Former Superior General Pablo Basteracchea, in response to a media question regarding the future of the Institute, asserted that 'a congregation should cease to exist when the reason for its foundation has also ceased to exist. The Brothers of the Christian Schools were founded for youth and the poor. Allow me to predict that our Brothers ought to disappear when there are neither young people nor poor …'

The essential challenge remains. However, this history of the Brothers indicates that contemporaories and those who share their mission have a rich legacy from which to draw inspiration.

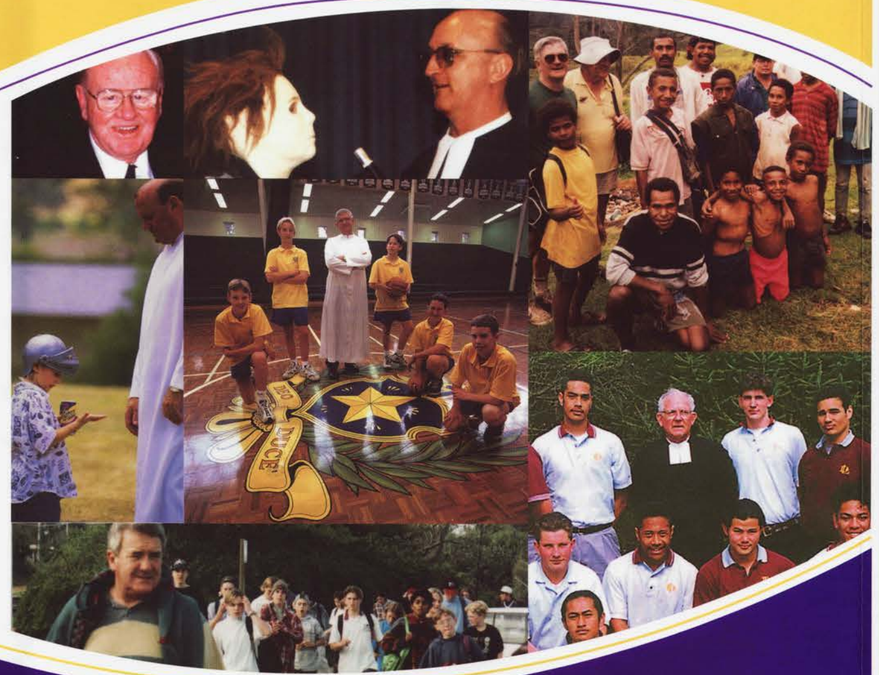
PETER DONOVAN is the managing partner of a consulting firm that specialises in historical research and writing. He graduated with honours in History from the University of New England and completed a Masters degree at the Flinders University of South Austrlia, before establishing Donovan & Associates in 1980. Since that time the firm has completed more than 30 books for clients Australia-wide. Major corporate clients have included Baulderstone Hornibrook, F. H. Faulding, Goodman Fielder, George Weston Foods and ACTEW. Church and school histories have included those written for the Blackwood parish, Sacred Heart College and Payneham Primary School, all in suburban Adelaide. In addition, Peter Donovan assisted with the preparation of a booklet to celebrate sixty years of Oakhill College, Castle Hill, New South Wales.

DE · LA · SALLE

SIGNUM FIDEI · SIGN OF FAITH

For Youth & the Poor Peter Donovan

For Youth and the Poor



The De La Salle Brothers in Australia
Papua New Guinea and New Zealand 1906 - 2000

Peter Donovan

'The men whom you will send … will be the founders of what will, I hope, be one of the leading educational establishments in Australia'.

So wrote Bishop Patrick Joseph O'Connor, Bishop of Armidale, New South Wales, on learning of plans to appoint the first permanent group of De La Salle Brothers to Australia. In spite of many difficulties, the foundation was established in 1906 and so began a near-century of commitment to quality Christian education in the region.

From its humble foundation, the Institute has ranged across not only Australia but also Papua New Guinea, New Zealand and parts of Asia. The history presents the stories of numerous foundations and ventures, and recounts the lives of the people, most particularly Brothers, who dedicated their lives to the mission of the Institute.

A major focus in its history is the person of the Brother himself. To understand the Brother is the key to understanding the Institute and its work, and to appreciating the extraordinary contribution made by these men to society and the Church. Here is a portrayal of the spirit that drives these men—deriving from the zeal that first inspired John Baptist de la Salle to begin his work for education.

The Institute has undergone enormous change since the time of the first Australian foundation in 1906, but the need for it remains as strong as ever.



For Youth and the Poor

The De La Salle Brothers in Australia, Papua New Guinea and New Zealand 1906 – 2000

Peter Donovan

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Provincialate

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Foreword

Most Reverend Eric D'Arcy

For the professional, academic historian of Australian education, or of consecrated religious life in Australia, this book will be a treasure trove of specific detailed fact and of the philosophy sometimes explicit, sometimes implicit therein.

There will also be another readership: De La Salle old boys, prompted by memory and curiosity and gratitude. Perhaps one very old Old Boy, who left Malvern exactly sixty years ago, may try to indicate why these are, so often, the reactions still aroused in him.

At the tenth ordinary general assembly of the Synod of Bishops, held in Rome throughout October 2001, the major addresses, drafts, discussions, debates and the eventual message and statement of proposals, were hammered out and arrived at largely in Latin. Following and participating in all that, I found myself realising how much I owed to a line of Brothers who, from 1934 to 1941, made me at home in Latin.

It is much the same with French. Even now, most weeks, I prepare my Sunday homily from French commentaries, and for the ability to do that I often thank God for the Brothers who, for eight years, formed us in a knowledge and a love of French.

From Grade 8 delight with Sir Toby Belch, through Sub-Intermediate ambiguity over Viola, and then Portia, then Ophelia, and perhaps Juliet. In that all-boy, all-Brother school, I am now convinced, Shakespeare and especially perhaps his heroines lay very near the heart of the matter.

My own life-long involvement in Philosophy arose especially from the way we were taught Physics. Human beings had not yet—to our knowledge, at any rate—got down to the serious business of proving that atomic energy, like every other creature, can be

enlisted in the cause of evil as well as good. But I remember, as something of a revelation, the utter abruptness of the dismissal of someone's hesitantly suggesting that, at sub-atomic levels, the Principle of Causality was no longer operative.

It was only long afterwards that I discovered that, during those crowded and exciting days, the Brothers were unobtrusively practising evangelical poverty by quietly helping boys whose fathers were out of work during the Depression.

But there was nothing unobtrusive about Christian Doctrine and Religious Education in the school's day. In each classroom it opened with three mysteries of the Rosary and then the whole of the opening period. The week ended for seniors with voluntary participation in the Sodality of Our Lady meeting, between the last formal class and a highly organised football practice. Before First Fridays one remembers Confession at St Joseph's and going to say one's penance at the grotto of Our Lady of Lourdes.

In the terminology of a later period, the education we were given was designed to educate 'the whole person' in Catholic faith and life: the *cognitive* powers—intellect, reason, memory and imagination—along with the *conative* powers and the *affective*.

I am grateful for the education imparted by the Brothers and I know there are many who share my gratitude. They and others will enjoy the opportunity to learn more about these remarkable men.



Most Reverend Eric D'Arcy
Archbishop Emeritus of Hobart



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Preface

The task of writing a history of the De La Salle Brothers in Australia, Papua New Guinea and New Zealand has been a challenging one. So much can be written. When a 100,000-word book can be written about one school such as St Bede's College, Mentone, or a 40,000 word book can be written about one Brother such as Paul Phelan, it is evident that a truly comprehensive history of the Brothers could run into several volumes. There could be volumes devoted to individual themes such as training and formation, the sporting traditions of the De La Salle Brothers or the Lasallian approach to the religious life, and there could be a volume concerned with the biographies of the Brothers who have served; while the development of BoysTown and its associated outreach initiatives warrants a separate volume.

Moreover, the history could not be simply one of the Brothers in isolation. It must reflect features of the modern history of the Catholic Church and Catholic education in Australia, Papua New Guinea and New Zealand, along with the modern history of the Institute internationally, because these developments have had a major impact upon the later history of the Brothers and their work in the District. So, a major challenge of this history has been to contain the complex history within manageable proportions.

Another challenge has been to produce a balanced history of the Brothers in accordance with the dictates of historical scholarship. Traditional histories of schools and biographies of Brothers have generally been uncritical, even eulogistic. In any organisation there is a natural reluctance to criticise colleagues and predecessors openly. There may be a fear of retribution, even litigation, in criticising contemporaries, and many believe there is little point in exposing the shortcomings of those no longer alive or present to speak for themselves. The fear of retribution and litigation might not be a major threat when writing about a religious organisation,

but its members are even more reluctant to speak ill of others, particularly because they are bound by charity not to do so. Those inside the organisation might be willing to accept the less-than-flattering assessments by those of their own, but they invariably take exception to such assessments by outsiders.

Still, it is the task of any historian to assess the failures as well as the successes, whether they are people or events. To paraphrase a Brother called upon to provide the eulogy for a deceased colleague, 'My role is not to canonise the Brothers, nor to act as the Devil's Advocate'. Imperfection is in the very nature of humanity and it is needless to ignore this. Heroes—and saints—never appear fully formed: they emerge after overcoming challenges imposed from without and shortcomings in their own makeup. So it is with the history of the Institute. Not all initiatives were flawless; not all Brothers were saints. But the history is the richer for recognising and accepting this as an essential feature of the story. Indeed, I believe that recognition of the human dimension makes the story more interesting—even edifying.

A third major challenge lies in conveying something of the religious and spiritual dimension in a history that must recount and assess mundane and temporal matters. It must be understood at the outset that the Institute was founded for religious purposes and religious idealism has infused it since its inception and was an attraction for all—certainly most—men to join it. This enabled men of very different personalities, who would not otherwise associate with one another, to live and work together in community. An associated difficulty is that so much of the public rhetoric is reflected in lofty and idealistic language, much of it in a quasi 'code' which Brothers and those identified with them would understand and appreciate, but from which others might draw incorrect conclusions.

One more complication is that the history deals with the De La Salle Brothers in three nations, Australia, Papua New Guinea and New Zealand. Each nation has its own separate history, though I have a detailed understanding only of the history of Australia. I have tried to recognise the separate histories of Papua New Guinea and New Zealand, but know that I have not done them justice. The complication is compounded because the Brothers' endeavours in these other countries began many years after those in Australia, so much of this separateness must be taken for granted rather than be chronicled and explained. It becomes clumsy and wasteful of words to write constantly of the District of Australia, Papua New Guinea and New Zealand, so once foundations were made beyond Australia I have preferred to use the simple term 'District'.

It has been necessary to make choices about what to include and what to omit in seeking to contain this history within manageable proportions. This process of choice is fundamental to any history.

There are always some facts which must be included, others that should be included, still more that could be included or not—depending on the dominant themes—and others that do not bear repeating. The choice depends on the historian and the major themes that he or she wants to highlight. To that extent, the history that follows is my history: others could use the same sources and write a very different history. I make no apologies for that and only ask that readers judge what is written, rather than what could be written.

To the primary reader

Though recounting the history of the De La Salle Brothers in Australia, Papua New Guinea and New Zealand, this book is mainly concerned with the future. So, it is primarily pitched at people, other than the Brothers, who form part of the Lasallian family, or who are interested in learning about and understanding the Brothers and their work, and seeking to share their mission. It seeks to highlight the tradition and spirit that they inherit. Because of this, there is a need to look forward to capture the attention of those who are to reflect the Lasallian spirit in the future, rather than simply to look back in nostalgia at the 'good times'.

The need to address readers who are not Brothers has led to a focus on some issues that Brothers would take for granted or consider not worth the attention. For instance, outsiders generally have a fascination with the reasons why a man would want to choose a celibate life, and, having once done so, why he might later choose to abandon it. Brothers, on the other hand, might suggest that obedience or living closely in a community of other men were greater issues with which they had to contend. The need to write for non-religious also requires an explanation of matters that religious take for granted, such as the nature of the novitiate or the implication of particular vows.

In many ways the story of the De La Salle Brothers is a very complex one. However, there are a few keys to understanding it. One of the most important issues to appreciate is that a vocation to the Brothers is not a career. There is no career structure within the Institute, even though there is a hierarchy and various levels to which individuals were appointed. But having concluded a period in high office, men generally returned to the common role of a Brother in a school or community: in later years the director of the community was frequently not the principal of the school to which the community was attached.

The Brothers' piety was practical and matter-of-fact, particularly in the period to Vatican Council II. It reflected typical Australian and New Zealand attitudes in many ways; it was personal, masculine, understated and self-deprecating. The Rule prescribed certain practices such as morning prayer and meditation followed by celebration of the Eucharist, along with particular

periodic religious activities during the day, the week and the year. A casual observer might determine whether or not these outward demonstrations were followed, but would find it impossible to determine how effectively the spirit of the Rule was internalised—and Brothers were never ones to talk about this. The distance of Australia and New Zealand from Rome and the European centre of the Institute meant that this individualism was able to grow.

Acting in accordance with the Spirit of Faith is a characteristic that permeates this story of the De La Salle Brothers. In this they closely reflected the spirit of De La Salle, their founder, as they understood this at the time. Though professional educators, the Australasian Brothers were practical men, rather than educational theorists. They accepted the Catholic educational situation in their countries as it was, and simply went about the work of educating boys to the best of their ability. Where they recognised a need they tried to address it in a practical way. Many of the major achievements of the Brothers, such as the development of BoysTown and its associated Kids Help Line, grew in a piecemeal fashion from simple origins, with few of the originators having any inkling of the manner in which such initiatives might develop.

Ironically, too, the history of the District highlights strong individuals, despite the Rule and the spirit of the Institute inculcating a sense of community—along with the local tendency to refrain from 'rocking the boat'. In large part Brothers reflected this community spirit in a typical reluctance to break ranks and make a spectacle of themselves individually. Much of the reputation of the Brothers relied upon the contributions of many selfless and largely anonymous men working for years in schools to educate youth. However, most of the significant achievements beyond the conduct of schools, such as the development of BoysTown, San Miguel, or involvement in the development of the Catholic College of Education, were prompted by individuals, acting with the approbation of superiors, certainly, but largely acting alone. Brothers were given the freedom to pursue their ideas and success conferred legitimacy. In the typically Australian way, those who succeeded won respect and admiration, while those who were less successful in singular endeavours, even though willing 'to have a go', were sometimes marginalised.

It is a feature of history books that the individuals and those who stand out from the ruck are the ones to receive greatest attention. This is inescapable, and a matter of some regret in a study such as this. Unfortunately, it is probable that Saint Mutien Marie, a Belgian Brother considered to be the saint of the Rule, would barely warrant a mention if he had been a member of the Australasian District, because he was never one to stand out. It is not possible, nor even preferable, to include details of all who served in Australia, nor indeed, of all the schools in which they taught. Given the

nature of the Brothers' work that would make for a very repetitive—even boring—book.

For all that, I hope that there is plenty to interest those who have, and those who continue to work in the vineyards and that they recognise the contributions they have made to education and Catholic life in Australasia. It is important that stories be told, as Brother Damien Harvey affirmed when beginning his eulogy to mark the passing of Brother Fintan Dwyer:

> In John Steinbeck's novel, *The Grapes of Wrath*, the old grandmother, who has watched her family torn apart and forced to re-locate, murmurs in anguish, 'How can we know it is us, unless we know our stories?' Our stories are an integral part of our identity and this clear sense of identity—who we are, what motivated those who have enabled us to get to where we are—is most important if we are to be aware of possible ways forward. If we are unsure of our origins and what we are striving to do, every road into the future can be the wrong road.

The historian

But who is the person recounting the stories? One of the first things that readers of history need to understand is that they should first learn something about the historian in order to appreciate the background, understanding—and biases—that the historian brings to the task. This is perhaps particularly important in his instance. Both Brothers and others are entitled to ask why someone who is not a Brother was assigned the task and how this might have influenced the recounting of the history.

Although not a De La Salle Brother, I have an understanding and experience of the life—at least as it was led some time ago. I entered the junior novitiate at Burradoo in 1960 where I completed my high school; I progressed to the novitiate in 1963 and took the robe as Brother Francis Mucian on 28 April 1963. The scholasticate followed in April 1964, with full-time university study in 1966 and 1967 when I lived in a separate community, but associated with the community of Brothers at De La Salle College, Armidale, where they conducted a boarding school. I withdrew from the Institute at the end of 1967 before going into the classroom.

As luck would have it, only a few weeks after having withdrawn, I was hitch-hiking to Brisbane in order to undertake research towards a history honours thesis. I had spent the night with friends at Armidale and set out for Brisbane on the Australia Day public holiday in January. There was not a great deal of traffic on the road. Chance—or providence—dictated that the first car to offer me a lift was driven by Brother Alban Dwyer, the Brother who helped found BoysTown at Beaudesert in Queensland. I rec-

ognised him because he was a virtual legend in the District. He did not recognise me. When he found out that I was a student at the University of New England he volunteered that one of the young Brothers who had studied there the previous year had since left, saying, 'He was meant to go into the classroom. He didn't play the game'.

Brother Alban was wrong in taking such a simplistic view, but it was probably typical of the men of his era. The decision to leave had been a difficult one personally, particularly because those who chose to do so were still considered defectors, and ones 'who had fallen by the wayside'. The decision to leave the Brothers had been the result of the confluence of many issues—all of them innocent—but primarily was a product of my continuing maturation. My former superiors should not have been unduly surprised. When commenting upon Brother Francis Mucian in 1965 before I was to take annual vows, they had noted, 'Dedicated religious of strong convictions, although of marked independence of character ...'

I never did 'go into the classroom' except for eight weeks at Daramalan College in Canberra, before I accepted the opportunity to teach history at the Royal Military College at Duntroon. Since then I have completed post-graduate studies in history and have established a career as a consulting historian, specialising in undertaking commissioned histories and consulting in areas of historic preservation: a later project involved the management of production of a publication to commemorate the sixtieth anniversary of Oakhill College.

Though diverging from that originally considered, this career path is directly related to my time with the Brothers because, while training to be a teacher, I was told to study history at university—even though I had not studied it beyond Second Year at high school and had matriculated with pure science and mathematics subjects. My superiors evidently recognised talents to which I was oblivious at the time and must take some responsibility for my later career. But I still consider myself a teacher. Each commissioned history seeks to broaden the readers' understanding of features of modern history, and frequently the roles that they played in this history.

I bring an informed background to the task, although one largely based on the training period and brief experiences of community life during the course of practice teaching at Ashfield and Lithgow and two years associated with the Armidale community while studying at the University of New England. But other than continuing associations with a very few individuals and our later commission with Oakhill College I have had little contact with the Institute, so I have come to the task of writing the later history of

the Brothers without any preconceptions or prejudices, but with 20 years of practice as a consulting historian.

Acknowledgements

No single historian can ever know and write the complete history of any organisation. Similarly, no historian can ever write a history of an organisation without assistance from others. The general works of others who have provided much of the background information for this history are listed in the Notes on Sources and Bibliography below. Those who provided the time for interviews are listed in the Bibliography.

However, I owe a particular debt of gratitude to several individuals who have provided assistance in many forms. Brothers Donald Newton, the District Archivist, provided me with access to and advice on searching the archival material, and answered innumerable detailed questions about issues and Brothers. He, along with Brothers Frederick Sheridan, James Mahon and Christian Moe, formed the History Committee, and provided advice and assistance throughout the life of the project, and read successive drafts of the history as it took shape. David Hawke, Visitor, and Colin Griffin, his auxiliary, facilitated the work. Members of the Oakhill College community, with whom I lived while I was working in the District Archives, provided companionship and occasional advice and information. Over the course of the period during which the book took shape, they included Brothers Ambrose Payne, Malachy Yates, Chris Gorringe, Mark McKeon, Justin Joyce, Donald Newton, Bill Shaw, John Cantwell, Lawrence King, Ray Khan and Father Colin Barker. Brothers Gerard Rummery, Andre Rocher, Réné Galière, and Jon Kavanagh, all in Rome, provided me with access to and assistance in the library and archives of the Generalate. Members of the various communities in Australia and New Zealand provided hospitality and assistance with material. Olivia Delf of the Diocese of Bathurst Archives and Marie Lowry of the Archdiocese of Sydney Catholic Education Office Archives guided me through their resources. Brother Martin Blattman provided the maps, while David Lovell took the manuscript and transformed it into the book. Finally, the project could not have been completed satisfactorily without June Donovan, who was left to manage the home office while I moved about the District.

The book could not have been written without the assistance of all of the above, and perhaps others inadvertently overlooked. Their help is gratefully acknowledged.

Peter Donovan

Chapter One

Prologue 1651–1906

The De La Salle Brothers—known formally as Brothers of the Christian Schools, and less formally as Christian Brothers in those parts of the world under American influence—were relatively late arriving in Australia. However, they already had a long history. Indeed, their congregation of teaching Brothers had been the model for the others already in Australia.

The congregation of the Brothers of the Christian Schools had been established in seventeenth century France by Jean-Baptiste De La Salle, whose life coincided with the reign of Louis XIV (1643–1717). De La Salle was born on 30 April 1651, in the French city of Rheims. He was born into a moderately wealthy family of a magistrate, the eldest of seven children. He was attracted to the priesthood, was made a canon of the Cathedral of Rheims in 1668 and entered the Seminary of St Sulpice in Paris in 1670. De La Salle's parents died in 1673, leaving him as the legal guardian of his brothers and sisters. He suspended his seminary studies in order to manage the family affairs but continued with studies at the University of Rheims. He was ordained deacon in 1676 and a priest on 9 April 1678.

De La Salle was moderately wealthy and university-educated, but won renown for his work with schools for poor boys. At that time there was no single education system in France. Education was provided for those who could pay in so-called 'Little Schools' established in each district of large towns. The few students paid fees to teachers who were untrained, but controlled by the Grand Chantre: at this time the Grand Chantre of Paris controlled as many as 335 teachers. Education was also provided in schools run by

Saint John Baptist De La Salle (1651–1719), founder of the Brothers of the Christian Schools; detail from the painting 'The School of Saint Sulpice'.



'Writing Masters' who were licensed by civil authorities. In addition, priests sometimes established parish 'Charity Schools', generally with the assistance of religious congregations of sisters. There were no schools managed by male religious.[1]

De La Salle first became involved in teaching in April 1679, in association with a school conducted by Adrian Nyel at St Maurice, in Rheims. From there he was inexorably drawn into the work. Nyel was an enthusiastic, charismatic visionary committed to the education of poor children in parish schools. He had organised five schools for boys in Rouen before being invited to Rheims. However, like many visionaries, he lacked attention to detail. Rather than see Nyel's good work dissipated, De La Salle took charge of Nyel's schoolmasters in 1680 and even accommodated them in his own house in June 1681. The Institute of the Brothers of the Christian Schools grew from this inauspicious beginning as De La Salle devoted ever more time to ensuring the continuation of the free schools.

The Institute was founded in 1682 when De La Salle and his teachers promised to stay together to conduct schools for the poor. His wealth created something of a barrier between himself and his teachers, so De La Salle disposed of this from 1683 to 1685 to become completely identified with the work of the schools. He devised rules for the guidance of the Brothers and they adopted their distinctive dress—a black robe and white rabat (collar)—in 1684. On Trinity Sunday, 1694, De La Salle and 12 Brothers made perpetual vows of obedience, association and stability.

Nothing happened easily for De La Salle. Many of the early teachers were unsuitable for teaching or had never envisaged joining a religious organisation; there was opposition to the choice of habit; there were the deaths of friends, supporters and confidants; there were concerns about succession; there was opposition from writing masters and teachers in the traditional schools who felt threatened by the competition: there were attempts by clergy to control the schools and the congregation. Yet there was an evident need for the services provided by De La Salle and his men and the fledgling Institute prospered.

De La Salle died on 7 April 1719 at the novitiate at St Yon. By this time there were a few more than 100 Brothers in 22 establishments throughout France teaching as many as 5000 students.[2]

De La Salle made a tremendous contribution to education and educational theory. He was not an original thinker who devised theories of education and sought to put them into practice. Instead, he was a man concerned for the welfare of young men and youth who took an idea and built upon it and ultimately devised a system of teaching. One who studied his educational achievements claimed, 'His real originality lay in his administrative skills, in providing the schools with dedicated and trained teachers, in his

recognition that teaching was a true vocation for the layman in the Church, in the scope of his work, and in his attention to the maladjusted child'.[3] De La Salle improved upon the tradition of parish free schools by providing a body of trained professional teachers and ensuring the maintenance of high standards by implementing a system of inspection. His teachers pioneered a form of simultaneous teaching with pupils being arranged in classes and further subdivided in accordance with the subjects being taught. Teaching in the parish schools had traditionally been in Latin, with the idea that the pupils would become involved in Church affairs. De La Salle ensured that religious instruction was a fundamental feature of his schools, but he promoted a practical program of instruction, with reading and writing being taught in the vernacular, with an emphasis on practical clerical skills that would facilitate his pupils gaining secular employment.[4]

De La Salle founded different types of schools to meet the diverse needs of pupils and the demands made upon him. There were free schools for the very poor that provided very basic education, but there were more advanced schools supported by fees. He established a Sunday School, to provide religious and technical training for young men working during the day, and in 1705 he founded a type of reform school at St Yon.[5] De La Salle also established the first modern teachers' training college for laymen other than his own Brothers. As his work gained greater prominence, he had received many requests from communities too small to support the minimum three Brothers upon which he insisted as a precondition for a Brothers' establishment. But to meet the demand, he agreed to train men sent to him by country priests to prepare them for teaching in 'one-man' schools. He established the first of these training institutions in Rheims in 1684, catering for as many as 30 students. This first institution continued into the late 1680s; a similar institution was begun in Paris in 1698.[6] De La Salle developed a practical teaching manual for the assistance of his teachers. *The Conduct of the Christian Schools*, a practical guide developed as a consequence of actual classroom experience, existed in manuscript form by 1706, and was regularly revised and updated by De La Salle and was finally published in 1720.[7]

In hindsight, it is evident that the key to De La Salle's success lay in uniting his teachers in a religious congregation, though it is not evident that this was ever his early intent. This represented another practical response to the need to infuse his teachers with the idealism and motivation to commit themselves to the religious education of the poor, the working class and the disadvantaged. In doing so he pioneered a new form of religious congregation in which all would be laymen. His contribution to the life of the Church was recognised by his canonisation on 24 May 1900 by Pope Leo XIII.

De La Salle bequeathed to his Institute a particular spirit that he endeavoured to have reflected in the Rules of the Institute that he codified in 1705. As reflected in a later revised text of the Rules, these declared in part:

> 2. The members of this Institute shall call themselves by the name of Brother ...
> 3. They cannot be priests or aspire to the ecclesiastical state ...
> 4. The end of this Institute is to give a Christian education to children; it is for this purpose the Brothers keep schools, that, having the children under their care from morning until evening, they may teach them to lead good lives, by instructing them in the mysteries of our holy religion and by inspiring them with Christian maxims, and thus give them a suitable education.[8]

The Rules of the Institute of the Brothers of the Christian Schools were approved by Pope Benedict XIII in 1724.

The Brothers of the Christian Schools



A painting by Mariani of De La Salle teaching, held by the Vatican Museums.

De La Salle's congregation of Brothers of the Christian Schools was unusual in the Church because all members were lay religious. In the first instance one of the most significant of the early vows taken by the Brothers was the vow of association, together with the vow of stability. These vows reflected De La Salle's key initiative to ensure that he had men to teach in the schools. As the congregation was regularised, so there was a need to add the traditional vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, which characterised all religious organisations. This introduced a monastic element to the life of the Brothers. Ultimately, the traditional features of religious—monastic—life tended to predominate, with Brothers, especially those in charge of formation, tending to focus unduly on these, rather than on the features that set the De La Salle Brothers apart from other religious.[9]

In common with all religious, aspiring members of the Congregation of the Brothers of the Christian Schools were required by Canon Law to undertake a year's religious training in a novitiate. Having completed the novitiate year the Brother took his first vows: poverty, which forbade the 'independent disposal of temporal goods'; chastity, which obliged him to renounce marriage; and obedience, which required him to obey the commands of legitimate superiors. Additionally, the Brother promised

'to remain steadfast in the Institute during all the time for which the Vows have been made'; and 'not to require or receive, from the children of the working people, and the poor, or from their parents, any remuneration for teaching given according to the Rules'.[10]

The Institute prospered after De La Salle's death because of its ideals and its focus on the education of youth. Its religious nature meant that the Institute was identified with the Church—the First Estate—but it won the approbation and support of all classes in France. This was evident when monastic orders and religious congregations were suppressed in 1790 during the course of the French Revolution, with the Brothers being excepted because of their useful work among the poor. However, their Institute, too, was suppressed in 1792 during the period of the Reign of Terror. At the time there were more than 1000 Brothers in 116 communities, though only three communities outside France. A few schools continued to exist in France, with many Brothers continuing to teach as laymen, but the Institute was virtually extinguished. When Brother Agathon, the fifth superior general, died in 1798 the only official communities of Brothers were at Ferrara and Orvieto in Italy.

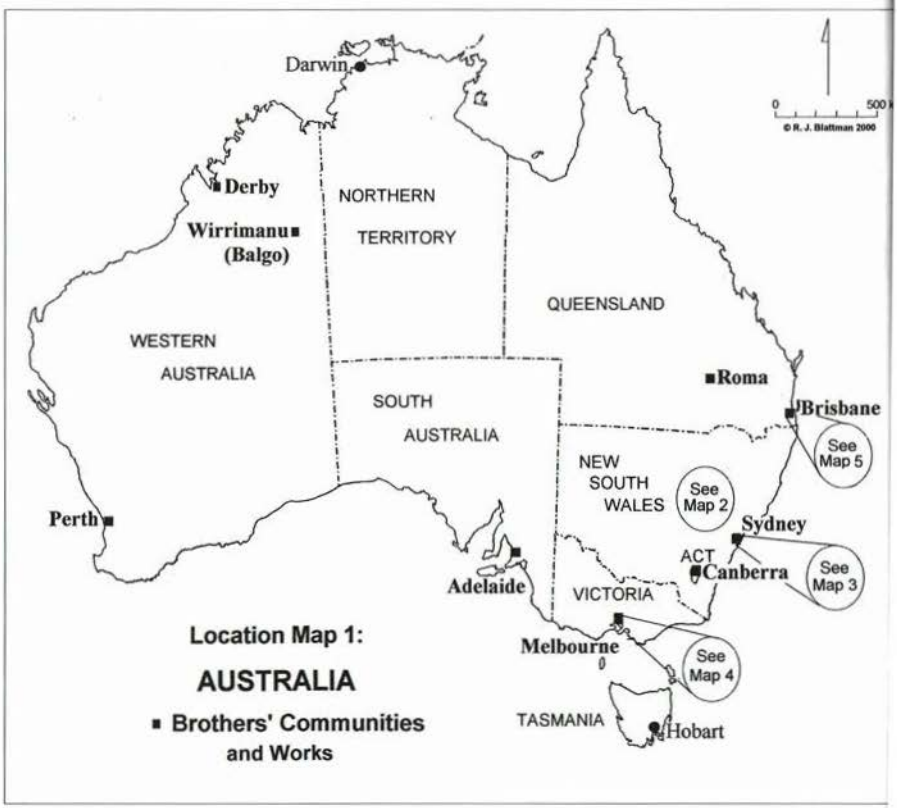
The Brothers' circumstances changed following Napoleon Bonaparte's assumption of power in France. The Concordat of 1801 signed by Napoleon and Pope Pius VII, permitted the practice of religion once more in France, and a consular decision in 1803 authorised the Brothers to return to teaching in France. The Institute recovered in France despite close control of education by successive governments. Just as significantly, the Institute spread throughout the world, though only relatively late to English-speaking countries. It spread to French-Canada in 1837, and from there to the United States (1845), England and Ireland.

Social conditions in France conspired against the Brothers during the latter part of the nineteenth century. The Third Republic that was established after the defeat of France during the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 encouraged social reform and the promotion of liberal ideas. Educational reform loomed large, with the state investing heavily and taking control of education. In 1879 it established Normal Schools in each Department in order to train teachers. A Supreme Council of Education was established the following year, and in 1881 legislation was enacted to ensure that state primary schools remained free of charge and that teachers should obtain certification within three years. In 1882, the state decreed that state primary schools must be lay and four years later passed legislation requiring state primary schools to employ only non-religious personnel. Contemporary legislation required all male religious to undertake three years of military service. The Church—and the Institute—took a reactionary stance to these reforms and became increasingly isolated as a result.

Between 1886 and 1892, all religious had to abandon educational institutions that were state-owned, and education in France became compulsory, free and secular. This meant that the Brothers were forced to establish their own independent system of education if they wished to continue their mission. Other legislation struck at the nature of their Institute. Legislation of July 1901 established the need for all religious congregations to seek legal recognition, but two years later the Legislative Assembly refused to sanction any officially. Then, on 7 July 1904, it passed the Association Laws prohibiting religious congregations teaching in any schools within the Republic.[11] In one week 801 houses of the Brothers closed.[12] The Brothers quickly relocated their Motherhouse to Lembecq-lez-Hal, near Brussels in Belgium.

Fortunately for its continuation, the Institute had spread to more than 20 countries during the nineteenth century, including English-speaking countries. At the century's close, there were 90 communities and 905 Brothers in the United States of America teaching 19,951 students. There were another 21 communities in Ireland and England with 210 Brothers responsible for 4760 students.

The Australian foundation was a direct result of the passage of the Association Laws in France in 1904. Members of the hierarchy in Australia had long sought Brothers for their dioceses, but the lack of



The Brothers' communities and works in Australia.

availability of Brothers had prevented the superiors from acceding to these requests. An Australian foundation provided an opportunity to use gainfully some of the Brothers displaced from France.

The Australasian background

The Catholic Church in Australasia during the nineteenth century tended to be Irish and in a minority. It suffered a persecution complex in large part inherited from Old World prejudices and the many Irish among early convicts sent to Australia, many of whom were convicted of political or social crimes rather than thievery or violent crimes against people.[13] There were other influences, but the Irish culture predominated because of the preponderance of Irish bishops and clergy. The administrative structures of the Church were quickly established. The diocese of Sydney was established in 1834, with Bishop John Polding arriving there in September 1835: other dioceses were established in Hobart and Adelaide (1842), Perth (1845), Melbourne (1848), Auckland and Wellington (1850) and Brisbane (1859).[14]

The question and character of Catholic education in Australasia had been addressed long before the De La Salle Brothers arrived in Australia. The several colonies had passed education acts establishing systems of free, secular and compulsory education. The various education acts embodying these features became law in Victoria in 1872, followed by South Australia (1875), Queensland (1875), New Zealand (1877), New South Wales (1880) and Western Australia (1893).

Prior to the passage of the education acts there had been no systematic state education and anyone considering themselves qualified could establish a school. The several religious groups took the lead and established schools assisted by some funding provided by the colonial governments. The Irish-Catholics were the least privileged of the colonists and their schools tended to be poor with the quality of education inferior to that provided in the Protestant schools.[15]

The several Protestant denominations relinquished most of their parochial schools, though they retained their larger more prosperous schools following passage of the colonial education acts. The Catholic hierarchy, on the other hand, believed a Catholic education and the inculcation of the traditions of Irish Catholicism—rather than simply the teaching of Christian doctrine—was fundamental to the preservation of the faith in Australasia.[16] In pursuit of this they determined to maintain their schools in the various colonies and endeavoured to provide each Catholic child with the chance of a Catholic education. This became fundamental to the mission of the Catholic Church in Australasia and a key determinant of its culture, but it laid a heavy financial burden on generations of Catholics. The withdrawal of state funds from denominational schools

meant that religious teachers became essential to the success of this endeavour.

Australian bishops regularly petitioned the superiors of all teaching congregations for religious men and women for work in Australia. The first emphasis was on primary and co-educational schools for which religious Sisters were preferred. The Irish Sisters of Charity arrived in Sydney in 1838 and were the first women religious to do so. Other congregations followed and, in the 62 years to 1900, 26 women's congregations either arrived, or were founded, in Australia. Most of the congregations of women devoted their energies to teaching, particularly after the 1860s. They included the Sisters of Mercy, who had arrived in Perth in 1846, and who had established foundations in Melbourne in 1857, Goulburn in 1859 and Brisbane in 1861. The Benedictine Sisters began their Australian mission in Sydney in 1849; the Sisters of the Good Shepherd (Melbourne, 1863); Presentation Sisters (Hobart, 1866, and Melbourne, 1872); and the Dominican Sisters (Maitland 1867, and Adelaide, 1868).[17]

There was a similar trend in New Zealand. Bishop Pompallier introduced eight Irish Sisters of Mercy to Auckland when he returned from Europe in April 1850. They flourished, establishing a house in Wellington in 1861. Sisters of the Mission established a house in Napier in 1864 and Christchurch in 1868. Ten Irish Dominican Sisters accompanied Bishop Patrick Moran to Dunedin in February 1871 when he arrived to commence his duties in the newly-created diocese.

Two Australian congregations of religious women had been established primarily for the purpose of teaching. The Sisters of the Good Shepherd—later renamed Sisters of the Good Samaritan—were founded in Sydney in 1857 by Archbishop John Bede Polding OSB, a Benedictine monk and the first Catholic archbishop of Sydney. The Sisters of St Joseph were founded by Mary McKillop, in 1866 in Penola, South Australia, with the assistance of Father Julian Tenison Woods, who was appointed director of Catholic Education in Adelaide in 1867. The Sisters of St Joseph opened a convent in Temuka in New Zealand in 1883 and another nine in the colony before the close of the century. Bishop Viard had established a diocesan congregation of Marist Sisters in Wellington in 1850.

The bishops were also concerned to provide superior schools for boys. Archbishop Polding had established a superior school for boys in 1837, later transferred to St Mary's Cathedral: he founded Lyndhurst College in 1852, which continued for 25 years. The earliest schools were managed by lay people, but the hierarchy sought religious priests and Brothers for the purpose, particularly after the passage of the education acts in the several colonies. The Jesuit Fathers established St Ignatius' College at Riverview in 1880. They

had also established St Aloysius' College at Woolloomooloo in 1879, which moved to Darlinghurst in 1883 and finally to Milson's Point in 1903.

However, congregations of religious Brothers formed the backbone of Catholic education for boys. The bishops' first preference was for Brothers from Ireland and it was from here that Polding secured three Irish Christian Brothers for his Sydney archdiocese in 1843: their congregation had been founded by Edmund Ignatius Rice at Waterford, Ireland, 41 years earlier. The Christian Brothers' first Australian foundation was unsuccessful. Disputes arose with Archbishop Polding in 1846 over the latter's interference in their operation and apparent reneging on promises of support. The community left Australia in 1847.[18] The Christian Brothers made their first permanent Australian foundation in Melbourne in 1868: they opened a school in Wakefield Street, Adelaide, ten years later in June 1878. Their strength lay in the southern colonies and they did not return to Sydney until after Patrick Francis Moran succeeded Roger Bede Vaughan OSB as Archbishop of Sydney in 1884. They returned to that city in 1887, when they opened their first secondary school in Balmain. The Christian Brothers established their first New Zealand foundation, St Paul's College, later Kavanagh College, in Dunedin in 1876.

The Patrician Brothers, founded by Bishop Delaney in Tullow in Ireland in 1808, began their Australian apostolate in the Maitland diocese in 1883. The Patricians were invited to several New South Wales country dioceses and in the late 1880s conducted schools in the Goulburn, Armidale and Bathurst dioceses. They opened their first school in suburban Sydney at Ryde in 1890.[19]

The Marist Brothers, founded by Marcellin Champagnat at Lyons in rural France in 1817, made their first permanent Australian foundation in Sydney in 1872. Their French origins meant that the founding Brothers were met with a great deal of suspicion. However, though the director of the inaugural community was French, he had taught in Ireland and Scotland and so was not unduly hampered by language or cultural problems. Two of his three colleagues were Irish and the other was a Scot so, apart from their religious status, the Brothers differed little from other recent emigrants from the British Isles. Their comparative early introduction to Australia followed the establishment of the Marist Fathers' missions in the Pacific region in the late 1830s and their establishment of a house at Hunters' Hill in suburban Sydney in 1845. The Marist Brothers opened their first secondary school for the sons of lower middle class and working class families at Church Hill in 1875, and opened a boarding school for boys at Hunters Hill in suburban Sydney in 1881.[20] The Marist Brothers opened their first school in Victoria at Kilmore, north of Melbourne, in 1893, followed by another at Bendigo two months later, and made their

first South Australian foundation at Port Adelaide in November 1897.[21] The first New Zealand foundation occurred at Wellington in 1876 made by two Frenchmen, an Irishman and an Englishman; their first secondary school for boys was Sacred Heart College founded in Auckland in 1895.

The several Australian colonies federated on 1 January 1901 to form the Commonwealth of Australia. New Zealanders had been involved in early negotiations, but voted to remain separate. The new Australian federal government assumed many responsibilities ceded by the colonies, but education remained a state responsibility. Similarly, Catholic education remained a diocesan responsibility. Catholic schools remained largely independent of one another, though they followed a common curriculum determined by the various state education departments. The several dioceses each had a priest designated as an Inspector of Schools, but he had little or no effective influence within the schools beyond the implementation of the religious education curriculum determined by the hierarchy. Responsibility for the teaching of religion in the schools was generally considered to be that of the parish priest.[22]

First endeavour

While the De La Salle Brothers' permanent Australian foundation dated from 1906 and was occasioned by the French Association Laws of 1904, they had already attempted to establish a foothold in Australia in 1865, though without authorisation from the Institute's supreme governing body, the Regime. Their primary reason for doing so was to gain recruits for the Indies mission.

Brothers Botthian and Amphian left from Singapore in 1865 to take charge of a school in Perth in Western Australia, under the authority of the Reverend Martin Griver, Apostolic Administrator. Botthian (Peter Schneider) had been born in 1830 at Niedezzissen in Prussia but emigrated to America in 1851 with his mother and sister. He joined the Institute in Canada, where he made his novitiate in Montreal, with his three brothers. Amphian (James Kenny) was born at Roscommon in Ireland in 1839: he took the robe on 31 January 1857 and made his novitiate in Montreal. He worked in New York and Singapore.

Amphian made life difficult for his colleague. Bothian complained of Amphian's tendency to seek friendships outside the community, particularly with women, and even leaving the community during the evenings.[23] He was not surprised when Amphian returned to Singapore in July 1866. Unfortunately, there were no replacements available. Botthian struggled on for a time, but left Australia at the end of 1866. He wrote succinctly of his time in Australia:

> After some months I was abandoned by my only confrere, and was left to shift for myself, having to manage two classes. I asked of

> Brother Facile Asst. to send me some sickly Brothers, for the climate was very favourable. Br Asst told me that he had none to send me, but that I should open a novitiate. Acting on Brother Assistant's advice, I received three applicants to start with. However at a meeting of the Admr and the principal men of the congregation, the difficulty arose how to obtain the funds for the support of the novitiate. The income from the school was not sufficient for its support, though they were all anxious that I should remain. Up to that time I lived with the Priests and had everything free. The result of the meeting was that, as there were no means to support the novitiate, it will be closed. ... I think it necessary to mention here that at that time, the Western part of Australia was the poorest of the continent. Consequently the church was poor, and had to be partly supported by the Propaganda, and only a few of the parishioners were able to contribute towards the support of the novitiate.[24]

Amphian was appointed director of Moulmein in 1867, and Pulo-Pinang in 1868, but he left the Institute on 4 February 1869. Botthian ultimately returned to his former District of New York in America, where he died on 3 October 1912.

Botthian's endeavours had not been sanctioned by the Regime and were never backed with sufficient resources. They came to nought. The West was not attractive to the first Brothers, just as it had not been to the first European visitors to *Terra Australis*.

Still, requests continued to be made to the Institute. Matthew Quinn, the first Bishop of Bathurst, wrote in 1878 and 1879 seeking Brothers. Hermenigilde, a Frenchman, born at Thonier in 1815 and the Visitor for the Indies from 1869 to 1881, visited Australia in 1879, in part to raise funds for his own district, but also to report on prospects there. He visited Brisbane, Sydney and Bathurst and reported favourably. Bishop Quinn was particularly eager to have the Brothers and even showed Hermenigilde a three-acre block where he intended to build the Brothers' house and novitiate. Hermenigilde pointed out to his superiors that there was no other congregation in the diocese and that prospects for recruits were good. He recommended that superiors send five Brothers immediately, adding, 'There will be no question of Latin and the Brothers will not have boarders'.[25] However, the human resources were not available and the opportunity was lost.

Requests from Western Australia were particularly attractive. The Superior General received requests for Brothers to staff schools in Perth and Fremantle in 1881, 1887 and 1889, even with the offer of control of an orphanage at Subiaco. Aloysius Gonzaga, from Penang, when visiting his parents in Melbourne in 1890, was asked to report on prospects for the Brothers there, and in Perth. He enthusiastically supported the idea of a community in the latter city.[26] He raised the idea again three years later in correspondence with the Superior General:



A photograph of the Australian pioneers taken on 15 November 1905 at St Joseph's Industrial School, Manchester, before their embarkation for Australia. Front row: left to right, Brothers Macnesius Smythe, Alban Salmon, Athanasius Grace, Patrick McNamara. Back row: left to right, Brothers Benignus White, Camille Eugene, Camelian, Claude-Marie, Cajetan de Jesus, Defendant (Louis), Daniel Paul, Defendant-Marie (Joseph).

> After having carefully visited the leading Colonies, I came to the conclusion that the only place where we could safely establish ourselves, was Western Australia. The best positions in the principal towns of the other Colonies of Australia, are now in the hands of other Teaching Congregations, some of whom have already established a wide reputation. To start a House in the neighbourhood of such establishments with slender resources, and a weak staff at our disposal, would not be at all advisable. ... [but] There is as yet, no Teaching Congregation of men, in that part of the country, and if the Brothers could only have a footing there, a fine District can in course of time be formed, comprising the principal schools in the Diocese.[27]

The Brothers' more permanent foundation in Western Australia had to wait for more than half a century.

Foundation

The De La Salle Brothers' lasting introduction to Australia came at the insistence of Sydney's Cardinal Patrick Francis Moran who was well disposed towards them. Indeed, when Bishop of Ossory, he had invited a group of American De La Salle Brothers to establish an industrial school in Athlone in his diocese, and in 1881 offered

them a building for use as a novitiate in Castletown. After moving to Sydney as archbishop, Moran regularly wrote to the Superior General seeking Brothers from Ireland. In 1904, Brother Gabriel-Marie finally agreed to send men to Australia at the end of the current school year. Seeking to satisfy the request of Cardinal Moran provided the Superior General with the opportunity to address the issue of the many French Brothers effectively displaced following passage of the Association Laws in 1904.

Meanwhile, in November 1904 Moran offered the first community to Bishop O'Connor, the third Bishop of Armidale, which had been founded as a separate diocese in 1869. Moran did so 'considering only the interests of the Church'.[28] Moreover, O'Connor was a native of Waterford and therefore knew of the De La Salle Brothers and was known to them.

Anthony Jerome Flood, the Visitor for the British Isles, agreed to send five Irish Brothers. He left for Australia from Marseilles on 31 May 1905, with Brothers Divitien-Henri, former director of St Malo, and Didyme, formerly director of novices at Nantes. They arrived in Sydney 42 days later, and stayed with the Marist Fathers at Villa Maria before travelling to Armidale on 3 August 1905. Here they remained with Bishop O'Connor for three months until their residence adjoining the college was ready. They occupied the residence on 5 October 1905.

Meanwhile the five Irish Brothers were chosen. They were Brothers Alban Salmon, Macnesius Smythe, Patrick McNamara, Athanasius Grace and Benignus White. They were joined at Manchester by seven French Brothers, Brothers Defendant-Marie, Camelian, Camille-Eugene, Defendant, Cajetan of Jesus, Claude-Marie and Daniel Paul. The group left Liverpool on 17 November 1905 and sailed for Australia aboard the twin-screw steamer, *Runic*. The voyage was evidently very pleasant for all concerned and relations between the Irish and French Brothers were friendly, although the latter knew very little English. The party disembarked in Sydney on 6 January 1906 and arrived in Armidale by train two days later.

The permanent Australian foundation had begun.

Chapter Two

Foundation 1906–1911

The Australian foundation had been made, but its continuation remained very problematical and bedevilled because of attitudes to the French predominant within the Institute. The endeavour was flawed from its inception. The Institute superiors considered the Australian foundation, in large part, as an answer to a French problem, rather than a contribution to an Australian issue. The superiors were unwilling to take advice from those Australian clerics seeking Brothers for their schools, and who insisted that only Irish would be successful. Thus, the planning and execution of the new foundation demonstrated a complete lack of appreciation of social conditions prevailing in Australia, particularly the contemporary Francophobia that was the product of centuries of British-French hostility. In contrast to the early United States experience, the French were considered political enemies of the British Empire and rivals rather than friends and allies. The *Entente cordiale* was signed by Britain and France only on 8 April 1904 to settle colonial disputes in North Africa.

The task of establishing the Institute within a tight-knit, Irish-Catholic rural community in a remote continent was difficult enough, even for Irish Brothers who were culturally more akin to most Catholics in the wider community. However, it was needlessly complicated by the preponderance of French Brothers who were placed in positions of authority. The Brothers would have done well to follow the example of the Marist Brothers who ensured that the pioneer community differed little in its social composition from those among whom the Brothers expected to work: even then, the Marist Brothers had to struggle to establish their credibility. The issue may

have been ameliorated if the French Brothers had had a greater mastery of English, or had been spread among more than one community. The lack of preparation reflected a lack of tolerance on both sides, and lack of common sense on the part of the French superiors that needlessly complicated the Institute's foundation in Australia.

The difficulties caused by the flawed plans for the new foundation created tensions that were compounded because of the different cultures of those forming the Brothers' community. These tensions were exacerbated in turn, by those between Brothers and clergy.

The initial problems were overcome. Even then, however, the fortunes of the fledgling outpost of the Institute continued to be hampered by ignorance of social conditions prevailing in Australia and the position of Catholics in the new Commonwealth.

Disillusionment

The circumstances in which the Brothers found themselves contrasted markedly from what they had been led to expect. The Irish Brothers, at least, had expected Alban to be their director: the French had expected Didyme to be in charge of the community. However, Marius James Byrne, formerly the Director of St Xavier's Institution in Penang, was appointed director of the new foundation.

All—with the possible exception of Marius—accepted the challenge with a will, despite the initial surprise and the need to adapt to the new environment. The College opened on 3 February 1906 with nine boarders and eight day boys. However, the clergy, particularly Monsignor Tobin, the Administrator, remained generally opposed to the presence of the French Brothers and refused to support them or have them associated with schools in Armidale. The Armidale diocese was not a wealthy one and in any circumstances would have been hard-pressed to support a community of ten men who were associated with only a small school.

Bishop O'Connor was similarly disposed and had made his position clear before the Brothers had arrived. He reiterated his attitude towards the French Brothers in a letter to Clementian, Assistant, dated 5 February 1906, only two days after the opening of the College:

> As regards the French Brothers whom you have sent, I fear that their presence here does not contribute to the good name of the establishment or to the Peace and harmony which ought to exist. It is to be regretted that they were ever sent for they are quite incapable of teaching. All our pupils are the sons of Irish parents who do not want their children to be taught by foreigners. And furthermore that would give a bad name to the establishment and prevent its subsequent success. It would be called the French College and rival institutions would not fail to take advantage of that.
>
> Besides, dear Br. Clementian, as these Brothers are formed in a different school from the Irish Brothers, their views and ideas of things are different. I fear that the peace and harmony of the establishment is often in danger. Of course I know that they are

> very good religious but human nature is always human nature, and there is great danger of frequent misunderstandings. I had no need of French Brothers. I need Brothers who can speak English without a foreign accent. I need men who can teach the children, not bad English but correct English and with good pronunciation. I need no French Brothers to teach specialities which would expose the College to being called 'French'. In conclusion I may say that those whom you have sent cannot be made use of in schools where all the children are English. The parents would not have it. Surely I will ask none of these Brothers to teach our children and I am sure that H. E. Cardinal Moran shares my sentiments.[1]

O'Connor had asked the Patrician Brothers to withdraw from the school. He was adamant that there not be a repeat situation. He had impressed on Anthony the need for qualified teachers in late 1904:

> I would wish to impress upon you, my dear Father [sic], [of] the desirability of sending out well trained men not only to man the parochial school but especially to ensure the future success of the college which I shall hand over to you and which I feel confident will be a great success in time.[2]

He reiterated his concern only four months later:

> The men whom you would send, the men who will be the founders of what will, I hope, be one of the leading educational establishments in Australia, must be prudent, thoroughly efficient and well trained men. Much depends on the beginning ...[3]

The French Brothers were none too pleased to be placed in



Brothers' communities and works in New South Wales.

such a situation. Anthony Flood, the Irish Visitor, was powerless to resolve the issue and left Armidale three weeks after having installed Marius as director. Marius and the French Brothers wrote to the Superior General on 4 March 1906 putting forward their interpretation of events with their wish to leave Australia:

> As you see, Most Honourable Brother, it is not a question of speaking well or badly the English language; it is a question of nationality, of influence, of direction. ... No loophole has been left to the French Brothers to remain in Australia.
>
> COMMUNITY: If the clergy had accepted the French Brothers, the Irish would not have remained. At present we are living apart and are together only at the chapel. They demanded that and are striving to make the separation more and more complete. They told Br James that if they were subjected to French influence, they would protest, having come here with the promise that Australia would be an Irish province, composed of Irishmen and directed by Irishmen. On the boat the relations between the Brothers of the two nationalities were nothing short of fraternal but here, with the Irish finding the clergy more than disposed to second their views ... it is quite a different matter! The bishop of Armidale told them: 'I would like the French Brothers to understand that their place is not here.' Alas! the poor Brothers! They don't understand it and feel it only too much: they are undergoing a real persecution. ...[4]

Divitien-Henri wrote in similar vein:

> We have been deceived all along the line, we and the superiors! The French Brothers will not be allowed to teach, much less to direct a school. The question of the language more or less well spoken is quite secondary. They want to avoid at all cost French influence. The clergy, the episcopate, will introduce Latin into our schools, and that through the door or the window.[5]

Marius Byrne, who was unhappy in his appointment and invariably painted a dark scenario, claimed to have been betrayed, both by the Australian clergy and his own superiors:

> The French Brothers left Europe with the assurance of Br Asst Aimarus that Australia would be before 'avant tout' a French district. The poor Irish Brothers were induced here by the promise that it would be another South Africa, an English colony under English influence. Both parties consider themselves sorely deceived. Personally I was deceived from the beginning. If I had known what I know now that the intention of Br Asst Aimarus was to make an instrument of me; if especially I had known how he had defamed poor Br Gabriel Visitor, and the good Brothers who had opposed my change although these Brothers had never acted with more straightforwardness and good intention, I would be, as I am now, deeply hurt. He took advantage of my good will ... to use me as an

> instrument to establish French influence in such an exclusive colony as is Australia where francophobia is so strong. ...
>
> Br Didyme and the other poor French Brothers are bearing their trials with edifying calmness. I encourage them as much as I can. They are all so good and so different from others sent to the Indies. The Irish Brothers with one or two exceptions are as exclusive as when they first left Ireland. They see however that Armidale is not a land of milk and honey. They are all doing their work very well. They no longer have any connections with the clergy and others, but they cannot help regretting the fact that they have been deceived.[6]

The Irish Brothers were displeased at the situation too, as relations between them and the French Brothers deteriorated, particularly because they and Anthony appeared to be blamed for much of the discord. Anthony's early departure had made compromise more difficult, and Bishop O'Connor's departure for a visit to Rome in February allowed the Administrator to wield greater influence.

Resolution

The situation was clearly impossible. It was resolved by the French Brothers' sudden departure from Australia, even before they received formal approval to do so. They left Sydney for Colombo aboard the S.S. *Yarra* on 23 April 1906.

Marius had never been happy in Australia and remained only a few weeks longer. He sailed from Sydney bound for Penang aboard the *Magnolia* in June 1906, leaving five Irish Brothers in Armidale. Three men taught in the college: the others taught at the parish school. Clementian appointed Alban as director of the community but neglected to follow up his instruction with the requisite official appointment, or so-called 'obedience'.

Marius later wrote a lengthy report on his time and experiences in Australia. He was particularly critical of Anthony—even unfairly so—whom he described as 'a man of God according to his lights, of obvious piety, zealous for good, but possessed of a decidedly erratic judgement, sadly lacking in prudence, discretion, and perhaps propriety'. He criticised the five Irish Brothers as acting 'like people of the world', who were fond of playing cards and smoking, preferring to walk out in secular rather than religious clothing, and showing little respect for their superiors.[7] This judgement may have been a little harsh: few male religious in Australia walked out in religious dress as they did in Europe. Marius believed that none of the Irish sought to support the French or to come to an accommodation with them.

Benignus later reflected on conditions that exacerbated the issue and believed that Marius' own attitudes compounded the problems:

> I consider this [his appointment] to have been a serious mistake, and it must be regarded as one of the causes of the collapse of the scheme to settle Brothers from the District of Nantes in Australia.

> Br. James did not want to leave Malaya, where all his interests were, and he certainly did not try to settle down in Armidale. His one great desire was to return to Penang. The departure of the French Brothers would serve his purpose …
>
> Apparently the Higher Superiors had planned that Br Didyme was to be the Director of the combined groups, and the appointment of Br. James was an afterthought. The Irish Brothers … left Ireland under the impression that Br. Alban was to be their Director. So the question of Directorship of Armidale was a veritable muddle. … It was regrettable that there was so much secret planning on the part of those responsible for sending the first groups of Brothers to Australia.[8]

Indeed, Benignus considered the whole scheme to have been very poorly planned from the beginning, with little serious consideration being given to the difficulties of a new foundation in a new land with French Brothers who had no understanding of English. This was undoubtedly so, but the chaotic position of the Institute in France at the time made detailed planning and preparation difficult. However, it did not exonerate the Irish Brothers who apparently did little to ease the plight of their French confreres. French Brothers sent to other non French-speaking mission countries at the time were successful, especially in South America. Even some of those who had gone to Australia fared well in other areas. Brothers Claude and Camille-Eugene went to Ceylon. The former became director of St Benedict's College, and the latter became Visitor of the Colombo District. Another group of these French Brothers worked successfully in the Brothers' schools in the United States.[9]

The introduction of the De La Salle Brothers to Australia had not been the triumph the clergy or the Brothers had hoped. The high hopes and idealism of all concerned barely survived the opening of the school at Armidale. However, once the chief sources of tension were removed, the Irish Brothers set about their task and that of enhancing the reputation of the Institute, though the repercussions of the first experience hampered them for some time.

Thereafter, the Brothers' life settled into a routine that reflected that of their confreres elsewhere in the world:

Challenges

Unfortunately, the legacy of the problems associated with the Australian foundation persisted for several years. The associated difficulties were exacerbated by the isolation of the Australian foundation, the lack of ready communications with Europe, and the perceptions of Superiors that were formed largely by the French Brothers. The Brothers in Australia were convinced that they were blamed for the early fiasco and felt abandoned by their French superiors who virtually ignored them for almost two years. The Brothers felt their isolation keenly, particularly after hearing news

Coutumier of
Community of De La Salle College, Armidale[10]

School days

5.30			a.m.	Rising &c.
6.00	–	7.00		Morning Exercises
7.00	–	7.30		*Pater Aeterne* and Study of Catechism
7.30	–	8.00		Mass or Visit 7.35–8.00 (College Chapel)
8.00	–	9.00		Breakfast followed by Rosary (Six decades) and preparation for Class
9.00	–	12.40		Class Work
12.40	–	2.00	p.m.	Examen, *Quicumque,* Dinner and Recreation
2.00	–	4.15		Class Work
4.15	–	5.30		Private Study
5.30	–	6.30		Spiritual Exercises
6.30	–	7.30		Tea and Recreation
7.30	–	9.30		Private Study
9.30	–	...		Night Prayers and retiring

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Saturday as usual except a half hour of Spiritual reading before dinner
Walk in the afternoon

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Sunday's Regulation

6.00			a.m.	Rising &c. and Morning Prayers
6.45				Departure for Church, continuation of Exercises, H.Communion, Mass, Beads (during the 2 hrs. spent at Church)
9.00				Breakfast, *Pater Aeterne,* Study and Class Work
12.00				Spiritual Reading
12.30			p.m.	Examen, *Quicumque,* Dinner and Recreation.
2.30				Catechism followed by Benediction in Church
4.30	–	5.30		Free Time
5.30	–	6.00		Spiritual Reading and Conference
6.00	–	6.30		Vespers sung by Brothers and Boys (College Chapel)
6.30	–	...		Tea and afterwards as usual.

that the whole Regime was to consider the 'Australian question' with the possibility that the Brothers might be withdrawn. Already the Superior General had postponed further undertakings in Australia until the situation at Armidale had been regularised. Alban confided to Anthony, Visitor, in early 1907:

> So we are entering on another period of suspense. It's fairly discouraging to learn that after a full year's hard work our fate is still in the balance. It struck me all along as somewhat peculiar that no obedience came to me, also that you are so slow about sending that long expected man. We are deserted on all sides, haven't heard from the Assistant for months and months. Your letters are the only connecting links binding us to home and superiors, and only for the encouragement they afford we should be lost altogether.[11]

Macnesius recalled something of the trials with which he and his colleagues had to contend:

> The failure of the French Brothers seemed a severe blow to the Australian foundation. The superiors were very annoyed when the news reached Europe that the French Brothers were not received in Australia. Brother Anthony and the Irish section of the community were blamed for the French fiasco. The superiors refused to receive Br Anthony on his return to Europe; he was deprived of office and shortly afterwards died in Dublin. The little community in Armidale was ostracised and deprived of a Director for two years. But perhaps the severest trial of all for the Brothers was to be refused their vows. Of the 5 Brothers who came from Ireland, only Br Alban was professed; the other 4 had annual vows. However before leaving Ireland they had petitioned for triennial vows, and in due course were notified that their petitions were granted by the provincial chapter held in Ireland. It was found when the time came for making the vows that the delegated authority to receive the vows had not come from the superiors. The Brothers, deeming the omission to be due to oversight on the part of the superiors, or the effect of distance, requested Br Alban to receive the vows. This he consented to do. As customary the formulas were signed and forwarded to the Regime. These vows were renewed on Trinity Sunday. However a few days later a note was received from the Sup. Gen. (Br Gabriel-Marie) through the Asst (Br Clementian) stating that the vows were not validly made and that the Brothers had either no vows OR ONLY PRIVATE VOWS. As the Brothers had no intention of making private vows, they were forced to accept the other alternative: they had no vows. After a state of bewilderment of 9 months [sic], a cable was received informing the Brothers that their vows had been validated. Difficulty was still experienced in reconciling this information with the Sup. Genl's announcement some months previously. Finally the Brothers blindly submitted to an inexplicable tangle.[12]

At the same time, the Brothers feared that they did not have the full confidence of Bishop O'Connor. He had been away from the diocese for several months and simply sent two postcards to the Brothers , while '... he sent messages broadcast to clergy & laity all over Armidale diocese'.

Part of the perceived aloofness of O'Connor may have been due to reports he was receiving from his Vicar, Monsignor Tobin, about the Brothers and their apparent lack of docility towards the clergy. O'Connor wrote to Anthony immediately on his return to Armidale. He observed that the Brothers had 'already made a very favourable impression. They a[re] highly respected by the people & loved by the boys'. However, he then went on to list many 'misunderstandings' that had caused tension between Brothers and clergy. He was concerned that the debt on the College had risen to £1000 and suggested that the Brothers could be more frugal; he complained that the Brothers refused to allow clergy to examine

the pupils at St Mary's School; he was disturbed that the Brothers refused to adopt the government's curriculum for St Mary's with Athanasius claiming the Brothers had their own; and he believed that Athanasius was simply being difficult in declining to have boys sing at the 11 am Mass in the Cathedral on Sundays during the Christmas break. He asked Anthony to advise his charges and concluded his letter by suggesting that 'it will be in the interests of the Brothers here to be nice and respectful to the priests at all times for the priests can do much in the diocese to advertise the College and procure boys'.[13]

The Brothers were partly at fault in this regard because of their Institute's traditional opposition to any suspicion of clerical interference in its management. The Institute had been characterised by a deep respect and loyalty to the Pope and legitimate clerical authority from the time of the Founder. However, this respect was complemented by a deeply ingrained suspicion of diocesan clergy who sought to assume authority over the Brothers and who presumed to tell them what to do, as they were entitled to do in the case of a diocesan congregation. Thus, the Brothers brought with them a sense of independence that was not appreciated by clergy of the diocese and lay behind the simmering tension.

Fortunately, relations between clergy and Brothers improved following the return of O'Connor. He appeared more accepting of the Brothers' rules and customs and agreed not to press the issue of clerical examination of the students at St Mary's.[14] However, the Brothers remained at odds with their superiors for failing to keep them informed about the deliberations concerning their future. Continuing doubt about the fate of the College weighed heavily on their minds, but so too, did confusion about their religious standing. Alban complained, 'It's simply cruel the way we have been treated. I am now practically 12 months in charge and no obedience yet which I presume is both irregular and uncanonical.'[15] He continued in the same vein a few weeks later:

> I'll just mention en passant that the 4 Brothers of the cmty are now reduced to the rank of novices employed, by the arbitrary ruling of the Sup. General which reached us last Thursday ... and informed us that the Triennial Vows pronounced here were invalid, but that we might renew Annuals at Trinity. The information came too late with the result that Athanasius & Co who were looking forward to Profession a year hence, are now sans Triennial even sans Annual.[16]

Alban petitioned his superiors incessantly for a resolution of the several issues that concerned the Australian Brothers, but received scant attention that only served to exacerbate fears and suspicions. The Brothers waited vainly for news by successive mails from Europe. Alban sounded positively hopeless in his letter of 21 July 1907 when information promised by a cable of 4 June had not arrived:

> I have nothing more to add except to say that the position is becoming more untenable as time goes on, and if we don't get help we shall be forced to capitulate. Your humble servant embodies Director, professor, econome, partial prefect all in one. Then there is the other consideration. How long are 4 young brothers of the rank of novices employed without any appointed Director going to continue together. Only they are the stern stuff that they are the story would be still a gloomier one.[17]

The Brothers' work in the school was very successful and won accolades from Bishop O'Connor, despite the personal, diocesan and Institute problems:

> The parochial school goes on well. The Brothers are most painstaking, and industrious, love the boys and the boys love them. Can I say more? Regarding the college about which I told you often when here, that I did not expect much from it for a few years at least. Many good Catholics knowing the former failure held back their boys till the success or otherwise of the place was assured. The college is not 18 months old yet and there are already 31 boarders. After midwinter I know of 5 boys who are coming ... I like the Brothers very much. They are dearly loved by their boys, who are carefully cared for and trained by the Bros. The college grounds look lovely, and the buildings look very nice indeed.[18]

Alban was particularly proud of the endeavours of the rugby teams:

> Our two Rugby football teams are our best & most powerful moyens de surveillance. Athletics count more here than in any other part of the English speaking world. It is our proud boast that we have won every one of the 20 odd matches which we have played this season. Lately our boys sent out a challenge to any team under 18 (years) in the northern half of the State. They are confident of winning the medals offered this year by the New England Rugby Association.[19]

Bishop O'Connor's support for the Brothers began to wane because of continuing indecision about the future of the College and the possibility of the Brothers withdrawing. He became increasingly apprehensive about the cost of conducting the College and in Alban's opinion became increasingly 'cool, not to say, hostile' towards the Brothers.[20] It is evident, however, that Alban, whom colleagues described as moody and choleric, was not averse to confronting his clerical critics, and indeed admitted to a 'a running fight' with them for 18 months. The tension flared openly at the concert and prize-giving at the end of the year. The concert was evidently a resounding success, though Dean Tobin and Bishop O'Connor took exception to one item and thereafter took every opportunity to criticise. However, given the enthusiasm of the bumper audience, O'Connor could do nothing but praise the concert and the work of the Brothers in his speech. Alban, in reply,

took the opportunity to goad Dean Tobin, by suggesting that the Bishop's laudatory speech had 'effectively disposed of the carping criticism of a gentleman in the front row, who had nothing but fault finding the whole time.' The following day the Bishop and three priests called at the college to censure Alban. He was not to be cowed, as he related:

> The former [O'Connor] attacked me, and the others pitched into the other Brothers. They got tit for tat, and I told the Bishop there was nothing to apologise for, since he himself praised the concert, and that I considered his a double-faced manner of acting, praising the concert before the people and joining in Dean Tobin's criticism below.[21]

Relations between the Brothers and O'Connor had reached a nadir. Fortunately the Brothers had the overwhelming support of the parents of their students who formed a deputation to wait upon the Bishop to urge him not to permit the Brothers to withdraw or the College to close. Alban apologised to O'Connor for his remarks at a subsequent meeting, the two reached an agreement under which the Brothers would continue to staff the College and the two parted amicably enough.[22]

Matters finally began to improve on other fronts following receipt of a telegram from Anthony in November 1907, saying 'General validates vows made Christmas send renovation petitions'.[23] The Brothers remained confused about their status, but pleased that superiors were finally taking notice of them: two of them, Benignus and Athanasius, hastened to petition for annual vows leaving to superiors to determine whether they could take triennial vows. However, the long period of uncertainty about the future of the College and the Brothers' status had become too much for Patrick McNamara who confided to Alban that he intended to leave the Institute at the completion of the school year: he did not consider himself bound by vows and therefore considered there to be no need for dispensation. The Brothers were concerned not to cause a scandal among the boys and the public generally, so put about the story that Patrick's father had died—which was true—and that he had to return home to finalise family matters. He sailed for America on 18 December 1907.

The anticipated loss of Patrick threatened to deplete an already overworked community. However, the community learned in November that two additional men were being sent to Armidale and that the auxiliary Visitor, Kiaran Cunniam, was to visit Australia and the community and meet O'Connor to finalise an agreement under which the Brothers would staff the College and St Mary's School.

In accordance with the new arrangements, Brothers Paul Phelan and Benedict Hayden arrived in Armidale on 1 April 1908

and were received with mixed feelings by the community. An earlier letter from Kiaran had intimated that Paul Phelan was to be the director of the community. Alban took great exception to this, both that he had been apparently replaced, and that he had not been informed of the matter. He informed the Visitor 'Once on a time I moved Heaven & Earth to get out of the job, but now I mean to contest the ground'.[24] Moreover, Alban had the support of the community. Athanasius informed the Visitor that all of the original community were reluctant to see Alban changed, for many reasons, not the least being his firm stand against the clergy.[25]

Paul handled the situation delicately and did not insist upon his position, but preferred to allow matters to remain as they were. He found the community and school sufficiently well managed that he believed it unwise to alter arrangements and simply slipped into the role of teacher of the second class at the College.[26] Kiaran arrived in Armidale to conclude an agreement with Bishop O'Connor and also declined to alter the arrangements then in place, particularly because Paul had been ill for much of the time since arriving in Australia.[27] There matters remained until the Brothers' retreat in July 1908 when Kiaran received a letter from the Assistant reiterating his instruction that Paul should be the Director of the community. Paul indicated that 'Bro. Alban submitted cheerfully and my obedience was accordingly read today, 13 July 1908'.[28]



A later photograph of Brother Paul Andrew Phelan.

Paul Phelan was to have a great deal of influence on the early history of the Institute in Australia. He was already a man of considerable experience when he arrived in Armidale. He had been born at Camross, County Leix, Ireland on 3 October 1869. He entered the juniorate at Castletown on 10 July 1883, but continued on to the novitiate in Paris on 3 September 1885 and took the robe a month later. This religious training in France, shared by other Irish Brothers at the time, had a major influence on Paul's spirituality and was to set him apart from many of his contemporaries in Australia. He returned to Ireland, completed his scholasticate, and began his teaching career in 1887, taking charge of his first school in Kilkenny in 1896. An early attempt at a university course was cut short by illness. He had worked in England in 1900 before going to South Africa in 1904 to become the director of the Brothers' first foundation there, at Kingwilliamstown.

Paul assumed control of a very well-run college that was beginning to pay its way, though with yet nothing to spare. There were currently 51 boarders at the College. An early prospectus indicated that the College offered a broad range of subjects. They included, Christian Doctrine; English and French; Arithmetic, Geometry and Algebra; History, Geography, Physics and Chemistry; Bookkeeping and Technical and Ornamental Drawing, along with optional subjects[29] The Brothers had high hopes for their College at Armidale, despite the early difficulties. Armidale

had given great promise, once the Brothers had weathered the initial trauma. Benignus, in particular, was recognised as an excellent teacher.

Still the equilibrium could be quickly altered. Brother Thomas Daly joined the community during 1910. Paul judged this 'one of the greatest blessings the place has had yet'. He wrote of Thomas, that 'He is resourceful, a good organiser and a most devoted and self-sacrificing man. I believe that with God's blessing he will make things "hum"'.[30] Thomas certainly had an impact, though not the one for which Paul had hoped. He was well-meaning and threw himself into his work as Prefect, though without the necessary understanding of the task, with the consequence that he caused havoc. The music teacher at the school, Mme de Percevale, remarked upon the excellent work of the school orchestra during the previous year, and added:

> So it is really heart-breaking to see the whole thing spoiled—and the school falling off daily through the dislike the boys unanimously show, and express to all and sundry for their present Prefect. I heard down town some time ago—that half the boys intended leaving for that reason alone—and there have been rows one upon another since and we have lost four or five of our best musicians, while others are scheming to get away and there seems to be no heart in anything lately and no 'go'. The boys put up a formal petition to get B. Athanasius back, and being, of course, refused—broke out into open rebellion—two were expelled and others left on various pretexts afterwards—out of sympathy with the ringleaders.[31]

Many of the contentious issues encountered by the Brothers were of their own making. However, there were few major issues associated with the conduct of the school beyond those encountered in any comparable school. A measles epidemic swept through the College late in 1912. Paul reported that 'One dormitory is full, and the classrooms are nearly empty. Many boys are gone home so as to escape the disease'.[32] Otherwise school life continued in accordance with the daily timetable.

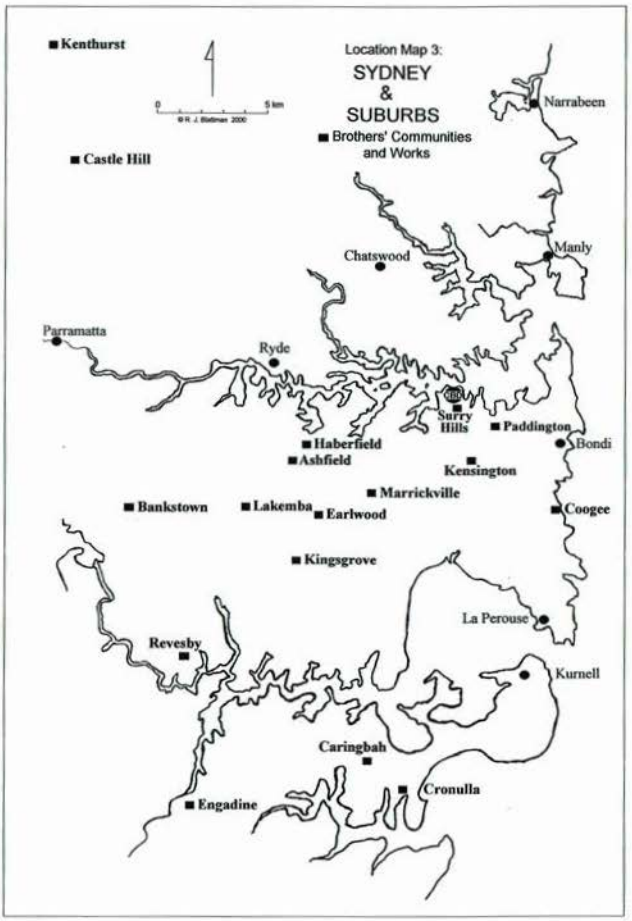
Expansion

The Australian foundation had been made, and it continued—under Irish Brothers. However, a great deal remained to be done to consolidate the Institute's presence and to lessen the tension created by the initial confrontation between Brothers and clergy. Indeed, even the Irish Brothers had some difficulty in adapting to the circumstances in Australia. More than simply promoting tensions, their sense of independence threatened the closure of two of the Institute's first three schools and promised only a bleak future for the college at Armidale. Survival and growth in Australia necessitated the Institute—both in Europe and Australia—acknowledging the circumstances in the remote outpost of the Institute and ultimately

encouraging the development of an indigenous culture.

Fortunately for the survival of the Institute in Australia, other Irishmen volunteered for the Australian mission. Three men arrived from Ireland early in 1909, to begin a new foundation in Sydney. An additional three Brothers arrived to complement those already in Australia later that same year.

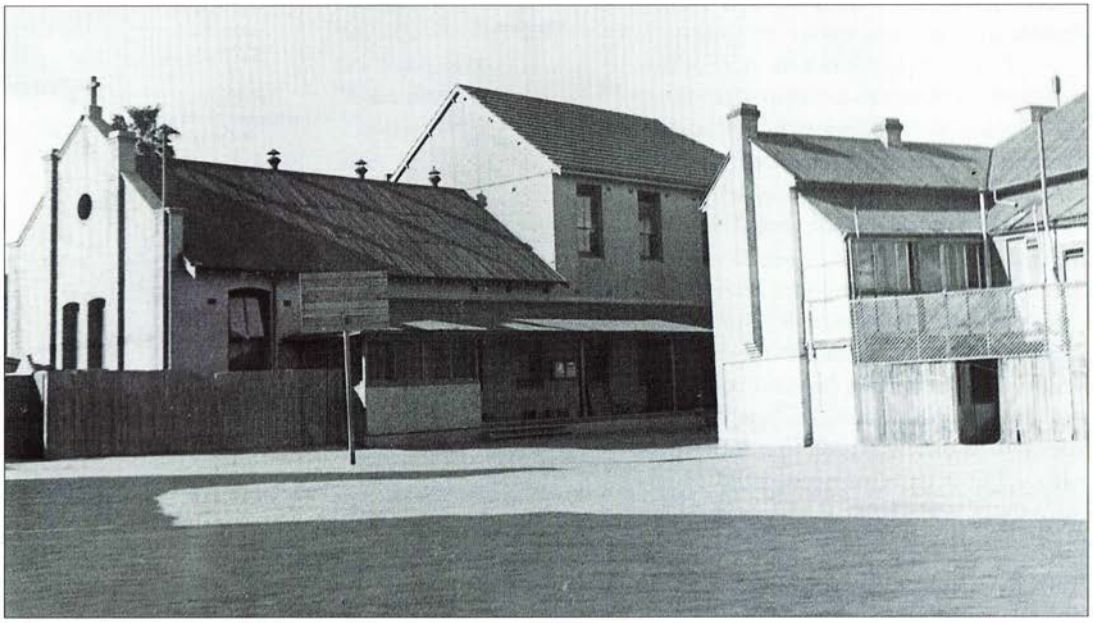
There was promise of continued growth with the foundation of St Peter's School at Surry Hills in suburban Sydney in 1909. This had originally been intended as the Institute's first Australian school, but it had not been ready to receive them, and Cardinal Moran had sent the Brothers to Armidale. The Superiors were reluctant to disappoint Cardinal Moran who had been seeking men for many years, but the issue with the French Brothers at Armidale postponed any possibility of an early Sydney foundation. The Brothers' failure to commit staff to the school sorely tried the patience of both the Cardinal and that of Father Collender, the parish priest of Surry Hills. Finally, in December 1907, Father Collender was informed that a community of Brothers would depart Ireland in 1908 in order to commence teaching at the beginning of 1909.



Brothers' communities and works: Sydney and suburbs.

Thus, on 19 December 1908, Brothers Fridolin Blackwell (Director), Patrick Cawley and Edward Jordan left Liverpool aboard the *Runic* to take charge of the Sydney school. It was a daunting introduction to Australia for the younger men. They followed a strict religious schedule while on board. The first day at sea was a Sunday and, because there were three priests on board they attended three Masses.[33] Edward later wrote of the voyage:

> ... the voyage from Liverpool to Sydney took seven weeks. From the commencement of our voyage our Director drew up a timetable for our daily Spiritual Exercises which were performed without fail in the Cabin. Our Morning Meditation was followed by at least one Mass, which was said in the Library. Both Brother Patrick and I welcomed the systematic Spiritual Exercises, for we fully realised their necessity in preparing us for the strenuous life that lay ahead of us ... As the weeks went by we found that while, on the one hand, our Director kept us strictly to the spiritual life, he was, on the



St Peters' School, Surry Hills.

other hand, somewhat unsociable, over-exacting, and a specialist in the application of poverty. When, after a non-stop voyage of three weeks we at last reached Cape Town, we eagerly looked forward to stretching our legs on dry land, but I was denied that pleasure. All the passengers, except Brother Director and I, hastened ashore. Brother Patrick had the good luck to be taken ashore by one of the priests, but as the ferryboat cost a couple of shillings, our Director could not see his way to go to such extravagance.[34]

Patrick Cawley later wrote of the foundation that 'The District wherein the Surry Hills community is located is a very poor one, the work of the brothers is hard and this work has to be done under the poorest conditions'.[35]

The Brothers had early success which kept morale high. Fridolin could hardly contain his pride at the success of two of the school's students in the Junior University exams in 1910. 'So the poor monks are naturally in great glee', he wrote, 'Father Collender is in the highest delight and the good Sisters, I hear, actually had an extra recreation!! to celebrate the event.'[36]

However, the foundation had barely been made when it came under threat in 1910 over the issue of diocesan inspections and examinations of Catholic parochial schools. This smacked of clerical interference in the work of the Brothers and was stoutly resisted. At that time Paul, the senior man in Australia, was of a mind to close schools rather than yield to the clerical pressure.[37] He travelled to Sydney in August 1910 to confront the Cardinal with the decision of the Superiors. He recalled, 'When his eminence heard the decision he said: "I won't approve that". Then he said

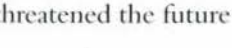
there was no alternative but to submit or leave'. The matter caused consternation. Paul continued, 'I told Father Collender today that the Brothers would be leaving, since the Superiors had given a decision which they would not go back on: and there was not much likelihood that the Cardinal would go back on his decision'.[38]

The Surry Hills Brothers were aghast at the prospect of having to abandon the school where they had had such recent success. As a group they petitioned the Visitor to permit them to have the inspection and examination. They argued that to be locked out of the Sydney archdiocese with a reputation for anti-clericalism would create difficulty in being accepted elsewhere in Australia.[39] Fridolin urged the Visitor to find a way 'to retrace your steps honourably'. This occurred and the inspection went ahead.

A similar situation arose in Armidale where there was a decided 'anti-clerical clique', and split the community. Paul Phelan had originally been opposed to the idea of diocesan inspections of Institute schools. However, perhaps influenced by the Surry Hills experience, he insisted that a diocesan inspection of St Mary's School in Armidale go ahead. His reason for supporting the idea of the inspection was to enhance the standard of the school—which was currently 'decidedly lower than that of the Public School or the convent school'—and to facilitate an objective comparison with other schools. Paul's objective was laudatory, but his execution of the idea was decidedly faulty, given colleagues' attitudes to clerical matters. Several men—including Alban and Athanasius who had held out against what they believed to be clerical interference during the years of their 'exile'—were decidedly hostile to the idea of the diocesan inspection for the very reasons Paul would have espoused two years earlier; so too was Macnesius, the principal of St Mary's. However, Paul had Macnesius change places with Thomas, who was a supporter of examinations and who introduced the innovation.[40] Ultimately five Brothers, Alban, Macnesius, Celsus, Pius and Benignus, all signed a petition to the Visitor in Ireland to have the initiative reversed.[41] The inspection and examination remained, but Alban, who had organised the petition and who seemed to be constantly hostile to Paul, was transferred to a new foundation in Victoria in March 1912, soon after Easter.



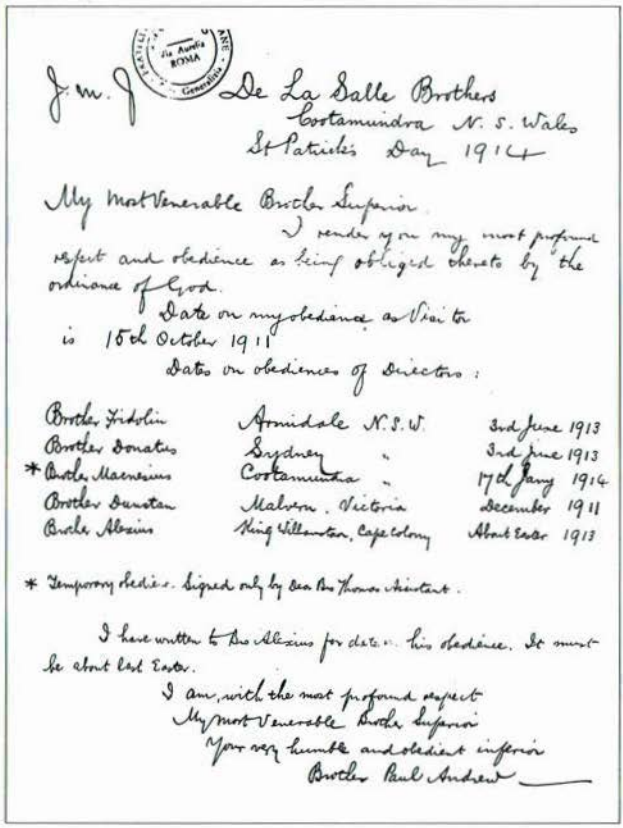
The Australian foundation of the Brothers of the Christian Schools had not been the triumph that Superiors in Europe or the Australian hierarchy had expected. The early years were characterised by tensions between the Brothers themselves and between them and the local clergy that threatened the future of the foundation.



Chapter Three

Struggleyears 1911–1924

A letter of Paul Phelan indicating the date of his appointment as Brother Visitor.



J. M. J. De La Salle Brothers
Cootamundra N. S. Wales
St Patrick's Day 1914

My Most Venerable Brother Superior
I render you my most profound respect and obedience as being obliged thereto by the ordinance of God.
Date on my obedience as Visitor is 15th October 1911
Date on obediences of Directors:

Brother Fidolin	Armidale N.S.W.	3rd June 1913
Brother Donatus	Sydney "	3rd June 1913
* Brother Marcellus	Cootamundra "	17th January 1914
Brother Dunstan	Malvern, Victoria	December 1911
Brother Aloysius	King Williamstown, Cape Colony	About Easter 1913

* Temporary Obedience. Signed only by Bro Thomas Assistant.

I have written to Bro Aloysius for date of his obedience. It must be about last Easter.
I am, with the most profound respect
My Most Venerable Brother Superior
Your very humble and obedient inferior
Brother Paul Andrew

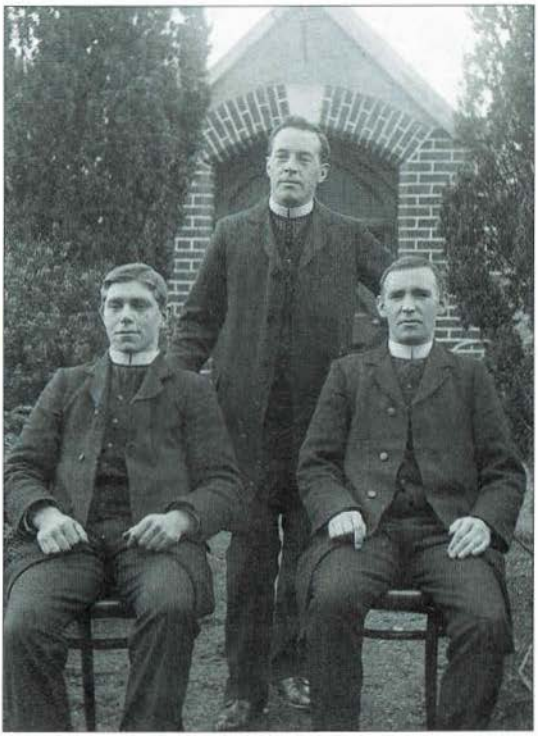
The foundation of the Australian District had been a struggle that was more intense than had been expected, and more than was necessary. The struggle continued through the second decade of the twentieth century, with Brothers in Australia remaining dependent upon financial and manpower support from Ireland. There remained many requests for men to staff schools, but the De La Salle Brothers, being relatively late arrivals to Australia, were generally offered schools in country dioceses or the less attractive suburbs of the capitals. Still, slow growth ensued and the first local recruits were attracted to the Institute. Certainly the Australian outpost of the Institute fared better than that in the Cape Colony: the first foundation there had been made in 1904, but 29 years passed before a second was made.

Moreover, the Australian Brothers gained a measure of independence when Brother Paul Phelan was appointed the first Visitor of Australia on 15 October 1911.[1] Paul's responsibility extended over two houses in Australia, the men in formation and the community in Kingwilliamstown in Cape Colony. He continued as director of the Armidale community, and remained dependent upon the Irish District for men.[2]

Expansion

The appointment of their own Visitor gave the Australian schools a measure of independence. Almost immediately Paul became responsible for a third Australian community when the Institute extended its influence south of the River Murray in 1912 with the foundation of De La Salle College, at Malvern in suburban Melbourne. This new foundation followed requests from the parish priest, Father Simon Hegarty CM. Under the terms of the arrangement with Kiaran Cunniam, the Visitor for Ireland, the parish agreed to fund the passage from Ireland of the foundation community, provide a suitable house for the Brothers and pay a stipend of £80 per year for each.

The new community was founded with Brothers from Ireland and comprised Brothers Dunstan Drumm (Director), Leopold Loughran and Jerome Foley. The group sailed for Australia on Christmas Day 1911 and arrived in Melbourne on 4 February 1912. They began teaching the following day. The promised school building had not yet been completed which meant that the Brothers commenced teaching 54 pupils in the parish hall. The new school in Stanhope Street West was ready for occupation immediately after the Easter holidays and was officially blessed and opened on the Tuesday after Easter by Archbishop Thomas Carr. The Brothers quickly settled into a routine, with the chronicler of the house history quickly covering the first few years of the foundation:



Pioneer community at De La Salle College, Malvern. Left to right, Brothers Jerome Foley, Dunstan Drumm (Director), Leopold Loughran.

> Shortly after opening Br Leopold was sent to Armidale & Br Alban of that community came to take his place.
>
> By the end of the second year we had our first batch of pupils ready for the merit certificate, three securing passes.
>
> From the first the pastor was keen on establishing a secondary department at the school & to that end paid the expenses of one of the brothers [Jerome] to attend the University with a view of securing the necessary qualifications.
>
> Br Jerome was transferred from the community in 1914 & his place was taken by Br Patrick. Br Dunstan remained Dr. until the end of 1917 when he was transferred to Armidale while the direction of the school was entrusted to Br Patrick.
>
> An increase of pupils necessitated additional brothers & accordingly Br Eugenius added to the staff. The increased cost of living rendered the brothers' salaries inadequate & accordingly in 1918 it was agreed that the salaries of the brothers be at the rate of £100 per man per annum. ...



Brothers' communities and works: Melbourne and suburbs.

The men in each school worked extremely hard and, for the most part, seemed to work well together. Fridolin sought an extra man for the Surry Hills staff at the end of 1912. He indicated that 'the work is really too heavy for four', then went on to commend his colleagues, 'I have not met three men in my experience before who worked so hard & so willingly as the three I'm blessed with'.[3] The Brothers from the three schools came together in Armidale for their annual retreat during the Christmas break.

The Latin question

The immediate success of the new schools in Sydney and Melbourne boded well for the future. However, the Brothers at Armidale had barely recovered from the effects of one issue associated with their apparent 'anti-clerical' culture when they encountered another that threatened the well-being and future of the College and the Institute in Australia. The Brothers had been forbidden to teach Latin, or have it taught in their schools. This was an Institute rule that extended back to the time of the Founder. Originally the teaching of Latin had been banned for very practical reasons. De La Salle did not want any of his Brothers to be tempted to become priests; he sought to ensure that the vernacular was used for instruction; and he wished to minimise any risk of the Brothers being tempted to abandon schools for the poor in favour of those for the rich. During succeeding generations the Brothers lost sight of the spirit of the rule and considered the letter to be inviolate.[4]

Adherence to Rule 28 caused little problem in France and other notionally Catholic countries where most Brothers were devoted to teaching vocational subjects to the lower and middle classes in primary or junior secondary schools—even 200 years after De La Salle's death. Indeed, the French Brothers' long-standing refusal to teach the Classics had earned them the nickname, '*les frères ignorantins*'—the ignorant Brothers—from those who believed the liberal arts to be fundamental to higher education.[5]

However, conditions were very different in schools of the New World. Class divisions were not as evident as in the Old World

and could eventually be crossed by men of wealth and influence. The sharpest divisions were probably based upon religion, where Catholics formed a minority in a generally hostile, Protestant, religious environment, and where they were generally confined to the lower reaches of society. In these situations bishops considered the teaching of Latin as an important factor in advancing the Church and as a means of fostering and facilitating vocations to the priesthood. Moreover, Latin was a prerequisite for matriculation to university, which was one of few sure means of social advancement open to Catholics.

