The St. Mary's speakers were Kathleen Strachan, Mary Lea Wright and Catherine Lamont, themselves divided on the issue. At the taking of the vote, the men were divided too, although the "nays" won by a large masculine majority - a portent of things to come. 129

Behind the argument about location was a hesitation about women being at the University at all.

128. Spriggs, op. cit., p.69.
Bravery was displayed by the men who kindly but heroically urged the women of the Hall to give up their professions and put their charms to better use than brightening the law courts or the hospitals, a bravery scarcely appreciated by the women who just as firmly told the opponents of women in professions that they were 'foolish sentimentalists'. The matter, they said, was beyond discussion - women were in the professions and wouldn't be ousted. 130

Articles in the Newman magazine further expressed the hesitation Newman men held about their female counterparts. In 1919 a Newman student, writing under the pseudonym 'Girl Student', argued that women who studied at the University did so because they had no hope of matrimony and needed to make themselves independent: "Instead of listlessly applauding the flannelled fools and muddied oafs of the other sex, we now play our own sports, and engage on equal terms with the men." 131

In 1921 J. F. Moloney, a Newman Arts student, concluded his article on the woman of the world in this way:

Your grandmother raised men up. You, in spite of your higher education, so-called breadth of outlook, emancipation, etc., pull them down, down sometimes to Hell ... though we see you frivolous, petty, mean, at times deceitful, ready to draw out a man's best qualities and with your dainty feet trample them and him in the gutter still - we love you. 132

One of the features of Australian colonial society was an anxiety in officialdom that there were simply not enough "good

130. ibid., p.8.
women". The Catholic Church shared this concern. "That misogynist
tradition in the Judaeo-Christian culture that emphasises woman as
temptress was (and is) deeply embedded in the Australian Catholic
tradition". It was a tradition which stressed purity in women.
"Impurity was bad enough in a man," wrote the Jesuit, Father John
Churnock in 1910, "but in a woman, of course, it is fatal." Underlying its stress on purity, the Church harboured doubts about
the standards of its female members. Moloney's women can pull a
man down to hell. The path to damnation is unmistakably female.
The Benedictine priest, Father R. Rivers, agreed:

Into my path, fair pleasure's goddess strays
In sooth, I saw her snakelike, piercing eyes;
But ah! her words spoke such artlessness
That I methought she came from Paradise,
Into her arms I ran in my distress
Avid to taste the proffered goblet's bliss
Ah me! A shadow was the radiant face
And when I heedless fled to her embrace
Downward I fell to sin's immense abyss.

Moloney's woman is the worse for being educated. Whereas her grand-
mother raised men up and supported them, the modern educated woman
is intent on man's destruction.

The mixed feelings about women being at the University at all
are reflected in the degree of representation St. Mary's Hall had
in the Newman magazine, the annual publication of the Newman College
Students' Club. In the pioneer years of the Hall, 1918-1923, its
fortunes are varied. From 1919-1921 Newman published photos of St.

134. ibid., p.xii.
135. Published in the Catholic periodical, Austral Light, in 1918, from Kennedy, loc. cit.
Mary's students and articles and poetry written by them. The St. Mary's students appear in the Honour Lists but not in the College Lists. Information from St. Mary's Hall itself (appearing usually under the less than grandiose title, 'St. Mary's Hall Notes') consumed six pages in 1919, two in 1920, and two in 1921—in a magazine of over eighty pages. In 1922 and 1923 the 'Notes' are absent, their photos missing, the College lists still without them, but their articles and poetry appear. Like Ormond's non-resident women, they disappeared from visual record in these two years.

St. Mary's students sold sweets and balloons and "tastefully decorated" the tables at Newman functions, just as women swept the floor for French Club meetings. Women were burdened by the necessity of a dual loyalty— to academic achievement and "true womanhood".

If St. Mary's students were irate and disappointed by this attitude in Newman men, they were certainly prepared to argue the issues. To the Editor of The Advocate they wrote:

Sir. In a recent Number of the 'Newman Magazine' an article appeared, entitled 'Higher Education for Women'. Would the writer who signed himself 'Girl Student', state in the columns of this paper:

(1) His real reason for writing that article;

(2) Why he shielded himself under the title 'Girl Student'? In his reply, may we suggest that he sign himself, 'Sport'? Yours, etc.,

Aileen Mary Murphy.

Signed on behalf of women students, St. Mary's Hall (Newman College), October 28th, 1919.

136. Newman was published first in 1919.
They replied as well in the pages of *Newman* in 1922 and 1923. Iris Shield, in her article "One aspect of the modern young man"

focussed not on

... man's failure to understand the outlook of women but his complacent failure to realise that there is a distinct and separate outlook to comprehend. It is, to speak in analogy, as though travelling in the East one referred everything to British standards, as indeed many people do who find the East incomprehensible.139

If Newman men had a hesitation about educated women, they found in Dr. Mannix a firm leader to emulate.

Against wide advice to the contrary he banished the Catholic University Women's College, St. Mary's Hall, to the remote areas of Parkville. Land was available for the Hall on the same site as Newman, the men's college; but such proximity seemed to him to be bad. A ten-minute walk would do the girls no harm, and the distance between the two colleges was a safe one. It was impossible to argue with him on this. That it was against all precedent, in its way an insult to the students, a downright absurdity by any standards - none of these arguments counted.140

It is not possible to be exactly certain about the assumptions behind Dr. Mannix's decision. It certainly indicated a reluctance to encourage Catholic women to participate fully in higher education. The Hall was distanced from the University and numbers were kept low by the size of the accommodation purchased.

Dr. Mannix resolved that the distance between the two Colleges needed to be a safe one. One has to ask - safe to prevent what?

139. Iris Shield. 'One aspect of the modern young man'. *Newman* 1923, pp. 16-17. See also Marion Fry, 'A Reply.' *Newman*, 1922, pp. 16-17.
Dr. Mannix seemed to hold the fear of scandal - sexual or otherwise - in the Catholic Colleges being in close proximity. One has to ask further, whom Dr. Mannix was protecting by banishing the Hall to the remote areas of Parkville when there was land available for the Hall on the same site as Newman. St. Mary's women were located adjacent to Ridley men. It is possible that Dr. Mannix himself shared the suspicion of women common to his tradition. It was the Newman men who required his protection.

Accordingly, St. Mary's Hall was situated in The Avenue, now Parkville, facing Royal Park, on the corner of Walker Street. The land had been first purchased on 22nd December, 1868. Mr. Richard Gibson, a real estate agent, had purchased one allotment of land from the Crown on the corner of Rose Street (later renamed Walker Street after a City Councillor) and Royal Park Road (later The Avenue) for £236.2.6. Two days later Mr. Robert Mailer purchased the two neighbouring allotments for the sums of £212.17.0 and £213.0.7. By 1923, and until 1966, these three allotments formed the St. Mary's Hall grounds.

In 1872 Mr. Gibson had extended his property by purchasing one of the neighbouring allotments from Mr. Mailer and then built his house, "Barbiston", between 1873 and 1876. The building first appears in rate notices of 1876, and is described as a twelve-roomed villa, the rates of which were based on an annual value of £180.141

When Mr. Gibson died in July 1886, his Trustees sold the property to Mr. James Munro. On 13th August, 1917, Mr. Munro put the property in the hands of Mr. Brennan, a land agent, for sale at £6,000. Miss Mary Brennan, his sister, who worked in his office, contacted the Loreto Sisters at Albert Park who, she knew, were looking for a place near the University. After much bargaining, "Barbiston" was sold to the Church for £5,500. The contract was finally signed on 5th December, 1917.

The owner of St. Mary's Hall then was not the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary but the Catholic Church - the Roman Catholic Trusts Corporation for the Diocese of Melbourne. Whether the I.B.V.M. had the option of ownership is unclear, and I would have thought unlikely, although there must have been some discussion of it because Mr. Mornane did advise the I.B.V.M. against it on the grounds that the Order might be held accountable for debt if changes were made in ecclesiastical authority.

The accommodation was inadequate for the resident and non-resident students and staff who were at the Hall in 1918 and even

142. Other sources suggest that "Barbiston" was sold for £5,000. Certainly £5,000 was paid out of the funds collected for Newman College. £300 was provided by a collection at the opening of the Hall; £570 were the proceeds of the Shamrock Day Appeal; and £1,000 was given to Dr. Mannix (and in turn to St. Mary's) as a protest against the attacks on him in The Argus. (The attacks concerned Dr. Mannix's attitude to the War. See above.) Brian J. Fleming S.J. Private papers, 1 September, 1980.
Brian J. Fleming S.J. 'College in the 70s', St. Mary's, 1977, p.22.
The Advocate, 21st April, 1917, p.12.

143. Anonymous, undated diary on the purchase of St. Mary's Hall. Central Archives, Loreto Abbey, Ballarat. The nature of the debts to which Mr. Mornane refers is unclear. The Catholic Church did pay repairs, rates and fire insurance for St. Mary's (and Newman) until Mr. Esmond Downey, Accountant, objected that they were items which properly belonged to the maintenance accounts of the respective colleges. From 1932 St. Mary's took responsibility itself for these items. Brian Fleming S.J. Private papers, 11th August, 1983.
the loft above the stables was pressed into sleeping quarters for some of the nuns on staff. In 1923 a neighbouring property, a two-storey home built in the 1870s by Thomas Reynold James, manager of the Electric Telegraph Department, was purchased. The Hall officially christened it "Les Buissonnets", but it was known to staff and students as "Les Buis". In 1924 functional extensions at the rear of the original house provided a common room on the ground floor with two floors of study bedrooms above.

Despite the Hall's need for expansion even then, and despite it being disadvantaged by its distance from the University, Dr. Mannix held steadfast to his view about its location. When Sancta Sophia College (for women) was opened at the University of Sydney on the same land as its Catholic counterpart St. John's College (for men), his resolution was further cemented.

Sydney had St. John's and had a women's college almost connected with St. John's - so close that the students could play tricks on the women students. And they played all sorts of nasty tricks - bringing a horse in by night and that sort of thing - which shocked the prelates. Victorians who were never very friendly with Sydney did not want to have anything similar. So that they were averse to anything that would re-enact anything that was happening in Sydney.

144. Called "Les Buissonnets" after the home of St. Thérèse of Lisieux. Patricia Kennedy, 'The Years in retrospect', St. Mary's, 1978, p.28.
St. Mary's Hall began its life geographically isolated from the University. "St. Mary's was far away - 'Somewhere up near the Zoo', J. C. H. freshers were told in lofty tones." Its isolation was a reflection of ecclesiastical hesitation about the importance of higher education for women and an even more fundamental hesitation about woman's deepest nature. If Judaeo-Christian tradition contributed to this attitude as I have argued, from 1924 onwards the religious and political divisions between England and Ireland came to be reflected in an internal dispute in the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary (Loreto Sisters). One effect of the dispute was that the Hall was isolated in yet another way.

Figure 3. Mother Patrick Callanan I.B.V.M. with, it is said, the last organ grinder left in Melbourne. St. Mary's Hall. 1922.
Figure 4. (L-R) Mother Elizabeth Forbes I.B.V.M., Kevin Bradley, Fr. William Hackett S.J. St. Mary's Hall. 1923.
Figure 5. St. Mary's Hall 1918 Students.

(L-R) Eileen Caswell, Unidentified, Ena Smith, Marie Tiernan, Gertrude O'Donnell, Rita Fitzpatrick.
Figure 6.

St. Mary’s Hall
1919 Students

(L-R) Back Row:
Mona Murphy, Lucille Bloink, Kathleen Mardling, Ursula Clinton.

Second Row:
Iris Shield, Lorna Bray, Florence Pitt, Eileen Mardling.

Front Row:
Mavis Englebrecht, Aileen Murphy, Sheila McDermott, Marie Tiernan
Figure 7. Phyl Busst and Mother Patrick Callanan I.B.V.M. 1922.
Figure 8.  Les Buissonnets.  Purchased in 1923.
Figure 9. St. Mary's Hall with three-storey addition of 1924 shown.
In 1909 Pope Pius X declared Mary Ward the founder of the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary (I.B.V.M.). He did so on the request of the three Branches of the Institute - the Irish, Canadian and German Branches. It was a declaration of significance, given the history of Mary Ward's foundation, which had been abolished and proscribed by Pope Urban VIII in 1631. Mary Ward herself had been arrested as a heretic and schismatic and imprisoned. It had been her intention to place the Institute under a Superior General directly dependent on the Pope (on the model of the Jesuits) but the Church of that time could not tolerate self-government by a woman for women. Neither could it reconcile itself with Mary Ward's aim to educate women to greater independence and liberty.  

Mary Ward was an Englishwoman. She had been born in Old Mulwith in Yorkshire on 23rd January 1585, and died at Hewarth in England on the 30th January, 1645. In the years immediately following the declaration by Rome of Mary Ward as the Founder of the I.B.V.M., the members of the Irish Branch of the Institute in Ireland (i.e. the Irish Province), were to witness and experience savage conflict in their own country, a conflict which came to render allegiance to an English Founder unpalatable.  


2. The details of the conflict in the Institute were communicated orally unless otherwise stated. The contributors remain anonymous.
The conflict between England and Ireland had racial, religious, economic and political components. In it were expressed the differences between the Irish and the Anglo-Irish, between Catholic and Protestant, between the former owners of the land and those who dispossessed them, and between those in favour and those against the maintenance of a British connection with Ireland.

The dissension dated from the Norman conquests of the twelfth century and from the Cromwellian and Williamite confiscations of the seventeenth century. It continued in the rebellions and the famine of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and in the Easter Rising and Anglo-Irish war of the early twentieth century, and it continues today. Whatever the circumstances within which the conflict was expressed, the essential question remained unchanged.

The 'national demand', as it used to be called remained in essence what Wolfe Tone had declared it to be as long ago as 1791, 'to break the connections with England, the never-failing source of all our political evils'.

The events of early twentieth century Ireland, the time that particularly concerns us, continued to articulate the long-standing and deep hatred of the English connection. The Easter Rising of 1916 and, in particular, the execution of its leaders by the British, aroused further support for a militant Irish nationalism.

By 21st January, 1919, the first shots were fired in what gradually became an Anglo-Irish war. Anti-British feeling was heightened by the British forces sent to Ireland to crush Irish resistance.

The first of these who began to arrive in Ireland in the early spring were at once nicknamed the Black and Tans. The name, deriving originally from a famous hunt in the south of Ireland, was bestowed on them as a witticism because a shortage of equipment obliged them to wear khaki uniform with the black-green caps and belts of the police, but it soon became a synonym for terror. 4

The war ended by truce on 11th July, 1921, but when on 6th December, 1921, southern Ireland or the Irish Free State, had conferred upon it by Treaty the status of a dominion, it was to herald further conflict which was to split Ireland from top to bottom. A rift opened between Irish who supported the Treaty and those who opposed it and civil war broke out. When a ceasefire was declared on 24th May, 1923, it did not reflect a reconciliation of differences - the split that had led to the civil war remained unhealed.

The Irish people experienced their oppression by the British with passion. Patrick Pearse in his poetry urges his own mother to accept even the death of himself and his brother in the cause of Irish nationalism.

I do not grudge them; Lord I do not grudge
My two strong sons that I have seen go out
To break themselves and die, they and a few
In bloody protest for a glorious thing. 5

4. ibid., p.415.
5. ibid., p.338. Patrick and Willie Pearse were both executed in May 1916.
The fervour of Irish nationalism was strengthened by its religious link:

One man can free a people, as one Man redeemed the world. I will take no pike. I will go into the battle with bare hands. I will stand up before the Gall as Christ hung naked before men on the tree.  

In the light of the profound nature of the conflict between England and Ireland, it is not surprising that the Irish Branch of the I.B.V.M. in Ireland (the Irish Province) should have become disenchanted in the early twentieth century with adherence to the view that the Founder of their Order was Mary Ward, an Englishwoman. On the contrary, it would be hard to imagine a steady Irish allegiance to an English Founder in the light of the bitterness and passion of anti-British feeling within Ireland.

Consequently, the members of the Irish Province came to view their own countrywoman, Mother Teresa Ball I.B.V.M. as the Founder of their Order. She was certainly a more respectable Founder for the Victorian Age as she was free from the censure from Rome that Mary Ward had endured.

In 1803 Frances Ball had gone from Dublin to York to complete her schooling and later she entered the I.B.V.M. novitiate at York and took the name Teresa. At the request of Archbishop Murray of Dublin she began the first Irish home of the I.B.V.M. at Rathfarnham, Ireland. (In 1847, Toronto; in 1875, Ballarat)

While Teresa was at the novitiate the original rule of Mary Ward was thought to be too liberal and it was rewritten to become more

6. idem.
Benedictine in its approach. It is an important comment on her allegiance that, when Mother Teresa Ball left York to return to Dublin, she took with her a copy of the original rule of Mary Ward and not the revised rule. Nevertheless, by 1919, when Mother Raphael Deasy I.B.V.M took over as Mother General of the Irish Branch, the Irish Province, under her leadership, came to view Mother Teresa Ball as its Founder, although it is doubtful that Mother Teresa would have seen herself in this way at all.

The Irish Province had a tradition of independence. During and after the Napoleonic Wars it was found impossible by the Institute Houses in the different countries to maintain communication with each other. Until the early nineteenth century, the Institute had been governed by one Superior General who, from the death of the Founder Mary Ward, had lived first in Rome, later in Munich. In 1816 the convent of York had been obliged to petition the Pope for temporary disassociation with the Head House. In 1822 when Teresa Ball had left York to establish the Irish Branch it had been natural for its members to look upon the Superior of Rathfarnham as a Mother General, there being little connection with the Houses of Continental Europe.

That Rome had declared Mary Ward as Founder in 1909 was not sufficient to curtail the Irish Province. Irish Catholicism was itself aligned but partly to the Papacy:

7. For details about Frances Ball, see Members of the Novitiate, 'Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam'. Unpublished paper written by the novices of Loretto Abbey, Toronto, 1960. Central Archives, Loreto Abbey, Ballarat.

8. Oliver, op. cit., p.170. "The Irish Branch which was founded from York has no dependence on it." This was a comment of 1901. In Francesca Steele, The Convents of Great Britain and Ireland. Sands & Co.: London, 1901, p.118.
Irish Catholicism, though without doubt distinguished by a real devotion to the Papacy, had enough Gallicanism about it for the British Government to discover in due course that whenever they sought to use the Vatican as a means of influencing ecclesiastical attitudes in Ireland, it turned out, unlike Lord Randolph Churchill's famous Orange card, to be the two of trumps and not the ace. 9

The Irish Province of the I.B.V.M. had plenty of models of independence in the Irish Bishops.

There was a story still told, with mild humour, in Rome in the 1940s that illustrated the independent nature of the Irish episcopate. It related how Leo XIII (1878-1903) interviewed an Apostolic Visitor whom he had sent to Ireland to investigate the affairs of the Church there. 'Well, Your Excellency, how are the bishops of Ireland?' asked the Pope. 'I met no bishops in Ireland, Your Holiness; I met eighteen popes instead.' 10

Irish bishops were, in the last analysis, Irish men

... and a host of influences combined to draw them onto a course that was sometimes tangential to the line laid down in Rome ... Cardinal Cullen himself, though of all men the most intent on uniting his Church in willing obedience to Rome, was driven by his two guiding ambitions - to achieve the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland and to secure for his people a thoroughly denominational system of education - into an alliance with English liberalism which ran counter to almost every rule of politics acceptable to the Papacy at that time. 11

In the last resort, Irish Religious women were Irish women and, like the episcopacy, when faced with the conflict between Irish nationalism and loyalty to Rome, they had an understandable tendency to identify with their fellow countrymen and women. It

is not surprising that the Irish Province of the I.B.V.M. did not allow loyalty to Rome to dissuade them from adopting Mother Teresa Ball, their own countrywoman, as their Order's Founder. 12

Meanwhile, in Australia, itself a Province of the Irish Branch, allegiance to Mary Ward as Founder was paramount. Mother Gonzaga Barry I.B.V.M., who had made the first foundation of the Institute in Australia, held a loyal and unwavering allegiance to Mary Ward. As Mary Ward had argued for the government of her Order by one central authority so Mother Gonzaga worked for the union of the Institute under the one Founder, Mary Ward. While Ireland, then, came to see Mother Teresa Ball as the Order's Founder, Australia - a province of the Irish Branch - was strongly aligned to the view of Mary Ward as the Order's Founder.

The colonialism of the time emphasised reliance on those from the Home Country, and Provincials in Australia were appointed from Ireland. In 1924 with the immediate background of the Irish Rising, the Anglo-Irish War and the Civil War, Mother Raphael Deasey appointed Mother Teresa Gertrude O'Sullivan I.B.V.M. to become the third Provincial of the Australian Province. Her predecessor, Mother Stanislaus Mulhall I.B.V.M. had died in May 1923, and had been a strong follower of Mary Ward. Part of Mother Teresa Gertrude's brief, which she wholeheartedly embraced, was to re-establish Irish control in the Australian Province and to convert the colonial women to a revised view of their origins, a

revision which would acknowledge Teresa Ball as their Founder in place of Mary Ward. The scene was set for real difficulty.

In 1924-25, the Institute in Australia went through its period of internal (I don't know what you call it) re-adjustment. A very painful period. Those who know Mr. Santamaria's life of Dr. Mannix will know something of what was going on in Ireland prior to the 1916 Rising. A reflex of all that type of thing was going on in Australia becoming more and more conscious of its identity, and no longer looking for leadership from Ireland. And there was an attitude when there were magnificent members within the Institute (in Australia) and knowing that when, after Mother Gonzaga, after Mother Stanislaus Mulhall, well who were going to be the next Provincials. And see there was this undercurrent which could be made use of in Ireland as a sign that there was need for pulling up the nationalism in Australia. And in 1924 a new Provincial was appointed from Ireland.

When she came to Australia in 1924, Mother Teresa Gertrude O'Sullivan I.B.V.M. would almost certainly not have reckoned on the single minded opposition she encountered from colonial women determined to uphold Mary Ward as the Founder of the Institute. She would not have reckoned on it since obedience to Religious Superiors was king not citizen in the realm of Catholic values and the Provincial's word was quite seriously equated to the will of God. She would not have reckoned on it because Ireland saw itself as the Home Country which quite properly made decisions for colonial life.

Her attitude deeply underestimated the strength of Institute women in colonial Australia. They were, after all, pioneers who had had the endurance to establish the Australian foundation. They had been inspired by the ideals of Mary Ward and though, like Mother Patrick Callanan I.B.V.M., the first Principal of St. Mary's

13. That is, the next Provincials could properly be Australians.
Hall, they might have retained a passionate interest in Ireland, the majority were singleminded about their spiritual allegiance to Mary Ward and able to keep this allegiance separate from political influences. They were, despite their passion for Ireland, geographically distanced from its deepest troubles. Some of them had been born in Australia and did not hold the same attachment to Ireland. Finally, there is reason to believe that Australian Catholicism was more aligned with Rome than Irish Catholicism was and, therefore, more inclined to treat very seriously the decision from Rome in 1909 to declare Mary Ward Founder of the I.B.V.M. However, the allegiance to Mary Ward on Australian soil far pre-dated Rome's decision. From the first foundation in 1875 at Ballarat, Mary Ward's thinking was paramount, championed and followed in the Institute.

Mary O'Sullivan had been born in 1881. Her home address was Sunday's Well in the City of Cork, Ireland. Before entering the convent, Mary O'Sullivan taught at the Loreto Convent, Upper Latimore Road, St. Albans, Hertfordshire, in England. She entered the I.B.V.M. Novitiate on 1st September, 1905, at Rathfarnham, Dublin, took the name Teresa Gertrude, and made her vows in 1908. She returned to England for some time as a professed nun.

In 1924 when she came to the Australian Province as its third Provincial she was forty-three years old. From her beginning

14. For a discussion on the Roman mould of the Australian Catholic Church, see Molony, op. cit.
16. Formal welcomes to her were not lacking. For instance, the Past Pupils' Association greeted and welcomed her at Loreto Convent, Dawson Street, Ballarat "and a basket of choice blooms was presented to her by the president, Mrs. Clairmonte". The Advocate, 19th June, 1924, p.14.
in Australia, her strategy was aimed at weakening existing loyalties and challenging Australian traditions - a managerial tactic on the surface well suited to her aims. In transferring the leadership of the Province in Australia from Ballarat, with all its old traditions, to the newly established Loreto Convent at Toorak, she was seen to be severing important links with Mother Gonzaga Barry and breaking with the established practice of the Institute in Australia.

Her attitude to wealth was at odds with existing opinions in the Institute. She was seen to forsake the poor for the rich, opening Mandeville Hall in Toorak and, in order to do so, closing the more working class school at Albert Park. Likewise, in establishing the Loreto junior school at Coorparoo, Brisbane, but refusing a request from the Carmelite, Father Paul Cleary, to staff the parish school, she set a precedent about the Institute's involvement in poor schools.

That the Central Catholic Training College (C.C.T.C.) at Albert Park was closed in 1924 reflected at least in part her disregard of the importance of higher education for women which had been an essential tenet of Mary Ward and Mother Gonzaga Barry.

17. The purchase of Mandeville Hall is recorded in The Advocate, 7th August, 1924, p.17.

18. Negotiations for a Loreto foundation in Toorak were initiated in 1921 by Mother Dorothea Walker I.B.V.M. "Permission was received by cable from Rathfarnham and a number of old colonial mansions in Toorak were observed and discussed, but no decision was made until Mother General (Mother Raphael Deasey) arrived on visitation in 1924." M. Oliver, All for All. Finn. Bros.: Sydney, 1945, p.86.

Mother Dorothea is said to have seen a need for a change of site due to the unhealthiness of the surrounding environment.
There were certainly other reasons which contributed to the college's closure. Its financing was never properly settled with the bishops; lay teachers in Catholic schools became second class citizens when Religious were plentiful; and the Religious Orders began to train their own students as teachers; the last two factors providing a threat to student numbers at the college. On the other hand, in 1920, the Catholic Schools' Inspector remarked:

The training colleges of Ascot Vale and Albert Park cannot supply the demands made on them for teachers, and in some parishes the opening of the schools must be delayed. 19

Yet at the end of 1924 the college was closed.

