THE

BROTHERS OF THE

CHRISTIAN

SCHOOLS

Volume VIII

The Institute in Europe and in the Missions

Georges Rigault

INTRODUCTION

The time has now come to give a very large place in our Lasallian studies to the Institute's foundations outside of France. The first traces of this development in the world can be found in our sixth volume. The disciples of the saintly educator, already present in Italy, Belgium, Canada and the isle of Bourbon before Brother Philippe's generalate, were now spread into central Europe, England, United States, the Turkish Republic, in Egypt, Algeria, Tunisia, Madagascar, to the Indes and Indochina during the "glorious era" which ended with the death of the Leader known internationally. This peaceful conquest of the globe was going to be stabilised, organised and even extended during the generalates of Brothers Irlide and Joseph. After 1904, it would allow Brother Gabriel-Marie, their successor, to open paths for the missionary apostolates to a good number of French religious, the victims of a persecuting legislation. It was then at that moment that the Congregation of the Brothers of the Christian Schools would decidedly take on "supra-national" character.

An equally providential transformation in agreement with the destiny of Catholicism, of the best hopes of humanity was being prepared and designed more and more precisel in the last years of the nineteenth century. It will suffice to give a glimpse of this by looking at the statistics in official documents. In the Circular of 2nd June 1882 just before the meeting of the 26th General Chapter the number of delegates to be elected was fixed at 65: 46 from the French Districts and i9 from other groups. Now, while from the former, considered as a block of 3586 professed school Brothers from 23 Districts, the latter came from seventeen Districts composed of 1,036 professed Brothers who had the right to vote.[1i]

At the General Chapter of 1894, eighty-one Brothers — besides the twenty who were members by right — were seated: fifty-six for the schools in France which marshalled a total of 4,647 voters; twenty-five for the 1,519 Brothers from nineteen countries and groups or sub-divisions of countries, the list of which includes: England-Ireland, Austria-Germany, North Belgium, South Belgium, Barcelona, Madrid, Rome, Turin, Algeria-Tunisia, The Indies-China-Cochinchina, Reunion-Madagascar-Maurice, The Levant, Montreal,

[1] After the decisions of the General Chapter of 1875, each Province or District elects "as many representatives as there are 'hundreds' — or any portion thereof — of professed teaching Brothers (exclusive of "working" Brothers). This system remained unaltered until 1902. — In 1886, sixteen out of seventeen "foreign" Districts, numbering less than 100 electors, chose only a single delegate. Belgium, with its 245 professed teaching Brothers, had the right to three representatives

Toronto, Baltimore, New York, St. Louis, San Francisco, and Ecuador-Colombia-Chile-Argentina.

At the Chapter of 1897 the disappearance of the Toronto sector brought the number of these "outside provinces" to eighteen, in which there were 1,632 professed teaching Brothers represented by twenty-four delegates; along with which there were sixty designated by the 4,795 electors in the twenty-one Districts of continental France. In 1901, with Ecuador and Colombia, on the one hand and Argentina and Chile on the other, making up two distinct constituencies, the former figure of twenty-five administrative units was again realized; twenty-five Capitulants were to be selected, as in 1894, from the various European countries, America, Asia and Africa; but their mandates came from 1,792 professed Brothers. The French in the motherland — 4,881 Brothers with perpetual vows — elected sixty-two delegates at this same date.

It was thus that voices from both the Old and the New World got heard. The Institute's Assemblies became in a certain sense assemblies of nations. Some time back,[2] describing the "Lasallian structure", we explained the principal goals of their deliberations and the results of their activities. It will now be our purpose to move from the center to the circumference, to accompany the pioneers on their long journeys beyond the seas. The undertaking is immense. We have anticipated that it cannot be brought to a completion in a single stroke. This volume, in fact, must be confined to describing the labors of the Brothers among European peoples in the first place and then in those regions where Christianity found itself facing Islam, Buddhism or crude paganism.

The accomplishments in the Americas, in Québec, Montreal and as far as Buenos Aires and Santiago, Chile are too important to be merely tucked into the present account, which is already over-expanded. Under the same general title, The End of the 19th Century, (1874-1904), we shall publish a ninth volume which, restricted to the Brothers in Canada, the United States and Latin America, will complete the final phase of the history of the Institute prior to the great turning-point in 1904.

The nine chapters we are now offering the reader cannot help but be rather varied as to events, human participants and political and social institutions. Italy, Belgium, Germany and Austria, England and Ireland, Spain, Turkey, Egypt, Syria and Palestine, India, Burma, Indochina and Hong Kong, Madagascar, Algeria and Tunisia will march across our line of vision. We must expect repeatedly to experience unfamiliarity, continuing changes of perspective as well as of climate, atmosphere and language. As freely as it seemed necessary to us, we have framed the history of each nation with the accounts of the foundations of schools and descriptions of the Religious founders. We cannot speak of an

[2] *Cf*. Vol. VII, Part One of the present work.

educational enterprize without knowing the environment and the legislation has supported it, or, on the contrary, hindered or handicapped its development. The "Misbegotten Law" in Belgium, the German "Kulturcampf", the anticlericalism and all the activities of Free-Masonry in Crespi's Italy and in the French over-seas possessions provide proof of the close connection between political principles and the direction that education takes. Other lessons, less harsh, are taught us by Liberal England, Catholic Spain and the France which was concerned to maintain its traditions and prestige among the nations of the Near East.

Everywhere we shall meet with noble human beings and powerful personalities. We shall attempt to throw light upon them: — on the features of teachers and religious leaders, such as a man like Brother Genuino in Turin, Brother Memoir in Belgium, Brother Eucherius, Brother Cosmus, Brother Petronius in Austria, Brother Marianus whose concerns stretch from Brussels to Sofia, Brother Potamian, Brother Acheul, Brother Justian in London and Ireland, Brother Justinus of Mary at the head of the Spanish Communities, Brother Hugonis and his associates, Gervais of Mary, Ildefonse, Evagre, Godefroy of the Angels, David Leo in the Near and Mid-East, Brother Bernard Louis, Brother Ivarch Louis, and Brother Cyprian in the Far East, Brother Gonzalvian and Brother Ismael Norbert in Madagascar. And at various levels, there were no less strong personalities, working for many years or only a few days together with the disciples of St. John Baptist de La Salle, occupying rôles of prime importance or appearing on the scene to intervene strategically, statesmen, prelates, diplomats, apostles of the Gospel and heros of charity: there were famous names on the world's stage or in the annals of the Church: be it a Cardinal Manning or a Herbert Vaughan, a Patrick Keenan or an Arthur Balfour; a Windthorst, a Bishop Bonjean in Ceylan, a Lavigerie in Africa, a Paul Cambon in Tunisia, or Gallieni in Madagascar. And, much closer to the soul of the Institute, there were Ernestina Villena and Father Cotanilla in Spain.

There were many protagonists, many "bit players" with useful contributions and displays worth recollecting. In what did the unity of the drama consist? In the ends aimed at, the means employed, in the fidelity to an ideal and in obedience to a Rule. The same spirit dictated the Brothers' conduct in Manchester, Saïgon, Coblenz and Colombo. It also happened that we see the same men present successively in the most dissimilar points of the globe. On the Superior's orders a man like Brother Abban went from Canada to Ireland, from Ireland to Ceylon, and from Ceylon to Hong Kong. In the schools in the Indian Ocean Canadians and Anglo-Saxon Americans cooperated along with Frenchmen and native Religious. The ultimate authority exercised one after the other by Brother John Olympus, Brother Irlide, Brother Joseph and Brother Gabriel of Mary systematized decisions, coordinated efforts and encouraged or moderated initiatives. In spite of the groping characteristic of earthly projects, the advance continued. It was directed by that guiding star, the Faith. We are aware that, for the Brothers, fully sustained by the

untainted teaching of the Founder, there could be no question concerning their Roman Faith. The teaching and even the person of the Pope stood, so to speak, at the summit of the Brothers' works; they facilitated the explicitation of its fundamental reason, precisely as they realized the unity of Catholicism. That is why, having looked for a symbol that might underscore the essence of our account, we have placed at the front of this volume a picture of the Sovereign Pontiff, Leo XIII, the Vicar of Christ.

We write as a Christian, without "nationalistic" prejudices, frankly and with an ever-present concern for impartiality. The order and arrangement of material are, in general, dictated by the rules of chronology. Italy is placed first, followed by Belgium, simply because the Institute took root in these countries before it became implanted in Germany, Austria, England, Ireland or Spain.

There will be those, perhaps, who believe that the author is still too French. To this we venture to reply that St. John Baptist de La Salle's Institute has never denied its origins; and that, besides, during the period with which we shall be dealing and which saw Piedmontese novices at Chambéry and Annecy, Spanish novices at Béziers, Irish at the Motherhouse on Oudinot Street, the French character of the Congregation was particularly striking: a great number of new schools were of French foundation; and great number of Directors of Communities, of Visitors of Districts, from the banks of Rio de la Plata to the banks of the Catalonia — without mentioning missionary countries — bore civilian names that smacked of the Rouergue, Auvergne, Burgundy and Lorraine. In Turkey and in Egypt the Brothers cooperated with the Republic's ambassadors and consuls — which is an historical fact and one of tremendous importance that would have been dishonest and unseemly to have minimized.

Always and everywhere the Brothers worked for the spread of the Gospel. If their earthly homelands — France, Italy, Spain, Belgium or Ireland — profited from their fame and their success, who then has the right to complain about it? As for their religious and human virtues, they stand out sufficiently luminously to be able to absorb the shadows that, here and there, the investigator may unearth.

For documentation we have gone to the sources. As in our previous volumes, we have examined the Motherhouse Archives in Rome. We have further pursued our research both at the General Secretariat of the Institute in Paris and in the Archives of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs (two indispensable centers of information for the Near and Mid-East) as well as in the European Districts: especially in most of the schools in Belgium; in England at St. Joseph's College, London, in Liverpool, Nantwich; in Ireland at Castletown and at Waterford; in Spain at institutions in Bujedo, Madrid, Griñon and Barcelona; in Germany at the Maria Tann Community near Villigen; in Austria at the center of formation and studies, Marienheim Strebersdorf, and in the ancient institution of Fünfhaus. Finally, while, in order to complete our Roman files on the most distant foundations we have had

to have recourse to the kindness and precise information of correspondents residing on the spot, we have at least visited Egypt and, in Alexandria and Cairo, have collected a harvest of precious letters as well as administrative and educational notes.

It would be quite correct to assume that these travels beyond the French frontiers have not been restricted to archival and library reading rooms; and that, wandering through cities and country-sides and introduced to the operations of functioning institutions, we have in every way had our horizons broadened, made contact with informed persons, observed tendencies and inspected programs. A genuinely "fraternal" welcome awaited us in all of the Institute's establishments: — Italian, Belgian, English, Irish, Spanish, German, Austrian, as well as the French in Metz, Guénange and the Franco-Egyptians along the Mediterranean, the Canal Zone and the Nile Valley. We would like here to reveal once again the heart-felt and enduring gratitude we expressed to the distinguished Brothers Visitor and Directors along with their very dedicated associates.

At the top of the list of these latter we take the liberty of naming our guides:—the guides in our travels as well our guides along the roads of history; Brother Maximin, the archivist whose competence and service we have already commended on other occasions; Brother Clair Stanislaus, our travelling companion in England, who is now a teacher in the missionary Scholasticate in Rome; his counsels were invaluable to us, his doctorate dissertation provided us with a mass of information and opened up to us numerous glimpses into the place occupied by the Brothers in the educational system across the "Channel". Equal good fortune occurred in Spain with Brother Claudio Gabriel, Director of the Normal School at Ginon, who was also a great student of his Congregation's past.[3]

In Barcelona,we met the venerable Brother Casimir who is rich in experience and memories. While in Germany we had to regret the premature death of Brother Willibald whose papers, in any case, were placed at our disposition through the kindness of Brothers Ernest and Benedict, in Austria discussions were arranged with Brothers Boniface, Egino and Eberhard, and we were introduced to Brother Colomon, Pro-director of St. Joseph's College in Streberdorf, and his fundamental studies, written on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the Marienheim. In Alexandria, Egypt our principal informant was Brother Joel and, in Cairo, Brother Andrew Leon. We are pleased to add to this list — although we were united with them only in spirit — our generous correspondents in Ceylon and Hanoi, Brothers Claude of Mary, Director of the Novitiate Community in Colombo, and Cyprian Gam, Auxiliary Visitor and Director of the Franco-Vietnamese school, Puginier; the historian of the Algerian and Tunisian schools, Brother

[3] He died prematurely in Burgos during the summer of 1950.

Visitor Charles Edmond; and also, in Domino quiescens our late lamented friend, Brother Gustave of Mary, the biographer of Brother Gonzalvian and, in that connection, the resourceful and meticulous collector of documents concerning Madagascar.

We shall not go into the details concerning monographs, announcements, pamphlets, yearbooks and leaflets. They will be cited, as usual, in the notes for each chapter along with useful details and mentioned again, or recalled, under their authors' name, in the Index.

For the descriptions of political history we have used Luigi Simeoni (Corso di Storia), Benedetto Croce (translated by H. Bedarida), August Mélot (Histoire de la Belgique contemporaine); our own mentor, George Goyau, in his books on Germany that have been so accurately understood on the other side of the Rhine; Maurice Legendre (Nouvelle Histoire d'Espagne); Histoire de la nation ègyptienne published by Gabriel Hanotaux under the auspices of King Fouad, the sixth volume of which is the work of two particularly well-informed men, Ambassador Francis Charles Roux and Mr. Déhéran; l'Histoire des colonies francaises et de l'expansion de la France dans le monde, in the volumes in which Edmond Chassigneux, Marius and Ary Leblond, Augustine Bernard, and George Hardy have cooperated with Gabriel Hanotaux. George Goyau, once again, and Fernand Mourret have thrown light on our knowledge of religious history. Regarding educational techniques and school legislation among various peoples we have looked upon Ferdinand Buisson's Dictionnaire as indispensable, especially for the Italian, English, Austrian and Spanish authorities, Aurelius Stoppoloni, Michael Sadler, Francis Roider, and Manuel Cossio. We have, furthermore, used the Enciclopedia italiana and Max Leclerc's brief book, l'Éducation des classes moyennes et dirigeantes en Angleterre. Of course, August Mélot's l'Enseignement en Belgique, and William J. Battersby's (Brother Clair Stanislaus), The Work of the Brothers of the Christian Schools and its Significance in the History of English Education, and Nazario Gonzalez' (Brother Claudio Gabriel), la Obra Lasalliana en España have supplied us with details and have served, where need be, as counterproof.

We are delighted to be able to place our past and present works under the patronage of the M. H. Brother Athanase Emile. May the one time — and for a period of six years— Director of the "Second Novitiate", where he presided magistrally over Brothers who came from thirty countries, thereafter "Assistant" responsible, in turn, for institutions in Latin America and Central Europe, an extraordinary master of many languages, a mind that has stood above an assortment of parochialisms, a paternal heart for Brothers of whatever origin, while remaining a son dedicated to his native Lorraine and to France (which had recovered its lost province), the Superior-general highly respected by the Sovereign Pontiff and by the princes of the Roman Church, received with highest regards by heads of State, acclaimed in both hemispheres and keenly concerned to train, organize and extend the Congregation's apostolate to the four corners of the globe, be kind

enough, we hope, to bless our efforts, while considering the results with an indulgent eye and place our modest little stone in the monument which with the patient and generous workers of his Institute he is raising to the glory of God.

G.R.

The second section of Volume 8 – PART TWO - has been downloaded from an OMNIPAGE version based on Brother Edmund's original work. It could not be produced in the same format as previous sections and therefore appears as the *recto verso* printed edition. In addition, the final section on Ceylon (Sri Lanka) could not be included.

(Brother Gerard Rummery)

FIRST PART

The Church in

Europe

CHAPTER ONE

THE CHURCH IN ITALY

Before entering into the details of the life of the Brothers in Italy at the end of the 19th century, it is important to recall the religious and political situation on the Peninsula during the last years of Pius IX and Victor Emmanuel II and then under the reign of Humbert I and the Pontificate of Leo XIII.

The Kingdom of Sardinia, the Kingdom of Naples, the Grand Duchy of Tuscany and the Duchies of Parma and Modena no longer existed; rather from the Alps to the far points of Sicily there extended the territory of a huge nation of some twenty-seven million people,[4ii] placed under the scepter of the House of Savoy. Italy had realized its dream of unity; it had recovered complete independence by planting its flag in Milan and in Venice. Trieste and Trent, alone, remained in Austrian hands: this became the "irredento" soil toward which patriots' eyes had turned; and for a very long while it would be necessary to be resigned to the status quo and even to appear to renounce the hope for its return, by contracting an alliance with the enemy of the day before, the Sovereign in Vienna who had been considered as the unjust withholder of these precious parcels of an antique patrimony.

Nevertheless, it was possible to wait. No matter how painful family separations, no matter how militarily awkward the provisional frontiers were, the vitality of a free nation was not on that account diminished. The Italians, masters at home, organized, equipped themselves and multiplied in a way no longer to be subjected, as in the past, to the domination of neighboring peoples and in such a way as to take on the guise of a power in Europe and throughout the world.

Of course, there was no lack of problems. Every earthly effort has them and intends to conquer them. There were financial and economic difficulties: the style of life of the new State demanded a great number of expenditures; some regions were suffering from poverty; and vast regions went uncultivated or casually exploited. In other places there

[4]The Italian population in 1871. — Luigi Simeoni, Corso di Storia, Vol. III, Bologna, 1945.

was barren rocky soil or pestilential swamps. Beneath the ground there was neither oil nor — with only notorious exceptions — metals: — a serious disadvantage in a century of industrial production.

The extremely unequal division of natural resources added to the predicament of the citizens: Piedmont, the plains of Lombardy and the entire Valley of the Po were incomparably better provided for than the center and south of the kingdom. Latium presented stretches of gloomy wilderness; Abruzzi retained a primitive character; and surrounding fertile Campagna there stretched out Pouilli, Basilicati and Calabria of dismal fame.

It goes without saying that levels of culture varied as well as resources. Aptitude and tenacity were effected by leisure or material privations, as well as by past history, geographical position, climate and racial origins. It was difficult to find common ground between a Celt whose roots were in ancient “Cisalpine Gaul” and a Sicilian who was connected with Africa.

As a consequence, the blending and the binding must have taken a rather long period of time to effect. New ways of looking on things had to be created; a sense of the fatherland had to be given; and vast horizons had to be opened up for many individuals only a short while ago enclosed within the frontiers of tiny principalities and provinces that had dwelt on the borders of modern ideas and ambitions. The peninsular land structure, an interminable stretch of coastlines — the Tyrrhenian and Adriatic — separated from end to end by the Appenines, scarcely facilitated human communication. To open roads, lay down railroads, to establish commercial markets that were also administrative headquarters — these were the urgent tasks that thrusts themselves upon the masters of the moment. Such projects were expensive, but nonetheless they were done.

Heavy taxes, the demands of unfamiliar activities, uniform legislation in the Piedmontese manner, military service that broke the bonds of custom, uprooted youths of twenty years of age and contributed to mix character, tempers, and language was the price that every Italian had to pay for the greatness of his nation.

Some nostalgia for the past, a certain amount of grumbling and some resistance may have slowed down the forward march and incited political crises. On the whole, the work of Cavour was consolidated and endured: a century of history would produce the War of 1859, the plebecites of 1860, the conquest of Naples and the entry of the Piedmontese into Rome.

But here we are touching upon dangerous ground. The Papal States had disappeared, absorbed into single and vibrant mass that was Italy. The Pope, however, did not cease to be a sovereign. He no longer owned anything except a palace surrounded by a garden on the hill of the Vatican, where the king did not enter there. The king, who belonged to the

Catholic Church by every familial tradition, by Baptism, by education, by the basic mechanisms of his life, found himself thrown out of the communion of the faithful for having seized a sacred precinct. Vainly did he, in accord with his Parliament and his Ministers, recognize in the Pope every prerogative of a reigning prince; ambassadors of the nations continued to be accredited to the Holy See; the Christian world continued to receive messages from God's Vicar; the freedom of future Conclaves was guaranteed. Pius IX refused any compromise contrary to his conscience or incompatible with his responsibilities. The "Law of Pledges" seemed to him to be worthless, because it was unilateral, stemming from a usurping government and open to revision and abrogation, like any other law voted on by the official representatives of the Italian nation.

As a French historian very little suspect of "clericalism" wrote:[5iii] "The Apostle Peter demanded what was his…The complaint of the timeless old man tolled like a bell unceasingly over the Roman capital". A misunderstood right stood in opposition to a brutal fact, prevented it from triumphing peaceably and prohibited it from disguising itself in the eyes of the Catholic world. As for the citizens of the kingdom of Italy, the Papal *non expedit* kept them outside political life: they had to confine their services to their fellow-citizens through local governments.[6]See Vol. VI of the present work, pp. 80-82.

Thus, "the Roman question", the object of so much controversy after 1848, was not simplified by the coup of 1870. It simply became more irritating, more complex and more humdrum. In order not to collide with it too severely what was needed was agility and wisdom, prelates, diplomates and statesmen. Rome remained "the City among cities", the Mother of western civilization, the Center of Christ's religion, the reliquary of memories and the guardian of wonders; and, in a parallel way — one might venture to say "subsidiarity" — it became the seat of Ministries, of Legislatures and the royal residence. monarch in his Quirinal Palace.

The logic of events gave power to the Church's adversaries. At first it was the heirs and disciples of Cavour who ruled. Like the initiator of the great national enterprise, they professed a moderate liberalism within the framework of the "Constitution" of 1848. Their boldest strokes were accompanied by cautious words and appropriate procedures. But, necessarily, their alliances were made with the followers of Garibaldi and Mazzini and with the Free-Masons. Parties of "the Left" had an easy time at the political level: their leaders had taken part in the destruction of "political parochialism"; the heart of their

[5] Ernest Lavisse, Vue générale sur l'histoire politique de l'Europe, pp. 210-212. Cited by Father Mourret, Histoire de l'Église, Vol IX, pg. 22.

[6] ibid

program the defenders of the Savoy monarchy embraced. Since it was necessary to resist the Papal Court, the clergy,and the monks, the entire “black world” and the “reds”— who, as needed, tempered the intensity of their color — committed all their energy to the struggle that “the white world”, i.e., the Quirinal, could not decline. In legislative elections instructions obeyed by the more faithful Catholics left those who organized campaigns an entire freedom of action: it was easy to prove to ill-informed persons that merely defensive measures were being drafted against the clericals, without involving religion. And a country, composed of a majority of practicing believers came to entrust its destinies to the enemies of its faith.

Dissatisfaction inspired by fiscal accusations accelerated the “Left’s” success. At the head of the movement there stood out a skillful tactician, Augustine Depretis. We saw him in 1860 practicing a dictatorial authority over Sicily and opening on that island the roads to a Garibaldean invasion. On March 18th he overturned the Minghetti Ministry. And suddenly he was Prime Minister. Except for a few interruptions, during which he yielded his position to Benedetto Cairole, Depretis was to control Italy until 1887, altering the composition of his allies in accordance with parliamentary opportunities.

Victor Emmanuel II died on January 2, 1878 at the age of fifty-eight. In his last hours, he was absolved by Pius IX. The elderly Pope followed the king to the tomb, dying exactly one month later, on February 9. His body, as he had requested, was carried from St. Peter’s to St. Lawrence Outside the Walls. It was a sad journey: a mob assailed the funeral procession. The government was able neither to anticipate nor prevent this indignity. Finally, after a reign of thirty-one years pervaded by grief and greatness, after a final and futile assault upon his coffin, his soul entered into the joy of his Saviour; the remains reposed beneath an inconspicuous headstone.

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Public order was no longer being disrupted when the Cardinals assembled at the Vatican. Joachim Pecci succeeded Giovanni Mestaï and took the name of Leo XIII. Humbert, the son of Victor Emmanuel, had assumed the Italian thrown. There was a question as to whether relations between the two sides of the Tiber would be reestablished. The king harbored no hostile thoughts; the queen, Marguerite, daughter of Ferdinand, Duke of Genoa, possessed the piety, the goodness and the deep charity of the princesses of the House of Savoy. The new Pope was described as a man inspired with a desire for conciliation. His policies, thoroughly judicious and Christian, tended to restore peace between the Church and the nations of the world. But with regard to the “temporal power”, he was committed to maintain principles that had been in place since the Middle Ages, pronounced by Sovereign Pontiffs at most critical moments and under the pressures

of captivity. Leo XIII repeated Pius IX's protestations; he confirmed the non expedit; and he bound himself never to leave the Vatican. Of course, in practice, it was impossible to avoid exchanging views and settling certain questions through official mediators. Such modus operandi wa taken for granted and was necessary. It served as a preface to an eventual agreement, as a favorable future began to take shape. That moment, that the best of patriots only hoped for and old men could not promise themselves that they would ever see, a new generation could perceive its approach and at last see it at hand.

The expansion of voting rights in 1882 simply strengthened Augustine Depretis' position. From that point on, the electoral body was composed of more the two million citizens: 710,000 "Taxpayers", who contributed at least twenty lire in taxes; and 1,338,000 "Competents" who demonstrated minimal literacy. The representatives of this body brought to Monte Citorio, the legislative center, a great variety opinions: and Depretis had mastered the arts of manoeuvre and adaptation; he satisfied special interests and made use of special gifts.

After his death, the helm was turned over to Francis Crespi, whose character is worth a moment of our attention. Throughout a career that was singularly agitated, he had played major rôles. Born in the neighborhood of ancient Agrigento in 1819, as a young man he became a lawyer and a journalist. At the age of twenty-four, he moved to Naples and lost no time conspiring against the Bourbons. As one of the men responsible for the Sicilian insurrection in 1848, he was sentenced to exile. A refuge was offered him in Piedmont, which he finally departed in order to seek in Malta a way of communicating more easily with his compatriots in the south. The English authorities, who occupied the island, considered the agitator a nuisance and expelled him. From 1855 to 1859, Crespi led a precarious existence between London and Paris. In England, he teamed up with Mazzini whose patriotic ardor and republican convictions he shared. And while he was not involved in Orsini's assault, his style and his views nevertheless rendered him suspect in the eyes of Napoleon III's police. France was closed off to him.

He opposed the Franco-Piedmont alliance. But after Magenta and Solferino he grasped at any momentary advantage. He set out to pave the way for Garibaldi in Sicily, furnish the Condottiere with men and arms and astute counsel. Thereafter, he drew closer to the adherents of the monarchy. He felt the need of a union centered on the House of Savoy. And while he clung to his coarse candor and his truculent temperament, he assumed the status of a statesman.

The victory of the "Left" in 1876 propelled him into the presidency of the Chamber. In 1878 he became Minister of the Interior, and, although a Freemason, he was obliged to exert himself to protect the Conclave, a task for which he showed no repugnance, since he was working for the honor and the peace of Italy.

However, his colleagues did not like him. They feared his fierce determination, his violent prejudices and his spirit of domination which ran roughshod over the sensibilities and opinions of others, in fact over the legitimate ambitions and real talents of mind and soul of those who surrounded him. Depretis parted company with them until the time when grave difficulties, occasioned by a military setback in Abyssinia, forced them to recall the strong man to the Ministry of the Interior.

At the age of sixty-eight, Crispi had attained the heights, where he would remain from 1887 until 1891, and then — temporarily replaced by Di Rudini and Golitti — he reappeared in 1893 as energetic, resolute and determined as ever. An enemy of France, he strengthened the bonds between his own country and Germany. He dreamed of raising Italy in the ranks of great European, maritime and colonial powers.

As a patriot, he had no difficulty imagining, in spite of his sectarian biases, a reconciliation with the “Holy See”, which would have been a handsome present of offer the young nation; that it should come through the hands of a dedicated Freemason would have been a rather curious twist. As the historian-philosopher Benedetto Croce, remarked, nothing like it had been achieved at that time and by that agency. Nevertheless, he adds, hope “hurled a fire into the soul” of the Minister when Leo XIII on May 23, 1887 in an allocution came out in favor of clemency. After that, the Benedictine, Dom Louis Tosti, historian of the Lombard League and the inspired poet of the war for independence, published a small book that looked forward to and proposed the termination of “the Roman question”. Not without an extreme boldness Dom Tosti asserted that he was prepared to assume responsibility for attempting negotiations.

A few weeks sufficed to dissipate the seductive illusion. Intransigence of both the “Right” and the “Left” balked; the Pope repudiated the impulsive Benedictine; and Crespi resumed the bitterest kind of anticlericalism.

In 1888 a decree removed the obligation of religious teaching in the elementary schools. A new penal code in some of its articles took aim at abuses of power among the clergy and the freedom of language assumed by the Catholic press. In 1889 a law expropriated “pious projects”. Anything belonging to the jurisdiction of welfare fell under the management of a bureau controlled by the State. As for specifically religious projects their suppression was virtually admitted: the government was authorized to seize their resources in order to bestow them upon a purpose conformed to “contemporary needs”. “Laicization” was rife; it spilled over frontiers, as in the East Italian Schools slipped away from the control of the Congregations. Francis Crespi claimed to construct the greatness of the fatherland independently of God. And with that came the collapse. On March 1, 1896 occurred the rout at Adoua: General Baratieri’s army capitulated under the attack of Menelik’s Abyssinians. The veteran statesman, condemned, vilified and cursed

disappeared from the political scene. He died, alone, in 1901. At the time, the nation recalled his services and laid his remains to rest in the Pantheon in Palermo.

While the peoples' leaders, shaken by the storm, lessened the speed and, in the area of international relations, modified the guidelines, religion hardly profited from their reflexions and their experience. In 1898 the Minister DI Rudini dissolved nearly 4,000 Catholic associations. He attempted to rip apart the entire texture of a sound organization: regional committees, diocesan committees, parochial committees, youth clubs, university clubs and religious confraternities.

On the other hand, the holy City was handed over to the interests of factions. Tares grew along with the wheat in a field wrested from the power of the Head of the family. While the Church property was confiscated, schools of free-thinkers, temples of heresy and Masonic Lodges were opened in Rome; and newspapers inspired by anti-Christian thought were multiplied .

This was Humberto I's capital. The huge monument to Victor Emmanuel would emit its insistent shout, the vulgarity and disparity of its whiteness standing out against the harmonious color schemes of ancient ruins and churches. Garibaldi, the arrogant bronze horseman, rising on the Janiculum, looks over the Dome of St. Peter's as its conqueror

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Italy between 1870 and 1900 was not lacking in dynamism. It longed to live, and it grew and became strong in the midst of crises of growth. He had described the principal causes of its economic disequilibrium; and a commercial rupture with France intensified the situation even more. Markets in the West were closing, and for the sale of agricultural products it was necessary to seek clients in Central Europe. Patiently crops were improved; the use of farm machinery and fertilizers spread. On the other hand, industry obtained aid from foreign capital; it procured, also from abroad, tools and raw materials of which the Peninsula was deficient. And then the use of electricity open new and limitless perspectives.

At the beginning, however, the pace was very slow. The crops in a number of regions were inadequate and backward; and, besides, they were ravaged by disease; thus, for example, the scourge of phylloxera in the vineyards. The land could not feed a population which, at the beginning of the 20th century, would reach more than 30 million human beings. A number of Italians immigrated to France. But the great waves of immigrants settled in America: Argentina, Brazil, which needed laborers, guaranteed free transportation. Many workers chose to go to the United States where they hoped to live better and earn higher salaries. As a rule, once they met with success, they sent money to

those in their family who did not leave home. The accumulation of these sums reduced quite noticeably the liabilities of the national treasury.

But the State, dissociating itself from the fate of it emigrants, most of them embarked at their own risk, with no thought of returning, and, liberally absorbed by the countries that welcomed them, were lost to Italy. Poverty had driven them from the land of their birth; and even if they retained a sentimental attachment to the sights and sounds of other days, they had not desire to start life over again there.

They belonged to that proletarian mass that crowded around major factories. They experienced both inadequate wages when there was an over-supply of labor and distressful unemployment in periods of overproduction. The companions of their youth as well as frequently themselves until their decision to leave, had proclaimed their rights. In the beginning there was no class hatred among simple-hearted workers, gullible and apt to be talkative. But Marxism indoctrinated them. His teachings succeeded in infusing minds by controlling action. May 1 was celebrated in 1891 on the Peninsula. In Rome, Anarchists, like Cipriani, combined with the demonstrators and incited riots that ended in bloodshed. The Courts, called upon to hand down condemnations, had to listen to daring expositions of subversive theories. Strikes followed one upon the other in Sicily and in Carrara. Agitation had become so violent that Crispi did not shrink from suppressing it.

The Socialist Party was established in 1895, created a workers league and organized a Labor Exchange. The big cities in the North presented it with solid support positions. In Milan in May of 1898, riot reverberated and the barricades arose, while the government declared a state of siege.

Anarchist theorists took advantage of these disorders to incited criminal fanaticism: King Humbert was assassinated by Gaetano Bresci, in Monza, on July 29, 1900.

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We assume that education, like welfare, is slow in becoming widespread in a country that is concerned to resolve so many critical problems. In 1872 the 68.77% of the people throughout the entire kingdom were illiterate. The figure was still 62% ten years after the realization of national unity.

But public authority intervened energetically; in 1901 more than half the over-all population had emerged from illiteracy. It was southern and insular Italy that continued to be slow to shoulder the task; and the old Neapolitan provinces, Sicily and Sardinia still had high percentages of illiteracy at the beginning of the 20th century. Central Italy had achieved a measure of progress; the average of persons who knew how neither to read

nor to write stood at about 38%. The Brothers of the Christian Schools invested with the Pope's confidence had made their contribution to this result in the regions that had at one time made up the Church's patrimony. They had worked more widely and more freely under the auspices of the House of Savoy both in the capital and in numerous cities of Piedmont. Thus, all of northern Italy had numerous and flourishing schools; there illiterates constituted only a very small minority in comparison with the statistics gathered in Naples, Palermo or Cagliari: 19% as oppose to 52% and 55% respectively.

The "Casati Law", promulgated in Turin on November 13, 1859, had set up education in the hereditary States of Victor Emmanuel II.[7] For more than a half-century, it became the fundamental law in force from one end to the other of the unified Peninsula. Its principles were excellent, its program single and judicious and its demands exceedingly wise. What it lacked was a law governing obligatory school attendance, which was not drawn up until 1877 in the "Coppino Law" — an imperfect and timorous first step, since the lawmaker only required the child's attendance at the lower levels of the primary grades; which meant that ordinarily the school boy would not go to class beyond the age of eight or nine years. An additional year was provided for those who failed the final examinations.[8]

In spite of fines which were supposed to penalize the negligence or ill-will of families, there was a reluctance to hold peoples' feet to the fire. Since the founding of popular schools was something left to the responsibility of the Communes, except for the occasional and quite uncommon competition from other institutions, great disparities were observable. Governmental authorities — Commandants or Inspectors — supervised and counselled; but they did not possess the means whereby to improve the site, increase the number of classrooms nor lighten the load of a teaching personnel that presided over several different categories of pupils. The "Orlando Law" was needed in 1904 so that financial encouragement could be added to the moral control of the State and permit the introduction of elementary education on a sounder footing.

In the prescriptions of 1859 catechism occupied the place of honor. In the beginning there was not even a suggestion of secularization in the Italian schools; clergymen were admitted to the teaching roles, as well in the public schools as in the institutions founded and maintained by private initiative.

[7] See Vol. VI of the present work, pg. 60.

[8] Prolonging education to the twelfth year was not stipulated until the law of July 8, 1904 and then only for those areas that had the luxury of a higher elementary school.

However, the law of July 15, 1877, emanating from a "Leftist" Parliament, marked a disquieting departure: religious no longer formed part of the program's subject matter; on the other hand, the text of the law stipulated that youth was to be taught the "duties of man and of the citizen".

The omission was flagrant, and the substitution obviously intentional. Anticlerical cities hurried to suppress the teaching of catechism in the schools they administered. The government raised no objection. More than that, the Minister De Sanctis, laying out a plans of the studies to be pursued by student in Normal Schools — for future school teachers — canceled "religion lessons" which had always been supported by his predecessors.. "The rights and duties of man" appeared to him to be better suited to liberated human beings.[9] At this period the Kingdom of Italy and the French Republic were following the fallacies. Positivism was the inspiration behind political thinking. It created a new type of believers — persons who were convinced that "Science" had the answer to every problem. In the educational domain this mentality lead educators to expect a great deal from the scientific method for the training of their pupils. And, when it was as much a question of intellectual pliability as professional formation, the system gave rise to good results.

In this way technical education grew up alongside "intermediate" schooling. Both of them — entrusted to the oversight of the Inspectors — belonged to the category termed "secondary" education. The classical humanities continued to dominate the "ginnasio," where pupils completed five years of studies; they were completed with the triennial cycle of the "liceo." Schools and technical institutes were laid out along different lines: the former included classes in Italian, French, history, geography, mathematics, drawing, calligraphy, and then, at its summit, instruction in the physical and natural sciences, hygiene, bookkeeping and civics. Many youngsters were to satisfied with the advantages these introductory studies provided; but others would use their learning to pass the examinations for Normal School. Their comrades would immediately enter a technical institute, where a variety of sections were offered to their choice: Physico-mathematics, commerce and administration, agriculture, and industrial. Here studies continued for three years; and later on a fourth year would become necessary. After 1878, "technical education" efforts in which had been under the control of the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce, became a part of Public Education; and from that time on it assumed a central place in the modern City.[10]

[9] Stoppoloni, op. cit., pp. 875-876. — Enciclopedia italiana, Vol. XIX, 1933, pp. 785-786.

[10] Stoppoloni, op. cit., pg. 881 — Enciclopedia italiana, Vol. XIX, pg. 787.

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In this vast framework the Brothers occupied only a very restricted place. Here there was nothing similar to the many-sided and omnipresent activity that we have analyzed in French soil; there is no comparison possible even with the project realized in Belgium in the course of its seventy years of independence and on which we shall soon have a fresh opportunity to dwell.

But, precisely, the history of the Kingdom of Italy explains, at least partially, the position of the Brothers following the events of 1870. If we fail to related the events and actions of certain teaching Communities to the national drama, we run the risk of glimpsing only a series of unconnected and meaningless incidents. Educational features would seem to acquire more depth within the atmosphere of the country and its institutions.

In fact, to understand certain acts of the Holy See in relation to our subject and consider them within their local perspectives is no indifferent matter. Stripped of his States, the Pope no longer acted as a temporal sovereign; and while he continued in his concern for the schools in his former domain, he did so as a benefactor and a protector, but not as a prince. As regards teachers and programs, he had to fear this or that measure of the civil government. Free to found a school, he could not set it up without taking into account legislation which remained foreign to him personally. But his spiritual sovereignty could not be contested: it was asserted more vigorously than ever.

Lasallian schools in Rome and those belonging to "Peter's patrimony" were enormously tested by the political unrest. Outside the walls of the city, the destruction was pathetic. When the school in Orvieto disappeared in 1875 [11]there remained only Bolzano, Acquapendenti, Castel Gandolfo and — far off — Benevento. The Community in Acquapendenti, to which belonged the Brother Procurator-general to the Holy See, was obliged to disperse in 1886; its forty years of existence had caused its Religious leaders, especially Brother Floridus, more than a problem, more than a disappointment.[12] Of the Roman schools none was suppressed. In order to realize this result an enormous amount of strategy had to be undertaken. Brother Floridus wrote on May 28, 1874 to Brother

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[11] See Vol. VI of the present work, pp. 83-84, and Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes for January, 1921, pg. 9.

[12] Motherhouse Archives, File KH m2.

Irlide who, at the time, was one of the Assistants of the Superior-general, Brother Jean-Olympe:

> 1. Our anxieties have begun again. The liquidation Junta[13] after seizing eighty-six convents, monasteries and religious houses ...has set to work again ...I have received information that it is going to make the necessary arrangements to draw up an inventory and take possession of all real and movable property in our house (St. Antonio). All our Communities in Rome are threatened in the same way.

The Brother Procurator-general asked the support of the French Ambassador to the Holy See and to Victor Emmanuel. M. Noailles, who represented the government of Marshall Mac-Mahon at the Quirinal, spoke to the Minister of the Interior, who granted a postponement "in order to investigate the matter". On December 21 a new letter from Brother Floridus told the Regime the diplomatic negotiations were following a favorable course:

> 1. In principle, the schools of Madonna dei Monti[14] and Trinita-dei Monti were preserved, as institutions founded by foreigners, in conformity with articles 23 and 24 of the law of suppression. But Holy Savior continues to be in danger.

On March 29, 1875 the following details were provided to Brother Irlide:

> 1. The law proposes as a general rule the abolition of all Religious Orders, whether Italian or foreign. Members of Institutes created for foreign nationalities are no longer recognized except as administrators of the properties of their institutions. They have two years, beginning from the day of promulgation, to supply the government with their proposals concerning their future modus vivendi.

This is what alerted the Superior of the French institution called "dei Monti." He intended "to preserve the name "St. Antonio", with the explanatory phrase, "For the education and instruction of youth".

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[13] The liquidation of monastic property ordered by the law of June 29, 1873. See Vol. VI of the present work, pg. 81.

[14] We have to recall that the school on Via degli Zingari was known under the two names, Madonna dei Monti and St. Antonio.

The government raised some difficulties. In particular, it seemed to make its approval dependent upon the presence of a superintending Director who possessed an official diploma. “With a great deal of difficulty,” Brother Floridus wrote to Paris, “I have won authorization to retain as teaching personnel French subjects who have obtained an Italian diploma.”[15]

Having died in January 1880, the indefatigable Brother never saw the outcome of his efforts. Brother Robustinian succeeded him in the post of Procurator-general. In order to comply with the demands of the civil authorities, this Brother, only just arrived from the other side of the Alps, was not also, like his predecessor, the Director of the St. Antonio Community. At least nominally, he had been replaced by Brother Cherubino, who was also an authentic Frenchman, but completely “Italianized”, extremely popular in Roman circles and an educator who was highly prized by the public authorities.[16] In the light of the request made by M. Fourtuné de Virvent, administrator pro tempore of the suppressed foreign institution, of French nationality, operated by the Brothers of the Christian Schools on Via degli Zingari in Rome, in order to obtain — under the terms of Article 24 of the law of June 29, 1873 — the transformation of this institution to a private school for elementary and technical education, at the primary level, for French and Italian youths,”the government consented to the maintenance of the institution in its new form. A “constitutional law” would, nevertheless, have to be presented to the scrutiny of the competent ministry

This condition was fulfilled and the final approval came on February 15, 1883, with Brother Rimer David functioning as Director, under the authority of the Brother Procurator-general.[17]

The same sort of accommodation occurred regarding Trinita dei Monti and, indeed, in spite of Brother Floridus’ long-standing fears concerning San Salvatore in Lauro. Neither school, however, was admissible as an institution enjoying the privileges of extra-territoriality. Their students, their instruction and their personnel had been over many

[15] Motherhouse Archives, KH n2.

[16] On Brother Cherubino (Fortuné de Virvent), see Vol. VI of the present work, pp. 36-37.

[17] Official journal of the Kingdom of Italy, issue for Thursday October 20, 1881. — Motherhouse Archives, File HB g.

years basically Italian. Classes at Via Sistina, it is true, witnessed to a venerable tradition, to beginnings that deserved special respect. After all, they traced their origins directly to Brother Gabriel Drolin. Such historical antecedents bolstered the French ambassador's arguments. He settled, of course, the successful outcome on September 6, 1881; a decree similar to the one which determined the fate of the Madonna dei Monti school ensued in the case of Trinita dei Monti: the school was recognized as a project of private initiative intended to offer elementary education "to French and Italian youths."[18] As for the San Salvatore institution, the handling it received is rather easily understood: in its case the government respected its affiliation with an Institute whose Founder and whose highest Superior were Frenchmen.

Moreover, the moment the Brothers in Rome — as was the case a short while ago in Piedmont[19]— were satisfied to lay claim to their common rights as citizens, without presuming to reestablish a collective patrimony, the government did not think it was a bad idea to allow their zeal to function in favor of the people. The school in the Trastevere, Pius IX's project in an extremely poor neighborhood,[20] was not disturbed. Brothers also continued on at the Esquiline and at both Via Ripetta and Via Magnanapoli.[21]

In 1875 the Pope, in spite his concerns for the future and the decline in his income, embraced a plan for founding a school near St. John Lateran. The request came from Father Antonelli, pastor of the Archbasilica, and it was seconded by a large number of heads of families. A piece of real estate on which stood a building in the process of construction was for sale: Pius IX bought it with his own funds and declared that he wanted De La Salle's Brothers to assume charge of it. Learning that the city was opening a secularized school in the same quarters, he urged action. The Brothers classes opened on November 6, 1875 in an unfinished building. The Community had to wait until January 1877 in order to be housed fairly in a fairly acceptable way. The project had felt the effects of this haste as well as of the penury which neither clergy nor parishioners could

[18] Motherhouse Archives, File KH n12.

[19] See Vol. VII of the present work, pp. 65-68.

[20] Ibid., pg. 79.

[21] Motherhouse Archives, File HB g.

remedy. There were many children who could attend St. John Lateran school for only a year or two; very quickly, parents, under the goad of poverty, sent them out to earn a few soldi in the service of an employer. Others, less poor, left town during the first weeks of the warm season in order to escape the unhealthy climate. Thus, the school population was reduced to seventy or eighty pupils in attendance. The site, while it was large enough to handle such a number pupils, was devoid of comfort and sturdiness; it was not long before frightening cracks developed. And before six years had gone by large-scale reparations had to be undertaken. So many difficulties did not prevent the Brothers from persisting. Not only was the honor of the Institute at stake, but even more so, the salvation of young souls.[22]

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As early as 1876,[23] the M. H. Brother Irlide was able to write that in the midst "of the devastation created by the Revolution in Italy", the hand of God had visibly protected the Lasallian Congregation. Of course, the Communities on the Peninsula were not exempt "from annoyance, confiscation and, indeed, suppression". Nevertheless, in Rome the Brothers kept their classrooms open and their residences "intact". More than that, they had not faltered in the presence of new tasks: the work embraced at St.John Lateran supplied the proof of courageous endurance.

This determination to overcome, this zeal to serve could not go unnoticed. The confidence of the Holy See in the Religious teachers continued to grow. During the early years of Leo XIII's pontificate, the Brothers were called upon to assume the direction of a particularly important project.

A few days prior to Pius IX's death, he received a few prelates and nobles who had been very close to him. He exhorted them to get involved with the working classes, because social renewal had a chance for success only to the extent that the people, under the influence of Church's maternal solicitude, became once again faithful to the Gospel's teachings. "I have a great desire," concluded the dignified old man, "for the creation of a great professional school."

On February 8, 1878 a Committee was formed under the presidency of Bishop Dominic Jacobini. It developed a working-program and the public was made aware of it in a circular which called for Christian generosity.

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[22] Motherhouse Archives, File HB g.

[23] Circular for January 6.

With Pius IX's death occurring unexpectedly, it seemed that, in order to honor his memory, nothing equalled the early realization of his final wishes. A subscription was begun in order to build a funeral monument at St. Lawrence Outside the Walls; but in the end, the funds were set aside for the institution sought by the late Pope. It was the proper decision and, in every way, conformed to well known reflections of a man who loathed display and loved the poor.

The Jacobini Committee genuinely thought of itself as the executor of a sacred inheritance. And in the man who had been selected by the Conclave in 1878 it met with a mind most suited to understand and approve its purposes. Leo XIII, "the Pope of the workers", wished to become the patron, the "Maecenas", of "young artisans", of the Artigianelli, gathered together under the aegis of "St. Joseph".

They were established in the Candelovi-Moroni palace, near the Borgo-Vecchio, in the shadow of the Vatican. The inaugural ceremony took place on August 7, 1879. At first there were three studios in operation: typography, carpenters and tailors. Later on there was added studios for shoemakers, cabinet-makers, wood sculptors, a bindery and a marble-cutters' shop. Pupils for these apprenticeships followed the directions of master-craftsmen recruited from throughout the city.

For their religious and moral education, the Executive Counsel considered the Salesians. A letter was written to Don Bosco. Because funds were insufficient, an agreement could not be reached. Temporarily, Father Ragonesi, Vice-president of the project, assumed complete responsibility. A month later he handed the task over to a secular priest, Father Mannone, who quickly made way for Father Pazzi.

There was hesitation and insecurity. The continual changes of leadership suggested defects within the organization. The priestly Director, isolated, failed to maintain discipline and provide a solid foundation for general education. No control was exercised over lay employees. Income continued below expenditures. Materially and spiritually the organization was running great risks.

What was needed was the assistance of teaching Congregation, but the Jesuits, who were asked to take charge, declined the proposal. Other invitations proved equally unavailing. However, on the occasion of a journey to France, one of the administrators visited St. Nicholas school in Vaugirard and was amazed at the work going on in the shops and the behavior of the resident pupils. Why shouldn't the Brothers achieve similar results in Italy? Leo XIII himself had raised the question. And *motu proprio*, he wrote to the Superior-general, Brother Irlide, who accepted the Papal orders, and, on July 10, 1882, ten Brothers appeared at the Instituto degli Artigianelli. The school had been removed to the "Palazzo Pericoli", in the neighborhood of the Farnesi Palace, where the new teachers faced sixty-nine pupils.

A contract was signed between the Project's Counsel and the Institute of the Brothers of the Christian Schools on March 14, 1883. It limited the Brothers' authority too narrowly. As the Director, Brother Agatangelo, soon demonstrated, neither the Head nor the members of the Community were allowed any initiative; master craftsmen and apprentices continued to be independent, indifferent and wasteful of time and materials. The Counsel refused to listen to anything. Years were spent in painful discussions, estrangements and ruptures followed by reconciliations, and in all sorts of irritating experiences that brought the Instituto to within an ace of being wiped out. Finally the administrators had to realize the need to grant the Brothers the wherewithal to exercise a moral influence and to supervise the work and the order of the shops.[24]

We shall resume the thread of this story after we have paused at details which do not merely bear upon Artigianelli, but whose reverberations extended to various Lasallian Communities in the former Papal States.

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We are aware that in Rome since the end of the 18th century, a "Brother Vicar-general" occupied a position of honor, under the eye of the Sovereign Pontiff. His powers, for a longtime inadequately defined, had been settled by the Sacred Congregations of Bishops and Regulars on August 9, 1835 in a decree equipped, on November 13, with Gregory XVI's approval. In principle, the Brother Vicar, appointed by the Superior-general, had to be selected from among the Italians. He was assisted by two "Consultors" who had no right of veto. The powers devolved upon this local Head were analogous to those of a Visitor of a District, but broader. Some of his decisions, having an immediately executive character demonstrated that he was possessed of a freedom of action that did not belong to his confreres in other countries.[25]

Nevertheless, his authority was lessened by the fact that he controlled only a portion of the Brothers living on Roman soil. The French Community of St. Antonio had always depended upon the central government of the Congregation: the decree of 1835 approved this state of affairs, the origin of which went back to 1828, the date of the

[24] Motherhouse Archives, File HB g. — Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes for October 1911, pg. 316 et sq., and October 1929, pp. 312-319.

[25] On this question and the terms of the Decree of 1835, see Vol. V of the present work, pp. 187-196.

agreement between Leo XII and the representatives of King Charles X concerning the Christian Brothers sent from Paris to Rome.[26]

The Brother Procurator-general to the Holy See fulfilled the rôle of Visitor in relation to his countrymen. The importance of these subsidiary functions grew with the number of Communities affiliated to St. Antonio's; and it became considerable, once the college directed by Brother Simeon was open.[27] In this prosperous institution, of intense and buoyant vitality, successive Procurators-general would select their residence.

Thus, two groups and two Religious leaders coexisted on Roman soil. After the Brother Leufroy mission in 1850,[28]one Frenchman, Brother Floridus, became Vicar-general, with the approval of Pius IX. His powers were renewed in 1860 for a new, ten-year term. Harmony reigned effortlessly between him and Brothers Exuperian and Anacletus who had taken turns watching over the Congregation's interests at the Papal Court.

In 1870 Brother Floridus, come to the end of his second term, was invited once again to extend his stay beyond the Alps. He had rendered such services to the Institute, and he had enjoyed such esteem at the Vatican that his recall to France seemed highly unfortunate. But neither the political situation nor national sensitivities justified the "exception" that was made in 1850. The Italians hoped that the post of Vicar would be returned to one of their own. Brother Philip appointed Brother Floridus Procurator-general, as the replacement for the late Brother Anacletus.

To assume the other responsibility, Brother Gioacchino di Gesù, previously one of the Consultors, was selected. Henceforth, all the features of the decree of 1835 were in force. They continued to be operative when in 1871 it became necessary to appoint a successor to Brother Gioacchino, who died at the end of a year as Vicar. All votes were cast in favor of Brother Romuald.[29]

This excellent Religious died in 1878, a few days after Pius IX. He suffered from an exhausting illness; and the disappearance of the Holy Father, whom he greatly loved, precipitated his own end.[30].

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[26] See Vol. IV of the present work, pp. 539-546.

[27] Ibid., Vol. VI, pp. 32-33, 79-80.

[28] Ibid., pp. 17-22.

[29] On Brother Romuald, see Vol. VI of the present work, pg. 83.

[30] Motherhouse Archives, File HB g, Castel Gandolfo File

The new Vicar-general was Brother Paziente. A Piedmontese, born in Gattinara, in 1820, of a middle class family, as a very young boy he entered the novitiate at Orvieto. He procured an excellent reputation as an educator and a catechist. In 1859, Brother Floridus made him Director of Trinita dei Monti. He then called upon him to manage the finances of the Roman Communities. Of incontestible good sense and of a peaceable and gentle character, Brother Paziente, "Brother Patience", justified — as they said among the Brothers — the name he received when, at the age of fourteen, he was given the Religious habit.[31]

He was the last to fill the post created by Pius VI and consolidated by Gregory XVI. The Superiors of the Congregation had always hoped that a restoration would be made purely and simply of the provisions of the Bull of 1725. The anomaly set up in the States of the Church was understandable given the circumstances of the French Revolution; after the restoration of the Brothers' Institute under the Consulate and the Empire, the Papal desires had given way to the wishes of the Italian Brothers by perpetuating the provisional system of 1795. In Paris it was feared that other nations might take advantage of such a precedent in order to lay claim to an autonomy of the same nature, or still more absolute, to the prejudice of fraternal union. Brother Philippe did not conceal his opinion in this regard; but, for reasons of discretion and prudence, he curbed any hasty initiative.[32] In his view timely steps had to be taken in the environment immediately affected. An act of trusting obedience on the part of his Roman subordinates should be the prelude to a petition the terms of which would be worked out by the Regime.

We shall see that these hopes were realized — not overnight and not without snags. Providence takes time to ripen its purposes, and it does not force human freedom.

It was necessary for people in Rome to experience all the inconveniences of the separation of the Italian Communities from the French. Two "Districts" occupying the same region was a cause of mutual harm; they could neither interchange personnel nor help one another financially. At the administrative level they had established watertight compartments; but how could the children of the same father ignore one another? Familial contacts endured, and emulation did not remain a dead letter. But, unfortunately, under the cover of that very emulation, the weaknesses inherent in frail human nature surfaced.

[31] Obituary, 1885.

[32] See. Vol. VI of the present work, pp. 25-26.

God used these weaknesses to procure effective solutions. Brother Emiliano, Director of Novices at Castel Gandolfo,[33]lamented the small number of his disciples, the inadequacy of finances and the material discomforts that intensified the recruiting crisis. He unloaded his bitter reflections in a letter sent on January 3, 1883 to Brother Irlide. “This poor province” — he wrote — “has been neglected, abandoned”; the Brothers belonging to the jurisdiction of the Vicar-general were treated with a mortifying disdain; and the money intended to promote the mission of the novitiates went to the Community on Via degli Zingari...[34]

The language was deeply felt. “This letter,” the Superior-general wrote on the margin, “needs to be answered carefully.” The reply was worded as follows: “You understand, my dear Brother, and there is no way you can be misinformed on the subject, that your Province is established and maintained intentionally in the condition in which it actually is. By a decree which it sought, it is set up with respect to the rest of the Institute in a condition of semi-autonomy and thereby, with a sort of life of its own that is necessarily somewhat isolated. If recruits are lacking, if any of its institutions do not flourish as we might like, we can’t do anything about it...Ask yourself whether it belongs to the Most Honored Brother to send to your District personnel that comes from elsewhere and does not have the right to take advantage of certain exemptions...[35]

These lines inspired Brother Emiliano with some very weighty reflexions. Henceforth, he was to work, faithfully and zealously, for the fusion of the two branches. His efforts were to culminate, in 1885, in a convocation at the Community of San Salvatore in Lauro of the professed Brothers of the Roman District, with Brother Vicar-general, Paziente, presiding.

Nearly unanimously the assembly decided to place itself completely at the disposition of the Major Superiors.[36] A group letter was drawn up and signed, on March 15, by twenty-seven Brothers, led by Brother Paziente and Brother Emiliano, who continued to be Director of the Novitiate at Castel Gandolfo, as well as Brother Antonio of Mary, Director of the school in the Trastevere, Brother Leonard of Jesus, Director of Trinita dei Monti, Brother Photin, Director of the school at St. John Lateran, Brother Benjamin, Director of

[33] Opened in 1872. See Vol. VI of the present work, pg. 84

[34] Motherhouse Archives, File of the Brother Procurator-general, no. 201.

[35] Copy of File no. 201.

[36] Motherhouse Archives, HB g. Castel Gandolfo File.

Bolzano, Brother Michael, Director of Benevento, Brother Crispino of Mary, dean of the Roman Brothers.

Addressing the M. H. Brother Joseph, the signatories declared: “In these calamitous times in which the enemies of God, of the Church and of human society combine and, standing shoulder to shoulder, without distinction of nationality, struggle to do everything they can to ravage and destroy whatever is most holy and especially strive to corrupt the mind and heart of the youth whom the Lord has entrusted to us...it is our duty to unite ourselves more closely than ever in order to put up a vigorous resistance... "

After having energetically protested the undeviating, indefectible and absolute submission of the Roman Province “to the Body of the Institute”, laid claim to the title of “true sons of the Venerable Founder” and the credit for a life conformed to the Lasallian Rule, Brother Paziente and his co-signers specified the purpose of the step they had taken: However, desiring that the most complete accord reign among us, we give over into your paternal hands the decree of Gregory XVI, of saintly memory,..dated November 13, 1835, so that it might be repealed by the Holy See and that thus the glory of God might be more greatly procured as well as the greater progress of the religious education of youth.

In view of dispelling every equivocation, the letter’s conclusion multiplies expressions of “dependence” of “obedience to the decisions that the Superior-general might be pleased to take, in concurrence with the Holy See”, of “confidence in the goodness, wisdom and limitless charity” of Brother Joseph. It was important that this unconditional “submission” appear as “the authentic witness of filial affection.”[37].

The day after this handsome gesture, one of the members of the assembly wrote joyfully — an in French — to the Head of the Institute: “St. Joseph won over our hearts.”[38] Nevertheless, there were some stirrings in the opposite direction. There was the mean-spirited attitude of such recalcitrants as Brother Amedeo who went so far as personally to seek out, in a letter dated March 12, the Cardinal Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars to oppose the repeal of the decree;[39] there were the misgivings of several uneasy minds who regretted having yielded to the general enthusiasm and wondering whether they had not alienated their precious rights too quickly. Their reaction had already taken shape when they learned of the forthcoming visit to Rome of Brother

[37] File no. 201, copy of the Italian original

[38] Ibid., Brother Antonio’s letter, March 16.

[39] Same file.

Casimiro, a Piedmontese, who had for twenty-three years been Director of the Mendicità istruita in Turin.[40] The Regime had intended to entrust him with the task of revitalizing and reorganizing the languishing District.

Courageously, Brother Emiliano had set himself up as the defender of the proper course of action. On April 3, he wrote in a report of the meeting of March 15 to Brother Assistant Louis of Poissy: "It was a marvelous victory!" He pleaded with the higher superiors to guarantee its results in the most rapid way possible. And then, addressing himself to his own countrymen, he exhorted them to look at the situation honestly; with them he insisted on the totally well-intentioned and sensitive convictions of the M. H. Brother Joseph; and with all that was in his power, he sought to allay suspicions.[41]

People on Rue Oudinot were delighted with this attitude. According to indications coming from Rome, ways were being sought in order to obtain, without delay and without untoward incident, total satisfaction.

On April 10, a report prepared with the view of keeping Cardinal Pitra informed, was signed by the Brother Superior-general. In it the entire substance of the problem was set forth.

With a copy of the collective statement of the Roman Brothers as an accompanying document and with Brother Joseph testifying that it was indeed a spontaneous gesture on the part of the twenty-seven signatories, without the government of the Institute exercising the least pressure, the motives dictating the behavior of the professed Brothers led by Brother Paziente was explained to the Cardinal-protector: "They cannot continue to live independently. Their senior Brothers feel that they are getting old; they see no one to take their place. Both in Rome and in Benevento they have already been obliged to hire six lay teachers. The Novitiate at Castel Gandolfo is nearly empty, while that at Madonna dei Monti which supplies the schools placed under the immediate authority of the Superior-general has very close to thirty Italian novices and scholastics.".

The suppression of the position of Vicar and the combining of the two Districts would be events that would have consequences for the entire Lasallian Society: "Every effort at separation in the distant lands into which the Congregations has spread would have been exorcised."

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[40] On Brother Casimiro of Jesus (Antoniotti) see Vol. VI of the present work, pp. 64 and 68.

[41] File no. 201, letters dated April 22, May 11, 16 and 20, 1885, to Brother Leonardo.

Those most immediately involved, too, received assurances they had a right to expect: “No change would taken place either in personnel nor in the manner of life of the Italian Brothers. They observed the Common Rule; and there was nothing in the way of their retaining whatever special customs…sanctioned by custom…Brother Paziente would retain high office in the District. The two Novitiates and two Scholasticates would be combined into one.

The intervention of the Cardinal would place an obstacle to intrigue and would guarantee a setback for compromises that might have seriously embarrassed the guardians of the Institute’s Rule: “We would hope to avoid at all cost that, in place of the decree of November 13, 1835, a new decree be substituted that would result in the Roman Province having a perpetual right to a [native born] Visitor. As far as possible we assign to Districts outside of France Directors and Visitors whose origins are in those very Districts. Nevertheless, in principle, it seems to us necessary to continue intact the prerogative, recognized by the Bull of Approbation, of the Superior-general to select his representatives as he pleases. If the privilege of a native-born Visitor were granted to Roman Province, other Provinces might demand equal treatment. In that case, the Institute might run the risk of experiencing serious harm. This is why, rather than a mitigated repeal of the older decree, we would very much prefer the status quo.”

While this refinement was being worked out in Paris, Brother Robustinian, intent upon making the transition between past and future, proposed to assign Brother Casimiro and Brother Paziento to an equal rank: so that there would be “a single District and a single administration,” (wrote the Procurator-general in letter of April 11) but two Visitors”, without any distinction, responsible for both the Italian Brothers and the Brothers previously connected with the Dei Monti Community.

The attitude to take toward the Brother Vicar-general obviously demanded reflection. Brother Joseph’s tact and kindness would be displayed with the view of avoiding conflict.

His letter dated May 6 spoke to the official representative of the Roman Communities of the “gentle consolation” his paternal heart had received as the result of the step taken on March 15. More than that, obvious advantages would reward the merit of obedience. “Uniformity of administration” would allow “the perfect merging of interests and personnel…It will be possible for me to come to the help of your District, which stands in such great need, when I see that there are Brothers in it from other regions.”

The Superior-general then broached the most burning question: namely, the powers assigned Brother Casimiro. Until further notice, the former Director of the Mendicità would have as his task, “to relieve the Brother Procurator-general” who, henceforth, would devote himself totally to the important functions of the Institute’s representative to the Holy See. The new Visitor was, at the moment, making a “Thirty-Day Retreat” at

Athis Mons. “Immediately thereafter he will go to Italy; he will carry out my intention of supporting the good will of your Brothers; and together with yourself and Brother Robustinian he will examine the best procedures for obtaining the repeal of the decree.”

The letter concluded with an exhortation to prayer: it invited the Romans to “acts of personal piety and mortification”, accomplished with the view of attracting blessings and grace “upon those who seek the Kingdom of God and His justice and on the Peacemakers who are worthy of being called the children of the Most High.”

Brother Joseph was not unaware of the wavering that had followed upon the strong resolution, and talked about it indulgently and kindly to Brother Robustinian: “The wavering and the looking back…in no way surprise me. It is natural for people to look upon the loss of autonomy with repugnance…Brother Casimiro arrives in Rome bearing the decision signed by the professed Brothers…He must immediately postpone any decision if people are not ready for it…He knows that while I am happy with the step that the Roman Brothers have taken, even so I do not wish to use the document they have sent to me. Things will remain as they are…[42]

However, Brother Emiliano’s efforts, as well as those of his friend Brother Antonio were not pointless. They combined with the activities of the Procurator-general and Brother Simeon, Director of the French College. A prelate in the Vatican, Bishop Boccali, furnished practical information. And finally, he suggested that he himself present the M. H. Brother’s petition to the Sovereign Pontiff: “The Holy Father”, he declared, “would gladly welcome an explanation of this sort. He wants unity.”[43]

Bishop di Rende, the nuncio in Paris, had been completely won over to the wishes of the Superior-general. His suggestions had reached to obliging intermediary. Without being impulsive, one can believe that the excellent artisans of Leo XIII’s policies understood with perfect clarity the need to forsake obsolete parochialism and to strengthen the supra-national position of the Head of the Institute. “Get everybody to pray; the glory of God and the honor of our Institute is at stake,” wrote Brother Joseph to Brother Robustinian.[44]

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[42] Letter dated may 27, 1885, File cited.

[43] Ibid., Brother Robustinian’s letter to Brother Louis of Poissy, June 15, 1885; Bishop Boccali’s letter to Brother Simeon, June 23; Brother Robustinian’s letter to Brother Joseph, July 5; Brother Simeon’s letter to Brother Louis of Poissy, July 8.

[44] Letter dated June 29, 1885, File cited.

The petition entrusted to the care of Bishop Boccali resumed the arguments and the explanations of the report intended for Cardinal Pitra.[45] While, it concurred, the decree of 1835 "did not introduce laxity with regard to observances on the part of individual Brothers, on the other hand [it] withdrew the Roman Brothers from the Superior-general's direct authority as established by Pope Benedict XIII's Bull". It "deprived" one of the Provinces of the life that circulates through "the trunk and the branches". A "return to unity" would not fail to avert external and internal dangers: an excellent example would be given the entire Congregation; the force of the Rule would not be infringed upon; and schools, under the auspices of the Holy See, would be increased in number and would flourish.

The Superior-general bound himself to assign "routinely" Italian Visitors to the unified District. But he insisted on defending his own options in this matter.

"Quite desirous" of an outcome that would affront neither charity nor total understanding, he beseeched His Holiness to look favorably on the wishes of twenty-seven professed Brothers and, "by an act of his supreme authority" deign to repeal Gregory XVI's decree.[46]

Actually, Leo XIII did not rely on anybody for his decision. In accordance with the hopes that Bishop Boccali had raised for the Brother Procurator-general, the petition was handed over to the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars only "in order to fulfill the legal formalities."[47]. A note sent from the Vatican on August 22 by Secretary Angeli even specified for the upper-level dignitaries who made up the court: "The Brothers of the Christian Schools wish that a rescript of union be not only abrogative of all privileges accorded, but also absolute, without stipulating that the Visitor or Provincial must always be an Italian. They want to allow the broadest possible freedom to the Superior of the Institute, who, furthermore, will designate for that position a Brother of that nationality, baring exceptional circumstances.[48]

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[45] It seems that, on orders from Paris, the Procurator-gneral must have postponed the use of this primary document. (Brother Robustinian's letter to Brother Joseph, dated April 18, 1885.

[46] Copy of the petittion in File no. 201, dateless.

[47] Brother Robustinian's letter to Brother Joseph, July 5, 1885

[48] Copy of the original in Italian, File cited.

A week later — August 9, 1885 — Cardinal Prefect Ferrieri secured for the "rescript" in question the necessary publicity. The law by which, "contrary to the Bull of 1725," the Brothers in the "Italian Communities" had been accorded certain privileges by way of "exemptions" with regard to their Superior-general, was henceforth null and void. The Pope, believing that a half-century had produced profound changes, returned the Brothers of the institutions referred to "to the conditions of all their confreres in other countries". He insisted on emphasizing that the initiative for this return to normalcy had come from the beneficiaries of the ancient decree: "In order," proclaimed the Pontifical document of August 29, to strengthen the bonds of harmony and in order to assure the prosperity of their mission."[49]

A phase of the history of the Brothers in Italy had been completed, therefore and in a way most conformed to the traditions of the Institute. Obedience prevailed of egoism; and discussion was terminated by a gesture on the part of the Sovereign Pontiff. This was a successful prelude to the Founder, John Baptist de La Salle, who would be satisfied with his sons.

The very day after the promulgation of the new decree, Brother Paziente died of a cerebral hemorrhage; he was only sixty-five years of age. However premature and painful this parting may have been, its providential consequences had to be seen. As Brother Robustinian remarked to Brother Louis of Poissy as early as September 1, "the new provisions will be more easily established on solid foundations."[50]

Brother Casimiro, who had temporarily returned to Turin, but, in the midst of all of this, he came back to Rome. In October, the three Novices at Castel Gandolfo moved to the "Novitiate of Notre Dame des Monts". Brother Emiliano retained none but the Scholastics while awaiting the future reorganization.[51]

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[49] File no. 201, Latin text of the repealed decree.

[50] File cited.

[51] Motherhouse Archives, File HB g.

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One of the most urgent projects seemed indeed to fit out a sufficiently spacious residence for the young recruits upon whom rested the future of the reshaped Province. The "Monts" Novitiate, the work of Brother Floridus in 1874,[52]had developed normally. In 1885 it was producing excellent results under the leadership of Brother Adjutoris, a Frenchman, who had been directing it for three years. A Junior Novitiate, a recent addition, was to supply the District with candidates filled with the spirit of the Venerable De La Salle and well instructed in their future obligations as educators.

he house became too small for the several Communities and the various services that the Procurator-general had brought together there. And since, henceforth, there was to be only a single house of initial formation for Roman Postulants, a move became imperative. Brother Robustinian raised the question with the Superior-general: rather than in the City, where space was in short supply and where the summer heat made the cloistered life and work particularly unpleasant, a suitable site would be better selected in the outlying neighborhoods.

With the approval of the Regime, Brother Agatangelo was commissioned to undertake the search. Formerly a prominent assistant at Monti to Brother Floridus and thereafter Director of Artigianelli, this Brother lacked neither acumen nor skill. He fixed his choice on building that corresponded to what he was looking for.

It was a palazzo built in the 18th century on a beautiful site in Albano Laziale, not far from Castel Gandolfo. Originally, it was called "Villa Corsini", since its first owner, a Cardinal, and the nephew of Pope Clement XII, belonged to this famous family. At the request of His Eminence, the rooms were splendidly decorated with moldings and frescos. The architectural lines stretched out harmoniously above gardens that were arranged in terraces, overlooking the sea. On the other side arose the Alban Hills.

Cardinal Neri Corsini died in 1770. Forty-seven years later his villa became the residence of the former Spanish king, Charles IV. The aged monarch, recently deposed by Napoleon, was delighted with Albano; although near death — which occurred in 1819 — he found the time to complete important projects on the estate: —aqueducts and the transforming of the gardens. Basins and fountains, statues and railings added further charm to the domain.

The princely palazzo was then put to less resplendent purposes. About 1835 a Mr. Giorni, renaming the place (in French) Hôtel de Paris, received travellers and tourists. From a

[52]Previously, the "French institutions" sent their postulants to be trained either to Paris or to Marseille.

comfortable albergo the former “Villa Corsini” fell to the level of a factory. Opened once again to transient guests and, indeed, once more to sovereigns in exile, it became the last earthly habitation for the Queen of Naples, Maria Theresa and one of her young children, both of whom were victims of the cholera in 1867.[53]Motherhouse Archives, File HB g, Storia della Casa di Albano.

Finally, its owner, Feoli, accepted an offer from the Brothers’ Institute. A nine year lease, contracted for in 1885 for a part of the building, was transformed in 1891 into a deed of sale for the entire place. The Brothers Visitor of Rome presided over the alterations and the successive expansions.[54]The aerial bombardment of February 1, 1944, at the time of the occupation of the Mediterranean coast by the allied armies, almost entirely destroyed the house in Albano. Precious souvenirs and beautiful artistic works disappeared. Courageously, the Brothers undertook and, without delay, completed the reconstruction.

Albano took on the rôle of a symbol: the establishment of the Novitiate on that spot was a witness to a recovered unity. Assiduous outfitters, Brothers Agatangelo and Clement arrived on the site at the beginning of May 1886. On July 28, thirteen Novices left Via degli Zingari for the hills of Latium, led by Brother Adjutoris. Seventeen Junior Novices joined them on August 11. When, in their turn, Brother Emiliano’s nine Scholastics, leaving Castel Gandolfo, took up residence in the “palazzo Feoli”, the family was complete.

With the very first summer, the Brothers of the District also made their way to the new center.

Not, of course, to spend any great length of time, but in order to fortify their souls and strengthen fraternal ties. In a room that had been converted into a chapel,[55] they made a “Thirty Day Retreat”.

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[53] On the ceiling of this room Aurelio Mariani depicted St. John Baptist de La Salle welcoming youth on earth and, from the heights of heaven, blessed by Jesus, Mary and Joseph. This huge painting was nearly completely destroyed by the bombardment.

[54] Brother Assistant

Louis of Poissy arrived in order to close this inaugural retreat.[54]Motherhouse Archives, File HB g. — Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes for November 1908, pp. 355-365.

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See Vol. VI of the present work, pp. 36-37 and 78-79.

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Meanwhile, life went on, painstaking and productive in the Brothers' schools: at Trinità dei Monti, with Brother Giacinto; and at St. Antonio, with Brother Cherubino; at San Salvatore, with the master educator and musician who was Brother Vincenzo.[56] In the Trastevere city-planning caused disruption. The Brothers had to vacate the building built in 1868, which was to be removed in order to clear the way for King Avenue. They assembled their pupils on Via delle Fratte, in the "Forty Saints" Monastery, where the Franciscans made room for them. Classes were resumed on October 1, 1889. But everybody found Santi Quaranti extremely inconvenient. Space was so restricted that every year the Brothers were forced to refuse more than a hundred applicants. However, the indemnification for expropriation paid out by the City to the Vatican — 440,000 pounds — provided the means of putting up a beautiful institution; the Brother Director appealed to the Cardinals Commission which administered Church property: Leo XIII had said: "The future school would be of such a size that it could admit 500 pupils." The official architect's bid came in at 800,000 pounds. More modest, the Director sketched plans for a structure that did not even exhaust the available funds. It was approved; but then on the strength of an intervention by men of the trade, a plan drawn up by Signor Leonori costing 350,000 was adopted. Construction began on May 1, 1895. In September of 1897 six classes were functioning in the new building. The seventh, eighth and ninth classes were fitted out successively. And by the end of the century, the Brothers in Trastevere were able to admit the many youngsters who take advantage of tuition-free schooling.[57] For a long period of time a youth club had been added to the school. It was still in existence when, in 1888, a young Spanish priest, Raphael Merry del Val, arrived to work with the people in Trastevere. Every Sunday he showed up, surrounded by older boys, Brother Antonino's former pupils; he talked with them, taught them and encouraged them; his balanced counsels soothed their anxieties; arrangements he made succeeded in getting them regular work and advantageous positions. Neither ecclesiastical honors, nor the severest duties, nor promotion to the Cardinalate would

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[57] Motherhouse Archives, File HB g. Trastevere.

detach Merry del Val from his apostolate among the people. As Secretary of State for His Holiness Pius X, he still presided over the Sunday meetings organized by the Brothers.[58]

On the other bank of the Tiber, the Instituto Pio Nono — otherwise called the Artigianelli — experienced numerous vicissitudes. We left it at the "Palazzo Pericoli" under the often irresolute guidance of its Administrative Counsel. In 1889 the Brothers provided a more decisive supervision; and the institution quickly felt the benefits of their steady hand. About a hundred children and youths filled the classrooms and the studios.

The 'palazzo' was no longer big enough. Land had to be sought on which to build. And at about the same time the monks at Grande Chartreuse were prepared to make lavish grants: they were nearly always interested in the Brothers' work, no doubt in memory of St. John Baptist de La Salle's pilgrimage to their monastery; not satisfied to come to the help of the disciples of the Canon on Rheims,[59]St. Bruno's distant successor in the Chapter of Notre Dame, they acceded to a request that was made to them from the other side of the Alps. They owned a huge piece of land on the outskirts of Rome, in the suburban region along which stretched the gardens of the Villa Doria Pamphili. They offered it without charge to the administrators of Artigianelli. And they did not stop with this initial gift: since the money they earned in the production of their Alpine liqueur had to be given to charity, they promised to send 300,000 francs for the future buildings.

The work began and the Instituo seemed to be on the verge of one day crossing the river and taking root at the foot of the Janiculum when the Italian government vetoed the operation: the area yielded by 'the Chartreux' was in a military zone in which civilian construction was forbidden. The Administration acquiesced to the sale of the property: which meant that a sum, in all, of 100,000 lire was added to the gift of 300,000 francs.

But from this moment on, the Pius IX project was involved in a curious adventure, in which it nearly floundered. Moved in 1893 to the Aventine Hill — a splendid location — it appeared as thought it had nothing to fear from internal difficulties and still less from financial woes. A building arose that could scarcely have met with the Brothers' approval.

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[58] M. H. Brother Gabriel of Mary's Circular of December 25, 1901. The most famous pupil of the school in the Trastevere was Francis Marmaggi: born in 1876, to a humble family living in the neighborhood, he had received a sound schooling with the Brothers as well as his inclination toward the priesthood. Having become a Cardinal of the Roman Church, he remained profoundly devoted to his childhood teachers. Pius XII appointed him Protector of the Institute. Cardinal Marmaggi exercised this responsibility with a remarkable dedication until his death on November 3, 1949. He himself founded the Alumni Association of the "Masta"i school." (The Pius X's patronymic had been given as the anme of the school).

[59] Especially those in Grenoble

Moreover, the Brothers learned to their amazement that the contractors had only received installments. And, on the other hand, Signor Cavalletti, the man who had sold the building site, was insisting on his payments, which had fallen due; but there was no money to be found. Cavalletii was demanding a public auction of both land and buildings.

The Administrative Counsel had wonderfully mismanaged the patrimony. For the want of foresight in planning work and in the seeking out of clientele, it was impossible at profitable prices to dispose of the manufactured products. In quick succession the machine shop, the marble works and the foundry were closed. There remained typography, bindery, cabinet and carpentry shop, shoemaking and sewing which they struggled to keep opened by dint of obtaining raw materials at excessive prices and by guaranteeing master-craftsmen customary salaries. Furthermore, some youths had taken up art works and luxury items: sculpture, gilding, and parchment production, which resulted in a great deal of expenditure and very little income. With neglect, if not waste, rife the operation had taken huge strides toward financial disaster.

Of the capital supplied by “the Chartreux” none of it remained in 1895. Debtors were carrying out their threats. Finally in order to avoid worse consequences, Prince Borghese at a public sale made the high bid. But in order to do so he had to borrow 150,000 lire. The financial backer, Prince Della Scaletta, demanded 5% interest.

The Administrative Counsel, with its back to the wall, resigned, and propose that the Brothers liquidate the entire project and send the pupils home.

It was an all too facile solution, and the Brother Director turned it down. He refused to betray the final wishes of the late Pope; he rejected the idea of turning the youngsters into the streets; and he meant to bring to public attention those responsible to public attention. The former administrators were summoned to a court of law: the trial dragged on until a compromise was reached. During this time, the Community was receiving monthly assistance from the Vatican, and the bookkeeping was rigorously supervised. The number of apprentices increased, an important task was being accomplished at the least cost, and as the reputation of Artigianelli became stronger, adequate markets for its products were secured.

A royal decree, dated June 15, 1899 granted incorporation to the institution that had been placed on a new footing. The Committee directing it at the time was composed of three members, appointed by the Cardinal-Vicar, administrator of the diocese of Rome. Brother Visitor Casimiro (Leonardo Antoniotti), and Brother Antonino (Domenico Multon), Director of Trinita dei Monti, and Brother Pio, Director of La Madonna dei Monti made up the triumvirate. With the help of Brother Agostino, Secretary, they launched the charitable, social and educational project along promising paths. On the hill overlooking magnificent horizons, green and peaceful spaces, near to churches and monasteries, the

youth of Pio Nono, after hours of study, moved on to manual work. Drawing courses and bookkeeping had been added to general education. Once a trade was selected, locksmiths, mechanics, carpenters, sculptors and printers got busy under the direction or Brothers or master-craftsmen. Each trade possessed its specialized equipment and its elite workmen. Arigianelli typographers achieved a special fame.[60]

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We shall now cross the City to an institution to which frequently in the past we have conducted our readers.[61] It was the college directed by Brother Simeon (Charles Joseph Perrier). The acclaimed Director was still at his post. As assistant to the Procurator-general, he was influential in the Congregation; and inspired by a spirited patriotism, he maintained the best relations with the representatives of France to the Holy See; if they had sons, ordinarily they were pleased to be able to entrust their education to him. His value was officially recognized: in 1885 Ambassador Lefevre Béhaine, in the name of the government of the French Republic, bestowed academic honors on him. And there was nothing larger or more open that the spirit of Brother Simeon; he had earned the goodwill and friendship of the Italians; and his school continued to be preferred by many excellent families in Rome and on the Peninsula. The ecclesiastical world held him in high regard, while everyone was aware that his devotion was primarily given to the service of the Church. Leo XIII showed him his affectionate goodwill by selecting him to educate his own nephew.[62] Indeed, a saint had professed her fondness and veneration for the pious educator. On the occasion of a pilgrimage made by Theresa and Coline Martin and their father to the Eternal City in 1887, M. Martin — who had known Brother Simeon for two years — visited St. Joseph's College while his daughters were travelling through Naples

[60] Motherhouse Archives, File HB g, Artigianelli. — Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes for October 1911 and October 1929.

[61] See Vol. IV of the present work, pp. 29-33, 79-80, 85-86.

[62] Obituary of Brother Simeon, 1899.

and Pompei.[63] He told his host about the Pontifical audience in the course of which Theresa pleaded to be admitted to Carmel before the usual age. The Brother was moved and enthusiastic. Later on relations and prayers for one another continued between himself and the Carmelite until the exceptional child's death. On January 27, 1897 Sister Theresa, already seriously ill, wrote to the old Brother who was then in his eighties: "I do not think that my stay here below will be long... If Our Lord comes for me first, I promise to pray for your intentions and for all persons who are dear to you. In any case, I am not waiting for Heaven in order to prove to you my profound gratitude."[64]

By the year of the Norman pilgrimage the College had already been moved to "Piazza di Spania". The Poli Palace which Brother Simeon had partially leased some thirty years earlier had after December of 1884, ceased to be home for the school. The temporary arrangement, with the instability and insecurity it involved, had lasted all too long. Alterations to the building had prevented the contract from being renewed. For the 236 pupils, many of whom were residents, larger quarters were needed.[65]

At the foot of the "Pincio" a French Society had purchased the old Serny mansion with its gardens and on the site constructed a beautiful building; the plan, intelligently worked out, was adapted to educational requirements, and it anticipated future expansion.[66] From the outset the new College appeared monumental, with its columns, porticos, its huge assembly and classrooms. The mind and the hand of Brother Simeon had guided the architects. The work combined Roman majesty with French grace. However, all this section of the city was pretty much the same. Nearby, at the top of the magnificent stairway that was due to the generosity of a French diplomat arose the towers of the church founded for the Minimes by King Charles VIII: Valois or Bourbons, the French monarchs always regarded this sanctuary and monastery, which they had given to the disciples of St. Francis of Paula, as belonging to themselves. In the 19th century Charles X

[63] Stephan Joseph Piat, Histoire d'une famille Lisieux, 1946, pp. 295-296.

[64] Choix de notiecs nécrologiques, Vol. III, pp. 400-402.

[65] Yearbook of the sixieth anniversary of the College's foundation, 1910, pg. 9.

[66] Motherhouse Archives, File KH n12.

together with Pope Leo XII substituted the Madames of the Sacred Heart for the Sisters of Trinita dei Monti.[67] Immediately neighboring upon the conventual estate, the grounds of the Villa Medicis completed the landscape; after 1802, the French Academy, which Colbert had founded a century and a half earlier, lodged its residents — painters, sculptors and musicians — in this noble Renaissance structure.

Brother Simeon felt at home in this atmosphere. In his Community Brothers from Languedoc still predominated. And while, among the pupils the number of those of French origin diminished from one year to the next, there were enduring customs that recalled the initial character of the institution: until 1892 the authorization of the French Embassy to the Pope was required for admission to the College.[68]

The Director could not have been embarrassed by this support. But beyond earthly favor, he sought Heavenly protection. His personal devotion, as well as the traditions of his Institute, decided his choice. The school on the "Piazza di Spagna" was to bear the name of "St. Joseph's College."