Thus, the Brothers in the United States were persuaded to include Latin in their schools in order to cater for the needs of their students—and the Church. Latin was first introduced into the St Louis Academy in 1853 with the presumed permission of the General Chapter. The superiors were aware of the situation and tolerated it until the General Chapter of 1894, perhaps because there were many French Brothers teaching in America: both the New York and Baltimore Districts had been founded by Frenchmen, and many American pioneer bishops were of French birth or ancestry.[6] The very success of the Institute aroused the jealousy of other Catholic educators in the United States. The Jesuits complained to Vatican authorities that the Brothers were violating their rule. Early complaints were investigated, but set aside.[7] However, there had always been opposition within the dominant French—conservative—section of the Institute to the teaching of the Classics. This opposition ultimately prevailed at the General Chapter of 1894 and the American Brothers were ordered to cease teaching Latin. Bishops protested in vain. The decision had disastrous consequences for the Institute in the United States, in particular, where the Brothers struggled to survive and maintain their credibility. The Visitors of the New York and St Louis Districts who sought to have the decision reversed were stripped of office: one was sent to Toulouse, the other to Castletown. The issue continued to be debated and American Bishops continued to protest, but the Institute superiors remained firm and, on 11 January 1900, Leo XIII confirmed a decree of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda ordering the suppression of Latin in the schools and colleges of the Institute in the United States.[8]

This was the situation prevailing when the Australian foundation was made. The Australian social environment approximated that of the United States rather than that of France, or even that of Britain. The Brothers were evidently accepted in Australia on the understanding that Latin would not be taught in their schools, as Assistant Aimarus had indicated in his report concerning the Australian venture: 'Although Latin is taught in all the schools in Australia, it is understood on the part of these bishops that there will be no question of it in the schools confided to our brothers'.[9]

The superiors remained alert to ensure that Latin was not introduced. Nevertheless, it is evident that neither party to the agreement appreciated the dire consequences of this arrangement. The issue had been raised in 1907, only a year after the school at Armidale had been established:

> Regarding the teaching of Latin in the De La Salle College Armidale, your kind query is the first intimation I have received on the matter. The subject was not taught and was not to be taught in the school or College as far as I know, or had been consulted or advised in any way, directly or indirectly. The College was working for a couple of weeks whilst I was in Armidale, & I had nearly all to do with getting out the course of studies & receiving the students, Latin was always excluded. Several parents requested to have the subject taught; the request was always categorically refused. The Rev. Father Lloyd Rector of Moree said he would not send his brother unless Latin was taught, the boy was consequently refused & did not come. Another gentleman sent his boy out of the town of Armidale to another College stating he would have sent him to De La Salle if Latin were taught. Personally I would be exceedingly pained if I knew Latin were taught there — for I know it would not and could not have God's blessing. I very often receive letters from the Brothers in Armidale & no mention has ever been made of Latin. I send you under different cover a copy of the prospectus. It is the only one I have. I should like to have it again.[10]

The Latin ban had major consequences for the Brothers and De La Salle College. Their very success in teaching other subjects made for great frustration. All at Armidale were delighted with the results obtained by the six boys in the senior class in 1911. All passed the Junior University exam, two passed the Civil Service exam, one secured the best pass from the New England region, while another won the University Chemistry medal against competitors from throughout New South Wales.[11] However, as Benignus indicated, all would have matriculated had they studied Latin. He for one was constantly frustrated. 'I certainly don't believe in preparing lads for other Colleges', he wrote to the Visitor. 'I work them up to a certain pitch & then it comes that they want latin & they have to go elsewhere.'[12] Two boys who wanted to matriculate had to go to a school 450 miles away after one of them had spent six years at the College.

In Australia, as in the United States, Latin was essential for matriculation, which was itself the key to further education in New South Wales and entry to the professions. Parents who entertained the idea of higher education for their sons were reluctant to send them to the College, while those who developed the wish to matriculate had to go elsewhere to do so. Thus, the lack of Latin blighted the prospect of growth for the College from its inception, as Paul indicated, 'We have lost several boys over it and are losing them still. The disadvantages under which the College is labouring are obvious'.[13]

The Latin issue threatened the viability of the College. At the very least it would continue to be a financial burden on the Irish District. Until 1913, the Brothers at Armidale had been unable to pay any sum to the Irish District for the upkeep of the novitiate there, and indeed were more than £1000 in debt.

The Brothers believed that there was a danger that the prohibition on Latin might prevent the College at Armidale gaining status as a secondary school. As Benignus bemoaned:

> Without Latin we will be classed as a primary school & if so we might as well close it [the College] straight away. Where is our standing before the people if we are ranked among the primary schools? Do you think we will get boarders? … here we are in Armidale—the only boys' secondary school in the diocese & where bursaries could be available—about to fall down to the rank of an ordinary bush primary school.[14]

The issue was a live one at the time because of the restructuring of the New South Wales secondary school system following the appointment of Peter Board as Director-General of the Department of Education in 1910. The Qualifying Certificate was introduced as a prerequisite for promotion to high school, and Intermediate and Leaving Certificates were introduced in government secondary schools to recognise levels of attainment. In 1911, as part of this reorganisation, the New South Wales education department brought a 'Special Secondary School Inspector' from England to examine and report on all schools not part of the government system with the object of classifying them as primary or secondary schools in accordance with the proficiency of their teaching. The College was duly inspected by Mr Elliott, MA, BSc, with a view to registration as a Secondary School under the *Bursary Endowment Act 1912* and succeeded in gaining secondary status. Paul, proudly wrote that 'We are on the same level now with the highest educational establishments in New South Wales, with only one exception, viz., the University of Sydney'.[15] However, rather than being able to prepare students for the university it seemed that the College was destined to concentrate on commercial subjects.

The short-term future of the College was assured in 1911 when Assistant Thomas Kane, with responsibility for the United States, the British Isles, India, Australia and South Africa, granted permission for Latin to be taught at Kirkwood College, across the road from De La Salle College. Unfortunately, the permission was revoked by the 1913 General Chapter that elected Brother Imier as Superior General: Imier's responsibility as Assistant had previously included Australia and he knew the situation there.[16] Thomas visited the Australian outpost later in January 1913. He evidently gained some appreciation of the problems of isolation and the

difficulty of managing the Australian foundation from such a distance, but this had no impact on the Latin issue.

The implications of the Latin ban in Armidale—as in several English-speaking countries where the Brothers had secondary schools—seemed to have been lost on the French superiors of the Institute. Their attitude was a simple one: if the Brothers could not sustain the College without teaching Latin, then they were simply to withdraw, even if this meant making 'an enemy of our Institute of the Bishop of Armidale who might do us harm in Australia by his influence'.[17] Indeed, Imier, the Assistant responsible for Ireland and Australia since 1904, had written directly to Bishop O'Connor late in 1912 offering to withdraw the Brothers:

> ... we understand ... that you can easily give charge of the College to priests or to Brothers who may teach the Classics. I beg to inform you that in order not to be an obstacle to the work that you have the right to expect to be done in your College we will withdraw our Brothers from Armidale as soon as Your Lordship will find it convenient, but not later than the [end?] of the next scholastic year, if possible.[18]

The strictures against Latin also had major implications for future development of the Institute throughout Australia. As Paul noted, 'Bishops and priests who see any chance of getting Christian Brothers or Marists will not ask for us'.[19]

Bishop O'Connor appealed to the Brothers' higher superiors and the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda. Kiaran, the Irish Visitor with whom he had had dealings, was unable to give him satisfaction. 'I find the task a very difficult & delicate one to deal with', he confided, 'all the more so as I would like to see this barrier removed myself, & tried very hard on many occasions both in favour of Armidale & for one or two secondary schools in Ireland, but I have failed so far.'[20]

The issue was raised only cursorily at the General Chapter in 1913 and remained unresolved as far as proponents of Latin-teaching were concerned. The issue also took its toll on Paul, who suffered a nervous break-down early in 1913. He later wrote to Kiaran:

> You must think I was dead, owing to my long silence about things Australian. I am still alive thank God but I have been in Lewishham Hospital for five weeks. The strain under which I have been working for the past couple of years ended up in a nervous break-down and insomnia. I collapsed on Feby 21st and had to go to bed. The Doctor advised me to get away for some time from the scene of my labours. There was no chance of getting rest in Armidale where business and worry would be incessant. I went to Waratah near Newcastle to make a Retreat at the house of the Redemptorists. I have had no proper Retreat since the one you presided at in Armidale

five years ago. At the Redemptorists I got worse, so went to the hospital a complete wreck. I reached hospital on March 7th and remained five weeks.[21]

Opportunities

There remained opportunities for the Brothers in Australia, despite the Latin question, though this meant being confined to primary schools. In early 1913, for instance, Paul had requests for Brothers to staff schools in Wagga Wagga, Albury and Cootamundra, all in the diocese of Goulburn. The parish priest of Cootamundra was prepared to build and furnish a residence and pay £100 per year in addition to what the Brothers might obtain from students: he later extended his offer to include a contribution of £1000 towards the cost of a novitiate.[22] There was also a request for men to go to Tamworth and to Lismore. The activities of the Christian Brothers acted as something of a spur, as Paul indicated:

> Christian Brothers are opening at Wagga next Christmas. Father O'Shaughnessy who is a bit of an enthusiast and who likes to have his parish leading and not following, wants to have his Brothers' School before Wagga. If I could not promise him Brothers for this year, he would not agree to any of his offer. ... If in addition you can send three or four for Melbourne, one for Armidale and one for Surry Hills, all the better. None but energetic men are wanted. The competition is becoming dreadfully keen.[23]

The lack of men certainly prevented them from taking up the many opportunities offered. However, Benignus, the director of the Armidale community, believed there was also a lack of a commitment to Australia and a plan of development. He indicated that this contrasted markedly with the activities of the Christian Brothers. The latter opened a school in Hobart in 1911, which had been promised to the De La Salle Brothers; the following year they opened at Warwick, which had also been promised to the De La Salle Brothers. Benignus, for one, found the endeavour of the Christian Brothers to be particularly frustrating:

> The Xian Bros, seem ... to be on the alert. Apparently they are concentrating all their energies on Australia. ... They are taking up all the important places they can get. ... They have booked Warwick now by promising three men for commencement by 1912. When we were asked no promise could be given. Losing Warwick means losing boarders for the College. Superiors at home won't understand this but we who are on the scene know differently. If an Australian district is to be worked up, we are very slow about it—as usual we will get the tin-pot places where you can't live.[24]

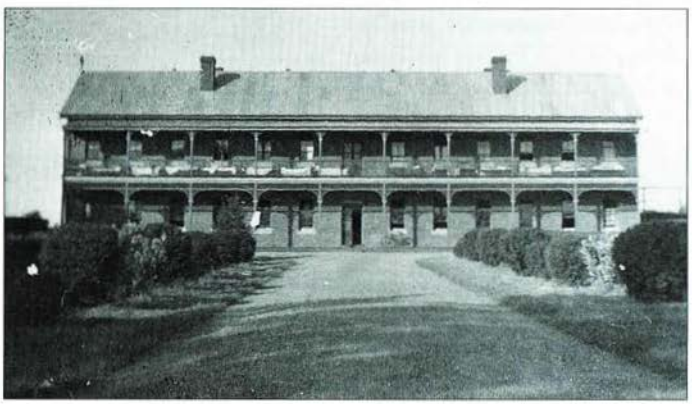
In a real sense the traditions of the Institute and the strong French domination of its senior administration worked against the Brothers' success in Australia. The early Brothers' experience in

Armidale was regrettable, even if largely explicable in terms of contemporary nationalist sentiment. With so many French Brothers available for work beyond France, and such a need for religious in Australia, many more foundations could have been made, if not in the Sydney and Armidale dioceses, then perhaps in other parts of the country. Even though the initial plan had failed dismally, there had been no attempt to try an alternative or be more conciliatory, guided by the lessons learned from the failed attempt. Perhaps there might have been greater success if the Irish had been the more numerous and with a leavening of one or two French to each community, after the latter had undergone orientation and English training in Ireland or England before being sent to Australia. The District would undoubtedly have been the richer for the talents that French Brothers could have brought.

The Brothers ultimately chose to take up the offer of the parish priest of Cootamundra in southern New South Wales. At that time there was an expectation that Cootamundra would become the centre of a diocese following the partition of the vast Goulburn diocese which had been established in 1864: this honour ultimately went to Wagga Wagga in 1917. Another reason given by Paul for choosing to establish the Australian novitiate at Cootamundra was because it was 'far removed from the big centres of population, such as Sydney and Melbourne, so that our young people might not be distracted by too many visitors'.[25] Perhaps more importantly, Father O'Shaughnessy, the parish piest of Cootamundra, had offered Paul financial assistance in providing a novitiate building. Paul had long considered the establishment of an Australian novitiate to be crucial in recruiting Australian Brothers and so becoming less dependent on recruits from Ireland.

The novitiate effectively began on 18 April 1914 when Laurence de Moulin, a former student of De La Salle College, Armidale, joined the Institute as a postulant. At that time the Brothers lived in the old presbytery near the church. Laurence received his robe on 14 May and was given the name Benildus Joseph. He spent a short time with the Brothers following novitiate exercises under the direction of Paul Phelan, before being sent to teach in school.

Novitiate building at Cootamundra.



Meanwhile work began on construction of the novitiate building in June 1914 and was completed in April 1915. The land for the new building had been Father O'Shaughnessy's, that he transferred to the Brothers on the condition that it be used as a novitiate. O'Shaughnessy also pro-

vided £1000 of his own money to assist in the building of the novitiate and arranged for an additional £100 from parish funds to complement £500 provided by the Bishop of Goulburn. At the same time the parish priest was building a new church at his own expense and included in the plans a private chapel for the Brothers and novices off to the right side of the sanctuary.[26]

Benildus returned to the novitiate when it was formally established and completed his canonical year there. John Cahill became the second Australian recruit when he took the robe on 15 December 1915 along with the name Columba Michael; Henry Wall became the third to take the robe when he became Brother Andrew Thomas on 6 January 1917.

A feature of the early recruiting that continued to occur in later years was the recruitment of siblings. John Duffy and his brother, Thomas, entered the junior novitiate together on 20 November 1915 and were the first to do so. John went on to take the robe on 14 December 1918 and became Peter Gerard; three years later, on 24 December 1921, Thomas became Dominic Andrew. William Hayes, also from Surry Hills was the third lad to enter the juniorate, when he arrived on 28 January 1916: he received the habit on 14 December 1918 and became Xavier John. His younger brother John, entered on 4 September 1923 and became Anthony Basil on 1 February 1924. Louis Dwyer was the fourth young man to enter the juniorate, and the first from De La Salle College, Ashfield, on 3 August 1918: he took the robe as Fintan Edmund on 24 December 1922. Louis' younger brother John followed in his footsteps, entering the juniorate on 29 January 1923 and going on to become Alban Felix on 14 August 1925.

The multiple vocations from single families reflected the strength of Catholicism within families at the time. Indeed, Louis and John were only two of five religious vocations from the Dwyer family of ten children. A sister became a nun and two other brothers, Vincent and James, became Missionaries of the Sacred Heart.

The recruits had a rigorous introduction to the religious life, as Paul recalled:

> Before being admitted, candidates (and their parents) were informed of the regulations. They were not allowed to go home during their training course. They were not to receive visitors (except members of their own family)—and these not more than once a year. They were not to write home more than once a month—unless there was some extraordinary reason. The letters were to be short—mere tokens of affection, and were to contain no news of a nature to distract the young religious from the duties of their profession. They were to receive no presents, no printed papers or magazines—not even clippings, unless the matter were entirely religious in its content. When visited by their parents, those in training were not to leave the Novitiate premises.[27]

New foundation

Meanwhile, the Brothers doubled the number of their schools in Sydney when De La Salle College in suburban Ashfield opened on 22 January 1917 with 70 boys in attendance. The foundation staff was Benignus, Director, from Armidale, Victor Eviston from South Africa and Augustine McVeigh from Ireland.

The Ashfield foundation followed the success of the Brothers at Malvern that had also been served by the Vincentian Fathers. Evidently the new provincial of the Vincentians, Paul Cullen, was so pleased with the school at Malvern that he asked the Brothers for men to open another at Ashfield.[28]



Community at De La Salle College, Ashfield, 1920. Left to right, Brothers Julian Lennon, Benildus De Moulin, Jerome Foley, Hilarion McSweeney.

No more foundations were made for nearly a decade, though recruits to the Institute ensured the consolidation of the early foundations. Paul reported to the Superior General, Imier, on the state of the Australian foundations in 1919. He was generally pleased with matters:

> The secular Instruction is good. Our schools hold their own in the public examinations.
>
> New South Wales requires no Diplomas of our Brothers up to the present; but we have Government Inspection, and I expect the Diplomas will be required soon. Victoria requires all Teachers to be certified and trained.

Paul elaborated on the question of funding:

> Our Surry Hills Community is supported exclusively on the fees collected from the boys. In Ashfield and Malvern, the Brothers collect fees and hand them over to the Pastor, who pays the Community £80 per Brother. The Archbishop of Sydney will allow his Clergy to pay no more salaries to Religious Teachers. They

must live on the fees they collect from their pupils. In Cootamundra the Brothers collect what fees they can and keep them. They amount to only about £70 a year. This sum is supplemented by £125 a year paid by the Pastor to the Community.

The fees which our Brothers collect in the Armidale Primary School amount to only about £25 a year. The Staff of that school is supplemented by the College.

NOTE: We have gratuity of Instruction to this extent, that no boy is refused admittance to our schools, nor is he victimised in any way, because of his inability to pay fees. There are several boys in all our schools who pay nothing, and there are many more at reduced rates.[29]

Developing a culture

The Australian Brothers remained reasonably independent because of their Irish heritage and relative isolation from the centre of the congregation in Europe. Paul was responsible to the Superior General in Lembecq-lez-Hal, in Belgium, through the Assistant Superior General from America.

In large part the Brothers were left to their own devices. As such they developed an Australian approach to the Rule. Paul wrote to his superiors in 1920:

> Whatever infidelities may exist amongst us are purely individual matters. No Rule is deliberately set aside. Systematic efforts are being made to have all the Rules respected and observed in this small district.[30]

He was generally pleased with the Brothers. 'Making fair allowance for human weakness, all seem good Brothers, and I am pleased with all, except a few whom I suspect of smoking. I have already reported these.'[31]

> The reading of the daily newspaper seems to be answerable for much loss of time. The system of Government Examinations for the boys, makes it necessary for teachers to be posted in current topics; so I don't see how I can keep the daily paper out of our cmties.[32]

Some were a little wayward. Paul remarked of one unprofessed man of the Surry Hills community, 'Six weeks ago, Bro Henry Augustine of this community, having secured remunerative employment outside, walked away without applying for dispensation from his Triennial Vows'. This had a destabilising effect on those who remained, not the least because they had to assume extra duties.[33]

Professional training at Cootamundra was non-existent. Paul acknowledged the professional weakness of many of the men,[34] but was largely to blame for the situation because of his anti-intellectualism and fear that training would make Brothers intellectually proud. Jerome Foley related the story of the parish priest at

Malvern telling Paul how much he welcomed Jerome finishing his degree, because then the college could become a secondary school. Paul promptly transferred Jerome to Armidale saying that he had had sufficient education to be a good teacher.[35]

While recruits continued to be attracted to the Brothers, death caught up with some of the pioneers. Andrew Wall, originally from Parramatta, was the first of the native-born Brothers to die. He was carried away by the influenza epidemic on 31 March 1919, when only 32 years old. He had entered the novitiate at Cootamundra on 1 December 1916, received the habit on 6 January 1917 and embarked on his first appointment at Surry Hills on 7 January 1918. He had dismissed his Third Class as usual on the Monday afternoon, and had taken himself to bed with a high temperature. He was buried on the following Monday.[36]

At the same time, some of the pioneers returned to Ireland, many of them because of Paul's ideological preference for primary schools. Paul reported in January 1920, 'During 1919, one Brother died, two returned to Ireland, and two left the Institute'.[37]

Latin question resolved

The Latin issue continued to bedevil the Brothers in Armidale and led to continuing differences of opinion with Bishop O'Connor, who was anxious to have Latin taught in the College to ensure it appealed to students aspiring to a university education and so that he could have more recruits to the priesthood. O'Connor petitioned the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith in 1915 to enlist its support, and made arrangements for another teacher to teach Latin to students of the College, but in facilities elsewhere.[38] The Apostolic Delegate Archbishop Cerretti received authorisation from the Sacred College of Propaganda for this arrangement.[39] This compromise sufficed for a time and Patrick Arundell was engaged to conduct Latin classes away from the College.

However, Paul Phelan, who was scrupulous in following the directives of superiors, was concerned that the Apostolic Delegate had merely given the Brothers permission to have Latin taught, rather than ordered them to do so. Consequently, early in 1917, Paul telegraphed to Fridolin 'commanding' him to dismiss Arundell immediately.[40] Appointments already having been made to schools for the year, Arundell found difficulty in finding a position and was persuaded to go to Brisbane where he engaged in private tutoring for the year.[41] Several students, one of them a later Chief Justice of New South Wales, left to attend Riverview College in Sydney.

The superiors had remained wary of the compromise situation, indicating that an earlier experience with such an exception in the United States had led to Latin being introduced into the school.[42] However, an exception was made in this instance:

> The Superior General of the Brothers of the Christian Schools by letter of March 28th. last acceded to the wishes of the Bishop of Armidale, with reference to the teaching of Latin in the College conducted by the Brothers in Armidale, subject to the conditions proposed by the Bishop and the Apostolic Delegate, Archbishop Cerretti, viz. that the lessons should be given by persons not attached to the Institute, and in a place removed from the College itself.
>
> At the same time, the Superior general made it clear that he hoped the arrangement would be only a temporary one. It is his wish that steps should be taken to enable the Brothers, in the course of time, to carry on their work according to the rules of their Institute. The S. Congregation agrees with the Superior General's views on the matter, and has asked me to point this out to your Lordship.[43]

Arundell returned to Armidale where he recommenced teaching Latin—and French—at the beginning of 1918, until the end of 1919, when he embarked upon a career in law and began his articles in a solicitor's office.

Paul Phelan recalled something of the controversy and reflected his simple approach to the matter and the lengths to which he was prepared to go to uphold the Rule and the will of his superiors:

> I referred the matter to the Regime, and was told that our Rule must be observed. His Lordship thought he could get over that difficulty by having a secular Professor appointed for the Latin. I informed the Regime, and was told that the Brothers would be withdrawn if the Bishop insisted on Latin being taught by Brothers or secular. Then his Lordship told me he would take the initiative himself, and invite Brothers of another Order to take over the College. I heartily approved of this. I had over twenty applications from pastors who wanted the Brothers for their Parish schools. With the staff of the College we could take on two such schools. Our holy Founder and our Superiors showed a decided preference for the parish schools. ...
>
> The Bishop then wrote to the Superior of another order [the Christian Brothers], asking him if he could send a Community to the College in Armidale. The reply (which His Lordship showed me) was that he would gladly do so in about two years—not before.[44]

Indeed, Paul seemed to have been the main obstacle to a compromise and towards the end of 1921 had decided to withdraw the Brothers from Armidale. Benignus, the director at Armidale, believed Paul was intent on closing the College in order to pursue a policy of having only primary schools in Australia.

The possibility of abandoning Armidale caused concern among the Australian Brothers who considered it the 'parent house of the district', the only secondary school conducted by the

Brothers in the District, a valuable source of recruits and an ideal place for retreat because of the healthy climate.[45] Paul Phelan was totally alone in his wish to withdraw from Armidale. Benignus indicated that 'in this matter Br Visitor was in opposition to the wishes of the Directors of the Houses and *all* the members of his Council'. He added that Paul's attitude towards the College at Armidale had bedevilled its progress for many years:

> As a result of this unsettled state of affairs, which has existed practically since the opening of the College, no progress has been made in buildings & improvements, save indeed what we have done with the grounds—the result of the Brothers' individual efforts. In buildings we are very poor—no conveniences whatever, either for the Brothers or the boys. Needless to say we are longing for a final settlement & for permission to add to our buildings & to bring our College up to the standard of the other educational establishments in the town.[46]

The bishop was not eager to lose the Brothers and continued to lobby the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda in Rome. The only satisfaction he received was the Superior General's assurance that the Brothers would not be withdrawn until the Christian Brothers could take over the College.[47] However, even before the Latin issue was resolved the Assistant urged Paul to ensure the Brothers continued at the college. Then, as once he had sought to carry out the wishes of the Regime in closing the college at Armidale, Paul turned his energies to keeping it open.

If the Latin issue was contentious in Australia, it was even more so in the United States of America. Consequently, the American hierarchy continued to lobby to overturn the ban on teaching Latin. The lobbying ensured that discussion of the issue would figure prominently in the 34th General Chapter of 1923. However, on 17 April 1923, nine days prior to the opening of the Chapter at Lembecq-Lez-Hal, the Cardinal Secretary wrote to the Superior General expressing the wish of Pope Pius XI to allow Brothers to permit the teaching of Latin in their schools. The Chapter acquiesced to the Pope's wishes.

Later, on 19 December 1923, Assistant Abban Philip wrote to Paul informing him, among other matters, that 'The Superior designates the College as one of our Institutions where the Classic Languages will be taught by our Brothers henceforth and indefinitely, according to our Rules and the decisions of the General Chapter of 1923.'[48]

The Brothers' immediate future in Armidale was assured. Fortunately, the Latin question was not so significant at Malvern, where a Vincentian priest taught Latin to boys in the priests' house. However, the way was now clear for the school at Ashfield to push for secondary status.

Change at the helm

The resolution of the Latin question coincided roughly with Paul Phelan's retirement as Visitor in 1924, undoubtedly to the relief of many Australian colleagues. One contemporary, at least, viewed Paul's retirement as a good thing. Edward Jordan believed that 'he did not have the administrative qualities and practical outlook which are required to build up a young district along the lines of modern requirements'. Edward elaborated:

> While admittedly, Brother Paul Andrew was a man of deep religious spirit, his outlook on business matters, that were vital to the material progress of the District, was often wanting in foresight, courage, tact and spirit of progress. His manner of life was more that of a contemplative than that of a man of business ...[49]

Edward was critical of Paul's attitude to higher learning. He indicated that Paul had 'a certain dread and dislike for University degrees among the Brothers, and he actually discouraged them by his attitude towards them.' He continued, 'The University courses of several Brothers were, at different times, interrupted by him for paltry reasons'. Edward also criticised the former Visitor's parsimoniousness, recalling that he kept a tight rein on directors to the extent of forbidding Benignus, the director at Armidale, from spending more than one shilling without permission. He also criticised the director at Ashfield for having flowerbeds in the front lawn of the Brothers' house 'as they savoured of vanity'.

Paul had a Council of senior men from whom he could seek advice. In 1920, for instance, it comprised Macnesius, novice-master, Fridolin, Benignus and Patrick Cawley. The Council members were to be either consulted orally or by letter, but Paul seemed reluctant to seek advice. He called the Council together on two occasions only in 1919. Benignus observed in 1923:

1. There has been no consistent policy for its [District] development; there has been no consistent progress; we had better schools and more Brothers 10 years ago than we have to-day.
2. It seems to me there has been a pronounced lack of organisation.
3. There has been and there is still a lack of confidence in our dear Br Visitor.
4. Dear Br Visitor is not an organiser & he has not the confidence of clergy of those parishes where we have Houses.
5. The Brothers, in general, are very poor from an educational standpoint.[50]

Paul's myopic vision for the future encompassed parish schools only, and his willingness to close Armidale, frustrated his colleagues who held a broader vision. His attitudes created something of a crisis in the fledgling District when some of the more able men decided to return to Ireland. Malvern suffered most from the

exodus losing Brothers Patrick Cawley, director, Edward Jordan, Benedict Hayden and Eugenius Power.[51] The exodus represented a vote of no-confidence in Paul's Visitorship. Malvern was maintained by Fridolin, Donatus Slattery, Peter Duffy, the first Australian-born Brother to join the staff, and with the assistance of a lay teacher, John Maher. However, the exodus of the best staff meant that the school reverted to a primary school, where Latin was no longer an issue. Peter Duffy recalled the difficult period when there was a danger that Malvern would be lost to the Christian Brothers because of the fiasco:

> Fr Ryan, later Bishop of Sale, told us—when challenged by Br Leo re rumours etc—that he has asked the Christian Brothers to take over the College. They said they would use it only as a feeder to St Kilda & so we remained. Br Paul had written to Fr Ryan stating that the De La Salle Brothers would conduct the primary classes only as from 1921 Feb & that then the PP was free to ask any Order or persons to conduct the secondary classes.[52]

Benignus, as a senior man in the District, had been critical of Paul as Visitor in observations about the Australian District requested of him by the Assistant while attending the Second Novitiate at Lembecq-lez-Hal in 1922 as part of a period of religious renewal. Benignus had written:

> As Director I had no initiative whatever in the direction of the house to which I was appointed: the Bro. Visitor was, to all intents and purposes, the Dr. of the house. He required that all matters, even those of a trifling nature, be submitted to him. This would involve a constant series of correspondence.
>
> Br. Visitor writes on one occasion: 'You may presume to spend one shilling without permission.' I did not interpret this literally, but later I found out, in a conversation with dear Br. Visitor, that he meant it literally. I remarked that the running or management of the College would be impossible under such conditions.
>
> Frequently it happened that dear Br. Visitor took suggestions, which I offered in good faith and which I believed to be in the best interests of my Cty & District, as attempts to direct himself.
>
> I did not (it seems to me) receive from dear Br. Visitor that support, encouragement and sympathy which we look for and expect—especially in a district so remote from the Mother House. His instructions were in most cases of a 'negative' nature: what I must not do.
>
> It seems to me:
>
> Dear Br. Visitor does not take his Directors (Ctys) into his confidence. There is a certain 'aloofness' and 'secrecy' in the running of the District. There has been a pronounced lack of cooperation between dear Br. Visitor & his Directors. Our Council meetings (District) are little more than 'matter of form'. We do not get from Br. Visitor the wishes of our higher Superiors concerning matters

discussed at such meetings. Opposition of views Br. Visitor has, at times, regarded as opposition to himself.

It seems to me:

There has been no consistent policy in the development of our Australian District. There is no definite recruiting policy. Br. Visitor's method of questioning applicants for the Junior Novitiate, or postulants for the Senior Novitiate, is detrimental to recruiting. The difficult side of the religious life is brought before the applicants, which assumes that the young applicant has already acquired the virtues characteristic of those who have spent years in the religious life. Thus young boys are told that they must never expect to visit their homes.

Dear Br Visitor is not liked by the Brothers of his District and he has not their confidence.

It seems to me:

Br. Visitor's educational policy for our District is not in keeping with the needs of the Parishes in which we have schools, and is in opposition to the views of all the members of his Council (District) and the professed Brothers of the District ...[53]



Brother Patrick Cawley, Visitor (1924–1933).

On his part, Paul was critical—even fearful, perhaps jealous—of Benignus, and the friction between them must have been widely evident. Paul appreciated Benignus' strength of personality and skills as a teacher and an organiser, but believed 'his zeal is not according to God'. He had appointed Benignus as director at Armidale, simply because he believed he had no option. Indeed, he had believed Benignus to be inimical to the District:

> for when one man sees clearly that nobody can be found to replace him, it tends to make him independent, arrogant even, in his attitude towards his Visitor. Now I need not point out to you, Dear Bro Assistant, that in a little District at the Antipodes, never visited by a Member of the Regime, a rebellious man who is clever, and who can win others to his side, may work much harm.[54]

Still, it was evident that Paul was part of the problem with the Australian District. The Regime evidently recognised this when it chose Patrick Cawley to succeed Paul. Patrick had been critical of his predecessor's ministrations and had been one of those to return to Ireland while he remained Visitor.

Patrick Cawley, christened Anthony, had been born in the village of Cloher in County Mayo, Ireland in 1886 and entered the De La Salle novitiate in Castletown in 1902. In late 1908 he volunteered for missionary work in Australia and, the following year began teaching at Surry Hills in Sydney. From there he was transferred to Armidale and was appointed principal of Malvern in 1916 where he remained until returning to Ireland in 1920. He was director of St Joseph's Academy at Blackheath in London when appointed Visitor of Australia in 1924. He returned to Australia with a thorough understanding of what to expect and a determination to enhance

the reputation of the Institute and reverse the decline he believed followed from the policies of Paul Phelan. He observed soon after returning to Australia:

> As indicated in our recent conversations, the crying need here is immediate help. We have absolutely no standing in comparison with the other religious teaching orders. Of the present brothers here, only 8 or 9 are capable, the others are inefficient; then the few places we have are understaffed. ... Progress is impossible. ... If we could now get six brothers, they may be any nationality you wish, I am confident we will succeed, and once more recover the prestige, which is partly lost, but if the help is withheld for another year, it may come too late ... There are big prospects for the order here, a helping hand now may prevent them from being lost.[55]

Chapter Four

Consolidation 1924–1946

Once the Latin issue was resolved, the Brothers could finally plan for the future. Meanwhile, Catholic education throughout Australia in the years after World War I continued largely as before. It remained a loose association of schools managed by parish priests and religious congregations under the responsibility of bishops who arranged for inspections. However there were significant developments. The Melbourne archdiocese created a Catholic Education Office in 1932, with Matthew Beovich as its first director: the Sydney archdiocese did so in 1939.[1] Other dioceses followed. The several state directors of Catholic education represented their bishops on educational issues and maintained liaison with state education departments.[2] However, the Catholic Education Offices had no real authority within the schools: primary schools remained the responsibility of parish priests and secondary schools were owned or managed by religious congregations that resented any outside interference. The directors of Catholic education did little more than inspect schools to satisfy their bishop concerning satisfactory religious instruction. There was no notion of a coordinated Catholic education 'system', although the total population of Catholic schools in New South Wales and Victoria was greater than the entire state systems in the smaller states.[3]

Catholic education continued to be considered so fundamental to the prosperity of the Australian Church that bishops in some dioceses, such as Bathurst in New South Wales, forbade access to the sacraments of Penance and the Eucharist to those parents who refused to send their children to Catholic schools. Such strictures

made it imperative for Church authorities to ensure that children received an education comparable to that offered in state schools.

Meanwhile, Australian Catholicism continued to be characterised by a siege mentality, engendered by the sectarianism of contemporary Australia and heightened by the uncompromising attitude of leaders such as Daniel Mannix, archbishop of Melbourne for 50 years from 1913. The Brothers were important in training young Catholics, but were not involved in the sectarian debate. Patrick Cawley reported in mid-1926 that 'a healthy religious spirit exists throughout this little District, there are no abuses and our schools enjoy a very good reputation'.[4]

The Institute in Australia developed rapidly during this period as greater numbers of Brothers became available because of increased recruitment in Australia, supplemented by the continuing influx of men from Ireland. However, the development was in terms of numbers of Brothers rather than their quality as teachers. Few major international developments impacted on the regular life of the Australian Brothers except the depression beginning in 1929 that brought to an end the economic recovery after World War I.

For the most part, Institute matters, like those of the Church, continued in a traditional manner. The 35th General Chapter in 1928 permitted the Superior General to appoint members to a District Council. It also formalised an Institute-wide course of theology for Brothers, that was meant to extend over 17 years, with men undertaking written exams worldwide on 30 December. There was a basic course taken over five years and an advanced course over 12 years, both administered locally by a Catechetical Commission that arranged the annual exams. In general, however, there were few Institute decisions taken in Europe that changed life in the antipodes.

The Brothers transferred their Mother house to Via Aurelia in Rome in 1936. They had been invited to do so by the Cardinal Prefect of the Congregation for Religious in 1928, but the economic situation was not favourable at the time. Land on Via Aurelia on the rural fringe of Rome was ultimately acquired on 6 August 1934 about three kilometres to the west of the Vatican. The foundation stone of the Rome Motherhouse was laid on 2 March 1936, with the first Brothers able to take up residence on 21 September 1936. The chapel was opened on 6 January 1937 and the relics of De La Salle were received 20 days later from Lembecq-lez-Hal, to correspond with the anniversary of the granting of the Papal Bull of Approbation to the Institute.

The distance of Australia from Europe and the inconvenience associated with travel at the time meant that major superiors made only occasional visits to the Australian District. Abban Philip, Assistant Superior General for the United States and English-speaking districts from 1923 to 1946, visited in 1931 and again in 1939.

Romuald Hosea, Visitor General, did so in 1935. The visits had little impact, for the most part, except for generally invigorating morale, though the first visit of Philip had major ramifications for the early formation of young men.

Expansion

Patrick Cawley, who retained responsibility for the District until May 1933, encouraged a second expansion phase in Australia in the 1920s. The Brothers made a second foundation south of the Murray, when they assumed control of St Ignatius' School, Richmond, Victoria, in January 1926. Fridolin had visited Richmond late in 1911 and Kiaran, the Irish Visitor, had offered the parish priest the hope that a community might be forthcoming in August 1912. Father Hearn SJ, had agreed to an arrangement identical to that concerning the Brothers at Malvern. However, matters were complicated because only certificated teachers could be employed in Victorian schools. In the event, there were simply no men available, and more than a decade passed before the foundation could be made. Then it seems that the danger of losing Richmond to the Marist Brothers prompted Patrick to hasten the foundation. He wrote to the Assistant seeking extra men from Ireland and authority to establish a community at Richmond:



The Novices of 1929.

> I promised to open Richmond, in order to prevent the Marists from opening, as I have reasons to believe they have designs on Richmond. ... The Christian Brothers and The Marists are picking up as rapidly as possible every place that is being offered to us. This year the Christian Bros are opening Tamworth (next town to Armidale) and Young (near Cootamundra) both of which places were offered to us. The Marists opened Glenferrie (next parish to Malvern community) this year. As Glenferrie is under Jesuit control I am almost sure that unless we open Richmond Jan 1926, the Marists will be there within two years.[5]

The first community included Brothers Jerome (Director), Donatus, Victor and Peter, and took responsibility for 400 pupils. The Brothers taught the senior classes, with four lay teachers taking the others: these latter were appointed and funded by the parish. There was a community of six Brothers the following year, but still a need for two lay teachers.

The greater expansion occurred in New South Wales, where there was no requirement for teachers to possess qualifications. Ashfield became registered as a secondary school in February 1925, and a new school was founded nearby at Haberfield, in 1927.

Patrick was convinced of the need to open additional schools if the Institute were to succeed in Australia. He reflected on the situation in 1928:

> The only chance of our being able to compete with the other Orders established here in recruiting must come from our possessing more schools. Practically all the schools of note are in the hands of either the Marists or Christian Brothers and these schools are not open for us to recruit. Almost every junior novice that we took from nuns' schools have either given up or we were obliged to send them away. It would seem that these boys had no idea of the Brothers' lives, having never seen them until brought to the Novitiate, whereas the boys coming from our own schools knew which mode of life the Brothers led and consequently had better chances of persevering.
>
> Our Order is still struggling in Australia, but within the past few years some very promising subjects have been received and are, thank God, persevering.[6]

There was a particular expansion in the Bathurst diocese in western New South Wales. The diocese, founded in 1865, had a long tradition of superior education for boys. Dr Matthew Quinn had founded St Stanislaus' College at Bathurst in 1867 as the first college for boys in that diocese. It was first administered by a diocesan priest and staffed by lay teachers, but was transferred to the control of the Vincentian Fathers in 1889.[7]

The Brothers were invited to make new foundations in rapid succession in the three major centres of Dubbo, Orange and Bathurst. Each school had been established by Patrician Brothers at the invitation of Bishop Quinn: Bathurst in 1884, Dubbo (1889 and 1921) and Orange (1890). They were able to count Joseph Benedict Chifley, Australia's Prime Minister from 1945–49, among the old boys of the Bathurst school

However, the Patricians were required to leave the schools after running foul of Dr Michael O'Farrell, who became bishop of the diocese in November 1920. There were several contributing factors, some of them touching on the bishop's authoritarian personality. He accused the Patricians of flouting his authority, though the official reason given was his dissatisfaction with the conduct of

their schools following an inspection by W. Mahony, a state school headmaster. The Patricians had no legal agreement upon which to fall back, and were forced to leave both Bathurst and Dubbo in 1924. They disputed O'Farrell's allegations, felt betrayed and believed their reputations besmirched by his actions. They appealed to the Sacred Congregation of Religious in Rome to clear their name and were surprised and disappointed to have their appeal dismissed.[8] They finally withdrew from Orange and the diocese on 13 April 1927.

O'Farrell, a Vincentian, had been familiar with the De La Salle Brothers' work in Malvern and Ashfield. He had appealed in vain to Paul Phelan for men and reiterated his request to Patrick and to the latter's superiors in Lembecq. 'It is an urgent matter', he wrote to Patrick, 'because our little boys are in danger of drifting to the State schools in these places with probable tamper to their faith and the probability of not returning again to our Cath. Schools.'[9]

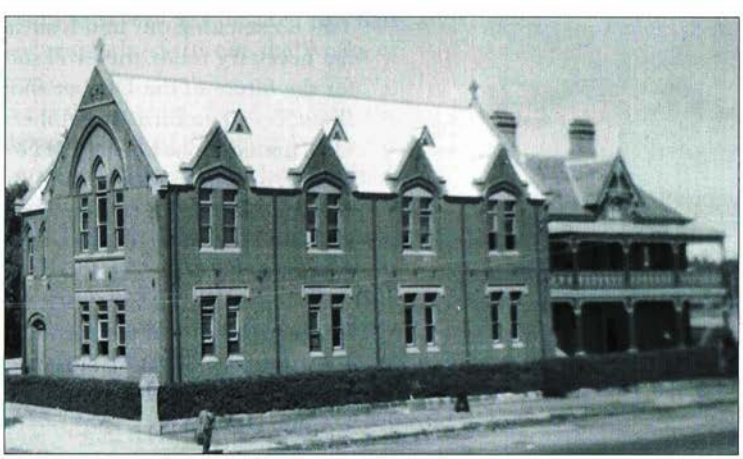
Patrick acquiesced to the latest appeals and Julian Lennon, principal, with three colleagues, opened De La Salle College in Dubbo on 30 January 1927 with about 80 students. Patrick had to withdraw two men from schools in Sydney and have them replaced by secular teachers in order to pursue the commitment to the Bathurst diocese.[10] The arrangements provided for the community included an annual stipend of £120 for each of four men and £60 for a housekeeper.[11]

Bishop John Norton, O'Farrell's successor, appreciated the Brothers' work, but was eager for any religious teachers for his schools. He approached the Marist Brothers to supply men for the schools at Orange and Bathurst, only to be told that none could be made available before July 1929.[12] Patrick hastened to take advantage of this and consolidate the De La Salle Brothers in the Bathurst diocese. The former Patrician Brothers' school at Orange was transferred to them in 1928 on similar terms to the school at Dubbo.

Norton appealed to Patrick for men for both the primary and secondary schools in Bathurst.[13] Patrick accepted with alacrity, to ensure that other congregations did not gain a foothold in the diocese. He wrote to the Assistant:

> You will remember my having pointed out to you in a previous letter, that the Marist Brothers were opening Bathurst. It would seem, that the good work our Brothers have already

St Patrick's School, Bathurst.



accomplished in the Diocese is predisposing the new Bishop towards us, and that, if you give me the necessary sanction, Bathurst will be ours. Australia is not like America where plenty of openings are available; there are very few here, and of the few, Bathurst for us seems a necessity. In the first place, it's in the same locality as Orange and Dubbo, it's the Bishop's resident city, and our acceptance keeps out of the Diocese another order, and thus lessening competition that frequently may not be to our advantage. I am in a better position to open Bathurst now, than I was when you previously sanctioned its opening.[14]

The Brothers assumed control of St Patrick's in 1929 with 135 students. Edward Jordan became the foundation director and principal.

Abban Philip, Assistant Superior General, provided a District overview following his visit to Australia in 1931:

1. MALVERN: Here we have a community of ten Brothers who conduct a secondary school of 300 pupils. The community is very regular, very fervent, and very well directed by a committed and knowledgeable Director. I congratulated them in your name, Most Honoured Brother.

2. RICHMOND: in another Melbourne suburb, has six Brothers who conduct a free-school there in the Jesuit parish. They have 400 pupils, quite poor, but all delightful children, from among whom fine vocations for our Institute and the priesthood, are forthcoming. The community is best described as mediocre in piety and regularity, and also as regards personal studies. The dear Brother Director is not exactly inspiring. On all these matters they had to be encouraged to make definite improvement.

3. From Melbourne I travelled to COOTAMUNDRA, a small Australian country town where the District Novitiate is situated. I find it impossible to describe to you the lack of proper buildings and the poverty of furniture in this house of formation wherein are jammed together, cheek by jowl, ten novices, eighteen junior novices, and a dozen or so community Brothers. A new set of buildings must be constructed as soon as possible for all these people. This is exercising our minds already, and, in time, and with some of the necessary funds, they will succeed. This is an important matter for the future of the District and which I propose to speak to you about on my return to Lembecq. The religious spirit is good at Cootamundra. The Director of Novices, Brother Paul Andrew, former Visitor, is a saint in the style of Brother Benezet Thomas. He keeps everyone up to the requirements of the Rule with exactness and kindness. The other Brothers Directors at Cootamundra are good religious.

Up to the present there is no Scholasticate in the District. Consequently I had to take steps necessary to establish one, not at Cootamundra, but at Armidale near the State Teachers College. This year we will have about a dozen young Brothers there, forming a separate community ...



Armidale community with diocesan clergy, 1932 on the occasion of the visit of Brother Assistant Abban Philip. Standing: left to right, Brothers Patrick Storen, Leopold Loughran, Louis Flanagan, Benignus White, Benildus De Moulin, Mark McCarthy, Martin Meehan. Sitting: left to right, priest (unknown), Brother Patrick Cawley, Bishop Coleman, Brother Abban Philip, Bishop O'Connor, priest (unknown).

4. ASHFIELD: The most important of these is Ashfield. The six Brothers of the community conduct a secondary school of three to four hundred paying students. A good spirit reigns in the community, the Rule is well observed without, however great fervour. The school is doing well and flourishing.

5. SURRY HILLS: is quite a populous and poor suburb where the Brothers have a gratuitous school. The five Brothers of the community are doing fine work in the locality. It is from this school that we receive most of our young Australians at Cootamundra. The Good God seems to be blessing this work of Christian education ...

6. HABERFIELD: The third work of our Brothers in Sydney is situated at Haberfield in the new parish of St. Joan of Arc. It is a gratuitous school of three classes. Three very fine devoted Brothers make up the community; they zealously carry out the works of religion and Christian education ...

7. After a stay of two weeks in Sydney, I had to cross the mountains which surround the coast area of Sydney, to make my way to the great Bathurst plain in inland Australia, where we have three fine little schools in the Diocese of Bathurst. All three are recent foundations: BATHURST 1930; ORANGE 1929; and DUBBO in 1926. These three schools are staffed by small communities of half-a-dozen Brothers in each. They are very fine small communities, very regular, and entirely devoted to their pupils. They are doing good work from every point of view.

8. From Bathurst I came here to ARMIDALE, a town in the mountains situated 500 kilometres from Sydney. It is here that we

have the District Boarding School, a secondary school, the most prosperous of our Australian houses. We have about fifteen Brothers and nearly two hundred boarders, coming from all over Australia. The buildings are quite modern and very well constructed according to a master-plan, half of which has been completed. The property is owned by the Institute.

... The community is very regular. The minor faults I had to bring up, have been corrected quite willingly with the co-operation of everyone. His Lordship Bishop O'Connor, is one of the best friends the Brothers have in Australia.[15]

Abban Philip presided over the robe-taking while at Cootamundra. Those receiving the robe included Celestine Jennings, Cyril Finch, Baptist Will, Oswald Toner and Dunstan Burns.

The District expansion continued with De La Salle School, Roma, Queensland, opening on 29 February 1932 following a request from Dr J. Byrne, the first Bishop of Toowoomba. Roma was expected to be a boom town following discoveries of petroleum in the vicinity. The first community comprised Brothers Macnesius Smythe (Director), Dositheus O'Dea and Matthew McCarthy. The school opened with 58 boys and gradually increased to an average attendance of 100. Bishop Byrne officially opened the school on 5 April 1932. An increase in student numbers warranted a new classroom in 1935.

De La Salle College, Marrickville, in New South Wales, opened on 27 October 1932. The first community—Brothers Victor Eviston (Director) and John Harney—took possession of a modern school newly built by the parish. In accordance with the loose financial arrangements made between Patrick and Father Casimir, the Brothers received the equivalent of £120 per year each.[16]



First community and students at Roma, 1932. The Brothers are, left to right, Dosithius O'Dea, Macnesius Smythe, Matthew McCarthy.

Malvern

Meanwhile, the established schools continued to develop and the Brothers succeeded in reviving their good reputation at Malvern. Leopold became principal in 1924, and secondary classes were re-introduced with the Latin issue resolved, and five boys gained their Intermediate Certificate that year. The first two candidates sat their Leaving Certificate in 1926, the year the college was granted complete secondary registration. A new college was built three years later, and a boarding section was established in 1930 in the Brothers' former residence, 'Tiverton'.

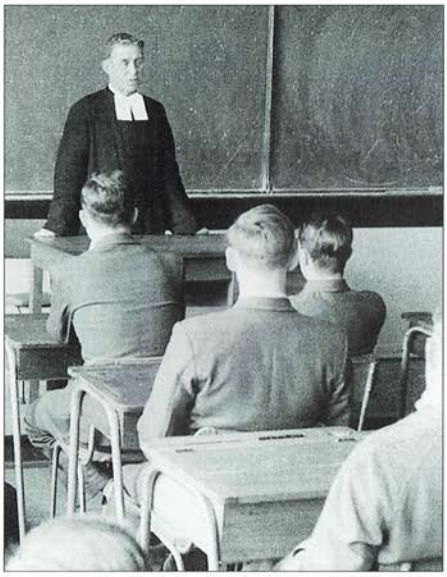
Malvern established its reputation for excellence in the academic and sporting fields during the 1920s, and for the numbers of vocations it produced for the priestly and religious life. Frank Maher, one of the original 1912 students, attended Melbourne University and graduated MA, LLB; Michael Howard, another 1912 student was ordained a Vincentian priest in 1927, the same year as two other former students, R. Griffin and A. Vosti, were ordained diocesan priests. Many early school leaders pursued successful professional careers. The first dux of the college, Kevin Kelly (1926), graduated in Law and became a senior diplomat, serving as Ambassador to Argentina and Portugal. De La Salle boys won more than their fair share of scholarships to university where many studied Law and later became prominent in the legal profession in Melbourne. An Old Boys' Association was formed in 1929 that helped to encourage the tradition of excellence.

Striving for academic excellence was evident among the staff in the post-Paul era. Several Brothers gained degrees and young men were encouraged to undertake tertiary studies, even though they were expected to complete teaching and coaching duties and community exercises.

Jerome Foley did more than most to cultivate the Malvern spirit. He was re-appointed to Malvern in 1927 as sportsmaster, after stints at Armidale (1915–19), Ashfield (1919–22), Malvern (1923), Armidale again as principal (1924–1925) and Richmond (1926–27). Jerome provided a focus for the sporting program. Jack Dyer—then only 14 years old, but later to captain the Richmond Football Club



An early Malvern football team.



Brother Jerome Foley before a class at Malvern.

in the Victorian Football League—played in a college football team in 1928 as well as the First XI: the young 'Captain Blood' was vice-captain of the First XVIII in 1929 and opening bat for the First XI. Malvern entered its first football team in the Catholic Colleges' competition in 1931, and engaged other colleges in cricket, swimming, athletics and handball. The football team won the premiership on two occasions and was runner-up on three occasions during the first six years of inter-college competition. This was a prelude to greater things where the college dominated rivals in all sports in which it fielded teams.[17]

Jerome became principal of Malvern in 1929, when student numbers approached 250, and remained at Malvern for the following 17 years as either director and/or principal. Success bred success. Malvern came to occupy a pre-eminent position in Australian District lore. It became renowned for the many recruits to the Institute and priestly life, with several old boys and others who taught at the college for many years becoming Visitors.

Overseas aid

The Australian expansion continued to be assisted by men from overseas. As many as 75 Irishmen came to Australia between 1905 and 1937. Some remained only a short time, including Anthony Flood, Kiaran Cunniam and Marius Byrne, who established the Institute initially; several left the Institute, three of them to become priests—Athanasius Grace, Joseph O'Dea and Felix Conroy. At least 56 spent a lengthy period teaching in Australia, 44 continuing in their vocation in the Institute.[18]

Most overseas men were from Ireland. However, Thomas Battelle joined the Australian District from America. He had been born in New York City on 10 November 1908, and had entered the Institute's novitiate in Ireland in 1924. He was appointed to a high school in Sacramento in California in the United States in 1928, and here volunteered to go to Australia. He arrived on 10 October 1929 and began his Australian career at Armidale, where he made his final profession on 23 December 1933. He concluded his career at Armidale 42 years later, after spending all his Australian teaching life in schools in New South Wales.

Patrick Cawley continually pleaded for additional overseas teachers. The expansion under his guidance had simply ensured the maintenance of problems that had beset the Brothers from the beginning:

> For years we have been working under difficulties in Australia, we are competing against thoroughly organised State schools in the secular world, and against two thoroughly organised religious

> Orders in the Religious world, both of these were years ahead of us in Australia and yet, I refer to the Christian Bros. and the Marist Brothers each receive well trained Brothers from other provinces to assist here. If we are to compete successfully and if we are to make rapid headway in this grand promising country, I cannot see much hope of success except we get a good start, by sending some Bros. from other Provinces.[19]

Overseas districts—Ireland and California—also assisted financially, at least by means of loans. This became something of a burden for all three districts during the early 1930s when the depression's worst effects remained evident. The Australians were willing to repay the loans but, with the cost of £30 to send £100 to England and £45 to send the same amount to America, Patrick preferred to pay only the interest and wait until exchange rates improved before attempting to repay the principal. As an interim measure, the debts to both Ireland and California were transferred to the Australian account at the Motherhouse with the promise of making regular payments until the exchange rate improved.[20]

Cootamundra

Paul Phelan became novice master in 1924 after his term as Visitor, and remained so for the ensuing 22 years. There were few other positions to which he was suited. Edward Jordan, not renowned as a model teacher himself, affirmed that Paul had not been an effective schoolteacher: 'his control of boys was decidedly bad'.[21] His own novitiate training in France had been idealistic, other-worldly, and characterised by strict observance of the Rule and with very little intellectual or theological rigour. He sought to infuse this same spirituality into a generation of young men in the New World.

The 1930s were difficult times. The worst of the depression had passed, but its effects lingered. Recruiting remained direct and challenging. Still, young men were attracted to the Institute. William McDonald recounted his 'call' when a 17-year-old, a year after leaving school. He met Leopold, a former teacher, in the street who asked him if he had ever thought about becoming a Brother. Young Bill said he had thought about it, to which Leopold allegedly replied, 'Well, keep thinking about it, but I am not sure if you have the courage it takes'. Bill McDonald resigned from his job and, within a fortnight, headed to Cootamundra to accept the challenge.

Tom Hallam from Horsham in Victoria, had never seen a De La Salle Brother when he responded to an advertisement in a Catholic journal seeking expressions of interest from young men interested in teaching boys. He was another to enter the novitiate at Cootamundra and received the robe on 14 August 1925. Damien Harvey, one of ten young men to take the Robe on 16 April 1933, outlined the daily life of a novice, which hardly varied all the time



Novices at Cootamundra, 1931. Standing: left to right, Brothers Baptist Will, Celestine Jennings. Sitting: left to right, Brothers Cyril Finch, Oswald Toner, Dunstan Burns.

the novitiate was at Cootamundra—and for many years afterwards:

Our day began with the loud sounding of a bell at 5.30 and a movement from the bedclothes with 'promptness and alacrity'. The 'signal' was given at 5.45 when you were half way through ablutions and dressing. Washing was done in a basin of cold water and beds were made and all left in inspection order prior to going to Chapel, or walking outside reading the 'Imitation of Christ' before Morning Prayer, commencing as the clock completed its six chimes. This took 15 minutes and was followed by the reading of a subject for Mental Prayer. You then endeavoured to come to grips with this in the Chapel and during the 10 minute walk down to the Parish Church for Mass. Returning from Mass in silence, we then took turns to read during breakfast, from a book of Spiritual content. On Sunday morning reading was from the 4th book of the Imitation of Christ.

Breakfast over, we went energetically to washing up and appointed chores both inside and out. This too, in the silence of efficiency rather than that of Mental Prayer, but the reading at breakfast could have been a help.

The morning was punctuated with a series of bells, presented to us as the voice of God ... These led us to study of the Collection, an explanation of De La Salle's method of Mental Prayer, a period of putting it into practice, on which you were invited to report at the weekly talk with the Director and the important daily noon Conference of 30 minutes from the Director. Half past twelve and we gathered for the Particular Examen and you took one virtue or defect and were advised to mark on a card your daily progress ...

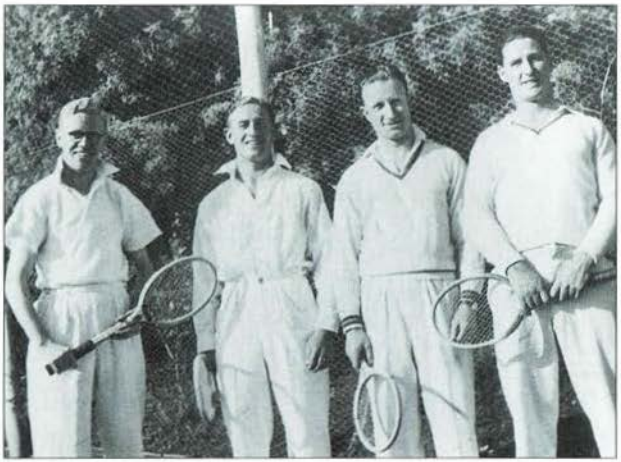
Reading continued during lunch and was followed by Recreation in groups. This was the first talking period of the day and was regulated by the topics of the dining room reading and the chapter in the Collection. After 30 mins [sic] we gathered for the Litany of St Joseph and the completion of the 3 decades of the Rosary—the first having been recited in common after breakfast.

Two hours of manual work followed mostly on allotted farming tasks, but sometimes on a combined effort when a crop was being brought in, a construction job being undertaken or a new pathway had to be put down. Afternoon tea was next and then an hour's recreation which was great during the time when there were plenty of people around to enjoy games.

Recreation over we moved back to spiritual reading in a book selected for us by the Director, and a period of Mental Prayer before the evening meal, during which there was a further reading followed by Recreation in groups nearly always walking up and down. At 8 o'clock there would be a lesson in Catechetics or Church History and a period for taking notes on what we had found of significance during the day. Br. Paul was a careful note taker himself

and encouraged all to write their thoughts down. Night Prayer was said about 9.30, concluding with the Litany of Our Lady. Morning and night prayers were set prayers, not Divine Office. Night Prayers was followed by a summary of the subject for Mental Prayer next morning and the period from night prayer to the following morning's breakfast, was known and respected as the Great Silence.

So went the rhythm of the daily life, with a full afternoon on manual work on Wednesday, a walk in the country on Saturday afternoon ... games on Sunday afternoon and an occasional 'long walk' picnic on some special Feast Day.[22]



Brothers Damien Harvey, Baptist Will, Leonard Will and Florence Neil at Armidale, 1932.

Life in the novitiate was very frugal during the 1930s. Edward, director of the Cootamundra community, reflected this in a letter to the Visitor when pressed to return money to a young man wishing to withdraw:

> Brother 'X' is leaving tonight. When he came he brought £98.10. Now, his going puts me in a fix. Fifty pounds of his money was all that was left when I started here. This is now gone, also, in paying bills over which I had no control. I was hoping to be above water at the end of this quarter, but now I suppose we have got to refund most of 'X's' money to him. I am giving him his fare tonight (£2), as that is all I can afford to give. I'll tell him I'm getting in touch with you about his balance.[23]

The novitiate was concerned exclusively with religious training, largely in the spirituality in which Paul had been trained. One of his novices later described this as 'better suited to the seventeenth than to the twentieth century!'[24] and more suitable for contemplative religious than for men expecting to be teachers and having to engage with the world. However, none could question Paul's sincerity and he was revered by most of those who had him as novice master. Moreover, the training he sought to impart would have been similar throughout the Institute world-wide during the same period.[25]

School life

Young men were appointed to one or other of the Brothers' schools immediately following their initial training. The aims and daily life of the Brothers were similar, whatever the school. It may have been an exaggeration to suggest that at any one time of the day identical programs were followed in each Institute school, but it would not have been too wide of the mark.



Dubbo community, 1935. Standing: left to right, Brothers Enda Finn, Edward Fitzgerald. Sitting: left to right, Brothers Edmund Young, Alban Dwyer, Thomas Daly.

Certainly the same essentials were followed. Each day, classes began with prayers and the first lesson each day was devoted to religious knowledge. This was invariably introduced by a brief reflection or motivational story, with another to conclude the day's instruction. The half-hours were punctuated by appointed students rising from their seats and exhorting their fellows to 'Remember that we are in the holy presence of God'. All would pause for a short time for prayer, then respond with 'I will continue, O my God, to do all my actions for the love of Thee', after which the lesson would resume. There was grace before meals immediately before the lunch break and grace after meals when classes re-assembled for afternoon lessons. All class prayers concluded with the signal. 'Live Jesus in our hearts. Forever!'

Something of the conduct of the Brothers's schools is evident in reports that appeared regularly in the District Newsletter that first appeared in February 1934. The report from Marrickville school in September 1935 was substantially similar to those from other schools:

> RELIGIOUS: The Sodality of Our Lady has at last been established. On the Feast of Our Lady of the Snow, 39 members were received by Father Bonaventure C.P. The Feast of St. Gabriel Possenti, a Passionist, who attended our schools in Italy, was honoured with solemn High Mass. The singing was rendered by the school choir. The De La Salle Schools were represented at the Corpus Christi Procession at Manly by 100 of our boys. They created a very good impression by their dress and behaviour. The feast of St. De La Salle was celebrated this year in conjunction with the visit of the Provincial General. There was solemn High Mass, and the panegyric was delivered by Fr. Bede C.P.
>
> EDUCATIONAL: School re-opened this year with over 500 boys. St. Brigid's is now definitely composed of a Primary and Secondary department. Twenty boys will sit for the State Bursary exam. next November. In the Secondary dept. there are two divisions of the 1st year class, making a total of 120 pupils. There is



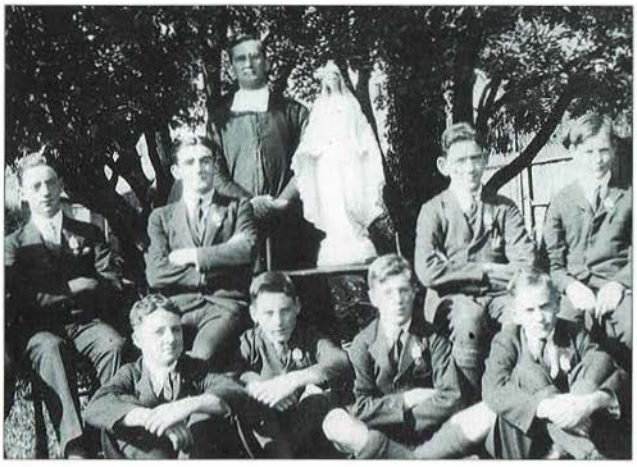
Richmond Community, 1935. Standing: left to right, Brothers Ignatius McCaffrey, Stanislaus Dunne, Andrew Sutton, Aloysius Hennessy, Camillus Kelly. Sitting: left to right, Brothers Thaddeus O'Mahoney, Fintan Dwyer, Anselm Hallam.

a general library for the whole school, which contains nearly 1000 volumes. Bro. Michael is librarian. Twenty-two boys secured the Southern Cross Intermediate Certificate in Book-keeping, four boys gaining 100%. Twenty-five boys also secured certificates for the Primary Grade, one boy getting the maximum marks. Mr. O'Shea gives weekly lectures on Business Principles; other lecturers were Mr. Wills (Liquid Air) and Mr. Earnshaw (History).

SPORT: The great struggle to obtain Riverside Park has ended in victory. The school has now got the use of 12 wickets for cricket, and 7 football fields during the winter months. Bro. John did creditable work in connection with St. Patrick's Day sports, making an advance on last year's achievements. In the football, B grade were premiers last season, and our three grade teams were runners-up in the season just closed ...

GENERAL: The Brothers have Mass in their oratory daily. This arises from the fact that seven young Passionist Fathers who were recently ordained have come to the monastery to complete their studies. When the influenza was at its height, more than 300 boys were absent from the school on certain days ...[26]

The daily life within De La Salle schools was similar one to another, and was essentially similar to that in other Catholic Brothers' schools. There was an emphasis on boys joining sodalities. This was considered something of a privilege because only selected boys were invited to join. Sodality activities were generally concerned with meetings, prayers in common, and engaging in apostolic works, though the opportunities for students to engage in meaningful work were few. The Sodality of Our Lady was one of the better-supported sodalities. It was fostered by the Jesuits, but was found also in the Institute's schools. 'For the most part the Sodality of Our Lady in the Brothers' schools was a pious confraternity for the chosen few rather than a center [sic] for apostolic work'.[27] Some boys at Malvern were invited to become 'Pages of the Most Blessed Sacrament', with the opportunity to graduate to the rank of 'Knight', following a suitable probationary period and the presentation of the appropriate lapel badge.[28] Similarly there was explicit devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. All the Church's major feastdays were celebrated.



A Brother at Malvern with members of the Sodality of Our Lady.

However, there were differences between the Brothers' schools and those of other congregations. The Brothers were proud of their mission to teach the poor. Their schools in Australia were fee-paying, but there were always students who were unable to afford these. There was an obvious emphasis on Lasallian principles in teaching



Boys and Brothers from St Ignatius' College Richmond with other schools attending an open-air Mass at the Melbourne Showgrounds (Photograph by The Age, *Melbourne).*

which were spelled out by John Baptist De La Salle in his *Conduct of Schools* which elaborated on his method of school management.

Although committed to teaching, only a minority of Brothers were actually trained to do so. Patrick continually complained to his superiors of the 'poor scholastic attainments of the greater number of Our Brothers'.[29] He commented, 'The majority of the Brothers, owing to being placed in class before their pedagogical and scholastic training was assured, are much below the standard required', though he was hopeful that 'a few years more may enable us to remedy defective training'. Patrick acknowledged that the most pressing need at the time was the lack of properly trained Brothers.[30] However, he did not have the resources to address this issue and was hard-pressed by Church authorities to staff new schools.

As Patrick indicated, the situation was a bleak one. Only about a third of men recruited from Ireland possessed professional qualifications before their arrival. The earliest Irish Brothers had gained teaching qualifications from Waterford before they engaged in teaching. However, from the 1920s, only those who did not qualify for admission to Waterford were sent to Australia. Few had the will or opportunity to gain teaching qualifications afterwards, and few of those with qualifications sought to add to them. Paul Phelan when Visitor certainly never encouraged men to seek higher learning nor move into secondary teaching. Indeed, he discouraged tertiary studies for fear that Brothers would be consumed with pride in their achievements. Only three of those from Ireland—Leopold Loughran and Jerome Foley, both of whom arrived in 1912, and Fabian Finnegan—progressed to university degrees from their initial primary teacher qualifications from the Teacher Training College at Waterford.[31]

Still, although holding no formal teacher qualifications, many Irish Brothers became capable teachers in primary and junior and middle secondary classes: several taught subjects to matriculation level. Julian Lennon, for example, had no professional qualifications, but became principal of schools at Dubbo, Ashfield, Mentone and Oakhill; his practical experience enabled him to gain Victorian Primary Registration in order to teach in Victoria. Similarly, Louis Flanagan became principal at Haberfield when the latter was an Intermediate secondary school and had also taught at Malvern and Mentone. Eugene Donegan taught at Richmond and Malvern, before becoming director of Cronulla and was an esteemed senior mathematics teacher at Marrickville: he had studied at Waterford, but failed his first year before being sent to Australia.[32]

The Visitor's duty of care

The Visitor had an onerous task in ensuring the good order of communities and schools. There were always a few men whom the Visitor found difficult to please. Patrick sympathised with Virgilius Hamilton, the director of the Richmond community in 1927, because of Antoninus Shanley 'whose views on the religious life are rather strange' and who was 'an exceptionally trying member'.[33] Antoninus had joined the community in 1927, but was shifted the following year.

One of the Visitor's more unpleasant duties was to discipline individuals, or even persuade them to leave the Institute. The Institute attracted young men for a broad range of reasons. Some may have joined simply to escape demands in civilian life. This was particularly evident when they left the houses of formation but soon afterwards begged to be re-admitted. Care was taken to prevent unsuitable candidates proceeding to final profession, though the constant need for new recruits meant that those insisting that they had a vocation were generally given the benefit of any doubt and were permitted to proceed.

As the first fervour and enthusiasm for the life began to dim, some had trouble with their vows and their attitudes and actions could not be condoned because of the disruption they caused in the community, or, worse, the potential to embarrass the community and the Institute. Where normally the Visitor recorded a one-word explanation on 'Mutation Sheets' of reasons for 'defections', such as 'unsuitability', 'irregularity' or 'infidelity', he sometimes made a more lengthy annotation. Patrick did so on the returns to the Mother House when he wrote of one man:

> This dear Brother made known certain facts connected with his vow of chastity which necessitated my seeking for him from the Papal Delegate a dispensation. The dispensation was obtained. If the Brother did not want to go he would have to be sent because of the

> nature of his fault. He, however, desired to leave and requested that I obtain the dispensation.[34]

Unsuitable Brothers were not always so easily persuaded to leave.

There were instances when individual Brothers suffered nervous breakdowns, in large part because they lacked professional teacher training or were unsuitable for a life of teaching. Patrick had to contend with this in late 1931. A man with temporary vows 'became dangerously insane a week or so before Christmas. I placed him in an Insane home …' This created a dilemma. The man could not be admitted to final profession, but could he simply be sent away from the Institute? The majority of the District Council at the time favoured his rejection 'on the plea of unsuitableness'.[35] The dilemma persisted for many years.

The Visitor had to insist on observance of the Rule. The issue of smoking was one that troubled successive Visitors. Patrick elaborated on the issue in a correspondence with the Assistant:

> A question, owing to the coming of Brothers such as Bros Michael, Robert and Cyril, from other Districts, that is causing trouble is the smoking. There is no public smoking in any community, nor is there, as far as I know, much of it done privately, these Bros, however, whom I have named, are smoking privately, because each has told me so. Probably Bro Cyril will give it up. It is probably very hard for the other two, to abandon the habit, so I have told their Directors, until I could consult you, since they have already formed the habit, to give them a little money, and make sure that they never smoke in public. I am doing my utmost to keep the habit out, and I have read publicly at the conference your note against Bro Dositheus, and said that any young Brother coming up for vows against whom notes for smoking are written, such a one will be refused vows.[36]

Unlike his predecessor, Patrick Cawley encouraged younger Brothers to study and enhance their skills, and he sought to upgrade the qualifications of the Brothers generally:

> Most of our younger Brothers in Victoria have secured their Teachers certificate, which means I will be able to replace them with another batch of scholastics next year, and thus secure a continuous supply of State certificated teachers, without running the risk of sending young Brothers to be trained in the college for Teachers in Armidale, where young ladies are trained side by side with young men. There are three Bros following university courses this year, so in five years hence, our position scholastically will have considerably increased.[37]

Patrick permitted those Brothers who were qualified and capable to undertake university studies, though they were given little practical encouragement to do so and had to juggle university demands with those of full-time teaching and religious and com-



Brothers attending the first Australian District Thirty-Day Retreat at Armidale, 1928. Fourth row: Anselm Hallam, George Boyle, Adrian Donohue, Hubert Toohey, Brendan Carroll, Fintan Dwyer, Alban Dwyer, Amandus Moon, Leo Caldwell, Stephen O'Farrell, Joseph Sullivan, Benjamin Cahalane. Third row: left to right, Damian Morgan, Anthony Hayes, Patrick Storen, Gabriel Partlon, Edmund Young, Leopold Deignan, Ronan O'Brennan, Aengus Stephen Peters, Victor McInterney, Dositheus O'Dea, Andrew Sutton, Lewis McKinnon. Second row: left to right, Gregory O'Grady, George Lyons, Xavier Hayes, Peter Duffy, Dominic Duffy, Benedict Manley, Ulrick Anthony Burns, Malachy Fulham, Louis Flanagan, Fabian Finnagan, Hilarion McSweeney, Edward Jordan, Victor Eviston, Thaddeus O'Mahoney. Front row: left to right, Brothers Leopold Loughran, Thomas Daly, Silverius Rice, Benignus White, Patrick Cawley (Visitor), Bishop O'Connor, Father Reginald CP, Brothers Celsus Meade, Jerome Foley, Julian Lennon, Donatus Slattery.

munity exercises. It was an exhausting experience. Jerome had begun his degree at the University of Melbourne in 1912, and continued studying there in 1913, 1916 and 1917 as the opportunity arose. He completed a subject at the University of Sydney in 1921 towards his Arts degree, and was finally admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Arts from the University of Melbourne on 17 April 1926. Holding a BA degree and having fulfilled the requirements of practice teaching, he was granted a Diploma in Teaching on 19 September 1927.[38]

Dominic Duffy had been the second man to succeed. His first appointment after formation had been to Armidale in 1924 where he taught at St Mary's parish school. He took the opportunity to study for his Leaving Certificate and succeeded in gaining his matriculation. He began university studies at Sydney University after being posted to Ashfield in 1925 and, in 1931, graduated with a BA, with majors in English and History: Dominic later went on to complete a Bachelor of Education degree with the University of Melbourne.

In accordance with his endeavour to upgrade the professional training of young Brothers, Patrick arranged for six young Brothers, Baptist Will, Finbar O'Donnell, Alexius Higgins,

Eugene Bauer, Frederick Timbs and Celestine Jennings, to attend De La Salle College, Armidale, in February 1933 to complete their secondary education and their scholasticate before being sent to communities to teach.

Celestine Jennings, one of the six, recounted something of the experience and the origin of the name 'The Minnies' in which he and his colleagues gloried thereafter:

> ... we arrived in Armidale ... to be met at the station by Percy Chisolm and his charabanc ... Percy drove up to the front door of the College but before we could approach the hallowed walls we were ushered discreetly around to the back of the building and lodged in the 'Minnerie'—a weatherboard and fibro construction—just three rooms—a dining room, a study room and a dormitory, while down a few steps at the back, a washroom with toilets and showers ...
>
> Next day—we had arrived at night—saw us getting organised and adapting ourselves to our reasonably comfortable quarters. We had now met the Brother who was to be our Director—Brother Leopold Loughran—better known as Brother Leo and to the boys as 'Lurkey'. Some of us had known him before as a teacher in Malvern ...
>
> We lived full time in the 'Minnerie', went to classes according to the school time-table, wore our robes at all times and with our young unshaven faces ... we were soon dubbed 'the miniature Brothers' by the schoolboys—a title which in typical Australian schoolboy style was soon abbreviated to 'Minnies' and; the 'Minnies' we remained ...
>
> Our normal routine did not vary a great deal. We followed the Rule as it was in those days. Lessons went on from 9 a.m. till 4 p.m. and it was back to barracks for the 'Minnies' at recess periods and lunch time, again with dire warning concerning contact with boys ... It was study time for us again after a short break for afternoon tea and again after supper, with the exception of a half-hour of the traditional recreation of Rule. Much of this time was spent trying to elicit from our Director what we could of world happenings at that time ... Naturally enough we never saw newspapers—not legitimately anyway! Night prayer was said at 9.30 p.m. and that was it for the day. I don't remember that we were ever permitted to study after Night Prayer. ...

The 'Minnies' struggled with their studies after having been removed from secular studies for several years. On one occasion Benignus, the principal of De La Salle College, exclaimed in such exasperation long remembered by Baptist, 'I'll not be connected with a farce'. However, the 'Minnies' persevered, and succeeded in gaining the Leaving Certificate.

Somewhat ironically, the merits in the pursuit of higher academic qualifications were not always appreciated by older men

in the District, who as professional teachers had a strange attitude to learning. Celestine continued:

> Yes, we DID pass our Leaving Certificate (mine was four 'B's) and yet with very few exceptions we were the most highly qualified Brothers—academically—in the District. I know that my first Director in community was so convinced that a Brother with a Leaving Certificate would be so proud and arrogant that it was his absolute duty to cut him down to size—a task he set about indefatigably for the twelve months I served under him.[39]

Celestine had bad luck with his directors. Several years later he became one of the District's early graduates. He joined the Marrickville community in 1942, and had to enlist the support of his director to receive permission from the Visitor to commence his degree. He began work towards a BA degree at the University of Sydney while undertaking full teaching duties, and successfully completed the course only four years later. Once again his achievement received scant recognition. A colleague later recalled that 'It hurt Cel no end that there was no word of congratulation from his director, nor any community celebration'.

It was both unfortunate and ironical that men who had committed themselves to teaching had such a jaundiced view of the merits of study, the hard work involved, and its necessity in a country such as Australia if the Institute—and indeed the Church—was to be relevant. The view reflected the anti-elitist view many of the older men brought with them from Ireland, mixed with the self-denying spirituality that they had imbibed during their religious training.

The Minnies and others joined communities without any formal teacher-training. However, most had graduated through De La Salle schools and understood the traditions and Brothers' manner of teaching. Otherwise it was a question of learning by doing. Older men were prepared to offer advice when approached and younger men received additional instruction and advice during courses organised for them after annual retreats.

Patrick could ill afford to lose any men, with the constant demand for new foundations. Unfortunately, death claimed several; some of them only young men. Oswald Doherty, who died at Orange on 5 August 1929, was only 23 at the time. He died of pneumonia, only 16 months after having received the robe. Junior novice, James McGowan, was only a young lad of 14 when he died on 2 March 1934.

Philip Kruger, from Crows Nest in Queensland was the fourth native-born to die. He had begun his novitiate on 29 October 1925 and joined the Cootamundra community in October 1926. He was a strong man and a hard worker, who was generally employed in temporal duties, looking after the farm under the care of Paul.[40] He died on 17 July 1935.

Succession

Patrick Cawley remained Visitor until 1933, when he returned to England to take up a new appointment as principal of the Brothers' school at Blackheath. The Australian District had grown considerably under his leadership. There were seven communities, 28 Brothers, one novice and 913 pupils in 1924; nine years later there were 15 communities, 98 Brothers, 27 novices and 2797 pupils.[41] Patrick's most lasting physical contribution to the District was the acquisition of more than 72 hectares of rural land at Castle Hill, west of Sydney, on which his successor built a new training college. The acquisition highlighted Patrick's forward thinking.

Abban Philip had highlighted the physical unsuitability of the Cootamundra property for training purposes in the report of his 1931 visit to the District. There was at least a need for an additional building, which was the preferred option of the District Council; however, Patrick preferred to look elsewhere for a more suitable property. Such a property became available at Richmond, west of Sydney, for which Patrick offered £12,000, later raising the offer to £13,000.[42] The Brothers had also been looking at a property at Castle Hill, but it went on the market at £25,000, well beyond their means. However, this latter property, 'Oakhill', became increasingly attractive as the price fell to £12,000 and Patrick became confident of acquiring it for £10,000: in this instance the effects of the depression worked to the Brothers' benefit.[43] Patrick considered the Castle Hill property to be far superior to that at Richmond: he described it as including 'a good house, lodge, farm house, swimming pool, good gardens, hot and cold water laid on, and a magnificent electric plant'.[44] He ultimately acquired the property for £9260. He raised £5858 immediately from District funds and £200 from the proceeds of an Art Union; the debt on the property was only £3403, comprising a loan of £1500 from Bishop Coleman, £500 from P. McGuire and a bank overdraft of £1403.[45]

Patrick handed responsibility for the Australian District to Benignus soon after acquiring the Castle Hill property. He considered it to be in good shape:

> The new place at Marrickville is doing nicely, it opened with 150 pupils. I anticipate a roll call of 300 in January next. The new Novitiate property at 'Oakhill' is looking nicer every day. Great numbers of vocations are offering, no fewer than 7 from Malvern College this year, and 4 of these have passed Leaving Certificate. There will be about 15 Scholastics and 20 junior novices at Oakhill and 20 novices at Coota., making in all 65 in training. God is evidently blessing the work here, and it would seem that it's destined to flourish in the future.[46]

He also made an interesting comment about an emerging nationalism among the young Australian men that reflected the

Church in Australia generally, where native-born Australians were replacing the Irish in positions of responsibility. He added, 'No one will be more pleased than I to see our Australian Brothers in the ascendancy...'[47] He returned to the same theme four years later when reflecting on the Australian District:

> There seems a great future for the order in Australia. But the feeling is strongly abroad among the young Australian Bros, not only in our order but the Marists and Xian Bros, that Australian Bros are better suited to the conditions than those coming from Ireland, consequently I have the feeling that the time is not far distant when recruiting from Ireland will cease. The young Australian Bros have many very good qualities, they are keen, very self-possessed and generally regular but they lack constancy. When things go hard with them they are inclined to become cast down and they seemingly lack that doggedness and perseverance so characteristic of our race.[48]

Abban Philip, Assistant, plumped for Benignus as Patrick's successor. He had been impressed by Benignus when he visited the District in 1931. Abban wrote of him at the time, 'Dear Brother Benignus Patrick, who heads the [Armidale] community, is a committed religious, an Institute man, and a highly accomplished educator. I believe he will make a fine Brother Visitor'.[49] Patrick endorsed the choice:

> Bro. Benignus knows the country, is known and respected by the bishops and priests, he is a good religious, strong and energetic, has grown up with the system. He is a man that can be relied on, a great school man, a good organiser. In fact he has so many good qualities that in my opinion they more than balance any of his failings.[50]

Benignus had been one of the five Australian pioneers. He spent most of his time at Armidale until becoming Visitor—except for a time as the founding principal of Ashfield, and in 1922 when he attended the Second Novitiate. He won renown as a builder. As principal of the Armidale college he supervised the construction of the new building in 1926 which was to suffice for the following 30 years. This proved to be a dress rehearsal for the development of the Training College at Castle Hill.



Brother Benignus White, Visitor (1933–1946).

Oakhill

The development of the Training College at Castle Hill was of major interest to all men in the District. The size and scale of the development represented a strong commitment to Australia and a belief in the necessity of professional development. Indeed, Patrick had envisaged the development of the Training College as a means of ensuring that young men were adequately trained before they were assigned to schools.

Patrick had chosen a commanding site, already with an extensive history. There had been a permanent colonial presence in



House and garden of Edward Cox at Castle Hill. (Inset) Close-up of the house.

the Castle Hill region soon after the foundation of the colony at Sydney Cove and another settlement at Parramatta. The Castle Hill Government Farm had been established in the years 1802–1803 on the newly-proclaimed government reserve, situated opposite the present Oakhill College site. Here an uprising fomented by Irish convicts took place on Sunday 4 March 1804. Fifteen convicts were shot, nine were hanged while many were sent to work in coal mines near Newcastle. The farm was closed in 1809 and the following year the buildings were converted for use as a lunatic asylum and continued to be used for this purpose until 1826.

Meanwhile, development took place nearby. In 1819, Governor Macquarie granted to William Moore 50 acres of land opposite the lunatic asylum. The Moore property, grown to 120 acres with later acquisitions, passed to the shipping magnate Edward Owen Cox in 1910. Cox established a country home appropriate to his means and named the property 'Oakhill'. The design of the house reflected Cox's love of ships, with wide verandahs arranged like decks and the rooms like staterooms. Cox spared no expense in the beautification of the grounds surrounding the house. The property immediately adjacent to the house was transformed into terraced gardens, while other sections were left as farmland. The porter's house at the entrance to the property was a smaller replica of Cox's own house. Cox died while on an overseas tour, and the property was put up for sale. However, there were no buyers because of the prevailing depression and the house remained unoccupied for several years. Finally, the De La Salle Brothers acquired the Oakhill estate in 1932 and occupied it almost immediately.

The juniorate was the first to move from Cootamundra to Oakhill in the first year with the scholastics following soon afterwards. Baptist Will, one of the latter, recalled travelling to Oakhill on 20 August 1932 with four colleagues and the first truck-load of items and farm animals from Cootamundra:[51]

> On August 20, 1932 the first colonists arrived in the Promised land. But it was no triumphal entry to the sound of sackbut, and psaltery, and clashing cymbals. On the contrary, the front gates were entered at 10.30 p.m. on a Saturday night, the intrepid party arriving in a borrowed Reo truck (from St. Gabriel's, Castle Hill) in company with two pigs, several fowls, four hives of bees, a dog, two kittens, a plough, and sundry other items. This Noah's Ark the Second had been on the road since dawn, and had accomplished 300 odd miles without mishap. Of 'trailing clouds of glory' there were none; but to supply for this deficiency was a wake of buzzing bees. Amidst this strange menagerie were five Brothers, including the driver. Three would travel in the cabin, and two others out on the deck with the rest of the crew. The Brothers were—Br. Benedict, Driver, Br. Cyril Finch, Br. Celestine Jennings, Br. Oswald Toner and Br. Baptist Will. ...
>
> As dusk fell, a halt was made at Haberfield Community to pick up a number of mattresses. These duly installed on top of the other items added greatly to the general instability of the mass, with the result that halfway along Parramatta Road, two mattresses became airborne. Frantic banging at the cabin window with an umbrella which one of the members had thoughtfully brought along, caused the truck to groan to a protesting halt. Two of the brethren raced back over the route, and were just in time to drag the mattresses from the car of a too-interested party. Once more on the road and 'Oakhill' next stop! ...
>
> Very little idea of their new home could be formed by the pioneers as they passed up the drive. It seemed a long way from the gate to the house through a majestic avenue of trees; the drive was white and the crunch beneath the wheels proclaimed it gravel. A building had been passed on the left, then more tall trees; then ahead in the darkness there loomed up the dwelling proper.
>
> Brother Virgil was there to welcome the travellers, who were somewhat disappointed at finding no gangways and life-boats. They had been told that the house was in the shape of a ship, and that everything about it was reminiscent of an ocean liner.
>
> The first thing to be done was to unload the truck. This was a somewhat tricky business as there were no lights in the house, excepting candles ... The unloading was necessary as there was no furniture in the house, and the travellers were anxious to sleep on mattresses rather than on the floor. As it happened, there was a mattress each, but only two bedsteads ...
>
> Such was the arrival of the main party. Brother Virgil had been in Castle Hill for at least two weeks previously, and was enjoying the fraternal hospitality of the Christian Brothers at St. Gabriel's. ... On

> another occasion, a similar trip was made to Armidale to bring bedsteads and mattresses in preparation for the coming of the Juniors from Cootamundra. Naturally, the first few weeks consisted of 'bringing things'. Some things were bought, others were donated. Each day would see the two Senior Brothers departing for Sydney in the truck in the early hours to return after dusk with a new cargo to unload. The first things to be obtained were chairs and tables, as none of these articles were to be found in the premises.

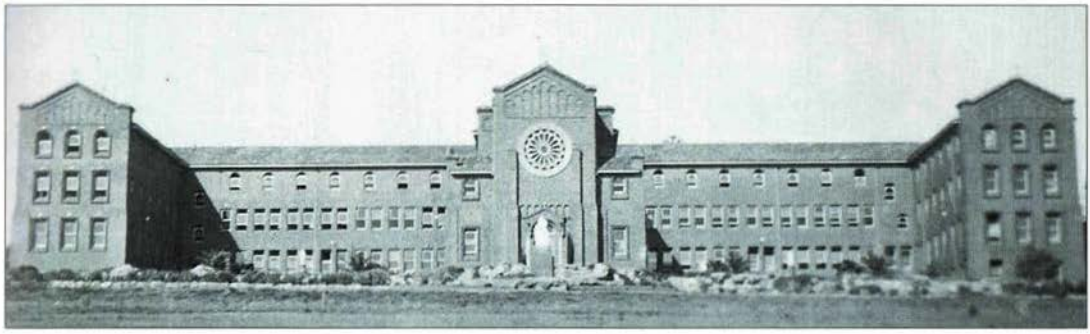
There were 17 juniors and five scholastics in residence during 1934, and the farm was a going concern.[52] Anthony Broderick, familiarly known as 'Bruv', had charge of the farm from 1933 to 1945. It was not a sinecure, as instructions from Benignus indicated:

> Yours is a work of plenty of distraction. Hence, you will need great punctuality and fervour in regard to your Spiritual Life. If for any reason a spiritual exercise cannot be performed at the appointed time, it should be done at another time appointed by the Brother Director.[53]

New construction began in 1935 once the original debt on the property had been cleared and plans had been finalised. The latter was difficult enough. Benignus received authority to incur a debt of £15,000 on the new building, but tenders for the initial plans were closer to £36,000. After recasting the plans he succeeded in obtaining quotations in the order of £25,000 for a suitable building. Benignus had included features from Brothers' houses at Barrytown in America and Castletown in Ireland. The building had to be sufficiently large to accommodate the three houses of training and be suitable for annual retreats. The floor plan was in the shape of a large 'E'. The novitiate was to be accommodated in the western wing of the building, the scholastics in the eastern and the juniors in the central section, either side of the chapel which had a large hall beneath: the community Brothers had their separate quarters in the central back wing extending to the south. The top floor was devoted entirely to sleeping quarters.

The feature of the building was the large central chapel designed to accommodate 200 people. It featured a large 16-light wheel window behind the altar and five large windows on either side of the nave. Benignus' successor had these windows filled with stained glass, the larger ones in the nave featuring scenes from the life of De La Salle, the others featuring two Brothers who had been beatified, Solomon and Benildus. Large corridors—the main one being 249 feet long and 9 feet wide—were included in the design so that they could be used for recreation purposes by the trainees in wet weather.[54]

Benignus, as the only Brother with knowledge of building work, acted as a clerk of works. Morale was high among the 20



De La Salle Training College, 1936.

juniors and 15 scholastics as the grand new building began to take shape. Archbishop Sheehan presided over the laying of the foundation stone on 20 October 1935 when the building was almost to second-floor level. Meanwhile, scholastics and juniors helped where they could to provide other facilities such as an oval and the erection of handball courts. Brother Adrian Fitzgerald supervised the plumbing of the new building.[55] Furnishing the new Training College was facilitated by a loan from the Motherhouse.

There were extensive celebrations over three days to mark the completion of the Australian motherhouse. Archbishop Sheehan returned to Oakhill on Friday 15 May 1936 to bless the building and give Benediction in the new chapel. The celebrations continued during the remainder of the weekend:

> On Saturday the first Mass was celebrated in the new chapel by Rev. Father P. G. Grace of Tighe's Hill (Diocese of Maitland), who offered the Holy Sacrifice on the altar of the special shrine of St. John Baptist de la Salle (which he had donated) on the Epistle side of the high altar. The first Mass on the high altar was celebrated by Rev. Father O. Hayes, of Brisbane, the first old boy of the Brothers to be ordained in Australia. To Rev. Father K. Broderick (of Geelong, Vic) fell the honour of celebrating the first Mass at Our Lady's altar on the Gospel side of the high altar. Three other Masses succeeded the above.
>
> In all six Masses were celebrated on the Sunday morning before the commencement of Solemn High Mass at 10 o'clock. The celebrant was Rev. Father McDermott (Mungindi, Diocese of Armidale); deacon, Rev. Father K. Broderick; sub-deacon, Rev. Father J. Dwyer, M.S.C.; master of ceremonies, Rev. Father O. Hayes.[56]

The novitiate transferred to Oakhill officially on 1 February 1936 though there were no novices that year. The first postulants arrived at Oakhill on 2 December 1936 and took the robe on 1 February 1937. Among the group were Stanislaus Carmody, Oswald Murdoch, Cronan Creedon and Xavier Johansson. These were the first to have a two-year scholasticate in accordance with Benignus' endeavour to ensure the better professional development of young Brothers. Members of the group gloried in the name of



Brothers assembled on the occasion of the Blessing of the De La Salle Training College on 15 May 1936. Fourth row: left to right, Brothers George Taylor, Brendan Carroll, Hugh Cahill, Oswald Toner, Amandus Moon, Damien Harvey, Edmund Shanahan, Kevin Mulligan. Third row: left to right, Brothers Michael Ruane, Gregory McNamara, Bartholomew Delaney, Anthony Hayes, Francis Devlin, Celestine Jennings, John Harney, Phillip Battelle. Second row: left to right, Brothers Lucian Thorpe, Eugene Brauer, Alexius Higgins, Leopold Deignan, Gabriel Partlon, Colman Molloy, Michael Cooper, Peter Duffy. Front row: left to right, Brothers Matthew McCarthy, Cyril Healy, Victor Eviston, Benignus White, Julian Lennon, Louis Flanagan, Malachy Fulham.