It re-opened at Dawson Street, Ballarat, in 1925 with three students, one of whom subsequently left, and closed finally at the end of that year. No written records are available to explain the sudden demise. The remarkable thing is that the College ended not with a bang but a whimper. The Catholic newspapers of the day did not even mention the closure. Only conjecture about the causes of the closure can be made until some substantial evidence is uncovered. 20

It seems reasonable to conclude that Mother Teresa Gertrude's attitudes to wealth and higher education for women meant that any doubts and difficulties already existing concerning the administration of the school and teachers' college at Albert Park were escalated, capitalised on, and acted upon in accord with her own political ends. In cancelling out what was treasured by Institute


20. idem.
members, she pursued her goal of undermining existing loyalties in Australia to substitute loyalty to Ireland, the Home Country she represented, and loyalty to herself.

SEPTEMBER 1924 - THE GREAT UPHEAVAL

All one can do is summarise some of the effects, e.g. Mary's Mount to give place to a new Loreto in Toorak supplanting the old established Loreto Convent, Albert Park.

From West to East, North to South, there were changes of personnel, with shock surprises. Mandeville Hall, Toorak, was to be the Head House, Provinciate and an "A" class school. What, then, of the much loved 'old A.P?'

The heroicity of M. Dorothea Walker has been told elsewhere. She who envisioned a needed change of site was sent to Normanhurst, the community scattered. 21

The disregard by the new regime of higher education for women meant that members of the Institute were discouraged from the pursuit of higher education. Newly professed members of the Institute who were studying lived at Toorak where the Provincial herself lived, rather than at St. Mary's Hall, and a whole generation of Loreto Sisters in Australia was not educated at university level.

Within the Institute promotion to Superior of a community was no longer dependent upon education or aptitude. To be young, beautiful, and to have a fine singing voice were qualities most likely to bring elevation. (Mother Teresa Gertrude, herself, "had a most beautiful voice I believe and loved music". 22)


Women promoted under such circumstances suffered a great deal by their appointments as they were uneducated and often Superiors of communities consisting of a better educated older generation.  

Mother Teresa Gertrude embraced with fervour her aim of converting Australians to view Mother Teresa Ball as their Founder. Books on Mary Ward and on Mother Teresa Ball's support of her were destroyed and Mary Ward's name was excluded from novitiate training. When Mother Eustelle McNamara I.B.V.M., a strong follower of Mary Ward, was sent out from Ireland to be novice mistress during Mother Teresa Gertrude's rule, she introduced Mary Ward privately into the novitiate. In the light of this, she was returned to Ireland after three years. Mary Ward's absence was observed by many of the novices who had grown up with members of the Institute as family friends or as school teachers.

Once as a novice, I asked why we couldn't be one Order united with Mary Ward as Foundress. A great silence met my remark. Later another novice said to me, 'There's something wrong in our family'. I resolved to find out just what was wrong in our family.

Despite the coercion of Provincial tactics and the emphasis of the time on religious obedience, an indomitable opposition grew up against the move to dismiss Mary Ward as the Order's Founder. The opposition was centred in Kirribilli and Normanhurst N.S.W. at a save distance from the Provinciate in Melbourne.

23. For example, Mother Columba O'Reilly I.B.V.M. who came out with Mother Teresa Gertrude from Ireland in 1924, was appointed Superior of Normanhurst at the age of twenty-six. The strain of her responsibility took an inestimable toll on her life and, on the surface at least, ruined it completely.
Institute women at Kirribilli and Normanhurst included Mother Stanislaus Mornane I.B.V.M., Mother Philomena Heaton I.B.V.M., Mother Dorothea Walker I.B.V.M., Mother Antonia Goode I.B.V.M., Mother Dorothea Prizelle I.B.V.M. (first Superior of St. Mary's Hall), Mother Elizabeth Forbes I.B.V.M. (second Superior of St. Mary's Hall) and Mother Francis Frewin I.B.V.M. (second Principal of St. Mary's Hall). In 1930 they sent a petition to Rome to Cardinal Merry Del Val at the Office for Sacred Congregations to have Mother Teresa Gertrude removed from office and to have Mary Ward reaffirmed as Founder of the Institute.

They timed their petition so that it was sent to Rome when the Mother General of the Irish Branch was in Australia. When Cardinal Merry Del Val contacted Ireland he found the Mother General in Australia, which caused a commotion and necessitated communication with Australia. While Rome did not remove Mother Teresa Gertrude from office, it certainly reiterated Mary Ward as the official Founder of the Institute. This had the good effect of curbing Mother Teresa Gertrude's public enthusiasm for her Irish countrywoman and, after her term of office was up, there were no more Irish sent out to be Australian Provincials (although Australians were not represented on the General Council in Ireland until the 1970s).²⁴

While publicly restrained, domestically Mother Teresa Gertrude took revenge, scattering the signatories to all corners of the

²⁴. On 8th July, 1986, the first Australian to be Superior General (i.e. Head) of the Irish Branch has been elected. She is Sr. Noni Mitchell I.B.V.M., the first non-Irish Superior General. The Advocate, 7th August, 1986, p.15.
It is not hard to imagine why she would be keen to return to Ireland, but the Second World War forced her to remain in Australia for some years until she could return to her homeland.

"At Loreto College, 53 St. Stephen's Green, after her years in Australia, she had charge of Sodalities and taught French." She died there on 30th April, 1957, and was buried in Loreto Abbey, Rathfarnham, Dublin.

The effect of Mother Teresa Gertrude's rule 1924-1937 on St. Mary's Hall can best be summed up by saying that it led to the Hall becoming isolated within the I.B.V.M. itself, an isolation which has continued to some extent throughout the entire history of St. Mary's.

Because the Provincial was dismissive of higher education for members of the Institute, she restricted the number of nuns studying at tertiary level and instead of residing at St. Mary's Hall they resided at Loreto Convent, Toorak. In the light of her approach, St. Mary's Hall relinquished some of its status and lost some of its relevance to the Institute. Some members of the Institute came to the view that the Sisters at St. Mary's Hall were not engaged in a legitimate activity and this argument was fostered by the needs of Loreto Schools for Religious. St. Mary's Hall was the only college of its kind run by the Institute in

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26. In 1942 she was a member of the I.B.V.M. Community at Glen Innes, N.S.W. Joyce Fullagar, 'Loreto-Brisbane from 1927'. Unpublished paper, p.2. Loreto Archives, Coorparoo.

Australia, and the only House outside the Loreto school system.

In response to Provincial hesitation about higher education and about Mary Ward herself, the first two Principals of the Hall - Mother Patrick Callanan (1918-1943) and Mother Francis Frewin (1944-1966) especially - developed independent and protective approaches to the Hall, which served to increase the Hall's isolation within the Institute. Both Mother Patrick and Mother Francis were strong followers of Mary Ward and, like her, had a firm belief in the value of higher education for women. Both, as well, had the personal fortitude to administer the Hall in an independent and autonomous manner. They would have been assisted by the fact that it is unlikely Mother Teresa Gertrude would have refused to continue to staff St. Mary's as it had a certain status nor would she be preoccupied by any need to exert full control over it as it was owned by the diocese.

There were other factors that contributed to the Hall's isolation within the Institute. Until the 1960s the I.B.V.M. was monastic and semi-enclosed. The members of the Institute did not visit other Houses without formal arrangement and without the permission of the Provincial. The Superior of the community was there, in part, to guard the atmosphere of the house. At St. Mary's the student nuns were seen to be there to study, "not to sit around drinking cups of tea with nuns from other Houses". Visitors then were not encouraged.

As well as this, St. Mary's was not an official House of the Institute. It was diocesan property. That is, it was property owned by the Roman Catholic Trusts Corporation for the Diocese of
Melbourne, rather than owned by the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The Institute had been asked by the Archbishop to administer St. Mary's Hall for the diocese (in the same way that the Jesuits had been asked to administer Newman College). The Institute had a responsibility to the diocese. Members of the Institute resident at the Hall were obliged to contribute in some way whether by administering, catering or tutoring, and visitors from other Houses were infrequent and not encouraged.

The policies of the Provincial were exacerbated by the monastic nature of the Institute at the time and by the Hall being diocesan property. From its early years then, St. Mary's was not only geographically isolated, but isolated within the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

In Elizabeth Bowen's novel, *The Last September*, Sir Richard Naylor comments on 1920 Ireland:

This country is altogether too full of soldiers, with nothing to do but dance and poke old women out of their beds to look for guns. It's unsettling the people, naturally. The fact is, the Army's got into the habit of fighting and doesn't know what else to do with itself.28

The Black and Tans had largely come from four years of trench warfare and didn't know what else to do with themselves. Their methods of fighting and the Anglo-Irish war that escalated signal some of the most bloody and ruthless conflicts in Ireland's history. When members of the I.B.V.M. in Australia try to make

sense of the conflict of their Order in the 1920s and try to locate its origins, they remember the Black and Tans who symbolise the depth and passion of the conflict between England and Ireland.

It is not surprising that such profound division should have a lasting influence on the Irish overseas, and even on places and people not known in Ireland. In another sense there is something of the unexpected in the understanding that Ireland's deep troubles came to have the particular effect they did on a small university residence for women, thousands of miles away at the University of Melbourne.
CHAPTER FOUR
"THEY ARE OUR COUSINS"

The years 1924-1943 were years of contrasts. In the 1920s Australians were convinced that war would never come again.¹ There was a sense of relief, gaiety and prosperity, intermingled with the beginnings of poverty and unemployment which escalated into the Depression of the early 1930s. By the middle of the decade the Spanish Civil War gave Australians a convincing indication that the brutality of war was not yet over. From 1939-1945 the reality of war was inescapable.

The St. Mary's students were affected by the prosperity of the immediate post war years, and later by the Depression, and both the Spanish Civil War and World War II had a particular influence upon them. In the 1920s St. Mary's students embraced the gaiety of those times:

We were Flappers. It was the Flappers who did the Charleston. When the new building upstairs was built [1924] it had a tremendously long corridor and a great mirror at each end. I used to practise the Charleston from one end to the other looking at myself in the mirror. Most of the kids did. We charlestoned down the corridor.²

The St. Mary's students wore long-waisted dresses with a frill for social occasions, although they had difficulty being

1. See above, Chapter Two, p.49.
2. "They called us Flappers, I think because we were young people and like young birds who flapped." Wynne Fanning. Interviewed 23rd January, 1986, at Kew.
truly fashionable as the Flapper signs - a cocktail in one hand and a long cigarette holder and cigarette in the other - were definitely discouraged by the Hall's ban on alcohol and smoking.

It was a ten shillings and sixpence fine if you were caught smoking. It was a tremendous amount. I remember one year after our dance when most of us would have wandered out for a puff or two. Mother Patrick had come in and said: 'Now, who's been smoking? You wouldn't be in it, May Irwin?' 'Well, Mother, I had a puff or two!' 'Ten and sixpence fine.' May was furious. I think that started us smoking deliberately. 3

By the late 1920s the Depression began to blow its erratic course. Country students at the Hall were particularly affected by it. For Marie Cranage (1930-1932) the Depression changed the kind of life she expected.

My father died in 1929 and the property had to be sold, at a loss really. The sheep that we had on the property with no one to take care of them had to be sold, almost given away I think. Say, for instance, he may have bought those sheep for twenty-five shillings a head, and I can remember my mother having to sell them for two and sixpence. So you see there was a terrific drop all the way along and nobody wanted to buy farms. 4

The Newman scholarship Marie won covered the fees at St. Mary's but not the University fees.

3. Anonymous. In the 1930s when Joe the gardener found a little heap of cigarette butts, Mother Patrick told the students to get out of her sight. By the 1940s she seemed more resigned to the practice when she designated the Grey Room as a room never for smoking. (She entertained Dr. Mannix there.) "But we still weren't meant to smoke in college at all. Mother Patrick always said she'd fine us if she caught us." Comment on 1930s by Sheila Norman (Thornton), Questionnaire, 12th December, 1985; and on 1940s by Nancy Thomas (Barbour). Interviewed 5th October, 1986, at Ivanhoe.

4. Marie Cranage's home was in Horner Street, Hamilton. Her father, Mr. E. James Cranage, who died on 11th November, 1929, had a sheep farm at Moorela. The Advocate, 5th Dec. 1929, p. 35. The quotation is from Marie Ogge (Cranage). Interviewed 10th October, 1986, at East Malvern.
I went to the students' loan fund at the University when I couldn't pay the next term's fees and I signed a guarantee that I would repay it. It was a very generous arrangement really because I can remember paying off my full loan after I finished my course...they didn't put a set time on it, as long as you kept paying them something - something like time payment.5

For the majority of students at St. Mary's Hall daily life was affected by the Depression. They walked to the University to save the threepence on tramfares, walked to Brunswick and back to go to the "flickers", and walked into the city. They economised on clothes by becoming amateur dressmakers, bought second-hand text books, and had to assess whether they had a cup of coffee with or without a cake.6

The Depression meant that a number of the Hall's students could not afford to take out their degrees. Eileen Sullivan (1927-1930) took out her Diploma of Education in absentia at the 1933 Graduation as she needed it for Victorian secondary teaching registration.

I did not take out my B.A. as it was Depression time and I did not ask Dad for the fee as I was the eldest of a family of seven. I think that in those Depression years there were others who did not take out their degrees.7

While the pioneer students of the Hall, particularly those from the country, had been intimidated occasionally by the social

5. ibid.
standing of some of the city students, in the Depression years any differences in financial standing were exacerbated. The Depression meant that some young women who would normally have spent a year at Finishing Schools in Europe found this financially impossible. They found an alternative in St. Mary's Hall to which they came to have a year's finishing education and to enter and enjoy society. Flora McDonald (1931-1932) could observe that there were some very affluent students present in her years at the Hall while, at the same time, many students were really struggling to survive. "The poorer students felt this gap between richer and poorer very keenly. We, the poorer, had little or no money for outings, for entertainment, etc." 8

The division between these two groups was heightened by the need for poorer students to work harder (they were conscious of the sacrifices their families were making) and by the awareness they had of the grim realities of life in the Depression.9

Discounted fees could exacerbate division. A student of 1930 was delighted to be given a scholarship:

I was quite unaware that any stigma related to discounted fees and, in fact, it was not until my time at the Hall was nearly finished that I found out that several students (perhaps more) resented discounted fees and believed that

8. Genevieve (Flora) McDonald R.S.M. Questionnaire, March, 1986. Flora McDonald was also a non-resident student at St. Mary's in 1930.

9. Nonie Wilckens, for instance, had come from Mildura where her father was the sergeant of police and was moved to tears often by the poverty and squalor in the families of his district. Nonie Moore (Wilckens). Interviewed 18th September, 1986, at Williamstown.
their own parents were 'carrying' financially disadvantaged students. I believed at the time, and still do, that if there was 'carrying', it was done by the nuns.

Although they were a discernable group, society students were a small minority at the Hall and Mother Patrick was rightly upset at charges that St. Mary's Hall was just a place for "playing ladies" - "Arts for Matrimony" in other words.

Diana Dyason, writing in Memories of Melbourne University, points out that three quarters of the 1938 intake of Women's College students were studying Medicine, Science or majoring in Mathematics or Statistics. "In J.C.H. the 1938 intake was 12 Arts, 3 Science and 1 Massage. St. Mary's had even fewer Science students." Saving a dramatic change in the pattern, these figures were at odds with the total faculty figures of 1939 at St. Mary's Hall - 12 in Science, 3 in Medicine, 4 in Arts, 3 in Commerce, 2 in Music, 1 in Architecture and 1 in Social Studies. The 1939 intake itself was 5 in Science, 1 in Medicine, 2 in Arts, 1 in Commerce and 1 in Music.

Although one must be wary of deducing too much from the bland figures themselves, they suggest that the influences that led the majority of St. Mary's students to attend the University, while

10. Anonymous, Questionnaire, April 1986.
13. St. Mary's statistics were provided by Marjorie Elliott (Harding). Letter to author, 4th June, 1986. The 1938 intake figures have not been recorded.
diverse, were educationally-based. There were specific factors that influenced students in their choice of courses. Nonie Wilckens (1928-1933) had become interested in Law from the age of twelve as her father was in the police force and the family lived next door to the Court of Petty Sessions in Nhill and Terang, where Nonie was a keen listener at selected court cases.\footnote{Nonie had completed her secondary education at Presentation College, Windsor, where she was Dux of School in 1927. Nonie Moore (Wilckens), Questionnaire, December 1985.}

That the influences could be complex is suggested by the factors which directed Nancy Barbour's (1940-1944) choice towards a Bachelor of Science (Geology). Her mother, a widow, was convinced of the importance of equipping girls with an education designed to meet life's possibilities and her keen observations of the countryside on her rounds as a bush nurse impressed her daughter. As a boarder at the Brigidine Convent, Ararat, Nancy was among those taken out to the mountains for hikes by Dean Goidanich, the parish priest.\footnote{Nancy Thomas (Barbour), Questionnaire, February 1986. Interviewed 5th October, 1986, at Ivanhoe.}

Why we didn't fall out of the car I've got no idea; he was a bit shortsighted and drove very near the edge of the road. He was very interesting because he was a good scholar, and he could tell us about the rocks, the basalt and the granite. I think he interested me in geology from when I was very young.\footnote{Nancy Thomas (Barbour), Questionnaire, February 1986. Interviewed 5th October, 1986, at Ivanhoe.}
Later, at Sacred Heart College, Ballarat East, Nancy's knowledge in Geology was increased by the learning of the Sisters of Mercy who had entered into the ethos of life in a mining town. 16

Sometimes a school could be so encouraging of higher study that it left the student a little overawed and bewildered. The Sion Sisters in Sale entered Marjorie Harding (1939-1942) for a free place to do Arts and Education, although she had already completed the commercial course at Notre Dame de Sion, Warragul, and had an office job to go to. When Marjorie was awarded the Free Place, she was sent to Melbourne to accept.

Rev. Mother Evangelist Mahony seemed to know exactly what I was to do when I got to town. Mother Stanislaus Mulrooney, next in authority then at Warragul, was trained by Mother Patrick at Albert Park Loreto Training College. It was all done in a great hurry - I arrived at Warragul Sion. The nuns had the University lists and the next thing I was on the train, on my first solo trip to town ... The Sion nuns sent me to see Miss Julia Flynn who didn't hesitate when I mentioned somewhere to stay. I think she rang St. Mary's Hall then and there. 17

Sometimes a school withheld support. Mother Gerda, the Prefect of Studies at Genazzano, advised Marie Cranage (1930-1932)

16. The school was prospering under the advanced ideas of Mother Bonaventure Healy R.S.M. The Sisters were interested in Geology (Sr. Raphael had studied it at the Ballarat School of Mines) and the school had a reputation for its teaching of the Sciences. Flora McDonald (1931-1932), Kathleen Crooks (1930-1933), Imelda Daily (1932-1935) and Nancy Barbour (1940-1944) - to name but a few - all studied Science at the University after their education at Sacred Heart.


to relinquish her University place and her Newman scholarship in order to remain home in Hamilton with her mother after her father's death, but Mrs. Cranage felt that her daughter's good matriculation results would be wasted if she did not continue in higher study and Hamilton's high unemployment would have ensured the waste. 18

Family support for higher education did have a strong influence on students. Pat Grano's (1926-1930) father practised as a lawyer in Ararat although it was her mother who offered her most support. 19 Betty Parker's (1943-1945) father said, "As you have passed you might as well go to University. Book yourself in and I'll pay the bills." 20 Biddy Hennessy's (1933-1937) parents were keen for her to continue her studies in music; 21 Joan Herd's (1933-1936) parents

18. Marie Ogge (Cranage). Interviewed 10th October, 1986. Mrs. Mary Veronica Cranage (Kerrens) had been educated at the F.C.J. (Faithful Companions of Jesus) Convent in Benalla where enthusiasm for education was encouraged. Marie Ogge (Cranage). Letter to author, 7th April, 1987. Mr. E. James Cranage, Marie's father, favoured education too "but he was more easy going; he was a country man, fond of the land, and it would not have bothered him, I think, if we'd all been sons." Marie Ogge (Cranage). Interviewed 10th October, 1986.

19. One of Pat's brothers had already attended the University when she set off in 1926. Pat had been educated at the Brigidine Convent, Ararat and, then, being too young to begin at University, she spent a year boarding at Sacre Coeur, Glen Iris. She embraced the French influence there, which was part of her family's ancestry and took a break with relief from Irish Catholicism. Pat Grano, Questionnaire, December 1986. Interviewed 27th and 28th September, 1986, at Ararat.

20. Betty Parker had been educated at St. Joseph's College, Colac, and Loreto Abbey, Ballarat. "I didn't know what I wanted to be and we received no careers counselling". Betty Arundell (Parker), Questionnaire, December 1985. With her at St. Mary's Hall was her Colac neighbour, Maureen Scullion (1940-1944) who had a brother at Newman. Maureen Paull (Scullion), Questionnaire, April 1986.

21. Biddy Hennessy had boarded at the Brigidine Convent, Horsham, for most of her school life. Biddy Stark (Hennessy), Questionnaire, December 1985. Commencing music at the same time was Olga Lovick (1933-1936), who had been educated at Merrijig State School and the Convent of Mercy, Mansfield. Olga Hunt (Lovick), Questionnaire, December, 1985.
had both completed a tertiary education themselves, and support for tertiary study was not uncharacteristic of Patricia Kennedy's (1941-1945) family.

Sheila Thornton's (1933-1937) family were keen to support her in higher education. Although her love was for music, her father was adamant that she study Science because he held the view that in the Depression years Science provided much better opportunities for employment. His view was not unrealistic. Sheila Rosel (1930-1933), who completed a Diploma of Music (Cello), found that when the Depression came "there was no call for musicians, except for playing at functions to raise money".

22. Her father had completed a Bachelor of Dental Science at the University of Melbourne and her mother had graduated from the Pharmacy College in 1921. Joan had attended the Brigidine Convent, Wangaratta and then Sacre Coeur. She began a Bachelor of Arts in 1942. Joan Hoy (Herd), Questionnaire, January 1986.

23. Patricia Kennedy had attended the Convent of Mercy, Mt. Gambier as a day scholar, and then Loreto Convent, Adelaide, as a boarder. At that time there were no university colleges for women in Adelaide so Pat came to the University of Melbourne to study Law. Pat Kennedy, Questionnaire, February 1986.

24. Sheila Norman (Thornton), Questionnaire, December 1985. That a parent had such a say in the choice of a course was not unusual then. Sometimes it was Music, rather than Science, which had parental preference. Lois Baglin (Williams) remembers that Music was "my parents' choice, of course, instead of the Science I'd expected to do". Lois Williams began Music in 1934. (She was not at St. Mary's Hall.) 50th Anniversary Undergraduates of 1935-1936. Conservatorium: University of Melbourne, 1986, p.13.

The Loreto Sisters did not hesitate to use their influence to encourage higher education. When Veronica Lake's (1927-1931) father brought her to Melbourne for a holiday "the Loreto nuns persuaded him to leave me here to go to the Conservatorium." The Sisters encouraged Eileen Sullivan (1927-1930) who "had some thoughts of becoming a nun" by a three-year residential scholarship to St. Mary's. "Dad came with me to the interview with Mother Patrick and I remember him checking that no obligation to enter Religious life attached to the scholarship!" 27

Sometimes the students had family connections with the Loreto Sisters. Pat Grano's aunt was Mother Loyola (Emily) Grano, I.B.V.M. 28 and Alice Baker's (1930-1931) aunt was Mother Reparata Baker, I.B.V.M., who was Mistress of the Junior School at Mary's Mount, Ballarat, for years. John Baker, Alice's grandfather, shared a common passion for Ireland with Mother Patrick Callanan, I.B.V.M. 29

26. Veronica Lake had attended school at Loreto Convent, Perth. "I had done my L.Mus.A. (Licentiate of Music Australia) and F.T.C.L. (Fellow of Trinity College London) and I had also matriculated in Perth. There was no music school at the University in Perth at that time." Veronica Feely (Lake), Questionnaire, February 1986.

27. Eileen Sullivan had begun her schooling on 26th April 1915 on her sixth birthday at Loreto Convent, Hamilton, and completed it at Loreto Abbey, Ballarat, from 1924-1926. Eileen Sullivan entered the novitiate at Loreto Abbey, Ballarat in April 1932. "Shortly before I went to the novitiate, I said to someone who was enquiring about my decision: 'It would be convenient if I had three lives. I'd give the Lord one and I'd easily dispose of the other two. But since I have only one, He must have it.' Now if I had three, I'd give Him the lot." Judith (Eileen) Sullivan, I.B.V.M. Questionnaire, December 1985.


(1929-1931) was advised by Mr. J. C. Westhoven, a great friend of her Uncle Timothy's and of Mother Patrick's, to study Science and to reside at St. Mary's Hall.

Sometimes the connection was with the Jesuits. Father Jeremiah Murphy S.J., the Rector of Newman, was a great friend of the Winter family and encouraged them to send their only daughter Mollie Winter (1931-34, 1937) to St. Mary's Hall.

The University itself often referred its Catholic students to the Catholic residences. The Registrar referred Eileen Borbidge's (1934-1939) country parents to Newman College "where we were interviewed" and then "Father Loughnan referred us to St. Mary's Hall".

Many students were motivated by their love of a particular discipline. Lucy Kerley (1929-1933) came to the University because she "just liked doing mathematics". Sometimes, more pragmatic reasons were dominant. The difficulties of daily travel led Mary Kehoe (1928-1930) to transfer from private board to St. Mary's Hall.

31. Mollie Winter had attended Kildara College, Malvern from 1919-1928 and, when she matriculated at sixteen Father Murphy advised her parents to send her to Loreto Abbey, Ballarat, 1929-1930, as he thought her too young for University. Then he recommended University and St. Mary's Hall and, as she had always wanted to study Law, Mollie commenced her Law degree in 1931. Mollie Winter, Questionnaire, January, 1986.
32. Eileen Borbidge had attended Sacred Heart College, Geelong, as a boarder from 1930 to 1933. Eileen Borbidge, Questionnaire, April 1986.
34. Mary Kehoe had attended Sacred Heart College, Ballarat East. She spent her first year University in private board travelling to the University by train or tram each day. Bernadine (Mary) Kehoe R.G.S. Questionnaire, December 1985.
Of course, financial considerations were paramount. Nonie Wilckens missed out on a free place at the University but, as it was the beginning of the Depression years, a number of the free places were refused and then reallocated. About three weeks before the academic year commenced, the Wilckens' family received a letter to indicate a free place was available for Nonie, which meant that it was financially possible for her to live at St. Mary's.35

In summary, the students of the period 1924-1943 were more likely to have been country and interstate students than city students. The economic hardship of the time meant that city students were likely to remain at home and travel to the University. A small minority of residents were students normally destined for the Finishing Schools of Europe, but the majority of students struggled to make ends meet. As the unrest in Europe developed in the 1930s, a number of overseas students who would normally have studied in Europe came to the Hall.