The chapel, however, was dedicated to the glory of the Brothers' Founder. Beginning in 1885, celebrations of the beatification were being predicted as imminent. It was appropriate that in Rome this event be celebrated not only in St. Peter's Basilica but also in one of the Congregation's institutions. And the institution had to be impressive, lavish and capable of providing hospitality to a crowd of pilgrims, schoolboys and teachers. Unhesitatingly, the Superior-general yielded to the wishes of his Roman confreres. The construction work was begun in haste; but they were not completed by the end of 1888. Nevertheless, their progress facilitated the use of the structure for the solemn ceremonies in honor of the newly Beatified.[69]

The Church's chant echoed in the spacious nave, under the bold and powerful vaults. When it was finally fitted out, the College's chapel struck the eye with the splendor of its marble, its gold and its frescos; Louigi Fontana and Aurelio Mariani had painted great figures of the Catholic world on the walls of the apse and evoked in symbolic images the

[67] See L'Histoire du couvent royal de la Trinié du mont Pincio, by Bishop Fourier Bonnard, Rome, 1924; and, in Vol. IV of the present work, pp. 539-544. — Cf. Noel Maurice Denis and Robert Boulet, Romée ou le Pélerin moderne à Rome, Paris 1935, pp. 821-827.

[68] Motherhouse Archives, File KH n12.

[69] Choix de notices, Vol. III, pp. 396-397.

genius and the triumph of John Baptist de La Salle; on the side aisles, in high relief, Sasselli had sculpted "the Christian Virtues."[70]

The concerns of the Brother Director were not limited to the magnificence of a material temple. He sought to transform the souls of children into living tabernacles. The birth of the Congregation of Mary Immaculate and of Aloysius Gonzaga at the College dates from the time when the great chapel was built. Devout youths followed religious services in an oratory recently dedicated by Father Pius Langogne. For the alumni Brother Simeon organized the "Sacred Heart Association"; and in this way the influence of the best and the perseverance of most would be promoted.

And, then, "St. Joseph's" was to benefit by the example of an eminently superb Religious. The Director had arrived at the age when the body weakens, the mind loses some of its agility, if not its lucidity. Soon it would have been fifty years since he pronounced his vows in the Institute: his jubilee in 1889 supplied an opportunity for innumerable people to express their gratitude. The old man had no intention of retiring from work; he retained the power of command, the preoccupation with — and the profound satisfaction in —responsibilities. The Superiors, however, thought it necessary to provide a "Pro-director" for him: to this sensitive position they assigned Brother Leo of Jesus.

Leo Tissot, Brother of a Superior-general of the Missionaries of St. Francis de Sales, is already known to us. A Savoyard of good family, intelligent, distinguished, quite artistic, but above all, virtuous, he directed the residence school of St. Peter's in Dreux in 1887.[71] The gentleness of his features, the light of his glance, the air of holiness that imbued his entire person induced respect and secured the obedience and affection of teachers and pupils.

On November 21 the order went out from the Motherhouse for him to leave for Italy.[72] People were relying on his judgment, tact and prudence; and they considered, also, that

[70] College Yearbook, 1910, pp. 20-21.

[71] See Vol. VII of the present work, pp. 341-343.

[72] Brother Leo of Jesus had departed Dreux four months earlier to make the "The Second Novitiate" at Athis. Vie du Frère Léon-de-Jésus, by Brother Adolph Joseph, 1933, pp. 121 et sq.

because he spoke fluent Italian, he would be from the outset up to assuming whatever administrative duties that would be necessary for him to handle. Indeed, Brother Leo of Jesus declined none of them. But his rôle was scarcely defined; he could initiate nothing, and authority continued to be concentrated in the hands of the Superior of the institution.

The Pro-director, then, needed to practice a nearly heroic self-effacement; but he allowed nothing of his interior suffering to be seen. Months, years, passed before he was able to undertake an activity worthy of his talents and of his spiritual and moral vitality.

Finally, about the Spring of 1894 he gained — not, indeed, by main force, but through the undeviating example of his piety, his goodness and his genuine humility — an influence that he used for the good of souls and for the progress of studies. He provided the Community with important lectures; in class the pupils listened attentively to his "reflexions"; Brother Leo contributed to the growth of their faith and exhorted them to frequent Communion. As organist and composer, his musical carrier began to take off for the glory of God. St. Joseph's College celebrated liturgical feasts with splendor.

The reputation of this Lasallian school, already enormous, grew during this period in which the Pro-director's efforts could expand, secure results in the educational arena and prepare hearts for the triumph of divine grace.

Unfortunately, illness and death were too quickly to put a halt to this apostolate. The Roman climate tended to exhaust a body that was not too robust. During periods of humid heat, Brother Leo of Jesus felt overwhelmed, and could neither eat nor sleep. He was sent to take a rest cure at Castel Gandolfo, in the Alban Hills, where he experienced a certain relief. But an unrelenting ailment sapped his strength. In December of 1895 physicians recommended an operation, to which the patient submitted on Sunday, the 29th, while at the College teachers and pupils organized to pray before the Blessed Sacrament exposed. Soon, all hope had to be abandoned. On January 3, the first Friday of 1896, a few hours after having received the Last Sacraments, the dying man succumbed.

Brother Simeon survived his assistant by three years — the fragment of a life, at a greatly reduced pace; as early as October 1894 a slight attack of paralysis betrayed the wear and tear on the body. Brother Perrin Thomas had succeeded Brother Leo in the post of Pro-director when the old man, once again stricken, consented to a painful departure. He was moved to the Villa in Albano. Everyone believed that his days were numbered. But after he had received Extreme Unction, a sudden improvement took place. At his own request, a room was reserved at St. Joseph's for his last days. These were days of retreat, extended meditation and frequent visits to the Blessed Sacrament until Christmas of 1898 when the end appeared. On January 4, 1899, Brother Simeon's death struggle began, and after seventeen hours, he died.

The Roman-by-adoption was given an imposing funeral. Around the coffin crowded generations whom the late Brother had instructed during nearly a half-century of labors, on the Via dei Crociferi at the Poli Palace on the Piazza di Spanga. Brothers from around the City, from Albano and Castel Gandolfo joined with pupils and alumni. In the cortege Bishops and other church dignitaries, the Procurators-general of the principal Religious Orders, the Master-general of the Dominicans, Baron Villiers, representing France, ranking civic personalities bore witness to the genuinely exceptional situation that the Director of St. Joseph's College had occupied.[73].

The distinction of succeeding him was not without its perils. But for fifteen months Brother John Berchmans[74] had given proof of his devotion and competence. Like Brother Simeon, he came from Béziers: the Immaculate Conception residence school continued to be a testing ground for exceptional educators; the relations established between this Community and the Franco-Roman project were to continue for a very long time to come. People in the Mediterranean region felt a spiritual affinity for one another; they rather rapidly succeeded in coming to a mutual understanding. The southern Frenchman did not feel out of place at St. Joseph's College, although from certain points of view his task seemed extraordinarily complicated. Instead of the former international character of the pupil population, the school became increasingly Italian in the make-up of its pupil personnel. As a result, while the ties that once bound the school to the homeland of its founders were being relaxed, a closer dependence on the local government became inevitable. But at this time, anticlericalism prevailed in official circles; and economic and political rivalry along with the Berlin alliance gave rise to a kind of Francophobia. Brother Berchmans encountered administrative difficulties and experienced friction — even within his own institution. He had a strong will, a clear judgment, sensitivity, a sense of moderation and balance: all these qualities served him well. His fourteen years of direction — 1897-1911 — assured St. Joseph's of an enviable success. Chaplains, such as Bishop Caroli and Bishop Cremonesi, quite knowledgeable concerning Lasallian education, shared the Brothers' burdens. Piety, discipline, studies, nothing was allowed to decline; everything moved along a line of constant progress.[75]

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[73] Choix de notices, Vol. III, pp. 409-410

[74] He was appointed Director in October of 1897.

[75] College yearbook, pg. 10. — Brother John Berchmans Obituary, 1936.

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Pope Leo XIII meant to transfer the complete respect he had for Brother Simeon to the latter's successor. This became particularly apparent on the occasion of Brother John Berchmans' acceptance of the responsibility for the Mérode Institute.

Bishop Xavier Mérode, Pius X's "Minister of arms", in 1871, had founded a dopo-scuola, a "post-school", where young people who attended public intermediate schools would find the facilities they needed for doing their homework and getting help with their lessons; further, they took courses there in modern languages and drawing. Thoroughgoing and sound religious instruction crowned the program. The two indispensable executors of the Bishop's idea were his own secretary, Bishop Canori, and the teacher of drawing, Enrico Bagnoli, a cultured man of uncommon faith.

From the original site at Capricana College, teachers and pupils had migrated to the "Altemps Palazzo" where Bishop Mérode, at the request of the Pope, had assembled the students of Rome into an operative school group: these enthusiastic youngsters had just been barred from the State University for having objected to the honors bestowed on the former Father Döllinger, the "anti-Infallibility" German theologian who had lapsed into schism after the Vatican Council. The "Altemps Palazzo" then became the seat of a "Pontifical University". Quite briefly, because in 1876 the Italian government "closed" the institution. Nevertheless, the foundation continued to exist as a school of physics and mathematics equipped with rich material of experiments. Beginning in 1879, it was called "the Ponitifical Technical Institute" or the "Mérode Institute". There, a select student population studied for careers in engineering, architecture and science teaching.

But shortly after the canonization of St. John Baptist de La Salle Leo XIII decided to entrust the technical Institute to the Brothers. On his orders, Cardinal Satolli, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of Studies, informed the Procurator-general. It was agreed that St. Joseph's College would offer the hospitality of its immense halls, while awaiting the permanent relocation of the technical students in the immediate vicinity of the College. Bishop Cremonesi, the College's Chaplain, was quite effectively immersed in the negotiations. On available land at the foot of Mt. Pincio there was built a superb structure immediately visible as one looked toward the City from above the terraces. The Director of St. Joseph's had done very well: his institution and the Mérode Institute, paired, made up a vibrant community, zealous, and joyful between Trinita dei Monti, the Villa Medicis and the street with all the curio dealers and the windows filled with art-objects, the Via de Babuino, which leads to the Piazza del Populo.[76]

[76] Brother Gabriel of Mary's Circular, dated December 25, 1901. — Opera de San G. B. de La Salle, pamphlet, edited in Rome in 1925, pp. 37-39. — Brother John Berchmans' Obituary, 1936.

Well before Xavier Mérode, although on a scale of reduced dimensions, the learned Cardinal Angelo Maï, while seeking to locate precious manuscripts, created an institution intended to familiarize young Romans with modern techniques. Courses were taught in a building situated on Via dell Botteghe Oscure (the "street of dark shops") a quaint name and highly evocative of certain corners of the Urbs. Finally, it order to perpetuate the life of this valuable foundation, the Vatican contemplated, once again, having recourse to the Brothers, who had given so many proofs of the special competence in matters of scientific education. Here, once again, Cardinal Satolli, the executor of the aspirations of the Holy Father, intervened. He wrote to the Brothers at St. Antony's school, directed at the time by Brother Vincenzo. The former French institution of the Madonna dei Monti for a long time had included nothing but primary classes. Change of site and of program would be necessary. Leo XIII took responsibility for two-thirds of the expenses. The technical school would revive the appeal of practical education at Via degli Zingari. At the same time, it seemed opportune to give up the name of "St. Antony" and to replace it with the name of the illustrious Jesuit who died in 1854. Instituto Angelo Maï became the name under which would be recorded from now on the annals of the Religious Community that had been begotten under the aegis of the French king. On November 4, 1902 His Excellency the Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of Studies, after having celebrated the Mass of the Holy Spirit with the pupils and teachers, inaugurated the project.[77]

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In spite of the scarcity of personnel and scantiness of income the Brothers in the former Papal States had attempted not only to maintain some of their situations in the provinces, but also to open new schools. They went to Nettuno in 1883 and Guarcino in 1884. The second of these efforts earned only a very brief success, since the Brothers withdrew from the city at the end of six years. Nettuno, on the other hand, they kept until 1906, while at Anzio they did little more than pay a year-long visit from 1888 to 1889. And we have

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[77] Motherhouse Archives, File HB g, Madonna dei Monti. — Opera de San G. B. de La Salle, pg. 34.

already noted the disappearance of the venerable institution at Orvieto, so filled with moving memories, the end of a labor that was less productive than at Acquapendente.[78]

Bolzano had been sheltered from the political upheavals; the tiny Christian city, faithful to its traditions, left its youths in the hands of the Brothers and was not surprised if anyone among them dedicated himself to God in the Institute.

The story at Castel Gandolfo was more complex. According to the terms of the "Safeguard Law", the "Cybo mansion" continued to be included in the property left at the free disposition of the Pope. But the school, retaining its character as a public institution, depended on the civil authorities. Such an arrangement provoked serious problems. In 1874, the city government authorized the opening of a preparatory program; and then, in 1876, a complimentary program was approved. At the time it assumed the expenses occasioned by graduation exercises and a portion of the expenses for school supplies. On the other hand, at the Vatican, the Community introduced by Gregory XVI and continued to be befriended by Pius IX[79] had not been lost from sight. In 1882 Leo XIII gave 6,000 lire to expand the chapel. The same year, Brother Vicar-general Paziente collected funds for the construction of a wing parallel to the "Torlonia Palazzio". This group of buildings, completed and furnished in 1884, was intended for the Novices and Scholastics: shortly thereafter, both of these groups — under circumstances we have already described — were transferred to Albano.[80]See above, pp. 33-34.

The teaching Brothers occupied the entire building. It was at this time that the difficulties began. A Director — with a "fiery disposition" — Brother Leo, it seems, bore the initial responsibility; he alienated the both the city authorities and the bureaucrats in the Education Department, not to speak of his own personnel. Condemnation came from all sides, and there were some who even talked about professional incompetence.

An Inspector then came on the scene who wrote the most unfavorable report. Meanwhile, anticlerical animosity combining with educational evaluations, the School Council of the province stated, on August 23, 1889, that the education dispensed by the teachers at Castel Gandolfo was conformed neither to official programs nor was it inspired by a good spirit in relation to the schools of the kingdom.

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[78] Motherhouse Archives, File HB g, list of institutions in the District of Rome.

[79] Cf. Vol. VI of th present work, pp. 7, 8, 35.

[80]3

The Commune was called upon not only to detach itself from the Brothers, but, further, from the Sisters who were also teaching school. Brother Leo, assisted by a Brother in charge of temporal affairs, was obliged to resign himself to stand guard over a vacant institution.

However, a reversal was not long in putting in an appearance. Lay teachers had not to the least degree succeeded in winning over the confidence of the population. An impassioned demonstration on the part of mothers ushered in a strategem that involved nearly all the parents insisting on the return of the Brothers and Sisters.

In October of 1890 the public schools regained their former teaching personnel. In order to promote the agreement — and enable monarchist loyalty to appear openly without raising the "Roman question" — Leo XIII agreed to grant the city government a lease on the "Palazzo Cybo"[81]. A Brother born in France, Brother Ignazio, was appointed Director; he attracted universal respect.

Unfortunately, not very happy about some of his teaching personnel, and, over and above, distressed by several defections, he asked to be changed. Under the administration of his successor, Brother Joseph, new conflicts arose with the authorities: the School Council tried to replace one of the Brothers with a layman. A *modus vivendi* was reached. But the lull did not last: in 1898, the Commune of Castel Gandolfo suspended its contract with the Brothers.

A Pastor/archpriest won from the Pope the means of opening a private school. The Brothers, therefore, remained, in spite of the obstacles raised for a time by the government. Opposition had been turning up intermittently: thus, in November of 1902 an Inspector ordered the closing of programs in which ideas and attitudes contrary to the prevailing political orthodoxy were circulated.

After two months Brother Director Antelmo succeeded in restoring order. He had increased the pupil population of his school through the excellence of his courses and also by beginning a course in the French language. Once the upheaval had been exorcised, he was able to maintain flourishing conditions.[82]

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[81] The issue centered on the right to have a picture of the king on school sites

[82] Motherhouse Archives, File HB g, Castel Gandolfo. — Cf. Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes for April 1911, pp. 97-112; and for April 1948, pp. 125-132; and Rivista lasalliana for September 1941, La Scuola pontificia di Castel-Gandolfo.

With Brothers Antonio, Prospero, and Michele Lasallian education in Benevento experienced splendid times.[83] As enthusiastic as the people in Benevento — dwellers along the Mediterranean who had once been subjects of the Pope — showed themselves to be in favor of Italian unity and Piedmontese legislation, they did not neglect to pay tribute to the teachers who had been called among them in 1834 by Bishop Bussi.[84],They were delighted with their presence in 1870, at the time when Victor Emmanuel's troops passed through the breach of Porta Pia.

Four year later a city counsellor, in a report on the schools, cast his thinking in a very odd way:"I cannot remain silent concerning the school situation in our city...Two Religious Congregations, the Ursaline Sisters and the Brothers of the Christian Schools, operate the elementary grades. At all points, instruction and education are provided with zeal, love, intelligence and skill. These commendations, deserved by both Institutes, in some sense constitutes a criticism of ourselves...We have accepted these teachers from out of our past; they came here under a government that history has condemned and that we have overturned. But why disguise it? We have nothing to put in the place of the institutions we are talking about. In our ideal State, education should be secular. Of course. On condition, however, of putting something in the place of the work of charity and civilization that has been achieved by the Brothers and Sisters.[85]

Prejudice failed to inhibit admiration and gratitude. Law might make things more troublesome. But it did not prevent — as we know — the employment of Religious in public education; however the law allowed it only in virtue of the individual, with respect to his character as citizen, independently of the Congregations whose official existence the law had denied or abolished. It was a sensitive situation for the Brothers who operated the St. Sophia School: not only were diplomas demanded of them, but top rank in the competitive examinations as well; once they were tenured, they were no longer available to their Superiors: the ties that bound them to the city of Benevento fettered them. Finally, in order to fill vacancies, the city hired lay associates; and this assistance coming from the outside was hardly a contribution to Community life. A certain amount

[83] See Vol. VI of the present work, pp. 35-36, 73-75.

[84] Ibid

[85] Rivista lasalliana, for June 1940, La Scuola Santa Sofia di Benevento.

of relaxation tended to be introduced. And some Brothers, rather than resigning their post in case they were assigned elsewhere, preferred formal secularization.[86]

Indeed, the devotion that the entire public displayed toward its teachers was a commentary on the mutual character of the sentiments and — at times when it became necessary to make a choice — on this or that victory of a human preference.

In 1892, the local magistrates defended the Brothers against the educational officials who tended to adopt harassing measures. On October 7, it was declared in the Communal assembly that: "All of us, those who were born in Benevento and those who are here by choice, know the Brothers…We find that they have served the people well, and that they are worthy of the highest respect…They have always taught the eternal principles of morality; they have always behaved in an exemplary way; and they have fulfilled our every expectation…For half a century, many generations have passed through their hands. On the other hand, these teachers, appreciated and loved, have had no reason to complain about us during troubled times. In days of revolution, when minds were inflamed, nobody laid hands on the Brothers at St. Sophia. In the national enthusiasm of 1860, they witnessed the Cross of Savoy replace the Tiara without ceasing to be faithful to their obligations, without becoming less patriotic."[87]

Since 1869 an astronomical observatory was in operation on the school grounds. The provincial government had entrusted it to the care and competence of the Brothers. One of them, Brother Ambrogio di Renzo, a member of the Italian Meteorological Society, undertook patient experiments and obtained interesting results. Benevento was particularly proud of this installation; and funds were voted in order to improve it at the very time that municipal oratory was being displayed in favor of the Brothers.

A more direct and more significant testimony was the increase in salaries that was granted the teachers in 1898. And if a resolution passed by the Council in 1899 had been effectively followed, the Brothers would have been put in charge of a school of arts and crafts. A few years later, a gift from Victor Emmanuel III stimulated the opening of an

[86] Motherhouse Archives, File HB g, Bénévent.

[87] Rivista lasalliana, article cited.

orphanage; quite naturally the education of the orphans fell to the educators at the Community of St. Sophia.[88]

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In a Circular dated July 7, 1897, the Superior-general, Brother Gabriel of Mary, gave — on the occasion of his recent *ad limina* visit — some glimpses and figures concerning the Brothers in Italy.

He described the District of Rome composed of 157 Brothers, spread over twelve institutions with the mission of educating 3,166 boys and youths. Outside the City there were the Communities of Albano, Castel Gandolfo, Nettuno, Bolzano, and Benevento. Seven other institutions were grouped about the Pope from the Pincio to the Aventine and from the Coeli region to right bank of the Tiber: St. Joseph's College, St. Antony School, Trinita-dei-Monti, the ancient residence in San Salvatore in Lauro, Artigianelli, St. John Lateran and the Trastevere.

The District of Turin had practically the same number of Brothers as the Roman Province.[89] Of the Communities that had sprung up prior to 1860 — which stretched from the foot of the Alps, beyond the Po and into Emilia as well as into Piedmont, ten survived into 1897 or had been restored: two in Turin and the rest in Suse, Biella, Vercelli,

[88] The chief work of the Brothers in the former kingdom of Naples did not begin until 1907, when there was a question of an institution for the sons of prisoners. (Ospizio pei Figli dei Carcerati), founded twenty years earlier by Commandant Bartolo Longo in modern Pompei. We cannot undertake here — not even summarize — the remarkable story of this saintly man of the Marian sanctuary which, initiated by him near Vesuvius, became the site continuous and increasingly important pilgrimages, and of all the charitable and social institutions surrounding the Basilica. Bartolo Longo had, from the very beginning, asked for the Brothers' cooperation, but they were unable to reply to his appeal. When the founder had given over the whole of his projects and properties to the Holy See, Pius X convinced the Superiors of the Congregation to secure the future of the Ospizio.

[89] Actually, it had 158 Brothers. — A total, therefore, of 315 Brothers for all of Italy. Growth, as is obvious, continued to be rather slow.

Grugliasco, Genoa, Parma and Piacenza.[90]. The student population included 400 more pupils than did the District of Rome.

In spite of misunderstandings, suspicions and enmities that had impaired growth, there was no lack of promise for the future, which was embodied in the indefatigable leader, Brother Genuino.[91].

Jean Baptist Andorno, former Sub-director and Director of San Primitivo College, assumed the responsibilities of the office of Visitor in 1863. He had accepted it from the hands of Brother Philippe in extremely painful circumstances, when everything seemed to conspire in favor of the loss of schools, vocations and even the reputation of the Congregation in Turin. The man's spirit and farsightedness, his firmness — which combined with his adeptness — had progressively repaired the situation. His administration, uninterrupted over this long period of time, came to an end only with his death in 1901. During the last four years, Brother Genuino had added to his duties the title and the powers of "Provincial Visitor." After the political agitation and anti-religious propaganda of the middle of the 19th century, recruitment of Brothers had been reduced to nearly zero. The District's Novitiate, successively situated in Turin, Truffarelo, Biella and in Grugliasco, had closed its doors in 1864 for the want of a sufficient number of candidates. On the advice of the Assistant, Brother Mamert, the Visitor asked his colleague in Savoy, Brother Rossore, to house in Chambery postulants who had been recruited from among pious families of northern Italy.

It was in such circumstances that Novices from this part of the world crossed the mountains to be trained in the Religious life. In the ancient hereditary domain of the House of Savoy, they almost felt at home. Their spiritual family welcomed them with open arms; while among the Savoyards they captured the integral spirit of the Lasallian Rule. Besides, they were initiated into the French language in which, already up to speaking it, they became habituated to its shadings. Many of them, for as long as they lived, spoke French with the same facility, indeed with the same precision, as Italian. Close ties were established, over several generations, between the Piedmont Communities and those in northern Italy.

This emigration was repeated, in fact, every year between 1864 and 1892. But the young Brothers who returned home after their novitiate lacked an educational training completely adapted to programs in Italy. It became necessary to open a Scholasticate and, of course, totally within an Italian context. Grugliasco was immediately selected: there was still room in the institution in which the generosity of Senator Cotta enabled the

[90] Grugliasco had two schools

[91] See Vol. VI of the present work, pp. 67-69

opening of a school in 1862, night classes in 1864 and a drawing program in 1867. It was there that in 1873 Brother Genuino moved his Scholastics, placed them under the direction of Brother Ladislao and assigned them work that enabled them to achieve mastery. Provided with the required diplomas, the new teachers were able to work in primary schools without raising difficulties with educational officials. Indeed, by fulfilling further conditions of competency, they became teachers in secondary schools.

That was one step taken; but the man who had undertaken the task of renewing the District was not going to stop along such an excellent fine road. The work in Grugliasco had to be expanded. The school building did not belong to the Institute: in 1874, by legal act over the name of "Mr. Andorno", it became Institute property; and a building was added in which to house aged and infirm Brothers.

And then, beginning in 1887, a Junior Novitiate was built. Five years earlier, the Visitor had decided to admit postulants who were so young that he could not think of immediately subjecting them to the obligations of the Rule. He began by sending them to the Junior Novitiate in Annency, from where those who had persevered went on to the Novitiate in Chambery. This was only a stop-gap measure; the youngsters could not receive a professional training in France that would serve them in their future employment. In any case, homesickness undermined perseverance.

This was why on October 15, 1891[92] sixteen Junior Novices were assembled in a complex that had been fitted out in Grugliasco. Brother Paolino was their first Director.

From then on a general return of all District recruits seemed in order. The M. H. Brother Joseph himself indicated to his Italian confreres his desire to see their candidates in formation returned to their own supervision. However, the District of Turin had not yet possessed the means of cultivating very young vocations. Until conditions changed, these were to be transplanted to the District of Rome. The teachers and the Community in Albano Laziale offered perfect conditions: after six years of successful experience, the Roman novitiate had been settled on an estate fully owned by the Congregation.[93] In 1892 the Piedmont natives joined their countrymen at the center of Catholicism.

While it was advantageous, this unification did not occur without some inconveniences and disappointments. No doubt Italian young Brothers benefitted from the same spiritual direction; but there was an enduring difference of temperament between northern and southern Italians. For youngsters from the north, physical separation never became any

[92] Dated provided by the Historique du district de Turin, Motherhouse Archives, HB g.

[93] See above, pg. 34.

easier; on the contrary, it took a longer time to get from the Po to the Tiber than it did from Turin to Chambery. The threat of homesickness became more severe. And in the final analysis the influence of the Visitor concerned remained necessarily superficial and intermittent.

Brother Superior-general Gabriel-Marie, after his Peninsular journey, suggested that Brother Genuino open an autonomous Novitiate. As a result, an expansion blue-print was drawn up at Grugliasco; in September of 1900, the three sections — Junior Novices, Novices and Scholastics — of future Brothers destined for the schools of the District were moved to the same city.[94]

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This tiny group, so long in training beyond the frontiers of its native land, proved indefatigably laborious. Quickly taken in hand by its immediately superior and gradually strengthened in numbers, knowledge and doctrine, it allowed Brother Genuino to continue the work of his predecessors, Brothers Anthelme and Hervé of the Cross.

The Community responsible for tuition-free schools in Turin, in 1867, was obliged to abandon the ancient institution of St. Pelagius.[95] But the Regia Opera della Mendicità Istruita was not divested of its Religious teachers who, from their quarters on Arsenal Street and later on from Flowers Street, continued to dispense their lessons to the children of the people. In 1890, they were delighted to learn that, since the house on Via dei Flori had become uninhabitable, the administrators of the Regia Opera had agreed to allow the Brothers to repossess a part of the former buildings. In principle, the law still did not recognize the Institute, but in practice “arrangements” were effected. J. B. Andorno was the official tenant of the Project. And in 1902 teams of his teachers provided a Christian education, entirely tuition-free, to more than 1,400 pupils. Besides, they volunteered, in evening classes, to assure the literacy of hundreds of workers, to enable the better endowed access to a broader professional knowledge, and to sustain the life of

[94] Motherhouse Archives, HB g. — Cf. Brother Genuino’s Obituary, 1901.

[95] See Vol. IV of the present work, pp. 548-550; Vol. V, pp. 76-79; Vol. VI, pp. 44-46, 52, and 56.

conscience among all. And among youths faithful to the grace of Baptism there arose priestly and monastic vocations.[96].

The sons of the middle class, far from being ignored, were of great concern to Brother Genuino. With inflexible determination he resolved to revive St. Primitivo College under the name of "St. Charles College."[97]. When pupils flocked in, when public support and success seemed to justify hopes, the founder purchased 5,000 square meters of land on Via San Francesco da Paola. He floated a loan that was immediately subscribed to by the best families in Turin. One of his assistants, Brother Cecilio, produced a blue-print for the construction: but, prematurely, on June 9, 1874, the superb architect died, although a splendid work was born of his labors. On May 22, 1875 Brothers and collegians entered the classrooms of the new structure that was dedicated to the "great St. Joseph."[98].

Twenty-two years later, the school — that Brother Visitor Genuino had continued to direct and reside in — attracted Brother Gabriel-Marie's attention. Its educational achievements and its religious influence appeared to have such importance that the 1897 Circular went out of its way to emphasize the school. The commendation, however, was tempered by a qualification: "It remains for it, in all matters, to return to the traditions of our Institute as regards the Religious garb, the decisions of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda and the Capitulary decrees of 1897."[99]

What the Circular was demanding of the San Giuseppe Community was the return to the "White rabat" and the abandonment of the teaching of Latin.

On the first point, the decision to be taken depended upon an agreement with the civil authorities. According to the law of July 7, 1866, in order for the Brothers to retain the Regia Opera, it was prescribed that they "bring their garb in line pretty much with what priests wore."[100] This order affected directly only the four teachers in the tuition-free school. In order to avoid worse difficulties, Brother Genuino had had all the Brothers at St.

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[96] Motherhouse Archives, File HB g. — M. H. Brother Gabriel of Mary's Circular of April 26, 1902

[97] See Vol. VI of the present work, pp. 68-69

[98] Motherhouse Archives, HB g. — Choix de notices, Vol. II, pp. 147-149. — Rivista lasalliana for September 1934, pp. 467-469

[99] Circular of July 7, 1897, pg. 6.

[100] See Vol. VI of the present work, pg. 67.

Charles College submit to it.[101] In 1897 all the Communities in Turin followed the practice which had become customary.

However, they did not object to an explicit command issued by the Motherhouse. The oldest of their members — the Visitor himself was one of them — recalled the language of the collective letter dated June 14, 1867: "We frankly expect that after a period of painful trials, we may be able to resume the holy habit of our Venerable Founder."

Since the date of John Baptist de La Salle's canonization was approaching, Brother Genuino, now "Visitor-provincial", and his colleague in the District administration, Brother Silvestro, believed that there should be no further waiting. Opposition of other times had been disarmed. Conversations launched with the administration of the Regia Opera brought about the following reply: "Act as you see fit. We do not want to discuss that subject."

On January 18, 1900 the Brothers at St. Joseph's and those belonging to the Mendicità met in order to listen to a presentation of the problem. "The moment is especially favorable [the Provincial stated]; prohibitions coming from lay authority have become a dead letter. We should effect the change of our garb during Holy Week. And we shall appear in St. Peter's at Rome to glorify our Father and Founder in the habit he gave his sons."

However, April passed without the change that had been agreed to taking place. It did not occur until the period between the 16th and the 22nd of July. Why the delay, which so displeased the Superior-general?[102] The reason resided in the "Latin question".

As early as 1860 Latin was taught in some courses at St. Primitivo College.[103] When, after this institution closed, Don Tasca had assembled a few pupils at San Carlo, the priests among the teachers were obviously not going to sever their ties with traditional humanism. And Brother Genuino, succeeding to their place, took pains not to introduce changes in this area; it was elementary prudence: he would have stirred up the

[101] Ibid., pg. 69, note 1.

[102] Motherhouse Archives, File HB g.

[103] See Vol. VI of the present work, pg. 63.

adversaries of the Brothers' Congregation, numerous at the time and very excitable, if he had not played the modest rôle of perpetuator of Don Tasca's work.

In this way classical courses obtained a very broad enfranchisement. There was no thought of dislodging them in 1875, at the time of the move to Via San Franceso da Paola. The pupil-population at St. Joseph's College had a keen interest in learning both "the mother tongue" of Italian, French and Spanish, as well as Roman antiquities. In Turin no one was surprised to see the Brothers of the Christian Schools assuming a task of this sort as soon as they adopted a rôle in secondary education.

But the Institute's Rule was being seriously violated. No matter how defensible exceptions might appear, they were nonetheless offensive; and the Superiors were determined not to tolerate them. The Latin question, hanging fire for forty years in the United States,[104] arose shrilly in the last days of the 19th century.[105] It generated several decisions of a clearly negative kind on the part of the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide Following the one on December 11, 1899, Brother Gabriel of Mary objected to any further delays: he communicated his decision to Brother Genuino in a letter dated March 10, 1900, which was to be transmitted immediately to those involved.

There was a great deal of emotion expressed at San Giuseppe. Teachers were at a loss and parents were distressed and objected. Nevertheless, Religious obedience shown through brilliantly. Proscribed courses were discontinued on June 28, at the end of the school year. However, in order to stagger the burdens so as not to unnerved people by a succession of radical measures, the superiors of the District resigned themselves to postpone the change of the habit.[106]

Writing the Circular of April 26, 1902 during another visit to Italy, the Brother Superior-general paid tribute to "the filial haste" with which the teachers at St. Joseph's returned to the Institute's traditions. By way of recompense, their school, two years after

[104] See Vol. VI of the present work, pp. 308-311.

[105] Another volume, dedicated in part to the Institute in the United States, will explain the problem as it existed between 1874-1904.

[106] Motherhouse Archives, HB g.

important reforms, “was as flourishing as ever.”[107]The admission of resident pupils had quickly curtailed the financial difficulties that arose in 1900. To its founder, Brother Genuino, dead for less than a month, the Head of the Congregation addressed a final farewell.

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In the glimpse he gave the entire Lasallian family of the accomplishments of both the Piedmontese and the Romans, the Superior-general did not fail to mention “the royal institute for the hard of hearing”.

The Brothers in the District of Turin had been engaged in this project only during the last four years. But it had been in existence for sixty-three years prior to the Brothers. A priest, name Don Franceso Bracco, began it in 1835. In 1838 King Charles Albert had authorized the founder to train specialists in the education of deaf-mutes. The institution, under the patronage of the King, included sections for men and for women. The staff was composed of lay persons under the direction of a priest.

About 1895 a decline had set in. There was an increase of unruliness among the patients admitted to the institution. The mastercraftsmen who ran the shops were themselves in a state of rebellion. And there was a peculiar relaxation of overall morality, while education fared no better.

The Rector, a good and learned man, Don Gino Lazzeri, attempted vainly to respond. He had been trying to replace the old-fashioned method of sign language by lip- and throat-reading; but he ran up against lethargy and ill-will.

But there was a lawyer Emilio Mottura who was a member of the Administrative Council who knew Brother Genuino personally. He proposed that his colleagues seek the cooperation of the Brothers. “These men,” he declared “are thorough educators. They adapt easily to the most diverse situations. And as regards the education of deaf-mutes, they have to their credit numerous successes in France.”

Once negotiations had begun they demanded a great deal of time and did not conclude without difficulty. We can imagine the Visitor’s first reaction: was he about to launch his Brothers on an adventure? In order to enact the necessary reforms in an environment threatened with anarchy not only required an iron will, but insights into the psychology of disadvantaged human beings.

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An agreement was finally hit upon that included the following conditions: four Brothers would begin in September of 1898 to re-organize and supervise the male section of the institution. Temporarily, the secular teachers would retain responsibility for studies and well as for manual training. Gradually they would yield their place to those Brothers who were in a position to instruct those for whom the program was intended.

Throughout the transitional period the patience of the new staff was put to a harsh test. The oldest pupils, stirred up by the mastercraftsmen, persisted in disrespectful attitudes and rebellious gestures. Slovenliness tended to become permanent throughout the institution. To put a stop to it, the Brothers practiced an unflagging vigilance and, especially, exercised their responsibilities with zeal and kindness.

Don Lazzeri having died in 1900, Brother Placido di Gesù was invested with the duties of Director. He immediately proposed to reform the educational system. His background did not appear to have marked him out for such an enterprise; but he deployed all the fervor and enthusiasm of a neophyte in its service. He read all Sicard's writings as well as those of the disciples of this great reformer; he subscribed to periodicals that dealt with the education of deaf-mutes, visited Institutes created for persons of impaired hearing in Milan, Genoa, Bologna, Florence and Rome, participated in convocations for specialists, and solicited lectures for his Community from some of the best professors.

This earnest study produced fruits. Equipped with diplomas from the Girolamo Cardano School in Milan, Brother Placido's assistants, following the example of their superior, practiced "the oral method" widely and successfully.[108].

In this way the possibilities that conformed to their vocation were revealed to the sons of St. John Baptist de La Salle. As Piedmontese, they supplied northern Italy — to the extent their numbers permitted — with services equal to those that other regions obtained at the same period from men like Brother Riquier or Brother Roger of the CrossThey did not balk at difficult tasks. But, more eagerly, of course, did they accomplish — as they broadened — their program of instruction designed to advance the working class intellectually and socially. Evening classes were a witness to this long-established and steady zeal; it found a new expression in the La Salle Technical School, the beginnings of which date from 1901 and which — under the inspiration of Brother Ugolino — succeeded in assembling about eighty youths.[109]

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[108] Motherhouse Archives, File HB g, Regio Istituto dei Sordomuti. — Brother Gabriel of Mary's Circular, April 26, 1902. — Messagero delle scuole cristiane, for May-June, 1931, pp. 88-89

[109] .[109]See Vol. VII of the present work, pp. 411-412.

Outside of Turin, the schools that had resisted the assaults of anticlericalism would be perpetuated — without falling into obsolescence and with brilliant promise for the future — well into the 20th century. In Parma in 1900 a Community of seven teachers were teaching 226 schoolboys; the classrooms, after total remodelling, were placed under the protection of the canonized Founder.

Brother Basilio, who at one time had been the teacher of the Salesian, Don Michael Rua, from 1873 to 1906 directed the school founded in Vercelli in 1841 by Bishop Angennes.[110] He had been a Religious who had lived a deeply spiritual life and was the author of ascetical writings. He was an apostle who in 1800 organized a "catechetical school" in St. Antony's church for apprentices. The following year the pupils were consigned to the Brothers'. Every Thursday, for an hour, hundreds of *garzoni* came to intensify their faith, enlighten their minds and their conscience through instruction suited to their circumstances as young workers. The M. H. Brother Joseph, on a visit to Vercelli, was deeply moved by the presence of this attentive throng.[111] Finally, Genoa whom Charles Albert had provided with a Brothers school in 1837 but which had expelled them in 1859, resumed contact with the Institute.

In a will dated March 11, 1869 the extremely wealthy Marquesa Negrone-Durazzo left 800,000 lire for the founding of a resident school for poor children and, especially, for the sons of gentlemen who had fallen into poverty. It asked that the Brothers accept the operation of it, under the protection of the Archbishop.

The Marquesa died in 1875. Her niece, the Duchess of Galliera, became the executrix of the dead woman's will, in cooperation with Archbishop Magnasco of Genoa.[112] Brother Genuino, summoned to the site, reported to Brother Irlide the chances of success. The Superior-general authorized the sending of a group of teachers.

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[110] Motherhouse Archives, HB g. See Vol. VI of the present work, pg. 39.

[111] Motherhouse Archives, HB g. Motherhouse Archives, File cited.

[112] At the same time, in France, the Duchess worked out the terms of the Brignole-Galliera foundation in Fleury Meudon. See Vol. VII of the present work, pp. 408-409.

The College opened on October 1, 1878 with Brother Leo as Director. It survived six years without any serious incidents. In 1881 the members of the Administrative Counsel wished to increase the number of children who could take advantage of the Negrone legacy: for this purpose, they proposed to replace resident with semi-resident pupils; the funds expended on the former would benefit a much larger mass of the latter. Brother Irlide left the decision up to the Duchess of Galliera, who, since she had conferred full freedom of action on the Administrators, the change was effected in a manner acceptable to all. A higher course of studies was added to the elementary classes. In 1882 there were 280 pupils, 215 of whom were semi-residents. The skillfully run school deserved and obtained the respect of the people in Genoa.

The corrupt practices of an employee brought about a calamity. The Duchess, defrauded of 9 million lire by a treacherous servant, sought a way of repairing the open damage done to her capital funds. Counselled by a new business adviser, named Peirano, she adopted the plan of "suspending" the operations of the College. It was a shameful solution against which the pastors in the city, heads of families and the Administrative Counsel itself protested.

Archbishop Magnasco did not believe it was possible to interfere. After a conversation with the Archbishop, Brother Director Bernardo informed the Superior-general of the most unfortunate situation. There was nothing more to do than to close the school doors.

But people did not succumb to idle acquiescence. It was necessary to plan for the future and, as a consequence, to take steps so that the Brothers would not be obliged once again to leave an urban center of major importance. Friends of the Institute found a house for the Community in St. Marcellino's parish. In November of 1884 the teachers moved there; and they immediately gathered about them about a hundred boys.

The problem became how to insure an income. Nothing could be expected from the city government, nor from the Archbishop's office, nor from the former benefactress. A Committee was set up: three stalwart Catholics entered into partnership with the pastors of the parishes that neighbored the school. A public appeal launched on March 19, 1885 obtained money to pay for the lodging and maintenance of the teachers. But it did not yield enough to cover expenditures; and even though the common people of Genoa were solicited, it was necessary to have recourse to tuition, reduced however to a minimum.

The Brothers had been supporting themselves in precarious circumstances for eight months when in July 1885 they received a pleasant surprise: touched by their persistance, the Duchess intended to reopen a tuition-free school. Her agent, Andrew Peirano, visited the Brother Director to inform him of this purpose.

In the language of the contract that was signed at that time, Sgra Galliera assumed responsibility for the support of six Brothers; she granted them a temporary asylum on

the first floor of the vacant College. In order to guarantee a normal yield to studies, to avoid the throngs of pupils, overwork for teachers, and occasion for further expenditures, the number of young Genoans admitted to the classes was limited to 190.

The abandonment of St. Marcellino, reintroduction to a part of the previous premises occurred in February of 1886. The modus vivendi drawn up with Peirano continued on for several years after the Duchess' death.[113] In August of 1891 the Community changed residences: lodged on the two upper floors of a building which continued to be known as "the Abbey St. Bernardo", it overlooked the city and the sea.[114].

In this lofty place, favorable to meditation, if not of suitable access, the comforts of which were only slightly more than rudimentary, the Brothers were able to turn their eyes toward the coming century: their horizons broadened, their "star" shown in the sky. Along these Ligurian shores, where they finally felt at home, what dreams, what prayers took flight! It was not only Italy or the nearby countries of Europe that called upon the sons of the French priest, who were now citizens of a variety of nations: the entire world needed them. The Episcopacy and the Papacy had agreed to cooperate in the evangelization of both hemispheres. Like the Genoese Christopher Columbus, they would traverse the oceans. The great Mediterranean port appeared like a symbolic take-off spot for the cruise on which we must accompany them. We shall head immediately for northern seas.

[113] Which occurred in Paris on December 9, 1888.

[114] Motherhouse Archives, File HB g. — Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes for July 1924, pp. 232-234

CHAPTER TWO

Belgium

In the harsh combat sustained by the Catholic Church at the end of the 19th century — and which was contested in a special way in the arena of the school — Belgium was heavily involved. In this sense the history of the Brothers of St. John Baptist de La Salle in this country, subsequent to the death of Brother Philippe, remains instructive in the highest degree.

We left the Institute in mid-growth in the Kingdom of Leopold I and Leopold II.[115] While it no longer enjoyed the favor of the State and while, following a series of harassments and constantly renewed crises, it had practically relinquished operating Communal schools and had no longer enjoyed the advantages of "adoption", its educational institutions were listed among the most flourishing. Numerically expanded through initiatives of the Clergy and the faithful after national independence, they had been broadly improved; even more than by their number, they had become distinguished for their quality and for the variety of their instruction. At the elementary level alone, they preserved an extended pupil population: out of the 839,000 children between the ages of six and twelve living in the nine provinces, there were about 241,000 who did not attend public schools;[116] most of the boys in this group had Brothers as teachers.

Such were the benefits of private competition under the rule of the law of September 23, 1842: — an arrangement which, while affirming the rights of the civil authority, attacked neither the rights of parents nor those of the Church.[117] But for twenty-five years the liberal party strove to bring down the edifice. When its leaders gained power they racked their brains to exploit breaks in the wall. At the same time, their legions conducted a campaign against "clerical meddling" and in particular directed their blows against

[115] See Vol. VI of the present work, pp. 87-164.

[116] Histoire de la Belgique contemporaine, Vol. III, Part IX "Education in Belgium since 1830," by August Mélot, Brussels, 1930, pg. 35.

[117] Pierre Verhaegen, La Lutte scolaire en Belgique, Gand, 1905, pg. 11.

Catholic Normal Schools. Calumnies were spread concerning Religious teachers: the agitation of 1857 had never been basically placated; the law of 1864 monopolizing to the advantage of public education property that had been bequeathed to "unqualified" groups raised storms the backwash from which would be indefinitely prolonged.

The stratagems and propaganda of politicians of the left had for effect the election of June 11, 1878 which assured this party of a ten-vote majority in the Chamber and six votes in the Senate. The Catholic Ministry fell; and was replaced by one "of seven Free-Masons. Frre-Orban resumed the reins of power — a great orator, skillful manipulator of parliamentary maneuvering and a genuine statesman; but, under the cloak of a momentous philosophical position, he was an irreconcilable adversary of religious ideas. In order to direct public education he selected Van Humbeek, whose fierce partisanship achieved the dimensions of rage.

Religious believers had to expect an early offensive. It occurred with the law of July 1, 1879, better known as the "Terrible Law". Religious instruction disappeared from educational programs, while supervision and control of studies was removed from the Clergy. The only concession consisted in making room available in schools for pastors to teach their catechism lessons before or after school hours.

Communes were no longer permitted to "adopt" private schools. They could not appoint teachers other than those who had graduated from public institutions. Governmental control lay heavy on local administrations: State inspections, reinforced by "school committees" endeavored to restrain teachers within prescribed limits; and it belonged to the Minister of Public Education to brandish and render operative the threat of dismissal.[118]

The Jacobin system of exorbitant centralization, expulsion decreed against private Normal Schools and, on the whole, against all Catholic institutions, separation of Church and State in the area of national education — the principal characteristics of the "Terrible Law" had appeared in a rather clear-cut way. Belgium had exceeded France in proclaiming "neutrality". Of course, a final discretion was held in reserve, which future French law would consider unnecessary: the toleration of priests beyond the portals entrusted to teachers. In fact, the Church's representative had the feeling that he was excluded: grudgingly a few hours were yielded to him. Throughout the week the State's agent shaped minds and souls to his mould and taught a morality independent of religious faith.

[118] Mélot, op. cit., pp. 36-37.

While he himself may have been devoid of all religious belief, he had the leisure to form an indifferent or unbelieving generation.[119]

As early as February 1879, after a reading of the bill in the Chamber, a collective pastoral letter from the Bishops pointed out the threatening purposes of the legislation. Catholics immediately organized "resistance committees", if not to prevent a vote on the legislation, at least to restrict its consequences. Sixty-seven Deputies against sixty voted in favor of Van Humbeek's bill: — the Minister's proposals had annoyed some moderate members on the "Left". In the Senate, they won the adherence of thirty-three of the sixty-four voters. The king considered that it was impossible for him to withhold his approval.[120]

The struggle began rapidly. The Belgian episcopacy stated that no priest was to cross the threshold of a public school. And, in assembly in Malines on September 1, it adopted measures that had a particular solemnity: parents who, without the permission of Church authorities, sent their children to Communal schools, teachers who accepted employment to teach in them, professors and students in State Normal Schools, Inspectors and members of legally established school commissions would be excluded from the Sacraments.[121] These resolutions were termed "instructions for the guidance of confessors"[122] In practice and faced with delicate cases of conscience the spirit of charity dictated forbearance.

Concerned about the problems that would not fail to arise, the government turned for help to the Holy See. But "an exchange of views" provided an unpleasant surprise. Although Leo XIII wanted peace between the religious world and modern society, he thought that on this occasion the situation was too serious to practice conciliation: souls were running the risk of genuine danger; he approved the attitude adopted by the heads of the Belgian Church and proved their right to a legitimate defense in a struggle "not of their making."[123] However, he directed advice full of wisdom to the Bishops, whose firmness should be able, he wrote, to exclude every provocation.

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[119] Mélot, op. cit., — Fr. Mourret, Histoire de l'Église, Vol. IX, pg. 264.

[120] Verhaegen, op. cit.

[121] Mélot, pg. 38.

[122] Verhaegen, op. cit.

[123] Mourret, op. cit., pg. 264.

Frère-Orban tried to impose total submission. His setback had infuriated him. The Minister Plenipotentiary to the Vatican, M. Anethan, was given orders to leave Rome; Bishop Sarafino Vanutelli, Nuncio in Brussels, was given his passport. And on June 9, 1880 the diplomatic rupture was complete.

Pastors and faithful adopted appropriate stances. While 2,253 public school teachers resigned so as not to fail in their Christian duty and while the Communal schools lost 60% of their pupils, the parishes, deaneries and dioceses organized a new private education system on an extremely vast scale. In six months time more that 20 million francs were collected. School buildings were hastily constructed; a teacher in Malonne, a talented architect, Brother Maixentis, was the principal technician employed on this work: to him were due the many constructions throughout the kingdom.[124] Teaching personnel had to be improvised. The stouthearted teachers, who had shattered their careers and students from Catholic Normal Schools were not enough for the task. Pastors, nobles and middle class volunteered their cooperation. As early as 1880 1,064 schools had been opened. In 1884 there were 3,885 Catholic primary schools in operation, functioning in three-quarters of the Communes and served by 8,713 teachers of both sexes.[125]

Certainly, scarcely anything had been planned and was learned only with a great deal of educational experience. The law of 1879 continued to be responsible for the disorder that pervaded the whole of education. There was over-crowding in some parochial classrooms, while there were empty desks in the public school. Everywhere, political preoccupations and partisan quarrels were doing damage to education. The government, without exercising any choice, perceived itself as obliged to recruit a large number of teachers. State Inspectors closed their eyes at the lackluster quality of many courses and at the flagrant negligence of many bureaucrats in public education.[126].

In safeguarding the value of Christian education, members of Religious Orders proved themselves eminently priceless. Neighborhoods that had Brothers and Sisters were indeed fortunate. They turned out to be the resource necessary for the preservation of

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[124] More than fifty, writes Brother Meldas in his Notes historique, Vol. II, pg. 399. (Archive of the school in Malonne.)

[125] Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes for July 1928 and October 1931.

[126] Mélot, op. cit., pg. 41

communities. But elsewhere the most urgent appeals proved futile. From one day to the next it was quite impossible to raise upon the legions of teaching Religious required for the task. The Brothers redoubled their zeal, and courageously embraced their rôle in the struggle. Nevertheless, their physical strength would have failed without the contribution made by lay associates. At the request of the Bishop of Liège, Bishop Doutreloux, the Superiors of the Institute admitted into schools overflowing with pupils, young assistant teachers who showed significant promise.[127] to be totally under the authority of the Brothers Director... The Normal Schools in Carlsbourg and Malonne supplied some of them. Other students-teachers, trained under less favorable conditions, were added to these more prominent applicants.

The Brothers found solid support in men of whose childhood they had been the teachers. In any case, the "alumni" of the elementary and resident schools were confident in, and both friendly and grateful to their former teachers. Their sons, now a numerous body, occupied the classrooms in which their fathers had once studied. The latter eagerly came together to meet again the comrades who once sat beside them in the chapel, or in the meeting or recreation rooms of their old school; there, they reawakened memories; or better still, they paid with their time and money, and they employed their influence so that the work would endure in spite of prejudice.

The first "Association of Former Pupils of the Brothers" saw the light of day in Malonne in 1875. The movement grew over the following twenty years: thirty-two groups of this sort were in existence at the end of the 19th century. Called a "National Federation" in 1898, they constituted a powerful assortment. The man who brought it together was named Baron José Coppin — an excellent writer, a grand and remarkable Christian, who was President of the Malonne federation. His reputation and his influence was broadly exerted in a period in which Belgium had returned to religious peace.[128]

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[127] Bishop Doutreloux wrote on September 12, 1879 to Brother Marianus: I beseech you not to insist so that I would be obliged to transform one of the schools you operate in Liège into a public school. The combination of Brothers and laymen will last only a year. Except for one class at St. Marguerite's that I shall entrust to a fine old schoolteacher your Brothers know and respect as a saint, I have assigned the other posts in your schools to the six teachers you have supplied me... I want the laymen placed in your schools. (Motherhouse Archives, File ID q.

[128] Livre d'or du centenaire de l'Indépendance belge, pg. 191, article by Brother Mélage on the Institute of the Brothers of the Christian Schools.

The Catholic Committees planned for this future by continuing their campaign against the "Terrible Law". The Bishop's pastoral letters, the propaganda from political leaders, men like Malou or Woeste or Jacobs, and the achievements of private education strengthened resistance and won over the opinion of the masses. To this revision the blunders of the liberal Ministry were not unrelated. Observing bitterly the defections from the Public School, Van Humbeek decided to seek out the causes. Naturally, it became a question of revealing the "stratagems" of the "clericals", pointing out the "violations" of the law, intimidating families, stirring up the ardor of burgomasters and correcting the ineptitude of the teachers. This was the principal objective of the notorious "Educational Investigation". The official examiners at the headquarters of the Cantons collected allegations and summoned accused citizens. From their insidious questioning and their veiled or brutal threats there issued nothing more serious than a little more discontent. Those Brothers who were convened before the "Revolutionary tribunal" responded in such a way as to have the last word. Belgian pride reared up, and humor did not lose opportunities to expand as it pleased.[129]

But the persecution was to affect the Brothers' Institute more directly. The day came when the Motherhouse at Namur was confiscated. We should recall that in 1839 M. Bodart and his wife and the Vicar-general Jeanty had granted the Major Seminary a double gift of land and buildings for the support of religious education. Frère-Orban's government, using the law of December 19, 1864 as a pretext, conveyed the pious foundation to the City of Namur. The royal decree, dated July 21, 1882, was assailed in court by the defrauded institution as well as by the donors' heirs.

The suit was adjourned to the competence of four judges and came before the court in October of 1883. The Namur judges threw out the petitioners' case.[130] A lengthy series of their "Whereases" corroborated Bara's "Statist" theories.[131] Since the legacy dealt with primary education, the Seminary was nothing more than an unqualified administrator; forty-three years of trouble-free ownership did not in any way strengthen its assumed right: indeed, "the appropriation of property for perpetual usage" gives rise to a "public institution" subject to "the sovereignty of the nation". "Abusive errors" had at one time

[129] Yearbook of Jubilée des écoles normales de Malonne, 1913, pg. 35.

[130] Civil Court of Namur, Session for the 22nd of October 1883.

[131] See Vol. VI of the present work, pp. 128-130.

bestowed exaggerated capacities on corporations whose special rôle, however, is very carefully defined. The law of 1864 restores reason; it has been called retroactive; but it was within the power of the State "to introduce into the service of foundations changes that have been, through experience, acknowledged to be useful or necessary".

To the Jeanty and Bodart heirs the court interposed "prescription". And as for the Brothers, disdainfully referred to in this legal document as "ignorantines", they were declared unsuited for any claims: the donors, without setting aside any part of the property for them, had simply "recommended [them] to the choice of the Ordinary of the diocese". In the language of the deeds of 1839, the Bishop was free to dispose of the use of the land and the capital, and, as a consequence, to exclude and to replace as he saw fit the initial beneficiaries.

This decision amounted to allowing the Namur Communal Counsel every means, not only of seizing other peoples' property, but of expelling the Catholic school teachers. Shortly after the royal decree, Brother Visitor Marianus organized the withdrawal of "Ancients" and Novices to Alost and settled his own residence at the St. Liévin residence school in that city. Recourse to the appeal process permitted the postponement of the School Brothers departure. Meanwhile, the liberal Ministry collapsed.

One might have hoped that the new political climate might have altered the magistrature's point of view. But the law of 1864 was still in place: and the Court in Liège thought that the lower court had provided the correct interpretation of the law. And the petition on appeal, even though M. Woeste as lawyer was responsible for its advocacy, ended in ultimate defeat.

The confiscation — in virtue of *summum jus* — became complete and final. Six weeks after the decree of April 3, 1886 the Brothers in Namur left the residence they had occupied for half a century. Two neighboring houses belonging to benefactors of the Institute welcomed them.[132] Thus, at the doors of its past, the Lasallian Community, quite reduced in numbers, resumed its educational endeavors.

The factors involved provided this perverted case with a certain amount of notoriety. But elsewhere on Belgian soil similar episodes occurred. On April 14, 1881 the Georges and Roubaud foundation, established in favor of the Brothers in Dinant, and up to that time, managed by Church Charities, was handed over to the Communal government; and the Catholic school lost the use of its quarters at the end of September, 1883.[133] At the same

[132] Hutin, l'Institut des Frères en Belgique, Vol. II, pp. 199 et sq., Namur, 1912.

[133] Hutin, Vol. III, pp. 207-209.

time the house given by Baron Lambert Barré to the Archdiocesan Seminary in Malines as a residence and classrooms for the Brothers in Nivelles legally became the property of the city. In this instance, the Burgomaster and the Supervisors, not terribly concerned to please the government, refused to pursue in the courts the recovery of the titles of bequest: a special commissioner, appointed by the permanent delegation of Brabant, introduced the suit, and, on August 13, 1883, won a decision in the civil court.[134] In Boom the parish was stripped of property given to it by Bishop Van de Velde: as a consequence, the Brothers were forced to leave the building which they had owned. On an appeal by the pastor, Father Heylen, the population made up of brick-makers, hastily supplied materials for a building into which the Brothers moved on August 26, 1885.[135] In Verviers, the struggle centered on the gifts of the Simonis and Biolley families; here, once again, the public authorities were prepared to seize an educational patrimony: but these distinguished industrial families anticipated events by precautionary measures. And in spite of the royal decree and in opposition to the city's exactions, the families' claims were admitted by the courts.[136] Laws governing military service contributed to the difficulties of private education. Since June 3, 1870 for teachers to be exempted from enlistment they had to present a certificate from the Burgomaster of their place of residence declaring that their parents did not have an adequate income: and even this formality ran the risk of interfering with their career, when a hostile Communal bureaucrat declined the request. After 1879 the situation became more bleak: since private Normal Schools were no longer certified by the Ministry, their students no longer had a right to exemption.

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[134] Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 545-547.

[135] Archives of the Institute in Belgium, Historique de Boom.

[136] Hutin, Vol. II, pp. 253-255. — In Rochfort the foundation that had been misappropriated went all the way back to the 18th century: Bishop Jacquet (Bishop in partibus Hippone) had set it up in his will of July 25, 1763 in favor of the youth of his native city. The assets that he had bequeathed consisted of Papal State bonds. They were transferred in 1787-1788 and real estate situated in Rome was substituted in their place. The income from this property enabled the Brothers to be established in Rochfort in 1843. The Belgian government refused to consider either the origin or the situation of the properties in question (Motherhouse archives, File ID u.

Religious found themselves similarly menaced. Fortunately, the system of "substitution", which was still operative, supplied them with the means of not "wearing the uniform". Nevertheless, they would have to be enrolled in the "Civil Guard". A letter from Brother Assistant Renaux, addressed to the Director of the Community at Mons, was concerned with this question and sought to solve it in an imaginative way: "It is evident [the superior wrote on January 13, 1881] that you must act to spare your Brothers from having to serve in the Guard. But if the authorities insist, you will have to state that you cannot equip them; and they will arrive on the parade grounds with their mantle on their back and their "Three-cornered hat" on their head. In this way, the authorities will learn how ridiculous their demands are. And they will leave you alone, as they did in France in 1830 and in 1848."[137]

The critical period, however, was about to come to an end. On June 10, 1884, the so-called "the scornful election" involved the defeat of the liberals. Charles Woeste, one of the Catholic victors, now become Minister of Justice, worked out, in agreement with Jacobs, Minister of Public Education, a bill for a new educational law.

On February 7, 1880, Malou announced to the Chamber that the "Right", on resuming power, would replace the text of the law of 1879 with legislation borrowed from the English: the broadest possible freedom of education was once again proclaimed, and every school organized under regular conditions would receive State subsidies.

For political reasons Woeste and Jacobs preferred to leave the job of choosing and deciding to the Communes. They continued to require everyone of the Communes to maintain a public school. But a private school might take its place, if the king consented. However, if twenty heads of families that had children of school age demanded the maintenance of a public school teacher, such a step, provided it was supported by the delegation of the provincial Counsel, would be sufficient to commit the local Assembly.

Religion was listed, as in the past, at the head of educational programs. But it was no longer compulsory. No one could complain that freedom of conscience was not respected. Special classes would be set aside for the children of unbelievers when a petition, signed by at least twenty parents, sought exemption from catechism classes. On the other hand, if there were a Commune sufficiently hostile to religious concepts so as to legislate neutrality for a school or to close it to ministers of religion for teaching the faith, the royal government, at the request of twenty citizens directly involved and invoking their rights as heads of families, could operate where the city authorities had defaulted: it would adopt one or more private institutions.

[137] Archives of the school in Louvain, Mons File.

Such a designation, of course, was dependent upon legitimate demands: quarters would have to fulfill conditions concerning up-keep, reasonable organization and hygiene; the personnel in charge would have to possess diplomas. But for the granting of educational certificates, the private Normal Schools were restored to their prior status.[138] These were the general features of the law of September 20, 1884. Belgium entered a new era of tolerance. Eleven years later salutary adjustments were added which contributed a more thorough-going satisfaction to Catholics: the law of 1895 divided subsidies among the Communal schools, adopted schools and "adoptable" schools, i.e., those which, while remaining independent, offered the necessary guarantees with regard to their recruitment of teachers and financial arrangements.[139]

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The Institute's superiors had actively engaged in the struggle for the schools; they were prepared to benefit from the victory. From Paris, Brother Irlide, himself exposed to the assaults of Masonic politicians, had promoted the determination of his Walloon and Flemish confreres. More closely still and with an affectionate concern his successor, Brother Joseph, had followed their spiritual progress and their success as educators.

These two men had in their Council, in support of the interests of the Belgian Brothers, a Religious with a quick mind and an informed judgment. Brother Renaux — Louis Boniface Renaux — elected Assistant by the Chapter of 1873, had replaced Brother Amos.[140] The latter had been very much loved by his confreres; and after having lived for nine years with the Brothers in Namur, as Director/provincial and then as Visitor, he was never in heart or mind ever totally separated from his former District. Forced by age to resign his office, he left Brother Renaux with a marvelous inheritance, the gratification of which the administration enjoyed. Language, proximity to France and similarity of customs on both sides of the frontier facilitated numerous and easy contacts.

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[138] Mélot, op. cit., pp. 44-46. — Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes for July 1922, pg. 251.

[139] Mélot, pg. 53.

[140] Concerning Brother Renaux, see also Vol. V of the present work, pp. 520-521 and Vol. VII, pg. 36.

The new Assistant was able to earn peoples' confidence. He showed an aptitude for leading persons who were anything but soft, to understand a nation of progressive minds and of eagerly intrepid undertakings. The son of a teacher, he had been from the first intended to follow in his father's footsteps; at the age of seventeen he entered the Normal School in Rouen; and after having studied there between 1837 and 1840 and having experienced the beneficial influence of Brother Cecilian, he became a school teacher in the Department of his birth, the Lower Seine. A Religious vocation had already suggested itself: he waited until one of his younger brothers was in a position replace him in his teaching post. And, having left to the other Renaux the task of continuing the family tradition, Louis Boniface applied as a Postulant to the Motherhouse in the St. Martin neighborhood in 1843.

He was teaching at the residence school at Passy in the year of its opening. Alongside Brother Théoticus and Brother Libanos, the young educator took his place among the principal of the institution's organizers. It was he who undertook to guide some of the pupils toward higher studies: — the first to be admitted to the Central School of Arts and Manufactures had graduated from that class. In this way he asserted the proficiency of the Brothers in higher education. For the rest, he was not reluctant to obtain the assistance of good specialist selected from lay-teachers. As long as the Brothers guided the intellectual and moral bearing of the youngsters, he saw nothing but gain in their association with talented lay-teachers who were animated by the same Christian spirit as the Brothers. A departmental head beginning in 1857, he showed that he was capable of harmonizing the efforts of an entire teaching staff as well as of disciplining schoolboys. Thereafter he succeeded Brother Adorator in the residence school in Rheims.

His zeal, his personal tact, his basic cultural background brought him to the attention of the Capitulants in 1873. Until 1894, he worked in concert with the Superiors-general, who gave him the task of supervising huge provinces: apart from several French Districts, Brother Assistant Renaux had jurisdiction over Germany, Austria, Algeria and Tunisia. This Norman did not falter in the spiritual conquest of the most diverse countries; but Belgium remained the most brilliant gem in his collection.

Under his command, Brother Marianus was, from the Ardenne to the Escaut, the immediate superior over the Belgian Communities. Few Religious teacher have ever exercised a more profound influence. In 1938 — fifty years after his death — a well-deserved tribute was paid him before the bust which perpetuates his energetic features in his native village of Emmels. To do him honor in this corner of the Rhinean Eiffel,[141] there

[141] United to Belgium after 1991.

came together both neighbors — grand-nephews of the childhood chums of Anton Arens — and representatives of countries from near and far: Brothers come from along the Rhine and the Danube, former pupils in Carlsbourg and former Scholastics in Louvain; each of these delegations recalled some stage of a magnificent *curriculum vitae*.[142]

In 1851, at the age of twenty-three, Anton Arens, teacher, left the humble school in Schoppen, with the direction of which the civil authorities had entrusted him. He joined the Brothers in Koblenz, who sent him to the Novitiate in Namur. Soon, he was in Carlsbourg, teaching French and Education. Between 1864 and 1869 he directed the training school in which so many devout candidates had been molded by Brother Nonce. Brother Marianus pursued the work of his predecessor. He imprinted his personal mark upon the souls of young men: he sought to make them docile to the Rule and eager in the apostolate. As Auxiliary-Visitor, and then called upon completely to replace Brother Sancien, his interest in the Novitiate never wavered. He broadened its concerns by enlarging the professional preparation it provided as well as the scope of its studies. He was a leader of men and a great administrator. In 1875, Brother Irlide conferred upon him the title of "Visitor-Provincial", a name created by one of the previous Chapters and in keeping with the functions the distinguished Brother had already been fulfilling: two years earlier he had added the inspection of the institutions in Central Europe to the supervision of the Belgian Communities. He had withstood the storm raised by the Kulturcampf just as courageously as he steered his vessel through the backwash of the politics in Brussels.

He was a learned teacher, and contributed to the fame of the Normal School in Carlsbourg. He invented the "arithmometer" which advanced the teaching of calculus and the metric system: in 1885, after the World's Fair in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil asked him for a hundred of these instruments. We have written elsewhere of the fact that he had been the author of a number of textbooks, among others, a series of lectures in which art and diction were combined, the procedures of writing and the laws of orthography.[143] In order to guide and encourage teachers he began the review l'École catholique.

Bishop Gartuyvels, Rector of Louvain University, called him "on of the greatest benefactors of the working class in the 19th century."[144]The education of children in

[142] Revue belge de pédagogie for July 1938, article by Brother Emile.

[143] See Vol. V of the present work, pg. 498 and Vol. VI, pp. 143-144, 151.

[144] On Brother Marianus, see Choix de notices nécrologiques, Vol. I, 1933, pp. 117-134; Revue belge de pédagogie, Brother Emile's article (cited); Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennesfor April, 1939.

primary schools owed him a remarkable development. And just as educational convocations, examinations and practical demonstrations prevented teachers from becoming isolated and lapsing into routine, so, too, did school competition stimulate emulation among pupils. Brother Marianus established these contests as early as 1871 among the elementary classes in institutions that he supervised. When in 1884 the expulsion incited by the "Terrible Law" came to an end, the Ministry of Public Education authorized pupils in private education to compete against their siblings in the public schools. Those who attended Brothers' schools won victories that were all the more appreciated in that the awards issued guaranteed the beneficiaries the right of voting when they reached legal age.[145]

Within this group of Catholic children the Congregation sought out possible candidates for its own recruitment. The Junior Novitiate which, of late, had been languishing in Flanders, grew under the efforts of Brother Visitor, who had moved it to Jemappes, where a certain number of vocations flourished and where the institution would be sheltered from civic disorders. However, that was only a brief stop. On August 10, 1885 Brother Marianus wrote to Bishop Du Roussaux of Tournai: "As the result of a gift of Baron de Cerve, our Junior Novices will be transferred from Jemappes to Chaumont toward the end of next September."[146]

In the Namur region, near Florennes, they found a beautiful and hygienically sound residence. The future had certainly been secured; the house was filled to such a point that for a few months in 1896 Alost provided hospitality for young Flamands for whom there was no room at Chaumont.[147] The St. Lievin residence school, become a simple day-school after October 1880 and closed in 1882, served as the asylum for the Novitiate at a time when governmental orders obliged the Brothers to leave their house in Namur. The head of the Institute in Belgium had personally prepared for the moving of his young candidates. He continued to live with them and to provide them with the example of his prayer and his austere regularity.

However, he had selected Alost only because no other site was available. The city was not central enough and the buildings left much to be desired. Brother Marianus found it hard to forget Namur. He had long hoped to find permanent quarters, large enough, suitably furnished and capable of serving as District headquarters.

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[145] Obituaries, 2nd trimester, 1888, pg. 35.

[146] Institute archives, Belgium, Jemappes File

[147] Institute archives, Belgium, Alost File.

He found such a place in 1886. On August 9, 1887 he wrote the following circular letter to all his confreres: “We have the satisfaction of announcing that property of more than five acres has been acquired in Louvain in order to establish our provincial house. Occupied in the past by the Discalced Carmelite Fathers, the property is surrounded by walls overlooking the city. Its situation is so favorable that, from time immemorial, the spot has been called Placet, “It pleases”. We shall call it Jesu placet, “It pleases Jesus”. As early as next week I figure to move my residence there.[148]

Whoever has seen the splendid site of *Jesu placet* understands how the thought of bringing the Brothers there must have aroused Brother Marianus’ enthusiasm. It had the light and the silence of the countryside standing above the city; below, on the plain on which flows the Dyle, arose steeples, gables, lofty roofs and the architectural splendors of the city hall, St. Peter’s, St. Michael’s and St. Gertrude’s. Above the former Carmelite house, stood Mont Caesar at the top, welcoming meditation, where the sons of St. Benedict found a marvelous refuge for prayer, work and the wherewithal to relight the spiritual beacon.

Christian wisdom had been burning at its brightest in the halls of the University of Louvain. The immediate neighborhood of this great center of learning had been a cherished location for Brother Marianus. Ever attentive to procure opportunities for study for his confreres, the Visitor of Belgium could only congratulate himself for having situated the Brothers in such a favorable climate.

In the days when he directed the Novitiate in Namur, he had expressed the wish of opening a Scholasticate. He wanted the young Brothers, before being bound down by all the demands of teaching, to be equipped with a sound intellectual formation. At his prompting, many joined with the Normal students in Malonne and after that at Carlsbourg, while awaiting the opening of their own school.

Such a school was begun in buildings in Alost in 1880. Two years later, people thought that they were providing it with greater autonomy and cohesiveness by moving it to Jemappes. There the Scholastics occupied the quarters of St. Ferdinand’s residence school that had been closed at that time. They left Flanders at the same time as the Junior Novices. But their stay in Hainaut was even briefer than that of their juniors. In 1884 the

[148] Institute archives, Belgium, Historique de Louvain.

government decided that housing was inadequate and refused the subsidies which would have placed the Scholasticate in the ranks of “Adopted” Normal Schools.[149]

Carlsbourg had to be used again. But the number of students in the Religious habit was on the increase; their daily contacts with lay students presented some difficulties. It was at this time that the Brother Visitor turned his attention toward Louvain. The acquisition of “Placet” having made progress, he disclosed his project to Archbishop Peter Lambert Goossens of Malines. The prelate authorized the foundation under discussion, provided that only “young people called to the Religious life” were to be educated there.[150]Ibid., Louvain File.

The Scholastics would enter into “the promised land” only after Brother Marianus’ death. For a long time, the man’s active life had come to grips with faltering health. In 1887 he was obliged, on the advice of physicians and the orders of the Superior- general, to “take the waters” at Carlsbad. He returned quite weakened and sapped by a relentless cancer.

He spent his last days at the “Carmelite House”. He loved to evoke the memory of the monks in that place, and work and suffer in a place sanctified for 160 years by the disciples of St. John of the Cross. On March 15, 1888 the first stone of the future Jesu Placet was laid. On April 26 Brother Marianus, surrounded by his colleagues at the residence, died. The very simple and moving funeral took place in St. James church, in a great concourse of people and in the presence of Church dignitaries, members of the University and Religious of various Orders. And, in the shadow on the Premonstratensian Abbey, in Parc Cemetery, the mortal remains of the master-teacher, the devout and valorous Anton Arens was given sepulture.

His work was to continue as he would have wanted it. In order to provide it with the setting befitting it, appeal was made to Brother Marés; the man who designed the St.Luke Schools, with his associate, the architect Helleputte, constructed a remarkable building in that “national” style that he had so commended: at once sober, harmonious and majestic, in which the brick gave off brilliant flashes and in which all the arrangements corresponded to the ends sought. Scholastics, Novices, Brothers employed in the administrative or “temporal” services were able to dwell there without getting in one another’s way.

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[149] Institute archives, Belgium, Jemappes File, letter of Brother Visitor Madir Joseph to Count Eugene Meeûs, President of the Administrative Council of Charity Credit, November 11, 1891.

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At the center, the chapel was their rallying point, the symbol of their family unity. The designer had submitted several blue-prints to the Institute's Regime: "We have examined them with the Superior-general", Brother Renaux wrote to him on March 13, 1889. "We prefer the plan with a single nave and with the columns against the wall."[151]Institute archives, Louvain File, letters to Brother Marès.

On the 5th of the following April, the Superior-general himself came to inaugurate formally the enterprise. And Brother Alexis, responsible for supervising the work, had brought the chapel up to roof level; it was a model of elegance and good taste and remained one of the crowning glories of the neo-Gothic school. Conceptions of art can change; but the Brothers' chapel at Louvain continue to please, because it was reserved, ordered and unaffected. Unfortunately, it never achieved the dimensions that Brother Marès had planned for it: out of fear that it would appear too big, the examiners of the plan demanded — quite mistakenly — the elimination of one of the proposed spans.[152]

The Archbishop of Malines consecrated the main altar. Later, on July 1, 1890, the walls were blessed. Ten months earlier, the Scholasticate had moved into the quarters destined for it. A royal decree dated August 29, 1889 granted it the privileges of an accredited Normal School. Nearly at the same time, Cardinal Goosens prompted the opening of a "tuition-free practice school", where young Brothers could acquire teaching experience. A pay school was to be operated along side: but its existence was tied to that of classes that were indispensable to the practical training of teachers.[153] While Brother Madir Joseph succeeded Brother Marianus as Visitor, the direction of the Scholastics was entrusted to a very competent Brother, Brother Macarius Joseph, who, previously, had been professor at the Normal School in Malonne. Once again the Brothers in Belgium were in good hands. Their leaders had sought not to slow down the movement that had been impressed upon their confreres by the powerful personality of the late Provincial.

Nevertheless, the setting the Scholasticate in motion did not happen without cost. While the program of studies was easily arranged — school laws and traditions of institutions in Namur and Luxembourg had supplied the subject matter and the framework — it remained to adapt it to the conditions of the monastic life. Furthermore, a rather

[151] Historique de Louvain.

[152] Institute archives, Louvain File, Cardinal-Archbishop's authorization, dated August 3, 1889.

[153] Institute archives, Louvain File, Cardinal-Archbishop's authorization, dated August 3, 1889.

sensitive choice had to be made between young men who had emerged from the Novitiate and were called to teach either in elementary schools or in residence schools.

From the documents left by Brother Macarius Joseph it is evident that some failings occurred early. The physical stamina of the students was severely tested. Of the twenty-one admitted in 1890, three died and several others suffered serious setbacks to their health. To Brother Assistant Renaux, who was quite correctly anxious, the Director of the Louvain Scholasticate enumerated the causes of this unfortunate situation: sufficient attention had not been paid to crises of growth when adolescents were in the Junior Novitiate at Chaumont; for some of them, the over-work had continued in the Novitiate at Alost; among the Brothers sent to *Jesu Placet*, during the early days, some consumptives had been included. This dangerous practice had been discontinued. But it was also important to avoid admitting into the Institute unfit candidates, or to guide toward higher studies young men, however virtuous, whose defects of body or mind made them useless for any but the most unchallenging tasks; and finally it was essential to reduce the time dedicated to manual labor and to prevent the frenzied haste associated with studying for examinations.[154].

Brother Macarius Joseph had thus a clear grasp of the problem; and with firmness he applied the necessary remedies. When he became Visitor, there was a teacher in the Scholasticate, one who was no less well-informed and a man on the same model as the late Brother Marianus: Under the supervision of Brother Maximin Louis, who, later on directed Carlsbourg with astonishing mastery, first-rate elementary school and high-school teachers planned their careers in the monastic surroundings of Jesu Placet. They joined to their religious fervor a complete understanding of the obligations of their profession; they took courses at the University, they studied and became diligent frequenters of the famous Library. And, like the clergy and monastic Religious Orders, the Brothers could be proud of what their people accomplished at Louvain.

In 1885 the transfer of the Novices from Alost to Louvain[155] succeeded in giving the former Carmelite domain the character that Brother Marianus, from the very beginning, had intended it to have. Jesu Placet was to remain for several years the principal house of formation for the Brothers in Belgium.

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[154] Institute archives, Louvain File

[155] The Novices reached Pacet on June 30, 1895, led by their Director, Brother Meldas *Historique de Louvain*.

Nevertheless, it was the period during which the growth of the Institute in the kingdom ended with the imperative separation into two Districts. Beginning in 1893, western Flanders, eastern Flanders, the Province of Anvers, Limbourg and the Flemish regions of Brabant composed the Northern District; while Hainaut, Namur, Luxembourg, Liège and the Walloon section of the Brabant region were brought together under the name of Southern Belgium.[156].

And while the Novitiate and the Scholasticate remained common until further notice, each of the two territorial divisions was required to have its own recruiting program. Brothers in the North received Flemish names; those in the South continued to be given French names that began with the letter 'M'.

The Brothers were divided into pretty nearly equal groups: there were 371 in one District, 341 in the other. But, at the time of reorganization, there were more Communities in the South, where there were thirty-one, while there were only eighteen Flemish Communities, inclusive of the houses in Brussels.

The northern District took very little time to add a beautiful estate in Grand Bigard, at the very gates of Brussels.[157]

In another time there arose in this village a Benedictine Convent founded in the 12th century by a Nun venerated in the Low-Countries, St. Wivine. The French Revolution had inflicted the same fate on it as on so many other religious institutions: the Abbess and many of her Sisters took refuge in Brussels, bringing the relics of the Foundress, which in 1805, they entrusted to the parish of Notre Dame au Sablon.

The monastery's church had been destroyed. The demolition was completed in the 19th century when a purchaser of the "national property" tore down most of the buildings. He left standing nothing but the farm, the infirmary, a small chapel dedicated to the saint and — an imposing vestige of antique splendor — the Chaplain's residence with its facade pediments, its classical staircase adorned with a bannister and elegantly sculpted panels.

In 1897 the property had belonged to Mme. Clotilde Dansaert, widow of M. Jules Mention. Mme. Dansaert was interested in the work of the Brothers' Institute; and she had a great respect for Brother Marès. Through the intermediary of the Director of the St. Luke Schools, she offered to place the buildings and the grounds — about thirty acres — at the disposal of the Visitor of the Northern District; it was a site in which to locate one of the houses of formation — the Junior or Senior Novitiate — as well as the ill and the

[156] Later, the new foundations at Limbourg were to belong to the southern District

[157] Institute archives, Belgium, Historique de Grand-Bigard. — Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes for October 1924.

elderly. A lease was drawn up. Eventually, lease became sale, with Mme. Mention, nevertheless, retaining the use for life of the former infirmary and a vegetable garden.[158] Subsequent gifts on the part of the seller[159] greatly reduced the beneficiaries' payments. She promoted the construction, on the basis of Brother Marès' plans, of a series of buildings connected to what remained of the former abbey. The choir of a chapel was built in 1900. Conventual life, mutatis mutandis made great strides under the patronage of St. Wivine. A new monastery was about to raise its powerful contours in the midst of trees and meadows, alongside an artificial waterfall, to suggest an expansive theme for the ideas of the architects at St. Luke's and to supply the children in the vicinity — at the "Sacred Heart School" — with food for the spirit. And devoutly, contemporary Religious cleared the ground where lay buried the remains of the Benedictine church — capitals, shafts of columns, and flagstones.

As early as April 1897, three Brothers arrived to prepare the 18th century building. The Junior Novices came from Alost in June.[160] The following year the Louvain Novitiate was set up at Grand Bigard. An infirmary for both Districts was located there in 1900.

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To the extent that vocations increased and strengthened the Institute was prepared to fullfil all its tasks as a teaching Congregation. We are familiar with the way in which it acquitted itself since having been called upon by Belgian Catholics. We are aware of its position in Brussels and in the provinces, the cooperation it provided to the heads of the Church and to the defenders of religious freedom both before and during the struggle for the school. In this connection we need only underscore details.

[158] The deed of sale was signed on October 1, 1898, in the form of a "Tonti agreement" in the name of seven members of the Congregation, since the latter was not incorporated in Belgium. Mrs. Mention lent the purchasers 80,000 francs of the purchase price, with the simple condition that she be paid an annual rent of 2,300 francs.

[159] Her payments came to more than 70,000 francs, "without security."

[160] They must not have remained more than a little over a year at Grand Bigard: on November 15, 1898, they were sent to Overyssche.

The growth of the large schools which we shall presently recount did not have as a side-effect a decrease in its efforts in popular education. The Brothers had remained faithful to their principal mission.

The clergy had no doubt that they could count on the Brothers. To the witness of the Bishops, the concerns of Cardinal Goosens and of a Bishop Doutreloux, to the praise of a Vice-Rector of the University of Louvain uttered at the tomb of Brother Marianus,[161] was added the deep-seated friendship of Bishop Jacobs, Dean of the celebrated church in Brussels, St. Gudule's. Bishop Jacobs had constantly aided the Brothers with his advice, his encouragement and his funds. Seeing that many of them were miserably housed, he worked to deliver them from the most shameful instances of squalor. He pleaded their cause with members of the Benefactors' Committee, distinguished persons who did not always grasp the reasons for certain requests. In order to preserve Catholic education in its difficult moments, he did not hesitate to sacrifice a major portion of his personal fortune.

When, poor and broken by age, he retired, Brother Visitor Macarius Joseph conveyed to him the full gratitude of the Institute. Bishop Jacobs said that he was "genuinely touched": "I wanted to do more," he wrote on August 19, 1899. Although only very little of his fortune remained, he offered to intervene again financially in order to make some necessary purchase.[162]

His successors imitated his zeal. The Brothers, surrounded by an atmosphere of kindness and open friendliness, were happy to live in St. Gudule's parish, to enlarge their services there and to train its many young people for Catholic action.

In the Brussels suburb of Molenbeek, the pastor, Father Claes, sought to invite the Brothers. The working class population had great need of evangelization. Sounded out, Brother Madir Joseph promised to send a group of teacher-missionaries as soon as possible. Meanwhile the pastor and some dedicated lay-folk formed a Society which purchased a piece of land on Rue Quatre-Vents and built a school of six classrooms on it. It was Brother Macarius Joseph's task to carry negotiations through successfully. The contract signed on August 3, 1896 made provisions for a parochial school the costs for which would be handled by Father Claes. If eventual subsidies from the public treasury failed, a tuition-paying section would be added to the tuition-free school. Over and above their professional obligations, the teachers were committed to assist the clergy in the promotion of a youth club.

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[161] Funeral eulogy pronounced by Bishop Cartuyvels, April 1888; (see above, pg. 77).

[162] Institute archives, Belgium, Alexians File.

Their task began before the construction work was completed. Brother Madulfin and his four associates collected eighty children in a former country-home in the vicinity. Soon their were 150. These Flemish youngsters were taught in their mother tongue, while French was retained for the tuition-paying school which opened in October of 1898.[163] Outside Brussels, the Brothers made their contribution toward strengthening the faith in the Flemish countryside. There their recruitment grew since the now distant days of the very modest Junior Novitiate in Alost. No one henceforth thought of looking on the Institute as a foreign importation. The mantle with the hanging sleeves was familiar to the countrymen of James Artevelde. And, under the "Three-cornered Hat" familiar and friendly faces greeted the huge smiles of factory workers and of longshoremen along the docks in Gant.

The Brothers occupied a respected place in the city. The bell-tower at their "St. Amand's," the red facades on their "St. Luke's" had become characteristic features of Gent, where we must now pause. Less visible but no less cherished, their primary schools nestled in various spots within the city limits and in the suburbs. Since 1878 a Community of teachers of popular education had been occupying, at Téresiénnes and Caverne Streets, the cloister of the former Cellite monks, whose chapel once again echoed with conventual prayer.[164]

At Alost St. Liévin day school was missed, although there remained St.George, which was especially flourishing after 1888. In 1895 Boom celebrated the jubilee of the school founded by Father Deekx: the Communal Counsel bestowed an honorary certificate on the Brothers, testifying to the sense of gratitude of generations which, in the course of half a century, had writing and catechism under their patient guidance.[165].