'Streamliners', in reference to the current penchant for streamlining motor cars. Unfortunately, the provision of a grand new building and a second year of instruction did not, of itself, constitute better professional development. Little thought was given to the program of studies and the 'Streamliners' spent their first year as scholastics studying for, or re-sitting, the Leaving Certificate examination.

Meanwhile, other endeavours were made to ensure that Oakhill became the spiritual focus of the District. The Brothers had applied in vain to the Shire of Hornsby in 1933 to establish a private cemetery at Oakhill, and received no satisfaction in 1936. The Brothers sought permission once more a decade later, fortified with a legal opinion provided by barrister and Kings Council, Charles Litherland, indicating 'no adequate reason' to justify prohibiting the Brothers proceeding with burials on their property. The Brothers proceeded accordingly: Cardinal Gilroy sanctioned the cemetery, and the area was blessed on the Feast of the Sacred Heart, 28 June 1946.[57]

The building of the Training College incurred a heavy financial commitment. Indeed, the Australian District had struggled with debt from the time of its foundation. The burden was exacerbated by the effects of the depression. Then, the construction of the new Training College occurred at a time when the Brothers were building the new Motherhouse at Via Aurelia in Rome for which Brothers around the world were taxed at a rate of 100

francs per head. The burden was too much for the Australians and they were exempted from paying the tax.

Although the resources of districts around the world were stretched, Benignus sought the cancellation of the Australian debt to the Motherhouse and an additional loan of 500 000 francs. Assistant Philip held out scant hope, in view of the exemption from the Motherhouse tax.[58] Indeed, only a month later Philip informed the Visitor that the Superior General had ordered all districts to clear their debts to the Motherhouse and that Australia should also do so 'even if you have to borrow the 80,713 francs'. He continued:

> The Mother House is in financial difficulties. He [the Superior General] has therefore ordered all arrears in Institute taxes paid up by the 1st October from all Districts who have not yet settled their accounts. I could not get a delay for your District. You will then please consider this as a command from the Superior of the Institute.[59]

The Australians managed to pay 41,799 francs by the October deadline. A major remittance made in May 1938 effectively halved the remaining debt and it was reduced to manageable proportions with a remittance of 223,010 francs in April 1939 and another of 6906 francs in August 1939. The District could ill afford the funds. Philip suggested that the Australians might seek a loan from the Penang District, 'although it too has been bled to the extreme limit by a forced loan to the German Province and a heavy tax in favor of the constructions in Rome'.[60] Ultimately, Benignus negotiated a loan with Marius James, now the Penang Visitor, who agreed to provide a loan of £5000 at an interest payment of four per cent, with the principal to be paid within five years from 1 October 1936.[61]

New foundations

New foundations continued despite the additional expense that this incurred. The Brothers established a boarding school in the former Cox residence in 1936. Oakhill College officially opened in August 1936 with four students under the supervision of Brother Stephen O'Farrell. The first community was appointed at the beginning of 1937 and comprised Julian Lennon (Director), Amedy Molloy and Kevin Price. There were 20 boarders and 10 day students in attendance at the end of 1937. The old Cox building was clearly inadequate and work began on the construction of a dormitory block in November 1937: it was completed the following year and opened on 26 June 1938. Student numbers gradually increased.

The idea of the boarding college at Oakhill was implemented as a means of providing both a regular income to help support the novitiate and as a place where scholastics could undertake practice teaching. By this time the Catholic Education Board of the

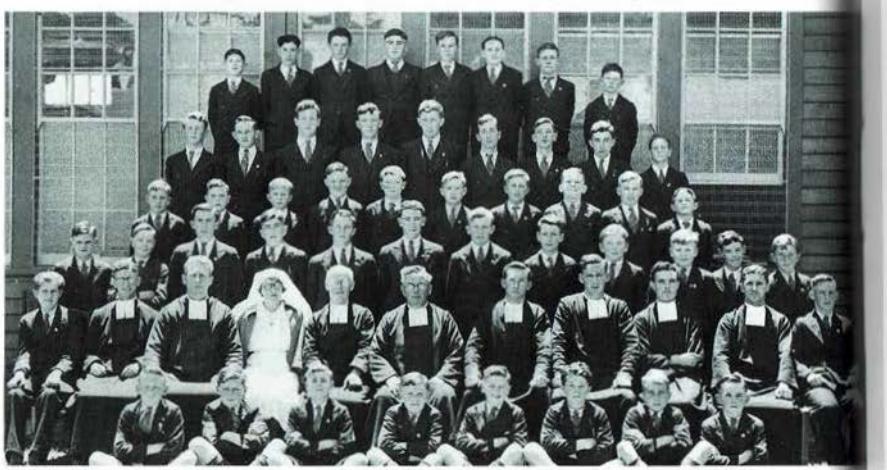


De La Salle College, Cronulla.

Archdiocese of Sydney had urged that young religious have some regular practice in teaching, which meant that the young scholastics had to travel to schools in Sydney.[62]

The Brothers formed another new community at Cronulla, when they took charge of 'Kilkivan Grange', on the shores of Gunnamatta Bay, on 13 May 1936. At the time, this was on the southern fringe of Sydney. Brother Donatus was the first principal and was joined by Enda, Louis and Benedict. The first classes were taught in the parish school. At the same time a small boarding section was established.

St Bede's College was founded as another boarding school, at sea-side Mentone in Victoria, in 1938, to take the boarding section from De La Salle at Malvern. The Brothers were fortunate to be able to take over ready-made facilities there. Mentone College had been founded in 1896 by Thomas Robert McCristal in the former grand home of Joseph Bartlett Davies, who was bankrupted in 1894 during the Land Boomer days of the late nineteenth century. The college continued until 1920, when McCristal retired to Sydney and the main building was acquired by the Columban Fathers for use as their Australian headquarters until 1923. That year it was leased for use as Mentone Girls' Grammar School which continued until the De La Salle Brothers acquired the property and two others adjoining in late 1937. They had to build a four-classroom block and a chapel before the commencement of the school year in 1938, but succeeded in doing so.[63]



Matron, Brothers and first year boarders at St Bede's College, Mentone, 1938. Staff: left to right, Brothers Colman Molloy, Fintan Dwyer, Sister Dixon, Brothers Malachy Fulham, Benignus White (Visitor), Lewis McKinnon, Urban Press, Gabriel Fitzsimons, Anthony Hayes. James Beasley, later a Brother, is the first boy on the left of the fifth row: Richard Kelly, later a Brother, is immediately to the left of Brother Anthony in the second row.

St Bede's College—owned by the Brothers—represented a particular challenge for Benignus, not least to ensure that it established an identity independent of that of Malvern. To this end he appointed himself as the first principal and chose a community of men that was calculated to ensure the early success of the school—Brothers Malachy, Urban, Lewis, Colman, Fintan, Anthony and Gabriel.

St Bede's opened on 8 February 1938 with 110 students, with the official opening by Archbishop Daniel Mannix to occur the following Sunday, 13 February. Unfortunately, what should have been a joyous occasion proved not to be, after one of the boarders drowned while swimming with the others on the Saturday evening. The silver lining in the incident was the manner in which it served to unite the college and parish community. The incident had no impact on enrolments and these increased steadily during the ensuing war years.

The task of being both principal and Visitor proved too much for even the vigorous Benignus, and later in 1938 he appointed Simon Stock, a Canadian Brother, as acting principal. This situation continued until May 1939, when Julian Lennon was appointed principal.

Visitor's concerns

Issues such as building of the Training College and staffing of new establishments generally proved welcome challenges for Benignus because they gave evidence of a developing District. Yet the Visitor had to bear much disappointment when faith placed in some men was rejected. Thus, on 25 May 1935, Benignus lamented to the Assistant of his having to remove the Director of the College at Armidale: 'He was guilty of indiscretions, unworthy of a Brother and above all of a Director in his relations with some of the female servants employed at the College. I had to act quickly for the sake of the good name and discipline of the Community'.[64]

Benignus also had to contend with evident deficiencies within the District and resultant criticisms from diocesan authorities. In 1935, for instance, Bishop Norton of Bathurst complained to Romuald Hosea of the quality of Brothers in his diocese:

> The Brothers are good Religious, keeping their rule well. As teachers they are indifferent. ...
>
> I prevent anyone receiving the Sacraments who does not send their boys to the Brothers' schools. This penalty is cruel if the schools are not giving the boys a square deal. We have been very patient with Brothers knowing that many of them are young and lack experience. But though young, they should make up for that by keenness, alertness and good discipline.
>
> The examination results, both for Public Examinations and the Diocesan Examinations have been poor.
>
> I would suggest that there is danger in too rapid expansion of the Institute, when existing schools are poorly staffed.[65]

Benignus called together the principals of the western schools and members of his advisory Council to consider the issues raised and seek resolutions where possible. However, rather than accepting the criticisms, they believed that they were able to refute most of them, and deflect some of the criticism back on the diocese because of the inadequate facilities provided at Dubbo and Orange. Benignus concluded that the completion of the new Training College would ensure better-trained teachers.[66] Nevertheless, it was unclear how the provision of a new building, however fine, would enhance the quality of teacher training unless suitable staff were provided.

Four years later, Bathurst authorities continued to be critical of the quality of Brothers assigned to their schools, and brought these criticisms before Assistant Philip in early 1939 during the course of his visit to the District. The authorities found the Brothers hard-working, earnest and friendly, but remained critical of the teaching capabilities of some of them, claiming that there was at least one Brother in each school who was inexperienced and ineffective. The matter was compounded because principals apparently provided insufficient supervision of and support for junior staff and took little care in keeping adequate records. Consequently, the authorities found that 'the boys under the care of the Brothers do not reach the standard of Religious Knowledge attained by boys in the other schools of the Diocese.' An apparent concentration of the better teachers in secondary classes was another cause for complaint because it exacerbated conditions in the primary classes. This was a matter of great concern throughout the diocese because most boys were satisfied with a primary education, with few proceeding even to the Intermediate Certificate. Any tensions between clergy and Brothers were intensified because of the latters' reluctance to take direction from diocesan authorities. For instance, the principal of Dubbo abolished the Fifth Class in 1937, without reference to the diocesan inspector, and was reluctant to reinstate the class even under instruction from the Bishop to do so.[67] With the resources at his disposal, the Visitor could do little but ask for patience and understanding. In any case, the attention of all was soon captured by a second world war, with the real fear of invasion.

World War II

The Brothers suffered the same inconveniences as other civilians during the years of World War II because of the need to have materiel and resources directed to the war effort. Those in Sydney were fortunate that the Oakhill farm supplied sufficient cream with which to make butter, so rations coupons for this were distributed among the Sydney communities.[68]

For the most part, though, the life of the District continued much as it had done before. Ecclesiastical authorities made arrange-

ments to have all religious Brothers and their trainees exempted from compulsory military training under the terms of the *Defence Act 1903–1939*. The only demand on them was the need to submit full names and details to the authorities.

The Japanese entry into the war with the bombing of Pearl Harbour on 7 December 1941 raised the spectre of an invasion of Australia. This threatened to impact directly on the Brothers, particularly when the National Emergency Authorities sought information about the Training College 'for the purpose of arriving at an agreement with the Government for the use of your premises as a hospital annex *in case of national emergency only*'. Soon afterwards the 40 senior boarders and staff of Oakhill College were evacuated to Katoomba in the Blue Mountains and became foundation students of St Bernard's College that opened in 1942. Staff and students of the Training College took up residence in the Oakhill College boarding section in December 1941 after it was vacated by the senior students.[69] However, Oakhill College continued to function as a junior boarding college during 1942, under the directorship of Brendan.

Fears of invasion intensified on 19 February 1942 with the first Japanese raid on Darwin followed by raids on Broome, Exmouth Gulf, Townsville and other places, and by the shelling of Sydney Harbour by a Japanese submarine lying off Sydney Heads on 8 June 1942. Slit trenches were dug at the Brothers' many schools in case of enemy air raids and students were drilled in air raid precautions. However, the tide of war turned, fears of invasion receded, and the National Emergency Authority never commandeered the Training College. Senior boarders returned to Oakhill College from Katoomba in 1943.

Anselm McCaffrey was a junior at Oakhill at the time and recalled something of the sense of emergency and having to spend the summer holidays cleaning the Training College. He and his colleagues also undertook courses in first aid and procedures to follow in cases of a gas attack. Anthony Broderick acted as the local Air Raid Precaution (ARP) warden and supervised the fixing of blackout blinds to all windows in the Training College. Air raid drills were rare, but all those in the Training College spent time one night in the lower corridor after the alarm sounded. Paul Phelan insisted that the Great Silence should not be broken by casual conversation, so had those in the corridor pass the time by reciting 18 decades of the rosary, while he paced up and down to aid the circulation in his legs.[70]

The circumstances of the war fostered patriotism and cadet corps were introduced into several schools. Damian Morgan introduced army cadets to De La Salle College, Armidale, in 1940. Edward Fitzgerald introduced air cadets to St Bede's College in 1941. The same year, Cassian Corbett established a college cadet unit at

Marrickville. He returned to Malvern in 1943 and established a unit there with the assistance of Oswald Murdoch.

The circumstances of the war put particular demands on Benignus, however, as he learned of and sought to help foreign Brothers who were interned in Australia. The issue came to light in early October 1940 when he received a letter from the Archbishop's secretary with another from 'Rev. Brother Franz Josten 54771 Compound 1 Hut 2 Camp 7 Eastern Command'. Benignus immediately sought to provide assistance, particularly since Carl Franz Josten had arrived in Australia with nothing but the clothes he wore. Franz had an interesting story.



Brother Carl Francis Josten.

Carl Franz Josten was one of three brothers to join the Institute in Germany. He had been teaching at a school in Bavaria when the German government closed it prior to the outbreak of the war. He spent six months in his district's motherhouse in the Black Forest before being transferred to Quimper in France to teach German, then to another school on Jersey, one of the Channel Islands that was part of the same French District. He was here when war was declared and he was interned as a civilian alien in June 1940. He was sent to England and then to Australia aboard the *Dunera*, with many German Jews. He arrived in Sydney on 6 September 1940 and was immediately transferred to Camp 7 at Hay in southern New South Wales. He was interned with a Jesuit priest, Fr W. Koenig and Nikolaus Lucas Meyer, a Brother of Mercy, and as many as 900 Jewish and other refugees.

Benignus immediately made contact by letter and travelled to Hay to meet Franz Josten. He had ready access to the internee because of the high regard that Captain Acworth, the commander of Compound 1, had for Lieutenant Colonel Steele, then the OIC in Darwin, but at one time a pupil of Benignus. Both Brother internees were grateful for the gift of clothes and basic necessities, and particularly books.

Benignus immediately sought to have the two men released in concert with the Jesuit provincial, and with assistance of the Apostolic Delegate, only to find that recourse had to be made to British authorities. In the meantime, Franz Josten was moved from one internment camp to another and was separated from Lucas Meyer. In early April 1941 he was moved to the Loveday Camp near Barmera in South Australia, and later to Tatura in Victoria, then back to Loveday again, before returning once more to Tatura. It was a frustrating existence. He wrote to Donatus from Loveday on 16 July 1942: 'Each day resembles the previous one and will be the same as the next. It might be like that for a long time still'. Two months later he wrote to Benignus from Tatura:

> After seven months in South Australia we changed once more. It does not make much difference as we find everywhere barbed-wire with machine guns at every corner of the camp. One more thing

> we learned in the previous camp, viz, to live in tents without beds, sleeping on the ground. Fortunately the climate was there much warmer and thus we came through the Winter all right.'[71]

Franz Josten found the confinement increasingly frustrating as others interned with him were released after agreeing to be employed in the Alien Construction Corps or other wartime industries:

> Almost every week I witness the release of some more people, who have no more right than myself to claim to be victims of Nazi oppression. As a religious person I cannot volunteer for the Labour Corps; there is another way open, i.e. to volunteer for farm work, but whether or not this is suitable for me or whether or not I can do it on account of my vocation is a question I should like to ask you, dear Bro Provincial.[72]

He finally gained his release in April 1943 after nearly three years as an internee. He was released so that he could work at Oakhill.

Care and concern for interned religious became a particular concern for Benignus. He also sought consideration for Brother Peter Nikol Harings similar to that of Franz Josten. Nikol, a De La Salle Brother, had been interned in 1940 while teaching at an Institute college in Bethlehem in the District of Jerusalem, and had been transferred to Tatura in August 1941. He remained in regular correspondence with Benignus and received considerable assistance from the Brothers at Mentone, as far as basic necessities were concerned. Despite the many appeals for his release, however, he remained an internee until the end of the war, spending much of his time teaching French to fellow internees who wished to learn. He was still at Tatura in October 1945 and had become quite discouraged. He was finally discharged and spent a short time at Oakhill before returning to Palestine in mid-1947.

Benignus also sought the release of Brother Franz Geier, a member of an African Mission organisation with no members in Australia. Geier spent time at Oakhill after his release where he worked as a tailor.

Franz Josten, with Franz Geier, returned to England by the *Athelone Castle* in 1946. Franz Josten wrote one last time to Benignus thanking him for his assistance. He concluded:

> Perhaps I could have spared you all this [trouble associated with the repatriation] by staying here, since I really liked the district. I sometimes think that if we had had a talk together on that subject, we might have settled the matter satisfactorily. Even I thought that this year I might take a small class in case you needed badly a brother for the schools.
>
> However, it is still a possibility, since I said that if I go home now, I need not go later on in case I return.[73]

Francis Josten returned to Australia; he is buried at Oakhill.

The continuing apostolate

Life in the schools during the war period differed little from what had gone before. The only effect of the war on Malvern was the frustration that attended the wish to build extra classrooms to accommodate the increasing student population. 'The most important item of news for the year 1940', wrote Malvern's house chronicler, '[was] the purchase of the college property.' The Brothers acquired title to the property containing the Tower building and the 'Manresa' residence from the Vincentian Fathers for £8000, and in accordance with the terms of an agreement signed on 19 October 1940. This minimised the opportunity for the parish priest to interfere in college operations, which, depending on the priest, had been frustrating at times for the Brothers. It also eliminated disputes about responsibility for various costs associated with the school's repair and operation. Acquisition of the college provided the Brothers with additional incentive to ensure its pre-eminence. Successive Visitors certainly tried to ensure the continuation of De La Salle's fine reputation by appointing high-quality men to the staff. Many of these remained for lengthy periods and ensured a measure of stability: Cassian Corbett taught for 18 years after his appointment there in 1930. Moreover, succeeding principals, Peter (1946–52), Oswald (1952–58) and Stanislaus (1959–63), had all taught at Malvern and imbibed its spirit while Jerome was principal.

Jerome continued to play an important leadership role in the College. Canonical Law held that directors could hold the position continuously for six years only, so in 1941, after two six-year terms Jerome was appointed sub-director of the community while remaining college principal, while Edward Jordan served as director. Jerome resumed the combined roles of director and principal in 1942.

The Brothers withdrew from their school at Roma in Queensland in 1941, but this had nothing to do with the war. Failure to develop oil discoveries in the region led to a decline in the town population that was exacerbated by the government scaling back personnel in the police and railway departments. During 1939 school enrolments declined to 56 boys. Enrolments declined further still to 30 at the end of 1940 and prospects were bleak, particularly following the opening of a Catholic school at Toowoomba. The three Brothers, Silverius Rice (Director), Dermot Brosnan and Hugh Cahill withdrew at Easter time in 1941. Nevertheless, the closure provided the opportunity to strengthen the new foundation at Katoomba in the Blue Mountains west of Sydney.

The De La Salle Brothers also assumed responsibility for the day-to-day management of Boys' Town at Engadine in September 1942. The care of itinerant and delinquent boys appealed to them as another opportunity to follow the example of their founder who had made provision for such boys at St Yon.



View of Boys' Town, Engadine, 1951.

Boys' Town had had its origins in 1939, when Father Thomas Dunlea began providing emergency accommodation for itinerant and homeless boys in his parish of Sutherland, south of Sydney. Dunlea was an idealist. He was an Irish priest whose sense of mission had prompted him to volunteer for service in Australia. He had arrived in Sydney in 1920 and served in several inner city parishes in his early years. He was appalled at the social distress he witnessed during the course of the Depression and sought to relieve it where possible. He soon had six boys living at his presbytery. The presbytery became unduly cramped and Dunlea rented a cottage nearby to provide additional accommodation. Here, on 1 August 1939, Boys' Town was founded. At this time the film dramatisation of the work of Father Flanagan of Nebraska in the United States opened in Australia. It provided inspiration for Father Dunlea and he sought to model his initiative on that of Flanagan.[74]

There was an evident need for emergency accommodation of itinerant boys, with 17 boys in residence by the end of 1939. The need for adequate accommodation continued to be pressing, while the overcrowding and deterioration of the cottage became of concern to the local Shire which could not condone all of Dunlea's initiatives. His confrontations with the Shire gave his work a certain prominence and aided in fund-raising. Ultimately he was able to acquire three hectares of land at Engadine that included a large weatherboard house. He transferred his Boys' Town to the new property on 27 September 1940. The institution was totally dependent upon charity, but had an enthusiastic fund-raiser in George Nathan, a Jewish bookmaker with many contacts within the Sydney sporting community.

Additional buildings were gradually provided, and by November 1941, there were four main weatherboard and fibrocement buildings, including a dining hall, school—comprising three classrooms—and dormitories, catering for 60 boys. A management committee of supporters exercised executive control over the institution, while internal order was largely in the hands of the boys themselves in the form of a mayor and council, after Father Flanagan's model.

Boys' Town had been developed and sustained by idealism and enthusiasm until this time. Cardinal Gilroy considered this inadequate to guarantee its long-term viability and invited the De La Salle Brothers to undertake its day-to-day management. The memorandum of agreement was signed on 8 September 1942 by Benignus



Boys at Engadine receiving instruction in baking (Photograph by The Leicagraph Co., Sydney).

and the committee representing Cardinal Gilroy. Alban Dwyer was given the task, with the assistance of Dermot, and later, Donatus. The Brothers provided vocational training as well as academic instruction, organised sports and were able to draw upon the Brothers' established network of schools to provide holidays beyond Engadine. None of the Brothers was trained in welfare work, but the institution flourished under their guidance because of the sense of order that they imposed and it was on a par with any of the comparable state institutions as far as its conduct was concerned, though it suffered by comparison in the provision of physical facilities.[75]

Alban appealed to various trade groups to assist with the trade training in order to provide the boys with the opportunity to find employment after leaving Boys' Town. The boys had the option of receiving training in butchery, the laundry, shoe shop or dairy. In late 1945, the Bread Manufacturers of New South Wales agreed to establish a school of bakery at Boys' Town.

Dunlea continued to be identified with Boys' Town into the late 1940s, but primarily as a figurehead only: he had little penchant for organisation and, once his dream had been firmly established, was content to leave this to others.

All the while, death continued to rob the Institute of willing workers. Finbar O'Donnell, who took the habit on 27 December 1931, and was one of the 'Minnies,' died after undergoing an operation in St Vincent's Hospital on 4 May 1939 when only 24 years old. Vincent Latham was another who was sadly missed when he died on 3 October 1940. He had been a late vocation of 41 years when he joined the Brothers in 1930. He was an accomplished musician and taught music at Armidale.

Conrad Joseph Melly died of tuberculosis on 6 June 1942 after having been confined to bed for two years. He had apparently contracted the disease in Ireland before arriving in Australia in 1937. Indeed, it seems several Brothers with the disease had been sent to Australia in the hope that the warmer climate would benefit them. Benignus complained of this use of the Australian District and believed it was based upon misconceptions of the difficult conditions under which Brothers worked in Australia. Already another man who had arrived at the same time had died from the disease, and Eunan McHugh, another member of the 1937 group from Ireland, could do little but work in the dining room of the Oakhill community.[76]

Benignus was at pains to point out to the Assistant that work in Australia was difficult. Older men could not readily be released to retirement. Writing in 1942, Benignus noted that Thomas Daly, then more than 70 years old, had been teaching until recently and had been the first of the Brothers to be granted retirement. Paul Phelan continued as Director of Novices and Fridolin as Director of Scholastics, primarily because there were no suitable men available.[77]

Dominic Curran, a junior novice aged 15, drowned in the dam at Oakhill on 18 December 1944. The tragedy was compounded when Brother Jim McInerney, only 27 years of age, drowned while trying to save Curran.



Brother Aloysius Carmody BA, 1942.

Peace time

World War II marked something of a watershed in Australian history. There was a return to peace, but thereafter Australian history became increasingly independent of that of the British Empire. There was a rapid increase in the population and a change in the ethnic mixture because of assisted migration from southern Europe. All this was to impact directly on the work of the Brothers in Australia. The constant demand for Brothers to establish schools meant there was an ever-present need for additional recruits. To this end, recruitment became more professional and no longer the sole responsibility of the Visitor.

An attempt had been made to establish a more systematic recruitment program immediately prior to the war when Simon Staunton from Toronto in Canada arrived at Oakhill in October 1937 to work as a recruiter. He had fulfilled this role in his own



Brothers gathered with Brother Paul Andrew Phelan on the occasion of his Diamond Jubilee as a Brother on 7 October 1945. Standing: left to right, Philbert Ryan, Franz Geier, Francis Josten, Celsus Maguire, Eugene Donegan, Gregory McNamara, Louis Flanagan, Brendan Carroll, Alban Dwyer, Patrick Howard, Mark McCarthy, Augustine Wilton, Gabriel Fitzsimons, Ronan O'Brennan. Sitting: left to right, Brothers Donatus Slattery, Christian Brother (unknown), Paul Phelan, Benignus White (Visitor), Christian Brother (unknown), priest (unknown), Brothers George Lyons.



Junior novices at Oakhill, 1945. The Brothers on the staff are (left to right), Xavier Johansson, Gregory McNamara, Celsus Maguire.

district from 1909 to 1936, except for a two-year period as director of novices in 1916 and 1917. The onset of war made his duties difficult and he returned to Toronto and his former district on 11 February 1942.

However, the initiative persisted and, in March 1945, Fintan Dwyer was chosen to devote his endeavours to recruiting. He had been only moderately successful as a teacher and had been moved regularly after only short periods in any school. Beginning in Cootamundra in 1924, he had taught in Surry Hills (1925–26), Armidale (1927–28), Richmond (1929), Armidale (1930), Haberfield (1931), Richmond (1931–37), Mentone (1938), Surry Hills (1939–41), Mentone (1942), Armidale (1943) and Malvern (1944). Still, his many appointments gave him a broad appreciation of the District, its culture, and its needs.

Fintan had a difficult assignment. Benignus considered it more difficult than in Ireland because of the Australian lifestyle and the immense distances between the Institute's schools. He also believed that there was a decided lack of faith in Australian homes generally and an unwillingness of parents to allow their sons to become religious.[78] Nevertheless, Fintan embarked on his new mission enthusiastically, and, although he never drove a car, travelled to all parts of Australia for the next quarter century encouraging scores of young men to embark upon a career with the Brothers. The enthusiasm with which he undertook his mission meant that a multitude of folkloric stories surrounded him, as he became one of the most recognised and recognisable of Australian Brothers.

The growing demands made on the Institute in the period after World War II made Fintan's work essential. Fortunately, many young men responded to his encouragement and the continuing example provided by his contemporaries.

Chapter Five

Golden Years
1946–1958

The years after World War II were boom years in Australia and New Zealand, when returned soldiers were readily absorbed into the nations' expanding economies and unemployment figures rarely, if ever, reached two per cent of the population.

There was also a rapid increase in immigration that encouraged greater cultural diversity. Many migrants to Australia were Catholics from southern European countries.

This optimistic time was reflected in the multiplication of Institute schools throughout Australia and the first foundations in Papua New Guinea and New Zealand. Ten new schools were founded in the dozen years following World War II, but they did little to satisfy the ever-increasing demands of bishops for additional foundations. Moreover, the very expansions created problems for the Institute, with the expectation that they would be staffed by Brothers as they expanded.

Catholics in the Australian Population, 1911-1971[1]

Year	*Total Population*	*Catholic Population*	*Percentage of Catholics*
1911	4,455,005	1,022,656	22.96
1921	5,267,641	1,172,661	22.96
1933	6,629,839	1,288,997	19.44
1947	7,579,358	1,569,726	20.71
1954	8,986,530	2,060,986	22.93
1961	10,508,168	2,619,984	24.93
1966	11,550,444	3,036,126	26.29
1971	12,755,638	3,442,634	26.99

The traditional attitudes towards Catholic education prevailed for a time, with the Australian and New Zealand hierarchy still seeking to provide every Catholic child with the opportunity to attend a Catholic school. This was difficult enough in the period prior to World War II: it was impossible in the years afterwards, even without the rapid increase in the Catholic population. By 1955 there were already as many as 15,000 Catholic children in the Sydney archdiocese attending state schools.[2] Catholic schools were overcrowded and class sizes were excessively large, with as many as 70 or 80 students. Gerard Rummery, who was first appointed to Malvern in 1951, recalled that he never taught classes of less than 64 and, one year, had 89 in a First Form class. Such situations meant that control and discipline rather than teaching became the prime concern of teachers, whether religious or lay. Moreover, the reliance upon the Catholic population for the means to fund the establishment of schools, meant that the schools became increasingly disadvantaged when compared to their state-funded counterparts. On one occasion, Archbishop Eris O'Brien wrote to Jerome informing him of the development of a new state school in Cootamundra catering for students from junior class to Leaving Certificate: it was to have 30 teachers and be 'one of the best equipped schools in New South Wales'.[3] By contrast the three Brothers in Cootamundra were responsible for seven classes without the assistance of modern facilities and equipment. 'I am very afraid that the competition which will arise out of this new State school will be hard to withstand', bemoaned O'Brien.

Traditional attitudes also prevailed in the Institute worldwide, which was concerned primarily with the re-establishment, as quickly as possible, of what had been considered the natural order that prevailed prior to World War II. The 37th General Chapter held in 1946 was mainly concerned with questions of formation and training of young men, missions, preference for the education of poor students and revisions of the Rules and Constitution. Similar issues dominated the 1956 General Chapter of the Institute, though for some delegates the more significant issue was the hard stand taken to eradicate smoking.[4]

However, the 1956 Chapter made some significant decisions. The first was essentially concerned with authorising a revision of the Rule and Constitution of the Institute to reflect contemporary reality and attitudes. It had become evident that the strict observance of the Rule as formulated in eighteenth-century France had become virtually impossible in the period after World War II, particularly in New World countries. The difficulty in observing the letter of the Rule had created personal crises among the more scrupulous Brothers. An appreciation of the credibility gap between the letter and the observance of the Rule persuaded Brother Maurice Hermanns, appointed sub-director of the Second Novitiate in 1947,

to argue for a new approach to the Rule based upon a re-interpretation of the spirit of De La Salle in accordance with practical realities of the later twentieth century. Maurice Hermanns' lobbying led ultimately to the 1956 Chapter decision to establish a centre at the Motherhouse devoted to research into the life and times of De La Salle. This led to the development of a series of publications, *Cahiers lasalliens*, that formed the basis of a revitalisation of the Institute.[5]

The fruits of these decisions were to be evident during the course of succeeding Chapters. For the moment, though, the Institute remained Eurocentric and strictly hierarchical, with the Visitor in Australia requiring the permission of the Assistant for the purchase of a power mower for a community. Regularity and the outward observance of rules remained major characteristics of a good Brother.

New people at the helm

While much in the Institute remained the same, the 37th General Chapter oversaw a re-arrangement of the provinces of the Institute. The Australian District had been the responsibility of Abban Philip, Assistant for the United States, and Romuald Hosea, Assistant for Canada, during the previous 15 years. Lawrence O'Toole Knox, the newly appointed Assistant for Ireland, England, South Africa, Ceylon and Malaya, became responsible for Australia after the General Chapter. Faster communications meant that he was able to visit his far-flung district more frequently than his predecessors, and he was determined to get to know it intimately. He visited the District on six occasions during this term and had a major influence on its development. Control from Rome remained close. The Visitor had authority to spend up to £450: a director could spend only £45 without reference to a higher authority.[6]

The appointment of the new Assistant coincided with that of Jerome Foley as Visitor in June 1946. Jerome was to continue in the role for 12 years and presided over an unprecedented era of growth and expansion in the District that reflected the boom period in Australia generally. His influence continued for many years afterwards, and like his fellow Irishmen, Paul Phelan, Patrick Cawley, and Benignus White, came to be considered one of the pillars of the District. Benignus returned to Ireland after the General Chapter to ensure that he was not a problem for his successor. He later regretted his self-sacrifice:

> Australia haunts me at times. I loved my work there down the years. Occasionally I feel pangs of regret that I didn't return late in 1946. At the time I thought it better to be right out of the way of my successor and let him do things in his own way ... However, I shall be interested in Australia to the last and I shall certainly pray that God may continue to bless a District that is so dear to my heart.[7]

Benignus died in Ireland on 15 March 1955.



Brother Jerome Foley, Visitor (1946–1958).

Jerome had become a senior man within the District and a logical choice as Visitor. He had been born at Killenaule, County Tipperary, Eire, on 6 August 1886. He entered the novitiate at Castletown on 20 November 1903 and began his scholasticate the following year. After completing teacher training at Waterford in 1908 he was appointed to the Brothers' college at Ardee where he remained until 1911, before sailing to Australia to become a pioneer of De La Salle College, Malvern, in suburban Melbourne.

Jerome's own tertiary studies and career convinced him of the need to have men academically qualified for their work and his period as Visitor was marked by a general upgrading of Brothers' qualifications. Indeed, as early as April 1947, when discussing a new scholasticate training program with Lawrence, he indicated his wish that men would soon be able to attend day courses at university, rather than have to undertake night classes as he and his contemporaries had had to do.[8] He hoped to give a third of Brothers the opportunity to study at university.[9] In the meantime, however, Jerome's plans remained constrained by the need to staff schools, which meant that men continued to attend university after they had fulfilled their school duties. Yet he encouraged all who were able to undertake higher studies. Julian Watson had been surprised when appointed to Malvern to be told to 'prepare to undertake University studies'. He was unsure of the intent of the instruction, only to be advised by a colleague to take this as a mandate to enrol at the university, which he did. Most of his colleagues at Malvern at the time were studying at university.

There was also a change at the helm of the novitiate at this time, with Francis De Sales, an American, having been appointed novice master in 1945. As Eugene O'Neill, he had been born in Crettyard in Ireland in 1882 and had attended the Brothers' school in Kilkenny. However, his family migrated to America and here he entered the juniorate in 1897. He was a brilliant scholar and gained both Master of Arts and Doctor of Philosophy degrees. He served as director of juniors for ten years and later director of novices and scholastics in the Districts of Baltimore and New York. He visited Australia in 1945 to see his sister, a Dominican nun, who had joined the order before the family had left Ireland and whom he had not seen since. Benignus had prevailed on his superiors to allow him to remain in Australia.[10]

Brother Francis O'Neill, Director of Novices, 1945–1949 (Photograph by Ralph H. Barnum, Philadelphia).



Francis O'Neill implemented the idea of a two-year novitiate for those taking the robe in 1946. Jerome acquiesced, despite the need for additional men to staff new schools and contrary to the recommendations of Lawrence, who preferred a one-year novitiate followed by three years of teacher training. The two-year novitiate proved not to be the better option, in hindsight. The small staff available in the novitiate meant that the second year did not represent a development of the canonical year and led to the intel-

lectual stagnation of young men, who required professional teacher training rather than additional religious training to be successful in the classroom.[11]

The 1947 intake saw 29 postulants take the robe. This was the biggest group to complete the novitiate and provided 24 new scholastics who made their first profession on 24 January 1949. Five of this group left during the novitiate, two before final profession and four afterwards, which meant that 18 remained in the Institute 20 years later.

Francis O'Neill served only four years in the position before succumbing to sudden illness and death on 19 December 1949 at the age of 67 years. Nevertheless, he had been a breath of fresh air after Paul Phelan's period in the position. Gregory McNamara, director of the juniorate from 1943 to 1947 and briefly director of scholastics in 1949, became the new novice-master after returning from his second novitiate in Rome in 1947 and 1948, though he had to be given special dispensation because he was younger than the minimum age required by Canon Law.[12]

The Lasallian Year

Gregory McNamara was also given the responsibility of organising celebrations to mark the Lasallian Year, that began on 30 April 1950, the Golden Jubilee of the canonisation of De La Salle, and continued until 24 May 1951, the tercentenary of the founder's birth. There was an endeavour world-wide to make De La Salle, the Institute and its work better known and appreciated. This initiative was welcomed in Australia, where the congregation continued to have a low profile because of its relatively late arrival. Gregory, as president of the Australian committee established to organise appropriate events, was assisted by Eusebius McFarland as secretary and treasurer. Damian Morgan took charge of organising the Lasallian Exhibition in the Sydney department store Mark Foys, from 22 to 28 April 1951.

A feature of celebrations in Melbourne and Sydney was the presentation of the play *The Courtier of God* written by Ronald Conway and based on the life and ideals of De La Salle. Three years later, in 1954, Oswald had Conway join the Malvern teaching staff. He was the first lay teacher appointed to the senior school in the years after the war and he went on to establish a high reputation for teaching English, History and debating. He later went on to lecture at the RMIT; he



The Premier, Joseph Cahill, opening the Lasallian Year Exhibition in Mark Foys' department store in Sydney, April 1951. Brothers Gregory McNamara (left) and Jerome Foley (right) are also on the dais (Photograph by The Leicagraph Co., Sydney).



A view of the Lasallian Year Exhibition in Mark Foys' department store in Sydney, April 1951 (Photograph by The Leicagraph Co., Sydney).

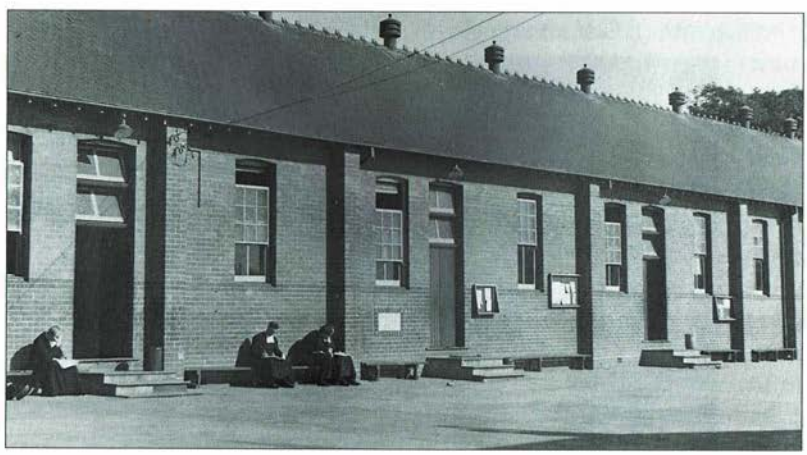
undertook consulting work for St Vincent's Hospital and the Catholic hierarchy in Victoria and Tasmania before becoming a clinical psychologist in private practice and he became an author of influential books about Australian culture.

A major feature of the Lasallian Year was the organisation of an art union to raise funds for a demonstration school to be built at Oakhill. The major prizes were several motor cars, which proved very attractive because new cars were hard to obtain at that time.

Continued expansion

Celebrations such as those of the Lasallian Year proved a welcome distraction from the routine of school life and the challenge of new foundations, all with inadequate resources. The expansion of the Institute in Australia occurred with only a small increase in recruit numbers. Jerome sought additional men from Ireland in one of his early letters to the new Assistant, only to be told this was impossible. 'All my districts are like so many sucky-calves depending on one poor milch-cow—Ireland!' wrote Lawrence in return, adding, 'She has to supply herself, England, South Africa, Mauritius, Malaya, Burma, Hong Kong. And now here are Ceylon and Australia that I thought were self-sufficing, looking for Brothers.'[13] Lawrence advised against opening new schools until more men were available, or to employ lay teachers.

Classrooms at De La Salle College, Ashfield.



The advice was more easily given than received because of the constant demands on Jerome for more foundations. The inherent problems associated with this were evident very early. In late 1951, for instance, Lawrence observed to Jerome that 'With all the immigration now it looks as if you will be plagued

with applications for new schools and the more we accept the more permanent will our problems become of understaffing and overwork and it will be hard to make any of our schools the outstanding ones they might be'.[14]

Jerome was aware of dangers in too rapid an expansion, though perhaps not sufficiently so, and was unable to refuse entreaties of priests and bishops for long. Fortunately, there was a steady increase in the numbers of young men to sustain some expansion. There was also the Brothers' withdrawal from Boys' Town at Engadine at the end of 1952 that released four men for deployment elsewhere. The Institute had never had financial control of the institution and this became a matter of concern as the health of Father Dunlea continued to deteriorate and when public doubts were raised about the propriety of the money-raising activities and management of George Nathan. Ultimately Cardinal Gilroy intervened and decreed that total management of Boys' Town should be given to the Salesian Fathers.[15] The final community, comprising Alexius (Director), along with Hubert, Martin and Gerard, left Boys' Town on 15 December 1952.[16]

For a time Jerome entertained the idea of relinquishing the parish school at Haberfield. He considered the school inadequate for the purpose, with classes being taught in what had been built as a hall, with inadequate natural light, and with one class situated on the stage. Moreover, he believed that the school was unnecessary because of its proximity to De La Salle College at Ashfield that could accommodate the students without any extra staff.[17] However, Cardinal Gilroy and the parish priest opposed the withdrawal and threatened to offer the school to another congregation should the Brothers withdraw. This would have adversely affected Ashfield, so Jerome decided to have his men remain.

Several of the new Australian foundations were made in New South Wales. Those opening in suburban Sydney were at Coogee (1946); Bankstown (1951); Lakemba (1954); Kingsgrove (1956); and Caringbah (1958).



Ashfield community, 1949, on the occasion of the first visit by Brother Assistant, Lawrence O'Toole Knox. Standing: left to right, Brothers, Hugh Cahill, Gregory Kennedy, Lewis McKinnon, Urban Murray, Finbar Kelly, Raymond Sharpe. Sitting: left to right, Brothers Urban Press, Jerome Foley, Lawrence O'Toole Knox, Baptist Will, Cassian Corbett, Celestine Jennings.



La Salle Academy, Lithgow.

There was a great demand in Sydney. The Bankstown school opened with two men in charge of 110 boys, though Jerome observed that they could have had twice the number of students.[18] The Brothers initially travelled each day from the Marrickville community. Jerome was particularly happy with plans for the new venture at Kingsgrove because full ownership was to be vested in the Institute, the first such school in the archdiocese. He had high hopes of the new foundation becoming the jewel of Sydney and as far as vocations were concerned he expected it to 'out-Malvern Malvern'.[19] The Assistant was less enthusiastic. He warned of the danger of stretching resources needlessly, and suggested that too much attention was being paid to Sydney when opportunities were available elsewhere.[20] Nevertheless, Jerome persisted and had his way.

The District opened a primary school in western New South Wales at Lithgow in January 1953, with Grades 4, 5 and 6. The two-storey sandstone school buildings dated back to 1892 when they served as a Presbyterian boarding school known as Cooerwull Academy. The building had been sold during World War I and was used as a private dwelling until acquired by the archdiocese of Sydney to be used once again as a school. The invitation to open La Salle Academy came from the parish priest at the suggestion of the cardinal. Dominic Finn became the pioneer principal.

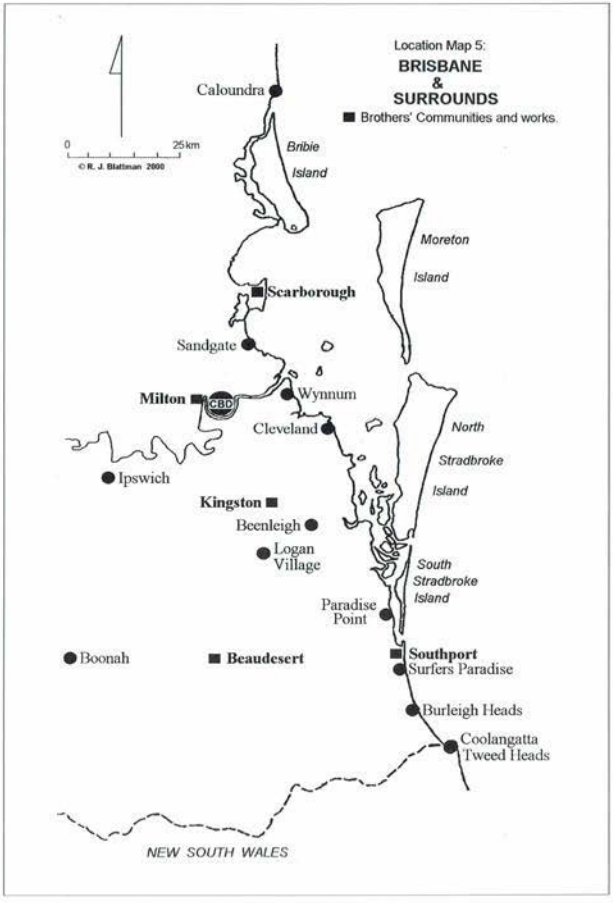
First foundations were made in other states. These were St Michael's College at Beverley in South Australia (1954); De La Salle College, Midland Junction, Western Australia (1954); and De La Salle School, Scarborough, Queensland (1955). Invitations to open schools in these other states were particularly attractive because they provided the opportunity for the Institute to become truly national and to be able to attract recruits nationwide. The sense of achievement muted Lawrence's counsels of caution about over-extending the Institute in Australia.

The South Australian foundation was made at the invitation of the Sacred Heart priests who had charge of the Hindmarsh parish—principally Father Cuthbert Hoy—but with the approval of Archbishop Matthew Beovich, long known to Jerome because of his earlier work as Inspector of Schools in Melbourne.[21] The

Hindmarsh parish agreed to build and furnish a new school at Beverley, on the understanding that the Institute would assume ownership of the school when it was in a financial position to pay the parish £10,000. Indeed, the Brothers acquired the property on 1 April 1954, on the understanding that it would revert to the diocese should it no longer be used as a school.

The new foundation began on 9 February 1954, with the official opening on 28 February. Jerome was pleased at the cordial welcome given by the Archbishop, declared the 'set-up' to be 'very satisfactory' and held out great hope for the school 'even though only 32 pupils attended on the opening day'.[22] Victor Eviston had charge of the new venture with Leo Kane and Peter Gilfedder.

Development at St Michael's was rapid, despite the small number of pupils on the first day. An additional Brother, Basilian Wilson, joined the community in 1957, along with Finbar Kelly who replaced Victor as principal. Archbishop Beovich returned to St Michael's on 22 March 1959, to open a new two-storey building of nine classrooms, only a little more than five years after opening the original school. At that time there were 380 students.



Brothers' communities and works: Brisbane and suburbs.

Brothers Columban McDonald (Director), Gregory Kennedy and Matthias Collins began the Institute's new endeavour in Western Australia the same year as that in Adelaide. The new venture was on a greenfield site at Midland Junction, a railway workshop centre. The new school was officially opened and blessed by Archbishop Prendiville on 7 February 1954. School commenced the following day with 53 pupils. The Brothers' residence took some time to complete and, for the first 17 weeks, they lived in a cottage at the rear of the Franciscan friary in Midland.[23]

The Queensland foundation at Scarborough in 1955 was made at the urging of Father Frawley and on very favourable terms. Frawley was able to offer the Brothers a hall immediately that would provide three classrooms and he undertook to provide a residence for the Brothers and pay for the school's running expenses, while allowing them to retain any school fees. Jerome believed that it was an offer worth accepting, particularly because it provided the



Monsignor Bart Frawley, presiding at the opening of De La Salle College, Scarborough. Archbishop James Duhig is to his left, with Co-adjutor Archbishop O'Donnell and Brother Jerome Foley (Photograph by Anthony Karas, Clayfield).

Brother Stanislaus Carmody starting a sprint race at a Malvern athletic carnival. Brother Gerard Rummary is the recaller.



opportunity to expand into Queensland. There were nine scholastics graduating at the end of the year so he anticipated no great trouble in finding three men for the venture.[24] However, after that he anticipated calling a halt to new foundations 'for a few years to "count our blessings", strengthen our staffs and consolidate'.

The Queensland foundation opened with 82 boys on 24 January 1955, with classes being conducted in a reconditioned army hut. Leo Caldwell was the foundation principal with Kevin Brown and Hilary Walsh completing the community. There were 115 pupils the following year when Justin Joyce augmented the community. The temporary classrooms had to suffice until a new three-storey building was opened on 25 October 1959. That same year the boarding department commenced with 40 students.

The several new foundations represented only about a third of those that could have been made. The lack of men meant that Jerome had no chance of acceding to even a majority of requests made to him for men to staff schools—all of which were considered urgent. Bishop Gallagher of Port Pirie in South Australia, for instance, was prepared to give the Brothers 20 acres of land on which to build a school: Jerome had to decline. In 1953 he was invited to open eight schools, but, with commitments to open three, had no additional resources.[25] He explained to Father Stinson in Belmont, Western Australia:

> Your convincing and enthusiastic letter would convert a hardened sinner but, as you state, your problem calls for a first class miracle and I am afraid that even your fervent pleadings cannot succeed in using me as an intermediary. Your letter shows the dire need of a Brothers' school in your parish but the ever-recurring question of personnel faces us as a grim reality and your problem can be multiplied a thousand-fold in Australia. This very year we have had to refuse the offer of schools in every state in Australia and though it pains us to have to refuse I fear there is nothing that we can do about it.[26]

Significant developments occurred at established schools that also called for additional staff. Virtually all of the established schools implemented building programs during the 1950s once wartime building restrictions were lifted. Thus, in 1953 the Brothers acquired 'Kinnoul', the former home of Sir Alexander and Lady Stewart, for use as a junior school at Malvern: two years later an

adjoining property, 'Fairlight', was acquired to permit continued expansion. All the while it maintained its reputation for academic achievement and sporting excellence. Malvern was given the supreme accolade during the mid to late 1950s, when the Greater Public Schools organisation sought to expand and Malvern was asked to join. The Brothers begged to decline. They continued to aim to have De La Salle College the best school possible, but not within the exclusive Greater Public Schools (GPS) system.

Building work had continued at St Bede's during the war with new dormitories being built in 1940 and 1943: it increased afterwards as adjoining land was acquired to permit expansion. A major new brick classroom block was completed in 1957 when student numbers approached 900. Similar expansion occurred at Cronulla, with additional land adjoining the school property being acquired in 1950. Additional enrolments had meant that one of the dormitories at Cronulla was resumed for use as a classroom in 1956, requiring the boarders to return home each weekend: the boarding school ceased the following year.

The expansion took place at a time of cultural revolution in Australian schools with the introduction of many sons of migrants whose first language was not English. The change was most marked in the cities, and frequently in those suburbs where the Brothers had their schools, such as Surry Hills and Marrickville in Sydney and Richmond in Melbourne, but also in many suburbs where the newer schools were established.



Archbishop Justin Simonds arriving at St Bede's College, Mentone, to open the new building, 1 December 1957. He is being escorted by Brother Finian Allman, with Jerome in the background.



Marrickville community, 1949, on the occasion of the first visit by Brother Assistant, Laurence O'Toole Knox. Standing: left to right, Brothers Benjamin Lehane, Eusebius McFarland, Fidelis Byrden, Leopold Neville, Florence Neil, Michael Johnson, Mark Murphy. Sitting: left to right, Brothers Lawrence O'Connor, Xavier Hayes, Jerome Foley, Laurence O'Toole Knox, Aloysius Carmody, Gerard Lemmon, Basil Collins.

There was also a good deal of local religious politics involved with the expansion that required negotiations with hierarchy, clergy and religious of other congregations. For instance, in late 1952, Father P. McManus, parish priest at Sutherland, opened negotiations with Jerome with the aim of establishing a boys' school in his parish. Negotiations stalled. He sought to be relieved of any apparent obligation and negotiated successfully with the Christian Brothers, who opened St Patrick's College in 1956. In 1957, Fr C. J. Keller, parish priest at Caringbah, approached the Christian Brothers about opening a boys' school in his parish. The provincial council declined. He then approached the De La Salle Brothers, and De La Salle College opened in 1958 with one primary class.

Relations with other congregations of teaching brothers remained excellent. In 1952 the De La Salle Brothers had acquired a 13-acre property at Penrith, west of Sydney at the foot of the Blue Mountains. The want of resources meant that early prospects of establishing a school there were slim. Instead the Brothers agreed to sell the property to the Christian Brothers for £6500, which represented the original purchase price plus costs since then: the De La Salle Brothers had been offered £20,000 for the property and it was currently valued at £13,000. The transfer was completed in mid-1959.[27]

Papua New Guinea

Despite difficulties of staffing new—and existing—foundations in Australia, De La Salle Brothers were among the pioneers of education in Papua New Guinea. Like the foundation in Australia, the later more permanent foundation followed an earlier short-lived attempt.

Brothers' communities and works in Papua New Guinea.



Men from the German province had established a mission at Vunapope in New Britain in 1914, then a German colony, at the invitation of Bishop Coupe, Vicar Apostolic of Rabaul. A small community of five—Vicktorinus (44), Urban (27), Edmund (22), Herman (20) and Otto (18)—arrived in Rabaul on 12 April 1914. The men initially conducted a school for catechists, but soon afterwards added a technical school. The men had a hard time after being cut off from their home province dur-

ing World War I. Vicktorinus died in 1915 and Edmund left the Institute. The three remaining men returned to Germany in 1921 and the school eventually passed to the Irish Christian Brothers.[28]

The more permanent foundation occurred in 1946, the same year that the Administration established an Education Department. This foundation occurred at the behest of Bishop de Boismenu MSC, a former student of the Brothers in St Malo in France. Boismenu had sought men from Paul in 1920, only to be told that resources in Australia would not permit an extension to Papua at that time. He persisted, writing to Benignus in January 1945 again requesting assistance. The latter visited the Territory in June 1945 and sought authorisation from his superiors for a mission. The Regime's approval was forthcoming on 18 September 1945, followed by that of the Congregation of Propaganda on 16 October.



Volunteers for Papua New Guinea, left to right, Anthony Broderick, Lucian Thorpe, Patrick Howard, Celsus Maguire (Photograph by Phil Ward, Sydney).

Volunteers for the new venture were plentiful. Those ultimately chosen were Patrick Howard (Director), Lucian Thorpe, Anthony Broderick ('Bruv') and Celsus Maguire. There followed several weeks of intense activity as several tonnes of stores, equipment and other necessities—including several plaster statues—were collected and packed in tea chests, cartons and crates.

There followed special celebrations in the missioners' honour at Oakhill on 9 January 1946, beginning with a community Mass at 6.30 am, followed by Solemn High Mass at 9.30 am, a community valedictory at 12.30 pm, solemn Benediction at 5.30 pm and a concert in the assembly hall at 7.15 pm. By some omission or oversight, those of the foundation community did not receive mission crosses. The party eventually departed Sydney on 12 January aboard the Burns Philp steamer, *Marella*, arriving in Port Moresby on 19 January.

The Brothers' first foundation was at Bomana, 15 kilometres from Port Moresby, where they established a primary school and commenced teaching 83 boys on 25 February 1946. The men spent much of their time actually building the school, using materials abandoned in the bush at the conclusion of World War II. The boys quickly appreciated the different personalities of the men. One of their early pupils recalled how he and his colleagues found them: 'Brother Patrick—he's a big bugger; Brother Anthony—he's a skinny bugger; Brother Celsus—he's a smart bugger; Brother Lucian—he's a dangerous bugger'.[29]

The Brothers had a difficult time. One of them recorded:

> Our school work during the first year was all trial and error. Eighty-three boys had to be put into their respective classes and, gathered

> from various districts, taught by native teachers & some by Sisters, they presented a problem. Add to that our lack of experience in dealing with them and demanding too much from them scholastically, and some of the difficulties encountered will be realised.[30]

Two years afterwards, after the hard physical work of the foundation had been completed, Bishop Sorin MSC, appointed Vicar Apostolic of Papua in 1946, moved the Brothers to a primary school at Yule Island, which was the headquarters and original foundation of the Vicariate of Papua.

The early work at Yule Island was spent primarily in building the necessary facilities, though primary teaching and teacher training continued. The primary syllabus followed was that of Queensland. The years from 1948 to 1955 were devoted to training catechist teachers in the absence of any form of government examinations. The Education Department issued its first teachers' certificates in 1956: several recipients were trainees from Yule Island. The Brothers introduced secondary classes at Yule Island in 1962 in addition to the primary and teacher training classes.

The mission in Papua New Guinea seemed to bear early fruit when the first of the indigenous recruits joined the Institute in the mid-1950s. Peter Keaga was born in the village of Engefa in the West Mekeo area of the Central Province on 19 June 1929. He attended St Paul's Vei'fa Primary School in a neighbouring village and, later, the De La Salle School at Bomana. He expressed a wish to join the Institute and, with Patrick Howard, principal at Yule Island, left Papua New Guinea in December 1950 to attend the Juniorate at Oakhill. He passed his Intermediate in 1952 and began Year 10 the following year, but proceeded to the Novitiate in 1954. He completed his scholastic training at the end of 1957 and gained Victorian Primary Teacher registration.

Peter Keaga began his teaching career as a member of the foundation community at De La Salle High School at Mainohana in 1958. Mainohana School (Bereina) had been founded as a primary school in 1953 and staffed by lay missionaries until taken over by the Institute. Lucian Thorpe became the foundation principal, and was joined by Kevin Broderick and Peter Keaga. School commenced on 11 February with 251 students in Grades 4, 5, and 6.

New Zealand

The District expanded eastwards to encompass New Zealand in 1953, during the period of sustained boom within the regional economy. Already however, there had been New Zealanders who had joined the District. Oliver O'Leary had taken the robe 21 years earlier in 1932 and Kevin Brown had done so in 1951. Oliver's had been an interesting story. Born at Gisborne in 1913, he had been placed in an orphanage conducted by nuns when only a young boy. On one occasion, the brother of one of the nuns, a De La Salle

Catholics in New Zealand 1900-1975[31]

	1900	*1925*	*1950*	*1975*
Wellington	26,500	61,243	73,725	153,157
Auckland	23,525	49,334	72 000	190,157
Christchurch	22,000	30,000	31,769	61,162
Dunedin	20,000	25,500	23,793	41,988
New Zealand	**92,025**	**166,077**	**201,287**	**446,464**

Brother, visited his sister, met Oliver and asked him if he might consider becoming a Brother. Oliver did so, and travelled to Cootamundra in January 1932 to enter the novitiate. He joined Kevin Broderick on the farm at Oakhill after his training and later took charge.

The history of the Catholic Church in New Zealand was similar to that in Australia, though with more of a missionary focus within the country and to the Pacific Islands to the north and east. Catholic education had been initially undertaken by lay people, though religious Sisters and Brothers were required to ensure that religious education remained affordable once the state established its own system.

Brothers' communities and works in New Zealand.



As in Australia, so in New Zealand: the De La Salle Brothers were the last of the major congregations of teaching Brothers to arrive. The Marist Brothers who had made their first foundation in Wellington in 1876 had established New Zealand as a separate district in 1917. The Christian Brothers who had also made their first foundation in 1876, became a sub-district in 1959, and a separate district in 1966. The relatively tardy arrival of the De La Salle Brothers meant that they were given the less attractive locations. Already, major secondary schools for boys had been established in the main cities.

The De La Salle Brothers' first foundations were made in New Zealand in the period after World War II, following requests from the Archbishop of Wellington, Peter McKeefry (1954–1973), and James Liston, Bishop of Auckland (1929–1970).

The first New Zealand foundation was in Blenheim in the north of the South Island, where the Brothers took charge of a



The pioneer Blenheim community with Archbishop Peter McKeefry, left to right, Brother Dunstan Bourke, the Archbishop, Brothers Julian Watson, Maurice Salmon (Photograph by Photo News, Wellington).

primary school previously conducted by the Sisters of Mercy. The boys' school had been established as early as 1872, and was conducted by lay teachers until the Sisters took charge of St Mary's in 1896. The school building dated back to 1928 when it replaced an earlier building destroyed by fire. The school was already well established.[32]

The pioneer community, Brothers Julian Watson (Director), Dunstan Bourke and Maurice Salmon, left Sydney late on 15 January 1953 aboard a TEAL flying boat, *Aotearoa*, arriving in Wellington, New Zealand, the following day. They were determined to commit themselves to New Zealand, much as the Irish had done to Australia, and even declined an invitation to the Australia Club in Wellington to signify this. They busied themselves buying books and other necessities and departed for Blenheim on 26 January. The school opened with 91 pupils on 3 February. It was very basic. The one building had only two classrooms, so a corridor served as a long narrow classroom for the following two years before a proper room was built.

The community quickly settled into a routine that differed little from that followed by communities west of the Tasman Sea:

> Morning prayer was said at the house and the subject for mental prayer read. Then the Brothers went to the church and assisted at the two Masses, making meditation during the first. Preparation of Catechism was made at 7.45 a.m. Breakfast at 8 a.m. School commenced at 9 a.m. The Brothers returned to Scott St. for dinner at 12.30. School ceased for the day at 3.30. Then the brothers supervised the sweeping of the classes, cleaning out the lavatories and the tidying of the grounds. The evening exercises were made from four till five in the church. Returning home the Brothers studied Catechism from 6 p.m. till 6.30 p.m. This was followed by tea, recreation and recitation of the rosary.[33]

Living conditions remained austere, though St Mary's was an established school. The first accommodation the men were given was quite unsuitable. The house had little space, no shower and no hot water service, which made it difficult to take a bath. Assistant Lawrence O'Toole insisted that more suitable accommodation be found, or the community would be withdrawn. Conditions

improved when the Brothers moved to their permanent residence on Ascension Day, 14 May. Fortunately, the difficult conditions had been easier to bear because of the warmth with which the local people received and supported the Brothers.

The report of the Education Department school inspection on 14 October 1954 heartened the Brothers, despite the challenges:

> The classification of the pupils and the present organisation are approved. Additional classroom accommodation is needed and when this is available a smoother organisation will be possible.
>
> The De La Salle Brothers have been in charge of this school since February, 1953, and they have quickly and effectively fitted into our education system. The three staff members under the direction of the head teacher have worked earnestly and sincerely in the interests of the boys in their care.
>
> Progressive and good programmes of work have been covered in all classes. Much emphasis has been placed on the formal and basic subjects—Arithmetic, Spelling, English and formal composition—and in these good work is being done. A great deal of written work has been done—perhaps an overstressing here—with the result that, in some cases, neatness and letter form has deteriorated, but this will be corrected …[34]

The foundation community at Blenheim had had a trying time settling in. However, this was easy compared to the experience of their three colleagues who founded the Institute's second New Zealand community in south Auckland later that same year. This foundation was to be a completely new school at Mangere East to serve several new parishes in the working class suburbs of southern Auckland: the Brothers originally believed that this was to develop into a boarding school. The foundation was to be made at the same time as that at Blenheim and Jerome appointed the foundation community of Brothers Peter Duffy (Director), Edmund Young and Leo Cleary in late 1952. The men faced all the difficulties of pioneers. Bishop Liston seemed to lose interest in the Brothers, once having secured the promise of the Auckland foundation from Jerome. He had more than two years to build the school and the Brothers' residence, but nothing was ready for the commencement of the school year. Peter arrived in Auckland on 8 March 1953, received no satisfaction from the Bishop and had to find lodgings with the parish priest of Otahuhu. Edmund and Leo arrived on 5 May, but neither the school nor the house was ready. Edmund stayed with the parish priest of Manurewa, while Leo found accommodation with the Christian Brothers of St Peter's College. These living arrangements persisted until late June, though the school finally opened on 3 June 1953 with 120 students in Forms 1 to 3.[35] The



Pioneer community at Mangere East, on Coronation Day, 3 June 1953, left to right, Brothers John Cleary, Peter Duffy, Edmund Young (Photograph by Amalgamated Studios, Auckland).

chronicler of the early days lamented that the Brothers received scant regard from Bishop Liston and were never given an official opening or welcome to Auckland. The Brothers ultimately moved in to their own house in late June, but with minimal furnishings, life remained very spartan. The chronicler wrote:

> Perhaps our only friends were our next door neighbours Mr & Mrs Arthur Knight. These good people helped us in many ways. They even supplied our dinners until we engaged our first Housekeeper, Mrs Buckingham.[36]

The Brothers' situation was complicated because there was no formal agreement between the Institute and the bishop, so there was little that Peter could do to expedite matters. Moreover, the situation was complicated by local parish politics. The school notionally served seven parishes. However, all the parishes were new and there were many demands on slim resources that meant that the provision of all but the most necessary school amenities was a low priority.

The school suffered too, because boys already enrolled in Catholic schools—particularly the better students—were reluctant to transfer to the new school staffed by teachers unfamiliar with the New Zealand curriculum. In addition, the parish priests were reluctant to encourage students to the school because they then became financially responsible for them, whereas they were not responsible for those students being taught outside their parishes. The situation was complicated further because of Peter's poor health and personality, and his reluctance to recognise circumstances peculiar to New Zealand and to change habits and attitudes formed in Australia.

Nevertheless, the Brothers strove to make their new foundation a success. Any spare time was spent planting trees and vegetables, and trying to make the school and house more habitable. The application for primary and secondary registration was successful, in that temporary registration was granted until the official inspection.

The stressful effects of the spartan conditions were compounded by a sense of isolation from colleagues in Australia, with the prospect of having to wait six years before returning home. Moreover, there was little support from Australia. The early communities had been relieved of District dues during their first year, but were expected to contribute these as they were able. There was joy, however, when the Blenheim Brothers joined their colleagues in Auckland that first Christmas. Then all six travelled to Wellington for their retreat at the Marist Fathers' retreat house there and followed this with two weeks' holiday near Blenheim.

Both communities had a less stressful beginning to the new academic year, and matters settled down to the routine that characterised schools elsewhere in the District. Boys were enrolled in the

Scapular and Miraculous Medal and 12 boys at Blenheim were received into the Sodality of Our Blessed Lady. Cricket pitches were laid, two football teams were entered into the inter-school competition, and the first athletic carnival conducted.

The first movement of men between the communities occurred in 1955, following the Education Department's announcement of the first post-primary inspection of De La Salle College at Mangere in 1955. Jerome believed that it would be advisable to have a degreed man on the staff, so he transferred Julian from Blenheim to Mangere and appointed Leo as principal of St Mary's School in his stead. The arrangements apparently sufficed and the inspection on 8 and 9 March proved satisfactory. Julian succeeded Peter as principal at Mangere in 1956. Soon afterwards the Brothers learned that the idea of adding a boarding section had been scuttled. This was welcome news and provided a measure of certainty about the future.

The Borneo Mission

The notion of Australian men engaging in overseas missions had been actively discussed from the early 1940s and had led to the establishment of the mission in Papua New Guinea. The steady supply of young men had made this feasible. The preparedness of the Australians to engage in mission work saw them established even further afield following the request from Assistant Lawrence that men from Australia be sent to Borneo to assume control of schools run by the Mill Hill Fathers. The request grew into a plan in accordance with which the District would assume both financial and administrative responsibility for schools in Borneo. Four men were to be sent to Borneo initially, and an additional two were to follow each year thereafter for at least five years.

The Assistant's request came at a time when the Australian novitiate was being extended from one year's duration to two, which meant that there was to be one year when no new men were available for the schools. Jerome asked if the commencement of the plan might be delayed. The Assistant concurred, and four men were found from the Penang District to assume immediate responsibility for the school in Kuching.

Finally in mid-1951, the Visitor called for volunteers for the Borneo mission. Celestine recalled that the circular seemed to raise little interest: 'The Australian temperament is not given, I think, to a display of anything that might smack of the heroic!' However, he signalled his willingness to volunteer and later learned that he had been chosen. He related:

> When I conveyed the news to one of my confreres that I was among those going to Borneo … his reply was neither one of congratulation nor of commiseration but simply the laconic remark, 'Hell! There must have been only four



Monsignor A.R.E. Thomas, giving mission crosses to the Brothers chosen to work in Malaya, at a liturgical farewell at Oakhill, January 1952 (Photograph by The Leicagraph Co., Sydney).



Brothers Anthony Hayes, Celestine Jennings, Austin Moylan, Harold Reynolds prior to their departure for Malaya, January 1952.

volunteers!' When I was asked to speak on behalf of the outgoing missionaries at our farewell dinner at Oakhill, I retold this story and in his reply, Brother Jerome, Visitor, revealed then that more than half the district had volunteered.

Those chosen were Brothers Anthony Hayes, Celestine Jennings, Harold Reynolds and Austin Moylan. It was an unusual group in that Anthony Hayes had once taught Celestine, who, in turn, had taught Harold Reynolds. The party left Sydney on 7 January 1952 bound for Singapore. However, rather than proceeding to Borneo as they believed, they found themselves dispersed to four different locations: Harold to Malacca, Anthony to Seremban, Celestine to Kuala Lumpur, and only Austin to Kuching in Borneo. The promise of two additional men each year never eventuated, either. Philbert was the only additional Brother to join the Penang District. The rapid expansion within Australia in the 1950s meant that the Australians were hard-pressed even to meet their own needs.

Nevertheless, Australian men made a major contribution to the Penang District. Celestine Jennings, for instance, taught in five institutions in Malaysia, being director and headmaster in three of them and remained in the country for 36 years, the last ten in mandatory retirement which he spent in Malacca.

The District remained very supportive of the missions. Indeed, the Church continued to be very evangelical. Lawrence commented upon the welcome financial support provided by students in Australia for the Institute's mission schools. He went on to emphasise the need 'to bring home to the boys the ever more acute need for more and more such schools if the non-Catholic world is not to be lost to Communism, Mohammedanism, Protestantism, or just plain infidelity, instead of being won for Christ'.[37] Collections were taken up each day in class for the support of the missions. The amounts collected on any day were small, but over a period they represented a significant contribution to the work of the Brothers' missions in other districts. For example, £761 was raised in Australia during 1958, which was later sent to the Motherhouse for disbursement.[38]

The Brother's life

The life of the Brother into the late 1950s, at least, remained very traditional and spartan despite optimism associated with the challenge of new foundations and the additional time given to

formation. Indeed, the very expansion associated with large class sizes created many unwelcome pressures on young and old men alike, as they sought to reconcile their traditional life with the many new demands made on their time. Adherence to the Rule remained paramount. Lawrence emphasised this in a letter in 1953 to the Visitor in which he recapitulated matters addressed during afternoon conferences held during a recent annual retreat at Oakhill over which he had presided. The exhortation reflected a great deal of the contemporary life of Brothers:

(i) Give full time to the spiritual exercises prescribed by the Rule. These constitute in a special manner God's part of the day and we have no right to curtail or omit them without a really good excuse. A brief Benediction of ten minutes or so cannot replace the prescribed half-hour of mental prayer or devotion. Mass is not a substitute for mental prayer 'the first and principal of our daily exercises'.

(ii) Ensure that a full half-hour daily is devoted to the study of Religion.

(iii) It is of the utmost importance that all the Brothers of your community should be taken regularly to reddition.

(iv) The spiritual reading library should be added to regularly and at least £15 a year spent for this purpose in communities of six Brothers and over half that sum in smaller communities. Brother Visitor will check at the annual visit to see that this has been



The Brothers who attended the 30-Days' Retreat at Katoomba from 16 December 1948 to 16 January 1949. Third row: left to right, Brothers Julian Watson, Finbar Kelly, John Towey, Candidus Gunnell, Philip O'Brien, Bernard Logan, Cornelius McCaffrey, Vincent Cotter, Dennis Cotter, Claude Davis, Joseph Creedon, Stanislaus Carmody, Oliver O'Leary, John Cleary, Daniel Spillane, Eric Pigott, Christian Moe. Second row: left to right, Brothers Oswald Murdoch, Philbert Ryan, Leopold Neville, Augustine Wilton, Austin Moylan, Leo Beasley, Josephus Garrity, Felix Conroy, Fidelis Byrden, Finian Allman, Gerard Lemmon, Benedict Fowler, Gregory Kennedy, Lawrence O'Connor, Fridolin Gehrig, Matthew Kennedy, Dunstan Bourke. Front row: left to right, Brothers Ibar Burns, Amedy Molloy, Mark Murphy, Harold Reynolds, Frederick Mullins, Xavier Johansson, Adrian Fitzgerald, Lawrence O'Toole Knox, priest (unknown), Jerome Foley, Gregory McNamara, Eunan McHugh, Pius Bardon, Cyril Finch, Phillip Battelle, Jarlath Joyce.

done. There should be regular and worth-while additions also to the general reading library of the community.

(v) Be faithful to reading at all meals; Benedicamus must not be given habitually.

(vi) Prudence is required in the matter of cinema shows and care must be taken that only good films are projected at these shows. Brothers are not at liberty to frequent public cinemas. The radio should be kept elsewhere than in the community room where it is too much of a distraction.

(vii) Only Brothers with a written authorisation may be supplied with tobacco or cigarettes. The amount supplied should not exceed $2^1/_2$ ozs. or sixty cigarettes per week, one or the other, not both. Smoking in public must never be tolerated even if the Brother concerned has permission to smoke, for one of the conditions on which permission is given is that the smoking be done privately.

(viii) Brothers may not have the use of pocket money. A Director cannot give a Brother a sum of money to spend as the latter pleases for that would be equivalent to constituting him the proprietor of the money, which is something directly opposed to the vow of poverty.

(ix) Except in the case of parish schools no community may accept gifts in money or kind from the pupils or their parents on any day or occasion whatever. In all schools indiscriminately individual Brothers may never accept gifts from pupils or parents of pupils and no superior can authorise such gifts.

(x) House councils must be summoned regularly at least once a month.

(xi) Great attention should be paid to the cleanliness and tidiness of house and school. This is a point that needs special attention in view of a general tendency to carelessness.[39]

Later, in mid-1958, the Visitor received a direction from Rome:

> 1. The Common Rule, Chap. XXIX, 1 and 25, states that the evening meditation must last 25 minutes, and that certain exercises, such as Benediction, Stations of the Cross and Office may replace it. If these exercises do not fill the whole prescribed time, the Brothers have to remain the rest of the time in adoration.[40]

These admonitions reflected the traditional French spirituality of the Institute. This 'monastic' spirituality had been inculcated in the Training College and had not always been a suitable preparation for community life or one of teaching. The transition from Training College to community was particularly hard for young men—little older than some students in the schools—who had left the novitiate and began teaching without the benefit of any formal teacher training: it was marginally better for those who had received some teacher-training. Nor was it easy for the worldly-wise late vocations,

such as former Melbourne policeman Kieran Rush who entered the novitiate in 1954.

Life could be very lonely for a young man in community, after leaving a large community of idealistic young men of similar age. Many young men were sent to small communities, and frequently had little in common with senior men, who were likely to have been Irish, who often had a practical rather than an idealistic attitude towards the Rule and who, because of their age, expected a certain deference from their juniors. Moreover, young men in formation were advised against particular friendships, because it was notionally destructive of community spirit, which meant that sincere young men were reluctant to become open, even with those of their own age.



Senior Brothers worshipping in the Oakhill Chapel, 1951. Left to right, Brothers Damian Morgan, Damien Harvey (Director of the Juniorate), Julian Lennon (Director of Oakhill College), Jerome Foley (Visitor) (Photograph by The Leicagraph Co., Sydney).

Life could be even more lonely for those going through any personal crisis. There were few opportunities for advice and support and certainly none legitimately available outside the community, except perhaps from a priest concerning matters of conscience. Senior men in community, even those considered to be leaders and close adherents to the Rule, had a very private, simple and masculine attitude towards their vocation which differed from that inculcated in the houses of formation. This was expressed by adherence to notions of 'regularity' and observance of the many religious practices, rather than by discussion and constructive debate. Any expression of doubt about vocation was considered a sign of weakness, so was rarely raised.

In addition to coping with inherent challenges of a new community, young men had to appreciate the gulf between counsels of perfection received during their training and the reality of life as practised in community. For instance, smoking and drinking alcohol were traditionally forbidden to Brothers, with the Assistant's authorisation being required before a man could legitimately smoke, and then only after a doctor's certificate was produced. However, smoking and drinking were commonplace in some communities. Oswald Murdoch told the story against himself, when recounting the time he sought authorisation from Lawrence to be able to smoke,'... [Lawrence] sweetly replied,"You want me to regularise a bad Habit!", but Oswald obtained permission'.[41]

Young men coped with the transition to community as best they could by developing strategies appropriate to themselves. This promoted an individualism that went counter to the traditional philosophy of community life. Many men coped with community

life by developing an interest in sport. This was certainly fostered within communities and was an accepted means of pursuing an obsession. There were always sporting teams to coach after school and at weekends, and after a suitable apprenticeship with lowly teams, a man could aspire to coach the senior teams on which the good name of the school depended. Many gained professional qualifications as coaches or officials across a range of sports, and favourable reputations as sportsmen in their own right, particularly when former charges went on to represent their state or country. The development of a sporting career frequently enabled Brothers to establish an acceptable network of contacts outside the Institute that enabled them to cope with stresses and strains within. Brendan Carroll was particularly keen on rugby league and began writing a coaching manual. This was ultimately published as *High Speed Rugby League*, with financial assistance from the South Sydney Leagues Club. Michael Johnson was also heavily involved in Rugby League and went on to become the principal organiser of the New South Wales Catholic Colleges' Rugby League competition. Such involvement was reinforced by the success of old-boy Dickie Poole of Marrickville who captained both the New South Wales and Australian Rugby League teams in 1957, the latter winning the World Cup that year.

Cover of Brother Brendan Carroll's High Speed Rugby League.



Other Brothers, more academically inclined, pursued tertiary study. Unfortunately, the constant pressure to staff an expanding network of schools meant that the Institute remained hard-pressed to meet all demands on it. This provided little opportunity for all but the most single-minded—or fortunate—to be able to undertake university studies. Little was done to accommodate these men other than the offer of support and encouragement. They were expected to fulfil all their school commitments—with extramural sporting duties—as well as religious and community exercises. For all that, there were several communities in the capital cities—Malvern being a prime example—where young men were expected to undertake university studies with all the hardships this entailed. Motor vehicles were not available so they had to use public transport to and from university. Any free time at weekends was generally spent studying in the public library. At one time there were 13 men at Malvern undertaking part-time study.[42] None was able to do justice to what was being studied, but those given the opportunity to study considered themselves to be the fortunate ones. One man had to wait until his late 40s before being able to complete a degree successfully by correspondence. He remarked somewhat bitterly that 'Now at least I have proved that I am not stupid'.[43]

The personal needs of many men suffered because of demands made on them. Dunstan Bourke was one example. He had sat for his Leaving Certificate in 1941 while in the juniorate, but failed to matriculate after passing in three subjects only. He entered the novitiate soon afterwards and though making

arrangements to complete his matriculation on two occasions—first as an evening student and later as a correspondence student—was unable to do so because of teaching demands. He was chosen to be a foundation member of four new schools, Coogee (1946), Blenheim (1953), Kingsgrove (1956) and Revesby Heights (1961). As he gained seniority he was appointed deputy headmaster at Kingsgrove and principal at Revesby Heights for its first 11 years and later at Caringbah. There was little time for study, but Dunstan continued to live in hope. As a senior man within the District, he was ultimately offered a study period overseas with the possibility of sabbatical leave in 1974. However, he was more attracted to study at the University of New England. He was successful in being granted provisional matriculation and went on to complete a BA degree in 1977.

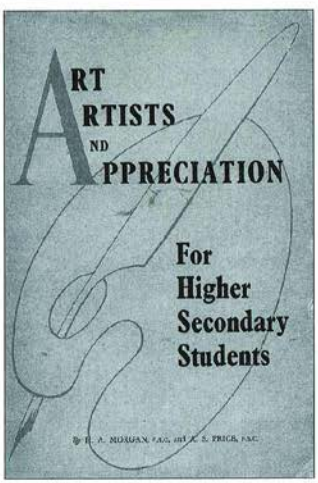
Christian Moe was more fortunate and became the first to be given the opportunity to undertake post-graduate theological studies when he attended the Jesus Magister Pontifical Institute within the Lateran University in Rome from 1957 to 1961. In doing so, he had the distinction of being among the first to undertake the program of advanced theology which was established in 1957 by ten congregations of teaching Brothers to prepare their members for Christian education in secondary schools.[44]

Other men became active within subject areas of their profession. This gave them a sense of personal satisfaction and achievement and brought favourable recognition to the Institute. Brothers Damian Morgan and Kevin Price were accomplished artists. Together they collaborated in writing books on art and architecture for students. Their first work, *Architecture for Intermediate Students* was published by E. J. Dwyer in 1940. Three other books on art followed during the 1960s, with their final collaborative work, *Architecture of the 20th Century*, being published in 1960.

An Outline of Ancient History, developed essentially from a collection of lecture notes by Christian Moe, was published in 1959 and proved immensely useful and popular. The first edition of 4000 sold out and prompted publication of an enlarged edition in 1962. This second edition, undertaken by Raphael Bassett and Bernard Hawkins, rapidly sold out of its 4000 copies, prompting a reprint in early 1964, with subsequent reprints until the 1970s. Christian also provided notes on novels selected each year for study in senior English classes.

The Brothers were always prepared to do a little more for their students, despite demands on their time. Thus, in 1956, some busy Brothers in the Malvern community agreed to teach English on Saturday mornings to a group of Hungarian child refugees. One of these refugees ultimately achieved immense success, after establishing several international companies that traded between Hungary, Germany and Australia: he always remained grateful for the assistance provided by the Brothers.[45]

Cover of art textbook by Brothers Damian Morgan and Kevin Price.



Formation

The professional training of young men had been highlighted as a matter of priority by the General Chapter of 1946 and was a perpetual concern of Jerome. In his early years as Visitor he regularly petitioned the Assistant for someone qualified to take charge of the scholasticate, as had his predecessor, Benignus. There was none in Australia at the time considered sufficiently qualified for the task.

However, matters improved when Aloysius Carmody renewed his association with the scholasticate in the early 1950s. By this time Aloysius was one of the District's more highly qualified men academically, and with a growing reputation in the field of religious education. An old boy of De La Salle College, Malvern, he had entered the juniorate at Cootamundra in 1933. He was sent to Armidale immediately after his training and although expected to complete a full day's teaching, took advantage of the establishment of the University College at Armidale to undertake a BA degree, which he completed in 1942. He took charge of the scholasticate briefly in 1943 and 1944 and completed a Diploma in Education. He taught at Katoomba in 1945 and completed an MA degree at the University of Sydney, before being appointed director of De La Salle College at Marrickville in 1946, then the Institute's largest school in Sydney. He attended the second novitiate in Rome in 1950 and took the opportunity to travel in Europe afterwards and broaden his experience: as Lawrence commented to Jerome at the time, 'After coming all that distance it is a pity not to let them see a bit of the Institute as they will never have a chance again'.[46]

Aloysius was appointed to the scholasticate in mid-1950, immediately after returning from Europe. Xavier Johannson was director at the time, but Aloysius became the one responsible for concluding arrangements to register the training college at Oakhill

(Left) Junior novices in their refectory at Oakhill, 1950 (Photograph by The Leicagraph Co., Sydney).
(Right) Junior novices on a picnic, 1958.





with the Victorian Council of Public Education in 1951: the Christian Brothers had had their training college registered for nearly 50 years; the Marist Brothers for 20 years. Registration was conferred on the training college on 3 July 1951, following an inspection of the facility on 4 and 5 June. The six trainees tested during the inspection were Ignatius Kennedy, Luke Coyle, Claudius Sweeney, Oswald O'Sullivan, Eric Thompson and Bernadine Brell. All passed and were granted Victorian primary teacher registration.

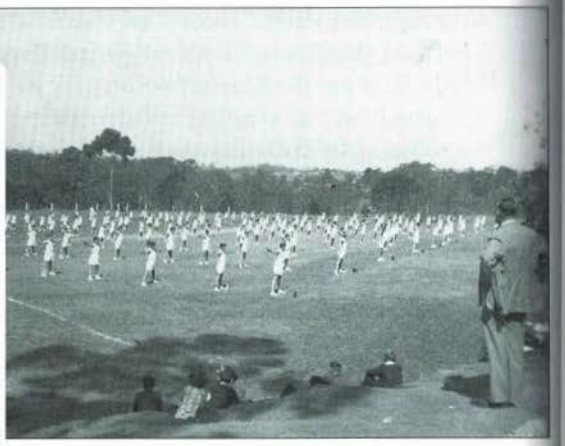
The registration of the training college proved a boon to the young trainees. It ensured that they received a certificate in primary education from the Council after completing the two-year teacher-training course and it enabled them to teach in Victoria. Inspectors from the Council visited Oakhill and inspected the program and trainees triennially.[47] Aloysius was appointed director of De La Salle College at Ashfield in June 1951 to enable Baptist Will to make his second novitiate in Rome, but returned to the scholasticate in 1954 as director—again succeeding Baptist.

Aloysius had a major influence on the formation and professional development on a generation of young men in his latest appointment. He forged strong links with the University of New England, his old *alma mater*, which began offering studies towards a BA by correspondence in 1955. A few men in country centres took advantage of the opportunity to study as external students and were joined by scholastics in 1956 who were qualified to undertake university study. This meant that young men had the opportunity of completing up to four subjects towards their degree before going into community. The training college became the venue for vacation schools for external students of the University of New England living in the Sydney area and any others wishing to attend, and also became an examination centre for external students.

Oakhill also provided teacher training for priests from the Maitland diocese. The tradition began in 1958 when three priests attended, J. Newton, L. Cicolini and P. Helferty—under an agreement with Dr J. Toohey, the Bishop of Maitland. They were to be pioneer teachers at St Pius X Secondary College that was to open the following year in the Newcastle suburb of Adamstown. Fr Helferty lived in the training college and acted as chaplain. The arrangement continued for several years with different priests taking the course each year: indeed, it was expanded later to include Franciscan priests.

The maintenance of the training college with its various functions represented a significant annual cost to the District. Jerome outlined to his Council in 1954 that it currently cost £300 per year to maintain a Brother, and up to £1500 to train each.[48] Levies on the various schools provided a regular income, but barely sufficient for the provision of necessities.





Mass being celebrated in front of the Training College and schools gymnastic display on the oval, Oakhill Day, 1951.

Thus, Oakhill Day was inaugurated in 1951 to help raise additional funds for the management and administration of the training college. It became a celebration of Lasallian education and an opportunity to showcase the Institute before students and their parents. The day featured a Mass at the Shrine of the Divine Child, though undoubtedly the highlight was the knockout Rugby League football carnival involving the Sydney and some country schools in several weight divisions, with other ball games for students in primary classes. Junior novices took the opportunity to field a team when their numbers enabled them to do so, and they welcomed the chance to compete against others.

Oakhill Day became a great success, thanks largely to Michael Johnson who became one of the key organisers of the football competition. His brother was a leading first-grade Rugby League referee in Sydney and was able to arrange for colleagues to officiate, which helped to ensure success.

In 1952, Michael also became involved in helping to organise the combined De La Salle schools' athletic and swimming carnivals in Sydney, and went on to become the principal organiser: the inaugural De La Salle Combined Athletics carnival had been held in 1937. The early athletic events were held on the Sydney Cricket Ground, with all of the Sydney schools attending. Proceeds of the athletic and swimming carnivals also helped to support the training college.

Lay teachers

Lay teachers became increasingly important in Catholic schools throughout Australia during this period as the demands for Catholic teachers grew at a greater rate than candidates were attracted to teaching congregations. This marked the beginning of a major change in the character of Catholic education, which had been identified with religious teachers for almost a century. It was a

gradual change at first, with the lay teachers traditionally being employed to teach non-core specialist subjects such as music and physical culture, but they became increasingly involved in the core subjects as well.

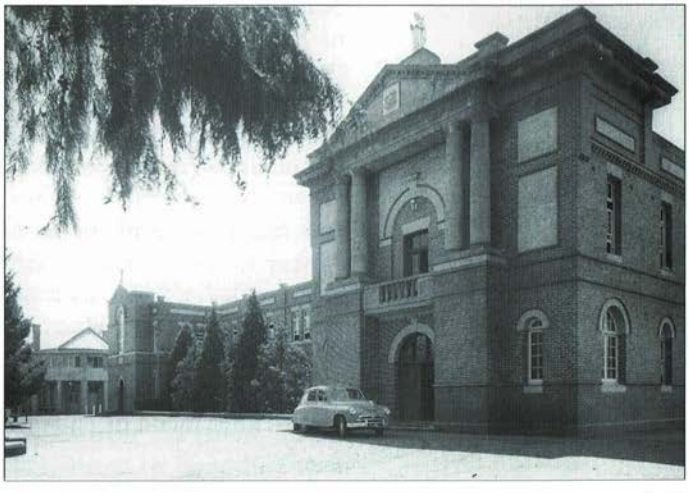
In 1953 the four Brothers at Bankstown were sufficient to teach 238 students. Three years later, however, two lay teachers were required: an additional lay teacher had to be employed the following year. Bathurst had a community of six in 1958, but was forced to employ a male lay teacher to take third class. That same year, the first lay teacher was employed at St Michael's College in South Australia to take Sixth Grade. There were nine men in the Cronulla community in 1956, the year that the first lay teacher was engaged.

Jerome bemoaned the development but had come to accept it as a necessity. He wrote to Archbishop Eris O'Brien of Canberra and Goulburn in 1957 observing that:

> At present we are obliged to employ secular teachers in practically all our schools. In two of our schools there are almost as many secular teachers on the staff as there are Brothers, and in several others there are three or four. It would seem that this state of affairs has come to stay and we must face up to it.[49]

At this time teaching in an independent school was not an attractive proposition for any but the most dedicated lay teachers. The promotional opportunities were far greater and more attractive in the rapidly expanding state school systems, and career paths were clearly defined, whereas in Catholic schools there were no career paths and little chance of significant promotion. The developing network of De La Salle schools allowed the religious to move between schools and be promoted to the higher positions of subject master and principal, but these positions were unavailable to lay teachers. At the same time, lay teachers in Catholic schools were generally expected to accept less remuneration than their contemporaries in the state system and to take a greater share in the extracurricular activities.

There were evident dangers in the increasing reliance on lay teachers, many of whom could not survive in the state system. The Brothers were alert to unsatisfactory teachers and sought to prevent them obtaining positions in Catholic schools. A memorandum dated 17 November 1957, circulated among the teaching congregations in Sydney, provided two lists, the first of teachers who



De La Salle College, Armidale.

'should not be allowed to associate with boys', the second of teachers 'who are incompetent, very weak in discipline an[d] generally unsatisfactory'.[50]

Self-analysis

The Institute also had to be alert for misfits within its own communities, because of the fear of scandal to pupils and others. Visitors were alert to prevent unsuitable men making their final profession because of the obligations that this established, but it was always a difficult issue, as Lawrence indicated. He observed of one Brother that:

> ... he was wobbly even before Profession, and it is clear he should not have been allowed to make it. It is unfortunate his leaving after so many years with us; it shakes young Brothers and it is a shock to pupils and outsiders. Naturally one has to try to keep them once they have made profession, so it is unwise to allow them to make it if they are in the least undecided.[51]

One of the hardest issues faced by the Visitor was the need to discipline men because of their lack of observance of the Rule. One Brother had become notorious for his irregularity 'and his promises of amendment and expressions of shame at his conduct as numerous as his lapses'. Jerome went on to explain:

> As a last resort I placed him under Br. Victor at Bathurst at the beginning of the present year but results hoped for are not forthcoming. As a sample I may instance the fact that the Director has got the Brother out of bed at 5.30 over and over again only to find him in bed again at 5.45 and again at 6. When spoken to the poor man always tells us that he wants to do the right thing but when the time comes he just fails! It seems inevitable that this Brother cannot persevere ...[52]

Even more difficult and depressing was the need to confront those guilty of flouting their vows, especially that of chastity. In most instances those guilty of breaches were prepared to request for dispensation from their vows. Others were not prepared to do so. This occurred in 1950 when a Brother of more than 30 years, and at the time the director of a community, became involved with a woman.[53] Jerome immediately sought a dispensation for the man and sent him away from the community. However, the recalcitrant was reluctant to take the dispensation and sought to remain in the congregation, claiming that 'the danger to his vocation had passed'. He had to be permitted to remain because he had not received the appropriate three canonical warnings. However, he was put on notice with a first warning and sent to a school in another state.

Later that same year Jerome warned another man that he 'must either mend or end'. Jerome explained to the Assistant:

> Since then he has not made any improvement, in fact if anything he has been worse. Should he not have applied for his dispensation I fear I should have been obliged to act myself on the grounds of 'Grave public scandal' ...
>
> In spite of all that has been done for him his conduct has been very disedifying and even scandalous. Against all warnings he has taken dangerous liberties with several of the other sex. He has met them stealthily and been 'out' with them on occasion and has consistently lied to his Director on the subject. Some of his secular 'friends' have been our informants as to some happenings. They have even chided him on the error of his ways but without avail.[54]

In some few instances there were men who abused the trust of their students as well as violated their vows. Thus, during this same period one of the Irish Brothers was found to be 'in trouble again'. The surviving correspondence is inexact but suggested that he had been guilty of indiscretions with boys and, although confronted with the issue, showed no sense of guilt or shame.[55] Lawrence advised Jerome to give the strongest admonition, 'and that if he misbehaves again we can show no further mercy, but will have him committed to a home for the rest of his life'.[56]

The correspondence between Jerome and Lawrence regularly highlighted problem cases:

> Still they come! The enclosed request for dispensation has been threatening for years. It has come at last. On top of it comes a letter from this man's Director informing of the complaint of a parent at the immodest interference of the Brother with one of her children. Indeed, it is possible to link the application for dispensation with the complaint and you may note the significance of his words. 'These matters, together with others I prefer not to divulge', etc. It is very unfortunate and perhaps significant that we have so many dispensations for Brothers in their late thirties ... At all events I consider that the dispensation under consideration should be granted and it is my opinion that the man should never have been professed.[57]

The Brothers were ill-equipped to handle such issues and there was little assistance available beyond the Institute to deal with situations which were invariably kept secret. There was little assistance given to those abused, and no help or punishment given to the perpetrator beyond a stern warning not to re-offend, and a transfer to another school.