Australian students at the Hall had been influenced by the value their schools placed on higher education and on particular disciplines. Family support for higher education was crucial - parents sometimes even choosing the discipline to be studied. On other occasions, it was a student's love for a particular discipline that motivated her. The Loreto Sisters did not hesitate to persuade students to further their education. Sometimes this happened indirectly through family connections. Financial con-

35. Her parents immediately came down and saw Mother Patrick who was known to their parish priest in Terang. Nonie Moore (Wilckens). Interviewed 18th September, 1986.
straints had to be considered carefully by many, but the difficulties of daily travel could precipitate a move into collegiate life and the University itself referred Catholic students to the Catholic colleges.

On the other hand, the factors that led students to the University and to St. Mary's Hall quite properly escape total categorisation. The individual's unique experiences in family and in school require acknowledgement. This is not to deny the commonality of human experience, nor to minimise the way national and international conditions, such as the Depression, impinged upon St. Mary's students.

Whatever their background, the students of the period 1924-1943, like the pioneer students, came to a residence that was unequivocally Catholic. Daily Mass continued at St. Mary's and attendance continued to be voluntary except on Sundays. Students of denominations other than Catholic were all expected by Mother Patrick to worship God in some way on Sundays. Some chose the chapel. Sometimes

36. St. Mary's was not alone in its emphasis on Religion. Janet Clarke Hall was also formally religious. The Trinity Council ruled that, unless J.C.H. students began to attend weekday chapel services voluntarily, compulsory attendance would be enforced. Its students, in response, informed Dr. Behan, Warden of Trinity, that they desired almost unanimously to attend chapel services. In practice, attendance varied so much that the social club which had undertaken that residents would attend at least three non-Sunday services a week, as well as the Sunday Service, imposed a fine of two shillings and sixpence in 1921 for each attendance forsaken. In the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s the three services a week and one on Sunday remained compulsory.

Mother Patrick decided they were choir material.\(^{37}\) There was a two-student team roster to set the altar and lay out vestments each night and to answer the Mass the next morning, with a two shilling fine for non-attendance on these occasions. (The students considered this a weighty penalty when two pounds a month might be all that was sent to them from home.)

There were two processions each year in honour of St. Michael, and the Catholic Hour on Sunday night radio 3AW was listened to in the Red Room. The talks by the Rector of Newman continued, although they were perhaps a little more erratic than previously:

"Every Monday night we had to stay in to hear the Rector's talk, by Fr. Jeremiah Murphy S.J., who rarely showed up."\(^{38}\) For some students the Rector's lectures were a challenge - "a new fertile field of thought, morality, theology, apologetics ..."\(^{39}\)

By the 1940s the students themselves began to debate some issues. Fr. Thomas A. Johnson S.J., Dean of Newman 1939-1945, used to ride his pushbike across from Newman when he was giving the

37. There were a few reluctant choir members. Mother Patrick believed in variety and taught many new hymns.


39. Eileen Borbidge. Questionnaire, April 1986. The Rector of Newman certainly had a sense of humour. It is time to go. A quick prayer, and he is ready to depart. No, he has remembered a joke. "Two strange Irishmen arrived at a wake. There was an open piano beside the coffin in the parlour. The gentlemen imbibed freely. The wake ended. They were at a loss in farewelling the widow. What to say of a man they had never met? 'Goodnight ma'am. We never met your husband but one thing we know about him - he had a splendid set of teeth!"

Father Murphy then proceeds to wrap himself into an imaginary shawl and goes out the door with an assumed and exaggerated limp, to the accompaniment of giggles.

Elliott (1965), op. cit., p.2.
Monday evening lecture. "Everyone along the way knew him and the way he always turned up the front of his hatbrim when he rode." 40

I can remember a terrible argument one night on evolution with Father Johnson. One of the girls, Yunma Mansour, who did Medicine, contradicted him. Mother Patrick was very cross with her because she stuck to her guns. She believed in evolution and I assume Father Johnson was a creationist. 41

The significance of Catholicism to the Hall meant that its special occasions were often religious occasions. In 1929, Father Leonard Dew said his second Mass in Australia at St. Mary's Hall as his daughter, Mother Mildrew Dew I.B.V.M., was on the staff there at the time. 42

Catholic students had grown up with the "old idea" that "Catholics were Number One in the world". "You only mixed with Catholics" - and married one - "Protestants were taboo." To get permission from Mother Patrick to go to a Ball, etc., with a boy

40. idem.

41. Nancy Thomas (Barbour). Interviewed 5th October, 1986. Catholics had a reputation for disliking the theories of evolution. Early, in 1937, Herbert Burton, Senior Lecturer in Economic History at the University, had argued that a certain B. A. Santamaria might prefer to see biology taught without the theory of evolution and physics without the theory of relativity. Farrago, 20th April, 1937, p.3.

friend, he just had to be from Newman". The irony was that Catholics were definitely second-class citizens in Australian society.

Among true-blue Protestant conservatives, Irish-Australian Catholicism tended to be seen as subversively anti-British, grubbily proletarian and socially unacceptable, as well as religiously repugnant.

The chief anxiety for most Catholic families was how to become secure financially. The Depression heightened their anxiety as jobs disappeared, and as Catholics were often excluded from the employment available. When Lucille Bloink (1919-1920) looked for a part-time governess position in her last year of study, she went to a Registry Office in Collins Street.

The stout dame who ran the place ... treated everyone who came along for a job as her inferior, as far as I could see - she may have had her pets

43. Marjorie Kilkeary (Cox). Questionnaire, April 1986. Her emphasis.


45. Tribal loyalties were strong almost everywhere in the Melbourne of the 1930s. "My grandfather came to Melbourne from Sydney in the 1930s to train horses for owners down here. He saddled up one horse in the Oakleigh Plate which he knew was a good thing. As the field turned into the straight at Caulfield, it was clear his elect was done for. It never had a chance. The jockey had ridden against instructions and left his mount too much ground to make up.

"On returning to the birdcage enclosure after the race, questions were asked and the ritual excuses given. At the end of the conversation, the jockey looked at my grandfather and asked him a simple question. 'Johnny, you're not one of us, are you?' The 'us' in question were members of the Lodge. 'No', said my grandfather. 'Well, Johnny, you'll never win one down here until you are'."

of course. Everyone seemed to sit around in
dumb humility waiting to be summoned to her
table for a hearing. When I came before her she
said coldly: 'Where were you educated?' and
slammed her book shut when I replied. 'I have
nothing here for you.' There was more in her
look and action than in her actual words. 46

Often it was the actual words that conveyed the message. When
Sheila Thornton completed her course in Chemistry in 1937 she was
told by a Shell representative, Mr. P. Brown, that he'd never em-
ploy a Catholic. 47 The Knights of the Southern Cross assisted
St. Mary's students in finding employment. Pat Grano was found a
teaching position in a Fitzroy school; Marie Cranage had an inter-
view at the Commonwealth Serum Laboratories as a result of a contact
with the Knights, and Nonie Wilckens took a solicitor's job in
Bairnsdale after Mr. (later Sir) Michael Chamberlin, then head of
the Knights, recommended her. 49

46. "A Registry Office (common up to World War II and after) was an
agency run for private profit where people went to find jobs. Some
specialised in private school positions and governess jobs. Some in
housemaids, cooks, gardeners, etc. Employers came along sometimes
to look over the applicants, especially governesses. There was an
interview room for them next to the office. The one I remember was
somewhere in Collins Street, an old building, I forget just where,
but in the city centre and upstairs. It advertised regularly in
The Argus (a more professional paper then than The Age, which catered
for trade jobs)." Lucille Quinlan (Bloink). Interviewed 30th May,
1985 at Belgrave. Letters to author 16th January and 30th January,
1987.

A further factor that was making it difficult for Catholic students
to obtain employment arose out of the Education Department policies.
Private students, that is those who had done their teacher training
anywhere other than at the State Teachers' College, were dropped to
the bottom of the Department's list for employment. Private stud-
ents were most often Catholic students.

48. The Knights of the Southern Cross had been formed in 1919. One
of its aims was to assist Catholics against sectarian discrimination.
Patrick O'Farrell, The Catholic Church and Community in Australia.

Ogge (Cranage), Questionnaire, February 1986. Nonie Moore (Wilckens)
Questionnaire, December, 1985.
Mother Patrick, who continued as Principal of St. Mary's Hall until 1943, remained unequivocally Irish and Catholic. When she interviewed Betty Parker for a place at the Hall in 1943 she exclaimed:

'Elizabeth Margaret Parker, haven't you any decent Irish blood in you?', and I said, 'My mother's grandparents were early Colac settlers from County Monaghan. Their names were John and Susanna O'Hair.' 'Oh', she cried, 'have you ever looked at a map of Ireland, child?', and I replied, 'Not really'. 'Well, the last county at the East Coast is Monaghan - free because the O'Hairs fought to the last man.'

Mother Patrick continued reading the works of G. K. Chesterton and Hilaire Belloc. The Hall subscribed to G.K's Weekly in which Chesterton wrote about Europe and its politics. Mother Patrick kept up a lively correspondence with Hilaire Belloc. She would say to the students that she had written to Mr. Belloc because she hadn't liked something he had written in his last book.

Indeed, one has no sense of Mother Patrick being finally constrained by convention in matters Catholic. She was her own woman. Even when Dr. Mannix, whom she deeply admired, would arrive unexpectedly, she would sometimes - on seeing his car pull up outside the Hall - excuse herself. The students sitting with her in the front parlour would be asked to convey her apologies.

50. Betty Arundell (Parker). Questionnaire, December 1985. "I got so carried away with our worth that the leadership prize at Trinity College, Colac, is the O'Hair Prize. Mother Patrick may take the credit."

Mother Patrick's deep commitment to Ireland and to Catholicism led her to be actively involved in and moved by the world around her. In one sense, this was unusual for a woman Religious in a semi-enclosed Order. On the other hand, given Ireland's deep troubles, it is hard to imagine Mother Patrick being detached from the world.

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We have recalled that St. Mary's began as a residence which was geographically distanced from the University because of ecclesiastical hesitation about the importance of higher education for women and about their deepest nature. We have seen how the Hall's isolation was exacerbated by the policies of the Provincial of the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Mother Teresa Gertrude O'Sullivan (1924-1937). Her policies had isolated the Hall within the Institute.

The Catholicism of the Hall, together with the sectarianism of the time, could have furthered its isolation especially as the University was primarily a British and Protestant institution. That the Hall did not finally become isolated, but on the contrary, entered into the University and into national and international affairs can be attributed to the policies of its Principal, Mother Patrick Callanan. Her Catholicism led her to an involvement in the political and social issues of her time and led St. Mary's students into a similar involvement. If Janet Clarke Hall had to wait for Miss Mary Bagnall, its Principal from 1952-1958, to open it to the world, St. Mary's was fortunate in having from its
beginnings a Principal who was thoroughly engaged in the world around her. The Spanish Civil War 1936-1939 was one catalyst for such an engagement. It led Catholic students more firmly into the University than they had been in the decade before.52

B. A. Santamaria has argued that the Depression awoke the University of Melbourne from a period of intellectual lethargy.53 A further impetus to its revival came when the Oxford University Union horrified British patriots by resolving that "This house shall in no circumstances fight for King and Country".54 Students, worldwide, were roused to declare their attitude to war.

It was hardly any time before students had a particularly brutal war before them.55 The Spanish Civil War which broke out on 17th July 1936 was a major event for that generation of students who were attending the University of Melbourne in the latter half of the 1930s.56

52. For comments on Miss Mary Bagnall, see Gardiner, op. cit., p.123.
55. On the brutality of the war: "... it is becoming increasingly clear that the Spanish Civil War was a particularly brutal one, the savagery of which perhaps no one but a Spaniard would comprehend". Niall Brennan, 'The Civil War that wasn't'. The Advocate, 16th January, 1986, p.8.
56. Students at Catholic secondary schools were also kept informed about the war. Nancy Barbour was a student then at the Sacred Heart College, Ballarat East: "Mother Bonaventure used to read the news to us at lunchtime. So we were very conscious of everything that was happening in Spain ... All I can remember is the horror of the priests and nuns being killed and tormented, and the horror of it being a civil war." Nancy Thomas (Barbour). Interviewed 5th October, 1986.

The War itself seems to have been precipitated by Spain's inconclusive elections in February 1936 which "reflected accurately a country which was almost equally divided; foreign intervention prolonged the war for two and a half years. No episode in the 1930s has been more lied about than this one, and only in recent years have historians begun to dig it out from the mountain of mendacity beneath which it was buried for a generation." Paul Johnson, A History of the Modern World. From 1917 to the 1980s. Weidenfeld & Nicolson: London, 1983, p.326.
Within the University itself there was a sharp division on the Spanish War which fired the Left in support of the Republicans "and mobilised all but a few Catholic students in loud support of Franco's rebels and against the atheists of the Russian-aided Republicans". In fact, it was argued that the one and only component of the division over the Spanish Civil War was the Catholic Church itself:

There are no Fascists; there are no Socialists, there are no Liberals; there are no Parliamentarians. There is the one supremely inspiring and irritating institution in the world - the Catholic Church - and there are its enemies.

57. Kelly, op. cit., pp. 102-3. It was the rare voice which championed non-alignment:

"The ancient faiths that fetter all our hearts
Will claim from us a sacrifice once more
We'll pay with lives our fee to money's marts
Again in war ..."
The Lone Hand, 'Lines on Spain', Farrago, 22nd October, 1936, p.2.

58. Kevin T. Kelly, Farrago, 23rd March, 1937, p.3. In Spain itself the military rising against the Popular Front Government drew behind it almost the entire army. The Spanish Church supported the military rising but it did not take part in it. The Church, initially faced with a doctrinal hesitation about the legitimacy of armed rebellion, resolved this in terms of the just war theory. In addition, the fact that many of the Church's priests and Religious were murdered and its churches shut, led the Spanish Church to back the revolt.

It was the 'great Spanish debate' at the University on 22nd March, 1937, which illustrated the polarisation of the argument in these terms. The debate, which was the culmination of the Spanish War dispute in Victoria, was "That the Spanish Government is the ruin of Spain", and took place in the Public Lecture Theatre before 750 to 1000 people. St. Mary's students - Eileen Cooper, Mary Coghlan, Mollie Winter, Billie Brown, Olga Kyatt, Biddy Hennessy, Olga Lovick and Eileen Borbidge - were present in the enormously crowded lecture theatre with its electric atmosphere as there had been a "great deal of interest in the Spanish Civil War at St. Mary's Hall greatly increased by Mother Patrick's interest".

Manning Clark recalls

There was that night in March 1937 when three men - Bob Santamaria, Stan Ingwersen and Kevin Kelly - representing what I will poetically call Catholic Truth - debated with three people, Nettie Palmer, Jack Legge and G. O'Day, who entertained the great hope that mankind has the capacity for better things here on earth, that heaven and hell are priests' inventions, and that we should trust the brotherhood of men. The point at issue was the Spanish Civil War. That was the night when ... yes, was it Bob Santamaria - a sound Carlton man, but alas wobbly on what my great teacher, Richard Penrose Franklin called mysteriously 'other things', or Kevin Kelly or Stan Ingwersen ... curious how

59. Mother Patrick invited Nettie and Vance Palmer to the Hall and encouraged student discussion on the Spanish Question. There were many other St. Mary's students at the debate, but these are the names that are known to the author.

one forgets the detail in the great scenes ...
raised the cry "Long Live Christ the King" in the temple of Australian secularism. Well I remember the pandemonium after that ...

One can only speculate as to the impact made by such a dramatic gesture on the St. Mary's students present and the pandemonium did not finish there as witnessed by the barrage of correspondence that ensued.

While the conduct of the debate on the Spanish question came to be viewed as an unhappy chapter in campus life, it did demonstrate that Catholics could enter intellectual debate with some success. And, although the debate was characterised by a marked division, Catholics were now very firmly part of University life as

60. Manning Clark recalled the meeting as one of the three most significant formative influences on his life. Santamaria, op. cit., pp. 36-7. Santamaria's cry of "Long Live Christ the King" was a phrase coined in the Mexican persecution. Colin Jory, The Campion Society and Catholic Social Militancy in Australia, 1929-1939. Harpham: Sydney, 1986, p.83.

61. In his letter to Farrago, a young B. A. Santamaria reminded Herbert Burton, Senior Lecturer in Economic History, of the latter's remark "that if the loyalist garrison of Madrid should find itself pressed for food, it should eat the rebel prisoners whom it held." Santamaria concluded that "although I personally would hate to eat a Socialist, you were logical once your premises were granted. But logic is not the same thing as impartiality." The letter caused an uproar: "... I have never known during my association with the University anyone on the Left to use the tone Mr. Santamaria used in his letter." B. A. Santamaria, 'Open Letter to Mr.Burton', Farrago, 13th April, 1937, p.3. L. A. Moroney, Farrago, 20th April, 1937, p.3. For the remaining two years of the War, Farrago refused to print material on it. Jory, op. cit., p.84.

62. Catholic debating was so successful that the Student Representative Council came to deplore the press reports which "make it appear that this University has declared itself in sympathy with General Franco". Farrago, 22nd October, 1936, p.5.
a result of participating in it. It drew them into its life in a way that was qualitatively different from earlier years. The difference had a two-fold basis. Firstly, the Spanish Civil War was an issue that concerned students generally and Catholic students in a particular way. Secondly, Catholic students now had more numbers, better organisation and a stronger intellectual self-education to make their views known than with issues of earlier years. That the St. Mary's students participated in the Spanish debate, and genuinely sought to understand and discuss the issues surrounding the War, can be largely attributed to the attitude of their Principal, Mother Patrick Callanan, whose breadth of understanding and involvement in the world around her inspired her students to a similar involvement.

Academic life at the University had some of the hallmarks of the Spanish debate. Catholics were involved in intellectual debate. The capacity of Catholics for intellectual debate had not always been evident at the University. The Campion Society had aimed to rectify this lack. As private individuals, Campion men (women were considered a distraction and were unable to join) led the anti-republican cause at the University and in Victoria generally.

Mother Patrick would often attend lunch-time lectures, talks or debates at the University: "She would stand up, interject and often made herself conspicuous, not only because of her keen interest but because she was such an interesting character herself". Eileen Borbidge. Letter to author, 21st January, 1987. "She frequently enjoyed a cup of tea in the Union canteen with students (an unheard of practice for nuns in the 1920s!)". Jane Carolan, 'Mother M. Patrick Callanan', St. Mary's, 1978, p.40.
discussions on campus, and were keen to apply a new rigour to their arguments. There was the sense, no doubt variously perceived that Catholics were not in an environment wholly sympathetic to their thinking. When Fr. Wilfred Ryan S.J. was appointed to lecture in Philosophy at the University in the late 1920s, Professor William Osborne, Dean of the Faculty of Medicine 1929-1938 was reported to have said that he never thought he would see the day when the University of Melbourne would come under monkish control. (Osborne, from Northern Ireland, had a reputation for his disdain of the Southern Irish and of religious doctrine.) In the light of his remark, which infuriated her, Mother Patrick was careful to exclude him from her invitations to the garden party held at St. Mary's Hall in 1928 to honour Cardinal Cerretti.

65. "On Monday night members of the University Philosophy Society were regaled first of all with a very fine paper - pages and pages of it - read rapidly by Father Loughnan. It left very little of the life and views of St. Thomas Aquinas unsaid, except his economic theory, if he had one. Professor Gibson then made a noble effort to set the ball of argument rolling but, in spite of the vigorous kick, it trundled only a little distance and remained stationary". 'Phor Filosofers', Farrago, 23rd June, 1936, p.2.

66. "We accept dogmas in everyday life because we believe in the reliability of our authority ... The Catholic must not be content with mere defence. He must attack the basis of his opponents' position and reveal their inability to explain certain features of the universe, which the Catholic rationalist can explain." Basil Loughnan S.J., Dean of Newman, 1930-1937. Farrago, 23rd July, 1936. p.1.


68. R. Douglas Wright in Dow, op. cit., p.85.

In the late 1920s Professor W. R. Boyce Gibson, lecturing in the first year subject, 'Philosophy, Logic and Ethics', disagreed with the Catholic Church's promotion of voluntary penance. He regarded voluntary penance as inappropriate on the basis that it was God who was in charge of human life and it did not behove humans to construct experience in this manner. Furthermore, he argued, life had enough difficulties and temptations along the way without introducing more. There was a hint that Gibson was referring to Percy Grainger's practice of self-flagellation. St. Mary's students in Professor Gibson's class discussed this with their college tutor, Fr. Wilfred Ryan S.J., who went along to see Boyce Gibson "and they sorted it out between them". "But Wilfred Ryan told us not to answer that sort of question on the examination paper. 'Leave those ones alone', he said."70

Sectarian implications aside, the St. Mary's students experienced the full gamut of the day to day experiences of University life - unruly behaviour at lectures, innocent ragging of authority, late arrival at classes, professorial rebukes, times of enthusiasm and enjoyment in scholastic pursuits and identity crises - in short, all those realities so familiar to the undergraduate.

One St. Mary's student found the behaviour in Professor Boyce Gibson's lectures hard to manage:

By the time all the lads from the Teachers' Training College had stamped their way through he had no hope of finding out who was there and who wasn't. And they stamped most of the time through the lecture. As soon as he came in it would start and he was such a gentleman - it appalled me always.  

Another St. Mary's student observed Sir John MacFarland very closely on the tram:

The physical idiosyncrasies of the Chancellor, Sir John MacFarland, 'Sir John he is our father', as the varsity anthem ran, were scrutinised with scientific detachment during successive tram-rides up Royal Parade by one of the more ebullient St. Mary's residents of the early 1930s, and reproduced for Stunt Night, complete with song and characteristically puffed-out moustache.

Marjorie Harding and her St. Mary's colleagues had a particular reputation in Geology.

It was a good mile [to the University] and how often we ran rather than walked most of it, when there was a 9 o'clock lecture, and arrived breathless and sometimes late, especially for Geology, since this school was clean across the University grounds. Prof. Skeats would pause, raise his eyebrows, and wait for the panting Hall contingent (plus any other stragglers who knew to wait!) to settle down. More than once he said in pained tones that he wished 'half the class wouldn't come late to his lectures.'

Wynne Fanning found that studying French had an excitement to it.

The French Club was one of my loves, and that was where I first saw Communism infiltrating. We used to have French Club meetings and we'd have a little poem and some songs, and perhaps a cup of coffee, then this old man used to stand up and talk.

71. Anonymous.
Mr. Chisholm, later Professor, was the perfect gentleman and couldn't get him to stop. He'd say, 'I think that'll be enough of that, thank you', but he couldn't get rid of him, and they'd have to end the meeting. 74

Although, sometimes, it could be embarrassing:

About second or third year (1925 or 1926) we had had swot vac for three weeks, and when I came back I had my hair cut a different way and various things done to me. Kara was madly calling the roll. 'Miss Fanning.' 'Yes.' 'You are not the Miss Fanning who was here last term?' The girls had to defend me by saying, 'Oh, yes she is.' I remember my embarrassment at having changed my identity. 75

The majority of St. Mary's students approached their study with serious intent. Pat Grano enrolled in 'Advanced Logic Honours' in 1928. The imposing syllabus included Induction and Concept of Geometry; Non-Euclidean Geometry; The Theory of Probability; Statistics; and The Concept of Number. Her lecture notes, probably from Professor W. R. Boyce Gibson, applauded the work of Lobatschewski and Bolyai in discovering non-Euclidean geometry and in abolishing certain conventional barriers of thought. 76

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74. Wynne Fanning. Interviewed 23rd January, 1986. While French Club members had readings from Hugo's 'Notre Dame de Paris' in 1925, the Science Club was examining the application of X-rays in medical diagnosis. Farrago, 15th May, 1925, p.4. Farrago, 17th July, 1925, p.4.


76. Lobatschewski was a Russian academic 1793-1856. Bolyai was an Hungarian academic, 1803-1860.

The books prescribed for 'Advanced Logic Honours' in 1928 included Einstein's Theory of Relativity and Sidelights on Relativity; Manning's The Fourth Dimension; Poincare's Science and Method and Bosanquet's Logic.

Pat Grano, lecture notes for 'Advanced Logic Honours', 1928.
Pat Grano wrote her essay on a 'Discussion of Euclid's 5th Postulate. Its bearing on a philosophic view of objective reality'.

77. She argued that the day had long since gone when Lobatschewski timidly referred to his system as an imaginary geometry and that non-Euclidean Geometry was now established for mathematics, as any other branch of Mathematical Science. As to the philosophical implications of her argument, she discussed whether Kant was justified in claiming that space and time are a priori – not given by experience, but conditions of experience. She also considered whether geometry threw any light on the nature of real space. Her conclusions were twofold. Firstly,

The fact that all pure mathematics is logically deductive refutes Kant's notion of synthetic a priori judgements. He referred to geometry for proof and the non-Euclidean development has shown that geometry furnished a complete disproof. The abolition of intuition has narrowly circumscribed philosophy but, on the other hand, the investigation into the 5th postulate has given a freedom of thought and made a genuine advance towards the knowledge of the ultimate truth of the nature of reality.

Secondly,

We can never hope to obtain an empirical knowledge of space. We have no organ for perceiving it. Touch yields but little evidence; our eyes convince us of motion, from this we deduce our knowledge of space and make inferences which can not be verified until we know more about motion. At present our only key to the better knowledge of motion is light. Sommerville says, "More accurate information regarding laws of absorption of light might enable us to establish an upper limit to the value of the space constant and thus demonstrate that the geometry of actual space is non-Euclidean."

Pat Grano 'Discussion of Euclid's 5th Postulate. Its bearing on a philosophic view of objective reality.' Original essay, 1928.
Her assessing lecturer was suitably impressed, and wrote:

An excellent essay, the fruit of much reading and close thought. I can find nothing to criticise adversely. The links in the evolution of non-Euclidean geometry are clearly set out and you have given quite enough philosophical commentary. This latter, particularly if it has a touch of originality, is the deciding factor in relative merit. Your wide reading and skilful use of it influence me in giving you this mark. 78

Not every student prospered in every discipline. Marie Cranage, who was scholastically more equipped to study Arts, had a bit of trouble conquering Natural Philosophy:

There were not many girls doing it. Lucy Kerley was a bit of a genius at that sort of thing - she had that kind of a mind - but there were not many girls doing it. We were thrown in among a lot of very intelligent engineering students who'd been studying physics and mathematics. They threw up marvellous questions to lecturers. I floundered along.