In Wallonia public opinion was more divided; irreligion had invaded the industrial centers; frequently political parties of the "Left" controlled the local governments. Difficulties however, did not give rise everywhere to anti-religious and political hostility. Financial problems afflicted the functioning of the schools. Throughout the Jemappes region the pastors declared that they were unable to pay the private teachers' salaries. In this connection, in 1885, they exchanged somewhat bitter letters with the Brother Visitor

[163] Institute archives, Belgium, Alexians File, Historique de Molenbeek.

[164] Institute Archives, Historique des école de Gand.

[165] Institute Archives, Historique de Boom

and the Brothers Director.[166] That marvelous devise of Count Ferdinand Meeûs, "The Charity Bank", probably assumed too heavy responsibilities during the time when the "Terrible Law" was in force. After the return to power of the Catholics, it restricted or completely suppressed its donations, with the view, no doubt, that government subsidies would take their place. In fact, it was the Bishop's office in Tournai that came to the aid of the parochial schools. For years, it strove to sustain the arrangements, but its resources were being exhausted. Finally, it sent up a cry of alarm; and on July 15, 1896 Canon Pivet, Secretary of the diocesan administration, wrote to the pastor of Jemappes:

The Charity Bank in 1884 stopped granting assistance to the Brothers in Jemappes, Flénu, Dour and Châlet...It had promised to supply the Bishop with funds over a period of five years...Our Bishop contracted personal debts, so that the schools might not suffer from this default. In spite of formal commitments, the old order of things was never reestablished. However, in 1893 and 1894, the gentlemen gave the sum of 10,000 francs which we divided among the most needy schools...In 1895, the allocation was reduced to 8,000 francs. It has not been renewed for 1896.[167]

It would be a mistake to attribute ill-will to the operators of the Bank. Their project did not vanish but continued to render important service to Catholic education.[168] But legislative provisions in favor of "adoptable" schools offered Religious educators another type of support. And from then on the future was secure.

At the time of the financial crisis that afflicted the Brothers Communities in Borinage, the tuition-free school on Rue Prince was forced to close its doors. On the other hand, the principal institution, moved to Rue Dampremy at Audent Boulevard, was improved. The building on the banks of the Sambre, in spite of significant renovation, remained inconvenient and unhealthy: it hung over the river with its fetid effluents, and it was without a garden. In March 1874, the city had put up for sale parcels of land on the site of the old fortifications; the Dean-Pastor, Father Van Gersdael, acquired a lot of about 1,795 sq. ft., on which five beautiful classrooms and a Brothers' residence were rapidly constructed. The Brothers moved into their new home on October 6, 1875. They regretted nothing of their former dwelling except the delightful chapel that had been built

[166] Institute Archives, Jemappes File.

[167] Ibid.

[168] See Vol. VI of the present work, pg. 113.

long ago by Brother Malerin. The school on the Boulevard, dedicated to St. Joseph, now gave grounds for the highest expectations. Father Van Geersdael went to work to collect the necessary capital; Catholic families in Charleroi did not hesitate to underwrite the expenses; and the "minerval" that was asked of most of the pupils sanctioned the most productive growth of the studies program. [169]

In Enghien, the vicissitudes of a sectarian era had obliged the Brothers to leave the site of the hospice. The Duke of Arenberg moved them provisionally into a house at the entrance to his estate. After the fall of the liberal government, the previous arrangements were restored and lasted until 1902. Thereafter, the Community, divested of its functions in the orphanage, but retaining the full confidence of Catholics and sustained by the zeal of the pastor, Father Poot, selected a residence in the Vieux Marché Square, in one of the most beautiful buildings in the tiny city, where they opened a very successful school.[170]

The Congregation's achievements were of no small importance to the dioceses of Namur and Liège. In both cities the Brothers' educational philosophy owed the growth of its renown to its splendid Normal Schools. In Bertrix, near Carlsbourg, Mlle. Pierlot, an enterprising lady that no obstacle could stop, had decided, at the height of the liberal dominance, to build a religious school. She herself became its architect and called upon Sisters to do the teaching. Obliged to forego this association, she turn to the M. H. Brother Joseph: a French magistrate among her friends, M. Pélerin, who was thoroughly dedicated to the Institute, acted as intermediary. The Superior-general was persuaded: the village in Luxembourg appeared to promise good vocations. The teachers selected were authorized to begin tuition-paying courses, since they would be conveying the beneficiaries of their instruction beyond the elementary level of education. Ten years later, in 1896, a Brother, temporarily attached to the Communal school with the consent of his superiors, there prepared the way for other disciples of De La Salle.[171]

Among the French-speaking population the inhabitants on the banks of the Vesdre gave evidence of a lively attachment to private education. It is important to note the very special extent of the Verviers' educational commitments: in 1881 the twenty-six classes at

[169] Institute Archives, Historique de Charleroi. — Hutin, Vol. III, pp. 310-317.

[170] Institute archives, Enghien File.

[171] Institute Archives, Beatrix File.

St. Michael's, St. Antony's, St. Remacle's, St. Joseph's and St. Lambert's included 1,150 pupils.[172]

The faith was not on the verge of expiring in Belgium: in the field cultivated by the Brothers of the Christian Schools there took root those who would become the Church's "Faithful" as well as aspirants to the priesthood and to every form of the apostolate.

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The "Normal" students in Malonne and Luxembourg were among these apostles, some of whom occupied modest teaching posts in villages, others in the loftier ranks of the University hierarchy, while a good number of them wore the priestly soutane, or the monk's garb, or the same habit as their former professors.[173] And the generation that would enter the lists beginning in 1879 would prove, at least in its leading representatives, that it was able to sustain severe competition.

It received its guidelines from stalwart mentors, the most conspicuous of whom was Brother Memorian. In 1876 he arrived at the St. Berthuin Institute to replace Brother Milliany whom we shall meet at Carlsbourg. His reputation had long since been established, and having been, as we have seen, set in motion in the Ardenne, it spilled over the confines of a single province and indeed over the frontiers of the kingdom.

The Belgian government had appointed the eminent educator to the World Fair in Vienna, to organize the Education Exhibition in the Austrian capital. The designation had aroused the anger of the liberals. In the Chamber of Representatives, on May 10, 1873, Bara stormed against the Carlsbourg school which Brother Memorian was still directing at the time. The fiery Freemason called it an "insignificant institution", and to extol it in foreign eyes was "an affront" to Belgian teachers.

Delcour, Minister of the Interior, replied cautiously: "M. Piron [the Brother's civilian name] has been appointed by the appropriate committee, however without official mission. While the government has confirmed the selection, the Director of the Normal

[172] Ibid., Historique de Verviers.

[173] About 1880 five Brother-professors at Malonne were former students in the school. About seventy "Normal students" at various periods entered the Congregation of St. John Baptist de La Salle. (Brother Mélage, Vie du Frère Mathias, pg. 74.

School is in his own right one of the most distinguished specialist concerned with educational problems."

This tribute, in the presence of the Assembly, a part of which was in an uproar, took on a particularly special importance. The Deputies were won over, and the motion introduced by Bara and reflecting a slur upon the Ministry was rejected by a vote of fifty-one to thirty.[174]

The questioner, in his allegation, had presumed to claim that the Paris Commune had recruited most of its arsonists from among the former pupils of the "little Brothers."[175] The shocking and absurd slander could damage none but its author. However, once Brother Memorian became Director of Malonne he would find himself face-to-face with Bara.

In the ministerial team of 1878, Bara, a lawyer from Tournai and an enemy of the Church, played a major rôle, since the entire magistracy was subject to his orders. Along with Van Humbeek, who had been given the portfolio for Public Education, he was the initiator of sectarian legislation. The abolition of subsidies, the confiscation of funds and property, the dismissal of officials — all the measures taken between 1879 and 1884 involved the responsibilities of these two men.

But Catholics did not bend the knee before them. And since religion no longer played any but an insignificant part in public education, their Normal Schools rejected direction from public authorities. On September 1, 1879, two months after the vote on the new educational law, Brother Memorian wrote the following letter to Van Humbeek: "I am obliged to inform you that since the Malonne Normal School, founded by the Bishop of Namur in 1836, can no longer operate within the spirit in which it was founded, I am forced as of now to repudiate the adoption that was granted it by the royal decree of December 1, 1843 and confirmed by the decree of December 15, 1860.[176]

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[174] Institute Archives, Historique de Carlsbourg.

[175] E. Chardome, Carlsbourg, histoire du château et du premier siècle de l'établissement, chap. ii, Liège, 1946.

[176] Malonne archives, Notes historiques by Brother Meldas, Vol. II, pp. 143-144.

At the same time that he "took note" of this disclaimer, the Minister sent a circular letter to "Normal Students" attending diocesan schools. He pointed out that if they continued to swear allegiance to their teachers, they would be depriving themselves of assistance from the State, the Provinces and the Communes, be refused a teacher's diploma and, as a consequence, be excluded from a career which, henceforth, was to be reserved for their comrades in the public schools. And finally he proposed that they join the latter in an Alma Mater that was under the jurisdiction of Public Education.[177]

It was a cruel dilemma for young people: either disobey religious leaders or abandon the assurance of a tranquil future. Not only would public authority cease to contribute to the cost of their studies, but it would not grant them any exemption from military service, and it would withdraw any right to a retirement pension.[178]

As early as September 6, the Director of Malonne, sent a pledge to those of his students who, about to begin their second or third year of courses, found that they had to make a choice: "Your school [he told them] will flourish more than ever...It will continue to supply the nation with skilled and dedicated teachers who will provide private schools with education that harmonizes with their beliefs. For this purpose, diplomas will be awarded by a diocesan board...And Normal Students who have it will obtain both responsible and lucrative positions.[179]

A host of courageous young men heard the call. At the time the St. Berthuin Institute resumed complete independence in relation to the State it had 104 Normal Students. The twenty-five who were in the last year of studies and who were examined during the last two weeks of August had all earned their diplomas; twelve of them were committed to the Catholic cause. Of the seventy-nine making up the two other sections, thirteen, by reason of exceptional circumstances, were immediately appointed to private teaching posts; twenty-nine returned to Malonne. There were thirty-seven, however, who went into State service or who gave up studies in education. Of the volunteers in Gideon's army was it not the smaller number who held their heads high?

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[177] Circular to students of former "Adopted" Normal Schools, September 4, 1897.

[178] Jubilé des écoles normales de Malonne, 1913, pp. 32-33.

[179] Malonne archives, notes cited, Vol. II, pp. 150-151.

Family considerations, human precautions as well as a sort of discouragement had occasioned either the desertions or the changing of camps. The tiny troop of those who persevered grew to seventy-four by the time courses began again in October: so that the Normal School had recaptured its earlier numbers.[180]

It obtained financial assistance from various sources: during the five years of the Van Humbeek administration, the Bishop's office in Namur contributed 22,900 francs. The Alumni Association levied 16,600 francs from among its subscribers. And the students in the residence school laid out twice the regular costs so that the difference might be paid into the financial aid fund. Other gifts came both from the generosity of people outside the institution and from St. Berthuin's reserves. Overall, financial assistance came to nearly 50,000 francs.[181]

Henceforth autonomous, the school took advantage of its new circumstances to revise its programs. While preserving the basis of the disciplines prescribed by the laws of 1842 and 1879, it modified it or constructively completed it. It went without saying that religious instruction was maintained. The course in Plain Chantthat had been suppressed about 1865 was restored. Instruction in drawing was expanded and more carefully specified. Belgian history and geography profited from a more penetrating study. Finally, and in a general way, teachers agreed to pursue the essential goal of an institution of this sort: to train teachers and not theoreticians of the science.[182]

"Experiments" had always held a respected place in Malonne. Between 1851 and 1875, Normal Students did practice teaching in the village Communal school. When the Burgomaster withdrew his authorization, Brother Milliany, during his term at the head of the teaching body, revived the parochial school at St. Berthuin's. And future teachers thereafter practiced their skills without leaving the Brothers' grounds.[183]

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[180] Malonne archives, notes cited, Vol. II, pp. 155-156.

[181] Brother Meldas' notes cited, Vol. II, pp. 411-412.

[182] ,[182]"Plain Chant" also regained its name and its genuine character of "Gregorian Chant." Brother Meldas, Vol. II, pg. 204.

[183] Brother Milliany's Obituary, 1896; and Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes for April 1910.

Examinations and the issuance of certificates were entrusted to a board that had been seriously assembled. The Brothers at St. Berthuin's composed it, with two diocesan Inspectors presiding. In 1880, in order rapidly to increase the teaching personnel in Catholic schools, Canon Pirard, Ecclesiastical Inspector, M. Godefin, retired Cantonal Inspector who had become diocesan Inspector, Mr. Kaisin, Physician, Brother Director Memorian and Brother Mathias and Médilbert conducted the questioning at Easter vacation. Twenty-one candidates obtained diplomas.[184] The educator who laid the ground work for this successful result had once again shown his skill and his knowledge — his sure judgment, complete reliability and invincible idealism. His authority naturally asserted itself, but his genuinely affability made it seem stress-free for his colleagues and for the young students.

He wrested respect from his adversaries. Called to Brussels on the occasion of the famous "inquiry" in 1880, he appeared at the National Palace before six judges of whose ill-will he was not unaware. For two hours by the clock he held their attention with his talk; he explained his work to them. And on no point did they find him wanting. Criticism stopped; and no one dared any longer to give free play to deceitful insinuations. Brother Memorian had been summoned as a defendant; he retired having vindicated his own honor and that of his Institute.[185]

Even Van Humbeek was brought to treat the Director of Malonne with consideration. The Minister of Public Education had opened an educational museum; he ordered his Secretary-general to write to the Brothers to obtain an assortment of objects meriting a place in the halls and on the showcases: — orthogonal projections of mobile planes, posters demonstrating the simultaneous method and examples of pupils' work were to make up the contribution of the school in Namur.

For supplementary information, M. de Taye, Director of the Fine Arts Academy at Louvain visited the Brothers in December of 1881. Keenly interested, he conveyed to the government a most favorable evaluation of the science education whose principles its champion had explained to him. This explanation was contain in a pamphlet that Van Humbeek read and of which he ordered a thousand copies for the use of his associates. He paid Malonne the price of the objects sent to the Museum in Brussels.[186]

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[184] Brother Meldas, Vol. II, pp. 156-165.

[185] Brother Meldas, Vol. II, pg. 398.

[186] Brother Meldas, Vol. II, pp. 388 et sq.

The political winds had veered; Frère-Orban and his coterie had been defeated. And as a consequence of the law of September 20, 1884, a royal decree, dated January 10, Students at Malonne could, as a consequence, 1885 had restored St. Berthuin's Normal School its title and privileges as an "accredited" institution. A "Board of Confirmation" had determined to validate all diplomas granted to Normal Students since 1880.[187]be restored to the ranks of public education.

However, there was a decline in the number of students between 1887 and 1890.[188] Many private schools, hastily started up during the period of conflict, with the coming of the new administration, no longer had any reason for remaining open, and they accordingly disappeared; and since positions to be filled had become fewer in number, young people who might have eagerly chosen to be teachers feared unemployment and so espoused other courses of action.

Brother Memorian was no longer in the picture. In February of 1886 he was felled by a sudden illness. His death left a void that was difficult to fill. To control the complex organism that was Malonne, to attract to it the best educational prospects and to raise study to the level required by the progress of science what was needed was a man with a lofty mind and a strong will. There was some anxiety that such persons were not in immediate supply.

They did finally appear, however. Brother Médilbert Joseph, professor at the Normal School since 1877 and Sub-director since 1885, was placed at the head of the vast institution in 1889. "His vigor of speech, the clarity of his look, the rapid sweep of his gestures, everything about him was expansive, life and light…He exerted an extraordinary influence on is students."[189]

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[187] Ibid., pp. 401, 410, 418; and Jubilé des écoles normales, 1913, pg. 36.

[188] In 1887 there were eighty-three Normal Students, seventy-three in 1888, sixty in 1889, sixty-two in 1890.

[189] .[189]St. Berthuin archives, Historique de Malonne, 1876-1925. — Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes for April 1910. Obituary, 1905.

He accomplished the revision of instructional programs that had been planned by Brother Memorian. He housed Normal Students more widely in buildings constructed outside the residence school, across the road that united the village to Namur. He was supported by superb teachers; among them, the most renowned and the saintliest, Brother Michael, and conducted enthusiastic and docile student to the heights of the intellectual life. As a philosopher, he taught them the correct use of reason and forced them to examine the foundations of their beliefs. As a man of letters, he inspired them with a taste for the classical master-pieces and a passion for clear ideas and a harmonious style. Sometimes, his irony tended to generate juvenile opposition. But while he mistrusted whim and curbed fantasy, he went out of his way to avoid discouraging individual talent. With a certain emotional hesitancy, people venerated this tiny little man with his austere face, his solemn gestures and his piercing eyes. Among his confreres and his students there was a certain carping at the unmistakable instances, however secretive, of his virtues. He dominated, indeed he almost terrified. But people knew how he trampled pride under foot and how his natural crustiness was tempered by a delicate gentleness. He succeeded in conquering peoples' affections and inspiring gratitude and loyalty which, in the most varying circumstances, continued to be manifested.[190]

Brother Michael was assistant in the "Intermediate Section" — an innovation of the great Catholic, Charles Woeste, who described its origin in a lecture he gave at St. Berthuin's in 1913: "The liberal party [he said] had drawn up a law in virtue of which all teachers and tutors in intermediate education in classical high schools and colleges had to graduate from the secularized State Normal Schools. At the same time, it was prepared to develop the importance and influence of these institutions. Given the spirit of the times, I leave it to you to imagine what would become of personnel trained in this way. Fortunately, 1884 arrived. My attention was drawn to that legislation…I decided to change it; and I worked on it without relaxation and not without difficulty. Once success was achieved, I turned to you, my dear Brothers, and I urgently asked you to start here a section which would provide us with competent teachers. Without calculating the problems and the expenses, you

[190] See the very poetic and lively book a former Normal Students, Paulin renault, l'Irrésistible appel, Frère Michel, professeur à Malonne, Namur, 1942. — Cf. Choix de notices nécrologiques, Vol. II, pp. 517-536 and Jubilé de Malonne, 1913, pg. 97.

enthusiastically agreed with me. You have invited many young people, and you have taught them in accordance with your excellent methods. The government, an exact appraiser, has appointed your students to these institutions. And public intermediate schools are making their way toward new horizons.[191]

The Intermediate Section began in October of 1888 during the brief period in which Brother Marian Emile was Director. A few students, most of whom were already functioning teachers, applied. Work materials were improvised; the quarters were rudimentary; and the teaching personnel obliged to throw a rational program together on the spot. However, the year ended successfully. Half the examining board was composed of classical high school teachers who were not very inclined to be lenient: in concurrence with the Religious teachers they issued a number of diplomas.[192]Historique de Malonne, 1876-1925.

Brother Médilbert's influence was quickly felt. Before assuming control of the entire institution, he had been teaching the natural sciences to Normal Students. For some time further, he continued his immediate supervision of the small group that had been taught by the most distinguished of Malonne's teachers.

It was elite and restricted, because the Belgian State offered only a very limited number of positions in intermediate education. At the most there were only about thirty future "tutors" in the Section. And that total often included young Brothers intended for teaching in residence schools.[193] The Primary Normal School was open to a much larger public. In 1895, it included 112 Normal Students and in 1899, 114, while two years later the figure rose to 155 students. A royal decree prescribing the addition of a more advanced courses had produced this increase. Henceforth the diploma issued on graduation was obtained only at the end of four years of study.

Brother Médilbert Joseph had held the reins with a strong hand. But in imparting to St. Berthuin's Institute the full ardor of his life, its abundant nature had become exhausted. Reluctantly, but with resignation, after six years he resumed the rank of Sub-director.[194]

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[191] Count Woeste's lecture, September 11, 1913; Jubilé de Malonne collection.

[192] Obituary.

[193] Ibid.

[194] obituary

He had deserved well at the hands of his nation and his Congregation. His successor, Brother Marcel, had been favorably regarded at Malonne. He had taught psychology and education in the Intermediate Section; the older youths, while sometimes smiling at his penchant for "comparisons", never differed on the subject of his worth. The candor in his somewhat prominent eyes (in features that were certainly less refined than his predecessor's) did not fail to win supporters. And from his robust frame there materialized the impression of a solid steadiness that his labors would reflect.[195]

With him, as later with Brother Memorian Achilles,[196] the school's prosperity did not diminish. Official reports are not frugal in their praise of the institution. As early as 1884 an Inspector of Public Education spoke highly of its facilities, its scientific collections and even of the food dispensed in its dining rooms. Another, in 1904, summarized his judgment of the Normal School in the following language: "The program is consistent in both letter and spirit; the great preoccupation of the teachers is always to maintain themselves, by study and through the preparation of their classes, at the height of their task. The eagerness and assiduous labor of the students parallels that of their teachers and renders it productive. The educational tools, complete and well arranged, facilitates experimental teaching. And the practice-teaching school, very well appointed, presents excellent conditions for educational exercise.[197]

Equal tribute was paid the school in Carlsbourg. The history of this second institution, both episcopal and Lasallian, developed along the same lines as the story of St. Berthuin's. Brother Memorian, who had so astutely directed it until 1876, left it with traditions and memories that, by a skillfully accomplished repeat performance, he was able to bequeath to Malonne in 1886. The principles and methods of St. John Baptist de La Salle were recognized in both places; the obedience and faith of the Religious educators were the same. Whether on the banks of the Sambre or on the Ardenne plain the power of the leader marked their education, their ideal, their spirituality with a common character.

During the three years that Brother Milliany spent at Carlsbourg he eradicated none of the traits so deeply engraved. Having employed the people in Luxembourg the energies of

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[195] Jubilé de Malonne, 1913, pp. 97-98.

[196] Who became Visitor of South Belgium and — like the first Brother Memorian— was one of the most distinguished of the Institute's personalities in the kingdom.

[197] Ibid., pg. 150 (reports cited in the lecture by M. Poulet, Minister of Sciences and Arts, September 11, 1913.

a magnanimous spirit and of what may well have been an undiscriminating, but thoroughly upright zeal, he was called to other work. He left in November of 1879, at a time when the "Terrible Law" seriously threatened the Normal School by taking away its means of using its ancient rights and its most obvious resources.

There were many faithful Catholics among Brother Memorian's former students who were already teaching in the provinces of Wallonia. During Pius X's Papacy twenty-two survivors had been decorated with the *Pro Ecclesia et Pontifice* medal in reward for the act whereby they at one time sacrificed their teaching posts and their hopes for a serene old-age. For a number of them, however, requital was not long in coming: Jean Baptist Emond, a member of the graduating class of 1857, had been teaching at the Normal School in Huy, when, on August 10, 1879, he wrote to Minister Van Humbeek: "Now that religion has vanished from the program, I must either find fault with the legislation — something I refuse to do as a State employee — or repudiate what I have been recently teaching — a thing that, as a professor, I in conscience do. The diocese of Liège selected this courageous witness to the faith as Inspector of private schools. But in 1884, Emond, restored by the new government, became Chief Inspector in the jurisdiction of Arlon. Before he died in 1904, he attained the height of his profession as Director-general of elementary education.[198]

This stock of his young emulators had not deteriorated. Under the authority of Brother Madir Joseph and, after him, of Brother Matthias of Mary, work, discipline and a strong faith continued to be the appanage of the typical Carlsbourg student. There were to be no enduring weaknesses in the ever ascending curve of educational achievements; while the school's students obtained 506 teachers diplomas during the first period of its existence between 1847 and 1880, they were to obtain 578 in the course of the twenty-four years between 1881 and 1904.[199] Among these men of the same profession there existed very strong bonds indeed: — they had been school-chums together, and they shared identical concerns and similar aspirations. In 1880 they were strengthened by the formation of a fraternal association. But they had earlier been united in a more profound way. Religious Retreats that at one time had been interrupted out of fear of displeasing the government[200] once again brought together the faithful among the "alumni" and renewed

[198] Bulletin de Carlsbourg, 1908-1909

[199] Institute Archives, Carlsbourg File.

[200] See Vol. VI of the present work, pp. 137-138.

them in the atmosphere of their youth. Timidly at first, and under the rubric of an "educational convention", the first Retreat took place in 1879 in Malonne. The following year, a more distinctive appeal went out, and 120 teachers responded to it.[201]The number of retreatants stabilized around that figure, including alumni from both Malonne and Carlsbourg and a few of their colleagues from elsewhere. One or other of the Brothers' schools provided accommodations.

Struck by this success, one of the teachers at Carlsbourg, Brother Achille, got the idea of enrolling these teachers who wanted to "live" their Christianity more fully into a sort of "Third Order". He proposed it to Brother Assistant Renaux as early as 1882 and, receiving encouragement from Brother Superior-general Irlide, he submitted his plan to the Chapter of 1884. Finally, he was able to present the outline of a Rule to the retreatants of 1888. Members of the association were to engage in certain religious practices, undertake an annual period of recollection, and reply, in December, March and June, to a "questionnaire" which would stimulate a methodical examination of conscience with respect to their professional duties. While remaining "in the world", it would be important for them to take on "the spirit of De La Salle".

In this way was established the "Society of Christian Teachers" under the patronage of the Founder of the Institute, who had been recently beatified. Thirty-five teachers became the first nucleus of the group. Most of them came together in a meeting in 1890, and twenty-seven of them at that time pronounced, not so much "vows"as, a "consecration". Bishop Belin of Namur approved the organizations statutes in their final form. The patient action of Brother Achille had born fruit.[202]

While this "Third-Order" disappeared in the disruptions of the 20th Century, the path that it traced out was always available to Normal Students of good will. Recovering its principal points, the Normal Student kept every before him "the directory of the Christian educator": "Your mission is not a trade,"this cherished *vade-mecum* reminded them. "It consists in molding men," in working for the growth of the Christian soul. You will succeed only if you yourself are "striving continuously for perfection". Indeed, "the worth of the teacher and his example is practically all there is to education. We teach what we are". To "educate" one must "be educated", i.e., each day rise a little higher. Commit your entire conscience to the preparation of your classes, the correction of your papers and the personal study that is indispensable to the genuine educator: "When you stop studying,

[201] Historique de Malonne, 1876-1925.

[202] Institute Archives, Carlsbourg File, taken from a manuscript notebook by Brother Achille.

that will be the moment", [mark it well!] "for you to stop teaching." Be kindly, be joyful, stay calm: "Education is a work of patience and love."[203]

The School in the Province of Luxembourg was fortunate enough to have been superbly directed. One of the young Brothers who, working there alongside laymen, would profit from the powerful intellectual and moral training was Brother Maximin Louis (Louis Feutry) who, in 1904, would pay back a hundred fold the debt that heart and mind had contracted at Carlsbourg. As a school-boy about 1880 with the Brothers in Tournai, a Junior Novice in Jemappes, a Novice at St. Liévin in Alost, a teacher in Liège and Malonne after his Scholasticate in the Ardenne, he everywhere showed that he was a candidate of the highest rank: — tremendous subtlety and penetration, a keen sensitivity, striking courtesy, an astonishingly easy way with words and a "golden voice". Enriching all these marvelous natural gifts, there was the grace of vocation.

Sent by his Superiors to the Institute of Philosophy at Louvain, he there won the lifelong friendship of Bishop Mercier, the future Cardinal-Archbishop of Malines. We have already have had glimpses of him as he taught at *Jesu placet*. In collaboration with Brother Macarius Joseph he published a short treatise on Education in which the "language question", a burning one in Belgium at the time, is discussed with serene good sense. Three years after having composed this book, he was placed at the head of the Normal School in Wallonia.

Carlsbourg was embodied in Brother Maximin Louis, just as it had at one time assumed the features of Brother Memorian.[204]

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The founding of the Intermediate Section at Malonne showed that the Brothers were determined to broaden their field of operation more than ever. Woeste entreated them to occupy the strategic points that the enemies of Christian education were eyeing. Two

[203] Communicated to the author by Brother Emile, Director of Carlsbourg in 1945.

[204] Revue catholique des Idées et des Faits, for October 30, 1931, article by Bishop Schyrgens and Revue belge de pédagogie for November 1, 1931, article by Brother Emile. — Cf. Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes for January 1932, pp. 77-82.

liberal Ministers, Rogier and Frère-Orban, had, in fact, intended to pave the way for the conquest of minds through the structuring of secondary education.

In the final analysis, the law that emerged from their labors on June 11, 1881 envisaged types of institutions for this sort of instruction: high schools, or higher intermediate schools; and "intermediate schools" properly so called which, themselves, were subdivided into lower intermediate and higher elementary schools.

In the high schools would be perpetuated the older "classical" system: where Latin and Greek humanities continued to be the fundamental studies. However, the promoters of school legislation envisaged the establishment, on the periphery, of "professional" programs from which the "dead languages" would be excluded. They planned to provide the kingdom with nineteen high schools — actually twenty-five were set up — and at least 150 State intermediate schools.[205] Besides, there would be the colleges founded by the Provinces and Communes.[206]

The results scarcely reflected the effort. Rather than send their children to public school teachers, families insisted on their preferences for religious education. Church schools in the hands of diocesan clergy, schools run by Jesuits and various other Congregations taught their children in ever-increasing numbers.[207]

The struggle over language further strengthened the position of private schools. A law in 1883 decreed that in the Flemish provinces preparatory classes that had been added to State Intermediate Schools were no longer to use French as a means of communication. The purpose of the legislation was declared to have been the lowering of the barriers existing between the common people and the middle class. In the elementary schools Flemish was spoken. Middle class youngsters did not know, or knew very poorly, the native idiom of their more humble fellow-citizens. It seemed desirable to oblige them to learn and use it in order to promote relations between the children of the same nation and eliminate social conflict. Reasons of the same sort were also to dictate a number of

[205] A hundred for boys and fifty for girls.

[206] Mélot, op. cit., pp. 28-30, 48.

[207] Ibid., pg. 43.

prescriptions involving the High Schools and the Intermediate Schools where adolescents were pursuing certain programs taught in Flemish.[208]

But the aristocratic world, and the life which, at varying distances, gravitated within the orbit of that world, rejected the system. “Dutch”, in spite of its excellent literary achievements, was despised: it was thought to be too far removed from the great traditions of European thought and useless in international relations. This was the reason why it was left for the usage of the common people.

But the private schools were not obliged to conform to the guidelines of public education. In most cases, they continued to adhere to the use of French. As a consequence, there were fresh inroads of new pupils. “The law”, bitterly observed one liberal in 1884, “is a real weapon in the hands of Religious Congregations.”[209]

In the midst of all of this, a campaign was undertaken in Parliament and within public opinion in favor of the “modernization” of secondary education. The “Left”, lead by Paul Janson, had taken the initiative; it was logical, and totally within the implications of the principles that had once been set down by Frère-Orban. Catholics, restored to power, understood that it was crucial to satisfy the many citizens who were asking that their children be given a practical education; beginning in 1887, pupils in High Schools and Colleges were allowed to select among several programs: they would study neither Greek nor Latin, as they faced what were called the “modern humanities”. Moreover, they could choose between pure science and the application of science to industry and commerce.[210]

For a very long time, the Brothers of the Christian Schools had been conveying their pupils along these same paths. But they had been forbidden “to characterize their labors by anything so insipid as a utilitarian goal”. The leaders of the Institute had frequently emphasized that they intended to awaken minds, empower, them for personal work and prepare souls for life’s decisions. It was to such ends that the study of the “mother tongue” and literature must first of all tend, as well as mathematics, natural science, history, geography and foreign languages. The Brothers did not neglect, on that account,

[208] Mélot, op. cit., pp. 70-72.

[209] Mélot, op. cit., pg. 72.

[210] Ibid., pp. 49-50.

opening to youths an access to more enviable careers by offering them the means of successfully hurdling the examinations.[211]

Brothers' schools did not fall short of fulfilling this program. They succeeded in systematizing Intermediate Schools which, following their elementary schools at the primary level, brought their pupils to the threshold of commercial and financial enterprises. And, increasingly, the majority of these "Institutes" became (in honest competition with the High Schools) centers of the "modern humanities", well equipped laboratories from which issued the best young people of the up-coming generation — engineers, officials, heads of large industries and representatives of the liberal professions.

St. Berthuin's in Malonne, along with Carlsbourg, continued to typify these remarkable institutions. The "Old Abbey" included, as we know, apart from its Primary and Intermediate Normal Schools, and its school for practice-teaching, a residence school opened chiefly to the middle class of Wallonia, although its recruiting program extended throughout Belgium. In 1895 its student population had risen to 800 youngsters and young men, 500 of whom were receiving, or were preparing to receive, a secondary education. It was a "throng" that needed to be directed by a guide with liberal views but a very firm hand. We have already met the man: he was Brother Médilbert and his successor was Brother Marcel. Surrounding them there bustled the commitment of forty teachers: — men of diverse talents and Religious who took seriously the ideals of St. John Baptist de La Salle; there was Brother Michael, Brother Meinrard, Brother Stanislaus, Brother Majorin, Brother Homer, Brother Maxime and Brother Mutien Marie, among others. Brother Macardus, a former engineer at "the Mines" trained brilliant students, such as Ernest Solvay whose discoveries in chemistry would lead to fame and fortune: it was the research of his tutor which introduced him to the treatment of sodium chloride with ammonium bicarbonate and to a process which he was able to produce on a very vast scale.[212].

Other students carved out for themselves important places in industry; still others, a particularly numerous group, entered Military School; and Malonne continued to be a nursery for the military services. Brother Maixentis used his knowledge of architecture in the service of the school; and about 1887 he lightened the look of the chapel by removing its heavy Ionic columns; he also altered its facade and harmonized it with the classical

[211] Livre d'or du centenaire de l'Indépendance belge, article by Brother Mélage (reprinted in Revue catholique des Idées et des Faits: "Une siecle d'senseignement libre," Brussels, 1930.

[212] Brother Mélage, Vie du Frère Mathias, pg. 73

buildings in the great courtyard.[213] In the seclusion of the Ardenne, Brother Memorian and his successors were completely free to develop and to alter the most revolutionary projects. No place was more hospitable to people than the institution in Carlsbourg. It has welcomed the victims of 1870 when it opened its doors to the Brothers from the French residence school of Beauregard, who had been expelled by the German invader; thereafter, the remnants of Napoleon's army, wandering, after the disaster at Sedan, the forests and deep gorges of Luxembourg.[214] He was equally helpful to the victims of the Kulturkampf.[215]

Physical improvements corresponded with the most urgent needs. A new main building, 163 ft. in length, was constructed in 1872. On September 27, 1888, the Dean of Bertrix came to bless a new chapel built in the Gothic style, with three naves separated by simple narrow columns of steel.

In church, in the classrooms of the residence school as well as those of the Normal Students, in the small teacher-training school maintained in the village piety, work and joy went hand in hand. The teaching staff was equal to the demands made upon it; while it lamented the loss of Brother Alexis, who had been changed to Paris,[216] it continued to have on its rolls the names of Brother Matthew and Brother Achille; it strengthen itself with majestic personality of Brother Macédon, interrupting an hour of his history research to appear in the parlor, kindly, talkative and as solemn "as a bishop."[217] And, among the younger teachers, there was Brother in Mélanius who, in his rhetoric classes commented,

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[213] Historique de Malonne, 1876-1925.

[214] Carlsbourg File, Brother Macédon's notes; and Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes for July 1911. The French government showed its gratitude to Brother Memorian by making him a "Knight of the Legion of Honor."

[215] See below, chap. iii.

[216] See Vol. VI of the present work, pg. 154.

[217] See below, chap. iii.

in his ringing voice, on passages from Lacordaire, Montalembert, Berryer, and Chaix d'Est-Ange. The audience was dazzled as by flashes from a steel sword; but too quickly he had worn out the sheath, and in 1901 his friends were mourning the premature death of this dynamic teacher.[218]

A leader arose from this group so rich in human talent: a calm, steady figure who breathed energy and asserted himself through his superior good sense. He was Brother Matthias of Mary,[219] who was appointed Director of Carlsbourg in September of 1881; he was no stranger to the senior members of the Community: under the guidance of Brother Memorian, between the years 1868 and 1872, he had finished his formation there as an edifying Brother and sagacious teacher.

Alexis Genard was a thorough-going Wallonian. Bioul, the village where he was born on May 1, 1844, rose above the Meuse, between Namur and Dinant. It is a delightfully picturesque region — sometimes referred to as "Belgium's Little Switzerland" — with land whose harshness made demands on man's labors. Alexis was able to enjoy the beauty of the place and experienced the dogged toil which turned it fertile. His father, Joseph Peter, was a broad-shouldered farmer, who amassed property; and, simple Christian that he was, he drew upon it generously to assist the poor. Mary Therese Barthélemi, his mother, was a very charitable woman, dedicated and compassionate. Their son had something to hang on to. And as he gave signs of a lively mind, it was decided that he should be a teacher.

As a Normal Student at Malonne, under Brother Mainaudius' guidance, he obtained his diploma in August of 1863. After making a beginning in a Communal school in Gilly, in the coal region, he moved to St. Gerard's Institute, to a spot that neighbored Bioul. It meant that he was not far from home, and that he was a tremendous success as a teacher. But a voice sounded in the depths of his consciousness: it spoke in the rough accents and the urgent manner of Brother Mainaudius explaining the Gospel. Alexis Genard listened and obeyed. Not without a familial struggle, he prepared to leave for the Brothers' Novitiate. "I will take him there myself," declared his father suddenly satisfied.

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[218] E. Chardome, op. cit., chap. iii.

[219] See the biography of Brother Matthias published in 1936 by Brother Mélage, called Au service des autres, and in Rivista lasalliana for June 1938, the article by Brother Clementino: "Fratel Mattia agronome ed educatore insigne."

In the Religious habit and called Brother Matthias of Mary, the novice was directed in Namur by Brother Nonce in the ways of holiness that were at once severe and gracious. On July 2, 1868, eager, experienced and dedicated, he came to Carlsbourg. Recalling the family farm and standing in the middle of a lot of schoolboys from the countryside, he undertook to provide his class with a taste for agriculture. The lively lectures, and the discussions that followed them, were committed to reports printed in l'Agronome, a periodical published in Namur.

That was the prelude; there followed a long intermission during which Brother Matthias would direct a very unpretentious school in Rochefort. He spent 1876 in Malonne as Sub-director of the St. Berthuin Institute and teacher in the Normal School. He at last returned to the banks of the Sambre near the Valley of the Semois, where his great task awaited him. There, for forty-six years he deployed his talents as educator, builder, an inspirer, and magnificent example, of the Religious life, and the all-pervasive influence behind countless projects.

His principal work — or, in any case, the one that made him famous in his native land — was the agricultural metamorphosis of Upper-Luxembourg. From a region of moors, ferns and furze, Brother Matthias the agronomist, like one of the monks of the West, made it a dappled carpet of meadow grasses and fields of wheat, rye and hay.

The Ardenne of 1880 was a poor place, with marshy soil, almost totally devoid of lime. Skeleton-thin cattle grazed there in sparse pastures. Repulsively filthy cowsheds leaned against dark and dirty thatched cottages.[220]

The Liberal government was indifferent to the fate of the peasantry; furthermore, a deadly crisis raged throughout all of Belgian agriculture, and the party in power sought no remedy for it.

In 1884, the new Ministry made up of Catholics determined to act to save the rural areas. It planned in particular to popularize the scientific procedures that had been advanced by Liebig's work.

For three years the Director of Carlsbourg had been preoccupied with reviving the agricultural courses that had been initiated, but without effect, in 1877 by his predecessor Brother Milliany. Seizing the proper moment, he received assurances of official help and technical advice. And in 1886, he assembled about a dozen students. Shortly thereafter, he made contact with Brother Eugene of Mary, the Director of the Agricultural Institute in Beauvais. The skillful pioneer who guided the French institution into successful time, said

[220] Chardone, op. cit., chap. ii. — Brother Mélage, op. cit., pp. 100 et sq.

he was fully prepared to supply information and instruction. While that was what Brother Matthias was looking for, the men in Beauvais asked for nothing better than to teach some of the Brothers in Carlsbourg how they could make themselves useful.

The proposal was submitted to the Brother Provincial Marianus. The son of the Bioul farmer, too modestly, confessed: "We do not have any Brother who is up to teaching with any authority the subjects covered in an agricultural school."[221] He himself went to France, met his colleague, and then went on as far as Dreux to discuss higher education with the saintly Brother Leo of Jesus;[222] he returned well-stocked with optimism, knowledge and keen determination.

Almost from the very outset, the Minister Debruyn granted him an annual subsidy. In return for its cooperation, the State stipulated that the agricultural school had to be independent of the residence school, that it admit Inspectors from the public sector to verify arrangements, programs, and bookkeeping as well as a delegate of the government to sit on examining boards.[223]

Under these conditions, the school took flight. Practical work was combined with theories discussed in class. Interesting research was pursued in botany, zoology, entomology and the entire domain of agricultural science. The entire Virgilian poem of the Georgics unfolded on the Ardenne plateau. Experiments kept the peasants in the neighborhood informed and gradually withdrew them from their routines. Once the soil was improved and many crops successfully experimented with, the social consequences of the project became obvious. A more comfortable life became widespread in the community and, with it, improved hygiene. Brother Matthias' religious influence benefitted from his prestige as a dispenser of wealth.[224]In collaboration with Brother Alexis, Brother Matthias wrote Flore as well as a catalogue of useful and harmful insects. — Like Brothers Antheme and Victor, he, too, left a beautiful entomological collection.

His renown was further increased when he started an Agricultural Trade Union and a "Regional Creamery". In these instances were applied the principles of democratic

[221] Letter dated March 23, 1887, Carlsbourg File.

[222] Rivista lasalliana, article cited.

[223] Brother Matthias' letter to Brother Marianus, cited.

[224]4

Catholicism of the illustrious German and French pioneers, Bishop Ketteler and Marquis de la Tour du Pin, as well as the guidelines of Leo XIII in his Encyclical *Rerum novarum*. With August Beernaert and the other leaders of the Catholic Party Belgium entered into a very productive period. Legislation promoted the system of mutual aid, guaranteed its effectiveness and limited its excesses. Cooperating in this task, the Director of Carlsbourg exploited the full extent of his energies. Between 1893 and 1899 he strove to expand the physical and moral effect of his Union. After seven years the Dairy, originally set up to answer to the needs of the school, in 1896, became a parish cooperative; thereafter, it embraced the neighboring countryside as far as the Semois, up to Beauraing and St. Médard. Eventually it was subdivided into fifty-three sections which, everyday, produced hundreds and thousands of pounds of butter.

It might have seemed that the saintly man, in constant contact with the larger world, might have adopted the way of life of a country squire or a business man. Nevertheless, he remained quite humble and perfectly detached in his service to his neighbor. His Community and his students continued to occupy the most important place in his preoccupations. He wanted the institution to become a center of prayer and a "seminary" of productive studies.

By providing it with a marvelous setting, he was conforming to the intentions of God the Creator. And the culmination of this beautiful task inspired another project no less productive than the preceding. At the time he opened the agricultural school, Brother Matthias was also thinking about laying out a park below the terraces and joining to it an lavishly productive vegetable garden. He was introduced to a horticulturalist from Libin, named Camille Culot, the brother of one of the Normal Students. From moment of the first meeting, a rapport sprung up between the two men, which continue in the form of a deep friendship. As a combination architect and landscape-gardener, Culot provided the grounds with charming arbors, fountains and small water falls that might have reminded the former Duke of Bouillon of certain features of Versailles. The modern Le Notre did not, however, think of devoting himself, as a gardener, to the successors of La Tour d'Auvergne.[225] He was hesitating about prolonging his stay, when Brother Matthias allowed him to take on as assistants two young men whom Camille Culot had taught in Libin.

As a consequence, a horticulture program was introduced. Some of the school's resident students were added to the two apprentices. Brother Director very quickly thought that it was necessary to incorporate the experiment by establishing, apart from the agricultural

[225] For the origins of Carlsbourg see Vol. VI of the present work, pg. 140.

students, a “Horticultural Section”. The new department was begun in May of 1888, and to it M. Culot, henceforth, dedicated his life to it. Vegetable gardens, orchards, nurseries, vineyards and rows of flowers sprung up as from the hands of magicians. Fruits and vegetables filled the market-place, appeared in Expositions and earned gold medals for Carlsbourg. Beginning in 1901, official diplomas placed the seal of approval on the work of the students.[226]

At the time Carlsbourg represented an astonishing complex of buildings and operations. In one place there would be a chemistry laboratory; in another, a beer-garden; elsewhere, a small model farm or an experimental poultry-yard. On cleared land, in an area that had been frequently expanded there were pasture-lands on which browsed vigorous-looking animals, fields of potatoes, clover and cereals.

By 1900 every modern type of equipment was represented. Mowing- and thrashing-machines, and mechanical seeders had been imported from America. Apparatus for teaching the sciences conceded nothing in quality. And the reputation of the teaching staff corresponded with its merits. Devoted lay-teachers — such as Goffinet, de Prouw, Grandjean and Culot — combined their skills with such men as Brother Matthias, Brother Marcel, Brother Major and Brother Victor.

We can imagine the advantages derived by the student population from such a group of teachers and from equipment of such quality. In less than a century 830 of Carlsbourg’s alumni were admitted to the specialized schools of Mining and Civil Engineering, whether at the Military School or in Departments of advanced education; 750 passed examinations for Surveyors, postal agents and for employees in the Registry-office, Tax Bureau, Railways and provincial governments; 680 graduates obtained diplomas in agriculture, horticulture, beer-brewing, and dairy management. In addition, the Normal School, during the same period, turned out 1,773 students who obtained teaching credentials.[227]

Brother Matthias of Mary was able to contemplate this outcome in his own life-time. But as early as 1899 — when he had only just reached the age of fifty-five — heart trouble suddenly threatened to interrupt his career. Presenting his case to the Brother Visitor, he was relieved of the Direction of the school. And although he was replaced by Brother Achille, he did not retire. Delivered from the heaviest part of the burden and more free in his movements, he continued, as Sub-director, to act, to devote himself and to take part as a counsellor who was both wise and influential. He resumed his position as Professor of

[226] Revue de Carlsbourg for April 1928.

[227] Carlsbourg Yearbook, 1925.

Agriculture and continued to direct that department, as he continued to work devotedly for another twenty-eight years. He died at his beloved Carlsbourg, rightly regarded as an accomplished model of creative imagination and virtue "in the service of others."[228]

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The emphasis that is fittingly bestowed on a superb work runs the risk of apparently discounting the importance of projects undertaken elsewhere. And while we must now be more brief, it is only out of fear of overtaxing the reader's attention. In Belgium the Brothers expanded their intermediate schools and the educational institutions that pursued the "modern humanities". Earning a right to this description after a more or less lengthy period of organization were St. Amand's in Gent, St. Michael's in Verviers, St. Ferdinand's in Jemappes, and in Liège St. Bartholomew's, in Brussels, St. George's, St. Joseph's, Molenbeek and St. Gile's.[229]

The school in Gent recovered from the difficulties that beset it from its outset. It gained favor with the people in Flanders and became a seed-ground for future engineers and gifted students, a throng that was constantly on the increase at the Universities of Gent and Louvain. As success began to loom large, the Brothers decided not to remain on as simple leaseholder at the Alexian House. Piers Raverschoot relinquished ownership to them in a deed dated March 7, 1894, which was signed by Brother Visitor Madir Joseph. The Congregation, henceforth occupying quarters owned by itself, constructed a splendid group of school buildings, with high walls built of square bricks, abundant classroom space and halls equipped for the study of science. It was, however, unfortunate that when the chapel was enlarged in 1896, the back wall, with its rich, 18th century ornamentation, fell to the wrecking crew. Such adornment merited reverence.[230]

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[228] Cf. Bulletin de l'Institut des Frères des Écoles chrétiennes for April, 1948, pp. 119-125.

[229] Livre du centenaire de l'Indépendance belge, article (cited) by Brother Mélage. Beyond the period covered by the present volume, other Brothers' schools set up programs in the "modern humanities.": Anvers, beginning in "1904; Namur, in 1911; Courtrai, in 1923. In Liège St. Marguerite's replaced St. Bartholomew's. An Intermediate School, St. Andrew's, is also operating in that city. Another, The Holy Child Jesus school, exists in Gent, near St. Amand's Institute.

[230] Institute Archives, St. Amand File.

A word needs to said about the new institutions in the province of Liège. The building that eventually became a middle school for Verviers was acquired in 1872. It was immured in the center of the town, in a very restricted space. It was put to maximum use in 1872 in accordance with plans drawn up by Brother Mégrin and under the technical supervision of Brother Maixentis. The Brothers moved in to it at the end of that year. On February 5, 1878, Bishop Doutreloux, co-adjutor of the diocese of Montpellier, blessed the chapel.[231] The "Modern humanities" began to be taught at St. Michael's Institute beginning in 1886. At the headquarters of the diocese, St. Bartholomew's expanded its programs in 1890.

During the same period there took place the successful initiative on the part of the Catholic Committee of Belgian Limbourg in St. Trond. It must be mentioned in passing, although the "St. Trudon Institute" today owes its principal accomplishments to professional education. When it began, it was established in order to offset the irreligious influence of a State middle-school. Its founders, Henry Van den Hove and William Van Vinckeroy had acquired some property that was known as "The Sanctuary". Negotiations were undertaken with Brother Marianus, and, in September of 1885, four Brothers were appointed. They taught forty-five pupils, but in the course of the following trimesters fifty more were admitted. Once expansion had been cautiously decided upon, carefully remodelling laid the groundwork for the future: and from the gardens of St.Trudon teams of arborculturalists spread out over the region.[232]

A different future awaited St. Ferdinand's in Jemappes. This project of the Counts of Meeûs seemed to have lacked roots. Toward 1882 it had fallen so visibly into decline that it was decided to close it down. That would not happen, however, without stirring up former pupils, the industries in Borinage and the clergy. Father Roland, pastor of Jemappes, whose demands had contributed to the Brothers' problems,[233]appeared to be most grieved, although he could not prevent the closing. Nevertheless, in 1887, he made an appointment with the M. H. Brother Joseph who, at the time, was visiting his Belgian confreres; the priest urgently pleaded the cause of St. Ferdinand and insisted on the need of a Catholic apostolate in the mining region. The Superior-general agreed to an attempt at opening an Intermediate school, and Father Roland rushed to inform Brother Marianus.[234] Once again pupils were admitted to the school which had at one time been

[231] Ibid., St. Michael's (Viviers) File.

[232] Institute Archives, St. Trond File.

[233] See Vol. VI, of the present work, pg. 157.

[234] Institute Archives, Jemappes File, letter dated August 31, 1887.

used for Junior Novices.[235] The results were something less than lackluster. At last, the brashest of decisions emerged: — the reestablishment of the old residence school staffed with the qualified teachers it required. Brother Maufroy Henry was appointed Director, and on September 9, 1894 he inaugurated his administration and his rejuvenated system of education and studies. The bleak times had disappeared. From the 100 pupils at the opening, the figure rose to 200 by the dawn of the 20th century. And then, two men, Brother Medard Camillus and Brother Madir Lucian, the former an experienced Director, the latter an indomitable Sub-director, launched the project along very bold lines. Vast structures altered the appearance of what had been in the past a very modest institution. St. Ferdinand's Institute would become worthy of the name it had been given by a Bishop, "the Catholic citadel in Borinage."[236]

Of this sort of fortress, there were more than several too many in the capital city of the kingdom. In Brussels they went up under the patronage of St. George, St. Joseph, St. John Baptist de La Salle...etc.

St. George was the patron of the school set up in 1846 on Rue des Alexians, in the region of the wielders of the crossbow.[237] After his directorship at Carlsbourg Brother Milliany, took charge of St. George's. We are already familiar with this man whose huge forehead and strong jaw spoke of knowledge and tenacity; and his glance fell rather severely on those who contradicted him.[238] Having arrived at his new post in 1881, he came to the defense of the Private School Committee during the conscientious struggle. In order to expand the field of action, he promoted tuition-paying programs and in so doing obtained money to finance the tuition-free classes. At the same time, through a skillful arrangement of instruction, he attracted both the lower middle class and youths some of

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[235] See above, pg. 77.

[236] Institute Archives, St. Ferdinand File. — Brother Maurice Edward's notes. — Brother Madir Lucian's Obituary, 1940.

[237] See Vol. VI of the present work, 107-108.

[238] Jubilé de Malonne, Brother Milliany's portrait, pg. 54.

working class families who were goaded by laudable ambition. At its beginning St. George' Institute had the twin character of an Intermediate and a professional school; it guided its pupils as much toward industry as toward government service. It taught the building trades, as well as surveying, deputy railroad engineering, and clerking for Bridges and Highways. Soon there were 400 pupils attending the school, where, along with a variety of specializations, they received a moral and religious training. A "St. John Baptist Club" was founded for the older pupils. And in order to make more room, the Alexians' gardens had to be encroached upon.[239]

St. George's in Brussels did not start teaching the "modern humanities" until 1898. It was at the same time that St. Joseph's Institute achieved its full development. When Brussels' town Counsel decided to create more room within the great city and beautify it, the old St. Gudule's school was included in the area that was to be expropriated. The Dean of the Collegiate church, Father Nuyts, was determined to keep the Brothers in his parish. He set out in search of a building. At last, on May 23, 1876 there was located on Rue des Longs Chariots the immediately available mansion of the Dowager Countess Speolberg. It was also decided that the pupils were to pay a small tuition. The new institution was placed under the patronage of St. Joseph.

It moved sprightly through the era of the "Terrible Law" in spite of numerous harassments from the Standing Membership. In 1885 it numbered 220 pupils. The first classes in Intermediate education opened two years later, and the program thereafter developed normally. However, it did undergo a brief interruption that was so emphatic, however, that the Committee in charge spoke of closing St. Joseph's Institute. At last, beginning in 1900, progress, strong and enduring, resumed under the guidance of Brother Moderat.[240]

[239] Bulletin de l'OEuvre de Saint-Jean-Baptist de La Salle, for January 1902 and Brother Milliany's Obituary, 1896. — Institute Archives, Alexian's House File.

[240] Centenary of St. Joseph's Institute (formerly St. Gudule's school), a talk given by Brother Director Émile, May 16, 1943. — In 1909, as the consequence of a vast urbanization project, the school was obliged to move once again. Reestablished on Assaut Street, St. Joseph's enhanced its reputation under the direction of the distinguished educator, Brother Maxime (who eventually became the Archivist at the Motherhouse in Rome).

A third and very important group of schools had been begun in 1895 in the suburb of St. Giles. It originated with a gift from the Baroness Monin who, at the outset, wanted to found a "St. Luke's School." We shall not pause to examine the way in which that wish was satisfied. But Brother Marès, whom the donor consulted, pointed out to her that St. Giles had no Catholic schools. Courses in drawing and architecture were to operate as the high point of two other educational structures: an elementary and an Intermediate school.

Cardinal Goosens approved the project, and his donations were added to those of the Baroness and several other anonymous donors. There was an empty lot on Rue Moris that was up for sale at a price of 170,000 francs. The pastor at Trinity, Father Van Genechten, advised that it be purchased, and Brother Superior-general Joseph promised Institute financial support.

Once negotiations were concluded, it became a question of drawing up and executing Brother Marès plans. There was a large area available, flanked by four public thoroughfares, and it was possible to develop it into an architectural whole.

The cornerstone was laid on November 12, 1894. A day-school, which had been named after the Founder of the Brothers, had already been in operation on an interim basis on Charleroi Highway. In its final form the school was to continue to bear the name of St. John Baptist de La Salle; but popularly it was called by the more convenient name of "St. Giles." There, in 1903, secondary studies began to be developed.[241]

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Once again, the figure and the influence of Brother Marès Joseph comes in view. He will reappear prominently in the epilogue in which we shall deal with the St. Luke schools.

In Gent the fundamental project had definitely assumed huge proportions. In 1875, along the old canal, a new building in neo-Gothic style arose, the expenses for which had been paid out of local generosity. Unavailingly was official hostility unleashed against the promoters of Christian art, who, in the end, prevailed over the obstacles heaped up in their way.

Criticism and calumny, however, had a field day during the Liberal administration. A decision of the Provincial Counsel for eastern Flanders had authorized the school's management Committee to obtain financing by means of a lottery; but a royal decree

[241] Institute Archives, Brussels St. Giles File. — The Molenbeek school began classes in the "modern humanities" in 1899.

dated April 5, 1879 annulled that vote. The Minister of the Interior, questioned on the subject by Deputies on the "Right" delivered a vehement tirade in the Chamber: according to him, the school in question was nothing but one of "those weapons" the Church uses "against contemporary society." [242] The people who were accused of wielding this "weapon" cherished no such sullen strategy. Without provocation or commotion they had employed the freedom which the idealogues had not the courage to meddle with, and they accomplished a superb feat. "Class,", wrote John Béthune at the time, "were provided by the splendid Brothers of the Christian Schools, assisted by a few laymen. They were held between six and eight o'clock in the evening and were attended by more than 300 pupils. Further, on Sundays, between eight and ten-thirty in the morning, young people who could not appear during the week were taught." [243]

The school's reputation passed beyond the frontiers. Its dedicated leader and Gent native had been explaining its philosophy to Catholic audiences in the diocese of Cambrai. England was put in a position to pass its own judgment: an Exhibition of "school hygiene" was opened in London in 1884, and Brother Marès thought that it presented an opportunity to place the work of his associates on display. An English Board awarded him a gold medal.

There was another success the following year, this time in Belgium: "St. Luke's" had sent to the Anvers Fair the plans for a chapel, a parlor and an office along with their furniture, as well as statues, paintings, stain-glass windows, works in metal and porcelain and bookbindings. Two honorary certificates and King Leopold II's personal congratulations were the rewards[244]

In 1888 the direction of the Gent school fell to Brother Matthias of the Cross, while Brother Marès retained leadership over the general artistic education that had been introduced by the Brothers. The new Director received from the hands of the founder a tradition that had been soundly established over twenty-five years, and he, as the chief assistant to his predecessor,had contributed to its realization. And in an enlightened way he was able to maintain it; with his affable wisdom he was able further to broaden the

[242] Quoted by M. Cooreman, Minister of State, in his talk at the jubilee celebration of St. Luke's school in 1913.

[243] Archives of St. Luke's school, Baron Béthune's report to the meeting of the Committees of the ecclesiastical province of Cambrai, 1880.

[244] Jaarboek, 1936-1937, "Quatre directeurs n soixante-quinze ans," article by Brother Leopold.

circle of the school's friends. Alongside him, a German Brother, Brother Marius Peter, had shown no less zeal, knowledge and good taste in his position as Sub-director; the successful influence of these two men was to spread into the early years of the 20th century.

Both of them played important rôles in the physical transformation of the institution. In 1891 a museum-library was added; in 1899 there was the filling in of the canal, a municipal project which cleaned up and decongested the neighborhood around the school; and in 1901-1902 the completion of the facade on Rue Soeurs Noires. Coomans and Van Driessche, the architects, were former pupils at St. Luke's, and they presented the Flemings with an imaginative realization of the most cherished ideas of their teachers: — in the Gothic vestibule with vaults of brick, in the stone pilasters, in the teacher's study hall, in the Community oratory as well as in the superb banquet hall which, contiguous with the oratory, became, when needed, the nave of the chapel, breathed an atmosphere both Christian and quite determinately "national."[245]

Here the Flemish Catholic felt at home. Without further ado, he became familiar with the goals aimed at by Brother Marès: "To make art popular, to increase the nobility of the 'arts', to expand the esthetics and spiritual inheritance of the nation and to wrench it free of servile and routine imitations." He knew that his mind would be safeguarded against corrupt suggestions, but equally, that he should have no fear that his personality would be stifled. He bowed to the need for discipline; and religious instruction, added to the beneficent influence of the central objects of his study — the artworks of the Middle Ages — inspired his faith. He was admonished, of course, to be on his guard against neo-pagan classicism, to reestablish the bonds broken by the 16th century, and to draw inspiration from the monuments which remained the greatness of Belgium. Nevertheless, he must adapt this knowledge of the past to life in the present. Far from neglecting nature, in which the artist's originality is constantly renewed, he will observe it with great attentiveness, and he will borrow beautiful forms from the flowers, the fauna, the human body and combine the movement and the uniqueness of animate creation with the decorative lines of geometry.[246]

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[245] Brother Leopold, article cited; and St. Luke's Archives, Community Register. — Over the door to the entrance there is the following inscription, extending a welcome to the visitor and a pleasant salutation to the passer-by: Treedt ge binnen, Heil en Vrede; gaat ge verder, God ga mede (If you enter, peace and happiness; if you are travelling further, God be with you!)

[246] School Archives, Brother Marè's report, 1909.

The St. Luke's program involved eight years of studies for young people whose skills had been recognized and who were under no immediate constraint to earn a living. In preparatory courses the hand was trained by a number of drawing exercises, the imagination was developed through the analysis of models (most frequently ordinary objects, but ones in which an artistic value was attested) and by the study of geometrical principles. Many pupils did not go beyond this initial stage; they became special workers, master-craftsmen and indeed factory heads.

Other courses undertook major projects. During the period the history of which we are tracing, the advanced section was subdivided into two groups: that of the "Builders" and the teachers associated with that group; and the "Decorators" — painters, ornamentalists, engravers, binders, illustrators, picture and book artists. A diploma from St. Luke's, earned at the end of the series of courses, was a cherished key to quite distinguished and productive careers.[247]

The special skills that St. Luke's cultivates in its adherents is strengthened by a judicious intellectual groundwork. Competent teachers are brought there to teach law, the history of art, iconography and heraldry; and future architects, who must be scientists as well as creators of beauty, also pursue courses in mathematics, the strength of materials, domestic and urban sanitation, and heating and lighting techniques; and finally, since they are called upon to take their place with industrialists and to exercise practical activities, they are introduced to bookkeeping, commercial communications, and social economy.[248]

Similar to one another in mind and taste, united in belief, friendship, ambition, and tradition, Brother Marès' pupils, on leaving the school in Gent, could not live as individualists. Many of them had opened studios in which the workers had been schoolmates together; there would be thirty, forty of fifty craftsmen under the same owner who dealt with them as fraternal collaborators.[249] In 1886 former pupils at St.

[247] Bern Congress of August 1904, general report of the St. Luke Schools by Charles de Pauw (Brother Marie Joseph), Inspector of schools in Belgium and the Belgian government's delegate to the Congress. — Livre d'or du centenaire de l'Indépendance belge, article, quoted, by Brother Mélage. Currently the St. Luke Schools have been accredited by the State; An Inspector-general of the Fine Arts sits on the Board which, each year, examines the work done in the advanced courses, the pupils, on their graduation, can obtained an official diploma as architect-technician or furniture designer. Those who have earned top honors can apply for the "Grand Prize" in the eight year.

[248] Brother Marè's Report, 1909; article, cited by Brother Mélage.

[249] Brother Marès' report, 1889.

Luke's believed that it would be a good idea to form an association of all these professionals in the arts, something like a Medieval "Guild", in which each individual would find support and counsel, strength for his faith and the opportunity to talk to one another about the love of fine, conscientious work. This plan was realized. The most active group in the organism was a "Studies Section", moderated by the Director of the school. Its members, which met once a week, took turns giving a lecture on some subject relating to architecture, archeology, furnishing, anything having to do with esthetics, without excluding religious or social concerns. A combination study and travel to some interesting place — in Belgium, France or Germany — capped off the year.[250]

Very quickly, under the guidance of the teachers in Gent, schools propelled by the same spirit and contrived under similar conditions were opened in other cities. Tournai as early as 1878 had its school of decorative art, its building professional, its apprentice sculptors, its cabinet-makers and its goldsmiths. The monuments in the ancient city, especially its superb cathedral provided a sufficiency of themes for the contemplation and the energy of pupils. The publisher Desclée, whose cooperation had been extended since the beginning of the project directed a large number of the young apprentices toward typography. And in this school on Choraux Street Brother Maclandis trained excellent musicians.[251]

The atmosphere of a region prolific in great memories and in splendid models inspires talent. This is why, after a very genuine effort in Anvers, the promoters of St. Luke's accepted the proposal of a citizen of Liége named M. Jules Frésart, who in 1880 showed his confidence in them and provided them with financing. The school began modestly, with twelve candidates in art studies, and two teachers supplying daily instruction. There Brother Marius Peter made a name for himself, and a learned native, M. Lohest de Waha eagerly undertook to teach archeology.

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[250] Archives of St. Luke's school.

[251] At the same period a St. Luke's school had been opened on the other side of the frontier, in Lille. Brothers Adelmir and Fructule, its founders, were walking in Brother Marès's footsteps. Later on had the advantage of the brilliant teaching of Brother Fidelis Gabriel. It is important to point out here this branch of Belgian schools. But its history belongs to subject of another volume. (See Vol. VII of the present work, pp. 389-390.

The cooperation of intelligent and dedicated friends promoted a quick development. For the first time, the exhibition of school work emphasized this progress at the end of the school year in 1883. During the same year, the school in Liége seized upon an opportunity to reveal its existence to the people in Brussels. In 1885, it exhibited in London, during an era when its student-body numbered 150 youngsters.

Beginning in 1888 the Belgian government granted it a subsidy. This windfall enabled the school to face the future more boldly. Carpenter shops and sculpture studios were then initiated. But quarters became too small. Bishop Doutreloux, who loved the Brothers and considered their projects a credit to his diocese, generously endeavored to procure the necessary space for them. Following the plans of the new Director, Brother Marusin, a building was put up facing Rue La Loi in the section on the other side of the Meuse where the school had had its beginnings. It was ready in 1895 and was soon admitting more than 300 pupils whom their skillful Principal guided with the distinguished assistance of Brother Antony. It was the dawning of a new day: — first prizes for architecture, sculpture and the goldsmith's art were awarded in 1896, 1897, 1899 and 1900. At the death of Brother Marusin in January of 1904, St. Luke's in Liége enjoyed such prosperity that his successor, Brother August, had to move the school to a vast and pleasant structure in St. Veronica's parish on the other side of the river.[252]

Brussels was in a position to be envious of the provinces. Brother Milliany resolved to bequeath an institution similar to the one what has so vigorously grown up around him when, in Gent, he had directed St. Amand's residence school. A letter on May 23, 1887, written to Brother Marianus by L. Davignon, member of the Brussels School Commission, explain the goals of the man who at that time was Director of St. George's school: "The Rev. Brother Milliany wants to open a professional or industrial design school. It is to be divided into five sections and have as teachers: first of all four or five laymen for day classes; in second place three Brothers, two of whom are already employed teaching the drawing that has been going on in the school since 1846; the third would be the teacher who is responsible for that instruction at St. Joseph's Institute on Rue des Long Chariots. Since that program will then be phased out, the pupils who are now taking it will certainly attend the new school of design. We have the conviction that Brother Milliany's project,

[252] St. Luke's school in Liége, "Souvenir du cinquantième anniversaire de fondation," October 19, 1930, report of M. Pauss, President of the Alumni Association.

with the support of the Brothers' former pupils, would be of the sort to produce excellent results.[253]

The Visitor-Provincial had agreed in principle to such a school. But the arrangements on Alexians' Street would not long satisfy. Brother Marès, more qualified than anybody else to found a school of this sort, prompted an immediate move to the suburban Commune of Schaerbeek. He himself settled in the place in October of 1888. Brother Milliany appeared to be extremely distressed by the solution: his personal plans had been thwarted, and the control of the school slipped through his fingers. In this instance, as earlier in Carlsbourg, he remained a precursor, in the end destined to diminish.

he project realized independently of his cooperation assumed considerable proportions. The Secretary of the Administrative Bureau of St. Luke's in Brussels, M. Nève, wrote Brother Visitor Madir on August 21, 1888 that the quarters in use at Schaerbeek no longer answered to the demands made upon it.[254] The following year Brother Marès raised the specter of "suffocation" unless the faculty was augmented: "The reopening of school," he wrote the M. H. Brother Joseph, "went well beyond my expectations both as to the quality and the number of youngsters."[255]

The Organizing Committee had cast its lot in favor of a piece of property situated on Rue Palais, where remodelling and construction was undertaken. At the time of the laying of the cornerstone of the principal building, there was the solemn declaration to the effect that the purpose of the school was "the preservation of youth, the improvement of the working class and the propagation of Christian ideas in relation to art, under the distinguished patronage of the noble Lord and Count Hemricourt de Grünne, Senator, and under the direction of the Brothers of the Christian Schools."[256]

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[253] Institute Archives, Alexians' School File. — There had been, prior to 1887, the beginnings of "a St. Luke's school" at St. George's; the matter was once again discussed under different circumstances.

[254] Institute Archives, Schaerbeek File.

[255] Ibid., letter dated October 20, 1889.

[256] Institute Archives, Schaerbeek File, June 29, [1890].

Brother Marès' activities were not to be halted at the height of their success. Following upon the gifts of the Baroness Monin,[257] he was about to take charge of his extensive program in the St. Giles' neighborhood. The school, which was named after the revered "Jean Béthune", began going up in 1897 and soon raised its powerful contours along Rue Ireland. Its celebrated builder made sure of its progress even as he performed his functions of Inspector-general of the St. Luke's schools. And then in 1898 he took part in the planning for schools in Mons, Namur and Molenbeek. The art school in the latter locality moved into a new structure on Colonne Street in April of 1901.[258]

Of all the activities of the Institute in Belgium, there is none, doubtless, whose radiance shines with a brightness so sharp and extends so far as the inspired work initiated by the Confraternity of St. Vincent de Paul in Gent, the guidance of Baron Béthune and the competence and energy of Brother Marès Joseph. The St. Luke artists got the attention of their countrymen and thereafter of the entire world.[259] Assembled into their "Guilds", they mutually supported one another, and they prevailed over the numerous attacks directed against their ideals. Restorers of churches, castles, belfries, creators of many modern structures, some talented painters and sculptors, they have long since figured in the history of the arts, where they preserve a distinguished place.

In the moral and religious realms the results appear to be even more magnificent. We close with the comment of George Goyau: "It is the distinction of the St. Luke's school that, while it trains the eye and hand to better techniques, it awakens the soul also and equips it with valor and joy for the whole road of life, so that it might become, along that road, a craftsman of the beautiful."[260]

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[257] See above, pg. 141.

[258] Brother Leopold, "Quatre directeurs en soixante-quinze ans," article cited. — Rivista lasalliana, for March 1935, "Le scuole Saint-Luc," article by Brother Gofferedo. — Institute archives Historique de Molenbeek.

[259] Revue internationale de l'Industrie for August 5, 1910, quoted by Brother Mélage in Livre d'or du centenaire de l'Indépendance.

146 These words of the great French historian have been devoutly preserved among the archival documents at the St. Luke's school in Gent.

CHAPTER THREE

Central Europe

We turn now, rather closely connected to some of the episodes in the life of the Belgian Brothers, to more complex accounts: we want to bring together under a single heading whatever has to do with the history of the Institute in Central Europe. Such a purpose can be justified on the grounds that from the Rhine to the Danube, the Christian Brothers have been men who speak the same language, generally belong to the same people, obey the same superiors and work together at the same project of Christian education as freely as political ups-and-downs and the lay-out of frontiers will allow them.

There are, as we shall see, the most forceful reasons for emphasizing the connection between the German and the Austrian Brothers. Nevertheless, the Congregation's destinies in the two nations appear very different indeed. During nearly the entire period with which we shall have to deal, the German Brothers, expelled by the Kulturkampf, taught only in exile. Austria, on the contrary, extended a warm welcome to the disciples of St. John Baptist de La Salle; their schools flourished, and their religious successes spread throughout the Empire and, in fact, beyond, into Bulgaria and even Rumania.

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In order to situate ourselves in the climate in which German and Slavic Brothers were living three-quarters of a century ago we need to recall the premonitory symptoms and the nature of the Bismarckian persecution.[261] Hostility to the Catholic Church took shape in Germanic countries as early as 1869, prior to the opening of the Vatican Council. To attacks upon the up-coming definition of the doctrine of Papal Infallibility were mixed feelings unfavorable to the educative activities of the clergy and of Congregations. In the regions along the Rhine this campaign was conducted by the Inspector of schools, Dr. Landfermann, according to whom, "clerical" instruction was opposed to the principles of a healthy philosophy of education; the criticism was levelled especially at Religious Institutes of foreign origin; they were suspected of introducing into minds the tares capable of snuffing out racial virtues.

[261] Cf. Vol. VI of the present work, pp. 203-209.

There was already in evidence the national hubris that the victories surrounding the Franco-Prussian War would accentuate. The Iron Chancellor believed that he would consolidate the new Reich by dissociating it from every Roman influence. “Crush the most militant of the Congregations, exclude every Church influence from Normal Schools and force the Clergy to study at State Universities”: — such a program tended to place intellectual and moral forces at the service of imperialism. One of the Ministers, M. Alskenstein, addressing at the time his Catholic fellow-citizens, said, “Let us have the schools, and we will allow you to have the pomp of your worship and the splendor of your hierarchy.”[262] The “School Supervision Law” of March 11, 1872 was the first application of the system. It removed from Religious Orders the right to teach in public schools within the Kingdom of Prussia. The expulsion affected almost immediately Brothers who were doing school work in the urban district of Burtscheid, near Aix la Chapelle.

The law, signed by Falk, Minister of Religion, did not affect the schools in Koblenz and Kemperhof. And of the seven teachers dismissed during Easter of 1873 four joined one or other of the surviving Communities, while their three confreres withdrew to Belgium. The peril, however, continued. During the following May, Bismarck stated in the Chamber of Deputies: “The influence exercised by the Brothers is more harmful than temporary vacancies in a few teaching posts. An education that corrupts and empoisons the people is worse than no education at all.”[263].

On July 4, 1872 the text of the law banishing the Jesuits and “related Congregations” was promulgated. A new blow shook the Institute’s school in Germany, but without shaking the Superior-general — as we have said elsewhere[264]— in his resolutions.

Something of a legal setback that benefited the Brothers intervened, although suspicions persisted. The determination to obliterate the work of the Religious Congregations was represented by the rapid organization of competing schools — schools that prepared pupils for the “Gymnasium” and for technical programs. Actually, the results scarcely answered to the hopes of the hostile faction: the number of pupils did not cease growing, as well in the residence school as in the intermediate and elementary schools. The population in Koblenz, like the people in the diocese of Treves, in this way asserted the energy of its Catholicism.

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[262] F. Mourret, Histoire de l’Église, Vol. IX, pg. 197.

[263] Archives of the Maria Tann school, Historique manuscrit

[264] See Vol. VI of the present work, pp. 205-206.

And while this resistance presaged victory in the distant future, it is well to understand that, on the side of the civil authority, the attacks were temporarily successful. Hence, there was a need to plan a strategy of withdrawal and to seek havens of retreat for difficult times.

An American priest, the pastor of Holy Trinity parish in New Orleans, had offered the German Brothers the hospitality of the United States.[265] But there was the expectation that the Superiors of the Institute would find a less hazardous solution. Brother Jean-Olympe, and after him Brother Irlide, Brother Philippe's successors, promised an effectual concern for their persecuted confreres, who particularly wished that their very homogeneous and united group be not separated. Courageously they accepted exile in order to be able to continue to wear the habit and remain faithful to their vows. But to scatter them out everywhere would have intensify the harshness of being separated from their native land. Since there were only about sixty of them, it seemed possible to gather the majority of them into a single Community in a corner of the world which would become like a piece of the mother country.

This quite legitimate hope had a chance of being realized, when the Regime decided to transfer the Koblenz novitiate to Belgium. Quarters situated near Henri-Chapelle, a short distance from the frontier, was leased for a period of twenty-five years.[266] Brother Gottfried went there at the end of March 1875 and prepared to move his novices in. The feast of the Patronage of St. Joseph, which was celebrated on April 18, marked the beginning of life according to Rule. In the neighborhood of the small chateau and its moats of stagnant water the devout youths met with the warmth and the ministry of a priestly Community; these were the Alexian Fathers who, for the most part, were of Germanic origin and language. Each morning the Brothers and their novices went to hear Mass with the priests. The residence there was called Marienthal, the Valley of Mary. The Brothers gave their estate the name of "Josephsthal."[267]

Hardly had budding vocations been considered secure than the so-called "Monastery Law" (May 31, 1875) took effect. It did not extend — as the "Jesuit Law" did — to the entire German Empire, but only to the Kingdom of Prussia. The Brothers in Koblenz could not flatter themselves that they had eluded it. All Religious Orders, all Congregations that

[265] Brother Frederick Brug, Starke Liebe (a biography of Brother Eucherius.)

[266] Not far from Herbesthal and Eupen.

[267] Maria Tann Archives, Historique manuscrit and Brother Willibald's notebook.

were like them — declared the law — with the exception of those who were dedicated to the care of the sick, must leave the territory within six months. However, the Minister of Religion was authorized to allow Congregations dedicated to education a period of grace which was not to exceed four years.

The Brothers fastened on this provision as a last and singularly fragile hope. They were aware of the sort of benefactress and protectress they had in the person of the Empress Augusta.[268] Sounded out by her, Falk himself decided to inspect the schools in Koblenz and Kemperhof. On June 16, two weeks after the law was promulgated, Brother Adulphus, Director of the Orphanage and the residence school, wrote to Brother Provincial Marianus: "Yesterday, the Minister for Church Affairs, Dr. Falk, accompanied by Countess Hack, Lady in Waiting to Her Majesty the Empress, visited our school. He had a look at all the grades, staying for a while to listen to the teachers' lessons…I have reason to believe that carried away the best impression of our school." Falk then went on to inspect the pupils in the Koblenz school and say a few words of encouragement to them.

Life went on as usual. On June 27, as the children were playing in the yard at Kemperhof, the Empress of Germany appeared in the middle of them. She questioned them informally, as was her habit, and promised the orphans a party for the coming Saturday. To the Brothers she spoke of the recent unveiling of the statue of their Founder in Rouen; the report of this brilliant ceremony had interested her. She inquired after Brother Aloysius, Director of the Brothers in Koblenz, and, learning that he had left for France to take part in the General Chapter and in the election of Brother Jean Olympe's successor, she said that she wanted to talk to him on his return. It is probable that she wished to discuss the recent ministerial visit. But Her Highness was in no position to guarantee results.

Finally, on December 27, an administrative letter reached Brother Aloysius: "I am obliged by the royal government to inform you and the Minister of Church Affairs…authorizes you to

continue, as you have done up to the present, the instruction and education of youth
Signed:Baron Frentz, royal Landrath."[269]

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[268] See Vol. VI of the present work, pp. 201-203.

[269] Frederick Brug, op. cit.

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"We still have time then to talk about our expulsion…We all live in the hope that the Good Lord will continue to extend his protection to us." Thus wrote Brother Aloysius as he sent his higher superior a copy of the official notification.

Nevertheless, the horizon was heavy with storm clouds. Far from being mollified, Kulturkampf — the alleged "struggle for civilization" — was reaching a crisis. The government had laid claim to the right to depose bishops. Bishop Eberhard, the leader of the diocese of Trèves to which the Brothers belonged, had been imprisoned the previous year. Set free, he quickly learned that "the Court for Church affairs" would pronounce judgment in his case, and, in the same way in which it had behaved with respect to several of his no less respected colleagues, it presumed to declare that he had forfeited his episcopacy. He decided to go into exile, and, beyond Bismarck's reach, dispatch his instructions to priests and faithful. On May 30, 1876, he died of a heart attack while destruction spread throughout his orphaned diocese: 150 parishes were without pastors, the Seminary had been closed, young priests had taken refuge in various countries, and teaching Sisters and nearly all members of Religious Orders were expelled.

The Empress had done nothing more for her friends than to obtain the longest possible postponement: — i.e., the four years that would be concluded in 1879. It was important to take advantage of this respite. Worthy sons of De La Salle, the German Brothers demonstrated that they were up to the test. In 1872, prepared "to leave their native land rather than forsake the center of their Religious life,"[270] they refused to be separated from their French Superiors. They took up positions that had been assigned them by the M. H. Brother Irlide. But no one was surprised when they insisted on their plan of maintaining, on foreign soil, a single, unbroken and numerous Community. One of the most remarkable and the most dedicated of them, Brother Eucherius, inspired an emotional request along these lines, which was sent on May 29, 1877 to the Superior-general through the Directors in Koblenz. At the same time he undertook measures with respect to the authorities in the Reich so that they might not place any obstacles in the way of opening a residence school for young Germans in a foreign land.

In these painful moments he gave absolutely no signs of discouragement or even of vexation. His prayer rose confidently and serene, as did that of Brother Aloysius:[271] "In

[270] Brother Adulphus' Obituary, 1902. — See Vol. VI of the present work, pg. 205.

[271] On Brother Aloysius (Wener Müther) see Vol. VI of the present work, pp. 195, 199-202.

union with Kemperhof, we are beginning a Novena to St. Joseph", wrote his Westphalian confrere to Brother Marianus.[272] May God's will be done. We shall do what seems best to us." In August of 1878, calmly, Brother Eucherius went to the Gros-Caillou House in Paris to make "the Second Novitiate". On October 14 he wrote to his Brother Joseph Haas: "These have been beautiful times, beyond a doubt among the most beautiful of my life."[273]

The educational crisis continued with the same precision and the same zeal as ever. Since the autumn of 1875 the Brothers had taken on some lay-teachers for the tuition-free classes. There were still nineteen Brothers teaching at Koblenz, four of whom were in the primary school situated near the Moselle bridge, fifteen in the intermediate school on Rue Priests St. Castor S; in these two institutions they were teaching more than 350 boys. The Kemperhof residence school, which numbered about 200 pupils, was in the hands of Brother Adulphus, aided by fourteen Brothers. And the some one hundred orphans, in the same institution, were directed by two teaching Brothers and two Brothers Prefects.[274]

But the harsh future had not been lost from view. Brother Eucherius directed his inquiries to Belgium: he had to think about reestablishing on the other side of the western frontier. The clergy had been aware of the project, and it feared a hasty departure. These anxieties were contained in a letter dated June 3, 1878 addressed to Brother Assistant Renaux by a former Vicar-general in Trèves, Father Lorenzi. He had once been pastor of Notre Dame in Koblenz and, in 1850, had gotten together with his colleague, Father Krementz, to obtain from Brother Philip the beginnings of a Brothers' Community in Germany. He had learned from Father Roderich, his successor in the city along the Rhine, that the Brothers in Kemperhof were planning to transfer their residence school to foreign soil immediately after vacation. Until further notice, the orphanage, standing alone, would continue to be staffed by Religious personnel.

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[272] On Brother Marianus see above chap. ii, pp. 76-80.

[273] Brug, op. cit.

[274] Die Christlichen Brüderschulen in Koblenz von 1850-1879, ein Dank — und Erinnerungsblatt, "by a former pupil," Koblenz, 1917, pp. 29, 32-33.

Father Lorenzi emphasized the disadvantages of a hasty decision. The danger was being run of compromising both the interests of the charity school and the survival of Catholic education in Koblenz. It would be preferable to wait until the postponement agreed to by Minister Falk had expired. A year from now, who knows whether the government might not change its mind?[275] But it was no time to cultivate illusions, although it might be wise to urge patience. The Superior-general's orders were to wait for the last minute before immigrating.

At the same time, Catholics in the province were concerned to assure the future of their institutions. As members of Religious Congregations withdrew, the zeal and competence of distinguished lay persons assumed control of Church activities. The Katholischer Männerverein, the vigorous society that had initiated the orphanage in Kemperhof was urged by the Empress not to abandon the physical and moral preservation of numerous children. The Executive Committee, at its meeting on November 15, 1878, took the necessary steps: the physical plant was not to be diverted to other purposes; a civilian Director, Dr. Loben, would care for the education of abandoned children.[276]

In Koblenz, Dean Weissbrodt, on January 30, 1879, brought forward a petition to the Prussian administration to maintain the school on Rue Priests St. Castor. He got a favorable response, provided he find sufficient financial support. Dr. Reuter agreed to direct the six grades of this intermediate school, which, after July of 1879, came to be known as Katholische höhere Privat Knabenschule.[277]

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The fateful hour arrived at the beginning of April. The Brothers were obliged to leave as Easter observances began; but before they did, they were accorded the tribute of public gratitude. On the 6th of that month, the citizens in Koblenz assembled in very large

[275] Motherhouse Archives, File ID q2.

[276] Geschichte des Kemperhofes von 1851 bis 1901. "FestSchrift zur Feier des 50 j'áhr. Bestehens des Knaben-Waisenhauses," by Dr. J. Jonas, Director, Koblenz, 1901, pp. 105-106.

[277] Maria Tann Archives, Die Wirksamkeit der Brüder des christlichen Schulen in Deutschland, 1850-1925, pg. 68.

numbers under the leadership of a lawyer named Müller in the huge “Güorresbau Hall”, a building which commemorated the famous polemicist and defender of the Roman Catholic Church, Joseph Goerres. The modesty of the men who the public came to honor compelled the Brothers to absent themselves from this demonstration.

The president and several other speakers recounted the history and the benefits of the Christian Brothers who had been active over twenty-eight years in German soil. A “citation” was drawn up and would be sent to the two Directors, Brothers Aloysius and Adulphus.

“Most worthy, venerated and beloved Brothers, the day of separation approaches. We must tell you the feelings our hearts experience in your regard. In the not too distant future, thirty-years shall have passed since our city has had the good fortune of welcoming your Congregation. Each year has further persuaded us of the incalculable value of your services and has increasingly revealed to us what a source of blessings we have received.