There was a steady stream of requests for dispensation from their vows of those who found themselves unable to continue in the Institute, for a host of reasons. It was particularly disappointing at a time of unprecedented demand for new foundations and men to staff them. Jerome found the year 1955 to be a particularly difficult one:

> The year 1955 has been one of serious trials and crosses for our District. Defections, scandals, discouragements etc came thick upon

us and left us with many scars. I have never experienced such a spate of letters of discouragement, even from Directors, and have been at a loss to discover why such a state of affairs should have avalanched in the year of grace 1955. Perhaps the Lord wants to try us, perhaps He is winnowing the chaff from the grain, perhaps we have grown cold in His service. At all events our ranks are sadly depleted and we face another difficult year but the good God is in His heaven. All will be well.[58]

Final profession group, January 1956. Standing: left to right, Brothers Peter McIntosh, Hilary Walsh, Francis Brophy, Fidelis Day, Lawrence O'Loughlin, Claude Sweeney. Sitting: left to right, Brothers Raymond Concannon, Michael Lynch, Stephen Finch, Julian Bell, Fabian Boundy.



The disappointing issue for the Visitor was that many seeking dispensations were of an age when they would normally be expected to take responsible positions within the District. This meant that Jerome found particular difficulty in appointing appropriately qualified and experienced men to take charge of communities. He complained to the Assistant of some directors who were too lenient, as at Katoomba, while others were overly strict, as was the case at Dubbo, yet he was unable to rectify matters.[59] This was particularly galling because of the relentless pressure to provide suitable men for new foundations or additional staff to established communities.

Our Apostolate

Any recalcitrants, however, were the exceptions, and Jerome could take heart from the dedication of most of his colleagues. Many of them saw their mission as wider than simply teaching in their schools, even in missionary countries. Some were keen to extend the catechetical mission of the congregation and fostered the publication of *Our Apostolate*, a catechetical aid that first appeared in April 1953. Indeed, this was the first Australian catechetical review. This reflected the growing impatience with the content and manner of teaching the current religious knowledge syllabus followed in schools, and both demonstrated and underpinned the revival in catechetical activity, and the De La Salle Brothers' leadership in this.[60] Assistant Lawrence had long encouraged such a publication which became the responsibility of a Catechetical Commission consisting of Gregory McNamara as Chairman, Aloysius Carmody, Xavier Johansson, Christian Moe and Ibar Burns.

The first issue of *Our Apostolate* was duplicated and circulated privately among Brothers and interested friends. It was warmly received and by the fourth issue carried an article by a Marist Brother. The diversity of contributors increased, along with the circulation

and readership and reflected the growing dissatisfaction with the hitherto traditional approach to teaching religious doctrine. Three issues appeared in 1953 and for the succeeding nine years: thereafter there were four issues annually. The quality of production was enhanced in 1955 when *Our Apostolate* was typeset at a Westmead printery, and printed at Oakhill by Kevin Price and assembled and distributed by the scholastics. Success and circulation continued to improve and justified another improvement in the quality of its production five years later when it was wholly printed and produced at Westmead and distributed from Oakhill by the scholasticate.

Christian was the inaugural editor and continued in this role until July 1957 when he left for studies in Rome. Aloysius, previously the business manager, assumed the role as editor and encouraged a wider range of contributions from Australia and overseas, and enhanced the journal's reputation considerably.[61] *Our Apostolate* evidently met a need and, in continuing to do so, served to reflect and influence changes in Australian catechetics in succeeding years.

Brothers were active on other fronts too. The Marian Year, 1954, was celebrated with appropriate Marian devotions in the Institute's schools. The biggest event of the year and undoubtedly the highlight, at least in Sydney, was the Lasallian Marian Pilgrimage to St Mary's Cathedral of 3000 boys from the Sydney schools. Jerome reported:

> This was the occasion of our grand Missa Recitata. It was a magnificent display of Faith and Loyalty and the huge concourse of boys, trained by Brother Florence, Director of our new school at Lakemba, filled the vast basilica with their prayerful and innocent voices. A Jesuit Father congratulating us on this function said; 'This is a big liturgical advance for Australia, and the first time the permission has been given.' His Eminence Cardinal Gilroy presided at this Mass and addressed the boys on the subject of Our Lady's Immaculate Conception. At the steps at the foot of the altar His Eminence led the young congregation in the recitation of the Marian Year Prayer of His Holiness Pope Pius XII.[62]

Ibar Boniface Burns, then of the Juniorate community, prepared and published a *Marian Year Work Book* which was an adaptation of a similar publication by the Canadian Brothers. It proved a great success in the Institute's schools and convent schools and went into three editions during the year. Permanent shrines to Mary were erected at Surry Hills, Ashfield, Cronulla, Lakemba and Mangere East.[63]

Gregory McNamara also became responsible for editing and producing the *ADC Bulletin*. This was the Australian flagship of the Archconfraternity of the Divine Child (ADC) which Assistant Lawrence was keen to have promoted within Institute schools. Law-



The shrine to the Divine Child in front of the Training College became the focus of the Oakhill Day Mass, such as this occasion in 1963.

rence believed that the Archconfraternity, which had its origins in Bethlehem in the Holy Land, was most appropriate for the Brothers because on the focus on Jesus as a youth. He was particularly pleased when a national shrine to the Divine Child was erected in front of the Training College in early 1957. The statue that was the centrepiece was by the Roman sculptor, Ciocchetti, and had arrived early in 1955. Father Denis O'Connell, the parish priest of Murray Bridge in South Australia, met the cost. The shrine was later solemnly blessed at an ADC senior leaders' rally and became the focus for the annual Mass on Oakhill Day.

The Archconfraternity was established in the schools, most securely in the older schools in Sydney, where there was mutual support. However, Jerome and many Australian Brothers remained to be convinced of the worth of the devotion that had to compete with more traditional Catholic sodalities and devotions, and it remained peripheral within the schools, particularly those established after World War II.

Gregory's responsibilities extended to the publication of a District newsletter. Rapid dissemination of information, or lack thereof, had always been a problem, particularly for Brothers and communities in areas beyond Sydney and Melbourne. The *Newsette* was established in 1957 to try to minimise difficulties. 'Greg's Briefs' included information obtained from the Visitor each month which were typed, duplicated and sent to each community with the help of the novices. The *Newsette* later became more inclusive and less of a one-way conduit, when Brothers were invited to contribute items.[64]

End of an era

There were many new developments within the Australian District in the decade following World War II. Increasingly the challenges were met by Australians. The sense of change, growing maturity, and the increasing Australian character of the District was underscored when Paul Phelan died on 22 November 1953. His death represented the breaking of another significant link with the foundation and Irish heritage of the District. All who knew him believed Paul to have been a very saintly man in accordance with the piety of the time. None could doubt his sincerity nor the genuineness of his sentiments even though often expressed in such devout terms as to appear to parody the frequently pious writing of the period.

The sense of change was reinforced when Jerome Foley's term as Visitor concluded in June 1958. One of his final tasks was to erase the remaining indebtedness to the Penang District in order to 'clear up all business matters before handing over'.[65] The District had been unable to repay the principal immediately after the war, and indeed, during the war had incurred additional interest. Interest payments continued until finalising the debt in early 1957, though there was a discrepancy between the two districts, complicated by the costs associated with the Australian men proceeding to Malaya, which meant that matters were not finally concluded until July 1958.[66]

When reflecting upon Jerome's term as Visitor, Lawrence summarised the history of the Institute in Australia during the previous ten years and underscored it as a period of unprecedented progress:

> ... ten new houses opened (not counting the college in construction in New Plymouth), including our first establishments in New Zealand, Queensland, South Australia and West Australia; new schools taken in charge at Caringbah and Dandenong; important additions to existing schools; the splendid new college buildings at Oakhill and Mentone. During this time the number of Brothers grew by fifty, the period of training—Novitiate and Scholasticate—was lengthened to four years; the scholasticate studies were reorganised so as to lead to a recognised diploma.[67]

Jerome's Visitorship had encompassed a tremendous expansion of the Institute in Australia. Despite his awareness of the problems associated with the expansion and so often alluded to by Lawrence, he had felt bound to accede to some of the many urgent requests for schools that were made to him. Unfortunately the many early dire predictions appeared to be approaching realisation. When writing to the archbishop of Perth to explain why he could not supply men for a new foundation there he observed:

> Unfortunately lack of vocations, breakdowns and defections have left our personnel sadly depleted. For several weeks past I have been personally detained in class to replace a sick Brother and this must continue for some time to come.
>
> It is most disappointing that, in recent years, vocations have decreased in spite of our having opened several schools. As a consequence our Brothers are everywhere overworked and the older ones, especially, are feeling the strain. I fear, too, that the younger ones are being discouraged to such an extent that their perseverance is endangered.[68]

The District's circumstances of the late 1950s ensured continuing challenges for Jerome's successor.

Chapter Six

Aggiornamento 1958–1966

The decade from the mid-1950s was a watershed period for the Institute. They continued to be good years, with Institute numbers and those of the schools continuing to increase. This reflected the Institute worldwide where there was a rapid rise in the school-going population in countries in which the Institute was established. The Institute's strength world-wide peaked at 16,800 in 1965: that in Australasia peaked at 285 three years later. The old values that had long characterised the Institute continued to persist and were summed up in the concepts of regularity and the sense of discipline and order. However, increasingly they came under challenge, primarily because of forces and influences beyond the Institute.

Australians and New Zealanders who grew to maturity during the 20 years of steady economic boom following World War II developed very different attitudes from those of their parents who had endured a cycle of war and depression. Many of the younger generation were better-educated and more articulate than their predecessors and were more willing to question authority and traditional values. Opposition to the Vietnam War in Australia, and the coalition government's support of it meant that resistance to authority and accepted values became tolerable, even acceptable, to many. The Liberal and Country Parties' hold on federal government in Australia was no longer taken for granted. Several students from the Brothers' Sydney schools, in particular, went on to senior positions in the re-invigorated Labor Party. They included Laurie Brereton (Coogee), Paul Keating (Bankstown), Paul Whelan (Ashfield), Michael Lee (Caringbah and Cronulla), Ron Mulock and Leo McLeay (Marrickvillle).

Political debate in Australia was not confined to the Vietnam War. Gough Whitlam claimed that 'The most intense political debate in Australia during the 1960s was not about Viet Nam; it was about education'.[1] Interest in education and educational philosophy grew as greater numbers of children remained at school for longer periods so that they could take full advantage of increasing standards of living. Traditionally, many students had left school after their Intermediate examination in order to take an apprenticeship or a junior place in the public service. However, by the mid-1960s many more were staying on to complete five years of secondary education. Educationists and governments encouraged this. The ferment encouraged a virtual revolution in education nationwide, beginning with the introduction of a new scheme for secondary education in 1962 in New South Wales in accordance with recommendations of the Wyndham Report. A six-year secondary program replaced the five-year program and the curriculum was altered radically. The reforms were Australia-wide. For example, the Matriculation examination in South Australia changed from the eleventh to the twelfth year of schooling in 1966, and the public examinations for the Intermediate Certificate were abandoned at the end of 1968.

The greater numbers of students wishing to stay longer at school and the educational reforms impacted directly upon students and teachers in all schools throughout Australia. The effects were sometimes greater in Catholic schools—including those of the Brothers—that continued to be funded entirely by Church resources. However, federal and state governments could not allow the Catholic school system to disintegrate because they had insufficient resources to accommodate all students in Catholic schools. Consequently governments began providing financial assistance to private schools, most of them Catholic. This led directly to the reorganisation and revitalisation of Catholic education offices in each diocese and ultimately to a more centralised management of diocesan educational systems.[2] The Catholic Education Advisory Council in Victoria was established and held its first meeting on 2 October 1963. It established a building, finance and planning subcommittee and an academic subcommittee to advise on these issues.[3] The Sydney archdiocese established the Catholic Building and Finance Commission in 1965 to take responsibility for planning, financing, and



Cardinal Gilroy with old boy Brothers of Surry Hills on the occasion of the school's Golden Jubilee in 1959. Left to right, Brothers Andrew Birse, Dominic Duffy, George Lyons, Xavier Hayes, Father Byrne, Cardinal Gilroy, priest (unknown), Brothers Peter Duffy, Alexius Rolls, James Mahon.

building Catholic schools, thereby creating a centralised 'systemic' system of administration.[4] In each state, the loose association of relatively independent schools managed by parishes and religious congregations came under the management and responsibility of expanded Catholic Education Offices.

The Brothers remained hard-pressed to meet the demands made upon them during this period. However, at the same time, strenuous efforts and considerable personal sacrifices were made to extend the Brothers' professionalism, both in theological and secular studies, to equip them better for their tasks.

Brother Baptist Will



Brother Baptist Will, Visitor (1958–1966) (Photograph by The Gallery, Melbourne).

A new man was chosen to lead the Brothers in Australia and New Zealand during this new era. Baptist Will succeeded Jerome Foley as Visitor on 16 June 1958. As Assistant Lawrence suggested, Baptist's appointment 'inaugurates a new chapter in the history of the District in Australia', it being the appointment of the first Australian-born Visitor.[5] Baptist proved an admirable choice, with wide support within the District and something of the paradigm of the Australian Brothers. He had not been given the chance to complete a degree, but was a man of immense common sense. He was a good schoolman, an effective principal who had begun schools at Coogee and Kingsgrove, and a man who related well to others.

In common with his predecessors—and successors—Baptist had had no training for the position and the different level of management. He was expected to learn as he went. This was not difficult, to the extent that he had been a member of the Jerome's District Council and knew in a general way what was expected of Visitors. However, it meant that he had no time to prepare himself for the transition and he immediately found himself having to react to circumstances rather than being proactive. This characterised his Visitorship.

Apart from the appointment of an Australian, however, there was to be little significant change. The challenges confronted by Jerome persisted and in many respects became more pressing. The Assistant counselled Baptist to 'have the courage to say no to any new requests for openings until we have consolidated the positions acquired'. This was wise advice, given the problems associated with the rapid growth that had already become apparent to Jerome. Even Lawrence was aware 'how overworked all the Brothers are and how few, if any, of the schools are adequately staffed; in how few the Director has a few hours to spare for his specific work as Director, and how damaging all this is to the spiritual and physical health of the Brothers, and how many get discouraged and fall off!'

Whether or not new schools were opened, the rapid increase in the population of schools that Lawrence had done so much to promote and in which he took such pride became a

difficult inheritance for the new Visitor. Human resources had not been sufficient simply to staff the schools to the extent desired. The growth of both the established schools and the newer ones called for vast numbers of Brothers, though the demand could not be satisfied by the numbers of recruits offering their services. The situation was exacerbated by the continuing leakage of Brothers, many of them in middle to senior positions who would normally have been expected to shoulder additional responsibility.

Baptist's visitorship was characterised by the constant endeavour to find suitable men to manage the schools and houses of formation while giving them the opportunity to develop themselves professionally. The problem was evident immediately after Baptist's appointment and the difficulty he had in extricating himself from his position of Director at Kingsgrove. The Assistant gently chided Baptist for tardiness in appointing his successor at Kingsgrove and removing to Oakhill, suggesting that he could not carry out the duties of Visitor, while still being responsible for a school. Two months passed before Baptist felt able to move to Oakhill.

While inheriting the challenges recently borne by Jerome, Baptist was confronted by others. It seems some Brothers hastened to take advantage of one of their own as Visitor and made requests of him that they had not made of his predecessor. Lawrence, to whom the requests were ultimately passed, ensured a measure of continuity.[6] However, Baptist also had to deal with other issues that were not matters of concern to his predecessor, including access to television, which began in Australia in 1956. Lawrence believed that television 'constitutes a real danger for young Brothers in particular', and charged Baptist and his Council with drawing up regulations governing the use of television, in accordance with the strict regulations issued by the Sacred Congregation of Religious. The Sacred Congregation circularised all Superiors General in August 1957 informing them that 'On no account are radios or, even more important, television sets, to be acquired for personal use, free and uncontrolled by Superiors'.[7] With his instructions he enclosed a copy of the regulations adopted by the London District. These forbade the television being on every day, or even most days, and insisted that it should be turned off at 9.30 pm, unless the program justified it continuing until 10.00 pm and for which the Director's sanction was required.[8]

The demands on Baptist multiplied and he continually petitioned the Assistant to appoint an auxiliary Visitor to relieve some of the workload; he seemed to be forever in the situation of seeking to fill ten holes with only three available pegs.[9] The Assistant was reluctant to agree, suggesting on several occasions that he feared 'Australia might have more auxiliaries than the Archdiocese of New York'. Ultimately, however, he relented and the



Brothers officiating at a Malvern swimming carnival, left to right, Brothers Gerard Rummery, Peter Wallace, Finian Allman, Stanislaus Carmody.

Superior General appointed Colman Molloy as auxiliary Visitor on 12 March 1966 to help administer the District.

New foundations

The incessant demand for new schools and Brothers to staff them persisted throughout this period. The hierarchy in Australia and New Zealand continued to believe that Catholic schools were fundamental to the preservation of Catholicism. They continued to promote the ideal that every Catholic child should have the opportunity of a Catholic education. Their concern to maintain the traditional Catholic system of education was also influenced by their belief that Catholic schools, especially those for boys, were the primary recruiting grounds for the clergy. So it was in late 1958 that the bishops in Victoria circularised the superiors of all boys' schools in that state insisting upon a continuation of the teaching of Latin, which was a necessary qualification for entry to the seminary at Werribee. They urged that all boys of sufficient academic ability should study Latin to the end of Form 3, and then be allowed to drop it only after each case had been given 'individual consideration'. In addition, Latin classes were not to be held at times that would clash with other important subjects.[10] Six years later, Cardinal Gilroy of Sydney asked 'the pastors of parishes in which boys' secondary schools are located to arrange that a priest visit the school regularly for private interviews with each of the senior pupils'. Baptist agreed to have the Brothers cooperate fully.[11]

Baptist generally held to the Assistant's counsel concerning new foundations, though two schools promised by Jerome were opened in 1958. These were at Caringbah in the southern metropolitan area of Sydney and at Dandenong on the outer fringes of suburban Melbourne. Both schools were established to relieve pressure on existing schools, Cronulla in Sydney and Malvern and Mentone in Melbourne.

Both new schools began in humble circumstances. Dermot Brosnan, the first principal of Caringbah, began the new De La Salle College in 1958 teaching Grade 5 in the basement of the parish church. A second class was added the following year when Eugene Brauer joined Dermot, travelling to Caringbah each day from Cronulla. The completion of a new church in 1959 enabled the old church to be remodelled to include three classrooms. Additional classes were added in successive years, but it was 1961 before a new school building was commenced and the following year before it could be occupied. The Brothers remained part of the





(Left) The first resident community of St John's College, Dandenong, 1964. Left to right, Brothers, Amedy Molloy, James Helm, Dominic Dellabosca, Lawrence King, Angelus Eggleston.
(Right) Brother Amedy Molloy (Director) at reddition with Brother Lawrence King, Dandenong, 1964 (Photograph by N. Quin, Malvern).

Cronulla community until 1964, when their residence at Caringbah was completed. Michael Johnson became principal and director of the new community, with Dermot as his sub-director: others comprising the community were Eugene Brauer, Denis Cotter and Vincent Keating.

The opening of St John's College, Dandenong, in 1958 was welcome to the Brothers in Victoria. They had long been concerned at the resources being invested in New South Wales, particularly when the Melbourne schools supplied so many vocations, whether Brothers or priests.[12] The early development at Dandenong reflected that at Caringbah, with Amedy Molloy, the first principal and only Brother on the staff having to travel each day from Malvern. The first days were rather hectic, with Amedy having to make do with primitive facilities, as was the case with so many new foundations at the time. The school opened in two classrooms of the girls' school conducted by the Presentation Sisters, with Amedy in charge of 51 students in Forms 1 and 2, with a lay teacher, J. F. Maher, taking charge of 69 boys in Grade 6. The situation made for very crowded conditions until a two-roomed 'tin shed' was built on a basketball court to take the two classes. These conditions prevailed until 28 August, when the new school building was sufficiently advanced to permit the transfer of classes from the 'tin shed'. Amedy was then able to set about establishing his new school. The 1959 school year commenced with 331 students, an additional Brother in Aelred Wilson, and three lay teachers. The Brothers teaching at St John's became part of the Mentone community at the beginning of 1961 and remained so until the beginning of 1964 when the community, now numbering five, moved into its own house at 189 Foster Street.

Only two new foundations were made in the early 1960s. The first of these was at Revesby Heights in suburban Sydney in 1960. There was an evident demand for the school because that at

A snapshot of the schools 1961–1966

	1961	*1962*	*1963*	*1964*	*1965*	*1966*
Schools	35	36	37	35	35	32
Brothers	185	189	194	199	202	209
Primary		55	58	51	44	41
Secondary		134	136	148	158	168
Lay teachers	123	150	171	182	192	207
Primary		89	96	91	92	85
Secondary		61	75	91	100	112
Classes	298	321	330	344	354	345
Primary				141	138	127
Secondary				203	216	218
Pupils	13,362	13,982	14,351	13,953	14,110	13,761
Primary	6710	6719	6623	6027	5636	5204
Secondary	6652	7263	7728	7926	8474	8557
Boarders	982	1159	1177	1242	1191	1216

Kingsgrove with 950 boys could take no more and was still to cater for boys in Fourth and Fifth Years of secondary school. Provision for the school had been made at the insistence of the cardinal and the parish priest had acquired land and begun work on an eight-classroom school. However, work was not completed when the Brothers began work at the beginning of the 1960 school year. Des Bourke (principal) conducted Sixth Class in the Kingsgrove shelter shed, while Kieran Rush took Fifth Class at the Panania convent school. The two Brothers remained attached to the Kingsgrove community.

The other new opening occurred at Inverell in country New South Wales in 1963. The Inverell foundation had been promised several years earlier and Monsignor Healy had been raising funds for the purpose. However, Holy Trinity School was opened somewhat reluctantly because of the anticipated financial difficulties and the enormous demand for Brothers and schools elsewhere. Brothers James Thomas (Director), Bernardine Brell and Arnold Lees comprised the pioneer community.

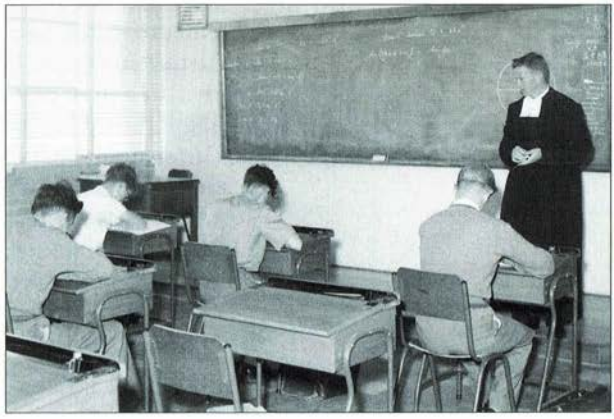
The new foundations further emphasised the Brothers' concentration in New South Wales, and Sydney in particular. Lawrence lamented the situation because he believed Sydney was the least productive city for recruits to the Institute.[13] However, during all of this period, Melbourne remained under the direction of an ageing Archbishop Mannix who did not pursue an education program as actively as his colleagues in Sydney, even though he



Teaching staff at St John's College, Lakemba, illustrating the growing reliance upon lay teachers. The Brothers are, Standing: left to right, Brothers William Good, Christopher Watson: Sitting: left to right, Brothers Pius Crowe, Anselm McCaffrey, Leopold Deignan, Alphonsus Grove, Charles Berkley, Casimir Steed (Photograph by McKenzie-Clark Studio, Lakemba).

remained passionate about the needs of Catholic education. The Brothers hoped that more could have been done in Melbourne, but they were not invited to open schools there as they were in Sydney.

There might not have been a heavy demand on Baptist for Brothers to staff new foundations, but the rapid growth of established schools called for many additional Brothers if they were to continue to provide the bulk of staff at these schools. The growth in student numbers attending the Brothers' schools was reflected in the steady growth in the lay staff.



Brother Leo Kane teaching at St Michael's College, Beverley (Photograph by D'Lanor).

The Brothers' schools, like those of other congregations, continued to be characterised by firm discipline, that reflected the sense of regularity, discipline and order in the Brothers' religious lives. Those students who were disruptive or who were unwilling to conform would be expelled. Even good sportsmen would be asked to move on if they were unwilling to represent the school when school commitments clashed with the chance to represent their district in major league competitions. The wearing of school uniforms was strictly enforced and boys were sometimes sent home to change the socks beneath their long trousers if the principal considered these too colourful. Boys had to be well groomed, with hair not to be worn below their collars. Once again, those offending would be told to have their hair cut before returning to school. However, this issue represented the first crack in what had been the solid wall of tradition, with hair length becoming an increasing cause of confrontation, particularly following the Beatles' 1964 Australian tour.

Traditional attitudes towards Catholic education prevailed, along with traditional teaching methods, with the Brother's primary teaching aid remaining the strap. It had been a useful tool at a time when large classes were the rule rather than the exception and when as many as 50 per cent of students remained at school

until 15 years of age only because attendance was compulsory. However, the frequency with which some Brothers resorted to the strap meant that the educative effect was often lost and its use became something of a game between boys and Brothers, if not a joke. One Brother used to conduct a regular 'Hit Parade' as a means of persuading students to do their spelling homework: students were lined up next day with the Brother asking each in turn to spell words that formed part of the homework. Any word misspelled earned one cut of the strap. The light-hearted recollections of John Doyle, an old boy of La Salle Academy at Lithgow, would have been familiar to most of his contemporaries throughout Australia; only the names would need to be changed:

> The brothers loved sport and discipline and by and large it was consistent, but they often scared me like buggery. Superficially straps were an obvious tool in the discipline. All brothers seemed to have liberal access to straps, some brothers had straps they gave names to: Brother J... had aspros one and two, Brother C... had a strap that was split down the middle which gave it a peculiar sound, Principals like Brother M... and Brother H... had the real top-notch, top-shelf, crafted straps, leather-stitched waddies, Brother T..., for the short time he was with us, had a borrowed strap, Brother H..., in a fit of pique, got an axe and hacked himself a huge strap out of the rubber matting outside the fifth class classroom, Brother C... had a strap which didn't hurt and Brother M... didn't have one at all. Straps were wielded in different ways. Brother J... after giving us the choice of strap would aim for the very tip of the fingers with his tongue resting on his lower lip and took address at ninety degrees to the hand and stood on tip toes for greater purchase ... Brother C... would leave you standing at the side of the room for the rest of the period and would conduct a bulk strapping after the bell. Usually when one was to be strapped a blowing of the hand that was to be hit was a useful preparation, but Brother C... liked looking at both hands and hitting the one without any condensation on it i.e. the cold one. Brothers H... and M... were pretty no nonsense, they would stand in front of you and deliver very sound strokes down the length of the hand.[14]

The use of the strap had never been as universal as many students had believed—or folklore had suggested. It had certainly been widely used in classes up to Intermediate or middle secondary, but had been used more sparingly in the senior classes where attendance at school was no longer compulsory. However, the idea of summary and trivial corporal punishment became increasingly anachronistic during the 1960s. The modern Brothers were better trained than their predecessors and had less need to rely on fear for control in class. Just as importantly, state aid to their schools had promoted smaller class sizes that encouraged greater discipline. Moreover, the increasing numbers of lay teachers in the schools

were generally opposed to corporal punishment. The Brothers became 'strapless Bras' in the 1960s.

The later 1960s also saw the development of a new attitude towards sport. This had traditionally been an important part of the curriculum in all of the Brothers' schools. However, the prominence given to sport began to be questioned during the 1960s. The District Council had a 'lengthy' discussion at its meeting in August 1963, where several principals were in favour of abandoning mid-week sport, though having sport available on Saturday mornings for those who wanted it.[15] Ultimately, decisions concerning sport were left to individual schools. It continued to be pursued vigorously, and Brothers' schools continued to nurture champions.

Sport loomed large in most of the schools, but the Brothers' commitment to their students' total welfare remained the lasting impression of many. Paul Keating, later Australian Prime Minister, reflected on his time at Bankstown:

> Brother Stan (Fagan) [was] the first monk I really remember and felt attached to. Tall and spare, he was quite obsessed with his work (intense he was). He was directed by the personable Leo Neville ...
>
> Brother Hawkins was the one who brought the big reel tapes of Parliament to class and tried to tell us about Politics. My first political tutor.
>
> Michael (Johnson), the man's man who put discipline and behaviour into us. He was not to be messed around with. One needs at least *one* authority figure in one's education.
>
> Julian Bell (who never taught me) I really admired. I built him a Science Block and other buildings. He was quite a builder.
>
> And POD—Phil O'Donnell—the Talleyrand of St Felix de Valois who supervised the whole show ...
>
> Anyway, some of it rubbed off somewhere. I remain eternally grateful.[16]

Brother Finian Allman umpiring a cricket match.



Paul Keating could remember several of his teachers. There would have been others who influenced him, but who were forgotten because of their ordinariness. Indeed, this probably characterised most of the Brothers, who were not called to high office, but were content to pursue their apostolate without fanfare. Indeed, many of his former students consider the quiet example and solid piety of Claude Davis at Marrickville as the reason for their wanting to join the Institute, rather than the salesmanship of one such as Fintan Dwyer.

The boarding apostolate

The quiet commitment of the Brothers to their students was no more evident than in the management of their several boarding schools. Brothers worked long hours in their day schools, particularly when undertaking university studies. The commitment of Brothers in the boarding schools was even more exacting, and

occurred in addition to their other—religious and teaching—duties, rather than instead of them.

Duties in the boarding schools generally fell most heavily on the younger Brothers who were simply expected to do whatever was asked. Those Brothers were lucky at a school such as Scarborough during the 1960s, where most Brothers were young, and shared the many tasks of supervising the boarders during meals, after-school sport and study, on excursions and on weekends. They were less fortunate at Armidale at the same time, when half of the community comprised older Brothers who were unable, or no longer willing, to help supervise boarders.

During this time at Armidale, the major work fell to about four of the younger Brothers, and Frederick Sheridan and Joseph Uniacke most of all. They were expected to be at morning prayer at 6.00 am, and practise their meditation while supervising the boarders getting up; they were to be back in the chapel at 7.00 am for the morning Mass. The normal school day followed with the two teaching eight lessons each day, but also supervising the boarders during meals. They organised and supervised sporting activities after school, and the evening meal and study afterwards, while completing their spiritual reading and evening religious exercises. At some time they were expected to prepare their lessons for the following day. There was no respite on weekends because the boarders had to be supervised in all of their activities. These Brothers were the first whom boarders called upon whenever they were sick: this could be at any time during the day or night.

Frederick Sheridan—a former student of the college—was responsible for as many as 200 boarders at Armidale for 12 years



An aerial view of De La Salle College, Scarborough (Photograph by L. & D. Keen Pty Ltd, Brisbane).

from 1955 to 1966. At the same time he was master of discipline, and sportsmaster for all but one of these years, with responsibility for the First XI and First XV, and was an officer in the cadet unit, with charge of the band. All the while he continued to pursue university studies—and he had no driver's licence. There was little respite. In 1964 Frederick became ill and was ultimately diagnosed with a tumor on his vocal chords. The tumor was removed, and he could not talk for up to 12 months after the operation, but was still expected to teach and undertake his usual duties in charge of boarders. With minor variations, Frederick's experiences would have been common to most prefects of boarders during the 1960s.

It was an exhausting apostolate in each of the boarding schools, but in many ways a rewarding one because of the close understanding that developed between boarders and Brothers. Most boarders were from country regions of Australia and had an easy-going attitude to life. Moreover, in all of the Brothers' boarding schools, the boarders—even though in the numerical minority—were the ones who embodied the spirit of the school, because they 'owned' the school.

The Wyndham Report

Boarding and day schools, however, changed markedly during the later 1960s. These changes occurred in response to many influences. The Brothers had no control over many of these influences that had a major impact upon their schools, in New South Wales first of all, but later in all states. The early 1960s witnessed a revolution in education in New South Wales, with the introduction of a new scheme for secondary education in 1962 in accordance with recommendations made by the committee chaired by Dr Harold Wyndham. The committee had been appointed by the New South Wales' Minister of Education in 1953, 'to examine the objectives, organisation and content of the courses provided for adolescent pupils in the public schools of the State'. The committee finally submitted its report in October 1957 and legislation implementing its recommendations received the Royal Assent on 30 November 1961.[17] This was the prelude to the greatest reorganisation of the secondary education system in New South Wales since the appointment of Peter Board as Director of Education in 1905, and the reorganisation implemented by him in 1912.

Wyndham's major recommendation proposed a one-year extension to the secondary school. Students would be considered to have satisfactorily completed secondary education by passing an examination at the end of the four-year course and receiving a School Certificate. Those wishing to matriculate were required to complete two additional years of study and pass another external examination before receiving the Higher School Certificate. The first Form 6 classes under the new scheme would be in place in

1967. Curriculum was to be designed to offer a core of subjects common to all schools, but with an increase in elected subjects. Catholic schools had traditionally aligned themselves with the state system and there was little option but to adopt the new curriculum.

This had immediate implications in terms of the need for new facilities to accommodate additional students, first of all, but also the curriculum changes. There were major recommendations concerning revised syllabuses that gave increased prominence to science and art, and introduced a new approach to teaching languages. Implementation of these recommendations required newer, bigger and better-equipped science facilities, studios, and the introduction of 'language laboratories' with individual carrels and audio facilities. By extension, the efficient use of the new facilities necessitated an increase in the size of schools and a corresponding increase in the numbers of more highly trained and specialised teachers. This necessarily meant a greater number of lay teachers in Catholic schools, but also a corresponding need to ensure the more extended formation and specialist training of young Brothers. This also provided new opportunities for some Brothers who were not predisposed towards the teaching of the traditional academic subjects. Thus Tom Normoyle and Daniel Spillane began tertiary studies of art and craft and went on to teach these subjects.

The implications of the Wyndham Report were far-reaching.[18] They had most impact on the Brothers in New South Wales where the Institute had most of its schools, although there were echoes in the other states as similar curriculum changes occurred there. Indeed, the necessity for change had been evident during the late 1950s as dioceses and parishes Australia-wide struggled to provide schools and classes for each Catholic child. The problems were most evident in the higher classes, and in country towns, where small numbers of pupils required specialist education, particularly in science and languages: they were compounded when the situation was repeated in neighbouring schools. There was an evident solution in the rationalisation of resources. Thus, following the Australian Episcopal Conference in 1959, the Australian bishops urged religious teaching congregations to consider the 'Co-instruction' rather than 'Co-education' of senior boys and girls in selected subjects in neighbouring schools.[19]

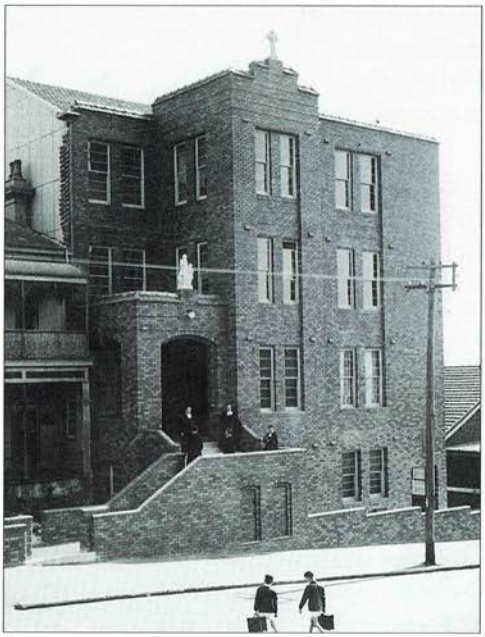
This issue continued to concern the religious superiors of all teaching congregations. Baptist was forced to confront the issue in late 1962 when Monsignor McKenna, the parish priest at Cootamundra, questioned him about the future of the school in the town and whether or not the Brothers were prepared to conduct it on a co-educational basis. It was evident that economics dictated the combining of the resources of the Brothers' and Sisters' schools where a Brother taught a Form 4 class of 13, while

across town a Sister taught a similar class of 11. Baptist was sympathetic to proposals for rationalisation, but indicated that the Brothers were not permitted to teach in co-educational schools. The problem was not confined to New South Wales as Assistant Lawrence indicated:

> Oh dear! This business of co-education and co-instruction is meeting me on all hands. It is obvious, of course that it is uneconomic in small places to be running separate schools for boys and girls, but then there is such a risk for Brothers in teaching girls. The priest knows that there can never be a question of dispensation for him and the girls know that too; unfortunately the Brother doesn't have that safeguard. If it is only co-instruction with labs, library, canteen etc. in common, there is no great harm; the trouble begins when the Brother has to teach the mixed classes. Knowing the attitude of the big majority of the Regime and their fear of establishing a precedent or precedents I hesitate very much putting the matter to the Council. So send along a formal request, with the advice of your Council, and setting forth clearly to what extent the Brothers will have to teach girls and I will see if there is any chance of having it accepted.[20]

An overwhelming majority vote of the Regime refused to permit the Brothers to be associated with an amalgamation of the schools in case it established a dangerous precedent.[21] Still the issue remained of major concern to the hierarchy in New South Wales and prompted the bishops to convene discussions of all teaching congregations to consider the plight of small country schools, in particular. The attitude of the Christian Brothers was even more rigid than that of the De La Salle Brothers, who with the Marist Brothers had reluctantly agreed to 'tolerate' the presence of a few girls joining boys' classes for special subjects. Baptist was in favour of moving towards co-education, and was surprised that his District Council was prepared to do no more than continue the current policy of 'toleration'.[22]

The implementation of the new scheme had major financial implications for the Catholic Church in New South Wales, the Brothers and, by extension, Catholic parents and parishes, especially those in new areas with limited facilities. It soon became evident that there would be the need to rationalise schools in the Sydney archdiocese, with parish schools becoming the responsibility of the archdiocese. Archbishop James Carroll appointed a Catholic Development Council to devise a five-year plan for the rationalisation of schools in the archdiocese.[23] The Brothers were especially concerned that they should not have to bear the costs of employing lay teachers in what were diocesan schools. In mid-1961 Baptist signalled the probability that Surry Hills would become a primary school only, and that the Brothers might move out of Coogee if it took students only to Fourth Year of secondary school.



De La Salle College, Coogee.

Baptist was closely involved in discussions with the bishops and diocesan education offices. The issue was most pressing in suburban Sydney where the Institute had most of its schools. Most of the discussion concerned schools and railway lines. Thus there was lengthy discussion within the Council on 21 June 1965 'as to the Western Line (Ashfield – Haberfield) (Marrickville) and the Southern Line (Cronulla – Caringbah)':

> Finally it was decided that we would offer Ashfield – Haberfield to the Christian Brothers (through Bishop Carroll) in exchange for Sutherland. This plan had been contemplated for years but at last it had seemed clear to us that, although we stood to lose most in the transfer, this would be the wisest move. The Christian brothers could then control all that part of the Western Line and we could take Sutherland and Caringbah to Form 4 and have Cronulla entirely for 5th and 6th Forms. It was appreciated that this suggestion was drastic but it seemed a sacrifice that had to be made.[24]

The Brothers withdrew from some schools. This occurred at Coogee at the end of 1963 as part of the rationalisation, with the Institute handing responsibility to the Marist Brothers who restructured it as a junior feeder school to Marist Brothers College, Randwick. The future of Coogee as a De La Salle School had been problematical for almost a decade, raising the question of whether or not it should ever have been opened. In 1955 the Archdiocesan Education Council had insisted that it be reduced to an Intermediate school—at the time it had only four students in Fourth Year and two in Fifth Year of the secondary school, when there were classes provided by the Marist Brothers at Randwick and the Christian Brothers at Waverley. Jerome had been of the opinion that the Brothers should withdraw in favour of the Marist Brothers, who had originally been asked to take the school, but had declined because the parish priest had insisted that it should take students to Leaving Certificate. The District Council had unanimously shared Jerome's opinion.[25] However, the parish priest lobbied his superiors and succeeded in having the school re-instated as a full secondary school in 1956, thereby persuading the Brothers to remain, at least until 1963, when implementation of the Wyndham scheme made its restructuring necessary. The Brothers generally concurred with what eventuated, though some of them were concerned that they seemed to be 'selling out too easily to the Christian Brothers and the Marists'.[26]

The Brothers also withdrew from St Patrick's at Bathurst at the end of 1963, although Bishop Norton had wished to retain them in the city. Norton was finally in a position to provide

adequate facilities, but the Brothers had difficulty in providing personnel. Moreover, there was an obvious duplication of middle and lower secondary classes at St Stanislaus' College and St Patrick's. Indeed, Baptist had been asking to close the school since 1961 because of the lack of adequate facilities, the dearth of personnel, and the implications of the Wyndham scheme.[27] Under the new arrangements, secondary classes were conducted at St Stanislaus' with primary classes conducted at St Patrick's by Sisters.

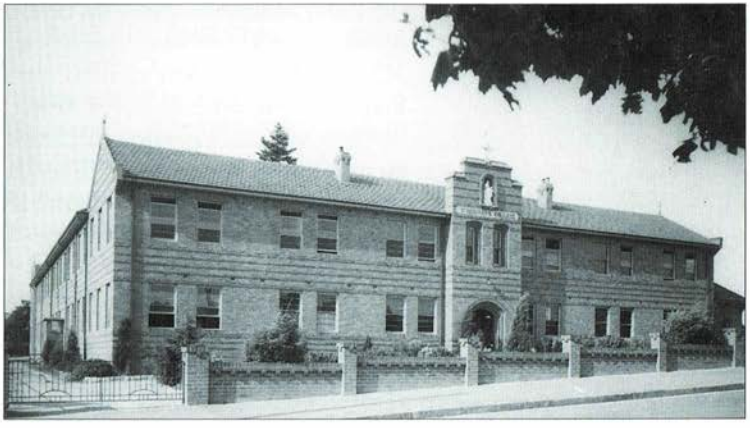
The Surry Hills school had become a primary school at the end of 1962 when the secondary boys transferred to Christian Brothers' Cathedral School or Marist Brothers' College at Randwick. Three years later, in 1965, the Brothers withdrew completely from their Surry Hills school, which became a co-educational primary school administered by Sisters. A measure of the Brothers' influence in South Sydney was the insistence of the South Sydney Leagues Club to arrange a function to farewell them and express the appreciation of local people for their work. The school ultimately closed altogether at the end of 1995.

For a time the schools at Cronulla and Caringbah remained in the balance because of the proximity of the Christian Brothers at Sutherland. However, the schools were retained by the Brothers.

There was rationalisation among the Brothers' own schools. Those at Revesby, Kingsgrove, Lakemba, Marrickville and Bankstown took students only to Form 4 level, with the senior students to proceed to a new regional senior school—Benilde High School—at Bankstown. The new school commenced in 1966 with Raphael Bassett as principal, although it was housed at Marrickville until the school building was completed at Bankstown in 1968. There was an early suggestion that it should be called Cardinal Gilroy High, but the cardinal suggested that it should be called Benilde, after the newly canonised Brother.

Benilde represented a significant initiative to recognise and meet the needs of senior students. It was established as a pre-university school, with the establishment of seminar rooms, libraries and science rooms indicating that it was a place for learning, rather than teaching.

The changes promoted by Wyndham and increasing costs of operation raised questions about the viability of many schools administered by the Institute, particularly those in the country. St Patrick's at Bathurst had been one



St Bernard's College, Katoomba.

casualty, and surveys had suggested that the viability of St Bernard's at Katoomba had become increasingly problematical because of increasing costs of operation exacerbated by decreasing numbers of boarders. Consequently no boarders were accepted in 1965 and Clairvaux was closed. Brothers agreed to continue St Bernard's to Form 4 level only as long as assistance was forthcoming from the archdiocese and the parish. Negotiations continued throughout the year in search of solutions to the dilemma. Nothing eventuated and St Bernard's closed at the end of 1966 amid wide publicity in the Sydney press.

The withdrawal from Katoomba had not been handled well. The Brothers forming the community were not told of the closure until it was imminent. Even then they learned of it from the two layteachers, whose contacts had seen a list of the Brothers' communities for the following year and had noticed the absence of St Bernard's, and the placement of the Brothers in other communities. Parents were told only after this information had leaked out and the decision was irreversible. Both Katoomba properties were ultimately sold to the New South Wales' government.[28] The Education Department acquired St Bernard's on 13 November 1968 for $60,000: Clairvaux was acquired by the Child Welfare Department. Though no longer present in Katoomba, the Brothers were long remembered, thanks to the efforts of James Beasley, the last principal, in organising regular reunions. These continued into the twenty-first century and attracted scores of past pupils.

The Wyndham Scheme—and similar developments beyond New South Wales—had implications for the greater dependence on lay teachers, and with it the costs of education. Smaller secondary schools anticipated great difficulty in providing the required broader education because of a lack of basic resources. Thus, senior colleges faced the challenge of investing in staff and facilities to meet the new curriculum requirements or of abandoning any idea of becoming a major secondary college. This in turn encouraged the development of diocesan Catholic education offices to provide greater co-ordination and funding of all aspects of education. In 1967, for instance, the Catholic Building and Finance Commission began paying teachers in the systemic schools in the Sydney archdiocese.

All this occurred against a background of declining numbers of recruits to the Institute and an increase in the numbers of those leaving. This raised discussion within the Council of the wisdom of closing some schools in order to free men to be deployed elsewhere. For instance, in October 1965 Council members voted 4 – 3 to withdraw Brothers from Midland Junction, and raised the possibility of withdrawing from Richmond.[29] However, no plans were implemented immediately.

Funding

Fortunately for the continuation of Catholic and independent church schools, the funding of private schools became an issue for state and federal politicians during the 1960s. Archbishop Eris O'Brien of Canberra and Goulburn brought the issue to a head in dramatic fashion when he permitted the closure of Church schools in Goulburn in New South Wales towards the end of second term in July 1962. This forced the sudden enrolment of 2000 Catholic students at the local state schools. The 'school strike' gained nationwide attention and succeeded in demonstrating something of the extent to which Catholics were subsidising the states in the matter of education. The 'strike' lasted only a week but succeeded in making the point.[30] Thereafter, governments, both state and federal, provided increasing amounts of funding for private schools, first for specific capital works such as science laboratories and libraries, and later as per capita grants for individual students to help meet recurring costs. In accordance with an election promise made during the 1963 federal election campaign, the federal Coalition government introduced funding for science blocks under the *States Grants (Science Laboratories and Technical Training) Act 1964* and for libraries under the *States Grants (Secondary Schools Libraries) Act 1968*. Also in 1964 the federal government provided an allowance of £7 per term for parents of students in Form 3 and above at private schools.

With both the Coalition and Labor politicians vying for the votes of parents of private school children, there was some financial relief. However, the funding that flowed from these measures eased rather than relieved the financial burden, and fundraising remained part of life for Catholic parents and school administrators. Moreover, State Aid and the crisis prompting it did little to engage the hierarchy and others in the fundamental question of whether or not there was an overwhelming need to maintain the massive investment in Catholic schools in contemporary Australia. The days were long past when the Church could hope to provide the opportunity of a Catholic education for every Catholic child.

The new financial arrangements eased concerns in some schools, but provided no relief for District initiatives not directly related to students and teaching. Brothers remained dependent upon their own resources for professional development and the support of those not attached to schools. Thus, the Brothers established an Art Union as a major fundraiser, similar to those already organised at De La Salle College, Scarborough. Such a strategy was typical of Baptist's pragmatic approach to issues. Brothers Alban and Fintan undertook the planning with advice from Kevin Berringer, an old boy of De La Salle College, Armidale. The detailed operation was arranged and Harold Baker was recruited to manage it. He commenced on 11 February 1963.

The first office was in an unused upstairs classroom at St Peter's School at Surry Hills, thanks to the cooperation of the parish priest, Father McGlynn, who received welcome rent for an otherwise unused asset. The Art Union later transferred to a series of unused rooms in the basement of St Peter's church. The first draw, numbered 7, was made on 26 June 1963: the winning ticket was held by R. Purdie in Crystal Brook in South Australia, indicating that the support was far-reaching.[31]

The De La Salle Art Union proved very successful and relieved the dire financial position that Baptist had inherited. It helped fund many De La Salle initiatives, including buildings, formation extension, increased opportunities for Brothers to attend the International Lasallian Centres in Rome and Sangre de Cristo, overseas studies, and local university studies.[32]

Art Unions proved good to the Brothers in other ways besides. In late 1959, Monsignor Dunn, the parish priest of Dubbo, rang Peter, Director, to inform him that he had won a Mercedes-Benz in the Bathurst Diocese Art Union. The Dubbo community had no car at that time and rode bicycles to and from Mass and Benediction in the parish church. The previous year the Parents' Committee had taken pity on the Brothers and had offered to purchase a car for their use, only to have Peter suggest that there were greater needs in the school and the Brothers' house. But it seems that the parish priest had purchased tickets in the Art Union on behalf of the Brothers as a token of his appreciation for the services that they rendered. One of these tickets won the car valued at £2100. Peter and the Visitor accepted the windfall, but agreed to dispose of it and buy instead a Volkswagen Kombi van, together with a washing machine and other useful appliances for the community, donate £500 to the District and another £100 to the school building fund.[33]

Motor cars remained rare at the Brothers' schools. The communities at Lithgow, Haberfield, Scarborough and Beverley all sought authority to acquire their first motor vehicles in late 1960. The Brothers at Haberfield sought a car so that they could more readily distribute the *Waratah Arithmetic* books. They proposed using a 'bomb' that had been given to Fidelis, but required £20 to be spent on it to make it roadworthy.[34]

Downside of change

Changes to funding and curriculum boded well for the future of Catholic education in Australia, but the new curriculums meant the abandonment of some valuable Lasallian initiatives. The De La Salle Brothers in New South Wales had set and conducted their own examinations and had supplied examination papers for use by many convent schools. Michael Johnson had been secretary of the committee responsible for the primary examinations for many years,

with assistance from Ray Sharpe: Eric Pigott was largely responsible for the conduct of the secondary exams. However, the De La Salle examination papers had become tired by the late 1950s, and less in demand as lower primary classes were phased out of Brothers' schools. Moreover, the increase in numbers of students expected to take the examinations in the remaining classes placed an inordinate burden on those men having to set and mark papers. The examinations for Sixth Class were abandoned in 1957 when students were also required to sit the Primary Final Examinations. By this time, some of the senior examination papers were in need of a major overhaul. The Secondary English paper was soundly criticised by a state inspector and considered to be 'fifteen years out of date'.[35] Other papers were no better. A subcommittee was appointed to revise the entire syllabus and the question was discussed by the Council in late 1958, but no decision taken.[36] The Institute secondary exams lapsed after being overtaken by curriculum changes prompted by the Wyndham Scheme.

Other Lasallian initiatives suffered from curriculum changes. Ibar Burns had pioneered the concept of *The Catechism Workbook* as a means of complementing the catechism with its short, neat, even glib, question-and-answer format. The prototype evidently met a need and spawned a series of workbooks developed by Aloysius and the scholastics. Workbooks for classes from Grade 6 in the primary school to Third Year in the middle-secondary school were published in 1959, and the series ultimately encompassed classes from Grade 3 in the primary to Third Year in the secondary school. The workbooks for Grade 6 and First Year went into a fifth printing in 1962. The books returned a small income to the District and helped fund building work at the Juniorate at Burradoo. Unfortunately, the workbooks became redundant after the official *Catholic Catechism* was published in 1962 and its use made compulsory in diocesan schools.[37]

The new secular curriculum, specifically the New Maths, sounded the death knell to the *Waratah Arithmetic* series of books, which had been particularly popular in primary schools. Leopold Neville had been the originator of this series. He was a gifted primary teacher and, while at Bankstown, had devised a workbook for his class. Others found the workbook attractive and asked to be able to use it. Colleagues, including Dominic Dellabosca, Theodore O'Shannessy, Fidelis Byrden and Mrs Neville of Bankstown, encouraged him to have it printed and helped with design and production.[38] It became popular immediately and the demand encouraged the production of companion books for all primary classes. In this instance too, profits from the enterprise were used to fund initiatives at the juniorate.

The *ADC Bulletin* was another casualty of changing times. Promotion of the archconfraternity in the schools had been intermittent. The overwhelming responses to a questionnaire circulated



Cadets at Yule Island saluting Superior General Nicet Joseph, who is with Brother Columban McDonald.

to all communities in 1965 indicated that it no longer fulfilled a real need within the schools. Consequently, the Council voted unanimously to cease publication after the Christmas issue of 1965.[39]

Papua New Guinea

While the Brothers were forced to reassess their position in Australian schools, they extended their influence in Papua New Guinea. They opened a secondary school at Bomana on the site of the original foundation in 1964. Patrick Howard became the foundation director of the staff that included Peter Keaga. Peter had continued to blossom in his home environment and become increasingly influential as the nation strove towards independence. He became involved in army cadet activities and was commissioned Cadet Lieutenant in 1961: in 1965 he was awarded a Certificate of School Management and Administration.

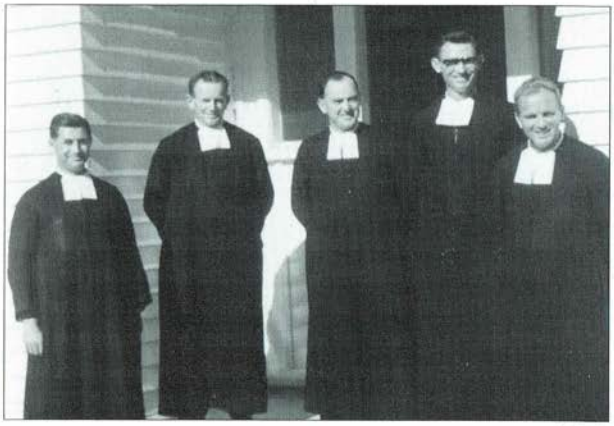
Cadets had been introduced to the Mainohana school in 1961. Three years later it became a secondary school with the introduction of First Form and progressively became a full secondary school.

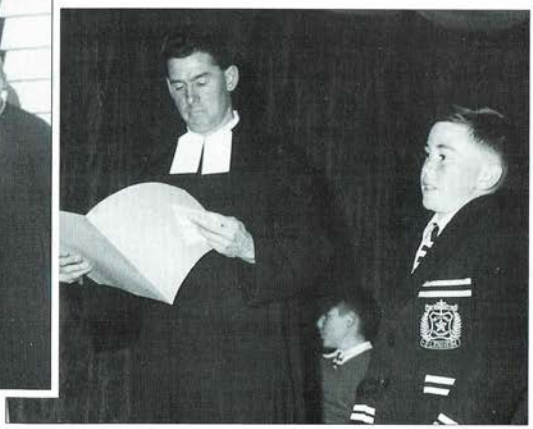
The institution at Yule Island became a teachers' college catering exclusively for men. In 1960 De La Salle Teachers' College was complemented by the separate teachers college for women administered by the Sisters of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart. The two amalgamated in 1964, to form the Sacred Heart Teachers' College. The institution became solely a teachers' training college in January 1966, with the secondary section moving to the Mainohana School, where the primary classes were phased out. The Brothers welcomed the initiative because it provided them with the opportunity to play a major role in the education in the country, and so in its development.

Staff and students at Yule Island, 1964. Staff are, left to right, Father Max Gremaud, Sister Mary Perpetua, Brother Basilian Wilson, Father Fraix.

Papua New Guinea underwent rapid change in the regions in which the Brothers worked as the Australian government prepared it for nationhood. Yet, into the 1960s, it continued to be considered a missionary country and men appointed there continued to receive a mission cross before departing Australia. Thus Leo Cassian was presented with a mission cross at a ceremony at Oakhill on 25 January 1966. Conditions for Brothers remained spartan. Indeed, many younger men volunteered to spend a working vacation in Papua over the Christmas period of 1966–67 in order to provide some support for those Brothers there. Ten made the journey.







(Left) Members of the Mangere East community, 1962. Left to right, Maurice Salmon, Michael Lynch, Kelvin Sullivan, Declan Thompson, Hilarian Dodd. (Right) Brother Raymond Concannon with one of the finalists in the catechism quiz at Blenheim, June 1962 (Photograph by Kays' Studio, Blenheim).

New Zealand

The Brothers also consolidated their reputation in New Zealand, though some of them continued to regard the country as an extension of Australia, and an appointment there akin to an appointment to a mission country. Life at Blenheim had long settled into a routine, with the progress of each succeeding year being marked by religious feasts and celebrations of academic and sporting success. St Mary's School became particularly renowned for its Catechism Festival. This was held on the feast of Corpus Christi, 21 June 1962. There was a Mass at which the boys assisted by reading the lessons followed by a catechism quiz featuring eight finalists chosen after elimination heats involving all at the school. A contemporary report indicated that the 'audience [was] engrossed with the remarkable knowledge the boys showed of their catechism. No matter how difficult the question, the answer was always there. After a number of elimination rounds Eric Gibbons came out the winner'.[40]

There were few, if any, Brothers who did not enjoy their time in Blenheim, where all felt that their efforts were appreciated. The students were drawn from the surrounding district and provided few disciplinary problems. Many Brothers who had difficulties in managing classes, gained confidence after a period in Blenheim. In addition, the parents were generous to a fault, and often provided the Brothers with produce.

Circumstances were different at Mangere where lack of financial resources remained a constant problem. Julian had to manage the school on a budget that a nearby headmaster claimed was the size of his 'slush' fund. Nevertheless, Julian succeeded in building closer relations with the priests in charge of the seven parishes served by the school. Facilities improved gradually, though they had to be content with prefabricated buildings while Liston remained bishop. Two new classrooms were completed during first term in 1958 and a large area in close proximity was tar-paved: the main entrance drive was sealed the following year. The better physical





(Right) Staff and students on the occasion of the opening of Francis Douglas Memorial College, New Plymouth, 1959. Brothers were, left to right, Fabian Boundy, Benignus Davis, Alban Jerome Foley, Jerome Foley, Kelvin Sullivan. John Iremonger, later a Brother, is on the far left of the front row. (Left) Brother Jerome Foley presenting a trophy to a successful competitor at a Francis Douglas Memorial College sportsday. The Brothers in the background are, Benignus Davis (left), Justinian Thompson (right) (Photograph by Bernard Woods Studios).

conditions helped promote a better tone within the school and the 1958 academic results, university entrance (80 per cent pass) and school certificate (75 per cent pass) were the best to that time.[41] Construction work began on two additional classrooms and a toilet block in October 1960.

The Brothers opened their third New Zealand foundation in New Plymouth at the beginning of 1959 after six years of negotiation. There were delays in New Zealand because of difficulties in finding a suitable location for the new school, while Jerome had been pleased enough to stall because he had few Brothers available to undertake the new foundation. The school was ultimately built on what had been a nine-hole golf course. Julian Watson, principal at Mangere, was responsible for overseeing the building of the new school and enrolling the first students. Francis Douglas Memorial College, a day and boarding school, was named in honour of a Columban missionary killed in the Philippines during World War II.

Julian had expectations of being the foundation principal of the new college, but this honour went to Jerome Foley. Jerome had requested that he be permitted to return to Ireland at the conclusion of his term as Visitor, primarily to ensure that he did not hinder the work of his successor. However, Lawrence prevailed upon him to remain in the District and work in New Zealand instead, where he would be close enough to provide advice whenever it was sought, but not so close as to restrict Baptist. This was rather hard on Jerome, who had never been a good organiser and financial planner. Moreover, he was then more than 70 years of age and had not been directly associated with teaching for 12 years. However, he was a superb educator and instilled a vibrant spirit within the new college that was opened officially on 13 September 1959, with the Brothers from the other schools in attendance. Julian transferred to Francis Douglas Memorial College at the beginning of 1962 to assist Jerome and succeeded him as principal in 1965. Francis Douglas College, with its boarding facility and central location, ultimately became the main foundation in New Zealand. The Brothers gathered there for their retreat each year, generally in the first week of January.

The New Zealand foundations seemed to bear early fruit. Three former students of the college at Mangere East—Patrick Lynch, Rex Leatherland and Max Keller—entered the novitiate at Castle Hill in 1959: Rex had been a first-day student at the college. They were the first New Zealanders to have been taught by the Brothers. A steady stream of recruits followed.

The new recruits, and those who followed them, returned to New Zealand immediately after their teacher training, largely because of pressure from the hierarchy. Several of them found life very difficult, with Australians in all positions of authority and seemingly oblivious to the national aspirations of New Zealanders: this was akin to the relationship between Irish and young Australian Brothers in the early days of the District. The banter around dinner tables sometimes grew very tiresome, particularly when New Zealand and New Zealanders were the butts of tedious jokes. Others simply shrugged and let the issues pass. However, the New Zealanders developed a sense of solidarity that strengthened their national identity.

New endeavours

The Brothers in Australia, Papua New Guinea and New Zealand had been identified almost exclusively with school teaching. However, their mission had traditionally been broader than that, and been concerned with addressing the needs of youth. So, they had embraced the opportunity to be associated with Boys' Town at Engadine and had withdrawn reluctantly in 1952. However, they continued to seek opportunities to help boys in trouble with the law and they returned to their mission among recalcitrant youth when they helped to establish BoysTown at Beaudesert in Queensland in 1961. The new foundation was made at the invitation of the parish priest, Monsignor Owen Steele, an old boy of De La Salle College, Armidale.[42]

Archbishop James Duhig was an enthusiastic supporter and provided £10,000 as a deposit on the Plunkett property on the fringe of Beaudesert. Support was also forthcoming from the Queensland government and the Child Welfare Department. Despite his earlier counsels of caution, Lawrence urged Baptist to accept the challenge: '...the idea of a reform school is very tempting. Do not turn it down off-hand in any case ... It is an opportunity one does not like to miss'.[43] He suggested that Baptist could surely 'prise loose three good Brothers from different schools to man this one'. The property was ultimately handed to the Trustees of the De La Salle Brothers on condition that it would always be used for the purpose for which it was founded.

Alban Dwyer, formerly the director of Boys' Town at Engadine, was appointed director of the new venture, with colleagues Brian Cunningham and Kieran Rush. They, with Monsignor



The BoysTown community in white robes with Monsignor Owen Steele, 1963. Left to right, Brothers, Raymond Concannon, Alban Dwyer, Monsignor Owen Steele, Brian Cunningham (Photograph by Moss Studio).

Steele, became responsible for establishing the new enterprise. The 'cottage system' was determined to be the most appropriate form of management, with each cottage having accommodation for house-parents and 12 boys with their individual cubicles. There was a common living and dining area in each cottage and house-parents and boys took their meals together. Brothers lived in community and taught school each day, but also took responsibility for particular cottages and boys, and became the main animators of the institution. BoysTown was officially opened by Archbishop Duhig on 5 November 1961.

Like Engadine, earlier, the town was organised with its own government—mayor, aldermen and councillors—and its own school. BoysTown had its own farm, with crops to be sown and pigs, fowls and cattle to be tended. Boys received basic training in farmwork along with metalwork, woodwork and auto mechanics. There was ample provision for recreation.

The physical development of the property was facilitated by the proceeds of a lottery, managed in the first instance by Jack Machheroni, and a committee of prominent Brisbane businessmen.[44] First prize was a motor vehicle. By mid-1965 each draw of the Art Union contributed an additional £10,000 to the BoysTown coffers.

The BoysTown apostolate developed an outreach program that encouraged the Brothers into associated activities. Alban was alive to the need to provide support to boys who left BoysTown. To this end he acquired a disused fire station at Albion in suburban Brisbane which he later modified for use as a hostel to provide an extended system of support for wayward boys. He made this acquisition with financial assistance from the Queensland government.[45]

Alban had an unerring eye for a good investment that would complement and facilitate the work of the Brothers. He saw possibilities in the former Cable Station at Bauer Street, Southport, on Queensland's Gold Coast, and acquired it in 1964 for £12,500 as part of the BoysTown outreach, with the intention of using it as a youth camp, and a holiday centre for Brothers. The cable station had been built in 1902 as the Australian terminus of the Pacific cable stretching from Vancouver Island in Canada, via Fanning Island, Fiji and Norfolk Island to Southport. The first message was sent in October 1902 and the station opened for regular traffic in December. The laying of a cable between Southport and Sydney meant that Southport became a repeater station in 1923. The cable station had become surplus to the government's requirements after the Southport-to-Norfolk Island cable closed in 1962.



ther Nicet Joseph, Superior General, with District Brothers Directors at Oakhill, May 2. Sixth row: left to right, Brothers Damien Kiely, John Harney, Philip O'Brien; Fifth left to right, Brothers Fidelis Byrden, Peter McIntosh, Leopold Deignan, James ley; Fourth row: left to right, Brothers Leo Caldwell, Matthew Kennedy, Michael son, Claude Davis; Third row: left to right, Brothers Finbar Kelly, Stanislaus Carmody, ick McInerney, Peter Duffy, Xavier Johansson; Second row: left to right, Brothers Victor ton, Damien Harvey, John Neil, Patrick Howard, Alexius Higgins, Colman Molloy; st row: left to right, Brothers Oswald Murdoch, Cassian Corbett, Lawrence O'Toole s (Assistant), Nicet Joseph (Superior General), Baptist Will (Visitor), Gregory Namara, Aloysius Carmody (Photograph by Elton Ward, Parramatta).

(Below) Brothers leaving St Patrick's Cathedral, Melbourne, after High Mass to celebrate the Golden Jubilee of De La Salle College, Malvern, May 1962. (Inset) Principals of De La Salle College, Malvern, gathered on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee celebrations. Left to right, Brothers Oswald Murdoch, Jerome Foley, Peter Duffy, Stanislaus Carmody.





Contact with the international Institute

The District had traditionally remained isolated from the European centre of the Institute. Brothers chosen to undertake their second novitiate were able to gain a first-hand appreciation of the international dimensions of the Institute, but their confreres had to depend upon typed or printed communications and the regular visitation of the Assistant. However, advances in transport made visitation increasingly easy and less expensive. Thus, the District received two significant visitors in the early 1960s who underscored the diversity of the Institute and the watershed nature of the period. The first visit occurred in 1962 and was that of the Superior General, Nicet Joseph, director of the Second Novitiate when Baptist Will had attended. The Australian portion of the tour—which included districts in India and Asia—began in Perth on 4 May, encompassed New Zealand and all Australian states in which the Brothers had schools, and concluded at Mainohana in Papua New Guinea on 7 June. It was a triumphal visit for the Brothers and a cause of pride.

Most of the Superior-General's time was spent visiting communities and meeting Brothers, though there were some special demands on his time. He presided over two days of reflection with District directors at Oakhill on 11 and 12 May. Nicet Joseph visited the juniorate and houses of formation on 8 and 9 May and presided at the robe-taking ceremony at Oakhill on Sunday 13 May. The District visit coincided with the Golden Jubilee of Malvern's foundation which was celebrated with week-long celebrations from 13 to 19 May 1962 and High Mass at St Patrick's Cathedral, in Melbourne.

Nicet Joseph and Lawrence travelled to Auckland on Sunday 20 May to visit the Brothers at Mangere. The Maori students welcomed him with Maori songs and a haka, and all enjoyed the holiday given in his honour on the Monday. The Superior and Assistant travelled to New Plymouth on 22 May. The Brothers from Blenheim travelled to New Plymouth to meet the Superior and undertake a 'day of recollection'. They travelled with him to Wellington for a gala dinner on 24 May, then returned to Blenheim, while the visitors returned to Australia.

In a very real sense, Nicet Joseph's visit reflected the traditional Institute, its Eurocentrism and its cultural domination by the French. The Superior-General edified those Brothers with whom he came in contact, but posed no



Visitor General, Brother Erminus Joseph, with Brothers gathered at the Renovation Session at Burradoo, January 1964. Standing: at rear, Brother Matthew Kennedy. Standing: left to right, Brothers Eric Pigott, Urban Murray, Claude Davis, James Thomas, John Neil, Michael Johnson, Dunstan Bourke, Fidelis Byrden, Peter McIntosh, Gonzaga Brown, Philip O'Brien, Patrick McInerney, Julian Watson. Sitting: left to right, Brothers Amedy Molloy, Dermot Brosnan, Aloysius Carmody, Erminus Joseph, Michael Lynch, Finbar Kelly, John Cleary.

challenge to them except the need to adhere to the Rule and the traditions of the Institute.

The Superior-General's visit contrasted markedly with that of Erminus Joseph, the American Visitor-General, who was invited to visit the houses of formation and preside at a 50-day Lasallian Renovation Session at Burradoo in December 1963 and January 1964. The American represented the New World, with challenges similar to those faced in Australia and New Zealand.

The Lasallian Renovation represented an admirable opportunity to gather together 33 District directors and principals aged between 30 and 50 who were soon expected to take major roles in the District. It was considered a great success, and the Visitor indicated: 'The conferences of Br Vis. Gen. were the highlights of the renovation and for these alone it would have been worthwhile ... so say they all. The evening open discussions were also of great benefit, especially to those Directors who are at a distance from their fellow-Directors'.[46] The visit of Erminus Joseph, with ideas that challenged many of those traditionally held within the District, was a prologue to the changes to become more general throughout the Church.

Revolution in the Church

Erminus Joseph had visited Australia soon after the opening of the Second Vatican Council, which inaugurated a re-assessment of traditional Church values and practices. During this period the Catholic Church underwent a virtual revolution, inspired in part by the teachings of a new generation of theologians such as Karl Rahner, Yves Congar and Hans Küng, but also as a consequence of changing social attitudes, particularly in the New World countries. It became increasingly open to new ideas and accepting of self-criticism and the need for reform.

Pope John XXIII gave expression to this new openness when he convened the Second Vatican Council, the meeting of the world's Catholic bishops, which opened in October 1962, with sessions continuing until 1965. John XXIII summarised his aims for the Council in the word *aggiornamento*, meaning renewal or adaptation. Karl Rahner considered that Vatican II represented an attempt to change from a Western Church to a World Church.[47]

There followed a thorough reassessment of the Church, its mission and its activities that continued for several years. One focus of attention was concerned with the role of religious in the contemporary Church. The document *Lumen gentium* highlighted the importance of the religious life; *Perfectae caritatis* called for the renewal and adaptation of religious congregations to modern needs; while *Ecclesiae sanctae* called on religious congregations to convene Extraordinary General Chapters within three years in order to address these issues. The Brothers were directly involved in

conciliar deliberations through Superior General Nicet-Joseph, who was appointed an education expert to the Council in 1964, and became active in the preparation of the conciliar publication, *Declaration on Christian Education.*

The Council released powerful forces for change. In the event, some traditional practices were abandoned, and others were altered in the search for increased relevance and richness in the demonstration of the faith. As with any revolution, there were many who wanted to take change to radical extremes, and conservatives who opposed any change at all. Most were caught between the extremes and became confused at the rapidity and direction of change, and unsure as to where the revolution might lead.

The Pope's call was to a fundamental reaffirmation of faith. This became most evident to the laity in changes associated with the celebration of the Mass. Lay participation in the liturgy had been minimal prior to this time, and it had largely been unintelligible to many because of the use of Latin, unless they used a missal with the vernacular translation. More active lay participation was encouraged by the introduction of the vernacular language. In July 1964 Australia's Catholic bishops permitted many parts of the Mass to be celebrated in English with responses being made by the congregation. Later the altar was moved closer to the congregation and the priest celebrated Mass facing the people rather than with his back to them. The opportunity to attend Mass and the sacraments continued, although many traditional devotions, such as benediction, gradually fell into decline. So too, interest waned in the various sodalities and Catholic action groups, some of which had been promoted by the Brothers in their schools. There were other losses too, particularly the rich tradition of classical and sacred music associated with the Solemn High Mass.

The immediate changes impacted on the Brothers' daily life in many ways, particularly in changes to community prayers. The 1956 General Chapter had urged Brothers to update their community prayers in line with trends within the Church, but only minimal changes were introduced at the time. Finally, in conjunction with new ideas emanating from the Vatican Council and current theology, the Regime urged nominated houses to experiment with prayers with greater liturgical elements, particularly recitation of a form of the office. The houses of formation were included in the experiment in Australia in September and October 1964. The



Mass being celebrated in the Oakhill Chapel in the immediate post-Vatican II era (Photograph by The Leicagraph Co., Sydney).

early indications were favourable and the initiative was extended in accordance with guidelines provided by Baptist in August 1966.[48]

Other changes reflected those encouraged by the Council. The Church was increasingly portrayed as a community comprising religious and lay people fulfilling different but complementary and important roles, rather than that of a passive lay community being advised and directed by the clergy. This encouraged Brothers to engage more with the lay community, and 'The World' was portrayed as a less sinister place and less of a threat to a man's religious vocation than had been the case previously. This meant that Brothers were permitted closer relations with their families and attendance at major family gatherings such as weddings and funerals where this had been denied before. The period between the fortnight's 'home holidays' was reduced from four to three years in 1965, though Brothers were still expected to travel second-class in trains, with plane travel still being considered unusual.[49]

Still, conventions remained very strict when Brothers took holidays in their own or other communities. Daily exercises were to be maintained, and religious 'secular' dress was to be worn outside the community unless Brothers were on 'recognised walks' such as a visit to the beach or a picnic. They were advised to decline invitations to visit homes and 'at all times remember the "witness" they should bear to simplicity and poverty, in dress, travel, recreation entertainment, etc'.[50]

The Brothers' dress became a major issue in the District during the early 1960s. Baptist had raised the issue of white robes in 1959, but had been given short shrift by the Assistant, who wrote on the subject:

> I should not be in favour of introducing white robes into Australia until you move to the tropical north. There is no real need for them. Apart from that they are a very expensive item for every Brother will need three on account of the frequent washing required (and white robes can become very filthy-looking if they are not washed every couple of days) and the laundry bill will be high and the robes will wear out fast. It is all very well for the nuns to move into white; making and laundering clothes does not present the same problem for them as for men.[51]



The Dubbo community in white robes and trousers, November 1964. Left to right, John Kidd, Malachy Yates, John Cleary, Brian Hanlan.

The problems with white robes were evidently not insuperable, because the Beaudesert community of Alban, Raymond and Anacletus began wearing them during the latter part of 1963. This raised the question of whether or not all

Brothers in the District should be in white robes and the determination of a policy concerning them was one of nine recommendations made by those who attended the Lasallian Renovation at Burradoo in December 1963 and January 1964. Some embraced the idea willingly. Leo Cleary, appointed Director of the Dubbo community in 1963, was an ardent advocate and had his community appear for the first time in white robes on Friday, 6 November 1964.[52] Leo even insisted that he and his confreres wear white trousers. The Cootamundra community received permission to wear white robes early in 1966.[53] Those at a meeting of directors in June 1966 favoured the introduction of white robes for summer wear in the Sydney communities, but no decision was taken immediately.[54] Soon, however, all Brothers were given the option of wearing white robes.

The issue of religious dress was a harbinger of greater change to follow.

New ideas

Just as more rapid communications facilitated Australian visits by Institute superiors, so they facilitated overseas travel by Australian Brothers that introduced them to changes taking place elsewhere. Brothers in mid-career—and aged between 35 and 55—continued to be sent to undertake second novitiates. Rome remained the main centre, but a second opportunity became available in 1962 when the American Brothers established a continuing religious formation program at the Sangre De Cristo Center in Santa Fe, New Mexico. Cassian Corbett, Director at Marrickville at the time, attended Sangre in its first year of operation. Others followed regularly thereafter. They included Patrick Howard and Colman Molloy in 1963, Stanislaus Carmody (1964), Finbar Kelly and Fridolin Gehrig (1965), and Edward Gehrig and Amedy Molloy (1966). The American centre appealed to Australian Brothers, particularly those who had few language skills and would have found it difficult to maximise the Roman experience. All of them took the opportunity to undertake additional studies in the United States, or at least become familiar with the work of the Institute there. This proved a revelation to many of them.



Scholastics at study, 1958. Third row: left to right, Brothers Bill Good, Jeffrey Eagleson, Ambrose Payne. Second row: left to right, Brothers William Neville, Vincent Steed, Colin Griffin, Donald Newton. Front row: left to right, Brothers Norbert Hore, Aelred Wilson, Max Sculley, Charles Barclay, Paulinus Hammerton, Maurice Tyrrell.

Others, particularly Brothers in New South Wales, took the opportunity to pursue religious studies closer to home, with the foundation of the Holy Spirit Institute of Theology in 1964. This operated under the auspices of the Pontifical Faculty of Theology at St Patrick's College, Manly and was

planned to provide courses over the broad field of theology during a five-year cycle.[55]

At the same time Aloysius and his staff continued their endeavours to increase the academic qualifications of young Brothers and give some of them the opportunity to complete degrees before they went into teaching communities. To this end Aloysius convinced the Visitor and the Assistant to acquire the property at 16 Roma Avenue, Kensington, as a House of Studies to enable scholastics with a preference and affinity for science subjects to attend the University of New South Wales as full-time students. Baptist needed little convincing of the benefits of this, in the light of his own experiences as a young Brother, though Lawrence was firmly of the view that young men should first have shown their worth in community before being given the option of full-time study. The communities of Ashfield and Marrickville funded the acquisition, and St Cassian's House was officially opened on 18 October 1959. Louis Flanagan, now retired from teaching, had charge of the first two scholastics to take up residence, Donald Newton and Bill Good.



Pioneer Kensington community. Left to right, Brothers Donald Newton, Louis Flanagan, Bill Good (Photograph by Ajax Photo Service, Newtown).

Though a sound idea, the initiative was defective in its implementation. Louis was an old man recuperating from major stomach surgery and had no companionship except for the young men who were away from the house for much of each day. Moreover, he had little appreciation of the particular demands that full-time attendance at the university placed upon the scholastics or how the studies could be reconciled with the strict observance of the Rule. Both young men ultimately went to their first teaching communities before completing their studies and had to complete their degrees part-time. Fortunately, the initiative continued with changes made to the arrangements, which enabled successive groups of young men to complete science degrees successfully.

Final profession day for Brother Peter Keaga, 23 December 1960. Left to right, Brothers Baptist Will (Visitor), Patrick Howard, Patrick McInerney, Peter Keaga, Father Jim Dwyer MSC (Photograph by The Leicagraph Co., Sydney).

The training of young men in the houses of formation continued to exercise the Visitor and the Assistant, largely because there were so few men with the qualifications to be appointed to positions of authority. Christian's return from studies overseas in 1961 and his appointment as sub-director of novices to assist Gregory appeared to be an ideal solution; the appointment enabled him to help in both the novitiate and scholasticate, while providing him with the opportunity for writing. Still, it was only a short-term solution to an on-going problem of finding suitable senior staff for



the houses of formation and schools. Baptist wrote of the issue in a letter to Lawrence in late 1962:

> OAKHILL, SECOND NOVITIATE, APPOINTMENTS: For Sec. Nov. (Rome) next year, I had Br. Oswald in mind. He is anxious for such an opportunity and I had told him that it could possibly, even probably, be next year. His place would need to be filled by a Latin/French/Director (Br. Aloysius, Finian, Michael). It [Kingsgrove] is a big school needing good leadership with so many lay-teachers—the community is regular. Br. Cassian would simply return to Marrickville—there has been no replacement for him, and Br. Dositheus is still unreliable for classwork. It would seem impossible to release anyone for Aux. Vis. Just at present, much as he would be welcome and appreciated; incidentally, Br. Kevin is a good replacement for Br. Donatus, keeping most of the routine bookwork up-to-date, and very competently. I had hoped (and still do) to send Br. Patrick to the U.S.A. for 12 mths next year, which means a Director would need to be found for Armidale (Br. Michael, Aloysius). Br. Frederick might be a possibility for Kingsgrove; he is very important for the choir work at Oakhill of course, and his transfer would probably mean Br. Aloy. and Br. Christian in the Scholasticate and Br. Greg. and Br. Fin. in Novitiate ... or some such combinations. ... I'll have to have a Director for Inverell very soon if we can't avoid the opening. Br. Peter (Dubbo) would appreciate being in the ranks again, so Dubbo is vacant for next year. The Holy Family also, and Br. Victor will be hard to replace.[56]



(Right) Robetaking 1963, with new novices in the first and third rows of the hall at Oakhill, with their sponsors sitting directly behind (Photograph by The Leicagraph Co., Sydney).

(Below) Novices at prayer in the novitiate chapel, 1964. Left to right, Brothers Mark Conway, Chris Gorringe, Michael Porter, Sebastian Hoogenboom, Bruce Nevin, Russell Cutfield, Chris Welch, Philip Sheridan, Laurence Woods.



The longer the dilemma persisted the greater became the need for change because the directors of both the novitiate and the scholasticate no longer found their positions challenging. This made the formation years particularly difficult for so-called 'late vocations' such as Ted Becker who entered the novitiate in 1963. The novitiate training was primarily pitched at youth having immediately graduated from high school. Most were aged in their late teens, and acted accordingly. Ted Becker, by contrast, was a man of 34 years. Nevertheless, he followed the same program as his younger colleagues, even competing in the sport.

Changing the initial formation was the essential recommendation of Erminus Joseph, who had visited the houses of formation in late 1963. Baptist found his ideas on formation very welcome and his report on the current state of the houses of formation encouraging, though it touched no essential issues that had not already been identified by the Visitor.

Following his review of the novitiate, Erminus Joseph suggested to Gregory:

> With Brother Visitor's permission, adjust sections of the time table to make them more adequate to your novitiate needs. Include more time for sports, more free time to be used on the initiative of the novices, music appreciation, organised picnics (two a term as minimum), more study time for courses of study in novitiate; use of English in vocal prayer except on Sundays, stiffened linen rabats for the novices, signal at 5:45 a.m.[57]



Robetaking, 1964. Paul Smith receiving the robe from Brother Baptist Will (Visitor), with Brother Gerard Rummery as sponsor.

More fundamental change followed in 1964 after Lawrence had won over the Superior-General to the idea that the novitiate should be of only one year's duration, with the scholasticate being extended to three years.[58] The District Council welcomed the idea and lobbied the Regime accordingly.[59] Those in the group named after Our Lady of Good Counsel, who took the robe in April 1963, moved to the scholasticate 12 months later, immediately after completing their canonical year. Change continued when Finian Allman succeeded Gregory as director of novices early in 1965. Lawrence had suggested the need for such a change some time earlier, having perceived that Gregory had been a long time in the position and had grown stale, but the want of a suitable successor made this difficult. Then the Assistant was concerned not to leave the impression that the change was the result of Erminus Joseph's visit or was seen as an adverse reflection of Gregory. These considerations were of little concern to Gregory, however. He moved to the Holy Family Community at Oakhill as Director in 1965 and 1966, but at the beginning of the 1967 school year moved to Kingsgrove, where he once again took classes.

The new novitiate arrangements had major implications for the scholasticate. The suddenness of the decision—and a measure of contrariness from Aloysius whose views had not been heeded—meant that few detailed preparations had been made to receive the new scholastics in 1964. They had moved to the scholasticate in April, long after the commencement of the academic year which meant that any courses had to be mounted internally. To a large extent it was a wasted opportunity, though the young Brothers themselves preferred the extra time in the scholasticate rather than a second year in the novitiate.

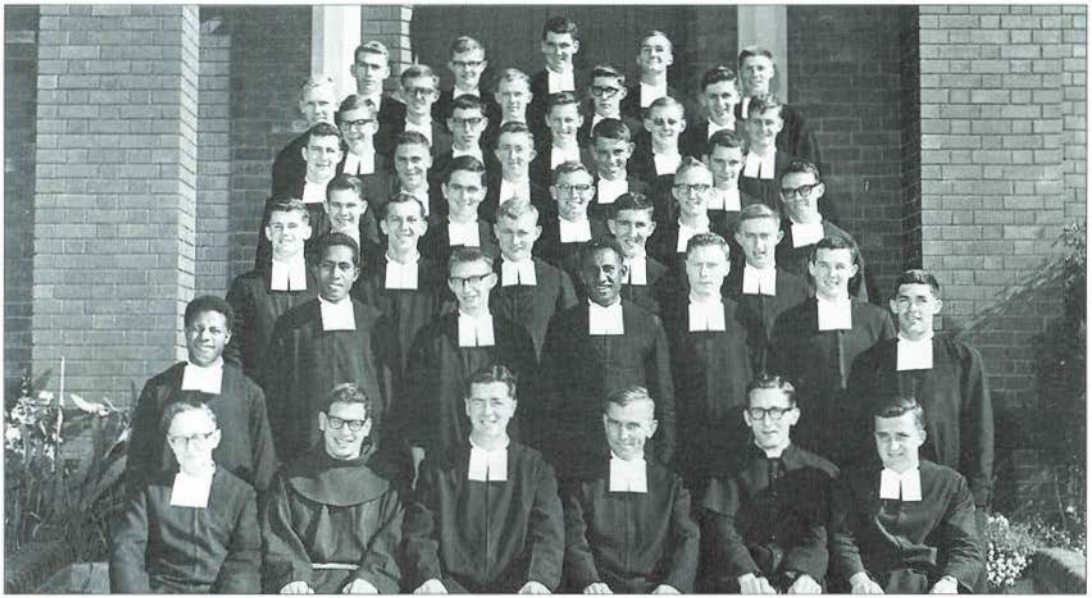
However, even with greater time to prepare, it is evident that there would have been problems because of staff arrangements. William Mullins, the sub-director since 1958, was due to leave on 16 September 1964 to undertake a Master of Arts course in the faculty of the School of Education at the Catholic University of America in Washington DC. This was later extended to include a PhD in Religious Education.

As if this were not change enough, the life of the scholasticate was thrown into greater disarray in August 1964 when the Superior-General appointed Aloysius as sub-director of the Second Novitiate in Rome with the next session due to commence on 14 September.[60] The news surprised all at Oakhill, though delighted Aloysius, who had long coveted such a position and who, the Assistant had observed, had become jaded and disappointed at not having been appointed Visitor-General. Aloysius left for Rome on 5 September, even before William Mullins departed for Washington.

Aloysius' appointment only served to exacerbate Baptist's problem of finding an appropriate replacement because of the continuing dearth of Brothers who were considered appropriate for positions in the houses of formation. Baptist immediately recalled Oswald Murdoch who was at that time in Europe after having attended his second novitiate, to help relieve the situation. He was asked to return by the earliest plane. Stanislaus Carmody, then in Ireland following his second novitiate in the United States, was also asked to return as quickly as possible.[61]

The arrangements were only temporary, with neither Oswald nor Stanislaus keen to remain in the scholasticate. Consequently, Baptist took the opportunity to appoint a completely new staff at the beginning of 1965. This was timely. The course designed by Aloysius was a very rigid one and was in need of a review. It had been designed to satisfy the demands of the Victorian Education Department, and was becoming outdated because of contemporary changes in education generally.

Christian Moe, who loved both the Training College and involvement in formation, was appointed director. However, his strengths lay in theology and English literature, rather than educa-



Staff and students of the Oakhill Scholasticate, 1965. Eighth row: left to right, Brothers Michael Keating, Christopher Welch, Peter Heaney, Daniel Ryan, Bernard Mervin. Seventh row: left to right, Brothers Dennis Hunt, Alan Drummond, Christopher Gorringe, Geoffrey Casey, Peter Donovan. Sixth row: left to right, Brothers Peter Smyth, Joseph Camillo, John Day, John Daly, Paul Smith. Fifth row: left to right, Brothers John Dodds, Trevor Breen, Gerard Elliott, Bruce Nevin, Graham Silver. Fourth row: left to right, Brothers Patrick Branson, Patrick McCarthy, Anthony Offord, Philip Sheridan, Peter Jackson. Third row: left to right, Brothers Russell Cutfield, Joseph Gabel, Michael Young, Karl Becker, Michael Porter. Second row: left to right, Brothers Vincent Koroti, Albert Roio, Stanislaus Idzik, Emmanuel Haiveta, Laurence Woods, Mark Conway, David Lovell. Front row: left to right, Brother Kevin Price, Father Norbert OFM, Brothers Gerard Rummery, Christian Moe (Director), Father J. Woods, Brother Ambrose Payne (Photograph by Allen Price, Sydney).

tional theory. So, Gerard Rummery, from Malvern, was appointed sub-director and with Ambrose Payne, from Cootamundra, was charged with developing new teacher training courses. Kevin Price completed the staff. Thereafter the course of instruction became more structured and professional, with the introduction of a new two-year, two-strand teacher training course at Oakhill, for the preparation of teachers of upper primary and junior secondary classes. All students were expected to undertake the common first-year course that concentrated on primary education, while there was provision for some specialisation, even full-time university courses, for selected men during the second year.

Armidale scholastics, 1966. Left to right, John Dodds, Peter Donovan, Chris Gorringe, Pat McCarthy, Mark Conway.



Then, in late 1965, in terms reminiscent of the decision to send the six 'Minnies' to Armidale to complete their Leaving Certificate before being sent into class, authorisation was received to send five scholastics to Armidale to complete their Arts degrees before being sent to community.[62] Colman and Gerard met University authorities and

had them agree to accept one year's part-time study at Oakhill and two years' full-time study, successfully completed, as fulfilment of the degree. Those scholastics chosen to go to Armidale in 1966 were Chris Gorringe, Pat McCarthy, Peter Donovan, Mark Conway and John Dodds. Arrangements were made to have them occupy the recently-vacated minor seminary located close to De La Salle College. Cassian Corbett was appointed director. The scholastics were joined at the university by two Brothers from Malaysia, expatriate Henry Reynolds and Hyacinth Chong, both of whom lived with the Armidale community.

The scholastics lived independently of the Armidale community, except for morning religious exercises and shared meals: most of each day was spent at university. In addition to their religious studies they also continued with the Institute's theology course, with the benefit of seminars from Dr John Satterthwaite, who lived at the seminary and acted as chaplain to the College, and who was consecrated bishop of the Lismore diocese in 1969. The boys at Armidale found a nickname for these young Brothers as their predecessors had had for the 'Minnies': in this instance the young Brothers were known as 'Cassian's pups'—or less reverently, 'Flogadog's pups'. All the young Brothers went on to complete their degrees, though one had to re-sit one subject as an external student.

Those who joined the Oakhill scholasticate in 1965 also began a course in philosophy designed to prepare them for theological studies. The course had been pioneered by the Christian Brothers, but offered to other congregations in 1965, with lectures at St Patrick's College at Strathfield.[63] Those qualified to do so later began full-time university studies at the new Macquarie University. Gerard and Ambrose took the opportunity of their transfer to Castle Hill to undertake study towards Master of Education degrees at Sydney University.

Juniorate

The optimistic period of the late 1950s had been reflected in the steady increase in the numbers of young men seeking admission to the juniorate and then proceeding through the other house of formation. This put particular pressures on the Training College facilities at Oakhill, leading the Visitor and Council to decide to relocate the juniorate.



Juniors refectory at Oakhill, 1959, with Michael McCabe reading.

This had many evident benefits. It would serve to separate juniors from Oakhill boarders and to obviate the need for the latter to use the training college for classes; it promised to provide additional room for scholastics and community Brothers; it would remove the possibility of juniors being taught by scholastics and becoming too familiar with them, and being put off the life by seeing

novices undertaking manual labour in silence.[64] Moreover, it would provide greater independence for juniors and enable activities to be organised without having to be concerned about how they might impact on the other communities. It meant that young men would not have to spend up to seven years at Oakhill and would have more of a sense of transition when moving to the novitiate.

The Brothers had long coveted a property near Richmond, west of Sydney, for this purpose. Indeed, the Visitor had gained authorisation to purchase this in exchange for 16 hectares at Oakhill. This purchase did not eventuate, but an alternative soon became available. Haste was required, so Baptist presumed the permission of the Regime to acquire 'Elvo', a guesthouse situated on 17 hectares of land at Burradoo in the southern highlands of New South Wales in 1959 in exchange for £16,400.[65]

The Burradoo purchase earned the Visitor a gentle reprimand from the Assistant and highlighted the continuing hierarchical nature of the Institute:

> You have gone a little too fast in purchasing Burraddo [sic] without referring the matter here. I said specifically that if you and the council thought it well to purchase I was prepared to put the request to the Regime! Just a few weeks ago I had to ask sanation for the purchase of Kensington and now I have to ask for a second sanation and for a tidy sum! The Regime doesn't like to be presented with faits accomplis! Even a cablegram would have solved the matter and I would have hurried it through. Besides you have sent me no council minutes or signatures to justify either request for sanation, so that our procedure is not regular. I will be able to soften the request for sanation by pointing out that you had permission to purchase Dixon's place for £16,000 and that this is a substitute. In the meantime I will not present the affair till I receive from you the minutes of the Council meeting and the definitive arrangements for payment. Similarly, for the removal of the Juniorate, permission of the Regime will be required and so I need the minutes and vote of your Council for that as well.[66]

The bishop of Wollongong also chided Baptist for not first seeking his authorisation to establish a community in his diocese.