There was a Dr. Martin, who was our lecturer at the time, and I didn't pass ... I had an interview with Dr. Martin who asked me what I was doing, and I said I really didn't understand it for most of the year, and I said that was simply because I had no background. I said, 'I wish I hadn't taken it.' So he said, 'Would you repeat it or would you like to change to something else?', and I said, 'I'd rather change to something else.' He said: 'I would strongly advise you to do that.' He didn't say that I couldn't repeat it. He wasn't quite as blunt as that. But I understood that he felt I was pretty hopeless. 79

However, help was generally at hand from one quarter or another. One St. Mary's student studying Geology in 1931, "because I had a bit of knowledge in Geography and I felt maybe that would help", chanced to make friends with Professor Summers' daughter.

78. Lecturer's comments on back of essay.

Dorothy Summers and I sat next to each other. We were very good friends. And, of course, her father used to look down to see what she was doing and I would be sitting next to her. She'd pass on a bit of what her father had said to her. It was very helpful. So I managed to get through that.  

Being a woman at the University could have its difficulties. Nonie Wilckens was one of the few women studying Law between 1928 and 1933.

Now I think of it we did have a type of inferiority. In Law we never sat in the front row, and we never sat close to anyone - close, I mean to the lecturer or to the tutor. We always sat at the back a bit ... I think it was inborn in us. We were a little bit withdrawn. We didn't push ourselves. It might have been convent rearing or it might have been because there weren't the women around. Sometimes a lecturer would say, 'Has anyone got any ideas on that?' I would no more have said, 'I have', than fly. I can never remember doing that, and as you can see, I'm an outgoing person ... One of the tutors at the University even said one day - must have been in one of the languages - 'women should be seen but not heard'. I had only heard that applied to children.

Sometimes, male students would ask the women what they were doing at the University. But Nonie Wilckens remembers that in Law this was infrequent.

I think it was because we knew so many of the Newman boys. There were four or five of them in the same year as I was ... either the Irish or the Jews were in the Law.

Contact with Newman men was not always affirming. Nonie Wilckens attended Newman law tutorials with Phoebe Keane, a non-resident student of Newman.

80. Anonymous. Professor Summers was the lecturer.
82. ibid.
One day in particular ... one of the Newman law tutors, Joe Mulvaney, complained to the Rector of Newman that he couldn't stand those infernal women chattering in the back row of the tute. We never chatted ... it was the first time women had been tutored in Law at Newman College. I never forgot that. Mother Patrick told us afterwards that Father Murphy told her.

Sometimes, the Course students were taking was a disadvantage.

We didn't attend many tutorials - a few Anatomy tutorials at Newman in the 1940s - but we were there on sufferance - Medical students were welcomed - Massage students were tolerated. Consequently we did not gain much.

On the other hand, Miss Stillman's Zoology tutorials at Newman were considered helpful and Mr. McIntyre gave the first ever Reporting lectures once a week in third year in the English School, as well as his Newman tutes. Betty Arundell (Parker) recalls him as a man of wide knowledge and depth. "I've written articles on local and political issues all my life. I owe him much."

Max Charlesworth, Alison Buxton and Betty Parker were the only three students in Fr. Johnston's Philosophy tutes one year at Newman, "the brilliant boy who became a professor; the assertive city girl, and the country mouse."

Tutorials at St. Mary's Hall itself were also a mixed bag. Mother Catherine Dowden's ability in Chemistry was hampered by the paucity of laboratory equipment. Tutors were sometimes employed more on compassionate than academic grounds. Pee Dee, who had come from troubled Germany, tutored in French.

83. Dame Kate Campbell recalled: "There was [at University] little fraternisation with the men. They didn't approve of girls doing Medicine." The Age, 26th December, 1986, p.7.

84. Anonymous, Questionnaire 1986.

We learned precious little French from him however. All he ever wanted to talk about was food. 'Poor man, he's been hungry so often', Mother [Patrick] would say if anyone complained. There was always a delicious meal ready for him after lessons. 86

Mother Patrick's English tutorials were an experience in themselves because of the breadth of issues raised, but they were erratic in occurrence.

Once again, doing a particular Course could be a disadvantage. Music students found there were not enough pianos for practice and they were not allowed to practise before 9 a.m. or after 6 p.m. "as it might upset the more serious students doing responsible courses". Medical students, too, were on occasion disadvantaged. Eileen Borbidge, for instance, had, in her final years, to book in to St. Anne's Hostel because the Hall had not yet opened for the academic year. 87

If the academic support at St. Mary's was not always as formal as it could have been, daily life at the Hall certainly had a formality to it. Society itself was formal. There was less compassion towards those outside one's immediate social stratum and no one was in any doubt, as Vincent Buckley has reminded us,

86. Elliott, op. cit., p.4.

87. St. Anne's had been opened in May 1930. The four-storeyed building, Queen's Palace, on the corner of Rathdown Street and Victoria Street was purchased by the Archdiocese of Melbourne for £40,000 and converted to a hostel to be conducted by the Catholic Women's Social Guild. The Advocate, 9th May, 1929, p.30.
that Australia was a class-ridden society. Etiquette, manners and correct dress as the occasion demanded were considered very important.

Mother Patrick encouraged a strict and correct protocol for official entertaining. Behaviour at meals required correct etiquette. Students were expected to dress for dinner every night and to wear their academic gowns. In the late 1930s students were just discarding stockings to play tennis, and Sheila Thornton wore her first pair of slacks in 1940. While some students were accustomed to the formality of life at the Hall, others found it demanding:

At seventeen, eighteen and nineteen years old from the country, society was something of a learning process. There were the people you could relax with whom Mother Patrick thought of as 'suburban' and of no consequence, and those whose sons called their fathers and those of their friends 'Sir'. We had to wear hats, gloves and stockings and answer invitations most formally.

The annual 'At Home' and Common Room Dances were observed by an official party seated at one end of the Common Room on the carpeted area near the fire. The party comprised Mother Patrick,

91. Anonymous, Questionnaire, 1985. Mother Patrick was never short on advice about proper social behaviour. "If you have men in your house after 11 p.m. you must offer them meat and you must offer them wine." "Don't use your radio to entertain people." Eileen Borbidge, Questionnaire, April 1985.
Mother Mildred, Mother Catherine and the Heads of Colleges.
Father Jeremiah Murphy was always a welcome guest. "... We could always say 'Thank goodness for Father Murphy', because Father Murphy could always keep the conversation rolling with Dr. Behan and the Head of Ormond College".92 Dance programmes were filled in before the night. Marie Cranage's programme of the 13th July, 1932, commenced at 8.00 p.m. when she danced the Fox Trot with Charlie Murphy.

92. Marie Ogge (Cranage). Interviewed 10th October, 1986. Dr. Behan was the Warden of Trinity College. The Master of Ormond (1915-1943) was David Kennedy Picken.
A number of dances on a student's programme were to be kept for the official party, and freshers' programmes were partly filled in by seniors. "My first experience was the compulsory dance with a very dignified and prim principal of Trinity. It was quite an ordeal for me. Conversation was very difficult". On the other hand, dances with Dr. Johnson, the Master of Queen's, were exhilarating as he was a marvellous dancer.

93. Programme copied from the original donated by Marie Ogge (Cranage).

94. Anonymous. As Dr. Behan has the reputation of having disliked all women on principle regardless of age (Gardiner, *op. cit.*, p.77), the St. Mary's students could be forgiven for finding his company daunting.

95. Sheila Norman (Thornton). *Questionnaire*, December 1985. As Senior Student in 1935 and 1936, Sheila Thornton attended quite a number of social functions.

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Whatever attempts were made to keep life formal, it fell inevitably into the informal. Pat Grano's sister, Nancy, who had come from Sacre Coeur to visit her,

thought the only way down the elegant bannisters was sliding down them. She whizzed down only to meet Mother Patrick at the bottom who had come out of a parlour near Alice McGrath's room. As Nancy was not a St. Mary's Hall student, Mother Patrick made no comment, but she certainly had a look about her. I said, 'That's the way she comes down the stairs at home.'

Indeed, Mother Patrick had her hands full ensuring formality. Lucy Kerley and Dorothy Noonan were teasing Imelda Daily one evening.

If anyone did anything to Mel she would scream literally. So we were teasing her and pushed her and she screamed at the top of her voice ... all of a sudden we heard M.P. ... Dorothy and I shot for our lives, dived into a lavatory and shut the door, just the two of us. Poor Daily was left standing there ... the next thing I thought, 'wouldn't it be terrible if M.P. comes and finds us'.

So we kept quiet and listened; she didn't come up the stairs, but stood at the bottom of the stairs on the lower floor and called out, 'Who is that up there? What's all that screaming about?' So Mel Daily said, 'It's Imelda Daily. Screaming, Mother, screaming? I didn't hear any screaming?' And, of course, Noonan and I collapsed and thought, thank heavens.

Mother Patrick was not always enthusiastic about the style of entertainment her students organised. In 1929 the freshers, who were planning a Pirates' Party, made lanterns to hang around the Common Room and covered the painting of the Madonna (Mother Patrick's

favourite) with a large flag of skull-and-crossbones. Lucy Kerley painted a huge pirate with a knife in his mouth dripping blood which she had gone to the trouble of memorising from a book in Myers. The Carlton Brewery, her next contact, agreed to provide empty beer kegs for seats (at a cost of only five shillings - for the cartage). The day of the party arrived.

We were just getting ready in our pirate garb and suddenly we heard a sort of weird sound from down below. We heard this 'rumble, rumble, crunch, rumble, rumble, crunch, crunch', and I looked over the balcony, and there was the gardener rolling the beer barrels out.98

The Newman boys were keen to roll them right back in again, but Mother Patrick won the day, and the Pirates' Party was without its barrels.

On other occasions, Mother Patrick could enter into informality.
Anyone's room on the flats. Midnight.
An illicit party is in progress. The door suddenly swings open. 'M.P.', whispers someone behind it in alarm. 'You naughty girls, why are you up so late?'

Mother seats herself among the girls. Silence.
Mother begins to talk softly, with pauses.
Irish Literature? Music? Painting?
No, tonight it is ghost stories ... (Our English tutor at Newman, Mr. Ken McIntyre never approved of these dots).99

Mother Patrick was inclined to dispense with students who did not measure up to her expectations. Her reasons were not always clear. At the end of 1926 Pat Grano's family had a letter from Mother Patrick to say that Pat was not to return to St. Mary's in 1927.

98. ibid. and Newman 1929, p.62.
99. Elliott, op. cit., p.3.
My mother said, 'What have you been up to?’ 'Nothing. I haven't done anything and I don't know what it's about.' My mother, a strong woman, went down to Melbourne from Ararat to see Mother Patrick and to ask her about it. Mother Patrick said that I lacked tact.

'She lacks tact.' That's all she would say. My mother flounced out saying, 'I brought her up to be truthful first, not tactful.'

Later I got a letter to say I could come back the following year, which I did. 100

Phyllis Blott, from Western Australia, was one of those who did not fare as well. Phyllis, keen to go dancing with one of the boys from Ridley College, made her brave request to Mother Patrick.

Most St. Mary's students would not dare to ask permission to go out with a Ridley boy. Dating across religious barriers was frowned upon by elders and clergy on both sides in those times. Ridley boys were considered most unsuitable for St. Mary's girls, perhaps because, as student theologians, they were wholeheartedly immersed in Protestantism. Mother Patrick refused Phyllis' request but, being a student with her own mind, Phyllis went anyway and on her return hid in Lucy Kerley's wardrobe to escape discovery from Mother Patrick. The following day Mother Patrick sent her down. "Poor Phyll had to find digs in Parkville in the days when it wasn't done for women." 101

101. Lucy Kerley. Interviewed 8th August, 1985. Mother Patrick's allegiance lay with the Newman boys. Any request to go out with a boy was met with, "Is he a Carthlic, darling?" Nevertheless, St. Mary's students did not always marry Catholics. Iris Shield, a pioneer student of the Hall, married William Macmahon Ball. Eileen Borbidge married Donald Shale, a medical student from Trinity. Both Mother Patrick and Father Murphy

(continued on next page)
St. Mary's Hall and Janet Clarke Hall were distanced geographically and religiously and there was little competition between them, as Gardiner has pointed out. The religious loyalties of the time meant that the two residences appealed more or less, although there were exceptions, to different groups. Janet Clarke Hall residents were likely to regard themselves as superior to St. Mary's students and were surprised, on visiting St. Mary's, to find it congenial.  

St. Mary's Hall and Janet Clarke Hall did compete in college sport. Janet Clarke Hall, active in tennis, was accustomed to victory. In 1925 the finals of the Women's Intercollegiate Tennis between St. Mary's and Janet Clarke Hall were played on Saturday,  

101 (cont'd). were understanding, "a big thing in those days because of our student sort of prominence at our respective colleges". (Donald Shale took instruction in the Catholic Faith from Father Opie at the Children's Hospital where the couple were both resident medical officers.) Mother Patrick was not naive either, when it came to possible difficulties in marriages. "What would you do if your husband was unfaithful", she would ask her students. The St. Mary's students did not necessarily see Ridley students in the same light as Mother Patrick:  

... you know, they weren't the terrors that they were meant to be. They were quite decent boys, and I suppose they thought it funny that they weren't allowed to have anything to do with St. Mary's Hall girls ... they used to very pointedly, three or four of them, very pointedly walk down behind three or four of us when we went for our after-dinner stroll down Royal Parade.

Information re Ridley boys from Marie Ogge (Cranage). Interviewed 10th October, 1986.

102. Gardiner, op. cit., pp. 60, 63, 64, 104, 105, for comments on little competition; Catholic residents of JCH; and remark to JCH freshers. Lucille Quinlan (Bloink). Letter to author, 30th January, 1987, for comment on JCH surprise at St. Mary's being congenial.
19th September on the Newmarket Courts. Wynne Fanning wore a hat that she particularly disliked as an act of penance in the hope of victory. (Boyce Gibson would not have been impressed by this.)

The singles matches, played on 16th September, resulted in each team winning two rubbers. St. Mary's doubles play outclassed Janet Clarke Hall, in 1925 at least, to win the match by five rubbers to two. Farrago reported the results.

For the winning team A. Mallon played excellently at the net, and for the losing team B. Nankivell stood out as the best player on the court.

Singles:

A. Mallon (N) lost to B. Nankivell (T) 6-2, 6-3.
P. Busst (N) lost to E. Mackay (T) 6-5, 6-3.
R. Eccles (N) d. K. Stobie (T) 6-0, 6-1.
N. Clements (N) d. E. Mackay (T) 6-5, 3-6, 6-4.

Doubles:

A. Mallon & R. Eccles (N) d. K. Stobie & J. Finlason (T) 6-0, 6-2.
P. Busst & N. Clements (N) lost to B. Nankivell & E. Mackay (T) 5-6, 6-2, 6-3.
P. Busst & N. Clements (N) d. K. Stobie & J. Finlason (T) 6-1, 6-2.

The winning team and the captains of the other teams were entertained at dinner by Miss Enid Joske at Janet Clarke Hall and at dinner and a dance by Mother Patrick at St. Mary's Hall in the week following the game. For the St. Mary's students of 1925, winning the tennis was the highlight of their year.

The winning of the women's tennis is, of course, the event of the year. It was a dream beyond our wildest. We were delighted to see Stasia Slattery, our first tennis captain, at the official dinner. All lights are still on the four, though they are gradually withdrawing to study. 104

103. Farrago, 25th September, 1925, p.3. The Farrago details of results do not seem to total five rubbers to two! The St. Mary's team was Alice Mallon, Nell Clements, Phyl Busst and Rose Eccles. (N) and (T) represent Newman and Trinity respectively - both Halls were affiliated to the University in this way -(as seen in Ch. 1).

Apart from the tennis there was a variety of entertainment available. The influence of the Ladies' Committee declined throughout the 1930s and then was gone. Sometimes the entertainment provided was of international class. Olga Lovick was with other St. Mary's students on the 23rd October 1934 when "Captain Scott won the air race from England, and we saw him fly in while standing on the balcony." When international events were absent, the local football matches were an exciting substitute. St. Mary's students sat with Newman boys in the Outer at the Carlton Football Ground where officials admitted them free of charge if they were wearing their academic gowns.

105. Olga Hunt (Lovick). Questionnaire, December 1985. Twenty-seven planes competed in the Centenary Air Race from London to Melbourne, which created "more excitement than a Test Match". C. W. A. Scott and T. Campbell Black, the winning pilots, completed their journey in just under three days. The packed grandstands at Flemington racecourse reverberated with overwhelming encouragement as their plane came into view.

"After circling the course, the plane flew in drizzling rain to Laverton to make its landing, and reporters and radio announcers were almost at a loss for phrases to describe its speed."


106. Six of the Carlton team in the Victorian Football League in the 1920s were from Newman: Ray Brew (Captain), Jack Green, Frank Donoghue, Maurice Connell, Bill James and Pat Kennedy. This changed later when University sportsmen were required to give their first priority to University teams.

Some of the University Blacks went on to play for Carlton and the St. Mary's students kept up their interest in the 1930s and 1940s.

Frank McManus in Dow, op. cit., pp. 54-5. The Melbourne Zoo officials also admitted students free of charge if they were wearing their academic gowns.
Musical fare was provided by the University orchestra to which Pat Grano listened as it practised in Melba Hall. The Prom concerts at the Conservatorium were particularly attractive as they were at lunchtime and free. In-house musical entertainment was provided by the resident musicians of the Hall over the years. For instance, Veronica (Ronnie) Lake and Agnes Bliss provided Pat Grano with regular pianoforte entertainment. Ballet was not neglected - Pavlova's dance of 'The Dying Swan' was the most memorable to St. Mary's students seated in 'the gods'. The silent movies (with piano accompaniment), "'flickers' we used to call them", were one shilling in Brunswick in the late 1920s and St. Mary's students paid little heed to Mother Patrick's maxim that Brunswick "was a suburb that young ladies were not seen in". The Talkies came to Melbourne in 1929 ..."then there were the Spectaculars ... eventually colour came in ... we were made then".

Mother Patrick was keen for her students to have a broad education. Eileen Borbidge was influenced by Mother Patrick's interest in art, language, literature and history, and even the Fats Waller records she introduced to the Common Room. She invited the Abbey Theatre Players from Dublin to the Hall so that students could discuss Irish literature with them first hand. She sent her students to art gallery openings, to A.B.C. concerts, 

109. 'The Jazz Singer' was the first all-talkie and was screened at the Athenaeum Theatre on Saturday, 2nd February, 1929. It paralleled the life of Al Jolson who played the title role. The Advocate, 7th February, 1929, p.12. Nonie Moore (Wilckens). Interviewed 18th September, 1986.
had literature discussions with them, and even brought a Cyclax consultant in to help students with their make-up.

There were no tutorials for Conservatorium students but, as M.P. thought a few of us could do with more culture, Mother Mildred gave us a short course in French and M.P. had an artist, Edward Heffernan, come in and give a few painting lessons. Also a young man and woman were brought in to give us a demonstration of fencing with a view to interested parties taking lessons. We all treated that as a bit of a joke.110

More regular exercise was supplied by the Newman Society walks and by the folk dances of the Grail at Tay Creggan. (We didn't attend Grail lectures because we had enough lectures at the University.)111 It was said that if you were a Catholic you were, ipso facto, a member of the Newman Society, but St. Mary's students never really knew what that meant.112 The students played tennis on their court when "the team" was not practising on it. Fr. Dominic Kelly S.J. enjoyed a game of tennis with them. "Sheila Thornton was our best tennis player and often gave him a match."113 Fr. Wildred Ryan S.J., called "Slippy" Ryan because one could never pin him down in an argument, rode his bicycle over to St. Mary's. Pat Grano fell off it as the window of the room in which he was being entertained by Mother Patrick opened as she rode past.114 The students spent a lot of time in their rooms

110. Anonymous.
113. Anonymous. Fr. Dominic Kelly S.J. had been part of the Jesuit staff of Newman College from 1919.
talking and toasting crumpets on the radiator for supper. When out, they tended to congregate in milk bars and cafes rather than hotels, and those who drank alcohol were in the minority. By the 1940s cigarettes were scarce, so smoking was not as prevalent. 115

The Newman and St. Mary's students mixed socially. The St. Mary's students attended Newman sporting functions, invited Newman students to their Common Room dances, and were invited in return to theirs. The Newman men liked their alcohol and often had whisky planted on posts in the St. Mary's garden during functions at the Hall. "As their expressions changed down through the night Mother Patrick came to observe them more closely through her glasses."

There were very sad times, such as when Joan Graves, a medical student, was killed in a car accident on her way to Canberra around 1940. When her body was brought back for a Requiem Mass from the Hall, "the boys all came over from the other colleges - those who knew her. It meant a lot to us at the time." 117

Finally, a description of daily life at the Hall could not omit one of the enduring pre-occupations of students in collegiate life - food. The students considered the food at St. Mary's Hall as excellent and a tribute to the real generosity of the nuns.

The nuns kept a cow which "ran" over in Royal Park (until it became

116. Alcohol had probably affected the Newman student who was being farewelled at the door after a Ball. "Goodnight Mother Murphy I've ..." He made a fast exit, "after realising his slip and the consequent drop in temperature." Elliott, op. cit., p.2.
Camp Pell in the 1940s. (Two small children came to collect the bucket of milk that Mother Patrick gave to the Parkville orphanage daily for years.) Sr. Ludwina Clarke I.B.V.M. gave Pat Grano the recipe for the famous Loreto Brown Bread:

1 lb. wheaten flour  
1 teaspoon carb. soda  
2 teaspoons cream of tartar  
3-4 tablespoons dripping  
3/4 cup of milk.

Sift the dry ingredients; rub in dripping (butter can be used instead of dripping). Mix into soft dough with milk (if sour milk, omit cream of tartar). Roll out about 1 inch thick. Bake in greased dish in moderate oven for half an hour. Cut in squares and serve warm.  

On 3rd September 1939 the St. Mary's students were seated solemnly around the old wireless in the Red Room to hear R. G. Menzies, the Prime Minister of Australia, announce that their country was at war.  


Fellow Australians (Menzies said). It is my melancholy duty to inform you officially that, in consequence of the persistence by Germany in her invasion of Poland, Great Britain has declared war upon her and that, as a result, Australia is also at war.

No harder task can fall to the lot of a democratic leader than to make such an announcement. Great Britain and France, with the co-operation of the British Dominions, have struggled to avoid this tragedy. They have, as I firmly believe, been patient; they have kept the door of negotiations open; they have given no cause for provocation. But, in the result, their efforts have failed and we are therefore, as a great family of nations, involved in a struggle which we must at all costs win, and which we believe in our hearts we will win.

The effects of the War on the University and on St. Mary's Hall were various. In 1939 enrolments at the University had reached 4,000; by 1942 they had dropped to 3,200. During the war students worked hard - one had to pass one's exams, or otherwise work for the war effort or join one of the Women's Forces. Many lectures were scheduled early or late because lecturers had wartime jobs and the Colleges combined their tutorials on many subjects because of the shortage of staff. Even religious differences were set aside - Pat Kennedy, studying a Bachelor of Law from 1941-1945, had her tutorials at Newman and Trinity, as well as at St. Mary's.

St. Mary's students engaged in voluntary war work - they showed U.S. Red Cross girls around the University as part of the University Patriotic Fund activities and a number of students worked in the Shepparton cannery or on home farms during the Christmas vacation. Social life centred around functions to raise money for the Red Cross and the Australian Comforts Fund.

St. Mary's students from Singapore and Malaysia were cut off from any contact with family and finances and they had the constant worry of what had happened back home. While some Australian students felt distanced from the War, many students had a shared concern for brothers and friends overseas about whom they worried.

120. Kelly, op. cit., p.112.
123. Anonymous. Questionnaire, December 1985. A number of past students, like Viva Murphy, at the Hall in the 1920s, joined the Army. "I have to get the American jeep tracks off the lawn before the Australian boy arrives home" was her description of her job in Brisbane.
In February 1942 the Americans arrived in Melbourne and camps were constructed to house the servicemen. Camp Pell, named after Major Floyd Pell of the 33rd Pursuit Squadron, killed during the first Japanese attack on Darwin, was quickly completed in Royal Park opposite St. Mary's Hall.

Almost overnight a very high cyclone fence was constructed around the park topped with curled barbed wire. Tents shaped like wigwams appeared in long, orderly rows. Military police and barriers appeared on all the entrances, and search lights would sweep across the whole area from time to time. There were thousands of Marines there over the war years. It was full of troops the whole time.

125. E. Daniel Potts and Annette Potts in their excellent work, *Yanks Down Under 1941-1945*, have pointed out that as early as 1908 Alfred Deakin had invited the U.S. Navy's Great White Fleet to visit Australia against a reviving Japan. By 1941 it had become apparent that the catchcry "Britannia Rules the Waves" was an illusion. When the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbour in December 1941, Nelson Johnson, U.S. Minister in Australia, indicated that U.S. troops would shortly arrive in Australia. John Curtin was clear that the Australian Government was keen to receive American help in the defence against the Japanese "free of any pangs as to our traditional links of kinship with the United Kingdom."


Despite the Prime Minister's personal perception, the arrival of the Americans in 1942 was awe-inspiring in its impact. Nancy Barbour's mother had come down from the country and was startled to see the warships coming in to Port Phillip Bay. Nancy Thomas (Barbour). Interviewed 5th October, 1986.

126. Preparations for the erection of Camp Pell reflected what war correspondent, John Raleigh, called the "lackadaisical attitude of much of Australia's civil labor". Raleigh said that Australian contractors estimated that the plumbing work would take three weeks to complete; service engineers did the job in two days. Potts & Potts, *op. cit.*, pp. 17,25.

127. Betty Arundell (Parker). Letter to author, 12th October, 1986. The conditions in Camp Pell were poor. The tents had no floors, no stoves, and there was not much in the way of sanitary provisions in those early months. Potts & Potts, *op. cit.*, p.81.
The night before the "Yanks" moved into Camp Pell, Mother Patrick struck the bell at dinner to make an announcement.

"Girls, tomorrow American soldiers back from heavy fighting in the Pacific will move into the Park, now to be called Camp Pell. From tonight at midnight, The Avenue, Parkville, is out of bounds to all girls from St. Mary's. Be polite if they speak to you but keep them at arm's length."

Betty Parker's father rang her that night from Colac to say:
"Be careful, all men look good in uniform. If you married one you might end up in the Bronx."

The Americans who visited St. Mary's Hall came from the 4th General Hospital, the first complete hospital unit to land in Australia. "It was the first time most of us had come in contact with normal Americans as opposed to the Hollywood version."