You have guaranteed the spiritual growth of our sons with as much wisdom as success; you have trained them in the sciences, you have brought them a treasury of knowledge that they will be able to use in various walks of civilian life. And, what we value even more, by your word and by your example you have given them an education totally permeated with the spirit of our holy Church, an education which offers them, we are convinced, every means of salvation in time and in eternity.

Furthermore, you have cared for, taught and raised — thereby expending your energies on — our orphans as well as on the children of those of our fellow-citizens who lacked financial resources; as attentive distributors of alms, you have provided against their physical needs; you have become the fathers of their souls.

This blessed task that, over long years, you have pursued in our midst, is the very work of your Father, the Venerable de La Salle, the founder of Normal schools for primary education, the man who elevated the vocation of teacher of the people.

With profound sadness we submit to the consequences of a law which forbids you to fulfill the functions of your profession and deprives us of your blessings.

Accept, venerable Brothers, for all the good that we owe you, ourselves and our children, our warmest gratitude from the depths of our hearts and the assurance of esteem, affection and indefectible respect. May the day not be far off when, once again, our native land will accord you a place for you to work and where we shall see you returning to our midst”!

"The eight hundred assembled citizens", approved this declaration "with unanimous consent". Dean Weissbrodt, Pastor Roderick, the lawyer Müller, the Notary Hoffschmidt, Dr. Duhr and other distinguished persons in Koblenz signed it and left it, ad rei memoriam, in the hands of the appropriate representatives of the Congregation.[278] A few days later, the Brothers left the banks of the Rhine and the Moselle to go and live in exile.

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Brother Aloysius, Brother Eucherius and their friends, about thirty of them, left the train at Verviers. The city was close to the German boarder, which explained the choice the exiles had made. Besides, they had special reasons for not feeling that here they were in an unfamiliar land. Long since, local industry had attracted from the neighboring Rhineland many workers who, opting to reside permanently in Belgium, had gradually formed a German colony on the banks of the Vesdre. The Jesuits had taken an interest in these people; and as early as 1846 they assembled it in an old church belonging to the Sisters of the Holy Sepulchre for the liturgy and for religious instruction. In 1860 the nucleus composed of these German Catholics was the concern of Father Wagner, a most enterprising priest who organized his flock into a parochial structure, which was called "The Mission". At the same time he founded a society — Deutscher Kirchen, und Schulverein, German Union for Church and School — under the patronage of the Immaculate Virgin. The immigrants clung to their traditions and their language. And, as a consequence, they wanted to obtain for their children an education similar to that provided in their home land. In April of 1866 a school for boys was opened. At the beginning it included only a single grade, with only one teacher, Brother Méardis, a Belgian who had taught in Koblenz. A second grade was opened in 1871, and a third was begun in 1879. The Brothers continued to operate them.[279]

A school for girls, entrusted to the Sisters of Notre Dame, was opened in 1870. Father Wagner of the German-speaking population until 1887. Broken by age, he was replaced by Father Weynand who, in April of 1890, moved the German school for boys into a new building, in Marché Square. At the time it had 189 pupils in for grades.

[278] Maria Tann school, currently the "Motherhouse" of the Brothers' German District, devoutly preserves the original text of the "citation" of April 6, 1879.

[279] Maria Tann Archives, Die Katholische deutsche Gemeinde und die deutschen Schulen in Verviers, a pamphlet bearing the date 1917.

For the victims of the Kulturkampf. Verviers, then, appeared to offer the best asylum. On Sommeleville Square Brother Eucherius had found a large building which lent itself to appropriate remodelling both as a Community residence and as a school. An eight year lease was concluded.

On May 1, 1879, the people in Verviers ran to the windows: 180 youngsters, singing and waving flags, were passing through the tranquil city. It was pretty nearly the total complement of the former Kemperhof residence school along with several schoolboys from Koblenz. Rhineland families had remained faithful to the Brothers; they made it a matter of honor to continue to entrust the education of their children to the Brothers, in spite of Bismarck. The teaching staff had remained the same as it was in Germany under Brother Aloysius' direction. Along with the Principal whose health had been impaired, Brother Eucherius, Inspector of classes, played a primary rôle with the intelligence, decisiveness and tact for which he was known. Among the leading teachers there was Brother Cosmus — John Joseph Knauff — whose reputation as a skillful educator and informed judge of character had been solidly established; Brother Antigonus — Joseph Nicholas Kiefer — rough, authoritarian and zealous; Brother/Aedesius — Francis Frederick Wucherer — subtle, distinguished, somewhat distant, and extremely gifted, especially in languages and literature; the conscientious and courageous Brother Edmund, and the taciturn Brother Bonus. This excellent team set to work enthusiastically and without bitterness. But the charge, so courageously resumed, was soon to be interrupted.

It was a bad time for the Church nearly everywhere in Europe. The persecution which raged on the other side of the Rhine spread, in a variety of guises, to western nations. In Belgium the elections of 1878 had just brought the Freemasons to power. An educational law was drawn up explicitly directed against Catholic schools. That was the "Terrible Law" of July 1, 1879.[280] It would arouse violent struggles and lead to a rupture between the Belgian government and the Holy See.

German Religious were not to remain secure. Their presence in Verviers was sufficiently public to send a danger signal into the sectarian camp. Since the chapel in the quarters on Sommeleville Square had not yet been remodelled, teachers and pupils had to attend the parish church where Father Wagner was pastor. At the sight of this long line, a sort of "procession" on a public thoroughfare, anticlerical fury became ignited. Denunciations extended all the way to Brussels. In a letter of May 10, the Police Commissioner appointed to the Verviers jurisdiction sent the Director of the residence school an urgent

[280] See above, chap. ii, pp. 6-67.

summons: M. Berden, administrator of Public Safety in Brussels, was expecting in his office on Rue Ducale, a responsible official of the new school to supply explanations.

Since Brother Aloysius was ill, Brother Eucherius had to assume the burden. The Provincial, Brother Marianus, accompanied him to the office of the bureaucrat, who indicated that the new-comers had to pack up and clear out; they had been declared undesirable, and they had only a week to make necessary arrangements.

No constitutional or legislative enactment could be cited to support this expulsion, dictated exclusively by anti-religious hatred. The Brothers thought that a word on the part of the German Ambassador to Brussels would deliver them from the difficulty. Surely the powerful Empire was in a position to speak loudly and firmly, something it had not failed to do on other occasions. But what diplomat would take it into his head to support the cause of these "church-people" whom the Chancellor had characterized as "poisoners".

The Count of Brandenburg, representing William I at the Belgian Court, replied on May 22, to Brother Aloysius' petition: "Regretfully, I can only inform you that no involvement on my part is planned in the matter you mention in your letter of the 14th."

Meanwhile, Brother Marianus appealed directly to King Leopold II. On May 17th, he explained to him that "Brothers from the schools of Koblenz and Kemperhof came to settle in Verviers in a building owned by Baron Lunden and Viscount Biolley"; that this property had been remodelled to receive them and their resident pupils at a cost of 60,000 francs; to which was to be added 8,500 francs annually for rent. "The staff is composed of eighteen teachers, and ten Brothers engaged in manual work; and the pupils, all of German origin, numbered 180. According to the head of Public Safety, "the Belgian government does not believe it is able to support the sojourn of such a large community". The Brother Provincial, concerned for the moral and material consequences of such a prohibition and guaranteeing the good intentions of his confreres, petitioned the King kindly to look into the question. *In fine* he declared that the attitude of the Reich should not occasion any anxieties. While the Count of Brandenberg declined to become involved, he gave no hostile indication. His government, he himself had assured Brother Marianus, had nothing to do with the expulsion order.

Leopold couldn't say, "I am the State!" As a monarch with limited powers, he was reconciled to approving decrees and laws that his conscience found repugnant. Disappointed in this effort, the German Brothers turned to the legislators.

In the second week in June they received a "way-bill, valid until August 16". Although they were being given a brief respite until the end of the long vacation, they were, nevertheless, being deported. They wanted Parliament to be informed about this injustice: "We are convinced that, under the protection of the Belgian Constitution and without getting ourselves involved in political quarrels, we should be permitted to teach

the youths whom so many families have entrusted to us…We cherish the hope of not being escorted back to the boarder as though we were dangerous criminals." So, Brother Director in his request, dated June 12.

Another petition, dated the 17th, was signed by 150 of Verviers' citizens, without distinction as to politics or religion. Most of them, business people and artisans, benefitted from the current of events that occasioned the Rhinelanders' presence. Such reasoning, to their mind, was not without its validity for winning the continuance of the residence school. It was to have practically no effect on the partisans of the "Liberal" cause.

Rebuffed in Belgium, the friends of the Institute wanted to know, more or less, what sort of plot was being hatched against the Brothers in Germany. A highly regarded Verviers resident of German nationality, M. Düsberg, wrote to the famous Windthorst, one of the champions of the Catholic Church in the Reichstag. The reply came on July 3: never, wrote Windthorst, would the Berlin government raise a finger to facilitate the Brothers' stay in the neighboring kingdom.

M.Düsberg fell back on a last resort to save the situation for his countrymen, the Brothers. Once again, on July 10, he wrote to Windthorst: Would it be possible for the Empire's Ambassador to hint to the Belgian Ministers that the expulsion of German citizens would be unappealing in political circles beyond the Rhine?

The question was really foolhardy, and it fell into a vacuum. Frère-Orban had a field-day at the expense of his enemies: and he spoke out plainly during the question-period in the Chamber. The Brothers's hopes seemed completely lost.

Nevertheless, through the agency of certain Catholic influences, the disaster was mitigated. On July 16 Bother Marianus wrote to Brother Aloysius: "Having been summoned by telegram to M. Berden's office, I went there this morning. The statement he made on the part of the government and that he asked me to transmit to you is the following: the government repeats its prohibition of continuing your institution as a German school. But he authorizes all the Brothers to reside in Belgium in our various houses, provided that they do not persist in providing the same education as in Verviers. To this end, they are asking that the teaching Brothers be divided over the largest possible number of schools…After this audience, I visited with our distinguished friends and I related to them the upshot of the conversation. They think that we have obtained the maximum of what we have a right to expect."[281].

[281] Motherhouse Archives, File ID q2. — Maria Tann Archives, Die Wirksamkeit der Brüder, pp. 69-71. — Das deutsche Pensionsat, Auslande (Brother Ignatius' manuscript, 1883.) — Obituaries of Brother Aloysius (1898) Benedict (1905, Cosmus (1911) and francis (1925). — Brother Brug, op. cit.

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From now on the dreaded dispersion appeared inevitable. After 1879, German Brothers were to be met with everywhere: in Belgium, France and even in Spain.[282] Many of them were sent to Austria; there we shall meet with Brothers from Baden, Wurtemberg, the Rhineland and Silesia occupying positions of trust.

Brother Aloysius, still suffering poor health, went to Josephsthal in the company of some of the teachers from Verviers. Brother Eucherius was called by Brother Marianus to serve him as his secretary. Of the former Koblenz-Kemperhof Community there remained a group of ten Brothers with Brother Adelphus at their head, moved to Longuyon. To this center in the Canton of the Department of Meurthe and Moselle, Brother Athanasius had moved Beauregard-Thionville residence school which had been closed in 1874 on the orders of the conquerors of Alsace Lorraine.[283] The French Brothers welcomed their persecuted confreres. Of the 180 pupils that had made up the school in Verviers, sixty-six had courageously joined their teachers. In Longuyon they composed a "German section" that was provided with a special program of studies. For schoolboys and teachers alike it was a fragment of the fatherland.

But Scripture suggests that Christ's disciples shall flee from one city to another. Freemasonry was constantly on the watch. And, powerful in Paris as in Brussels and having made sure it did not prompt Bismarck's displeasure, it set out against the pathetic Brothers. It pretended to believe that there was a threat from "Prussian spies". The

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— The Maria Tann School preserves a copy of the medal "commemorating" the expulsion from Verviers. Of an entirely Masonic inspiration, this curious — and significant — object on one side shows a man in a top-coat who, wielding a broom, pursues two Brothers and a child beyond a border sign which reads "Verviers-Berlin." Below are the words: "From the black vermin deliver us!" — On the reverse side, we read: "Initial measure against the invasion of the black pest. Expulsion of fifty German Brothers. May, 1897

[282] Brother Alphonsus Ligouri, a Rhinelander from the diocese of Cologne, was sent to Spain in 1880. A man of vast energy and great faith, after having taught in Barcelona, Madrid, and Cobreces, for forty years he dwelt in Casto Urdiales, first as teacher in the upper grade and then as Director of the College. He exercised a profound influence, both educational and religious. He died at Bugedo in 1925 at the age of seventy-eight years.

[283] See Vol. VI of the present work, pg. 210.

French government notified the Director of Longuyon, that, unless he broke with his foreign confreres, his school would be closed. The end of 1880 brought unhappy times. It was forbidden to teach in German; families were alarmed; and the Brothers wondered how their fate would be decided.[284]

For some time negotiations had been entered into on which they had founded some slight hope, to understand the basis of which we must make a digression, in which we shall have to discuss the Brothers in Metz.

The annexation that resulted from the Treaty of Frankfort had had painful effects on the Brothers in Lorraine. In relation to the Reich authorities the Congregation of the Brothers of the Christian Schools had incurred a two-fold suspicion: — i.e., because of its French character and because of its fidelity to the Roman Catholic Church. We have just recalled the disappearance of the Beauregard residence school. At the same time the Brothers were expelled from the Communal schools that they operated in Metz, one on Rue Mazelle and the other on Rue Taison.

As “Members of a foreign Order”, they were excluded from the public schools. There remained the private schools, St. Augustine’s and St. Vincent’s. In order to attack these, it was declared that the Brothers did not possess the diplomas required by German law and that, besides, they did not teach in the language common to the Empire. St. Augustine’s school, at first reduced to three grades, was finally closed in 1875.

A single grade was still in operation at St. Vincent’s. It was spared on condition of admitting no more that eighty pupils at the most. Of the three Brothers who made up the Community in the ancient buildings at St. Augustine’s, one of them, Brother Salve, the Treasurer, died in 1879. The survivors, Brother Director Hilaris and Brother Blaste of Mary remained courageously at their posts. From their residence near St. Martin’s church they went each day over the Moselle, into the old quarter huddled around St. Vincent’s basilica. There they labored to keep alive the Metz traditions in the souls of their school children and train them in Christian leadership. Brother Hilaris taught classes that prepared for the industrial professions, while to Brother Blaste fell the heaviest burden, eight hours of class daily, lessons adapted to a variety of school ages, a strenuous and

[284] Maria Tann Archives, Wirksamkeit, pg. 73. Johanninum Yearbook, pp. 4-5. — Obituaries of Brother Benedictus-Maria and Brother Edward.

continuous effort to achieve, without obstacle and without error, clearly defined ends. Very soon we shall meet with Brother Blaste once again along the road we are taking.[285]

But their German confreres in Longuyon were saying to themselves: — Since our Institute, in the person of two French Brothers, were enjoying relative toleration in Lorraine, why shouldn't we settle in the same region? As far as public education was concerned, the Reichsland was under a special system. Perhaps one might succeed in obtaining some sort of 'right of asylum'. Her Majesty the Empress had not forgotten those whom she had, for more than twenty years, respected and assisted in Koblenz...those who had devoutly preserved the crucifix and the farewell letter she had sent as a shield in their exile.

On November 12, 1879 a petition was addressed to the statthaler of Alsace Lorrain, General Baron Edwin Manteuffle. Brother Adulphus, who signed it, asked authorization for the German Brothers to take the place at Thionville Beauregard of their French confreres who, because of political events, had been obliged to abandon their residence school.

As no reply was received, Brother Marianus went into action: he asked for an interview with the statthalter. On January 28, 1880 he along with Brother Adelphus was received by Manteuffel at Strasbourg along. Doubtless, that negotiation was limited to a simple exchange of views, since, as early as February 4, the Brother Provincial, on the occasion of a visit to the Austrian schools, renewed in writing his solicitation with the Deutsches Reich bureaucrat: what he wanted at the moment was permission to open in Alsace Lorraine either a residence school or and intermediate school, or for his confreres to accept the direction of an orphanage.

Nearly three months later, he had received the following note bearing the signature of Herzog, the Secretary of State: "The employment of the Brothers of the Christian Schools in a public or private school in Alsace Lorraine is out of the question."

Such a rejection was not enough to make men inspired by devotion to, and love of, the fatherland lose hope. They resolved to seek the intervention of Bishop Dupont des Loges of Metz. A great Frenchman, but above all a pastor, representing a Church which fought free of egoism and national rivalries and dedicated to the spread of divine charity in our world, Bishop Dupont des Loges had won the esteem and respect of the conquerors. On November 18, 1880 he told the statthalter of his wish to see the disciples of the Venerable de la Salle working as freely as possible in his diocese.

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[285] Brother Hilaris' Obituary (1906), Brother Blaste of Mary's (1910); Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes for April 1939, pg. 123. — Pamphlets, Notre école Saint-Vincent, 1848-1948 and les Écoles des Frères de Metz ont deux cents ans, 1747-1947. (Le Lorrain Editions, Metz.)

In his reply of the 24th, Manteuffel certified that he allowed the Brothers “to stay in Alsace Lorraine”. But with respect to opening a school and enjoying full legal rights, he referred the petitioners to consult the President of the “Lorraine Circle” (“bei dem Herrn Bezirkpräsidenten von Lothringen”) which would decide according to existing law.

Two weeks later, Brother Adulphus was called to Metz. Perhaps he was on the verge of the longed-for solution. If he thought that, he was in for a rude awakening. On December 10 he returned to Longuyon and, sadly, announced to teachers and pupils in the German section that “no residence school could be established in Metz.”[286]

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German territory remained closed. France, as represented by its politicians, was hostile. Who was there to take pity on the wandering band? Brother Marianus, who had been appointed by the Superior-general as Visitor of the District of Germany-Austria as well as that of Belgium was in a position, circumspectly, to divide the teaching personnel and pupils from the Rhineland province among the residence schools in Malonne and Carlsbourg. These two major institutions would have no difficulty giving shelter — and seemingly absorb — a few foreign Brothers with a few dozen schoolboys. The grammar school grades functioned in Malonne while the advanced grades were in Carlsbourg. The Belgian Brothers who, in 1870, had so generously welcomed to their institution in the Ardenne both their confreres from Beauregard after the Prussian invasion and the French soldiers after the defeat at Sedan, were no less hospitable toward the German refugees. Brother Memorian in Malonne, Brother Madir Joseph and then Brother Matthias of Mary at Carlsbourg watched over the security and well-being of those whom Providence had sent their way.

Three and a half years passed. The elections of 1884 had brought down the pro-liberal government. In Belgium, once again directed by a Catholic Ministry, the exiles had nothing more to fear from mean-minded and malevolent strategies. And the number of children and youths grew, whose parents in Koblenz, Trèves, Aix la Chapelle and more distant points were eager to entrust to the Religious teachers on the other side of the frontier. Further, in 1886, the decision was made to consolidate all German classes in Carlsbourg; henceforth, with about a hundred pupils, they would form one of the sections of that

[286] Maria Tann Archives, Wirksankeit, pp. 72-73, and Brother Ignatius’ manuscript, Das deutsche Pensionat. — Manteuffel’s letter exists as a copy in the Austrian school of Marienheim’s archives, in Vienna Strebersdorf.

huge and complex institution.[287] Thus the Rhinelanders adapted themselves in Belgian Luxembourg. The Bishops of Namur, whose jurisdiction extended into this region, took an interest in these exemplary members of their diocese. In April of 1893 Bishop Decrolière, shortly after being name to the See, visited Carlsbourg where he was shown, in well-formed lines, respectful postures and with serious countenances, both the "big" and the "little" Germanic pupils.

Gratitude with respect to such compassionate and fraternal hosts, the fondness that is born of a living community, daily common practices and social relationships could not diminish in sensitive hearts the love of one's native land. Avidly their thoughts turned eastward and were involved, both in reflection and imagination, in events that happened there; and they never ceased musing on the possibilities of a return.

At the beginning of 1893 Archbishop Krementz of Cologne was made a Cardinal. The Brothers had not forgotten the rôle played in their history by the former pastor of St. Castor in Koblenz, God's hand in the introduction of the Institute into Germany.[288] From Carlsbourg and from Josephsthal came congratulatory messages and declarations of gratitude and fidelity. His Eminence thanked them in a letter dated March 28; he prayed God to bless everywhere and always their limitless zeal for the Christian education of youth. He quite especially expressed the hope of finding them once again, in what he wished was a not too-distant future, exercising their apostolate, not only outside, but "within the frontiers of our beloved country."[289] Since 1880 religious peace was gradually returned to the Reich. The Iron Chancellor had discovered that he gained nothing by persecuting the Church. Calm, persevering and unshakable resistance on the part of both the Catholic clergy and laity exhausted and discouraged brute force. The "May Laws" were watered down in their application and, then, "revised". "Kulturkampf" ceased to be an issue after the law of April 29 1887, which authorized the government to reopen Prussia to Religious Congregations "that had a charitable, contemplative or pastoral purpose or were related to the Foreign Missions." [290] Nevertheless, numerous injustices and

[287] Maria Tann Archives, Wirksankeit, pg. 73. — And Brother Willibald's notebook. Cf. Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes for April 1939, pg. 121.

[288] See Vol. VI of the present work, pp. 188-191.

[289] Mourret, op. cit., pg. 241.

[290] Ibid., pg. 200.

impediments continued to exist. The artiles of the 1850 Constitution which had been the foundation of suchglorius freedom were not restored.[291]

The Christian Brothers remained among those who continued to be banished. The hope of a restoration of the German District seemed so uncertain to the heads of the Institute that recruits coming from the Catholic countries of the Empire were no longer sent to Josephsthal. Between 1880 and 1894, after a more or less brief stay at Henry Chapelle, candidates made their way to the Novitiate in Austria. Brother Vincentius, in letters dated at the end of this period, says that he received, with the help of Brother Cajus, some postulants from among his own people. In October of 1893 he had five of them — "good boys", he adds.[292]

Brother Madir Joseph, the former Director of Carlsbourg, who subsequently became Visitor of Belgium, altered the destination of these young people after his entry into the Regime. He appreciated the human and religious qualities of these young Germans. As the mission of the Assistant to the Superior General was extended at the same time to the Belgian provinces as well as to those of central Europe he preferred to direct the German novices to Grand-Bigard rather than to Vienna.[293]

In 1898 there remained only the old and the sick at Josephthal, with the required number of Brothers to do temporal work. The house is a centre for retreat for German speaking Lasallians, a place of rest and prayer, with a community, and the presence of the Blessed Sacrament. This was an important decision, relative, as we will see, to the teachers and students at Carlsbourg as a corollary to the abandonment of the place set up and sanctified by the presence of Brother Gottfried.

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[291] Maria Tan Archives.

[292] Marienheim Archives, The saintly Brother Gottfried had just died. Brother Vincentius, who had been his Sub-director since 1877, succeeded him for a brief period. He himself died in 1895.

[293] A German novitiate, properly so called, was not created until 1912 at Guenange in Lorraine, only to disappear during the war that followed; it was then set up again at Maria Tan at Kirnach-Villingen (Bade). From 1910-1916 the French novitiate in the grand-duchy of Luxembourg, had a German section.(Archives of Maria Tan, Chronicle of the novitiates of the German province). 134 Brothers entered the novitiate at Koblenz, then at Josephstal between 1850 and 1880. 68 of these died faithful to their vocation, 18 between 1850 and 1879. Notebook of Brother Willibald.

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A boarding school of modern humanities, an agricultural and a horticultural school, and a teacher's college, the Carlsbourg foundation of the Belgian Brothers had developed so much that its walls could no longer contain all its school population. The German section needed to be transferred elsewhere. Moreover it seemed reasonable to judge that the political situation had fortunately evolved since 1876, so there was nothing to prevent the foundation in the land of Leopold II of an autonomous boarding school for German Catholics. In 1896, therefore, the Most Honourable Brother Joseph invited his Belgian Brothers to look for a property to set up the Germans.

A large village south of Verviers seemed to offer the best situation. Built on the railway line connecting beyond the Spa and Tres-Ponts to Luxembourg, Grand-Halleux was of easy access. Five minutes away from the population and separated from it by a ridge of rocks, there was an open space and position such as that the Lasallians had envisaged. Some distance away, there flowed the river Salm. On the right bank, to the east, there was a hill that was not too steep; on the left bank there was a wooded mountain, at the foot of which there ran the railway, offering protection from the west wind. A third peak, also covered with trees, presented a barrier to the cold north winds so that the property opened out to the centre. Flowing water, beautiful trees and rock masses provided a natural romantic beauty where one breathed pure air in a climate that was sometimes rough but remarkably healthy.

Once the property had been acquired with funds from the Belgian communities, Brother Maixentis, a qualified architect in school buildings, began constructing the boarding school. The work took about two years. As it appeared in May 1898, the Johanninum, a name chosen in honour of Blessed John Baptist de La Salle, was already a fine building with its fine red facade against a green background. Towards the road, there was a park and on the road to the river there were shady trees.

Brother Aloysius was named Director. Since 1895 and after sixteen years of illness, he was in charge of the Josephthal house which could no longer function. The German Lazarists were going to replace the Brothers, while the Johanninum would bring together all that remained in Belgium of the former religious teams from Koblenz and Kemperhof. This was the fulfilment of a long cherished wish of Brother Aloysius. Coming to Grand-Halleux on 23rd May 1898, freeing Brother Desiderius who up to then had been in charge of the construction, B rother Aloysius gave himself to hastening the speed of construction.

The chaplain, M. Dagonnier, celebrated the first Mass in the temporary oratory on 10th April. In May, the pupils came into the new establishment whose size and layout ecited

their youthful enthusiasm.They came from Trèves, Koblenz, Cologne, Aix-la-Chapelle, Metz… 107 of them.

Classes had hardly begun when bereavement filled the house when Brother Aloysius, laden with sickess and suffering, died on 28th May, leaving behind the memory of an admirable religious and educator. His moving funeral took place on the Tuesday after Pentecost.

Brother Bruno, the sub-Director, took charge. It could not have fallen into better hands. Christian Peters, born on 9th June 1859 at Butzheim in the Rhineland, was a boarder at Kemperhof where he quickly demonstrated his talent for music and his aptitude for foreign languages. He left home at nineteen to take the habit of the Brothers of the Christian Schools. After the novitiate at Josephsthal, he became a teacher at Malonne. While he taught with wonderful taste in French and German, he enlarged and deepened his personal learning, studying especially English literature. His charm and skill in playing music attracted the attention of Brother Marianus, Visitor, who arranged for this exceptionally talented person to be admitted into the royal conservatory of Brussels. After being taught harmony and counterpoint bythe best professors, Brother Bruno of Jesus returned for many years to the boarding school under the patronage of Saint Berthuin. He demonstrated his excellent ability, knowing how to initiate his students into science and geography and equally into the dramas of Shakespeare or the symphonies of Beethoven.34

Once the idea of a German boarding school had been accepted, Brother Bruno's name was put forward for an important responsibility. As sub-Director, destined to support and succeed Brother Aloysius in the uncertain circumstances, he came on 21st April 1898 from Malonne to Grand-Halleux. Five weeks later he had to assume full responsibility for the work in progress. He was confirmed in his role on 6th July.

In the organisation of studies, religious and moral education, improvements and material growth, the new chief was master of all his tasks. His apostolic soul and his characteristic enthusiasm were displayed energetically. He wished to form true Christians so an atmosphere of living faith and serious piety was maintained at the Johanninum. He was understood to be and was rightly called a true German in order to develop a real love of their country among the

children and young men. National feasts were put on the calendar, marked by songs, speeches and celebrations. German customs and traditions were honoured as though the establishment occupied some ancient city in the Rhine valley.

The school programme was that of a *Realschule,* developed through six years of grammatical literary and scientific studies, without Latin and Greek. At the end of each cycle, pupils could present themselves before a German jury to be examined as volunteers

for a year in the German army, or in order to be admitted to secondary studies in an *Oberrealschule.* They were also ready to follow courses in technical schools, higher schools of agriculture and philosophy faculties in the universities.

In Grand-Halleux you could once more come across faces well known in the Rhineland, then at Verviers, then at Carlsbourg – Brothers Aedesius, Edmund, Benediktus Maria; Brother Desiderius – Joseph Driessen – now a nurse; Brother Paul Joseph – Paul-Adalbert Gartz – a former cavalryman, original, sharp witted and wise, whose temporal activities in No way prevented him from philosophical reflections nor from errors or blunders in conversations. Brother Athimus, the procurator also stood out. He story of his vocation was like something out of the Golden Legend.

The son of a rich Prussian peasant, August Paul Tuschik, along with his brother Joseph, Dreamed of becoming monks. The two young men told their fathet that they wished to renounce all worldly goods and devote their family inheritance to a charitable work.

Having established all this with a notary, they set out to find a monastery to welcome them. Their search from east to west lead them to the Brothers at Koblenz. They understood that God wanted them to become followers of M De La Salle. The older became Brother Dativus, who served forty-three years in the German or Belgian communities and died as an old man at Grand-Bigard in 1904. The younger, Athimus, showed himself very well endowed for teaching.Through self-education he became qualified to take charge of a class at Burtscheid, and then later at the school of Father Wagner at Verviers. Having been sent to Carlsbourg, he satisfied his innate taste as a collector. He wandered over woods and plains, gathering plants and stones capturing beetles and butterflies. In contact with confreres from exotic countries, he obtained rare objects, birds and mammals, as well as vegetables, minerals and many hexapods to set up an interesting museum. He built it up and took it to the Johanninum. He was naturally methodical, a beautiful soul, simple and confident. With a tireless body and well built, Brother Athimus lived until eight-seven when he died at Maria Tan in 1923.

Through the combined efforts of the leader and his helpers Grand-Halleux had prospered.

Brother Bruno, prudent as an administrator and econome, brought the needed resources together for a new series of constructions. The work began in August 1900 under the direction of two architects from Aix-la-Chapelle, MM.Keller and Zimmermann. Another building was to be built on the south side, made up of seven classrooms, a large hall as a playroom and gymnasium, a dormitory and at last a beautiful Gothic chapel. As the land did not allow for a right-angle, the building was extended for another 40 metres on the existing façade so that the building as a whole gave an impression of strength.

By the summer of 1902 everything was ready. The bishop of Namur, during a visit in October 1901had promised to be present for the inauguration and blessing of the chapel. The ceremony took place with great ceremony on 23rd June. As musician and organiser, Brother Bruno had prepared everything. The pupils formed an excellent choir and one of their songs celebrated Saint John Baptist de La Salle under whose name and [protection the new sanctuary was placed.

The new altar, a gift from a Berlin benefactor, was inaugurated in September 1903 by Mgr.Heylen who in demonstrating the keenest interest in his German diocesans, offered both a window and the Communion table. Brother August, from the Saint Luke school at Liege, offered the design that Master Laurent Duchesne sculptured out of oak.

The reputation of the Johanninium was therefore well established. The number of pupils approached 150 and the enlargement of the buildings allowed for a continuing development of the clientele. The Germans were not alone is their very high appreciation of Brother Bruno and his helpers. Moreover in response to urgent requests, a special course was created for pupils of other nationalities. They practised the language of Goethe and received an education which allowed them, after a few months, to follow a regular course determined by their general knowledge. Until 1913 Grand-Halleux welcomed 201 foreigners, 69 Belgians, 69 French, 63 others from North and South America, England, Italy, Spain, Holland and Luxembourg.

The war in 1914 stopped the international recruitment. After 1918 the Johanninum had To accept the counter-attack of the transformation of Europe.[294]

[294] Among the French pupils at Grand-Halleus the grandson of Louis Veuillot, Joseph Pierron. This young man, born at Autun 19th February 1893 had as his father General Pierron, a valuable officer, the author of remarkable historical military studies and military tactics. After his years at the Johanninum 1900-1904, he spent one year in Dusseldorf and two years in England. Subsequently

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Grateful for the hospitality in Belgium and appreciative for the fame of Grand-Halleux as were very many Catholic families, it was still very painful for the German Brothers not to be able to work in their own country. There was a time when Brother Bruno was led to hope when he was told that the government would agree for the Lasallians to give, if not a general education, but charitable works for unfortunate physically or morally handicapped young people. In this direction several steps were taken, it seems, with the idea of entrusting the Brothers with an establishment for the handicapped (*Kruppelheim*). In response to the questions posed by the director of the Johanninum the Regime replied that they did not have available the personnel required.[295]

After this incident, however, that seemed to indicate a radical exclusion on the part of the government, a door began to open. If this could happen, it seemed that there could be found a centre for diffusion in Germany and possible expansion.

Metz in Lorraine seemed to offer a small possibility. Brothers Hilaris and Blaste continued to run the school Saint Vincent, with the help of lay teachers, teachers of German, writing, drawing, music among other things, and, in first place, M.Louis Krüper, who taught young Lorrainians their native language, French, from 1879 to 1918. Even more important was young Brother Peter who came in October 1895. He was a child of his country, born there, with a great love for his native land, a good religious and a vigorous educator. Arriving from Flanders where he begun teaching, his Superiors sent him to support the two old teachers. He knew German as well as French, the knowledge of which two languages was necessary.[296]

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he entered a maritime company and lived 1906-1910 in Madagascar. After passing through India and Singapore, he stopped at Takka in Malaysia where he was stricked by the black fever. Helped by a missionary priest, he died as he had lived as a good Christian.

[295] According to the memoirs of Brother Max of Maria-Tan

[296] Brother Pierre, between 1906 and 1909, passed theb government exams, having followed courses at he teachers' college located at that period at St Clement's College. He followed Brother Blase as Directorat Saint Vincent. In 1912 he was able to obtain permission to open two classes. In 1949, we had the honour to meet this wonderful veteran of Christian education at Metz in 1949, where 75 years old, he was teaching the aphabety to children. M. Paul Durand, president of the alumni association, dedicated a charming article in the brochure *Notre école Saint-Vincent a un siècle d'existence* (Metz, *Editions de Lorraine*, 1948)

Brothers Hilaris, Blaste[297]and Pierre certainly maintained teaching of French. This in no way prevented them from being faithful to their Congregation and to their German students.

In February 1901, Brother Hilaris wrote the following note, probably to the address of Brother Visitor Cosmus.

"Last December I arranged for a cleric who would be listened to go to the ministry at Strasbourg. My idea was to be allowed to have a German Brother, with the appropriate certification, to come to Saint-Vincent so as to have a second class of 180 instead of 80 pupils. It received a blunt refusal…One of the high officials said that the obstacle did not come from here, the Rhineland services, but, it is of such a nature, that even a new bishop, however acceptable to the government, could not have it granted…The same person said that the teaching, the dress or the sojourn of Brothers of the Christian Schools would be tolerated in Alsace-Lorraine, even if they are German subjects."

With regard to this matter and several others, Brother Hilaris thought himself justified to draw the following conclusions: "teaching is forbidden to the Brothers for the moment. But there is a professional and technical teaching which does not need authorisation. By the ordinance of 10th July 1873 concerning the implementation of the law of 12th February1873… This is why, where appropriate, we will be able to maintain the Institute in Lorraine…"[298]

These ideas coincided with the hopes of Brother Bruno. Professional teaching would give the Lasallians a passport, a title, valuable in neighbouring countries, ultimately beyond the Saar and the Rhine, until this mysterious enough 'objection' would be lifted from Berlin.

An opportunity presented itself to sound out the attitude of the government, and, if as was expected, they were more favourable, there could be immediate benefits.

A parish priest of Metz, Charles Thilmont, had set up an orphanage in his small Moselle parish of Guenage. In 1891, he met an abandoned boy, sheltered him and undertook his education. Some days later, another boy took refuge in the presbytery, followed by a third., thus founding a work. The parish priest installed the centre near the pastoral house, under the name of the Holy Family. Encouragement and assistance came from different sources, the bishop, industrial chiefs and public interest supporting M.Thilmont. In 1891 between 30th and 31st March, the administration of Alsace-Lorraine, represented

[297] Brother Blasé gave importance to the property at Queleu where there is today the professional boarding school Saint-Joseph in a new section of Metz.

[298] Archives of Marienheim in Austria

by Baron von der Goltz and the parish priest, arranged the details of an annual help for each orphan received.

After some years, there were about 80 children. The parish priest had recruited help to extend the building and its surroundings. There is no argument about his merit, nor his daring enterprise… Unfortunately, he was neither prudent nor open to advice, nor completely detached from worldly concerns.

He get himself into such a financial and administrative muddle that he had to think about handing it on. The Brothers were told about this. Negotiations were begun during which our Lorranians served ,many times as negotiators. It was important nevertheless to find an agent who would not provoke resistance from the Kaiser's representatives. Brother Assistant Madir-Joseph chose the director of Grand-Halleux. It was not beyond the clarity and skill Brother Bruno to bring this delicate affair to a good conclusion.

He began by contact with he penitentiary administration at Strasbourg where he met Baron von der Golz. "He is an upstanding man sixty-five or sixty-six years of age"he wrote to his Superiors at Rue Oudinot. "He told me spontaneously, I am a Protestant but a believing Chriostian…" As he had lived at Koblenz, he knew the Brothers, and wished us to entrust Ginningen to us: the state had on interest in taking over this establishment.

This was a fortunate contact. The partner of Brother Bruno sent on in these words: "The existence of a Brothers' school in the Reichland will facilitate the admission of the Institute into a neighbouring region. Even imagining the opposition of the Ministry of Public Instruction, don't be anxious. Once you are in the saddle, I will arrange everything."

There were a few difficulties that Baron von der Goltz seemed to anticipate for the Congregation in its discussions with the parish priest of Guenage. The principal thing at this stage is to find agreement with him. You will discover crippling debts. However with wise administration – which you Brothers know well – you will obtain fine benefits from this place.

With reference to balancing the budget, the official gave useful details. "We will pay 60 pfennig per head per day. We will ensure a salary for the teacher. A second one will be paid for when the number of children demands his presence. When new constructions are needed, we will guarantee you with half the expenses.

This friendly meeting ended by a recommendation which neither surprised or shocked Brother Bruno. "It is very important to choose the Brothers entrusted with teaching in such a way that we would every guarantee for the German national and patriotic education of the pupils."

Thus informed, the Institute's delegate went to Father Thilmont. On 16th January 1902, the founder of the orphanage invited the Brothers to speak with the new bishop of Metz, Mgr. Benxler. "Monseigneur having told me that the Benedictines are unable to take over the work, and on the other hand, that he is in favour of other religious in the same way, tell him that I am ready to cede you the direction."

Fundamental deference required a visit to the episcopal palace. The recommendation of M.Thilmont was set out as required. But he added some very upsetting suggestions: "As to stories about me, ignore them. If the Bishop questions you concerning the conditions of our understanding, you can say that it has not yet been completely worked out; that at the Ministry [of Alsace-Lorraine] they warned you about a rather confused situation; that you expect rather heavy expenses; but that for this country where, before the war [of 1870], you had so many prosperous enterprises and from which you attracted so many vocations, you would joyfully make sacrifices that would enable you to return to Lorraine.

One had good reason to be a little uneasy concerning such sentiments. Indeed, the enigmatic and evasive quality of Father Thilmont had more than once placed the Director of the Johanninum in difficulties. Nevertheless, he persevered because of the importance of what was at stake and because of the kindness the had met with at Metz among the benefactors and friends of the Brothers as well as in government circles at Strasbourg. In February he received the following note from Baron von der Goltz: "Respected Brother, I am in position to inform you that the difficulties have been finally overcome and that very likely in a short time you will be authorized to take over the institution in Guénange."

Bishop Benzler had no difficulty in coming out in favor of the Brothers. The St. Vincent Community asked only to be able to assist Brother Bruno and help him clear up the personal and institutional debts of the previous owner. In Paris, Brother Madir Joseph, Assistant, while improvising manoeuvres which, to his taste, were extremely dangerous, proved to be very open-minded. An acceptable solution had been reached when, on April 27, the following letter mailed from Rue Oudinot must have come as balm to Brother Bruno's heart: "Thank you for all the trouble you have gone to in this matter which will guarantee the return of our Brothers to Germany. In this respect, what you have done] is of inestimable value. We should thank God for having Brother Blaste of Mary told Brother Bruno: "Everything is signed and paid for by means of a loan of 120,000 marks taken out by Brother Hilaris on two banks in Metz…The Institute is completely independent of Father Thilmont."

The residents of Guénange, five weeks earlier, had enthusiastically welcome the first Brothers.[299] Brother Madir Joseph proposed to place Brother Bruno of Jesus at the head

[299] Brother Bruno's preferred instrument was the organ It was there he could show his strength and enthusiasm. He found his ideal religious music in the Benedictines from Maredsous Abbey. But

of the orphanage; but the latter was surprised and declared that he felt no aptitude for directing this sort of institution. In fact, how could anybody have thought of changing him from the Johanninum? Brother Assistant accepted his persuasive arguments and insisted no further.

His choice fell on a former member of the Kemperhof Community, Brother Aderitus (Philip Ferdinand Schoen). It might have been thought that experience obtained at the Katholischer Männerverein orphanage would have been useful in setting the operation in Lorraine in motion. But Brother Aderitus was already sagging under the weight of years: he was born in Breslau in 1839. And, then, the position that he would have to occupy in a region that he would have to know very well and among a people and children that had a very particular character, must eventually prove very difficulty for this elderly Silesian.[300]

He did not last five months. Everything seemed to tremble dangerously; malevolent tongues wagged, and friendships cooled. At this point the Superiors discovered "the right man". In September of 1902 Brother Philip Neri was appointed to lead the operation in Guénange.

He came from Grand Halleux where, since the founding of the Johanninum, he had been a teacher and an Inspector. A socius of Brother Bruno, he had had, like him, been a pupil at the Kemperhof residence school. Four years younger than Christian Peters, Philip Niederee, a native of Niederbreisig in the diocese of Trèves, had followed his teachers into their exile at Verviers and Longuyon. Having decided to share their life, he entered the

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the music from German churches had an important placed in his heart. He played it enthusiastically, orchestrated it and enlivened it by his vibrant personality. Anyone who heard his interludes on Christmas Eve retained a strong memory of them. As a composer, Brother Bruno left various compositions, chamber music, dramas, operettas, orchestral compositions.

[300] For a brief period Father Thilmont continued to be pastor in Guénange. But his quarrelsome temperament taking over, he caused a quantity of troubles for his successors at the orphanage. On the other hand, he had painful clashes with Bishop Benzler, and after him, with Bishop Pelt. Removed from his post, and, at one time, under interdict, he continued to live in the parish, in a house he had purchased at the edge of the village and that people called the "castle." He was reconciled with his Bishop in 1937 and died June 28, 1938 at the age of seventy-nine years. Neither his failures nor his faults were sufficient to make one forget his magnificent undertaking in 1891.

Brother Aderitus died in 1927, at the age of eighty-eight, the senior member of the Austrian District. "Severe on himself," states his Obituary, "he had a tendency to be equally so with respect to his pupils…Rarely did he make concessions to childish weakness or whimsy."

Novitiate in Namur in 1880. Thereafter he was attached to the German section of the college in Carlsbourg.

Brother Bruno had certainly informed him of the critical situation of the school in Lorraine. Brother Philip Neri set to work imperturbably, prudently, tenaciously. He became a builder and an organizer.

Gradually he transformed the nebulous institution into a sort of educational and industrial city: classrooms, shops, dining rooms, dormitories, gymnasium, reception room, chapel — buildings arose — without plan, be it admitted — as needed, but exactly adapted to their purposes. Brother Philip's Guénange, the modest village's center of interest and activity, endures today with the character he had given it prior to the two wars.

As an institution for moral improvement, the youngsters it served included: 1) young delinquents and court cases; 2) the children of negligent or depraved parents whose parental rights had been removed; 3) orphans sent by their guardians or benefactors.

The youngest among them — usually newcomers in the second or third categories — composed the school-going population. At the age of twelve or thirteen they moved from school to the shops. Depending upon their tastes and their aptitudes, they became carpenters, locksmiths, shoe cobblers, tailors, binders or printers. They were also employed in the garden or on the farm, on a part-time basis or as genuine agricultural workers. The land connected with the orphanage enabled it to engage in model farming.

Runaways and delinquents, sent to Reformatories when they reached adolescence, were quickly put to work. Discipline was pursued with severity, and laziness, disobedience, acts of violence and efforts to escape were visited with the strap and solitary confinement. "A prison system," it was called later on, during a period when a different method, a system of "family groupings" had been introduced first by Brother Maris and then by Brother Ares.

Brother Philip Neri, a man who loved order, armed with a switch and little loathe to use it, nevertheless, knew how to win friends. There issued from Guénange, conscientious young men, professionally competent and grateful to their teachers.

Beginning on December 9, 1902, among Brother Philip's associates was a twenty-six year old Brother, a tall Lorrainian, with lively eyes and energetic gestures: he was Brother Matthias Braun. He had immediately taken over the management of the print shop, published a weekly newspaper edited in French under the name of l'Orphelin and in German as das Waisenkind. In it is to be found a chronicle of institution, articles written in

a rousing style, “in the fashion of Peter the Hermit”, attractive stories, and, of course, straightforward and frequent appeals to the friendly readers’ pocketbook.[301]

The school budget was balanced with great difficulty. Neither governmental subsidy nor the sale of agricultural products nor industrial work were sufficient to assure the future. Fortunately, there were generous persons who gave gifts at various times and sometimes, in critical moments, these came in abundance. In one of Brother Madir Joseph’s letters written to the founder of the St. Luke schools, Brother Marès, we read: “In the next fifteen months I’ve got to find 50,000 marks…We positively must return the money borrowed from Corporative Credit in Metz for the Home in Guénange. The good to be done in that institution is immense; at Christmas there was First Communion for twenty-four of the children, a subject for the edification of the parish…Involved in this excellent work is Mr. C…who brought out Brothers back to Germany and is a pledge for the future… "

Thanks to Brother Philip Neri and his courageous Community, Guénange experienced an increasing prosperity. In 1917 it had 300 pupils. And, at that time, the institution, welcoming the founders of a Novitiate for Germany, appeared to be the rallying point at the threshold of a District about to be reborn.[302]

[301] Brother Matthias — who is now seventy-five years of age — has become genuinely identified with the work at Guénange. He was Sub-director of the institution beginning in 1938. During the 1940 “exodus,” he brought the orphans to the South of France (first to Mézin in Lot and Garonne and later on to a refuge in Malepeyre, in Tarn and Garonne). In this way he took steps to preserve the existence of an institution that was very dear to him indeed. He also took charge of the reorganization in 1944-1945, after the school’s return to Lorraine. Along with him, the outstanding witness to a great deal of history, we also saw another veteran at Guénange, frequently mention in the institution’s annals, Brother Alphonsus, vine-grower and cellar-master.

[302] Maria Tann Archives, Guénange file. — Guénange Orphanage file, Historique manuscrit in two volumes. — Vie du Frère Arnaud-Marie. — Brother Philip Neri’s Obituary, 1936. (After World War I, Brother Philip Neri then Visitor, founded the new German District.) — Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes for April 1913, pp. 113-136. — Brother Madir Joseph’s letter of January 25, 1903 exists in a file of Brother Marès correspondence, preserved in Brussels.

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We shall not leave the area this side of the Rhine before saying a word about the effort of the Institute to enter the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg. The incident is connected with the preceding account not only by its location but also by the names and the persons of the Brothers involved. It occurred at a time when the storm created by the Kulturkampf, flurries from which continued in Germany, also shook neighboring nations.

Nevertheless, the atmosphere along the Alzette seemed placid enough when the Institute received the invitation from some Luxembourg citizens.

On March 11, 1880 Dr. Schroeder, agronomist and educator, wrote to the Brother Director of Carlsbourg that an agricultural school was going to be opened in Ettelbrück by means of government subsidies. “Since I am charged,” he wrote, “with the direction of this institution, I must seek, with God’s help, to guarantee its success.” To this end, he was planning to include in it “a small residence school” whose pupils would take agricultural courses. And he was asking for two Brothers to assist him. He wanted to entrust them with the task of supervision; besides, one of the two would teach French. This would be a “chance” to place the Grand Duchy in a position to get to know the disciples of the Venerable De La Salle. With Schroeder “serving as a reference” there was no reason to fear difficulties. “Gradually, people will learn to respect you; and, I have no doubt, after a few years, they will begin to put you in charge of our boys’ schools in the cities as well as in the crowded Communes.”

His request was sent from Carlsbourg to the Mother House through the Provincial, Brother Marianus, who, on August 31, wrote to Dr. Schroeder: “The Superior-general has come out in favor of an experiment, a temporary group of three Brothers, as we await some kind of assurance from your government. Such an arrangement, moreover, is the only one that His Excellency the Bishop of Luxembourg would counsel that we adopt.”

Immediately thereafter Schroeder indicated the sorts of tasks he was thinking of having his future assistants perform: one Brother would teach drawing as well as handwriting in the lower classes, teach German or French to the backward pupils and teach a religion course in French; another would be responsible for courses in French in the two higher classes and “supervise discipline”; a third “would also supervise” and take care of temporal matters in the dormitory, the refectory and the work rooms.

Brother Marianus appointed three of his confreres to Ettelbrück: Brothers Macarius Joseph, Cosmos and Apollinarus. The first of these, some thirty years later, would become the Belgian Assistant; and the second, beginning in 1888, became Visitor in Austria.

In the tiny Luxembourg town Brother Cosmos, without being named on the list of the establishment's teaching faculty, directed the institution associated with the agricultural school. Only Brother Macarius, as "a tutor in the French course," had an official position. But very quickly his status as a Religious raised a stir among the politicians. At the time "Liberalism" in the Belgian style was reigning in the Grand Duchy. On December 17, 1880 a long discussion ignited the Chamber of Deputies over somebody named Dewit, a Belgian Brother, whose presence could not be tolerated in the public schools! A majority came together to demand the removal of this foreigner who belonged to a Religious Order that had not been recognized by the government.

The school year, however, was drawing to a close without the civil authority intervening. On May 29, 1881 Brother Marianus undertook his regular visit to the small Community. He was extremely displeased with the conditions of life imposed upon the three Brothers. Brother Macarius Joseph had four laymen and a priest as colleagues. He and his confreres, Cosmos and Joseph, were obliged to take their meals with their pupils; they were served by female domestic servants. And, to top it off, their residence had no chapel. "Their situation is abnormal," concluded the Visitor; "if there are no changes during the coming vacation, I shall ask our respected Superiors to withdraw them from Ettelbrück."

A governmental decision released him from taking the initiative in bring about a rupture. At the end of August, M. Schroeder informed him that M. Kirpach, Director-general of Public Education, refused to ratify the nomination of Brother Macarius as "teacher/supervisor." — "He wishes absolutely to forbid the Brothers the right to teach," added the founder of the agricultural school.

A letter dated September 12 removed any lingering doubts concerning the Ministry's decisions: "The Dear Brother must leave the premises. It is forbidden to name Brothers to teaching posts. The Communal Council is falling into line with orders from Luxembourg."

"I am recalling the three Brothers," responded Brother Marianus, "until the Good Lord allows us to resume our modest school in the Grand Duchy." It was the expression of Christian confidence, a confidence that was justified: one day the barriers of sectarianism would fall.[303]

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[303] Mother House Archives, File ID q1. — Brother Cosmus' Obituary, 1911. — Parliamentary Annals of the Grand Duchy.

While suspicion and ill-will arose against the Brothers in the West, the Institute strengthened its position in the Austro-Hungarian Empire and directed a certain number of its members toward the Danube, among whom were a number of individuals of the highest rank. Political agitation, financial difficulties, conflicts among Germans, Hungarians and Slavs, all the ups-and-downs that marked Franz-Josef's reign did not prevent the growth of the Brothers' works. In spite of some legal obstructions, in spite of undeniable flaws and the sorrow of numerous repudiations, the Catholic Church remained powerful within the Hapsburg domain. Provinces like the Tyrol, Salzburg, Upper Austria were still zealously Catholic. Even the capital, as frivolous as it was imagined to be, as threatened as it was by Jewish influence, by Protestant and Socialist propaganda, the City of Vienna which had been the high road of the Faith against Luther as well as against Islam, presented a very broad field for apostolic activity.

The works of the Christian Brothers were deployed there, as we were saying earlier since 1857.[304] They had as their take-off point and they retained for a long time as chief center of their effort the Imperial and Royal Orphanage, the celebrated Viennese institution founded under the auspices of Empress Marie-Therese.[305]

In 1785 Joseph II took the buildings at Rennweg, where his mother had introduced them forty years earlier, away from the orphans, as well as their beautiful church, "Maria Geburt", where in 1769 Mozart as a child had directed the performance of a "Mass", a work of his precocious genius.. All this majesty, religious, monastic and princely, inspired respect, although it seemed somewhat too forbidding to frame the grace and simplicity of childhood.[306]The former Waisenhaus is now the major Seminary of the Archdiocese,

[304] See Vol. VI of the present work, pp. 210-218.

[305] The orphanage had its beginnings in the charitable establishments started in 1742 by Canon Francis Xavier Marxer (later Auxiliary Bishop of Vienna) and the industrialist Michael Kienmayer. The Empress in 1745 made a gift of the castle and lands of Ebersdorf to Marxer for his pupils. Then the orphans, at her orders, were transferred to Rennweg. She entrusted them to her husband's (Francis of Lorraine's) confessor, Father Ignatius Parhammer. The direction under Father Parhammer from 1759 to 1785 marked a period of great prosperity for the project.

[306] Waisenhaus, from the end of the 18th century to the beginning of the 20th, occupied the former "Spanish Hospice" in the Alsergrund neighborhood. It was a huge, austere structure, where Emperor Charles VI housed old soldiers who had fought for his cause beyond the Pyrenees when he was disputing the Spanish crown with Philip V. There were the high walls, huge corridors, and enclosed courtyards; but in an extension there was a terrace planted with beautiful trees; opposite, on the other side of a street, there was a very large garden. The chapel with the classical pediment and two square bell-towers belonged to the same period and style as the rest of the structure

Boltzmann Gasse, IXe District. A statue of St. John Baptist de La Salle, erected earlier by the Brothers, remains in the great interior courtyard surrounded by shrubbery which is gradually hiding it from view. The garden that used to be entered by crossing a walkway no longer exists. Two enormous buildings have been built where it once spread out.

Nevertheless, the Brothers in Alsergund were able to keep their pupils happy. Through patience, dedication and educational skill, they won their true place in the institution as well as acceptance in Vienna. We know of their frustrations between 1857 and 1874,[307]

the annoyances and the humiliations that the bureaucrats refused to spare them. Further, the city had adopted an openly hostile attitude toward them. Not satisfied with founding a rival orphanage, whose beneficiaries attended the public schools, with a sort of fury they had demanded the expulsion of the foreign Religious. Fortunately, the government of Southern Austria refused to yield to this sectarian pressure. Further the Brothers had met with a courageous defender in the person of Dr. Albert Wiesinger, a polemicist with a pointed pen, whose pamphlets, Hinaus mit den Schulbrüdern and Hinaus aus dem Gemeinderate performed a service for those whom the Commune Counsel wanted to "throw out".

The belligerent days were past. Brother Mainaudin had, since 1873, vigorously resumed direction. This competent man, bold and far-seeing had undertaken the necessary initiatives and made timely changes at the best possible moment. He operated a school of some 300 children, some of whom were admitted as tuition-free orphans, others as paying resident- or day-pupils, and all of them provided with sound elementary instruction, while the most gifted among them continued their studies in three higher elementary grades.

Every year sixty or seventy orphans of working age left the institution. They became apprentices in Vienna or its vicinity. But there were some who showed exceptional ability: they were guided to the secondary schools: the Realschulen, Normal Schools, schools for military training or into commerce and industry. Waisenhaus's concern for its apprentices continued; these young people, who remained "sons of the school" lacked for neither clothing nor for tools nor for the most essential material and moral support.

While both bureaucrats and politicians had at one time been the occasion of endless problems for the Brothers, now advocacy in the highest places was manifested for these excellent teachers. Not only was a succession of Archdiocesan pastors and Papal Nuncios likely to be found mingling with the orphans and their teachers; the Imperial family

[307] See Vol. VI of the present work, pp. 213, 216-218.

continued to be interested in the foundation. With that mixture of joviality and princely dignity that had almost always characterized the house of Hapsburg-Lorraine, Franz Josef, his mother the Archduchess Sophie and the Empress Elizabeth dispensed their visits to the youngsters at Alsergrund. Crown Prince Rudolph, the unfortunate individual who was drifting toward his pathetic destiny, still showed up at this institution where, as a young boy, he had been involved in the pupils' military games; gently he handed out freshly struck coins to the prize-winners at the end of the trimester.[308]

According to the contract of 1874 the appointment of the Director of the Imperial and Royal orphanage must be submitted to the approval of the Statthalter for Southern Austria. In 1881, Brother Mainaudin, although he was not yet sixty years of age, suffered from a sort of physical weariness. It would be soon a quarter of a century since he been first called upon to head the great institution; and we know that he had resumed command after the crisis that had followed upon his departure in 1867.[309] Now he had to think about a definite retirement. This native of Poznan, Poland, would pass the last eleven years of his life in Belgium.

On August 22, 1881 Brother Superior-general Irlide wrote to the Viennese government in order to effect the necessary change: Brother Mainaudin's successor was to be Brother Eucherius, who was "already known to the Statthalter, the Inspectors and the entire personnel of the institution." Indeed, as secretary to Brother Marianus, the former teacher at Koblenz and Verviers must have remained in touch with Austrian affairs. But John Baptist Haas was a citizen of the deutsches Reich and not of the Hapsburg Empire; and thus the Statthalter was in no hurry to accept him. His reply dated September 13 gave only a provisional approval. Brother Eucherius would have to apply for Austrian naturalization: the file was drawn up and signatures obtained. On March 2, 1882 the civil arm ratified the decisions of the Superior of the Institute.

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[308] The respect shown the Brothers by the reigning family went so far, a few years later, of seeking cooperation of a Brother for the education of the Archduke. On September 10, 1899, Brother Assistant Madir Joseph wrote to Brother Visitor Cosmus: "The M. H. has just decided that we cannot take on the task of providing an eventual tutor for the Austrian Imperial family. the decision was final: "Impossible!," he said. Hence, it remains only to dismiss the tempting honor that they want to bestow on us." (Marienheim Archives.)

[309] See Vol. VI of the present work, pp. 216-218.

The new Director had been in charge for six months. He was to occupy his position for thirty years with a great deal of flare, along with remarkable wisdom and an astonishing power to attract.

The time has come for us to fix our attention on this man of whom, on several occasions, but in each case quite rapidly, we have gotten a glimpse. He belonged to a devoutly Catholic family in the diocese of Rottenburg, in Würtemberg: of his six brothers and sisters, five dedicated their lives, as he did, to the service of God. From the outset, he acknowledged no other vocation than that of a teacher. He entered the Schwäbish Gmünd Normal School at the age of sixteen and a half years, in 1853, where he worked first under the direction of Father Augustine Link, who soon left to become a Jesuit, and then under another priest, no less distinguish, Father Pischler. In May of 1855 he passed quite successfully his first education examination. A few days later, he was appointed to Risstissen, in Upper Suabia, where he practiced his profession of teacher with an objectivity and a spirit of piety which anticipated the future disciple of De La Salle.

That future began to take shape in Biberach-Riss to where the young teacher was transferred in December of 1859. At the time he wrote verses in his diary which outlined an entire life-plan:

1. Quietly, do good, modestly

   Quietly, love God and man,

. . . . . Quietly, share others' sorrows,

. . . . . .

   Quietly, embrace Christ's Cross,

   . . . . . .

   Quietly, quietly...until death!

   The sublime silence of the soul

   Which wins us a surfeit of divine grace!

A meeting with two colleagues, J.B. Hensberger and Valentine Engler, who became Brothers Adulphus and Friedrick, steered him toward the Congregation that had been established in Koblenz. An extremely flattering promotion to a position of confidence did not alter his decision, but it did force him to postpone its consequence. In Gmünd he replaced one of his former teachers and took his turn to teach Normal School students, who were scarcely younger than himself. They praised the clarity and precision of his lectures, the sensitivity of his conscience and the charm of his company.

Everything smiled on the twenty-five year old John Baptist Haas; to distinguished skills he joined remarkable learning. He had a good head and a warm heart, in the right place. His eyes, slightly bulging, radiated intelligence; all his physical features reflected kindness. He spoke earnestly, but his enthusiasm did not stand in the way of his balanced mind and he combined with it a gaiety, a "Souabian humor". People were easily conquered by so many attractive qualities, but such tranquil virtue. Superiors, colleagues and students alike agreed in predicting a brilliant future for this exceptional individual. In 1861 he entered the Novitiate of the German Brothers.

We know the direction his career had taken over twenty years. His cooperation with Brother Visitor Marianus had demanded hard work, involved a great deal of travel, a massive and varied correspondence and great attention to detail. Brother Eucherius knew several languages, and after his stay in Belgium, he spoke and wrote French with ease. He had overall views concerning the entire Institute; and he had been initiated into the questions which particularly concerned the Religious life, Christian education, and the founding of a school or of a District. His religious and intellectual cultivation had not been left fallow; he constantly consulted Sacred Scripture and the Fathers of the Church. And growth continued apace in the fields of the sciences and philosophy. Gifted with a retentive memory and a penetrating mind, he kept in touch with the current of ideas. He read, he questioned and he reflected. Both his pedagogy and his teaching remained in contact with the most contemporary problems.

Thought, for Brother Eucherius was never just a cold light. Under the influence of faith and love he moved into action. The Director of the Imperial and Royal Orphanage merited the name *Vater der Waisen*, father, with all the cares and concerns that paternity imposes, with an affection directed toward each child and that"transformed him into an individual person" in spite of the great number of children that it touched. In the presence of the Head of the house a newcomer felt at home and deeply happy without knowing why. "It was an unforgettable moment!" declared one who was familiar with the Waisenhaus "in the very simple, black school uniform, wearing the cap with the black and gold braiding and having returned to one's Mom the cloths that had been worn earlier (to be used henceforth by one's younger brothers who were still at home)...then, Brother Eucherius would take you by the hand and lead you either to a classroom or to the school yard and hand you over to the teachers or to the Prefect of discipline or introduce you to your new classmates...

And this was just the prologue. The eyes and ears of the "father" were ever attentive. His door was always open to the worried, the afflicted and the repentant. Often, "it was literally besieged". The Director would show up in the corridors and on the playing fields: the youngsters surrounded him. He met them at their level, smiling, encouraging and neglecting no one.

If it were for the advantage or the delight of his pupils, no measure, no effort was grievous for him. He reconciled people of goodwill and inspired the generosity of persons in high places. People considered the orphanage as a model school — and rightly so. Liturgical chant splendidly performed, handsome works of drawing and handwriting, proper dress and the good manners respected in the institution — the entire external aspect of the enterprize helped, quite correctly, to recommend it to the public.

Closely associated with a great number of people — of every social class — Brother Eucherius easily found situations and employment for his older boys. Equipping departing students with good counsel, he followed them throughout the course of their lives, was always ready to welcome them, comfort them and even come to their assistance financially. A great quantity of alms passed through his cautious hands and went to refloat someone down on his luck, who, along with material sustenance, was provided with something extra for his soul. In order to expand the scope of his apostolic and charitable zeal, the Director could not fail to take advantage of the power of affiliation. For his former students he created two fraternal bodies: one of them was called “Truth” which recruited exclusively from among orphans and was intended to support the faith taught and practiced at the Waisenhaus. The other, called “College”, adopted as its chief goal to come to the assistance of comrades in need; membership in this group included former tuition-paying pupils at Alsergund as well as a large number of the benefactors of the Imperial foundation who had achieved some affluence and positions of control.

Loved and respected by his adoptive children, Brother Eucherius was no less so by the members of his Religious Community, which had known him to be ever ready to listen, with calmness and patience, to a confidential account of their difficulties and problems, give them the advice and support they needed, and not send them back to their tasks without words of encouragement and consolation.

He was also known by most of the Austrian Brothers. Almost every year on the eve of the Feast of the Assumption, between 1886 and 1910, theVisitor selected him to give the conference at the taking of the habit. In this talk Brother Eucherius wielded the eloquence of conviction; the words poured from his lips and penetrated to the hearts of his young audience as he celebrated the nobility of a Lasallian vocation and the mission of the educator. As president of District retreats, with the same sort of enthusiasm, in unstudied phrases that sprung up from their source, he explained the great principles of the faith as applied to the obligations of religious teaching.

Thus, in the closing years of the 19th century, he had become a prominent person, not only in the eyes of his confreres, but of the lay public as well. The capital had assessed the good he had accomplished at the orphanage, appreciated the workers produced by the school and witnessed a social elite arising among them. The Souabian native of Leinweiler, whom the Bismarck government had expelled and whom Belgium regarded with

suspicion, had attained the moral conquest of Austria. Emperor Franz-Josef, on December 2, 1898, awarded him the title of "Counsellor to the Crown". In 1904, the Inspector-general of Vienna's schools insisted on personally expressing his gratitude to Brother Eucherius; and, at the same time, the city Counsel honored the people's benefactor by conferring upon him a special distinguished citizens award. In 1913 an Imperial Decoration, the Cross of the Knights of the Order of Franz-Josef, bore further witness of the monarch's feelings toward the Brother.

Waisenhaus seemed to be the embodiment of its leader. But it was impossible to neglect the dedicated and competent men who surrounded him. In the forefront there was Father Franz Tendler, a Redemptorist, who had been working with the Brothers since 1857 and who, until his death on May 5, 1902, had tirelessly directed consciences and counselled souls.

And then there was the teaching and administrative team, the Brothers in their various posts: the Brother Sub-director, Hugo, who had a great gift for organization and a happy, joyful disposition; for forty-six years he remained at the service of Viennese youth, the faithful guardian and living chronicle of its traditions; on February 5, 1903 he received the "Great Gold Medal of the Savior". It was bestowed upon him by Vienna's Mayor, Dr. Lueger, who wanted, he said, to reward the entire Institute in the person of Brother Hugo.

With Brother Hugo, there was Brother Salomo, a native, who starting in his tenth year, grew up in the institution; on one fine morning, in the company of two other youths, he applied at the door of the Novitiate: a somewhat extravagant young man was able to shape his life according to the Rule. But he had not lost his alert manner: of this rigorous mathematician and man who taught physics with deliberate gestures his pupils preserved the most lively and pleasant memories.

His teaching colleague, Brother Bernard, dignified, reflective, and hardworking, further distinguished himself with his sensitive kindness toward poor apprentices.

Brother Matthias was a master of the catechetical art; and Brother Ludwig taught the youngest children. Brother Petronius, an orator and musician, but before all else the complete disciple of John Baptist de La Salle, will show up to full advantage when we meet with him again in another theatre.

And here we can only indicate, actually do nothing more than name, "the temporal Brothers" who, however, in this family group, played the rôle of the most important auxiliaries: Brother Tyrsus who, for fifty years, worked in the dining rooms; Brother Aldus, a blond giant of a man, who handed out Brother Eucherius' daily alms; the treasurer, Brother Beatus; the sacristan, Brother Christophorus and the gardener, Brother Nazarius.

In this Community, for a long time, the Austrians constituted a minority. The majority was made up of Brothers from the Rhine, Westphalians, Bavarians and Brothers from Würtemberg. Referring to an earlier period, we have just alluded to how an orphan with a disposition for independence had been transformed into a Christian Brother. We now call attention to another precursor, Brother Stanislaus Kostka.

He was a typical Viennese, an ardent lover of music, whose unquestioned artistic, intellectual and moral quality was for sixty years put to work to support the reputation of his Religious family.

Born in 1848, young Kaplan, who had lost his father, was admitted to the Imperial orphanage. Brother Mainaudin took an interest in him; and Father Tendler had a religious influence over the boy. After a period of elementary studies, he entered the Congregation. A devout Novitiate was followed by a Scholasticate during which his talent as a musician were noted: the Superiors believed that such a gift of Heaven should not be wasted. At theirorders, Brother Stanislaus took music lessons from the best teachers. He taught his art with the greatest success. He edited a collection of canticles for use in the Imperial schools, four volumes of various songs that the Minister of Public Education recommended to educators. Masterfully he directed choral groups: the one at the Orphanage was good enough to be compared to the Hofburg choirs. In 1882, on the occasion of an international musical competition in Vienna, the Brother assembled a thousand school-children whose harmonious voices, skillfully conducted, unleashed the enthusiasm of a vast audience. In 1888 the Maëstro composed a splendid canatat in honor of Blessed de La Salle.

Thus the Waisenhaus, under the Brothers' direction, as in the past under the guidance of Father Parhammer or under the educational rule of Vierthaler, continued to be an important institution, one of the most characteristic and one of the most popular in the Austrian capital.[310].

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A second enduring foundation, the Fünfhaus school, fulfilled the hopes of its creators. We are familiar with the fact that it owed its beginnings to two wealthy industrialists,

[310] Motherhouse Archives, File ID q8. — Marieheim Archives: Die, Anstalten der Schulbrüder in Oesterreich-Ungarn, 1897; and Nachrichten aus dem K. K. waisenhause für Knaben in Wien, 1918. — Brother Brug, op. cit., (Vie du Frère Eucherius). — Obituaries of Brother Hugo, 1904, Brother Stanilaus Kostka, 1927. Today the buildings have been taken over for a hospital

Anton and Jacob Lang, who had dedicated a fortune acquired at the expense of harsh labor and intelligent activity to religious, social and charitable works.[311]

Along with financial security and moral support for their workers, with board, room and education for orphans and with education for the children in the quarter, these altruistic men provided a parochial center for the entire neighborhood. Along the new Gürtelstrasse they purchased land on which a church was to rise. Cardinal von Rauscher placed and blessed the first stone on May 23, 1868. And, as Pius IX when he conferred "the purple" of the Cardinalate on the Archbishop of Vienna, made him titular of the Roman Church of Our Lady of Victories, his Eminence had the excellent idea of placing the new building in his archiepiscopal city under the same patron: Maria vom Siege was the name given to the sanctuary, designed by the architect Friedrich von Schmidt and on October 17, 1875, dedicated by the revered prelate, who on that day for the last time performed his sacred functions. The victories that had been commemorated earlier in Rome had been those of "Lepanto" and "White Mountain" and the deliverance of Vienna by John Sobieski. It goes without saying that they were celebrated at the Fünfhaus. But Maria vom Siege would also be a place where the Brothers and their pupils would ready themselves for combat against ignorance and for the faith.

The Langs' intention was to support good people in the Catholic way. An Austrian law of May 14, 1869, while overall indicating the successes of rationalism against the Church, at least enabled private schools to develop freely; it went so far as to dispense Communes from opening a public school when a particular institution was already fulfilling educational needs.[312].

Teaching Congregations, therefore, had to bring the greatest zeal to the fulfillment of their mission. For the Brothers the measure of their task was the program of the allgemeinen Volksschulen: — religion, reading, handwriting, calculation along with an introduction to geometry, simple notions of the physical and natural sciences, geography, and history, drawing, singing and gymnastic. They taught the orphans, whom the housed in a near-by residence, at the same time as they taught young boys from an unpretentious portion of the population, the sons of trades people, shopkeepers and minor bureaucrats.

The Brothers' situation was strengthened by "foundation's contract", drawn up on June 22, 1877 and signed by Antony Arens (Brother Marianus) Otto Mayrhofer (Brother Otto)

[311] See Vol. VI of the present work, pp. 215-216.

[312] Ferdinand Buisson, Nouveau Dictionnaire de pédagogie, 1911, article on "Austria" by Franz Roider

and Jacob, Anton and Katharina Lang. And then, after the building went up at the Institute's expense, the ownership of the entire property fell to the Congregation's representatives. The school, which at the time included six classrooms and the Community dwelling, was a noble, sound construction, in classical style, three stories high facing the street[313]and, at the back, a narrow yard, jammed between the walls of the contiguous buildings.

Brother Marianus wanted to perpetuate the memory of the Lang generosity. On March 31, 1879, he wrote the following document: "In order to pay the tribute of our profound gratitude to Messrs, Anton and Jacob Lang and their wives Katherine and Frances[314]for their undertakings and their contributions in the founding of our popular school in Fünfhaus...we declare: that the Langs will always be honored as the founders of this school; that we commit ourselves to maintaining this institution as long as possible; that we shall continue, as long as the Christian schools shall last, to teach tuition-free sixteen boys of the Lang family. If, in this distinguished family, there are not sixteen male candidates of school age, the number will be completed by other Catholic boys in Fünfhaus. There followed the signatures: Bruder Marianus, Bruder Otto.

On May 25, 1880 one of the benefactors, Anton Lang, died. Auxiliary Archbishop Gruscha, a close friend of the deceased, not only assisted at the funeral, he gave absolution. The keenest sorrow was shown for this man "dedicated, zealous, rich in good works, to whom the school, parish, commune and neighborhood owed so much".

Jacob survived his brother by twelve years. A patriarch who, like his Old Testament namesake had twelve sons and a daughter, he had earned the respectful affection of the innumerable individuals who were indebted to him. He wanted his entire fortune to go to the service of the Church, to charities, to young people and the poor. "I began with nothing," he said, "and I shall leave without an inheritance. My children will work, as I did." A simple and kindly man, he frequented the company of school children. He also enjoyed the Brothers' company and, along with them, organized outings into the Wienerwald during vacation time. Sharing their joys and their difficulties, he established frank and trusting relationships between his family and the Religious teachers. His death, on June 6, 1992, was a sad blow for all those who loved him. Young girls and boys in

[313] Tellgrasse, today Gebrüder Langgasse (Lang Brothers Street, Vienna, XIe.

[314] The latter, Jacob's wife, died on March 7, 1875.

institutions found by Jacob and Anton followed the funeral cortege praying and singing. Archbishop Gruscha returned to bestow the final blessing.

The elementary school, under Brother Otto's direction, remained in good hands. We have already had a glimpse in Germany of a Bavarian teacher who, in 1855, determined to adopt the habit of the Christian Brothers.[315]. This was Nicholas Mayrhofer, who at the time was given the name of Brother Otto. His friend and senior by two years, Andreas Schropp, had shown him a letter from the Visitor, Brother Modestus: "What's this! You are going to become a Schulbruder? exclaimed Nicholas. "In that case, so shall I!" Koblenz welcomed the two postulants, and Andreas became Brother Gottlieb.

When the Institute opened in Austria Otto Brother Otto was sent there. An excellent and very dynamic teacher, and later Sub-director, at the Imperial Orphanage for a dozen years, he was subsequently given charge of the reform school in Penzing. When the Congregation withdrew from that institution,[316]he went to Fünfhaus where, through the influence of amicable virtues he governed for twenty-five years.

The somewhat stunted and vulnerable plant that he had received in 1869 survived, spread and, under the supervision of the vigilant gardener, struck root and multiplied its branches. A Bürgerschule, i.e., upper elementary classes, had been added to the Volksschule. Youngsters finished introductory studies in grammar and German composition, geography, history, physics, calculation, geometry and natural history. In gymnastic exercises they improved physical vigor and suppleness. And eagerly they devoted themselves to vocal music. Finally, they could, if they so desired, learn French, stenography, the violin or piano, and take up manual trades.

All these studies were capped by examinations. In 1890, the Director earned the "Offentlichkeitsrect for his school: henceforth, like the public schools, the institution founded by the brothers Lang had the right to issue diplomas recognized by the State. It was an important prize, which suggested the quality of the Brothers' education and broadened the prospects for the future. Thus, by 1897 the school, doubled in size,[317]composed thirteen classes occupied by seven- to eight-hundred pupils.

At this time, Brother Otto was no longer at the head. His Superiors had given him another, less demanding task, which would soon be interrupted by his death. But before he left Fünfhaus the official world wanted to pay him the tribute of their deepest respect.

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[315] See Vol. VI of the present work, pp. 195-196

[316] See Vol. VI of the present work, pg. 215

[317] The Brothers had purchased the house next door, no. 4 Tellgasse. — The first and second classes of the Bürgerschule were opened on September 1, 1889 in this building with 101 pupils.

Measures taken by the city Counsellor Witzelberger and the County President, Henry Stagl, obtained for the gallant teacher the “Gold Medal of the Savior”. It was awarded to him for his twenty-five years of leadership in July of 1894 in the reception room of the Mayor, Dr. Grüble, who, on the occasion, spoke movingly of the merits of the educator and leader.

A month later, on the Feast of the Assumption, Brother Otto parted company with his cherished Community. He had arrived in 1869 with four other Brothers; fifteen, moved to tears, surrounded him when the Visitor, Brother Cosmus and Brother Eucherius prepared to take him to Pressbaum-Tullnerbach, his new home. On October 4, he returned to participate in the school’s jubilee that had been organized by his former associate and successor, Brother Servantius Eichfelder.[318]. He died three years later.

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The institution in which Brother Otto was to finish his career was called the “Norbertinum”. Rising on a height, in a magnificent setting of meadows and forests in the middle of Wienerwald, it took in orphans.

A journalist, Stephen Worell, editor-in-chief of the Weltblatt had found in Vienna in January of 1877 the Katholische Waisenhilfsverein, a Catholic Association for Assistance to orphans, with the view of assuring them a good education and to train them in the practices of an honest trade. The project was part of a vast plan for religious and moral improvement undertaken by the faithful within the Austrian Empire. In the thousands, Worell recruited supporters from among the higher aristocracy and the upper social classes. Archduke Francis Ferdinand who, a few years later, became the heir to the throne took the Waisenhilfsverein under his wing.

As early as 1878 the Society decided to open a school. Mme. von Lagusius contributed a piece of land situated about twelve miles from Vienna. St. Norbert, Archbishop of

[318] The house chronicles for this date bears the signatures of Brother Servantius, Brother Theodosius, Sub-director and sixteen other members of the Community. — In 1889, Brother Servantius, appointed Director of the residence school in Strebersdorf, was replaced by Brother Theodosius. Two years later the school in Fünfhaus was entrusted to Brother Karl Thürmann. Motherhouse Archives, File Id q9. — fünfhaus Archives and especially Denkschrift zur Feier des 50 jährigen Bestandes der Privatvolks und Bürgerschule für Knaben, Wien XV, Gebrüder-Langgasse 4, 6 (1869-1919 zusammengestelit von Bruder Sigismund Herzmansky. — Brother Otto’s Obituary, 1897. The Fünfhaus school, closed during the period of Hitler’s domination, was reopened in 1945 under the direction of Brother Bonifazius. And with him it has recovered its former success

Magdeburg and founder of the Premonstratension Order, was the object of a lively devotion among the leaders of the Verein: he became the patron of the orphanage.

Almost immediately it was suggested that the cooperation of a Religious Congregation be sought. And who better suited for the purpose than the Brothers of the Christian Schools, who had been operating the Imperial Waisenhaus so successfully? Negotiations pursued a favorable course, and when they were concluded, Cardinal John Rudolf Kutschker wrote: “The plan to entrust the supervision and the direction of the future school at Pressbaum to the Brothers’ Congregation has been welcomed with a great deal of pleasure by the ecclesiastical Ordinary, since experience with the Schulbrüder’s activities in the Archdiocese of Vienna guarantees that at the Norbertinum Catholic orphans will find the highest concern for their souls and bodies. I greatly desire the early enactment of the measures adopted; and I shall regard the day on which they are finally realized as among the happiest of my pastorate.”

At the time this archiepiscopal letter was written (May 31, 1880) arrangements had been only provisional: forty youngsters were to be housed in a country-home in Pressbaum. A Director was appointed, whoassumed his duties on August 25: it was Brother Ireneus (Joseph Friedl). Born in Stangendorf, in Moravia, on April 8, 1840, he had been a member of the Institute since he was twenty years of age; after his novitiate, in the buildings of the Imperial Orphanage, he taught at Alsergrund and at Fünfhaus. He was worthy of the post that had been conferred upon him in his mature years: he was kind hearted, serious and firm. As a young man, he had no hesitation about joining the Brothers, still little known, and whom the Viennese liberals, the enemies of the Church, scoffed at and disparaged. At the Norbertinum, he was tireless, concerned to provide the project with an unshakable foundation and guide it along successful lines.

On September 16, 1880 there occurred the inauguration of the new orphanage at the makeshift site. On July 27, 1881 the cornerstone was laid for the vast construction of which the architect Schmalzhofer drew up the plans. The first section was completed and made habitable in ten months’ time. The Prince-Bishop Celestine Ganglbauer performed the solemn blessing on the Feast of St. Norbert, June 6, 1885. And then the masons went back to work. Cardinal-Archbishop Gruscha presided over the celebration of the completed work on October 23, 1890.

The Norbertinum at the time presented overall a majestic appearance: its monastic quadrangle surrounded a great interior courtyard; large bay-windows lighted up the classrooms, refectories, dormitories, corridors and stairways; the chapel, decorated by the painter Joseph Kastner was not lacking in charm and invited to quiet meditation. But it would be too much to called it a “masterpiece”; Schmalzhofer’s work possessed nothing very original; the brick that he used removed from his work that rugged look that would have been so fitting in this natural setting.

The estate, of nearly 125 acres, lent itself to cultivation on a grand scale, raising of animals, as well as gardening and truck-farming. It was located nearly equi-distant from the train stations at Pressbaum and Tullnerbach. And all points of the horizon the hills were covered by dense greenery.

In this wooded solitude and bracing climate, 120 boys starting in the autumn of 1882, 300 starting in the autumn of 1890, were trained and taught. Shops for locksmiths, cobblers, taylors and carpenters, enabling the institution to deal with its own maintenance, whether having to do with the house, the staff or the residents, as well as, out of class hours, to introduce the orphans to the manual trades. The gardens and the farm also employed these youthful workers.

When the pupils reached their fourteenth year, several paths opened to them; and they were directed to the one best suited to their talents. Some of them pursued an apprenticeship in the city; others composed, what was called in the school, the Arts and Trades section: the very precise program of studies and work imposed on them provided a significant guarantee toward their future. Boys especially gifted in the sciences, the classical humanities, positions of command or the teaching profession made up a third category. The Katholishe Waisenhilfsverein sent them to a “Gymnasium”, a Realschule, a Commercial School or a Normal School; expenses were paid out of funds from the Association.

In 1889 there was set up in Vienna, a subsidiary of the Verein printing-plant, a sort of family residence, a “hostel” for young people, called the Norbertusheim; eighteen students and sixteen apprentices, usually former pupils of the Norbertinum, were received there, under the guidance of Brother Aderitus. Youths who were still going to school came there to study and do their homework in a “common room”; the Brothers supervised this group and did service as tutors. In November of 1894, a large grant of 20,000 florins allowed the Norbertusheim to move into more comfortably quarters in a building on the Erdbergstrasse. Housing and meals were free of charge for a large number of the beneficiaries.

In this fashion the full possibilities of Worell’s excellent project were spelled out. The Brothers, the Association’s representatives, achieved maximum results in the educational field. At the same time, they were able fully to exploit the huge Pressbaum estate. There members of their Viennese Communities were received fraternally; and it was there also that Retreats were held and Vows were pronounced. There, too, in the calm of evenings on the grassy meadows classroom exhaustion was repaired.[319]

[319] Motherhouse Archives, File ID q1. — Marienheim Archives, op. cit., (Anstalten and Nachrichten). — festschrift zur Jubelfeier des Bildungshauses der Schulbrüder Wien-Strebersdorf) (by Brother Coloman), 1936. — Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes for April 1909, pp. 128-142, and

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In the 1880's, then, the Imperial Orphanage, the school at Fünfhaus and the Norbertinum were the three key situations of the Institute in Austria. The highest Counsel of the Congregation was, quite properly, delighted with the work already accomplished and looked forward to the possibilities of growth. The destinies of the District were entrusted to Brother Renaux, who was at the time among the M. H. Brother Irlide's Assistants. Although he knew no German, he provided his confreres in Central Europe with every kindness and concern. Like so many Rhineland and Souabian Brothers, he, too, was a former lay-teacher and felt very close to men like Brother Eucherius and Brother Otto. As a former teacher at Passy and former Director of the residence school in Rheims, he took a quite broad over-view of his task, even though, as he passed from thought to action, he yielded a great deal to excessive caution. As early as 1877, he established the principle that the expansion of the Brothers in the Austro-Hungarian Empire was both desirable and possible. In those years of Bismarck's Kulturkampf, he directed the German Brothers to the banks of the Danube. But, before all else, he thought that it was crucial to assure the future of the Austrian Novitiate by obtaining adequate financing for it.[320]

For as long as the District was unable completely to support itself, Brother Renaux came to its assistance. Especially under Brother Joseph's generalate financial grants from the Motherhouse became frequent and substantial. Brother Assistant wrote to Brother Marianus on May 11, 1866 that 1,000 francs would be supplied every quarter to the Novitiate in Vienna from the treasury on Rue Oudinot. On March 3, 1890 the Visitor, Brother Cosmus was notified of a subsidy of 35,000 francs; and a further 15,000 were paid out in 1891. On May 29 there was added a loan of 60,000 francs that Brother Michael of Jesus was authorized to send the Visitor in three installments. On December 17, 1892 an "assistance" of 20,000 francs was declared.[321]

April 1933, pg. 109. — Since the Waisenhilfsverein had been dissolved by Hitler's government, the orphanage closed. The Brothers had to leave the Norbertinum, where today (1950) there exists a school for domestic arts (whose Principal is a former pupil of the Austrian Brothers.

[320] Marienheim Archives, letter dated October 16, 1877, "copy for the Brother Provincial."

[321] Marienheim Archives, letter dated October 16, 1877, "copy for the Brother Provincial."