The acquisition was arranged by paying £10,000 and taking on the balance of the mortgage of £5000 owing on the property, with the communities of Ashfield and Marrickville provided funding for the acquisition. Cassian Corbett, director of Ashfield, and Michael Cooper, director of Marrickville, were both Council members at the time and appreciated the benefits of the project. The mortgage was discharged within two years.

Xavier Johansson was the director, with Claude Sweeney, Francis Josten, Ronald Fogarty, and later Josephus Lloyd—already diagnosed with cancer and with minimal life expectancy—forming the first community: Francis had the distinction of being the



Brother Claude Sweeney, teaching Third Year juniors at Burradoo, 1960. Allan Coman is in the left of the photograph.

first to take up residence. The community and juniors travelled to the Blessed Sacrament Fathers monastery in Bowral in small groups each day for Mass, reciting morning prayers as they went: on the return to the juniorate they said the rosary. Sunday Mass was celebrated at the juniorate, but daily Mass did not become available until after Easter 1960, when Sacred Heart priests from nearby Chevalier College were able to undertake the task.

Burradoo represented a far cry from Oakhill, but the differences made for a sense of challenge. Most of the first floor rooms of Elvo were filled with beds to make dormitories. The chapel and refectory were on the ground floor along with the washroom, which had to be purpose-built at the rear of the house. Adrian Fitzgerald prepared plans for the washroom and supervised its construction. The proceeds of the sale of the Penrith property were used for the necessary building work, including that necessary to convert stables on the property for use as classrooms. These classrooms were located on the boundary of the property only the width of a roadway and verge from the main railway line between Sydney and Melbourne.

There were few facilities. Heating during the winter was provided by means of small coal-fed combustion stoves, with juniors taking turns to keep each stove well stoked. There was sufficient room in Elvo to provide two study rooms for juniors in 1959 and 1960. However, with the numbers of juniors the following year, these rooms had to be used as dormitories and evening study took place in the classrooms. The stoves then became essential during the cold winter months.

There were no sporting facilities, though the juniors ultimately formed an oval of sorts in one paddock after cutting down the trees and grubbing out the stumps, which had to be burned. A fine set of tennis and basketball courts was built adjacent to the front gate by a local contractor, with juniors doing much of the ancillary work of digging drains, putting up the wire fence and erecting backboards. A waterhole in the Wingecarribee River, which formed one boundary of the property, provided the opportunity for swimming during the summer, though training for Royal Life Saving awards generally took place in the pool at Mittagong.



Junior novices at prayer in the chapel at Burradoo, 1963.

Basketball became the elite sport of the juniors, and under the coaching of Brother Bernard Hawkins, in particular, the juniorate produced some outstanding teams which regularly won the district competition held in the pavilion at the Moss Vale showgrounds. Indeed, the juniors performed creditably at under-age carnivals in the southern districts at Goulburn and Wollongong.

The steady increase in numbers attending the juniorate created welcome problems concerning appropriate accommodation. The problems were exacerbated in 1961 when the timber-clad building used to accommodate the Brothers was converted for use as a chapel. Plans for a new classroom block and modern science rooms were advanced in 1961 and permission granted for their construction. The plans were drawn by architect Paul Kellett, an old boy of Ashfield, and the building was erected by Alf Herbert, a local builder whose son was a Sacred Heart priest. The new building was completed in June 1963: the new kitchen block and refectory was completed in November the same year.

The juniorate had the distinction of becoming an official weather station from Christmas 1965. Following the offer, the weather bureau moved the local weather station to the juniorate and erected it near the classroom block. The maintenance of the weather recordings earned welcome funds for the Burradoo community and continued as long as the Brothers retained the property.

Notwithstanding the move to Burradoo, the question of the juniorate continued to exercise the Visitor and his Council. Numbers had declined from the highpoint of 61 at the beginning of 1962 to 54 in 1963, 45 in 1964 when there were only Fourth Year and Fifth Year classes, to 36 in 1965. A meeting of the Council on 27 October 1965 addressed the issue and recommended to the Assistant the effective closure of the juniorate during 1966 with the six continuing juniors being transferred to Oakhill College, and boys wishing to join the Institute being persuaded to remain at their schools.[67] The problem was caused by the introduction of Year 6 of the Wyndham scheme which made it difficult to provide an adequate education at such a small institution. However, the Assistant would not countenance the closure.[68] The juniorate remained at Burradoo in 1966 though there were only 17 juniors. Discussion continued about its future.

Baptist canvassed the views of Brothers attending retreats at the end of 1965 and early the following year circularised communities seeking additional comments on juniorate training. Comments were forthcoming from communities where members voted on the issue and from individual Brothers. The comments canvassed all issues. There were some who wanted the juniorate to cease. Most of these argued that the juniorate experience was a very restrictive one at an important time of a boy's development which divorced him from the maturing experiences of his contemporaries. They argued that the lack of experience provided the junior with a limited view of the world and, by definition, of the nature of the commitment he sought to make to the religious life. Some believed that those Brothers graduating through the juniorate were men of limited experience and maturity. Most of those who argued for the continuation of the juniorate pointed out that a high percentage of

the Brothers had been recruited through that means. The issue became the main subject of a special District Council meeting on 26 March 1966.[69] Ultimately, the majority at the Council voted to continue juniorate training, but in a different form. The plan adopted was to attach the juniorate to one of the Brothers' day schools so that boys could engage in all of the activities of their classmates.[70]

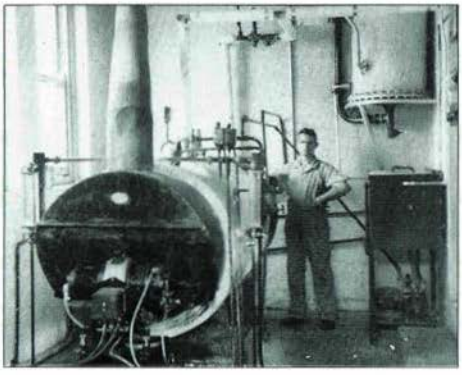
Having decided to relocate the juniorate, the Council agreed to transfer the novitiate to Burradoo and develop the Training College at Oakhill as a scholasticate only. With the benefit of hindsight, many suggested that the novitiate should have been transferred to Burradoo in the first instance.

Special ministries

The mission of the Brothers was particularly identified with teaching and the conduct of schools, and their training reflected this. Unfortunately, there were instances when men found themselves unsuited to a life in the classroom. There were few other options available for they did not have the simple option open to lay contemporaries of seeking alternative employment. Yet these men retained their idealism, so special niches were found for them, most of whom formed part of the Holy Family Community at Oakhill. They may have had no influence on boys through classroom careers, but many of them had a major influence on generations of young Brothers who progressed through the Training College.

Cyril Finch was such a Brother. Originally from Deloraine in Tasmania, he was 34 years of age and a compositor and typesetter when he entered the novitiate in Cootamundra in 1931. He spent his religious life in non-teaching duties. He worked at Oakhill from 1933 to November 1945, spent two years at Katoomba before returning to Oakhill for another 13 years. He tended the vegetable garden, the flower gardens, looked after the poultry, bees, the dairy and the pigs, and even worked as cook for several years. He looked after the farm at Burradoo during his final ten years.

Brother Stephen Finch in the boiler room at Oakhill.



Stephen Finch, a nephew of Cyril and also from Tasmania, had enlisted in the army during World War II and served at Balikpapan in Borneo. He joined the Brothers in 1948 and was one of few returned servicemen to do so. He managed the laundry at the Training College from 1951 to 1973, ensuring a supply of steam and hot water for the college along with clean clothes and linen. He taught many young novices how to iron clothes and linen as they took turns each day working in the laundry.

Oliver O'Leary had long been identified with the Oakhill farm though he also relieved Cyril as cook on Fridays. He had had one year of teaching, but superiors believed he could make a greater contribution to the District on the farm. This contribution was con-

siderable. He kept dairy cows, that provided the Training College with milk and butter. He raised pigs and chickens for sale and sold any excess eggs, bought sheep from the Homebush markets which he killed to supply meat for the Training College. He regularly showed stock at the Castle Hill show.

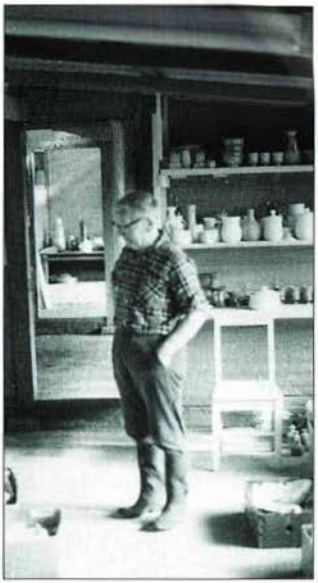
The irrepressible Tom Hammerton taught at Orange and Katoomba for a time in the early 1960s, but found the discipline irksome and unnatural. He transferred to the Holy Family Community at Oakhill in 1964 where he engaged in 'temporal work' before going to India where he worked for several years on farms and helped establish a boy's town there. He revelled in the challenge.

Francis Josten had returned to Europe briefly after World War II, but almost immediately asked to transfer to Australia. He spent most of his later years at Oakhill, looking after the vegetable garden. His broken English expression provided a welcome diversion and amusement for the those novices who were detailed to assist him in the garden each day.

Damian Morgan, who was renowned throughout the District as an accomplished artist had followed the traditional career as a teacher after leaving the novitiate in August 1927, but had had this abruptly curtailed in 1941 when he was hospitalised and diagnosed with osteomyelitis. He painted many of the murals in the Training College building.

Adrian Fitzgerald had worked for several years as a plumber before joining the Brothers in April 1933. He spent most of his time at Oakhill, but used his building and construction skills throughout the District, at Oakhill, Armidale, Malvern, Scarborough, Beverley and Burradoo.

Other Holy Family Community members, most of them retired men, provided a sense of the past for many young trainees. Ultimately, however, the niche roles disappeared. The Oakhill farm became an unviable proposition as Oakhill College increased in size and required access to extra land for buildings and playing fields. Moreover, the piggery's location at the college front gate became increasingly inappropriate. Oakhill College ultimately acquired the farm area in mid-1967 to have it converted into ovals.[71] Changes to the houses of formation reduced the need for temporal positions and new uses for the Training College building meant that there was no longer the need for the vegetable garden and the laundry services, and the older men moved out to new premises.



Brother Francis Josten in his shed at the vegetable garden.

Personal issues

Baptist had to contend with some monumental issues concerning the future of the District. At the same time he remained the confidante of each of the men within the District and was frequently required to deal with all manner of personal issues. Some of the matters were as trivial as Francis, of Oakhill's Holy Family

Community, complaining of noise from the scholasticate. The Visitor would have been happy if all issues were of this nature.

There was always a sense of disappointment in dealing with requests for dispensations from vows. Many men seeking dispensations were simply unsuited to the life and their departure was more or less expected though no less regretted for that. Thus, Baptist informed the Assistant of two men:

> Second Oakhill Retreat ended today. Br.Y... (an excellent Brother) wishes to leave us. He has never had that peace of soul he desires so much; on confessor's advice he will attend a ... psychiatrist (Catholic) to see if some light can be obtained. Br. Z... has again had many doubts: I am afraid he will find it difficult to persevere.[72]

In another instance he wrote:

> I am enclosing two requests for Dispensations, which will explain themselves.
>
> I must confess that I think the two Brothers are doing the right thing in withdrawing. The future for them, in the religious life, would become more and more unbearable I am convinced, and so I must favour their requests. They have taken the advice that I and their Directors have given as best they could; they have sought advice from recommended specialists, both religious and lay; in other words they have been honestly seeking their right path.[73]

There was a sense of loss when prominent Brothers decided to withdraw. Thus, the withdrawal of Ibar Burns, after more than 20 years in the Institute, stunned many contemporaries. Ibar had demonstrated that he was a man of energy and ability and had been earmarked for positions of responsibility within the District. He travelled overseas in mid-1959 to make his second novitiate and afterwards undertook a 12-month course in catechetics at the Lumen Vitae Centre in Brussels, after which he was invited to the United States to give a series of lectures at the Catholic University of Washington. However, he chose to leave the Institute on 1 June 1961, immediately after his catechetical studies.

The disappointment was the greater when men who had spent many years in the Institute decided to leave for apparently base motives. Thus, in early 1962 the Visitor had to deal with the request for dispensation from a Brother who had been one of the Irish Brothers who came to Australia in November 1934 and who had acted in the role of director for 20 years. It seems that he sought the dispensation in something of a fit of pique after being replaced as director of a school, following many complaints from others in the community.[74] The problems with this man did not cease even then. He left to take a teaching appointment in a Christian Brothers' school before receiving a dispensation or permission to be exclaustrated, but after purchasing £154 worth of clothes without permission and charging the cost to Oakhill. He had appropriated

community funds before leaving and approached people associated with his previous school for additional funds, then had the temerity to ask the Visitor for £10 for every year he had been in the Institute.[75] The Assistant was not at all sympathetic to the man's position. Indeed he requested the Visitor to write to him advising him that the position in which he had placed himself meant that he was 'an apostate from religion and so excommunicate and incapable of receiving any of the sacraments'.[76]

The withdrawal of Brothers of long standing was particularly disappointing because there were so few suitable men for senior positions within the District and there was a need to ensure the constant development of others by giving them the opportunity to travel overseas. Indeed, in late 1965 the Assistant was quite pessimistic about the District and its immediate prospects:

> ... numbers in Juniorate and Novitiate at their lowest in twenty years, four finally professed Brothers defecting, proposals to suppress the Juniorate (for all practical purposes) proposed closing of several schools and final extinction of the A.D.C.[77]

The loss of men by death was also disappointing, particularly that of younger men with great potential. So, the death of Denis Crowe of Malvern in a car crash on 29 September 1964 had a major impact on many, Brothers and others alike, as demonstrated by the overwhelming attendance at his funeral ceremonies. He was a dynamic man, had already completed an Arts degree and was in the process of undertaking a Science degree. Indeed, he was taking a short cut on his way to university when he crashed into a tram. He was a hard taskmaster, but a fair one. Those whom he taught evidently felt his loss greatly. One of the young boys, Terence Loft, ultimately joined the Institute and assumed the name 'Denis' because of the high regard in which he had held his teacher.[78]

Old Boys

The attendance at the funeral of one such as Denis Crowe demonstrated the high regard in which the Brothers were held. Many former students were keen to maintain their association with the Brothers and to foster their work. The Brothers rewarded special benefactors by admitting them as affiliated members of the Institute. So, the Council in December 1960 voted unanimously to petition the affiliation of Father Kevin Broderick, a former student of De La Salle Malvern, the brother of Kevin Anthony, and the parish priest of North Balwyn in suburban Melbourne at the time. Father Broderick's mother had been an affiliated member who had met the expenses of a trainee at the Training College. Father Broderick had maintained this commitment after her death and had become a great supporter of the Brothers on his own account. He had given generously to the Brothers' mission schools in Papua

since 1946, with donations of religious vessels and books, a record player and records and annual donations of money; in 1960 he donated a Land Rover valued at £1292.[79] The affiliation was ultimately bestowed upon Father Broderick in January 1965.

However, there were many more former students who were eager to maintain their association with the Brothers, the schools and their former classmates. Such wishes had invigorated the strong old scholars association at Malvern, which was underpinned by successful football and cricket teams that played in regular competitions.

The Institute sought to build upon this wish for continuing identification with the Brothers and encouraged initiatives to establish a National Federation of De La Salle Alumni.[80] The inaugural meeting was convened at Oakhill on the Queen's Birthday weekend in June 1960. Gus Staunton, formerly of Marrickville, was elected as president with Hilary Hayes, a Malvern old boy, as secretary.

Associations were established in several schools where they did not already exist. They numbered 17 in 1964 after the formation of associations to serve old boys of St Michael's, Beverley, and those of De La Salle College, Scarborough. This made the Federation truly national. However, the Federation nearly foundered at what was to be the annual general meeting at Malvern in April 1966. An unwillingness of delegates to nominate for positions on the executive led Hilary Hayes, recently elected President, to declare the proceedings of the meeting null and void and to convene a second meeting at Albury two months later. The executive was regularised at this second meeting and a new constitution adopted to provide for contributions from the Brothers. Even this had little effect and in mid-1967 Hayes instructed the forthcoming District Chapter to support the Federation, or permit its being wound up. The Chapter encouraged its continuation, but little changed.[81] The national body never became a vibrant organisation despite the efforts of Hilary Hayes. This was so largely because of the difficulties in overcoming Australia's 'tyranny of distance', the strong school and state loyalties and a failure to establish a real need for such a federal body.

* * *

Even had it been established, it is doubtful that the national federation of former students would have flourished for long. Changes in contemporary society in Australia—and New Zealand—along with changes within the Church and the Institute, would have quickly rendered such an organisation outmoded. Indeed, these changes threatened to revolutionise the traditional life and mission of the Brothers in Australia, Papua New Guinea and New Zealand, and created new and personal challenges for each Brother.

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Chapter Seven

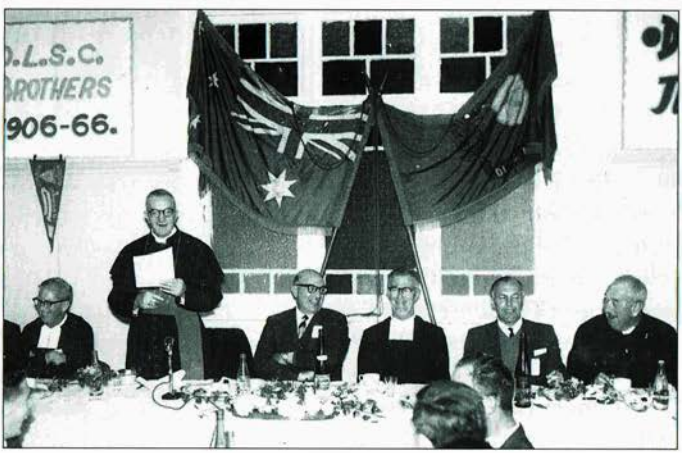
The End of Certainty 1966–1973

The mid-to-late 1960s were extraordinary years for the Institute in Australia and New Zealand as it struggled to meet challenges from within and without. This reflected developments in western society generally, as idealistic young adults emerged from schools and new universities committed to fashioning what they believed to be a perfect society. Those in western democratic countries shunned the cultural restraints and orthodoxies of their parents and fought to free themselves from them. Dissent became respectable and was encouraged by popular opinion leaders such as the Beatles, who were awarded MBEs in 1965. New attitudes were evident in musical productions such as *Hair* (1968) and *Jesus Christ Superstar*, and music festivals such as that at Woodstock that occurred in August 1969. Many old certainties were brushed aside or ridiculed. It became harder for Brothers to insist on many traditional conventions when their younger colleagues began to wear their hair long or grew beards, and showed scant regard for disciplines previously considered immutable.

Nevertheless, it was an optimistic period. Anything seemed possible if the Americans could have Neil Armstrong walk on the moon on 21 July 1969. The sense of change and optimism was evident too in Australia, with the election of the federal Whitlam Labor government in December 1972 on the slogan of 'It's Time'. The new Labor government took office amid an unprecedented wave of optimism and enthusiasm that impacted on the schools almost immediately. The new government established the Commonwealth Schools Commission in 1973 following the release of the Karmel report, and proposed new criteria for funding

private schools. Catholic schools were considered to be among the most disadvantaged and received a significant increase in funding. However, the commonwealth government declined to deal with individual schools, preferring instead to deal with diocesan authorities and later, state Catholic Education Commissions. This further increased the authority of Catholic Education Offices and eroded the independence of religious congregations and their principals.[1] By 1969 the De La Salle Brothers had signed an agreement to abide by conditions imposed on their schools in Sydney by the Catholic Building and Finance Commission (CBFC).[2] The Melbourne Catholic Education Board was established in 1969, followed by the Interdiocesan Committee on Catholic Education in 1972 and the Catholic Education Commission of Victoria the following year.[3]

A similar sense of optimism was evident within the Church. Vatican Council II had promised a new era, symbolised in part by the first meeting between the Pope and the Archbishop of Canterbury on 23 March 1966. In much the same manner the Institute's 39th General Chapter promised a correspondingly new era in the Institute.



Diamond Jubilee celebrations at De La Salle College, Armidale, 1966, left to right, Brother Colman Molloy, Bishop E.J. Doody, J. Hanna, Brother Oswald Murdoch, J. McCarthy, Brother Dominic Duffy.

All of these influences were reflected within the District. However, as in the Institute, the Church and western society generally, the reality was very complex and fell short of the optimistic, and often naïve, expectations of many.

Thirty-ninth General Chapter

International issues peculiar to the Institute impacted upon the District following the 39th General Chapter that began in 1966. This Chapter marked a watershed in the Institute's history. The Chapter's spirit was reflected in the election of the American, Charles Henry Buttimer, as Superior General, with a Spaniard, Pablo Basterrechea, as Vicar General. Charles Henry replaced Nicet Joseph, the last of an almost uninterrupted succession of 21 French Superiors General. Allied to this was the election of the new Superior General for a period of ten years rather than life, as had been the case with his predecessors: Brother Nicet Joseph resigned during the course of the Chapter in order to facilitate its work. The new order represented a climactic change with repercussions that would continue for several years.

The impact of the 39th General Chapter on the life of the Institute reflected that of the Vatican Council on the life of the

Church. Indeed, the two were intimately connected. The conciliar document, *Perfectae caritatis*, called upon religious institutes to renew themselves by returning to the spirit in which they had been founded, and adapting this to conditions of the day. The Institute had been due to hold its ordinary General Chapter in 1966 and received authority to have this recognised as the Chapter required by the Council in its document *Ecclesiae sanctae*. Fortunately, the work of Brother Maurice Hermanns and others through successive volumes of the *Cahiers lasalliens* had anticipated the injunction of the Council, and meant that the Institute already had an authoritative body of work devoted to the spirituality of the founder. This attention to the life, times and spirituality of De La Salle was to have a fundamental impact upon the Institute and ultimately to reinvigorate his modern disciples.

The first session of the 39th General Chapter was held in Rome from 20 April to 21 June 1966. Much work had already been undertaken in preparation for the Chapter, even before the exhortation and direction from the Vatican Council. A revision of the Rules had been under way since 1956 and had been given greater priority after a Visitors' meeting in Rome in 1961. Following this meeting, other projects had been prepared and questionnaires sent to districts for study and comment. Reports and papers on these were prepared and other issues raised. Active preparations had been in place since December 1963 when the Superior General released the first circular. Eight commissions had been appointed to consider particular issues and bring recommendations forward to the Chapter. For instance, the several commissions were concerned with Vows, the Brothers' Apostolate, Formation and Training, Religious Life and Community Life, Government, Finance, Rules and the Missions.

One hundred and twenty delegates attended the Chapter. Forty-eight capitulants attended by right of office, with the remaining 72 being elected by perpetually professed men of each district. Districts elected at least one candidate, with a second being elected from two districts which each had more than 500 perpetually professed religious.

Baptist was the Australasian District's delegate. This was the first time that an Australian-born Brother had attended a Chapter. Baptist later observed that it was the 'largest, longest, and perhaps the most important since the time of the Founder ... and the most democratic'.[4] Three 'official' languages—French, Spanish and English—were recognised for the first time, and there were simultaneous translations of all addresses, interventions and moderator's instructions. This meant that non-French speakers were no longer at a disadvantage. Moreover, those not fortunate enough to attend the Chapter were kept informed of proceedings by regular bulletins.

Baptist wrote of the experience:

> One cause for joy was the realisation that the Institute had now taken a truly international orientation at this point in history when it most needed to do just that. The growing solidarity of the group composing the Chapter, a truly international group, gives ample evidence of the way men can join together in a true union that overcomes national and cultural differences, when they are dedicated to a common ideal.[5]

During the course of one of his reports Baptist included the wry observations of Lawrence O'Toole Knox, a seasoned delegate:

> The Reflections of an Oldster: 'The large majority of the delegates came without even the vaguest notion of what they wanted ... but one man knew exactly what he wanted and that man was Jan Smuts.' Thus Smuts' biographer, explaining the success of his hero. The Jan Smuts among the delegates to this General Chapter was the U.S. group. They came with a clear-cut programme, armed with 'position papers' and backed by experts, and they were determined to push their ideas through. Their remedy for all the ills of the Institute is the inevitable U.S. one, democracy U.S. style, transposed this time to the religious plane and dubbed 'subsidiarity'. It is calculated to produce a race of super-Brothers, mature men with a sense of responsibility who have only to be placed squarely in front of their duty to do it without need of being in any way watched or compelled. This calls for a considerable de-structuring of the religious life as we have known it in the Institute and for the total decentralisation of government ...
>
> I suppose that after the [Vatican] Council the Chapter could hardly have been other than what it has been and couldn't just have been the peaceful and routine kind of Chapter we were accustomed to producing minor changes in an immemorial way of life. The Institute did have to be taken to pieces and remoulded nearer to the heart's desire. It did have to be streamlined and renovated to meet the requirements of the new world that is so swiftly coming into being. Tensions between the traditionalists and progressives were inevitable and even necessary if in the *aggiornamento* the baby is not to be thrown out with the bathwater. Despite a fair deal of politicking and horse-swapping there is among the capitulants a basic love of the Institute and the desire to see it move forward into the new world an even more effective instrument than in the past in the service of the Kingdom. Things cannot really go wrong, I think, though there is going to be a period of restlessness and readjustment which may be temporarily harmful, but ultimately I think the Institute is a sufficiently healthy organism to be able to absorb the new ideals and fuse them with the old to achieve that adaptation without which a living organism cannot survive in new situations.[6]

Baptist did the District proud. He served on the Commission on Community Life and his fluency in French enabled him to mix with a wide cross-section of delegates. He proposed Aloysius, Sub-director of the Second Novitiate, as an 'expert', the seventh of ten to be elected as such, in recognition of his expertise as an educationist.

The General Chapter was essentially one of reform, that sought to highlight the features that set the Institute apart from others. Like the Vatican Council it created divisions between those who wanted more and others who wanted less reform. However, the capitulants voted strongly for tradition on one essential issue when they voted almost unanimously to maintain the exclusively lay character of the Institute. The Vatican Council, rather than members of the Institute, had raised the issue. The Council had prepared a schema 'On Religious'. This reaffirmed the completeness of the vocation of lay religious but raised the idea that, with the permission of the General Chapter, some institutes of religious Brothers might permit some of their members to become priests for the purpose of ministering within their own houses. The Regime had appointed a commission to consider the issue in detail in the light of current developments within the Church and present recommendations to the Chapter. Debate ensued for several days with statements by more than 50 capitulants and represented the most thorough examination of the issue.

The Chapter embarked on such substantial issues that all could not be concluded during the allotted time and the delegates voted overwhelmingly to continue deliberations during a second session the following year. The work undertaken in association with formulating a new Rule at the behest of the previous General Chapter had been very extensive. However, the 1966 delegates found the draft to be inadequate and not in accordance with current thinking. Ultimately the work continued for another 20 years, yet produced immense benefits even during the succeeding years of drafting and experimentation. The work involved a great deal of critical scholarship into the life, times and writing of De La Salle in order to determine precisely the intentions of the founder and to make these relevant to the late 20th century. The benefits of the scholarship and the deeper understanding of the founder flowed into many aspects of the Brothers' life.

The majority of Brothers endorsed the move for reform, but there remained a small group of them in France and Belgium which staunchly opposed changes to the Rule, in particular. For a time they sought to form a separatist group and called themselves, 'Brothers of the Exact Observance'.[7] The threatened schism continued to occupy the attention of the Superior General until the succeeding General Chapter in 1976 when capitulants overwhelmingly voted against initiatives proposed by the splinter group: the chief proponent of opposition was ultimately expelled from the

Institute in 1981 and the issue was concluded when the expulsion was upheld by an ecclesiastical court in Rome two years later.[8] While having to deal with the threat from conservative elements in France and Belgium, Charles Henry also had to contend with those who wanted more change than the Institute was prepared to allow.[9] The canonisation of Brother Benildus was celebrated at St Peter's in Rome, on 29 October 1967 immediately prior to the Second Session of the General Chapter and served to highlight the continuing worth and value of the Institute and offered spiritual support to those fearful of future directions of the Institute.

Brothers in the Australasian District experienced the same exhilaration and doubts as their colleagues elsewhere about changes proposed, though the extremes were far less marked. For the most part, they accepted the need for change in the pragmatic manner that had always characterised the Institute in Australia and New Zealand.

Authority and control continued to be centralised and hierarchical, but their exercise became less rigid and more transparent, with greater numbers of Brothers becoming involved in decision-making, in accordance with the policy of 'subsidiarity'. One of the major issues involved the role of the Assistants. Many within the Institute had become concerned at the growth of the Brother Assistants' power over policy, appointments and permissions within their territories.[10] There was discussion of a radical proposal to abolish the territorial nature of the Assistants and have them simply as councillors to assist the Superior. In the end, the Chapter opted to retain the Assistants with their regional responsibilities and to give Assistant-status to the major office holders at what was now termed the *Casa Generalizia*, or Generalate.

Brother Aloysius Carmody, Secretary General (1966–1976) (Photograph by The Gallery, Melbourne).



Australians felt a measure of pride when Aloysius Carmody was elected a major office-holder as Secretary General on 8 June 1966, after being proposed for the position by Baptist. He was elected to what had been traditionally one of the most significant posts within the Regime, thereby becoming the first Australia-born Assistant. However, under the new policy of subsidiarity the power of the position was reduced considerably, and Aloysius' official tasks were simply those of minuting and preparing agendas for the Council meetings. However, Aloysius carved out a new role for himself. He had been critical that an international organisation committed to education like the Brothers had no secretariat for this important matter. He created such a secretariat to take responsibility for educational issues, and developed and maintained links with international educational organisations, including UNESCO.

Despite moves to the contrary, the traditional role of the Brother Assistant with territorial responsibility remained. Richard Allen McNamee, formerly the Visitor of the London District, succeeded Lawrence and assumed responsibility for the Australa-

sian District, but only after Baptist had declined the position. Representatives from Lawrence's assistancy had been asked to nominate a candidate. Baptist was the overwhelming choice, reflecting his and the District's high standing. However, he declined, citing his lack of tertiary qualifications, a lack of international experience, and more particularly, his susceptibility to migraine. Richard was a very different man from his predecessor, as befitted the times. He was less the superior and more of an adviser, who developed a very close friendship with his Australian Visitor. Richard made his first visit to his antipodean District at the end of the year, commencing in Perth on 10 December 1966.



Brother Aloysius Carmody presiding at a robetaking ceremony at Burradoo. John Slyney is receiving the robe with Brother Bill Firman as his sponsor.

It is difficult to define Lawrence's legacy. The appearance of the District differed markedly from the time when he had assumed responsibility for it. It had taken on a local culture, with an overwhelming preponderance of local men and an Australian Visitor. It had undergone immense expansion during his term as Assistant, largely with his encouragement. Yet his role was that of an inspector and facilitator rather than an active proponent of development. He proved an effective facilitator. He always enjoyed his time in the District and appreciated its peculiarities. This meant that he was well-placed to represent it before the Regime and to explain seemingly precipitate and independent actions and to deflect criticism. The expansion that Lawrence encouraged could not be sustained and became the reason for ongoing concern. Few, if any, could have foreseen the immense social changes that would warrant a total reassessment of initiatives to that time.



Brothers assembled at St Michael's College, Henley Beach on the occasion of a visit by the Assistant Brother Richard Allen McNamee, 1967. Back row: left to right, Brothers Gregory Kennedy, Barry Drew, Paul Hammerton, Adrian Mullaly, Damien Harvey, Dominic Duffy, Matthew Kennedy, Martin Jolley, Michael McFarlane, Gerard Elliott, David Lovell. Front row: Brothers Ronald Fogarty, Stephen O'Donnell, Brian Hanlon, Victor Eviston, Leo Kane, Colman Molloy (Visitor), Richard Allen McNamee (Assistant), Stanislaus Carmody, Peter Wallace.

District Chapter

On his return to Australia, Baptist convened a meeting of directors to brief them on the General Chapter and its anticipated consequences. The meeting at Oakhill extended over a week. It primarily concerned issues such as Brothers' daily prayer, and experiments that could be introduced immediately, such as the Office. Baptist also elaborated on the work of the commissions and reported on likely changes to the Rule and Constitutions.

The first—experimental—District Chapter was held at De La Salle College, Cronulla, on 19 and 20 May 1967 at the direction of the General Chapter. Baptist welcomed 20 of the District's senior Brothers who had been elected by their peers.

The first substantial item of business concerned District administration. There was still talk of the division of the District in 1967, primarily because of its breadth and the difficulty the Visitor encountered in providing proper attention to all of the far-flung communities. The New Zealanders, who had provided a steady stream of recruits to the Institute, longed for greater independence with the creation of a sub-district, if not a separate district. The communities and Brothers had been polled on the question and responses were received from 22 communities and six individuals. The majority—17 communities and five personal returns—indicated their preference for the retention of one district. The main argument against division was the insufficiency of the numbers of Brothers to run two administrations and the costs involved in establishing and administering separate districts. The idea of a division of the District was rejected unanimously when put before the District Chapter.

Nevertheless, there was a strong endorsement of the need for changes to the administration and delegates endorsed the idea of the Visitor being assisted by two auxiliaries.[11] The special needs of New Zealand and Papua New Guinea were recognised in 1967 by the creation of an area council in each, with members being elected by the men in each region. The New Zealand area council comprised seven members, the directors of the three schools, and four elected members, at least one of whom had to be a New Zealander by birth: Steven Leatherland fulfilled this requirement initially. This arrangement worked well, with all men in the smaller groupings being involved in the decisions of their area councils, with these generally being endorsed by the District Council.

National aspirations were recognised with separate juniorates, or Houses of Study, being established in both Papua New Guinea and New Zealand to enable boys intending to join the Institute to attend nearby Brothers' schools while living in an embryonic community and learning something of the religious life. The New Zealand House of Studies was established at Mangere in 1967 in a large farmhouse on five acres of land about eight kilometres from

De La Salle College. It was officially opened on 23 June 1968 on the occasion of the visit of Assistant Richard. Students attended the college each day and were in residence during normal school terms. Conrad Callinan was appointed director of juniors and was assisted by Patrick Lynch. Additionally, the Brothers organised 'live-in weekends' to give boys the opportunity to learn about their life.



Opening of the New Zealand House of Studies, 1967 (Photograph by Murray C. Freer, Auckland).

New directions

The new order in the Institute was reflected in the District when Colman Molloy—appointed Auxiliary Visitor in March 1966—was nominated and later confirmed as Visitor in June 1967. He was the first to have his appointment recommended by colleagues at a District Chapter and endorsed by superiors in Rome. His was not a direct election to the position, but very similar to it.

The new Visitor was of the same generation as his predecessor. He had attended St Ignatius' School, Richmond, then De La Salle College, Malvern, in suburban Melbourne, and entered the novitiate at Cootamundra in 1932, taking the robe on 23 May 1932. He spent his first years teaching in New South Wales, but began a long association with St Bede's, Mentone, in 1938. He took the opportunity to study for a BA at Melbourne University, with majors in French and Latin. It took a great deal of commitment while carrying a full teaching load and having to use public transport to attend the university, with a lengthy walk from the college to Mentone railway station and a longer walk from Flinders Street station to the University at Carlton. Colman's first stint at St Bede's continued until 1952, the last five years as director and principal. He became sub-director at Malvern in 1953, but returned to St Bede's again as director and principal from 1959 till the beginning of 1965, when he was transferred to Kensington as director of the university community and the Brothers' Inspector of Schools in the Sydney area. He later transferred the provincialate from Oakhill to Kensington.

Brother Colman Molloy, Visitor (1967–1974) (Photograph by The Gallery, Melbourne).



Colman attended the second session of the 39th General Chapter in his capacity as Visitor, with Baptist, and formed part of the Commission for Vows and the Rule. On his return to Australia he became responsible for overseeing many of the Chapter's decisions and recommendations embodied in its key documents. These emanated from the second session and included the revised Rule and Constitutions, and the Book of Government, which were essentially administrative documents, and *A Declaration: The Brother*

of the Christian Schools in the World Today. This latter represented the 'Mission Statement' of the Brothers of the Christian Schools and was endorsed by the General Chapter on 6 December 1967.

The *Declaration* was a seminal document representing a synthesis of the philosophy of the Chapter and the principles that were to infuse the future of the Institute. The document was aimed at invigorating the future, by seeking guidance from the spirit and philosophy of De La Salle, rather than the literal interpretation of his writings. The *Declaration* was both the result of recent research into the life and times of the Founder and a challenge to pursue this even more rigorously. The *Declaration* reaffirmed the essential apostolic—rather than monastic—religious life of the Brothers and called for them to integrate their religious consecration, with their community life and apostolic mission. It confirmed the educational mission of the Institute, primarily through the conduct of schools, and with particular concern for the poor. It was a challenging document aimed at encouraging each Brother to take personal responsibility for the future of the Institute. It concluded:

> Societies, like individuals, grow old and die once the habits inherited from the past outweigh the will to renewal in the light of a twofold fidelity both to the intuitions that sparked our origins and the demands of life today. In the long run the future of the Institute is in the hands of the Brothers. They must not wait for ready-made solutions from those in authority for the new problems that come from a world in evolution. It is up to each Brother in the presence of God to start out along the path of spiritual conversion and determine to have a personal share in the communal work of adapted renewal. This is the price to be paid if the Institute is to ward off the threat of stagnation and live again in youth and vigour.



Brothers gathered at Sydney International airport, October 1967, to farewell Brothers Christian Moe—to studies in France—and Colman Molloy and Baptist Will to the second session of the General Chapter in Rome.

Younger Brothers welcomed the challenges that the *Declaration* represented and considered that it reflected their ideas for the future. Their new Visitor provided them with the ample opportunities to put into practice the recommendations of the *Declaration*.

A new broom

The years immediately following the 39th General Chapter represented a virtual revolution in the history of the District. Close observers have suggested that 'Colman was the key' to this later history of the manner in which the District developed.[12] He assumed responsibility for the District at a difficult time. The forces

unleashed within the Church were still causing concern and confusion and, in the Institute, were compounded by challenges to return to the spirit of the Founder propounded by the General Chapter. Colman took to heart the notion that individual Brothers were to take personal responsibility for the future of the Institute, and, to this end, endeavoured to allow Brothers to reach their true potential and to take greater responsibility for their actions.

Others have spoken of the 'genius of Colman', emphasising his ability to anticipate and accept change when some of his contemporaries resiled from it. He was a perceptive and thoughtful man. He had not undertaken the traditional Second Novitiate in Rome that had had the effect of reinforcing the conservatism and French spirituality of the Institute. Instead he had undertaken the spiritual renewal course at Sangre De Cristo in 1963—being the second Australian to do so—and afterwards travelled in the United States observing the work of the Institute there. The Sangre experience changed Colman profoundly. A contemporary's description of him as 'the little man with the steely grey eyes', reflected the pre-Sangre Colman who was reserved, very demanding, even short-tempered, was one who commanded respect, and who 'united the community against him'. He returned to Australia as a relaxed man who was flexible and open to the opinions of others and to new ideas.

Colman took on his new responsibility with a determination to have Australians and New Zealanders address some of the issues that he had observed while overseas. He did not believe that those in the District should mimic their colleagues in the United States, but was convinced that many of the issues then apparent in America would be reflected in Australasia and that the Brothers should be suitably prepared.

Colman's policy of providing individual men with opportunities for personal development contrasted with his predecessor's concern to ensure the proper staffing of schools and the Training College. This foreshadowed the changing attitude towards the Institute's involvement in the schools, and the need to find the most effective means of maintaining the Brothers' influence, while remaining true to De La Salle's mission.

Colman did not do everything himself. He had the assistance of two dynamic auxiliaries, Stanislaus Carmody and Patrick Howard, both of whom had undertaken second novitiates at Sangre De Cristo in New Mexico. Together they formed 'the triumvirate', with each having particular geographical areas of responsibility. Stanislaus had responsibility for New Zealand, Victoria, South Australia, Western Australia and some of country New South Wales: Patrick took responsibility for metropolitan Sydney, northern New South Wales and Queensland; Colman maintained a close oversight of Papua New Guinea and the houses of formation. However,



The Kensington community with Assistant Richard Allen McNamee. Standing: left to right, Brothers Finbar Kelly (recruiter), Stanislaus Carmody (auxiliary), Fintan Dwyer (recruiter), Colman Molloy (Visitor). Sitting: left to right, Brothers Richard Allen (Assistant), Patrick Howard (auxiliary) (Photograph by Monsour Studio, Marrickville).

Colman set the agenda and the culture. The new culture was characterised by greater informality. Visits were less formal than previously, and were eagerly anticipated by many, rather than endured. Brothers were asked for their opinions about initiatives, rather than simply asked to implement them.

The changes implicit in the General Chapter documents and deliberations were substantial and were aimed at removing many of the institutional structures that had so long characterised the congregation and traditional religious life. There was increased emphasis on the personal needs of individual men. In many instances the changes were reflected in apparently trivial manifestations, but were no less important for that. Few debates caused more concern than the General Chapter's recommendation to make the wearing of the traditional habit optional, leaving regions and districts to determine appropriate modes of dress.

Similarly, the question of whether or not the Brothers should wear the clerical suit when in public caused debate.[13] Many men, long used to the institutional structures, found such debates threatening, but others welcomed them and the consequent examination of fundamental issues about the Brothers' vocation that had been taken for granted for so long.

The appointment of the new Visitor with his auxiliaries permitted preparations to be made for the second session of the District Chapter held on 24 and 25 June 1967. A major determination of this Chapter was the establishment of a new District Council. The Visitor appointed one third of the members: Baptist Will, Cassian Corbett and Oswald Murdoch; the Chapter elected the remaining two-thirds: Edward Gehrig, Damien Harvey, Finbar Kelly, Raphael Bassett, George Kane and Gerard Rummery. The new arrangement enabled far greater representation in the management of the District. The new Council met for the first time on 26 June 1967.

The names by which men would be known was another trivial issue, on the surface, but struck at the traditional notion that in receiving a new name the Brother had severed all contact with the past. The 1966 General Chapter had decided that Brothers would subsequently be officially known by their baptismal and family names, though they were to be permitted to retain their religious names for personal reasons.[14] The second meeting of the new District Council endorsed the Chapter decision, agreeing unanimously that Brothers should choose whether to be known by their Christian

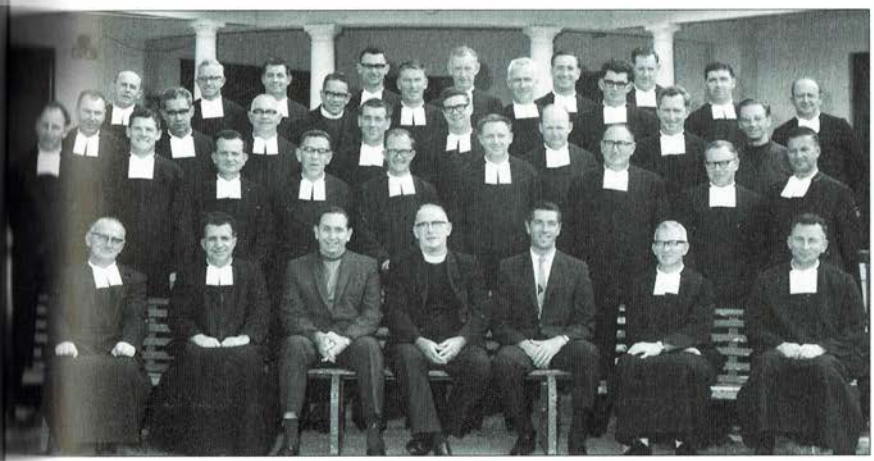
names or those received at robe-taking, and that their second name should be their family name. On 23 April 1968 Colman sought to put aside any lingering confusion about names by having Brothers submit their preferences about how they wished to be known in community.

Trying to reassess the question of the Brothers' religious commitment and the nature of their vows and their apostolate in contemporary society became fundamental to the Australasian Brothers. It became difficult and depressing for many of the older men long used to the comfort of the earlier certainty, though it proved very liberating for many of the younger men. Meeting the changes was a fundamental challenge for all if they were to continue to be relevant in the modern world.

Colman encouraged this reassessment when he invited two American Brothers to speak to their Australian colleagues. Brothers Paul Wilson and Kevin Hargaden were both clinical psychologists who conducted a workshop at Mount Eymard at Bowral for invited Brothers in September 1968.[15] The workshop presenters sought 'to present ideas about authority, about development, about inter-personal relationships, with the hope that the presentation of these ideas might, in some way, make the thought of new forms of religious life, new ways in which we live together, make that thought possible at least'.[16]

Participants were divided on the worth of the workshop, but all found it stimulating. As was the nature of such initiatives, it highlighted issues rather than provided answers or direction.[17] Stanislaus reported to Assistant Richard:

> The yanks have come and gone. They were a couple of nice 'guys'. They propounded a few weird and wonderful ideas among a lot of good material. I think their visit will prove the essential stability of the Australian monk. All enjoyed the experience—and at the same time kept their feet on the ground. At least, that is how it seems to me at the moment.[18]



Brothers attending the Bowral workshop, September 1968. Fourth row: left to right, Brothers Urban Murray, Matthew Bell, Maurice Salmon, Declan Thompson, Philip Canty, Thomas Normoyle, Leo Day. Third row: left to right, Brothers Gregory Kennedy, Paul Kennedy, Gregory Bruchhausser, Vincent O'Neill, Luke Coyle, Theodore O'Shannessy, Celsus Clark, Anselm McCaffrey, Stanislaus Fagan, Arthur Flynn, Michael Cash, Father Hinton, Brother Daniel Spillane. Second row: left to right, Brothers Dominic Dellabosca, Raymond Concannon, Justinian Thompson, Raymond Scott, Peter Wallace, John Walch, James Mahon, Frederick Sheridan, Richard Hanlon, Andrew Birse. Front row: left to right, Brothers Mark Murphy, Eric Pigott, Paul Wilson, Patrick Howard, Kevin Hargadon, Philip O'Brien, Hilary Walsh.

Some of the older men, such as Xavier John, relying on reports of the workshop rather than their own participation were opposed to many of the ideas propounded, and resentful of impending change:

> I'm more dejected now than ever over the future of the District. We had two b—— Yanks in May, alleged Psychiatrists to explain Renewal. But it was renewal à la Yank that they envisaged and they've left a trail of division behind them. In Orange at our farewell dinner you warned me the Yanks were the people we had to watch. They wanted to get the Australian District. Well, in my opinion they have. The 35 year old Group — the future Directors — to whom they lectured for a fortnight are now for the most part all pro-Yank & all for secularisation — and how! So I'm not in the mood for all this ballyhoo they're preparing. I'd just like to get together with a few of the survivors of those hard early years — the years between 1916–37 before the new breed were let loose on us, and talk over those days. But that's not to be. For the Golden Jubilarian obedience has its own special trials ...[19]

Colman was surprised at the criticism:

> Strangely enough, and especially from the Brothers of the 35–45 group who followed the 10 day workshop with them [Paul and Kevin], I have heard nothing but praise for the good that is said to have come out of the workshops. Certainly, some of the things that they said shocked the Brothers. But then, they revealed what was going on in the Catholic world and in our own Institute in the U.S. ... Perhaps the Directors were the ones most upset, but then, their course was too short. Another week, and they would have begun to absorb the shocks and stand by their own thinking ...
>
> All the comments that I have heard, and this from men in whom I have great confidence, have been quite laudatory.[20]

The two returned the following year to conduct a second workshop at Bowral from 8 to 18 August 1969. William Mullins, who had returned from America in February, acted as the local facilitator.

Other overseas visitors exposed Brothers in Australia and New Zealand to trends within their Institute. Aloysius, now Secretary General of the Institute, visited Australia during March 1969. He was followed later in the year by Superior General, Charles Henry, who arrived in Sydney on 29 December. One of the latter's duties was to preside at the annual retreat and receive the vows of those making their profession. He visited New Zealand and Papua New Guinea, leaving Port Moresby on 31 January 1970. Assistant Richard, who accompanied Charles Henry, returned in mid-1971 and again in late 1972.

Charles Reutemann, the Director of the Sangre de Cristo Centre for Christian Studies, visited Australia in 1970, meeting

Brothers in Melbourne and Sydney and conducting a workshop at the Cronulla House of Studies. The workshop focused on 'Religious Dedication' and was held from 21 to 29 August 1970.

Colman and the District drew on other Institute resources, including the Centro Internazionale Lasalliano (CIL) program that had replaced the traditional second novitiate. The CIL program was developed by Brother Michel Sauvage, a Doctor in Theology and Professor of Theology of Religious Life at the Lateran University and at Lumen Vitae in Brussels. He, with Luke Salm, was one of the intellectual leaders in the spiritual renewal of the Institute. The program drew upon recent scholarly research into the life and work of De La Salle. It provided a broadening and stimulating experience for influential Brothers within the District and brought them into contact with like-minded colleagues from around the world.[21] Individual programs varied from one to another and were tailored to the needs of particular groups.

Four Australian Brothers attended the first CIL program that began in October 1968: Baptist Will, Quentin O'Halloran, Celestine Gavin and Ambrose Payne; Gerard Rummery attended the second session in 1969. The first two CIL sessions were designed principally for Brothers involved in formation, to enable them to respond to the demands made by the Second Vatican Council. Colman was convinced of its value, even after the first sessions:

> It has helped them [the Brothers attending] to clarify their ideas, separate the essential from the accidental. I have no doubt that any of them will be carried away by change for the sake of change or go off emotionally half-cocked. Certainly Brother Ambrose has developed considerably from the experience that he has had.[22]

This CIL experience was a singular one for additional reasons. The new Superior General, Charles Henry Buttimer, addressed those attending the program on two occasions to give his views on 'The Institute in Today's Church and World'. The talks proved sensational when they were publicised. Conservative elements within the Institute took great exception to the ideas expressed, condemned them as heretical and appealed to the Vatican to have Charles disciplined.[23] Charles was besieged on two fronts. He stood condemned by the conservatives, and his supporters were dismayed that the substance of his talks, 'most of the major ideas, most of the organisational scheme, nearly all of the terminology, and whole paragraphs, sentences, and phrases' were borrowed without acknowledgement from an article by Father Richard Reichert CSC, published in *Review for Religious*.[24] Charles Henry weathered the twin controversies. He stood up to his French critics while proclaiming his allegiance to the teaching of the Church; and his supporters published an annotated version of the CIL talks which fended off further criticism of plagiarism. Nevertheless, the issues

blighted the early period of Charles Henry's time as Superior General and demonstrated the diversity of views within the Institute concerning the changes being promoted. For all that, though, there was little immediate impact locally from the controversies.

The CIL program became very successful, despite the controversy associated with its origin. Other Brothers from Australia and New Zealand followed in later years, including Julian Watson in 1972 and Osmund Uniacke in 1973. After attending the CIL program in 1969, Gerard Rummery went on to study at the London Institute of Education, where he was awarded an MA before proceeding to a doctorate from the University of Lancaster: this was later published as *Catechesis and Religious Education in a Pluralist Society*.[25] Gerard later joined the staff of the CIL program in Rome in early 1973 after having completed his studies and returned again for three years from 1977.

The District's leaders encouraged the spirit of renewal, with Colman sending Quentin O'Halloran to Sangre De Cristo in 1971 to prepare him to return to Australia and conduct renewal sessions. There were early plans to use Burradoo for this purpose. However, the District Council opposed this idea and successive programs were conducted at Canisius College at Pymble. The programs were aimed at men from 30 to 50 years of age who were the current and prospective leaders of the District.

Colman encouraged others to take advanced studies in theology. The General Chapter had abolished the Institute's own theology course, primarily because there were now numerous alternatives for Brothers to follow. The 17-year course had not been a great success. Most of the Brothers did the Cours Moyen—the initial course—after having completed several years during their training. Many took some subjects from the Cours Superieur, but only two Australians ever completed the whole course—Christian Moe and John Corkeron. Still, an increasing number of men took post-graduate courses in theology. Peter Gilfedder had travelled to Rome in September 1965 to undertake theological studies at Jesus Magister Pontifical Institute in Rome and later completed a Licentiate at Lyons in southern France in 1970. Christian returned overseas in September 1967, but on this occasion headed for Lyons. By this time Jesus Magister in Rome attracted ever-fewer students because of its reputed failure to reflect modern theological teaching and because of the many alternatives available. Brothers preferred to attend theological programs in their own countries or those in French, German or Swiss institutions. Jesus Magister ceased operating in 1971.[26]

Extraordinary District Chapter: 1969–1970

Contemporary issues highlighted by the American visitors persisted long after they left Australia and exercised the minds of Brothers



Brothers attending the Extraordinary District Chapter, Cronulla, 1967. Third row: left to right, Brothers Pius Bardon, Celestine Gavin, Raymond Ryan, John Corkeron, Leo Kane, John Hanson, Michael Lynch, Edward Gehrig, Julian Bell, John Harney, Finbar Kelly, Claude Davis, Peter McIntosh, James Thomas, James Beasley. Second row: left to right, Brothers Paul Rigney, John Cleary, Leo Caldwell, Ignatius Kennedy, Fidelis Byrden, Owen Mason, Quentin O'Halloran, Felix Conroy, Matthew Kennedy, Victor Eviston, Raphael Bassett, Gerard Rummery, Patrick Howard, Gonzaga Brown, Oswald Murdoch. Front row: left to right, Brothers Alban Dwyer, Stanislaus Carmody, Desmond Bourke, Julian Watson, Colman Molloy, Baptist Will, Finian Allman, Christian Moe, Amedy Molloy, Damien Harvey (Photograph by Monsour Studio, Marrickville).

before and during the Extraordinary District Chapter held over three sessions, 25 August – 2 September 1969, 15–23 December 1969 and 9–16 May 1970. The Chapter proved a landmark assembly. Its deliberations followed the broadest and most in-depth analysis of the current role of the Brothers in Australia and New Zealand and established directions for the immediate future, many of which marked a decisive break with the past. The Chapter reflected the current trends within the Church and the decisions of the Institute's General Chapter and sought to apply them to contemporary Australia and New Zealand.

Assistant Richard had convened the Extraordinary District Chapter on 1 October 1968 and preparations were immediately made in Australia with the Visitor requesting comment on any issue from communities and individuals. Care was taken with the election of delegates to ensure an appropriate geographical representation, with one delegate for every ten Brothers. The coordinating committee included the chairmen of the several sessions: Raphael Bassett, William Firman, Damien Harvey, Patrick Howard, Oswald Murdoch and Baptist Will, with the General Secretary, Ambrose Payne. The essential work of the Chapter was delegated to four commissions: Recruitment and Training; Religious Life and Community Living; Apostolate; and Administration. Delegates were distributed among the commissions and were charged with examining the many submissions from communities, deliberating

on these, and bringing forward a series of propositions upon which the capitulants were to vote in general assembly. Thus, the essential recommendations of the Chapter were represented in the many propositions passed by the capitulants.[27]

There were ultimately 49 propositions submitted to the capitulants. There was remarkable harmony with 36 of the propositions being carried without any adverse votes at all. Only one proposition was defeated, namely Proposition 27, '(a) That in the inter-chapter period, as the current obediences of Directors expire, communities may apply to the Visitor for permission to elect their Director. (b) That the following be the basis on which the election take place ...'

Thus, the nine propositions concerning administrative matters were all passed without any adverse votes or abstentions. Those concerned with formation occasioned little debate, with only one proposition being opposed, and that by only four votes. Most contention concerned religious dress, particularly the going-out dress. All 29 delegates agreed that the clerical suit and collar were acceptable, but only 18 voted to ensure that a dark business suit was also acceptable; only 16 agreed that 'any further specifications in matters of dress be by norms established through community dialogue'.

The Chapter was even more radical in agreeing to experimentation in community living. Thus, Proposition 25, carried unanimously, stated, 'That this Chapter accept in principle the desirability of further carefully planned experimentation in community living in our District'. This was complemented by Proposition 28, also carried unanimously: 'That this Chapter invite brothers who are convinced of the necessity of making adaptations in our pattern of community living to submit to the Visitor and his Council a plan for the establishment of an experimental community'.

The Chapter overwhelmingly endorsed the idea of the desirability of separating the roles of director and principal where this was practicable. The majority of delegates were concerned that the pressures of administering a large school made it difficult for a director who was also the principal to remain abreast of trends in religious living to 'be an effective animator of his community'. The delegates recognised the potential for clashes of authority, but considered that this was outweighed by the benefits to be gained.

The District Council polled communities and individuals during early 1972, but gained no broad consensus, largely because of the differences between large and small schools and communities.[28]

Searching for a new identity

The effects of the Vatican Council compounded by the spirit of the General Chapter raised considerable confusion among

Brothers. Many traditional exercises and obligations were abandoned or became the responsibility of individuals. Few men were concerned about the abandonment of exercises such as the Accusation, or Advertisement of Defects, but many were aggrieved that no formal provision was made for spiritual reading or recitation of the rosary. An American of another congregation comprising both priests and Brothers explained the cause of confusion:

> Brothers have traditionally been a pragmatic lot, with a clear sense of purpose and a rigorously devised timetable to guide them. This served them well when in pre Vatican II days. It provided a sense of certainty ... The value of this pragmatic approach collapsed somewhere in the late 1960s ... because the basics of religious life were no longer given: they became ... open to question and discussion.[29]

He continued:

> Brothers have faced a greater loss of identity than priests. The latter have been able to hold on to their sacramental ministry. But the perception of the brother has changed ...
>
> Brothers have lost the attention of theologians and the popular press. Current theology talks about mission, need is often identified with parish and community work: brothers often work independently of parishes ...
>
> There has also been some confusion over the concept of lay religious. Early there was a clear distinction amid the hierarchy of clergy, religious and laity. This has been lost, and the general distinction only between clerical and lay. Religious life is described as neither clerical nor lay. Brothers identify with lay people. But this causes difficulties.[30]

Any confusion concerning their religious commitment was compounded because of concurrent changes to the school system and challenges from lay teachers to the primacy of the Brothers in their schools. Indeed, the questioning after Vatican II even had many call into question the nature of Catholic education in Australia. In 1965, Father Brian Crittenden, formerly an inspector of the Sydney Catholic Education Office (1956–59), challenged the wisdom of maintaining an expensive educational system that isolated Catholic children from the world. Brother Brian Stanfield weighed into the argument, urging the abandonment of the Catholic system. This sentiment was far too radical. In 1970, Archbishop James Knox of Melbourne removed Father Patrick Crudden, the Director of the Melbourne CEO, for publicly avowing similar views.[31]

There was a widespread reassessment of the life and role of the Brothers in Australia and New Zealand following the Vatican Council and General Chapter. This was guided by the results of ongoing scholarly research into the life and times of De La Salle. Some older men may have been bemused, even cynical, at this; others felt a measure of frustration and perhaps envy. Francis

Josten wrote to Charles Henry in April 1972 in response to a message from the Superior General that appeared in the Institute Bulletin:

> Three cheers for the young brothers as now they are able to develop and fulfill their talents, their charisms, their personality. It is a pity that only now we should have arrived at realizing these important obligations that 'a Religious is a unique personality' as you say. For us old brothers, though very pleased with the change, it comes as a shock and a bitter pill to have to grow up in religious life with the motto: 'Do as you are told', to 'be used as an instrument, as a cog in a machine.' I am sure that quite a number of brothers had a legitimate ambition to develop some talent for the good of their apostolate, but have been frustrated all their life to fulfill it for the sake of the rigidity of obedience. Yes, it was regrettable as you said that personalism was ignored in the past. Thanks once more for your kind message.[32]

Younger men embraced the challenge whole-heartedly. Some older and perhaps more cynical men dismissed the questioning and activities of their younger colleagues as adolescents in search of their lost youth, or were somewhat jealous of the opportunities given to them. Still, the issue was a major one for those who believed that they were responding to contemporary challenges of the Church and the Institute and were helping to define the future of both.

The new District publication, *Light & Life: A Journal of Aggiornamento for FSCs in ANZNG*, exemplified the new spirit. It was begun in January 1966 by several of the Kingsgrove community immediately after the Vatican Council II with the aim of 're-evaluation, appraisal, self-criticism, mutual encouragement, inspiration and renewal in the linked fields of theology, religious life, apostolate, and educational philosophy and administration'. Brian Stanfield became the inaugural editor, with Max Sculley as the sub-editor. The new publication tended to be the voice of those most eager to challenge the established order and, in the opinion of older men, it sometimes appeared to go too far: it certainly caused some strong reactions from some senior men. Assistant Richard wrote to the Superior General in November 1966, after presiding over the Australian retreat, commenting on early ferment in the District. He praised the Australian Brothers as 'v. fine dedicated types, doing v. good work. Their reputation is high'. However, he then added:

> One or two (quite unqualified) have embroiled themselves in advanced views on the Church in this Sydney diocese, which one would say at first sight is seething with discontent and this has brought complaints from pretty high quarters. Especially one Brother (whom no-one can identify) who reported to 'Bulletin" (the Aust TIME) that 'no progress would be made in religion in the Sydney Diocese until all the Catholic schools were closed …' This caused a stir,

> coming from a De La Salle Brother. But I do not think we need worry. Brother Baptist has the situation well in hand & is acting v. wisely.

The editors of *Light & Life* were also causing concern. Richard added:

> Their magazine 'Light & Life' is worrying quite a lot of the young men. One must acknowledge that it has been v. vindictive and searingly destructive in its criticism. Many wanted it abolished. But I have got the editors together and tried to get them to see that they should *educate* & *inspire* the District. We'll see what they do.[33]

Subsequently the editorial panel was expanded to include Max Sculley (Chairman), Ambrose Payne, Oswin Ebbs, Quentin O'Halloran, and Thomas Mahon, and only two issues appeared during 1967.

Brothers sought to explore the issues such as that of community in many ways. A major feature of the Extraordinary District Chapter was the endorsement of continuing experimentation in community living. In quoting the submission from one Brother, the Chapter affirmed that:

> experimentation is further desired in order to supply the District with experiential information, to avoid the sudden development of a situation demanding radical change, and to allow for the fulfillment of the legitimate aspirations of some brothers.[34]

Some were content with theoretical models and discussions through media such as *Light & Life*. Others sought a more experiential involvement. This prompted three Brothers, Colin Griffin, Pat McCarthy and Max Sculley, along with Father Michael O'Halloran, gaining permission to live in an experimental community in Melbourne in the summer holiday period of 1969–70. Their idea was to live in a different type of community dependent upon their own efforts through factory work which was also designed to provide them with insights into issues faced by—largely migrant—factory workers. The four rented a house in Carlton and obtained jobs in factories: Colin Griffin and Pat McCarthy at the Phoenix factory at Abbotsford and Max Scully at Coca-Cola at Brunswick. All concerned believed the five-week period to be an enriching experience that met most of the aims upon which the District Council had granted its approval, but the limited nature of the experiment meant that few major lessons could be drawn. Perhaps the most significant feature was that the experiment took place in the first instance.[35] When reflecting on developments of 1969, Colin Griffin observed that 'There is a spirit developing in the District which makes it possible for a Brother to do what appears to be different, without his sincerity and personal integrity being constantly called into question'.[36]

Several Brothers took advantage of the Chapter's endorsement of Proposition 28 to seek to establish an alternative community in Sydney. A group of 15 men discussed the possibility of such a community and proposed that a house be rented in suburban Sydney for 12 months with the men teaching in schools in Sydney. Five were chosen, though only four actually formed the community at the beginning of 1971.[37] Their stipends funded the enterprise.

Those forming the community were Martin Blattman (30 years old), Donald Newton (32), Vincent Underwood (36) and Michael Thorley (21). The four rented a furnished house at Burwood that was judged to be convenient for each to travel to his teaching commitments. Martin taught mathematics and geology at Benilde High, Donald taught mathematics at Lakemba, Vincent also taught mathematics, but at Revesby, while Michael Thorley tutored in philosophy at the Catholic College of Education at Castle Hill and Dundas while a part-time honours student in philosophy at Macquarie University. Martin and Donald used public transport to travel to school; Vincent had a motorcycle and Michael a cheap second-hand car. The Brothers maintained contact with their colleagues by their teaching and participation in the extra-curricular activities at their schools, though, because the emphasis was to be on community, they sought to return to Burwood for evening meals and community prayer.

The community was essentially without a director, though Vincent tended to look after organisational matters. One of the community's features was to be its openness and the notion of witness. Other Brothers were invited to join the community at any time, and invitations were frequently offered to priests, other religious and lay people to join the Brothers for meals, and they sought to become involved in the life of the parish.[38]

It is difficult to judge the success or otherwise of the experiment. The Brothers prepared a report on the experiment as they were required to do.[39] However, many issues preoccupied the Institute at the time, particularly those associated with the staffing of schools with diminishing human resources. The idea of a new type of community seemed a very peripheral issue and nothing ever developed directly from this experiment. Indeed, many colleagues had looked with suspicion on the project and it seems that any benefits were personal. The Brothers sought an extension of time but were refused. Their wish to continue was not helped by Michael Thorley openly talking about leaving the Institute and thereby reinforcing the scepticism of some of the more senior men within the Institute.

The experimentation took many forms. On 15 October 1972, Bill Firman, with the approval of the Visitor, circularised Brothers seeking expressions of interest in a 'Common Life Holiday' at Oakhill College from 2 to 18 January 1973. This was to be a

holiday in which Brothers 'live simply together with prayer, discussion, work and recreation largely in common'. Decisions were to be made in community by a democratic vote, including that for director who was to be charged with the pastoral care of the community. Each Brother was to provide only $3 which was to go to a common fund which would meet all expenses other than meals.

Initiatives such as these, both reflecting and following changes to Church and Institute traditions, caused a measure of confusion for a time and an apparent retreat into isolation of some men who were uncomfortable with the changes taking place.

Some communities experimented with changes to community prayers. Auxiliary Visitor, Patrick Howard, viewed some of these with caution in a report to Assistant Richard:

> Ashfield ... is one of those places that could go along well or blow up without much warning. Bankstown is a current worry ... In general, the Brothers are concerned both about the school and the community—and the community has its oddities. [Three of them] requested the community and the c'ty agreed permission to hold a group prayer session apart from the rest of the community in the upstairs library room. Other men have sampled their 'morning session' ... but returned to the chapel group. [Two of the latter] consider that the group is sincere and is really praying but maintain they cannot see why it should be separate from the chapel group saying that with each Brother having a turn as president they could construct a prayer to their liking. The three concerned say their prayer is now meaningful and relevant. Previously it wasn't and so absented themselves. Quite possibly their readings are more intellectual (I have warned them against intellectyualising [sic] their prayer too much. The opinion of the [other] Brothers ... generally boils down to (a) at least they are getting up and saying prayers, evidently something that was rather inconsistent, (b) they are going to Mass. Neither was evidently meaningful when they attended or should have attended the community prayers in the chapel ...[40]

The Bankstown and Ashfield communities had a wide reputation for such 'way out ideas' that Auxiliary Visitor Stanislaus viewed the need for an official visit with 'a little trepidation'.[41] Nevertheless, he was pleasantly surprised 'to witness the work done in each place in spite of difficulties, and to witness the saneness and stability of the communities as a whole'. He continued: 'There are a couple of monks in each place who shock the majority with some of the ideas they produce. But very useful dialogue has grown up and I think all are benefiting'.

In hindsight it is evident that the experimentation was tolerated by superiors rather than actively promoted. Those who embraced experimentation obviously did so for genuine reasons. The experience tested all of them. Some decided that their future lay outside the Institute, but even those who remained were

affected. Many of the most active proponents of experimentation were looked on with suspicion by those who preferred to identify with the traditional idea of community and the work of teaching. However, Colman maintained faith in his young men. In late 1969 he appointed Colin Griffin, then only in his early 30s, as director of De La Salle College in Mangere, which was a school with significant challenges that were evident in declining enrolments.

Brothers struggled with many issues besides the future of themselves and their Institute. Many struggled with fundamental aspects of their apostolate. Religious education had always been difficult, particularly in the senior classes, and ongoing changes in the Church since Vatican Council II destroyed the notion of certainty that had once provided a sense of security. Moreover, increased retention rates at senior levels in schools required a different method of conveying religious instruction, especially one that was to be relevant in contemporary society. Colman highlighted the issue in a circular to Brothers:

> As you know there are among us these days many who experience considerable difficulty in approaching the question of teaching Christian Doctrine. For some of us the difficulty is further heightened by our not being sure what it is exactly that we are attempting to do in our catechetical mission.[42]

The Visitor's immediate solution was to ask Brother Christian to make himself available to provide advice to communities and individuals as required. However, this was necessarily only a bandaid measure because of the evident logistical issues involved.

The problem was exacerbated by senior students staying longer at school, and the inadequacy of current religious texts to cater for their needs, particularly in the light of the current revolution within the Church. The Catholic bishops had commissioned a new *Catholic Catechism* to replace the 'Green Catechism'. It finally appeared in 1962, but was inappropriate for students beyond Third Year. Some schools had introduced the *Living with Christ* series of books from the United States, but others tried to make do with the new catechism. The syllabus remained inadequate, with Church authorities generally preferring students to master a given body of religious knowledge, as they had been expected to do previously, whether or not they found this relevant to their lives.

The conviction grew that traditional religious education was inappropriate to the needs of senior students. In 1968, this led to the development of the Christian Living Camp Movement within several Brothers' schools in Sydney as one attempted solution. Some Brothers and others had abandoned the traditional religious education lesson for senior classes and introduced the idea of seminars on issues confronting young adults. These were frequently led by outside experts. These seminars required more time than that provided

for traditional lessons and often had to be organised at times to suit the visitors. Thus, Bill Firman and Ben Schaeffer at Ashfield organised seminars for senior students after school. Later, they believed that the seminars would be more effective if students left the school campus to attend holiday and recreation centres to discuss issues over the whole of the weekend. The Brothers then developed the centre at Cronulla, so that students could remain in the Lasallian context.

The camp movement as exemplified in the Sydney schools developed from the initiative of Bernard Neville of the Henley Beach community, in association with Mercy Sisters in Adelaide. In early 1966 Bernard was overwhelmed by the success of a weekend camp that he had organised for boys considering a religious vocation. This led to an even more successful camp in March 1966 for 25 boys from the Leaving and Matriculation classes from St Michael's, and 20 girls from the same classes from St Aloysius College. The camp was presented to senior students with a vocation theme, with boys and girls being expected to join in singing, drawing and discussion, and have an open mind about a religious vocation. The spirit permeating the camps evidently met a need.

During the Christmas vacation at the end of 1967 Bernard and Helen O'Grady had organised a gathering at Belair of as many as 25 or 30 priests and religious to explore the possibilities of such camps. Those attending included prominent Mercy Sisters, Deirdre Jordan and Pat Pak Poy. Several De La Salle Brothers attended from interstate, including Colin Griffin, Max Sculley and Bill Firman.

Bernard was transferred to Benilde at Bankstown in Sydney, and he, with Bill Firman at Ashfield, determined to initiate camps in Sydney. Bill approached nearby Bethlehem and also Loreto Convent at Normanhurst. The first camp was held at Redlands Guest House at Katoomba over a two-day weekend. The program reflected that followed at Belair. The success encouraged the Brothers to continue, and camps were held at various localities, including Austinmer in the diocese of Wollongong, until Bishop McCabe refused to sanction others.

Bill Firman became the major driving force behind the movement after Bernard Neville moved to Melbourne, though with the support of contemporaries at Ashfield and Bankstown. The camps, seminars, social work and social activities proved very popular with senior students, parents and university students, and successful and rewarding for the Brothers engaged in them. The movement enabled the Brothers to become involved with young people in a way that was not possible in a classroom or as coach of a sporting team. Bill managed the camps for five years until he was transferred to Malvern, when Pat McCarthy at Bankstown assumed the mantle.

Some older men dismissed the movement as being too emotional, and full of risks for students and Brothers. They were

also critical of the absences of men on camps outside school hours when they would normally have been within the community. In some instances the camp movement reinforced the generation gap within communities. However, Michael Lynch, principal of Ashfield, and Raphael Bassett, principal at Benilde, attended camps regularly and invested the movement with a measure of credibility, while Colman continued to put his faith in the judgement of the younger men.

The Christian Living Program was a movement of its time. However, it satisfied a real need of students who attended single-sex schools, and had a positive impact on schools and the manner in which the Brothers sought to bear witness. The program touched many lives and had a lasting impact on students and parents alike. There were occasional camps for parents aimed at giving them an appreciation of the many influences to which their children were subjected. Many 'campees' went on to prominent positions in their professions, including Margaret Beasley, who became a judge of the High Court, and Chris Sidoti, who became Commissioner for Human Rights.

Colin Griffin introduced the camp program to Melbourne, and it persisted for several years, though not with the same intensity there as in Sydney. The camps were emotionally exhausting, if fulfilling. Bill Firman became involved in the Melbourne camps after being appointed to Malvern in 1972, but continued with them for only two years.

The demands of the camp program were hard on the Brothers engaged in it, because they still had to teach their full quota of lessons. Perhaps the camp program received undue prominence and attracted an unwarranted amount of time and attention. Nonetheless, the spirit and enthusiasm were reflected within the Ashfield and Bankstown communities, both of which were particularly vibrant, welcoming and accepting, particularly for younger Brothers. The Visitor regularly commended the Ashfield Brothers for their evident community spirit. He commented in 1970:

> There is a very good spirit among the Brothers in this community and very great efforts are made to encourage dialogue and expression of opinion. They appear to have achieved a considerable level of acceptance of each other through community meetings, retreats etc as well as a level of cooperation in activities, of tolerance and mutual support when one or the other is registering 'low'.[43]

The community spirit and sense of social awareness were evident when the members agreed to release one of their number—Celsus Clark—to staff the Bereina school in Papua New Guinea in May 1970.

There were other manifestations of the new order, with some Brothers reassessing the dominant place of sport in their schools. Thus, in 1969 in accordance with the newly-drafted school policy,

those at De La Salle, Ashfield, withdrew the college from the inter-school sporting program organised by the Metropolitan Catholic Colleges. Organising and supervising elite sporting teams within the College had taken an inordinate amount of time of the diminishing numbers of Brothers to the detriment of those boys not in the elite category. Thursday afternoon sport continued for boys from Grade 5 to Form 4 along with Saturday football, but those interested in sports such as athletics or swimming were directed to local clubs. The Brothers believed that there were ample opportunities for organised sport available on weekends and other ways of promoting school spirit than inter-school sport.[44]



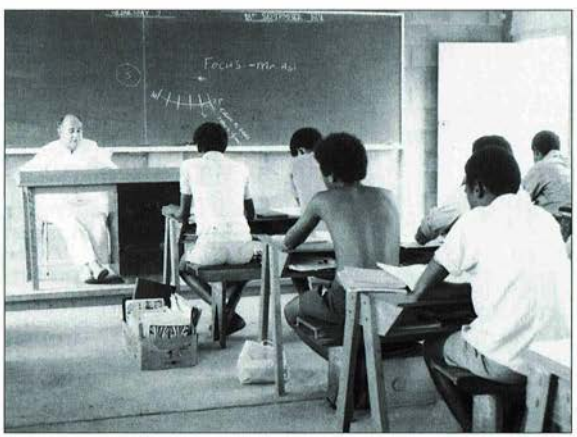
Brothers with students at a camp at Southport.

The reassessment of the modern role of the Institute included that of the Brothers' commitment to the schools. Here they were subject to other pressures.

Papua New Guinea

Matters were less hectic in Papua New Guinea, where the Brothers remained focused on their educational role. Colman gave a great deal of support to the Brothers' endeavours there. After an early visit to the territory he had become convinced of the need for change there. The Brothers enjoyed a high reputation and their schools were very successful. Moreover, Lucian Thorpe was a strong and influential member of the District Education Board who had had a positive influence on the development of curriculum, especially in his own field of mathematics. However, those who had remained in the territory for a lengthy period had generally become resistant to change, even though it was evident that increasing nationalism and the repercussions of Vatican II made change necessary. Colman succeeded in reinvigorating the Brothers' apostolate in Papua with new appointments and initiatives.

Brother Ted Becker in class, at Bomana.



The second session of the General Chapter in Rome in 1967 had direct repercussions in Papua New Guinea. Baptist and Colman from Australia met Brothers Wilfred and Cuthman from the United Kingdom at the General Chapter and agreed upon a five-year plan to have ten Brothers from the United Kingdom to work in Papua New Guinea. The plan did not survive the tumult caused by the changes within the Church



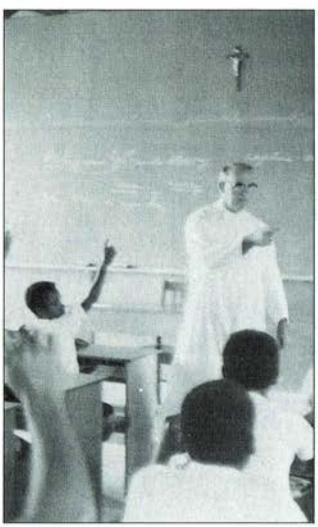
Brothers Alban Dwyer (left) and John Cleary (right), on the occasion of the opening of the House of Studies at Bomana, July 1969 (Photograph by Harold J. Baker, Rose Bay).

and the Institute. Ultimately only two Brothers, Ambrose Gwynne and Simon Attard, arrived from the United Kingdom to complement the Australians. Simon worked for a time at Mainohana, but contracted malaria and was forced to leave for Australia. Ambrose was left as the only survivor of the plan. He was appointed to the Yule Island Teachers' College where he lectured in English and Religion.[45]

A separate juniorate was established at Bomana in Papua New Guinea in 1968, in part because of impending independence of the Territory and the numbers of boys wishing to join the Institute. There had been several juniors from Papua New Guinea, but they had always had a difficult time in making the transition to Australia. Cormac Brophy became the inaugural prefect of juniors, there being eight of them in the first year, in Forms 3 and 4. The boys attended the secondary school at Bomana which had 135 pupils in 1968.

Bomana was a boarding school. Classes began at 8.30 am and continued until 4.30 pm, when there would be a work parade, after which students would shower and have a half-hour of study before their evening meal. Frederick Sheridan succeeded Justin Joyce as principal in 1969. He was charged with making changes in the community and the school, against the judgement of Lucian Thorpe who had become jealous of Bomana's high reputation and fearful that the changes would compromise this. On the contrary, after the first year following the change, Bomana secured five students in the top 10 in the territory after the public examinations, including the top student.

Brother Patrick Howard teaching Form 1 students at Bomana, 1966.



The Brothers took over a secondary school at Kondiu in the Chimbu District in 1969, bringing their establishments in Papua New Guinea to four. Rosary College had been founded as a catechist school in 1953, largely at the initiative of Father Schaffer, a Divine Word Missionary (SVD). It became a full primary school in 1959 and a high school in 1968. Kondiu represented the Brothers' first venture into the highlands. The foundation community comprised Brothers Cletus Storey (headmaster), formerly of Mentone, Columban McDonald, a senior man with several years' experience in the Territory, and Brian Hanlan, another 'first-timer' in Papua New Guinea. Cletus had to be the model of diplomacy given the lack of warmth from the former principal who had worked diligently for the school for the previous 15 years and was unhappy at having only three men sent to the school.[46] However, the Brothers had a very detailed agreement with the diocese, so were able to focus on their teaching, leaving the actual building of classrooms, dormitories, a new chapel and extensions to the dining hall to the SVD Brothers.

The school also accepted boarders, but this was a far cry from the arrangements with which Cletus had become familiar at

Mentone. The previous principal, Father John Wald—also hamstrung by manpower restrictions—had instituted a system of prefects who looked after dormitories and mess halls that worked well. The prefects took their responsibilities very seriously and maintained order. The Brothers were happy to maintain the system. The students were eager to learn which meant that corporal punishment was not used, and classes would work in silence whenever Brothers were called away from class for a short time. The College boasted its first Form 4 graduates in 1970.

There was a great deal of violence and inter-tribal warfare in the surrounding countryside. The Brothers never had to fear for themselves, but there were times when some of their students feared for their lives because of issues occurring in their home villages, when they feared reprisals might be taken against them at school. On these occasions the Brothers invited students into their home and permitted the students to lock themselves inside until the danger had passed.



Retreatants at Bomana, 1972. Standing: left to right, Brothers Columban McDonald, Peter Keaga, Lucian Thorpe, Peter Mays, Patrick McInerney, Justin Joyce, Stanislaus Fagan, Celsus Clark, Cletus Storey, Frederick Sheridan. Sitting: left to right, Brothers Vincent Koroti, Christian Moe, Patrick Sariva, Archbishop Virgil Copas MSC, Brothers Emmanuel Haiveta, Albert Roio.

Columban became headmaster in 1972, with Peter Mays as deputy. Two years later, two Mercy Sisters joined the staff and it became a co-educational Catholic Agency High School for the diocese of Kundiawa. Peter Mays became headmaster the following year with the first national deputy in Miria Baki.

The several young Papuan Brothers did good work for the Institute. Emmanuel and Vincent taught at Mainohana in 1969, with Albert at Bomana and Alan studying at the university.[47] Yet, if it was hard to attract recruits for the Institute, it was as hard to retain them. As Colman observed:

> There are very promising openings for young men of ability and education now among the Papuans and there is much opposition from the families who want financial return for whatever they may have invested in their son's education. Many boys are interested but it is the opposition from parents and relatives that beats them.[48]

The pressure on each young national Brother to leave the Institute grew as they approached the time for final profession. Status was important in the country and the young men preferred to leave before their final profession rather than suffer the ignominy of doing so after their final profession. However, their time within the Institute and the training that they received invariably gave them valuable skills and they all succeeded in obtaining responsible government positions.

The Brothers extended their considerable influence in education in Papua New Guinea. For six years from late 1968, Justin Joyce—who had become director at Bomana earlier that year—was appointed Mission Education Officer, in the Port Moresby Archdiocese with responsibility for all education in the Archdiocese. This included the control of schools and teachers, the opening of schools and their inspection, and liaising with the administration. He succeeded Father Adrian Meaney MSC, who had held the post in a part-time capacity, and Justin's appointment reflected something of the esteem in which the Brothers were held in Papua.

In his role as Mission Education Officer, Justin was intimately associated with the implementation of the new education system introduced into Papua New Guinea in July 1970 in accordance with recommendations made by the Weedon Report. In the first instance, the government agreed to pay teachers in Catholic schools the same salary as indigenous teachers in government schools ($28 weekly in 1970). This represented a vast improvement on what the missions were able to provide. Justin was appointed one of the inspectors charged with assessing the teachers in the Catholic schools that agreed to participate in the scheme. The following year individual schools were brought into the government system and received a dollar-for-dollar government subsidy for the erection of new buildings, with grants being made for educational equipment. Thereafter schools were administered by elected school boards and could no longer be restricted to Catholic students, but as this had never been the case, there was effectively little change. The new dispensation promised 'a general emphasis on qualifications, unification and possible deployment of educational facilities, a greater influence of the voluntary agencies in planning ... opportunities for gaining promotional positions ... and the encouragement of local government council assistance to all schools'.[49]

There were some negative features of the new situation. The Church lost absolute control over the mission schools with all appointments of Brothers and other teachers becoming subject to the nomination of the boards of governors of each school and then ratification by the District Education Board. Fortunately, the Church was able to ensure appropriate membership of school boards and thereby maintained its influence over the schools. The surrendering of some control seemed a small price to pay for the more secure funding. The schools certainly could not have continued for long in the way they had done in the past and still hope to meet the new expectations imposed on them.

The new circumstances were accommodated without any undue stresses. The Brothers accepted the same rates of pay as their indigenous colleagues and this ensured there was no jealousy.

Brother Justin Joyce with senior students at Bomana.



However, the new arrangements threatened Bomana, and Frederick had to fight hard to retain its status. At that time Bomana had up to 200 boarders maintained by government grants, many of them living within 20 kilometres of the school. The government decreed that the latter students should lose their grants and become day students. The parents opposed this vigorously because of the lack of study facilities in their villages and the difficulties of having to travel to and fro each day. They agreed to pay the equivalent of $100 to maintain their children at the school. The District Education Board resented the opposition and created continuing problems for the Brothers. Fortunately, this did not impact on the school, nor its operation.

There were also some casualties of the new educational ferment in Papua New Guinea, most notably the closing of the Yule Island Teachers' College at the end of 1971. The manner in which this occurred came as a shock to the Brothers. There were many interrelated factors. There were currently five Catholic teachers' colleges in Papua New Guinea and two government colleges: the government sought to rationalise the number, but the Catholic authorities were reluctant to do so. Against this background a government inspector reported upon the college at Yule Island. He criticised the inadequacy of some facilities, many of which had existed from the foundation of the college, and identified the need for urgent improvements. Unfortunately, the local diocese had no funds available, nor did those others that sent trainees to Yule Island. All this occurred at a time when Bishop Klein was on secondment to Noumea, leaving the diocese under the administrator Father Fraix MSC.[50]



Brothers John Cleary (left), Aloysius Carmody (centre) and Peter Mays (right), with students at Yule Island, 1968.

None associated with Yule Island believed the college's future to be under threat. The inspector and the principal, John Cleary, believed that the ultimatum to improve facilities would simply galvanise government and Church authorities into providing sufficient funding to effect the necessary improvements. They had miscalculated. The government was unwilling to provide the funding, and Fraix was unable to do so. On 4 October 1971, the administrator simply announced that the college would close at the end of the year, that the decision was irrevocable, and the students would be required to complete their studies elsewhere. Students and Brothers were stunned. They protested, but to no avail.[51]

Something of the influence of the Brothers was reflected in the success achieved by their past scholars who were able to take advantage of opportunities presented to them. The University of Papua New Guinea opened in 1966 with the first courses in the faculties of Arts and Law being offered in 1967. This encouraged a greater awareness of the need for secondary education. By 1969 the

Brothers could count among their past pupils the first two university graduates, one of the first doctors, a large number of undergraduates, an indigenous priest and several seminarians, Brothers and a great number of teachers.[52] Peter Keaga enrolled as a part-time student in 1970, became full-time in 1972 and graduated as a Bachelor of Education in August 1974.

The Brothers suffered a tragedy on 28 August 1972 when 18 members of the Bomana Cadet Corps under the charge of Captain Albert Dakin, with an army officer and the air crew, were killed in a plane crash near Mount Yule. The boys had been attending a school cadet camp at Lae under the charge of Dakin. The latter was a former Brother who had left before final vows and was currently teaching at the Administration College in Port Moresby: he had maintained close contact with the Brothers and assisted them with the cadet corps. The Bomana cadets were among the last group of boys to fly out to Port Moresby at the conclusion of the camp. The plane crashed into a timbered ridge on the Monday, but no trace of it was found until late on Thursday 31 August, when four of the boys were sighted after they had gone to seek help: a fifth was alive, but injured near the plane. At least five others including Albert Dakin had survived the crash, but had died before help could arrive: the fifth lad later died of his injuries in hospital. Cormac, the commanding officer of the unit, whose place had been taken on the camp by Dakin, was one of the first on the scene and played a major role in helping to identify and remove the remains of those who had been killed. The Brothers' community bore much of the burden of the tragedy at Bomana in helping to console the bereaved and arranging many funerals. All of the Catholic community of Port Moresby were devastated by the tragedy which had taken the most able of the Bomana boys.

Brother Peter Keaga at Mainohana with Sister Martha OLSH.



The repercussions continued long afterwards and impacted heavily on the Brothers at Bomana. Local custom decreed that someone was responsible for the deaths of the boys. Since the boys were in the care of the Brothers, the latter were considered to have had this responsibility, and honour demanded that compensation be made or retribution exacted. The Brothers were advised against paying compensation, but they received no physical protection. Consequently they lived in fear of their lives for the following eighteen months until most of the community was transferred from Bomana at the end of 1974 so that Peter Keaga, the newly-appointed principal, would have a new staff to take the school in the direction he wanted. Ultimately the Australian government paid $2000 to each of the grieving families.

The movement towards political independence for Papua New Guinea created some uncertainty for the Brothers. They had long believed that their role was only a temporary one, that their main aim was to foster the local Church and encourage indigenous

people to replace them. However, recruitment was never as effective as the Brothers would have wished. Patrick Sariva from the Rove region took first vows at Yule Island on 14 March 1971, but later withdrew from the Institute.

At that time there were seven novices in Sydney. This encouraged arrangements to open a novitiate at Bomana.

> Since the General Chapter there has been a gradual opening up of the Novitiate. Separateness has been emphasised as one of attitude rather than of physical withdrawal. The daily life of the novices equates more to the manner of living in communities engaged in schools as far as this is possible under the circumstances. Much more freedom is allowed than formerly so that response to the demands of the religious life should be made more freely and fully than in the past when we required a more automatic acceptance.[53]

The Brothers established the Bomana novitiate in 1972 under the direction of Cormac. The creation of the Papua New Guinea novitiate was to meet the twin needs of encouraging indigenous vocations in view of imminent independence while ensuring that aspirants did not have to leave their country for formation. Alexis Amafeu completed his novitiate in July 1973 and was admitted to first vows.



Brothers Bede French (left) and Ambrose Gwynne, 1973.

New Zealand

Social and Church issues in New Zealand reflected those in Australia. However, the Brothers remained focused on the management of their schools, rather than seeking additional or alternative apostolates. Moreover, the New Zealanders were more concerned with maintaining and promoting their own identity rather than experimentation.

The issues facing the Brothers at New Plymouth were far more immediate. They went about their traditional tasks against a background of uncertainty about ownership of Francis Douglas Memorial College. Jerome had begun the school on the strength of a 'gentleman's agreement', believing that a written agreement with the archbishop was imminent. Draft agreements suggested that the school and the land on which it stood were to be transferred to the Institute 'freed and discharged of all encumbrances' and it would remain Institute property so long as Brothers continued to use it for the education of boys.[54] This reflected the substance of agreements negotiated in other places, such as Adelaide. Unfortunately, Archbishop McKeefry's view of the arrangements was not as Jerome and his Council had been led to believe. More than a decade of misunderstanding ensued, despite verbal assurances that the Institute's understanding was correct. Indeed, on 20 March 1964, the Trust Board of the Brothers of the Christian Schools in New Zealand was incorporated under the provisions of the *Charitable*



New Zealand Brothers on the occasion of the visit of Superior General Charles Henry Buttimer, January 1970. Third row: left to right, Brothers Peter Healey, Daniel Keegan, Kevin Neal, Stephen Leatherland, John Iremonger. Second row: left to right, Brothers Maxwell Keller, Kieran Rush, Jarlath Joyce, Lawrence O'Connor, William Harnett, Maurice Salmon, Urban Murray. Front row: left to right, Brothers Declan Thompson, Philip Canty, Julian Watson, Richard Allen McNamee (Assistant), Charles Henry Buttimer (Superior General), Colman Molloy (Visitor), Peter Duffy, Pat Lynch.

Trusts Act 1957, in order to formalise the agreement. The three inaugural trustees had been Jerome Foley (New Plymouth), Michael Lynch (Mangere) and Urban Murray (Blenheim). Negotiations dragged on.

In the meantime, indebtedness on the property rose to a figure between $721,000 (the Brothers' assessment) and $803,818 (the Chancery records) with an annual interest charge of about $26,000.[55] The Brothers' figure was based on invoices, statements, and cheque butts kept throughout the project by accountant Michael Finnigan. The Chancery records were based on a valuation of the property that included figures for the hall that had been built by voluntary labour and funded by the Brothers, and estimates by the valuers in excess of the invoiced amounts. Then in late 1969 Archbishop McKeefry asked the Institute to acquire the college at a price to be negotiated. A draft agreement proposed by solicitors for the archbishop imputed to the Brothers the responsibility for all debts on the college. The Brothers were reluctant to abandon the college but the cost of meeting the archbishop's conditions was huge. Several years earlier Assistant Lawrence had been concerned about financial implications of the agreement with the archbishop: 'I need not say how alarmed I am at the prodigious bill we are taking on in New Plymouth', he remarked to Baptist, '... it is rare even for the Americans to try to put over such a large amount!'[56]

Brothers Conrad Callinan (far left) and Patrick Lynch (far right) farewelling David Hawke (centre left) and John Biggs (centre right) as the two prepare to enter the novitiate at Burradoo, 1969.