The Americans were brought to the Hall by Father John Sullivan, the Catholic chaplain, who contacted St. Mary's to see if the students could offer hospitality to the young officers who were

129. ibid. Many parents worried about the effect on their daughters of these personable Americans. Potts & Potts, op. cit., p.347.
130. Under Colonel William McCally, the Unit was composed mainly of doctors and nurses from Cleveland, Ohio, and it began setting up operations in the newly-built Royal Melbourne Hospital. The Royal Melbourne Hospital had scarcely been completed, let alone fitted with medical equipment or heating (so it was dubbed the Alaska Palace), when it was taken over by the U.S. Army. The staff borrowed what they could from civilians to make bacteriological and other examinations. Some of their first cases, from suspected poliomyelitis to haemorrhoids, went to the nurses' quarters until wards in the main building opened on 12th May, 1942. Over the next two years the 4th General treated more than 35,000 patients. ibid., pp. 26, 93.
dentists and doctors. 132 Father Sullivan, a hearty Irish-American, made Mother Patrick's acquaintance in the first few weeks of his arrival and, thereafter, Mother Patrick was full of stories about the experiences of the Americans.

The boys are so young; one who is shell-shocked celebrated his eighteenth birthday on the beach and is reported to have drunk a bottle of whisky neat to escape the horror around him ... We must be kind to them but not get involved. I've asked Father to bring some Officers and Marines up Sunday night for tea and ping pong.

Father Sullivan had a close affinity with Mother Patrick. The Irish have a 'something' which is difficult to put on paper, but they were delightful together - the same sense of humour, same wit, same hearty laughter and same concern for the youth who had been placed in their care. 133

The first night on which the Americans were entertained at the Hall saw the Common Room swept and dusted and a fire lit.

The piano was open near the far wall and the tennis table ready for action. Father arrived with two doctors, three dentists and about ten marines. The senior students chatted to the more mature men and we ended up playing hilariously noisy progressive table tennis. At about ten, Sister Ludwina and Mother Anne wheeled in autotrays laden with cups, coffee, milk, sugar and home-made sandwiches and cakes. This became the pattern night after night, night after night.

Non-stop progressive ping pong was the pattern of countless nights. Captains John McNally, Ed Ferrari, Bill Foulty were


134. ibid.
dentists. There was Ralph Grey, a medico; Marines Bill Early and Bobby Woodall; and Major Solomon and Homer Briggle - to name just a few. The Americans talked about their homes and their families, and rarely spoke about the war. 135

We used to have a lot of singing around the piano and dancing. In the beginning they were volunteers, whereas later they were conscripts. I couldn't see the difference really. We danced the foxtrot, waltz, tango and rumba. Bing Crosby's 'White Christmas' came out about that time and we used to listen to the Hit Parade every Sunday night, so we knew all the popular songs. 136

On the whole, the St. Mary's students liked the men.

The educated officers were real gentlemen. The marines were a crosscut of American society - some were from poor areas like the Bronx or Southern cotton belts; others had come straight from college. They all had very good teeth, flashing smiles, and all were terribly homesick, tired of war and longing for feminine company.

Bill Early had terrible malaria. When he came for tennis he would sometimes simply collapse on the court. Once he started to recover he went over to Melbourne Uni and enrolled to do a subject. Others like Bobby Woodall were really wild young men, frequenting rough hotels, etc., when on leave. However, they were always on their best behaviour at the Hall and really adored Mother Patrick. Some were Catholics, but their religious beliefs were not our concern. 137

Bobby Woodall (who spent eighteen days in the brig for kicking an Australian policeman's helmet along Flinders Street after a fight outside Young and Jacksons) wanted to take the St. Mary's students

to a sly grog shop in Brunswick. Mother Patrick was not keen.

With all her Irish charm, she said, 'The girls are very mean, boys, but they do have study, you know', and, to the girls, through the side of her mouth: 'Don't any one of you dare to go,' 'Now, off you go boys, not tonight. I know my girls are being very difficult but work must come first.' 138

Sly grog shops in Melbourne in 1942 were just part of the story. The city itself was riddled with slit trenches, the street signs had been removed, the street lights were dimmed and car lights were slits. This was a country at war. The mood was desperate - rationing, blackout regulations and austerity prevailed. The theatre of war came close, as Blainey has aptly put it. 139

Within this milieu were the Americans who were keen to be entertained and likened Melbourne, especially on Sunday, to the New York General Cemetery only it was half as big and twice as dead. For the most part, frivolous entertainment on a Sunday was opposed, particularly by the churches. The Baptist Union of Victoria suggested a gala form of entertainment for the Americans!

Community singing of an appropriate character ... and addresses by competent speakers upon theses calculated to strengthen public morale, and ... concerts and socials ... of a character in keeping with the primary purpose of the day. 140

138. Betty Arundell (Parker). 'An anecdote from the war years', St. Mary's 1978, p.32. There were a few fights in Melbourne between Australian and American servicemen. On 13th February 1943 mounted police were brought into use for the first time in Melbourne in ten years, to quell the fighting of soldiers, sailors and civilians of both nations. Potts & Potts, op. cit., p.309.

139. Blainey, op. cit., p.185. Reactions were ambivalent. As a student at Parade College, East Melbourne, John Gregor who, with his fellow students, had to take refuge during air raid drill in the slit trenches in the Fitzroy Gardens found it an adventure, a diversion from school routine, especially since there was an utter conviction that the British Empire would prevail. John Gregor. Conversation with author, 6th June, 1987.

140. Potts & Potts, op. cit., p.135.
Nevertheless, Australians and Melburnians were keen to be hospitable to the Americans. "They are our cousins by blood and should be treated as such", said the Premier of New South Wales, W. J. McKell. The streets of Melbourne were full of Americans. Some shops marked their prices in dollars. (The American servicemen were better paid than Australian servicemen.) There were casual Friday nights at the Windsor, drinking bottles of sparkling hock and "chatting up the girls". Not all were very happy with the trends. The Lord Mayor, Sir Frank Beaurepaire, advocated an 8.30 p.m. curfew for girls between sixteen and twenty after being shocked, when out with his wife about midnight in mid-1942, at seeing soldiers hugging girls in dark city doorways. Adding a less than constructive note to the ensuing debate was Archbishop Duhig, Catholic Archbishop of Brisbane 1917-1965, who claimed that "I have heard it said that the cheapest thing in Australia is the girls". 

In 1942 Melbourne was further unsettled by the Leonski murders - three young women slain during blackout. The third victim was Gladys Hosking, Professor Hartung's secretary at the Chemistry School at the University. Her body was found on 19th May in Gatehouse Street, just down from Sydney Road. The St. Mary's students knew Gladys as she lived in "Mayfair", a guest house around the corner from the Hall in Sydney Road, and they often saw her walking up to the University. Edward (Eddie) Leonski, twenty-four, of New York City, a member of the 52nd Signal Battalion

141. ibid., pp. 133, 135, 162, 175, 281, 321; The Age, 16th December, 1985, p.12; Blainey, op. cit., p.185; Joan Hoy (Herd), Questionnaire, January 1986.
stationed at Camp Pell, was tried before a U.S. court-martial, found guilty and sentenced to death. He was hanged at Pentridge on 7th November, 1942.142

The Leonski murders certainly gave the St. Mary's students cause for concern and made them very careful. The police visited the Hall to ask Mother Patrick to keep her students at home. Prowlers, always a problem for women's institutions, were especially frightening in view of the murders. Betty Parker went over to Les Buis one evening at nine o'clock to have coffee with Marie Feery, Maureen Scullion and Pat Prendergast. About ten, wrapped in her old black gown, she returned along the path to the main building.

... as I turned I noticed a man of about thirty standing very still behind a rose bush. He startled me, but I wasn't afraid and said, 'Can I help you? I suppose you have called to take one of the girls out?' He didn't reply and I thought, 'What a dolt!', and ran around the path through the dark shed to be grabbed by Mother Patrick and Captain John McNally. Mother Patrick was very worked up and the side verandah was covered with girls and marines.

'What are you doing wandering around the garden at this hour?' she cried. 'Don't you know a man has been peeping through the windows? You'll be murdered, child.' When I told her I had been talking to the cause of so much alarm, she was struck speechless.

142. There has been considerable debate since on the Leonski case. Mr. Ira Rothgerber Junior was the U.S. Army lawyer who unsuccessfully defended Leonski. He argued that there had been no question of Leonski's guilt, but he should not have been sentenced to death - on the grounds of insanity.

He believes General MacArthur made it clear that if Leonski were guilty he should be executed. MacArthur had felt that anything else would have jeopardised relations between the American and Australian forces.

The Age, 16th February, 1985, p.15. Mr. Rothgerber's recollections provided the basis for the film, The Death of a Soldier, which was released in Melbourne in December 1986.
Some of the marines rushed through the Hall to the front door but he had gone. Then Mother's face lit up, as the side gate opened and in walked the local police sergeant and his constable. They had great powerful torches and the search went on. Finally Mother Patrick sent Sister Ludwina to get the whiskey for the constables, and they and a few of the boys retired to the warmth of the big old kitchen to revive on what was no doubt Genuine Irish Dew. 143

The Leonski murders had no visible effect on the visits of the Americans to the Hall. "Father was their chaplain; it was obvious that they respected him and they obeyed him as a friend and commissioned officer." There was no doubt that Mother Patrick saw the Americans as a real priority. Her Irish nationalism was not a peripheral factor.

Because they were Americans and anti-British she welcomed them with open arms. She just opened the college to them. They could come to Mass. They could come to meals. They could come and play tennis, to dances in the Common Room, and listen to the record player and play table tennis. I've never discussed it with her and why she did it. But she certainly did. 144

Mother Patrick was certainly keen to contribute to the war effort.

It is our bit for the war effort to give them some of our spare time, to let them talk of their awful experiences and get them off their minds and give them a bit of hospitality and entertainment. 145

Newman men were less than keen on the Americans at the Hall who provided them with their first experience of substantial competition. This was not without parallel. The one point at

144. Anonymous. Australian Catholic Churches also welcomed the Americans. "Our strong impression has been that Catholic parish churches visited by Americans were very well disposed towards them". Annette Potts. Letter to author, 19th February, 1987.
which there was the greatest friction between the Australians and the Americans generally was women. 146 The St. Mary's women were eager to assess their own priorities.

After continuous visits we often ran upstairs and shut ourselves in our rooms to get on with assignments and we'd turn out the lights when we heard Mother Patrick coming to round up a few for ping pong. I felt that Mother Patrick's war effort was a real priority with her, but my father was paying for me to get my degree.

I just sorted out my priorities and played table tennis, went for walks or talked when I had time, otherwise the Americans were a presence, but not really my concern. More so as Dad kept writing...

'Keep them in their place ... They only want good time girls and fun before being flown back to the battle lines.' 147

By January 1944 U.S. troops were departing from Australian bases daily. Nancy Barbour, along with other St. Mary's students, heard them marching off from Camp Pell.

I can remember hearing them marching off and hearing the music. A couple of the girls were very upset. They had become very attached to them ... the Americans marched off from Royal Park to the boats. 148

By mid-1944 there were few Americans left in Melbourne. 149

146. Chaplain Trent in 1943 saw conflict over women as the greatest source of difference between Americans and Australians. Potts & Potts, op. cit., p.296.

147. Betty Arundell (Parker). Letter to author, 12th October, 1986. Betty Parker's father was not alone in his thinking. "All the girls seemed to want to marry American soldiers", Phillip Mattoon remembers, "and all the soldiers (on the other hand) wanted was girls and a good time". Potts & Potts, op. cit., pp. 346-7.


149. Potts & Potts, op. cit., p.395.
Potts and Potts have observed that contact with the Americans sharpened Australian awareness of their own identity:

Those who, though native-born, considered England or Ireland their true home or who, in the words of the official journal of the R.S.L., regarded themselves as 'British and Proud of It', may have reaffirmed their position.150

There is little doubt, however, that Mother Patrick remained "Irish and Proud of It", despite the report that she had come to Australia from Ireland determined "to give all to God and cut herself off from all her Irish political interests".151 Eileen Callanan brought with her from County Cork a lasting understanding and love for Ireland with its deep troubles.

Mother Patrick's devotion to Ireland did not ossify into a parochial concern. The paradox inherent in her devotion was that it led her to be committed to Australian and international life to an exceptional degree. The brutality of the Spanish Civil War had its parallel in Ireland's internal conflict and her dedication to the Americans was motivated in part by her identification with them as opponents of Britain in the American War of Independence. (The Americans had gained that independence which Wolfe Tone had demanded for Ireland as far back as 1791 from Britain.)

150. ibid., p.404.
151. Carolan, loc. cit.
Mother Patrick's responsiveness to political issues generally arose out of her concern about the deep troubles of her homeland but her political actions, as we have seen, were not restricted to Irish issues alone. The fact that throughout the Second World War she assisted refugees from Nazism to come to Australia through a contact she had in Dublin attests to the breadth of her political concerns.

If Janet Clarke Hall changed little between 1928 and 1948 and, if the University colleges tended to close in upon themselves in response to the American presence, as Gardiner has observed, then St. Mary's Hall was fortunate to have as its Principal from 1918 to 1943 a woman, Mother Patrick Callanan, I.B.V.M., who involved herself and her students in the world around her. Under her continued leadership the students of St. Mary's Hall became cognisant of the debates in University life and in national and international affairs. Mother Patrick's commitment to the world around her meant that the geographical isolation of the Hall and its isolation within the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary were offset by its participation in the daily and momentous events of the time.

Figure 10. Mother Patrick Callanan I.B.V.M. and Florence Hagelthorn. Main University Library. 1924.
Figure 11. The day St. Mary's won the Tennis. 1925.
Janet Clarke Hall and St. Mary's Spectators.
Far right at back: Wynne Fanning, with the hat
she wore as an act of penance in the hope of
victory.
Figure 12. St. Mary's Hall. 1926.
(L-R) Paddy Leavy, Kitty Feely, Pat Grano, Nance Connellan, Audrey Stanwix, Gwen Keane.
Figure 13.

Les Buissonnets Residents. 1926.
(L-R) Rose Jones, Mary Ellis, Mary Flanagan, Paddy Leavy,
Wynne Fanning, Viva Murphy, Moira Hannan.
Figure 14. The 1928 Garden Party to which Professor Osborne was not invited.

(L-R) Archbishop Mannix, Mary Ellis, Cardinal Cerretti, Father Jeremiah Murphy S.J., Keenza Kelly, Sir John MacFarland (three unidentified).
Figure 15. St. Mary's Hall, c.1937.

(L-R) Back Row: Sheila Sullivan, Kath Sullivan, Helen Brisbane.
Front Row: Eileen Borbridge, Mother Patrick Callanan J.B.V.M.
Marjorie Owen.
Figure 16. At the Zoo, early 1930s.

"Mother Patrick would have had a fit if she had known we rode on the elephant."

(L-R) Front Row: Lucy Kerley, Lesley Morris, Doreen Baker.
Back Row: Unidentified.
The twenty-five years after the second world war were remarkable for the growth of Australia's population and for the growth in economic prosperity. The baby boom which followed the war as men and women returned and the immigration policies of Arthur Calwell led to a massive and necessary growth in Australia's population.¹ The Australian people increased their demand for university education and Robert Menzies was only too ready to co-operate as part of a programme designed to transform Australia "from a small isolated kind of colony at the other end of the world into a country that could exist in its own right and character among the other nations".²

After the war, the Commonwealth Reconstruction Training Scheme encouraged ex-service men and women to attend the universities. For some, like Stephen Murray-Smith, "college life was unthinkable after the constraints of the armed forces".³ For

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¹ The war had revealed that Australia was helpless to defend itself. It had lacked both the numbers and the competence in many professional fields. One in every nine immigrants who came to Australia between 1947 and 1974 was Italian and an even higher proportion came to Victoria. By 1971 the number of Roman Catholics in the State had risen to nearly 29% compared with about 19% during the war.


others, like Elizabeth (Betty) Molphy (1945-1947)\(^4\) college life offered peace and security after three years and seven months in the Women's Australian Auxiliary Air Force (W.A.A.A.F.). Her work in Cypher and Signals, coding and decoding messages, was often accompanied by life in airforce barracks, from which St. Mary's Hall provided her with relief\(^5\) (along with a few other ex-service friends, who gave "an input of maturity ... valuable for us youngsters").\(^6\)

At St. Mary's Hall the demand for places was greater than ever before and by 1961 there were fifty-two students in residence.\(^7\)

In the 1950s names such as Crameri, Biviano, Santospirito and Favaloro appeared on student lists.\(^8\) Helen Gibson (1945-1949) found international films with subtitles emerging in Melbourne. "A group of us used to love to go to the Savoy to see the French classics (as they are now called) and the Italian neo realist films".\(^9\)

The language and culture of France was not alien at all to Mother Francis Frewin I.B.V.M., the new Principal of St. Mary's

\(4. \) i.e. her years at St. Mary's Hall.


\(8. \) Maria Santospirito, in 1951, and Maria Favaloro, in 1956, each held the office of Senior Student at St. Mary's Hall. Honour Board, Dining Room, St. Mary's College. Of course, Italians had been living in Victoria for almost a century. Blainey, op. cit., p.202.

\(9. \) Helen Dore (Gibson). Questionnaire, December 1985.
Hall, who had studied French civilisation at the Sorbonne in Paris in 1929. With the collaboration of Father E. J. Stormon S.J., French religious song became accessible until "even in the Newman Society at large at Point Lonsdale you could hear a song by Pierre Duval rendered in the original by the students as part of their repertoire".  

Australia's immigrants brought with them a hatred and a fear of communism which was one element in the turbulence of Australia's political life in the 1950s. After the A.L.P. split in March 1955 and the formation of the D.L.P., Catholic Labor politicians, such as Arthur Calwell, were assailed in many Catholic circles for

10. In France secular popular song had reached a point of development in the 1950s where it had become a form of art in its own right, so much so that one of the leading exponents of it was proposed as a member of the French Cabinet. Some Dominicans and Jesuits were emulating these efforts in the religious sphere. Fr. E. J. Stormon S.J., Dean of Newman, 1954-1962, imported their records which invariably arrived "rather buckled because they had come by surface mail through the tropics". The impediment was overcome by Mother Francis with the help of two glass sheets, a Webster's Dictionary and a source of heat. "It would cook, as we would say, all night and next morning the records were flat." Finally, they translated and transcribed the words so that the songs were accessible.


11. "It was not invented by Senator McCarthy, its gob-faced beneficiary; nor was it the CIA or Menzies who invented the fear of communism. Australia was full of migrants who hated and feared it".

remaining within the A.L.P. Janet Campbell (1955-1957) was aware of one Laborite only in St. Mary's Hall, Mary Elizabeth Calwell, who "was frequently hissed when a Government car came for her".

If St. Mary's students were so polarised towards the D.L.P. in the 1950s, by the 1960s there were signs of diversity. Ann Smurthwaite's (1962-1964) years at University were marked for me chiefly by the Cold War atmosphere of the U.S. and U.S.S.R. I can remember sitting for exams at the time of the U.S./U.S.S.R. confrontation over Cuba and being possessed by the thought that exams and the rest of it were useless since there was likely to be a nuclear war. Australian politics were dominated by the D.L.P. vs the A.L.P.; "Communism's evils" was the chief Catholic line; and somewhere during the final years at University I changed from the traditional Catholic line on communism to, not pro-communism, but an interest in something less negative than the DLP.

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14. Serious thinking was stimulated by the pressures of the Cold War which, as Vincent Buckley has reminded us, "involved mass violence from its very inception and exerted constant pressure on everyone's nervous system from 1945 onwards".

Buckley, op. cit., p.121.

Debates over Menzies' support for South Africa and Bolte's support for capital punishment involved at least some students at the Hall but, overall, those students who wanted to be politically active felt they had few allies. Patricia Harrisson, who had been a student at University Women's College before going to St. Mary's in 1962, thought that there were more politically-minded students there than at St. Mary's.  

Victoria's industrial expansion was not much evident at St. Mary's Hall where, in the years 1958-60, Jeanne Gorman was the only student with a car - a 1951 aqua Prefect - which was overloaded with St. Mary's students who "all piled out at St. Kilda Beach" during swot vac.  

As employment opportunities increased, even Catholics lost some of their anxiety about their economic prospects. Patricia Harrisson (1962) sensed that "the future seemed very secure; if you worked, you could get where you wanted ... no one would be jobless".  

Advances in technology made slow progress into the daily life of the Hall. In 1945 a wireless with pick-up was installed with the assistance of T. Campbell-Burns, a third year Science student  

17. The car was given to Jeanne as a birthday present in 1958 to be shared with her sister Jocelyn (Senior Student 1955). Jeanne's car is remembered by many past students. Details from Jeanne Gorman. Telephone conversation with author, 4th August, 1987.  


students in residence but they had decreased as opportunities for higher education had increased in other States. Each year there was a small number of overseas students in residence.

The country students included Nanette (Nan) Kelly (1943-1946) who had attended Brigidine Convent, Wangaratta and Sacre Coeur, East Malvern before undertaking a Bachelor of Science. Helen Gibson (1945-1949) had been boarding at Mandeville Hall, Toorak before studying a Bachelor of Music. Mary Conroy (1954-1957) had been educated at Sacred Heart College, Ballarat East before studying Science. Colette Christie (1954-1958) had come from Loreto Abbey, Ballarat to undertake Law. Ann-Marie McCallum (1962) had completed her schooling at St. Mary's Bendigo, before studying Arts. Ann Smurthwaite (1962-1965) had attended Loreto Abbey, Ballarat and began her Arts degree in 1962 while her parents were still in Beechworth. Brenda Ryan (1964-1967) had been educated at Sacred Heart, Yarrawonga, before undertaking a Bachelor of Commerce.

Interstate students included June Aitkin (1946-1948) who came from Queensland to further her education in bacteriology and nutrition by undertaking a Bachelor of Science and a Diploma of Dietetics. Janet Campbell (1955-1957) completed a Diploma of Physiotherapy while her parents lived in Alice Springs.

The students of 1944-1965 were more likely, of course, to have had mothers or aunts at the Hall than earlier students. Elaine Worch (1946-1949) was the daughter of Beryl Hennessy (1918-1920); Jocelyn Gorman (1952-1957) and Jeanne Gorman (1956-1960), the daughters of Lorna Grant, one of the Hall's pioneer students. Mary Quinlan (1952-1954) was the daughter of Lucille Bloink (1919-1920), and Judy Moore (1960-1964), the daughter of Nonie Wilckens (1928-1933), to name a few. Elizabeth (Lou) Burnside (1960-1963) was the niece of Clare and Moira Howard who had begun residence in the late 1930s. There were plenty of sisters and relatives by marriage. For instance, Maureen and Colette Christie were there from c.1945-1949 and 1954-1958 respectively. Colette Christie's mother-in-law was Leslie Mary White

(1923-1925) and her sister-in-law Carmel Moorhead (1958-1961). There were many familial and school connections with the Loreto Order. For example Marie O'Brien (1958-1961) had an aunt, Sr. Imelda O'Brien I.B.V.M., then in South Africa and, like many others, Helen Gibson (1945-1949) had been taught by Mother Francis Frewin I.B.V.M., the Principal of St. Mary's, at Mandeville Hall, Toorak.

The belief of their parents in the value of higher education for women continued to be of paramount importance to the destiny of students. Lou Burnside's (1960-1962) mother was the oldest child of a family of ten and helped pay for the education of several of the younger members of the family. She was instrumental in sending two of her sisters to St. Mary's Hall and paying for them. She thought they benefited greatly from the experience and had the same ambition for me, her only daughter ... My mother had an implicit belief in the value of higher education and believed that a university degree was the gateway to financial security and personal satisfaction in a job. As I grew up I never expected to do otherwise than to go to university but I was frustrated in my desire to study Science subjects by the nuns at Kilmaire College, Hawthorn, the school I attended.

While family encouragement could be strong, financial circumstances were often difficult. Patricia Harrisson (1962) came from

42. Helen Dore (Gibson). Questionnaire, December 1985.
43. Claire and Moira Howard (Senior Student 1940).
44. Lou Hewett (Burnside). Questionnaire, February, 1986.
Smithton, the centre of a dairying community in north-west Tasmania.
Her father had been a student at the University of Tasmania during
the Depression. To make ends meet he had worked as a housemaster
at Friends, a Quaker School, in Hobart ... "and used to sleep in
the classroom with his hip in a car tyre". Patricia Harrisson
had "always wanted to do Medicine. My father's first cousin was
an obstetrician and there were many midwives on my mother's side".

Like her father, Patricia Harrisson had to struggle with the
difficulties arising from a lack of finances.

I went to University Women's College, until my
father couldn't afford my accommodation ...
(always during the winter, we were short of
money; no milk - no money) ... so I left
University Women's College and worked as a house-
maid-waitress at Queen's College but failed
third year Medicine. Mother Francis accepted
me at St. Mary's Hall with reduced fees which
I paid back when I graduated.

Religious differences did not make life any easier for her.
Due to parental disenchantment with Catholicism, Patricia was
the only baptised Catholic in her family and was sent to Protes-
tant schools where her Catholicism set her apart. At Methodist
Ladies' College, Launceston, "I would leave the 'croc' and walk to
my own church and then wait outside the Methodist Church until
the girls re-formed their 'croc' to go home". At Methodist

45. Her mother had left the convent boarding school in Deloraine
at 14 to help with the family business. Her father was a hotelier.
47. Her mother was Catholic and her father an Anglican lay prea-
cher. They decided that all their girls would be Catholic, all the
boys Anglican. "When my brother and I had our tonsils removed at
five years old at Calvary Hospital (Hobart), the Chaplain told my
mother she was a very wicked woman because my brother was Anglican
and I was Catholic, so she vowed no more of her children would be
Catholic".
Ladies' College, Melbourne "I told no one I was Catholic but my room mate found out, and told me to tell no one else". At University Women's College, her Catholicism continued to set her apart and yet, as she had not formally embraced it, there was little comfort in it for her. At least some of the tension was resolved when she made her own choice for Catholicism after consulting Fr. Jeremiah Golden S.J., the Chaplain to the Newman Society, who, happily, had said that "I was not forced to become a Catholic; that the Church was kinder than that".\(^{48}\)

Winning a scholarship often opened up possibilities for students and sometimes affirmed long-held hopes. Ann Riordan (1960-1963) had attended Sacred Heart College, Shepparton and Genazzano, Kew:

I had for many years said I would do Law if I was a boy! (My father is a lawyer.) I had no real thought of doing it myself until I obtained a Commonwealth scholarship - then I thought I might as well try it for one year - intending to give it up if I didn't enjoy it. I don't think anyone could have enjoyed their Law course more.\(^{49}\)

While studying a particular discipline could be the fulfillment of a long-term goal, there were practical reasons for residence

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Ann Riordan was awarded the prize for the best woman Law student completing the course in 1963. Awarded by the Legal Women's Association of Victoria.

at the Hall. Marie Mahon (1944-1947) had been interested in music from early childhood. She had attended Mandeville Hall, Toorak "where music was encouraged" and "it was natural for me that I attend the University Conservatorium". Her main instrument was 'cello "so it was impossible to travel on the trains because of its value". 50

Secondary schools which had a positive attitude to university study continued to be encouraging to students. Marie O'Rourke (1958-1961) studied Law after boarding at Kilbreda College, Mentone.