This was the attentive and generous Superior's final appropriation. Death took Brother Renaux from his Austrian, German and Belgian Brothers on November 10, 1894. Brother Madir Joseph succeeded to this part of the deceased Brother's responsibilities. We have already seen the work of the former Director of Carlsbourg, an intelligent and well-informed superior. He watched over Austria as carefully as over his countrymen in Belgium and their confreres in Grand-Halleux and Guénange.

Brother Cosmus assisted him. He had been at the head of the District since 1887 and remained on as "Provincial" for another twenty-three years. John Joseph Knauff, a native of Plittersdorf in the Rhineland, had worked with his father and mother on the farm until he was twenty years old. The encouragement of an older brother, a diocesan priest, brought him in 1859 to the Novitiate in Koblenz. He taught the school children in that city. And, as we might recall, he moved on to Verviers, Malonne and Ettelbrück. Expelled by the politicians from the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, he was appointed Sub-director of the Novitiate in Namur. Brother Marianus noticed him and proposed him to the Superior-general in 1884 as Director of Novices in Vienna. Brother Cosmus was now settled in a country which henceforth would be his homeland by adoption. To it he brought his spirit of industry, his patient and tenacious will, his gentle character, the cheerful goodness and the joyous flair which, so often, restored around him wilting allegiance and waning energy. As Director of Novices and as Visitor of the District he exercised such an influence over people and began so many and such important institutions that he has sometimes been referred to as "the real founder" of the Lasallian Province of which Vienna was the headquarters. He continued to rule until the spring of 1910, and, an old man full of days, he died surrounded by his confreres on January 5, 1911.[322]

To sustain him in his task he had found, along with the dedication of his Brothers, support from the episcopacy and from faithful Catholics. We have observed the undeviating kindness of successive Archbishops of Vienna. It remains to say something about the behavior of men of sincere and effective faith belonging to the various social classes of the Empire.

The educational legislation of 1869 had produced results that were rather hostile to the religious education of youth. However, it could not be denied that it had supported the principles of Christian morality and authorized the opening of private schools that could take advantage of "Offentlichkeitsrecht. What was needed was to use this very important tool. On all sides, Catholic opinion demanded an educational system that the Church

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[322] Choix de notices nécrologiques, Vol. II, pp. 455-465.

could live with. Teachers were sought. As far as Bohemia and even beyond the frontier of the Leitha in the Kingdom of Hungary, advocates for the Brothers were numerous.

The Brothers asked nothing better than to work, but they needed recruits. Further, recruits could not be used until after a significant, and, therefore, a rather long and expensive, formation. Once the men had been found, it was necessary to raise the funds. As early as 1884 a plan was worked out: it proposed to set on foot "The Venerable John Baptist de La Salle Auxiliary", an association, analogous to, if not identical with, the one that Brother Irlide had recently revived in France.[323]

In 1886 an acceptable leader had been thought to be located in the person of Dr. Kasper Schwarz. A delegation was sent to meet him and found that he was amenable. He took time to think it over. Finally, what emerged from Schwarz's reflections was the Katholische Schulverein, a Catholic association for schools, a genuine "Educational League", which was as ardently religious as the French league was anti-Christian. The Schulverein rapidly found support with the Archduke Francis Ferdinand. From then on it was sponsored by the dynastic family, as opposed to more or less clandestine forces. It expanded its organization throughout Austria, opening or subsidizing Elementary and Normal Schools.[324].

The good that was achieved was obviously great. And the Schuleverein was not slow to generate — as an indispensable corollary — the Verein zur Heranbildung Katholicsher Lehrer, an Association for the training of Catholic teachers, or the De La Salle Verein. This second group selected the Brothers' school in Fünfhaus as its headquarters. And on November 27, 1888 it assembled its founding members: to this large and dynamic audience of laymen and priests Brother Eucherius explained the goal and commented on the statutes of the Association that had already been accepted by the statthalter of Southern Austria. Prince Robert Windischgraetz accepted the presidency. The old Austrian nobility combined with the middle-class and with humble workers in order to obtain financing and moral support for the Brothers' Institute. His Imperial Highness, Ferdinand Charles Louis became the honorary president of the Verein. The ladies also had their committee, directed by Princess Fanny Liechtenstein.

In a few months 7,000 florins reached Brother Cosmus for the Novitiate. But this was only the beginning. The Brothers' house of formation continued to be helped by generous members of the association. The "St. John Baptist de La Salle Auxiliary" — as it was generally referred to from 1900 on — supported, limited only by its means, the followers

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[323] See Vol. VII of the present work, pg. 89.

[324] Brother Coloman, op. cit., pp. 19-20. — Cf. Roider, article on "Austria" in the Nouveau Dictionnaire de pédagogie

of the great teacher with the view of increasing the number of Christian teachers and Catholic schools between the Carpathians and the Adriatic.

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Recruits to the Congregation, in the days when Brother Cosmus was sent to them from Namur, were huddled up in quarters set aside for them in the Imperial Orphanage, where a small group of Novices and Scholastics lived side by side. A Junior Novitiate also existed intermittently in Alsergrund.

The move to the solitude of Wienerwald provided the young candidates with the tranquility that was lacking at the center of town. But for a Novitiate to continue to operate in an institution constantly humming with children's voices was not an ideal situation. Brother Cosmus raised the question with the Provincial, and a search was made in the outskirts of Vienna for an estate that would be better suited to the purposes of a Novitiate.

Not without difficulty a "small mansion" and gardens was finally located in Strebersdorf. Strebersdorf, which today is surrounded by Greater Vienna,[325] presented — and in general continues to do so — the appearance of a stylish village, framed by fertile fields, vineyards and dominated by Bisamberg Hill. Ordinary means of transportation placed it about an hour from the center of the city, from which it was separated both by the Danube and by a popular neighborhood. The "Schlösschen," a simple, gracious one-story construction had, during the 18th century, belonged to a series of noblemen. One of them, Joseph Fillenbaum, in 1762, built a baroque chapel on the west wing.[326]

Another, Count d'Orsay, who had come from France, had his coat-of-arms affixed to the facade over-looking the garden. In 1886 the property was a dependency of the monastery in Klosterneuburg: and it was from the monks that Brother Marianus had sought to purchase the property; on April 15, 1887, after half a year of use, a contract of sale, for 12,000 florins was drawn up.

Brother Cosmus and his Novices took possession of the location on October 15. He dedicated the house to the Most Blessed Virgin. An attractive statue of the Mother and

[325] .[325]Brother Coloman, op. cit., pg. 20. — Fünfhaus Archives, Denkschrift. — Marienheim Archives, Nachrichten Twenty-first District of Vienna, Anton Böckgasse.

[326] A tower forty-five feet high was added in 1855.

the Divine Child was placed in an exterior niche at the center of the building. Thereafter, Schösschen and its annexes were called “Marienheim”.

In 1888 the Juniorate and in 1889 the Scholasticate completed the Religious cluster at Strebersdorf. The initial structure was inadequate to house all the candidates in formation, on whose numbers the Superiors of the District were counting. Almost immediately expansion was proposed. Brother Marianus got in contact with the architects and contractors Jordan and Schmalzhofer. On June 2, 1887, the pastor of Stammersdorf — the parish which at the time included Strebersdorf within its limits — came to break ground, with a silver shovel! On July 2 took place the laying of the cornerstone of the future chapel. This was built on a rather curious plan: two naves of equal height separated by columns which supported a gothic vault made of light materials. The nearly daily attendance of the faithful from the village, who had been traditionally admitted to the extremely modest 18th century chapel,[327]Joseph Fellenbaum’s old’s chapel, has survived in the portion of the institution reserved for domestic services had forced the Brothers to have recourse to these arrangements. The solemn blessing took place on September 10, 1886.

Seven years later, Brother Gabriel painted the murals: — a vast ensemble of religious figures accompanied by decorative tracery. The artist had studied in France and Belgium; and in Vienna he had studied under Kastner. He surrounded himself with a group of co-workers, and he himself worked for long hours on his scaffolds. In its original condition his work must have been quite pleasing; but, unfortunately, time has not treated it kindly.[328]

Behind the chapel and the old Schlösschen arose the new constructions, sturdy and well-planed. Beyond, lay the park and the vegetable garden, the one presenting the peace and quiet of its shady places and the other the abundance of its produce.

The District of Austria finally had a “Mother House”, far from the turmoil of the city and the noise of professional enterprize and on land that was owned by the Congregation. Retired Brothers and those who were ill were to find an asylum at Marienheim, where they could die in peace; their remains would be buried in the near-by cemetery, in which the Community had reserved a large plot; the crosses on the headstones would line up in front of the mortuary chamber of the Provincial Superiors.

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[327] Marienheim chronicles relate that since the roof could not be completed before winter, the walls were saturate with moisture that persisted after the chapel was finished.

[328] Among them was Valentine Brückner, who, as Brother Hyacinth of Mary, did credit to his country and died in 1937 as one of M. H. Brother Junian Victor’s Assistants.

Answering to Brother Cosmus' hopes, young candidates applied in greater numbers each year. In 1891 thirty-one postulants were admitted to the Novitiate: seventeen had come directly "from the world", while fourteen had been educated in the Juniorate. During the same period there were fifteen Scholastics. In 1893 the Junior Novices who were preparing themselves to take the Brother's habit alone had reached the number of all postulants in preceding classes.[329]

Brother Visitor was forced to give up his responsibilities for the Novitiate, which he taken on in addition to his other spiritual and administrative functions. From 1894 to 1911 the Austrian Master of Novices was Brother Franciscus, who was remembered as a man of prayer and faith, a wise and merciful counsellor, sensitive to the afflictions of the spirit and a highly talented teacher. His civilian name was Wilhelm Duhr, who was born on June 29, 1853 at Antweiler in the Rhineland and had been educated by the Brothers in Kemperhof. He entered the Congregation in 1871 and, in 1875, went on to attain the elementary teacher's diploma in a Normal School in Hesse-Nassau; along with his German confreres, he experienced the exodus and the vagrant times of Verviers, Longuyon and Malonne, and, after his long and fruitful mission in Strebersdorf, once again would teach pupils in Bettange, Guénange and at Maria Tann, until, nearly blind, he spent his last, zealous moments teaching catechism and giving conferences.

When the Marienheim Novitiate, increasingly successful, had to admit Germans, Czechs, Magyars, Poles, and Slovaks all at the same time, diversity of races and temperaments was in danger of making Brother Franciscus' task a particularly difficult one. His self-sacrifice, his lofty awareness of his dignity as a Religious and of his responsibilities for souls secured his complete mastery in the most delicate moments. He had the distinction of providing the Institute with Brothers faithful to the Rule, a good number of Directors of schools and several Directors of Novitiates.[330]

A no less respected personality was Brother Ambrosius — Heinrich Schäfer — who, for an all too brief period, directed the Junior Novitiate. A son of the ancient city of Trèves, he had been raised in the love of the Roman Church and he had the heart of an apostle. One of his friends said of him that "he made those around him enthusiastic for God." His vocation, like those of so many other in the Rhine region, brought him from public school teaching to the schools of St. John Baptist de La Salle. At twenty-seven years of age, in 1865, he became Brother Ambrosius. And his example, as well as his warm and insistent speech, inspired imitators. While teaching his young fellow-countrymen in the residence

[329] Archives Marienheim

[330] Brother Franciscus died at Maria Tann on May 9, 1925.

school at Carlsbourg, he experienced serious physical setbacks. But by 1892 he seemed to have been cured; during the autumn of that year, Brother Cosmus received him in Vienna and turned over the Junior Novices to him. Marienheim was edified by Brother Ambrosius' virtues; he was particularly admired for his undeviating patience and his total adherence to the divine will. On December 3, 1893, he had just recited morning prayer with his boys and added an exhortation which concluded with the words, "Blessed be God!" He had hardly uttered them when he fainted. He was carried to his room, but he was already dead.

At the head of the Scholasticate there labored, until 1902, Brother Antigonus, whom we glimpsed early at Verviers. Born in the diocese of Metz in 1840, and at first a simple manual worker, the Institute in which, at the age of twenty-three years, he had found an asylum, in the beginning employed him at heavy labor. Then, as he showed signs of intellectual interests, he was put in a position to acquire his teaching certificates. He could be put in charge of the upper grades, in the final place, at the Fünfhaus school in 1888. The following year he came to Strebersdorf as Inspector of studies; and from this position he went on to be Sub-director and finally Director.

The Scholastics, under his guidance, did not lose their time, nor spare themselves troubles. But, in the beginning, the *Privat =lehrerseminar* that set the school up was not recognized by the government. Hence, there was the obligation in various cities of the Empire, to submit to examinations for a teacher's diploma. The Brother Visitor made approaches in the Ministerial offices, which turned out quite successfully. The Decree of December 15, 1898 granted the "*Offentlichkeitsrecht* to the Brothers' Scholasticate. Preparations for Christmas were in full swing when, on December 24, an official copy of the administrative text arrived in Marienheim. It was a excellent gift for *Weihnacht*! The *Te Deum* was sung, and a lighted procession defiled through the grounds wreathed in winter. From now on students would achieve their teaching certificates within the institution. The first "senior examinations" before the Strebersdorf Board produced the following results: of the nineteen candidates in 1899, seventeen won their competence certificates, eight with honors.

Catholics in Austria were enjoying at the moment a period of relaxation. The head of the Christian-Social Party, the intrepid and popular, Dr. Lueger, became Mayor of the capital city. On July 4, 1900 he responded to an invitation of the Brothers asking him to Marienheim. It was an effusive, rhapsodic day, with carriages leading the famous visitor to Floridsdorf; the buildings were decked; there were white carnations (the sign of a celebration) in buttonholes or held in the hand; hoch echoed in the cloisters and speeches in reception halls. Brother Antigonus hailed the magistrate as "a teacher" who was striving to instruct and train the masses. Lueger replied, in the good-natured tone that he affected: "I am surprised to learn that I am a teacher; but it's quite true that I need the principal virtue of the teacher, which is patience in overcoming the obstacles that stand in

the way of the prosperity of our beloved Vienna. I am overjoyed to visit such places as Marienheim in order to show everybody the spirit with which I wish to motivate my work ..."[331]

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Lueger, passing from one place to another in Strebersdorf, not only met the young and the senior Brothers in a monastic setting; for ten years a residence school had existed within the village boundaries; on the other side of the road, it occupied the site of a farm, an old annex to the "Little Mansion".

For a variety of reasons, Brother Cosmus had taken the initiative in starting this institution: there was a desire to provide a Christian education for the children in the neighborhood; an opportunity to offer people living in a large city a residence school in the healthiest physical and moral climate; and, by means of income from board-and-room charges, to make a regular and reliable financial contribution toward the support of Brothers in formation and in retirement.

It was in this way that St. Joseph's residence school in Strebersdorf was founded, grew and earned its enviable reputation. In the beginning it was a simple Volksschule; and then, adding to the primary grades, came classes in higher elementary education; thereafter the "Offentlichkeitsrect was obtained; after which it was gradually expanded to become a Realgymnasium with a program of modern languages and science; subsequently, it included a Lehrerseminar, a Normal School for lay teachers — without, for all that, ever giving up the teaching of the youngest schoolboys who had no idea of going on into long and complex studies.

On Easter Monday of 1889 the pastor of Stammersdorf blessed the new private school in the presence of the City Counsel and a large number of the public. On the following day school began, with forty-five boys at their desks.

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[331] Brother Coloman, op. cit., (Fiftieth Anniversary of Marienheim), pp. 8, 10, 15-17, 24-27, 29-32. — Motherhouse Archives, File ID q9. — Marienheim Archives, Anstalten. — Obituaries: Brothers Marianus (1888), Ambrosius (1893), Antigonus (1907), Cosmus (1911), Franciscus (1925). — Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes for April 1933, pg. 110. Marienheim continues to house the Junior Novices and the Scholastics. The Novitiate is now at the Laubbeg Mansion on a marvelous site in Styrie.

The beginnings of the residence school had to wait until September of 1890: on opening day only four residents appeared. But people were not discouraged. The 1891-1892 school year began with fifty residents. And the figure rose to 123 in 1892-1893 and to 161 in 1894. After the Bürgerschule was set on foot in 1899, a new step forward was taken in 1902 with an experiment in commercial classes. After December 1808 the Volksschule became officially the training school for the Scholasticate.

The man who, selected and encouraged by the Visitor, laid the groundwork for the future of St. Joseph's residence school was called Brother Ireneus. We already know the extent to which the Norbertinum in Tullnerbach-Pressbaum was indebted to him. In Strebersdorf he accomplished a different sort of work, but no less satisfactory, useful and enduring.

In the summer of 1899 he had to leave, called by his Superiors to open a new school in Leitmeritz, in Bohemia. Departure was difficult both for himself and for his pupils. Brother Servantius came from Fünfhaus to replace him. Throughout the 20th century St. Joseph's in Strebersdorf assumed its full stature. Massive, spacious and lightsome, it arose on a plain where in the past battles were fought; and it attracted a great number of youths whose minds and faith it nourished and whom it supported in the traditions of Catholic Austria.[332]

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Between the Mother House at Marienheim and the near-by residence school the connection is easily made. Although less direct, we can also associate with the work at Strebersdorf the origins of the school in Feldkirch.

This was an important institution whose history is worth the telling. In the course of 1888 a number of individuals from the Province of Vorarlberg showed up at Marienheim where they were not expected and where their visit appeared cloaked in mystery. This delegation included Messrs. "Olz, Rapp and Thurnher, members of the Provincial Landtag, Mr. Adolf Rhomberg, a rough and ready highlander, who was to become — and remain for twenty-nine years — Landeshauptmann, ("regional captain"), chief and designated representative of his fellow-citizens. But he did not lead the group: a priest, a youngish

[332] Brother Coloman, op. cit., pp. 21-22. — Nachrichten aus dem Pensionate SanktJosef in Strebersdorf (in the Marienheim Archives. — Since the end of World War II the school — Volks, Haupt, und Bürgerschule, Lehrerbildungsanstalt, Realgymnasium — has regained its public, its faculty and its success.

man, with an open, distinguished appearance and, behind glasses, a clear, alert and decisive glance, Dr. Joseph Häusle, pastor of Tisis, near Feldkirch, headed the party. Father Häusle, who was not yet thirty years of age, would later on, as scientist and physician, achieve a near European-wide reputation — and a remarkable fortune; and his name would be respected at the Holy See. He had already enjoyed both influence and prestige in Vorarlberg. The project that was being set on foot was entirely of his initiative.

Adolf Rhomberg was the first to be informed about the plan. "Now that the State," the pastor told him, "has withdrawn Bregenz's Lehrerbildungsanstalt,[333]"we don't have to bemoan the fact, since that school has infected many of our village teachers with Liberalism. We should take advantage of the present circumstance to open a Catholic Normal School."

That conversation took place in 1887. When Rhomberg was won over, a committee was formed. Father Häusle who, in all of this, played the rôle of an irresistible champion, suggested that the school become, for the faithful and loyal citizens of Vorarlberg, a way of celebrating the fortieth anniversary of the accession of His Majesty Emperor Franz-Josef. This jubilee occurred in 1888. Doubtless, the gesture would be savored in Hofburg. Without wasting time, on September 14, 1887, the pastor of Tisis purchased at a cost of 15,000 florins a property in his parish, an old and sturdy building built in the 16th century, called the Rungeliner Haus in an area called Heiligkreuz. It would have been difficult to select a better site for the future "teachers' seminary": — the air was clean, the surroundings quiet, the area spacious and the setting splendid; and for scenery there were the snow-covered walls of the St. Gall Alps, the Ill Ravine and Gurtis Peak, and beyond Feldkirch there were the lofty summits of Kugel and Freschen.

It remained to draw up a plan for remodelling, to finance the operation, to involve the public and to find teachers. At the time of a meeting at committee headquarters on May 24, 1888, it was decided to hand the direction of the school over to a Religious Order. Adolf Rhomberg had subscribed 5,000 florins "for the successful beginning of the project". Mrs. Katherine Mutter gave 3,000.

The trip to Strebersdorf must have occurred after this date. The arrangements at the Novitiate, Brother Cosmus' attitude and his conversation favorably impressed his visitors. The moment had come for them to set forth their purposes: could the Austrian Brothers, disciples of Blessed John Baptist de La Salle, assume the responsibility for a Catholic Normal School?

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[333] A training school for teachers." What in France and Belgium is called "Normal School." In Austria the term "Normalschule" refers to a model school. For the reader's convenience and ease in writing we have taken the liberty to use the expression "Normal School" in the French sense

That was a question that had to be answered by the Superior-general. Father Häusle wrote to Paris. On July 6 the M. H. Brother Joseph answered: "I confer full authority on Brother Cosmus and Brother Eucherius to negotiate with you."

Conversations immediately took a satisfactory turn. As early as July 12 a circular letter informed priests' residences and other influential centers in this very Catholic mountain region: it revealed that the Schulbrüder were placing qualified teachers at the disposal of the founding-committee; and it gave assurances that legally the new school would be given the "Offentlichkeitsrecht."

Actually, the public authorities were extremely supportive. The Vorarlberg Landtag voted a subsidy of 10,000 florins on September 28, as a prelude to the Imperial Jubilee. On November 8, the Minister of Public Education and Religion authorized the opening of the Katholisches-Privat-Lehrerseminar. This amounted to the legal right to exist, but it still was not official recognition.

Eighteen days later, before three Brothers appointed to inaugurate the project, before twenty-two youths who made up formed its initial nucleus and surrounded, on this November 26, by distinguished guests and public, Bishop John Zobl (of Evaria in partibus), Vicar-general of the diocese, made the opening address: he commended the Institute and its recently beatified Founder; he emphasized the apostolic character of the new school, which could not fail to serve the Church, the State and society at large.

Things began slowly: there were just two teachers, Brothers Petronius and Xavier, with an assistant for temporal affairs, Brothers Benedict (Reiner Schiefer).

Brother Xavier (J. Stelzel) was distinguished for his vast knowledge of history and geography and especially for his competence in the natural sciences. His was devout and charitable.

The Director, Brother Petronius eventually — between 1888 and 1901[334]— came to be the embodiment of the Tisis-Feldkirch school. He was possessed of a clear and balanced mind; he was a powerful worker, a father to his pupils, a faultless Religious and profoundly attached to his vocation. He came to Vorarlberg already equipped with a long experience. Michael Paltram — as he was known in civil life — was born in Schrattenberg, in Southern Austria, to a family of farmers, on September 28, 1846. He was not yet fourteen years of age when, on September 16 1859, he entered the Novitiate in Vienna. Two years latter,

[334] Brother Petronius became for the second time Director of the Normal School in Feldkirch between 1910 and 1913 (until he was elected Assistant). He died on June 17, 1918, at Marienheim, separated by World War I from Superior-general and most of his colleagues on the Regime.

he left for Bucharest to where he was accompanying Brother Wenceslaus of Mary who had introduced him to the Religious life. This stay in Romania — which was extended into 1871 — enabled the young man to engage quite successfully in teaching and also to become a exceptional polyglot: besides Romanian, he learned Hungarian, French and Italian. He also found an opportunity to develop his musical talents.

Brother Petronius was to retain a vivid recollection of the beginnings (which were surely out of the ordinary) of his career as an educator. He would recount them later on in very entertaining writing. His activities as an author, which were quite productive, was launched rather modestly but not without skill and effect in the publication of "a primer in Hungarian and in Romanian". He then composed a book — with the title Die Gnadenquelle ("Source of grace") of prayers and hymns for the use of Catholic school children. Other books, personal accounts, music collections and a German translation of the *The Conduct of Schools* extended his bibliography in the course of the distant future.

We can recall the days when the M. H. Brother Philippe called his confreres back from the shores of the Black Sea, because he thought they were too isolated and too poorly supported. Brother Petronius returned to his first appointment, the Imperial Orphanage, to the outstanding team that surrounded Brother Eucherius. Under such a headmaster, he succeeding in providing his full measure. He was regarded as a model Brothers and a wide-ranging teacher.

And this was why, after seventeen years, he was appointed to begin a new project of a very special sort. What was required at Tisis was a great deal of knowledge and a great deal of authority. Virtue, determination and tact were also demanded; which emerges from a letter sent by the Director to Brother Cosmus on December 2, 1889: "After many long weeks a meeting of the Committee finally took place last Thursday…These gentlemen are all predisposed to be favorable to us. But, but…in the eyes of the President, Father Häusle, decisions count for nothing if they don't square with his views. He says Yes, and everybody believes him to concur, and then he goes on to do as he pleases…"[335] The future of the school depended upon Father Häusle. Fortune, power, connections, he had them all! And he retained full rights to respect and gratitude. Brother Petronius never forgot it.

Meanwhile, he himself immediately put his organizational skills to work. The plan and the pace of studies had complied with general expectations. After a few years of operation, the Normal School included a preparatory class and four "courses". Student-teachers practiced teaching on the premises of the school annex. Regular outings and

[335] Marienheim Archives, original letter.

excursions to the outskirts of Feldkirch and as far as Liechtenstein and Switzerland familiarized them with the flora and fauna of these regions.

In 1889 there were fifty-six students. By 1891 they had exceeded 100, and they would soon be 170. More than 350 teachers had emerged from this school prior to 1914, composing a mass of Catholic educators in Vorarlberg, the Tyrol and other German-speaking provinces. Many of them maintained continuous relationship with their former Director. Brother Petronius' letters to his students authenticated his apostolate and extended it. In 1896 he was able to collect the most faithful of them into a special association.[336]

A leaflet that dates from May of 1890 enumerates the subject-matters included in the program at this time: — religion, education, German, geography, history, mathematics, natural history, physics, lectures in agriculture, calligraphy, free-hand drawing, singing, the organ and the violin. It was not an encyclopedic education, but it was adapted to its audience who were expected to spread precise ideas, essential knowledge, the love of country, a taste for, and a practice of, the arts among the people, while inspiring them with the spirit of faith and the spirit of piety so dear to their Lasallian mentors.

Brothers Matthäus, Bernardine and Xaverius at the time were sharing faculty responsibilities with the Brother Director. There was also a teacher for the preparatory class; and they banked on the arrival of new Brothers. The Viennese Communities surrendered men of great talent to the Normal School. This was the case with Brother Salomo (Rudolph Haussmann) whom the Imperial Orphanage had so properly prized. Normal School students who would mourn his death in 1904 found him to have a sense of duty developed to the highest degree, knowledge and the richest sort of experience — the teacher's best gifts — which originality of character and style in no way defaced. Gently, his students joked with him, drew cartoons of him and repeated his typical sayings. But they enveloped him with affection and gratitude.

In 1897 another highly respected Brother died, Brother Laurence Münichdorfer. He had come from Fünfhaus to direct the school of practice-teaching. His priceless cooperation nearly eluded Brother Petronius, who had to speak earnestly so that Brother Visitor would keep his promise to give Feldkirch such a distinguished teacher. "The entire population has been alerted", he wrote in a letter dated August 14, 1891. "The "Ubungsschüler" [school children in Tisis who were taught by the Normal School students] are expecting Brother Laurence. Each one of them is overjoyed. And now I have to tell them that the

[336] The Union of Catholic Teachers."

new teacher has evaporated and that the Institute has no longer anyone to send!"[337] It was an emergency alarm, but fortunately it ended well. The practical training of the student-teachers took place in a joyous atmosphere. It could be maintained that a large part of the educational success of many teachers was due to the very wise guidance during their apprentice years. Death removed Brother Laurence prematurely, but the soul and the principles of the man continued to control the education of Tyrolians.

For the large number of youths who sought entrance to the school founded by Joseph Häausle there had to be new buildings. On September 18, 1890 a sufficiently spacious building and a chapel had to be inaugurated and blessd. The Superior-general, Brother Joseph, came to Vienna and stopped over at Feldkirch, to the keen satisfaction of his confreres, their pupils and their fellow-citizens.

The *Rungeliner Haus*, now released of its initial guests, was then used as a Junior Novitiate. In August of 1891, Brother Petronius did not yet see any desireable candidates wishing to enter; in spite of articles published in the newspapers of the region and of the neighboring countrysides, he had received only two inquiries. Nevertheless his hopes were high.[338] Vocations would spring up at the heart of Catholic families. For seven or eight years a small group of Junior Novices was in training under the gaze of the very attentive teacher.

Minds were nourished, bodies were hardened and souls were enlightened and strengthened. The spiritual director and professor of religion in the Normal School was Father Anton Ender; he fulfilled his mission with precision and zeal. On December 8, 1893 he began a Marian Congregation for the student-teachers, under the patronage of the Immaculate Conception.

A judicious variety of work kept minds busy, shortened the time, and facilitated order in the institution. Progress was revealed in the successful examinations. At the end of the fourth year of studies, the normal students had to earn the diploma that would entitle them to a provisional appointment, while awaiting the "competence certificate" that was dependent upon two years of probation in a primary school and further tests. In Brother Petronius' school students made their way with secure steps toward a bright professional future.

But, in spite of the hopes of the opening moment, the school was for a rather long time without having obtained the right to grant the initial diploma. "Regarding the "Offentlichkeitsrecht," wrote the Director on March 25, 1892, "I have insistently sought

[337] Marienheim Archives.

[338] Marienheim Archives, letter to Brother Visitor, August 14, 1891.

the prayers of the Novices and Scholastics. His Eminence the Bishop has written to His Eminence Cardinal Gruscha so that the latter might recommend the matter directly to His Majesty. God grant that everything may be arranged for a successful outcome!" Until the decision came, the candidates at Tisis were obliged to go to Innsbruck, to sit before an official board. Finally, on June 2, 1894 the Brothers' wishes were granted. "Finishing examinations" would henceforth take place in the school.

The head of the school enjoyed great influence in high places. The Archdukes Charles Louis, Francis Ferdinand and Frederick, the Archduchesses Alice and Aldegonde showed their interest in the work by means of princely donations. The Emperor himself sent 500 florins in 1896.

During this period, to judge by a highly detailed report[339]the text of which is found in the Marienheim archives, church authorities seem to have shown less goodwill, if not a certain mistrust, for the Religious teachers. Brother Petronius defends himself without difficulty: he speaks fully of the place reserved for priests, teachers and confessors, in the school; but equally fully of the catechetical mission that devolves upon the Brothers through Benedict XIII's Bull. He enumerates the moral and professional guarantees offered by his associates responsible for discipline, the Prefects, Brothers Innocent, Boniface, Celestine, and the Sub-director, Brother Protus. He concludes his stirring argument with a hymn of thanksgiving to God who introduced him, "in spite of his unworthiness", to a Congregation faithful to its Rule, useful to humanity and reflecting — in the very depths of the saintliest souls — the total splendor of the Church.

These noble and frank statements must have dissipated the clouds. Five years of extremely productive work were to follow, until 1901 when Brother Petronius was called to Vienna. At the time of his departure from Feldkirch he was warmly thanked by the Inspector of schools for Vorarlberg: "Your work, so patiently pursued, so highly deserving has a right to our profound gratitude," wrote the Imperial bureaucrat.

The appointed successor was Brother Gerhard Kahl; a man with broad views and vigorous activity, he labored for nine years to maintain the reputation of the Lehrerseminar in Feldkirch.[340].

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[339] Dated May 10, 1896.

[340] Since the Heiligkreuz constituency of Tisis was incorporated into the Feldkirch Commune on March 1, 1898, the normal school had as a consequence to change its title. Apart from the documents in the Marienheim Archives, we have consulted File ID q9 of the Motherhouse archives, the book by Brother Coloman already cited, the obituaries of Brother Laurence (1897) and of Brother Petronius (1918), the Bulletin des Écoles Chrétiennes for April 1914 and April 1933 and, quite particularly, the Fiftieth Anniversary book of the school: Gedenkblatter, Fünfzig Jahre Kath.

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As a simple appendix to the foregoing pages and before describing the broad expansion of the Institute throughout the "Double-Monarchy", we shall say something about the brief stay of the Brothers at the private normal school founded in Vienna by the Katholischer Schulverein.

This was a Privatlehrerseminar that had a "Offentlichkeitsrecht and was found about 1900 in the District Seventeen of Vienna, Michaelstrasse and Semperstrasse. It included primary and upper primary grades. It was an serious undertaking, which demanded a sound and thoughtful mind. The founders appealed to Brother Cosmus, who selected Brother Petronius. Two Sub-directors, Brothers Theodosius and Stanislaus, and twenty other Christian Brothers, chosen from various Communities, made up the particularly large teaching and administrative staff.

"We have moved in," wrote the Director to Brother Superior-general Gabriel of Mary on October 4, 1901. "One hundred and forty students applied; but, in accordance with a regulation handed down by the public authorities, only fifty were admitted. Feldkirch has opened its doors to a number of those who, in spite of passing the entrance examination, were refused admission to Vienna. Including those who had who had already been following courses here there are now 212 normal school students, seventy-five of whom are residents; nearly all the day-students live with their families. The practice-teaching school [Volksschule] has five grades; the upper school [Bürgerschule] three: in all, there are 267 pupils from six to fifteen years of age, mostly from well-to-do families, since it is a pay-school and for this very reason, preferred to the tuition-free publics schools.[341]

The school-year, then, seems to have begun under favorable auspices. But the reality was very different indeed from the appearances. There is little question but what the Schulverein had been too ambitious. There is little doubt, too, that Brother Petronius had to endure irritating interruptions, misunderstanding, and repudiation. After a few months, he asked to be changed, "in the best interests of the school".

Lehrerseminar Feldkirch, 1888-1938 (Feldkirch, 1938, (in Selbstverlag der Anstalt.) To the normal school there was added preparatory classes in Commerce. — The house formation for Catholic teachers could not avoid Nazi hatred. A variety of circumstances, unfortunately, prevented its re-opening after the Austrian liberation. At Feldkirch only the school of commerce remains

[341] Motherhouse Archives, File ID q8.

On August 22, 1902 he exchanged places with Brother Antigonus, Director of the Scholasticate at Strebersdorf. He retained this position for three years when, in 1905, he became Auxiliary-Visitor.

At the Viennese Lehrerseminar Brother Antigonus met with the same obstacles as his predecessor. In 1904 the Superiors decided to give up the management of a school in which the Religious personnel was unable to fulfill assigned tasks. A sufficient number of projects beckoned from all quarters for the Brothers' cooperation so that the twenty-three Brothers at the Normal School were assigned to more productive work. Those who were recalled to Strebersdorf had the consolation of being followed by many of their Normal School students, who continued preparations for their professional examinations at St. Joseph's residence school. Brother Antigonus' life of dedication came to an end in the painful shadows and heart-rending sorrow of mental illness tended by the Hospital Brothers of St. John of God.[342]

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Between 1894 and 1904 the District of Austria experienced an assortment of assignments, some of which are of prime importance. An official statistic in 1903 gave it twenty-four schools (including the German schools in Grand-Halleux and Guénange), 149 grades, and 5,892 pupils.[343]

We shall review first of all those schools in German-speaking regions, and then institutions opened in the various nationalities in the Hapsburg Empire or under the "Crown of St. Stephen" and finally "the missionary" efforts beyond the Austro-Hungarian territories, in Romania and Bulgaria.

Our first stop is in Southern Austria, at Stetten, near Korneuburg. Here there lived two brothers, Sebastian and Antony Kain, wealthy members of the middle-class and extremely charitable, to whom a priest, a former university professor, Father Kreissl von Harmannsdorf, had spoken quite favorably of the Christian Brothers. At the time they were contemplating founding a popular school. Sebastian, who had become Mayor of Stetten, died in 1891 before the project could be realized. But he had left a quite explicit will and Antony was made executor of his late brother's wishes. The Brothers went around and found pleasant and healthy quarters, with a beautiful garden, in a country setting of meadows and vineyards. They were able to begin classes in the autumn of 1894.

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[342] Brother Coloman, op. cit., pg. 34. — Brother Antigonus' Obituary (1907) and Brother Petronius' Obituary (1918).

[343] Brother Coloman, pg. 35.

Old Antony Kain surrounded them with attention; he was something of a character, who dressed and wore his hair like a beggar, but under these perplexing appearances, there was a kind and cautious heart, full of the love of God and of his neighbor. In 1911, at the age of ninety years, he died, but he had time to evaluate the beneficial results of Christian education. The first Director of Stetten was Brother Firmus Tausch, a Silesian from Breslau, a former schoolteacher in his native region. While during his free time as he taught the sons of a certain Count Schlaberndorf, the reading of an edifying novel evoked his Religious vocation. He belonged to the Community in Koblenz. Once he had obtained Austrian citizenship and the reconfirmation of his teaching diploma, he worked for ten years in the Kaiserliches Waisenhaus and for four years at the Norbertinum. He was wanting in neither energy nor zeal. He was a talented organist and had a taste for books. The school whose inauguration had fallen to him between 1894 and 1898 owed him its initial success, its opportunities for growth and a rather rich library.[344]

In Vienna, the Congregation's growth was marked, in 1898 and 1899, by the opening of two new schools that Dr. Kaspar Schwarz, President of the Katholischer Schulverein entrusted to the Brothers: one on Circus Street in the Second District and the other in the Fourth, Ziegelofengasse.[345]

In 1902 the Brothers obtained a foothold by means of a popular school in Northern Austria, in Goisern, where Protestantism had a large number of adherents. The school, which was first appointed Brother Joseph Calasanctius, later on admitted orphans, the sons of the victims of World War I.[346]

We have described above how the Brothers, quite regretfully, abandoned the direction of the Normal School established in the Seventeenth District. But they did not leave the Währing neighborhood. The families whose young sons were taught in the annex-school, on the Semperstrasse, pleaded with Brother Cosmus to continue the collaboration of the exceptional teachers. It was thus that the building of the school on Schopenhauer Street, Volks und Bürgerschule, which was formally opened on September 19, 1904.[347]

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[344] Marienheim Archives; Chronic des Pensionates Sankt-Antonius in Stetten bei Korneuburg. — and Brother Coloman, op. cit., pg. 24.

[345] Brother Coloman, pg. 31.

[346] Ibid., pg. 35; and Fünfhaus Archives, Denkschrift, 1919. The Goisern school was able to resume operations in 1945

[347] Brother Coloman, pg. 36. — The major school in Wäring, beautifully arranged, today (1950) serves a large number of students who are in the hands of a talented teaching staff. To the schools

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The Brothers' apostolate, whether arrived from Germany or from the Novitiate in Vienna was — with exceptions — vigorously expanded into the German-speaking provinces, the cradle of the Hapsburg dynasty. Would it be the same in that constellation of peoples who made up the major part of the Austrian Empire and the Kingdom of Hungary? But the Catholic Church exercised its Magisterium throughout; and throughout the Episcopacy supported people in the unity of the faith. It was crucial for teaching Religious to assist the pastors; the disciples of St. John Baptist de La Salle hurried to where they were called, without letting obstacles get in their way.

In 1896 they came to Goritz, where there were two student hostels, one Italian administered by Don Bosco's Salesians and the other Slovenian, called "The Aloysianum". The latter had been founded by the St. Aloysius Gonzaga Association, the Aloysiusverein, which organized nearly all the priests in the diocese; its goal was to provide a remedy for a severely felt shortage of priests by spiritually and financially assisting in priestly education. The beneficiaries of "The Aloysianum" were either housed without charge or their costs for room-and-board was in accordance with their ability to pay. They took classes at the State Secondary School. The Brothers were responsible for taking care of them outside of class times. It was duty similar to the one that they had undertaken at the Norbertusheim. In this instance, however, it lasted only five years. A failed system made rendered it impracticable. Furthermore, the conflict among nationalities finally resulted in undermining the teachers' patience. Brother Cosmus withdrew the Community's entire personnel in 1901.

It proved to be nothing more, then, than an ephemeral moment in the South. A more accessible field and far more vast arose in Hungary. In 1885 a priest of that country, Carl Vezinger, made overtures to the Institute's Superiors. It turned out to have been a short-lived prelude, but it did not fail to get the Motherhouse's attention. Several recruits arrived in Vienna from the other side of the River Leitha — good vocations that founded a hope of major spiritual prizes.

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referred to in the present section it is important to mention the school in Lemberg, founded in 1903. German-speaking Catholics, dwelling in the capital of Galicia complained at having to send their sons either to a Protestant school or to a Polish school. Many attempts were made to get the Brothers to open a German-speaking school in Lemberg. Three Brothers, Otto, Gabriel and Robert, began it. Subsequently, Archbishop Bileczewski intervened to prevent this school from being used as a means to impose German culture on the Poles. (Brother Coloman, op. cit., pp. 35-36.

On October 19, 1891, Brother Assistant Renaux wrote to Brother Visitor: "I note with pleasure that you are more seriously laying the groundwork for our Institute's entry into Hungary. Our young Brothers have just obtained two diplomas and five others are on their way to doing the same thing...Give me the complete list of all our members who are of Hungarian origin...We must take possession of the country through Budapest...You would do well to go and visit this city in the company of Brother Eucherius.[348].

Beginning in 1893 at the Scholasticate in Strebersdorf there were separate Magyar and Czech sections. Bohemia therefore had also been targeted. Under the direction of Brother Eugene of Mary three young Religious who had begun their work in Slavic languages in November of 1893 were planning to take their final examinations before an official Board. Until further orders, in order to fulfill the official prescriptions, a journey would have to be made to Brünn, Kremiser or to Prague.[349] As for the prohibition against teaching in Magyar, it seems that there had been no need to ask for it except in Vienna.

Personnel, therefore, was available for future foundations, whether it were a question of reaching the Moldau or going down the length of the Danube. Brother Eugene, who was a Moravian from the diocese of Olomounc, was soon to be employed not in his native region, but among the Hungarians.[350]The great leader of the team in this sort of expedition was Brother Bernhard [Henry Joseph Schäfer], a Rhinelander and a veteran of Kemperhof and Koblenz who, in 1875, had become a teacher of German in the residence school at Bordeaux, and then, for about fifteen years, one of Brother Eucherius' assistants in the orphanage in Vienna; he had found that he had a special inclination for the Magyar people. Over fifty years of age, he was always ready to go and open a school in "St. Stephen's Kingdom", to earn the good favor of church and civil authorities and to garner, for the new schools, gifts from among the wealthy aristocracy.[351]"He as frequently edgy, capricious and tyrannical with his associates.[352] But he redeem these faults by his religious qualities, his enterprise and his unquestionable devotion".

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[348] .[348]Brother Coloman, pp. 27, 34. — And the Yearbook of the Schools, in the Marienheim Archives.

[349] Marienheim Archives Brother Coloman, pg. 26.

[350] Obituary, 1930.

[351] Obituary, 1910.

[352] Marienheim Archives, Brother Madir Joseph's letter to Brother Visistor, July 30, 1900.

Csorna profited from his first foundation. This is a tiny village in the Odenburg region, in the diocese of Raab, with 7,000 inhabitants (of whom 600 were Jewish) and squarely in the middle of the vast fertility of the Hungarian plain. The pastor, Father Andreas Boller, in October of 1893 had visited a Lasallian school. Since there had been a Ministerial decision involving the reorganization of the public school, he had suggested to the town government the introduction of Schulbrüder and had won his point.

On March 3, 1894, Brother Bernhard, completely empowered by his Superiors to negotiate, concluded an agreement with the town's representatives. The Institute of the Brothers of the Christian Schools were committed to supply four teachers and a Director. The remuneration stipulated for each teacher came to 450 florins a year.[353] There was some fear that the government, which had very little sympathy for Religious, would take a dim view of the Brothers entrance into Hungary: Bishop Raab intervened at Budapest, and the Inspector of Public Education also argued in favor of the teachers who had been selected. Once everybody was appeased, Brother Bernhard and his associates arrived on October 22. The Catholic population supplied 350 pupils, divided into five grades. Further, apprentices were admitted to supplementary courses that were given several times a week and on Sundays.[354]

Brother Renaux had wanted to start in Budapest. But he died two years before the Brothers moved into the capital city. Certainly, Brother Bernhard aspired to become in some sense the executor of the late Brother Assistant's last will and testament. An association of ladies, placed under the patronage of the Hungarian saint and patron of the Queen-Empress, the Elisabethverein, helped the Director in Csorna to alter his ambitions and accomplishments. The effort at Csorna seemed very clearly to have assisted an enterprise at the center of the Kingdom. "The Hungarians' friend"— as Brother Bernhard was called in Strebersdorf — was authorized to negotiate with the request on the part of the Elisabethverein. He was replaced in his initial post by Brother Egesius, a remarkable man of whom more will be said. And on September 28 1896 Brother Bernhard and five Brothers went to Budapest.

The school that Brothers were to operate, constructed close to the Schwabenberg had a very monastic appearance, and had been given the name "St. Joseph's Educational

[353] Marienheim Archives, text of the contract.

[354] Ibid., pamphlet Anstalten. — Brother Coloman, op. cit., pg. 26. — Obituary, Brother Bernhard, 1910.

Institution". The foundresses had intended it to admit orphans[355] — about a dozen of them to start with. The first of them arrived after the Brothers had been occupying the place for a week, and in the course of 1897 there was a total of sixteen.[356]

Thus, the tiny seedling of the Lasallian operation had been planted in the heart of Magyar country. It would not perish. Four years later two new foundations were made: — a primary school with five grades in Bács Topolya, and, a bolder enterprise, a Junior Novitiate, constructed on the mode of Marienheim, at Nyitra-Bajna, where Dr. Karl Tóth had quite generously offered the use of a former military hospital that he had purchased with personal funds. Brother Adulphus [John Hemberger] was appointed to go there and educate Junior Novices. At the time he was seventy-five years of age, as he had been born on June 24, 1826 at Neckarsulm in Würtemberg. It was a great deal to ask of an old man. But the former Director at Kemperhof did not vacillate: full of the spirit of St. John Baptist de La Salle, he was prepared to teach "wherever he might be sent". He pleaded neither his age nor his spent physical forces. He had thoroughly agreed "to live on bread alone". And he was pretty nearly reduced to that extreme poverty in uncomfortable surroundings and without any assurances for the future. Nevertheless, his young students, the sons of devout families, showed such remarkable zeal and such a touching docility that their aged mentor experienced a sort of quiet joy. Spiritually he was prepared to die while each day his body bent a little more. In December of 1901 he was struck down by pneumonia, and he died on the following January 10th. It was the conclusion to a noble career that was no stranger to frustration and suffering, but which, in a posture of self-effacement, had led thousands of youngsters to God and, in the end, brought the Gospel counsels of perfection to some very special individuals.[357]

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[355] Brother Cosmus wrote on September 7, 1896 to Brother assistant Madir Joseph: "Yesterday Dr. Hajduska, attorney for the distinguished ladies of Budapest came to see me in order to decide, in the name of Her Excellency Countess Karoly, President of the Elisabethverein, the features of the contract that will guide the operation of the small orphanage..." (Motherhouse Archives, File LI h.

[356] Brother Coloman, pg. 28; and the pamphlet Anstalten.

[357] Brother Adulphus' Obituary, 1902. — Brother Coloman, op. cit., pg. 34. Just prior to the founding at Nyitra Bajna, dependent, at the time, on "the Crown of St. Stephen." He found a population of devout believers under the guidance of an extremely zealous priest. There were many Slav, it seems, in the Junior Novitiate in Nyitra-Bajna, situated in the same region, and the Archduke Francis Ferdinand, the heir to the throne and the great protector of the Slavs, enveloped them with his kindness. (Marienheim Archives. — And Brother Coloman, pp. 31 and 34.

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Bohemia was no less deserving of attention than Hungary. The Brothers, since the days they had moved into Strebersdorf, had turned their eyes toward the Northwest. The distances were not great and the communications were good between Southern Austria and as far away as Prague, where it had become possible to think about stationing a sort of advanced guard. But an actual "take over" had yet to be realized. On May 21, 1897 the following letter from Brother Madir Joseph was sent to the Cardinal Archbishop in Paris: "In spite of all of my efforts, I have not yet been able to conquer the hesitations of the Superior-general's Counsel and obtain a vote that would decide upon setting up our Brothers in Prague. [Two obstacles stood in the way: the size of the debt that would be contracted in the purchase of a residence; and the lack of all tuition-free schools]. If Your Eminence deign to give orders that 30,000 florins of the funds intended for the Episcopal Normal School might be allotted to the purchase of the house, the difficulties would be overcome..."[358]

The suggestion was immediately approved, and a small residence school was opened at the gates of the capital, in Bubenc in 1898 and a student's hostel in Leitmeritz in 1899. To add to the costs of future successes difficulties and disappointments accumulated here and there. "The Good Lord repeatedly plant his Cross in Bubenc," [wrote the Brother Assistant to Brother Cosmus on July 18, 1900]. "It's a good sign; the school will be blessed and productive. Try to see the Minister; and if you have friends who are influential with His Excellency, do not neglect to get them to act...If the school is officially recognized, we get out of our difficulty.[359]

Brother Irenäus, uprooted from his residence school in Strebersdorf, was sent to Leitmeritz. Four associates, Brothers Conrad, Bruno Desiderius and Joachim, were given him in order to set in motion the "Johanneum" on the banks of the Elbe. Brother Matthäus, Director at Bubenc, accompanied his colleague who in August of 1899, travelled to his new post. Upon his arrival what a disappointment! To have to exchange the beautiful buildings at St. Joseph's for three pitiful barracks and a barn! But a son of De La Salle never murmurs nor is he discouraged. Rather he uses what's present, man-power and the good-will available to him and he effects astounding transformations. It was thus that Brother Irenäus behaved. Unfortunately, in this harsh struggle he lost his health. "I

[358] Marienheim Archives, summary of the letter.

[359] Ibid.

am sorry to learn that the apexes of his lungs have been affected…" This statement is found in a letter from Brother Madir Joseph on the 25th of October 1900. Exactly one year later — on October 16, 1901 — the great administrator who organized both the Norbertinum and Strebersdorf died in Bubenc, to where he had been transferred.[360]

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We turn now to follow the Brothers of the Germano-Austrian District beyond "The Iron Gates". Geographical order as well as indispensable links to the history of a prior period, brings us first to Bucharest.

The Brothers — as we have said in a previous volume[361]had been called to Romania by Bishop Parsi of Nicopolis, the ecclesiastical administrator of Walachia, when the country was looking at the first light of its complete independence. They had been working under rather difficult circumstances, but not without results. The school's Director, Brother Wenceslaus of Mary [Joseph Rechs], a native of Baden, had died there on November 12, 1870 at the age of forty-nine. Ten months later, the teachers belonging to the Institute, discontinued their services.

They left with a clear conscience and heads held high; and their departure was the occasion of much regret. Years passed. Once again Romania experienced war, followed by a struggle for security, prosperity and a sort of cultural renaissance under the reign of the wise Carol of Hohenzollern. The king was a Catholic, and his fellow-Catholics were accorded their place in a nation under the domination of the Greek Schism. Their top leader, at the end of the 19th century, was Archbishop Xavier Hornstein, a prelate born in Switzerland, distinguished, intelligent and inspired by an immense apostolic zeal. It had been this Latin Rite Archbishop who, in 1898, invited the Brothers to return.

The new Community composed of ten members arrived in Bucharest on August 17. Provisionally, it was housed in the archdiocesan Seminary; and on September 2, it moved into St. Andrew's school, where it began to live "according to the rigors of holy poverty". On the 13th classes began both at the principal site and at an annex on Stirbey Voda Street.

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[360] Marienheim Archives. — Nachrichten of St. Joseph's residence school in Strebersdorf, January, 1902. — Brother Coloman, pg. 34.

[361] Cf. Vol. VI of the present work, pp. 218-222. — Cf. also above, pp. 189, concerning the early years of Brother Petronius

In a letter to Brother Assistant, Madir Joseph,[362] the Director supplied the following details: “Instruction [at St. Andrew’s] is provided by two laymen who teach Romanian and by six Brothers who are responsible for the various branches of elementary studies and teach either in German or in Hungarian. Two higher grades include instruction in French. Our severest problem is the diversity of languages: many pupils speak only Romanian and others speak nothing but German, Hungarian, French or Italian. All of our Brothers are studying the native language...The annex includes only three grades and runs into the same problems...We began with 350 pupils in one of the places and ninety-four in the other. Catholics have joyfully hailed our coming; there are 50,000 of them, and if our school had not existed, they would have to send their boys to Orthodox or Protestant institutions”.

The author of these lines, Brother Egesius — for three years, the last of his life — was to add new and abundant merit to those that the Superiors and his confreres saw in him since his novitiate in 1865. He was seen as a man of duty and of “silence”, a punctual and edifying Religious, of a kindly disposition and obliging. He was a product of the Rhineland; he had been a teacher in a school for the poor in Koblenz, teacher of German in Lille, an educator of orphans at Pressbaum, Sub-director of the Junior Novitiate in Marienheim, Director of Austrian Novices, associated with Brother Eucherius at Waisenhaus and Director of Csorna. Wherever he went he proved his skill as a teacher, and everywhere he won the hearts of his pupils. His imposing physical presence commanded respect; and in his manner and procedure he was everywhere dignified and modest. The beard he wore since becoming a “missionary” — white, although he was only slightly over fifty years of age — put the final touch on the physical appearance of a Religious and leader.

Studies were carefully organized and gradually expanded. In 1900 a secondary program was introduced along with a Realgymnasium program: — stenography, bookkeeping, business communications and English.

During the school year of 1901-1902 there were 400 pupils at Calea Calàràsilor, where the spacious St. Andrew’s school stood and 118 on Strada Popa Tatu, site of the annex after the one on Strada Stirbey had been abandoned. Besides, forty-five youths were at the time pursuing the secondary program. The faculty was composed of fourteen Brothers and three laymen.

The school admitted children of various nationalities as well as diverse religious confessions. Orthodox and Jews had no hesitancy about entrusting the education of their many sons to the Brothers. They knew that here Catechism was the most important

[362] Dated September 20, 1898. Motherhouse Archives, File LI h.

subject, and that Brother Egesius himself insisted on explaining catechetical methods to his young teachers. But they knew the sensitive andhonest manner that the Director adopted with respect to every conscience.

The almost unanticipated disappearance of the venerated Brother, carried away by a grievous fever, aroused great sadness. He had been ill for only five days and then died on January 11th, 1902. A crowed pressed 'round the funeral services of Nicholas Schwerber, who had left family and country to dedicate himself to souls. Archbishop Hornstein presided at the funeral services in his cathedral.

The Archbishop, always quite devoted to the Institute — he had been formally welcomed in a visit to Marienheim — witnessed the further growth of his educational foundation — in 1904-1905, 600 pupils taught by sixteen Brothers and five laymen. Since his health demanded attention, he departed for Savoy; and he died at Évian les Bains on June 3, 1905.[363].

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The coming of the Brothers to Bulgaria occurred in between the two periods of the Romanian operation. It happened under somewhat special conditions and in the middle of a political uproar of which we cannot avoid treating.

After the Congress of Berlin which, revising the Russo-Turkish Treaty of San Stefano, created the principality of Bulgaria as a tributary of the Sultan of Constantinople and an autonomous "Eastern Romalia," Mr. Hocdeé, French Inspector of Finance, was appointed to reestablish order in the budgetary situation of the new nation. A good and patriotic man, at the end of his appointment he did a very handsome thing. On September 29, 1880 he wrote to the Italian Capuchin, Father Timothy, who had been assigned by the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda for the spiritual assistance of Catholics residing in Sofia: "I have decided to draw on the remuneration which is owed me by the Bulgarian government, in accordance with the commitments it has agreed to with the French Republic, a sum of 40,000 francs, which I make as a donation to the schools you direct…I am leaving this money in Bulgaria where it

will be used to increase the number of Bulgarians and foreigners who speak my mother tongue…Such a purpose could be achieved if you joined to the French Sisters whom you

[363] Brother Egesius' Obituary, 1902. — Brother Matthew Seikel, yearbook of St. Andrew's Archdiocesan School, in Bucharest (1930). — Brother Coloman, op. cit., pg. 31. Another school opened in Craïiova in 1904, a popular school with two grades, operated by Brother Matthäus. Communism destroyed the Brothers' schools in Romania

have already introduced to teach in your girls' school, a French teacher, one of your Fathers or a Brother of French origin, for instance, who would operated your school for boys. This wish is very close to me.[364]

The 40,000 francs were used to purchase land and build a school. Father Timothy asked the Augustinians of the Assumption to cooperate. Three of this Congregation's missionaries reached Sophia in 1881 and were given charge of education for boys. Their pupils were a few French youngsters, a number of Bulgarians but a majority of youths whose native language was German and who had been born in Austria.

The French nationality of the Assumptionists satisfied the donor's wishes. And there is no doubt but what their teaching had expanded French influence in the tiny Balkan capital. But their situation had been precarious. Further, they believed that their priestly ministry was their primary function; and, practically, they had been prevented from employing it.[365]

Their Superiors decided to recall them, determining Easter of 1885 as the date for withdrawal. Who would replace the Assumptionists?

For several years, Bishop Roberto Mennini, Co-adjutor of the Vicar-apostolic, had been thinking about the Brothers of the Christian Schools. On July 7, 1889, and as a consequence, very much prior to the introduction of the Fathers, prior even to Mr. Hocdé's donation, Brother Hugonis, Visitor of the District of Turkey, sent Brother Assistant, Aimarus, a formal request from the prelate. The latter had just come from Rome where the Pope and the Cardinal-Prefect of the Propaganda had encouraged him to found schools which would assist in returning "such a religious, sober and hardworking" people as the Bulgarians to the bosom of the Church.[366] Brother Aimarus replied on July 16th that it was impossible to take on any commitments.

The eventual departure of the Priest-Schoolteachers forced Church authorities to initiate new overtures. The Vicar-apostolic in person, Bishop Francesco Regnaudi, on December 4,

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[364] Archives of the Secretary-general of the Institute, 78 Sèvres Street, quoted from Mr. Hocdé's letter.

[365] Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Bulgarian Section, Vol. XI, letter from Mr. Flesch, diplomatic agent and French Counsel-general in Sophia to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, J. Ferry, March 13, 1885.

[366] Motherhouse Archives, File ID n.

1884, wrote from Philippopoli to the M. H. Brother Joseph: the problem, explained the letter, was to maintain a Catholic school that had been organized with the assistance of the donations of a Frenchman; three Brothers would be necessary, since about one-hundred pupils attended the school; and French was the instructional language.

This time the problem got the Regime's attention. The Superior-general declared on December 24 that he would send Brothers, on condition, however, that the Bulgarian government not demand diplomas so as court influence among the Institute's constituency.

In a letter dated January 2, 1885, Bishop Regnaudi insisted that an "Obedience" [a letter of appointment] would suffice: "I am on very good terms with our civil authorities; the Brothers will not have anything to fear…Austria subsidizes us; it would be well that one of the Brothers be Austrian or German; the second should be French. As for the third, it would be preferable if he were a Slav, because he would have less difficulty learning Bulgarian and acquiring an influence over the Orthodox attending the school".[367]

As a consequence, the part to be played by France was in danger of being very much reduced. A warning was sent to Paris: "It is probable", the Counsel-general, Mr. Flesch, wrote to his Minister, "that they wanted to get rid of an Order that is substantially French … The Brothers will give less offense than the Assumptionists…and Mr. Hocdé's gift will be used to promote Austrian propaganda!"[368]

Actually, the manner in which the affair had been taken up and conducted would generate dissatisfaction in the French Republic. Bishop Regnaudi and, it seems, particularly, Bishop Mennini, were much concerned with the interests of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the Near East. These interests the Lasallian Institute had neither the right nor the power to ignore.

On the one hand, the Superior-general was obliged, without in the least betraying his own country, to rise above this sort of of human consideration, so as to think above all of the good of religion. But, time was growing short, and the members immediately available to the Institute belonged to the Germano-Austrian District.

[367] Motherhouse Archives, File ID n.

[368] Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, letter (dated March 13, 1885) quoted.

Such were the explanations that Brother Joseph provided Rome following an overture on the part of the French Ambassador, Count Lefebvre Béhane, to the Secretary of State of the Holy See. He also declared his complete agreement with the Augustinians of the Assumption for having irrevocably resolved to withdraw from the school in Sophia.

The selection of Brother Marianus as the negotiator in Bulgaria solved the problem, because as Provincial he supervised Germans and Austrians along with Belgians. The proposed contract, which he carefully drew up in March of 1885, was approved by the Vicar-apostolic and by the Superior-general. He planned for the formation of a Community of four Brothers; three of whom would teach classes, and one of these three would have to be able to teach French; another would teach in German; and the third would instruct beginners in the elements of both of these languages. Later on, at least one of the teachers would be responsible for teaching Bulgarian.[369]

Brother Marianus decided on April 24 as the date for the arrival of the new Community in Sophia. He appointed Brother Firminus as its Director. He had been a teacher in Westphalia whose civilian name was Antony Weskamp; he had entered the Congregation at the age of twenty-four in 1863. Koblenz, Verviers, Mons, Malonne and Carlsbourg marked the stages of his career. This was his first appointment as Director.

Surely, he lacked neither professional nor religious excellence, nor goodwill, nor courage. Almost from the moment he arrived in the Balkans, he had an opportunity to win the respect and the gratitude of Bulgarians. A war had been raging: Milan, King of Serbia, had attacked his neighbors under the pretext that the union of the new State with Romalia, effected by Alexander of Battenberg, upset the balance of power in the Balkans. Battenberg and his army, having put up a victorious resistance, invaded Serbia. Sophia was ecstatic. But the military clashes did not occur without their victims; and, moved by charity, Brother Firminus transformed his school into a hospital; along with his personnel, he became a Red Cross nurse and infirmarian. The government decorated him with the Medal of Merit.

Since the belligerents were obliged to yield to Austria's insistence, peace was restored, and the Brothers were able to devote themselves to their educational task. There were a lot of reasons that did not make it an easy one. First of all, the diversity of languages and races in the school: German, French, Bulgarian and Italian were used by turns in teaching; among the natives there were Austrians of German extraction, Czechs, Moravians, Poles,

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[369] .[369]Motherhouse Archives, M. H. Brother Joseph's letter to Brother Robustinian, Procurator to the Holy See, May 1, 1885, File ID n. Motherhouse Archives, same file.

Hungarians, Croates and Dalmatians. And there were also pupils from France, Germany, Italy, Spain, Romania and from as far away as Armenia.[370]

Besides, the recollection of the school's beginnings and the talk that had accompanied the departure of the Assumptionists nourished an embarrassment and raised new controversies. On September 27, 1890 Brother Firminus wrote to Brother Visitor: "I just left the French Consul. He says that the French Brothers here must be in a majority, because the school is French...He would like to see me replaced by one of his own compatriots. The Archbishop is absolutely on our side."[371]

Bishop Mennini, henceforth Catholic Archbishop of Sophia, asked assistance for his educational institution from the Propagation of the Faith. He emphasized the interests of souls and asserted that if the physical arrangements were improved and if finances could guarantee the support of the teachers, the influx of pupils would be endless.

With the inferior tools at his disposal, Brother Firminus tried to cope with the difficulties. Perhaps he felt overwhelmed or helpless. Complaints reached the Assistant, Brother Madir Joseph: the Director in Sophia was accused of moodiness, lack of foresight and indecision. Brother Cosmus was urged to undertake a serious inquiry "in order to save the threatened school from disaster". There were some who said that "the German Brothers were opposed to the French program even though, without this program, which attracted pupils to the residence school, the institution could not survive."[372].

Nevertheless, the school endured in spite of this oppressive atmosphere. Actually, it grew to the point of having 200 pupils,[373].and the number of teachers doubled. The Director organized a chorale which Prince Ferdinand of Bulgaria and his mother, the French Princess Clementine came to hear and appreciated. After 1886, the country had emerged from limbo; the crude hand of Stamboulov had checkmated agitation; administration and public education took shape; and Sophia was rebuilt in the European

[370] Marienheim Archives, pamphlet Anstalten.

[371] Motherhouse Archives.

[372] Motherhouse Archives, ID n, sumary of a letter, 1888. Marienheim Archives, Brother Madir Joseph's letter to Brother Cosmus, dated from Gent, September 11, 1899

[373] Cf. Pamphlet Anstalten, 1897

style. While there remained much to be gloomy and worried about, still it was possible to work for the future.

This was why in 1895 the Institute accepted from the hands of Mgr. Doulcet, the Catholic Bishop of Northern Bulgaria, the school in Roustchouk that had been opened around 1873 by Father Agosto. The Passionists had preceded the Brothers here. The latter had been sent from the District of Austria — four in the beginning and six sometime later. Brother Infroy Julian was the first Director; he was quickly succeeded by one of his assistants, Brother Arsenius. They taught about seventy-five pupils, who ranged in age from six to seventeen and whose religious faith was divided among Catholicism, Greek Orthodox and Protestantism. They succeeded in setting up elementary and Realgymnasium programs; French was a special course; and, not without difficulties in such a heterogenous audience, German was adopted as the language of general instruction.

In 1902, following a financial disagreement between the Bishop and the Institute, the Brothers withdrew and were replaced by Marist Brothers.

In Sophia Brother Firminus remained Director until 1904. At that time, the Superiors called him to Italy in order to set a German school in motion in a building close to the Merode Institute, near St. Joseph's College. He died the following year in Albano. A memorial plaque erected at the request of his former pupils in the Bulgarian school witnesses to the fact that his work and dedication were not rewarded by ingratitude.[374]

[374] Motherhouse Archives, File LI h. — Marienheim Archives, Anstalten. — Obituaries of Brother Firminus (1905) and Brother Arsenius (1910). — The Brothers of the Christian School returned to Roustchouk in 1916. — Sophia became the seat of a great French institution, to which communism put an end in 1947.

1.

NOTE

CONCERNING THE INSTITUTE IN SWITZERLAND

Following the civil war in Switzerland followed by the persecution from Geneva, the situation of the disciples of Saint John Baptist de La Salle who had set foot there in the 18th century was very diminished. The Church suffered from a violent and triumphant radicalism. The situation in 1878 was pitiable. Mgr. Lachat, the bishop of Basle, was expelled from his diocese; in difficulties with the High Council of Geneva, Mgr.Mermillod was condemned to be banished. After 1872, the Brothers of the Christian Schools in Switzerland had only their small establishment at Neuchatel , founded by the parish priest Berset and attached to the French District of Besancon.

There they enjoyed a certain peace that was gradually extended to the whole Confederation. The 26th November 1882 referendum collected 142482 votes against the law of neutrality in schools.[375] The Catholic cantons could once again work freely. Once again, Lasallians reappeared in Fribourg. At the request of the parish priest, M. Robadey, they established themselves on 23rd December 1886 in the commune of Attalens. It risked being a short stay as the Visitor of the Savoy District, Brother Orbanis, has withdrawn his Brothers in July of the preceding year. But spokesmen began discussions almost immediately between the communal Council and the Visitor of Lyon. On 20th October agreement was reached. Three Brothers from Lyon took charge of the primary classes and in December a superior course cycle was introduced. It was a heavy task as the material circumstances at the beginning were not easy and left a great deal to be desired. The teachers, however, devoted themselves willingly to this soil so rich in vocations. From then on and until to today the Congregation has always had a certain number of Brothers from Attalens and its surroundings; recruitment must never dry up.

In 1894, Savoy once again accepted responsibility for the work. A fourth teacher had to wait until 1899. From 1900-1912, the school was under the charge of Brother Valery-Etienne, former Visitor of Chambery, tireless in his efforts in spite of his sickness.

The influence of Savoy around Leman, a modest re-launching of the history of the Duchy, would at the end of the 19th century touch even Fribourg. The success of the Attalens foundation resulted in the entry of Lasallians into the capital of the canton. On 30th April 1888, the Fribourg director of public education, M. Python, presided at the examinations

[375] CF. General History vol.II, p.382; Vol.III, p.486; vol.VI, pp.167-180

for the superior course recently organized by Brother Olbert-Marie. As he was very favourably impressed, he expressed the wish for a similar centre in the important intellectual city of Fribourg. Mgr. Mermillod indicated his approval to Brother Superior General. The town council added its recommendation to that of the Bishop. Funds coming from a donation from a Jesuit, R.P. Week, allowed a very well situated property, 'Les Pilettes' to be acquired.

Lyon, through its Visitor, Brother Polentius, was in contact. But the Fribourg house, and that of Attalens, joined with the District of Chambery. Brother Olbert-Marie – Louis-Antoine Dangelzer – remained there from 1890-1897. He began quietly, somewhat looked down upon by the professional class, but opinion changed and families greatly appreciated Lasallian pedagogy.

From 9 pupils in the first months, the numbers grew to 62 by October 1891. Very soon a boarding section was opened. Mgr. Deruaz, the bishop of Lausanne, Geneva and Fribourg, was present for the prizegiving in 1892. Brother Urbice-Lucien, Brother Olbert's successor, by December 1903, had 110 pupils, day boys, boarders and par-time boarders.[376]

Neuchatel was maintained but not without difficulties and setbacks. On 29th March 1888, M. Guyot, on behalf of the municipality as official supervisor of exams, paid homage to the Brothers: "I made it my duty," he wrote to M. Berset, "to express my very sincere thanks to these teachers for the efforts they have made as far as possible for the harmonious development of the intellectual faculties of their pupils, as well as to form their hearts to what is good."

Teaching here referred to the primary school. Now Neuchatel had also a commercial school and courses of classic humanities. The Brother Superior General Joseph, visiting the community in the 1888 vacation, considered that the Brothers should come out of what was obviously an inferior position. He suggested the foundation of a boarding school and a family house. In view of this, the parish bought a very large building in the suburb of Cret. Following an agreement between "the free society of Roman Catholics" and the Superior of the Institute, the opening of the boarding school was fixed for October 1st 1893. Three young men came, then another five. Almost all came from German-speaking Switzerland in order to improve their knowledge and usage of French. Several followed the courses of the town commercial school.

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[376] Archives of the Mother House dossier JF u. Bernard Secret, Brothers of the Christian Schools in Savoy, p.108 – Notes provided by Brother Virgile-Marie, Visitor of Savoy. – the schools in Attalens disappeared in 1925 because of some local difficulties. That of Fribourg was closed in 1933 for lack of personnel and in face of costly reconstructions. In both towns, there was expression of regret at the departure of the Lasallians.

In October 1894, there were only ten boarders. There was no point in continuing such an unsuccessful project. The Catholic society hired out two storeys of the building. The primary school took over the ground floor and continues to do so.[377]

[377] The boarding school began again in October 1905 with 5 boarders. The establishment continues to depend on the District of Besancon. Archives of the Mother House dossier LI h; Besancon Archives, History of Neuchatel. The German District Bothers have today a house for delinquents, *l'Erziehungsheim Saint-Georg* at Bad Knutwil, in Lucerne canton

CHAPTER FOUR

England and Ireland

Concluding our overview of Europe during Brother Philippe's administration, we left on the banks of the Thames and the Mersey a handful of Brothers whose future had not yet clearly taken shape. Did England provide conditions favorable to the men and the activities of an Institute born in another climate? The question could be raised with a certain amount of anxiety. The beginnings did appear difficult. Materially and morally, suffering, disappointment, setbacks, indeed mortifying humiliations sprung up along the way. In a letter sent in 1889 to Brother Superior-general Joseph, Brother Acheul, one of the most courageous of pioneers, provided a harsh report of the preceding period: "We undertook too much," he wrote, "with the few workers we had." — "Intellectual impoverishment, weakness" of will and behavior and "bad practices" were not, according to him, without their influence on sluggish growth and the occasional reversal. "Seven schools and eight residences have been closed since we have been in this country," the writer asserted. He specified "the cause of these closings": inadequate and unhealthy premises, preposterously low salaries, the ill-timed interference of priests or laymen in educational administration, the refusal on the part of sponsoring Committees to meet the legitimate demands of the teachers, administrative failures by many heads of departments, dissipation of forces, and the premature employment

of young people who were clothed "with the black robe" as quickly as they made themselves available to the regional Superior.[378]

These trials and errors, then, and the failures seem to have an origin and a character altogether diverse: some to the for which the clergy or Catholic educational promoters were liable; others were implicated the Congregation's representatives. The latter were working in circumstances with which they were unfamiliar; and principles and methods imported from the Continent required adaptation. The difference in languages occasioned serious obstacles to mutual understanding: all Brothers did not succeeding in easily

[378] Motherhouse archives, File ID q6, letter dated from Tooting College, January, 20, 1889.

understanding English nor make themselves perfectly understood with people who spoke to them.[379]

To the quite understandably hasty improvisations we must trace the negative results of a certain number of projects. Besides, unfortunate lapses took place.[380] Extraordinary exertions and instances of exceptional virtue redeemed these failures and consigned them to oblivion. However, if the establishment of the Brothers' Institute in the British Isles had not outstripped the plan of completely human projects, its chances for survival would have been quite minimal. Quite obviously, Providence willed the Brothers' success.

Laws, aspirations, customs, the temperament of the English nation — everything had conspired, ultimately, to a flowering that at the outset was unexpected. Even what seemed to run contrary to the rights of religion had turned to the good of souls.

Forster's Education Bill of 1870[381] had particularly moved the Catholic Hierarchy and the faithful. "An education without Christianity is impossible," declared Manning in a pastoral letter the previous year. But while he was in Rome with his colleagues attending the Vatican Council, the House of Commons had taken a position opposed to "confessional education": adopting the Cowper-Temple Amendment, it had decided that in schools receiving a public subsidy one would have to refrain from all "dogmatic" statements and from every "formulary" that was special to a religious "denomination". Of course, this was not that systematic "neutrality", that aggressive "laicization", that the French Republic would promote a few years later. God still had a place in education; the Bible was read in classes. And, then, while "school rates aid" (the subsidy coming from local taxes) was restricted to non-confessional schools, the State would not decline to come to the financial assistance of the others.

But the legislators' gesture was still symbolic of a new direction: a separation was taking shape between civil and ecclesiastical society. The Anglican Church took note of the blow no less ruefully than the Roman Catholic Church. "Liberalism" had prevailed over the traditions of the "Tory" party.

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[379] Archives of St. Joseph's College, London; manuscript Register (1855-1921).

[380] Ibid.

[381] See Vol. VI of the present work, pp. 229-230.

At this point, it was no longer possible effectively to influence political forces. A quite vast field still opened up to freedom of action: the right to teach continued to belong to every citizen. Moreover, Catholics would avail themselves of this right more than ever. Concerned in the past to open their own schools, they would continue this effort with accelerating energy in order to safeguard the faith of their children integrally. On Quinquagesima Sunday of 1872, Archbishop Manny, repeating his instructions on parental rights concerning education, wrote: "The education of the people of England is now going through a crisis which, for good or ill, will decide the future of this country."

The leader's warning was solemn, and it was clear: figures show that it was understood. In 1870 there were 350 primary schools of the Catholic denomination that admitted 101,500 pupils; in 1890 the total had risen to 1,000 schools of this sort for 342,000 pupils.[382]

The diffusion of education was a goal of the Church, and, furthermore, it fulfilled the "law of the Kingdom". The British government became increasingly aware of its responsibilities in this respect. Whether the Minister of Education be liberal or conservative, educational policy would scarcely alter its principles and pursue new structures. The Elementary Act in 1870 was passed under Gladstone's auspices. In 1876, during the Disraeli period, another Parliamentary decision generalized prescriptions which, up to then, had not been uniformly applied, since a certain latitude had been granted every "School Board": henceforth, in England and in Wales (although not in Scotland or Ireland) every head-of-family was obliged to obtain for each child an elementary education, which had to include a basic minimum of reading, writing and arithmetic. The Act of 1880 completed and reinforced the previous one: it demanded regular attendance at a school by English and Welsh youngsters until they had completed their tenth year.

Educational preoccupations were thrust upon the minds of statesmen to the extent to which the nation became more democratic and where social laws protecting the weakest members of society against the tyranny of the factory began to play a rôle. For managers sensitive to public opinion, every human being took on a certain value: there is nothing

[382] We have borrowed information and citations from the excellent book of William J. Battersby (Brother Clair Stanislaus), St. John Baptist de La Salle, the Work of the Brothers of the Christian Schools and its significance in the History of English Education, a thesis presented to the University of London in November of 1946, which earned the author the highest distinction along with the Degree of Doctor. The first volume, De La Salle, a Pioneer of Modern Education, was published in 1949. Brother Clair Stanislaus was good enough to send us typed copy of volume II. — For the above passage, we refer the reader to pages 142-147 of this volume.

exaggerated in locating a correlation between electoral reform and the efforts to reshape the capitalist system between 1872 and 1892, on the one hand, and, on the other, the working out of a national education plan during the same period. In France it had been declared that "Elementary eduation was secular, obligatory and tuition-free." The English system did not aim at the inflexibility of modern Jacobinism. It was, however, propelled by analogous ideas. The third stage was reached in 1889: Parliament established tuition-free education, and subsidies compensating for the abolition of tuition were granted to schools.

The Liberals, who had returned to power in 1892 with Gladstone and again in 1894 with Rosebery, had at the ready a powerful and supple tool for exercising their influence on intellectual culture. The State fulfilled its rôle in the field of education in three ways: it passed laws; it supervised and inspected; and it granted subsidies. Thus, without ever striving for a monopoly, without restricting the freedom of individual initiative, and without curtailing the essentially familial character of many educational institutions, it secured a broad expansion of elementary education, it particularly encouraged technical education, and it supported the institutions of higher education.[383].

Progress was being made toward administrative unity, and working on it was the Board of Education which, in 1899, had replaced the former Education Department. Three years later, under a new Conservative government, a law profoundly affected the foundations of the educational structure: this was the Balfour Education Act. School Boards were abolished, and in their places were substituted County Councils and County Borough Councils. These local authorities were to raise taxes intended to support the schools; but, henceforth, all restrictions disappeared: subsidies were to go equally to non provided schools, i.e., those that were freely initiated, "volunteers", as to those that had been directly planned by the Councils and that had been described by the qualifier provided. All elementary schools, neutral, Deist or confessional would be regarded as though they were public, provided the Board of Education accepted their programs and considered their physical appointments satisfactory.

The teaching personnel in the Councils schools were appointed by a legally competent authority, while the selection of teachers in the private schools was left completely in the hands of "managers" appointed to the operation of the system; public authorities were called upon to give their approval, which they could withhold only if those involved did not satisfy a certain level of pedagogical skill.

In spite of the strong opposition which arose from agnostics and from members of dissident sects, who had been the principal beneficiaries of the Forster Bill, the combined

[383] Emile Boutmy, Preface to Max Leclerc's book, l'Éducation des classes moyennes et dirigeantes in Angleterre, Paris, 1894, pp. xiv-xv

influence of Roman Catholics, the High Anglican Church and, indeed, Orthodox Jews earned the triumph of the new law. The State did not set itself up as the founder and promoter of a doctrine; it simply assumed the right and acknowledged the duty of coordinating individual efforts, of providing against their shortcomings, of supporting their efforts, and of cooperating with their accomplishments. It accepted the most diverse kinds of schools, imaginative methods and religious and social diversity. Confessional schools, which had been accommodated by the previous system stood only to gain a better treatment.[384].

Nevertheless, it is important to indicate the limitations of the system. For a long period of time, the civil authorities seemed to have washed their hands of secondary education. They did not legislate on the subject; and they founded no school of this sort to serve as a model. Makeshift educators and people with "Master's Degrees" in Education could indulge in the rashest sort of attempts and the most risky efforts as well as in the most fruitful experiments. The government confined its leverage to financial assistance, gradually regularized, but which continued to be partial and rather restricted. The Balfour Law provided for the distribution of "grants" to pupils who moved from the primary schools to the "colleges": but these were confined to individual "scholarships" restricted to certain educational organizations.

Only by relying exclusively on the generosity of sponsors and on payments for the cost of room-and-board could Religious teachers establish flourishing schools. The disciples of St. John Baptist de La Salle — as we have said earlier[385] — had the merit of providing English youths with an education that was quite in conformity with the tastes, the aptitudes and the work of the people. While the Benedictines and the Jesuits dispensed programs of classical humanism that was constantly in demand by an intellectual èlite, the Brothers, concerned to teach the more numerous masses, proposed to the commercial and industrial middle-class a program of studies that was at once quite generally cultural and cautiously utilitarian. Programs that had been employed at St. Yon, Béziers and Passy filled the gap from which the middle classes in the United Kingdom suffered.

From this point of view, the work of the Brothers in this country would assume an importance and a meaning that cannot be exaggerated. Furthermore, circumstances favored its development. Following the promulgation of the "Education Act" of 1870, the Bishops and the clergy concentrated their attention on the elementary schools; they were quite personally involved in planning the employment of resources and the recruitment of teachers. We have already noted the successful results of these efforts. But while there

[384] Michael E. Sadler, article on England in the Nouveau Dictionnaire pédagogique by Ferdinand Buisson, 1911

[385] Cf. Vol. VI of the present work, pg. 233.

were those who had to struggle for the souls of the children of the people, what concerns were directed toward the cause of Christian secondary education? Almost exclusively these were the property of the Religious Congregations. Persistent undertakings, frequently left to shift for themselves, prevented unfortunate regression.[386].

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The Brothers at St. Joseph's College in the Clapham section of London supported themselves courageously. The undertaking had appeared so difficult that, about 1865, the Superior-general thought about giving it up. Until Brother Ligouri's arrival in 1868 the situation continued to be agonizing and, at some moments, nearly desperate. Later on, Brother Acheul ventured to declare that the Community's reputation had been "sadly" betayed. "The distinguished Brother Ligouri," he added, "put it back on its feet and won us the friendship of the Redemptorist Fathers and of Bishop Danell (of the diocese of Southwark)."[387]

After the death — all too premature — of the great Christian Brother, Brother Alphonsus, and thereafter and especially, Brother Aventine of Mary continued the task. Brother Aventine, previously Director of St. Peter's residence school in Dreux, in September of 1878, received a two-fold "Obedience": as Director of St. Joseph's College and as Visitor of the District of England. The responsibility might have appeared a light one, since the entire constituency was made up of no more than six Communities, along with an embryonic Novitiate.[388] But the seven Directors and the forty-one Brothers found themselves in the midst of some rather delicate problems: mostly foreigners, they had to adapt to the country, show themselves worthy of public confidence and capable of teaching in English; and they had to dispel numerous prejudices and comply with many demands. The modern program of studies, in effect for twenty years, still required focusing and adjustment; while, in France it had long enjoyed currency, beyond the Channel it lacked tradition and application.

Brother Aventine of Mary and his team of teachers strove hard to satisfy a growing public. St. Joseph's College which, in 1863, had no more than twenty-four pupils, grew

[386] Battersby, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 150, 223-226

[387] Motherhouse Archives, File ID q6, letter to the M. H. Brother Joseph, January 16, 1889. — For Brother Ligouri, cf. the Index to Vol. VI of the present work.

[388] St. Joseph's College archives, manuscript Register.

slowly. In 1880 it reached about one-hundred,[389]and two-thirds of the pupils were residents whose behavior, piety and zeal for work was a credit to the school.

In fact, the initial obstacles had been overcome, and there was no longer any fear of reaching a dead-end. Cardinal Manning observed this patient work with interest. As Wiseman's successor to the Archiepiscopal See of Westminster in 1865, he showed up, almost from the moment of his consecration, as extremely involved in the moral and intellectual education of youth. The powerful incentive he provided to educational activity did not stop at the confines of his diocese: Catholics throughout England felt it.[390] And it was from this atmosphere created by Manning that the Brothers' Institute drew its strength. The Prelate wanted to do more than that: he wished to provide direct cooperation with the Brothers.

As early as 1854, as a member of the Catholic Schools Committee of London,[391] he had had contacts with them. He remembered his conversations with Brothers Theoticus and Bartholomew. Later on, he had begun negotiations concerning "Mt. St. Bernard", the reform school that he thought to save by introducing the Brothers; and in Paris he spoke to Brother Philippe personally.[392]

In the fifteenth year of his episcopacy, he seized another opportunity to show his appreciation for a Congregation which served the Church well and which was prepared to serve England. On October 27, 1880, he wrote to Brother Irlide, the Superior-general: "I am looking for a way to promote the education of the middle classes...And the excellence of St. Joseph's College in Clapham, in the Southwark diocese, moves me to want to propose to you the operation of a school in my diocese, in London."[393] I have not yet decided upon a site, since I am awaiting the statistics that will inform me about the place to be selected on the basis of the most urgent need. I write you only to inform you of my

[389] St. Joseph's College archives, manuscript Register; ninety-four pupils of whom sixty-six were residents, reports the Register.

[390] Battersby, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 80-81.

[391] Cf. Vol. VI of the present work, pg. 231.

[392] Ibid., pg. 238.

[393] The Archdiocese of westminster does not include the entire city of London. "Southwark," within London itself, constitutes another constituency of the Catholic Church.

intentions and to assure you that I shall set everything in motion in order that your Institute may find in my diocese the welcome that you would expect.[394]

This letter provided the Brothers with legitimate grounds for pride. And their Superior hastened to reply to it by return mail: "Barring an absolute impossibility, we accept…" Meanwhile in Clapham they were reining in the euphoria that the Cardinal-archbishop's gesture may have roused on Rue Oudinot. Brother Potamian, a teacher at St. Joseph's College, explained to one of the Brothers Assistant why the project was not very realistic: those who had been behind the project disagreed with Cardinal Manning on the choice of teaching Congregation; while the Cardinal did not hesitate to appeal to the Brothers, the preference of the people in his diocese went to the Jesuits, who for three centuries, had been associated with the sufferings of English Catholics and universally appreciated as the champions of Graeco-Latin culture. Even assuming that an understanding was reached, the financial question would occasion endless postponements; money was not abundant among the Archbishop's faithful flock. Besides, did the Institute think that it was in a position to take on the task assigned to it? Was it necessary to recall that the Brothers' personnel was a mere handful? Would Clapham be stripped for the benefit of Westminster? Or would they desert the Bishop of Southwark, whose effectual friendship was an established fact, in order to please Cardinal Manning?[395]

Brother Potamian's objections were not without weight. And his rather pessimistic forecasts were justified. When the question turned to drawing up a budget, the difficulties seemed insurmountable. The problem of secondary education for the masses of Catholic children of the archdiocese had been raised. A provisional solution was devised; at Manning's request, Brother Aventine informed families through the daily press: "Two Brothers will regularly be at Victoria and Ludgate Hill stations to meet, youngsters of the Westminster diocese who would like to attend classes at St. Joseph's College and be enrolled there as semi-residents." At the same time one-hundred prospectus were distributed; these were couched in similar language.[396].