Negotiations continued with Cassian Corbett, Michael Cooper and Jerome Foley all attempting to resolve the impasse and determine the amount the Institute was to be required to pay. Julian Watson, the current headmaster, finally involved Michael Finnigan, and an agreement was concluded in late 1970. The Brothers insisted that the terms be formal-

ised in a written agreement, though the solicitor acting for the archbishop believed this was not necessary.[57] The Agreement for Sale and Purchase was finally executed in August 1971 after Colman brought the issue to a head by threatening to withdraw the Brothers. The chief terms of the agreement required the Institute to raise a loan of $300,000 and pay this to the archdiocese, and pay an additional $300,000 by selling some of the land on two sides of the property and any other means of raising funds: no interest was to accrue on the second amount of $300,000. The first stage of the property sale involved 20 acres. Soon afterwards a fund-raising committee was formed to help raise the additional funds. A key strategy involved selling shares in Catholic education to the Catholics of Taranaki. The committee hoped to raise between $120,000 and $150,000 over a ten-year period by selling $6 shares.[58] The scheme managed by prominent lay-people was immensely successful, so much so that it was ultimately taken over by the archdiocese.

Meeting interest and capital repayments was an immense task. Nevertheless, the future direction was clear and secure, so long as these payments were made. Inflation ensured that the burden grew lighter, but there was always another project for which to raise money. In the meantime the Brothers continued with their mission of educating youth and the reputation of the college grew. This was evident when the vice chancellors of New Zealand universities invited Julian to apply for accreditation to enable students to enter university based upon accreditation from the headmaster. Jerome had earlier insisted that students should enter university after sitting university entrance examinations. This was part of a ploy to demonstrate the quality of the Brothers' teaching. However, the success of the New Plymouth students had skewed the results of these examinations and restricted the chances of other students entering university by means of the entrance examinations. Raphael Basset succeeded Julian as headmaster at the beginning of 1972 and reinvigorated the building program.

The Brothers had secured the future of Francis Douglas Memorial College, but withdrew from St Mary's School at Blenheim, in accordance with recommendations of the District Planning Committee, so that resources could be concentrated in the remaining New Zealand schools. A new classroom and administration block was occupied on 23 September 1971, but the Brothers withdrew at the end of the following year, to close another phase in the history of St Mary's.

The fate of St Mary's School reflected circumstances in other small New Zealand communities. Even those opposing the idea of the Brothers' withdrawal recognised 'there were real problems for a small community living in relative isolation without the opportunity of professional improvement'.[59] It had long been obvious that the early idea of developing a boarding school had become

impractical. Moreover, there had been a growing push to have Brothers concentrate on secondary, rather than primary schools. At the same time the value of the inadequate stipends offered to the Brothers had not kept pace with inflation: at the time of the introduction of decimal currency, the Brothers received only about $1000 per man per year. A community of three could not live on $3000 per year, yet the diocesan authorities were not prepared to provide any more. The year following the withdrawal of the Brothers, however, the school was staffed by five teachers, with the principal receiving a salary of $15,000 per year.

Issues were different at Mangere East. De La Salle College was a suburban school that reflected the traditional working class and increasingly cosmopolitan culture of the area in which it was located. The perseverance of the Brothers had demonstrated that they were competent teachers, and their lot had grown easier. Michael Lynch who had succeeded Julian as headmaster had had several years experience in the school. He was an excellent teacher and a good sportsman. He was a traditional principal, but a leader attuned to the need for good relations with the community, and succeeded in raising the profile of the school. Moreover, the seven parishes had become more financially secure and were able to invest in school amenities. Success was reflected in the increasing school population.

However, there remained the challenge to raise the expectations of students and their parents. Colin Griffin, principal from 1970 to 1975, embarked on his first appointment as principal with great enthusiasm. He was imbued with the new thinking within the Institute and sought to encourage a greater sense of community and responsibility within the school. He sought to do so with simple strategies that reflected the new philosophy promoted by the younger Brothers. He abolished corporal punishment and sought to soften the culture by hiring a greater number of female teachers. He sought to involve parents more closely in the progress of their children and provided senior students with greater responsibility. During the final term, Form 6 and 7 students were permitted to abandon the wearing of school uniforms, after considerable discussion with students and their parents. He established daily prayer meetings with staff and monthly prayer meetings with parents. Colin also introduced the notion of Christian Living Camps. There were four camps for Form 6 and 7 students during his first year. Colin conducted the camps with the assistance of Allan Coman and included students from other schools.



Brother Anselm McCaffrey, with a Form 2 class at Blenheim, 1971 (Photograph by the Marlborough Express, Blenheim).

Colin also introduced new ideas into the Brothers' community. Allan Coman reported on experiments with community prayer during 1970, concluding with the observation that 'With six different men, thinking in six different ways quite an enriching community prayer life has been experienced'.[60] This later developed to include the community's involvement with charismatic prayer groups. This aroused some suspicion among Church authorities, but received the approbation of Colman. On one occasion in 1972, Colman gave tacit authorisation of the initiative by suggesting that the Assistant, who was also visiting at the time, should accompany the Brothers to such a meeting.

Meanwhile, the New Zealand Brothers increased in numbers, and several made their final professions during this period. They included Pat Lynch, Basil Keller and Stephen Leatherland (1967), Will Harnett (1968), Daniel Keegan and John Iremonger (1970), Peter Bray (1971) and Kevin Neal (1973). The greater numbers and increasing seniority of the New Zealanders helped to reinforce their sense of national identity. They were assisted by their relative isolation from Australia and to an extent were able to assume a measure of independence.



The last community at Blenheim, with other staff, 1972. The Brothers are, left to right, Brothers John Kidd, Michael Cooper, Daniel Keegan (Photograph by The Gallery, Blenheim).

Formation

The incessant demand for Brothers to staff schools meant that recruiting continued to be a high priority. Indeed, the resources given to recruiting were doubled in early 1966 when Finbar Kelly was appointed Director of Vocations after his return from the Second Novitiate in Sangre de Cristo in New Mexico. Fintan remained to assist him, with particular responsibility for 'late vocations' and the visitation of convent schools. Recruits continued to flow to the Institute. Most of them were Brothers' former students, most of these entering directly from the schools.

The new House of Studies for Australian juniors began functioning at Cronulla at the beginning of 1967 with Quentin O'Halloran as director. The new building was funded in part by a legacy of $60,000 made available by Cardinal Gilroy.[61] Five boys transferred from Burradoo to Cronulla, where they were joined by an additional 25 who were attached to Forms 5 and 6. The boys followed the same scholastic activities as those at the College and were permitted to join in the sport. Otherwise they led a sheltered life. The boys got into the routine of morning and evening prayer and acquired study habits. They were able to make friends with day boys, but were not permitted to go out with them, except on a couple of occasions each term, for those who did not have parents in Sydney.

The numbers in the House of Studies at Cronulla dropped significantly in 1971 and continued to do so during the early 1970s. Several reasons were apparent, namely:

> ... the trend among youth today NOT to make an early life-commitment and society endorses this trend; the hesitancy of many parents to allow their son to make such a move during adolescence; the materialism of society and its consequent attractions; the educational opportunities offered in the local area.[62]

There were allied issues associated with the changing nature of the Church and Catholic schools in Australia and the manner in which religious knowledge was being passed on to youth. Moreover, the changing nature of secondary education made students reluctant to transfer from other states during the latter part of their education. Whatever the reason, the maintenance of the facility remained something of a luxury, given the return on the investment.



The blessing and opening of the House of Studies at Cronulla, 1967 (Photograph by Bruce Rogers, Caringbah).

During the years from 1967 to the end of 1973, 107 young men had entered the House of Studies at Cronulla: there were only seven in residence in 1974 in a building intended for 40. Twenty-nine of the young men had entered the Institute, but only 16 remained with the Brothers by early 1974. The Council considered the future of the institution during 1974 and finally agreed to close it in November 1974 after the boys had completed their examinations.

Meanwhile, there continued to be repercussions of the introduction of the one-year novitiate. It had become clear that the Training College was no longer convenient for both the novitiate and the scholasticate, and the Council was faced with the issue of a new building for one or other of the houses of formation. The issue was considered so major that all directors were circularised and asked to express an opinion.[63] There were many factors to consider, not least the notion that the relocation of the novitiate would remove a key source of labour for maintaining the grounds of the Training College, which could not be replaced by the labour of the scholastics. Still the relocation of the novitiate appeared the better solution.

The issue was resolved following the relocation of the juniorate to Cronulla. The Burradoo property was ideal for institutional purposes. An advance party of novices with Finian Allman, their director, transferred to Burradoo on 7 December 1966 to

prepare for the remaining 17 who moved in on 13 December. The pioneers included Geoff Kennewell, Denis Loft, Gabriel O'Shea, Albert Venables, Conrad Wilson, Tim Peter and Richard Zande. Seventeen postulants arrived on 15 January 1967, followed by Malachy Yates who arrived as Sub-Director a week later. The Training College at Oakhill was left for the scholastics only—and the Holy Family community.

A more flexible attitude towards training became evident in mid-1969, when novices John Pill (30 years) and Paul Hevers (33) were given permission to continue their novitiate at Mentone under the guidance of Finian Allman, who had since been succeeded by Baptist Will as novice master. Both novices had joined the Institute after several years' teaching in De La Salle schools—John at Henley Beach (five years) and Paul at Ashfield (six years). They were model novices, but found it particularly demanding having to live without any significant responsibilities in an environment geared to the 18- to 19-year-old level of the other 24 novices.[64] There continued to be a few older men seeking to join the Institute. Bill Shaw, for instance, a student at Oakhill from 1956–1962, joined in 1970 after working for eight years, including the previous five years for the Department of the Navy at Sydney's Garden Island.

Change continued to be reflected in the initial training of aspirants to the congregation. Robe-taking had traditionally been considered a public event. However, changes in the Church attached greater significance to first profession when aspirants made a more definite commitment to the congregation. Thus, robe-taking for the 1970 group became a more simple ceremony set within the Easter Vigil service at Burradoo on 29 March 1970.[65]



Four young Brothers taking their first vows at the completion of their novitiate, Burradoo, Easter 1968. Left to right, Brothers Garry Coyte, Matthew Hautus, Colman Molloy (Visitor), Paul Rogers, Terence Farrelly.

There followed a major change in the postulancy in 1971, which made it a distinct stage in initial formation. Prior to this time the postulancy represented a short transition period of only six weeks, from the time an aspirant entered the Institute, until he received the robe and began the canonical year. However, the District Council, at Ambrose's suggestion, decided to introduce a postulancy of one or two years from 1971. New candidates would have a month's orientation at the Novitiate House at Burradoo, and then reside at the Training College at Castle Hill where they would undergo the first year of the teacher education program at the Catholic College of Education. At the end of the year they would have the option of

continuing with a second year of teacher training or entering the novitiate:

> It is hoped that having some course in teacher education, some practice in teaching in our schools and some experience during this practice of living in our school communities, the young men will make a more enlightened and mature choice in their request to enter the religious life of the Brothers.[66]

Peter Gilfedder, recently returned from studies overseas in August 1970, was appointed director of postulants. The postulants were initially housed in the eastern wing of the Oakhill Training College. The first group of 11 postulants to form part of the new program began on 31 January 1971: their number included Rory Higgins and Phil Cahill.

The new postulancy created some identification problems for students involved. Some were frustrated that they could not become Brothers immediately and had the impression that Brothers did not consider them yet part of the Institute, being neither juniors nor novices. Some grew impatient. They had their own separate program and had their meals together, but joined scholastics for Mass and played sport with them at weekends.

The introduction of the new postulancy meant the suspension of the Novitiate in 1971 with plans to resume in 1972. Baptist Will returned to Burradoo as director of novices in 1972 to take charge of the six novices. However, the frustrations continued for novices. Their year of teacher training had been intellectually rigorous, and most of them looked forward to stimulating work at university the following year. By contrast, the novices received little intellectual stimulation. Moreover, they were bemused that their director was still struggling with the idea of change in the Church. They had joined the Institute believing that it had been renewed, only to find that change remained a big issue, but only for the director and his staff. For instance, they had innumerable lessons on the history of the Rule, and the recent changes, but little exposition on the Rule as it had been adopted by the General Chapter. Christian Moe provided welcome relief with his lectures on scripture. The view of religious life tended to be that as portrayed by Baptist.

The introduction of the postulancy also created problems for those men already qualified as teachers who believed themselves called to be Brothers. These had never been in great numbers, but there had been occasions when lay teachers in the Brothers' schools had sought to join the Brothers. Indeed, in very short order three teachers from St Michael's College had joined the Institute—John Pill, Geoff Kennewell and Jim de George. They had readily been accommodated in the traditional system, where the novitiate year had preceded professional training.

An anomaly of the new training program became evident in late 1971 when three lay teachers at Ashfield expressed an interest in joining the Institute, in large part because of the witness of the younger men in the community. Indeed, John Cantwell had been given permission to live with the Ashfield community at the beginning of the third term in 1971. Two other lay teachers expressed a similar wish. Ultimately the District Council and the community agreed that the three men should be permitted to live with the community from the beginning of 1972 and participate in its activities, while they tested their vocation to the Institute. The initiative was unusual for the De La Salle Brothers, but the Christian Brothers were already permitting two men to undertake their postulancy in school communities.

The initiative was not a great success. Two of the men informed Colman that they wanted to withdraw from the community at the end of first term.[67] John Cantwell, however, took the robe on 3 February 1973. Even so he found the novitiate to be very challenging because of the level of his own training before joining the Institute, and the age difference between himself and the remainder of the novices. However, he went on to complete the novitiate and make his final profession.

Those responsible for formation also struggled to find an appropriate arrangement for scholastics because of the rapidity of change, and implications of the new postulancy. Numbers in the scholasticate had swelled to 40 after 20 novices took their first vows on Easter Tuesday 1967. Thereafter the scholasticate was divided into two communities. Christian, director, with assistance from Ambrose, had charge of the first year group, while Gerard, director, with Kevin Price to assist, had responsibility for the senior group. Christian had responsibility and authority when the management committee of the combined scholasticates met, but Gerard was appointed principal of the Training College.

This arrangement did not persist for long. Christian's departure overseas later in 1967 meant renewed personnel changes at the Training College. Gerard became director of the first year group, while remaining principal of the Training College, while Cassian Corbett was to become director of the senior scholastics. This arrangement continued only until Cassian died on 28 March 1968 and Gerard Rummery was given the opportunity to undertake higher studies overseas following his attendance at the CIL program.

In accordance with current arrangements—prior to the new postulancy—those newly arrived from the novitiate began one year of teacher training at the Training College. After the first year, those qualified to do so applied for admission to university for full-time study. Those taking a science degree attended the University of New South Wales, but intending Arts students sought enrolment at

Macquarie University which opened in 1967. That year, 14 scholastics began full-time studies at the new university after having completed a year of teacher training. Others completed a second year of teacher training and obtained certification as junior secondary teachers with the state of Victoria. A surprising element of the new arrangement—in hindsight—was its failure to win ready endorsement from District leaders. The initial proposal to the Council was defeated, with one influential member arguing that he and his contemporaries had not been given the opportunity to study full-time, so therefore he could not see why others should. Gerard and Ambrose persisted, but before putting the proposal before the Council a second time, lobbied particular members as they had occasion to visit schools during the course of supervising the practice teaching.[68]

Change continued in the professional formation program, particularly as it became subsumed in the development of the Catholic College of Education. Ambrose, recently returned from the CIL program, became director of scholastics in February 1969. He and Gerard had spent considerable time in negotiating the idea of a common teachers' college for male teaching congregations, and Gerard signed the accords to establish the institution before going overseas. However, Ambrose was the one who brought the institution into being. He was energised by the CIL experience and a visit to the Brothers' teachers' college at Hopwood Hall in England, and driven by the need to overcome the lack of qualified lecturers at the Training College. Ambrose was an admirable man to take charge of the idea. Those close to him consider him to be a man of immense ability and capacity for hard work, with a broad vision and good judgement, and a gift for being able to focus on the heart of any issue.[69]

The Catholic College of Education was formed in 1969, following the amalgamation of the Marist Brothers' Champagnat College of Teacher Education at Dundas and De La Salle Training College: the Christian Brothers had been involved in early discussions, had been receptive to the idea, but had withdrawn before the agreement was signed. The development of the college was based on the simple wish to maximise the offerings of the two institutions and provided for greater specialisation and extended programs. Ambrose, having gained a Master of Education degree from Sydney University, provided much of the educational theory. He had become increasingly influential as an educational theorist. During 1970 Ambrose was called upon to chair an archdiocesan working party to inquire into the 'Pre-service training of teachers for Catholic Schools' and provided him with a detailed insight into current teacher training. Marist Brothers, including Ronald Fogarty, Kevin Treston, Anthony Cooper and Cornelius Keating, complemented Ambrose and provided theological instruction.

Only 17 students commenced the first year of the two-year course. In the first instance the arrangement was solely for the Brothers' trainees and all of the first year's students were members of either the De La Salle or Marist Brothers. However, following requests from the diocese of Lismore, in the first instance, four male lay students were permitted to train in 1970.

Ambrose became principal of the college, with Marist Brother Kieran Geaney as vice-principal. Courses were opened to other lay people and student numbers rose rapidly. There were 104 students in 1971 and 150 places offered in 1972. There were 209 students in 1973 of whom 169 were lay students, most of whom intended to teach in non-government schools in New South Wales and the Australian Capital Territory. Teacher education was confined to the Dundas and Castle Hill campuses with personnel from the Christian Brothers' training college at Strathfield and the Good Samaritan College at Glebe contributing to courses. Students remained on one campus with the teachers being expected to commute. First year students attended the Dundas campus, while second and third year students attended at Castle Hill.

Other De La Salle Brothers were added to the faculty as the college developed. In 1972 they included Ignatius Kennedy, the administrative officer, Anthony Walch, Christian Moe after his return to Australia, Peter Gilfedder, Andrew Birse, Michael Thorley, Kevin Price and Vincent Underwood. Gerard Rummery joined the staff after completing his studies and CIL commitments. Subjects offered included English, Education, Psychology, Divinity, Music, Art/Craft, Teaching Method and Curriculum.

Withdrawals

The many changes within the broad Australasian community, the Church, the teaching profession, and growing change within the Institute provided new challenges for Brothers. The issues were common throughout the Institute worldwide, though this was little consolation to those in Australia and New Zealand.

The ferment was reflected in many Brothers reassessing their lives and deciding that their futures lay beyond the Institute. Some of them left to become priests. Indeed, two of the older—Irish—Brothers had done so. Joseph O'Dea left to study at the Beda College in Rome: Felix Conroy studied at St Paul's Seminary, Kensington, Sydney. Faber Garlick left from Kingsgrove in 1967 to study for the priesthood at All Hallows College in Dublin.

Most who left the Institute, however, did so to return to the lay state. There were as many reasons for Brothers leaving as there were those who left, so it is not possible to provide simple assessments.

There had always been a leakage of younger Brothers who were still coming to terms with themselves and the vocation they

Causes of Declining Numbers: 1958–1972[70]

Year	*Died*	*DT*	*DF*	*VE*	**Total**
1958	–	–	1	–	1
1959	–	–	1	1	2
1960	4	1	1	3	9
1961	2	–	2	2	6
1962	1	1	2	–	4
1963	–	1	4	1	6
1964	2	1	2	2	7
1965	1	1	5	6	13
1966	2	–	2	7	11
1967	1	1	11	5	18
1968	4	1	6	4	15
1969	2	3	3	7	15
1970	1	4	8	7	20
1971	1	–	5	8	14
1972	2	1	2	8	13

DT: Dispensation from temporary vows
DF: Dispensation from final vows
VE: Temporary vows expired

had chosen. Many simply found the life unsuitable or not in accordance with their expectations and withdrew during the period of the novitiate and scholasticate. The experience of university life came as a major revelation and an unsettling experience for some, particularly those who had entered the juniorate and proceeded immediately to the novitiate. Many simply declined to renew their temporary vows. A few were found unsuitable during this period and were advised to leave.

There had always been a certain number who proved unable to adapt to demands of school teaching, even though they must have realised that this was fundamental to the life of a Brother of the Christian Schools. Still, many of those who had progressed through the juniorate had very narrow, even monastic, and often idealistic views of the Brothers' lives, which were not always borne out in the reality of life in a small community with a heavy teaching load. A man regularly had to reaffirm his commitment to the religious life. Additionally, the reasons for joining as a youth were often insufficient to sustain a young man in community. One Brother later observed that:

> For various reasons the aspirations of recruits to the Brothers' life were fulfilled in the Houses of Formation. Only few withdrawals

occurred from the Novitiate and Scholasticate. However, when the young Brothers attained their goal and entered community, the even flow of their lives was disrupted. Now, unless the idea of mission and self-dedication had become paramount, other less exalted aims for entering the Institute reasserted themselves. In the confusion of their ideas as adolescents, they had perhaps embarked upon what seemed a great adventure. Frequently they were brought up with a jolt. A number discovered to their dismay that they were not temperamentally suited to the career of a teacher. Their self-esteem suffered accordingly as they struggled to do a job for which they had little or no aptitude. Some in this category found a niche for themselves at some other work in the District or Institute but for others it was a continuing source of disappointment and crisis.

... Also at this time, perhaps, the young Brother became aware of what his vow of celibacy really entailed. This renunciation of deep personal relationship coming at a time often of loneliness and insecurity, became too great a price to pay for an ideal perhaps by now of diminishing clarity and lustre. Many facing such situations now found that the other side of the fence seemed much more inviting and they left to seek a new life elsewhere. Perhaps this exodus was accelerated as the stigma of guilt attached to leaving was by and large removed. As an alternative life-style, religious life had lost its attraction.[71]

The reasons for the defection of those who had made their final profession—and had presumably remade their personal commitment on many occasions—were more complex. In some instances, those not suited to the teaching profession suffered physical or mental breakdown and were encouraged to find a less stressful pursuit; there were few other options for them within a teaching congregation. Moreover, the traditionally strict regimen and the exclusive focus on school teaching did not cater for the changing needs of older men within the Institute. A contemporary survey in the United States indicated that few left the Institute for ideological reasons: most did so because of loneliness and inner frustration.[72]

Colman briefly related the case of one Brother who suffered 'a long history of illness that has preyed on his mind, bringing with it depression and serious nervous tension.' He continued:

> Added to this has been his inability to find happiness in community life. The active life of the community in which he has been living has not helped in this. He has become isolated and extremely lonely.[73]

Some clearly lost their religious zeal and found the strict regimen increasingly irksome. They found particular difficulty in accepting traditional authority, with the need to seek authorisation for apparently innocuous matters. The need to request money for travel or personal items was always difficult. Colman wrote of one man who 'had found it impossible to accept the changes that have taken place in our life as Brothers after the last General Chapter'.

He explained: 'His emotional entanglement with a woman shook him very much, although he disentangled himself from the situation. For two years he has been unable to talk to any of us and so has become withdrawn and most unhappy'.[74]

Others who remained committed to their profession found attractions—particularly female companionship—outside the religious life. Frequently this was simply because of the loneliness in many communities and the need for human companionship and understanding: some claimed that a close woman friend was necessary for personal development.[75] The opportunities for such companionship increased as Brothers engaged in a broader range of academic and professional activities. Some men left the Institute and ultimately married women who had been nuns. This was understandable, because such men and women remained highly motivated and possessed a broad understanding of the life of the other and were able to provide support and advice that religious colleagues were unable to do. Still it was exasperating for superiors, prompting Assistant Richard to remark on one occasion, 'These d... nuns! It is becoming a pattern. It means that we will have to try and deal with it.'[76]

Despite the need for men to serve in the classrooms, the Brothers had always been alive to the need to prevent unsuitable candidates moving through to final profession. Those who clearly proved unsuitable to the demands of the Brothers' particular apostolate were encouraged to seek dispensation. A few were asked to leave because of an obvious inability to live in accordance with their vows. However, it was not a simple matter to dismiss a Brother for impropriety. Baptist had to contend with this issue in the mid-1960s when a Brother gave a sex talk to boys at his school which was judged to be inappropriate. The Visitor was obliged to give a canonical warning in the presence of the Brother's director, and have the man sign three copies of the warning. In this instance, the Assistant urged Baptist to try to persuade the man to seek a dispensation from vows lest he 'get himself and us into worse trouble later on'.[77]

The exodus of men and the task of forwarding requests for dispensations from vows to superiors in Rome were depressing features of the Visitor's task. 'If I sound depressed', wrote Colman on one occasion, 'it is because I am somewhat that way at the present.' He continued:

> In fact, during my morning prayer I have many a time worded a letter to you asking that someone with more vitality and determination and decision be put in my place. But while I would be quite happy to be relieved of the position I don't want to run away from it, for if I did I fear that I might run for the rest of my life.[78]

On such occasions Assistant Richard felt compelled to encourage Colman to look at the bigger picture:

> I have put in the requests for dispensations to Brother Superior. All is well. You should not be in the least depressed. The District is going very well and is still full of life. You can be a happy Visitor. Remember how the Brothers called the three of you back very decisively. You have their confidence—and you have ours complete … I know it is never good or pleasant to see Brothers go. We need all the followers of Christ we can find. …You have done your utmost. As long as religious life is free, and such it must remain, you can do no more. The rest is in God's hands. Be of good cheer. He is always on our side! I would not be worried at all about withdrawing from a school or two.[79]

Resources

The declining number of men was a serious issue—at several levels. It meant that there was a continuing dilution of their presence in all schools conducted by the Brothers and prompted their withdrawal from some of them. Additionally, the declining number of young recruits meant an increase in the average age of those remaining, and the need to spend funds on providing facilities and resources for those who had retired or were no longer able to teach.

The rapid pace of change within the Church and the Institute and increased rate of 'defections' discouraged and created confusion among many who remained. The withdrawal of younger men exacerbated the effects of the declining recruitment, but the departure of senior men, some of them many years after final profession, caused particular concern. Many of these senior men to defect were among the most able. Many had already served as school principals and in other responsible positions and would have been expected to assume even greater responsibilities and leadership within the District.

All of this meant that the younger and more able men were asked to work longer hours with consequences that impacted negatively on the life of individual communities. At the same time there were challenges to the chief role of Brothers in the schools. Some of them found difficulty in coming to terms with the increasing numbers of lay teachers in the schools:

> Some brothers felt particularly strongly about the lay teacher situation … Apart from the difficulty of obtaining sufficient people who are qualified and able teachers … [there was] a growing militancy among some lay teachers that effectively prevents the brothers from running their own schools according to their own policies; the unwillingness or inability of teachers to share in catechetical programmes; their doubtful standing as convinced Christians, the lack of participation in those things other than teaching that must then be shouldered by the brothers; a certain secularisation of the brothers resulting from the attitudes of some lay teachers … some brothers, at least, feel a real sense of frustration and ask that one or two schools, preferably those

> owned by ourselves, be staffed almost wholly by brothers so that we are really able to run 'brothers' schools'.[80]

This assessment was too harsh on lay teachers in general, but others observed that:

> ... many schools have difficulty in getting worthwhile lay staff and the ratio of brothers to lay teachers and the ratio of brothers to pupils is generally quite unsatisfactory for the effective running of truly Christian schools. Moreover, the wholly unsatisfactory financial situation of nearly all the schools we own is brought about largely by the wage bill for lay teachers.[81]

These comments were made, even while conditions were changing rapidly. Lay teachers were becoming increasingly qualified; many were more highly qualified than Brothers, and they were undertaking additional work in the schools. Moreover, the 39th General Chapter had encouraged the closer partnership with lay teachers. The *Declaration* of 1967 touched on the need to mould schools 'into a community ... through a community of teachers rich in diversity and the unity of its members'. It continued: 'For this reason the Brothers are happy to collaborate with lay teachers, who bring to the teaching community a contribution that comes from their knowledge of the world, their experience in family life, civic affairs, and labor organisations'.

Brothers became an ever-diminishing percentage of the teachers in the schools. For all that, the demands on them continued to grow as individual schools increased in size. St Michael's in South Australia spawned a second campus in 1967 when the senior classes moved from the original site at Beverley to a new site at Henley Beach.

Administrative demands on principals also increased with the greater demands for accountability. There developed in the larger schools the practice of separating the roles of director of the community and principal of the school. Thus Quentin O'Halloran became director of the Cronulla community in 1967 and was followed by Edward Gehrig in 1971, though Celestine acted as principal from 1967 to 1973. The distinction was not made in all instances, but became increasingly common. Patrick Howard sought formal discussion on the issue in April 1972 in the hope of canvassing some unanimity because the division raised important issues. However, the distinction continued to depend on individual Brothers appointed to these positions and the size of communities. Indeed, Edward combined the two roles at Cronulla again in 1975 as did his successor Stanislaus Carmody. The roles were combined in most smaller schools. The issue continued to be raised at District Council and Chapter level, but most preferred to leave the matter as an informal arrangement, rather than subject to strict guidelines.

Rationalisation

There was clearly a need for continued rationalisation of schools into the 1970s. Curriculum changes occasioned some of this. However, increasingly it became necessary because of declining numbers of Brothers available to manage these schools.

The idea of providing a Catholic education for all Catholic school children had long been impossible, but Catholics still struggled to provide such an education for as many as possible. This ideal imposed a heavy burden on parents who were expected to bear the burden of funding the schools, and on the Brothers and other religious, who were expected to provide the bulk of teachers. The tradition of religious conducting Catholic schools meant that many religious and parents were concerned at the greater numbers of lay teachers being employed. The need for lay teachers increased the cost of Catholic education.

Fortunately, additional government funding eased the burden of funding Catholic schools. Federal grants were made available to non-government schools for the first time under provisions of the 1969 Budget on the basis of $35 per primary student and $50 per secondary student. The first payments were made in the first term of 1970 with an adjusting payment being made in accordance with numbers of students enrolled in August 1970. Payments were made to the owners of schools. Thus allocations for students at those schools that they owned, namely, Armidale, Scarborough, Oakhill College, Cronulla, Malvern, Mentone and Henley-Beverley, were made directly to the Brothers. Payments for diocesan-owned schools were made to a diocesan fund and disbursed to the schools. Additionally, state governments began to provide additional assistance. For example, the South Australian state government provided a measure of financial relief from 1969 with a grant of $10 per primary student and $20 for each secondary student.

These grants were a welcome addition to school funds. The financial assistance permitted the employment of additional lay staff that helped lower pupil/teacher ratios. For example, in the eight years from 1972 the teacher/student ratio in Catholic secondary schools in South Australia, generally decreased from 23.5 to 16.2.[82] On the other hand, increased funding for lay teachers, channelled through central diocesan agen-



Assembly at De La Salle College, Bankstown. Brother Michael Johnson is taking the assembly with Kevin Moloney in the centre (Photograph by The Leicagraph Co., Sydney).

A snapshot of schools: 1967–1973

	1967	1970	1973
Schools	31	33	28
Brothers	214	201	185
Primary	42	28	
Secondary	172	173	
Lay teachers	247	304	407
Primary	85	76	
Secondary	162	228	
Classes	375	397	383
Primary	120	100	89
Secondary	255	297	294
Pupils	13,862	13,822	14,384
Primary	4763	3633	3282
Secondary	9099	10,189	11,102
Boarders	1175	1551	1662

cies, increased the power of these agencies. The Catholic Building and Finance Commission in Sydney began paying lay teachers' salaries from January 1967, but because of this responsibility also determined salary scales for lay teachers and the numbers to be employed each year.[83] This prompted the first teachers' strike in New South Wales in early 1967, involving 12 teachers from De La Salle College, Revesby, and five from Christian Brothers' College, Bondi Beach. The proposed rearrangement meant that some teachers were expected to take a salary cut. The action failed because the teachers were unable to mobilise sufficient support.[84] This situation was to change.

Coeducation, so long forbidden in Catholic schools, except primary schools, ultimately became a reality. It was driven by necessity, especially in country centres where student numbers were insufficient to justify separate schools for boys and girls, particularly with the additional demand made by the Wyndham scheme in New South Wales to provide specialist teaching facilities. The argument was primarily carried by the Australian hierarchy who feared the collapse of the traditional education system, especially in country towns, should coeducation not be implemented.

The Brothers ultimately became willing participants after the Institute's General Chapter in 1966 removed the restriction on their teaching girls. The Second Commission—which had also dealt with the question of Brothers and the priesthood—recommended that the Institute should prefer to remain at the service of boys and

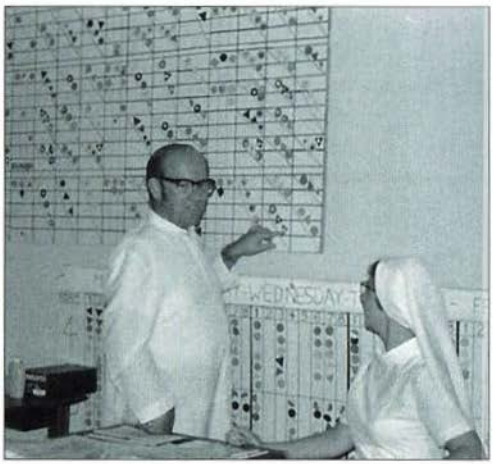
young men, but should recognise local conditions where coeducation was desirable. Subsequently the Provincial Chapter was permitted to allow the practice should the Brothers consider it advisable and the Bishops, clergy and parents request it.[85] The issue caused little debate because conditions throughout the world had made the prohibition on coeducation increasingly anachronistic and futile. Baptist had anticipated little problem with the situation in Australia:

> As far as the Brothers are concerned if they take the precautions outlined in the present Rule regarding boys, they will be amply safeguarded where the girls are concerned. I consider that the greater problem rests with the Religious Brother teaching girls rather than with the boy-girl situation.[86]

The Brothers at Inverell, Lithgow and Dubbo in New South Wales were among the first to be engaged in truly coeducational teaching. Indeed, the school building at Inverell had been designed to facilitate its use for coeducational purposes, and even before coeducation was formally adopted there had been a sharing of facilities. Thus, in 1964 girls from the Sisters of Mercy convent school at Inverell shared science rooms at the Brothers' school because of demands of the Wyndham scheme and the lack of science facilities at the convent school. Under the arrangement, the girls had exclusive use of the science room and one classroom for two periods each day where they were taught by the Sisters. The Brothers' and Sisters' secondary schools were combined at the beginning of the 1967 school year, when three Sisters of Mercy joined the four Brothers and three lay teachers.[87]

Coeducation commenced at La Salle Academy at Lithgow at the beginning of the 1968 school year after the completion of major new extensions. Under the new arrangements the secondary department at St Patrick's School at Lithgow—both girls and Sisters of St Joseph—transferred to La Salle Academy, while the boys and Brothers in the primary section at La Salle transferred to St Patrick's: secondary student numbers were boosted by the closure of the secondary classes at St Joseph's Catholic Intermediate High School at nearby Portland.[88] The new order commenced on 30 January 1968 with Brothers Hugh Corkeron, Joachim Hope and Michael Keating teaching in the secondary school with the assistance of four sisters and three lay teachers. Hugh was principal of the new school with a Sister of St Joseph as the deputy principal.

The following year, 1969, the secondary department at St John's College, Dubbo, became coeducational, and for essentially the same



Brother Malachy Yates (principal) and Sister Gabriella Graez (deputy) discussing timetabling, Dubbo, 1972.

reasons. The secondary girls and five Sisters from St Patrick's College for girls and conducted by the Sisters of Mercy since 1888, joined the boys and Brothers at De La Salle College. That year there were 218 girls and 149 boys in Forms 1 to 4.[89] Ignatius Kennedy was school principal with a Sister of Mercy as deputy and 'girls' supervisor'. There were an additional five full-time lay staff. Theodore O'Shannessy travelled each day to the primary department at the convent school where he was deputy principal.[90]

Girls were welcomed to the campus of St Michael's College at Henley Beach in 1972, when eight students from nearby Siena College joined the matriculation class. The request was made by the Archbishop of Adelaide, and the brothers could hardly refuse.[91] In the first instance the Brothers agreed to have girls in the matriculation class for three years only, but in 1973 the Council agreed to have coeducation in Form 5 from 1975 onwards.[92] Five years passed after they joined the college before the first of them was appointed college vice-captain.

There was also a rationalisation of property at Oakhill. Colman proposed the sale of a 20-acre section to the north of the property that had only ever been used for grazing stock. The proceeds were earmarked for renovations and additions to both the Kensington and Oakhill properties.[93]

District Assessment

The pressure under which the Brothers worked was a continuing issue confronted by Colman. The District Chapter finally resolved to address the matter and sought a detailed assessment of the current situation and the level of Brothers' commitments. In the first instance, Brothers were asked to respond to a questionnaire. Then, late in 1970 several Brothers—Vincent Cotter, James Mahon, Bill Firman and Celestine Gavin, later joined by Malachy Yates and Martin Blattman—were asked to serve on a District Planning Committee to examine the situation in detail.



Paul Keating, local member of the House of Representatives and old scholar of De La Salle College, Bankstown, addressing a gathering at St John's College, Lakemba

Committee members visited each school within the District and provided a detailed assessment of each, together with recommendations about its immediate future. The report provided something of a snapshot of the District at the time. It was not an optimistic report:

... we are presently suffering from over-committing our resources in the past. This did lead to a curtailed 'preparatory education' for young brothers and hampered

District overview 1970

School	*Brothers*		*Lay staff*				*Students*		*Boarders*	*Classes*	
	P	*S*	*P*	*S*	*M*	*F*	*P*	*S*		*P*	*S*
Armidale	1	8		9	7	2	50	378	201	1	10
Ashfield	1	9	3	28	25	6	167	700		4	23
Bankstown		6	6	12	15	3	233	453		6	12
Benilde High		5		11	6	5		297			11
Beaudesert		5		1	1			65	65		3
Bereina		5		1	1			251	251		6
Beverley/Henley	3	9	8	17	16	9	402	504		11	14
Blenheim	3		1			1	131			4	
Bomana		6		3	3			200	200		6
Castle Hill	3	9	3	11	13	1	192	455	139	5	12
Caringbah	1	6	8	10	13	5	282	451		8	12
Cootamundra	1	3		4	1	3		196		3	8
Cronulla		5		3	2	1		150	25		6
Dandenong		7		10	9	1		448			12
Dubbo	1	4		5	2	3		395			10
East Bentleigh		3						79			2
Haberfield	1		3		1	2	105			4	
Inverell	1	4	2	3	3	2	80	220		3	8
Kingsgrove		6	6	8	13	1	202	343		6	10
Kondiu		4						175	175		5
Lakemba		6	6	7	9	4	217	353		6	10
Lithgow	1	4		5	2	3		271			8
Malvern	1	10	2	16	15	3	125	709		3	18
Mangere	1	5	4	4	6	2	150	272		4	8
Marrickville	1	4	3	7	7	3	156	228		4	8
Mentone		11	2	26	22	6	91	1064	80	2	26
Midland	1	3	3	1	1	3	156	116		4	3
New Plymouth	2	8		8	4	4	71	308	137	2	12
Orange	1	5	7	4	7	4	318	233		8	8
Revesby	2	5	4	14	12	6	261	486		6	13
Scarborough	2	8	5	13	17	1	244	392	197	6	13
Yule Island		3			2	2		81	81		4

the 'continued education' of brothers already teaching, and made difficult 'the deepening and renewing of the intellectual life'. Some communities because of small numbers or because of their work-load find it difficult 'to create dialogue and reflection'. Likewise our present commitments do not leave us any leeway to give 'sufficient attention to changing conditions and new opportunities'.[94]

The Brothers owned only eight schools in which they taught. These included those at Scarborough, Armidale, Castle Hill, Cronulla, Malvern, Mentone, Beverley and Henley Beach, and New Plymouth in New Zealand.

Changes in formation, particularly in the scholasticate with a greater emphasis on university education reflected a change within the schools, where fewer Brothers had the opportunity to teach in primary classes. This reflected a change apparent over several years where primary classes had been cut from schools and where Brothers who were primary teachers were shifted into secondary classes. This trend alarmed Theodore O'Shannessy, then of Dubbo.[95] Indeed, there were many of his colleagues who had never—or rarely—taught in senior classes, and had no wish to do so. Joseph Sullivan, who began his teaching career at Orange in 1927, was content to spend all of it teaching in primary and junior secondary classes and had no aspirations for high office. Theodore argued in terms used in the *Declaration* that the new philosophy within the Institute, with its emphasis on the need to encourage the personal growth of individuals, should permit those Brothers who wished, to choose to remain as primary teachers, even if this meant their teaching was undertaken in state schools or primary schools conducted by others. In large part, this came to pass.

The question of whether or not to withdraw from schools was one important issue; the associated issue was whether or not the Brothers should withdraw from their own schools or parish and diocesan schools. There were some like Vincent Underwood, imbued with the spirit of the intellectual ferment of the late 1960s, who argued that the Brothers should withdraw from their own schools first of all, believing that this was closest to the spirit of the *Declaration* and indeed, that of John Baptist De La Salle.[96] They argued the virtues of diversification, with the Brothers acting like leaven within Catholic schools rather than retiring to 'Brother-administered-ghettos'.[97]

Ambrose identified essentially four positions. He believed there was a numerically strong group of Brothers—who were ill-informed about problems in Sydney and Melbourne—who opposed any closures. There was a small, but vocal, minority who questioned the very role of Brothers in schools. Others in Sydney and Melbourne were aware of the need to close schools, but looked primarily to 'the bush or the West, or to Blenheim'. The fourth—small—group argued that Brothers should remain associated with schools but concentrate on counselling and camps.[98]

The District Planning Committee reported to the Council at the end of August 1971. Colman summarised the report thus:

> The overall impression that it provides is of a numerically stable group of dedicated men performing creditably in thirty schools many

of which are thought to be near crisis point, a crisis of morale arising largely out of a feeling of frustration at being unable to fulfil adequately the ideals they set themselves in making religious profession.

There seems to be good grounds for concluding that this state of stress cannot be permitted to continue. There is obvious need for re-organisation and redeployment which does not seem possible without some retrenchment.[99]

The report highlighted the need to rationalise Brothers' commitments in the interests of:

the welfare of the brothers as persons, as religious and as professional men. We wish to see them working in schools with a reasonable brother/lay teacher/pupil ratio where they are in sufficient numbers to conduct a really Christian school and to form a community that has the ability to create dialogue and reflection and to deepen and renew the intellectual life.[100]

Even before the Committee recommendations could be considered in detail, the Brothers had to make cutbacks. They withdrew from St Ignatius' Boys' School at Richmond in Victoria at the end of 1969, largely in accordance with planning in the Melbourne Archdiocese, though the school continued as a primary school with a lay staff and principal. As part of an agreement with the Archdiocese, the Brothers commenced at East Bentleigh in 1970, with Virgil Kennedy as principal.



The last community at Richmond, with other staff, 1969. Left to right, Brothers, Edmund Young, Bernard Brell, Eric Pigott.

Diminishing resources prompted withdrawal from Midland Junction in Western Australia at the end of 1971. The school continued with a Christian Brother, a Franciscan priest and a sister, and eventually became coeducational under a lay staff and a lay principal, Jan Jolley, a former De La Salle Brother.

The Planning Committee recommendations provided the basis for discussions with diocesan and Catholic education authorities. It became a major issue for Colman and his District Council. The greatest impact was felt in New South Wales, because most Brothers' schools were there. Colman informed Brothers of the situation and the deliberations of the Council in mid July–1972 following lengthy discussion with Church authorities:

Ashfield: To remain as a full secondary school to Form VI under a lay principal and lay staff, with two Brothers on the staff with the coordination of religious education as their chief work. Arrangements 'ad experimentum' for two years.

Lakemba: To continue as a primary and secondary school to Form IV with a Brother as Principal of the school and a Brother as head of the primary department. Arrangement as above.

Kingsgrove: The number of Brothers to be reduced to four to prepare for a gradual transfer to lay teachers.

Haberfield: To remain with a Brother Principal as long as is possible under the circumstances.

Oakhill College: Will begin the phasing out of boarders.

Inverell: The number of Brothers will be reduced by one at the end of this year.

Armidale: The Brothers at St Mary's Primary School will be withdrawn at the end of this year.

Cootamundra: The number of Brothers will be reduced by one at the end of this year.

Bathurst Diocese: Each of the communities in the diocese will be reduced by one at the end of this year.

Dandenong: The authorities have been notified that we cannot any longer *guarantee* to provide Principals for either the Form IV Boys' School or the Form V–VI Co-Ed School in future.

Blenheim: We have agreed to leave one Brother at Blenheim for an extra year to help in the transfer to a lay staff. Brother Michael has agreed to take on this task.[101]

The District Council laid out the key issues before the Conference of Australian Bishops at its meeting in January 1973, but declined to take any immediate decisions. Instead it referred the issue to the 1973 District Chapter for the formulation of a future policy.

Finally some clear directions had been taken to resolve an issue that had remained unchecked for too long. Church authorities regretted the initiative, but generally appreciated the Brothers' position and the manner in which Colman had raised it with them. Many Brothers found the moves disappointing.[102] The withdrawal of the community from Ashfield caused most heartache. The College had been the second-oldest in Sydney and was akin to Malvern in so far as it had a strong school spirit and had provided numerous vocations to the Institute and the priesthood. However, the Brothers had to withdraw from a large school, if any closure were to release a significant number of men for other positions. Ashfield was not owned by the Institute, unlike Malvern, Mentone, Henley Beach or Scarborough.

Peter Donnan, previously the mathematics master at Killara High School, took charge of the school at Ashfield from the beginning of the 1973 school year. The Brothers agreed to provide two of their number—Vincent Underwood and Geoffrey Kennewell—to co-ordinate the teaching of Religious Knowledge

and the pastoral care of students at the school.[103] Xavier Johannsen provided a continuing Brother's presence on the Board of Management.

The manner of the school rationalisation underscored significant changes in Catholic education and the enhanced and increasingly professional role played by lay people. The school at Katoomba had closed completely in 1966 when the Brothers withdrew. In other instances, however, the schools continued, frequently under lay control, as at Ashfield. Teaching in Catholic schools had now become a career for lay people, not simply a job.

Contentious issues

Colman and his colleagues addressed other issues long neglected. One major issue was that of stipends. These were rarely reviewed and it was never in the interests of parish priests or diocesan authorities to initiate such reviews. Baptist had tried with little success to have these reviewed and by the 1970s, stipends in most instances were inadequate to support the Brothers. Brothers at Dubbo in 1969 received a paltry $1700 per year. This was considered insufficient to meet community running expenses and District and Institute obligations. The situation was no better at Dandenong in Victoria where the annual stipend was only $1456. The Brothers' stipend at Ashfield was paid by the Catholic Building and Finance Office but, it too, was 'quite insufficient for the upkeep of the Brothers as well [as] contribute to the running of the Province'.

Colman tackled the issue as a matter of urgency and managed to renegotiate stipends that reflected current costs of living. The District Council meeting of 28 and 29 June 1969 raised the District dues to $600 per Brother per year.[104]

Colman also addressed issues that his predecessors and other senior men in the District had preferred to ignore. The Brothers had never been good at confronting colleagues with evident weaknesses. Some older men had grown fond of drink as a means of relieving the stress under which they worked. It became an open secret that a few men were probably alcoholics, but their situation was considered one of weakness rather than that of a disease to be confronted. Colleagues preferred to ignore such problems. They preferred not to become involved or made excuses for their confreres. Colman tackled the problem. In one instance he removed a senior man from the position of principal and refused to give him any more responsible appointments unless the man agreed to enter an Alcoholics Anonymous program. This ultimately occurred and the man continued to pursue a fulfilling apostolate. Colman confronted other men besides, convinced that alcoholism was a disease that could be controlled, if not remedied, rather than a weakness to be covered up.



Funeral service in the Oakhill Chapel for Brother Benildus de Moulin, the first Australian-born Brother.

Deaths

The District lost another link with its foundation when Benildus de Moulin, the first Australian to receive the robe, died while in Adelaide on a holiday on 24 September 1968. He had been a Brother for 54 years and had been honoured with an MBE four years earlier in recognition of his 50 years' service to education in Australia. He was part of the Beaudesert community at the time of his death, where he undertook clerical duties.

Lawrence O'Connor died on 1 September 1973. Born in Narrogin, Western Australia on 10 June 1909, he had the distinction of being a member of the Brothers of St John the Baptist, before becoming a De La Salle Brother on 2 February 1943. The Brothers of St John the Baptist had been founded by Father John Healy in 1891 at Hilton, in suburban Adelaide, to conduct a school for boys: the school moved to George Street, Thebarton, in 1895. The work expanded with the opening of a boys' reformatory at Brooklyn Park in 1898 and a men's shelter at Garfield in 1900. One of the Brothers, Francis Smyth, became a priest and spiritual director of the small congregation. This caused dissension. The congregation failed to prosper, persuading Archbishop Beovich to suppress it in 1942. Conduct of the orphanage was taken over by the Salesian Fathers, while former members were free to join other congregations.[105] Lawrence chose the De La Salle Brothers.

Cyril Finch died in 1970, aged 74. He had been a most gentle man. Others who died soon after included Claude Davis (53) and Philbert Ryan (58) in 1972 and Julian Bell (42) the following year.

* * *

Succeeding District Chapters became important milestones in District development, providing opportunities to reflect on progress during the previous period and to make adjustments for the period immediately ahead. The 1973 District Chapter marked a changing of the guard, but in other respects a confirmation of new directions set by Colman, Stanislaus and Patrick. Assistant Richard summed up the contribution of the Triumvirate, Colman, Stanislaus and Patrick, during a particularly difficult period of the District's history:

> Their nine [sic] years of office, during probably one of the hardest periods in the history of religious life, have been years of outstanding dedication, achievement and service. It is not too easy in these

times to find solutions palatable to all. One can however say they achieved this in no mean fashion.

Br Colman gave the leadership, imperative in our days. The great trust he showed his two auxiliaries built up a remarkable team characterised by the real qualities of men working in harmony: mutual concern, tolerance, frankness of speech (at times quite devastating) and joyful common living that captivated all who came into contact with them.

... All this naturally spilled over on to the District and I am sure the administration which is now reaching its end will be remembered for its pastoral concern for each individual Brother and a tolerance which liberated souls. All this gave hope.

The nine [sic] years for which we have to thank Br Colman, Br Patrick and Br Stanislaus shall stand as great in the history of your District.[106]

Stanislaus, a contemporary, close friend and Auxiliary Visitor reiterated this:

He sent four Brothers engaged in formation to the first session of C.I.L. so they could more effectively pass on to those in training the spirit of the General Chapter.

He gave the opportunity for higher degrees to those Brothers who had held the fort in our schools for many years and, because of their commitment, had been denied such opportunities.

He sent Brothers overseas each year to further their spiritual and educational development—and did not limit their opportunities.

He invited experts from overseas to run courses and seminars for groups of Brothers—giving them time out of school for the purpose.

He appointed Br. Quentin to organise a series of spirituality courses for Brothers five to ten years professed.

He negotiated with Bishops for a living stipend—especially in those areas where communities were experiencing great difficulties to exist.

He took special interest in our missions—visiting and supporting them regularly.

He faced up to the fact that withdrawals had necessitated rationalising the number of schools we could usefully service and did not shirk taking the necessary steps.

Above all he was available to the Brothers as individuals; was more than generous with his time to anyone that needed it.[107]

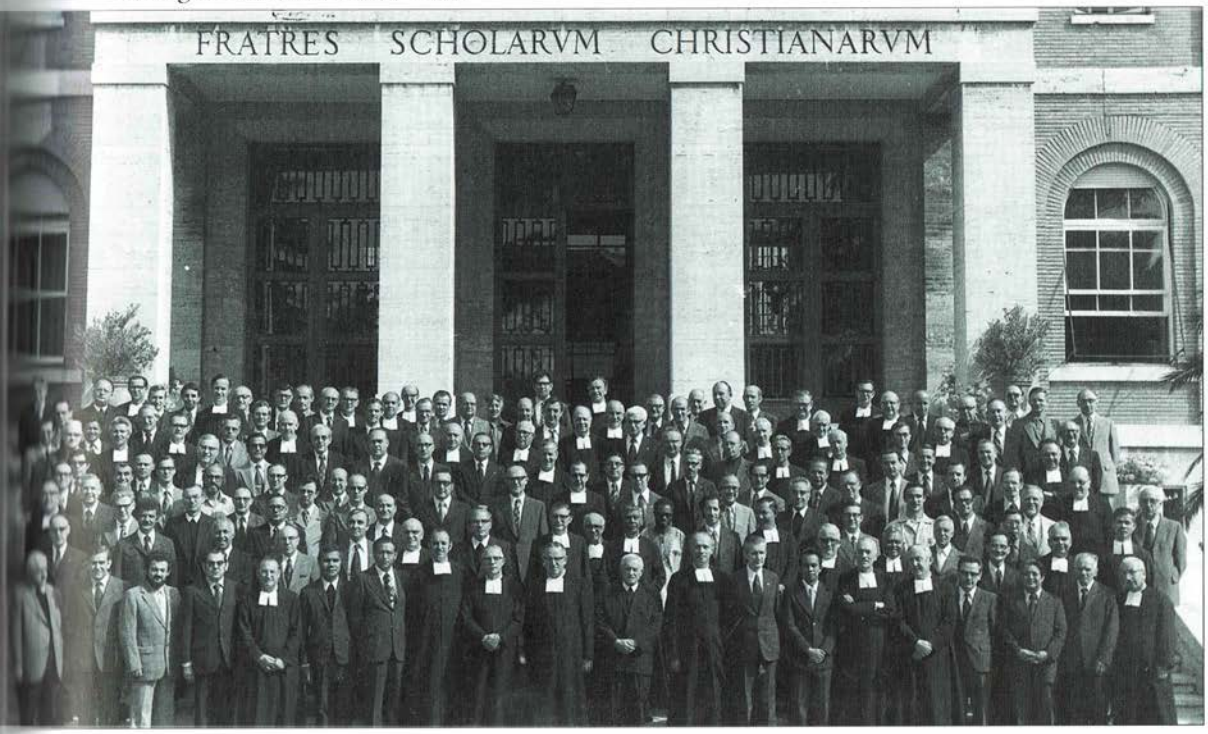
Colman's genius was in recognising the need for change and seeking to accommodate it. However, he had no control over it and little appreciation of where it was to lead. Indeed, there was little for his immediate successors to do but follow his example.

Chapter Eight

Facing the Ebb Tide
1973–1980

The chief task facing the Institute throughout the 1970s continued to be the challenge of maintaining schools in the face of declining numbers of Brothers because of withdrawals, retirements, deaths, fewer recruits, and an aging population. However, their challenge was no different from that facing other religious congregations in Australia and New Zealand, and, indeed, the world.

Australia's Catholic population, for instance, continued to increase numerically along with the nation's general population, which became increasingly multi-cultural. The numerical increase boosted by immigration from southern European countries and Vietnam, however, masked a general decline in religious observance among the traditional Catholic population. In contrast to the Australian population generally, the numbers of religious men and women declined and became less multi-racial. In the ten years from 1966 to 1976 when the total Australian population increased by 14 per cent, with the Catholic population increasing by 17 per cent, the numbers of Australian religious declined by 13 per cent, from 19,413 in 1966, to 16,879 a decade later. The number of male religious declined from 4791 to 4410 during this ten-year period. At the same time there was an ageing of the religious population. In 1966 there were 15 per cent of religious under 25 years, declining to 5 per cent in 1976: at the same time the percentage over 60 years increased from 22 per cent to 32 per cent. The effects of these changes were exacerbated by the decline in the numbers of recruits which fell from 645 in 1966 to 254 in 1975: the recruitment of Brothers declined by 36 per cent.[1] Such figures indicated that the

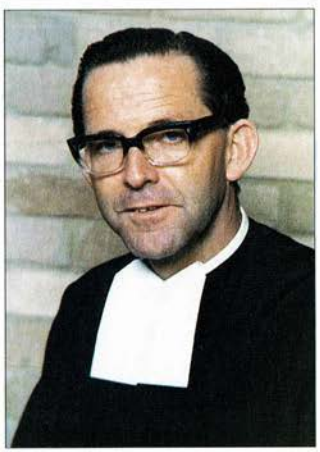


General Chapter, Rome, 1976. Australians present were, Brothers Raphael Bassett, Quentin O'Halloran (Visitor) and Aloysius Carmody.

De La Salle Brothers were not alone in facing the challenge of staffing their schools, though this did not minimise the practical issues.

Fortunately, continuing financial assistance from federal and state governments permitted the recruitment of ever-increasing numbers of lay teachers. Even so, there remained many challenges for Brothers and other teachers because of the changing cultures of the schools and society generally. Only a few years earlier boys were often expelled if they were caught smoking cigarettes or wearing long hair. These seemed minor infractions during the 1970s when the use of drugs became increasingly prevalent.[2]

Brother Quentin O'Halloran, Visitor (1974–1980) (Photograph by The Gallery, Melbourne).



Under new management

The District came under new management at the beginning of 1974 when Quentin O'Halloran became Visitor, with Raphael Bassett as his auxiliary. Quentin represented a new generation. He was a former student of Ashfield, and more recently principal of Benilde College, Bankstown. He was a quiet, very pastoral man, and a peerless teacher, who invariably made a great impression on those he taught. He was a natural choice to follow Colman, and Raphael, a man of immense ability, was an admirable choice as auxiliary after having completed an MA degree in the United States.

Day-to-day, even year-to-year, management of the District continued to be a local affair. It became more so after the 40th

Withdrawals: 1973–1983[3]

Year	*DT+VE*	*DF*	*Total*
1973	6	7	13
1974	4	3	7
1975	1	6	7
1976	2	–	2
1977	2	5	7
1978	2	1	3
1978	2	–	2
1980	5	2	7
1981	4	–	4
1982	8	4	12
1983	3	2	5

DT: Dispensation from temporary vows
DF: Dispensation from final vows
VE: Temporary vows expired

General Chapter in 1976 which Quentin and Raphael attended. The Chapter effectively abolished the hierarchical administrative structure of the Institute. The role of Brothers Assistants—one-time higher superiors who could direct Visitors and intervene in district matters—was abolished. General councillors, who became identified with particular areas primarily because of their facility with the language, had an advisory role only, with no canonical authority and they visited districts only when invited to do so.

Visits from senior Institute Brothers became increasingly frequent as international travel became easier, and their actual powers diminished. Pablo Basterrachea, the Vicar General, visited the District from 5 to 24 January 1974 and returned in 1976 as Superior General. There was a visit by two General Councillors, John Johnson, the new Vicar General, and Benildo Feliciano in July and August 1978. Such visits tended to emphasise the international nature of the Institute and invigorate morale, but had little effect on local management.



District Council, 1976. Standing: left to right, Brothers Leo Kane, Bill Firman, Colman Molloy, Conrad Callinan, Celestine Gavin, Patrick Howard, Xavier Johansson. Sitting: left to right, Brothers Gerard Rummery, Raphael Bassett, Quentin O'Halloran, Ambrose Payne, Christian Moe (Photograph by The Gallery, Melbourne).

The new management represented an ordered succession and membership of the District Council remained largely unchanged, with the new leaders having been party to key decisions taken earlier. Colman continued to reside at

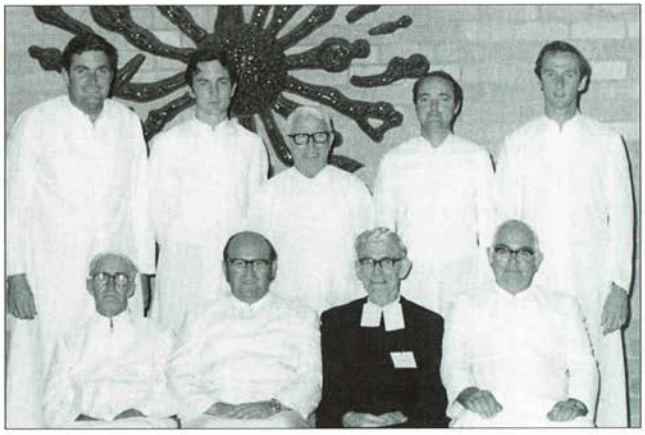
Kensington in the role of District Bursar and Secretary until 1979 when he transferred to the Catholic College of Education community at Oakhill. Quentin preferred having Colman in this role rather than a second auxiliary Visitor. The main challenge facing the new management team continued to be the most efficient deployment of men, most of whom remained identified with classroom teaching. This essentially meant the continued rationalisation of schools.

The steady withdrawal of men from the Institute continued to be a concern, not least because it placed increased pressures on those remaining.

Continuing Brothers regretted the withdrawals, but they grew to accept the validity of the notion that withdrawal was not so much a defection as a change of vocation, especially as former colleagues moved into responsible positions in Catholic education and the life of the Church. Most former Brothers continued in educational areas, some of them in former Institute schools. Allan Coman became the second lay principal of De La Salle College, Ashfield, where he had been educated as a boy: his contribution to the development of the college was later recognised in the name of a new building. Bas Hoogenboom, a student at St John's College at Dandenong, returned as its deputy principal. John Day worked in the Catholic Education Office of the archdiocese of Sydney: Leo Kane became an educational consultant to the diocese of Broken Bay in Sydney's north. Paul Conway became a lecturer at the Brisbane campus of the Catholic University; Kevin Wilding became an educational consultant.

Some former Brothers who withdrew as young men had the chance to develop alternative careers. David Lovell became a publisher of Catholic literature and a principal of Dove Communications until it was acquired by Collins, which was itself soon acquired by Rupert Murdoch's American publishing company, Harper & Row. Bill Healy became a supplier of science texts. Bernard Nevin left to become a Cistertian monk and was finally professed in January 1975 at the Southern Star Abbey, at Hawkes Bay in New Zealand.

There continued to be Brothers who aspired to the priesthood. William Mullins sought leave of absence in late 1974 so that he might study for the priesthood at St Paul's Seminary, Kensington, New South Wales, having been accepted by Archbishop Gleeson for his Adelaide Archdiocese. He had been asked to work for the Sacred Congregation of Catholic Education in Rome after completing his PhD in Religious Education, at the Catholic University of America in Washington. He resigned his Vatican post to return to Australia to test his vocation and taught at the Catholic College of Education while considering his options. He was ordained on 1 November 1975.



Last community at Kingsgrove, 1976. Standing: left to right, Brothers Anthony Moore, Paul Toohey, Philip O'Callaghan, John Cantwell, Rory Higgins. Sitting: left to right, Eugene Brauer, Malachy Yates, Edmund Shanahan, Gregory Bruchhausser.

Dwindling manpower resources necessitated the continuing withdrawal from schools, though they remained the primary focus of the Institute and the primary workplace for many of the Brothers. The District Planning Committee recommended withdrawal from one of the schools in the Bathurst diocese, in this case, La Salle Academy. However, after discussion with Bishop Thomas the Brothers withdrew instead from St John's College, Dubbo, at the end of 1974. The chief reasons advanced by Quentin for withdrawing from Dubbo applied in most instances:

- Our aim to build up the number of Brothers in country Communities in a sincere effort to strengthen community life.
- Our need to release men of more mature years for study that they might gain tertiary qualifications and derive personal enrichment which will eventually assist the District.
- Our efforts to increase the number of Brothers working in the Catholic College of Education where we are preparing lay teachers for the Catholic school system ...
- The cold, hard fact that we are finding it increasingly difficult to meet all our school commitments.[4]

Setting priorities for the future in the light of available manpower and reconsideration of the District Formation Program were the main issues considered by the 1976 District Chapter. The chief objectives guiding discussions were:

- the desire to maintain our present numerical commitment to the apostolate of Papua New Guinea as a response to the call of the General Chapter to have a special concern for the poor and the people of the lands of the Young Churches;
- to be able to continue to provide spiritual and professional renewal for as many of our Brothers as possible;
- as a measure of our concern for our new members to commit more and better prepared men to our Formation programme;
- to maintain and even increase the number of Brothers involved in the preparation of lay teachers for the Catholic school systems;
- to make it possible for some Brothers to engage in apostolates more directly concerned with the service of the very poor;
- to provide for our sick and retired Brothers either in the Communities or specialised centres.[5]

The Visitor and Council agreed to close the Kingsgrove community and withdraw from the school at the end of 1976. Similarly

they decided to withdraw the two men from Ashfield at the end of 1977. That same year they withdrew from the Catholic High School at Cootamundra that the Brothers conducted with the Sisters of Mercy. John Corkeron, principal, was the only Brother at East Bentleigh from the commencement of the 1978 school year. The Brothers agreed to withdraw from Inverell at the end of that year, with Vincent Keating's primary role as principal at Inverell in 1978 being to assist the phasing-in of a lay administration.

Most Brothers accepted the need to rationalise resources in view of changing circumstances. Their main concern was the manner of doing it. The continuation of boarding schools had become an increasingly contentious issue in Australia. The establishment of high schools in major country centres in the years after World War II, along with sufficient staffing and funding to ensure a high quality of education, meant that there was less need for country students to travel to the capital cities or major country centres for the education necessary for entry to a tertiary educational institution. Moreover, the social circumstances of the 1970s and the generally less intense or overt commitment of Catholics towards the Church and their religion meant that there was less concern among Catholic parents to ensure a Catholic education for their children. The continually rising costs of boarding was another disincentive for parents to send their sons to boarding school. All of this led to a general decline in the numbers of students seeking places in Catholic boarding schools in Australia.

The matter concerned the Brothers because they continued to conduct boarding schools at Mentone, Oakhill and Armidale, and at New Plymouth in New Zealand. Parents faced considerable costs in sending sons to boarding school, but so too, did the Brothers in maintaining them. The capital cost of providing modern facilities was considerable, without taking account of the continuing cost and responsibilities of providing catering services and supervision.

The future of the boarding school at Mentone was raised as early as 1962. The current facilities were substandard and the cost of replacing them with appropriate facilities was daunting.[6] The college engaged a firm of chartered accountants to provide data about the cost of managing the boarding school, currently home to about 70 students. The Mentone community ultimately voted to maintain the boarding section, but to



Mentone community, 1974. Standing: left to right, Brothers Joseph Young, Kieran Rush, Paul Smith, Philip Elwin, Bernard Edwards, Lawrence King, Bill Firman. Sitting: left to right, Brothers Edmund Young, Michael McCabe, Philip O'Brien, Peter McIntosh, Matthew Kennedy, Finian Allman, Tim Peter.

phase out the primary section.[7] The matter was debated again during the late 1960s, when Peter McIntosh, principal from 1968–1974, embarked on an ambitious plan to remove all the old timber-framed buildings—including those used by the boarders—and build new facilities to permit St Bede's to accommodate up to 1200 students. Peter had arrived at Mentone convinced that the boarding section would have to close. However, he became its greatest advocate once he appreciated its role within the school community. Once again, the Brothers voted to maintain the boarding section, provide new facilities, work to increase the boarder numbers and ensure that it was at least self-supporting.[8] Rebuilding the boarding facilities commenced in 1969 and continued in two stages over the succeeding 15 years, despite a 1970 recommendation of the District Planning Committee to have the boarding section closed. Bill Firman, who succeeded Peter as principal at St Bede's, continued the initiative and involved lay staff in the management of the boarding school to provide relief for Brothers. Significantly, the closure of other boarding schools in Victoria maintained demand for places at St Bede's, which by the 1980s was one of only two Catholic boys' boarding schools in Melbourne, the other being Xavier College. From a low of 44 boarders in 1964, numbers increased to 81 in 1970, 89 in 1980 and 112 in 1985.

The District took a different decision concerning Oakhill. Boarders' numbers had declined, but the demand for places from day students remained strong, particularly with rapid residential development in the area. The Brothers began phasing out the boarding section to ensure its termination at the end of 1974.[9]

The boarding section at Armidale closed in 1974, though in this instance because the school was virtually bankrupt and the District had insufficient resources—financial and human—to permit it to continue operating. Some decisions were harder for Brothers to accept than others. The decision to scale back the Brothers' presence in Armidale, the birthplace of the Institute in Australia, was harder than most. However, the financial situation of the college demanded drastic action. The position had steadily deteriorated since George Lyons' time as principal (1948–56), and had become alarming. The situation exemplified the lack of financial discipline that characterised the Institute at the time, at both school and District level. The lack of financial adeptness at the school level was evident in the practice that had grown of never charging fees for day boys, no matter what the circumstances of their parents. Moreover, during any year there were ten boys—two each year—holding Maitland diocesan bursaries, but for which no funding was received for the five years that recipients attended the college. A difficult position was exacerbated when George neglected to send accounts to parents or to bank cheques that were paid. Problems associated with

the lack of income were compounded by large debts incurred in the mid-1950s when a large chapel and a classroom block were built. The extent of the disaster was not evident until George was transferred. By then drastic action was required.

However, drastic action was delayed. Patrick Howard, appointed principal of his old school in 1957, had initiated economies and sought to increase income, even charging day boys in order to attack what was now a substantial debt. His efforts were little more than a holding operation and created opposition from those suddenly asked to contribute to their sons' education. The situation continued to deteriorate in 1963 when Michael Cooper became principal. His economy measures drove boarders from the school and further reduced income. Even larger debts were incurred while Oswald Murdoch was principal (1965–1970) when there was a need to build science rooms, senior classrooms, bed-study rooms, and improve the grounds. The financial commitments became increasingly difficult to service as boarder numbers declined during a time of worsening rural recession and rapid inflation in the early 1970s. Staff salaries in New South Wales rose by 30 per cent and wages for domestic staff increased by 41 per cent in the eight months to May 1974.[10] This meant that the college was unable to operate within its means, posting a deficit of $35,000 in 1970–71, rising to $108,000 at the end of 1974.

Quentin, recently appointed Visitor, believed immediate action was warranted. The District Council debated the matter at great length and at its meeting in July 1974, agreed that the college must close at the end of 1974.[11] It was financially unviable. Fees could not be increased without disadvantaging parents, and closing the boarding school only would leave insufficient students to justify the school.[12]

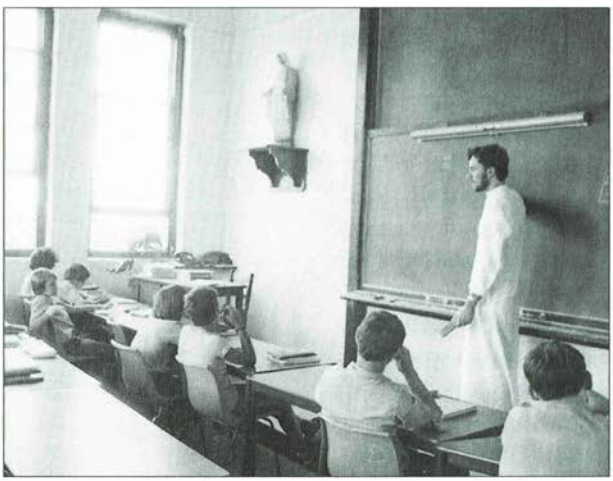
The Council's decision stunned Bishop Henry Kennedy, who immediately mounted a desperate rescue mission to ensure the maintenance of a Catholic secondary school for boys in Armidale. The Brothers agreed to cooperate, and Quentin made 13 visits to Armidale that year to negotiate with diocesan authorities and keep the Brothers informed of these.[13] Ultimately, Quentin and Raphael, at a meeting with Bishop Kennedy, agreed to close the boarding section and have the college become co-educational, in return for the diocese assuming ownership of the property and taking responsibility for the debt. Assistant Richard considered this 'a brilliant solution'.[14] Brothers associated with the College regretted the need for the decision, but understood and accepted it, though Patrick Howard, principal in 1974, remained convinced that it could have been maintained. The solution enabled the De La Salle Brothers to remain in Armidale, but De La Salle College closed at the end of the year. The college opened for the 1975 school year as the coeducational O'Connor

Catholic High School combining the former De La Salle College and St Ursula's College. The Ursuline Sisters were also having difficulty attracting sufficient boarders to their school, so the solution was a welcome one to them also.

The new high school was staffed by Brothers, Ursuline Sisters and lay teachers, with John Pill as principal and Sister Janet as deputy. The Brothers agreed to retain six Brothers on the staff until the end of 1976, but negotiated with Bishop Kennedy to reduce this to five for the following year.

The closure of the boarding section at Scarborough, in suburban Brisbane, at the end of 1978 was far less contentious and caused little heartache, except perhaps to Monsignor Frawley. Maintenance of the boarding section had become increasingly problematical. From a high of 235 boarders in 1968, numbers had declined to 67 only a decade later, but operating costs had not declined to a similar extent.

Rationalisation meant coeducation in instances such as that at Armidale. Thus, Frawley College, the new senior school established at Scarborough in 1973, became coeducational rather than co-institutional. It was conducted jointly by the De La Salle Brothers and Brigidine Sisters, with Conrad Callinan as the foundation principal.



Brother Paul Toohey teaching at Marrickville, 1977.

Several Sydney De La Salle schools became coeducational. In 1972 the Catholic Education Office in Sydney expressed an interest in having coeducation introduced to the two senior classes at Cronulla. The District Council expressed a willingness to entertain the idea, providing suitable financial arrangements could be negotiated.[15] Cronulla accepted its first 34 female secondary students into Fifth Year, from Our Lady of Mercy College at Burraneer Bay, at the beginning of 1975.

Oakhill College accepted girls into the final two years of high school in 1976. This was done to ensure the financial viability of the senior classes despite an evenly divided parent body for and against the move.[16] The decision also served to remedy a situation where girls' schools in the area were unable to cope with applicants for senior classes. Most female students came from two regional schools—Catherine McAuley College at Westmead and Our Lady of Mercy College at Epping—and an arrangement with the Good Samaritan Sisters meant some girls came from Mount St Benedict's College at Pennant Hills.

Coeducation demanded adaptation and compromise from all within the school communities that embraced it. It was not

always easy, particularly for girls coming into a very masculine environment and being heavily outnumbered by boys. The needs of girls also made many demands on teachers who were required to provide a broader range of subjects and extra-curricular activities. Yet there were many benefits from the introduction of girls. They brought a greater breadth and maturity to classes and a new dimension to activities such as drama and debating. Perhaps more importantly, coeducation promoted significant cultural change in those schools that embraced it. The changes were not immediate, but the schools slowly became less chauvinistically masculine.

Broader roles in Catholic education

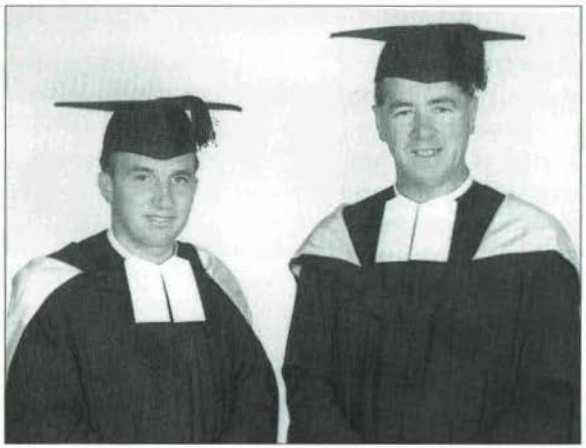
The need to rationalise human resources in the schools, yet ensure a continuing Lasallian influence in Catholic education, ultimately encouraged a sustained commitment to the development of the Catholic College of Education at Oakhill in the former Training College facilities. This reflected an early initiative of De La Salle, and provided the opportunity to influence a great number of teachers and, through them, an even greater number of youth.

However, this later, lofty ideal developed slowly, following the success of pragmatic initiatives taken by Ambrose and others to provide the best possible training for young men in formation. The success of each initiative and an increasing demand for places in the teacher-training program prompted those in charge to develop the College more professionally. The opportunity occurred with the election of the Labor government in 1972 and Prime Minister Gough Whitlam's promise to assume the states' responsibility for funding colleges of advanced education, including Catholic teachers' colleges.

Attention turned immediately to tailoring and refining courses and structures to meet demands of the Commonwealth Department of Education. Recognition by the department enabled students to exercise scholarships at the college and, in 1973, the Australian government accepted responsibility for funding recurrent expenditure. The Commission of Advanced Education officially recognised the courses offered by the College in 1974, thereby enabling new students to graduate after completing three years of study with a Diploma in Teaching awarded through the Australian Council on Awards in Advanced Education. The award was in either primary or junior secondary education. All teaching was concentrated at Castle Hill.

The first 25 women were admitted as students in 1975, followed by a similar intake the following year. There were 380 students by 1976, with graduates teaching in many parts of New South Wales.

Many Brothers welcomed development of the college because it provided an opportunity for those with higher degrees to teach in a tertiary institution. Brothers had traditionally taught in school until they retired or died. However, a consequence of the



Brothers Ambrose Payne (left) and Gerard Rummery, Masters of Education (Photograph by Monsour Studio, Marrickville).

push for post-graduate education meant that many—Marist and Christian Brothers included—longed to teach at tertiary rather than secondary level. Several De La Salle Brothers joined the academic staff. In 1975, for instance, besides Ambrose, the principal, other full-time staff included Anthony Walch, a senior lecturer and head of English Studies; Peter Gilfedder, lecturer in Philosophical and Religious Studies and Education; Christian Moe, lecturer in History and Philosophical and Religious Studies; Gerard Rummery, lecturer in Philosophical and Religious Studies and Education; Andrew Birse, lecturer in English and Education; and T. Ryan, an assistant lecturer. Part-time academic staff included Patrick Lynch, lecturer in Geography, and Kevin Price and Tom Normoyle, lecturers in Arts and Crafts.

The college took another step forward when it amalgamated with the Good Samaritan Teachers' College at Glebe in accordance with policy proposals extending back to 1973. The Good Samaritan Sisters were reluctant to lose their autonomy and delayed until 1978 before ceasing to enrol students in First Year courses at Glebe. In 1980 the two colleges finally amalgamated to form Polding College, with approval of the federal government's Higher Education Board. A limited company, Polding Limited, was formed to manage the new venture, with two representatives from each of the three congregations acting as directors.

The congregations that were involved had endorsed the idea of developing a single college on a new site, with the expectation that government funding would be available for the acquisition of land and capital works. However, changes in government policy following tabling of the Butland Report in 1978, and cuts to spending in tertiary education, made the new venture unlikely in the short term. This necessitated making available additional rooms in the main Training College building at Castle Hill, constructing new buildings, including a new residence for the Catholic College of Education community—La Salle House—all the while ensuring that the De La Salle Brothers retained ownership of the site.

The development of the college owed a great deal to the single-mindedness and dynamism of Ambrose Payne, director of scholastics. Indeed, he preferred to commit himself to the college rather than allow his name to go forward for possible election as a general councillor at the 1976 General Chapter. He had impressed members of the preceding General Council because of his work as one of eight members of the Preparatory Commission for the 40th Chapter. However, he was only 37 in 1976, was enjoying the

challenge of the college and believed that the training initiative would be set back if he joined the General Council. In addition, he believed that his nomination by Richard had as much to do with Institute politics as with his ability to manage the work.[17] Similarly, Ambrose passed up an opportunity offered by Quentin to continue higher studies overseas, and declined to offer himself as Visitor, although lobbied to do so on several occasions. On the latter issue he had observed several Visitors very closely, taken note of their careers afterwards and was convinced that the best time to be Visitor was towards the end of an active career, and he resolved that he would not entertain the idea until he had turned 60 years. All the same he served on successive District Councils after being elected in 1970 and wielded considerable influence by this means and as secretary of succeeding District Chapters.

Ambrose's role in the College gave him an enhanced profile in Catholic education beyond the Institute. He worked closely with Church authorities, Archbishop James Carroll, in particular, and was increasingly asked to advise on educational issues Australia-wide. On 25 September 1977, for instance, Carroll asked him to report on appropriate ways of regionalising the administration of Catholic education within the Sydney archdiocese: on 24 December 1980 he was commissioned to report on 'The Catholic Education Office, Sydney, and regionalisation'.[18] He played a significant role as a member of the National Catholic Education Committee that was established by the Australian bishops in 1974.

Aloysius Carmody was another to take a significant role in Australian Catholic education after relinquishing his position of Secretary General in 1976. He had been asked to work with the Catholic Education Office in Sydney, but '... felt the need to find myself again here in my own country', and initially chose to work instead for the Catholic Education Commission of Victoria.[19] In July 1977, however, he was prevailed upon to become director of the Federal Catholic Education Office in Canberra. He commenced duties officially on 27 September 1977, while residing at the retreat house of the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart. In taking up his position in the national capital, Aloysius helped fulfil early hopes of a De La Salle foundation in Canberra. The Brothers had hoped to open a school in the national capital in the mid-to-late 1960s.[20] Dwindling human resources meant this never eventuated. However, Aloysius' appointment and that of John Cleary as an educational consultant with the education office of the diocese of Canberra-Goulburn charged with organising in-service courses and renewal sessions for principals and teachers, persuaded Quentin to form a community and he transferred Anselm McCaffrey from Burradoo to enhance the numbers. The Brothers rented a house in suburban Hughes and took possession in November 1977, although the community was not formally established until 30 January 1978 with Aloysius as director.

The new foundation was short-lived, however. Justification for the separate community declined after John was transferred to Bankstown in later 1979. Alexius from Melbourne replaced him in the community, but the Canberra community closed on 18 December 1980. Anselm transferred to Bentleigh, Alexius to Burwood, while Aloysius took an apartment attached to Holy Trinity Convent in Curtin.

BoysTown

The Institute's other apostolates flourished. The mission to recalcitrant youth at Beaudesert continued successfully along the lines established by Alban. Finbar Kelly had succeeded Alban as principal at BoysTown in 1970, though Alban remained on the staff for another three years. His fundraising helped ensure the continued physical development of the institution, with a gymnasium being completed in 1971.

The BoysTown farm had been established at the beginning of the enterprise. It flourished under Oliver O'Leary who was appointed there in 1972 after the Oakhill farm ceased, to replace a dairyman. Oliver succeeded in expanding the farm and its operations significantly. He put 75 acres under lucerne, renewed the milking equipment and built up the dairy herd from 70 to about 150. The milk was sold to a local factory and provided welcome income for BoysTown. Oliver also raised and sold pigs, as he had done at Oakhill. Unfortunately, new regulations governing the sale of milk made dairying less cost-effective, and persuaded Oliver to replace the dairy herd with beef cattle in 1974.[21] Finbar also purchased 1000 acres about five kilometres from BoysTown to be used for breeding and outdoor recreation. This became known as Outbound.

The Brothers' initiative at BoysTown at Beaudesert continued to spawn associated outreach initiatives as new needs became evident. So in 1975 the Brothers established Tarragindi Lodge in Brisbane to provide hostel accommodation for boys and girls in the mid-to-late teens as they sought work.



Brothers Finbar Kelly (left) and Fintan Dwyer (right), congratulate Brother Alban Dwyer on the occasion of his being awarded an Order of the British Empire, 1975 (Photograph by Queensland Country Life).

Alban retired to Southport in 1973, but his name long remained associated with that of BoysTown. He was named 'Father of the Year' by the Brisbane *Sun* for his work at BoysTown, and for the same reason he was later awarded an OBE in the New Year's Honours List in 1975.

Ignatius Kennedy succeeded Finbar as director of BoysTown from 1976 to 1981, and in turn was succeeded by Paul Smith.

Papua New Guinea

De La Salle Brothers continued to play an important educational role in Papua New Guinea, despite political changes implemented over several years that reached their culmination on 16 September 1975, when Papua New Guinea became an independent nation. Independence altered the status of the Brothers in Papua New Guinea but not their vital role in education in the new nation, so much so that the District determined in 1976 that it would continue the existing level of commitment to the new nation.

The move to national independence reflected the career of Peter Keaga, who had become increasingly active and influential in educational organisations. While at university he had served on an interim committee involved with the formation of a teachers' union. He was a member of the Teaching Service Advisory Committee in 1970 and 1971 and helped draft the Teaching Service Ordinance. He succeeded Lucian Thorpe as the archbishop's representative on the District Education Board in 1973, and in 1977 became the teachers' representative on the National Education Board.[22]

In the spirit of the times, Peter Keaga was appointed headmaster of De La Salle High School at Bomana in 1975. Unfortunately, he was not the success envisaged, largely because of his lack of administrative and financial experience, and he relinquished the position to Celsus Clark at the end of 1980. Peter's tenure had also been made more difficult when, in March 1977, in his capacity as national president of the PNG Teachers' Association, he publicly criticised the Secretary for Education, and was brought into direct conflict with the government and the Education Department.

The establishment of training facilities in Papua New Guinea also appeared to bear fruit. Patrick Howard, with no other duties, was appointed to the novitiate at Bomana in December 1974. Unfortunately a serious motor vehicle accident during 1976 necessitated Patrick's return to Australia for treatment at St Vincent's Hospital, Sydney. The novitiate, with two novices and two postulants, was transferred to Kondiu, with Peter Mays being appointed director of novices. The novices returned to Bomana in 1977, under the direction of Owen Mason who was assisted by Anthony Broderick. That same year, the Brothers acquired a house at Goroka, near the government secondary teachers' college in order to provide a residence for two national Brothers who were to commence teacher training in 1978. Owen Mason, a lecturer on the staff at Goroka, became director of scholastics in December 1977.

One of the more significant developments in Papua New Guinea involved the foundation of a community at Mount Hagen in the northern highlands in 1979 when the Brothers took charge of Trinity Catholic Primary Teachers' College that attracted students from throughout Papua New Guinea. The college had been established by several dioceses and administered by the Society of

the Divine Word missionaries. Peter Mays identified the opportunity offered by the forthcoming leave of absence of the principal, while Quentin relished the chance to have the Brothers engaged once again in teacher training, believing this to be the most significant service they could provide in the country. Ted Becker was released from his duties as director of the Bomana community and deputy headmaster to serve as Acting Principal of the Teachers' College at Mount Hagen, while Patrick McInerney, a lecturer in mathematics at the college, was appointed director of scholastics to oversee the national Brothers attending the institution in pursuit of their Primary Teaching Certificate. That same year Ambrose Gwynne from the English District returned to Papua New Guinea to become head of the Religious Studies Department at Trinity Primary Teachers' College.

Celsus Clark succeeded Ted Becker at Bomana, and in turn was succeeded as headmaster at Bereina by Henry Mlindra, a former student at Kondiu and deputy headmaster, in a move aimed at fostering nationalisation of key positions in Papua New Guinea. De La Salle Bereina was later accepted by the Education Ministry as a pilot school for a new secondary program, while the Brothers' school at Kondui continued to assist the Education Ministry in development programs for localisation of officers in secondary high schools.

Prospects for the continuation of the Brothers' work in Papua New Guinea remained good. In 1980, for instance, there were six scholastics and six novices in training which held bright prospects for the future. However, there remained a need for Australians to be sent to Papua New Guinea in the short term. Indeed, during this period young Australian Brothers were sent to the region, where prior to this time only finally professed Brothers had been assigned. The experiment had been successful.

The community at Kagua, 1982. Left to right, Brothers John Waiange, Cletus Storey, Peter Kaiglo.



The Brothers continued to experiment with endeavours to ensure the retention of national recruits. The Brothers had been invited to establish a presence in the southern highlands and eventually agreed to do so in 1981 at Kagua where there was a Catholic primary school. Cletus Storey became the director of a small community comprising two young national Brothers who had recently completed two years of primary teacher training. The two national Brothers taught at the primary school, while Cletus taught at the government high school. The experiment lasted only the year, after the national Brothers decided to become lay teachers. Once again the cultural ties for the national Brothers made it difficult for them to make a permanent commitment to the Institute. Cletus transferred to Mount Hagen.

New Zealand

The Brothers in New Zealand faced uncertainty similar to that in Papua New Guinea, when the Kirk Labor government sought to

assume greater control over independent schools. Negotiations between the New Zealand bishops and the government proceeded over several years and were finally concluded in 1976, paving the way for the Kirk government to introduce the *New Zealand Private Schools Conditional Integration Act 1975*—amended in 1976. The purpose of this government initiative was to integrate schools originally established as private schools into the state system to comply with the *Education Act 1964* and become subject to the responsible minister.

While the Catholic authorities engaged in negotiations, they did so from a position of weakness because the Catholic education 'system' was close to a state of collapse. Rapid population growth since World War II had stretched resources and the Church authorities had been hard-pressed to provide even basic facilities, while imposing a heavy financial burden on Catholic families. The Catholic schools were second-rate or worse, when compared to those of the state system.

Nevertheless, the New Zealand Episcopal Conference insisted on six essential points during the negotiations, namely:

(i) The right to teach, develop and implement the Catholic programme in Christian faith and living and to follow those religious customs that are normal in the Catholic schools;
(ii) The right to administer staff appointments and arrange for the staff composition in a manner that recognises the Catholic character of the school;
(iii) The right to enrol children of Catholic parents in the first place, and in the second place, enrol the children of other parents seeking a Christian environment for the education of their children;
(iv) The right to extend existing schools and build new ones to meet the demands of legitimate expansion and proven need, including schools with special purposes e.g. catering for special educational, physical or emotional problems;
(v) The right to own the lands, schools, ancillary educational buildings and facilities which make up the Catholic school system;
(vi) The right of the Catholic community to make a tangible financial contribution towards the cost of maintaining its schools by way of fees.[23]

These principles were ultimately included as Section 3 of the Act and enabled integrated schools to maintain their distinctive character and philosophy, provided they remained economically viable. The distinctive character of the school was to be defined in its Deed of Agreement. Integration was to be voluntary, with an Integration Agreement being negotiated between the proprietors and the minister. The Education Department specified any physical improvements that were required and these had to be completed before the agreement was signed.[24] Schools electing to remain independent forfeited government assistance.

Ownership of integrated schools was to be vested in Trust Boards which were to be responsible for ensuring that schools conformed to the state code and for any capital additions, but then recurring costs associated with running and maintenance would become the responsibility of the government. Control of a school was to be vested in a board of governors composed of members elected by the parents of children in the school in accordance with provisions of the Education Act. The board of governors was to become responsible for the recruitment of principals and teachers, who were to be paid in accordance with state salary scales.[25] All teachers—Brothers included—were to be selected after the advertisement of positions as in state schools, but prospective teachers were expected to agree to abide by the special character of the school.[26] A corollary of this increased government control was that all appointments and promotions were to be made on merit rather than simply the decision of the Visitor. Thereafter the Visitor had to nominate a Brother to apply for any vacant position.

The school at Mangere East was diocesan, which meant that integration was a diocesan decision. This occurred in accordance with the agreement dated 24 November 1981. The Trustees of the De La Salle Brothers believed that integration was also in the best interests of the Francis Douglas School at New Plymouth and decided to integrate the school with the state system as part of the Catholic diocesan system. There was some delay while negotiations continued as to whether the College would be integrated as a Form 1 to 7 school, or as a Form 3 to 7 school with an attached Intermediate department. The Education Department proposed the latter, which would promote an evident saving in teacher salary payments: the last Intermediate department to a state secondary school had become a separate institution in 1978. However, this threatened to divorce Forms 1 and 2 from the senior classes and went counter to the tradition of the college. The Department finally relented. Francis Douglas Memorial College ultimately integrated as a Form 1 to 7 school in accordance with the agreement dated 8 June 1982.[27] A feature of the agreement was that it applied only to teaching functions of the school. Thus the boarding function of Francis Douglas College was not included in the agreement, which meant that ongoing support was required from parents.

In accordance with the terms of the Act, a school such as Francis Douglas Memorial College continued to belong to the Brothers, but thereafter, all current costs and salaries of teachers, both religious and lay, were borne by the government. Administration remained in the hands of the Brothers, with assistance from an elected Board of parents with nominees of the Brothers and the government. The new arrangement was generally welcomed by the New Zealand Catholic community. The guaranteed government funding for recurring expenses ensured the improvement and

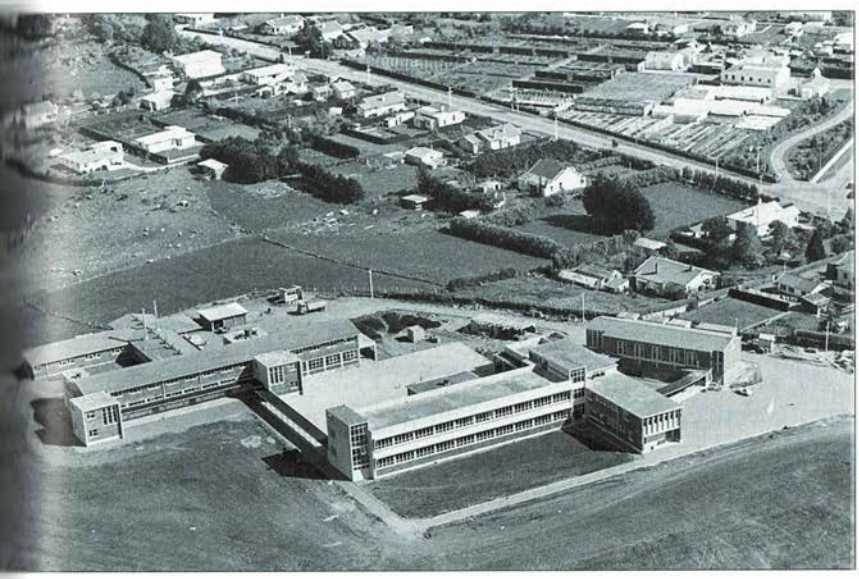
continuation of the schools, while various dioceses established centralised funds to assist with capital funding.