Father Golden S.J. visited Kilbreda towards the end of our Matriculation year to speak to Matric girls. I asked him where I could get accommodation and, when my mother wrote to St. Mary's, he had already made a tentative booking there for me. 51

Like earlier students, the students of 1944-1966 came to a college that was unequivocally Catholic. This is not to imply that every student was enthused by the thought. Elizabeth (Lou) Burnside had spent her school days at Kilmaire College, Hawthorn in the 1950s.

... terrified of ending up in Hell and well aware of my own unworthiness as a person. The Brigidines taught of a cold unbending God ... waiting to pounce on us ... we were unworthy and had to spend our lives striving to become worthy of God's love. Any self-confidence was considered brashness and was stamped out of us. 'Non-Catholics' - the nuns' expression for all the others - were to be avoided at all cost, especially young male non-Catholics.


My father was not a Catholic and I spent six years praying desperately for his conversion so that he had some chance of salvation ... Boys were bad and full of evil impulses which, of course, were never spelled out. Most of us laughed at this idea fortunately, as we came from families with brothers ... We were so lucky to be born Catholics but that carried with it a huge onus to be so much better than everyone else. 52

Like Mother Patrick Callanan I.B.V.M., the new Principal of St. Mary's Hall, Mother Francis Frewin I.B.V.M. (1944-1966) was thoroughly Catholic. Born Emily Margaret Frewin on the 25th December, 1894, she had been educated at St. Joseph's, South Yarra, and at the Loreto Convent, Albert Park, before entering the Loreto Order in December 1916. 53

Her academic ability was without question. She had excelled at her Junior Public Examination in December 1915 and in so doing qualified as a matriculant at the University of Melbourne. 54 In 1926 she commenced a Bachelor of Arts achieving first class honours, first place and the John Sanderson Exhibition in English I and first class honours in French I. 55 In 1927 she gained first class honours in English II, second (and proxime accessit) to Howard G. Seccombe from Queen's, later a Rhodes scholar and Acting

Professor of English at the University of Melbourne (1944). In the final honours examinations of March 1929, she again achieved first class honours and second place (to Howard Seccombe). She completed a Diploma of Education in 1930 and took out a Master of Arts in 1959.

In the light of her intellectual achievements, aspects of the isolation of St. Mary's Hall within the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary (I.B.V.M.) must have disappointed Mother Francis. Its isolation had begun with the policies of the Institute's third Provincial, Mother Teresa Gertrude O'Sullivan I.B.V.M. (1924-1937). Under her rule, members of the Institute were discouraged from the pursuit of higher education and a whole generation of Loreto Sisters in Australia was not educated at university level.


58. She was permitted to do the Practical work of the Dip.Ed. course at Mandeville Hall, Toorak but was "required to do the usual three weeks at University High School". The degree Bachelor of Arts (Degree with Honours) and the Diploma of Education was conferred on her in absentia in 1950 and the Master of Arts, in absentia, in 1959. The University of Melbourne Calendar 1951, M.U.P. 1951, p.502; The University of Melbourne Calendar 1960, M.U.P. 1960, p.644.


59. See Chapter Three above.
Later Provincials, Mother Dorothea Riley I.B.V.M., Mother Philomena Doherty I.B.V.M. and Mother Colombiere Lillis I.B.V.M., appointed in 1938, 1944 and 1948 respectively, did little to reverse the trend. The number of Loreto Sisters in full time study was small and the study of Science at university level was not encouraged.  

In 1958 Mother Dympna McNamara I.B.V.M. took up office as Provincial. Her attitude to higher education was "remarkably positive and supportive". A keen follower of Mary Ward, she wanted members of the Institute to be of the highest academic standard and to be appropriately and fully qualified for teaching, including the teaching of Science, in secondary schools. She took particular interest in the studies of her nuns, encouraged them to study Science, and sent as many as possible to the University and to St. Mary's Hall.

60. Dates of Provincials: Mildred Dew I.B.V.M. (ed.) From Ballarat to Broome. One Hundred Years of Loreto in Australia. No publishing details given. c.1975, p.54. In 1953 there were three Loreto Sisters in full time study. In the Sciences, Biology seemed to be the main stumbling block. I think this reflected a hesitation in society and in the Church about knowledge of bodily functions, especially sexual functions. Women, and Religious women, were not meant to know these things. The fear was that such knowledge might lead them to impurity in thought or behaviour.


62. "It was the time of Commonwealth Scholarships and this no doubt made it easier to send large numbers of us to university." Anonymous, Questionnaire, September 1986.
There is no doubt that Mother Dympna's policies were a radical change from the policies of the previous four Provincials.

After novitiate training we were sent by Mother Dympna to study. This was the first time for quite a long period that junior professed sisters were sent to study before a 'baptism of fire' in the classroom! My parents were keen for me to finish uni before I entered (the Order) because they were highly critical of putting untrained people in front of kids, but even then, at the interview before I entered, Mother Dympna was agreeing with them so I think some policy change was already under way. 64

In 1962 there were six student nuns at the Hall - the maximum ever at one time - and by 1965 there were nine. 66

Mother Dympna's approach was in no way superficial. She was thoroughly Ignatian i.e. she believed that study was an apostolate in itself and that we should be given every encouragement with little interruption from outside. We studied full time (in every sense) and often used to feel sorry for other religious (from other Orders) who would come in for evening class after teaching all day. She resisted all calls to have us out in the schools. 68

Mother Dympna's resistance to these appeals was not without its consequences. When she had taken up office in 1958, she had been faced with the fact that a whole generation of Loreto Sisters

63. i.e. those who had completed novitiate training and taken their first vows.
64. Anonymous, Questionnaire, September 1986.
65. i.e. I.B.V.M. nuns who were studying at the University.
66. Some studied from Loreto Convent, Toorak, when the numbers were too many for the Hall.
67. Pertaining to the ideas of St. Ignatius Loyola who founded the Jesuits in the sixteenth century. The I.B.V.M. was originally structured on the Jesuit model and has formally adopted the Jesuit constitutions as their own. Mary Wright I.B.V.M. 'Educating for Uncertainty', Sydney, 1981, p.47.
had missed out on a university education. She "cut her losses and decided to educate the young". In the Institute at large there was little understanding of the new initiative and an inevitable resentment from those who considered they were doing the "real work" out in schools; who had scrambled through degrees part time with full jobs; or who had been denied any further education at all. 69

Yet, educated the student nuns were. 70

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St. Mary's Hall Past Students' Association Newsletter

May 1958, p.1, May 1959, p.1, May 1960, p.1,
May 1964, p.1, June 1965, p.1, June 1966, p.4,

Note that I am referring to St. Mary's Hall, not to the new College; however, where student nuns have continued on from the Hall to the new College (opened early 1966), I have indicated it.
"We worked out way through College" is the slogan of the student nuns. They distributed sheets, set tables and served meals for lay students, and washed and cleaned up after them. There was no relief during holidays either when domestic work was "the main form of exercise" - cleaning rooms, mending and gardening. "I think this was good for us although it led the girls to look down on us somewhat".  

It certainly contributed to the "rather ambivalent position" student nuns occupied at the Hall. For all their equality with lay students in tutorials, they were, on disciplinary matters, associated with the administration and yet they were expected to assume the role of domestics in the service of lay students and to ensure inferior accommodation. "No student could be asked to sleep where we did at the Hall: in curtained corners of passages, in the stable loft 'shared' and in the stairwells".  

If they were not thoroughly disconcerted by these expectations, there were others with which to contend. They were discouraged from mixing with the students at the Hall - "we did not even share a cup of tea with others and we were not supposed to hold casual

71. i.e. students not in a Religious Order.  
74. In the new College the accommodation did not improve. Student nuns slept in the "Pipe Room" down in the basement where all the pipes went through and rattled and banged all night. This was accompanied by the smell from the garbage disposal directly outside and the noise and pollution from Tin Alley traffic.  

conversations". 75 On the other hand, if they could not find another Sister to accompany them to the University, a lay student needed to be co-opted. 76 On campus, "we did not attend the Union or eat at the University, except where necessary in the nuns' room at Newman College". 77 Sr. Ruth Winship I.B.V.M. recalls that she "always felt apart from the general life of the University because we did not join in activities". 78

They did not even have the consolation of full participation in the Loreto Community at the Hall. "Because we were junior professed we were not really seen as part of the stable community there - we were 'in training' so there were many rules and regulations". 79 The student nuns found themselves in "a House of strict observance with few outlets" and the hierarchical nature of Religious life then seemed to be perpetuated in the St. Mary's Hall

75. Anonymous. Questionnaire, September 1986. It was thought then that the danger of casual conversations was that they might distract the nun from conversing with God and lead her away from her single-hearted relationship with God.

76. Anonymous. Questionnaire, November 1986. This practice was a residue of the notion that women should always be protected and chaperoned. Like most forms of protection, it had a hidden element of distrust in those it aimed to protect. On the other hand, as Dyason reminds us, "Any women's institution acts as a magnet for knicker thieves, peeping toms and other perverts". Diana Dyason in Dow, op. cit., p.113.

77. Anonymous. Questionnaire, October 1986. To be "worldly" then, was a pejorative term when applied to a nun. She had vowed to be apart from the world in the hope of committing herself more fully to God.


community well beyond its perpetuation in outside life. "Mother Francis was quietly very protective, censored our mail and our reading, and controlled by presence and look before she spoke". Any attempts at calling to account met with a sticky end: "The I.B.V.M's who questioned or challenged were sent to Toorak under pretext of needing the beds for younger I.B.V.M's. Jo Little and Jocie Dunphy did their last year from Toorak".

If life at the Hall was hazardous, life at the University was not without its problems. The student nuns were in full habit - a very public statement of belief - which often led to them feeling conspicuous and judged "and put into a role before I was known for myself". In the milieu of the University, "religious dress and full commitment could arouse discomfort from others if not scorn". The habit was awkward for practical work and excursions and daunting to wear on Dip.Ed. teaching rounds in High Schools where "some supervising teachers found a nun a bit of a burden".

80. For example, all conversations at meals went through the Superior, Mother Francis. There was a list of accepted topics (which the student nuns knew by heart). Lay sisters, who did manual work, sat at a different table. In some years where there was only one lay sister and insufficient room for a separate table in the nuns' dining room, the lay sister sat at a table around the corner by herself!

81. Anonymous. Questionnaire, October 1986. The censoring of mail and reading was aimed to prevent the nun from being sullied by worldliness. Of course, it was an excellent means of controlling her as well. After Vatican II, the idea of God being implicit in the world revolutionised Religious life and practices.


84. Anonymous. Questionnaire, November 1986. In her last year at University (1969) Sr. Anne Byrne I.B.V.M. "wore a modified habit - short skirt, etc., and it was much easier to get about in it (e.g. getting on and off trams!)".

Anne Byrne, I.B.V.M. Questionnaire, September 1986.
The attitude of lecturers to the student nuns varied: "Only rarely did I encounter an anti-religious attitude, but then I did English and History-civilised faculties". Some seemed bemused: "One lecturer used to call me 'Miss' but was just ignorant, not unpleasant". Almost all were initially dismissive about the educational background of student nuns. "Faculty had a suspicion that anyone coming from a convent education must have had a poor start and were usually surprised that I thought for myself".

The calibre of student nuns became apparent to lecturers as they were keen, articulate and well prepared. "We were expected to do well ... and mostly did". In 1961, for example, there were five student nuns at the Hall. Sr. M. Cecilia (Deirdre) Brown I.B.V.M. received first class honours for Music B: Sr. M. Annunciata (Jocelyn) Dunphy I.B.V.M. achieved first class honours and first place in French III and first class honours in English Literature III; Mother M. Aquinas (Margaret) Manion I.B.V.M. gained first class honours for her Master of Arts (Fine Arts) and first class honours in Philosophical and Social Bases of Education; and Mother John Bosco (Noni) Mitchell I.B.V.M., second class

87. "Once they realised that I think they accepted me as myself. In areas like Philosophy and Educational Philosophy one had a lot of extra work to be able to handle arguments about the existence of God and indoctrination, etc. - there was no way of backing off". Anonymous. Questionnaire, September 1986.
honours for Chemistry II.\textsuperscript{90}

The expectation of some lecturers was that the student nuns would be "a good influence" on other students:

When I retired to the back row to avoid being a target for darts on the final day, I was thanked by the lecturer (who had totally mistaken my motivation) for going up among the dart throwers to quell them.\textsuperscript{91}

Sr. M. Peter Claver (Margaret) Burchell I.B.V.M. (1963) attended The Emily McPherson College of Domestic Economy from 1963-1966, completing a four year Diploma of Foods and Food Service.

I was not qualified initially to go to Emily Mac as the course was Science-based and I had never done any.\textsuperscript{92} I was taken because "you are a Sister and the two previous Sisters (two I.B.V.M's)\textsuperscript{93} who have been to Emily Mac had a very good influence on the girls" and it was hoped I would continue it!!\textsuperscript{94}

I was told this at my first interview with the Principal, Miss Beryl Beaven, and the Vice-Principal, Miss Norma Findley,\textsuperscript{95} and told I would "need to work very hard". A small room (a wing of the stage in the main hall) was made available to me for lunch, storing my bag and changing for cooking classes.

I was joined in 1964 by 4 other Sisters (1 Loreto, 2 Mercys, 1 Sion). Most of the staff were very

\textsuperscript{90} Newman 1962, p.54. Mother John Bosco (Noni) Mitchell was later awarded first class honours and the Dwight prize for Education and Sr. M. Annunciata (Jocelyn) Dunphy went on to obtain first class honours in English Literature IV and first class honours and first place in French IV, winning the Dwight prize and sharing the Melbourne Campus Fair Jewish Women's Prize with Mr. J. McCaughey and Mr. R. M. Ireland. \textit{Newman} 1963, p.86.

\textsuperscript{91} Anonymous. \textit{Questionnaire}, October 1986.

\textsuperscript{92} There was no Science of any sort taught at the convent school at Donald where she had been educated 1946-1955 by the Order of Our Lady of the Mission

\textsuperscript{93} Sr. Antonia (Pauline) Prince and Sr. Bernadette (Louise) Gray.

\textsuperscript{94} The hope seemed to be that Sr. M. Peter Claver (Margaret) Burchell would be a steadying, refining, stabilising, studious influence.

accepting and helpful. Some of the male lecturers were uncomfortable with me but as I felt a freak ... because of my habit ... it wasn't very extraordinary. 96

Whatever the resulting dynamics of the hope that she would be "a good influence on the girls", Sr. M. Peter Claver (Margaret) Burchell I.B.V.M. did not disappoint Miss Beaven or Miss Findley and was awarded Student of the Year 1966. 97

Academic staff were not necessarily oblivious to the difficulties the student nuns encountered:

I'll never forget the day - the first day of lectures in English II - and my first week back at Melbourne University as a religious sister. I was sitting on the end of a row in the Public Lecture Theatre when, as he was giving out some notes, an English tutor, Robin Grove, stopped and spoke warmly to me. It seemed he did it deliberately and sensitively, sensing my loneliness and isolation. 98

At times, the student nuns felt freer than other students in their relationships with the academic staff since "there was nothing potentially personal in relating" to them. 99 On the other hand,

96. Mother Dympna and Mother Francis had accompanied her to the first interview. Thereafter, she was driven by Mr. Bert Stevenson, the long-serving gardener and maintenance man at the Hall and accompanied by two Sisters. Mother Francis had said to the two companions that they were never ever to indicate that their task was in any way onerous.

97. This was the College Award for the outstanding student. It was awarded on the aggregate of practical and academic work. Margaret Burchell I.B.V.M. Questionnaire, September 1986. Margaret Burchell I.B.V.M. Conversation with author 29th July, 1987.


they could appreciate the common elements of student experience: "My lecturers seemed to have little contact with students at all, and their attitude to Religious ... was quite impartial - just another student". An occasional lecturer, though "would be personally interested and pleased to talk about your vocation and religious views". However, empathy was not a prerequisite for success. "I topped my course even though I had fought all year with lecturers. I always admired their impartiality in marking. I appreciated not being in a hot house Catholic atmosphere".

Students in general kept their distance from the student nuns. Sr. M. Ann (Deirdre) Rofe I.B.V.M. found that being a Religious at University was quite a humbling experience.

I will never forget the first lecture I attended as a Religious!! I arrived early (having reformed during the novitiate), sat in about the seventh row and was hurt and mystified by the unwitting actions of the other students who carefully left two seats on either side of me (probably thought I wanted to pray) ... The habit (the full bit - even cloaks in winter) was definitely a barrier. You tended to attract the odd ones. Generally students ignored you (the normal ones) until you got to know them in tutorials.

There was no guarantee either that Catholic students would be more amenable.

... my main friends there were non-Catholics, especially a couple of ex-M.L.C. girls doing my course with me. The Catholics and the St. Mary's girls seemed (deliberately it seemed at times) to avoid me - possibly because of Sister experiences or ? at school. It was generally the non-Catholics who were most willing and helpful with transport arrangements, especially visiting schools during Dip.Ed. 104

Learning itself was an unequivocal attraction to the student nuns. "The few tastes I had of public lectures were heady experiences. I longed for more". Some had felt "starved for learning" in the novitiate where there was "no time for reading". 105 The antiquated texts provided at the Hall (instead of set editions) exasperated them but their main difficulty was lack of time for study. The demands of lectures, practical work and study, not to mention the plethora of domestic duties had to be combined with the demands of a regular, almost monastic, form of Religious life.

Religious life at the time was very ordered, restrictive, enclosed and protective in those years before the big post-Vatican II changes. Out of lectures our timetable as nuns was very tight, as in other places. Meal, prayer, Mass times were fixed. After night dinner we washed

104. Anonymous. Questionnaire, October 1986. St. Mary's students admit to having avoided the student nuns sometimes. "... if they were walking, you'd get the tram, or vice versa". They seem to have been overawed by them and unsure how to relate to them. Perhaps they sensed the distance the student nuns were meant to maintain.

up, prayed, had recreation and went to bed - lights out at 9.40 p.m. - all very controlled - no night study time (v.rare). 106

For the majority, but not all, of the student nuns, the difficulties they encountered at St. Mary's Hall were not inconsiderable.

I found it a difficult time, because it was rather alone and not involved with people or with apostolic work. Compared with a school community the small St. Mary's Hall community of 7-8 seemed structured, rigid and rather inward-looking. Gradually, I think I learned to value the context for study and single-minded application, to get over loneliness and a sense of non-productiveness; to appreciate the very good spiritual reading and books available ... It was like a time of hibernation; of the seed below ground in the dark and cold ... a time of faith in darkness, of humility, and of hanging on for God's sake. 107

There had been the very real possibility that the increase in student nuns at St. Mary's Hall would lead to a breaking down of the barriers which were isolating the Hall within the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary, but there is no evidence to suggest that in the short term St. Mary's remained anything other than isolated. The student nuns had the sense of being "cut off from the mainstream of our life", of being "isolated from the larger life of the Institute", and of "remaining apart from the total I.B.V.M. apostolate". 108

106. Anonymous. Questionnaire, September 1986. At the new College time for studying was still very curtailed "as we were involved in domestic duties after dinner each night and at weekends, plus community religious duties. In addition, there was a curfew on study each night which was strictly adhered to. Thus study had to be well organised and consistently done as there was no possibility of burning the midnight oil even prior to or during the exam period". Diaan Stuart I.B.V.M. Questionnaire, September 1986. Sr. Diaan (formerly Sr. M. Nicholas) was a student at St. Mary's College 1966-1968.


The reasons for the continued isolation of the Hall within the Institute are complex. It was partly a consequence of the residue of feeling arising from the division within the Institute in the 1920s. The main Melbourne House of the Order, Loreto Convent, Toorak, had been a bastion of pro-Mother Teresa Gertrude feeling (encouraged by the fact that Mother Teresa Gertrude had lived there herself). What residue there was of this in the 1950s and 1960s fanned an uneasy relationship with St. Mary's Hall whose Principal, Mother Francis Frewin, had been in the vanguard of Institute women who had fought to have Mother Teresa Gertrude deposed in the 1930s.

Not unrelated was the fiercely independent approach Mother Francis had developed in administering St. Mary's Hall. Given the absence of Provincial support from 1924 to 1957, both Mother Patrick and Mother Francis would have needed the capacity for an unrestrained single-mindedness in order to survive. There is every evidence to suggest that both Principals were not lacking in the personal fortitude so required.

Mother Francis had plenty of opportunity for practice in it since she had been in office as Principal for fourteen years before the appointment of Mother Dympna McNamara heralded Provincial enthusiasm for higher education and support for St. Mary's Hall unprecedented between 1924 and 1957.

Mother Francis' independent approach was heightened by her attitude to intellectual attainment. She encouraged and enforced the highest intellectual standards both in herself and in others. Her vision of the Institute and of Mother Gonzaga Barry I.B.V.M.,
the Australian founder, incorporated a strong emphasis on intellectual endeavour.

For the student nuns at the Hall, the force of Mother Francis' intellectual priority was a two-sided coin. Some profited enormously from her encouragement, advice and approbation. Sr. Deirdre Rofe I.B.V.M. recalls

she enrolled me for an Honours degree and chose the subjects I would do (Good choice!). Her academic and personal (religious) values were of a very high standard. One always had the sense of striving to do better. Her approbation was important (some would say essential) for a happy existence at the Hall/College. She gave me great encouragement, direction and spiritual guidance. A remarkable woman! She also suggested I do Mary Ward for my Honours thesis - again advice for which I am very grateful.109

If one side of the coin was encouragement, the other side was a dismissiveness towards those she did not consider intellectually gifted. For one so influential, she seems to have been unequivocal about her assessments, often on little evidence. "If she decided you were bright you got extra opportunities (e.g. Masters), but she had strong ideas on who was and who wasn't gifted".110

In such a hierarchical setting there seems to have been little chance of detachment from the Superior's assessments. "I was not clever or intellectual enough to be considered as important or of much use. I was not alone in feeling like this" and "somehow we got the message that our Course was a Cinderella course and I

felt at times the biggest Cinderella ever." For those Mother Francis dismissed on intellectual grounds, and the force of her dismissal could not be taken lightly, the experience was hurtful and humiliating and the self doubts that emerged endured down through the years.

If St. Mary's was already isolated within the Institute as a result of the events of the 1920s, the force of its intellectual emphasis meant that it came to be viewed as elitist by many members of the Institute, including many of those who had studied there. This exacerbated its isolation. There is no doubt that Mother Francis would not have seen her approach as elitist in the way we might consider it today. Educated in the pre-war period, she was accustomed to a stratification of society which viewed the superiority of some as an expected and appropriate phenomenon.

Nevertheless, as a result of her approach, the student nuns were seen as privileged and protected protégées receiving an education denied an earlier generation who were engaged in the "proper" apostolate of the Order in schools. It is an irony that the majority of the privileged found themselves in one of the bleakest experiences of their lives which was hardly able to be communicated.

Other people in the Province seemed to think you were "special" if you were at St. Mary's but that made me feel more isolated and not-understood. If I tried to explain to my contemporaries, it could have sounded disloyal or unappreciative of an opportunity which many would have desired (but which I had not sought and rather dreaded).

The difficulties of communication meant, as is often the case, that the illusion of privilege was easily maintained and the isolation cemented. As there were few visitors to the Hall from other Houses of the Institute, there was little practical opportunity for a more accurate perception to develop. If they were not already daunted, visitors from other Houses found themselves discouraged from visiting because St. Mary's was not an official House of the Order as it was on diocesan land, and if they were still undeterred, visiting another House required the permission of the Provincial.

Notwithstanding the complexities apparent, the effect was clear. St. Mary's Hall remained isolated within the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary until the mid-1970s when the policies of new Principals and the radical changes to Religious life after Vatican II opened St. Mary's up to the rest of the Institute.

There is no doubt that the lay students would have been totally unaware of these issues. The numbers of students grew over the years. In 1949 there were 37 students in residence, increasing to 42 by 1957 and 52 by 1961. Their main studies were in the Arts, Music, Law, Science and Medicine.

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113. In 1949, there were 12 Music students, 11 Arts, 8 Science, 2 Law, 2 Arts/Social Studies, 1 Physical Education and 1 Architecture. In 1957 the figures were 14 Arts, 9 Medicine, 7 Law, 5 Music, 4 Science, 2 Physiotherapy and 1 Architecture. In 1961 there were 20 Arts, 8 Law, 6 Music, 4 Medicine, 4 Science, 3 Commerce, 2 Education, 2 Architecture, 1 Physical Education, 1 Journalism and 1 Social Studies.

Newman 1949, p.12, Newman 1957, p.40, Newman 1961, p.53. The figures do not include the student nuns who have been treated separately. See above, pp. 194-5.
Academic results improved markedly over these years. Five students received honours in five subjects in 1949, ten received honours in fifteen subjects in 1957, and in 1961 fifteen students gained honours in thirty-five subjects.\(^{114}\)

Catholicism was "the background of our lives" as it had been for earlier students. The Loreto Sisters "quietly created a Catholic atmosphere around us and Catholic literature was always available".\(^{115}\) Like Mother Patrick, Mother Francis could make her emphases apparent in the first interview. Margaret Peil came from Ballarat in January 1961.

My mother and brother George and myself took a trip to Melbourne, and we decided we'd go up to St. Mary's Hall and find out what the requirements were for residence if I gained entrance to the University in 1962. We went unannounced. We met Mother Francis and we asked did she need a reference. She assured us there were only so many places and it depended on your results. ... When my mother introduced my brother, she introduced him as "George". Mother Francis


In 1957 they were Margaret Biviano, Janet Byrne, Margaret Coleman, Marie Drew, Denise Flaherty, Jocelyn Gorman (including the Exhibition in Obstetrics and Gynaecology), Marion Knowles (Exhibition in Psychology I), Mary Morrissey, Tony Ryan and Sue Tilley. Newman 1958, p. 38.