The invitation, however, went unanswered. The Clapham section was very far away, and the Brothers' college still did not have a sufficiently widespread reputation for pupils to rush there from all corners of a huge area. Neither were the means of transportation as varied and rapid as they have subsequently become. The apathy and the abstention are thus easily explained.

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[394] Motherhouse Archives, ID q6.

[395] Motherhouse archives, ID q6, letter dated December 31, 1880.

[396] St. Joseph's College Register

However, surrounding the Cardinal there was unrelaxing persistence. Shortly thereafter was launched the idea of a subscription to supply the necessary financing. One of its promoters was James Weale — a distinguished Catholic and widely acknowledged archeologist, a conservator of the National Art Gallery in South Kensington. He sent his son to the Brothers at St. Joseph's, and sought for his fellow-citizens and -Catholics to practice greater zeal in extending the Brothers' field of action. The ancient "Grammer Schools" and Universities profited from endowments: shouldn't one plan for the creation of a similar sort of funding for secondary schools the need for which had become so evident? Such arguments earned the official endorsement of Manning and his colleagues in the hierarchy.[397]

Unfortunately they could not be translated into immediate results. The period of hesitation and uncertainty had not yet come completely to a close; even in Clapham itself, in September of 1882, there was a drop in attendance: "forty-eight residents and twenty-eight day-pupils", notes the Director of the school. He commented: "We were expecting more, in view of the number of requests for the prospectus...They think our costs are too high."[398] The day after this somewhat disappointing opening of the new school-term a visit from a Prince of the Church, Cardinal Howard, tempered Brother Aventine's dejection: indeed, it gave evidence of a serious concern regarding the Brothers in London.[399]

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A quite favorable occasion arose to attract the friendly curiosity of the English public to the

Brothers of the Christian Schools. In 1884 The International Health Exhibition was set up in galaries in South Kensington. "Hygiene" and "health", which were apparently the specific objects of this scientific demonstration had unquestionable connections with

[397] Battersby, Vol. II, pp. 109-111.

[398] St. Joseph's College Register, September 16, 1882. But in December the school population resumed the usual numbers: sixty-two residents and thirty-six day-pupils.

[399] Ibid., September 17, 1882.

education. As a result, anything having to do with childhood, education or schools made up one of the principal segments of the Exposition. Here were exhibited models and plans for school construction, samples of modern materials; apparatus for medical examinations; and pictures and graphics having to do with the struggle against epidemics.

But the organizers, expanding their views, invited the exhibitors to supply examples of the intellectual work of school children. It was in this connection that the Brothers' Congregation was called upon to show Londoners a sort of summary of its world-wide activity. Brother Irlide's very exact guidelines indicated to the Communities the sorts of exhibits that would be suited to the stalls in Kensington. Brother Anthymius, the Institute's official delegate, spent two months classifying the materials.

The practical and, in some sense of the term, "realistic" nature of the Brothers' education was ingeniously emphasized. Visitors were able to examine a number of designs for machinery, survey maps, and geographical maps based upon the methods of the famous Brother Alexis.[400] The residence school in Marseille emphasized the maritime and commercial activities of that city in a chart representing ships' itineraries and the produce transported; Lyons displayed its silk mills; Annecy, a mineralogical collection; Beauvais, vegetables, selected from its school-farm. Belgium attracted attention with the works of its craftsmen and architects of the "St. Luke schools"; New York, with works from the studios of its "Protectory". Alongside the United States of America, Canada displayed its notebooks and yearbooks. Italy, Spain, Turkey, and Eygpt were also represented.

It was impossible for this impressive and lively collection to pass unnoticed. Professors, teachers, literary people and scientists passed through the rooms of the Exposition, eagerly stopping to look at a wall chart, a geographical relief map or skim through some textbook or other. Journalists scribbled their observations; and admiring articles were published in the newspapers. The Tablet, on June 14, 1884, underscored the merits of the Brothers and especially of the Belgian schools; new and more detailed information appeared in the issue for August 22. Nature wrote on July 3, that a passing notice could not suffice to give an idea of the educational wealth contributed to Kensington by this Religious educational "Society"; nothing was more "remarkable", more "interesting" or more suggestive; everyone here found numerous examples and lessons to think about. Conservative or Liberal, the major newspapers bore equally laudatory testimony: the Standard wrote of the French and American activities of the Congregation; the Globe spoke of the "astonishing variety" of the Brothers' schools.

[400] On Brother Alexis, cf. Vol. VI of the present work, pp. 152-155.

Thus, the Exposition had proved — as many of those who had participated in it had hoped — that "religious faith, far from damaging science, industry, art and education, was, on the contrary, a powerful moving force and an indefinite principle of progress."[401]

We can imagine the satisfaction felt by the St. Joseph's College Community. The Brothers in London were well situated for the reputation of their Institute to reflect on them. They had not refused, certainly, to present the work of their own pupils at a modest place, but one that was easy to spot, as suited the circumstance. Furthermore, at the invitation of the committee, which had been sponsored by the Prince of Wales, the Director and the Sub-director took part in the deliberations of the juries. Under the date of October 31, 1884, we read in the school Register: "Closing of the International Exposition, which has earned us many and serious commendations…the highest rewards and so many visitors!" St. Joseph's has always preserved two superb "certificates of acknowledgement" given to Brothers Potamian and Noah "for the Educational work" at the International Heath Exhibition.

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The following year, Brother Aventine of Mary resigned his position as Director in order to dedicated himself totally to his task as Visitor of the District. At last the new Lasallian constituency had begun to grow, especially in Ireland, as we shall see. It had become desirable to divide functions. As he left London and at the moment of leaving to establish his residence across the Irish Sea, the Visitor left Brother Potamian (whom he had himself recommended to the Superior-general's choice) to head of the College.

It would soon be fifteen years since the new Director joined the teaching staff at the Clapham school. His reputation had been solidly founded. Without mincing words, Brother Acheul told the M. H. Brother Joseph: "Brother Potamian enabled us to emerge from our intellectual squalor."[402]. It was a harsh criticism regarding the pioneers workers who had come from France, but the noble tribute of one of them to the Irishman, Michael O'Reilly!

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[401] Eugene Rendu, 1895 report in the Bulletin de la Société générale d'Éducation et d'Enseignement. — Audley, les Frères des Écoles chrétiennes à l'Expositions pédagogique de Londres, Paris, 1884. — Battersby, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 133-141. — Brother Anthymius' Obituary, 1904.

[402] Motherhouse archives, ID q6, letter dated January 16, 1889

Born on September 29, 1845[403]— on the Feast of his patron archangel — in Ballyboro, in County Caven, in the southern Ulster, Michael as a child had accompanied his family to America. The O'Reillys settled in New York; and they sent their sons to St. Brigid's school, operated in the beginning by nuns and then, in 1858, handed over to a Christian Brother who was himelf a native Irishman, Brother Chronian.

The teacher's influence was promptly felt by the pupil; it was supported, it seems, by the advice of Father Hecker, the famous Paulist priest. In 1859 the youth, admitted to the Novitiate in Montreal, put on the Brothers' habit. Appointed to the Canadian schools, in Lévis in Québec, he eagerly took up the study of languages, French, German and Spanish. He wrote for such literary reviews as the Catholic World. But even then he was in imagination leaning toward the natural sciences; he developed a taste for mathematics, physics, chemistry, geology and astronomy.

His transfer to London in 1870 marked the beginnings of his quite brilliant and productive career. Brother Ligouri, struck by the keen mind and versatile skills of the young teacher, ordered him to prepare himself to take the university examinations.

The Director-Visitor, no less farsighted in his grasp of the future as supernatural in his behavior, was here embracing a bold decision. He did not fear to situate one of his Brothers at the heart of British higher education.

The Universities in Great Britain and Ireland, strongholds of Protestantism, had long held the Roman Catholic Church in suspicion. Over against the wealthy and powerful foundation of Queen Elizabeth in Dublin, Newman had attempted in 1852 to establish an orthodox university. The results were extremely disappointing.[404] However, the hierarchy and the clergy discouraged famiilies from sending young people to Oxford and Cambridge as long as the faith appeared to be endangered in these ancient "Colleges", whose chapels were used exclusively for Anglican worship. By 1867 the prohibition had become

[403] The year 1845 is the one that is given in the Bulletin de l'Institut des Frères des Écoles chrétiennes for July 1947. It is in agreement with the entire curriculum vitae of Brother Potamian. Brother Angelus Gabriel, in his book, The Christian Brothers in the United States (New York, 1948), pg. 424, writes "September 29, 1847." We are in agreement only as regards the day of the month.

[404] Newman's efforts, however, were not forgotten by the Irish, who considered the famous convert as the precursor of their own National University, founded in 1908, which, along with its affiliates in Cork, Galway and Maynouth, have played a principal rôle in Irish intellectual life.

absolute; Manning and another convert, Ward, a devout layman and distinguished theologian, demanded it.

Could higher studies be forbidden to English Catholics? The exclusion that the law had at one time imposed upon them was scarcely understood by their own pastors. Manning's attempt at Kensington, similar to Newman's in Dublin, was also a failure. And then it was that the University of London promised complete assurance and security.

Established on foundations totally different from the old "Collegiate" system, more modern in its outlook and in its programs of study than its venerable forerunners, it guaranteed Catholics other advantages of which it was justly proud. It was opened to every candidate, as well to day-students who were absolutely free in their activities and programs as to those who dwelt on-campus, as resident students in houses managed by the university. Its professor stood aside from religious controversies. They gave an important place to history, geography, the sciences and modern languages in a way which many cultivated persons in the latter half of the 19th century wanted to see.[405]

It was here that the Brothers and their pupils in secondary education would normally seek to crown their formal training. Brother Potamian, with the approval of Brother Ligouri, aimed straight at the mark and paved the way. He earned the Bachelor's degree in 1878, the Master of Arts in 1880 and the Doctor of Science in 1883. His thesis dealt with a theory of electrical measurements.[406]

It caught the attention of the learned world. The physiologist Huxley, the naturalist Mivart, the physicist Tyndall, James Thomson and his brother Lord Kelvin recognized Dr. O'Reilly. An auditor of Lord Kelvin's lectures,[407]. it was under the guidance of this great specialist in magnetism and mathematical physics, universally esteemed, that Brother Potamian with remarkable success pursued his scientific career.

The government, in Gladstone's day as well as during the Ministries of Disraeli and Salisbury, recognized Brother Potamian's worth; in fact, he had officially represented

[405] Battersby, Vol. II, pp. 151-155.

[406] Michael O'Reilly has been described as the first Catholic since the Protestant Reformation to receive a doctorate in England. This is more than dubious. We need only note that the University of London, which was founded in 1836, had not had the opportunity of granting this degree to a faithful member of the Roman Catholic Church prior to Brother Potamian's defense of his thesis. (Bulletin de l'Institut, cited, pg. 221; Brother Angelus Gabriel, op. cit., pg. 424.

[407] William thomson, Lord Kelvin

Great Britain in the International Expositions in Vienna in 1873, in Philadelphia in 1876, in Paris in 1889 and in Chicago in 1893. His reports were models of precision and clarity.[408]

In 1885, Brother Potamian, then in his forties, matured into a vigorous and brisk middle-age. Broad brow, austere mouth, penetrating glance, noble profile, majestic posture and particularly impressive in his academic gown, the Irishman from America everywhere observed a simple dignity combined with a radiating intelligence. Cardinals Manning and Newman held him in honor. And while he knew how to keep his place as a humble Religious, he was able easily to get their attention.

Such appeared the man to whose wisdom the Superiors of the Institute entrusted an institution in which was being worked out the promise of better tomorrows.

[408] Brother Angelus, op. cit., pg. 425.

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The entire college felt the advantages of the new arrangement. Each person wanted to work and to succeed. The example of the Head was catching and his words thoroughly understood. Pupils and teachers locked step with the influential leader. Classes proceeded animatedly, and examinations were successfully concluded. In October of 1886 one of the young teachers, Brother Columban, and one of the pupils of the new Director, William Lyle Smith, obtained their Bachelor of Arts degrees from the University of London.[409].At this time Clapham included sixty-three residents and thirty-six day- pupils.[410] The old quarters no longer had room for these numbers and demanded greater space.

Brother Aventine of Mary informed Brother Irlide of the need for another site: "In 1856 we moved into the property we still occupy today; in 1862 we purchased the building for 100,000 francs. Clapaham was then a suburb of London, half in the city and half in the country, with a sparse but select population. Since that period the area has been incorporated into the city; its population has grown considerably, and its appearance has altered profoundly. It has fallen under hygienic and moral conditions that are disturbing and that are going to get worse...

We shall be forced to leave because the neighborhood in no longer sufficiently respectable in the eyes of families who entrust their children to us; because the area is no longer healthy, and because public opinion in England thinks that schools should be in the countryside...We shall also be obliged to move because our College, which is made up of bits and pieces, commands neither the respect of Protestants nor the confidence of Catholic families. For everybody, and, it must be admitted, even for the Clergy, Clapham can never be anything but a small school, directed by simple people; the number of our pupils and their success wont change a thing[411]

At the end of this very precise and persuasive report, Brother Aventine suggested the purchase of an estate of eighteen acres situated in the Southwark diocese, but a little over four miles from the abandoned site, in the area of Tooting Common. A public auction was to take place in two week's time.

The notice was probably too brief for the Council of the Regime to come to a decision. And so, the status quo was maintained, to the great regret of the chief administrators at

[409] St. Joseph's College Register

[410] Ibid.

[411] Motherhouse Archives, ID q6, letter dated May 9, 1880.

St. Joseph's College. Nevertheless, they persevered in their purposes. And Brother Potamian, succeeding Brother Aventine, also turned his attentions toward the Tooting region.

On April 17, 1886 he wrote to Brother Aimarus, who had opened the school in London and was now Assistant to the Superior-general: "A twelve acre piece of land five minutes from the railroad station would suit the College perfectly. They are asking 275,000 francs for it." Like his predecessor, the letter-writer insisted on the disadvantages of Clapham: unlovely neighborhoods were expanding; "soon, we shall be squeezed in on all sides." For the moral and material success of the project an immediate move was necessary. Furthermore, financial arrangements were not unattractive; the old property, whose upkeep was expensive because of constant repairs, had increased in value, however, as the result of the urban renewal program in the neighborhood. There was a good chance of selling it at a handsome price.[412]

The business was settled rather briskly. The diocesan representative and the Congregation's delegates, Brother Aimarus and Clementian, came to inspect the site. Once the purchase was completed, for the construction they adopted a plan advanced by the architect, Harvey. In December of 1886, a French Brother, Brother Exuperant, whose skill was very much appreciated on Rue Oudinot, came to England from Lille, studied the plans and the estimates and wrote his report to the Regime.[413] Twenty months later, the building had gone up: it was solid, magnficent, 210 ft. long and sixty-six feet high; with walls of red brick and Portland stone; three stories standing above a low ground-floor; the facade had a classical pediment; there was a peristyle of four columns supporting a balcony and in the middle of the roof a dignfied campanile. This time the Brothers of the Christian Schools were unabashedly proclaiming themselves to the British capital.

The final graduation exercise at Clapham was held on July 12, 1888 in accordance with the traditional ceremony. "We depart the dear old place on September 17," notes the College chronicler; "our work began here in suffering and trial, to end subsequently with a success that we would never have dared hope for. Laus Deo!"[414]

Along with the Brothers ninety-seven pupils moved to Tooting. The formal inauguration took place three days later. On September 20, the chaplain celebrated High Mass in the

[412] Motherhouse Archives, ID q6.

[413] Ibid., Brother Exuperant's letter to Brother Assistant Aimarus, dated December 19, 1886; and St. Joseph's College Register, August, September, December 1886.

[414] St. Joseph's College Register.

spacious chapel; two former pupils, Fathers Allanson and Cunningham, served as deacon and sub-deacon. The Bishops of Southwark and Portsmouth and forty priests were in attendance. A Luncheon was served to 300 persons. In the course of the afternoon, the Archbishop of Westminster, Cardinal Manning, put in an appearance, presided at Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament and then, in the reception room, gave a very friendly talk.[415]

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There was commendation and blessing from the Church's hierarchy, the learning and zeal of the teaching staff, the uninterrupted course of studies, examination awards, the handsome careers of alumni in industry, finance and the liberal professions, and, at the summit of this èlite, a few priestly vocations: — the new St. Josephs even more than the earlier institution could thank God. The reputation in science of its Director contributed further to make it famous.

But perhaps Brother Potamian was succumbing to too many burdens. He taught; he worked in the laboratory; he administered. His responsibilities as Superior of the Community and Principal of the College were perhaps threatening to damage his activities as professor and scientist.

Moreover, perhaps his talents, his concerns, the pitch of his mind did not adapt very well to the work which obsessed the brain or which dissipated attention. Some physical details must have seemed tedious to Dr. Michael O'Reilly. But then, generous and easily given to expenditures, like most Irishmen, monetary calculations scarcely stopped him in what he undertook.

At the beginning of 1889 we hear Brother Acheul pleading the cause of Brother Potamian with the M. H. Brother Joseph; the Superior-general's correspondant was singing the praises of his Tooting confrere: "He improved studies, sent pupils to the examinations and, in this way, gave a sort of inspiration to other Catholic Colleges. He educated men like Brother Anthony and Brother Michael, respectable men, according to the English expression." It would be too harsh to forsake him in his finanacial difficulties. "While there may have been a little waste at Clapham, at Tooting there can only have been some imprudence and even then an imprudence arising from the wish to do good."[416]

[415] Ibid., cf. Battersby, Vol. II, pp. 123-124.

[416] Motherhouse archives, ID q6, letter dated January 20, 1889.

However, people in Paris were worried. The budgetary situation at Tooting was imperiled to the point that Superiors were already asking themselves: “Wouldn’t it be wise to cut costs by closing the College immediately?” Brother Acheul was aware of the danger, and he hastened to sweep it aside. Resuming his pen, he pleaded…he argued: “Never before had the school possessed such a remarkable teaching personnel: Potamian, Columban, Timothy, etc…Studies are at a level equal to that of any other College operated by a Religious Order; and, indeed, our school today prevails in the sciences.”

Besides, what would the Bishop think of the abrupt closing of an institution which he has described as an object of personal satisfaction? The Cardinal, Bishops Butt, Virtue, Patterson and Weathers all visited here…They would veil their faces in shame,” if they learned of the fate reserved for St. Josephs![417]

The problem certainly remained under debate for several months, since, on May 23, the English banker and friend of the Congregation, Mr. Charles Stowell, explained to the Superior-general all the shortcomings involved in a partial conveyance of the property.[418]

At this time, therefore, what was being thought about was not a definitive closure but a selective land sell-off that would allow reimbursing creditors. This was a better solution:

a College — and especially an English College — is not planned without a lot of open space and uncluttered areas.

The Regime at this point withheld any decision. The only one that had been taken — and which was maintained — went back to January 4: on that day Brother Potamian, with a sigh of relief, resigned his post as Director. Brother Attale Joseph, who replaced him, was no stranger to the practices and traditions of the institution: at one time he had been part of the Clapham Community. He kept his predecessor in his administration, with the title of Pro-director and the responsibility of supervising classes.[419]

Tooting survived and without losing man who inspired it. The work had not faltered. The school population remained faithful; and statistics for 1891 indicate an overall figure of 133 pupils. St. Joseph’s was no longer the lowly seedling that had been viewed as barely

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[417] Motherhouse archives, ID q 6, letter dated January 22, 1889.

[418] Ibid.

[419] St. Joseph’s College Register.

breaking the soil's surface. Contempt and prejudice were attitudes and sentiments that were no longer useful. There had been an official visit from a Lord-Mayor: in fact, the Lord-Mayor of the City of London in person, Sir Stuart Knill, the first Catholic to occupy the position since England turned to schism and heresy. In 1889, recently promoted sheriff, he presided over a sports festival at Tooting. He had never concealed his Roman Catholic religion; and even after a faithful affirmation of his Credo and in spite of many obstacles and much to the surprise of many Londoners, he was selected chief magistrate of the capital city. It was a memorable event in the history of the Catholic Renaissance during which the ancient "Isle of Saints" recovered its soul. The victor wished — a significant gesture — to associate the disciples of John Baptist de La Salle with this success. April 27, 1893 was a great day: Brothers, pupils, parents, and friends, a guest list of 800 persons hailed Stuart Knill. There were speeches, singing and spectacles: the older schoolboys, students of Shakespeare, presented a version of The Merchant of Venice.[420]

Unfortunately this glorious day was to be followed by some trying times ahead. A series of setbacks descended upon the College: epidemics that interrupted classes and occasioned the departure of a number of pupils; there was a resulting decline in the pupil population and a deepening of financial difficulties. Simultaneously, the major Superiors, with diminished confidence in Tootings' future, withdrew some of the best teachers and sent them to Ireland, where the Normal School in Waterford gave rise to better hopes. In this way, in 1893 — after twenty-three years' labor at St. Joseph's — Brother Potamian received orders to return to the land of his birth and of his ancestors. In October Brother Attale Joseph made the same journey: he became Pro-director at WaterfordIn London, Brother Anthony Jerom replaced him. He combined the functions of Visitor of England-Ireland and Director of St. Joseph's College. The presence of this Superior gave grounds for the prediction of an impending liquidation.

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Alea jacta est... In spite of a quickly won fame, the friendship of the public and the clergy, in spite of a top-flight education and spectacular successes, which were repeated each year, the College in Tooting was to close. Brother Potamian gone and — since January 25, 1982 — Brother Acheul dead, the school lost its stoutest defenders. Louis Victor Jacquot, born at Pagny sur Meuse in Lorraine, came to Clapham in 1855 at the age of twenty-two, and, until the end, loved, understood and served his adopted countrymen. At his funeral a crowd of people at prayer showed its gratitude and affection. Many

[420] St. Joseph's College Register. — Cf. Battersby, Vol. II, pp. 131-132. — Sir Stuart Knill died in November of 1898.

priests, once pupils of the fine teacher, offered Masses in the course of the weeks that followed for the repose of his soul.[421].

The tradition of spiritual fidelity and friendly solidarity between the Brothers in England and their pupils was as strong there as it was in other countries.

Feelings were stirred, then, with the announcement of the probable sale of the splendid structure that had been reared under the supervision of the Director, Brother Potamian and the architect Harvey. It had been viewed by some as a symbol expressing the importance of Christian education and a pledge of a brighter future. On the contrary, responded the Superiors responsible for the Congregation's finances: It was an altogether too expensive setting; depts were piling up, and interest payments alone were a painful and worrysome problem. And to this was added an enormous land tax — 630 pounds sterling demanded each year by the collector of revenues.[422].The latter gentleman, Mr. Penfold, made inquiries concerning the owners' intentions; he would assist in the disposal of the property, so that difficulties would be smoothed out.

Under different circumstances, a negative response would, perhaps, have come from Rue Oudinot. But St. Joseph's College had not earned any favorable opinion at the Motherhouse where people retained the memory of other dark moments, of dismal defections in a distant past, of an excessively 'secular' mentality among certain Brothers. The passed polluted the present along with the future. This is why not only did they not hesitate to get rid of a valuable piece of property, a perfectly appointed construction, but they even went on to declare that they were prepared not to replace it with a secondary school of the same sort elsewhere in London.[423]

Bishop Butt of Southwark, Father Ryan and Mr. Penney and many other friends and former pupils at Clapham and Tooting found such a solution unacceptable. Once the splendid College had been sold — at a price of 40,000 pounds sterling, in June of 1895 — they appealed to the M. H. Brother Joseph. Through their efforts the religious mission of Brother Ligouri, Brother Potamian and their associates was saved. A modest site called The Grange on Trinity Road, in Upper Tooting Park was rented. It was so small that it was necessary to situate the dormitory in another building on St. James Street. Classes began with thirty-three resident pupils and twenty-one day pupils. Brother Attale who, ill, had

[421] St. Joseph's College Register. The Lorrainian family of Brother Acheul gave the Institute another excellent Religious: Brother Armel Felix, who is presently Treasurer-general of the Congregation

[422] St. Joseph's College Register

[423] Ibid.

returned from Waterford, was, in spite of his precarious condition, appointed to assume the direction.

He quickly saw that the College would vegetate mournfully in such a place. And without awaiting the expiration of the three year lease on September 29, 1895, he moved his school and Community to Dane House, 168 Denmark Hill, London S.E., in Camberwell parish. The site was pleasant, the country house was comfortable, surrounded by huge trees and grassy lawns that ran down to an ornamental pond. The Brothers were figuring on making this their home for a long time, since they agreed to a twenty year lease beginning on March 25, 1897.[424] On the 1st of the following November, Dane House admitted sixty-five schoolboys, of whom thirty-eight were residents.

Brother Attale continued to supervise St. Joseph's College after he had restored it to life; indeed, it was only a rudimentary life, but the gravest perils had henceforth been averted. There was no longer any talk about giving up a project that had escaped annihilation as by a miracle. It was surrounded by warm allegiance, and upon it were founded some well-founded hopes.

The Director gave it what little was left of his strength. His health, which was always feeble, forced him, in 1899, to spend eight months in the infirmary at Rue Oudinot. He had to return to Paris in October of 1903, During his first absence, Brother Bartholomew of Mary, one of the most brilliant teachers, took his place. And on the occasion of the second, the Superiors sent to London, as Pro-director, the American Brother Fabrician,[425] a man of vast learning and distinguished manners, mathematician at the College in Manchester, New Hampshire, philosopher at Manhattan College in New York, and, at the beginning of the 20th century, teacher in the French residence school of St. Stephen in Forez.[426]

At the very moment the substitute was moving into his post, the London school, for the last time, changed sites. The Dane House estate certainly offered a beautiful setting; but its buildings were too confined, and the Congregation, which was a simple leasee, could

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[424] Motherhouse archives, ID q6, Brother Attale Joseph's notes. — Beulah Hill archives, St. Joseph's College Register. — Cf. Battersby, Vol. II, pp. 171-171.

[425] St. Joseph's College Register.

[426] For Brother Fabrician (Felix Pellerin), see the Index to Brother Angelus Gabriel's book, The Christian Brothers in the United States.

not bring itself to build on somebody else's property. An opportunity suddenly arose: on the heights of Beulah Hill, which dominated two deep valleys, and from which one could view the bright skyline in the direction of Epsom and Syndenham, "Grecian Villa" arose, airy, tranquil, rustic: "a charming and very healthy spot" wrote the chronicler at St. Joseph's. Charm, health and peace did not appear to be too expensive at 8,000 pounds sterling. The purchase contract was signed on March 11, 1903. At this point a whole series of remodellings were undertaken. And it became necessary to mark time until December before moving in. Winter made the transfer difficult: teachers and pupils alike suffered from the cold in a building that was poorly heated and insulated. Brother Timothy, who had come from Waterford to reorganize the physics and chemistry laboratory, died; this man, whom Brother Acheul had mentioned long ago as among the leading lights at Tooting, succumbed to pneumonia on January 10, 1904.[427].

After the mourning and the tears, St. Joseph's at Beulah Hill would know the joy of growth, although it did not happen immediately. Seventy boys had inaugurated the new College.[428]

Not only was this lackluster figure not surpassed in 1905, but an appreciable drop during the course of the following years was to reduce the total to about fifty pupils in 1909. A fresh start sounded with the arrival of a group of Brothers who had been driven from France by persecution. There was an influx of pupils, an expansion of the buildings, the blessing of a vast chapel, the purchase of land, academic successes and the development of a physical education program without disfiguring an extremely strong moral and religious formation: Frenchmen in association with Englishmen proceeded, in a climate of faithful understanding, to achieve the highest results.[429]

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We must rest satisfied with this glance into the future as we now retrace our steps to visit the Institute's other school in London, St. Joseph's Academy. Originally, it had been a day-school that had opened near St. George's Cathedral in Southwark at the request of

[427] St. Joseph's College Register

[428] Ibid., January 11, 1904.

[429] Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes for July 1929, pp. 230-232, and for July 1947, pg. 221. — Battersby, Vol. II, pp. 171 et sq.

Bishop Grant.[430] It had been an affiliate of Clapham, but in 1861 the Academy assumed an autonomous existence. It gradually expanded its programs and supplied modern education to the sons of the Catholic lower middle class. There was no rivalry with St. Joseph's College, no direct competition but merely parallel efforts and emulation-at-a-distance; the huge city included so many populous neighborhoods, with each one of them retaining its own individual character! St. Joseph's Academy, set up on Kennington Road, did not run the risk of living at the expense of its parent-stock.

From the latter it had received the initial elements of life. We can, besides, assert that it owed it a basic thrust when the stalwart man of action, Brother Acheul, was changed from Clapham to Kennington Road. His beginnings at the Academy go back to December of 1864. After an interlude at Liverpool, he returned to his school in Southwark, not to leave there until 1885.

In 1876 it obtained its "efficiency" rating, which was the equivalent of legal recognition. Its pupils surpassed the hundred mark; and they became too numerous for size of the school. It became impossible to house the school side-by-side with the Community's residence. Bishop Danell who was occupying the episcopal See at the time, was keenly interested in the Brothers; and he promoted the formation of a Committee that would negotiate the purchase of a new site, situated on Lower Kennington Lane. The transfer took place at the end of the 1878-1879 school year.

"Our school," Brother Acheul wrote to Brother Irlide about this time, "is, with its 130 pupils, the most populated Catholic school of its kind in London…We admit many young English youths…[431]

This was an observation worth making as touching upon pupil population. Along with a few French youngsters, Irish immigrants were doubtless the primary pool from which pupils were recruited. In order to attract the more traditional English types the reputation for having earned numerous educational successes was effectively spread. During the years 1878, 1879 and 1880 there had been a splendid series of certificates accorded by examining boards and official boards that posed questions to pupils in "Science and Art" or "the Natural Sciences" or in "Literature."[432]Brother Acheul had a right to be pleased: he

[430] See Vol. VI of the present work, pp. 235-236.

[431] Cited by Battersby, Vol. II, pg. 92.

[432] St. Joseph's Academy archives, Brother Dunstan Patrick's notes (contributed by Brother Gilbert, Visitor.

had inspired the extraordinary efforts on the part of his team of teachers that had been reduced to the absolute minimum by the inroad made upon it in favor of Liverpool.[433]

Bishop Danell died in 1881, a serious loss for the Brothers. His successor was Father Coffin who, as Superior of the Redemptorists had not forgotten a rebuff in 1857: the Brothers at that time left a parochial school rather than abandon the principle of tuition-free education.[434] A certain coolness had persisted subsequently in relations with the future prelate, and it was possible to fear that the Academy might suffer the consequences. Fortunately, the school had won the attachment and the patronage of the administrator of the Cathedral, Canon Murane. After all, it had each year sent several of its pupils to the Seminary. As a nursery for priestly vocations, it seemed inconceivable that it not attract the goodwill of the clergy.

While in 1884 there was a falling off in the number of pupils enrolled, this was due neither to external pressures nor to a relaxation of zeal. But the building had aged, and, inadequately maintained, it had become an eyesore; furthermore, it was impossible to into the classrooms without a certain sense of loathing.

For Brother Acheul, the moment had come to leave — not to retire once for all; but for a period of time, he would be employed — as we have observed him — in the service of Brother Potamian and the project in Clapham and Tooting.

Men pass away; their works survive them. Brother Bartholomew took the intrepid pioneer's place at St. Joseph's Academy. During that same year, 1885, Bishop John Butt succeeded the late Bishop Coffin; he was a staunch friend, who proclaimed the good things achieved by the educational Institute. As we know, he was to do his utmost to prevent the ultimate dissolution of St. Joseph's College.

Another period began for the Brothers along the road to Kennington. They abandoned the decayed premises where life and work had become impossible, and they selected a residence at "Clarendon House" in 1886. It was not a change of neighborhood: the new address was 164 Kennington Road. But there was living space in a well-appointed house. And, accordingly, some resident pupils were admitted — about fifteen to start with. Families were reassured, and calamities were no longer to be feared. Settled on this site for long years, the school was there to consolidate its reputation under the Directors, Brothers Lawrence, Isidor and Marc.

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[433] Brother Irlide's letter, October 1879.

[434] See Vol. VI of the present work, pg. 232.

However, the memory of Brother Acheul would never be obliterated. Shortly after his death in Tooting, his former pupils met to perpetuate their gratitude in a very simple monument: they obtained the clergy's permission to place an artistic holy water font with their teacher's name on it in St. George's Cathedral. It was a novel and Christian witness: the faithful who blessed themselves as they entered Southwark's metropolitan church would see this memorial and think to pray for the deceased.[435].

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When Brother Aventine of Mary arrived at the College in Clapham on September 3, 1878 with the double responsibility of Visitor and Director, the Institute in England had only six schools; apart from the two institutions in London, the Brothers operated St. Thomas' grammar school on the Isle of Jersey, and they were to be found in three places in Liverpool, The Boys Refuge, Shaw Street and Hardy Street.[436]

In a previous volume we have described the beginnings of these various foundations. A few words will suffice to complete the history of the school in Jersey; in 1885 it was to cease being a part of the District of England and was attached to the District of Quimper. It had already become a semi-Breton operation on British territory.

Immigrants to St. Helier with their parents — agricultural workers with rather large families from the French Department of Côtes du Nord — joined island natives at the Brothers' school. And this was why, between 1877 and 1881, the French government granted a modest subsidy of 500 francs a year to the Religious teachers.[437]

The Superiors of the Congregation soon considered it standard practice to select the greater part of the teaching personnel from the Breton Communities. In 1879 they chose a Brother from Quimper, Brother Crescin of Jesus, as Director; in 1881 they sent Brother Camerin from Lambézellec. The decision, then, that was finally taken in 1885, seemed to have been a natural one.

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[435] Brother Dunstan Patrick's notes. — Battersby, Vol. II, pp. 92 et sq. — St. George's Cathedral in Southwark was destroyed by German bombs during World War II. The "Memorial" to Brother Acheul disappeared in this disaster

[436] St. Joseph's College archives, Register. — Cf. Vol. VI of the present work, pp. 239-242.

[437] The subsidy was suppressed by anticlerical politicians.

Nevertheless, since measures of this sort had nothing to do with political conditions nor the nationality of the population, we shall pursue the account of events to the very end. The Oblates of Mary Immaculate had taken over the parish as well as the entire Catholic Mission that had been organized on the island. The school was listed as one of their dependancies. In 1887 it was composed of five grades, three paying and two tuition-free. The new Director, Brother Crispin Joseph sought to complete certain physical improvements and to draw up an educational program of a somewhat more advanced character. He ran up against the Oblates' objections. The dispute persisted and the Brothers were preparing to withdraw. The Superior of the Missionaries became alarmed and inspired an appeal to Rue Oudino. On June 28, 1890 Father Rey, the French Provincial, signed an agreement with the M. H. Brother Joseph. The results were excellent, as the instruction and education of 200 pupils testified. This climate endured for six years, when another conflict arose: this was a question of money and a question of personnel. Father Le Vacon, who at the time was the head of Catholic organizations, stated that he could not pay the 4,000 francs salary that had been guaranteed to the teachers by the agreement of 1890. Meanwhile, he was contemplating the creation of country-schools that would be operated by one or two teachers. The first point violated the contract, while the second involved a misunderstanding of a fundamental rule of the Brothers' Institute. This time compromise proved unavailable, and the Brothers of Christian Instruction of Ploërmel replaced the former team: the Venerable John Marie de la Mennais, their founder, had specifically intended them for small towns and villages.[438] It was not until 1917 that the Christian Brothers reappeared in Jersey. Henceforth, they would come from French Brittany but remain subject to the Visitor of Quimper; until, quite recently, when the new "district of London" accepted jurisdiction over the Anglo-Norman island.

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The operations of the disciples of John Baptist de La Salle in Liverpool were more complex, encountered more numerous difficulties and were more quickly discontinued. To match powers with the enormity of the task, a careful study and an appropriate preparation was not superfluous. Improvisation from the very beginning gravely handicapped the best of intentions. Lessons are useful;accumulated experience preserves its value; and the future presents marvelous opportunities for recuperation.

[438] Archives of the District of Quimper.

Liverpool in the 19th century offered Christian charity a tremendous field of action. Out of the 210,000 persons who populated the city around 1830 there were many poor, especially in the network of noxious alleys around the Mersey docks. The situation worsened in truly fearful proportions as the Irish, driven from their native land by the famine of 1847, disembarked in Lancashire. In a single year there were 300,000 refugees. About 70,000 of them remained in Liverpool, in make-do shelters and indescribable squalor. Diseases spread through these people who lacked sufficient food and were without clothing and sanitation. In the end they were decimated by a ghastly epidemic, which also carried off among its victims a number of citizens, including brave priests who hovered at the bedside of the dying.

Faced with the surviving Irish, a duty forced its way upon the conscience of every human being and, in particular, upon the fallow-Catholics of these uprooted persons. The Roman Catholic Church had preserved a certain number of adherents in this region. Their numbers were suddenly swollen by the unprecedented immigration. But the new members brought nothing with them but material distress and moral disorder. It became a problem of saving both bodies and souls.

One of the chief workers in a magnificent undertaking was Father Nugent. Liverpool's gratitude has been translated in a quite significant way: a statue of the Catholic priest arises in St. John's Gardens, in the middle of the public square and surrounded by statues of other great men of the city. On the lofty pedestal are engraved the words that the priest flung out to the world: Save the children!

He was the "protector of orphans, the comforter of prisoners, the transformer of criminals, merciful toward fallen creatures, friend of the poor and the suffering, and a colossus of charity," as his biographer[439] described James Nugent.

An excellent portrait painted by Jebusa Shannon in 1896, on the occasion of the venerated priest's jubilee, shows him in the vestments of a Roman prelate; his face, framed in fine white hair, expresses kindness and nobleness of soul and energy; his mouth is stubborn, while his eyes express the sadness of so much sorrow met with in the course of a long life.

James' parents had come from Ireland well before the pathetic exodus. There were eight children, two of whom, James and John, entered the priesthood. The eldest was twenty-

[439] Canon Bennett, from whom we have borrowed most of our information, following articles published between April and August 1948 in The Cathedral Record, bulletin of the Catholic Archdiocese of Liverpool.

four years old when, on August 30, 1846, Bishop Brown, Vicar-apostolic for Lancashire, conferred the priesthood upon in the church of St. Nicholas. Rapidly appointed to serve in that parish, Father Nugent devoted himself originally to teaching. Catholics had, in this connection, found themselves at an obvious disadvantage; they lacked intellectual training as well as schools. Preparatory programs organized by the Jesuits in 1842 — which, later on grew to become St. Francis Xavier College — was nearly the only attempt to the credit of the Catholic community in Liverpool. In 1850 the efforts of the young priest at St. Nicholas' succeeded in founding a middle-school, placed under the sponsorship of Bishop Brown. The following year he invited four Sisters of Notre Dame from Belgium in order to entrust them with a tuition-free school in his parish. But higher education also concerned him; quite correctly, he believed that the Roman Catholic Church had to break out of its humiliating position vis à vis Anglicanism. "The Cathedral Institute", begun by Father Nugent, was inaugurated in October of 1853 by Cardinal Wiseman. Newman agreed to be listed among its lecturers.

These efforts, in which the rôle of the intelligence was central, did not appease the zeal of the apostle: — it was nothing but the prelude. The earlier opening of a popular school had already revealed the plan that was close to his heart; hardly had a few months passed than James, having steeled the uneasy minds of his Belgian nuns, asked for and got a much larger Community which assumed the operation of a girls' orphanage.

The great work had finally begun. All of suffering humanity had claims upon Nugent: those who stood accused in courts of law and women imprisoned by police action. But it was before all else and especially children who attracted his pity, his profound affection and who would suggest to him works of temporal and spiritual assistance, of protection and of restoration.

"Nobody's Children!" — youngsters without families, the abandoned, the poor defenceless ones who never knew their fathers and whose mothers were dead or who no longer took an interest in their offspring. They wandered about and they slept anywhere whatsoever; they earned their livlihood by begging or stealing, unless they found they had some more honorable talent for the humbler occupations or astute salesmanship. The ravages of the epidemic of 1848 had destroyed many Irish families that had attempted to rejuvenate themselves far from their native land. After that, the number of young vagrants increased in formidable proportions: Father Nugent put the almost unbelievable figure[440] Equipped only with ignorance and vice, we can imagine the reversion of most of

[440] Unbelievable for his contemporaries, since our own sad century, Bolshevism and war have turn out on the streets of cities and throughout the countryside children of both sexes in their hundreds of thousands.

them to the state of savagery and precocious depravity. The future seemed to hold nothing more for them than prison or, what was not very much better, the "workhouse" with its promiscuity, cheerless toil, and, for Catholics, the danger of apostasy. With the most poignant emotion one could repeat the *misereor super turbam*.

As a Christian he met himself in his brothers in distress. Like other philanthropists in the city, Father Nugent at first gathered a handful of "ragamuffins" in a classroom. But these these "ragged schools" were not the answer to the problem. Their pupils learned hardly anything at all and were not accustomed to regular work; come the afternoon, they scattered and were once again exposed to the perils and the temptations of the night.

Beginning in 1854 the campaign to save the children was intensified. It gave rise naturally to a variety of activities, all of which were connected with the priest's apostolate or, in fact, seemed like the direct consequence of his boldest undertakings.

With the assistance of the Catholic Club in 1864 he set up a night time asylum where soup was served before spreading mattresses and blankets for transients. It was a useful supplement to the "ragged schools", but still a palliative and not an effective cure. It was essential to snatch the young beggars and pickpockets from the flood, surrounded them with supervisors and teachers, undertake their moral education and the first stages of technical apprenticeship. This was the program of the Reformatory Schools that was approved by the legislative act of 1854.

Several Protestant Societies were quick to establish agencies of this sort. There was in operation in Liverpool a Reformatory under the control of non-Catholics that Wiseman thought well enough of to visit in 1858. A few years earlier, he himself had provided his fellow-Catholics with the first model of such an institution with his agglomerate at Hammersmith.

Father Nugent assumed it as a duty to imitate the Archbishop. A "Catholic Association" was formed, of which he became its secretary. It adopted as its goal the rescue of "boys". But it thought it would be able to be satisfied with a half-measure: along with the payment of 2,000 pounds sterling, it handed over 200 boys from Liverpool to the Cistercians of Mt. St. Bernard's. Serious misunderstandings arose, and, grieved by the monks' lack of success,[441] the Association withdrew its boys and demanded the repayment of its money.

The conclusion had been brought home to the "associates": they must become personally involved. It was then that, after a meeting conducted by Nugent, they asked

[441] On this subject, see Vol. VI of the present work, pg. 238.

the Admiralty for an old vessel, the Clarence, on which 150 boys (at the most) could be trained to the life of a sailor.[442]

Nevertheless, plans for the working out of a parallel project for youngsters who remained "on land" were not neglected. Contrary to the principle accepted by the Cistercions — and which was one of the causes of their failure — there were no plans to guide youths who had grown up the streets of a huge city into the agricultural professions. For children who were not prepared to get excited about life at sea, there was a choice to be made among many towns-peoples' trades. St. George's Industrial School, established on Derby Road, in an urban neighborhood, guided them depending on their aptitudes.

With the Clarence and St. George's came the first contacts between Father Nugent and the Brothers of the Christian Schools. The Register at the Industrial School remarks, for March 5, 1866, "The Rev. James Nugent introduced to the Committee the Director, Brother Imidonis and Brother Abban" who were studying the general functioning of the institution. Brother Abban then attended the meetings that were presided over variously by the priest or by Canon Walmsley or other "chairmen" appointed by the Bishop of Liverpool. Two years went by; the Brothers expressed their "dissatisfaction": they had been reduced to a subalternate rôle. The Committee declared that it appreciated their services. But rather than increasing their responsibilities, at the meeting of May 12, 1869, it gave Secretary Abraham total control over the foremen, pupils and the task of provisioning the school. In July the Brothers withdrew.[443]

Cooperation aboard the Clarence was equally brief. We need not return to the reasons which brought on the voiding of the contract.[444] However, it was not a question of a definitive separation between James Nugent and the Instituted that had been recently transplanted to England. St. Anne's Orphanage, the "Boys' Refuge" still demanded the Brothers' attention. They admitted two types of candidates: resident pupils who received

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[442] Canon Bennett gives August 14, 1864 as the date for the beginning of the Clarence project. — The number of 150 boys on board the Clarence was rarely reached, he says.

[443] Archives of the Archbishopric of Liverpool, St. George's Boys Industrial School, Minute Book (2 Volume) and Secretary's Report.

[444] See Vol. VI of the present work, pg. 242. The Clarence project survived but not without misadventures. In January of 1884 the pupils purposefully set fire to the vessel, which was a total loss. A second Clarence, outfitted in 1885, suffered the same fate in 1899.

and Christian education and instruction similar to that provided in the "Industrial School"; in the second place there were the vagrants assisted by the "Providence Association" — a shifting, changing mass which was, consequently extremely difficult to get a hold of and teach. There was no end to the temptations to discouragement. The Brothers sought to make themselves useful, and, in brief, they succeeded. A report by Henry Roger, "His Majesty's inspector" for this sort of institution, was drawn up in 1882 in the most generous language: "I am happy to observe that the school is making progress. The quarters and their maintenance leave a great deal to be desired; but in what has to do with the boys, I acknowledge with pleasure that I have never found them in so good physical and moral condition.[445]

These results reflect on the creditable efforts both of the sponsor and his associates. Unfortunately, the relations between them became strained. Father Nugent, no matter how virtuous, was — it seemed — authoritarian and irritating. Brother Aventine of Mary, in a letter sent to Brother Irlide on March 31, 1882, regarded him as an "odd priest."[446]Although enterprising and generous, the Irishman had the weaknesses of his best qualities: — careless of detail and indifferent to temporal problems. Inspector Rogers had been quick to note the distressing state and the poor maintenance of the school property. After his canonical visit to the Community, Brother Aventine said that "the finances were pitiful" and that the people employed in the institution radiated wretchedness. Perhaps a sort of mutual misunderstanding enters into such criticism; after all there were two temperaments, two personalities, two different nationalities involved here. It would not have been the first time that two great individuals, equally determined to procure God's glory and the good of one's neighbors failed to agree. There was no question but what the Brothers found themselves in a false position, and as of the year 1882, their immediate Superior wanted to withdraw them from such a situation. "They are going to part company with you on the 1st of August," he indicated to Father Nugent.[447] However, a postponement was agreed to and then extended. The charitable work was well worth suffering for patiently and making the effort to save it. It was not until 1885 that the limit of exasperation and of disappointing drudgery appeared to have been reached. The M. H. Brother Joseph wrote Bishop Bernard O'Reilly of Liverpool:

My Council finds itself under the painful necessity of withdrawing the Brothers responsible for operating St. Anne's Refuge. They will have to be free to leave by March

[445] Cited by Battersby Vol. II, pg. 89.

[446] Motherhouse archives, ID q5.

[447] Motherhouse archives, ID q5, Brother Aventine's note of May 1, 1882.

31, 1886 at the very latest…Your Excellency, who has on several occasions been kept informed of the situation involving our Brothers in the institution in question, will not be surprized at the decision that has just been reached.[448]

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At the end of this letter the Superior-general told the prelate of his regrets that none of his Brothers remained in the diocese of Liverpool. Actually, James Nugent's orphanage was the last foothold of the Institute on the banks of the Mersey. On orders from the Regime, disturbing withdrawals had already taken place. The Brothers had left the parochial schools.

Nevertheless, they had given themselves wholeheartedly to this work which was so conformed to the wishes of the Founder. They had been barely settled into London in 1855 when, under the auspices of the Redemptorists, they were operating the elementary grades at Clapham. In 1861 they agreed to teach in St. Mary's school in Wolverhampton; and their school in Jersey was of the same type. But on British soil, as primary school teachers, they had scarcely ever experienced anything but disappointment. And it made no difference that, in order to make it easier for them to conform to the laws of the kingdom, the Holy See allowed them to accept tuition from their pupils in order to cover the expenses "for premises and school supplies."[449] Expenses had exceeded the financial means of pastors as well as of sponsors and supporters of the schools. On the other hand, given the foreign origins of most of the Brothers, the obtaining of diplomas that might establish the reputation of their schools and stabilize the financial situation required too demanding a preparation.

In spite of obstacles, the Congregation meant to remain prepared to respond to calls from the Catholic pastors who wanted to spread popular, Christian education. The group of Brothers at Liverpool seemed to offer some possibilities along these lines, since they had placed several of their members at the disposition of the Jesuits, and they operated a

[448] Motherhouse archives, ID q5, undated minutes. — The building in which the Refuge operated has been in our own times an industrial headquarters. At the base of the pediment can still be made out the words: Boys Refuge and Night School.

[449] Rescript dated October 6, 1861 issued by the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda. — Battersby, Vol. II, pp. 242-243. — It wasn't until the English legislation of 1902 that teachers' salaries were covered by the Board of Education.

primary grade annexed to St. Francis Xavier College in a sector of the parish of the same name.[450]

Thus, in 1876, the M. H. Brother Irlide welcomed with noticeable approval the suggestions from Brother Tertulian, at the time Director of the "Boys' Refuge". On April 6 the following lines were address to Bishop O'Reilly: "Brother Tertulian has written me that there is a possibility that the schools in Liverpool might be entrusted to us. I would not ask anything better than to cooperate...with such a timely development occurring in England for the renewal of the Catholic Church."[451] Such a lofty cause won the immediate adherence of the highest Superior. The "scarcity of candidates" of which he nevertheless complained, did not, in his enthusiastic optimism, appear to him to be a sufficient motive for slowing the pace.

Two Brothers were sent as an advanced-guard. They were to work at first under the direction of a local teacher, a layman who operated St. Patrick's school. Every evening they returned to their rooms in the residence at the Refuge. Having acquired familiarity with British education, they obtained their teaching credential.[452]They then believed that the time had come to take on some sufficiently important activity.

Brother Noah was charged with this mission. Born in Montreal in 1845, Francis Curran entered the Canadian District's Novitiate when he was about fourteen years of age. After successful educational efforts in his native land, he was given orders to go to the United States where he taught successively in Rochester, New York and Baltimore; he had achieved such a brilliant reputation that his Superiors appointed him President of La Salle College, Philadelphia in 1872.[453] There he inspired a lively interest in literary studies and organized oratorical contests.[454] At thirty years of age and the beginning of a promising maturity, he left for England.

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[450] Battersby, Vol. II, pg. 92.

[451] Motherhouse archives, ID q5.

[452] Brother Noah's Obituary, 1897.

[453] Brother Angelus Gabriel, The Christian Brothers in the United States, pg. 338.

[454] Ibid. , pg. 412.

Quickly certified, in a building situated on Shaw Street he set up a new Community distinct from the one at the orphanage. On April 16, 1877 the first group of pupils was entrusted by the diocese to the Brothers. Located along side St. Joseph's Church, it was called Doctor Goss Memorial in commemoration of the late Bishop and once Coadjutor who subsequently succeeded Bishop Brown. Brother Noah became the "Head Master" while, at the same time, directing the Community on Shaw Street. Very early on the Brothers living together in this house would, each morning, assemble in several teams in order to go to their posts, not only at Dr. Goss, but other foundations throughout the neighborhood and the city.

On November 21, 1878 Brother Aventine wrote to the Superior-general the following report of a visitation: "The house on Shaw Street includes seven Brothers: a Director, Brother Noah, who also teaches; a sub-Director who is especially responsible for physical appointments; the other five are involved with Brother Noah in three schools in Liverpool."

The following paragraph is of special interest: In this same Community there is a sort of school that prepares for Normal School: it is composed of seventeen youths of fourteen years of age, all residents at the expense of the government and of the English Catholic Association...Every day these student-teachers are employed as monitors in the schools operated by our Brothers... Apart from this task, i.e., between 6:00 and 8:00 a.m. in and 5:00 and 8:30 p.m. they receive the sort of instruction they will need to pass the annual compulsory examinations. It is a project that has the complete support of the hierarchy and which, amplified and well-guided, may become for us the origin of sincere vocations.[455]

The student-teacher program in England dates from 1846. It was adroitly calibrated to that of the Normal Schools, the first of which was opened in 1838. Under the direction of the local teachers, youths received a sort of professional training and advanced intellectual formation prior to taking the entrance examination at one of the institutions that had been founded for future teachers in elementary education.

An informational leaflet issued by the Brothers in Liverpool at a period that is surely later than Brother Aventine's report, supplies the following details: "We have eighteen student-teachers with whom we are in general quite satisfied. They must be fourteen years old when they are admitted and remain with us for four years. They take annual

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[455] Motherhouse Archives, q5.

examinations. If they fail, they must remain an additional year or they are dismissed. At the end of the fourth year. At the end of the end of the fourth year they apply for admission to the Hammersmith Normal School," [St. Mary's Training College, house of studies for Catholic teachers].[456]

In training these young people the English Brothers were fulfilling, in a modest but nevertheless adequate way, one of the great ideas of their Founder; they, too, were bringing together and teaching "country teachers", laymen inspired by the Christian spirit and infused with the methods of their Religious educators and intended to take their places in whatever localities, urban or rural, that the Brothers could not supply. This was a prelude to what would become an extremely important contribution of the District of Great Britain and Ireland: —teaching in fully qualified Normal Schools for the elementary level of education.

It is quite apparent that this recruitment of student-teachers did not begin until after Brother Noah's arrival. Indeed, the register at St. Joseph's College in Clapham, summarizing the situation of schools on British soil at the end of 1878, notes that "a class of student-teachers has just been started at the school on Shaw Street" in Liverpool.

According to the same source, a second Community was residing at the time "in a building on Hardy Street" and during the last days of December that group was combined with the one on Shaw Street. Beginning at that time all the Brothers involved in the elementary parochial schools made up the "Sacred Heart" Community; "Sacred Heart House" was the residence of fifteen Brothers: — "five professed, three with triennial vows, two with annual vows and five without vows", declares the informational leaflet that was sent to Rue Oudinot.[457] There were thirteen Brothers employed in six schools of which, in the end, the Congregation assumed the operation. Besides the very first one to open (Dr. Goss), there was St. Brigid's (since February 1878), St. Vincent's, St. Nicholas' and St. John's (since the following April) and Mt. Carmel (since August of the same year).[458]

[456] Ibid., dateless.

[457] Motherhouse Archives, q5, document cited.

[458] Motherhouse Archives, q5, Report, June 1882.

Six of the teachers were certified and their annual salary came to 120 pounds sterling; the others had to make do with thirty pounds.[459]But the budgeted income was increased by a number of public subsidies. The government granted four shillings for each child attending school; and added to this, there were various incentive "grants": a shilling per pupil if the government Inspector was satisfied with the organization and discipline in a school; two shillings for grammar and two for geography, provided that an Inspector asked questions on these subjects and the responses were acceptable. With submission to questioning of the same sort in reading, writing and arithmetic came "grants" of three shillings per pupil and depending on the nature of the instruction, provided the candidate questioned had fulfilled at least 125 days of regular class attendance. Finally, there were four shillings for every prize won by the school which entered "fourth, fifth and sixth grade boys" to be questioned by official representatives in two of the following specialties: literature, mathematics, Latin, French, German and physics.[460]

It is highly improbable that the schools in Liverpool earned these latter subsidies. They served an extremely unstable public. Thus the author of a note regarding the Sacred Heart Community observes: "Our pupils frequently miss class: a quarter of them is absent every day."[461]Most of them were the sons of poor Irish parents, ill-prepared for the discipline of life at school, of an independent and vagrant turn of mind or else forced to stay home for the lack of something suitable to wear.

We can imagine what their teachers were up against. From the biography of one of them, Brother Aloysius John, himself an Irishman, born in Dusternan, in the diocese of Kilmore, we take the following passage:

The life of a Brother in Liverpool was harsh. Brother Aloysius was one of a small group of herioic pioneers who spent themselves in the Christian education of children whose families had immigrated from Irland to to the teeming cities of England. Teachers and schools were few and salaries were inadequate. In narrow, badly lighted quarters the Brothers summoned all their zeal to save Catholic souls among the children of their own people.[462]

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[459] Battersby, Vol. II, pp. 88 et sq.

[460] Motherhouse Archives, q5, document cited, pp. 250-251.

[461] Motherhouse Archives, ID q5, document cited.

[462] Obituary, 1910.

Everything conspired to complicate the task. Not only the school environment, but the makeshift character of the teaching personnel, the insufficient number of teachers who were gentuinely qualified, the daily scattering of the Brothers to neighborhoods rather distant one from the other and, as a consequence, a certain relaxation of Community life, a relative absence of spiritual coherence and educational cooperation.

Further, and unfortunately, grounds for misunderstanding had arisen on the part of the diocesan hierarchy. Brother Aventine, Visitor, wishing to found a Novitiate in 1879 in the vicinity of the Liverpool schools, was unable secure acceptable conditions from the Bishop's office; and the M. H. Brother Irlide, believing that neither the Congregation's legitimate autonomy nor the future of the foundation were assured, broke off negotiations. At about the same time Father John Henry Fisher, Vicar-general, sought the services in Liverpool of Brother Potamian, whom he wanted to make professor of mathematics at the Major Seminary; this violation of the Brothers' Rule was altogether too clear-cut for the Superior-general to fail to stamp it with a flat refusal.[463]

The project, then, was pursued in a climate of uneasiness. Its annoying deficiencies were more striking than its undeniable merits. Doubtless, it is in this light that we must interpret the harsh reflection made upon enterprize by the future Superior of the Institute, Brother Joseph in July of 1881. After a visit to the British Isles, of which, as Assistant, he had the charge, he wrote: "In Liverpool they are suffering for the want of competent members, but especially from the lack of a Religious spirit in the basic organization. Brother Noah is intelligent, active and dedicated; but his health is poor, which supplies him with reasons or pretexts for numerous irregularities. And, then, proccupied with worldly matters, he has sometimes sacrificed the essential for the accidental. Since the Brothers study until ten, eleven o'clock at night, they do not get up in the morning for religious exercises. True, the need to have certificates has provided excuses".

As elsewhere, too much had been undertaken and somewhat at random. "With a haste that the Bishop disaproves and regrets, we have become burdened with six schools." The classes, populated with a hundred pupils and more, required the extensive use of monitors; for the rest, mutual instruction, "the Lancaster system", was widely practiced in the English schools; but, observed Brother Joseph, our personnel is not "familiar with that system" and was apparently inferior to the lay teachers. "Many of the pastors were dissatisfied: they feared a reduction of State subsidies."[464]

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[463] Battersby, Vol. II, pp. 93-95.

[464] Motherhouse Archives, ID q5.

The Assistant did not think that the situation was irremediable. It was "unsubdued territory", he said, without denying that progress had been made. While Brother Noah had difficulty handling all his obligations, he had shown that he was an excellent teacher; the public Inspectors praised his running of the Dr. Goss School. But because he did not enjoy good health, it would be better to determine upon a change of assignments for him. He left for France, and subsequently became a professor of English literature at Manhattan College in New York. Racked by physical suffering, he was forced to leave teaching in 1886 and turn his attention to the writing of a variety of books. He died in 1897 at the age of fifty-two.[465]

His successor in Liverpool was a Frenchman, Brother Lothaire, a longtime missionary in the Far East, who knew English and had a longstanding experience with the country and its people. After examining his new responsibilities, the Director of the Sacred Heart Community spoke pessimistically. He wrote to Brother Irlide on April 1, 1882: All things closely weighed, our position is far from improving. At the head of our six schools there are three English "Managers" and three Irish "Managers";[466]. the first three have emphatically threatened to replace us with certified lay-teachers. The Bishop and Msgr. Fisher have clearly suggested that we have shouldered more than we can do and that if the "Managers" fire us, the clergy will be in no position to force the latter to keep us... Neither the clergy nor the people are devoted to us...

Inquiring into the reasons for this indifference, Brother Lothaire pointed to the dismal results obtained, the endless transfer of teachers, and a certain amount of incompetence and negligence. One would have to go back to the initial error: — incomplete Religious and professional formation. "Most of the Brothers now teaching had practically no Novitiate...Nobody has taught them how to conduct classes; and they have fallen into habits from which it will be impossible to rid them except over a long period of time." And these insular young men, while revolting — in the words of the author — against "French ideas" were in danger of turning their backs on Obedience as well as on tried-and-true methods.

In any case, the "student-teachers" represented some sort of consolation, some hope? Professionally, perhaps. But the Institute must not count on any great number of them

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[465] Brother Angleus Gabriel, op. cit., pp. 338-339.

[466] I.e., administrators

becoming Novices. Brother Lothaire put it bluntly: “They’ve gotten too good a look at the members of the Community.”[467]

There then arose the question of a complete pull-out from Liverpool. When it was on the point of being resolved in 1882 it was “put on hold”, or rather, it was subjected to mature reflection. It assumed urgent dimensions during the period in which negotiations had been begun with the Redemptorists in Clapham that were tending, after a quarter of a century, toward the reunification of the Brothers in the classrooms of the parish in London. Brother Aventine informed the Superior-general of the plan: “By closing Liverpool,” he wrote on May 3, 1884, “we shall without difficulty put together the required number of teachers.”[468]

Around him there were those who so clearly anticipated the outcome of the steps being taken that, two days earlier, the following note had been entered into the St. Joseph’s College register: “Our departure from Liverpool has been decided.”[469] Indeed, by return mail, Brother Irlide ordered the immediately effective conclusion: that the Bishop and the “Managers” in Liverpool be informed of the closing of the Brothers’ CommunityAnd although the idea of a new agreement with the priests in Clapham seemed to have been quickly rejected, the decision arrived at concerning the six schools in the Northwest was final.

[470]Once the Brothers had left both the parochial schools and St. Anne’s Orphanage, they did not return to Liverpool until 1925. Since that date St. Elizabeth’s School, Breckfied Road South, has been in operation. It is now a secondary school, a Grammar School, dedicated to “La Salle.”

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[467] Motherhouse Archives, q5.

[468] Motherhouse Archives, q5.

[469] St. Joseph’s College archives.

[470] .[470]File ID q6, letter dated May 4, 1884.

There was a lot of sorrow mingled with the fog and the black dust of Liverpool. The Institute, however, could be proud of the fact that it had come to the aid of the most disinherited of peoples, of having contributed to "saving" the children in the England of the 19th century, where the worst social inequality, indigence, the exploitation of the weak, the selfishness of the rich, had called upon every assistance of Christian charity as well as that of the legislator. However modest and imperfect may have been the work of the Religious called by Father Nugent, it had nonetheless been noticed. In the local setback, outside spectators and even more competent judges recognized the part played by circumstances and by human contingencies. The reputation of the Congregation of St. John Baptist de La Salle was too widespread throughout the world to be brought to halt within the frontiers of Great Britain. Many Catholic communities had been solliciting the cooperation of the Brothers during Brother Irlide's generalate: Bristol in 1878, Halifax and Worcester in 1880, Cardiff in 1881, and Preston in 1882.[471] The London Exposition of 1884,[472] as we have seen, attracted a great deal of attention to the work of pupils and a great deal of deal of interest in the teachers of the Institute.

he achievements of these educators in their professional schools and in their institutions of moral reform was of the sort particularly to appeal to public opinion. As early as 1863 the Brothers might have taken over the Reformatory School of Mt. St. Bernard, if they had been able to send the authorities in the Education Department personnel of British nationality to fulfill this mission.[473] Their service on behalf of the youths on St. Anne's Street earned the commendation of the Inspector Henry Rogers,[474] who had visited other institutions of the same type in the region. It can be considered as certain that his decisions determined the future: soon a broad and beautiful career was to open up to the Brothers, tutors to abandoned, vagrant and wayward children.

In 1885 Bishop Herbert Vaughan of Salford, the city surrounded by Manchester, which had been selected a considerable time earlier to be the seat of a Roman Catholic diocese. He spoke quite publically of his admiration for the Institute: "No Order, no Religious Society in the Church," he wrote, "has such experience with the education to be given to the children of the poor. No one has conducted this ministry to such a height of success."[475] Bishop Vaughan prompted the visit to Manchester of Brother Aventine of

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[471] Battersby, Vol. II, pg. 85.

[472] See above, pp. 224-226.

[473] See Vol. VI of the present work, pg. 239.

[474] See above, pg. 247.

[475] Quoted by Battersby, Vol. II, pg. 99.

Mary and of the man who, presently, would guide the District, Brother Clementian: I am asking you, Brothers, to assume control of my Industrial School. I wanted to deal with an Institute whose reputation for dedication and skill is world-wide…I throw open to you the gates of my diocese; and my keenest desire is that you settle down in it securely.[476]

The Superior-general, to whom the Visitor reported this interview, commissioned one of his Assistants to examine the Bishop's proposals thoroughly. The report, apparently written by Brother Aimarus, was ready on October 13, 1885.

With consummate clarity it analyzed the current situation: "At every point we have we have failed in Liverpool," the report stated candidly. After the total disappearance of our schools, "there remains nothing but the tiny industrial "Refuge" that survives in wretched conditions." It is impossible to contemplate any improvement; and if an effort were made to open a school of our own in the city, there would be no subsidies.

Bishop Vaughan's offer came at a strategic moment. It was particularly reassuring; it showed that impartial minds, like that of the government Inspector, perceived the good that can be achieved by intelligent and selfless zeal.

The Bishop of Salford wished to cede to the Brothers' Institute the industrial school property which, up to then, had been included among diocesan assets. Now, this institution had been regarded as "one of the best in England". It comprised 400 children, and it received State and County Council subsidies. The Brothers would have financial control as well as the occupancy of whatever posts were then filled by laymen.

The basic advantages of the project were summarized as follows: By accepting Manchester we leave Liverpool honorably, since we shall be transferring our personnel from the Refuge to a much more important institution. Father Nugent will not be able to say that he has gotten rid of incompetent men.

Further, the Institute would be placing itself under powerful protection and acquire a sort of British citizenship. "Bishop Vaughan is English and is recognized as a Catholic leader. It appears that when an English Cardinal was being creating, there was

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[476] Motherhouse Archives, q5, Brother Aventine's letter to M. H. brother Joseph, September 26, 1895.

considerable hesitation in Rome between himself and Dr. Manning." It is a very valuable thing to be invited on the initiative of such a prelate into his own diocese.[477]

The Regime was persuaded. There was a friendly exchange of letters between Brother Joseph and the Bishop, which ended with a contract on March 17, 1886: the Superior and three of his Assistants acquired (in their legal names, but, actually, as heads of the Institute) St. Joseph's industrial school.

At this time the premises in Liverpool must not have retained any Brothers, since as early as the preceding January 3rd a Community of five Brothers had been set up in Manchester: it was composed of Brothers Adonis Thomas, Director, and Brothers Cronan Paul, Didymus Peter, Albert Andrew and Athanasius of Jesus.[478]

They inherited a project that was at the height of its development. Its founder had left a few months earlier to go as a missionary to America, in far off Nebraska. This was the curious and fascinating figure, "Father Quick", the "Carpenter-priest". He had followed the trade of his father, a master-carpenter in Blackburn. His parents, who had been active Christians, had given him an example of faith and charity; their pastor, Father Meancy, found them to be experienced collaborators, "vicars" at his St. Anne's Mission. Having entered the priesthood, Thomas Quick became intensely interested in abandoned children. When he was about thirty years of age, in 1863, he became involved with Mt. St. Bernard's as Manager.

Eight years later we find him in charge of "the Industrial Schools of the diocese of Salford, on the recommendation of several 'gentlemen' both lay and ecclesiastical."[479] He himself has told the story of the incident that launched him into his work: a woman on her deathbed pleaded with him to take care of the three children she was leaving orphaned. "Father, good Father," she murmured, "for the love of God, do not refuse. God will assist you. Tell me you will take them, and I will die in peace." She died, and Father Quick had three children on his hands "in a pathetic hovel that was as poor as the stable in

[477] Motherhouse Archives, q5.

[478] Motherhouse Archives, q5.

[479] Archives of St. Joseph's Boys' School, Nantwich, letter dated February 23, 1871, from the diocesan offices of Salford.

Bethlehem." [480] As quickly as he could the big-hearted priest took his charges to better quarters. His choice hit upon a building situated in Longsight, a Manchester neighborhood. It was a convent that its occupants, the Poor Clares, did not intend to keep; and they were delighted to be able to yield the site for a charitable project. Chapel, cloister, cells, all of them bore the Franciscan character, extreme simplicity, not much on looks, and quite uncomfortable. But the surrounding area would, later on, facilitate expansion.

Meanwhile Father Quick drew up plans to purchase the site. And in January of 1874 he was in London meeting with a government Inspector concerning the future of the institution.[481] The Poor Claires were leaving in May. A few weeks passed by; the school was in operation, and the Bishop's representative had paid a visit.

The founder, however, was left on his own to guarantee the institution's future. He begged, he remodelled and he built. He had not forgotten his earlier apprenticeship, and so, he labored at his own building site, at once architect, boss and worker. He became a public figure in this great city where people respected initiative and where they followed intently any undertaking that demanded boldness and perseverance. The school in Longsight, which was filled with boys gathered from practically everywhere, was called familiarly "the Father Quick House."[482]

Inspector Rogers, in his first report dated May 31, 1872 observed that the institution had already taken shape, that order was beginning to reign, and that everything presaged well for a genuine equilibrium in the near future.[483]

Pupils were divided into two large groups: "Juniors" and "Seniors"; the younger ones whose reform was, as a rule, easier, were given an elementary education and set to a variety of manual trades. The older ones were more decisively oriented toward professions which answered to their aptitudes. Some of them were sent into workshops

[480] Taken from Thomas Quick's biography by Father Robert Smith in The Josephian, bulletin of the Nantwich school, October, 1908.

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[481] Nantwich archives, Diary

[482] The Josephian for May-June, 1911.

[483] Nantwich archives, Visitors' Book.

or manufactures, but not without supervision or control. And each evening, they returned to Longsight where together they enjoyed the benefits of "home".

Of the 400 boys and youths assembled at St. Joseph's in March of 1885, 157 of them were natives of Manchester, eighty-nine were from Salford, and forty-three from Blackburn[484] The vast majority of them were city-dwellers. There was unruliness; many of them were strong-headed; and some of them were rebellious and some vicious. When Father Quirk, under the influence of a new call, left his project and his native land, another priest, Father O'Riordon, attempted to replace him.[485] Succession was not without incident: a crew of this sort is not handled by just anybody; and in periods of transition unruliness has free play. The Brothers saw it when they arrived.

They were welcomed with suspicion, with feelings of downright hostility. Obviously, the children at Longsight were saddened by the departure of Father Quirk; and, with the appearance of the new teachers, they steeled themselves. they sought to intimidate and discourage them. Their evil instincts became apparent: such a burdensome heredity weighed upon most of these poor boys, the sons of alcoholics, thieves and perverted parents! The Brothers practiced patience and firmness; and they found an ally in Father Bernard Vaughan. This famous Jesuit, brother of the Bishop of Salford, had come to preach a retreat to the youngsters in the Industrial School; he won their hearts, converted souls and cleared their consciences. The death of one of the youths who, notoriously guilty, refused to go to Confession in his last moments, terrified his comrades.[486]. Henceforth, there were fewer intractable youngsters.

Nevertheless, the first year of the new administration was rather painful. Total pacification did not occur until 1887 under Brother Anthony, the Director who set the school on the course that it was to follow ever after. He organized a series of shops in which the boys were given the most careful professional training: tailoring, shoemaking, wood sculpture, carpentry, tinwork, masonry, gardening, laundering, and knitting were among the ten or so trades among which "Juniors" and "Seniors" were divided.[487] One of

[484] Ibid., Diary, March 31, 1885.

[485] Nantwich archives, Diary, December, 1895.

[486] Battersby, Vol. II, pp. 99-102, following an article by Brother clarke, published in the journal The Month, for August, 1893

[487] Nevertheless, somewhat fewer in number than in the past: 164 "Seniors" and 100 "Juniors" in May of 1887 (Nantwich archives, Visitors' Book.)

the most important was the bakery which produced, both for local consumption and for sale, 4,000 loaves a week.

Good food, games in the open air and on spacious grounds and swimming in the pool strengthened bodies. Three orchestras and theatrical presentations introduced the mind and the senses to the pleasures associated with the arts. And as for religious and moral instruction there can be no doubt that they occupied the place provided for them in Brother Anthony's programs. He enjoyed a tremendous prestige and a powerful influence over both his associates as well as his pupils. Loved, active and completely devoid of timidity and routine, he deserved to be called "the second founder of St. Joseph's School."[488]

He had scarcely taken over his post than changes were observed. "Progress; much better organization,"noted the Inspector in May of 1887.[489] And the year following: "The boys are showing a fine spirit, cheerfulness. An excellent system of support is being practiced; it tends measurably to diminish recourse to corporal punishment. Great care is given to education; general appearance is really remarkable."[490]

The level of praise continue to mount: "Everywhere, there is order, finished work and vigorous good health," according to the observations of May 9th, 1889. "I visited the shops," wrote Mr. Rogers; "and I took particular note of the drawing class and the wood sculpture shop. Tailor, shoemaking and tinworking are apprenticeships that are surrounded with no less concern."[491]

In 1892 Brother Anthony had to leave Manchester in order to become Visitor of the District of England-Ireland.[492]

The separation, of course, took something out of him. But from the observation posts where the confidence of the Superiors had placed him, he was in a position from a distance to see his revered school expanding. Two Directors, in particular, prior to 1904

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[488] The Josephian for May-June 1911. — Battersby, Vol. II, pp. 103-104.

[489] Nantwich archives, Visitors' Book.

[490] Quoted by Battersby, Vol. II, pg. 105.

[491] Motherhouse archives, q5.

[492] He died in December of 1908 in Dublin.

were to continue the fruitful labors of Father Thomas Quick and his Lasallian successor: Brother Joseph, who immediately thereafter went to the United States as Director of St. Michael's College, Santa Fe; and Brother Justian, the distinguished American Brother, and organizer of extraordinary range,[493] for whom a few months were enough to leave an enduring mark on St. Joseph's Industrial school.[494]

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The rôle of the Brothers in institutions of moral reeducation and professional instruction was more and more appreciated by the civil and religious authorities in England. In this country it guaranteed the Institute an extremely sound poisition, a stability and a prosperity which, in the beginning, had been painfully lacking. In this way there would be employed in a special way educational qualities which were more variously utilized on the European Continent. It is important to point out that, after the disappearance of the Sacred Heart Community in Liverpool in 1884, the Brothers no longer operated on English soil the primary schools of the type that we have come to recognize in France and Belgium. This state of affairs was to last for sixteen years, until the final months of the 19th century.

St. Mary's School, Bradford, was to repair the breach in August of 1900. Father Thomas Simpson had asked for the teaching Religious for his parochial school, a large institution of 300 pupils, that had been previously conducted by laymen. When the Brothers agreed to operate the school, it was necessary to continue charging tuition, because without this addition, the voluntary gifts of Catholics would be inadequate to guarantee an enduring operation.[495]

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[493] For Brother Justian, see the Index to Vol. VI of the present work.

[494] Nantwich archives, and The Josephian for May-June 1911. Since 1939 the school has departed the old buildings in Longsight to settle in Nantwich, in the green countryside of Cheshire; 150 boys ranging in age from twelve to fifteen years are housed in the most modern fashion and, under the Brothers' guidance, receive both a general and technical education. Another Reform school — intended for "Seniors" — operates in Mortimer, near Reading (in Berks County).

[495] It was not until 1902 that, the new Education Act taking effect, the salaries of the Brothers in Bradford were paid out of public funds. At that time the school came under the control of the Board of Education. It disappeared in 1945, when the entire personnel of the Institute in England

Here, too, the technical side was not neglected. One of the Brothers supervised a center of manual skills, a carpentry-cabinet making shop that youths frequented over a three-year period, while taking theoretical courses, in order to train to be masters of their trade.

Further, the Brothers agreed, for a while, to open "evening classes" for the advantage of eighty young persons who, twice a week during the winter months, took lessons in English, French, drawing and steno-typewriting skills.

As early as 1900 the new administration inaugurated a Club for former pupils: De La Salle Old Boys' Club started — according to the "House History" — "in order to shelter youths from bad company, give them a taste for good reading, encourage them to live a virtuous life and to receive the Sacraments."[496]

These were the projects of St. John Baptist de La Salle's Congregation during the first half-century of life on the banks of the Thames and in the northern counties. During this period, the Catholics of the country had, under their own initiative and with their own financial resources, extended the scope of their intellectual and educational activities.[497] The Brothers were enlisted in this collective task. Not without difficulty, not without suffering and disappointment, as one could do no more than concur; but not without effort and not without definitively affirmed success. A new era was approaching, which dated from the moment the French Brothers, forced into exile by legal persecution, crossed the Channel.[498]They would supply English colleges with experienced teams; and they were able to merge fraternally with their British counterparts. And from this combination of forces there resulted not only a powerful educational expansion but a more profound religious influence. Vocations were born and would remain strong in circles in which the Institute of earlier times made scarcely any recruits.

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was working either in secondary schools, Normal Schools or "Industrial Schools." — Cf. Battersby, Vol. II, pp. 165 et sq.

[496] Motherhouse archives, History of no. 14 Southey Place, Bradford. Quoted by Battersby, Vol. II, pg. 167.

[497] Cf. Battersby, Vol. II, pg. 220.

[498] Ibid., pg. 173.

To attract a sufficient number of English-speaking Brothers who were also citizens of the kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland was the problem that had to be faced since the founding of the District and, up to 1880, had not been completely resolved. The Visitor, Brother Ligouri, had opened a Novitiate on the Clapham estate;[499] but he was not counting on Anglo-Saxons to fill it; actually, in spite of the rapid growth of Catholic population and in spite of the quantity and quality of conversions, the Brothers' austere and obscure dedication, with rare exceptions, did not inspire their pupils to imitate them; and to its exacting prescriptions the Rule closed the door to the priesthood — a requirement that appeared unacceptable to many people.

Thus, Brother Ligouri stated from the outset that only Ireland would provide the soil for vocations. Brothers of Irish origins had already populated institutions in Canada and the United States, distinguishing themselves for their intelligence and their zeal. Some of these were the sons of families that had immigrated to America; while others were brought to Novitiates across the Atlantic by recruiters who had scoured Leinster, Munster and Connaught. Youths with zealous hearts and an intensely lively faith were carried away by the mission of educator and witness for the Church in the New World; accustomed to privation and the harsh life of the Irish peasant, they did not shrink from the prospects of poverty, work and mortification. Their parents parted company with them with a resignation born of destitution and with a courage inspired by faith.

As for the island's clergy, its apostolic ideals involved it in the task of counselling and supporting the Institute's representatives. The episcopacy provided the latter with the necessary authorization to visit priests' residences and parishes and make contact with school teachers. A letter sent by the Regime on June 8, 1864 to Dr. Cullen, Archbishop of Dublin reveals the character of the relations that existed between the Irish hierarchy and the Brothers of the Christian Schools: Your Excellency, our Brother Urban, from New York, has spoken to us of the very kind welcome which you accorded him during his recent visit to Dublin. He told us of your paternal solicitude, your visits — in his company — to schools and colleges and the encouragement you have given young people to influence many of them to leave their native land and to go to distant places to instruct souls and tell them about the Divine Saviour. In the name of the Superior-general, temporarily absent from Rue Oudinot, one of the Assistants — who signed the letter — thanked the Archbishop.[500]

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[499] See Vol. VI of the present work, pp. 243-244.

[500] Motherhouse Archives, LI h2.

We can understand how supportive were the disciples of De La Salle of this Celtic nation which, persecuted, depleted, starved out, had remained heroically devoted to its ancestral faith. The Irish, expropriated by Cromwell and reduced to the condition of day-laborers on their patrimonial soil had experienced social servitude at the same time as the were subjected to political tyranny and religious intolerance. They were forced to pay the salaries of Anglican clergymen into whose hands had fallen the ancient and beautiful sanctuaries — those in any case that the wreckers had spared. For three centuries the Mass could be celebrated only in silence and gloom and, indeed, in secret hiding places. Queen Elizabeth and the Stuart kings had condemned priests and the dignitaries of the Catholic Church to death: among these martyrs was the famous Blessed Oliver Plunkett, Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of Ireland, who was hanged at Tyburn in 1682.

The victims had not bowed before the hangman. Between 1823 and 1848 Europe — and especially France — had been fascinated by the efforts of Daniel O'Connell in a mighty struggle wresting the right, as a Catholic, to sit in the House of Commons, and then as the magnificent, indomitable popular orator, rallying his countrymen to demand Ireland's right to administer its own affairs and to reject unjust laws and crushing taxes.

O'Connell died far from his people while on a pilgrimage to Rome. His remains, returned to his native land, were given a triumphal funeral; and the home that he cherished, Derrymane Abbey, isolated in an untamed landscape near the Kenmare Estuary, became a sacred spot. The loss of the great Irishman conincided with an intensification of the sufferings of his people. Driven by the famine, thousands of pitiful cottage-dwellers left the countryside to beg in the cities; they fed on grass and loathsome garbage. Many of them dropped of starvation along the roadsides. Survivors became reconciled to leave Ireland. And it was then that there began the immigration that has continued on and that has emptied the country of a quarter of its population.

The political situation worsened by the hour. Impatient youths, no longer under the guidance of O'Connell's wise counsels, let themselves be carried away by the European events of 1848 and raised the standard of revolt against the London government. The repression was harsh; the leaders were arrested and hailed before judges who condemned them to deportation.

For twenty years Ireland, overwhelmed, remained quiet. And then a new and more powerful rising was organized; the Fenians, assisted by their American confreres, took up arms in order to set up an independent "Republic." And they had no scruples about employing, in a variety of situations and even on English soil, the weapons of terrorism.

In opposition to a powerful State, such a frantic struggle could not but fail. Nevertheless, it did result in moving the Prime Minister, Gladstone, and inducing him to persuade Parliament to pass two important measures; the first had enormous reverbrations: the

"disestablishment" of the Anglican Church in Ireland and the abolition of public privileges for a clergy that had been forcibly imposed upon a Catholic people. The other law tended to reduce an odious injustice by obligating landowners who had evicted their tenants to pay the latter an indemnification for permanent improvements.

With the coming of Charles Stewart Parnell Irish agitation took on an astonishing intensity. Its new leader defined its goals as both the attainment of political autonomy ("Home Rule") and the material and moral security for peasants, who were tenants of the "landlords". Struggle, distress and trials of every sort grew in number before it was possible to glimpse success. Bad harvests had ruined the farmers, and there was an ever-increasing number of "evictions". Pitilessly, the landowners expelled the insolvent.

Parnell, President of the "Agrarian League" found money in the United States to continue his propaganda campaign. Ireland's cause gripped the world's attention, and it particularly touched the hearts of Catholics. Completely apart from every political consideration, charity and simple humanity generated obligations for Christian consciences in relation to their brothers crushed by suffering.

In a letter dated February 16, 1880, Brother Irlide set before the Cardinal the reasons why his Congregation, "far less than other Religious Communities could not remain a stranger" to the task that had been undertaken. "The generous Irish nation" counted "in the hundreds the number of its sons in the Religious family of the Venerable de La Salle". The Institute "wished to recognize the debt of gratitude contracted, as well by itself as by America, with respect to the heroic nation" for such a large number of its members.

It has been the Irish — [continued the Superior] — who, by becoming our Brothers and by joining forces with the French and with the Canadians, have particularly assisted us in bestowing upon the New World schools, orphanages and colleges in which nearly 40,000 children and youths receive the advantages of a Christian education.

But the question was how to translate this heart-felt sympathy, this thoroughly justified admiration into action. As the period of secularization had begun, it became necessary to assign every asset to the founding of private schools on French soil. And for this reason it became impossible to send the help that was proportioned to Ireland's needs.

What was actually done was to make a charitable gesture while surrounding it the loftiest symbolic meaning. The Motherhouse had preserved "as an honorific title and a sacred deposit" for exceptional circumstances, the prize-money "offered in 1872 by the City of Boston and that the French Academy had awarded to the Brothers of the Christian Schools for their patriotic conduct during the siege of Paris.[501] The sum was certainly not

[501] See Vol. V of the present work, pg. 553.

extraordinary: $400.00. In dedicating it to “Irish relief”, Brother Irlide, his enthusiasm hampered by poverty, found a way to effect a symbolic transfer.[502]

Now, at the very time that Parnell and his associates were embarrassing the British Parliament with their demands, when people were witnessing successively “boycotts” of the accomplices or beneficiaries of unjust legislation, the arrest of “the uncrowned king of Ireland” (quickly released), the denial of “Home Rule” by a majority of the House of Commons, the merging of revolutionary excesses, reprisals and *des coups de force*, finally — since Parnell had dropped out of sight, weakened by a sordid affair — with the slow advancement toward a better social balance and toward the still more difficult realization of dreams of independence, the Brothers of the Christian Schools were taking root and “nationalized” in Ireland, with a rapidity and a success and an effectiveness that were certified conformed to the expectations of the best judges.