The description of the 'special character' of Francis Douglas Memorial College outlined in the Deed of Agreement would have applied to any De La Salle school in the District, namely:

> The Special Character of the School is that it is a Roman Catholic School for boys only established by the Roman Catholic Religious Order of Men known as the Brothers of the Christian Schools for the Roman Catholic community ... which supports the School and of which the School is part, to provide and to continue to provide Education with a Special Character, that is to say:
>
> The School is a Roman Catholic School in which the whole School community through the general School programme and in its Religious instructions and observances, exercises the right to live and teach the values of Jesus Christ. These values are as expressed in the Scriptures and in the practices, worship and doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church, as determined from time to time by the Roman Catholic Bishop of the Diocese ...

Schedule 5 of the agreement highlighted the special Lasallian spirit of the College deriving from the history, traditions and rules of the Institute:

> This La Sallian spirit adds a special dimension to the fundamental Catholic character of the school, and is manifested in the following:
>
> (i) A special determination towards caring, so as to build up a tangible sense of community and belongingness among students, staff and parents—this community being based on the Gospel values of love and freedom.
>
> (ii) A positive effort by the school to encourage students to develop their best selves in terms of their intellectual,



An aerial view of Francis Douglas Memorial College, New Plymouth (Photograph by The Taranaki Daily News, New Plymouth).

emotional, creative, social, physical and spiritual capabilities—this conscious development laying the foundations for future growth.

(iii) A manner of staff leadership and example within the school which enables students to develop a Christian code of behaviour, which in turn will enable them to impress their Christian values on society.[28]

Francis Douglas Memorial College also derived elements of its 'special character' from the nature of its students, many of whom were drawn from farming communities, and many of whom boarded at the school. This special character was reflected in the farm established by William Harnett at the College in 1973, which became an essential part of the Agricultural Studies program. The farm became completely self-supporting and even returned a profit to the College. The key to profitability was William persuading parents to donate calves to the College. These were reared and ultimately sold. The farm also bred horses and established a riding school that provided additional funds. The College was admirably located next to a reserve which, together with the 60 acres of College property, provided up to 80 acres in which to develop riding tracks.

Similarly, De La Salle College at Mangere East developed a special character with the changing student population. Demographic changes in South Auckland meant that as many as 25 per cent of students were of Maori and Polynesian culture by 1978.

All the while the New Zealanders continued to seek greater independence from their Australian colleagues. In 1976 the Brothers in New Zealand gained authority to constitute their own Vows Chapter. They also established the New Zealand Continuing Formation Committee with authority—in consultation with the Visitor—to send Brothers working in New Zealand to overseas renewal courses. Indeed, in later years, the New Zealanders even considered the idea of sending postulants to the San Francisco District, though this never eventuated.

The New Zealanders grew to maturity in the period after Vatican II and their transition to positions of authority coincided with the introduction of Integration. The administration of the two New Zealand schools had already been placed in the hands of New Zealanders, in anticipation of the impending change. Peter Bray served as principal at Mangere East from 1976 to 1978 before taking on the same role at Francis Douglas Memorial College in 1979, where he had had the distinction of being one of the first-day students. Pat Lynch succeeded him as principal of De La Salle at Mangere East in 1979. Both Peter and Pat negotiated the integration of their schools.

Pat Lynch had returned to New Zealand after his initial training, and here completed an Arts degree at the University of Auckland.

He returned to Australia as director of the Oakhill College community in 1974 in order to broaden his experience and soon afterwards attended the renewal course at Sangre de Cristo in New Mexico—he being the first New Zealander to be sent overseas. Quentin suggested that he was too young to go—at 34 years of age—but needed to go, nonetheless. This proved a milestone in his career by providing him with the time to reflect on his calling to that time and to determine future priorities. He returned to Mangere East in 1976 and the position of director of the house of studies and school coordinator for Form 4, before becoming principal of the college.

Peter Bray had also been identified as a leader. He had followed Pat Lynch to Australia in 1964 when he entered the novitiate. He spent a year at Ashfield after completing his training at Castle Hill and a degree at Macquarie University, but soon returned to New Zealand where he joined the staff at New Plymouth.

Pat Lynch and Peter Bray strongly promoted the growing nationalism within their part of the Institute. For a time, New Zealanders even entertained the idea of establishing their own mission, though with their focus to the east, and the islands of the South Pacific. David Hawke explored the idea in December 1977 and it was enthusiastically received by Bishop Patelisio Finau who suggested that a start might be made in 1981. The District Council in February 1978 agreed to have David Hawke and Stephen Leatherland visit Tonga to explore the matter in more detail. They did so in August 1978 and reported favourably on the prospect of taking over St Joseph's community school at Pangai. Their colleagues voted 16 to three to support the project. However, the initiative did not proceed, largely because of the District's inability to commit the necessary men and economic resources.

The wish for greater independence from Australia, and a greater measure of self-determination, was understandable during a time of growth and increasing numbers of recruits. It waned as recruit numbers dwindled. Moreover, there were few benefits of independence once numbers began to decline. With only two schools and limited promotion prospects there was limited scope for New Zealanders to broaden their experience. Ultimately, there was a need to institute an exchange program with Australian colleagues to ensure that they gained experience in larger schools. In view of this, there remained a need for Australians to help staff the schools, and the District agreed to maintain five active Australian Brothers in New Zealand for several years into the future.

A business approach

Changes in contemporary secular and Church affairs required a more businesslike approach to District management at all levels. Men had traditionally been chosen for leadership positions because

of their piety, and teaching or administrative skills, but, while they received training in piety and teaching, they never received business or administrative training. Principals had been able to muddle through when schools were small and staffed mainly by Brothers, when keeping track of income and expenditure was relatively easy. The task became increasingly difficult as schools expanded, increasing numbers of lay teachers joined staffs and demanded award rates and conditions, and as government financial aid demanded greater financial accountability and periodic auditing. Financial difficulties facing De La Salle College, Armidale, during the early 1970s, were largely created by the lack of a business-like approach at the school level to the redevelopment and financing of facilities, and perhaps, a lack of close control at District level.

Steps had already been taken in Colman's time to correct this deficiency, and the decision to confront the Armidale situation reflected the closer District scrutiny of school operations. This continued under Quentin. Thus, in accordance with Resolution 23 of the 1973 District Chapter, the Trustees established a Provident Fund to provide for the needs of Brothers in retirement, overseas studies and assistance to those withdrawing from the Institute. In 1976 the District Chapter directed that each community should pay a $10 annual per capita levy to meet contributions to the fund.

The fund provisions helped prepare men for positions at the Catholic College of Education, various formation programs, and specialised studies. Thus, Eric Pigott travelled to London in August 1973 to undertake studies towards a Diploma of Sociology in teaching of maladjusted children, followed by attendance at Sangre De Cristo. In late 1978, Laurence Woods was released to undertake scripture studies at Sydney University and the Ecole Biblique in Jerusalem; Chris Gorringe undertook studies towards a PhD in Classics at the University of Queensland; Vincent Keating undertook theology studies at St Patrick's College, Manly. There were another ten on study leave and seven undertaking various renewal programs during 1979.

The Trustees also established a Central Investment Fund in accordance with recommendations of the District Finance Committee and the decision of the Council on 16 June 1974. The purpose of this was to enable schools to deposit funds with the Trustees to enable loans to be made to schools; interest paid to depositors was set at 0.5 per cent above the current bank interest. In May 1977 a special Patrimony Trust Fund was opened in the Central Investment Fund to hold moneys in the names of individual Brothers, with the interest being reinvested each year.

A District health scheme was established on 28 November 1976 to cover hospital costs of all Australian Brothers, except those 50 years and older and those considered high hospital risks, who

were enrolled in the Hibernian Health Group. Communities paid an annual contribution of $50 per member into the health scheme.

The bulk of District expenses in 1977 was met by proceeds from the levy of $10 per student enrolled in Institute-owned schools and annual dues paid by Brothers. The latter dues were 30 per cent of the annual allowances for men teaching in diocesan schools: $4307 for Brothers in Sydney, Bathurst, Canberra-Goulburn and Armidale dioceses; $5100 in Melbourne; and 30 per cent of the Sydney allowance for Brothers in Institute-owned schools. Annual dues were paid to the Generalate at a rate of $35 per Brother.[29]

Levies on personnel had become increasingly necessary as a means of raising funds. Rapid increases in operating costs had rendered the De La Salle Art Union of marginal value and it ceased in May 1977.[30]

Renewal

While conscious of the need to rationalise and manage economic resources wisely, Quentin and the District Council remained concerned to continue the spiritual renewal programs initiated earlier. The convocation of the District Assembly in December 1976—sometimes referred to as 'Quent's Folly'—was a major initiative during Quentin's period. It brought together at St Bede's College virtually all of the men of the District for the first time since the earliest years of the Australian foundation. Pablo Basterrachea, elected Superior General earlier that year, attended for a time and helped invest the occasion with the sense of importance. The occasion provided Quentin and Raphael with the opportunity to report on deliberations of the 1976 General Chapter and implications of the new Rule.

There continued to be discussion concerning the direction and meaning of changes within the Church and the Institute since Vatican II, particularly as they related to the District's future. Quentin introduced the idea of a community plan and proposed that communities devise a 'community project for the poor'.

Gerard Rummery was asked to oversee a series of renewal sessions as part of the continuing program initiated by Quentin before he was appointed Visitor. These renewal sessions were associated with a contemporary reassessment of the work of the Brothers, particularly De La Salle's objective of assisting the poor. Prayer and community life continued to be of paramount importance, but they tended to be less rigid and formalised than previously.

Part of the renewal agenda was driven from Rome. In 1978, for instance, the Superior General issued a document on 'Educational Service of the Poor and the Promotion of Justice'. This was considered a hard-hitting and challenging document calling on Brothers to respond to the challenges of the recent General Chapter concerning the Institute's mission. Local men took up the

initiative, five of them convening a meeting at Cronulla to generate interest in 'education in justice'. Those present at the initial meeting were Pius Crowe, Justin Joyce, Michael Boyle, Martin Blattman and Phillip Elwin.

Others took the opportunity of a 12-month suspension of the novitiate at Burradoo in 1978 to inaugurate a spirituality program for groups of eight to 12 younger men aged 25 to 40 years, particularly those in New South Wales. They organised six directed-prayer weekends at Burradoo during 1978 conducted by two priests from the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart.

Part of the same renewal program saw the formation of a committee chaired by Bill Firman to reassess the matter of Brothers' holidays. The basic philosophy behind the deliberations was to ensure that 'an attitude of prayer is an intrinsic part of the Brother's vocation' and that the Brothers continued to express a sense of community. In recent times there had been a tendency for fragmentation, with some men preferring to spend time with relatives, friends, alone or in small groups. While insisting that allowances had to be made for individuals' circumstances, the committee believed there was a need to arrest what was considered to be inappropriate practices.[31]

The District celebration of the tercentenary of the Institute, from 15 May 1980 to June 1981, provided the opportunity for men to deepen their understanding of their vocation. The Formation Committee organised a program of activities with the feature being a series of lectures on the Founder given by Gerard Rummery, following the indisposition of Michel Sauvage, an authority on De La Salle. Urban Murray organised a more public celebration by

The District Assembly at St Bede's College, Mentone, 1976, represented the first gathering of all of the Brothers of the District since the very early days.



means of a combined De La Salle Schools' concert in the Sydney Opera House on 24 July 1980.

For all the renewal, however, some continued to express disquiet. Even Colman, a keen promoter of the concept, remarked only a year after relinquishing the Visitorship:

> I think that we will have to be more demanding of ourselves and our houses of formation than we have been. I think that we have lost something in trying to be too accommodating to all the ideas of prayer and the lack of it, too easy in matters of obedience, not insistent enough in requiring fuller dedication of self to the vocation of the Institute and not clear that the life of a Brother is a vocation not merely a commitment by the man, but a call and a grace from God. I must be getting older and older![32]

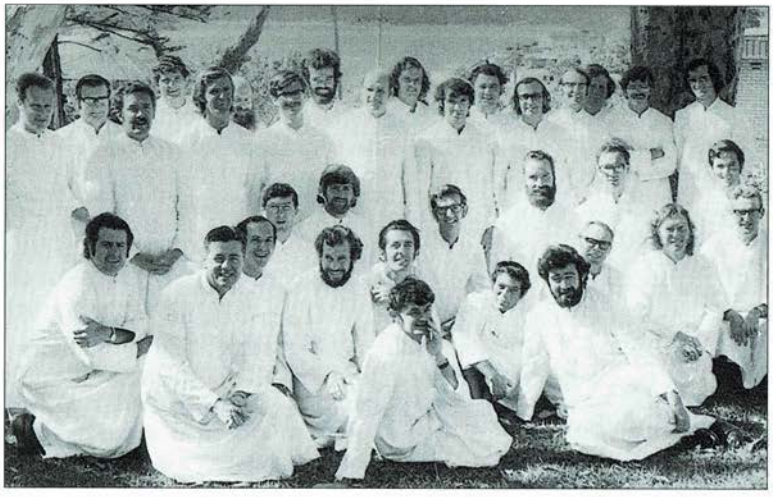
New Apostolates

Teaching remained the preferred apostolate of most men in the District, but some of them remained alert to ways of extending their apostolate and addressing allied needs of youth. Some men took advantage of the closure of the House of Studies at Cronulla at the end of 1974 to extend the work of the Christian Living Camp movement with the facility becoming available for conducting day retreats and leadership programs for students from their schools. The first members of the retreat team were Pat McCarthy, Phil Elwin and Pius Crowe.

The 1976 District Chapter encouraged the search for complementary apostolates and resolved 'That interested Brothers be invited to submit firm plans for alternative apostolates to the poor,







Young Brothers of the District gathered at Cronulla for a renewal program, December 1974, conducted by Brother Gerard Rummery (front left). Standing: left to right, Brothers, Barry Drew, Lawrence King, Michael McCabe, Tim Peter, Ibar Keating, Anthony Gaul, Ken Ormerod, Denis Loft, Terence Farrelly, Michael Feenan, Stephen Leatherland, Joachim Hope, Philip Elwin, Adrian Watson, Michael Tapsell, James McLeod. Sitting: left to right, Brothers Benilde Schaefer, Gerard Rummery, Joseph Gabel, Aloysius Hurrell, Matthew Hautus, John Channells, John Mitchell, William Harnett, Gary Wilson, James King, Matthew Heron, Michael Carroll, Brian Hanlon, Fabian Clark, Laurence Woods, Patrick McCarthy, John Dowd.

underprivileged and victims of injustice'. Several projects were suggested to the following District Chapter that testified to the continuing zeal of Brothers. Such projects included an educational survey with a view to a mission to Aboriginal people; a project to cater for the needs of Catholic youth in the outer western suburbs of Sydney; an extension of the work of serving the educational needs of migrant children in Marrickville.

During 1977 six Brothers were freed from teaching duties to pursue other fields allied to education and worked in Catholic Education offices, among Aboriginal people and older disadvantaged youth. Gregory Bruchhauser, for instance worked in the Sydney Catholic Education Office as an art consultant. There was an apostolate among Aboriginal people based at 30 Great Buckingham Street, in Redfern in suburban Sydney. It had begun in 1977, with Tom Hammerton, recently returned from several years' work in India, forming a team comprising Father Ted Kennedy, Sisters and lay people. Tom lived in the community of Father Kennedy, but spent one day a week with the Kingsgrove community.

Initiatives to focus on the plight of Aboriginal people were reinforced by the 1978 Social Justice Statement prepared for the Australian bishops by the Catholic Commission for Peace and Justice, titled, *Aborigines: A Statement of Concern*. Auxiliary Visitor Raphael commended the statement to Brothers and urged them to promote it widely.

In February 1978, Max Sculley and Martin Blattman were assigned to establish a drop-in centre for unemployed and homeless youth in the Paddington area of inner-city Sydney: it was fully operational by mid year. They lived in a flat at Bondi.

The changes within the Institute provided opportunities for individuals to pursue personal interests that would not have been sanctioned earlier. This brought many of them into contact with a

Deployment of Brothers May 1978[33]

District administration	3
Retired	20
Part time duties	12
Temporalities	2
Studies (other than Scholastics)	8
Scholastics	9
Order owned schools (Australia and New Zealand)	69
Diocesan schools (Australia and New Zealand)	56
BoysTown	7
Formation personnel and Vocations promotion	5
Mission apostolates and formation (PNG)	20
Catholic Teachers' College	6
Special Apostolates	
Drop-in Centre	2
Aborigine apostolate	1
Catholic Education Offices	3
Motherhouse (Rome)	1
Retreat Centre	2
Vietnamese Brothers	6
Total	232

broader range of people than had previously been possible. For instance, Finbar Kelly and Peter McIntosh, both of whom had spent their earliest years on farms, established a Pony Club at Oakhill College, which had access to large grounds. The initiative was welcomed by parents and students and prompted the establishment of an Arab horse stud at Oakhill. Peter McIntosh took responsibility for the latter and pursued it with a passion, ultimately becoming an internationally accredited judge of Arab horses, and a regular judge at major shows throughout Australia.

Brothers continued to undertake their work through a diversity of ways. *Our Apostolate* completed a quarter century of publication at the end of 1977 and both documented and reflected changes in the approach to catechetics during that time. It was considered 'among the most significant contributions to secondary Religion teaching in Australia during all those years'. Its achievements were all the greater because it was independent of the hierarchy and members of clerical congregations engaged in teaching.[34] During this time its appeal and contributors had extended far beyond the De La Salle Brothers and demanded a print run of 2000 in the early 1970s. The closing of some schools and the effects of rapid inflation in the early 1970s encouraged subscribers to

economise on the number of copies ordered, but there had still been a print run of 1800 in 1973 with 1500 of these going to paid-up subscribers.[35]

Gerard Rummery, returned temporarily to Australia, took the opportunity in 1977 to reflect on the previous 25 years.[36] He noted a sense of continuity provided by a small, but distinguished list of editors, particularly Christian and Aloysius. The latter had been the sole editor and manager from 1957, while Christian was studying overseas, and until he himself transferred to Rome in 1964. Christian once again assumed the editorship for two periods, from 1964 to 1967 and again from 1970 to 1974. Other editors included Gerard Rummery (1968), Ambrose Payne and William Mullins (1969) and Gerard Rummery (1975–1977). Christian's contribution was extraordinary. He contributed articles to 80 of the 90 editions to the end of 1977, along with editorials and book reviews.

Our Apostolate was retired after completing its quarter-century of publication, but only so that the ideas that infused it could be reinvigorated. A new catechetical magazine succeeded *Our Apostolate* in February 1978. The new magazine, *Word of Life*, was designed to build on the contribution of its predecessor by giving attention to the religious needs of young adults in the immediate post-school period, the continuing religious education of adults, and religious education through faith-communities other than Catholic Schools. The new endeavour was marked by a new, larger format. Gerard Rummery remained the editor, with Peter Gilfedder as the manager.[37]

International assistance

While they struggled with their own challenges, Australian Brothers continued to become more aware of the international dimension of the congregation. This was highlighted when the District welcomed several Vietnamese Brothers after Saigon surrendered to the communists on 30 April 1975, so bringing the Vietnam War to a conclusion. Four Brothers arrived in Australia initially: Brothers Herman Le Viet Lang, Eugene Van Ly, Marcel Nguyen Thanh Phuoc and Benilde Huu Tin. The community was reduced to three in 1977 when Herman was asked to go to France to become Director of the Vietnamese Scholastics at Angers.



Brother Benilde Tin with Brothers Ray Ryan and Martin Blattman at Bankstown.

The District established a community for those that remained, in a flat next to the school at Malvern that was owned by the Brothers. Marcel moved to Castle Hill in January 1978, then to

the school community at Malvern in May. Eugene, the director of the community, taught French at De La Salle College, and also worked at the Dunlop factory: Benilde undertook full-time studies in electrical engineering at Swinburne.

Other Brothers followed. They included NicetVo Liem who arrived in Australia from Bangkok in September 1977 after having been stationed there for seven years. He had very good English and joined the community at Lakemba, preferring to be part of an Australian community. Prosper LeVan Ba arrived via a refugee camp off the east coast of Malaysia where he had escaped by boat. He arrived in Australia in March 1978 and, after some time in a refugee hostel, joined Brothers Eugene and Benilde in Malvern. Vial Van Hue arrived in July 1978.[38]

Vietnamese Brothers of the Saigon District-in-exile commenced a new venture in New Caledonia in 1980. Paul Lê Cù was appointed director and was assisted by Eugene Van Ly, Antoine Do Dinh Long and Dominique Dinh Binh An. Antoine taught commercial subjects in Noumea, while the others taught at College Francis Rougé in Thio, where Paul was headmaster. Thio was a small mining town of 3000 people situated about 140 kilometres from Noumea.[39] Visits were made by Raphael, the Australian Auxiliary.

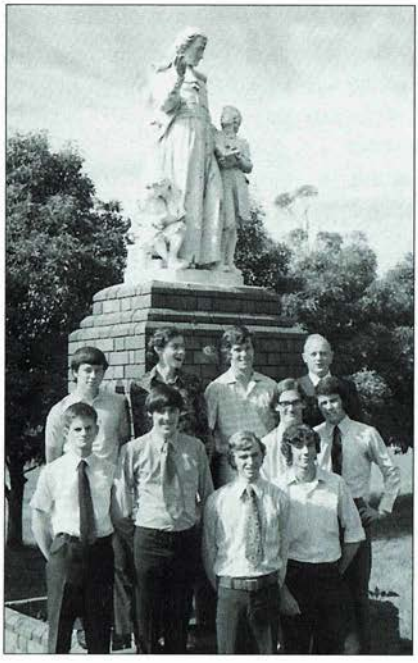
Formation

Formation continued to undergo change. Six novices with Baptist Will as their director had re-occupied Burradoo on 25 January 1972 and this remained the novitiate until the end of 1977.





(Left) Novices and postulants reciting the Office in the chapel at Burradoo. Brother Baptist Will (novice master) is on the extreme left (Photograph by Charm Studios, Bowral). (Below) Novices and postulants, with the community, at Burradoo. Back row: left to right, Peter Ball, Michael Czesnulewicz, Peter French, Kevin Hunter, Lou Page, Benildus Larkin, Mark Chamberlain, Craig King, Alphonso Zoanetti, Mark Higgs, John Cantwell, David Fahey. Front row: left to right, Baptist Will, Bernard Cooper, Gary Carey, Raymond Khan, Christian Moe, Eunen McHugh, Anselm McCaffrey.



Postulants in 1973. Back row: left to right, Michael Chester, Bernard Cooper, Peter Ball, Brother Peter Gilfedder (Director). Front row: left to right, Peter Larkin, Kevin Hunter, Gary Carey, Alf Zoanetti, Lou Page, Mark Higgs.

Numbers peaked at ten in 1974, but declined to three in 1977, too few to justify the continuation of the novitiate at Burradoo: it reopened in a house acquired for the purpose at Kenthurst, on the western fringes of the Sydney metropolitan area, in 1980.

Meanwhile, there had been only three postulants in 1975 so they moved out of the Training College, except for meals, and lived in the Lodge at the top gate of the Oakhill property. There was a hiatus until a second program began in January 1977 with Ambrose Payne appointed as director of the Initial Training Program (ITP), with the assistance of Kevin Wilding. The numbers of trainees remained small in 1977 and 1978, but there was a large intake in 1979 when a dozen young men presented themselves, although seven left the program during the year. Vincent Keating became director of the ITP after returning from the Asian Formators' Conference in January 1981. Other members of staff were Paul Hammerton and Paul Rogers. Joseph Uniacke became director at the beginning of 1983.[40]

Scholastics continuing their university studies and others commencing these were relocated to inner-city Marrickville at the beginning of 1977, to enable them to experience less institutionalised living, to give them a greater appreciation of community life, and to bring them into contact with socially disadvantaged children. They continued with university or teachers college work, while assisting in the school and being involved in the life of the community. The formal scholasticate as known for many years ceased to function at the end of 1979. Thereafter it was intended that young men would be assigned to communities to follow appropriate courses of study.



(Right) The community celebrating the Tercentenary of the birth of John Baptist De La Salle with Mass at Holy Trinity College, Mt Hagen, May 1980.

Death

While fewer men offered their services, death continued to claim Brothers, several of them with links to the foundation of the District. Jerome Foley died on 9 September 1975 aged 89 years. He had remained active virtually until his death. He had visited Eire in 1965 after his period as director at New Plymouth, but returned to Australia as sub-director of novices at Burradoo in 1966. He lived at Oakhill College from 1967 to 1972 and at BoysTown at Beaudesert from 1973 until the time of his death.

He was an outstanding man of his time. When reflecting upon his life and contribution to the Institute in Australasia, Christian remarked on his sense of purpose and self-assurance: 'He had convictions where most of us seem only to have opinions; he possessed certitude where we have only doubt.' He was a product of his training, with a simple and uncomplicated spirituality, and he lived strictly in accordance with the Rule. 'As for the discharge of his religious duties', Christian continued, 'those which formed part and parcel of his daily life, Brother Jerome was never known to fail. Short of being actually confined to bed through ill health—which was, with him, a rare occurrence—he was never known to miss, or even be late, for a religious exercise.' He had little time for an emotional approach to religion, or 'fif'—'funny internal feeling'—because he considered prayer and worship as a duty to be carried out irrespective of religious experience.

He neither smoked nor drank alcohol, nor looked for time for light reading. 'A teacher of mathematics and science most of his active teaching career, he recreated his mind in times of leisure and holidays by reading history and biography.'

Death carried off brothers Francis and Basil Young within two months of one another in 1978. Theirs was a poignant story. The brothers were born in Kyneton in country Victoria: Francis on 27 August 1909, Basil on 19 February 1911. Francis entered the novitiate at Cootamundra on 11 August 1926 and received the robe as Edmund; Basil followed two years later and became Joseph.

Edmund's career followed that of most of his contemporaries. He taught in several schools in New South Wales and New Zealand, with two periods each of 10 years at Richmond in Victoria. He made his final profession on 22 December 1934, successfully completed degrees of Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Education during his 'spare' time, and celebrated his golden jubilee in October 1976.

Joseph's career was very different. He took temporary vows on 17 July 1929, undertook studies at Armidale and was appointed to Dubbo in 1930. He suffered a mental breakdown in 1933 and was transferred to Oakhill, where he worked on the farm. He became very difficult to control, and spent a great deal

of time until 1960 in mental hospitals and rest homes. All the while, Edmund strove to have his brother's religious status recognised, even though Joseph had only ever taken temporary vows. The Institute was reluctant to recognise Joseph as a Brother, in part because of the financial implications and responsibilities of providing care and supervision for him. Finally in 1960 the Sacred Congregation of Religious ruled that he be regarded as having temporary vows and be considered a member of the Institute, though one considered as exclaustrated, which meant that the Brothers did not have to take him back into the Institute, but were responsible for providing for his needs. From 1960 until the community closed in 1969, Joseph lived with the Richmond community, where Edmund looked after his welfare, and moved with Edmund to Mentone in 1970. Edmund felt unwell on 14 May 1978 and retired to his room. He failed to take Joseph his lunch as usual and, upon investigating, others found that he had died while sitting at his desk. Joseph never recovered from his brother's death and died two months later on 13 July.



Participants in the 1980 District Chapter at St Bede's College, Mentone. Fourth row: left to right, Brothers Conrad Callinan, Kevin Moloney, Quentin O'Halloran, Celestine Gavin, Paul Toohey, John Liston, Vincent Keating. Third row: left to right, Brothers Bill Firman, Max Sculley, John Pill, Paul Rogers, Joseph Uniacke, Peter Bray, Justin Joyce. Second row: left to right, Brothers Edward Becker, Pius Crowe, Craig King, Xavier Johansson, Colin Griffin, Paul Rigney, Damian Harvey, Raphael Bassett. Front row: left to right, Brothers Ambrose Payne, Christian Moe, Pat Lynch, Aloysius Carmody, Gerard Rummery, Patrick Howard, Julian Watson, Peter Mays.

Passing the baton

The District Chapter that convened at St Bede's College, Mentone, from 25 to 31 August 1980 provided the opportunity both to review the years since the previous Chapter and to confirm directions for the immediate future. The new spirit reflecting that of the Church, and indeed, a greater social consciousness in contemporary society generally, was reflected in the issues brought before the Chapter.

Once again key issues concerning the Brothers were considered prior to the Chapter, by 11 Preliminary Chapter Commissions, with the reports and recommendations going forward to four Chapter Commissions dealing with Spiritual Development, Life in Community, Authority and Responsibility and the Apostolate.

A feature of the Chapter was evidence of a growing awareness of the plight of Aborigines. The late flowering of this awareness was something of a surprise given the Brothers' commitment to the poor and underprivileged, and their work among indigenous people in Papua New Guinea.

This awareness did not translate immediately into a wish to establish schools in Aboriginal communities, but rather a wish to transfer a substantial land holding or its monetary equivalent to Aboriginal people. The Chapter decided instead to invest an amount of money in a separate account known as the 'Aboriginal Project Fund', interest from which would be used for projects requested by Aboriginal people.

The 1980 District Chapter recommended that Raphael Bassett be appointed successor to Quentin, ahead of Gerard Rummery and Ambrose Payne. It was a natural succession because Raphael was one of the senior men of the District. He had been educated at St Bede's College, Mentone, and entered the juniorate in 1946. He progressed to the novitiate at the end of the same year and was one of 27 who took the robe on 14 May 1947. He was quickly identified as an excellent teacher at Marrickville from 1951 to 1964 and had been appointed principal of Kingsgrove in 1965, elected a member of the District Council in 1967 and appointed Auxiliary Visitor in 1974. In the latter role he had gained a detailed appreciation of the District and the issues he would have to confront.

For all the concern and disappointments suffered as the Australians struggled to come to terms with changing contemporary circumstances, their District continued to be well regarded when compared with others in the Institute. In December 1979, Vicar General John Johnston, who had a detailed appreciation of the entire Institute,

wrote to Quentin: 'As I just wrote Raph, your District continues to be one of the most dynamic in the Institute. You need to hear that from time to time, idealist and perfectionist that you are!'[41] It was something that too few Australians considered as they struggled with issues closer at hand.



Chapter Nine

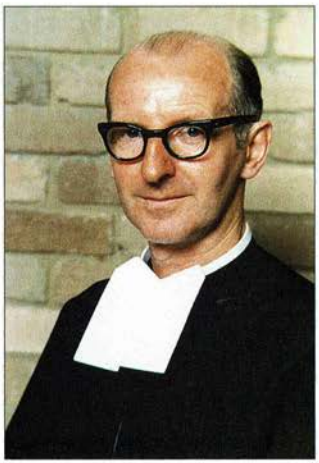
Survival and Revival 1980–1988

Conducting the Institute's schools had become big business by the late 1980s and those working in the schools came under increasing pressure. Schools had grown immensely in size and complexity, with each administration being required to manage its own superannuation funds for lay staff. At the same time, as schools had become dependent on government funding, the Commonwealth Schools Commission demanded greater financial accountability. This served to increase the involvement of Catholic Education Offices in the management of systemic schools in each state. For instance, by the end of the 1980s the Melbourne Catholic Education Office administered 356 schools and 139,292 students; that in Sydney, with a staff of more than 150, administered 169 schools and 65,699 students.[1]

Change was also evident in the continuing transition of school leadership from priests and religious to the laity. Raphael, the new Visitor, had to contend with these issues, and many more besides.

Brother Raphael Bassett

Raphael began his term as Visitor on 14 November 1980. He was a very intelligent man, possessing great vision and empathy for Brothers, particularly those who found themselves marginalised in any way. His was a challenging term because of the continuing changes washing through the Church, the Institute and the District. Moreover, the role of the Visitor had changed as the work of the Institute had diversified. When all men were expected to take classes and to follow the Rule, it was a relatively easy task to replace one man with another. It became increasingly difficult during the



Brother Raphael Bassett, Visitor (1980–1988) (Photograph by The Gallery, Melbourne).

1970s and 1980s, with the Visitor having to take greater cognisance of the personalities of Brothers and their diverse roles, and to consult them before making appointments.

After several years as an auxiliary, Raphael had developed his own ideas on District management and proposed a new approach. As he indicated when accepting the nomination as Visitor, he reserved the right to choose a third of the District Council. He chose Pius Crowe because of his involvement in formation, Malachy Yates because of his work in diocesan schools, and Peter McIntosh because of his experience and competence in school building and finance. Elected councillors were Conrad Callinan, Bill Firman, Ambrose Payne, John Pill, Gerard Rummery, Quentin O'Halloran and Patrick Howard.

Raphael chose not to have an auxiliary, believing that his seven years in that role had been largely wasted. However, he sought a role for Gerard Rummery as a special assistant with particular responsibility for initial and continuing formation. He asked the Superior General to release Gerard from his CIL duties so that he could return to Australia. Pablo agreed to do so, on the condition that Raphael release Ambrose, who had recently embarked on another three-year term as principal of the Catholic College of Education.[2] Sparing Ambrose was not possible. Raphael complained that the District appeared to be having to bear a disproportionate burden in contributing staff for the Generalate, but could only accept the wish of the Superior General.

As part of his administrative rearrangement, Raphael established several executives within the District Council and the area councils, and proposed founding local groupings of communities in Australia, each under the care of a District councillor. There were three executive committees organised in accordance with Raphael's agenda.

The most important of the executive committees from a strictly management point of view was the Business Executive, chaired by Peter McIntosh and including Conrad Callinan and Bill Firman. Changing social conditions had meant that principals could no longer be left wholly responsible for the management of their schools. There was a need to ensure that the Institute in Australia was conducted as a single business, with the schools considered as separate units of the one business. Access to government funding and the introduction of a new rating system for schools required greater accountability in the manner in which funds were expended. Moreover, there was need for a more sophisticated retirement fund to support retired Brothers and to pay appropriate gratuities for men withdrawing from the Institute in accordance with a sliding scale determined by their length of service.

Gerard Rummery chaired the Formation Executive, and was assisted by Pius Crowe and Quentin O'Halloran. Others were also

involved, with John Liston, the vocation director, and Vincent Keating, incoming director of the ITP program, being closely associated with initial formation. Colin Griffin, Cletus Storey and Paul Toohey were involved with a focus on continuing formation in the area of retreats, renewal sessions, catechetics and community development.

The school men

The majority of Brothers of the District remained identified with schools and continued to inspire students by their dedication to students' progress and welfare. Few received—or even sought—recognition for what they considered their mission. However, John Grant, a former student at De La Salle Cronulla was so grateful to his former science teacher as to donate money to the University of New South Wales to fund the annual Brother Vincent Cotter Scholarship to assist an aspiring honours science student.

Rationalisation of schools and communities continued, with the Brothers being present in fewer schools than only a few years before, largely because of their dwindling numbers. The phenomenon was common to other male congregations in Australia and New Zealand, where Catholic education became increasingly identified with lay teachers.



Brother Edward Gehrig with Laurence Woods at La Salle House, 14 November 1987, on the occasion of the latter's leaving the Institute. This represented a major change from the time when those wishing to leave did so quickly and quietly.

Retention and loss in Religious Brothers Institutes in Australia 1981–82 to 1988–89[3]

Institute	*% of members retained*	*% of members lost*
De La Salle Brothers	81.58	18.42
Christian Brothers	77.89	22.11
Marist Brothers	81.94	18.06
Patrician Brothers	89.00	11.00
Brothers of St Gerard	67.57	32.43
St John of God Brothers	76.47	23.53

The Brothers withdrew from De La Salle College, Caringbah, at the end of 1984. A lay principal assumed authority at St John's College, Lakemba, in 1986, with the Brothers withdrawing from the school at the end of that year. The decision to withdraw was never an easy one for those identified with the schools. In conveying the decision to close Caringbah, Raphael wrote to director, James Beasley:

> You will best exercise your responsibility as Director of a group of Religious men, some of whom may be placed under stress by this decision, by counselling acceptance of the decision and concentrating on the needs of the future.



Brother William Harnett coaching a junior Rugby Union team.

I firmly believe that the decision is both in the short and long term the wisest and best for all concerned.

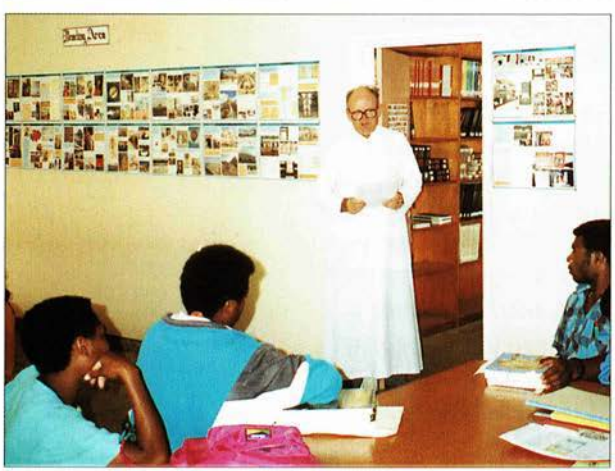
You will do a service to the men under your care and to yourself by seeing the decision in this light. The decision is not ultimately a one-off but part of the overall rationalisation decided by the collective voice of the elected representatives of the District at the Chapter.[4]

Dermot Brosnan, Caringbah's pioneer, was a member of the final community.

There were positive measures associated with the continuing rationalisation of resources as the Brothers identified other needs that they were able to address. The Brothers commenced several new ventures in 1980, for instance. They began an apostolate at St Joseph's School at Enfield in suburban Sydney where Aloysius Hurrell became principal, and the Brothers moved into a former convent at Burwood. The following year Geoffrey Primmer became principal of St Benedict's primary school at Broadway. Brother Damien Harvey oversaw the opening of Gilroy College at Castle Hill with 104 girls and 33 boys in January 1980. New apostolates began when John Mitchell began work in the parish primary school at Caringbah, while Gerald Barrett undertook similar work in the parish school at Orange. Monsignor James Sheahan Coeducational High School at Orange became fully coeducational in 1980.

Brother Bill Shaw lecturing students in Library Studies at Holy Trinity Teachers' College, Mount Hagen.

Each development provided new challenges. Frederick Sheridan managed the amalgamation of the boys' and girls' schools at Orange to form the new coeducational high school. It proved an arduous task because of the issues involved in amalgamating the two staffs with their different cultures and expectations. The Brothers were not blameless in this, because there were some in the community who were unable or unwilling to accept the idea of the amalgamation. However, matters eased a great deal the following year when the vice-principal was transferred elsewhere. Fortunately, the tensions were not evident to others and the school became the leader in Orange and the leading Catholic school in the Bathurst diocese, in terms of Higher School Certificate results.[5]



Changes in curriculum and educational philosophies also provided new challenges for those who were committed—though perhaps traditional—teachers. Staff at St Ursula's College in Armidale had introduced an integrated studies program into the lower classes of the senior school, prior to the formation of O'Connor High School: this included team-teaching of subjects in open-plan areas with the adoption of a new approach to science teaching. The program was introduced into the new coeducational college—the one-time dormitories being converted to open-plan classrooms—and gradually introduced throughout the senior school. The program was designed to encourage a mature approach to learning and prepare students for tertiary study. However, it catered primarily for average students and, while admirable in its aim, suffered in its implementation because of the high expectations placed on students and teachers, not all of whom accepted the challenge. Moreover, it depended on good relations between team teachers, where at times there were personality clashes.

Garry Coyte had been on the staff in 1975 and had embraced the challenge enthusiastically, working intensively during the summer holidays to understand its subtleties. He returned as principal in 1984 and found that standards had slipped and that teachers had become mentally exhausted. The good students survived, and the weakest students received remedial teaching, but the bulk of students floundered in the unstructured environment. Every student in Years 11 and 12 had many unsupervised study periods in a 10-day cycle. None had undertaken an exam or been tested since Year 7, apart from the school certificate examination: students were given multiple choice questions rather than asked to write essays for arts-type subjects. There was a system of reporting, but teachers were only ever permitted to make positive comments about students to ensure the latter did not develop a poor self-image. Having appreciated the challenge, Garry and concerned colleagues set about confronting it. The teachers formed part of the problem, because they believed that they might lose some of their perquisites. However, the matter was debated exhaustively during a three-day seminar arranged to produce a more challenging and stimulating curriculum for Years 7 to 10 and to provide greater emphasis on academic excellence. Once again there was an insistence on discipline and the wearing of uniforms. The tone of the school changed almost immediately. Within a few years students numbers recovered from a low of about 300 to reach 600—the number of only a few years before.[6]

Schools continued to change, in large part driven by a variety of outside forces, including Catholic Education Offices, in the various states that encouraged the Brothers to concentrate their resources in secondary schools. Thus, primary classes were phased out of Oakhill College between 1980 and 1983.

The Lithgow community, 15 December 1988. Left to right, Maurice Salmon, Vincent O'Neill, Gabriel O'Shea.



Changing demographic issues were reflected in the schools. In 1981, for instance, De La Salle College at Marrickville, once a school no different from other Catholic schools in working class areas of Sydney, won recognition as a model school in New South Wales because of its work for boys for whom English was their second language. The school was vastly different to what it had been a few decades earlier. By the 1980s as much as 80 per cent of the student population was drawn from migrant families from more than 20 countries. Partly for this reason the College was featured in the Sydney press on one occasion, the description underscoring the extent of change that was common to many inner suburban schools:

> Once one of the major Roman Catholic schools in Sydney, De La Salle has some illustrious old boys: newsreader James Dibble, NSW ministers Ron Mulock and Kevin Stewart, and several judges and bishops.
>
> Now it caters mainly to the children of factory workers.
>
> Brother Malachy has made learning English the school's biggest priority.
>
> The boys also do Australian studies because with 41 per cent speaking a language other than English when they leave the playground, they are often the only real interpreters of the Australian world to their migrant parents.
>
> The Lebanese, Greeks, Italians, Portuguese, South Americans and others who make up the school have left their stamp on the school, too. Eastern icons are scattered about the walls.[7]

Malachy was the last principal of De La Salle College, Marrickville. At the beginning of 1983 the school amalgamated with nearby St Brigid's College managed by the Good Samaritan Sisters, to form Casimir Catholic College. The amalgamation was in name rather than fact, because the two schools continued to be administered separately for a time under separate deputy principals. Indeed, effecting the amalgamation became the major challenge for Colin Griffin, the principal of the new college, not least because his colleagues, many of whom had been educated or had taught at the College, regretted the loss of identity of one of the premier Lasallian schools, once with a spirit, identity and traditions similar to those of Malvern and Ashfield.



Brother Urban Murray, introducing Jeff Fenech, a former student of Marrickville, to guests at Saint Bernadette's school fete, Castle Hill Showgrounds, 10 August 1986.

Governments at federal and state levels forced some changes. They insisted that children remain longer at school, and they changed eligibility for social welfare payments to encourage

this. Fortunately, they continued to support Catholic schools financially. There had been a challenge to federal aid for Catholic schools under Section 116 of the Australian Constitution that forbade the federal government from making laws for establishing any religion. However, on 10 February 1981, the High Court of Australia, by a majority of six votes to one, dismissed the challenge and upheld the right of the federal government to make financial grants to states for the support of non-government schools. This ensured continuing financial assistance to Catholic schools.

The Hawke government introduced a new formula for funding schools in 1985. An 'Economics Resource Index' ranked schools in 12 categories in accordance with their ability to generate their own funds: the poorest schools with the least capacity to raise funds comprised category 12. Annual payments continued to be made for students and ranged from $525 to $3560. The new formula imposed no change on schools, but generally benefited Catholic schools and those in which the Brothers taught.

Other alterations flowed from changing conditions in schools. Managing industrial relations became increasingly important during the 1970s, because of growing numbers of unemployed state teachers and growth in membership of various teachers' organisations. Lay teachers became organised in the Independent Teachers' Federation, with its various state associations and became subject to various awards, which formalised rates of pay and other working conditions. In New South Wales these were formalised in the Teachers (Non Government Schools) (State) award. The various teachers' organisations, the Independent Teachers' Federation, the Australian Teachers' Union and the Teachers' Association of Australia applied for registration as an organisation with the Australian Conciliation and Arbitration Commission. The various diocesan bodies unsuccessfully opposed the applications because of cost implications.

Brothers adapted well to the changes and continued to be leaders in professional associations. This sometimes gave them prominence not warranted by their numbers. After returning from Sangre de Cristo, Pat Lynch became the Visitor's representative for the Major Superiors' Conference in New Zealand. Within a few years he had become its president. This was not without its hazards. Thus, in mid-1986 Pat Lynch, as president of the Major Superiors' Conference, became embroiled in controversy for remarks made concerning the Pope, prior to the latter's visit to New Zealand. His remarks in three paragraphs were quoted in a three-page article in *The Listener*,[8] and conveyed to the Congregation for Religious and Secular Institutes by the Papal Nuncio in Wellington. The Congregation wrote to the Superior General asking him 'to verify the facts and, if necessary, intervene with an appropriate calling to attention'.[9] The matter was resolved and honour restored after an exchange of letters to clarify the matter, an admission that Pat's



New Zealand Brothers celebrating the Silver Jubilee of Stephen Leatherland (sitting left) and Patrick Lynch (sitting right). Left to right, Brothers, John Iremonger, Peter Bray, Stephen Hogan, Matthew Hautus, Chris Ellmers, David Hawke, William Harnett, Raymond Khan, Adrian Watson, Kevin Neal, Gregory Boyle.

remarks 'lacked nuance and prudence' and an apology from the Superior General 'for any harm they may have caused'.[10]

Balgo Hills

Brothers continued to seek new means of fulfilling their founders' mission, even as their numbers declined and they were forced to withdraw from schools where they had traditionally exercised their apostolate. Thus, they embarked on a new missionary endeavour among the Kukatja people of the Kimberley region of Western Australia in 1984. Balgo Hills is an isolated settlement on the northern fringe of the Western Desert, 800 kilometres northwest of Alice Springs, midway between there and Broome. The settlement of about 600 people is 14 kilometres from an earlier settlement that had to be abandoned in 1961 because of the failure of water supplies after 20 years of development. The Sisters of St John of God had conducted a school at the original mission, but had to relinquish it with the move to the new site. The school was continued by the state government.

The Brothers' interest in Balgo extended back to late January 1975 when Leo Scollen visited the settlement when there was a possibility that independence for Papua New Guinea might require the withdrawal of Brothers from their establishments there. He returned again in March 1982, after being charged by the District Council with reporting on the possibility of the District becoming involved in Aboriginal education as part of its commitment to the poor. Leo's first preference, after canvassing possibilities throughout Australia, was to recommend the Brothers take up the challenge at Balgo where the community elders were seeking a Catholic school, and literacy and general education for themselves as well as their children.[11]

Later in 1982, following negotiations with Bishop John Jobst of the Broome diocese, the Visitor and Council agreed to send men to Balgo to work there with Sisters of Mercy. The De La Salle Brothers and Sisters of Mercy signed a three-year agreement on 28 October 1983 to cooperate in the staffing of the Luurnpa school at Balgo Hills. The Brothers agreed to provide three men; the Sisters promised two women, for the new venture beginning in 1984. Leo was asked to be principal.

The Brothers underwent a great deal of preparation for the challenge. Leo attended the Summer School of Linguistics in 1982–1983 to learn something of the language and an induction course for teachers at Derby in February 1983. He later attended the Pacific Institute in Turramurra during first term, 1983, and visited Balgo again, before attending an inservice course in Darwin organised by the Aboriginal Apostolate team. Others appointed to the venture, Justin Thompson and Peter Heaney, attended a cross-cultural course organised by the Institute of Aboriginal Development at Finke River and Alice Springs before attending a seminar managed by Sister Deidre Jordan. Peter Heaney chose not to be part of the new foundation and was replaced by Doug O'Reilly, though the latter had no formal induction apart from that given to other teachers. The Brothers and the Sisters—Janet Lowe and Michelle Farrugia—were complemented by four lay staff and a volunteer recruited from Armidale: in addition, there were six Aboriginal teaching assistants

The first year was particularly difficult because of the extent of change the Brothers believed was necessary. There had been a general lack of discipline in the previous school, and there was a lack of local experience of the new staff. Moreover there was general overcrowding, with 150 students ranging from primary to secondary level, but only five classrooms. Much of the teaching had to be undertaken by means of 'bribery and entertainment'. However, the deficiencies were slowly remedied and the school took on a more regular appearance which showed in improved academic results. New buildings were available for students for the commencement of the 1986 school year, with additional buildings being moved on site during 1987. These latter included classrooms, a library, administrative offices and toilet facilities, all of them funded by the federal government.

A major challenge was to establish a bi-lingual program to ensure that children could participate in their own and in non-Aboriginal societies. The school was managed by a school board that involved the elders of the community to ensure that they remained part of the educational process; there was an adult from the community in each classroom to assist the teacher communicate with students. The language program provided an admirable opportunity for community elders to become involved

in the school in helping to develop written Kukatja and recording stories for the students to read.[12]

The Brothers also became involved in St John's Adult Education Centre at Balgo as an extension of their work in the school. This had been begun in 1979 when some of the older members of the community asked Sr Alice Dempsey of the St John of God Sisters to teach them to read and write both in English and in their own Kukatja language. The centre developed and broadened beyond the language program. In 1989 the Mercy Sisters assumed control and continued its development into a broad-based adult education facility.

San Miguel

The Institute's renewed commitment to the needs of the poor and disadvantaged led to other new initiatives within the District. Many of these were short-lived, but the San Miguel Family Centre flourished.

Finbar Kelly established San Miguel, with the early assistance of Fintan Dwyer, after having been appointed to Oakhill in 1976. The centre was named after the Brothers' Ecuadorian Saint, Miguel (Francisco Febres Cordero, 1854–1910) who was canonised on 21 October 1984. The initiative drew upon Finbar's six years' experience as principal of BoysTown. Finbar found great difficulty having to return to teaching after a dozen years engaged in other duties and asked to be relieved of some teaching responsibilities. This gave him additional time for student counselling and the development of the pony club at Oakhill, for students not particularly interested in other sports.

In his role as a student counsellor, Finbar become increasingly aware of, and concerned about, the welfare needs of pupils, parents and families within the region around Oakhill. During 1978, for instance, he learned of 58 broken marriages of parents of Oakhill College students and found himself arranging foster homes for more than 20 girls and boys. He was able to secure the use of a cottage on the Oakhill property to provide crisis accommodation and assistance to mothers and their children who were in need. However, the Oakhill solution was clearly inadequate, but so too was the range of welfare assistance generally available. There were facilities and assistance available for single parents in crisis, but none for families in crisis. He determined to do something about it.

Finbar received more criticism than support from his peers, who believed his endeavours went beyond the scope of the Institute's work. Indeed, he had to overcome suggestions made by many that it was 'just a scheme to keep "Dick Kelly" occupied on a "Flight from the Classroom" stunt'.[13] Nor were his superiors convinced that the Institute should be involved in the type of work Finbar proposed. They seemed more concerned with the potential

for criticism flowing from a failed project, than any benefits to be derived from its success. Nevertheless, the District Council finally approved the initiative late in 1979, though it insisted on monitoring developments closely and setting limits to the extent to which Finbar could commit the Institute.

Finbar's initiative began with the acquisition in October 1979 of a 20-hectare property on Kurmond Road near Richmond, west of Sydney, which had been identified as suitable by him and Fintan. It included three old houses in reasonable repair, an irrigation system over 14 hectares and stabling facilities and yards for 25 horses. The acquisition was supported financially by Oakhill College and Peter McIntosh, with the assistance of $120,000 borrowed from BoysTown. Finbar began the work while continuing to discharge his Oakhill duties, living on the property in the tented accommodation during the weekends. The tents were donated by the Royal Australian Air Force and were the main accommodation available for the first three years. The primitive arrangements ultimately led to him contracting pneumonia and being confined to hospital for two months.



Brother Fintan Dwyer in front of the tented accommodation at San Miguel.

George Pardon and his wife were appointed site managers of the Centre in late-1979 with the task of managing the property and caring for the residents on a day-to-day basis. A new residence was built for their use. Finbar became director of the centre, had the general oversight of the project and became the link between those at the centre and professional agencies able to provide more long-term assistance. Finbar was relieved of his duties at Oakhill and appointed full-time manager of the centre in early 1980, although he remained part of the community. He was finally able to throw himself into the work in a fulltime capacity.

Having acquired the property, Fintan and Finbar engaged in fund-raising in order to repay the loan and to provide for the operation of the centre. The inadequate accommodation meant that there was no government assistance available. Nevertheless, Finbar and Fintan received great support from the Oakhill community. Parents and friends of the college formed the majority of the 'Friends of San Miguel' and assisted with fund-raising by means of raffles and gambling nights.

San Miguel was envisaged as 'a place for the poor'. The idea of the new initiative was to provide a refuge where whole families could receive temporary accommodation, whether they were refugees or deserted mothers, fathers and children, and to provide work experience and training for unemployed.

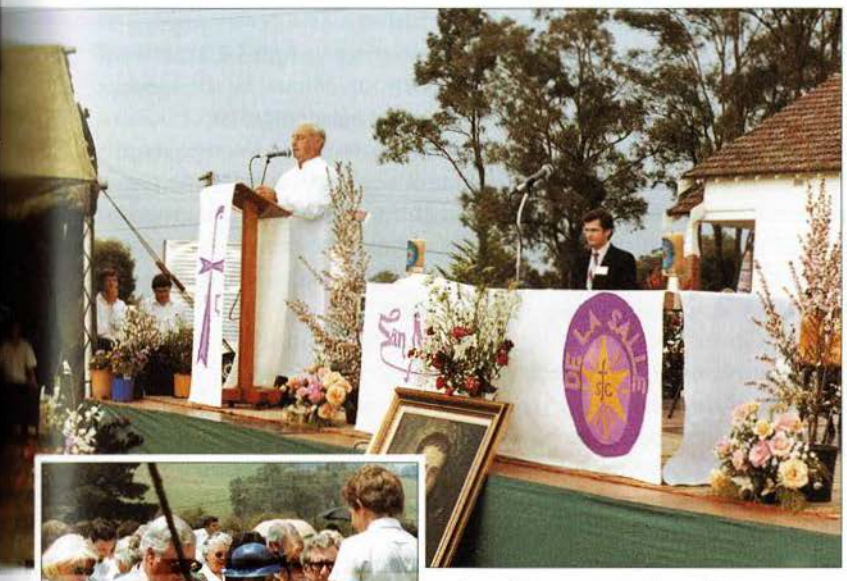
The commitment to family care rather than care for women only was significant and compounded the difficulties in establishing the centre. There was ample government funding available to provide as much as 90 per cent of the cost of management of a women's refuge, but only about a third of that available for family centres. This meant that extensive fund-raising remained critical to the centre, which was registered under the Charitable Collectors Act in 1979.

Finbar had the facility to recruit willing supporters, and this ensured its success. Jack Gibson, a well-known coach of the Parramatta Eels and later the Cronulla Sharks in the Sydney Rugby League competition, was an early supporter. In February 1986, Jack organised the San Miguel Winfield Caddy Classic golf day at the Royal Australian Club at Kensington to which he invited the governor and numerous sporting celebrities. The event raised $60,000 for San Miguel. Jack later organised an annual race day in conjunction with the Hawkesbury Race Club, with the proceeds going to San Miguel. Jack Gibson became involved because of the help the Brothers had provided for his son, who had attended De La Salle College at Caringbah, and had become involved even then with drugs. The son spent time at San Miguel with Finbar who persuaded the St John of God Brothers to take him as a resident, before he returned to the centre. In this way Finbar grew to know Gibson. The son seemed to improve and returned home, only to die some time later from a drug overdose. Nevertheless, Jack Gibson and his wife continued to support San Miguel and during many years raised thousands of dollars for the centre. Their support was recognised with the opening of the Jack Gibson Recreation Centre on 30 November 1986 by the state Minister for Youth and Community Services. It included a hall, preschool and swimming pool.

Mike Bailey, well-known in Sydney as the ABC weatherman, became another strong supporter and a board member of San Miguel. Mike had been an old boy of both Bankstown and Ashfield, where he had imbibed a strong sense of school spirit. He suggested

Jack Gibson, with his wife, Judy, turning the first sod for a new accommodation unit at San Miguel.







Brother Finbar Kelly reading a lesson during Mass on the occasion of the San Miguel Open Day, 1980. Mike Bailey, a supporter, acted as Master of Ceremonies.
(Inset) Guests at the 1980 Open Day included the Governor of New South Wales, Sir Roden Cutler, and his wife.

that this was manifested in a strong sense of 'loyalty and involvement in working as a team, and it applied to Church and to Community through a strong sense of social justice'. Thus, he could not decline when asked to support San Miguel.[14]

Finbar was also canny enough to secure the official patronage of Governor Sir Roden Cutler, and later that of his successor, Air Marshall Sir James Rowland. This facilitated the fund-raising. All the while the centre received the support of Oakhill College parents, the St Vincent de Paul Society, the Variety Club and other donors. The Colo Lions Club built a hostel to cater for eight families.

The early lack of government financial assistance meant that Finbar and the centre remained dependent on volunteers for much of the work. He had to accept whatever assistance was suitable and available. Many of the early volunteers who helped with domestic work associated with the centre were Years 11 and 12 girls from Oakhill and others who were university students. One of them, Joanne Lentern, was first associated with San Miguel as a Year 12 student. She continued to give assistance for more than ten years, while gaining her degree, and after travelling overseas and marrying, when she returned to help three days each week in the preschool. John Cleary worked there for a time in 1981: the following year, two Mercy Sisters, Janet and Margaret, provided assistance.

The centre had a precarious existence initially, but it succeeded, simply by surviving. The first occupants were two

families from the Cabramatta migrant hostel. The centre assisted as many as 180 people in crisis situations during its first 14 months of operation. Many residents were referred to San Miguel by the Homeless People's Association and various crisis centres or housing departments, once its services became known. The average length of stay of residents was about three months. During this time families were either approved for crisis accommodation by the Housing Commission or, if their appeal were upheld, they found alternative low-income rental accommodation. Staff provided follow-up assistance after residents moved elsewhere.

Government funding became available in 1981 following registration of the centre as a Family Crisis Centre, Youth Care Unit and Proclaimed Place. This government assistance was primarily directed to the provision of professional services. Thus, in 1981, John Cleary was appointed as relocation officer for 12 months, with funds from the Youth and Community Services of New South Wales. In 1983 it received a $127,000 grant from the commonwealth government under the Youth Training Scheme to assist young people to gain employment, by imparting work skills. The registration also facilitated additional government assistance. Thus, in October 1985, new units were opened by Bishop Bede Heather, after being built with the assistance of a Community Employment Project grant.

Management was by means of a board chaired by Peter McIntosh, the nominee of the Visitor, and other people with various qualifications. Once established, the centre employed both voluntary and paid staff. In 1984 these included two Brothers—Finbar and Joachim Hope, who joined in 1983—two Dominican Sisters—Teresa and Dominica—and one Mercy Sister, a married couple to manage the farm, office staff and pre-school workers. The Sisters were primarily concerned with counselling in the Crisis Centre. Sister Lavinia Smith, a Josephite, joined the centre in 1987 to establish the preschool day care centre. That year the centre provided emergency assistance for 75 families—246 people, 162 of whom were children: unfortunately, many more had to be turned away.



Key staff of San Miguel: left to right, Sisters Teresa Cathie OP, Pat Linnane RSM, Pat McKinnon RSM.

The school-age children of residents attended either North Richmond Primary School or Colo High School. The women in the crisis centre attended various life skills lectures and undertook courses calculated to help them cope with life after leaving San Miguel. Staff also conducted a work training program for unemployed people of the district.

During 1986 the centre had a 75 per cent success rate at placing people in employment after having completed one of the courses.

San Miguel gradually won support from other Brothers. Eric Pigott, who had worked with Finbar at BoysTown, joined the centre in 1985 and the community was established. Other Brothers spent time at San Miguel, including Paul Rigney, Martin Blattman, Peter McIntosh and Arthur Flynn, though few stayed long before moving on to other duties.

Outreach

Meanwhile, BoysTown continued to do good work and expanded its apostolate. This was facilitated by the lottery that took on greater significance in late 1984 when the grand prize was a house on Queensland's Gold Coast. Profits from the lottery increased from $264,647 in 1985 to $2,853,940 in 1988.

The extension of the BoysTown apostolate occurred on several fronts under Paul Smith's management. There were additional significant land purchases made including Killara, Brooklyn, Biddaddada Lodge and Goodspell Park, with an additional 646 hectares augmenting BoysTown holdings. All the properties were used as part of the BoysTown residential and outreach programs. An impressive Droughtmaster cattle stud was begun by Ray Sheridan that enabled the boys to show cattle throughout south-east Queensland. In 1987, the Brothers helped finance the Centre Education Program at Kingston in Queensland, which was operated by the Christian Brothers. This was a school established in a former shopping complex to provide education and counselling to boys and girls with a history of truancy.

The success of the BoysTown initiative prompted others in Melbourne. In 1986 the Brothers in Melbourne had begun a new initiative intended to assist the poor and disadvantaged when they rented a house in Cheltenham to provide assistance for youth in need of emergency accommodation. The initiative was originally planned to assist students from the Brothers' own schools, but it became evident that the need was greater than for them alone. Tom Clark lived in the community with two voluntary workers, Andrew Wallace and Dion Belfrage. The new house was named 'Vaugirard' after the house rented by De La Salle on the fringes of Paris in 1691. The Australian Vaugirard had accommodation for six guests. Members of the New Life Community visited regularly and gave the house something of a 'drop-in' atmosphere.

The Brothers acquired a house in Barkly Street, Mordialloc, in 1987, and renovated it to provide accommodation for eight youths. Bishop George Pell officially opened the new facility on 20 March 1988. The neighbouring house was acquired soon afterwards and four Brothers established a community there in 1989.

Denis Loft became the director of the centre while on the teaching staff at Malvern; Philip O'Brien, a member of the Mentone staff, became director of the community; while Chris Ellmers and Michael Neville studied residential care at RMIT. The primary concern was for boys aged 12 to 18 years who were unable to remain at home because of family breakdown, abuse, lack of supervision and who had been referred by De La Salle or other Catholic schools. There was no attempt to deal with persistent offenders or addicts. As many as 56 young men, ranging in age from ten to 20, used the facilities during 1989, most of them staying for periods up to three weeks.

Catholic College of Education

The Institute's involvement in tertiary education continued to change, though with Ambrose still at the helm. Polding College did not persist for long. Changes in government policy prompted Cardinal Freeman to appoint Dr Victor Couch to chair a committee to inquire into means of rationalizing Catholic teacher education in Sydney. The Committee recommended a single teachers' training college. Thereafter Cardinal Freeman signed a letter dated 8 December 1980—structured by Archbishop James Carroll, drafted by Ambrose—directing the principals of the various teachers' colleges to amalgamate.

The Catholic College of Education, Sydney, was incorporated under the Companies Code on 23 November 1981. It commenced operation as a limited liability company on 1 January 1982, after bringing together three teachers' training colleges—Catholic Teachers' College, Sydney, located at North Sydney; Mount Saint Mary College of Education at Strathfield; and Polding College, located at Castle Hill and Glebe. Ambrose Payne was appointed principal and was charged with effecting the amalgamation:

> In 1982 the College Council faced a daunting task in unifying three colleges and in the process responding to the wishes and aspirations of five religious institutes and the Trustees of the Archdiocese of Sydney. It needs to be placed on record that Ambrose Payne was the architect of all resolutions relating to the amalgamation, whereby a single College became a reality and appropriate structures were put in place. There was a touch of genius in the way Ambrose was able to reconcile differences and formulate appropriate goals ...
>
> Ambrose did much to encourage lecturers to pursue higher degrees, in the process denying himself a leave opportunity for doctoral study ...[15]

In the first instance the constituent campuses were retained in 1982 with some rationalisation of programs taking place in 1983. Oakhill remained one of the campuses, with additional buildings being added to provide new facilities.

No sooner had the Catholic College of Education become a reality, than Ambrose and others worked towards the establishment of a Catholic university. They took advantage of the opportunity provided by the federal government's policy of rationalizing the nation's many tertiary institutions, following the report of Gregor Ramsay of the Advanced Education Commission. The negotiations were long and tortuous, and there were many obstacles. However, the chief proponents of the idea of a Catholic university, including Ambrose, met personally with John Dawkins, federal Minister of Education, and ultimately gained his support and that of the federal government. This proved decisive.

The Institute's championing of tertiary education contrasted markedly with the earlier jaundiced attitude to higher learning. The extent of the change was evident in the encouragement of many to realise their full potential. William Mullins became the first Australian to gain a doctorate; James Mahon was the first to gain two. James had an immense thirst for learning and gathered an astonishing array of academic qualifications. He completed a BA during the 1950s while studying part-time and teaching full-time, and completed an MA from Sydney University with a thesis on the Labor Movement in New South Wales in the late nineteenth century. He followed this with a BLitt—later changed to an MLitt—and an MEd Hons at the University of New South Wales. He then proceeded to gain a PhD in 1981 with a thesis on Catholic Primary Education in New South Wales in the late nineteenth century. He completed an MA at the University of New England with a mathematics thesis on Pell Polymomials and proceeded to a PhD in mathematics in 1987.

Asset rationalisation

The Oakhill property underwent other changes in addition to those associated with the development of the College of Education and Oakhill College. The property had become increasingly valuable because of an insatiable demand for housing land in the area The Brothers sought to realise the value tied up in land at Castle Hill which was grossly underused after the phasing out of the farm. The final payment of $150,000 for Lot One, Old Northern Road, was received from Anglican Retirement Villages, Archdiocese of Sydney, in June 1983. Other land was marked for sale. Bassett Place, the north-eastern portion of the Oakhill property was sold in 1988, with the returns being used to fund Lasallian works. Names associated with the subdivision ensured that the Lasallian heritage would continue.

The appropriateness of the novitiate continued to exercise the District Council. It moved to new premises at 61a Annangrove Road, Kenthurst, in January 1980, but soon afterwards moved to a more suitable property at 70 Annangrove Road.



Postulants in the 1983 Initial Training Program. Standing: left to right, Tony Cummins, Brother David Zande, Brother Pius Crowe, Edmund Lai. Sitting: left to right, Peter Ryan, Paul Hayes, Rick Gaffney.

However, the location was only one issue. The other was the nature of the program. The problem was that there were so few candidates. For instance, Tony Cummins was the only one to complete the novitiate in 1983; Peter Ryan and Greg Boyle were the only candidates in 1984.[16] The traditional novitiate was inappropriate when there were so few candidates. Cletus Storey observed difficulties inherent in the situation when he was appointed to the novitiate community in 1986, though with duties as part of the Oakhill College staff. There was only one novice at the time and two pursuing the ITP. The latter went out each day to university or work, leaving the novice with Vincent Keating (director) and Patrick Howard, who also formed part of the community. The close one-to-one relationship was difficult for both the novice and his director. Nothing was resolved immediately.

International

Meanwhile, the welfare of those in other communities demanded attention. In 1980 the District was asked to provide assistance to the Institute's first foundation in New Caledonia in February. Seven Vietnamese Brothers, including Eugene Van Ly, formed the community to undertake two ventures: to conduct a school and to work with refugees. The new foundation belonged to the District of Saigon, and was responsible to the Visitor who resided near Paris. However, the Australian Visitor was asked to visit regularly in order to maintain links with the wider Institute.

The transfer of Eugene to New Caledonia meant that the Vietnamese Brothers at Malvern dissolved their community, with Marcel joining the Malvern community and Benilde joining the Brothers at East Bentleigh. Benilde later went on to work with Vietnamese refugees on the island of Palawan, off the Philippine coast. The work was difficult and the conditions very trying, but he found the work very fulfilling because of the chance to help his own people.

Australian Brothers continued to work internationally. Brothers Celestine Jennings and Harold Reynolds continued to work in Malaysia, the latter ultimately taking out Malaysian citizenship. Oswald Murdoch had transferred to England at the end



Participants in the 1984 District Chapter at St Bede's College, Mentone. Third row: left to right, Brothers Peter Mays, Peter McIntosh, Benilde Schaeffer, Brian Cunningham, Ignatius Kennedy, Bill Firman, Paul Rigney, Brendan Crowe, Quentin O'Halloran, Julian Watson, John Pill, Frederick Sheridan, Timothy Peter, Benildus Larkin, Cletus Storey, Garry Coyte, Kevin Moloney, Donald Newton. Second row: left to right, Max Sculley, David Hawke, Paul Toohey, Rory Higgins, Vincent Keating, Celestine Gavin, Paul Pearce, Kenneth Ormerod, Justin Joyce, Patrick McCarthy, Michael McCabe. Front row: left to right, Patrick Lynch, Damien Harvey, John Cantwell, Colin Griffin, Pius Crowe, Raphael Bassett, Ibar Keating, Christian Moe, Joseph Gabel, Ambrose Payne.

of 1971 and remained there till 1988, teaching, and later translating Institute works from French to English. Malachy Yates served as master of novices in Sri Lanka in 1987 and 1988. John Cleary worked in Philippines from 1987 to 1990. Gerard Rummery was director of the CIL program in Rome from 1983 to 1986.

The Institute's 41st General Chapter in 1986 saw the continued rise to prominence of Gerard Rummery, and the continuing influence of Australian Brothers at the highest level of Institute affairs. Gerard was appointed one of the seven members of the Preparatory Commission, which first met in September 1984. He went on to play a prominent role in the Chapter proceedings. He was accepted as the Provisional Moderator the day that Superior General Pablo opened the Chapter on 7 April 1986 and was elected General Chairman on 16 April. Raphael Bassett was elected as one of the three secretaries. On 14 May, the General Chapter elected John Johnston, an American, as Superior General: three days later, Gerard Rummery was elected one of the six General Councillors.

The 41st General Chapter was also significant for having adopted the Rules of the Institute, reinterpreted in the spirit of the Founder. These rules—approved by the Vatican in 1987—reflected

Brother Gerard Rummery, General Councillor (1986–2000).



the philosophy espoused by the *Declaration*. Thus Rule 10 insisted that each Brother take:

> ... the responsibility of integrating within his own person these qualities that make up his vocation: consecration to God as a lay religious, apostolic ministry of education, especially of the poor, and community life.

The new Rule validated the directions taken in the Australian District during recent years.

Death

Unfortunately, the passage of time continued to claim the lives of many who had worked strenuously for the ideals of the Institute.

Aloysius Carmody died relatively suddenly on 23 August 1981. There were few Brothers in Australia who were as well known or respected beyond the Institute as he. The Requiem Mass had to be celebrated at St Bernadette's church at Castle Hill because the Oakhill chapel was unable to accommodate those wishing to attend. There were five bishops who concelebrated the Mass along with ten priests.

Peter Duffy died on 3 March 1983. His personality and career typified that of many of his era. He was a tough disciplinarian, with a keen sense of fidelity to the Rule and the life of the Brothers. He had had little formal training, but spent his active life as a teacher, becoming principal of the school at Richmond in Victoria in 1929. He taught in many schools in Australia and in each of those in New Zealand, and was principal of many of them, including Marrickville, Malvern, Dubbo and Mangere. His teaching and leadership style was characterised by strict discipline and an uncompromising quest for excellence. He demanded and usually obtained good results from his students, and was highly respected, though perhaps rarely loved.

Alban Dwyer ended his extraordinary career on 30 May 1983. He was a big man in all ways, and about whom grew myriad stories. He was an incurable optimist with a gift of relating easily to people. These same qualities fitted him well for his pioneering endeavours at Engadine and Beaudesert and their associated activities, and ensured that he had few peers as a fund-raiser. He spent most of his retirement years at the Southport property he had acquired for the Institute, though he spent his last days at Oakhill while Villa La Salle was developed.

Colman Molloy was another to pass on during this period. He had gone to the Kondiu Rosary High School in New Guinea in 1982 and returned to the La Salle House community at Oakhill in 1983. He died on 24 February 1986 while holidaying in New Zealand with his brother, Amedy. His had been a major contribution to the Institute in Australia.

Gregory McNamara died of a heart attack at Beaudesert in the early hours of 3 October 1986. He had been a remarkable man with a simple sense of vocation. He had sought to be replaced as director of novices after six years in order not to lose touch with community life, but continued without complaint when asked to do so by the Visitor. It was striking enough that he should return to classroom duties after having been responsible for formation for so many years. Moreover, when sent to Midland Junction in 1969, he agreed to teach science, although he had not done so for 28 years during which time the subject had undergone immense change.[17] He was the director at Midland during the last year the Brothers taught there, but continued teaching at East Bentleigh in 1972, and at Caringbah from 1973 to 1979. He finally retired to Beaudesert in 1980.

Peter Keaga's death in Madang on 17 December 1986 was a particular loss. He had transferred to the novitiate at the end of 1980 and served as sub-director of novices or vocation director until his death. He continued his association with the PNG Teachers' Association and was at the annual congress in Madang when he collapsed and died, having been proposed as the president for the following year. His distinguished role in education in PNG had been recognised with the award of the MBE in 1980.[18]

Other men who died during this period included Brendan Carroll (81), in 1983, and Benignus Davis (55) and Alexius Higgins (69) in 1985. There were five deaths in 1987: Matthew Hautus (37), Hubert Toohey (76), Theodore O'Shannessy (55), Xavier Hayes (84), and Desmond Bourke (61). Stories could be told of all of them, the common denominator of which was their dedication to teaching and the ideals of the Institute.

Given the declining number of men, the death of any of those remaining was a great loss, particularly of younger men. Thus, the death of Matthew Hautus in Mangere in January 1987 was particularly unfortunate. He was killed after being hit by a van while walking home from shops. He had been a former student at De La Salle College and had been teaching there since 1981. Unfortunately his quiet contribution to the school and the Institute was not fully appreciated until after his death, when great numbers of people attended his memorial service, and continued to attend his anniversary services.

Gods' waiting room

While there were declining numbers of candidates for the Institute, there were ever greater numbers of men reaching retiring age during the 1980s. The ageing population of the Brothers had implications beyond the numbers available for the active apostolate and demanded the attention of the District Council.

The Burradoo property had become a residence for elderly and retired Brothers in 1978, though it was used on occasions for



Brother Peter McIntosh addressing guests at the blessing and opening of Villa La Salle by Bishop John Gerry, with Brother Raphael Bassett to his left, 23 May 1987.

seminars, camps and retreats. However, the property became increasingly burdensome. It was underused and its maintenance became increasingly difficult for older men. Unfortunately there was little market for such a property. Those in the Sydney schools believed it was too far from the city for use as a possible venue for school camps and they complained that the climate was not attractive. The Cronulla Retreat Brothers believed it unsuitable for their purposes, and the idea of using it as an Aboriginal hostel was considered inappropriate. The Sacred Heart Fathers to whom it was offered were unenthusiastic. Eventually, in July 1982, it was transferred to Oxley College Ltd for use as a non-denominational private school.

In the meantime, new facilities for retired Brothers were provided at Bauer Street, Southport, in southern Queensland. The Brothers had decided in the late 1970s to use one of the buildings at the old Southport Cable Station for retired Brothers while the remainder of the property continued to be used for youth camps. James Beasley became the director of the community in 1978 and 1979; Claude Sweeney succeeded him in 1980 and 1981. By this time, the residential development on the Gold Coast had transformed the property into desirable real estate and increased pressure for its development. However, rather than move from the site, Peter McIntosh suggested that the Brothers develop a resident-funded retirement village there. The property was acquired from BoysTown, the area rezoned in opposition to a campaign from local people, and building works began on the first of five stages in April 1982: two of three of the original cable station buildings were resited to the Southport School. Peter McIntosh supervised the development of what became known as Villa La Salle. Stage One, comprising 25 units, was ready for occupation at the end of 1982, with Alex and Jean Wallace moving in on 15 January 1983.

Brother Clement Connolly assisting Chaplain, Father Kevin Muldoon SM, to distribute Communion to Villa La Salle residents.



Development continued with the nursing hostel being completed in June 1986 and the Brothers' residence later in the year. Peter McIntosh became director of the new community that was reconsti-

tuted in early 1987, the others being Clement Connolly and Eric Pigott. Bishop John Gerry blessed and opened the new facility in May 1987. It consisted of 60 one and two-bedroom self-contained units and 27 serviced apartments. There was a separate residence for the Brothers that gave them privacy, but also enabled them to participate in the activities of the village. The associated facilities included an indoor swimming pool, a spa, indoor bowling facilities and a recreation room. A chapel provided a central focus and daily Mass was celebrated there at a time to suit all.

The more coordinated approach to business development within the District meant that the village was funded from the District's own resources, without the need for external borrowings. The retirement village ultimately grew to include 156 units: 106 self-contained units for married couples and 50 hostel units for single people.

Concerns with management

The Institute had never been a democratic institution. Early Visitors had simply been appointed by higher superiors and, even when delegates to District Chapters voted for their preferred candidates for Visitor, the final choice remained the prerogative of the Superior General. Nevertheless, wisdom had prevailed and the succession of Visitors had been accomplished smoothly and without controversy. The first hint of problems inherent in the system of succession became evident as Raphael approached the completion of his second term.

Raphael had suffered a nervous breakdown while auxiliary Visitor but had, nevertheless, been preferred as Visitor in 1980, and had effectively been re-elected in 1984. This had represented something of a gamble for those at the 1984 Chapter because of the perceptions of some that Raphael was no longer able to continue to shoulder the responsibility virtually unaided. Yet it appears that several delegates voted for Raphael for no better reason than they believed that not to give him a second term would be taken as an adverse vote on his administration. Others did so because they believed there was no credible alternative. Vincent Keating recalled:

> At this [1984] Chapter some delegates raised questions of concern, reflecting their inability to agree with Raphael's judgement in some matters ... Raphael realised that not all wanted him as Visitor. Two 'alternative' candidates were unavailable for election. Sadly, I believe, Raphael was given a second term as Provincial largely because there was no evident alternative. Only a minority of delegates would have elected him because they believed that he had a vision for the District and was best qualified to lead at that time.[19]

Another would not have been able to arrest the closure of communities and stem withdrawals from the Institute that contin-



Members of the Caringbah community on vacation at Wauchope, 1983, left to right, Brothers Max Sculley (Director), Luke Beltran, Benildus Larkin.

ued during Raphael's second term. However, an alternative might have been able to act more effectively and create a more positive culture. Those who had voted for Raphael a second time may have done neither him nor the District a service.

Concerns about Raphael's ability to manage the District intensified during his second term. Raphael was a sensitive man of immense intellectual ability. Vincent Keating observed of him: 'A reserved man, he appeared to be aloof, even cold to some Brothers'.[20] He himself admitted: 'My inclination is for stability, security, consolidation, preservation of cherished symbols, fidelity to Institute myths: work by association, community solidarity, regularity of exercises, wearing of habit, monastic practices'.[21] Yet he had to preside during a period of great change. In contending with, permitting, and even encouraging diversity within the District, many believed that Raphael gave mixed signals about the Institute's core mission. He allowed several men to pursue activities unrelated to education: Fabian Clark and Benildus Larkin trained as nurses, ostensibly to be able to look after ageing colleagues.

Raphael invested a great deal of emotional energy in some Brothers who found difficulty in their personal situations.[22] The personal support for some of these men did not always have the benefits that he intended. Vincent Keating observed, 'To the confusion of many and the annoyance (even outrage) of some, he began to identify with Brothers on the fringe, encouraging them in their endeavours'.[23]

The years of shouldering responsibility for the District almost single-handedly took their toll on Raphael. His health deteriorated during the latter part of his second term as Visitor as the stress under which he worked increased, some of it occasioned by the effects of straightened and tragic circumstances affecting his own family.[24] Yet he was not the type of man to sublimate stress and tension easily. He took to filibustering during Council meetings when justifying decisions, took umbrage easily at perceived slights and frequently exaggerated the magnitude of particular issues. In one instance he censured Pat Lynch and the New Zealand Brothers for apparently exceeding their authority in purchasing a residential property. The New Zealanders were given no opportunity to explain the matter and believed that its significance had been based upon a misunderstanding and had been exaggerated in importance.[25] He undertook no visitations during his final months

and increasingly confined himself to Kensington. Some Brothers in country and systemic schools felt neglected, even though these were the very schools having the greatest percentage of poor and disadvantaged students.



The 1988 District Chapter effectively completed Raphael's time as Visitor when delegates elected Bill Firman to succeed him. The actual succession would normally have occurred at the end of the year. However, many senior men in the District believed that Raphael should be relieved of his responsibility immediately and be encouraged to take the place of Bill at the forthcoming session at SIEL (International Session of Lasallian Studies) in Rome. The superiors in Rome concurred, but rather than have Bill in an acting capacity, confirmed him as Visitor from 10 July 1988. The action sparked rumours among some that Raphael had been unceremoniously eased out of office, even though most were relieved that his term had ceased. However, Raphael, himself, appreciated the opportunity to relinquish some of the responsibility he had borne for so long.[26]

In many ways, the latter part of Raphael's second term as Visitor represented a lost opportunity to grapple with many essential issues. It remained to be seen how effectively Bill Firman contended with these.



Chapter Ten

A New Institute
1988–1996

The climate of change inaugurated within the Church and the Institute since the mid-1960s had wrought a fundamental change in Lasallian spirituality. But by the late 1980s the turmoil and confusion had subsided and community life had taken on more constancy. Those originally reluctant to accept change had learned to live with it, while the early proponents had grown comfortable in the new spirituality that had been internalised by most of them. Moreover, recruits who had joined since the mid-1970s and had not lived through the revolution that followed Vatican II, could not, and had no wish to identify with the past of their elders, and accepted the present as the norm.[1]

The Institute in the late 1980s was very different from that of 30 years earlier. Like the life of the Church in general, the Brothers' life became less prescriptive and bound up with practice, and more reliant on a sensible and responsible spirituality espoused by the *Declaration*. The new spirituality was underpinned by detailed and exhaustive study into the life and philosophy of De La Salle in an endeavour to make this relevant to the contemporary Institute. It was reflected in the greater emphasis on the mission and apostolic life of the Institute, that set it apart from other congregations, rather than the monastic traditions that had characterised most congregations in the period prior to Vatican Council II.

A measure of the increasing stability within the District was a slowing in the rate of withdrawals—though as men grew older they naturally became increasingly reluctant to change direction in their lives.

Withdrawal of Brothers 1985–1992[2]

Year	*Final Vows*	*Temporary Vows*
1985	3	-
1986	2	-
1987	2	2
1988	5	-
1989	1★	-
1990	2	1
1991	1★	-
1992	-	-

★ These men left to join the priesthood.

In other respects, however, the District remained very dynamic, with men engaging in a diverse range of activities that aimed to meet the needs of the poor and underprivileged. This dynamism was reflected in Bill Firman's Visitorship.

Under new management

Brother Bill Firman, aged 44 years, became Visitor in July 1988. His succession was a natural one after Raphael had virtually used him as a full-time councillor during the early months of 1988. Bill had completed his term as principal at Mentone, and was undertaking intensive language courses in preparation for his attending a forthcoming SIEL program in Rome. Still, he had seemed destined for a leadership role from the time he entered the novitiate in January 1962. Bill moved to the scholasticate in January 1964 when changes were being introduced into training and daily prayer life of the Brothers. He completed a year of teacher training but then was given the opportunity to complete a science degree as a full-time student at the University of New South Wales, before joining the Ashfield community. His teaching was undertaken at major schools in Sydney and Melbourne during a time when government funding became increasingly plentiful. He was elected to the District Council in 1973 and appointed principal of Mentone in 1974. He was a dynamic man of enormous optimism with an ability to identify the needs of the time and recognise the particular talents of individuals.



Brother Bill Firman, Visitor (1988–1992).

Conscious of his relative youth, Bill Firman sought to allay the concerns of older men in the District by choosing men as his auxiliaries whose wisdom and experience were calculated to complement—perhaps curb—his youthful enthusiasm. To this end he chose Damien Harvey, now a man of 72 years, and Kevin Moloney (51 years). The choice of Damien was inspired. It gave the latter a new sense of purpose and the opportunity to help elderly men as they 'treaded their apprehensive way through that period of life

when the limitations of ageing become evident, the energies and the enthusiasms of apostolic work diminish and the comforting affirmations from the next generation are no more'.[3] The position was an effective one because Damien had all the authority of an auxiliary Visitor. Kevin Moloney brought a wealth of practical experience to the task. He was an old boy of Malvern, where he had returned as a teacher, and he had also taught at Bankstown and been principal at Armidale, Mentone, Dandenong, East Bentleigh and Henley Beach.

Bill also restructured the District Council. Rather than have a Council of six to twelve Brothers meeting every three months, he sought and obtained a larger Council of 15, to meet twice a year, but for three or four days on each occasion. Key decisions in the interim were to be taken by an executive that included David Hawke, Ambrose Payne, John Pill, Paul Smith and James Taylor.

Bill's period as Visitor contrasted with the latter years of Raphael's and was marked by a wish to take charge of change, rather than simply to be carried along by it as seemed to have been the case since the time of Colman. He was particularly keen to seek to change personnel to provide them with renewed challenges and ultimately succeeded in persuading 149 of the 186 Brothers to relocate.

He sought to have the Brothers establish directions for the future. Bill promoted this by means of a discussion paper concerned with 'Future Options', with Area Chairman, Pat Lynch, preparing a paper on New Zealand. All men and communities were invited to respond and all matters raised were considered by the District Council at its meeting in New Plymouth in December 1989.[4] The future directions working paper assessed the perceived priorities of the Brothers and established strategies for dealing with them, and formed the basis for a draft policy statement considered by the Council in December 1990.[5]

Continuing rationalisation of schools and communities loomed large, with the Council finally agreeing to a detailed time-table for the withdrawal of men from 12 places. The communities from which Brothers were to withdraw included Armidale (1991), Dandenong (1991), Hurstville (1991), and Revesby (1992). In addition, the District relinquished the principalship of De La Salle College, Cronulla, at the end of 1993, though a community of men remained to fill teaching and support roles.

There were few withdrawals more painful than that from Armidale. Patrick Howard felt it keenly, and his pain would have been shared by many:

> Armidale is our District's foundation community and a spirit of community features large in our religious living. I recall that when the decision to close the boarding section and to withdraw from the school was made there was the slimmest of the Council opinion of nine at a special meeting in July 1974. As it happened we did not

> withdraw when a final arrangement was worked out and became known in the District, but there was, I consider, a damaging effect on the morale of our District personnel and that is one factor I am concerned about in the present state of our District. We did not withdraw from our 'flagship' foundation then. In the present circumstances of enforced retreat from our present commitments I ask what consideration has been given to our De La Salle Brothers' communal reaction and morale to a withdrawal from Armidale while still maintaining a presence in other country areas.[6]

The continuing presence in other country areas did not persist for long. Brothers had come to expect school closures, but the reality was never a welcome one. This was evident in the response of the community at Lithgow to news of its withdrawal at the end of 1994:

> For thirty years our District has been discussing and implementing withdrawals mostly from schools. In quite a number of instances the lack of consultation with the Brothers living in these Communities has been painfully obvious and one can honestly question how much uncalled-for hurt has been done to Brothers because of this fact. It seems to us that our circumstances should be reviewed. Granted that we are an ageing Community and consequently our individual healths are suspect but we are living the Religious Life and being an example in this area and accepted for who we are rather than for what we do. It is difficult to separate being and doing. If our individual healths can survive well beyond the next three years what is the value of closing the community for us as individuals, for the district of Lithgow in which we live and for the good of the Church in this segment of the Bathurst Diocese? And what are the alternatives? Can we be effective in the education of youth in a new area given our ages and health problems? There are examples of Brothers of our vintage whose lives have been traumatised. With the closure of so many communities what is left but large establishments which can be soul destroying for older Brothers or Apostolates that for us are less than desirable or premature retirement despite being sixty-five years of age plus?[7]

Such a response was understandable and reflected the Brothers' commitment to the essential mission of the Institute. However, it underestimated the amount of consultation that had taken place, and took no cognisance of policies operating within the diocese, one of which envisaged such schools coming under direct diocesan control.

Even while trying to take charge of what they could influence, the Brothers continued to react to change over which they had no control. This was reflected in ongoing development of curriculum to ensure that it remained appropriate to the needs of students. In New South Wales, for instance, the most significant of these occurred in 1991 in accordance with the demands of the

Education Reform Act 1990. The Act required New South Wales schools to be registered and accredited, but gave them the option of being registered and accredited as individual schools or as part of a system. The Act allowed changes to be implemented progressively until 1996, though many schools sought to implement them as quickly as convenient. The Oakhill College board recommended that the College stand apart and be registered as an individual school.

Conversion

Bill Firman took seriously the 1988 District Chapter's 'call for conversion', although many older men had become somewhat bemused by what they now considered a jargon word. He presented a 'District Conversion Plan' to the Council in March 1989, that provided an increase in renewal opportunities for Brothers, many of them in centres overseas.[8] The Council established new guidelines for retreats that included optional forms including directed retreats, semi-directed retreats, preached retreats, specific shared purpose retreats and community retreats. The District administration organised 'preached retreats' in 1989 and 1990, with contributions from overseas and local experts.

Bill was committed to investing in men, the key resource of the Institute. He made it a particular mission to ease the pain of those men who believed that they had not been given the opportunity to develop their intellectual potential. At one stage there were as many as 49 Brothers overseas undertaking studies or renewal. By March 1989, for instance, Australians and New Zealanders had already filled all available places at sessions of CIL and SIEL until 1991. Similarly, places for Australians and New Zealanders at Sangre de Cristo were filled until 1991; in June 1989 five men had been invited to undertake courses devoted to the life and spirituality of De La Salle at the Buttimer Institute in America; nine men had been invited to attend the three-month course conducted by Redemptorist Fathers at Hawkestone Hall in England between 1989 and 1992.

Several men were given the opportunity of overseas study, in addition to those engaged in renewal programs. In 1989, for instance, 14 Brothers were undertaking, or were preparing to undertake, specialised courses of study overseas.[9] John Cantwell spent five years undertaking scripture studies in London. Gary Wilson gained a Diploma in Theology at Heythrop College within the University of London and a Master of Theology from Kings College, Cambridge. Paul Toohey had three years to prepare to be a director of novices.

The new Visitor was also eager to provide opportunities for inservice courses for teachers in Brothers' schools. The various Catholic education offices had attempted to provide such services and there had been initiatives in individual schools, such as that at Malvern, where Patsy Blight worked for several years as the development

officer and Lasallian Coordinator after enrolling her son at the College in 1983. However, these were seen as limited vehicles. Consequently, in 1987, the Apostolate Executive had proposed to the District Council that it consider establishing a 'staff college' primarily to provide inservice education for teachers in the tradition of the De La Salle Brothers. The recommendation anticipated that such a centre might also be able to provide renewal sessions and retreats for Brothers. The philosophy behind the centre suggested that this initiative might permit older men to continue to play a valuable role in the essential mission of the Institute. Although finding difficulty in dealing with the rigours of classroom teaching, senior men would still be able to fulfil a useful role by passing on the benefits of their experience to others. In addition, the initiative was calculated to reinforce current endeavours to promote the concept of the extended Lasallian family.



Blessing and opening of the Lasallian Centre, Narooma, 10 December 1990. Left to right, Brother John Pill, Archbishop Francis Carroll, Father Michael O'Brien, Brother Bill Firman.

Few Brothers disagreed with the concept, though some baulked at the size of the financial commitment they were asked to make, and ultimately at the location of the centre. Such objections were met with arguments that it was a secure and good investment, even though it might not provide the best possible return on funds. The initiative proceeded, largely because of Bill Firman's determination, and the District acquired The Highway Motel on the Princes Highway at Narooma on the New South Wales south coast for use as a retreat and conference centre. The 60-bedroom motel 350 kilometres south of Sydney, cost $1.4 million. The acquisition was made with funds available following the sale of land at Oakhill in 1988.[10] The Brothers took full possession of the motel on 1 June 1990, and the Lasallian Centre was officially opened on 10 December 1990, by Archbishop Frank Carroll of Canberra-Goulburn, a nephew of Brendan Carroll, a former student of De La Salle College, Marrickville, and the first Australian old boy to become an Archbishop.

Foundation community at Narooma, September 1990. Left to right, Brothers John Pill (Director), Colin Griffin, Kevin Neville, Frederick Sheridan, Peter Bray, John Kidd.



Meanwhile, three men had been sent overseas to prepare them to work at the centre—John Pill, Fred Sheridan and Colin Griffin: Jack



Age and Grace retreat held at Narooma, 1990. Third row: left to right, Brothers John Hanson, Dermot Brosn[an], Joseph Sullivan, Philip O'Callaghan, Philip O'Brien, Amedy Molloy, Christian Moe, Alphonsus Chee. Seco[nd] row: left to right, Brothers Daniel Spillane, Vincent Cotter, Kelvin Sullivan, Alphonsus Breen, Edward Gehrig, Clement Connolly, Julian Watson, Baptist Will, Fidelis Leddy, Richard Allen McNamee, Ulrich Currie, Matt[hew] Kennedy, George Taylor, Xavier Johansson, Paul Rosario, Anselm McCaffrey, Oliver O'Leary, Finian Allman, Gregory Bruchhauser, Gregory Kennedy, Patrick McCann. Front row: left to right, Brothers Denis Cotter, Ar[thur] Price, Finbar Kelly, Basil Collins, Gerard Rummery, Damien Harvey, Celestine Jennings, Francis Josten, Mich[ael] Cooper, Justinian Thompson.