In 1961 they were Elizabeth (Lou) Burnside, Christina Fawcus (Ormond Exhibition), Mary Forrest, Lucy Grace, Angela Hsu, Judy Kent, Beverley Lawes, Carolyn McSwiney, Marie O'Brien, Catherine Poynton, Carmel Rice, Ann Riordan, Janice Sullivan, Leanna Thomas and Mary Wilson. Newman 1962, p. 54.

Once again, these figures do not include the student nuns who, as mentioned above (pp. 200-1) were academically excellent.

At Valeté night in 1963, Ann Riordan was awarded the prize for "the student who has completed her course with the greatest distinction" - a Life Picture Cook Book! Ann Shelton (Riordan). Questionnaire, February 1986.

\(^{115}\) Colette Moorhead (Christie). Questionnaire, December 1985.
asked what he did and he said he was a seminarian and she immediately called him Mr. Pell. So when we asked again did we need a reference at the end of the interview, Mother Francis said No, we didn't need one. Mr. Pell was my reference.116

While, in retrospect, students remember that Catholicism then was "a very fixed, ordered, unquestioned type of Catholicism with no idea of the changes to come",117 many remember that the spirituality of the I.B.V.M. was relief after that endured in their secondary schooling. Lou Hewett (Burnside) recalls that the Loreto nuns "gave us the impression that we were valued and worthy people. They would talk to us as to a friend ... I gradually lost the feeling of always looking over my shoulder".118

Daily Mass, still said faithfully by one of the Jesuits from Newman, was "a pivotal part of our routine".119 The annual Retreats furthered any spiritual search. When Father J. McInerney S.J. based his 1953 Retreat on the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius Loyola it was an unprecedented and prepossessing experience.

118. Lou Hewett (Burnside). Questionnaire, February 1986.
for the students. 120  "It was the done thing" to attend the ongoing "Rector's talk" on Monday evenings. Fr. Jeremiah Murphy (1923-1953), Fr. Philip Gleeson (1953-1961) and Fr. Michael Scott (1961-1968) untangled "our various heretical ideas" 121 and we enjoyed addressing some curly questions to them. 122

In the 1950s, in particular, St. Mary's students were active in the Newman Society under the chaplaincy of Fr. Jeremiah Golden, S.J. 123 On a smaller scale, the Sodality of Our Lady which Fr. Golden directed at the Hall from 1956 had some difficulty getting off the ground. 124


122. There were other speakers. For instance, Fr. E. J. Storman S.J. spoke on T. S. Eliot in such a masterly manner that "even the Meds could intelligently join in the lively discussion that followed". Newman 1955, p.21.


124. Newman 1959, p.20; Newman 1961, p.56. The Sodality of Our Lady had been founded in 1503 by a group of students of a College in Rome under the direction of Fr. J. Leunis S.J. Newman 1957, p.70. It aimed to foster devotion to Mary, the Mother of God; personal sanctification of its members; and, through this, sanctification of others. Newman 1959, p.20. Matters discussed included St. Thomas Aquinas on natural law, modern Judaism, meditative prayer and the Gospels. Newman 1960, p.52; Newman 1961, p.56. Newman College also found that the Sodality failed to attain a very large membership from the mid-1950s onwards. Newman 1960, p.7. St. Mary's students who went to play classical music for the boys at Turana as apostolic work associated with the Sodality, quickly revised their thinking. Some students thought the approach of the Sodality was a bit narrow and perhaps the decline in Catholic sodalities so evident in the 1960s was beginning to be felt.
If the sodality was on the decline, there was still evidence of another sort of solidarity. The Heads of Ridley and St. Mary's engaged in it.

The Principal of Ridley at the time was Barton Babbage and I think he was as prejudiced against us as Mother Francis was against them. The Ridley boys played on this antipathy and each year would conduct a rag at the expense of the Hall and its inmates. 125

When the Ridley students burned an effigy of St. Francis "relations took a further downward turn"126 and their papal procession in full ecclesiastical dress accompanied by unintelligible chanting around the central garden of the Hall, did little to improve matters. 127

The challenge to students was how to circumvent the edict that Ridley boys were not welcome to visit and that Ridley was off bounds. 128 Like earlier students, they were unconvinced about the need for apartheid. The chaos of the flour forays with "Sr. Mercy tearing around chasing boys with a straw broom" could easily be enjoyed by them. Nor were they the only ones to see the humour: "Sr. Mercy loved a bit of fun and rather liked the raids indulged in by the Ridley Hall boys (they were pretty harmless)!" 129

Newman men were still in a completely different category and the steady traffic between the two residences was encouraged. The St. Mary's students had some hesitations though about their status in relation to Newman: "We were meant to be part of Newman, but I don't think the Newman men felt we were part of them" and they had some personal doubts as well: "I don't think the Newman men felt the St. Mary's women were much chop".

Still, the Newman College-St. Mary's Hall Dramatic Society got off the ground with a performance of The Staircase by Niall Brennan in 1947. One of the drawbacks for St. Mary's Hall students was that "in those days they seemed to do plays with mainly men, but we were good to do the props and costumes and behind the scenes".

St. Mary's Hall and Newman participated in annual debating throughout the 1950s as had their earlier counterparts. Newman unsuccessfully deplored the presence of women in the University in 1956. "The bachelor's life is a selfish one" had great appeal in

1957 when the Newman men, the affirmative, had enough "conviction on their side" to win the debate. 134

The team sports with the most notoriety were the unexpected, but not always unprovoked, raids by Newman on St. Mary's. 135 The Newman men would honk their car horns, infiltrate the grounds letting off crackers, fireworks and flour bombs. They climbed trees and raided the fowl run - until the early hours. It often happened that Fr. E. J. Stormon S.J., the Dean of Newman, would be summoned to quiet the tumult. "I would be in the thick of the throng trying, sometimes very ineffectually, to persuade the students to go home". 136

134. Newman 1956, p.22; Newman 1957; pp. 35 and 45. In 1957 the Newman men were Jack Martin, Rodney Ryan and Geoff O'Donahue; the St. Mary's women were Janet Byrne, Jane Ahern and Margaret Coleman.

135. St. Mary's students removed shaving gear from Newman while they were at formal dinner; poured cochineal into the morning milk deliveries and bound their ties together in a great mound one valeté night. Of course, there were massive retaliations. E. J. Stormon S.J. Interviewed 16th July, 1985.

136. The Dean had a reputation for this sort of thing. "In springtime he runs the gauntlet of water, gunpowder (and, on one occasion, even a shotgun), in vain attempts to restore propriety". Newman 1959, p.47.

Mother Francis could certainly rise to the occasion when thirty Newman men arrived to dinner uninvited and stood at the table waiting for Grace. Mother Francis, having been told, went calmly in and, after greeting them, said Grace. The St. Mary's students were waiting in the Common Room - the doors having been locked! Soup was served, then Mother Francis said, "Well, gentlemen, that is all we are able to give you" and bade them goodnight. They left, having taken the flowers from the tables to put in their buttonholes. Mother Francis, meanwhile, had phoned the Rector, Father Gleeson, telling him of the situation. His only reply was that 'there would not be any food over there for them tonight'. Louis Elwood, I.B.V.M. Letter to author, 10th February, 1986.
In contrast with the chaos of Ridley and Newman sorties, daily life at the Hall still had a formality as in earlier years. In the 1960s the etiquette required of male visitors was decidedly formal. "Gentlemen callers rang the front door bell and were admitted to a parlour where they sat on the edges of their chairs and talked in hushed tones as they waited for their girls". Their return home was of sufficient concern for Mother Francis to write:

When the students are escorted home by their gentlemen friends, they should not hold conversations with them either at the gate or in the grounds. Those returning to Les Buis should be accompanied as far as the end of the birdswalk (if the weather is fine) or to the corner of the building on the other path - no further, as for obvious reasons, it is unsuitable to expect a gentleman to go right to the trellis door of Les Buis.138

That the formality was not always unrelated to sexual ethics was picked up by Farrago, that self-appointed arbiter of sexual morality, which regarded St. Mary's as "the Cinderella college where men are not allowed into girls' rooms and boots and tight slacks are frowned upon."139 Farrago was horrified in 1965 that students at St. Mary's were not permitted to watch HSV7's Mavis Bramston Show. The Herald took up the matter:

Mother Francis told us that she herself doesn't like the Mavis Bramston Show but she decided not to interfere with the girls if they wanted to watch it. "The girls at St. Mary's are not children", she said. "But I prefer them to watch

137. Lou Hewett (Burnside). Questionnaire, February 1986.
139. Farrago, 3rd May, 1968, p.7. J.C.H. students were allowed, with permission, to have male visitors in their rooms on weekday afternoons from 1947! Lyndsay Gardiner, Janet Clarke Hall 1886-1986. Hyland House: Melbourne, 1986, p.118. At University Women's College students could entertain men in their own rooms until 10 p.m. every night from 1938! Dyason in Dow, op. cit., p.92.
it in their common room".140

On the intercollegiate scene, Janet Clarke Hall continued their winning ways in the tennis, except for the years 1952-1955, when St. Mary's were victors.141 The occasional cricket matches began with a victory by Women's College in 1946.142 "... Even the umpires could not prevent a good deal of sitting on the ball" in 1949 when St. Mary's played basketball against Janet Clarke Hall who were the first winners of the basketball cup donated by the St. Mary's Past Students' Association in 1953.143 St. Mary's success in the intercollegiate rowing in the 1960s was greeted with boooing by Janet Clarke Hall and Women's College supporters "who claimed St. Mary's

140. The Herald, 23rd April, 1965, p.3. The formality did not exclude hospitality especially to those in need. Hilde Knörr, the writer, found that after major surgery at St. Vincent's Hospital, her wounds healed but she couldn't sleep for the pain and misery of those around her. She grew thinner "and more hollow-eyed with every passing day, as I learned and learned that as well as being individuals and therefore cut off by our natures, we are also each other. Mother Francis, then Superior at St. Mary's Hall, the old university college in Parkville, came to see me. She said to Hans afterwards that I should be got out of hospital. I should come to the Hall until I was fit enough to go home. So I was half-dragged, half-carried through the formal-patterned garden with its flourishing standard roses, and upstairs to live in the library because the Hall was so full of students. In an element that suited me so entirely, I was well enough to walk in just one week".


girls sneaked an off-the-record practice yesterday morning".  

Back home at the Hall and in an equally vigorous vein, Mother Francis viewed the rock and roll efforts of the late 1950s with astonishment ("It's alright, Mother, it's a Lithuanian folk dance"). While university pubs were not commonly frequented, films, ABC concerts, operas (the beginning of Sutherland), balls, 21st birthday parties and occasional meals in Genevieve's restaurant were. Most of all supper parties in student rooms with crumpets cooked on radiators and talking until all hours provided the focal point of companionship and understanding which endures down through the years.


University sport was not neglected. Marjolein Francken, in hockey; Mary Quinlan, in basketball and table tennis; Jacqueline (Jacky) de Ferranti, in javelin; Beverley Lawes and Lorna Gaffney, in tennis; and Helen Dwyer, in golf - all excelled themselves at intervarsity level. Helen Dwyer's involvement in University life would have assisted her when as Miss St. Mary's Hall-Newman College, she was crowned Miss University in 1962. Still, the newspapers kept attention on the really important ingredients of her success: "The Empire line dress she wore last night was made by her mother in two days and she herself designed her own diamante necklace".


If Mother Patrick's gaze had been more often directed towards the arena of national and international events, Mother Francis took as her focus St. Mary's Hall itself— the condition of its buildings and facilities, its geographical isolation from the University and its dependence upon Newman College for affiliation with and representation in the University.

From the beginning of her term as Principal, Mother Francis set about making improvements to the Hall. Improvements to the kitchen and grounds were made in 1944 and years of accumulated rubbish was cleared. Les Buis was painted, the floors stained and new furnishings installed in 1945. The Chapel was transformed by a new altar, newly stained benches, green carpet for the Sanctuary, effective lighting and new stained-glass windows in 1945 and a new tabernacle in 1951. Improvements were made to the library in 1946 and a catalogue implemented. New music cells were established in 1948. In 1953 a basketball court was provided; in 1955, a drying room; in 1960, two single studies and a large

147. The war years and the Depression before them meant that nothing had been towards the general upkeep of the College—"in fact, the kitchen area was declared sub-standard". Louis Elwood, I.B.V.M. Letter to author, 10th February, 1986. Mother Louis Elwood I.B.V.M. was on the staff of St. Mary's Hall from 1945 to 1970.

148. A combined bridge party and concert was held to raise money for improvements to the Hall in 1944. New 1944, p.54.
149. New 1945, p.42; New 1951, p.16. The new tabernacle was designed and made by Dan Flynn.
151. New 1948, p.22.
152. New 1953, p.11.
double room, known as the West End; and in 1961 a new bathroom and laundry block. "Over the years until we moved in 1966, there was constant activity" in improving and updating the student accommodation. "New floor coverings, new curtains, new bedspreads, an endless list of requirements on a very tight budget".

Despite the improvements, accommodation at the Hall became inadequate in the face of increases in student numbers. The buildings had been patched up to the point where further extensions were unfeasible, especially on a site that would be overcrowded by them.

Even more crucial was the distance of St. Mary's Hall from the University which had concerned its pioneer students a quarter of a century earlier. St. Mary's must be nearer to campus "if it was to mean anything for the majority of Catholic girls attending the University", they had argued. It was a long time later than their plea was to be taken seriously and championed. The champion was the new Principal of St. Mary's Hall, Mother Francis Frewin I.B.V.M., who saw that the geographical isolation endured by St. Mary's denied it a proper involvement in University life and led to its being considered the poor relation in the college system.

157. For comments on inadequate accommodation, see Pat Kennedy. 'The years in retrospect.' St. Mary's, 1978, p.28.
158. See Chapter Two above, p.81.
159. "... there is no doubt that J.C.H., the largest and oldest, considered itself superior to the other two". "Little" St. Mary's was far away - "Somewhere up near the Zoo', J.C.H. fresher's were told in lofty tones". Lyndsay Gardiner, Janet Clarke Hall 1886-1986. Hyland House: Melbourne, 1986, pp. 104,165.
Lucille Bloink (1919-1920) was taken aback at the surprise of a J.C.H. guest after a tennis match: "Oh you've got quite a nice place here!!" Lucille Quinlan (Bloink). Letter to author, 30th January, 1987.
Furthermore, as St. Mary's was affiliated to the University through Newman College, there was little representation of it in its own right, and Mother Francis was legitimately concerned that her students could be lost sight of. At a grass roots level, the Newman song, also the song of St. Mary's: "Newman, Newman, Newman, Newman/Show that you are tried and true men/That you'll always fight for Newman/Newman to the end", did not go far towards expressing the sentiments of the women of St. Mary's Hall. 160 St. Mary's students increasingly found themselves working behind the scenes in the Newman-St. Mary's plays. Even the 'St. Mary's Hall Notes' disappeared from 1931-1943 from the Newman annual magazine, which recorded the sporting achievements, and very fine ones at that, 161 of Newman men, but gave little acknowledgement of St. Mary's Hall, either explicitly or by implication. 162 All visible record of the existence of St. Mary's Hall began to slip away.

By the middle of the 1950s, it became apparent to Mother Francis Frewin alone that a change in the status and position of St. Mary's Hall was possible. That this possibility emerged at all was due to Robert Menzies, then in his second term as Prime Minister. His disdain for religious sectarianism, which had nauseated him in his youth, and his belief in the importance of the

161. Newman's football achievements were outstanding. There was a hint that the College profited from centuries of experience. "Overheard at Newman-Ormond football. Enthusiastic fresher - 'Come on, Newman'. Ormond bystander - 'Don't tell me they've still got him in the team". Newman 1965, p.67.
162. See Newman 1944, p.53, for a comment on the lapse. It was probably not coincidence that the "St. Mary's Hall Notes" were restored to Newman in 1944, the first year of Mother Francis' term as Principal. The 'St. Mary's Hall Notes' were also absent for a brief period in the 1920s (1922-1924).
residential colleges were reflected in the substantial grants the Murray Committee (1957) recommended for them. 163

The enthusiasm of the Commonwealth Government for the expansion of University colleges left Mother Francis in an uncommon dilemma. As she wrote to Father Philip Gleeson S.J., Rector of Newman 1953-1961, in October 1958, to build on The Avenue site of St. Mary's Hall would mean that "the Catholic women undergraduates of Melbourne are to be deprived for ever of their just right of a proper participation in and influence on university life." 164

Mother Francis saw with perfect clarity that to expand St. Mary's Hall on The Avenue site was to condemn it to permanent exile and obscurity. 165 On the other hand,

although there were nearly five acres of Newman College land lying waste and void, there was initially no enthusiasm on the part of the Newman College Council to invite St. Mary's to build there. 166

The land was actually owned by the Roman Catholic Trusts Corporation for the Diocese of Melbourne and part of the original land grant from the University of Melbourne in October 1882, but as the

163. When he found that the 1950 Committee examining the requirements of the Universities was excluding the residential colleges from its considerations on what he thought was "the strange ground that they were luxuries, and that churches or people who wanted them should pay for them", he not only instructed it to include them but advised that he would ignore its report unless it made a recommendation about their funding. See Robert G. Menzies, The Measure of the Years. Cassell & Co. Ltd.: London, 1970, pp. 82-3, 91-3; and Bob Bessant, 'Robert Gordon Menzies and Education in Australia', in Stephen Murray-Smith (ed.) Melbourne Studies in Education, M.U.P. 1977, pp. 75-101.


Jesuit Order ran Newman College for the Archbishop, it had a very large say in practice in any decisions about the property. The land itself was "a wide expanse of mounds, gullies and bushes ... empty and ugly, and obviously crying out for occupation". Matters were improved when, in the first years of his Rectorship, Father Gleeson had the vacant land levelled out into a bare plateau with soil from University excavations.167

The idea of St. Mary's being located next door to Newman College was anathema to Dr. Mannix, Archbishop of Melbourne and Chairman of the Newman Council, to Fr. Philip Gleeson S.J., Rector of Newman, and to the majority of Newman Council Members.168 For Dr. Mannix, it was still an unthinkable proposition - an invitation to moral impropriety - that the Catholic men's college and the Catholic women's college should be situated alongside each other and he was still not certain "that it was a good idea for girls to be going to the University at all".169

In one of the rare passages of arms in which that veteran of many battles came off second-best, Mother Francis was able with perfect courtesy, but unerring aim, to tell him that it was not a question of whether the girls should be there or not - they were there. The question was what to do about


168. See Chapters One and Two above; The Advocate 3rd June, 1965, p.2; correspondence in Loreto Archives, Ballarat. In 1956 Newman Council Members were Dr. Mannix, the Bishops of Sale, Ballarat and Sandhurst, the Rector and the Dean of Newman, Rev. Brother Naughtin, Mr. Patrick F. O'Collins, Mr. Michael Chamberlin, Mr. John X. O'Driscoll, Mr. John O. Parker. Newman 1956, p.29.

providing suitable accommodation for them and a happy and sympathetic milieu for their lives.\footnote{170}

Fr. Gleeson took something of the Archbishop’s view. There is no reason to think he was particularly enthusiastic either about women’s education to university level and he was adamant that St. Mary’s was not to be established next door to Newman. He idolised Newman and inherited the concept of St. Mary’s Hall being a kind of adjunct at a distance, to be represented and 'protected' by Newman ... The first thing was Newman itself: anything that looked like encroaching on Newman’s absolute priority was instinctively ruled out. "Over my dead body" was the force of his feeling on the matter. His recent experiences would not have discouraged his stand for he had studied at Campion Hall, Oxford, in the early 1950s, where the Oxonians saw it as "provocative to have a women’s college jammed up against a men’s college".\footnote{171}

In addition, Father Gleeson, quite appropriately, had plans for the expansion of Newman College itself. Burley Griffin’s design for Newman had spread to the extremes of the site edge. The original building was to be duplicated with the second dome near Tin Alley and a chapel running north and south. Lack of funds meant an inability to complete Burley Griffin’s scheme and the buildings that followed departed from it. The Chapel of the Holy

\footnote{170. ibid.}  
\footnote{171. Anonymous. Letter to author, 7th July, 1987.}
Spirit had been constructed in 1939. In the 1950s Father Gleeson had seen the need for further expansion and Kenny and Donovan Wings were opened in 1958 and 1961 respectively.\footnote{172}

The ingredients to the dilemma in which Mother Francis found herself were whether to accept the funding being pressed upon her by the Universities Commission and build at The Avenue site or whether, even given the force of the opposition, she should hold out for the land next to Newman College. Her choice, the burden of which fell almost entirely upon herself, was to hold out in the hope of the land next to Newman College being made available for St. Mary's. There was a third aspect, then, to her strong emphasis on the importance of intellectual endeavour.\footnote{173} She was prepared, in the footsteps of Mary Ward and Mother Gonzaga Barry, to face all manner of conflict in an attempt to actualize opportunities for the higher education of Catholic women.\footnote{174} Her years of practice in singleminded independence over administering St. Mary's now stood her in good stead for the uncertainty, conflict, hurt and loneliness she was to face.

On the local level, there was the force of opposition from Father Gleeson himself and Mother Francis' lengthy efforts to per-

\footnote{172. Bryce Raworth and Damien Williams, 'Burley Griffin's Newman'. \textit{Newman} 1981, pp. 27-31. Fr. Gleeson sold (to the University) the old annexe at the corner of Swanston and Keppel Sts. ("which had been temporarily filled with 'overflow' freshers - who lived up to their name"), in order to raise money for the present Kenny Wing. E. J. Stormon S.J. 'Philip Gleeson, Fourth Rector of Newman College 1953-1961'. \textit{Newman} 1985, pp. 78-9.}

\footnote{173. See previous comments in this Chapter.}

\footnote{174. See Chapter One above for comments on Mary Ward and Mother Gonzaga Barry.
suade him. "After re-reading your letter, I have decided that I should make a final effort to put the case of St. Mary's Hall before you as I see it." She had to tolerate his attempts to hoist hollow alternative properties upon her: "The third alternative, as a practical possibility, does not in my opinion exist. It is merely a red herring which distracts us from consideration of the only two real points at issue". She had to remind him of the real options: "... we are faced with two, not three, alternatives, i.e. that we build either on part of the ground on which Newman is built, or here". And of the implications behind them: "... if here, the Catholic women undergraduates of Melbourne are to be deprived for ever of their just right of a proper participation in and influence on university life".

When Mother Francis put her carefully drafted proposal to the Newman Council at the end of 1959

she was treated politely but brushed off and just given smooth words and no realities. I think she felt that the Rector should have taken her aside more vigorously and, instead, at that stage, I think he was rather glad that the Council as a whole had enabled him to dispose of the matter fairly easily, and she felt deserted then; she felt completely on her own.

Although completely rebuffed by the Newman Council and distressed by the experience, Mother Francis resumed her efforts by

175. Fr. Gleeson was suggesting the purchase of a property in Royal Parade and backing on to The Avenue.


focusing on discussions with the Newman Council members individually and with Fr. E. J. Stormon S.J., Dean of Newman 1954-1962, her unfailing friend and supporter. She, herself, controlled the future history of St. Mary's by her response to the money the Universities Commission was dangling before her. She chose to do one of the hardest things of all, to wait not just from week to week, or month to month, but from year to year, for many years, when many expected her to act.

Even the I.B.V.M. itself could not fully support her. If the isolation St. Mary's endured within the Institute deprived her of wide support, many of its members considered that the lamentable reality was that the land next to Newman would always be beyond them and expansion on The Avenue site should be commenced.

While Father Gleeson was still determined to keep St. Mary's out, he was not indifferent, as time went on, to the force of the arguments posed and the problem was one that began to "worry me to death". He had been in no way reckless when he built the

178. Fr. Stormon had been educated at Perth Modern School which was largely co-educational and before entering the Society of Jesus had been a student at the University of Western Australia. The result was that he was comparatively untroubled at the thought of men's and women's colleges being side by side. During the war years he had tutored in the English Department of the University of Melbourne when the majority of his students were women and he became familiar with and sympathetic towards their own struggles on the way to a degree. Fr. Stormon also saw something of the other women's colleges, particularly University Women's College, and was able to contrast their practically on-campus life with that of the students at St. Mary's Hall. Autobiographical details from E. J. Stormon S.J. Letter to author, 13th October, 1987.

Kenny and Donovan Wings. His first plans were to expand down Swanston Street past the Chapel where the St. Mary's facade stands now. In a decision which did not pre-empt the future, he built the present Kenny Wing at right angles to Swanston Street, flanking the chapel, and when he built Donovan Wing, he built it at the back. "He made a deliberate decision to build where he did and that did leave the ground available for a future St. Mary's". 180

As the years went by a number of changed circumstances became instrumental in reversing the opposition to St. Mary's being established next door to Newman. Firstly, as Judge O'Driscoll was to write later, it became apparent that Newman College itself was unlikely to expand further. 181 Secondly, the Universities Commission decided that no grant would be available for rebuilding the Hall on The Avenue location because of the distance of the Hall from the University, and because its buildings were old-fashioned and so built as to make it impossible to adapt them to modern architectural or public health standards. 182 Thirdly, an anticipated grant of £150,000 would be irretrievably lost if no building was erected in the immediate precincts of the University to house prospective students of St. Mary's Hall. 183 Fourthly, and most compelling, nearly one

181. The quadrangle had been completed; kitchen and dining facilities were taxed to the utmost and the provision of personal contact between staff and students and the maintenance of discipline required a limit on numbers. J. X. O'Driscoll, 'Suggested subdivision of Newman College Land'. Submission to Newman College Council 19th April, 1963, p.1. In papers held at St. Mary's College.
182. O'Driscoll, op. cit., p.2. "Like any responsible institution they (the Universities Commission) had to think of pouring good money after bad ... They knew that Mother Francis, the person in charge of St. Mary's, didn't want to be there; that she wasn't keen on putting money into it because that would make permanent their geographic isolation from the University. I think the Universities Commission agreed totally with that view". Brian Fleming S.J. Interviewed 16th May, 1987.
183. O'Driscoll, op. cit., p.3.
hundred years had passed since the vacant land next to Newman College had been first reserved for the Catholic Church and the question was being asked by the University as to whether the land would remain unused forever.