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When, within the Regime’s Counsel, it had been determined to set up a Novitiate somewhere in the seclusion of the Irish countryside, Brother Irlide personally crossed the “English Channel” and the “Irish Sea” in the company of the Assistant, Brother Patrick.[503] John Patrick Murphy joyfully set foot on his native soil, of which, so to speak, he was about to take possession in the name of the Lasallian Society.[504] No matter how American he had become since his earliest years, he had never forgotten the mother-country, like so many others, in this respect, of his fellow-immigrants in the New World. The Irishman had faithfully served the country in which he settled his future and where he had frequently attained enviable positions; he had occupied top-flight posts in politics, in administration, in intellectual circles and in the Church. But his dreams traversed the sea, to the island with the green pastures, the beautiful lakes and the tiny, thatch-roofed cottages. He longed for its restoration, its prosperity and its celebrity. And he assured it of

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[502] Motherhouse Archives, HA e.

[503] St. Joseph College archives, Clapham register.

[504] For Brother Patrick, see Index to Vol. VI of the present work.

his assistance to the full measure of his powers. And everywhere, March 17th — St. Patrick's Day — continued to be its national holiday.

The former novice in Montreal, the former Director of St. Louis College in Missouri and Manhattan College in New York, become Brother Facile's successor to the Superiors-general, he included within the compass of his concerns several countries on the globe. What gratification of soul he would experience if he could send into all the places where English was spoken educators and missionaries of his nationality, trained in a climate of integral faith and warm piety that one breathes there where dwelt the Bishop Patrick and the monk Columba!

Hermitages and monasteries had disappeared in the great agony of the 16th and 17th centuries. Dioceses survived, and it was in the diocese of Elphin that the two travellers from France landed. Bishop Gilloolly, who occupied that episcopal See, made them an interesting proposal. He had opened an "industrial school" in Summer Hill, not far from the small city of Athlone, in the west of Leinster, about sixty miles from Dublin. The estate that the prelate had acquired was vast, sufficiently fertile, and equipped with sturdily constructed buildings,

in a picturesque countryside. If one toured the region the settings characteristic of Ireland would not be slow in revealing themselves: pasture-lands where cows grazed, roads lined with hedgerows, narrow, shaded pathways where donkeys trotted; elsewhere there were the wasted heaths, the peat-bogs which supplied the peasants with an indifferent sort of fuel. And beyond, below the ruins of an Abbey, there was the Shannon, broad, slow-moving, melancholy on the plain.

Here, one felt the heart-beat of a nation. As a place in which to bring together hard-working, prayful youths the site seemed promising. Alongside the "Industrial School" that Bishop Gillooly wanted to entrust to the Brothers, it would be possible to set up an Anglo-Irish Novitiate. Negotiations quickly took a propitious direction, and they were concluded with the contract of July 11, 1880, signed by the Bishop and the Superior-general.[505] The Brothers would adapt their educational methods to boys assembled from among the most destitute; and they would try to transform their pupils into farmers. On these conditions, Summer Hill would become home for the Institute's young candidates.

The Industrial School opened on July 19th.[506] In August a small group of novices from London assembled in Ireland,[507] the land of the birth or of the origin of most of them.

[505] Motherhouse Archives, LI h1.

[506] Ibid.

Three Brothers guided the candidates in formation: Brothers Abban, Alto Joseph and Calixtus Philip;[508] who were a Canadian, a German and an Englishman respectively. The Director, Brother Abban had been Francis Xavier Gendrea who, since he had left the Novitiate in Montreal in 1852, had given numerous proofs of his worth as a Religious: in Clermont Ferrand, St. Joseph's in Clapham, Liverpool, Jersey and in New York.[509] The Superiors did not hesitate to use him in sensitive positions or for new undertakings. A few years later we will find this apostolic traveller in the East Indes.

In the beginning he was not without Bishop Gillooly's assistance. The M. H. Brother Irlide received the following in a letter from the Bishop: "It is my sincerest desire to your men take root and multiply on our 'Isle of Saints', so rich in Religious vocations. I commend the Novitiate to the Catholic youth of Ireland and to all those who have at heart the education as well as the spiritual interests of our people."[510]

The prelate seemed equally satisfied with the industrial school which he had come to visit in the company of two other Bishops. Unfortunately, that institution was soon going to be the occasion of disappointment for him. On the other hand, the presence of the Novitiate in the same building as the school involved disadvantages that government Inspectors underscored most emphatically.[511]

The Assistant, Brother Patrick had placed one of his countrymen at the head of this school, Brother Hugh (Bernard Feeney), who had for a long time taught in Canada and the

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[507] Clapham register.

[508] Castletown Novitiate archives, personnel records.

[509] For Brother Abban, see the Index to Vol. VI of the present work. Cf. Brother Angelus Gabriel, op. cit., pg. 576. Since the writing of the present volume, Brother Clair Stanilaus has published in Rome, Lasallian Publications, Brother Abban, an interesting biography of 138 pages, with a portrait and several documentary illustrations; chapters 9, 10 and 11 are devoted to materials concerning Ireland.

[510] Quoted by Battersby, Vol. II, pg. 114.

[511] Ibid., pg. 116.

United States and who — between 1876 and 1878 — had directed the "Protectory" in Westchester.[512]

The choice was perfectly understandable. But although Brother Hugh was not yet sixty years of age, he was already burnt out; he had lost all power to command, and at the end of a few months, he resigned his post and went off to Liverpool where he died in 1881.

His successor was Brother Ater (James Rourke), a former novice in New York. Besides the Director, this Community was composed, at the time, of six Brothers, all except one (Brother Apollonius, Francis Turlot) were English-speaking. It was adequate to the good operation of the school and for the proper handling of manual chores. Accusations, however, were brought to the attention of the people in Paris, and Brother Assistant, Joseph was appointed to make an on-site investigation.

He wrote an extremely harsh report. Brother Hugh had left the pupils "without discipline and without instruction", and thus drawing the legitimate reproaches of the government Inspector; and he had placed the supervision of the farm in the hands of an incompetent "bungler". Brother Ater had displayed a great deal more energy, but he had launched into unwise expenditures, had "systematically detached himself from the Bishop's authority" and, to the keen dissatisfaction of Bishop Gillooly, had dispensed pupils from participating in the work of the farm. And, finally, within the Community itself there was disgraceful friction.[513].

The first remedy was to remove the Brother Director. Temporarily, Brother Abban added the responsibility for the industrial school to that of the Novitiate. And then Brother Leo (Louis Octave Miller), an expert in re-education was called from America. There was a partial shake-up in the Community personnel: the only ones to retain their posts were the Sub-director, Brother Christian, the Prefect of Studies, Brother Eunician and Brother Romanus, a manual worker.[514]

But the causes of discord persisted. And they arose essentially from the co-existence of two totally diverse institutions in inevitable contact with one another. The Bishop of Elphin was so outraged and so worried that for a moment he was inclined to declare the contract of 1880 nul and void.[515] He thought better of it, but only after insisting that the

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[512] L'OEuvre d'un siècle (les Frères des Écoles chrétiennes au Canada), pg. 198. — Brother Angelus Gabriel, op. cit., pg. 479.

[513] Motherhouse Archives, LI h1

[514] Castletown archives, personnel records.

[515] Motherhouse archives, LI h1, Brother Joseph's report, 1881.

Novices leave. Meeting with Brother Joseph at the same time as the Irish Assistant, Brother Patrick, he told them in no uncertain terms: "I thought that the presence of the Novitiate would be helpful to the school. I was wrong. It is both an internal and external problem." And after Brother Joseph had replied that "Your Grace's wishes will be conveyed to the Superior-general and we shall work out ways of removing the Novitiate", Bishop Gillhooly rejoined, with emphasis: "The removal is an absolute necessity."[516]

A new site had to be sought immediately. The Brothers, of course, would not move the Novitate out of Ireland, where the possibilities for recruitment were so promising. "Brother Abban," commented the representative from Rue Oudinot, "looks to the future with confidence. The seven postulants he has admitted are intelligent, well-behaved youths. A recruiting program will produce assured results." There was no reason for not thinking about the immediate creation of a Junior Novitiate. "It would be easy to fill, in a country in which children are numerous, religious by instinct and by family custom, simple, innocent and docile." These optimistic views were extended to include the category, at first sight suspicious, of the pupils in the "Industrial School": "Nearly all orphans, they make up an extremely interesting group. The Chaplain, only just arrived, told Brother Patrick that he found them in no way inferior the well-to-do class of boys…"[517]

Available sites were located away from Summer Hill. And presently we shall follow Brother Abban and his young companions in their uneventful exodus. As for the industrial school, the Brothers were not to remain there. Since they turned down certain financial responsibilities that the founder wished they to shoulder, they believed that it would be wiser to leave to others the concern for a project that was not their reason for being in Ireland. On October 25, 1881 Bishop Gillooly wrote to Brother Patrick: "While I rejoice that you have succeeded in finding a suitable estate for your Novitiate, I can only lament to learn that you refuse financial responsibilities for my school…You told me on more than one occasion that you had agreed to direct it exclusively, or at least chiefly, with the thought of setting up your Novitiate at Summer Hill. You have withdrawn your novices; and now you wish to withdraw your Brothers. You have attained what you came for. Very well! So be it!"[518] We detect a certain bitterness in these lines. Brother Assistant

[516] Ibid., Brother Joseph's letter to the M. H. Brother Irlide, July 14, 1881.

[517] Motherhouse Archives, letter cited, July 14, 1881. — At the time there were eight-four pupils at Summer Hill. (Castletown archives, records cited).

[518] Motherhouse Archives, LI h1.

protested that there was never any question of evasiveness on the part of the Institute. Modifications introduced into the wording of the original contract were sufficient to legitimate the Community's departure.[519] On January 15, 1882 the last members of the Congregation departed the premises.[520]Today the Summer Hill estate houses a girls' orphanage operated by nuns, one of whom is Bishop Gillooly's niece. It includes 400 acres of park, pasture and land under cultivation.

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Two months earlier — on November 12, 1881 — Brother Abban brought three of his novices to the village of Castletown, situated a quarter of a mile from Mountrath, Queen's County (now called Leis County).[521] The selection of this very pleasant residence, between two beautiful landscapes of glens and hills was occasioned by the friendly relations that existed between Brother Patrick and the pastor of the parish, Father Dumphy and with Bishop Moran of Ossory, who subsequently became Archbishop of Sydney and, while in that Australian See, was made a Cardinal.[522] From Kilkenny, where he was staying on the previous October 20, Bishop Moran had written to Brother Irlide: "I shall be greatly pleased to welcome your Brothers into my dioces; and I have no doubt but what the Novitiate that you are about to open among us will be a source of blessing to us."[523]

At the end of December there arrived a letter for the Superior-general from Brother Abban: "The rest of the group has joined the *avant garde*...All the novices have been pleased with the silence, the solitude and the peacefulness that the change has brought

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[519] Ibid. letter to Bishop Gillooly, October 29, 1881.

[520] Clapham register.

[521] Battersby, Vol. II, pg. 116. — Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes for July 1910, pp. 214 et sq.

[522] Motherhouse Archives, LI h2.

[523] Motherhouse Archives, LI h2.

about…The countryside surpasses in beauty and in fertility the Summer Hill region." They were, of course, still living under contingency conditions: "La Salle Retreat" was merely an unfinished building, where opportunities — for Religious — were found "for sacrifices". The completed dwelling, the work of Mr. John Treacy, the owner of the entire estate, would be more comfortable, but it required a remodelling that was extremely expensive.

The Director had loudly professed the conviction that "this undertaking would be serious and productive". His Sub-director, Brother Dorotheus Joseph — an Irishman whose family name was John Montgomery — had just completed "a recruiting mission" that resulted in the admission of twenty-one candidates, eight of whom were between the ages of fifteen and twenty years of age and thirteen between thirteen years and fifteen. Brother Joseph's tour was limited to four parishes in the diocese of Meath. If there was such a harvest in such a restricted area, what could one expect from a wider search?[524]

The Junior Novitiate had already been started, and achieved its final organization on July 27, 1822 with fourteen boys. The anticipated growth required a systematic program of furnishing and arranging. The Brothers could no longer continue to be renters; and, after the acquisition of the existing buildings, they had to put up structures that were better adapted to the purposes of the institution. Such were the thoughts of anyone whose mind was open to hopes for the future. In this connection, Brother Abban drew up a number of suggestions. And Father Dumphy, increasingly enthusiastic about his new parishioners, insisted with Brother Patrick: "If you build a suitable Novitiate, and if you send one of your Brothers into the various dioceses to talk about your Institute and your Rule, you will find, be sure of it, candidates by the thousands.[525] One year later, disheartened to see the growth of the Congregation slowed down by the lackluster quality of its physical plant, he return to the subject:[526] "You know what you have lost by failing to have Brothers available. The Bishops of Kildare and Ardagh asked Castletown for Religious teachers that could not be given them…There are opportunities that have to be seized."

It was exactly at that moment that the Superior-general authorized the construction of the buildings.[527] At the end of 1884 the compound was completed: there was a great simplicity of line, no architectural refinements, a typical Lasallian institution, practical and

[524] Motherhouse archives, LI h2, letter of December 21, 1881.

[525] Motherhouse archives, LI h2, letter dated March 28, 1882.

[526] Ibid., letter dated April 6, 1883.

[527] Motherhouse archives, LI h2, authorization dated April 10, 1882.

unobtrusive, surrounded by a vegetable garden, an orchard and a few massive, flowering bushes, such as one might find almost anywhere in France at that time. A chapel was to be added later on, in order to provide the Brothers with the satisfaction of the presence of the Blessed Sacrament which, during the early years, they went outside to worship, in the tiny parochial church, which was quite close by.

The Community was composed of seven Brothers in 1883, eight in 1884 and twelve in 1885. One of them, Brother Edmund — John O'Donnell — operated the public school.[528] The residents of Castletown were eager to obtain for their sons the education dispensed by the new teachers. About a hundred boys populated the classrooms in a building situated in the center of the village.

Brothers Dominicus (James Gallagher), Clement of Mary (Patrick Mahon) and Severus of Mary (Bartholomew Harney) taught the Junior Novices and the Novices. Brother Severus, an English-Canadian from Leeds, Megantic County, came to Castletown four years after it had opened. There he drew up plans for a Scholasticate, which, beginning in about 1888, began to function regularly and eventually was absorbed by a public Normal School.[529]

Brother Abban had the credit of having provided the project with its earliest stimulus and then for having, for seven years, guided it along the secure lines handed down by the Blessed De La Salle. He was up to achieving much more and of sustaining harsh sacrifices. In February 1889 he embarked for the Far East as Director of the school in Hong Kong.[530]

Brother Presidius of Mary replaced him at the head of the Irish Novitiate. He had been James Gilbert Allain, an Acadian of French origins, who had been born in New Brunswick. He had been associated with the English-speaking Communities in Canada, teaching especially in the schools in Ontario. In 1888 the Superior-general called him to the Second Novitiate as a member of the "Group of the Beatification", which brought together a number of particularly gifted Brothers under the wing of Brother Reticius.[531] And it was from Athis Mons that Brother Presidius left for his new assignment.

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[528] Castletown archives, personnel records, 1883.

[529] L'OEuvre d'un siècle, pg. 198.

[530] L'OEuvre d'un siècle, pg. 197; and Obituary, 1895.

[531] See Vol. VII of the present work, pg. 115.

He filled the post until 1900, while the Castletown institution, headquarters of the District, housed increasing complex services along with a growing number of Brothers. It was there that the "retired Brothers" made up the "Holy Family Community". Brothers Visitor Aventine, Clementian, Justian and Anthony Jerom had their ordinary residence there. In 1895 the directing, administering and teaching personnel was made up of about fifteen Brothers, two-thirds of whom were of Irish nationality.[532]

However, the economic situation of the nation and the financial status of the institution threw the responsible leadership into a cruel quandry. There were difficulties feeding the fifty or sixty Junior Novices and the thirty or forty Novices who were in residence in 1890. The M. H. Brother Joseph took a bold decision that we find spell-out under his personal signature in the files at Via Aurelia, dated "September 1891":[533]

"Since Ireland provides more vocations to the Institute than the District's resources will allow it to support, this District is not to retain in its houses of formation any candidates beyond the number that its means will permit; it will send its surplus of candidates to the Motherhouse in Paris. These youths will be maintained in the Junior Novitiate (on Rue Oudinot) to study French until they learn the language in such a way as to be able to undertake the Senior Novitiate, when they have attained the age required.

At the end of the Novitiate year half of them, designated by lot, will return to Ireland to complete their formation. The other half will remain in France and join the District of Paris.

Candidates who are sent to the Motherhouse must: 1. have reached their fifteenth year; 2. be prepared to remain in France after their formation; 3. have already given reasonable assurances of their vocation; and 4. have been considered intelligent and capable of learning French.

Henceforth it would not only be to England, but to the very land of the Holy Founder's birth, that Catholic Ireland would have to yield its sons. It was a great honor, and a mark of confidence both in the virtues of self-effacement and in the talents of the Celtic peoples for adaptation. The process operated without constraint and with scrupulous selection. Youths, willingly transplanted, were effortlessly initiated into French culture, and, in Paris, they obtained their teaching credentials; until old-age they would retain the use of the official language of the Institute and a taste for our classical literature. Most

[532] .[532]L'OEuvre d'un siècle, pp. 198-199. After returning from North America, Brother Presidius died at Glencoe on May 24, 1901.

[533] Castletown archives. File LI h2.

particularly, they would have lived in an atmosphere that was totally Lasallian; and they would be imbuded with centuries-old traditions as well as the admonitions and example of the chief inspirers of their Religious family. Upon returning to their own country, after a few or long years on the European continent, they would be regarded as witnesses to the great events and the great men of their Congregation.

One of them was to play this rôle in a marvelous way and by adding to it his own personal note of sanctity. Thomas Keane, son of Patrick, was the product of an extremely ancient peasant community that had been established in Greethill since the 16th century. During that era, a Keane hid hunted priests in his home. His descendants continued to benefit from the choice blessings that his heroic conduct had attracted to such a Christian home. Two of the uncles of young Thomas were priests. And among Patrick's eleven children there were four

nuns,[534]."a Jesuit, Father John Michael, and a Brother of the Christian Schools.

The latter, born on December 2, 1875, was received in 1891 by the Parisian Superiors, under whose supervision he passed through the various stages of a Brother's formation. As a Novice, he was given the name of Brother Brendan Amedy, and he might well have rejoiced at having been placed under the patronage of one of the apostles of the Celts. The name fitted the man: Brother Brendan realized "the typically Irish ideal": — tall, sturdy, ruddy complexion, blue-eyed with a sort of "crystaline limpidity", and a face, adds his biographer,[535] so radiant and pure that it seemed "to have leaped out from a Fra Angelico painting".

Through it shone the soul — "One of the most beautiful I have ever known," declared Brother Exupérien, who was a difficult, but competent judge. The young Brother had learned asceticism at the hands of his mentor, the saintly Brother Assistant; he was subject to the Rule at every moment of his day and in the least detail; unfalteringly he faced mortification of both mind and body. But what prevailed in him was a joyful fervor, a surge of filial confidence in God and a fraternal love for Christ's Humanity. Pious in an uncomplicated and generous way, he centered his thoughts and actions on Our Lord as Victim, Intercessor and Nourishment in the Sacrament of the Eucharist. In Communion he

[534] Three in the Congregation of St. Joseph of Cluny and one in the "Holy Union of the Sacred Heart"

[535] Vie du Frère Brendan-Amedy by Brother Paul Joseph, pg. 34.

found a marvelous equilibrium, lucidity and peace. In his relations with his confreres, and presently with his pupils, he was always cordial and affable.[536]

After his Scholasticate in 1895, he taught — at the age of twenty — the Junior Novices, his juniors on Rue Oudinot. Recalled to Castletown, for a period, he served as secretary to the Brother Visitor.[537] The Ireland that he never stopped cherishing had completely reconquered Thomas Keane. On June 2, 1900, still a member of the personnel of the house of formation, he wrote to Brother Exupérien, after the canonization of St. John Baptist De La Salle: "Here we practise in a special way the poverty of our Father and Founder. Our country is very poor. We experience the effects of this penury, which is, no doubt, a great blessing. We also imitate the purity of that angelic man: the moral air we breathe is pure; the Irish nation is chaste. And we hold on to the spirit of faith. England has taken everything from us, except our holy faith...[538]

Brother Brendan Amedy was making his way toward spiritual maturity. He was considered worthy of an important assignment. He became Director of the Junior Novitiate in Castletown in September of 1900. His temperament, his character, his lofty virtue and his patriotism all contributed to enable him to win over the souls of youths already disengaged from the mass and whom he was to train for a vocation of sacrifice.

Lack of material resources had reduced the group: only twenty-four Junior Novices mustered under the new Director. He maintained the strong program of studies that had been the pride of Castletown. He sought zeal in work, mutual assistance, patience and generosity, and all of this in a climate of joyfulness. He corrected coarseness, since, like De La Salle, he was extremely concerned for "Christian civility", and he himself had been called "the perfect gentleman" by one of the Brothers. But he was a whole lot more than a man of refined education and a distinguished educator; he communicated to his pupils his apostolic zeal and his devotion to the Eucharist. A flame burned within him and would consume him: he had long since offered his life for the salvation of mankind and for the extension of the reign of God. He fell ill in July of 1902; as his condition worsened, the pain became excruciating. "I must suffer," he exclaimed, "I want to suffer." It became a

[536] Ibid., pp. 7-13.

[537] Castletown archives, personnel records, 1898.

[538] Brother Paul Joseph, op. cit., pg. 118.

slow immolation, week after week, in a Community which was moved by such a great loss. On October 10 Brother Brendan Amedy entered into eternity; where, no doubt, he abides in prayer for his country and for his Institute.[539]

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Twenty-two years earlier the Brothers had determined to form a permanent relationship with Catholic Ireland. And it had already spread from one end of the island to the other, founding twenty educational institutions, more than half of which were functioning in 1893.

At first sight, such an expansion appears odd. Indeed, there already existed a native Congregation aiming at the same goals as the society founded in France, bearing pretty nearly the same name and observing, on the whole, the same Rule: the "Irish Christian Brothers", that had been operating for nearly a century.

Their founder, Edmund Ignatius Rice, in 1802, had established a tuition-free school in his native city of Waterford. Two young men joined him. These humble beginnings received support from Bishop Huney.

As it grew, the work, in 1898, included five teachers in Waterford, two in Carrick and two in Dongorvan. They became a Religious Community and admitted a rather large number of novices. A school was opened along the Liffy in the Irish capital city, and another in Limerick, an important center at the mouth of the Shannon. From that period on, Mr. Rice occupied a secure position in the country and enjoyed a favorable reputation.

He had been operating without a model, in the isolation in which the Napoleonic Wars had left a nation subject to England. Once peace had been re-established in Europe, new patterns began to emerge.

Archbishop Murray of Dublin came to France during the course of 1816 with the view to settling certain matters involving the Irish College in Paris. Concerned with Christian education, he heard good things about some Brothers who operated a school in "the Faubourg St. Germain" and about their Superior-general, who still resided in Lyons. He learned that this Congregation, valued by the clergy and recognized by the civil authority, was gradually regaining the place that it had won before the Revolution for its success in

[539] The Irish Junior Novitiate continues to operate at Castletown. But for the youngest of the candidates it now includes an annex near Mallow, in a country side estate on the banks of the Blackwater, (in Gaelic: "Avondu") its dark waters rolling amid meadows ant at the feet of century-old trees.

popular education. He was introduced to some of the Communities:[540] he studied classroom arrangements, leaflets and took with him a copy of the Rule.

Upon returning to his diocese, Archbishop Murray spoke with Edmund Rice, who was in total agreement with the prelate. The Rule of the French Brothers, slightly modified, could

inspire the Religious life and government of the Irish schoolteachers. The founder and his followers agreed to accept it. A Brief from Pius VII, dated September 5, 1821, approved their decision.. The following year marked a definitive step: the Chapter of the "Irish Christian Brothers" elected Mr. Rice as Superior-general. And the new Congregation spread out over Ireland, England and then stretched out into Asia and America.[541]

Bonds with the disciples of John Baptist De La Salle were strengthened. In 1826 an extensive exchange of letters took place between Brother Rice and Brother William of Jesus. For a while he lived the lives of his friends in a Community in the St. Martin neighborhood in Paris, became well acquainted with their customs, and was given a certificate of "Affiliation". In 1843, the Irish Brothers published The Life of the Venerable De La Salle, where it was declared: Nourished by the same spirit and aiming at the same goals as the Institute whose headquarters are in France, and although absolutely autonomous and simply united with that other Society by the bonds of mutual affection, the Brothers of the Christian Schools in Ireland rejoice to offer their tribute of gratitude, of veneration and of love to the memory of their famous Father and spiritual Patron

Edmund Rice died in 1844, leaving his followers at the head of seventy-eight schools, in which 12,280 pupils were educated. His first successor furthered this growth until the figures reached 181 schools and 20,280 pupils in 1862. The superb order maintained within the classrooms, the quality of the teachers and their profound influence were noted by the official reports: the Royal Commission on Education reported in 1870 on "the slow but sure" growth of this teaching group and "the monopoly" that it was tending to create "in the southern cities."[542]

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[540] There were four of them at about this time supplying teachers to thirteen Parisian schools (cf. Vol. IV of the present work, pg. 294.)

[541] Motherhouse archives, HB v, Historique des Frères des Éocles chrétiennes en Irlande et au Canada.

[542] . Quoted by Battersby, Vol. II, section on the Irish Christian Brothers. Battersby, op. cit.

However, the Irish Christian Brothers intended to remain independent of the system of "national" education, produced by the Education Act of 1831. One of the principal objectives of this law was to unite in the same classrooms children from different religious denominations, while forbidding teachers to proselytize or engage in controversy.

T he National Board which was to promote and supervise education was made up of seven Commissioners: three representing the Anglican Church, two the Roman Catholic Church and two the dissenting sects.

In the beginning Catholics supported the arrangement, because after so many years of oppression, the civil authority was granting them something of a boon and was no longer treating them as pariahs, and also because Archbishop Murray had become a member of the Board. But it was nothing short of a flagrant injustice to allow only two representatives to Catholics who represented five-sixth of the population of the country.

The majority of the Board would apply the law in a spirit that was hardly sympathetic to the wishes of Catholic families. In a letter addressed to the Duke of Leinster asking him to accept the Presidency of the "Seven", the Chief Secretary for Ireland, Stanley, laid it down as a rule that there be a total separation of religion and general education: only one day a week would be given over to the religious education of school-children; for the rest of the week no catechetical instruction, not even a religious symbol was to be presented in a classroom.

Under the guise of neutrality, "Anti-papist" bias and all the ancient animosities would have free play. Many of the Inspectors were openly hostile to the religious faith of the teachers and the pupils. At higher levels the sectarianism of the Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. Wately, and the Scotch clergymen Carlisle were at work.

The attitude of the Irish Christian Brothers was, then, easily understandable. Their founder had, from the very first, refused to be a part, for whatever motive, of the State system. At Archbishop Murray's insistence, he had authorized — quite reluctantly — six of his schools to submit to the control of the Board. And, in the end, even this very small number of schools soon ceased to figure on the lists of the Commissioners of National Education.

By rejecting the subsidies that the British government placed at the disposition of Ireland, Edmund Rice's followers had preserved their freedom. In the eyes of their fellow-countrymen they appeared to be champions of integrally Catholic education. They published textbooks intended to counteract Anglican and Presbyterian propaganda. And for this reason their popularity in the regions most ardently attached to the ancestral faith their popularity soared.

But with time the most bitter controversies subside. The Board gave evidence of its impartiality and, indeed, of its goodwill toward teachers committed to Roman Catholicism. Neutrality began to lose its initial inflexibility. This is why many Bishops sought the creation of “National Schools”, which would lighten their expenditures without compromising their authority.

But these stirrings found few echoes among the Irish Christian Brothers who were in no hurry to abdicate, even partially, their almost limitless independence. Further, nothing stood in the way of the parallel development of private schools — following the model supplied by the old teaching Congregation — and of officially approved institutions. The question arose in this form in 1880, when the Brothers of the Christian Schools set up their Novitiate in Leinster.[543]

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As Father Dumphy in his letter of April 6, 1883, had reminded Brother Patrick, the Bishops of Kildare and Ardagh had opened negotiations at this time with the Director of Castletown. If the hierarchy, wrote the priest, failed to find a Religious Society prepared to offer its collaboration, it could not contend with the educational competition mounted by the government. The Irish Brothers balked for the reasons with which we are familiar. There did not exist in the nation any Order or Congregation in a position to provide the service that was being expected of De La Salle’s Brothers. “A door has been opened”: were they going to falter at the threshold?[544].

The hesitation had been justifiable, even if they might have been able immediately to recruit the necessary personnel. It had become necessary for them to define a rather delicate position in relation to the Irish Christian Brothers, a group of men with an identical spiritual ancestry and who, within their own native land, occupied a position of absolute priority.

Nevertheless, because it had become a question of occupying posts that the heirs of Edmund Rice refused to claim, excessive scrupulosity might have drawn criticism, since they would opposing a worthwhile project.

[543] Battersby, Vol. II, pp. 163, 196-199. — Motherhouse archives, LI h1, note primary education in Ireland.

[544] Motherhouse archives, file cited

In a letter dated April 23[545] the Visitor, Brother Aventine, staying at Castletown, informed the Superior-general of the request issued by the pastor of Kildare. Dr. Kavanagh, pastor of that parish, had at one time directedCarlow College, "the most famous in Ireland after Maynooth". He belonged to the Board of Education. Since two of his faithful parishioners had become Brothers Anthony Jerome and Ignatius, he cherished a great deal of respect for the Institute. The distinguished priest, thoroughly familiar with the educational situation, repeated the appeal that had already been launched by his Bishop. He had just received Brother Aventine. Together with the Coadjutor-Bishop, Dr. Lynch, he had explained to the M. H. Brother Irlide's representative the preoccupations and the expectations of the Church's hierarchy. "The Irish Brothers are led by pious and capable men," but they were obstinately attached to their ideas. It was necessary to adopt urgent decisions without them. At Kildare the Brothers of the Christian Schools would find a new building, beautiful classrooms, a residence with a garden and an overall salary of 120 pounds sterling for three teachers. The city, the seat of a diocesan See, half-way between Dublin and Castletown, offered the advantages of a healthy climate, a place rich in historical memories and a peaceful and devout population. "The school would be under government inspection," concluded the Visitor; here we shall obtain teaching certificates more easily than in England; there will be no ill-will among candidates. And "Providence is handing over to us a region abandoned by the Irish Brothers."

The school's opening was fixed for September 1, 1884. From that day on the Brothers on Irish soil were squarely in the service of National Education. In this way, they there were remaining within the limits of their most cherished traditions: they were teaching the children of the people, introducing them to the elements of human learning and the truths of Revelation; they had become involved at the very heart of the hierarchy's plans. And so, from that quarter, they were not lacking in support. Many Bishops recommended to their clergy to work for the recruitment of such an invaluable Congregation; this became the object of letters from Bishop Croke of Cashel, Bishop John Power of Waterford, beginning as early as December of 1883; during the years that followed Bishop James Browne of Ferns, Bishop Edward Thomas of Limerick, Bishop MacCarthy of Cloyne, Bishop Higgins of Ardfert and Aghadoe intervened in a similar fashion.[546]

The village school in Castletown was not long in being recognized by the Board as "a practice school" — on provisional grounds — for future Religious teachers trained in the

[545] Ibid., LI H2.

[546] Motherhouse archives, file LI h2. Circular of Irish Bishop.

Scholasticate.[547] "St. Stephen's" in Waterford would be the third of the Brothers' National Schools.

For a long time primary grades had been functioning on "Stephen's Street," the upper quarter overlooking the beautiful river-basin port on the southeast coast. Father Joseph Phelan was still directing the classes in 1886. Become President of St. John's College from where the diocesan Seminary drew its pupils, he intended to have the Brothers replace him at his former post. After a period of preparation at St. John's, the Brothers assumed control of St. Stephen's in October of 1887. There were six of them, all quite young, under the direction of Brother Ammon Patrick, an experienced man and skilful educator, although he had no diplomas. The Director was soon to leave for the Far East. But he only needed a year to bring his team up to the level of providing a serious job of teaching.

The school population was made up especially of extremely poor boys, who, previously, had not frequented any of Waterford's parochial schools. A great deal of patience and firmness was required to civilize these youngsters, strangers to every sort of discipline and nearly as ignorant of the rules of morality as of the rules of grammar.

The Brothers ran into other difficulties. Because they had accepted control at the hands of the National Board, there were die-hards who considered them as agents of the British government. In order to discredit their teaching, the rumor was spread that they were all Frenchmen and, as a consequence, scarcely in a position to teach youths on the banks of the Suir. And there were hostile individuals who went from house to house sharing the counsel: "You would be mistaken to entrust your sons to these newcomers!"

Gossip and calumny dissipated in the presence of the evidence of results. When school re-opened in 1888, there were more than 200 pupils enrolled. Two months later, there were 308 pupils at St. Stephen's Street. And while an ultimate assault on the part of competitors induced a reduction in enrolment, there was an average of 300 pupils at the end of 1889.

Government Inspectors showed a great deal of consideration and friendliness for the Brothers. In April of 1889, Inspector Strange suggested that the Brothers open a second school in the city. His colleague, Seymour, a few months later, contributed some equally emphatic encouragment.[548] The school's future was guaranteed in 1898. At the time,

[547] Motherhouse archives, file HB y.

[548] Motherhouse archives, HB y. — La Salle Training College archives, Waterford, Historique, pp. 1-9.

anticipating new construction, the Institute's representatives left the property at the disposition of three "trustees": Rev. Dr. Sheehan, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, the Rev. Thomas Dowley, administrator of St. Patrick's Church, and Brother Thomas Kane, empowered with a special "Obedience" from the Superiors in the jurisdiction. Conditioned on this stipulation, the Commissioners of National Education intervened in the proceedings. They agreed to make up the difference with a subsidy of 1,313 pounds sterling, eighteen shillings and eleven pence, levied on budgetary funds, under the heading of "National Schools."

The document recalled in a most explicit way the principles that teachers must follow: they are committed to procuring "literary and moral education, together with religious instruction" for children of every faith, without venturing the least "attempt at involvment in the doctrines special to whatever class of Christian pupil." [549] Under similar circumstances Brothers' schools were opened, between 1888 and 1904 in Kilkenny, Castlebar, Ardee, Ballaghadereen, Dunmanway, Downpatrick, Bagnalstown, Keady, Dundalk, Ramsgrange, Belfast and Lurgan. In the South in some of the counties of Leinster, in the West in Connaught, and even in the North, in Ulster, with the school on Falls Road in Belfast the Brothers of the Christian Schools displayed a willingness to work both for the Catholic Church and for the Irish people.[550]

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While the Education Board had incorporated the Brothers' services, it had not exempted them from the most legitimate requirements of sound pedagogical practice. The Religious teachers, like everybody else, had to acquire credentials before teaching in the public schools. Further, their professional skills were not judged adequate until put to the test in a classroom situation.

As we have seen, the young Brothers in Castletown used the village school for their "apprenticeship". But a rather small pupil population and a limited program of studies answered indifferently to the conditions laid down by the school authorities, who had, furthermore, indicated that they would not be permanently satisfied with a technical training of this sort.

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[549] Motherhouse archives, file LI h1, resolution of January 6, 1898, for "The National School of St. Stephen."

[550] Motherhouse archives, file HB y and LI h2. Cf. Battersby, Vol. II, pg. 200.

The setting up of a Brothers' Community in Waterford had had, it appeared, as its principal cause the need for a broader field of operations. The question of the transfer of the Scholasticate was bound up, from the very beginning, with the future activities of St. Stephen's School. Nevertheless, Brother Patrick, the Assistant, still balked at any irrevocable decision. "We should await," he wrote, "the results of the new school." And he seemed to prefer a somewhat more ambiguous system, resembling the student-teacher arrangement: — Scholastics would be divided among several schools; Waterford would be given "ten or twelve"; but Castletown would keep two; and others would be consigned to schools that had already been in operation or that were going to be opened in Kildare and in Castlebar.[551].

However, in January of 1888, the Superior-general permitted the acquisition of a building in the vicinity of St. Stephen's Street. The Visitor, Brother Clementian had located it, situated on Newton Road, "ten minutes from the three Catholic churches and ten minutes as well from the school." The neighborhood, near the river, was the most pleasant that anyone could imagine; planted with beautiful trees, strewn with gardens and offering — beyond the main road and the majestic river — a view of the hills. The structure, which was in good condition, would be large enough to house thirty persons.

Permission had to be gotten from the Bishop to settle the Scholasticate in his diocese. Brother Clementian explained to Bishop John Power[552]that the Board refused to extend the previous arrangements permitted to the institution in Castletown; but that, on the other hand the High Commissioners agreed with the Superiors of the Institute in favor of a system of practical pedagogy in the classrooms at St. Stephen's. The Scholastics would dwell at Newton Road: the new institution, developed at the Congregation's expense, would not demand for the support and livelihood of its residents any financial contributions on the part of the diocese.[553]

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[551] Archives of La Salle Training College, Historique, pp. 11, 12

[552] Whom Bishop Egan succeeded in 1890, according to the Historique de Waterford, pg. 7. — An undated note in file LI h1, in the Motherhouse archives attributes, doubtless erroneously, the coming of the Brothers to St. Stephen's School to Bishop Egan. The Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes for October 1909, pg. 300.

[553] Historique cited, pp. 13, 14.

"Go right ahead," replied the prelate, "I place no conditions or formalities. You have my best wishes and my blessing."[554] On June 20, 1888 the Brothers moved into their estate. The St. Stephen's Street Community elected to reside them in October. A few days later the Scholastics arrived from Castletown, with Brother Severus of Mary, their Director and Brother Bartholomew, their Sub-director. To his personal teaching in the Scholasticate classrooms Brother Severus added direction of elementary studies in the practice-school.

It became quickly apparent that quarters at Newton Road had become too cramped for the number of residents. And some wondered whether it wouldn't be preferable to migrate to Dublin: the capital city seemed to offer better facilities for study than Waterford. Libraries, Colleges, museums and historical monuments — everything there stimulated intellectual activity. Brother Patrick, who arbitrated the decision, judged quite wisely that the drawbacks out-weighed the advantages: the atmosphere in Dublin was too inflamed for young Brothers; criss-crossed by violent political currents and — especially at this time — no way secured against Protestant influences, there would have been a danger of disturbing the minds of young people who, only the day before, were sheltered behind the garden-walls of the Novitiate. It would be preferable to enlarge the residence in peaceful Waterford. This was the conclusion that compelled acceptance. Another floor was added to Newton House and a small annex was built.[555]

All of this was a prelude to a much broader and more resounding initiative. The Scholasticate, as it operated with the approval of the Commissioners of Education, had already taken on the features of an official *Normal School*. And hardly had the institution been set up than there were people who contemplated giving it the name, the rights and the student population of a British Training College.

Among the members of the Board there was a Catholic of very firm convictions and of exceptional influence, Sir Patrick Keenan. He maintained the best of relations with the Brothers; a few years later, in gratitude, they awarded him the honor and the spiritual privileges of "Affiliation" to the Institute.[556] Sir Patrick, as early as 1887, had insisted on

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[554] Motherhouse archives, LI h1, Brother Clemetian's letter to the M. H. Brother Joseph, January 31, 1888.

[555] Historique cited, pp. 4-16. — In 1912, as circumstances and people changed, a "house of studies" was built in Dublin, at Ely Place, for the Brothers who came to study for higher degrees and to take courses at the Catholic University (National University).

[556] Historique cited, pg. 44.

specifying what would have to be the professorial personnel of the future College for student-teachers. However, realization proved elusive. The Brothers were absorbed in the advancement of their St. Stephen's School and in the education of their Scholastics.

Concerning decisions for the future it was necessary to await the arrival of s strong willed leader. This was to be Brother Justin. Stephen MacMahon, born in Mayo in 1834, left his native Ireland at fourteen years of age following his parents to New York. Once he had become a Brother, he was not long employed at unimportant duties. A teacher at Baltimore, a sub-director in Montreal and a director at Utica, he shone by his intelligence and skill. Setting up the San Francisco District took him away.[557] In 1879 he was recalled to the east as Visitor of the New York District, a position he continued to hold while President of Manhattan College, before his Superiors called him in 1890 to replace Brother Clementian[558] in England and Ireland.

The latter, a very good and holy man, had a somewhat faded appearance. Brother Justin was made of sterner stuff. Mgr. John Chidwick, described this person whom he knew so well as "extraordinarily dynamic, vigorous in body, soul and spirit, devout, joyful and optimistic; someone who required obedience, but above all warm-hearted, generous, faithful, incapable of disloyalty towards a friend or a cause; a father full of concern and affection for every child confided to his care."[559]

All this was expressed through his broad Celtic face, clear eyes, firm mouth, and a subtle charm and a will that knew how to overcome obstacles.[560] Stephen MacMahon shone and conquered. He bound himself always to Mgr. Gibbons and Mgr. Spalding, these inspirers of thought and action on behalf of Catholics in USA. He would also obtain sympathy, confidence and cooperation in the kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

In order to establish the Training College such as he wished, the new Brother Visitor had to make use of all his courage, to struggle courageously and make use of diplomacy. Some bishops were not very enthusiastic. They were nor ready to admit to the same establishment both lay people and religious. If the scholasticate should become a *normal school,* the future lay teachers would have to work together with the young Brothers. Allowing for the necessary separations for Rule exercises, meals, recreation and sleeping arrangements, the Superiors saw all the favourable aspects of the proposal: interesting

[557] See Vol.VI., pp.326-328

[558] Returned to USA and on 16th November, 1891, was elected as assistant by a chapter commission, to replace Brother Patrick.

[559] Cited by Brother Angelus Gabriel op.cit., pp.460-461

[560] Portrait in the USA dossier ID h (USA) in the Mother House archives

extension of the work, further opportunities of emulation, new possibilities for recruitment, ease of apostolate…

Faithful to the great plan of M. De La Salle, Brother Superior Joseph along with Brothers Clementian Justin, Aphraates and Aimarus, envisaged a continuation in modern times of the former seminaries for country schoolmasters. The teachers, disciples and colleagues of the Brothers, would be penetrated by the principles formulated by the teacher-saint in the *Conduct of Schools*; they would know the best teaching methods, practise the 'simultaneous method' instead of the individual or mutual method that had too many supporters in Ireland.

Above all, they would be strengthened, and they themselves would strengthen their pupils, in the Roman faith.

The new bishop of Waterford, Mgr. Egan, was among those opposed to a training college open mainly to lay people. He predicted the failure of the plan, refusing to become the manager or to accept the title. Brother Justin had difficulty in changing the bishop's attitude. He let it be understood that they were ready to allow the foundation to take place in the neighbouring diocese of Kilkenny.[561]

At last he obtained from the Church circles the unanimity he declared to be indispensable. To overcome opposition, he had found important help among state authorities. The Chief Secretary for Ireland, Arthur Balfour, had shown keen interest in the project. His clear support led to a very favourable attitude from certain persons.

But the principal support came from Sir Patrick Keenan. Between this highly intelligent and loyal Irishman and the Lasallian from Connaught, there was perfect agreement. In December 1890, Brother Assistant Aimarus received this letter from Brother Justin: "When we arrived in Dublin, Sir Patrick was at home, ill. Not only did he receive us kindly, but he seemed to wish for success as much as we did. He assured us that there would be no difficulties from the Board, that Bishop Walsh, archbishop of Dublin, would remove any opposition. He added, however, I don't see this opposition should cause you any problem…The thing is proceeding well… You will have all the necessary approvals."[562]

Bother Justin did not neglect any alliance. He addressed himself to ministers, to members of the Commons and the Lords.[563] Following the advice of Sir Keenan, he came to see Lord Emily, chancellor of the Dublin university. He received a warm welcome. The

[561] History of the Training College pp.25-27

[562] Archives of the mother House, dossier LI h1, cited by Battersby, t.II., pp.118-119

[563] Historique cited, p.24

chancellor kept his visitor for a long time, questioned him about the various works of the Institute and ended the meeting by saying: “Make sure you tell Sir Patrick that I willhelp you in every way I can.”[564]

These were not empty words. Towards the end of December, the active negotiator saw his plans accepted. Provisionally, the Board fixed the number of authorised students at 70. A considerable help of 50 pounds (Sterling) was offered for each student-teacher. Diplomas from Waterford would be valuable not only for Ireland but also for English schools. In this way, the new foundation would be the basis for Lasallian institutions for the whole District.[565]

In 1891 the college was situated at Newton House. Because there were insufficient places, the main group of scholastics returned to Castletown while 24 remained as teacher-training students. Recruitment of their companions was conducted through the National schools. Brother Justin informed the managers whom he knew, asking them to choose well-behaved students, solid in their religion and capable of passing the entrance exam. Forty such were admitted for the first year.

Brother Severus of Mary was designated as Director. Unfortunately he left for Canada at the beginning of summer to arrange some matters and died there. As an energetic experienced man greatly appreciated by the inspectors of Education, his absence left a difficult hole to fill. For some time, Brother Justin was responsible for everything in the Training College.

The final choice of the Superiors was for a religious outstanding in knowledge and in virtue,

Shy, and extremely modest even to the extent of upsetting those who met him for the first time, he was in no way similar to the electrifying and magnetising influence of the Brother Visitor. But he was no less strong, and perhaps even more capable of maintaining a work correctly in its vitality.

Brother Justin had known Brother Benezet Thomas for twenty-one years. He had welcomed him as the seventh postulant to the recently inaugurated noviciate in San Francisco. Not very attractive, this thin, lanky person somewhat awkward in manner could cause some astonishment, even suspicion. Responding to questions, this young man had replied that he made use of his leisure time to teach catechism to poor children. This was why the house of formation was opened for this silent person.

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[564] Battersby t.II, p.119

[565] ibid, pp.121-122 – Bulletin des Ecoles chretiennes, July 1930, pp.217-219.

There was no need for delay in discovering his personality. He was a close relative of Sir Robert Kane, professor of chemistry of the Royal Society of Dublin. He himself – Roderick Kane –was civil engineer, graduate of Queen's college of Cork. His family, from Blackrock was numbered among the most distinguished Catholic families of Ireland. After being a pupil of the Jesuits at Clongows Wood in Kildare county, he had achieved his diploma of civil engineering in the city of Cork. Having arrived in San Francisco in 1869 on the west side of USA, the call of grace led him to the Brothers.

Once his value was known, Brother Benezet-Thomas became a professor at Saint Mary's, the famous college of the Californian district. Three years later, Brother Justin brought him back to New York to launch the Amawalk scholasticate. From 1885 the learned young Irishman was at Manhattan College. In making known to the English Visitor the name of the helper sent for the Waterford house, Brother Aimarus, Assistant, could write: "Bring to the attention of the inspectors the pedagogical experience of the future director of the Training College".

Brother Benezet occupied this position from 1891 to 1911 when his reputation earned him the title of Assistant to Brother Gabriel-Marie. If the *normal school* provided by the Institute provided competent Christian teachers for the British Isles and even – through many missionary Brothers- for many other English speaking countries, the merit for the success should be attributed to the wisdom and sustained efforts of the director.

Of course, we should not forget to mention a teaching staff formed from the best elements of the district. Brother James, also from America, was the distinguished professor of literature from the beginning. Brother Potamian, chair of physics and chemistry, could not take it prior to 1893, but then, what fame did not "Michael O'Reilly" bring to Waterford! Mathematics was in the charge of Brother Timothy. Brother Ananias was entrusted with living languages. Other Lasallians taught history, geography and botany. Drawing and music formed part of the programme. There were even practical courses in agriculture with demonstrations on a 'model farm', practical workshops so that the young teachers could either awaken the professional skills of pupils or use them at home themselves. As regards the technique of teaching, this was reserved to Brother Severus as it was always the head of the establishment entrusted with properly instructing the students of the *normal school*.

There were brilliant exam results in 1881 and 1882. Civil and religious authorities who followed the studies closely expressed their satisfaction. The bishops, assembled at Maynooth, declared that administrators of schools were authorised to support candidates for admission into the Training college[566]run by the Lasallians.

[566]Ibid., p.45

Such fine beginnings guaranteed the future. Without delay, plans were put forward for imposing buildings. The Mother House advanced the capital required to carry out the plan. In May 1892 a section of the college offered daily provision for work, recreation and meals. Two years more were needed to finish the undertaking. Exams presided over by delegates of the National Board took place between 9th and 13th July 1894 in the large hall appropriately set up. Students were invited not to leave Waterford before the solemn inauguration.

On 16th July, Mgr. Sheehan, bishop of the diocese, and his colleague Mgr.Brownrig of Ossory, presided at the ceremony. Brother Assistants Aimarus and Clementian came from France but the great architect of the work, Brother Justin, was not present among his kinsmen to receive the reward of his labors for he had been recalled to New York.

The local newspaper, the 'Waterford News', took note of the great crowd of ecclesiastics and lay people present at 'Newton' for this most impressive day. Outside and inside, the prelates blessed the walls of the 'magnificent monument' true symbol of the 'zeal and energy' of the sons of the Blessed De La Salle. This harmonious and strong façade above the green sward added to the beauty of the town and the river.[567]

From the beginning of the school year in the next September, the Training College was authorised to increase its intake to 120. It reached its maximum at 150 in 1898. The normal school, placed under the patronage of the holy Founder of the teaching congregation enjoyed its finest days. Lasallians sought to emphasise in their lessons to a youthful elite the decision not to separate intellectual culture from a Christian apostolate in order to devote themselves to education either on Erin's soil or in populous centres in England, especially to the patient 'reform' of children's souls. Besides the lay people, members of other religious orders joined with the scholastics to be initiated into pedagogy and the preparation of diplomas. The competence of the Brothers was everywhere recognised; they were regarded as the teachers of teachers, as specialist professors. In 1901, the bishop of Kilkenny wished to have one or two of them to improve the teaching of sciences in his diocesan college, Saint Kieran. Brother Barthelemy-Marie was sent there. When Eire of the 20th century will have obtained its hopes of independence, the Brothers and their disciples will be ready to offer their country the fullness of their professional work and spiritual and moral strength. [568]

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[567] Historique, p.566 – Archives of the Mother House, LIh1 – See Bulletin of the Brothers of the Christian Schools October 1909, pp.308-310; Battersby t.II, pp.119-120

[568] *La Salle Training College* no longer has lay teachers today as the official normal school in Dublin is sufficient for the recruitment of primary school teachees for a diminished population. But the Irish Republic substantially supports a preparatory school founded by the Brothers at Ballyvourney in the middle of the Gailic speaking zone, for teachers preparing to teach in the public schools. Not

far from Waterford Lasallians have Faithlegg house and another at Kilmacow to train future missionary Brothers. In England, in 1949 they have organised not far from Manchester , a Catholic *normal school* in the domain of Hopwood Hall where Byron composed *Childe Harold*. The Director, Brother Columban, is Irish.

CHAPTER FIVE

Spain

It may perhaps be thought remarkable that De La Salle's disciples had undertaken an educational apostolate to Germany and England before traversing the Pyrenees and penetrating the peninsula where their "spirit of faith" harmonized so profoundly with the beliefs of an entire nation. The reasons for this long postponement were many: history, as much as geography, had raised barriers between France and Spain, which, while not unsurmountable, nevertheless constituted quite serious obstacles. While a similarity of language and religion may have provided something of a beginning of mutual understanding, national rivalry, conflicts of national character, mutual suspicion and the memory of cruel struggles operated, with the strongest possible power, in a contrary direction. Product of ancient isolation and a pride that fed off centuries of splendor, Spanish individualism went on the defensive when an idea, a man or a project appeared to be a foreign importation. However, when at more favorable moments, when people turned to the outside world, when appeals were launched externally with a view to spiritual or temporal undertakings or collaboration, Spain was able to convert other people's ideas into its own substance. The seed that the soil accepted was not slow in sprouting up; the stalk, springing up to the full light, grew vigorously. And the new product, adapted to the climate, cultivated with love, quickly appeared to be a native growth.

When the Institute of the Brothers of the Christian Schools came to be known in Castille, in Aragon, in Catalonia and in Andalousia, its success was asserted in a remarkable way. There was support from the Church's hierarchy, good will on the part of the civil authorities, the gratitude of families, vocations from among the pupils — nothing was lacking to assure its future. The principles and methods of its Founder had striven to open up to it access to souls, as the latter immediately sensed that the Brothers sought nothing but the good of souls, and that they were trying to understand them and that they hope to serve, and not to subjugate, them.

The first Brothers, come from France, were to prove the purity of their intentions by their words, their attitudes and their actions. Of course, *in intimo corde* they remained thoroughly faithful to their own native land. Nevertheless they respected the institutions and the traditions of the country that had received them. But this does not say it all: they became attached to Spain, and they studied its past intelligently; and they entered into its spirit; they rejoiced in its splendors, and they were moved sympathetically with the

modulations of its hopes and prayers. The love of Christ ruled them; and it enabled them to overcome bias and disarm ill-will.

And within middle-class circles, indeed within the aristocracy, as well as among the popular classes, the Brothers were accepted, adopted and loved. Rapidly, their Society ceased to appear like an importation from across the mountains. The Spaniards, in their desire to absorb the Institute, sought for it naturalization papers within their own very distant past: they discovered that in their northern provinces there were familial traces of St. John Baptist de La Salle; they followed the meanderings of these medieval warriors through the trails of the Pyrenees. And, henceforth, the disciples of the Canon of Rheims on the banks of the Ebro and the Tagus did not hesitate to acknowledge their Founder as a sort of fellow-countryman.

However, their educational traditions had been tied to the name and the work of another Churchman, who was indisputably one of their own and whose contributions existed on their soil. Joseph Calasanctius, a man from Aragon, canonized by the Church — Rome had recently proclaimed him "Patron of Catholic Schools" — had toward the end of the 16th century taught poor children. The priests who had cooperated with him he formed into a Congregation, approved by Pope Gregory XV in 1611. The "Clerks Regular of the Poor of the Mother of God for Pious Schools" — or, more succinctly the "Scolopii" in Italy and the "Escolapios" in Spain — had spread over these two nations and had been planted as far away as Germany and Poland. In 1648, their founder, at ninety-two years of age, reached the end of a life of heroic labors and unspeakable trials. He had not suffered in vain: popular education, not unknown prior to him but conspicuously neglected at the dawn of the modern period, was once again flourishing in a number of countries.

Of course, the Escolapios did not confine themselves in primary education. As Churchmen, and as a consequence Latin scholars, they did not delay in becoming teachers of the "Humanities". Their secondary schools tended somewhat to cast their elementary schools into the shade, although the latter did not drop from sight. A good number of them existed in Spain in the 19th century, interesting survivors of wars and revolutions, and irrefutable witnesses to the concerns of a fundamentally Christian people with respect to the humblest children.[569] In spite of calumnious myths, the wish to instruct the masses was always insisted upon by the best of the peninsula's educators. St. Joseph

[569]Motherhouse archives, File JE x9, note on the "Escolapios." — Maurice Legendre, Nouvelle Histoire d'espagne, 1938, pg. 274. — Cf. Vol. I of the present work, pg. 27.

Calasanctius lacked neither disciples nor imitators all the way up to our own times.[570] But, during the previous century, Spain, a prey to political dissension and to social distress, had a great deal of difficulty combatting ignorance. Once the ancient guilds had been eliminated workers were obliged by the pitiless law of the jungle; he earned a living with difficulty and his children, compelled to work at a very young age or to unrestrained vagrancy, were condemned to a life of barbarism. The abolition of Religious Orders and the confiscation of monasteries by Mendizabal in 1835 and 1836 had exacerbated the evil. And while the sale of Church property did nothing but enrich speculators, the sources of generous alms were dried up; and the people felt themselves a little more abandoned materially and morally.[571] As a consequence of the disbanding of the teachers of the Regular Clergy, many schools closed their doors.

A long and patient effort was needed to restore the initial order. Catholics genuinely conscious of their responsibilities made an attempt: James Lucien Balmès, an important philosophy, was to fulfill the rôle of precursor. After him — he had died prematurely—a teaching squarely opposed to individualism and egoism at the same time as to middle-class rationalism, was worked out for people of action: in Valence, in 1864, the Jesuit Father Vincent, was to lay down the early definitions of "Social Catholicism."[572] At this period three quarters of the population was made up of people who knew neither how to read or to write. This "illiteracy" was not even dented before 1877. Ten years later 68% of the Spanish population was estimated to have been without book-learning. In the last year of the century the overall figure had been reduced to 63%,[573] the clear proof of a successful solution.

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[570] In his book just referred to, M. Maurice Legendre, alludes to the "remarkable" efforts at extended throughout Spain." The reference here is especially to the work undertaken, in the course of the previous century, by Andrew Manjon, the founder of the Ave Maria school.

[571] Legendre, op. cit., pg. 307.

[572] Legendre, op. cit., pg. 308.

[573] Statistics provided by Nazario Gonzalez (Brother Claudio Gabriel) in his doctorate dissertation, la Obra LaSallana en Españia, Madrid, 1947.

We shall have to uncover the causes, which might have already been revealed during the reign of Isabella II in 1857 when Minister Moyano drew up the education law which, after it had been passed and promulgated, was supplement by the rule of 1859. It was much more than an original and living charter for education, the bureaucratic codification of usages and customs. Rather, in this connection it is interesting and it retains its value throughout the entire period with which we shall be concerned. It recognized every citizen's right to start a school. It demanded no certificates, while the teacher set up his own school at his risk and peril, without having recourse to the financial assistance of the central government or the local civil authorities. However, a "preliminary evaluation" was required respecting the healthiness of the site, the administrative organization and the educational programs.[574]

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Such was the rather broad and easily expandable framework within which the Brothers of the Christian Schools took up their positions. It was, of course, necessary for Spain to affiliate them. Several Bishops, it is believed, executed some preliminary gestures around 1832.[575] Such an event was possible — a current of thought had been opened up between Madrid and Paris at the same time as certain political conversations. But exact documentary evidence remains to be identified. More importantly, these vague efforts had no consequences. The Carlist War was about to begin; Queen Regent Christine called to power the Liberal Party, which had little sympathy for the Church. Turbulence and insurrection had occurred in the chief cities; convents in Saragossa were plundered and monks were gunned down in Barcelona. And then the Jew Mendizabal became Prime Minister and suppressed Religious Orders.

For the next twenty years "government by *pronunciamientos*" was rife: storms broken by periods of quiet, the flow and reflow of passion, ambition and greed. Narvaez signed the Concordat of 1851 with the Holy See. Since Christine was forced to go into exile in 1854, Isabella, having attained her majority, handed the reins of government over to Espartero, to O'Donnell, and thereafter to Narvaez. Circumstances did not warrant great hopes or

[574] Article by Manuel b. Cossio, Director of National Educational Museum in Madrid, in the Nouveau Dictionnaire de pédagogie by Ferdinand Buisson, 1911, pp. 567-568.

[575] Memoria del Cincuentenario de la venida de los Hermanos de las Escuelas cristianas a España, 1928, pg. 25.

splendid projects. Amid so many setbacks there were nevertheless generous souls who sought to do something. On July 8, 1859, a traveller reached the Lasallian Institute's Motherhouse on Rue Oudinot: it was Bartholomé Laffore, from Malaga. He spoke with the first Assistant, Brother Calixtus, who wrote the following words on his visitor's calling card: "This gentleman asked for information regarding the obtaining of Brothers. I gave him two sets of directions."[576]

That was all, and the silence continue for another six and a half years. In 1866 Laffore became President of the St. Vincent de Paul Chapter in his province; and in a letter dated February 7,[577] he reminded the Brothers of who he was; according to him the members of the foreign Institute were going to practice their profession of elementary teachers on the other side of the Pyrenees. And also he spoke of planting a "branch" on Spanish soil separated from main trunk.

They were certainly not equivalent solutions. But henceforth there were minds that gave thought to the problem in a most persistent fashion. The Institute's philosophy of education became the object of study. A professor from the Normal School in Valladolid place in the hands of his students Brother Agathon's commentary on the "Twelve Virtues of a Good Teacher". Having translated the text into Castillian, he was no longer satisfied to adopt it as subject-matter for his lectures. In 1869, he published *las doce virtudes de un buen maestro.*[578]

On the Franco-Spanish frontier there was a man on the watch, who was also an apostle; he dreamed of expanding and consolidating the Kingdom of God by rousing a sense of involvement on both sides of the mountains, and by offering the minds and hearts of the youth of the Basque Country, of Navarre and even of more distant regions the collaboration of the Brothers. We have already made his acquaintance, and know his work and his career, and we shall, perhaps, penetrate more deeply into the secrets of his soul by observing him in action in relation to Spain. Brother Irlide, Visitor of the District of Bayonne, had founded in this city St. Bernard's residence school; he sought to establish a

[576] Document in the Motherhouse Archives, File J, quoted by Brother Claudio Gabriel in his thesis, pg. 87-88.

[577] Ibid. quotation by the same author.

[578] Cf. Vol. II of the present work, pg. 589.

center of studies that would facilitate neighborly relations between his own countrymen and the population on the peninsula; French schoolboys learned the language of Cervantes and became familiar with the prose-writers and the poets of the "Golden Age". And their guides, the Brothers, would find as they prepared themselves for such teaching, the means — please God — to expand the Congregation's influence, to initiate new labors in a region in which rich harvests were promised. And then it was that, without fearing any serious sense of being uprooted, families in the "Catholic Kingdom" entrusted their sons to the teachers at St. Bernard's. It was a crucial interlude in the itinerary that a peaceful "conquistdor" proposed to pursue.

Not far from Bayonne, Hasparren was prepared for an analogous experience. The instruction dispensed by the Brothers in this large Euskarian town attracted a good number of the youths from the provinces between the Ebro and the Pyrenees. The highly regarded Director of the school, Brother Juvenal, counted among the highly placed people in the Spanish administration, former pupils who welcomed the Institute's representatives with open arms and, having broken through any number of prejudices won over their fellow-citizens to the Brothers' cause.[579]

Surely, we would not criticize such cautious tactics as a "calculated" assault. The Brothers, whom in Europe and America not only educational specialists but law makers and heads of government kept an eye on, seemed to have a right to reveal to a nation spontaneously turned in upon itself the teaching methods and the apostolic procedures of an educational Genius.

Even before the end of "the Brother Philippe era", one seemed to be on the verge of a major decision. The charity and the piety of a woman were at the foundation of the future structure.

Among the aristocratic ladies in Madrid who, viewing the frightful results of revolutionary and antireligious propaganda in the capital, attempted to revive the Christian spirit by means of charitable works, there was Doña Ernestina Manuel de Villena. As early as her thirtieth year she entirely dedicated herself to the service of the poor. But the whole of her very serious youthful years was a journey toward this goal. Daughter of the Marquis of Casa Real, a diplomat accredited by Ferdinand VII to the Grand Duke of Tuscany and granddaughter — on her mother's side — of a Danish Plenipotentiary, M. Dreyer, much in favor at the Court in Copenhagen and his kings' representative in France, Ernestina very early experienced the vanity of earthly glories. When a dynastic quarrel aroused by the last-will-and-testament of the king excluded his brother Don Carlos from the throne in order to secure it for his daughter

[579] Cincuentenario, pp. 304-305. — For Bayonne, cf. Vol. V of the present work, pp. 399-400.

Isabella, the Marquis abandoned his career as ambassador. Preferring to go into exile, he sought to make his home in France. Accompanied by the members of his family, he settled in Pau in 1833. The child, born in Lucca on September 7, 1830, was to grow up in the Bearnais region. She was given a thoroughly Christian education at the same time that she was exposed to wider prospects and to profoundly evangelical relations with a believing people. A residence in Rome in 1854 offered her the opportunity of experiencing and manifesting the zeal of her orthodox faith. Pius XII granted her an audience, which continued to be for this faithful lady the inexhaustible source of emotion and energy. Doña Ernestina then returned to Spain, but without breaking her contacts with France. She was in Paris during the Second Empire, where she attended a ball at the Tuileries, to which, her contemporary and compatriot, Empress Eugenie had invited her. Behind these apparently worldly trappings there was unfolding a life full of the love of God and of kindness for her neighbor. As a young girl in Madrid she had relieved poverty and suffering. After the death of her mother in 1859 she became the foundress of an orphanage.[580] The work had begun quite unimpressively on Parada Street, under the patronage of the "Holy Family". She soon left her initial shelter and selected residence, successively, in dwellings in Caridad, Calatrava and Obelisco. Doña de Villena was assisted by a few nuns, a couple of Sisters of Charity at first and then by "Servants of Mary" who belonged to a Congregation begun by a French priest, Father Cestac, and whose Motherhouse was in Anglet, near Biarritz. In 1866 the "Sacred Heart Asylum" — as it was henceforth called — housed thirty-one boys between the ages of five and twelve. Their benefactrice wished to keep them until they reached the age of apprenticeship. But Father Cestac objected that the task of supervising youths of eighteen or twenty years of age could not devolve upon women. And he talked about withdrawing the Servants of Mary.

A male Congregation would be obviously better equipped to accomplish Doña Ernestina's plans. Why not appeal to the Christian Brothers? Their universal reputation as teachers marked them out for selection by anyone planning an institution of general or specialized education, of elementary or technical instruction. In Béarn, as in Paris, a Spaniard brought up among the French, was familiar with the work and the accomplishments of the Brothers. Her mind was made up. Cardinal Cyril Alameda, Bishop of Toledo, was asked by a member of his diocese about the possibility of introducing "four or six Brothers" to whom the supervision of the orphanage would be entrusted. Properly authorized, the lady undertook to open negotiations with the Superior-general.

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[580] A biography of Ernestina Manuel de Villena was published in Madrid in 1928, by J. Vales Failde. — Brother Claudio Gabriel used it on pp. 83-84 of his book.

The Cardinal was delighted to grant whatever permission. He was not unaware — he said in his reply — of the reputation of "the pious and charitable Institute". From that time on his support was already won for the Brothers whom Brother Philippe would be in a position to send to Spain.[581]

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Writing to the Motherhouse on Rue Oudinot, the "President of the Sacred Heart Association" joined to her letter a copy of the Cardinal's very enthusiastic approval. She also had within the French Congregation an important advocate: the Visitor of Bayonne, whom she may have known personally, but with whose hopes and concerns she was more or less familiar. On a number of occasions Brother Irlide had been confided in by "distinguished Spaniards" concerning rather clearly defined proposals; but, he later declared, "nothing was ever as serious or as urgent as that of Señorita de Villena."[582]

Almost certainly she had revealed her current proposal to him, and, therefore, he did not hesitate to take a hand in it. During that summer of 1866 the M. H. Brother Philippe was staying at the residence school in Béziers, where Brother Irlide met him and passionately pleaded Spain's cause. The Superior maintained his customary caution, and sent Brother Irlide to Paris to the Counsel of the Assistants. They read the letter that the messenger carried: "My dear Brothers, Brother Irlide, Visitor, is going to meet with you and repeat what he has told us here concerning our entrance into Spain. If he wins you over, Brother Péloguin would be able to go to that kingdom and look into what needs to be learned... " Thus, until further notice, there were no firm commitments; and there was nothing to suggest how the Leader was leaning. He was satisfied to leave the road open to the action and the eloquence of the informal representative of the Madrid noblewoman.

With the Superior-general absent, Brothers Calixtus, Péloguin, Baudime and Facile deliberated. At this time of the year, the other members of the Regime were travelling throughout France, presiding at retreats and visiting Communities. The four men who heard out Brother Irlide could not be mistaken for timid or timorous individuals. They understood and they approved of the plans of the enterprising Visitor. Together with him

[581] Motherhouse archives, File JE x9 and HB f1. — Cincuentenario, pp. 27-28. Brother Claudio Gabriel, op. cit., pg. 78.

[582] Motherhouse archives, File JE x9.

they drew up a rough draft of a letter. And to whom, to their way of thinking, should the letter be addressed? Directly to Queen Isabella II! It required — certainly — Brother Philippe's signature, which was to be obtained by Brothers Péloguin and Irlide. They journeyed to the South of France, to meet with the tireless old man in Avignon.[583]

They were only partially gratified. Brother Philippe refused to enter into a correspondence with the Queen. But he delegated the two men with whom he was speaking to go to Madrid. Both of them were persons who would give the a most favorable and precise image of the Institute. Brother Assistant Péloguin combined a majestic demeanor with a great deal of friendliness; he had given evidence of his intelligence, vigor, his experience of men and of sensitive relations as Director-general of schools in Rouen and thereafter as head of the reform school in Fontevrault, and — immediately prior to his election to the Regime — in the government of the District of Lyons. He was from Languedoc and was not an absolute stranger to the Iberian nation.[584]

Nevertheless, the main action was left for Brother Irlide. At one time secretary to Brother Leufroy in the Papal States, he gave remarkable support to the difficult inquiry that was conducted by the man who was representing both the Superior-general and the Pope. Brother Leufroy praised his "excellent judgment, his wisdom, skill and perceptiveness" and his powers of deduction and demonstration; and he cast into a brilliant light the talents — as well as the virtues — of his collaborator.[585]

From then on it was possible to have anticipated the exalted destiny of the future Superior-general. In Spain, like everywhere else, he would win esteem and respect. He spoke Spanish, and he exploited former contacts among those currently in power. He was the one who would explain the results of the trip to the Superior-general and the Assistants; and it is from his report [586] that we borrow the substance of our documentation.

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[583] Motherhouse archives, File JE x9.

[584] For Brother Péloguin see Vol. V of the present work, pg. 422.

[585] See Vol. VI of the present work, pg. 21.

[586] Preserved in File JE x9 of the Motherhouse Archives.

The Institute's delegates visited Madrid over the weeks of September 1866. Agreement was reached without difficulty with Doña Ernestina, who was so sincere, understanding, kind and humbly Christian. The work that she had undertaken corresponded completely with the Brothers' vocation and their skills. It remained only to obtain the royal government's authorization.

The foundress had solid friends in official circles. In particular, M. Mariano Arrazola, the Minister of Pardons and Justice, who was a man of deep convictions and consistent action, was prepared to render a great number of services. His wife's reception room was offered as a site for an exchange of views. And such a close friendship was struck up between the Brothers and the high-level bureaucrat that a portrait of John Baptist de La Salle occupied a place in the Arrazola home.[587]

There were reasons to hope. Nevertheless, no one should expect a generalized legal recognition that would enable the Brothers' Institute to grow within the kingdom without restrictions or obstacles. The Minister could do nothing that ran counter to existing legislation. But in the Concordat of 1851, there existed article 29:

"In order that, throughout the peninsula, there be a sufficient number of ministers and evangelical workers that the prelates may be able to employ among the populations of their dioceses as assistants to the pastors..., as well as for other charitable and works of public utility, Her Majesty's government — which plans a timely improvement of missionary Congregations for overseas — will attempt to make suitable arrangements in order to establish, to the extent necessary and in agreement with the Bishops, houses and Communities of St. Vincent de Paul, of St. Vincent Neri, and of a third Order among those which have the Holy See's approval."

Two great Religious Societies were immediately provided with authorization for the whole of Spain: the men and women in the Congregation of St. Vincent de Paul and the Priests of the Oratory founded by St. Philip Neri in Italy in the 16th century. The Pope had agreed that Her Catholic Majesty might designate a third Congregation entitled to come to the assistance of the secular clergy for the apostolate and for charitable activity. For three years that choice had not been made.

The Brothers of the Christian Schools, not empowered with the priesthood, and what is more, coming in from a foreign country, could not flatter themselves with being situated at the same level as the Vincentians and the Oratorians. Intended to teach in France, they would have been prevented at that time from slipping into the category of missionary Congregations that the State was planning to foster "overseas."

[587] Brother Claudio Gabriel, op. cit., pg. 100.

On the other hand, entrance "through the back door" depended as much on the goodwill of the civil authority as on the Church's hierarchy. A bishop retained the right to seek for his diocese — and under his responsibility — the services of a Religious Society; if he won royal approval, his invitees would encounter no major obstacles to their undertaking. The point at which their freedom might be — at least theoretically — restricted had to do with the recruitment of novices, the acquisition of community property and foundations outside diocesan boundaries. In this way, Communities, although lacking incorporation, succeeded in becoming implanted and, indeed, in developing vigorously.

This was the solution that Don Mariano thought possible to put into effect. The Decree — the "Real Orden" — in question that had to be obtained in favor of the Institute was worked out during the visit that Brothers Peloguin and Irlide had made to Madrid; and it is quite apparent that they had been made informally acquainted with its content.[588] And then, after they had returned to France, Ernestina de Villena sent them the decision of the Privy Counsel, cast in the following language:

"We are in a position to accede to the request [of the foundress of the orphanage] according to the meaning defined by the following provisions:

1. that the Brothers who are to come a assume direction of the said asylum remain completely subject to the authority of the Archbishop of Toledo, or to other Church Ordinaries of the place in which they will reside;

2. given that Her Majesty's government, in concurrence with the Holy Father, has not yet indicated the third male Order that is to be established in Spain…the authorization granted to the Brothers cannot be understood in such a way that it empowers the establishment of houses of their Order in Spain, the admission of novices or the initiation other activities which suggests the final admittance of their Institute;

3. that the Church authority continue to exercise vigilance and supervision over the education dispensed at the orphanage, as it had done with the Sisters…[589]

The Real Orden, conformed to the stipulations of the Counsel, was signed on October 12, 1866. In brief, it was sufficient to introduce the Brothers into the peninsula. The support of the episcopacy was assured them. The government would be friendly to them for as

[588] Brother Claudio Gabriel, op. cit., pg. 81 et sq.

[589] Motherhouse archives, File JE x9.

long as no political upheaval occurred. While it did not agree at the moment to the opening of novitiates, it would, of course, tolerate the temporary expatriation of young men who, once trained in the Religious Life in France, would return as teachers among their fellow-citizens. Such was the opinion of a good legal scholar;[590]Brother Irlide, obviously, got behind the arrangement. But the Superior-general, who had been something less than enthusiastic, thought that the risk was too great. He broke off negotiations.[591]

There were a lot of Spaniards who regretted that gesture. A year later, on January 6, 1868 a discussion had opened up in the Cortes concerning elementary education, and Severino Catalina, Minister of Fomento,[592]announced that he would seek the cooperation of Religious teaching associations; with that, Izco, Deputy from Pampelona, declared: "To my way of looking at it, there is a gap here that perhaps the Minister is not able to fill. The Brothers of the Christian Schools produce the best results of which the whole of Europe are the beneficiaries. And Spain, the most Catholic of nations, is nearly the only one that fails to benefit. I ask the government to take my opinion into consideration, and I believe that the same as that of all our countrymen."

One of the most influential members of the Assembly, the Marquis of Pidal, was eloquent in the same cause:

1.In the hands of the Brothers primary education is remarkably developed in France. Here, we all want to see this sort of instruction as moral, religious and genuinely practical: well, the only way that the specifications of the law will not remain a dead letter, the unique manner of resolving the educational problem in our country as regards introductory culture, is to bring about the appearance of the Brothers of the Christian Schools

The echo of these tributes reached the other side of the frontier. It supported and justified Brother Irlide's hopes. Without mincing words, the Visitor of Bayonne wrote on October 9 to Brother Philippe: "Since Spain is the only big power in the world entirely Catholic, I have always thought that our Institute has the most powerful reasons to be established there and that it has a substantial interest in that enterprize...I dare add that

[590] Brother Claudio (pg. 88) says that on this question they had consulted the lawyer, M. de Vitoria.

[591] Motherhouse archives, file HB f1. — Brother Claudio Gabriel, pg. 92. — Cincuentenario, pg. 28.

[592] There was as yet not Ministry of Public Education in Spain. Fomento was the agency responsible for working toward all sorts of improvements

we must not hesitate for a moment in the presence of the necessary sacrifices so that our beginnings there will be fruitful in promises."[593]

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Nevertheless, events appeared to have justified the Superior-general's misgivings. During the very period in which his confrere was asserting that he was unalterable in his convictions, Spain was going through a revolutionary crisis. Narvaez' death, in April 1808, heightened the expectations of the enemies of the throne. Generals Prim and Serrano demanded a new Constitution, with universal suffrage. And the entire army stood under their command. The people in Madrid cried: "Long live national sovereignty! Down with the Bourbons!" Isabella II fled to France.

The October declaration, the work of Prim and Serrano, left no doubt about the tendencies of the provisional government: it was a task of "rescuing Spain" from royal and clerical absolutism "contrary to the spirit of the times". "Freedom of worship" was promised as well as freedom of the press, education and association. Catholics were aroused: a petition, that rapidly accumulated a million signatures, circulated protesting the repudiation of religious faith and national traditions. But the Assembly of 1869, elected by universal suffrage, introduced the principles of modern liberalism into the wording of the Constitution.

A six year period of instability, confusion and disorders had begun. Once the Bourbons had been expelled, a search was undertaken for a king. Amedy of Savoy accepted the crown: but at the moment he was setting out for the Mediterranean coast, Prim was assassinated. The young prince, placed in a particularly difficult situation, attempted to rule in association with the heads of the political parties. He had no solid support. There was a Carlist war in the making in the Basque country and in Navarre. On the other hand, the "Workers International", conceived in London in 1863, had entered Catalonia and Castille to promote disorders; a disciple of Bakunin organized republican and socialist cells in Madrid and Barcelona. In 1874, the International included no less that 300,000 Spanish affiliates.[594] Around the king politicians mutually excited and paralyzed one another. No

[593] .[593]Motherhouse archives, JE x9. — Brother Claudio Gabriel, pg. 79. Ibid., Brother Claudio Gabriel, pg. 94.

[594] Legendre, op. cit., pg. 307.

minister lasted very long. Dissensions multiplied, while the military and civilians vented their reciprocal animosity and rancor. Exasperated, discouraged Amedy signed his abdication and went back to Italy.

In February 1873, while the throne was vacant, the Cortes proclaimed the Republic. The nation fell into frightful chaos: "Uniteds" against "Federalists", "Moderates" against "Socialists"; there were insurrections in Malaga, Seville, Cadiz, and Cartagena; and in order to restore the last named city from dissident hands there was a full-scale siege; and bloody repression. From Bilbao to the banks of the Ebro the Carlist uprising every day assumed greater energy, under the auspices of the Pretender, the grandson of the First Don Carlos and through the employment of a genuine army.

Pi y Margall, Salmeron, and Castelar, one after the other, resigned the Presidency of the Republic. Finally, the Generals seized power. In December of 1874 a *Pronuniamiento* by Martinez Campos decided upon the recall of the ancient dynasty: Alphonso XII, son of Isabella, was recognized king of Spain.

This political "restoration" ran the risk of rapid deterioration unless grounded on physical and moral pacification. It was first of all necessary to overcome the Carlists which required long combat and harsh coercion in the northern provinces. The new Assembly, enlightened by the experience of its predecessors, detailed a workable Constitution: — a Parliamentary system, with ministers responsible to the Houses, a king situated as an arbitrator between political parties and considered as the supreme and inviolable leader who was to embody in his own person the unity of the nation. "The Apostolic, Roman Catholic religion" was declared "the State religion". And, after negotiations with the Pope, the terms of the Concordat were reestablished.

A period of relative calm and skillfully prolonged peace succeeded to "a century of dictatorships and revolutions."[595] Conservatives and liberals replaced one another in the government, the former without narrow-mindedness and the later without excessive daring. The premature death of Alphonso XII in November of 1885 was not to lead to a change in the monarchy. During the entire period of the minority of Alphonso XIII, the Queen Regent, Marie Christine of Austria, presided faithfully, wisely and courageously over the destines of the country.[596]

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[595] Legendre, op. cit., pg. 295.

[596] Ibid.

The causes of social fragmentation and religious infidelity had not, for all that, been exorcised. While Marshall Serrano, momentarily head of the executive power, had dissolved the International, many affiliates of that redoubtable organization continued its more or less underground manoeuvrings. Some of its adherents were converted to Anarchism. The doctrine spread insidiously; and propagandists, acting as individuals, without apparent ties one to the other, stayed out of the reach of the law. Less mysteriously, Marxist cells began to crop up, beginning in 1879: Pablo Iglesias' tenacity succeeded at that time in casting the foundations of the *Partido socialista obrero*.[597].

On specifically religious issues, the declaration of freedom of religion in 1869 had promoted a movement whose origins were foreign: Protestantism had been seeking to gain converts. In a variety of ways — preaching, pamphlets, charitable and educational projects — it increased its influence in the urban areas of the country.

All seriously thinking persons had become attentive to educational questions. The time had come for Spain to guarantee its future by taking a stand against ignorance and laziness and by broadening its human and scientific culture. The kingdom was on the way toward increasing its material assets; fertile areas, Valence and the Balearics, bore witness to abundant granaries. Elsewhere, stubborn, "heroic" labor[598]won a harvests or two from a most unforgiving soil. Bilbao, Asturias, and Barcelona, industrial centers, rivalled one another in their efforts to produce wealth. There was no dearth of manual labor: the population which had scarcely reached 10,500,000 by 1787 was doubled in 150 years. There is no doubt that immigration was rather high. Nevertheless, it left, as one could see, an ever-increasing contingent of people behind it in the mother-country; and it continued to be a temporary phenomenon for those successful pioneers who returned to Spain once they had made their fortunes. In any case, it was important to supply those who went overseas as well as those who remained at home with the principles of morality, the knowledge and love of language, history, national traditions and finally with a set of tools and a technique.

Rulers seemed to understand their obligations. Every provincial government was concerned with public education; every municipality had its "junta of elementary education." The Governor in his capital, the *alcalde* in his municipal constituency specified "the King's choice" for counsellors who would take their seats in these bodies as the representatives of the administrative, Church, educational authorities as well as of the fathers and mothers of families.[599] The most vigorous thrust did not come from official

[597] Ibid., pg. 398

[598] Legendre, op. cit., pg. 300.

[599] Cossio, op. cit., pg. 568.

quarters. Two groups took the leadership in matters of education and instruction. Their activities were inspired by diverse ideologies, and in many instances they were opposed to each other, but they nevertheless came together in an unpremeditated accord with respect to certain projects. On the one hand there was the Institucion libre de enseñanza, an association founded in 1876 and which defined itself as devoid of every religious and political commitment; in fact its

tendencies were rationalist and it exercised an influence on liberal politicians.[600]

On the other hand there were the most militant Catholics, determined to increase the number of schools, infuse them with new blood and put them into the hands of teachers who would regard their mission as a priestly one. Goals were clearly defined: to safeguard the integrity of the faith against heresy and skepticism; to prepare youths for professional tasks; and, as a consequence, to combine the rudiments of language instruction with practical training.

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Members of the "St. Vincent de Paul Society" figured among the first ranks of these builders of the future. The Society, the product of the thought and heart of Frederick Ozanam had been implanted in Spain by a former "confrere" of Parisian students, Santiago Masarnau, who had returned to his own country in March of 1843. Masarnau, a musical composer and moral philosopher, acquired himself a reputation in Madrid circles. A Christian gentleman living in the world, he had succeeded in bringing together a few of his friends in the capital for mutual edification and charitable activity according to Ozanam's methods. His example was contagious: by 1854 there were already nineteen such "Conferences" on the peninsula. And in 1868 there were 18,800 confreres, divided into 633 "cenacles", aiding 14,400 families.[601]

The Republic notified them of an order to desist, but, in spite of legal dissolution, they perpetuated their work. By 1875 Alphonso XII annulled the Republican decree. The

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[600] Cossio, op. cit., pg. 567.

[601] Brother Claudio Gabriel, op. cit., pp. 19-21.

Society, reappearing in broad daylight, considered itself in a position to work in concert with the clergy under the benevolent gaze of the civil administration.

And thus it was that in 1877 its affiliate in Barcelona resolved to open a school for young boys, the sons of the poor people whom the "Gentlemen of the Conference" had visited. And, in order to obtain teachers, two distinguished individuals, the Marquis of Palmerola and Don Ignacio Maria Despujols, intervened, with the Superior-general of the Christian Brothers who, for the last eighteen months, had been Brother Irlide.

It is difficult to imagine the request encountering serious obstacles. Once agreement in principle was reached and sent out from Rue Oudinot, in Madrid Palmerola undertook the necessary steps with the ministerial offices. It took him eight weeks, until the end of the spring. "I met with the Minister of Gracia y Justicia and the Minister of Fomento," he wrote to the Superior-general, on June 27. "They authorized the settlement, asking no other formality than a request on the part of the Bishop of Barcelona…[602] An on-site inspection permitted the evaluation of chances for success. The Superior delegated for the task a nimble-minded Brother, a man with a very sound judgment, Brother Tempier, who had become something of the Institute's "legal counsel."[603]For Brother Tempier see the Indexes to Vols. V and VII of the present work.

Having examined the premises, and questioned the eventual sponsors, the Brother, on August 12, sent his report to Paris. It did not go so far as to reach a negative conclusion; but, as a good man of the law, he refused to set up discussions for a contract before the situation of the future Community in relation both to the diocese as well as to the State appeared with perfect clarity.

The Bishop of Barcelona had just been transferred to the Archiepiscopal See of Seville. It became necessary to await the appointment of his successor before reaching definitive arrangements. Nevertheless, the Vicar-capitulary forwarded to the Minister of Justice a copy Benedict XIII's Bull approving the Brothers' Congregation.[604]

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[602] Motherhouse archives, JE x2.