Kidd was already at Sangre de Cristo and was keen to undertake new work. The members of the new Lasallian Resource Team were brought together in the latter part of 1990 to provide specialist programs at the centre or elsewhere, for Brothers, lay teachers and students; Peter Bray joined the community from New Zealand. One of the first courses mounted at the Centre was a Youth Leadership Seminar in February 1991, when school leaders from Lasallian schools throughout Australia met to explore the meaning of leadership for them. Part of the Resource Team's initiative was to prepare four-month renewal courses—called Micah Courses—pitched at different groups of Brothers. The first—titled Age and Grace—was intended for older men; the second was for those who had completed the Sangre de Cristo course; while the third was for younger men. Overseas brothers were invited to attend the longer renewal courses at Narooma. The District retreats in 1991 were organised by the Lasallian Resource Team.

Other initiatives were taken that were calculated to enhance the work of the Brothers. The Cronulla Retreat Centre closed at the end of 1990 after 16 years and the retreat team, led by Gary Wilson, was disbanded. However, a new, mobile retreat team was appointed in 1991 under the leadership of Jacob Soerensen and Joe Bufalo, with an emphasis on broader youth ministry, rather than spiritual retreats.



Brothers attending a Charismatic Renewal retreat, 1989. Left to right, Brothers Owen Mason, Colin Griffin, Paul Toohey, Paschal Hagerty.



Retreatants at Narooma, September, 1990. Third row: left to right, Brothers David Hawke, Rick Gaffney, Chris Ellmers, Anthony Hawkins, David Miller, Quentin O'Halloran, Lou Page. Second row: left to right, Brothers Ambrose Payne, James Beasley, James Mahon, Michael McCabe, Alphonso Zoanetti, Michael Fitzgerald, Donald Newton, Raymond Khan. Front row: left to right, Brothers Michael Johnson, Maurice Salmon, Malachy Yates, Father Brian Arahill, Brothers Claude Sweeney, Luke Coyle, Brian Cunningham, Peter Baget, Bernard Cooper.

So too, there was a renewed endeavour to recruit new members to the Institute rather than simply bemoan the continuing—if less numerous—withdrawals and the ageing population of the remaining men. The emphasis changed from recruiting men wishing to teach, to accepting those who wanted to work with youth and were willing to be trained in this endeavour. Two full-time recruiters, Brothers Max Sculley and Owen Mason, were appointed in 1988 and worked from a new centre at Hurstville. A new Vocation Commission was appointed early in 1989 to monitor and support their work within the District. Unfortunately, the new endeavours were no more successful than those undertaken earlier.

The conversion plan in general, like the acquisition of the Lasallian Centre, was funded largely by proceeds from the sale of property at Oakhill. The development of land to the east of Oakhill along David Road and extending to Mowll Village, an Anglican aged-care facility, raised the possibility of developing under-used land to the east.[11] In August 1988 the Council agreed to offer for sale a parcel of land bordering David Road.[12] Another portion of the Oakhill property was sold to the Education Department for a primary school, on what had once been the basketball courts below the Training College oval.[13] The local shopping centre was named Oakhill, thereby ensuring the perpetuation of the name.

Members of the Malvern community celebrating the graduation of Brother Tony Cummins with members of his family. Sitting: left to right, David Hawke, Julian Watson, Alphonso Zoanetti, Mary Cummins, Dawn Neville, Michael Neville, Gary Coyte. Standing: left to right, Jack Neville, Carol Downey, Bruce Cummins, Tony Cummins.



Internationalism

Meanwhile, the District became increasingly identified with the Asian region, in part reflecting broader political developments within the region. Visitors had participated in meetings of the Asian Regional Conferences of the Institute as an associate-member in Penang (1977), Tokyo (1978) and Rome (1979): this organisation had grown out of the annual regional conferences of Asian Visitors, the first being held in late 1960s to discuss matters of mutual concern.

The District Chapter of 1980 had resolved that the District should seek full membership of the Asian region. The Superior signalled his approval and Raphael made a formal application for full membership from 1 May 1981, at the time of the fourth ARC meeting in Rome. Thereafter, Australians became closely involved, offering their services as appropriate or responding to requests from Brothers in other regions.

Bill Firman strongly fostered Australia's participation in the Pacific Asia Regional Conference (PARC) and promoted it enthusiastically among the men of the District. Quentin and Raphael had been guarded in relation to PARC, fearing that it might become a major drain on the District. Bill, on the other hand, saw that any small financial contribution had a major impact in the region. At the same time he believed that Brothers in the PARC region had a great deal to contribute to the local region. He became the first Australian to become chairman of the conference and facilitated the meeting of PARC 15 at Narooma in March 1992. Bill also provided generous assistance to some of the poorer members of the forum, even subsidising the travel of many Brothers to the meeting at Narooma. The benefits of Australasia's membership in PARC became evident when Philippine Brothers formed a community at Kondiu in Papua New Guinea as part of their mission.

Meanwhile, Australian Brothers continued to work overseas. Harry Reynolds remained working in Malaysia, and later, the Philippines. Paul Rogers took charge of St Joseph's Institution in Singapore in 1991 and remained in the position for nearly six years. John Kidd served on the staff at Sangre de Cristo from 1995 to 1998.

Others volunteered to work in less affluent countries. Rick Gaffney was asked to go to St Brendan's School at Dwars River in Lebowa in South Africa for three months pre-profession experience with the poor in 1993. When the principal died, Rick volunteered to stay on for a year in charge of boarders while the deputy, Sister Sally Duigan OLSH, assumed the role of principal. Malachy Yates followed him to Dwars River in 1994 after having already spent time in Sri Lanka as master of novices.

Three of the many Brothers from the District who volunteered were accepted into the Institute's 100 Plus Project, which sought to have 100 Brothers and Lasallian partners world-wide volunteering for service in underprivileged countries. Robert

McLaughlin volunteered to teach in Bolivia. In order to do so he spent time at Cochabamba learning Spanish, then a year in Trinidad learning about the indigenous population before joining a Brothers' community on the Aloplano, in the vicinity of La Paz, where he worked with the Aymara Indians, translating textbooks and preparing teaching aids. The project later moved to Bolivia where he worked in a jungle village for three years establishing a De La Salle college. Peter Gilfedder volunteered for service in Abidjan on the Ivory Coast of Africa where he took charge of Brothers' formation. Max Sculley, who had recently completed a Master of Arts degree in Formative Spirituality was appointed to the scholastic formation staff in Nairobi in Kenya in October 1996.



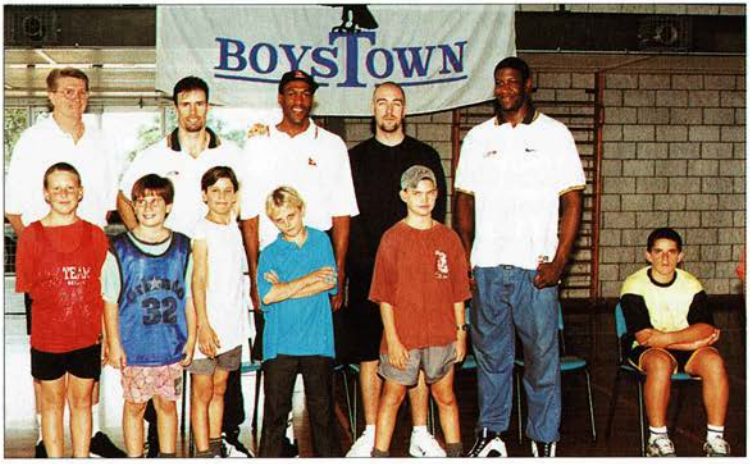
Brother Malachy Yates with villagers of Gha-pasch, South Africa, 1994.

Several men from other districts worked in the local District. Ambrose Gwynne continued to work in Papua New Guinea. Others to work there included Lucien Ng (1992–1994) and Gregory Lim (1994) from Penang, Jun Ergvisa (1989–91), Ruben Caluyong (1993–94) and Raffy Reyes (1995) from the Philippines. Dominic Chong from Penang also worked for a time at BoysTown.

BoysTown

The duty to give attention to the needs of poor and disadvantaged youth had been reiterated by the 1988 District Chapter following the directives of the previous General Chapter. Thus, there continued to be a major emphasis on welfare apostolates with the establishment of four new communities in 1989, all to minister to young people considered to be socially and economically disadvantaged. The following year the executive appointed a Welfare Commission to advise the Council of aspects of this expanding ministry.

The maintenance of the Brothers' ministry at BoysTown continued to be considered one of their most significant initiatives. By 1990 it was Australia's largest non-government residential care and education facility, providing family care for 84 boys entrusted to the Brothers by the Queensland courts. BoysTown continued to prosper and to develop associated outreach programs, particularly under the leadership of Paul Smith. Fortnightly home visits were established along with family visits at Beaudesert. Social workers were employed along with state-funded teachers. Greater funding from the Department of Family Services helped increase the staff/student ratio and the effectiveness of the programs. The profile of



Members of the Brisbane Bullets, with boys at BoysTown.

BoysTown was raised significantly through youth advocacy by means of the media and conferences.

New initiatives were begun. Logan Lodge, affectionately known as GirlsTown, was established in 1989 to provide emergency accommodation for boys and girls aged 12 to 16. Scarborough Lodge was established in 1990 to provide care and long-term accommodation for 10 boys and girls in the region of the Redcliffe Peninsula. In 1991, Tarragindi Lodge in Brisbane became a place of transition from prison to the community for female prisoners with children. This initiative continued for 12 months and, from 1993, was used for BoysTown programs.

Paul lobbied hard for funding to supplement the successful lotteries. He established a community fundraising team to oversee the BoysTown Art Union, and to solicit donations, corporate sponsorship and government grants. Each of 10 lotteries a year during the 1990s averaged $500,000: the federal government provided annual grants of $666,000 from January 1996.

Superior General Brother John Johnston and Brother Ray Suplido, General Councillor, with BoysTown citizenship certificates, 11 July 1994.



Paul Smith was a passionate man with tremendous energy and capacity to achieve. His experience as a member of the Kennedy Prison Commission reinforced his conviction that young offenders had common and long histories of childhood poverty, neglect and abuse. This led him to employ Anne Freeman as executive director to Link-Up in 1991 to help address the issue. This became a statewide youth service in Queensland targeting young offenders between 17 and 21 who required intensive support and supervision, and advice about agencies that could help them. Link-Up oversaw Tarragindi Lodge and Goodspell Park which serviced young prisoners on parole, and provided a soup van for the Logan City area. Unfortunately, these latter services provided by Tarragindi Lodge and Goodspell Park ceased at the insistence of the state government which had been constantly criticised by Link-Up over the level of youth suicide, physical abuse, rape and drug addiction in the state's prisons.



Brother Paul Smith (left) with Senator Flo Bjelke-Petersen, with government Minister Geoff Muntz and his wife at BoysTown.

BoysTown's success prompted the development of a new outreach centre in 1989 at Tarago near Goulburn in the New South Wales southern tablelands. The germ of the idea developed during Raphael's period as Visitor when Dr Peter McCullagh, a former pupil of De La Salle at Malvern, and now an immunologist, offered the District 690 hectares of his property to be used in some form of youth apostolate. The original idea was to provide accommodation for drug-dependent people wanting to quit the habit. As part of the developing idea, Pat McCarthy travelled to America to study at the Jesuit Santa Clara University in California: he used the opportunity to study issues associated with the treatment of AIDS patients.

Bill Firman, who succeeded Raphael, was more focused on the needs of schools. He changed the emphasis of the idea and sought to use the property as a place for holiday camps for deprived students from years 7 and 8 with senior students acting as camp leaders under the supervision of Brothers. Four Brothers, Brian Cunningham (Director), Frank Brophy, Peter Baget and Stan Fagan, officially commenced the project—known as La Salle Park—in January 1989. A group of Year 8 students from Casimir College became the inaugural group.

However, the location of the property meant that it was never popular as a holiday camp, nor as an outdoor education facility for students from De La Salle schools. Bill sought to have Paul Smith and BoysTown develop it as a place for some of those having completed their time at BoysTown who wished to learn farming skills. This plan never eventuated because of difficulties associated with the jurisdictions of different government welfare bodies. Later still, the Rotary Club on Sydney's North Shore in association with Father Chris Rielly, a Salesian priest involved in emergency support for young people in Sydney, approached the Brothers seeking use of the property. The Brothers agreed to the proposal for a period of 12 months; Peter McCullagh concurred, and the Rotary Club refurbished the accommodation. However, the new initiative also failed because of a lack of close supervision, as Father Chris concentrated on his work in the Sydney metropolitan area. Ambrose reviewed and reported on the Tarago operation in early 1992. On his recommendation the Council decided to revert to the earlier idea as a place for holiday camps for underprivileged children from the end of that year. This also proved unsuccessful. Portable buildings were removed and ownership and management of the property returned to Dr Peter McCullagh.[14]



Victorian Premier Jeff Kennett, Kylie Minogue and Brother Paul Smith at a Melbourne reception for Kids Help Line, hosted by the Governor. Kylie Minogue is an official ambassador, with her father a director of Kids Help Line Victoria Ltd.

Despite the false start with the Tarago project, the Brothers' work for young people in crisis continued to expand with the 1991 development of a telephone counselling service for children called Kids Help Line. Paul Smith had studied such an operation in Britain during a visit there in 1990. He returned to Australia with a determination to implement a similar service. Planning began in October 1990, with Pat McCarthy helping to train counsellors. The service began in Queensland on 25 March 1991. By July the 41 counsellors and nine supervisors were receiving as many as 450 calls each day, though this represented barely 10 per cent of the attempts made.[15]

Kids Help Line was particularly aimed at boys and girls from 5 to 18 years. It was free, operated 24 hours a day and was staffed by professionally qualified counsellors. The service was anonymous and calls could not be traced. However, some basic information about each call—restricted to the length of the call and the nature of the issue—was logged in order to provide useful information that might be used to guide policy development for the benefit of young people.

The service expanded to include the Northern Territory in September 1991 and Victoria two months later, on 4 November. The Melbourne launch was attended by Australian Football League identities, Kevin Sheedy, Essendon Club coach, and Hawthorn premiership players Andrew Gowers and Dean Anderson. The service received 207 203 calls during its first 12 months of operation and proved an ample demonstration of the need for such a service.[16] The service became national when launched in Western Australia and the Australian Capital Territory in March 1993 and New South Wales in May 1993. Trevor Carlyon managed the service from 1992.

All calls were routed through the call centre in Brisbane. Here, counsellors had access to a computerised database of agencies Australia-wide that were able to provide services to children and youth. The need for the service was evident with calls growing to an average of 25 000 per week, with a total expenditure for the service of $2.8 million in 1992.[17] Kids Help Line ultimately received funding through the National Youth Suicide Prevention Strategy and later, corporate sponsorship from Kellogg and Optus.

Paul Smith, with support from Visitors Bill Firman and his successor, Kevin Moloney, continued to develop services for disadvantaged youth. Five additional houses were acquired in Kingston

in suburban Brisbane. Alice's Restaurant, a mobile food van to provide meals for homeless youth, was established in 1992. The BoysTown Legal Service was launched on 5 May 1994 to provide a free legal service to young offenders before and during court appearances. Paul's contribution to the service of youth was recognised when he was named a member of the Order of Australia (AM) in the Australia Day Honours List in 1994. This, along with other awards, contributed to the increasing profile and support of BoysTown initiatives.

San Miguel

The family crisis centre at Kurmond continued to develop, largely because of the personality and drive of Finbar Kelly, who had the ability to galvanise others to work towards his vision. Two additional properties were acquired, each of about 16 hectares. Governor Sir James Rowland opened new accommodation units and a community centre on 6 November 1988: his successor, Rear Admiral Peter Sinclair, opened two new family units on 11 November 1990.

Courses were provided to try to upgrade the skills of residents—in many instances, simple skills to cope with situations which many people take for granted, including child care, nutrition, basic cooking and budgeting. On 14 November 1993 a Skillshare centre opened at San Miguel and was able to provide residents and local unemployed people with training and placement services. This program was fully funded by the federal government under the Department of Education, Employment, Training and Youth Affairs. It provided a broad range of courses from basic computers, to secretarial and office skills, computerised accounting, to welding and farming skill. Many of these course were conducted by Brothers. There were four of them engaged in the training schemes in 1994—Ted Becker, Donald Newton, Xavier Johanssen and Tony Moore.

San Miguel featured ten self-contained units, with an additional unit for emergency overnight accommodation by the late 1990s. It housed about 10 families at a time, for periods of from eight to 12 weeks, depending on need, but could accommodate 12. There was also a preschool. Welfare workers were assigned to each case. It acquired a five-bedroom house near Terrigal to serve as a holiday hostel for former residents living in depressed areas.

The nature of the centre meant that the work was difficult and often dangerous. The centre ran a 24-hour service, seven days a week. Finbar took upon himself



Brothers Peter McIntosh (left), Joachim Hope (centre) and Finbar Kelly (right) welcome New South Wales Governor Rear Admiral Peter Sinclair to San Miguel.



(Above) Staff and supporters of San Miguel, left to right, Brothers Peter McIntosh, Xavier Johansson, Finbar Kelly, Joachim Hope, Arthur Flynn, 1990.
(Below) Presentation to the winning owners, jockey and connections at the San Miguel race day at the Hawkesbury Racing Club, 1995. Actor Bryan Brown (left of the jockey) is a supporter of San Miguel and provided funds to build the Molly Brown Unit.



much of the night security work and was assaulted as many as six times, sometimes with knives and/or guns. He retired as Director of San Miguel in August 1996. He left a remarkable legacy. The value of the buildings and property was in the order of $5 million, and the centre was completely free of debt. In addition $1 million was invested to provide ongoing funds for the centre's management, while government assistance was running at a level of $300,000 annually.

More important than the physical assets, however, was the inestimable value of the assistance given to hundreds of families since San Miguel had been established 17 years before. Superior John Johnston remarked after visiting the centre in 1989, that San Miguel was unique in the Institute.

Derby

In accordance with the Institute's renewed emphasis on ministering to the poor, the Brothers embraced the chance to manage a second school in the diocese of Broome when they assumed control of Holy Rosary School in Derby in 1989. The Brothers' presence in Derby was considered to be a worthwhile development with the second community providing a measure of support for that at Balgo—though they were nine hours of hard driving apart.

Holy Rosary School in Derby had been conducted by the Sisters of St John of God since 1954, However, they were to withdraw at the end of 1988. Negotiations with Bishop John Jobst began in December 1987 with Bill Firman agreeing in April 1988 to send men to assume the administration of the school at Derby in 1989. Gerald Barrett became the first principal, with Hilary Walsh being appointed director of the community. Two other pioneers were Gregory Kennedy, and Paul Kent, who had taught at Balgo Hills since 1986. The Brothers were assisted by a qualified lay staff, along with several Aboriginal teacher aides.

School began on 1 February, with 98 students, but with numbers growing to 182 by the end of the following week. Classes ranged from pre-primary to Grade 7 and, with 85 per cent of the students being of Aboriginal descent, the school represented a microcosm of the town. This presented its own challenges, because of the informal commitment to attendance by many of the Aboriginal students. In order to meet the challenge, Hilary adopted a very successful home visitation program for students with erratic attendance histories: an Aboriginal mother assumed the responsibility for this during 1993.

The Brothers had committed themselves to Derby for a limited time, depending on the resources they had available. In late 1995, the Brothers informed the Derby people and relevant diocesan authorities that the community would be withdrawn at the end of 1996. The Brothers had not been in Derby for a lengthy period, but they had succeeded in raising the profile of the school and had overseen the transition to lay management. Hilary had resigned as principal in 1993, though he continued in the role until the end of the year before passing responsibility to Tony Treacy, formerly an assistant principal and a Derby resident for 11 years. Already, Annette O'Connor, an Aboriginal teacher, had assumed responsibility for religious education throughout the school.



A Eucharistic celebration to farewell the Brothers—Matthew Heron, John Mitchell, Kevin Neville, and Raymond Concannon—was held on 4 November 1996 and celebrated by Bishop Christopher Saunders, an old boy of St Bede's, Mentone, who had been consecrated Bishop of Broome earlier that year on 8 February.



(Top) Brother Joseph Gabel teaching at Balgo Hills, 1994 (Bottom) Balgo Hills community, Michael Neville, Calixtus Cusack, Leo Scollen, Joseph Gabel, Stanislaus Fagan.

Australian Catholic University

The Brothers also worked themselves out of key positions in what was to become the Australian Catholic University. Ambrose Payne's work towards the development of the University was rewarded on 1 January 1991 when it came into existence with more than 5000 students and 800 staff. Ambrose had been Chief Executive Officer of the Amalgamation Committee, charged with uniting eight separate campuses in three states and the Australian Capital Territory, and focusing the wishes and ideas of a myriad of stakeholders.

Ambrose had many assistants, but observers agreed that he was the single person most responsible for the successful outcome. However, he was not appointed Vice Chancellor of the new university, though many considered him appropriate for the position. In large part this was because of the single-mindedness with which he had pursued his career, but also because of the politics involved. His preoccupation with immediate issues, whether teaching or teacher education, and consulting, had meant that he had never attended university as a full-time student. All his degrees

had been obtained by correspondence or as a part-time student and he had not undertaken a doctorate, although he would have had little difficulty in doing so. Indeed, his whole professional life had been spent proving that universities did not provide all the answers to complex issues, so he had little standing within the university culture. Moreover, Ambrose had long argued against some policy positions ultimately adopted by the university.[18] In addition, the politics of the development of the university told against him. Politics dictated that key roles be divided between Sydney and Melbourne. Sydney won the administration and chancellorship: the vice-chancellor's job went to Melbourne. Finally, the lack of a doctorate meant that his candidacy never had a real chance of success.

Given his early dominant role in developing the concept of the university, Ambrose was unwilling to offer himself for any secondary role. The following year Ambrose embraced the principal's role at Oakhill College with his usual enthusiasm and took on coaching the College First XV. The university later proposed to award him an honorary doctorate to recognise his contribution to its foundation. He agreed to accept it if it was awarded in a private, rather than a public, ceremony. The university was reluctant to do this.

Papua New Guinea

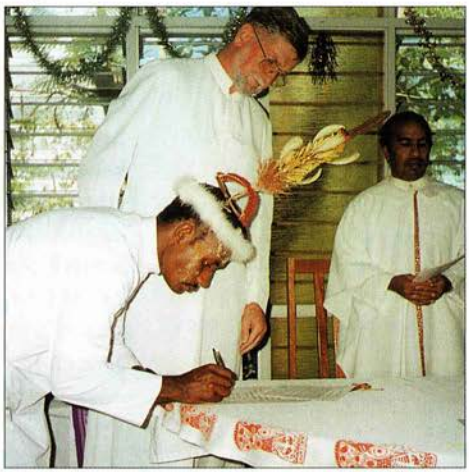
The Brothers continued to engage in a range of activities in Papua New Guinea. They had six communities there in 1991. There were two at Bomana, and the others were at Kondiu, Mainohana—which became co-educational in 1989—Mount Hagen and Tapini.

The Brothers had established a new community in Tapini in the remote Goilala district of the Central Province in January 1986. Philip Cahill (Director) and Mark McKeon taught in the government high school, where the vast majority of children were Catholic. Ted Becker did the same when he joined the community in August 1986. Brendan Crowe also worked in the district as Catholic Education secretary and Christian Education coordinator for as many as 35 community schools conducted by the Catholic Church. The Brothers were mindful of their commitment to the poor and, as Australian expatriates, surprised local people by insisting that they occupy only base-level positions on the staff. Even so, Philip Cahill acted as deputy principal for a year at the insistence of the education authorities. The men at Tapini worked under difficult conditions promoted by the isolation and inadequate medical supplies. They withdrew reluctantly in 1994.



Brother Basil and a Year Eight Blue class at Bomana, 1989.

Separate Formation and Ministry commissions were established in 1992 to oversee the development of programs and institute new recruitment policies. Rather than insisting on candidates having academic qualifications suitable for entry to teacher training, the emphasis changed to encouraging those with goodwill, on the understanding that they could acquire the qualifications later. Bede French was appointed recruiter and did a great deal of work among the people of the Chimbu district and the western highlands. Bede's work was complemented by that of Brendan Crowe in the Goilala district where he visited all the village schools regularly checking on teachers and ensuring that they had sufficient support. The numbers of candidates for the Institute in Papua New Guinea increased from one, in 1988, to almost 30 only four years later. The growing numbers of candidates prompted the establishment of a novitiate at Mainohana with Vincent Keating as director, assisted by Philip Cahill, Ambrose Gwynne and Christian Moe.



Brother Bede Mackrell with Brother Michael Pendekos on the occasion of the latter's first profession.

Unfortunately, the new policy was no more effective than the old. The young recruits rarely translated into candidates for profession as De La Salle Brothers. Most took advantage of the educational opportunities offered them, but none went on to final profession. The model of the religious life presented by the Brothers was unacceptable to local people. This situation reflected the experience of the Institute in developing countries throughout the world, and the cultural division existing between those of a European background and indigenous people. Indeed, the declining numbers of vocations in the District generally, suggested that the model of the religious life presented by the Brothers appealed to few young men in Australia and New Zealand, either.

Meanwhile, the Brothers' educational priorities in Papua New Guinea remained focused on teacher education at Mount Hagen and secondary schools at Kondiu and Bomana. However, the Brothers became involved in special projects in Port Moresby, when Denis Loft and others took over management of the Hohola Youth Development Centre in Port Moresby in 1993. Brigidine Sisters had begun this apostolate in 1973 in a galvanised iron shed with five students. They had aimed to provide sufficient skills and basic education for youth who were denied secondary education or had dropped out of the government system, in order to enable them to obtain employment. Denis was assisted in the new venture by fellow Australian, Hilary Walsh, with Ruben Caluyong, from the Philippines, and two national Brothers, Ben Kawan and Patrick Mai. There were 20 teachers—including four Brigidine Sisters—on the staff catering for a student population of up to 360. The centre was



Students of the Kila Kila elementary school, Port Moresby, 1991.

outside the formal education program in Papua New Guinea, so received no regular government support. This meant that much extra effort was spent simply to raise funds to maintain the initiative and provide appropriate facilities. The centre was very successful, primarily because of the success in finding employment for students.

Conditions in Papua New Guinea became increasingly difficult for the Brothers with the escalation of violence, despite the high regard in which they were held. This escalation followed the opening of various parts of the country and the increased mixing of peoples. Highway robbery became endemic, with the robbers being no respectors of persons. At the same time people became envious of the grants of land having been made to the missions. The Kondiu school, for instance had been built on former marshland that had originally been shunned by local people as an evil place inhabited by malevolent spirits. In fact, the area had been malarial. However, the Society of the Divine Word missionaries had drained the area and converted it into fertile farmland. Twenty years later, local people, hard pressed to find new land, coveted the school property. The same issue had arisen at Mount Hagen during the 1980s, forcing the government to pay large amounts of money in compensation.

New Zealand

An emerging nationalism was also evident within the Institute in New Zealand. In 1988, there were 11 Brothers in two communities. There were seven Brothers at New Plymouth, four teaching full-time, two teaching part-time, and one in retirement: most of them had been to school at New Plymouth. There were four men at Mangere, three of them teaching full-time and one of them part-time: all four had attended Mangere as students. One New Zealander, John Iremonger, was working in Papua New Guinea. Three of the 11 were over 50, though the average age was only 47 compared to 56 for the District generally. Raphael had assiduously pursued the policy of repatriating Australians and reserving positions in New Zealand for New Zealanders. This reflected the early wishes of New Zealanders to be incorporated into a separate sub-district.

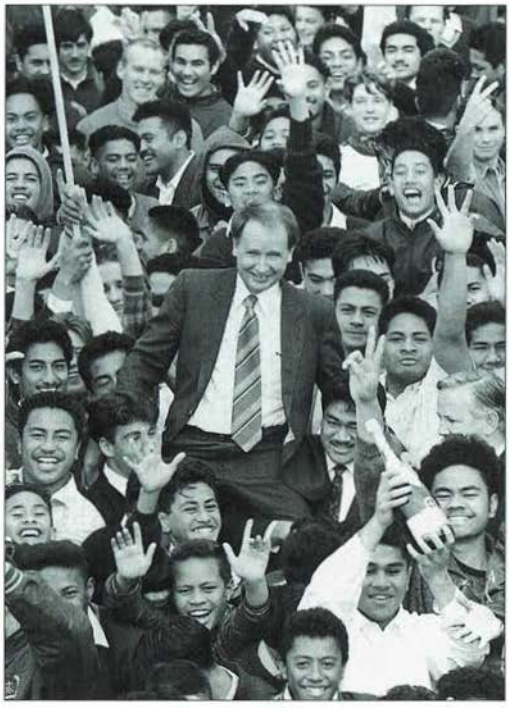
Members of the Mangere East community on the occasion of the visit of Brothers Gerard Rummery and Joseph Hendron, left to right, Michael Carroll, Joseph Hendron, Mark McKeon, Gerard Rummery, Stephen Leatherland.



For the most part, though, activities in New Zealand continued much as they had done previously, with the work of the Brothers focused on their two schools. Their work was facilitated by the government's funding of the running and maintenance of the schools under its integration policy. Changes in school organisation and courses during the mid-1990s were reflected in the Brothers' school. These reflected changes elsewhere with the emphasis on the improvement of teachers' skills as a result of the decision to unify the training and assessment of all educative and skill providers under the auspices of the Qualifications Authority. Continued restructuring of the education system gave greater freedom to individual schools to manage their own affairs.

However, the Brothers' mission changed subtly—at least in Mangere. Demographic changes in metropolitan Auckland, meant that the Brothers were increasingly teaching Maori and Polynesian students. By this time there were 80 Maori students among the 780 students in Forms 1 to 7 at De La Salle College: 350 were Polynesian. Nevertheless, the College thrived under Pat Lynch, principal at Mangere East for 15 years to the end of 1992.

While focused on their own schools, the Brothers had a leavening influence on Catholic education in New Zealand generally. By this time Pat Lynch had become a leading educationist, with a national influence far beyond the Institute's schools. He was a well-educated man with well-honed people skills, and renowned as a diplomat and a politician. His election as President of the Secondary Principals' Association of New Zealand enlarged his network of contacts in government and private education circles, and enabled him to play a leading role in promoting changes throughout the country. Indeed, he was awarded the New Zealand 1990 Commemorative Medal for services to the country and, in November 1991 he was invested with the Queen's Service Order for public services to New Zealand in the field of education. He became the Executive Director of New Zealand Catholic Education Office in Wellington on 5 February 1994, and the government's education representative to UNESCO. Few could match his contribution to modern Catholic education in New Zealand.



Brother Pat Lynch being farewelled from De La Salle College, Mangere East (Photograph by The New Zealand Herald, Auckland).

Peter Bray, too, became prominent in helping to shape Catholic education in New Zealand. He was instrumental in establishing a Catholic Principals' Association and serving as it chairman. Already with a Masters of Education degree in 1987, he went on to complete a PhD at the University of San Diego with a thesis on 'Leader-

ship in a Quality School'. He later took up an appointment as an educational consultant in the Catholic Education Office of the archdiocese of Wellington in January 1998. He was in particular demand as an advisor on staff and principal development, and leadership in schools, while being involved in the Lasallian Leadership Institute in the United States.

The Institute commenced new initiatives in New Zealand aimed at meeting the needs of disadvantaged youth. By 1987 the property originally acquired as a house of studies had become far too big and costly to maintain, with the decreasing numbers of applicants. The Brothers sold this and acquired another house closer to their school at Manakau Heights. There was only one postulant at the time, so Stephen Hogan, a staff-member of La Salle House with Malachy Yates (director), urged that a facility be established as a residential unit to cater for needy students attending De La Salle College. Visitor Bill Firman strongly endorsed the idea and the Brothers acquired another house at 38 Earlsworth Road, Mangere East, in 1989. After additional rooms were added at the rear of the property to accommodate a maximum of five students for periods of from three to four weeks, La Salle Outreach Centre opened on 8 October 1990. Steve Leatherland became director of the service and formed part of the community, along with David Zande: Pat Lynch served on the management committee with three laypeople and a priest. The outreach was aimed at students aged between 11 and 17 who were at risk at home and school because of abuse or neglect, negative attitudes towards school, and low self-esteem. The aim was to give them stability, routine and to inculcate a sense of responsibility.

Brother Michael Carroll (centre), with Brother Maurice Salmon on his left with residents of La Salle House, 1995.



Mick Carroll became the co-ordinator in December 1992, when Steven Leatherland transferred to BoysTown in Australia. Mick Carroll was assisted in his work in the centre by lay staff from the school. However, despite its good work, the Outreach Centre continued only until the end of 1995 when a potential scandal forced its closure. On one occasion, a lad made allegations against one of the lay teachers residing at the centre. The centre closed immediately. The issue later went to court but was dismissed because of lack of evidence. However, the centre never reopened.

Somewhat ironically, as local men rose to positions of leadership in New Zealand, they found the need to re-develop links with Australia and emphasise the common Lasallian heritage, rather than their separate nationality. Local brothers found that the

two communities in New Zealand failed to provide sufficient diversity to enable them to continue to gain experience. Bill Firman endeavoured to appoint several of them to schools in Australia to provide them with new challenges and gain experience that they were unable to do in New Zealand. For instance, he appointed David Hawke as director of the Mentone community, and Adrian Watson to De La Salle at Bankstown. Neither would have been able to obtain a principal's position in New Zealand for many years under the previous policy.

At the same time, Australian men returned to New Zealand. Geoff Kennewell, for instance, became director of the New Plymouth community. Raymond Khan, one of the few Australians in New Zealand from 1982 to 1987, when he was at Mangere, returned to New Plymouth in 1991. However, the movement of men between Australia and New Zealand was not always as easy as Bill Firman anticipated. On one occasion he nominated Alphonso Zoanetti for the position of principal at New Plymouth only to have the board refuse to accept his application. Fortunately, Tim Peter accepted the nomination and ultimately won the position.

By this time, however, New Zealanders were in positions of authority and influence and relations were happier than they had been previously. Meanwhile, even the Australians were becoming aware of the nationalism among New Zealanders and the changing culture, which was increasing the cultural gap between New Zealand and Australia. The Australian and New Zealand jokes continued around dinner tables, but they had not the same hard edge as previously, when Australians were in most positions of authority.

Formation

Changes continued to be made to the formation years in Australia for the few candidates who presented themselves. There were no novices in 1987, but the possibility of four or five in 1988 prompted the Council to look for alternative premises to those at Kenthurst. Raphael believed there was a need for peer support for the novice master and, at the urging of Vincent Keating, believed it desirable that the novitiate 'be close to a school, that it be in a less affluent area, that it be near people who are poor/disadvantaged, that it be situated in a parish staffed by Religious Priests, that it be relatively close to the Provincialate.'[19] The Council ultimately opted to relocate the novitiate to Marrickville, where there was ample room in the Brothers' house. The Kenthurst property was sold.[20]

The early formation reverted to a 'two-year' novitiate in 1989, which included the two-month postulancy, and the canonical year being followed by an 'exposure' year where candidates were to spend time in three various Brothers' communities, returning to the novitiate after each experience. The candidates in 1991 included Dominic Viggiani, from the Toronto District, and six Papuan

nationals. Professional training under the new arrangement was to continue or begin during the first year following the novitiate in an appropriate community and under a Director. Julian Watson, at Malvern, was appointed director of scholastics in 1989 to supervise the young men pursuing their studies from the Malvern community.

Greater attention was given to those in temporary commitment in order to provide greater peer support. All of those with temporary vows were appointed to Melbourne schools in 1989 under the general guidance of David Hawke. Melbourne was chosen because of its strong network of younger religious men and women who met regularly to discuss matters of the religious life. The young men were brought together each year for a seminar, retreat or some professional purpose. This close attention to the needs of young recruits seemed to pay dividends with only one man in temporary vows electing to leave the Institute between 1988 and 1992. At the same time the District made a substantial investment in training older men to participate in or take charge of formation.

Part of the investment in young men prior to final profession was to expose them to genuine experience with the poor. This was the reason Rick Gaffney had gone to Dwars River. Under the same scheme Joe Bufalo and Tony Cummins worked for a time in the Philippines, while Peter Ryan spent the greater part of a year in Nigeria.

1992 District Chapter

The period of Bill Firman's leadership had been a dynamic one. Perhaps because of that Bill had only one term as Visitor, even though he was prepared to stand for a second. This somewhat surprised superiors in Rome who believed that he had provided strong and decisive leadership. However, the result of the election for Visitor for the ensuing term came as no surprise to many Australian colleagues.

Bill, himself, suggested some relevant issues:

1. Kevin [who became the Brothers' choice as next Visitor] is very good at relating to the Brothers and was seen as a very realistic alternative to myself. I have often used him to build bridges when I have had to take a hard line with Brothers. He is perceived as 'less threatening' than me ...
2. When first elected, I stated my intention to do one term only and to try to address matters within one term. I think I am perceived as having acted quickly—perhaps too quickly for some! I effectively freed the Brothers from the need to vote me in again on the previously sacred principle that every previous Visitor had done two terms.
3. The memory of the poor shape in which my predecessor finished his term of office is still fresh in the minds of many Brothers who now

believe we should never have asked Raphael to do a second term. I have heard some say that one term should be the norm in future.

4. Some of my friends, who would normally be my closest supporters, did not vote for me at all on the basis that I would be better used at BoysTown. I made no secret of my willingness to work at BoysTown and of the difficulty in finding competent Brothers to go there. So I was perceived as having a clear alternative to which to move.
5. Although I never withdrew my name, some assumed I was intending to do so.[21]

Others would have suggested additional reasons. None could question Bill's enthusiasm, work ethic and goodwill, but many questioned the extent of his generosity with money, his judgement, his lack of consultation, and the apparent arbitrariness of many decisions. Certainly, many men found the period unsettling. Some of the older men evidently felt threatened by ideas, directions and challenges propounded by Bill and believed that he gave scant regard to them, their experience and their anxieties. For instance, he was chided by members of the Lithgow community after his visit there in late 1991. John Corkeron, who knew him well enough to be able to write frankly, complained:

> Our principal areas of concern have not been addressed to our knowledge or if they have been 'addressed more clearly by the District Council' we have not been informed as yet. ...
>
> As for knowing and living the Rule with respect between us we have one hundred and sixty years of striving in this regard. What we perceive may not necessarily agree with your ideas but it is something we have studied, prayed about and talked about among ourselves. We believe we are serving the working class, the poor and quite a number of marginalised youth in a manner that gives them an opportunity of choosing Christ and His values as well as showing Parents that material satisfaction is not everything. We believe that is what the spirit of faith and the spirit of zeal demand of us.[22]

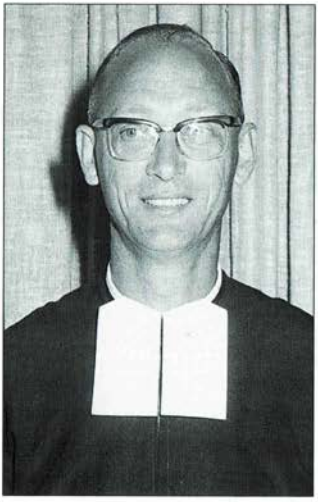
In many ways Bill personified a significant feature of the history of the District. He stood out as a singular man with a broad vision who sought to lead by example and was prepared to work hard to achieve this vision.[23] He was always encouraging of others and generous—perhaps to a fault. However, some colleagues, many of them older Brothers, some perhaps of lesser vision, and others who had laboured in poor communities and in the period before government funding became available, interpreted his generosity and broad plan as extravagance, and Bill as a man who would not be constrained.

Ironically, while giving others the opportunity to complete higher degrees or renewal programs, Bill Firman never undertook postgraduate studies nor any renewal program, although he would

have handled a PhD with ease, and had been earmarked for two renewal programs. However, as a man of action, this did not bother him. In typical fashion, he began working at BoysTown as principal—even before completing his term as Visitor, in order to cover the ill-health of Paul Smith. This prompted a reorganisation of responsibilities, with Paul Smith taking primary management responsibility for associated works such as Link-Up, Kids HelpLine, the BoysTown Lottery and the outreach centres.

Bill himself admitted that 'perhaps I have stood on more toes than I realised'. The 1992 vote in favour of Kevin Moloney as Visitor was a decisive one. Bill resigned his obedience before the completion of his term to enable his successor to complete appointments for the ensuing year.

Kevin Moloney



Brother Kevin Moloney, Visitor (1992-1996)

Kevin Moloney became Visitor on 1 October 1992. He had been one of the most effective of all auxiliaries. He was a pastoral man who had the ability to relate to others and to listen to them. He chose two auxiliaries to assist him. To Cletus Storey, an experienced administrator who brought to the task considerable experience of Papua New Guinea, he gave a particular mandate for that region to ensure it received close attention. Colin Griffin, one of those who had embraced the principles of the *Declaration*, was given particular responsibility for the 'revitalisation of schools' with particular responsibility for the Narooma programs and the promotion of the associated ideas of Lasallian partners and 'Shared Mission'.

The triumvirate had the support of six additional Brothers to complete the District Council—Garry Coyte, Bill Firman, David Hawke, Ambrose Payne, John Pill and Paul Smith. The new Visitor had been trained and grew to maturity in the Institute prior to the changes wrought by Vatican Council II and the 39th General Chapter. He had entered the juniorate in January 1951 and proceeded to the novitiate three years later. He described himself as one of 'the young, rebellious and repressed men of the 1960s' who had welcomed the change that swept the Church and the Institute. Kevin's natural talents meant that he was soon identified as a District leader.

Kevin was an outgoing, personable individual, though not one who relished a high profile. His particular forte was in administration and he established a new District administration from October 1992. He maintained the notion of area councils, with Cletus, as the chairman of the Papua New Guinea area council and David Hawke as chairman in New Zealand.

An abiding feature of the new administration was Kevin's appointment of an Economic Council chaired by Ambrose Payne and charged with devising appropriate strategies to manage the Institute's material property and to maximise returns on invest-

ment. There was an increasing need to cope with an ageing population and to sustain the retired men. There were fewer men receiving stipends than before, and more receiving the old-age pension, which meant there was less income overall. There were evident advantages in simply consolidating District finances. At the end of the 1995 year, for instance, there was as much as $1.2 million spread through various accounts around the District, and not being used to advantage.[24] A major initiative of the new team was to sell off surplus and non-performing assets and introduce economies without compromising the Institute's work.

The Council sought advice from Brother David Brennan, a financial expert from the United States. Having decided on its direction, the Economic Council set itself the target of having $15 million invested by the year 2000 in order to return $1 million annually in interest. The purposes of this fund were to provide for the administration of the District and for men in retirement, while eliminating the need for community dues and 'per capita' subsidies. The investment broker IPAC Securities Ltd was commissioned to manage the District's funds,[25] and the first deposits were made on 1 September 1994. Various parcels of property were sold in order to bolster the investment. These included properties at Cronulla, Kingsford, Marrickville, Hurstville and Goulburn.[26] A 31-block subdivision at Oakhill, known as Bassett Place, went on sale late in 1994.[27] The '44-acres' on Old Northern Road at Castle Hill opposite Oakhill College were also marked for sale. However, contracts were slow in being concluded because of the unsuitability of the soil for residential development and final settlement did not occur until 10 January 2000.

An important initiative involved an insistence upon financial sustainability of any Institute initiatives. A concomitant of this was the need for properly constituted boards for each District-managed work in order to ensure its responsible management, and to ensure that it would be able to survive in the longer term without the direct involvement of the Institute.

In late 1995, in accordance with this plan and in order to safeguard their future viability, the colleges at Malvern and Mentone applied for admission to the Victorian Catholic Schools' system in order to gain access to secure funding. By this time, there were very few congregation-owned boys' schools not within the system. The agreement concluded with the Catholic Education Office guaranteed the retention of the schools' special individuality and identity, and enrolment policies, and did not restrict their operations. However, all government funding, both commonwealth and state, was received via the Catholic Education Office, in accordance with its own formula. In the case of Malvern and Mentone, it meant that they would be slightly better off financially within the system than without.[28] That same year, the District Council approved the appli-

cation of St Michael's, Adelaide, for it to change to systemic status 'for the purposes of funding.'

The question of initial formation continued to receive attention. Recruitment problems were not unique to the Australian District. Thus, in October 1993, representatives from Australia (Vincent Keating) Great Britain/Ireland and the Region of United States/Toronto met in Griñon, Spain, to discuss common issues. They ultimately decided to have one international English-speaking novitiate. All had so few recruits as to render separate novitiates superfluous and expensive. They decided, too, that this should be in Skaneateles in New York state, currently the novitiate for the New York District and east coast America.[29] Under the new arrangements each district agreed to provide staff, commensurate with the demands made.

At this stage Andrew Murray, a lay teacher at his former school at New Zealand, was eager to join the Institute. He began his postulancy at New Plymouth with Mark McKeon as his director, before moving to Mangere, and to America in August 1996 to begin his 12-months' novitiate in Skaneateles, with Vincent Keating joining the staff. It was an expensive undertaking, but had the benefit of the novice being with several peers. Andrew returned to Australia after having completed his novitiate in America and joined the Malvern community, under the direction of Tony Cummins.

In the Lasallian tradition

The revitalisation of the Brothers' schools became an important initiative of Kevin. In large part this was aimed at heightening their Lasallian heritage and ensuring that the current research into the life, teaching and spirituality of De La Salle was reflected in the schools. The practical consequence of this initiative was a thorough audit of the four Institute-owned schools in Australia—Malvern, Mentone, Henley Beach and Oakhill—that highlighted their strengths and the areas in which there could be improvement. The Narooma programs were envisaged as the means of enhancing their Lasallian culture.

The Narooma enterprise had taken some time to establish its credibility, utility and financial viability. Principals were slow to be convinced of the need to pay for teachers to attend programs and cover their absence from schools. However, those who attended the courses welcomed the insights they received into Lasallian spirituality and philosophy. Programs were gradually refined and developed to attract a broader range of participants. In 1994, for instance, the centre hosted five seminars: two were provided for teachers generally, and others for religious education coordinators, non-teaching staff and others in positions of responsibility. There were two student-leadership seminars at the beginning of the school

year and the final 'extended renewal' program for Brothers ran from 28 September to 14 December. The latter had 15 participants, nine of whom were from other districts.

Narooma and the Lasallian Resource Team, took on greater significance as the idea of including lay-people in the work of the Institute gained greater force. In accordance with his charge from the Visitor, Colin Griffin, with Frederick Sheridan, had sought an indication from principals and teachers in the Lasallian schools of how they believed the Narooma programs could be of greatest benefit. They had been pleasantly surprised at the extent of requests for greater exposure to Lasallian spirituality and the philosophies that had underpinned the development of the Institute. This led to the creation of programs specifically aimed at inducting lay principals and teachers into Lasallian philosophies, pedagogy and spirituality. These became courses in personal formation leading to a deepening of faith rather than the typical in-service training courses undertaken by teachers. Many who arrived with a fair degree of cynicism underwent a conversion in their attitudes to students and their vocation. This had a flow-on effect into their personal and professional development when they returned to their schools.

The idea of welcoming lay partners in the work of the Brothers had been encouraged by the General Council in Rome. The *Declaration* of 1967 had encouraged Brothers to welcome collaboration with lay teachers. Twenty years later this notion of collaboration had been broadened to the notion of partnership with teachers and others committed to Christian education. Indeed, the idea of 'Shared Mission' was a focus of discussion for two weeks during the course of the 42nd General Chapter of 1993. The Chapter specifically charged the General Council with 'the drawing up and publication of a study (circular) on the shared mission which contains coherent teaching, guidelines and pastoral orientations'. The idea of lay-people working as partners with the Brothers in the Institute's work had already been successfully promoted in the Philippines and observed by Colin Griffin as early as 1986, when he attended a conference in Manila. Colin, in particular, became committed to promoting the concept in Australia and inaugurating programs to facilitate this. His appointment as auxiliary Visitor gave him the opportunity—and indeed, the responsibility—for doing so. There was initially a measure of bemusement among some of his colleagues who emphasised the sense of difference



Mass in the St Bede's College Chapel, July 1994 during the District Assembly. Front row: left to right, Brothers Quentin O'Halloran, John Johnston (Superior General), Kevin Moloney (Visitor). Those visible in the background include, left to right, Brothers Brendan Crowe, Claude Sweeney, Francis Sullivan, Alphonso Zoanetti, Donald Newton.

between themselves and lay-people, rather than the similarities. However, most became converted to the notion after appreciating the enthusiasm with which many lay-people embraced the idea. The commitment of the Institute's superiors to the notion muted any lingering opposition. Superior General John Johnston and General Councilor, Raymond Suplido, visited Australia between 2 and 23 July 1994. They showed their support for the notion of shared mission when they attended the Lasallian Assembly at St Bede's College from 4–8 July 1994, to which 30 lay-people were invited. These lay teachers had already attended sessions at Narooma and spoke enthusiastically about the initiative. The Assembly was sufficiently impressed as to recommend the establishment of a Shared Mission Commission comprising five lay-people and two Brothers to promote the idea of Lasallian partners. Moreover, it resolved that the promotion of the idea of 'Shared Mission' should be a District priority for the forthcoming seven years.

The initiative to include lay participation in the work of the Institute led to the establishment of the Lasallian National Secretariat in January 1996 with Mary Conlan as director. The role of the secretariat was to promote the idea of shared mission and encourage lay teachers and others to become Lasallian Partners with the Brothers. Mary brought a wide experience to the position and was proof of the interest of lay-people in Lasallian spirituality. She had become involved with the De La Salle Brothers as the parent of a student at Malvern. She later taught at Malvern and acted as religious education co-ordinator at East Bentleigh. She had a Bachelors degree in Theology and a Diploma in Spirituality. She had undertaken an early program at Narooma and while on long-service leave had attended the Buttimer Institute of Lasallian Studies at St Mary's University in California. The new initiative was promoted in a newsletter, *Touching Hearts* that was first produced in mid-1996 and its encouragement became the main aim of the Narooma programs.

Obstacles

Unfortunately, the revitalisation of morale and sense of purpose within the District was overshadowed by a series of obstacles, despite Kevin's close attention to the husbanding of resources. The slow sale of new units at Villa La Salle at Southport had become a financial drain. The total cost for building Stage 5 of the complex was in the order of $4.4 million, with interest on the capital being substantial. Fortunately, the prognosis remained good and the issue became less burdensome as units continued to sell, albeit slowly. The latest additions made Villa La Salle the fourth-largest retirement village on the Gold Coast and the seventh-largest in Queensland.[30]

The withdrawal of Brothers from schools always remained difficult, with some instances being more difficult than others.

Financial difficulties associated with De La Salle College at Scarborough meant the withdrawal from that school and Frawley. Like Armidale, before it, the deterioration of the financial situation of De La Salle called into question its future viability. A report into its situation to the end of 1992 described De La Salle College as 'rudderless, leaderless and dispirited'. It went on to indicate that 'De La Salle College is not financially viable nor will it be in the foreseeable future given its present style of operation.'[31] The college was technically insolvent. In the four years from 1988 when a new principal was appointed, it had accumulated operating losses of $1.2 million, with a projected deficit for 1992 of $192,000. The situation had been promoted by the implementation of an expanded music program and a vertical streaming curriculum that had involved additional staff. The additional expense occurred during a period when enrolments declined from 832 students in 1987 to 620 in 1992. Moreover, the appointment of the new principal had coincided with the death of the school bursar that meant that the deteriorating financial situation went unnoticed for some time. The new bursar sounded a warning in 1990, but the principal failed to appreciate the seriousness of the situation. It became apparent to the District Council only when the principal travelled overseas in 1991. Raymond Ryan had been appointed principal in October 1991 to try to contain the situation, but he was unable to do anything significant.[32] He became the last De La Salle Brother to act in this role, for on 7 September 1992 Bill Firman appointed Clem Welch as the new headmaster. He had the distinction of being the first lay headmaster appointed to one of the Institute-owned schools. In the meantime, the Council had determined to amalgamate De La Salle College with Frawley to enable reserve funds held by the latter to assist in stabilizing the situation at De La Salle, with the intention of having it trade out of its difficulties. At the same time Bill Firman proposed a series of meetings among local Catholic educational authorities to explore the idea of rationalizing Catholic educational facilities on the Redcliffe Peninsula. Ultimately, the need to address the viability of De La Salle College became critical and led to the rationalisation of education within the parish.

There were six schools in close proximity to one another, Frawley College (Years 11 and 12, coeducational)—from which the Brigidine Sisters had withdrawn in 1991—De La Salle Colleges (Years 4 to 10, boys), Soubirous (Years 8 to 10, girls) still owned by the Brigidines, while the Redcliffe City parish owned St Bernardette's (Years 1 to 3, coeducational, and Years 4 to 7, girls) and two primary schools (Years 1 to 7, coeducational). This ensured a multiplication of resources, with separate business managers and subject coordinators, and the duplication of facilities such as libraries. All the schools, except those of the De La Salle Brothers, were administered by the Brisbane Catholic Education Office.[33]

Chris Gorringe, principal of Frawley, was appointed chief executive of the steering committee charged with effecting the amalgamation of the several schools. The committee began work in October 1992. Ultimately, De La Salle and Frawley Colleges joined with three other schools, including those previously conducted by the Brigidine Sisters, to form Southern Cross Catholic College at Scarborough in December 1994. The Brothers transferred Frawley College to Brisbane Catholic Education and leased out the premises of De La Salle College, with the exception of the Brothers' House, the 'forest' and Scarborough Lodge. All employees of the Brothers transferred to Brisbane Catholic Education. In return, Brisbane Catholic Education assumed responsibility for all loans of the Brothers on these properties and the new college became the responsibility of the Brisbane archdiocese.

There were different issues in Victoria. Vaugirard, in Mordialloc, continued to provide accommodation and employment options for disadvantaged youth. Raymond Sheridan replaced Denis Loft as director from 16 June 1991; however, a lay manager was appointed soon afterwards, and the enterprise came under the administrative control of BoysTown from 24 November 1991. There was a brief period of growth when four extra houses were rented to provide accommodation assistance to youths aged from 15 to 17 years. Unfortunately, changes in government policy promoting the amalgamation of small service providers created difficulties and prompted the reassessment of the operation. The services of Vaugirard were transferred to the Hanover (Southern) Organisation on 23 August 1994, and the centre closed the following day. The three houses in Barkly Street, Mordialloc, were sold, with proceeds being directed to BoysTown national community projects.[34]

The Brothers also had to extricate themselves from an investment opportunity that had soured. The investment in Chandler Software Pty Ltd, in which the Institute held 86 per cent of the shares, had represented an entrepreneurial venture of the Catholic College of Education. College staff had contracted with an agency in the United States to develop computer programs for schools that could run on Macintosh computers. However, the College was unable to fund additional development after the amalgamation with other institutions to form Australian Catholic University. The Institute was asked to acquire the shareholding and the $950 000 owed to the College and the Trustees of the Long Service Trust of the College. The Council agreed to buy the shares and the assets and liabilities of Chandler Software for $10 000.[35] Results were not forthcoming to the extent envisaged and it became a matter of investing additional funds to ensure that the original investment was not lost. The extra investment did not ensure success. Finally, in May 1992, the Council voted to have the enterprise wound up on 31 December 1992, after the loss of almost $500 000.

However, Kevin considered these financial issues to be relatively minor compared to those associated with publicity given to child abuse by religious men and women. The issue was of major concern throughout the Catholic Church in Australia. Indeed, the Australian Catholic Bishops' Conference had established a special committee in 1988 to educate bishops, congregational leaders and church authorities about the problem of child abuse. The conference later issued a pastoral statement on child protection and child sexual abuse on 11 December 1992. The bishops indicated that procedures had been implemented to ensure:

1. That all church agencies have in place policies that aim to prevent children being at risk, including a policy that priests, religious and other church workers will not be allowed to remain in a position involving risk to children if they are found to have offended;
2. That there will be care and support for any victims and their families;
3. That there is a speedy and decisive response to any allegations;
4. That the proper processes of the legal system will not be impeded in any way;
5. That those against whom allegations are made will be treated justly and compassionately; and
6. That an offender will be offered appropriate therapy and counselling.

Between 1993 and 1995, the Brothers accepted and adopted procedures and protocols established by the diocesan bodies. Pat McCarthy, who had begun work with Centacare, the Catholic community service agency, and had developed a network of contacts in related areas, helped prepare the Brothers. For instance, in November 1993, he organised a workshop in conjunction with Mary Jo McVeigh, Sister Bernadette Curtin and Father John Usher to explore the issues and suggest appropriate responses by the religious congregations. The Brothers were supported through the services of Centacare with personal assistance from Fr John Usher, Fr Brian Lucas and Jim Grainger, and were represented by the law firm Carroll & O'Dea.

The De La Salle Brothers did not escape attention, with some accusations being made against men concerning events alleged to have occurred up to 20 and 40 years earlier. One serving Brother faced court proceedings in 1995 for two offences alleged to have occurred in 1967. Four serving men were charged and appeared before courts; about as many former Brothers were also charged. Several cases were heard in closed courts that minimised publicity and sensationalism.[36]

It is certain that a few men molested boys, though there is no evidence to suggest systematic abuse, nor to implicate many men. The Brothers' institutions were, by their nature, open institu-

tions, which the Brothers conducted with lay-people, minimizing the opportunities for abuse. Even so, it is difficult to gauge the extent and the degree of molestation. The secrecy surrounding the issue, from the time of alleged perpetration to the making of accusations has made it difficult to determine details. Perpetrators were clever in hiding their activities from colleagues, so much so that there were those who lived in communities with some men for up to ten years without suspecting their motives and inclinations. One of those later convicted for offences committed in the 1960s continued to receive glowing reports from Visitors into the mid–1970s and was appointed principal of a school in 1989.[37] On the other hand, the sensational reporting of alleged abuse has undoubtedly made it appear more common or serious than it may have been.

Complaints had been made to superiors, but these were always handled confidentially. Little was ever written down at the time, and much of this was in code. Thus, there is documentation of men committing 'indiscretions', though the nature of the indiscretions is rarely identified and in some instances evidently included inappropriate relations with women. At the time, such 'indiscretions' were considered to be failures due to personal weakness, to be rectified by a warning, a retreat, a new posting and the good will of the perpetrator.

It is evident in hindsight that superiors were remiss in simply warning offenders and transferring them to other communities, in the hope that they would reform themselves. It is evident too that they were at fault for paying little attention to victims. However, in the period prior to the 1990s, and the greater understanding of the issue of paedophilia, it was understandable though not excusable that such matters should have been handled in this manner. Child abuse was always wrong and was never condoned, but the Institute, like any family or closely-knit group, was reluctant to advertise the apparent weakness or lapse of one or more of its members. Moreover, it was a requirement of Canon Law that the Institute had to take responsibility for those who were finally professed, and this demanded that the abuser be treated with charity and considered to be innocent until proven guilty.

Allegations have been made against former and continuing Brothers, but some have evidently been hostile and have been made without substance. For instance, allegations were made by a man apparently a boarder for ten years at Mentone, against 'priests' at the school: anyone having spent any time at a Brother's school knew the difference between Brothers and priests. Many such hostile allegations have not led to charges being laid, or the charges have not been sustained and the men have been acquitted.

The issue dominated Kevin's Visitorship. He took the matter personally and handled briefings with solicitors and barristers him-

self, ever fearful of press sensationalism and the effects this would have on the Institute's work, whether accusations were sustained or not. The issue caused Kevin major concern, because of the effects on the high reputation and work of the Institute, but also because of financial implications of the court processes and financial settlements for victims in order to help redress any injustice. The Institute had significant capital assets, but these could not be readily realised.

Kevin found the matter to be particularly frustrating because he could only respond to accusations as they were made, and there was never any indication when this might be. Moreover, he was at the mercy of timetables set by the courts. He could not take a proactive role and resolve a matter once and for all. In the event, matters dragged on for several years and could only be solved by the passage of time.

Recognition

Kevin was preoccupied with the personal lives of some present and former Brothers who brought discredit to themselves and the Institute. However, the vast majority continued to bring honour to the Institute through its many works. None expected recognition for this, though a few were singled out from time to time.

Teaching remained the Institute's core business. This was recognised in the 1993 Queen's Birthday Honours List when Michael Johnson was awarded an Order of Australia Medal (OAM) for services to education. This recognised the value of the traditional life of the Australian Brother. Michael had long been a committed school-man. He had received the robe on 31 March 1943 and after training, spent his life teaching in the Institute's Sydney schools until 1992: he was principal of several schools for 33 of these years. Moreover, in addition to his teaching duties he had been secretary of the De La Salle primary examinations for many years and was the principal organiser of Oakhill Day and the De La Salle combined schools' athletic and swimming carnivals from 1952 to 1984. The combined athletic and swimming carnivals continued without Michael, but finally ceased in 1998.

Ambrose Payne's services to education were acknowledged in 1996 when he received the Australia Medal (AM) in the Order of Australia. Indeed, he was appointed a member of the Order of Australia. On 4 March 1996 he received the inaugural Brother John Taylor Medal for Educational Leadership which was presented at the third annual Catholic Education Conference. Later the same year, on 24 August, he was presented with the Sir Harold Wyndham Medal of the New South Wales Chapter of the Australian College of Education for his contributions to education.

Gerard Rummery continued as a general councillor in Rome after having been re-elected at the 42nd General Chapter in 1993.



Brothers Gregory Kennedy (left) and Oliver O'Leary (right) in the garden at Francis Douglas Memorial College, New Plymouth, 1995.

Links with the past

Unfortunately, the numbers of men actively engaged in teaching continued to decline. The smaller number of men able and willing to continue, were constantly being asked to take on additional work as this occurred. It became too much for some of them. Thus, Frederick Sheridan asked to be relieved of teaching duties in 1995 when he was already beyond what would normally be considered retirement age. However, several years later, after a period assisting at Kensington, he helped maintain a Brothers' presence at Ashfield and continued to undertake supervisory duties at Oakhill.

There were several others, most of whom had never reached positions of prominence within the Institute, who continued to find useful things to do and set a good example simply by continuing to live the life of a Brother. Brother Oliver O'Leary, the first New Zealand Brother, retired to New Plymouth in 1982, but continued to impress everyone with whom he came in contact with his humility, simplicity and real sanctity. William Harnett, another at New Plymouth who never rose to prominence in the District, continued to perform great good, particularly with his work on the farm.



Farewell to Brother Ambrose Gwynne from the Southport community, 27 March 1994, left to right, Brothers Claude Sweeney, Ambrose Gwynne, Clement Connolly, Michael Cooper, Father Richard Morgan, Brothers Baptist Will, Brian Hanlon.

There were many, too, in Australia. Dermot Brosnan continued to be a positive influence on students at Oakhill College, even though in retirement at La Salle House. He supervised the Year 7 and 8 school yard before classes and organised mission collections for these classes. He also tended the Brothers' cemetery at

Oakhill. In a similar fashion, Joseph Sullivan, who retired to St Bede's Mentone in 1976 continued to work about the school for another 22 years. Finian Allman, another retiree at St Bede's helped around the school where he could, and made a point of attending staff meetings to demonstrate his continuing involvement in the school's mission. Baptist Will and James Beasley, while in retirement at Villa La Salle, became actively involved with lay residents there. The list of those in active retirement continued to grow.

Unfortunately, the passage of time meant that the Institute gradually lost tangible links with the past. Fintan Dwyer died on 14 April 1990 after 68 years as a De La Salle Brother. He concluded a long period of service in his vocation ministry at the end of 1969 and spent the remaining 20 years of his life in retirement at Kensington, Oakhill College and La Salle House.

Raphael Bassett died unexpectedly on 27 January 1994. He had found his last years to be very frustrating after not being appointed to Narooma for which he believed his SIEL course had prepared him, though he acted as a visiting lecturer in the Narooma program and gave occasional lectures in the countries of PARC. Ultimately, he was appointed acting director of novices in August 1989 and remained as sub-director when Vincent Keating returned in 1990.

Oswald Murdoch died on 15 November 1996. He had been a remarkable man. One of the 'Streamliners' of 1938, he had been sent to Malvern immediately after his scholasticate and remained there until 1958, the last six years as principal. He was one of the guardians of the College tradition. He completed his degree in his early years at Malvern and discovered his facility with languages. He honed these linguistic skills when in England in the 1970s and, when Gerard Rummery was director of the CIL program from 1983 to 1985, joined the staff during each course as a translator. He returned to Australia and Scarborough in 1988 and continued his work of translating Institute texts until ill-health made this impossible.



Kevin Moloney served only one term as Visitor. He did not make himself available for a second term, after being emotionally drained because of the issues he had had to face. However, despite his preoccupations, he had made positive contributions to the District. His initiative in building a sound economic basis guaranteed the District's immediate financial future: and his promotion of the linked notions of Lasallian partnership and shared mission helped to ensure the long-term future of the Lasallian mission within the District.



Chapter Eleven

Into the Future
1996 –

The life of the District to the end of the twentieth century continued to be characterised by stability, constancy and a sense of continuity. The need to elect a new Visitor in 1996, after Kevin Moloney had served only one term—as his predecessor had done—might suggest a measure of turbulence within the District. However, Kevin had ensured that the issue that had weighed so heavily on him had little impact upon the life of the Institute generally.

Issues concerning the future of the District, the Brothers, and their many works continued to loom large, in view of the ageing population of Brothers and the deaths of an increasing number of them. However, those governing the District faced the future with confidence rather than a sense of defeat. There remained a continuing need for the services provided by the Institute and there was a growing appreciation among Brothers that there were committed lay people willing to assume responsibility for them. The Brothers' task became one of ensuring the continuity of the works and that of the Lasallian spirit that had invigorated them.

Another milestone

The history of the District during the latter years of the twentieth century was one of continuity, but it also reflected a significant new development when the 1996 District ballot nominated Brother David Hawke to the Superior General as the next Visitor. David became the first New Zealander to occupy the position. An old scholar of the Brothers' school at Mangere East, he had entered the new House of Studies in New Zealand in 1968, and the novitiate at

Burradoo in 1969. He returned to New Zealand immediately after his novitiate year to undertake additional studies—at the Marist Brothers' scholasticate—and the University of Auckland. He began his teaching career at Francis Douglas Memorial College, where he rose to become deputy principal. He was chosen to undertake the CIL program in Rome in 1979 and returned to Mangere in 1980 as director of La Salle House, which was founded that year to provide live-in experience for young men thinking about joining the Institute.

David established himself as an emerging leader and was encouraged to broaden his experience by seeking a senior role in an Australian school. Consequently he was appointed director of St Bede's community in 1989 and given the additional responsibility of overseeing young men then in temporary profession. This appointment, and that to the District Council, gave him an unprecedented opportunity to become familiar with the length and breadth of the District. He came to know the men and became known to them, and had been the third preference for Visitor at the time of the 1992 District Chapter. However, he was not chosen as an auxiliary at that time. Instead, he succeeded Pat Lynch as principal of De La Salle College, Mangere East, and gained additional experience 'in the front line NZ workforce'.[1]



Brother David Hawke, Visitor (1996 –).

David, as Visitor, inherited a challenging legacy because of issues generated beyond the Institute rather than those within. He chose Colin Griffin as his auxiliary, which ensured a measure of continuity, and he made great use of Julian Watson as an auxiliary in all but name and authority. Julian was supposedly retired from active duty after a lifetime of teaching and had been appointed to the Kensington community. David was particularly concerned to ensure that continuing issues associated with allegations about the conduct of certain men would not cloud other important aspects of his role and the mission of the Institute. He immediately appointed an Ethics Committee in order to lighten the load. This comprised himself, Colin Griffin, the Institute solicitor, and Sister Megan Brock, a Josephite psychologist. The committee met once every two months to consider outstanding matters.

Brothers Tony Cummins (left) and Mark McKeon (right) in the Generalate gardens while attending CIL.





Participants in a program organised for people associated with BoysTown Family Care, 1997.

There remained a continuing need to involve Brothers in formation training and youth ministry. To this end, Kevin Moloney had chosen Mark McKeon and Tony Cummins to attend the CIL course at the Generalate for 'New Formators' beginning in October 1996. David Hawke, appointed Tony director of vocations and youth ministry on his return to Australia.

David proved an ardent supporter of the concept of 'Shared Mission' and encouraged Colin Griffin in his endeavours to make the Narooma programs increasingly effective. The initiative received a fillip when Gerard Rummery and Jeffrey Calligan, from the District of New Orleans-Santa Fe, presented a Buttimer course there in July 1997. This was an intensive study program based on the life and works of De La Salle that extended over two weeks and brought together 40 Brothers and Lasallian partners. It was made the more memorable by the District launch of the General Council's document, *Shared Mission*.

Participants at the 1998 Buttimer program, Narooma.



The Narooma programs continued to attract willing participants. By 1997 the Centre had hosted more than 400 staff from Lasallian schools, along with more than 400 school leaders. Paul Hine, deputy principal at St Michael's College, Adelaide, attended Narooma on different occasions and was captivated by men such as

Luke Salm and Jeffrey Calligan, and grateful for the chance to learn about other Lasallian schools within the District and the region. He returned to St Michael's as an ardent supporter of the program and sought to extend its influence within the school. Eight of the 68 teachers attended courses in 2001, bringing to about half, the proportion of the staff who had been exposed to the Lasallian spirituality and philosophy.

The Narooma influence extended throughout the District, particularly with the organisation of Partners Meetings in various regions. Indeed, the Narooma influence spread throughout the Pacific Asia Region. For instance, when visiting Singapore in December 1996, Colin was called upon to conduct a day of reflection for 17 Singaporean 'Naroomeans'.

Continued rationalisation

The value of the Narooma program became the greater as the rationalisation of the Brothers' school commitments continued. The Brothers withdrew from Orange at the end of the 1998 school year, severing the final link with the Bathurst diocese. The Brothers' withdrawal from their last remaining country school in Australia was another cause for regret. The Brothers had once been very prominent in country New South Wales and many had spent lengthy periods of their teaching careers in these schools. They appreciated the high standing they had had and the ready manner in which they had been accepted into country communities in a way that was not possible in city schools. However, although the Brothers left, their work in country schools continued, with all except those at Katoomba, having been handed on to lay control as successful organisations. Moreover, principals of these schools were eager to participate in the Narooma programs to maintain the Lasallian culture in their schools.

The Australian Brothers withdrew from Kondiu in Papua New Guinea at the end of 1997 though in this instance, they were replaced by a community from the Philippines. They tranferred the Kondiu school because it was the most successful of their Papua New Guinea endeavours, rather than the most problematical.

The Brothers finally phased out boarding at Mentone at the end of 1998. This followed a review of the boarding facility from September to November



Participants at the 1997 annual retreat for Brothers in Papua New Guinea.

1995 by Chris Gorringe. The review indicated a declining demand for boarding places in Melbourne generally, with enrolments at St Bede's declining from 106 in 1985, to 59 a decade later, with a projected enrolment of 41 in 1996. New Plymouth became the only school with boarders, apart from the institutions in Papua New Guinea. Bill Firman took charge at New Plymouth in late 1998 and immediately initiated plans for new classrooms and a new boarding hostel. The latter, featuring individual rooms for senior boarders, was officially opened on 18 March 2000. It was named in honour of Brother Anthony Hawkins, the former boarding master who had died on 27 January 1998. At the time of the opening there were 125 boarders in a school population of 720.

The new La Salle College at Bankstown began in January 1999. The secondary school, with classes from Years 7 to 12, replaced De La Salle College and Benilde Catholic High School on their current sites. Ambrose Payne was appointed principal, after he withdrew his application for the position of Director of Catholic Education in the Parramatta diocese.

The continuing development of the Catholic University spelt the end of the Castle Hill campus. Budget constraints prompted a rationalisation of campuses, and the relative isolation of Oakhill, the poor public transport serving it, and its small size of only 600 students, meant that it could not survive in the long term. It closed at the end of 1997.

The closure of the university's Castle Hill campus presented the Brothers with the need to find alternative uses for the former Training College building, now virtually empty. Peter Bray convened a consultative committee comprising Ken Ormorod, Chris Gorringe and John Cantwell to seek alternatives. The committee canvassed the views of each Brother in the District and experts were engaged to provide advice. Most Brothers were reluctant to see the Institute relinquish control of the building and its chapel, which was still used for daily Mass for the Oakhill and La Salle House communities and local lay-people. The regional heritage significance of the building meant that the local government authority was reluctant to entertain its demolition and thereby made it less attractive to potential developers of the site. In all instances there was a need to ensure a use compatible with the nearby Oakhill College. Various parts of the building were leased out as offices in 1999, to a diverse range of clients that included a driving school, a community health organisation, a dentist and a private investigator. Finally, in April 2000, the District Council ultimately decided to redevelop the former Training College building and transfer it to Oakhill College. The redevelopment to provide up to 15 classrooms was anticipated to cost more than $2 million and to be funded by the sale of additional Oakhill property.



Participants in the 'Brothers in later years' (BILY) program, 1998. Back row:, left to right, Brothers Hilary Walsh, Michael Lynch, James Beasley, Andrew Murray (novice), Luke Coyle. Fourth row: left to right, Anselm McCaffrey, Denis Cotter, Celestine Gavin, Patrick Howard, Benedict Lidinsky, Gregory Kennedy, John Hanson, Frederick Sheridan, Cletus Storey, Patrick McInerney. Third row: left to right, Brothers Eric Pigott, Edward Gehrig, Mark Murphy, Michael Johnson, John Cleary, Dominic Dellabosca, Stanislaus Fagan, Daniel Spillane, Julian Watson. Second row: left to right, Brothers Joseph Sullivan, Damien Harvey, Kelvin Sullivan, Father Colin Barker, Brothers Matthew Kennedy, Vial Tran Van Hue, Vincent O'Neill, Christian Moe, Vincent Cotter. Front row: left to right, Brothers Celsus Clark, Finian Allman, Brian Hanlon, Edwin Ambrose, John Cantwell.

Meeting new needs

The withdrawal of Brothers from schools and other areas where they had made a great contribution was the predominant feature of the District during the last quarter of the twentieth century. However, there was also a reassessment of the most appropriate fields of endeavour in the light of calls from successive General Chapters to give special attention to the poor.

David Hawke was determined to take up the challenge of the General Chapter and sought to mark his term with new foundations in each of the District's regions, despite the risks involved. In 1999, as part of this plan, four Brothers—Philip Sheridan, Edward Becker, Colin Griffin and Andrew Murray—assumed a role in the Good Samaritan Secondary College that had opened at Hinchinbrook in Sydney's western suburbs. The Visitor and the Council also acceded to the request made in 1996 by the Bishop of Hamilton in New Zealand, for a new community at Rotorua to be involved in the John Paul College that had been formed from the amalgamation of MacKillop College and Edmund Rice College.

The Brothers—Peter Ryan (Director), Owen Mason and Hilary Walsh—began their apostolate there in 1998 after the District Council made an initial commitment to become involved in campus ministry for three years. The initiative in Papua New Guinea involved the opening of a community at Mun close to Mount Hagen. The idea was to seek new ways of providing support for national Brothers, by having several of them working together, rather than spread between several communities as in the past. Richard Gaffney became director of the community with three national Brothers in temporary profession, two of whom were to work in the primary school, while the other completed his teacher training.

Unfortunately, the experiment in Papua New Guinea was not successful and the poor record of retaining national Brothers continued. The three nationals withdrew from the Mun community and the Institute at the end of 1999. Richard Gaffney and a Brother of the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart continued for an additional year in order to maintain faith with the local people.

Brothers continued to work in areas removed from, but associated with, teaching, where there was a need for their expertise. Thus, after overseeing the foundation of Southern Cross College in Scarborough, Chris Gorringe accepted a post in the Brisbane Catholic Education Office, before becoming principal of his old school, Oakhill College, in late 1998. Pat McCarthy, his contemporary, worked as a counsellor with CentaCare, before moving to Ireland. Benildus Larkin, a fellow of the Royal College of Nursing Australia, engaged in Nursing Education at the Brisbane campus of the Australian Catholic University. In late 1999, John Cantwell was appointed to the Port Pirie diocese in South Australia to direct adult education there. That same year, Malachy Yates took a position in the Church office of the Parramatta diocese to help promote the Jubilee Year. Paul Rogers began work at the Melbourne Catholic Education Office in March 2000. Also in Melbourne, Christian Moe began working in the provincial seminary, Corpus Christi College, in 1998, where he became dean of studies, as well as acting as tutor in various areas of theological and philosophical studies: he was also a member of Monsignor Elliott's commission charged with writing religious education texts for schools of the Archdiocese.

The District continued to support PARC and hosted PARC 21 at Narooma in 1998. There were 23 delegates from India, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, Penang, Vietnam, Singapore, Myanmar, Japan, Hong Kong, Thailand, Pakistan, the San Francisco District, the Generalate in Rome and Australasia. There remained ample opportunity for Australasian Brothers to assist their Lasallian colleagues in PARC, and in an area of the Institute that was developing. For instance, in January 2000 Paul Toohey become novice-master of the Asia interdistrict novitiate in the Philippines. At the same



Participants in PARC 21, Narooma, 1998.

time, Geoff Kennewell and Celsus Clark taught English to postulants and scholastics in Thailand, in order to give them access to Institute documents.

The District in 2000

There were 154 De La Salle Brothers belonging to the District at the beginning of 2000, down from the high point of 285 in 1968: the number of Brothers with vows Institute-wide had declined to 6522. However, the raw numbers portrayed little of the composition and vitality of the Australasian District. The average age of Brothers was a little more than 61 years, with 103 being older than 55 years. There were more than 50 in retirement, though several of these continued to undertake some work in schools and in other ministries. The increasing age of the men meant that death continued to deplete their ranks even more rapidly than before. Five men died during the first half of 2000. They were Patrick Howard (82), Amedy Molloy (81), James Taylor (64), Luke Beltran (53) and Matthew Kennedy (78): another withdrew. Fortunately, the future



Celebrations in the Oakhill Chapel to mark the Silver and Diamond Jubilees of several Brothers, with Bishop Kevin Manning as celebrant, 10 May 1998. Left to right, Brothers —, —, Claude Sweeney, Luke Coyle, Raymond Concannon, Monsignor William Mullins, Father Colin Barker, Bishop Kevin Manning, Father Otto Schelle, SVD, Father Chris Gleeson SJ, Father Anthony Khoudair, Brothers Finian Allman, Christian Moe, Justinian Thompson, Julian Watson.

support of the older men was assured, even though they no longer attracted a stipend.

The management of, and teaching in, schools continued to be the Institute's core mission. The Institute continued to manage five schools of its own, at New Plymouth, Henley Beach, Mentone, Malvern and Castle Hill. In addition, Brothers managed and/or taught in schools at Bankstown, Marrickville, Cronulla, Hinchinbrook, East Bentleigh and Balgo Hills in Australia: Mangere East and Rotorua in New Zealand; and Bomana, Hohola, Mount Hagen and Mun in Papua New Guinea. The Brothers maintained a particularly high reputation in New Zealand, where they had more men in schools than any other male congregation and had two men in positions as principals.

The numbers of Brothers in the schools continued to decline, however, and many anticipated the time when even their own schools would be under lay administration. Indeed, this became reality for St Michael's College at Henley Beach for a year after mid-1999, when John Pill became principal of Cardijn College at Noarlunga in Adelaide's southern suburbs. Paul Hine, the deputy principal, became responsible for St Michael's. He had been well groomed for the task, having attended Shared Mission programs at Narooma and been involved in discussions about the future management of Institute schools.

Some Brothers found difficulty in accepting that they were frequently relegated to the periphery of many schools, and were gradually disappearing even from there. Where once the Brothers had managed these schools and took their presence for granted, they were now present at the invitation of lay principals. Before the Brothers had withdrawn from Orange, David Hawke had wanted to appoint a Brother to the school, only to be told by the Catholic Education Office that there was no position available. Some Brothers working in schools, like those at Marrickville, were considered to be 'extra religious', which meant that they could not be replaced by lay teachers should they leave or be withdrawn. Some of those who took classes in parochial schools were referred to as 'Sir' rather than 'Brother' because of students' unfamiliarity with religious teachers. Many older Brothers found this situation difficult to accept.



Brother Bill Shaw (right) with Stuart Scott and Rhonda Scott with St John's Certificates of Merit, 3 August 1999. Bill worked at the Sydney Olympic Games in his role as a St John's Ambulance officer.

Nevertheless, other initiatives flourished. The Lasallian Centre at Narooma continued to do good work. Its success in promoting the message of 'Shared Mission' had never been in doubt, but it finally began to operate profitably. However, the danger in becoming too complacent became

evident when fire destroyed much of the Centre in early December 1999. This re-kindled discussion about its future. Some Council members considered it opportune to relinquish the motel, and continue the programs in a more central location. The supporters, however, argued that the very location of the Centre was part of its attraction. They also argued that the place was the focal point and supported the program, and that its closure would strike at morale. The supporters ultimately prevailed and, in February 2000, the Visitor and Council decided to rebuild the Centre. 'Narooma' programs were conducted at the Spirituality Centre at Randwick in the meantime.



Brother Paul Rogers transferring the BoysTown Eagle to Lindsey Wegener.

The Brothers remained responsible for a diverse range of institutions such as those associated with BoysTown Family Care, and San Miguel Family Centre. The activities of BoysTown Family Care continued to flourish. Link-up had a client group of up to 1200 young people by 1998: the annual cost of Kids Helpline had grown to $5 million by 2000, with additional counselling services being provided by email or through the World Wide Web.

However, the Brothers' role at BoysTown changed following a review of its operations in 1999. The Families Department, concerned at recommendations of the 1999 Forde Enquiry into residential care within Queensland, initiated an enquiry of its own into the future of BoysTown, with the cooperation of the Brothers. The department had already been sending fewer boys to the centre—there were only 26 in residence in late 1999—and envisaged a change in its role. The review affirmed the continuing need for residential care—and for BoysTown. The department commended the Brothers for their work at Beaudesert and indicated that they should form the peak body to oversee new models of residential care at the centre. In view of the prospective changes, Paul Rogers, who had taken charge of BoysTown in November 1997, handed responsibility for its management to lay administration in late 1999. Lindsay Wegener became the first lay director. There remained eight Brothers in the community in 2000, but several were involved in Link-Up activities rather than those of BoysTown.

Supporters of San Miguel with staff, Sisters Elsie Fricker OLSH (centre right) and Lee Davison OLSH (right).



Similarly, lay involvement became more evident at San Miguel, particularly after Finbar retired from active management during 1996 and was succeeded as Director by Brian



Brother Denis Loft, at the Ela Beach markets, Port Moresby, selling silk-screened T-shirts to help fund the Hohola Youth Development Centre.

Cunningham. Those at San Miguel continued to look for opportunities to service the disadvantaged and, in May 1998, established a Job Network agency to provide assistance to registered job seekers requiring specific job placement and minimal training assistance. This was in response to the government's wish to replace the Commonwealth Employment Service. Unfortunately, there were problems in the transition, and the agency was forced to close within a few months because the vast majority of people who sought assistance were ineligible for financial help. The closure received national media coverage, but had no effect on the continuing core services provided by San Miguel. Unfortunately the services provided by San Miguel contracted again at the end of 1999 when the government replaced its Skillshare program with JobNet. The new program could not be implemented economically.

De La Salle Brothers continued to play a significant role in Papua New Guinea, though their numbers had declined there as well. In 2000, there were five Australians at Mount Hagen, two Australian and two national Brothers at Hohola, but only one Brother on the staff at Bomana. Ted Becker, since returned to Australia, continued to publicise the work of the Brothers in Papua New Guinea and channel funds to them as the District Mission Secretary.

Eleven of the 17 Brothers in the New Zealand communities were Australian and there were only two New Zealanders teaching in the schools. Indeed, the Institute would be hard-pressed to maintain its presence within the schools without Australians. However, even the Australians in the New Zealand schools had come to appreciate the separate and changing culture of that country, which increased the social differences from Australia even while closer economic ties were being forged. Pat Lynch and Peter Bray continued to providing national leadership in Catholic education in New Zealand, while several of their compatriots were in school leadership roles in Australia in anticipation of returning to similar positions in their own country.

Brothers were guests of honour at the celebrations to mark the 50 years of the Brothers' presence in PNG at Mainohana High School, July 1996.



Several men from the District played an important role at the centre of the

Institute. Gerard Rummery continued as a General Councillor until June 2000. Peter Gilfedder became executive assistant to the Superior General in 1999: Benilde Tin continued to fulfil an important role supporting the computer technologies of the Generalate.

Where to in the 21st century?

Only a very brave or foolish historian could make firm suggestions about the future. In large part, the future of the Institute in Australia, New Zealand and Papua New Guinea is bound up with that of the Institute world-wide, that of religious life in general, and that of the Church. In a fundamental way it is also bound up with the notion of shared mission.

The immediate future of the Institute was in the hands of those attending the 43rd General Chapter that convened in Rome from 1 May to 15 June 2000. The theme of the Chapter was the notion of 'association for the service of the poor through education as the Lasallian response to the challenges of the 21st century'. Australians played a significant role at the Chapter. Gerard, as one of the outgoing councillors acted as a facilitator and a member of the Commission on Association, Peter Gilfedder was given a secretarial role, while Benilde helped ensure the Chapter deliberations were posted on the World Wide Web for anyone to access. The District sent two delegates, David Hawke, Visitor, and Tony Cummins, the director of vocations and youth ministry. David participated in the Commission on Government, during the early Chapter sessions, while Tony contributed to the Commission on Formation. John Dunn, a lay teacher at the former Brothers' school at Caringbah in suburban Sydney, participated in the Commission on Evangelisation of Youth.



Different generations at Kensington, left to right, Brothers Frederick Sheridan, Mark McKeon, Tony Cummins, David Hawke (Visitor), David Miller, Raymond Khan.

Deliberations continued over several weeks and were characterised by the inclusion of Lasallian Partners for two of these weeks. Key decisions included the formation of a Standing Committee of Brothers and Partners for the Lasallian Mission, and a commitment to an international assembly of Brothers and associates to promote new partnerships between Brothers and those who shared the mission of education.

The District Chapter convened in July 2000, soon after the completion of the General Chapter. It was primarily concerned with implementing the directives from the Chapter, but also in



An advertisement for Kids Help Line underscoring the continuing need for Lasallian initiatives.

addressing issues raised by younger members of the District at their convocation at Beaudesert during Easter 2000. Delegates recommended that David Hawke serve as Visitor for a second term: Ambrose Payne was appointed Auxiliary Visitor.

Leadership internationally and District-wide in the immediate future is in the hands of new teams. The essential challenge is well defined and similar in many districts and embodied in the philosophy behind the notion of 'Shared Mission'. In the District this is exemplified in planning for the incorporation of boards to assume the responsibility for Institute schools and works in order to ensure the survival of their Lasallian culture, even though Brothers might not be actively involved in their management. There remains a measure of despondency about the future among a few because of dwindling numbers, an ageing population, and lack of recruits: many of the key people in the District are currently in their late 50s and many will be retired from active service within ten years. However, the predominant attitude remains one of optimism, encouraged by a willingness to recognise that many lay people profess a close association with the Institute, share its mission and aims, and are eager to imbibe Lasallian spirituality. This gives the promise that the works initiated by the Institute will survive, even without the direct oversight of Brothers.

* * *

The Institute has existed for more than 300 years, though this is no guarantee that it will necessarily continue in the same manner. Quentin O'Halloran, in a circular letter to Brothers in 1980, quoted the response of Superior Pablo to a Canadian television interviewer who asked, 'Much is said about the death of religious congregations—what is your opinion?' Pablo replied:

> To speak of death is an evil and is an obsession which does nothing to encourage life. Since, however, you have asked me the question I will give you an answer limiting myself to the Brothers of the Christian Schools. I think that a congregation should cease to exist when the reason for its foundation has also ceased to exist. The Brothers of the Christian Schools were founded for youth and the poor. Allow me to predict that our Brothers ought to disappear when there are neither young people nor poor.[2]

The Institute has waxed and waned before and changed as it spread beyond France and beyond the seventeenth century. The essential needs for which De La Salle founded his Institute continue to exist, so there remains a need for the Institute, or at least those infused with its spirit who are willing and able to respond in a manner appropriate to the current circumstances. The willingness to accept and encourage those who share the Lasallian spirit, will help to ensure the survival of De La Salle's work. This was the optimistic attitude of the 2000 General Chapter and the District Chapter that followed it.



Appendix

A Shared Mission

The De La Salle Brothers have always received support and assistance from others in their particular mission.

Affiliated Members of the Institute

Arahill, Monsignor Brian, (Mangere East)
Baker, Harold, (Art Union)
Baker, Isobel, (Art Union)
Broderick, Mrs M.
Broderick, Father Kevin, (Malvern)
Butler, Ellen, (Scarborough)
Carlton, Mary, (Ashfield)
Casimir, Father, C.P., (Marrickville)
Cuffley, Ina, (Mentone)
Frawley, Monsignor Bartholomew, (Scarborough)
Griffin, Gladys, (Marrickville)
Newton, Arthur, (Malvern)
O'Connor, Bishop P.J., (Armidale)
Smith, Jack, (Midland Junction)
Smith, Gwen, (Midland Junction)
Steele, Monsignor Owen, (BoysTown)
Toohey, Frank, (Malvern)
Troy, Father Les, CM, (Malvern)

Benefactors of the Institute

Anderson, Dorothy, (Dubbo)
Barlow, Kath, (Bankstown)
Berger, Eileen, (Mangere East)
Boland, Robert, (Malvern)
Boland, Thelma, (Malvern)
Bridge, Norah, (Ashfield)
Brown, Tom, (Mangere East)
Bugeja, Frank, (Mentone)
Butt, Mary, (Marrickville)
Cahill, Edward
Cavanagh, Robyn, (San Miguel)
Chalker, Mary, (Cootamundra and Castle Hill)
Clowes, Irene, (Bankstown)
Clowes, Frank, (Bankstown)
Davidson, W., (Revesby)
Dickinson, Evelyn
Donaghue, Father Gerald, (New Plymouth)
Dow, Pat, (Kingsgrove)
Dow, Stan, (Kingsgrove)
Dunning, Rita, (Malvern)
Enright, Jack, (BoysTown)
Enright, Val, (BoysTown)
Farrelly, Mamie
Feenan, Pat, (Cronulla)
Feenan, Eileen, (Cronulla)
Finnigan, Michael, (New Plymouth)

Fitzpatrick, Julie
Gamble, Leo, (Mentone)
Garrity, Esther, (Ashfield)
Glendinning, Vanessa, (Lithgow)
Grace, Father P.G.
Hau, Francis, (Mainohana)
Hayes, Hilary, (Malvern)
Hellams, Mary, (Ashfield)
Howarth, Mrs A., (Cronulla)
Ingham, Mrs F.W., (Marrickville)
Ison, Meta, (Kingsgrove)
Ison, Dave, (Kingsgrove)
Johnson, Mary, (Ashfield)
Keenan, Robin, (Henley Beach)
Kendall, Anthony, (Scarborough)
Lannen, William, (Oakhill)
Loa, Herico, (Papua New Guinea)
Lonergan, Monica, (Caringbah)
McEvoy, Larry, (Mentone)
McNellie, May, (Scarborough)
Martin, John
May, Tess, (Malvern)
Micaleff, Agnes, (Marrickville)
Minahan, Mrs K., (Marrickville)
Monaghan, Father David, (New Plymouth)
Murphy, Jim, (Mentone)
Mutimer, Mr
O'Neill, Eileen, (New Plymouth)
O'Neill, Noelene, (Revesby)
Raynor, Anita, (Malvern)
Regan, Tom, (Kensington)
Rigney, Nea, (Ashfield)
Savage, Jack, (Mentone)
Savage, Molly, (Mentone)
Scott, Dorothy
Seton, Veronica, (Orange)
Steed, Val, (Lakemba)
Steed, Vincent, (Lakemba)
Stitt, John, (Lithgow)
Swenke, Dorothy, (Scarborough)
Taylor, Pat, (Lithgow)
Walsh, Leo, (New Plymouth)
Walsh, Patrick, (Oakhill)
Will, Margaret
Williams, Gwen, (Revesby)
Yearbury, Betty, (Mangere East)

Notes

As noted in the acknowledgements, all historians rely on the work of others, whether they are other historians, informants, or a host of other people—many of them anonymous—who have generated innumerable memoranda, correspondence and reports. It is common courtesy, but also a duty, for historians to acknowledge sources so others may return to them to test claims and arguments advanced. At the same time historians hope their endeavours might be of assistance to others and provide the basis for additional inquiry, and references to useful sources may facilitate the research of other historians working in the same or allied areas of study. The precise references are included below. Additional and more general sources are included in the bibliography.

Much of the information has been taken from the De La Salle Brothers' own sources, particularly those held in the archives at Castle Hill. Endnote references have not been given when their sources are evident from the text. Similarly, information about the ideals and activities of later Brothers Visitors has been taken from their recorded interviews: the appropriate interview should be evident from the text. All photographs belong to the De La Salle Brothers, except where other provenance has been acknowledged.

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