The post-war expansion of the University and the increasing pressure on it for extra buildings was making it hungry for land. Under the University Colleges Land Act 1960 there could be no resumption of the Catholic land without a formal Act of Parliament. Nevertheless, the University could lobby Parliament to pass a special Act revoking the freehold. There was a possibility "that the non-user of a large area of the College land would present a real temptation to future governments to seek to use that land for general University purposes". 184

While Father Gleeson had become partly converted to the new St. Mary's and had even made representations in favour of it to Dr. Mannix, his conversion was only partial and he had no real enthusiasm for St. Mary's being next door. On the other hand, the new Rector of Newman, Fr. Michael Scott S.J. (1961-1968) was thoroughly supportive and enthusiastic about it and had the added advantage of getting along well with Dr. Mannix, who had continued his intrinsigence on the matter.

The official decision to proceed was made when Dr. Mannix presided over a meeting of the Bishops of the Province of Melbourne on

184 O'Driscoll, op. cit., p.2. The University had applied to the Rector of Newman (still Father Gleeson) for the use of the vacant land as a car park. (Fr. Gleeson had put them off by saying that the earth there was far too loose for that purpose.) In 1961 ten feet of the land had been leased to the University to widen Tin Alley.
13th June, 1963. 185 If there had been one compelling factor that made Dr. Mannix change his mind it was the abhorrent thought that the land might be reclaimed by the University. 186 Furthermore, his successor, Dr. Simonds was clearly in favour of the new St. Mary's. Dr. Mannix's decision, nevertheless, ...

... was a clear decision, not something just wrung out in a moment of weakness. History can view Dr. Mannix more kindly on this point when it is realized that he did in fact give the permission, and did not go doggedly to his grave, with his successor having to reverse his policy. 187

By 7th October, 1963, negotiations for the sale of St. Mary's Hall to the Christian Brothers were well under way. 188 The hitch was that the Christian Brothers were offering £34,000 below the

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185. Apart from Dr. Mannix, also present were Dr. Simonds, coadjutor Archbishop, Bishop Lyons of Sale, Bishop Stewart of Sandhurst, Bishop O'Collins of Ballarat, Bishop Fox, Auxiliary Bishop of Melbourne, Monsignor L. Moran, Vicar General of Melbourne, and Fr. Michael Scott S.J., Rector of Newman College.

186. Fr. Michael Scott S.J. presented the argument in favour of St. Mary's under four headings: (i) the present St. Mary's is too far from Newman College where the young ladies go for tutorials; (ii) the expense entailed (presumably in travel); (iii) the young ladies would have the use of the Newman College Chapel; (iv) the danger of the University taking over the unused land about Newman College. Minutes of the Victorian Bishops' Meeting, 13th June, 1963. Fr. Scott's arguments seem particularly designed for Bishops' ears!

187. E. J. Stormon S.J. Interviewed 4th July, 1985. "He said something I had never heard him say before. He said, 'I was wrong; you were right.'" Archbishop Simonds on Dr. Mannix; on the occasion of the laying of the foundation stone. The Advocate, 3rd June, 1965, p.2.

188. The Jesuits were also interested in purchasing the Hall for their theologate which was to be moved from Sydney. Brian Fleming S.J. Interviewed 16th May, 1987.
final agreed price.\textsuperscript{189} They based their offer on the sale of a
nearby property which they failed to mention was a forced sale,
the vendor being the Receiver, selling on behalf of Major '8' Pty.
Ltd., a Reid-Murray subsidiary.\textsuperscript{190} Confusion also arose over the
value of the residential premises which were confirmed as possess­
ing a substantial sale value.\textsuperscript{191} The resolution came in February
1964 when a price of £114,000 was agreed to by both parties.\textsuperscript{192}

It was as well that St. Mary's held out in its negotiations
with the Christian Brothers since the St. Mary's College £100,000
Building Appeal fell far short of its target.\textsuperscript{193} The appeal was
launched by Sir Michael Chamberlin on 24th August, 1964.\textsuperscript{194}
The Executive of the Appeal Committee included Patricia Kennedy
(President), Helen Dore (Secretary), Joan Manly (Treasurer) and
Mollie Winter (Chairperson of the Past Students' Division).\textsuperscript{195}
The number and variety of functions held attests to the magnitude
of their effort. Luncheons, including one where Googie Withers
spoke on The Theatre,\textsuperscript{196} mannequin and hat parades (hats by Ann

\textsuperscript{189}. T. B. Garvey, the Provincial, advised that £80,000 was an
appropriate figure. L. Moran. Letter to Francis Frewin I.B.V.M.
17th October, 1963. Diocesan Building Authority Archives.
P. P. Gill (for McGee, O'Callaghan & Co. Pty. Ltd.) Letter to
\textsuperscript{191}. L. Moran. Letters to Francis Frewin I.B.V.M. and T. B.
Garvey, 18th February, 1964. Diocesan Building Authority Archives.
Diocesan Building Authority Archives.
\textsuperscript{193}. The appeal target was initially reported as £50,000 - The Age,
22nd August, 1964, p.7 - but later adjusted to £100,000. The Age,
\textsuperscript{194}. The Advocate, 27th August, 1964, p.7. The Age, 25th August,
\textsuperscript{195}. All past students of St. Mary's Hall.
\textsuperscript{196}. At the home of the Vice-Chancellor of the University of
Melbourne, Sir George Paton.
Austin), musical soirees, card parties, a garden fair and children's party, a Paddy's Market (organised by the University Parents' Group), and a 'Flowers for all Occasions' Exhibition (by the University of Melbourne Floral Group), all aimed to boost funds. Even television participated when St. Mary's students Margaret Pell, Catherine Robertson and Helen O'Donoghue played "The Wren" by Benedict as guests of Graham Kennedy on "In Melbourne Tonight".

By 16th December, 1965, £32,000 had been raised. It was apparent that Catholic enthusiasm for building projects was finally waning. "I would say, basically, the word was out that governments were paying." A university college, and one for women, was unlikely to be an attractive proposition. "In the appeal trade they'd say - 'that's a very poor possibility we've got there'."

By late 1964 the plans for St. Mary's had been completed and debated by the Newman Council, tenders had been called and contracts were ready for signing, when Judge J. X. O'Driscoll, a member of the Newman Council, protested to the Council and to Arch-

197. The Age, 7th October, 1964, p.23.
203. They were designed by M. Francis Frewin, Fr. Michael Scott and Mr. Tom Payne, architect.
bishop Simonds, that the plans called for a luxurious building well beyond what was necessary and beyond what could be reasonably afforded. Archbishop Simonds was genuinely puzzled. He wanted St. Mary's to go ahead "but the force of the argument coming from Judge O'Driscoll was such that he thought, well, we don't want to saddle the Church with great debts".

To clarify matters, he called a meeting to which he invited Mother Francis and Fr. Brian Fleming S.J., Acting Rector of Newman, to speak on her behalf. Bishop Laurie Moran was to speak for Judge O'Driscoll who was not invited. "I'm not too sure that the Archbishop didn't think that if you brought Judge O'Driscoll along it might be a little bit willing".

The basis of the argument that day was whether the plans for St. Mary's, which the Archbishop was being asked to accept and for

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205. Judge O'Driscoll, Chairman of the Victorian Licensing Court, based his argument on the cost of motels which could be built, he argued, for a fraction of the proposed cost of St. Mary's. Mother Francis and Fr. Michael Scott, on the other hand, had very solid ideas on building for the future which meant building well and the idea of any plans based on motels, built then for a life span of forty years, must have seemed horribly inappropriate. "... and I don't think they helped things much by their talk about the Chapel which was obviously going to be a fairly costly little venture. And it grew and grew and grew in cost." Brian Fleming S.J. Interviewed 16th May, 1987.

Mother Francis may well have been aware of this. When she addressed the gathering at the Opening of the College, she was keen to indicate that the Chapel furnishing, doors and panelling were provided from a fund built up by gifts for that specific purpose from relatives and friends of the community and by economies practised during many years by the nuns. The Advocate, 6th October, 1966, p.15.


208. Bishop Moran had just been appointed Auxiliary Bishop of Melbourne. He was the Archbishop's right hand man. "I don't think Bishop Moran would have agreed at all with what he was arguing. It was just like any barrister - you argue the case whether you agree with it or not". Brian Fleming S.J. Interviewed 16th May, 1987.

209. "He didn't need to have Judge O'Driscoll along - keep it inside the family you know, the religious and priests there". Brian Fleming S.J. Interviewed 16th May 1987.
which he was asked to sign the contract, were luxurious - the word Judge O'Driscoll had used - and whether they were beyond the financial capacity of the College.

There were some strong words said about the building and the waste of money, and all this sort of thing, and at the end of it Archbishop Simonds said "Right" and he looked at me and he said, "I'm not going to be pushed around by any blooming priest, nor by any blooming nun", looking at Mother Francis, "nor by any blooming judge", looking at Bishop Moran. "I'll make up my own mind".210

About three days later, Archbishop Simonds signed the plans for St. Mary's.211

While there were some genuine doubts about whether St. Mary's could afford what was being projected, the force and timing of Judge O'Driscoll's argument suggests there were further issues beneath the surface. His stance meant that the future of the whole enterprise was jeopardised. A return to the drawing board at that point, which was his aim, could have brought dormant doubts to the surface and led to the cancellation of the whole project.

It is possible that one of the issues which was worrying Judge O'Driscoll and other members of the Newman Council then was their dawning realisation that St. Mary's was shaping up for independence from Newman College.212 The issue was highlighted by discussions over who should sign the building contract for St. Mary's. Some members of the Newman Council, who had worked hard


211. "... we had a clergy dinner for Bishop Moran for his consecration as Bishop and Simonds came up to me and said, 'Oh, I signed the plans for St. Mary's this morning. I couldn't bear the look on Mother Francis' face the other day at that meeting'. And I can remember saying to myself then and to Mother Francis afterwards, 'So much for an hour and a half of argument. It was your face that won the day'. Brian Fleming S.J. Interviewed 16th May, 1987.

212. St. Mary's Hall was affiliated to the University only through Newman College.
in the planning of St. Mary's, anticipated that Newman College would sign the building contract for it. It is difficult to know what sort of relationship they envisaged between Newman and the new St. Mary's, but any hopes they had of a continuation of past dependence or new variations of it were dashed in January 1965 when Archbishop Simonds accepted the legal opinion he had requested on the matter from Mr. Thomas (Tom) Molomby.

The owner of the land, wrote Mr. Molomby, was the Roman Catholic Trusts Corporation of the Diocese of Melbourne; any rights of occupancy by Newman College had been waived by the approval its Council had given for St. Mary's to be established on the land; and the approval the Archbishop had given for St. Mary's to proceed was an approval on behalf of the Trusts Corporation. The building contract, then, should be between the builders and the Roman Catholic Trusts Corporation of the Diocese of Melbourne.

If there were still any doubts about the emphasis on St. Mary's being established in its own right, Mr. Molomby went on to advise the necessity of now considering the separation of Newman College and St. Mary's Hall; the powers and obligations of each College Council; and the desirability of each College being given security of tenure of the relevant portion of land occupied.

213. Rather than, I surmise, an approval on behalf of the Newman Council of which he was the Chairman. The Archbishop was also a trustee and, presumably, the Chairman of the Roman Catholic Trusts Corporation of the Diocese of Melbourne.

It was not enough for St. Mary's to be independent of Newman College. It wanted to manage its own affairs, but there were some obstacles to autonomy. Throughout the history of the Newman College Council, the Suffragan Bishops had the reputation for insisting that their Council colleagues were an advisory body only to the true owners of Newman - the Bishops. The legal and moral claims which supported their conviction were enhanced by the tenuous hold lay people had on the Newman Council. They were appointed to it by the Roman Catholic Trusts Corporation and could be removed from it at the Corporation's pleasure.

In order to dismantle these constraints to true self-government, St. Mary's College itself was formed into a Company on 12th November, 1965, and ownership of the land was transferred from the Roman Catholic Trusts Corporation to St. Mary's itself.

215. The Regional Bishops, i.e., the Bishop of Ballarat, of Sandhurst and of Sale.

216. The original land grant of 1882 was to the Roman Catholics of the State of Victoria, not just Melbourne. By 1900 the principal trustees were the Archbishop, the Bishop of Ballarat and the Bishop of Sandhurst. In 1907 the Roman Catholic Trust Corporation Act set up a Corporation of Trustees in each diocese for the Roman Catholic lands in that geographical area. Newman land was within the diocese (of Melbourne) but was for the benefit of the Province (Victoria).

The principal trustees ceded trusteeship to the Trust Corporation of the Diocese of Melbourne but it has always been held, and was held very vigorously by bishops such as Bishop O'Collins (of Ballarat) that, morally speaking, the Bishops of Victoria are the trustees of Newman College and that nothing can happen there unless they agree to it. In addition, the original appeal for Newman College was held in every parish in Victoria and a very great contribution was made by the country bishops. The Bishops had an equity in the land then because it was for the Catholics of Victoria and they also had an equity in it through the money given in their own parishes in Ballarat, Sandhurst and Sale. Brian Fleming S.J. Interviewed 16th May, 1987.

The members of the Company, the College Council, would own and administer the affairs of the College. The Suffragan Bishops were excluded from it and lay people were given a more secure hold. 218

The Suffragan Bishops did not take too long to indicate the offence they felt at their exclusion (although they had not contributed towards the building of St. Mary's College nor conducted appeals in their dioceses). 219. Monsignor Penn-Jones spoke of it when he visited Mother Francis in early 1966, stating that Archbishop Simonds had gone "far beyond his powers" in excluding them. 220

In an untimely move, the Archbishop became too ill to consult and an impasse developed. Mother Francis "decided that it would be best to do nothing until His Grace's successor should be appointed. Therefore, I have carried on without the assistance of a Council." 221

218. While initially their appointment was in the hands of the Archbishop, their subsequent appointment was in the hands of the company. Thomas (Tom) Molomby. Letter to James Knox, 12th June, 1968. Diocesan Archives, Melbourne.


220. The move to exclude the Suffragan Bishops seems to have originated from Archbishop Simonds himself. "When discussing with me the formation of the College Council, His Grace's first words were, 'I do not wish the Suffragan Bishops to be on the Council". Francis Frewin I.B.V.M. Letter to James Knox, 20th August, 1967. It is unlikely that Archbishop Simond's reasons arose solely from the Bishops' attitude to the Newman Council. It is likely that there were antagonisms on other grounds, including the political, and the fact that they had not contributed financially to the building of St. Mary's would not have helped matters. It is unlikely that Mother Francis was fully cognisant of the legalities of the Bishops' claim. "I do not know on what grounds he based that statement", she wrote of Monsignor Penn-Jones' comment that Archbishop Simonds had gone "far beyond his powers" in excluding the Suffragan Bishops. Francis Frewin I.B.V.M. Letter to James Knox, 20th August, 1967. Diocesan Archives, Melbourne.

221. The first Council Meeting was not held until 27th August, 1968!
His successor, Archbishop James Knox swiftly reinstated the Suffragan Bishops. He would have agreed with Monsignor Penn-Jones' assessment of the matter. He rejected incorporation and reinstated the control of the Roman Catholic Trusts Corporation and limited the power of the lay members to that followed by the Newman Council. By maintaining the right of the Archbishop to appoint and remove lay members, he was providing a guarantee that the College would always retain its Catholic nature. In addition, he advised that it was a breach of Canon Law to secure the land for St. Mary's since alienation of Church property to become property not necessarily governed by the Church is impermissible. The Roman Catholic Trusts Corporation remained the proprietor of the estate.

Whatever the legal and philosophical impediments to establishing St. Mary's College as a Company, the aim of the attempt to do so was to enable it to have a real control over its own life. The aim itself was thoroughly in accord with the history of a college which had been so buffeted about by forces beyond its control. It had been geographically isolated from the University for almost fifty years because of ecclesiastical hesitation about the importance of higher education for women and about woman's deepest nature. It had become isolated within the Institute of the

222. "While I am conscious of the disappointment you might feel at my decision, I point out that from enquiries I have made I am satisfied that the lay members of the Newman Council which, since its inception, have been appointed by and are subject to removal by the Trusts Corporation, have served the college at all times with unselfishness and distinction. It is my earnest wish that the lay members of the Council of St. Mary's College will do likewise".

James Knox. Letter to Thomas (Tom) Molomby, 12th July, 1968. Diocesan Archives, Melbourne. The lay members of the Council were Helen Dore, Patricia Kennedy, Mary Winter, R. R. Buxton, Thomas Molomby and Francis Sweeney.


Blessed Virgin Mary as a consequence of Ireland’s control over the appointment of Australia’s Provincials. It had been affiliated to the University only through another College and, without dismissing the richness and advantages of its association with Newman College, St. Mary’s students began to be lost sight of and visible record of the Hall began to slip away. Finally, when the Hall had a concrete chance of a new beginning, it was the Rector of Newman who initially could not countenance it, and while the establishment of St. Mary’s owed much to the assistance of some members of the Newman Council, it was a member of that same Council who threatened the whole enterprise at the last moment.

It was a triumph of some order then when St. Mary’s College was affiliated to the University of Melbourne in its own right on 18th May, 1966.\(^{225}\) It meant that the College could represent itself and its students at University level. When it had opened earlier that year its geographical isolation had been completely reversed.\(^{226}\) From being over a mile away from the University, it was now within the University Campus and, with Trinity College, the closest of all the Colleges to the University proper. The inadequacy of its accommodation was rectified and its student capacity doubled, then trebled. "Little" St. Mary’s, "somewhere up near the zoo", had transformed itself into a large, accessible, fully fledged University College whose students had "their just right of a proper participation in and influence on university life".\(^{228}\)

\(^{225}\) It was passed by the University of Melbourne Council on 7th March, 1966 and enacted 18th May, 1966. Minutes of the Council of the University of Melbourne, 7th March, 1966, p.86-7. University of Melbourne Archives.

\(^{226}\) It opened in March 1966 and had its official opening on 2nd October, 1966. The Advocate, 6th October, 1966, pp. 2 and 15.

\(^{227}\) Gardiner, loc. cit.

Figure 17. (L-R) Mother Francis Frewin I.B.V.M. and Mother Clare Birrane I.B.V.M. St. Mary’s Hall. c.1947.
Figure 18. Members of the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary (I.B.V.M.)
St. Mary's Hall, 1963

Second Row: Sr. Ludwina Clarke, Mother Francis Frewin, Mother Louis Elwood, Sr. Monica Carty.
Front Row: Sr. Annunciata Dunphy, Sr. Cecilia Browne, Mother Sarto Hendricks.
Figure 19. Sister Peter Claver (Margaret) Burchell and "the girls on whom she was to be a good influence". Emily McPherson College, Diploma of Foods and Food Service, Graduation Class 1967.

(L-R) Rosemary Hope, Caroline Baker, Tan Fu Khan, Helen Thompson, Sr. Peter Claver (Margaret) Burchell. Absent: Anne Taylor.
Figure 20. Mother Francis Frewin I.B.V.M. and her unfailing friend, Father E. J. Stormon S.J.
Figure 21. St. Mary's College Building Appeal 1964 Guests of Graham Kennedy, "In Melbourne Tonight" (L-r) Catherine Robertson, Margaret Pell, Helen O'Donoghue.
Figure 22. Mother Francis Frewin trying the gears of a front-end loader on the new St. Mary's building site, while loader driver, Doug Thomas, looks on. 1965.
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### APPENDIX

| (i) Letters accompanying Questionnaires sent to past students | a-d |
| (ii) Questionnaire sent to past students | e-j |
| (iii) Questionnaire sent to student nuns | k-n |
I am writing the history of St. Mary's College, University of Melbourne from its inception in 1918. The history has the support of the St. Mary's College Council; of the Principal, Sr. Jane Kelly IBVM; and of the Provincial of the Loreto Order, Sr. Anne McPhee IBVM.

This letter and questionnaire is my invitation to you to participate in the history. With your contribution, it will properly reflect the experiences of St. Mary's residents over the years. The history aims to portray real life and real living so I would encourage you to answer the questionnaire freely and honestly and return it to me in the stamped self-addressed envelope provided. I would be very grateful if you could return the questionnaire as soon as it is possible for you to do so and before Question One allows you to keep your comments confidential if you choose not to be identified as the source of any statement. It also allows you to choose whether your contribution is acknowledged in a more general way. Absolute reliability in this regard is ensured.

It may be that there is not enough room on the questionnaire for you to say all that you want to. I would encourage you, then, to write on the back of it or to add further paper.

Your contribution is of real importance to this historical endeavour. With good wishes and thanks to you in anticipation,

Yours sincerely

Rosemary Williams.
I am writing the history of St. Mary's College, University of Melbourne, from its inception in 1918. The history has the support of the St. Mary's College Council; of the Principal, Sr. Jane Kelly, IBVM; and of the Provincial of the Loreto Order, St. Anne McPhee, IBVM.

This letter and questionnaire is my invitation to you to participate in the history. With your contribution, it will properly reflect the experiences of St. Mary's residents over the years. The history aims to portray real life and real living, so I would encourage you to answer the questionnaire freely, and return it to me in the stamped self-addressed envelope provided. I would be very grateful if you could return the questionnaire as soon as it is possible for you to do so, and before Question One allows you to keep your comments anonymous if you choose not to be identified as the source of any statement. It also allows you to choose whether your contribution is acknowledged in a more general way. Absolute reliability in this regard is ensured.

It may be that there is not enough room on the questionnaire for you to say all that you want to. I would encourage you, then, to write on the back of it or to add further paper.

Your contribution is of real importance to this historical endeavour.

With good wishes and my thanks in anticipation,

Yours sincerely,

Rosemary Williams
I am writing the history of St. Mary's College, University of Melbourne, from its inception in 1918. The history has the support of the Provincial of the Loreto Order, Sr. Anne McPhee, IBVM, and of the Principal and Council of St. Mary's College.

I, myself, was a student at St. Mary's from 1975-1978, and the Resident Tutor in Psychology from 1979-1981.

I understand that you were resident at the Hall as a student nun and this letter and questionnaire are my invitation to you to participate in the history. With your contribution, it will properly reflect the experiences of St. Mary's residents over the years. The history aims to portray real life and real living, so I would encourage you to answer the questionnaire freely, and return it to me in the stamped self-addressed envelope provided. I would be very grateful if you could return the questionnaire as soon as it is possible for you to do so, and before Question One allows you to keep your comments anonymous if you choose not to be identified as the source of any statement. It also allows you to choose whether you wish to be named in the history as having replied to the questionnaire. Absolute reliability in this regard is guaranteed.

It may be that there is not enough room on the questionnaire for you to say all that you want to. I would encourage you, then, to write on the back of it or to add further paper.

As there are very few records of the Hall remaining, your contribution is of real importance to this historical endeavour.

With good wishes and my thanks in anticipation,

Yours sincerely,

Rosemary Williams
Further to my letter and questionnaire on the history of St. Mary's College, I am writing to let you know that it is not too late for you to reply if you would like to do so.

As there are few records remaining of life at St. Mary's, your memories of it are invaluable; although I do understand that it is time-consuming to record them. If writing them down is difficult, and you would prefer to talk to me about them, I would be happy to do that.

I was at St. Mary's myself as a student from 1975-1978, and as a resident tutor from 1979-1981, and I am very keen to write a fine history of the College ... I really encourage you to participate in this quest for understanding our past.

Yours sincerely,

ROSEMARY WILLIAMS
QUESTIONNAIRE FOR RESIDENTS' OF ST MARY'S COLLEGE 1918-1985.

1. (a) Would you like your comments to be anonymous? YES/NO
   (b) Would you like to be acknowledged as replying to the questionnaire? YES/NO

2. What year(s) were you at university and what degree(s), if any, did you take out?

   __________________________________________
   __________________________________________
   __________________________________________
   __________________________________________
   __________________________________________

3. How did it come about that you went to university?
   What schools had you attended?

   __________________________________________
   __________________________________________
   __________________________________________
   __________________________________________
   __________________________________________
   __________________________________________

4. What year(s) were you resident at St Mary's and in what capacity e.g. student, tutor, member of religious order, other?
   What was your name when you were there?

   __________________________________________
   __________________________________________
   __________________________________________
   __________________________________________
   __________________________________________
   __________________________________________

5. How did you come to go to St Mary's?
6. How did you use your university education in years to follow?

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__________________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________________
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__________________________________________________________________________

7. Describe a typical day during your time at St Mary's.

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__________________________________________________________________________
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__________________________________________________________________________
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8. Describe any significant/interesting/amusing/sad event that comes to mind when you think back on your time at St Mary's.

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__________________________________________________________________________

9. What members of the IBVM (Loreto Sisters) were resident during your time at St Mary's?

What influence, if any, did they have on you?

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__________________________________________________________________________
10. How was Catholicism manifest at St Mary's?

11. What do you remember was happening in Australia and in the world at the time? Did it affect life at St Mary's?

12. What was Australian society like then compared to now?

13. What sort of entertainment and sports did you participate in?
14. What are the names of five residents at St Mary's during your time?

Can you give any of their current addresses so that I can invite them to participate in the history?

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15. What was your experience of your peers at St Mary's?

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16. What tutorials did you attend (or give)?

Any comments about them?

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17. What did you like, if anything, about living at St Mary's?

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18. What did you dislike, if anything, about it?

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19. What was difficult, if anything, about your time at St Mary's?

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________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________

20. Looking back over your life, what significance or meaning, if any, do you give to your time at St Mary's?

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________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
21. Anything further you would like to add?

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________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

22. Would you be willing to talk about your time at St Mary's with me? YES/NO

Thank you

Rosemary Williams

1. (a) Would you like your comments to remain anonymous? YES/NO

   (b) Would you like to be named in the history as having replied to the questionnaire? YES/NO

2. What years were you resident at St. Mary's Hall?

   ___________________________________________________________
   ___________________________________________________________
   ___________________________________________________________
   ___________________________________________________________
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3. Give some details of your primary and secondary education. What schools had you attended?

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4. How did it come about that you joined the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary?

   ___________________________________________________________
   ___________________________________________________________
   ___________________________________________________________
   ___________________________________________________________
   ___________________________________________________________
5. How did it come about that you went to St. Mary's Hall?

6. What year(s) were you at university, and what degree(s), if any, did you take out?

7. Who was Provincial of the Institute when you were at the Hall? What contact did the Provincial have with the Hall? What was her attitude to university education?
8. What was it like for you to be a student and a nun at the Hall? How was life different for you compared with the lay students?

9. What was it like to be a Religious attending the University? What attitude did the university lecturers have to you?
10. Who was Principal of the Hall?
What influence or effect, if any, did she have on you?

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11. Looking back over your life, what significance or meaning do you give to your time at St. Mary's?

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12. Anything else you would like to add?

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________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
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________________________________________________________________________

13. Would you be willing to talk to me about your time at St. Mary's?

Yes/No

Thank you very much,
ROSEMARY WILLIAMS.