[603] Earlier, according to the Marquis of Palmerola's letter, the former Bishop had personally informed the Minister.

[604] Motherhouse archives, File JE x2. — Cincuentenario, pp. 28, 213.

Some further time passed. And then on September 7, Brother Tempier provided the Marquis with a certain amount of assurance by informing him that the proposals made by the Conference of St.Vincent de Paul had met with the most favorable reception.[605]

The preliminary stages had not yet been gotten through. Matters had proceeded pretty much the same way in another rather large city, the port city of Old Castille on the Atlantic, Santander. Here, the Bishop allowed none of his flock to conduct negotiations. Energetic, zealous, and enterprising while somewhat careless of detail, more imaginative than practical, Don Vicente Calvo y Valero had been enraptured by a visit he had made to the residence school in Passy, St. Nicholas school in Issy les Moulineaux and the parochial school of St. Sulpice. He proclaimed that he would endow his episcopal city with a Brothers' Community and, thereafter, two villages in his diocese, Cobreces and Ramales. His plans had been worked out during 1877, but he was unable to bring them off without governmental authorization.[606]

Such activities and conversations had not escaped the notice of one who had been, from the first, travelling along the same road. Since 1866 Doña de Villena had not given up her great hope. A rather regular exchange of letters with Brother Irlide had supported her, if not in a state of optimism, at least in the determination to persevere. The "Association of Catholic Ladies", that had courageously passed through the revolutionary period, assumed greater dimensions and vigor since the restoration of the monarchy. The feminine aristocracy in Madrid had adopted as its mission the strengthening of the religious and social order. And to this end it sought to increase the number of schools in the city. A program of this sort fitted in with the purposes of the President of the Sacred Heart Association. The Brothers, invited first to serve in the orphanage, and put to the test, so to speak, on difficult terrain, would then appear to deserve — if they proved to be at the height of their task — to be entrusted with the education of the children of the working class.

The noblewomen, however, gave evidence of a great deal of hesitation. Apart from the expenditures to anticipate in setting up a Religious Community, a question, it appeared, of national pride arose. When, several months later, Cardinal Simeoni, Secretary of State for the Holy See, learned that the Spanish Bishops were seeking the collaboration of the Christian Brothers, he spoke to the Institute's Procurator-general, Brother Floridus: "I'm

[605] Cincuentenario, pg. 29. — Brother Claudio Gabriel, pp. 118 et sq.

[606]1

quite delighted…That country needs to educate its people…But there's no need to send them French Brothers at the outset…[607]

Doña Ernestina had not raised that objection. But she had received some powerful assistance. The Jesuit, Father José Joaquin Cotanilla had succeeded Father Medrano in the spiritual direction of the Sagrado Corazón Association. He had a wide experience of life and the world after apostolic tours of duty in France, Colombia, Jamaica, Guatemala and Cuba. He had back been in Spain since 1867, aged fifty-nine years of age at the time. Tribute had been paid to his human qualities, and he was respected for his virtue. He maintained the best of relations with the Archbishop of Toledo, Cardinal Moreno, as well as with a number of other Churchmen and people in high places. "The ladies" gave him an attentive audience, and he played an important rôle in their religious undertakings.

Señorita de Villena had kept him informed about her relations with the Brothers of the Christian Schools, as well as the steps she had taken during, and the disappointments she had had in 1866. But, there came a day — as he himself puts it in his "Diary"[608]— when he quite bluntly raised the subject: "I bring you good news. You wanted us to bring the "Hermanos" from France to your orphanage?" — "But, Father, how could you do that? Twelve years ago, when Don Arrazola was Minister, I thought I had them…They would not accept the Real Orden. — "That doesn't mean a thing. Start all over again to obtain a decree. As for myself, I shall beg, so that they can come to Madrid, I already have 11,000 real. We shall recommend the matter to God."[609]

Señorita de Villena raised no questions except to hear replies that conformed to here dearest wishes. Determinately she set out on a campaign and stopped at neither Santander nor Barcelona. She went straight on to Paris where she reminded people of her prior rights and offering to repeat her earlier entreaties with the Spanish government.[610] She knew that the Superior-general in 1877 would not pose the same

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[607] Motherhouse archives, file KH n2, copies of Brother Floridus' letters. The present one is not dated.

[608] Father Cotanilla had kept a "journal" of his activities from 1834 until April 29, 1886, the day prior to the eve of his death. This document, which consists of three volumes in-octavo, of 320 pages each, is preserved in the Jesuit's Chamartin College. Brother Claudio Gabriel has made extensive use of this source.

[609] Cited by Brother Claudio Gabriel, pg. 104.

[610] Motherhouse archives, JE x2.

difficulties as his predecessor in 1866. Through the Jesuit's efforts, Cardinal Juan Ignacio Moreno's approval had already reached the Motherhouse. Acknowledging the reception of this official document, Brother Irlide had declared: "I hope with all the power of my soul the time has come to provide Spain, the Catholic nation par excellence, with a signal proof of my admiration and my liveliest friendship. The employment in this letter of May 21 of the Castillian language was a gracious gesture which contributed to the solemnity of the promise.[611]

Between the Brother and the great Christian lady there reigned an absolute confidence and a mutual understanding which facilitated in a singular way the first steps of the Brothers beyond the Pyrenees. Similarly, Father Cotanilla remained until his death the far-sighted counsellor and the unfailing support of the Community in Madrid.

But during those decisive days in 1877 every person of goodwill cooperated to clear the road. The new Bishop of Barcelona, Bishop Urquinaona added his approval to that of the Archbishop of Toledo.[612] A native of Barcelona, Antonio Togorès was the intermediary with the diocesan authority.[613]Brother Irlide asked him to pursue and speed up the administrative response, once Señorita de Villena had submitted the Congregation's Constitutions to the Ministry of Grace and Justice.[614]

Finally, on December 12 the Real Orden was obtained. "In conformity with the advice of the Grace and Justice section of the Privy Counsel, the government has no objection to the Brothers of the Christian Schools residing in Madrid in order to direct the Sacred Heart of Jesus Orphanage, on condition of making no demands upon the Treasury."[615]

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[611] Motherhouse archives, JE x2. — Cited by Brother Claudio Gabriel, pg. 106.

[612] Since Madrid had not yet been raised to an Episcopal See, the capital continued to be dependency of the ancient city of Toledo, which had been administratively down-graded by Philip II.

[613] Cincuentenario, pg. 213.

[614] Motherhouse archives, JE x2.

[615] Document in the Archives of the Ministry of Gracia y Justicia, cited by Brother Claudio Gabriel.

Because the 1851 reading of the Concordat was still in force, Alphonso XII was unable to grant a broader authorization than the one given on December 12, 1866. He had opened access to his kingdom to the Brothers: it was a gesture that had been anticipated, but it was an essential gesture, the consequences of which were to be gradually spelled out. The political climate was favorable; in order to guarantee the Religious teachers a future filled with new means of action and possibilities for growth all that was needed was for them to become better known and more appreciated.

On December 29 the Head of the Institute wrote to Doña Ernestina: "As you had foreseen, the Real Orden grants us only a bare entrance into the country. We shall be there,

however, because you asked Brother Irlide who, himself, had asked it of the Superior-general."[616] We cannot more decisively — nor more wittily — conclude a prologue that is nothing, if not excessively long.

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Four Christian Brothers left Bayonne on February 25, 1878 in order to serve in Spain. Their Superior-general — and his successor at the head of the District in the Pyrenees, Brother Calimer — accompanied them as far as San Sebastian. And then, Brothers Jubinus, Ivergile Joseph, Ithamar of Jesus and Gioacchino di Maria made their way to the banks of the Manzanares.

Brother Jubinus was given the responsibilities as Director of the new Community. He had a great deal of good sense and energy and thoroughly prepared for any undertaking, including the risks and the dangers. He was born in 1829 in the diocese of Montpellier and, since his novitiate in Toulouse, had spent a long career as teacher in Departments of the Upper Garonne and Hérault; St. Chinian and Sète were the last places in which he had directed schools. Of the three confreres who had been given him as associates, two of them came from the Rouergue. The fourth, who was still a novice, was a Spaniard who had been admitted into the Roman schools of the Congregation.[617]

[616] Motherhouse archives, file JE x5. — Letter cited by Brother Claudio Gabriel, pg. 109.

[617] Cincuentenario, pp. 23-24, 30. — Brother Claudio Gabriel, pg. 103.

Prior to arming the tiny group launched into an uncertain future with his final blessing, Brother Irlide did not fail to instruct them in their duties. It even appears that Brother Jubinus kept with him an important piece of paper on which were summarized the advice of a clear-thinking and well-informed person. The Bujedo House — a training center whose beginnings we shall recount later on — preserves in its archives a manuscript entitled: "Origins of the Spanish Province or a memorandum which includes: 1. a summary account of the opening of the first schools; 2. considerations and advice given to the Brothers sent from France."

The second part is, to all appearances, a transcription of the primitive *vade mecum*.[618] In it the Superior-general first of all set forth his hopes and his plans. Not only he says did he "accept with gratitude the Spanish requests", but he wanted them to be "provoked"; and, what is more, he foresaw that, on the part of his Institute, there would be spontaneous creations. To his mind, this was only simple "human prudence", since the Brothers could meet with persecutions in other countries. The peninsula represented a refuge. It was, nevertheless, important not to do anything too hastily and to pray before acting. One should avoid gaudy and noisy enterprises: "God never worked with greater freedom, efficiency or splendor than when He began with nothing."

There then appear a number of wise recommendations. "Compliance" and "circumspection" were absolutely essential. The Brothers must become informed about customs, keep them constantly in mind, and introduce no innovations at the outset of the project. As foreigners, and as such somewhat suspect, they will abstain from any allusion, any comparison that might offend the Spaniards. As Frenchmen, they will not attempt to deny nor to excuse the evils with which the Napoleonic Wars burdened this people. They will recall the splendors of Castille, Aragon, Leon and Galicia; and they will not neglect, but rather will be able to recall, what the Catholic kings, the missionaries and saints have done for the Church and for religion "especially in the New World".

The manuscript concludes with the most detailed counsels having to do with material and educational matters. Faithful to the simplicity and humility of their Founder, members of the Congregation are to make no demands regarding food, housing and salary. They will "weigh" programs of study in such a way as to suit them to the various categories of pupil. Their system of discipline will combine a paternal kindness with a persistent firmness; but it will not include corporal punishment. The truths of faith and morality will continue to be the principal objects of instruction.

[618] Cf. Brother Claudio Gabriel, pp. 160-167.

A letter dated November 25, 1878 repeated some of these considerations. At the same time that it detailed the Brothers' obligations, it spell out their rights. "You are going to a country whose traditions are profoundly Christian," Brother Irlide wrote to group of reinforcements: "Do not allow yourselves the least criticism of its customs, nor the least departure from its language." On the other hand, the Directors responsible for Communities must obtain from sponsors of schools a respect for the Rule of the Institute, the strict enforcement of gratuity, and the unimpeded use of the educational methods advocated by De La Salle.[619]

There can be no doubt but what, a memorandum filled with similar words, Brother Jubinus and his friends reached Madrid on the morning of February 26. Father Cotanilla welcomed them as they left the train and brought them to #9 "Passeo del Obelisco". where the Sacred Heart Orphanage was housed at the time. The Ladies of the Association had assembled; the Chaplain introduced the Brothers to them, and then celebrated Mass in the chapel. After luncheon, there was no question of rest. The newcomers met the youngsters to whom they would be administering. Several of the orphans were ill and needed immediate attention; and one or other of the Brothers became the infirmarian. During the night they stood shifts at the bedsides of those who were sick.[620]

A few months later, Brother Jubinus, under the burden of the daily task, sought assistance; and on June 13 his Congregation sent him four auxiliaries. Decidedly too narrowly confined at the Obelisco site, teachers and pupils migrated rather rapidly to #68 "Calle de Atocha."[621]

The humble Lasallian shoot transplanted to Castillian soil had taken root. Ernestina de Villena and Father Cotanilla surrounded it with their attentions, sheltered it from the biting winds and prevented it from being trampled down by neglect and disregard. There then occurred a strange series of events in which their faithful intercession was skillfully exercised. After having raised an alarm that was quite well understood by the Brothers and their friends, the whole incident turned into a great advantage for the Institute in Spain.

In the course of 1877 a teacher in Barcelona, a friend of the Bishop of Ségorbe, recommended to the attention of the latter a certain Dominic Bató, a teacher who sought

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[619] Brother Claudio Gabriel, pg. 124.

[620] Motherhouse archives, file HB f1. — Cincuentenario, pg. 31.

[621] Cincuentenario, pg. 59.

to establish “Catholic schools” inspire with the same spirit and using the same methods as the French schools of De La Salle’s disciples.

The Bishop was not unfamiliar with the religious and educational work realized by the Brothers. He lent a willing ear to Baró’s proposals and introduced this enterprising and garrulous individual into his episcopal palace. At a great cost of convenience, time and money, the Bishop’s remarkable generosity spared nothing. Aides were recruited, and tuition-free schools operated for poor children. Dominic Baró, fitted out in a priestly garb, posed as the founder of a new Congregation, “los Hermanos de la Sagrada Familia”.

He made himself a flattering reputation. In July of 1878 articles about the Brothers of the Holy Family appeared in several newspapers in Madrid, Valencia and Almeria. The Unitá Cattolica in Rome published a brief analysis of the group. The sentence that the papers on the peninsula had, one after the other, repeated, threw light on the situation: “The Brothers we are talking about are all Spaniards; they observe the same rules and obtain the same results as the Brothers of the Christian Schools.”

What could readers conclude except that it was necessary to forego having recourse to the services of a foreign Congregation? Doña Ernestina perceived the danger and alerted Brother Irlide.

There were some who had already suspected Baró’s antecedents. The Motherhouse published them in detail. He was a native of Llivia — a Spanish enclave in the Department of the Eastern Pyrenees — Dominic Emmanuel Baró entered the Novitiate in Toulouse on September 1, 1837, where he received the name of Brother Isinger. Twelve years later he was perpetually professed in Béziers. His changes of Community were surprisingly numerous: —fourteen, from Sète to Paris, with stops at Aubenas, Mende, Marseille, Carpentras, Montpellier, St. Pons, Clermont-Ferrand, Montreal in the Aude, St. Dizier, le Puy, St. Just in Aveyron and Perpignan. He was very intelligent, but unstable, and in financial matters had provided grounds for vague suspicions. Nevertheless, because of his success as a teacher Brother Philippe had, in the end, entrusted him with the direction of the important school of Gros Caillou. It was, perhaps, an unfortunate indulgence: one day in September of 1861, Baró, accused of a moral offense and being sought by the police, quickly dropped out of sight. He succeeded in finding refuge in Spain, where childhood friends, unacquainted with his tainted past, welcomed him. This was the man who, having captured the good graces of the Bishop of Ségorbe, meant to supply his native land with a “national” Congregation.

On orders from Brother Irlide, Brother Jubinus asked for an interview with the Papal Nuncio to Madrid and reported the imposture. A memorandum from Father Cotanilla supplemented the verbal statements of the Director of the Orphanage. It had become necessary to undeceive the all too trusting Bishop, who was never again totally exempt

from worry: the "Holy Family" never succeeded in recruiting any serious novices. This religious sterility was indeed a disturbing augury.

To the explanations demanded by the Nuncio, Bishop Ségorbe, on August 13, 1878, offered a candid reply, describing the fantasies which had deluded him. He then undertook an exchange of letters with Brother Irlide. The Superior-general, somewhat mistrustful upon the reception of the first one, did not take long to become aware of the Spanish prelates' total good faith. He could not, however, send the teaching personnel that Dominic Baró's former protector had asked for.

As early as the first days of September the atmosphere had cleared. There never was any further question about the adventure nor the adventurer. As we shall see presently, the noise raised on the occasion of the "Sagrada Familia" had for effect to attract attention to, and settle affection on the authentic Brothers.[622]

After 1870 a school named for the Immaculate Conception operated on Passeo de Luchana, in the Madrid neighborhood called Chamberi. It was in the hands of lay-teachers. One of the ladies on the Orphanage committee, Doña Maria Luisa de Tirry, Countess of Armildez de Toledo, had resolved to invite in a Congregation of nuns. It was during the days when the former Brother Isinger had become the star performer. He had taken steps among the ministerial offices to obtain the direction of a school in the capital. But Father Cotanilla blocked his way. Urging the proposals of the Countess of Armildez, he had the satisfaction of witnessing this energetic lady taking off for Paris to study the operations of the Christian Brothers. The Superior-general received her at Rue Oudinot and it was he himself who guided her through the shops at St. Nicholas'. On returning from this trip the Countess adopted a clearly defined plan of action. "All by herself", [wrote Brother Jubinus to Brother Irlide] "she sought to achieve what the other ladies of the Association never succeeded in managing. She committed herself personally to paying for three Brothers, the school premises and the door-keeper…"[623].

On October 18, 1878 the new teachers began working in the Passeo de Luchana. This second Institute foundation remained, until further notice, a simple "neighborhood school", dependent upon the Community dwelling "on Atocha". But as early as the end of the following year, the pupils — practically all of whom lived in extremely modest

[622] Brother Casimiro's [Barcelona] notes, containing all the Spanish and French documentation on the Baró affair. — And Brother Claudio Gabriel, op. cit., pp. 168-177.

[623] Motherhouse archives, file JE x5, undated letter in which the death of he young Queen Mercédès was announced

circumstances — became so numerous that a move appeared to be essential. Six grades, rather than three, were opened on Calle de Palofox under the aegis of Brother Lucidas Joseph. There, for the next ten years, the school of the Immaculada admitted a youthful population, among whom blossomed both priestly and monastic vocations. A third stage brought into existence "Chamberi College" — without any alteration of purpose or of clientele — in a spacious structure on Calle Raimundo Lulio.[624]

The Sacred Heart Orphanage, and the Immaculate Conception school: — in the third trimester of their arrival in Spain the men sent by Brother Irlide had already expanded their situation in the capital. And in the provinces negotiations were still going on. As early as April 10, 1878 Bishop Calvo y Valero had in fact obtained a royal order authorizing him to employ the Brothers. But, in September, when Brother Tempier had come upon the information, he judged that no remodelling work had been started; and as for ways of financing the project, nobody talked about it. In the final analysis, the Bishop offered the locale for two grades in "St. Lucy's Hermitage". The Superior asked that the prelate at least commit himself to building after acquiring a contiguous garden. Since all practical details had been left up in the air, Santander would have to wait.[625]

Things were moving more briskly in Barcelona. We have remarked on the activity of Antonio de Togorès.[626] Without any doubt he had succeeded in removing every legal difficulty, since, on December 26, 1878, Brother Tempier showed up in Catalonia to put together the materials of a report concerning the future school. He stayed with the Brothers of St. John of God. And he visited Bishop Urquinaona, who was extremely kind and expressed his keen satisfaction when he learned that the Brothers would be able to begin in the very near future.[627]

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On January 10, 1870 the New Year circular spoke to the entire Congregation of the warm welcome that Spain had reserved for the first Brothers sent to that country. The Superior

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[624] Motherhouse archives, file HB f1; Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes for July 1929, pp. 281-282; Cincuentenario, pp. 13, 65-68.

[625] Brother Claudio Gabriel, pp. 118-122.

[626] See above, pg. 318.

[627] Cincuentenario, pg. 213.

intended to provide them with a lot of associates. And to that end he urged the Brothers "in the Districts in the South of France" to learn the Castillian language.[628]

His intention therefore was to levy a certain number of subjects on the French Communities for the foundations that he was thinking of setting up on "eminently Catholic" soil. But this was nothing more than a temporary measure, since native vocations would multiply at the same time as the buildings; he was convinced of it, and he already had proof of it.

Indeed, the Novitiate in Béziers, established on the Fonseranes estate, was admitting Spanish postulants. Their presence is the better understood in light of the fact that the residence school in Béziers, the Immaculate Conception, had been drawing upon youths from the other side of the Pyrenees. One of their most remarkable teachers, Brother Lactantius of Mary, was a Catalan from San Feliu de Guixola.[629] And in the course of his long career, hundreds of his countrymen came to be taught by him. Fonseranes, between 1878 and 1903, continued to make room for youngsters from the peninsula. Some of them attended the Junior Novitiate that had been set up along side the Major Novitiate. Overall, the French District, in twenty five years, had trained 174 candidates of Spanish nationality. Many of them would have received the "unforgettable" influence of Brother Jovinian, a man of deep feelings and wise judgment, who, when he became Director and Visitor in Madrid, was reunited with former pupils in full apostolic career.[630]

But not all Spanish Brothers were obliged to cross the frontiers in response to their vocation. The Real Orden of 1877, in so far as it touched upon Novitiates, did not repeat the restrictive language of the decision of 1866. The law's silence amounted to permission. And since the Church authorities were agreeable, nobody was going to reject

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[628] Circular #14, pg. 16.

[629] There were other Spanish members of the Institute before the Brothers set foot in the peninsula. In Vol. VI of the present work we have pointed to Brother Sedulis, a teacher in Cairo. In Barcelona and Valladolid we shall meet with Brother Thionis, a former Director in Monaco. These two Brothers were the sons of a partisan of Don Carlos, General Postius, who had taken refuge in France.

[630] Archives of the District of Béziers, Brother Albert Paulin's manuscript. — Cincuentenario, pg. 283. — In 1948 several Spanish Brothers, former novices in Béziers, continued to be living witnesses of the "Béziers tradition:" Brother Abencio, in Bujedo; Brother Esperato, in Griñon; Brother Atilano, in Cambrils.

young people or impose exile on all those who wanted to live under the Rule of John Baptist de La Salle. As early as September 1878 there were pupils who appealed to Brother Jubinus, who opened the doors of Sacred Heart House on Calle de Atocha to them and placed them under the tutelage of Brother Eliseus. Informed, the Superior-general approved the arrangement. Officially the Madrid Novitiate opened on November 20; the first Novice, who was from Toledo, received the name Eliseus Louis; his premature death on August 30, 1880 appeared to be something of a sacrificial offering on the eve of immense blessings and prosperous days ahead.

It soon became necessary to think about providing the small, special flock with quarters other than the Orphanage. A school planned for the Pardo, under the auspices of the generosity of His Majesty Alphonso XII, did not materialize. They had to remodel an urban building on Passeo de Santa Engracia; and a lease was signed on September 1, 1879 by Don Alfred Andrew Sabatier, alias Brother Jubinus. Before moving in, the Novices stayed for a few months at another place in Madrid, at the "San Mateo Crossing". Fifteen of the young men had to be sent to Fonseranes. Finally, Santa Engracia, under the direction of Brother Jeron Augustine, and then Brother Ildefonsus, provided Castillians admitted into the Lasallian family with security, stability and a quiet retreat.[631]

Recruitment among the Spaniards took on sufficient scope so that it became possible to think about new schools. St. Sebastian's in the capital began in November of 1879 at the request of Father Cotanilla.[632] Like Chamberi it was a modest center of elementary education for poor children. More ambitiously Brother Jubinus thought about introducing a "pay-college" in the quarters in Atocha that had been vacated by the Novices. He contracted with Doña Ernestina that half of the income would go to the Orphanage and the other half for the Novitiate.He sent the following declaration to Count Heredia Spinola, civilian governor of Madrid:

1. The undersigned, Superior of the Brothers of the Christian Schools, authorized by the Real Orden of December 12, 1877, to direct the Sacred Heart of Jesus Orphanage, is honored to bring to the attention of Your Excellency that, starting on July 1 next [1879] — the legal prescriptions having been previously met — will

[631] Motherhouse archives, file HB f1. — Cincuentenario, pp. 32-33, 283. — Brother Claudio Gabriel, pp. 147-148.

[632] Brother Claudio Gabriel, pp. 140-141.

open in this institution on Calle de Atocha, 68, a college, with the name Nuestra Señora de Lourdes...[633]

The beginning of more durable achievements, this attempt by Brother Jubinus, after a move to Calle del Rubio, disappeared as early as October 1880.[634] The proper approach consisted in being concerned, primarily, with popular education. And on that basis, it was possible thereafter to erect the most imposing structures. It was in this manner operations had gone forward in Barcelona. The St. Vincent de Paul Society had completed the remodelling of a two-story building, with an oratory, on Pont de la Parra Street, near the Franciscan Convent.[635] The Marquis of Palmerola nd Mr. de Togorès brought Brothers Jeron Augustine, Ivergile Joseph and Joseph Labre there in January of 1879. In October Brother Senator Isidore assumed responsibility for the school, while Brother Jeron was called to direct the Madrid Novitiate.[636]

We are suddenly transported to the southern end of the kingdom: to the Murcie province and into Andalousia. It was a distant expedition and, perhaps, a risky one, but in any case it was a step toward the future. Following the Mediterranean coast as far as the vicinity of Cartagena and then by angling toward the mountains we come to the old and rather important city of Lorca. Doña Maria Francisa, Marquesa of Roca de Togorès, wished to found a Catholic school there. She spoke of her intentions to Brother Jubinus, bought a house that she gave to the Institute — the first piece of property owned by the Brothers in Spain. Agreements were reached between June and October of 1879; they anticipated a minimum of fifty pupils. Classes began on December 15 with twenty-five. In eight months the Director, Brother Severmond of Mary reported nearly 200 pupils, 124 of whom paid nothing. But there was no lack of trials for the Religious educators; they were running into a distressing caste-mentality and bitter mistrust; they were suffering both morally and materially. But their patience would save a school that was not destined to perish until the tragic days of the 20th century.[637] The oldest Brothers' school in Cadiz was

[633] Motherhouse archives, file JE x5.

[634] Ibid., and Cincuentenario, pg. 59.

[635] In a neighborhood that subsequently would be completely changed by urbanization. Layetana Avenue passes through the former site of the Brothers' first school in Barcelona.

[636] Motherhouse archives, JE x2. — Cincuentenario, pp. 213-214.

[637] Motherhouse archives, file HB f1.

contemporaneous with the one in Lorca. It was the work of a Catholic committee that had been operating in the city since 1866. The vacant St. Dominic's Monastery was placed at the disposition of Brother Eliseus and his associates. They moved in on November 15, 1879 and remained there until one of the members of the committee, Don Dominic Iriarte, at his personal expense, built them a house on Calle de Peñalba.[638]

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At the end of that year the man who was definitively to unite Spain to the Institute arrived in Madrid. Brother Jubinus was only a precursor; in the Regime he was regarded as somewhat imprudent and, in fact, unruly. He was recalled, and he returned to his native Languedoc where he died at St. Chinian in 1897.

The Superior-general's choice fell on another southerner, Brother Justinus of Mary, a very idealistic Religious as well as an educator and administrator of tremendous scope. He was born, Theodore Silvan Francis Trévit, in Bordeaux on February 18, 1831. At the age of twenty one, in the habit of a Brother of the Christian Schools, he was Director of the school in Aiguillon, in Lot-and-Garonne. He made this modest institution a genuine reputation and educated brilliant pupils, the most remarkable of whom was Hubert Bragayrac, the future Brother Justinus who entered the Congregation under the sponsorship of his teacher and who later became the Secretary-general of Institute.[639]Brother Philippe took Brother Justinus of Mary from Aiguillon in 1869 in order to place him at the head of a small college in Orthez that had been ceded by the Betharram Fathers. And then Brother Irlide an excellent judge of intellectual and moral quality, transferred Brother Justinus to the principal city in the Department in 1877. The Paloise Community retained its Director for only two years. He was to deploy his talents in a far larger theatre than Béarn.

Brother Justinus' physical features — the full face, broad forehead, straight nose, the rather strong mouth, the eyes attractive, penetrating and gentle — suggested distinction and nobility and inspired trust. Intelligence radiated and the soul virtuous, generous and good was expressed in those traits of the sons of a civilized and Christian people. Of course, there was a suggestion of melancholy in the look and a slightly bitter cast to the

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[638] Cincuentenario, pp. 68-71. — Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes for January 1924, pp. 35-37.

[639] See Vol. V of the present work, pp. 507-508.

mouth — an indication of the suffering that profoundly touched the heart. But the dominant quality remained that of enterprising and alert courage and an energy determined to realize the good. “I love simple things that are also great”, the former Director of Aiguillon wrote one day; “I reject the mediocre, the false, the artificial that diminishes and depreciates the human spirit.”

He became Visitor of the District of Spain. As he handed him his “Obedience”, Brother Irlide told him: “From now on, my dear Brother, be a good Spaniard”. At that command, Francis Trévit, the native of Bordeaux, showed that he was marvelously loyal.

At the outset he thought that adaptation would be painful. Arriving at his new post and crossing by train the harsh solitude of Old and New Castille, the rocky wasteland out of which the Escorial arises, and the poor soil in which nestled a few villages he was overcome by homesickness. He reacted rapidly. A man of duty and obedience and responsible for a magnificent mission, he refused to look back. Without loving his native land less, he would give Spain his affection and his life. Gifted with an excellent memory, he was soon speaking effortless Spanish while observing the nuances of the language of his adoptive fellow-citizens. Going beyond grammatical correctness, he touched ideas, the depths of consciousness. He was discerning reader of the human spirit, without personal prejudice, but also without indulgence. He was sometimes inclined to fault-finding, but with a clearsightedness generally accompanied by justice and always marked by charity.

In this way he was to win hearts — not only of the Brothers whom he guided like a father, but also those of the people whose children he welcomed, and those of Churchmen and Statesmen;Papal nuncios, Bishops, Ministers, individuals in the royal entourage who had relations with the Brother Visitor, judged him at work, admired his skill, his dedication, his tact and his mastery of the persuasive arts. Everywhere he went Brother Justinus of Mary made friends: on the Right and on the Left or at the political center, without yielding anything of principle. He was able to involve others, to understand and sympathize with them. He became that modest man, that non-clerical Religious, that leader of a handful of teaching Communities, a prominent personality. King Alphonso XII respected him. And beginning in 1886, the Queen Regent bestowed a great deal of encouragement on him and frequently made him the object of praise.[640]

In his activities the Brother was supported by the Major Superiors of the Congregation. Quite powerfully, of course, by Brother Irlide, who maintained a direct correspondence with the Visitor of the Spanish District, drafted his instructions, and wrote

[640] Motherhouse archives, file JE x9. — Obituary, 1895. — Choix de notices, Vol. III, pp. 48-96. — Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes for January 1907 and October 1909. — Brother Claudio Gabriel, pp. 181-183.

in his own hand to the authorities whose support was necessary to the Institute. In a letter dated October 1880 in which Brother Justinus describes his work and seeks reinforcements, he is also in a position to say: "You will, perhaps, M. H. Brother, find me bold in all this, etc…"[641]

Actually, the rôle of Brother Aimarus, the Assistant who, between 1875 and 1882, had added the Iberian peninsula to his jurisdiction of Italy, Ecuador, and the Near East, could only be reduced. When, after the Chapter of 1882, Spain would be added to the jurisdiction of Brother Louis of Poissy, this new member of the Regime was able to provide an extremely vigilant attentiveness to the growth of the religious and educational apostolate in Brother Justinus of Mary's jurisdiction. We shall observe his visitations beyond the Pyrenees. The M. H. Brother Joseph, while granting the Spanish Communities pledges of great affection, sought counsel with his associate and left to him the most immediate concerns.

It goes without saying that the heaviest burdens continued to be shouldered by the Visitor, for whom over a period of fifteen years concerns about foundations multiplied and weariness from travelling from one end of the kingdom to the other accumulated. Presently, we shall enter into some of the details. But first of all let us take a look at the task in a general way and its essential direction.

Very probably the new delegate of the Institute had received the mission from the Regime to obtain legal recognition for all of Spain, which was tantamount to attacking an unsolvable problem. The Real Orden of 1877, based upon the advice of the Privy Counsel, had provided the Congregation with a means of existence; it had also created a precedent which founded hopes for further entitlements lined up according to need and circumstance. And thus, apart from the capital, Barcelona and Santander were officially opened to Brothers' activities. Under the control of the Concordat of 1851 it was impossible to aspire to anything more.

Nevertheless, in order to abide by his instructions, Brother Justinus of Mary, by way of the Archbishop of Toledo, sent a request to the Minister describing the important place that the sons of John Baptist de La Salle occupied throughout the world and emphasizing the initial success of their Spanish institutions. This step was taken in April of 1880.[642] When the vanity of the approach appeared clearly, there was a reversion to the only

[641] Motherhouse archives, file JE x3.

[642] Brother Claudio Gabriel, pp. 191-193.

effective procedure: i.e., successive and localized requests. Of these Brother Visitor produced no fewer than eight of these toward the end of the year. On January 7, 1881 he announced with delight to Brother Irlide: "We have legal authorization for the diocese of Toledo, the Archdiocese of Seville and the diocese of Gerona…We owe these fine results to the Marquis of Pidal, the head of the Catholic Party in Congress."[643]

What was perhaps a still more concrete satisfaction had preceded this victory. Alphonso XII, a few weeks earlier, had in person attended the laying of the corner stone of the future and final Sacred Heart Orphanage on Calle Claudio Coello. At the same time that the king was paying tribute to Doña de Villena, he was also bestowing upon the Brothers a mark of open friendship.

Success and disappointment, light and shadow were fluctuations that Brother Justinus of Mary had to experience. There exists a letter that we feel was written in a distressed frame of

Mind: "The Auxiliary Bishop has declared war on us…He has told the ladies at their meetings that we are too demanding as to the physical requirements of our institutions: 'Spain is a poor country, it loves humility…' he has just finished telling me. I told him that our Brothers, restricting themselves since the Novitiate, live on very little…The prelate's unhappiness went so far that while receiving Miss de Villena a few days after the laying of the corner stone, he criticized her for having invited the king to that ceremony…Some priests have also seized on that occasion to declare their disapproval to Doña Ernestina because she invited the French…We have beg pardon for our origins.[644]

The Visitor would seek to win such a "pardon" by reason of faithful and disinterested service. He had hardly moved to Madrid than he saw the need for a Scholasticate where young Brothers who had come from the Districts of Bayonne and Béziers or who were of

[643] Motherhouse archives, JE x9. — On the 10th of October 1885 a Real Orden was granted to the Brothers of the Christian Schools, "an authorization to teach" throughout Spain. This ordinance was issued in conformity with a prior decree, on August 18, relative to the rights of teaching corporations and assimilating private schools, under certain circumstances, with public schools. But this decree, inspired by a Conservative Minister, was abrogated by the Liberals when they returned to power (Motherhouse archives, JE x9, Brother Justinus of Mary's notes. — Archives of the school in Bugedo, text of the Real Orden sent to the Director-general of Public Education by A. Pidal, Minister of Fomento, brother of the Marquis.

[644] Motherhouse archives, JE x3.

Spanish birth and had been trained locally could together study either the idiom of the Spanish language or the arts of education. “The question of a Scholasticate takes precedence over all others in this country,” wrote the Superior-general to the Visitor in Madrid; a “competent” personnel makes possible the very desireable and indispensable creation of important day-schools and residence schools. And, anticipating events which could, sooner or later, occur in France, Brother Justinus of Mary added: “The Scholasticate could receive Brothers who, when the time of persecution arrives, become expatriates in order to remain faithful to their vows.”[645].Once the project was realized it was entrusted to the guidance of Brother Exuperian of Jesus.[646]

In order to promote recruitment and, especially, in order to safeguard perseverance, it was crucial that exemption from military service be completely guaranteed to members of the Institute. The question was raised as early as 1878, when a bill concerning army recruitment was being discussed in both Houses of the Legislature. At the time a solution was reached that was favorable to teaching groups “dedicated to elementary education and authorized by the government”. A Senator, the Count of Torreanaz, had become an advocate for the Brothers; on March 13, 1881 he concluded that he could assure them of the advantages of exemption. But during the following year a Minister of the Liberal Party drew up a new law that threatened to cancel out all the advantages that had been considered won. There was a certain amount of uneasiness at the Motherhouse on Oudinot Street. During the last days of December 1881 a telegram arrived from Brother Justinus of Mary announcing the good news. The Visitor subsequently confirmed by letter that the Chamber of Deputies, getting behind the advice of the appropriate Committee had maintained exemption from service. The vote in the Senate was such as to give rise to no apprehensiveness. Two politicians were particularly pointed out for the Superior-general’s gratitude: “The Marquis of Pidal and his brother, M. Alexander Pidal, quite correctly referred to in Madrid as the great orator.”[647]

All the reports of the Congregation’s representative provide us with insights on people and events on the peninsula. We are here relying upon information dated February and April, 1882.

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[645] Motherhouse archives, JE x3, letter dated October 1881

[646] Cincuentenario, pg. 34.

[647] Motherhouse archives, JE x9, Brother Jubinus’ letters, 1878, Brother Justinus of Mary’s letter dated December 27, 1881, and note by the same, summarizing the affair.

In February Brother Justinus of Mary explained by he was thinking about opening a tuition-free school next to the house of formation. Not only would it enable the Scholastics to practice their educational skills; but it would serve, so to speak, as a lightning-rod for the Novitiate. The author of the report wrote: "Several times during the present century, Spain, while mistreating and expelling Religious, has — with some exceptions — respected teachers... This is a fact that is so well known that the most diverse sort of Orders all take shelter behind the protection of a tuition-free school. Our house would not be secure against a popular uprising if it were only a Novitiate — even if it were one intended for teachers

of the poor. Signs are not enough; only things matter.[648]

On the same date there is detailed description of the situation, origin and the chances of growth of the Brothers' personnel beyond the Pyrenees. Following is the language of that analysis:

1. At the moment the peninsula includes seventy-four members, of which twenty-five are Spaniards, including postulants, Novices and Scholastics in Madrid. This proportion of nationalities is excellent for a beginning; some other, fifty-fifty or a little less will have to persist for a while...

2. The Brothers who come from France, no matter how intelligent, can scarcely be used until after a year's stay in Spain.

3. While growth of native vocations is still limited, we still have to be grateful to Providence. Greater material means and a more wide-awake, comprehensive policy is necessary before attracting and keeping a greater number of young men.

4. The North and Catalonia, particularly, are supplying us with Novices.[649].

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[648] Motherhouse archives, JE x3. The school-annex was opened in 1884, (Cincuentenario, pg. 34.)

[649] Motherhouse archives, JE x3. — The report dated February 1882 contains, apart from the subject of legal recognition, an interesting idea bound up with a plan for a foundation in Havana: "A wealthy landowner, Mrs. Suzana Bonitez de Parejo, has been offering us for more than a year a fully operating orphanage call del Angel, along with the necessary endowment to support both teachers and pupils, the latter to the number of about sixty. This proposal (for Cuba) could become the take-off or support-point for conversations which would have as their goal the recognition of the Institute in Spain as a missionaries' auxiliary de Estado y de Ultamar." To grasp Brother Justinus of Mary's point of view we must go back to what we were saying above (pg. 308) about the Concordat of 1851. The Brother Visitor was depending on the good offices of "a noble lady, sister of the Captain-general of Cuba, Countess de Argillo," whose influence had just been employed in favor of the Brothers on the occasion of the vote on the military law. But, in 1883, for the want of

On this last point, the Visitor's views seem to have been, if not inexact, at least, incomplete. The two Castilles, regions of austere labor and burning faith, contributed to the Institute's recruitment as much as, and perhaps more than, the Basque country, Navarre and the Mediterranean provinces.

In any case, the future already appeared to be assured. Replying to a question written in Brother Irlide's hand, the Visitor stated, in his report dated April 18, 1882,[650] that "Spain will have a large number of Christian Brothers." These Brothers, he added immediately, "will be natives, but without excluding those of other nations, if the life of the Institute in this country is wisely directed." The time would come when, faced with indifference and irreligion tolerated, indeed, encouraged in high places, Religious educators would not fail to expand their influence and their rôle. "The nation will awaken to defend its faith." After the Revolution of 1868, which had been hostile to the Church, a huge number of Catholic schools were opened "supported, as in France, by the piety of the faithful". Well, "during the period to which I refer and which is not too far away" — as the distinguished Brother put it in almost prophetic terms — "all these Catholic schools will become schools operated by Religious Congregations".

The "sensitive" point in the apostolate of the *missus dominicus* was Hispanic "individualism", which was the basis for those counsels of "prudence" in which the thought of Brother Irlide and Brother Justinus of Mary concurred. Nevertheless, the Visitor concluded, "we shall preserve unity, if we are able to avoid offending national sensibilities...Our Institute which seems to be everywhere necessary and which is already spread throughout the world, has, I am persuaded, always adopted measures which will preserve its inevitable diversity."

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The mastercraftsman had revealed his principles. It is important, now, to follow him into the workplace. And first of all in the institution in which Doña Ernestina, the foundress, was to spend her last years.

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personnel, Havana had to be "relegated to a position of secondary importance." (Report dated April 24). Cuba did not until the 20th century figure among the Provinces of the Institute, when it became a flourishing one

[650] Motherhouse archives, JE x3.

The establishment situated of Passeo del Obelisco, tiny and inconvenient, had been abandoned in 1878, as we have seen, for a house on the Calle de Atocha. The second structure could only shelter the orphanage provisionally. Almost immediately the effort had been set on foot to find an acceptable location. At this point the Countess of Carvajal gave 45,500 pesetas to acquire a piece of land on Calle Claudio Coello, in a new neighborhood that was well-ventilated and quiet. It then became a question of creating a center completely suited to its purpose, capable of housing at least 150 orphans, with classrooms, shops, "patios" and meadows, a residence for the teaching Community and, of course, the central, essential structure, a chapel that everyone would consider splendid.

The Ladies' Association selected as architect the Marquis Francis de Cubas whose plans for the future Madrid Cathedral — Nuestra Señora de La Almudena had made famous. Inevitably, it was going to be expensive. Up until December of 1881 Sñra de Villena had been collecting funds for the orphanage through a lottery, a *rifa* that the government authorized at regular intervals. Since reasons of public order had led to the suppression of the *rifa*, money, both for current operating expenses as well as for building, came from a variety of sources: State subsidies, gifts from the Royal family and distinguished benefactors, and from subscriptions in which many friends of more modest circumstances participated. The Brothers' Institute had not remained on the sidelines: in November of 1882, Brother Irlide sent 7,000 pesetas; and in January of 1883 he agreed — in the name of the Congregation — with Doña Ernestina for a non-interest bearing loan of 50,000 pesetas.[651].

The foundress' personal fortune, figured definitively at more than two million, had been completely invested in the project. But the plan realized by the Marquis of Cubas was worthy of the reputation of its author; from a technical point of view it had contributed important progress over the centers of the same sort that had been built in the course of the 19th century. And the Gothic chapel was so harmonious and charming that Madrid nobility liked to use its as a backdrop to family celebrations of First Communions and marriages.

On October 15, 1884 — three years and nine months after Alphonso XII had laid the cornerstone — the orphanage moved into the new structure.[652] Doña Ernestina had her own room there, a quite humble apartment, furnished unpretentiously and with walls

[651] Later on, the total amount of the debt was reduced to 30,000 pesetas, the difference having been remitted

[652] Only the chapel remained to be built; it was not finished until 1887.

decorated with religious art.[653]. There she lived an austere, charitable life. While leaving the general education of the children to the Brothers as well as the running of the house,

she was actively occupied; her letters to the Director, written in French, in an elegant but hasty style, indicate that she was careful about the project's finances, preoccupied with the problem of raising money, but particularly inspired by the most touching concern for people; she was moved to tears at the sight of moral squalor or at the bedside of a dying person; she was gracious and kind to all of those around her, respectful and trusting toward the Brothers whom she had commissioned for her foundation; and she never spoke of herself except to say that she was a worthless servant: yes, she used to say, recalling La Fontaine's fable, "I am nothing more in all of this than a fly in a coach on a steep road."[654]

The saintly woman never experienced the persistent discomforts of old-age. She died in her sixty-fifth year on January 27, 1886. Over her remains, buried in the Orphanage chapel, rises a monument of very simple lines but which evokes very well her modest appearance and her Christian virtue.[655].

Father Cotanilla followed very closely after her in death.[656]. The Director, Brother Exuperian of Jesus felt nearly overwhelmed by the weight and the difficulty of his task. In a report sent on June 28, 1886 to the Assistant, Brother Louis of Poissy, he unburdened all his bitterness: "This place is run by sixty women. They come at all hours and they are very demanding. There is also a continuous stream of visitors, people of the higher aristocracy, who have to be shown around the premises. The chapel, which is as big as a church, demands top-to-bottom maintenance; the Brother Sacristan, who is also the infirmarian, is kept far from his sick people. The Religious personnel has to exercise a wearisome supervision over about a hundred children and workers. We are dealing with youngsters whose minds can be appealed to, but we also have to come to grips with unruliness and mischief. These little fellows, constantly shut-off, without holiday or vacation, have their stormy days. The Brothers, far too few, can no longer cope with the task. Since the death of our lamented President, their work has increased".

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[653] The revolutionaries in 1936 destroyed all of this precious memorabilia

[654] The Sacred Heart Orphanage on Claudio Coello Street preserves this correspondence, nearly all of it written in 1882.

[655] The tomb, opened and pillaged during the civil war, was restored after 1939 through the efforts of Brother Diego Maria

[656] He died on May 1, 1886

While Brother Exuperian continued to complain, he remained faithful and undaunted at his post. When he was relieved in 1894 to become Visitor, he left a flourishing institution with 150 children supervised by twelve Brothers. The arrangements resembled those at St. Nicholas in Vaugirard. The pupils, who were admitted, beginning from the age of seven years, did not leave the Orphanage of the Sacred Heart until their 18th or 20th year. They began as simple schoolboys with elementary studies that expanded into classes in French and courses in drawing. At the age of twelve or fourteen years they entered, depending on their tastes or aptitudes, into one of the shops: printing, lithography, binding, sewing or shoemaking.[657]Classroom work, under the Brothers' direction, still alternated, at least for the younger ones, with manual labor performed under the supervision of technicians. Monetary rewards were made to conscientious workers. These funds made up a "nest-egg" which, capitalized, became for graduating students a handy supplement to their first professional wages.

The Queen Regent accepted the Presidency of the Orphanage Committee. Unswervingly feminine and aristocratic, the Association assumed the responsibility of recruiting orphans, collecting funds for their upkeep and of undertaking the weekly mending of clothes and linen.[658]

The antipathy and mistrust, the chilliness that had sometimes occasioned embarrassment and sorrow for the Brothers ultimately dissolved in a new climate that promoted a flowering of educational projects. As early as the first days of 1882 the Countess of Superunda, President-general of the Association of Ladies for Catholic Schools, inquired of Brother Justinus of Mary of the conditions for opening a Brothers' school in the Del Sur "barrio". "The site appears unacceptable," wrote the Visitor to the Regime; "nevertheless, perhaps a better one can be found; and then we shall have to give a positive response; since the Countess' offer represents a genuine change of policy as regards ourselves."[659]

Two years later an agreement was reached for a Brother's establishment in the De las Peñuelas neighborhood. And since the time that the parochial church of "The Most Pure

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[657] Today, the institution on Calle Claudio Coello specializes in the production of books and possesses some very impressive customers.

[658] Motherhouse archives, file JE x5 and HB f1. — Cincuentenario, pp. 60-64. — Brother Claudio Gabriel, pp. 130-135.

[659] Motherhouse archives, JE x3, report dated February 1882.

Heart of Mary" was set up in the same place in May of 1879, the Ladies Association put up alongside the church a school for boys and a school for girls. The neighborhood remained unkempt: frequently the streets were transformed into battlefields by youngsters armed with rocks. Quite correctly, the noblewomen thought that Religious, who were also good teachers, could civilize this population. On September 8, 1884 Brother Justinus of Mary, who was at Santander at the moment, announced to Brother Louis of Poissy the setting up of a Community of three Brothers. "It will contribute," he wrote, "the benefits of a Christian education to a poor and morally abandoned neighborhood." Emphasizing that it had been specifically "asked for by the Ladies Association of Madrid", he added: "It will be a living witness in the public mind to the progress made by our schools and a pledge of the permanence of schools in Chamberi and San Sebastian." Classes began on October 15. There was a certain amount of resistance on the part of the schoolboys and some "dirty looks" from the people standing at the doorways of their dwellings. But the bias and the unfriendliness endured only briefly. The De las Peñuelas school, directed by Brother Conceso was filled to over-flow with pupils.[660]

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In Catalonia the Brothers were building for just as bright a future as in Madrid. Barcelona, the queen-city, powerful and daring, in spite of some ill-disposed or openly hostile individuals, gave the Brothers an ever-expanding means of action. They had begun quite modestly on Pont de la Parra Street, but there was very little chance that they would succeed in developing there: a new President of the St. Vincent de Paul Society had decided in 1883 not to pay the teachers salaries any longer; the charitable society was satisfied to pay fifty pesetas a month as tuition for thirty boys belonging to families that it was assisting. The Brothers were obliged to impose a slight tuition on the other pupils. The following year, since the school was included in a zone that was destined for expropriation, it became necessary to find another location; but all costs for room-and-board and maintenance was to be left to the Institute; the situation meant that there had been a flagrant violation of the contract of 1879; and so, the Superior-general ordered that the school be closed.[661]

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[660] Motherhouse archives, file JE x5 and HB f1. — Cincuentenario, pp. 77-79. During the same year (1884) there began, at Santa Engracia, classes in a school annexed to the house of formation (see above, pg. 326). The legacy of a pious person and a government subsidy of 24,000 pesetas enabled Brother Justinus of Mary to realize his plan. (Cincuentenario, pg. 98.)

[661] Motherhouse archives, file JE x2 and H20. — Cincuentenario, pg. 214.

One of the seeds for the future was growing on Calle Moncada. On that street, narrow but much used, Brother Senator Isidore found, among the ancient seigniorial residences abandoned by the aristocracy, a building with huge halls, thick walls and venerable surroundings into which to introduce young people. He acquired the site and brought there, in October of 1880, the semi-residence school which had been operating since the preceding April in the immediate vicinity of the Pont de la Parra school. Brother Irlide had authorized the undertaking, and M. de Togorès had assisted Brother Senator in his efforts to find a suitable location and in his budgetary calculations. From Bézier, Brother Lactantius of Mary whose heart was in his native Catalonia, wrote to the Assistant, Brother Aimarus, that "it was an advantageous, excellent arrangement!" Eighty-six pupils began classes at Calle Moncada; in ten months there would be 223, and 300 in the second year. The instruction they received was mostly commercial, although French occupied an important place, and it was also spoken generally in the school. In 1882 the school adopted the name Colegio comercial hispano-francés. It became one of the best educational centers in Barcelona. Its developing success induced a change of location: beginning in 1890 and for the next sixteen years, the commercial college, by then called St. Joseph's, was situated on Calle de Condal. The popular name of "Condal College" was ultimately adopted officially and inspired the escutcheon on which, under a count's crown there was, among other emblems, the city's coat-of-arms.[662]

As the Brothers promoted the education of the sons of middle-class business men, they could not forgo teaching catechism and introductory grammar to the poor. A Catholic Association had entrust a tuition-free school to the on Ferlandina Street. It was directed by a first class teacher, Brother Thionis, a Spaniard educated in France who, for twelve years, had guided the Community in Monaco. Returned to his native Catalonia in March of 1880 he transmitted his ardor to his associates and his pupils. He was both loved and obeyed. He was soon conducting the education of 500 schoolboys. And in 1886 he opened an affiliated school on Llado Street; Don Bosco who at the time was recruiting candidates in Barcelona, attended the opening day of the school. But in spite of the saintly man's blessing, Brother Thionis was grieved to see his efforts and his initiatives ill-rewarded. The founding Committee thought the salaries it had to pay the Brothers extremely

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[662] Motherhouse archives, JE x2 and H20. — Cincuentenario, pp. 223-226. In 1905-1906 the architect Bonaventure Bassegoda built a magnificent structure for the Brothers on land acquired after the Convent of St. Francis had been parcelled for development. A statue of St. Joseph, the work of the sculptor Llimona, was placed at the front of the building. And it was there that Condal College continued to flourish; its alumni formed a very popular association which founded religious and social charities.

burdensome. The school on Llado Street had a quite ephemeral existence. And other teachers supplanted Brother Justinus of Mary's men at Ferlandina Street.[663]

At nearly the very moment of this withdrawal in 1887 there loomed up, in the Las Corts neighborhood, the foundation of Doña Dorotea de Chopitea, the widow of Serra, an elderly lady who had been born in Santiago, Chili in 1816 and who, returning from America to Spain after long years, arranged before her death for some of her income to be used in favor of poor people. The ones living in Las Corts were greatly in need of being rescued from their material and moral penury. There Brother Joelis and his team of Brothers deployed their zeal. Gradually the school transformed the neighborhood by working to enlighten youthful minds and consciences.[664]

Commercial college or popular school — these were the markers strewn along the roads of the Mediterranean capital. But the Brothers' activities did not stop at the city limits. As early as 1880 we can follow them as far as Manlleu, in the diocese of Vich. Brother Zelis — better known as Brother Henry — and his two associates, answering to a called issued by a priest, Don Pedro Comas, gathered over a 100 pupils in the day-classes and also taught youths and adults in evening courses. These were wearisome tasks that were rendered even more painful by numerous privations and persecutions. Funds were lacking; the organizing Committee had not kept its promises. While the humble quite gladly sent their children to the Brothers, at first the well-to-do class stood aloof. Some of them were disdainful, other were hostile. Don Comas and his Bishop, Don José Morgades, strove to correct the situation, which, in 1885, still gave rise to such financial difficulties that Brother Louis of Poissy authorized the opening of a residence school. No matter how little the cost of room-and-board, it still enabled the Community to survive and maintain a tuition-free school. Brother Henry's economies found their chief reward in the number of vocations that Manlleu provided the diocesan and regular clergy as well as the Institute of St. John Baptist de La Salle.[665]

The large village of Cassa de La Selva, situated some seven miles from Gerona was aware of the reputation of the Brothers from Languedoc. Made wealthy through the cork trade and agriculture, it nonetheless escaped materialism. In 1881, its faithfully Christian population, as the result of a Mission that had been preached in the parish, decided to found a Brothers' school. A lawyer, Don Juan Almeda, undertook the negotiations and generously offered a building of which he was the owner. Agreement was reached in a few weeks: in order to get the project started Brother Justinus of Mary appointed Brother

[663] Motherhouse archives, H20. — Cincuentenario, pg. 214. — Brother Thionis' Obituary, 1897.

[664] Cincuentenario, pg. 232.

[665] Motherhouse archives, JE x4 and H20. — Cincuentenario, pp. 227, 228, 230.

Jeron Augustine, recently Director of the Novitiate in Madrid and previously head of the first school opened in Barcelona. “Father Augustine” — as he was called in Catalonia — had a way of reconciling people and in a twenty-five year administration, he put the school in Cassa in the ranks of the most important in the province.[666]

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Since 1877, Don Calvo y Valero, Bishop of Santander — of whom we have made previous mention — sought out the Brothers. His request might have been gratified after Madrid, if he had had enough practical good sense to equal his enthusiasm. Brother Visitor, believing that recruits to the Congregation would come “from the north” was prepared to make attractive bargains. Trusting in his word, the Major Superiors tended to rely on his judgment, as was clearly seen when the school in Isla was opened. What was at stake was a very small region, which however was situated in charming surroundings of forests, mountains and maritime vistas. The local lord, Joachim, Count of Isla, guided along the paths of piety and humility by Spain’s modern apostle, Blessed Claret,[667]sponsored and financed all sorts of good works. It was, then, an edifying atmosphere, but of an extremely limited influence. The hope to have a Novitiate, probably introduced by Bishop Calvo, inspired a decision. Brother Tempier visited the suggested school-sites; he found them, while not of vast dimensions, at least they were quite livable. A trio of teachers arrived in October of 1881; they taught about a hundred schoolboys, sons of manual workers, a genuinely Lasallian public.[668]

Other foundations would follow in this “Montaña” on which Old Castille ran to the sea. Most of them demanded a great deal of work and patience because of the meager resources of the Bishop, who sponsored them. As yet nothing had appeared on the sundrenched heights of the episcopal city; but finally the Cobreces project took shape.[669]

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[666] Cincuentenario, pp. 230-232. — Another school was founded in Arenys de Mar in 1887. It was eventually ceded to the Brothers of St. Gabriel. (Ibid., pg. 215.)

[667] Canonized in 1950.

[668] Brother Claudio-Gabriel, pp. 247-251.

[669] Ibid., pp. 243-247.

On this beautiful location on the Atlantic coast, where Brother Tempier had come with the prelate in September of 1878, the work of remodelling was completed three years later.[670] In 1882 Brother Joldinian became Director of the "College of the Sacred Heart of Jesus", where teaching was conducted in two languages, French and Spanish. Upper level studies were directed toward the practice of commerce, since the pupils, natives of Santander, Asturias, and in fact from Galicia, were thinking about the merchant marine, the export business and distant establishments in the Philippine and Cuban colonies or in the Republics of Latin America. These descendants of the Conquistadores directed their gaze and their hearts toward the open seas. It was difficult to blame them. The building that sheltered them and for which the legacy of Don José Villegas, their townsman, had paid, overlooked the ocean.[671]

Castro Urdiales was also opened in 1881 to youths who were not daunted by emigration, whether temporary or permanent. Their budding vigor demanded spirited teachers. And that temper was not lacking to the Brothers in Castro; the project, after arduous beginnings, expanded under the most austere difficulties. Don Vicente Calvo, transferred to the episcopal See of Cadiz, left the entire responsibility for the foundation to the Community he had invited into his former diocese. The Brothers lived abstemiously; the successful outcome was the reward for the discomforts of these apostolic educators.[672]

Still within proximity of Santander, they served in the modest school at Anaz. Don Luis Maria de la Torre y de la Hoz, Count of Torreanaz, Minister of Grace and Justice, had, since 1878, been mulling over the idea of endowing a Catholic school in the village of his fiefdom. And during this period he had laid the cornerstone for the building. But then, in a falling-out with the Bishop, he halted the construction. The profound influence that Brother Justinus of Mary had on him moved him to return to his earlier purpose, and the building was completed in 1882. But it was not until 1884 that the Visitor of Spain, increasingly involved with the statesman, was able to supply three Brothers for the people in Arnaz. The Count said he was satisfied. On several occasions he came to preside at the examinations; he also provided for the decoration of the chapel, interesting items for the

[670] About October 1881.

[671] Unfortunately it was destroyed by a fire in 1914, after thirty-two years of productive activity and the more modern College of Santander has, in our times, replaced it.

[672] Brother Claudio Gabriel, pp. 254-257.

school museum; and he secured the distribution of food among the poor. He was delighted to be able to come to the Brothers' residence and talk with them.[673]

Property left by several members of the Pielago family, and the generosity of the pastor, Don Mariano Gomez Carral and of Doña Elvira Gutierrez Muir subsidized the financing of the "College of the Child Jesus", founded in April of 1887 in the Teran Cabuerniga Valley.[674]

Until further notice this completed the northern series of schools. The planting was slow and the labor expended strenuous, but the tree had finally taken root.[675]

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Old Castille, and nearly at the same time, the Basque country summon us back to a spot between the Douro and the Bay of Biscaye. We need first to drive a wedge beyond the Guadalquivir. In Cadiz, which had been opened to the Brothers in 1879, we meet once again with Bishop Calvo. In 1886 he had entrusted Holy Cross College to the Brothers, his protegés and friends. As time went on this *hortus clausus* would adopt a new approach and admit into its newly developed areas a large number of city-children.[676]

Another city of the same size also had a Christian Brothers Community. The Catholic Association of Jerez had been organized to guarantee tuition-free education to the poor;

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[673] Motherhouse archives, JE x3, Brother Justinus of Mary's report, February 1882. — Cincuentenario, pp. 150-152.

[674] Ibid., pp. 153-154.

[675] In 1890, in the same diocese the Los Corrales de Buelna school escuela de Sagrado Corazón opened its doors; it had been founded by Doña Felisa Campuzano y Rodriguez. In this peaceful and picturesque country a population prepared to follow their religious teaching and were habituated to a hard-working existence. Under the aegis of the foundress, the Count of Mansilla and his nephews, Don José and Don Felipe Bustamente, they were soon teaching 170 pupils. An important manufacturer, Don José Maria Quijano, directed a major steel-works at Los Corrales. Since the sons of his workers became the Brothers' pupils, the Brothers were induced to begin technical courses in their school, which in our own time have assumed an extremely interesting development. (Cincuentenario, pp. 163-164; and Mémorial du jubilé de l'école, by Brother Manuel Fernando, 1945.)

[676] Cincuentenario, pp. 79-82.

its President was the fabulously wealthy owner of a famous trademark in liqueurs, Don Pedro Domecq y Lastau. The Lastaus had come from Béarn at the beginning of the 19th century; toward 1814 Ferdinand VII had ceded to the family the privilege of using the royal coat-of-arms for its business enterprises. The third Domecq — the one who concerns us — had not forgotten his French origins; and his connections with the ancestral soil explains the interest he had in the members of a Congregation flourishing at the time on the other side of the mountains. He proposed to his fellow-Catholics to invite the Brothers to operate the school they had built, San José. Brother Eliseus, Director of Cadiz received from Brother Justinus of Mary the commission to set up classes in October of 1882. He then handed over the responsibility to Brother Lucidas Joseph, who remained in charge for eleven years and left behind him a tremendous impression.

The effect of his teaching and influence was, from the outset of operations, similar in the densely populated neighborhoodof Mundo Nuevo. Since converts to Protestant Evangelism had built a chapel in this area, a Jesuit, Father Ortega, described it as urgent to counter heretical propaganda by an education that was appropriate to workers' sons. The Brothers had demonstrated the excellence of their methods in their mission at the Plaza de Basurto: similarly they succeeded at Mundo Nuevo, where they settled in 1889. The generosity of Doña Carmen Nuñes de Villavincencio, substantial subsidies from the city administration and funds collected by Don Dominguez Atienza and Don Pedro Beigbeder enabled the furnishing of an educational center answering to the demands of modern pedagogy for hundreds of small boys.[677]

The Visitor, in his report dated April 24, 1883, was planning a certain number of schools to be opened as quickly as possible. Enumerating the dioceses in which the Brothers had been asked for, he placed at the head of the list: Valladolid.[678]Philip II place of birth, an historical sanctuary, treasure of artistic riches and one of the intellectual centers of the kingdom, abundantly deserved to occupy the attention of those who were guiding the Institute.[679]

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[677] Motherhouse archives, HB f1. — Cincuentenario, pp. 74-75, 82-84. — Brother Claudio Gabriel, pp. 234-235.

[678] Motherhouse archives, JE x3.

[679] Ancient Burgos also appeared destined to offer its hospitality to the followers of John Baptist de La Salle. A journalist in that city, Francisco Navarre, editor of the Fidelidad Catholica had started up a campaign to promote the founding of a school that he wanted to dedicate to Louis Veuillot! He had set forth his project in letters written to the sister of the late great publicist, Miss Elisa. Writing to her on July 10, 1883, he said: The Rev. Brother Justinus informs me that he sent a report to

It had not been the first time Brother Justinus of Mary had spoken to them about it. The previous year he had written to the Superior- general: "Señora Dibildos has been waiting for eighteen months for our preliminary decision... She has 90,000 francs available. We would be able to make up what the endowment lacks by opening either a residence school or a semi-residence school over and above the tuition-free school in Valladolid."

Who was this benefactress whose name continues to be honored in the Castillian city as well as in the Institute? She was a French woman, the wife of a Frenchman. Paulina Harriet was a member of a family that dwelt in the Lower Pyrenees. Her marriage to Juan Dibildos, a Basque of the same region, was followed by an option to reside in Spain. The couple, extremely well-informed and hard-working built a tannery in the Las Tenerias sector of Valladolid. They acquired a fortune, which was put to work intelligently and in a Christian spirit. Señora Dibildos, who taught catechism to poor children and prepared them for First Communion, was inspired by great religious fervor. And her husband also gave evidences of profound charity. He wished to found a tuition-free school. Before his death, which occurred on July 1, 1874, he stated his intention explicitly. His widow did not rest until she succeeded in fulfilling the last wishes of her late husband.

The presence of Brothers in Madrid awakened her hopes. Señora Dibildos was quite familiar with the Society founded by John Baptist de La Salle. She had a brother who was a priest, a chaplain at St. Bernard's school in Bayonne; and two of her sons had been pupils of the Institute in Toulouse and in Hasparren. We can well understand how she would present her plan to Brother Justinus of Mary and offer him the means of realizing it.

But it appears that a certain divergence of view arose.[680] Such is the inference from a letter of the Visitor to Brother Irlide, dated March 7, 1883; the idea of a "College", no

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Brother Superior-general concerning our school...A request that, together with your brother [Eugene], you could write to Brother Irlide would decide the question. Burgos owes you its first school operated by a Religious Order; and the Louis Veuillot School in the city in which Blanche of Castille was born would be a genuine joy for Old Castille. Elisa Veuillot did, in fact, lend her name to a plea to the Superior-general. The Assistant, Brother Louis of Poissy told her, in December, that first of all Navarre would have to find the funds. The enthusiastic journalist claimed that he was certain of the Archbishop's support and of the French Benedictines residing in the monastery of San Domingo de Silos...But money was in short supply. And the Louis Veuillot School remained only a dream. (Brother Claudio Gabriel, pp. 271-274. The Brothers have now opened a large College in Burgos.

[680] There were also difficulties as to location: the Maestros guild was opposed to the introduction of Brothers; the request that she made to the Ministry of Fomento turned into an embarrassment for her (Mémorial du jubilé du College, Valladolid, 1934.)

matter how justified it was from a financial point of view, was unattractive to the foundress. “She repeats with the emphasis of a fixed conviction: ‘what my late husband wanted was a tuition-free school for the sons of workers with whom he had built his fortune; what my son Henry, who was educated by the Brothers in Toulouse and whom I lost wanted was just that’...”

The Visitor was reduced to making some fervent entreaties. The available capital appeared to him, of course, to be somewhat scant. But getting beyond purely prudential objections, other considerations were involved: “The material and moral conditions” of such a school promised to be good. Further, “the geographical situation of Valladolid” enabled one to anticipate “an influence that would be as immediate as it would be efficacious”. Brother Justinus of Mary had in mind his ever-present goal: the expansion of the Institute “into the North”, from which he expected “a productive recruitment.”[681].

As a consequence, a building for “four grades” was to be put up. As guarantors for the contract, the benefactress appointed the Archbishop of Valladolid, the pastor of her own parish, St. Ildefonse, and Father Edward Dibildos, her son, who resided in Paris.[682] The agreement having been reached on January 13, 1884, Brothers Jolinian, Ludard Andrew and Fabriciano were handed their appointments for the new school. The first of these, [Peter Paul Fontan], previously Director in Cobreces, was a native of Toulouse; the second [John Julian Deltort] was from the Rouergue; and the third [Michael Serrador], responsible for temporal matters, was a Spaniard from the Province of Valencia, who had entered the Religious life at the age of forty.

The travellers had arrived on a winter’s night, January 21; Don Venancio Garcia Crespo, Señora’s Dibildos’ pastor conducted them in the snow. The school was solemnly blessed the following day, on the patronal feast of St. Ildefonse. A huge crowd surrounded Archbishop Benito Sanz y Forès, the clergy, the Brothers and the foundress.

Señora Dibildos wanted to dedicate her work to Our Lady of Lourdes. As a native of the Pyrenees, she had been greatly moved by the apparitions of the Most Blessed Virgin to Bernadette Soubirous. Her Marian devotion had been displayed in her parish in Valladolid

[681] Letter dated March 7, 1883

[682] Father Dibidos (1856-1939) occupied a distinguished position among educators in France. As Director of the Bossuet School, he promoted a system of Catholic day-schools whose pupils took classes in public secondary schools. See his book, Une éducation chrétienne in pleine vie, Paris, 1927.

with the furnishing of a chapel dedicated to the One who, in response to the girl's questioning, declared: "I am the Immaculate Conception".

Nuestra Señora de Lourdes became then the name of the school, as well as of the College which gradually took form and figure alongside the primary school. Brother Jodinian was indeed obliged to admit some fee-paying pupils and to add individual lessons to the regular hours of class: the Harriet-Dibildos foundation was unable to meet expenses. The Director, of course, failed in his efforts to make appeals and in the art of organizing; he annoyed Señora Paulina and he seriously compromised the existence of the school.

On February 22, 1887 he was replaced by Brother Thionis whose formidable labors on Calle Ferlandina in Barcelona[683] had underscored his character. A learned teacher, a good religious and a diligent and informed administrator, Brother Thionis saved the situation and had a profound effect upon the future. He immediately attracted an influx of pupils. A fourth grade that had been contemplated at the time of the negotiations in 1883 was opened on a second floor that had been added to the building. In 1888, five Brothers were teaching 225 pupils of which 115 were tuition-free. Progress was being made toward the separation of "school" and "college." In 1889, the M. H. Brother Joseph, on a visit to Valladolid, authorized the beginnings of the residence school. Once again expansion was effected — after the death of Señora Dibidos sho passed away on November 16, 1891 at eighty years of age. *Nuestra Señora de Lourdes* began to establish its architectural lines betweeen the public gardens and the banks of the Pisuerga. Fee-paying pupils and tuition-free pupils made up two separate groups. The introduction of a commercial program of studies would then provide the residence school with its appropriate character.

This fundamental progress was registered to the credit of Brother Felix.[684] Ten Brother-teachers, five grades in the college, two tuition-free grades summarized the project at Valladolid at the end of the 19th century. It had taken advantage of the talents of a great leader, principally assisted by his dedicated subordinate, Brother Pedro and intelligently replaced by Brother Felix. In the twenty years, between 1884 and 1904, the personnel of the teaching Community included thirteen Frenchmen, one German and fifty-eight

[683] ,[683]Called Dionisio in Valladolid: Thomas Postius was his civilian name; son of Thomas and Rose Buscoms; born in Berga in the Province of Barcelona on April 22, 1831; a novice in Avignon on December 8, 1852. He was a Teacher in Egypt before becoming Director of the Community in Monaco.

[684] See below, pg. 341. John Salvat, born in 1865 in the Department of Eastern Pyrenees; a novice in Béziers in 1880.

Spaniards. Their collective efforts fueled the growth of a humble enterprise.[685] To Doña Paulina Harriet went the honor of have opened access to Old Castille to the Brothers who would there influence so many people.[686] There was a certain harmony between this austere province and the disciples of an extremely mortified saint. There was nothing surprising about seeing the Brothers in a setting in which Cistersians had lived. We are referring to the monastery of Santa Espina.

Between Valladolid and Palencia stretched vast, tree-less distances, a major agricultural region, even more harsh and more silent than the Beauce. A large village stood out, which had once been a center of wealth — and still presented the visitor and the pilgrim with the wonder of its churches: Medina de Rio Seco, the Ciudat de las Almirantes, decorated by the greatest craftsmen of the 16th and 17th centuries but pillaged by Napoleon's soldiersA few miles of good road leads into a valley with sparse vegetation. Suddenly, one is facing two stone towers flanking a church facade. The monumental structure overlooks a vast square, wide buildings and ancient cloisters. A chapter room in pure Gothic style is the most precious part of this historical residence.

Here had dwelt the Abbot St. Nivard, Brother of St. Bernard. Through a charter dated January 20, 1147, Doña Sancha de Bourgogne, the granddaughter of King Alfonso VI, ceded to the monks of Citeaux the estate which had a remarkable relic — a spine from the crown of thorns worn by Christ during the Passion — called San Pedro de las Santa Espina. Bernard himself had appointed Nivard to head the new foundation. For seven centuries the monks clothed in white cultivated the soil, built and prayed until their expulsion was decreed by Mendizabal.

Long abandoned, the monastery had nearly fallen into ruin when Doña Susana de Montes Y Bayon, Marquisa Dowager of Valderas, decided to open an orphanage there, "in honor of the Holy Thorn, the Guardian Angels and the Holy Martyrs Lawrence and Agueda". The statutes, which had been drawn up on January 24, 1886, specified that children admitted to the orphanage would receive an elementary education followed by an agricultural training. The *Real Orden* of June 26 approved the institution which the

[685] Archives of Our Lady of Lourdes College, in Valladolid. Notes regarding the Community; personnel records; Mémorial du jubilé (Bodas de Oro). — Cincuentenario, pp. 142-146. — Bulletin de Écoles chrétiennes for July 1935, pp. 246-248.

[686] As an act of gratitude, Valladolid named one of the streets in St. Ildefonse's parish Paulina Harriet.

foundress had asserted that she wanted to entrust to the Brothers of the Christian Schools.

The first Director, Brother Voel and his three associates could not come until the end of 1888. In accordance with the intentions of the Marquisa — and under the guidance of the Orphanage Committee that included the Bishop of Palencia, a member of the Valderas family, a priest and two civil bureaucrats — there were about fifty orphans who were fed, clothed and trained to cultivate the land; there were other boys taught along with them. In the rather harsh silence — windblown corridors, comfortless rooms and a church so large and so difficult to repair that it could not be used for worship — the Brothers devoted themselves courageously and joyously. They were reminded of their Founder's days at "Vaugirard". And as good Religious, proud Castillians and fellow-countrymen of Michael Cervantes and Don Juan of Austria who haunted these precincts they accommodated themselves to the rural character of the place and to its harsh climate.[687]

Brother Justinus of Mary, as we know, regarded his religious successes south of the Ebro as being in a very special way steps in the direction of the Basque country. With him we shall cross the river at Miranda. In 1887-1888 the Institute occupied a position first on the periphery of this region and then at the center in Bilbao. Don Gabriel Maria de Ibarra, with the advice of Father Carlos de Santa Ana, a Passionist, invited the Brothers to Our Lady of the Rosary School in the Deusto neighborhood. His son, Don Fernando, President of a local chapter of the St. Vincent de Paul Society, moved them into the Iturribide section as staff in a post-school boys club and as teachers in adult-education programs; a school was also organized. In spite of a variety of setbacks, a worthwhile task was accomplished. Factories in Bilbao, the principal city on the Bay of Biscaye, sought good draftsmen and competent bookkeepers; industry, banks and commerce — there was no end to the opportunities offered by the variety of activities in this city. Carefully trained by men like Brother Timothy, Brother Eliseus and Brother Israel and supported by Don Victoriano De Zabalinchaurreta, Don Fernando's successor, the young men in Deusto and Iturribide were able to carve out for themselves a useful and honorable living. The years at the end of the century as well as more recent times extended the success of the Lasallian teachers. Bilbao became the seat of a flourishing College. And even more rapidly were the keenest wishes of the Congregation's representatives realized in Spain: the

[687] The book by Esteban Garcia Chico, published in Valladolid in 1945 provides abundant, attractive and learned documentation on "the Flagship City of Castille." Motherhouse archives, HB f1. — Cincuentenario, pp. 160-162. — Bulletin des Écoles chrétiennes, for January 1907, pp. 20-27.

Brothers' Novitiate, in a way similar to the Jesuits and the Major Seminary in Vitoria, were the beneficiaries of the numerous vocations that sprung up in Basque country.[688]

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"After ten years, the Institute in the kingdom is composed of twenty-one institutions, 4,680 pupils and 180 members." So read Brother Justinus of Mary's report of his labors submitted during the closing months of 1887.[689]

At the time his regular residence was Santa Engracia. The institution provided not only a place for the Brother Visitor to live, but it also housed the District "Procure", an administrative service that would expand into an operation for the publication of textbooks. "To print books used by our Spanish schools in Madrid," declared Brother Justinus to his Superiors in Paris, "is a necessity...We must not leave ourselves open to the charge of draining off our money into foreign hands. We must not put into the hands of our children any books edited in France. Our intentions would become suspect. Mr. Menendez Pidal, a member of the Royal Counsel for Public Education, recently warned me about an error of this sort; it involved such serious consequences that it would be better not to introduce into this country anything printed in a foreign country."[690] The advice was heeded at the Motherhouse on Rue Oudinot; and the Madrid Editorial increasingly assumed a huge and complicated task. The Brothers' administrative center had not separated itself from the religious refuge at which young Brothers were trained. On August 3, 1887 there was received the forty-eighth candidate who had been clothed with the Brothers' habit, whether at Calle de Atocha or at Paseo Santa Engracia. Further, twenty Spaniards who had begun their Novitiate in the District of Béziers were transferred to Madrid where they completed it.[691]

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[688] Motherhouse archives, file HB f1. — Cincuentenario, pp. 154-160.

[689] Motherhouse archives, JE x9.

[690] Letter dated April 22, 1882, cited by Brother Claudio Gabriel, pg. 195.

[691] Motherhouse archives, HB f1.

A *pusillus grex* of youngsters joined the group of Novices, and thus the Juniorate was inaugurated. It included twelve Junior Novices under the direction of the saintly Brother Sigismond Louis and placed under the protection of Our Lady of Perpetual Help. A few months later the number rose to twenty-six.

Finally, the tuition-free St. José school, where the Scholastics upon completion of their training practiced their skills, continued to functioned.

The schoolboys who paid nothing toward their education, the recruits to the Congregation who had to be fed, clothed and housed, and the personnel appointed to teach or to perform temporal tasks amounted to a tremendous responsibility for the Visitor. Poverty reigned over the house. A fire broke out, which, destroying the furnishings and the supplies, endangered the future.

Rather than being discouraged, the Superior worked the harder and succeeded in assembling new resources. In order to house in comfort an ever-growing group, on August 22, 1886 he acquired land on Bravo Murillo Street on which to build according to sound principles. He asked the excellent architect, the Marquis of Cubas, to draw up plans. The cornerstone was laid in January of 1888. Don Antonio Ibarrola left in his will the funds that were used in the building of a chapel.

The Mother of God was the patroness of the entire estate. Recently on the site there had been a wall-paper factory called lavishly Las Maravillas “the Wonders”. And so, here the Most Blessed Virgin got the name “Nuestra Señora de las Maravillas.”

Junior Novices, Novices and Scholastics lived under her protection beginning in the summer of 1889. Their residence was blessed on August 28 by Bishop Ciriaco Sancha Hervás, who occupied the episcopal See, created earlier, at Madrid-Alcala. In October Brother Joseph, the Superior-general and Brother Louis of Poissy took part, at Las Maravillas, in the festivities in honor of the Beatified Founder of the Institute of the Brothers of the Christian Schools. Archbishop Casanova, of Santiago, Chile, and the Jesuit Father Mendive both spoke in honor of John Baptist de La Salle.

The tuition-free school was conveyed along with the group in training to the Calle Bravo Murillo. The entire neighborhood — “Los Cuatro Caminos” — heavily populated and working-class, supplied an abundant public for the school. Five Brothers, especially designated within the principal Community, taught more than 300 boys. A great benefit was effected among the urban masses, who had not lost the Faith, but who could be shaken violently by revolutionary tremors.[692]. —

[692] Archives of the Bujedo Community, Historia del Noviciado Menor. — Cincuentenario, pp. 14, 33-38, 98, 99. Motherhouse archives, HB f1

The Lasallian apostolate extended to other neighborhoods in the capital. After “Sagrado Coraón”, after “Chamberi” and “San Sebastian”, and “las Peñuelas” there was the Saint Susanna Orphanage and St. Raphael’s school in 1889.

Doña Susana Benitez de Lugo had, in her will, left to the Committee of Ladies presided over by Countess de Superunda, the task of founding an orphanage for boys and for girls. The vast buildings intended for both purposes and joined by a chapel arose on Alexander Gonzales Street. The Brothers and their pupils were to occupy the left wing. A few boys selected from the Sacred Heart Orphanage made up the nucleus of the new project that Brother Agile Leon set in motion. In 1891 the former Director of the Junior Novitiate, Brother Sigismund Louis brought to the orphans, their teachers and their founders the influence of his sterling personality.

St. Raphael’s also depended upon the “Junta católica de Señoras”. In May of 1889, the school was given over to the care of Nuns from a group of lay-teachers. When the women’s association after a few years ceased to assist the Community of Sisters the Countess of Torreánaz, who shared the feelings of her husband concerning the Institute, intervened to prevent the threatened closing of the school. And, at the beginning of the 20th century a plan was effected for its transfer and reconstruction on a particularly solid foundation.[693]

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During the same period the Brothers rather systematically progressed throughout Barcelona and the surrounding province. On his visit to the Spanish Communities in 1889, the Superior-general decided on opening two new schools in the Catalan capital: the first of these was in the old maritime section, the Barceloneta;[694]the second was in the Pueblo Seco, a name which was changed to Santa Madrona. Beginning in 1890 Dorothy de Chopitea, a saintly woman, contributed heavily to the completion of both projects. She, too, it was who in 1892 carried to a successful conclusion a third school in the Gracia neighborhood.

North of Catalonia, in San Hipolito de Voltrega, a small picturesque city on the road between Vich and Puigcerda, the city Counsel, the pastor and the entire population

[693] Motherhouse archives, HB f1. — Cincuentenario, pp. 85-89.

[694] In 1900 an affiliate of the Barceloneta was opened near the ancient church of Santa Maria del Mar.

agreed to invite the Brothers to operate a public school for boys. The Community, introduced in 1889, had all its expenses paid and dispensed lessons without any tuition.

Two years later San Feliu de Guixol, a handsome, hard-working city along the Mediterranean, in the Gerona diocese, was rewarded for its loving fidelity by being provided with a center of Christian education. San Feliu was the birthplace of Brother Lactantius of Mary, a teacher in Béziers and one of Spain's first gifts to the Institute.[695] It had not been easy for Brother Lactantius to bring his confreres to settle among his fellow-townspeople. A subscription which he had launched in 1889 had met with indifference. He persisted; he got a hearing from the mayor as well as from a distinguished citizen, Don Pedro Pascual; a legacy, which provided 7,000 pesetas income for the education of the poor assisted the foundation. Further, gifts arrived from Doña Dominga Juera de Vilar. And finally the sponsor himself donated his patrimony to finance the salary of one of the teachers. He experienced a profound joy when Brother Joldinian and his three associates arrived in San Feliu de Guixols.[696]

Before he died at the age of ninety in 1916, Brother Lactantius of Mary was able to follow from afar the growth of a project in which the residence school in Béziers shared in a most direct way: the College of Nuestra Señora de la Bonanova. It was a splendid institution and one of the most precious glories in the Lasallian crown in Spain; it had cost great sacrifices and a lot of difficulties; but tenaciously clung to, it justified by the greatness of its fame the gesture of those who had given it to the Congregation.

Brother Senator Isidore, Director of the school on the Calle Moncada had been searching on the outskirts of Barcelona for a quiet, healthy spot so that during holidays and vacation time his pupils and Community might take refuge from the noise, the burdens and the suffocation of antiquated alleys. His choice fell upon a some real estate situated in the San Gervasio neighborhood, near the venerable sanctuary of Our Lady of Bonanova. There a villa and a garden some 360 feet above the sea offered spectacular views toward the city and the port, while toward the back of the setting arose Tibidabo mountain.

Once the sale was closed with Don José Muntadas, the owner,[697] Brother Isidore lost no time in settling personally at Bonanova, where as early as March 19, 1889, he opened a

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[695] See above, pg. 325.

[696] Motherhouse archives, JE x4 and H20. — Cincuentenario, pp. 233-234, 241-246.

[697] March 26, 1889.

tuition-free school in a small building situated at the entrance to the property. And then, less than two weeks later, he appropriated the villa itself for two classes that were considered as affiliated with the College in Moncada. Even though the *barrio* of San Gervasio was at a considerable distance, at this time of urban over-crowding, one could hope that the advantages of the location joined to the special qualities of the educational program would attract residence pupils. And in order the better to supervise the enterprise, Brother Isidore obtained from the Regime a radical departure in policy: the new foundation was separated from the original college in Barcelona, which, under the guidance of Brother Jovian Stephen would presently be moved to the Calle Condal. Meanwhile, the direction of Bonanova became the total and exclusive responsibility of its "founder", Brother Isidore.

He planned a huge building program and, in order to realize it, turned to a regional architect, Ignacio Romaña, who had talent and insisted on showing it. A rather over-developed 'ego' provoked him into building along rather sumptuous lines, and not approved by the Superiors of the Institute. The building was certainly of kind to expand the creator's reputation. But extravagantly exceeded estimates, the exorbitantly unreasonable cost of some materials and other evidences of astonishing bad faith gave rise to complaints on Rue Oudinot; and a lawsuit in which Brother Tempier and Mr. de Togorès defended the interests of the Institute was wisely resolved "out of court".

The College's main buildings — the cornerstone for which had been blessed at the beginning of July 1889 by the head of the diocese, Bishop Jaime Català y Albosa — were inaugurated on October 2, 1892; they composed a powerful unit of a facade of three floors, flanked by pavilions at either side decorated with statuary.

But it was expensive, and the number of pupils was few. From the twenty-nine admitted during the first year, the number rose to forty-four in 1890, and forty-seven in 1892. The school had already, of course, enjoyed a reputation from the point of view of religious education as well as for literary studies; and instruction — for daily use in class and for recreation — in French was attractive to wealthy Barcelona families. The Mayor, Don Manuel Porcar had no difficulty in sending his own sons to the Brothers; and his decision influenced the minds of other distinguished persons. But the great flow of pupils did not move toward Bonanova until the city expanded into, surrounded and finally went beyond the ancient village of San Gervasio. The tuition-free school that had been constantly and successfully in operation and much appreciated by the two neighboring parishes could not but add financially to the burden of the residence school.

Providence and the Superior-general sent Brother Lange to Spain. He had been the Director of "Immaculate Conception" in Béziers and was sixty-two years old when he was commissioned in 1890 to assist Brother Justinus of Mary whose task had become superhuman. Visitations to the Barcelona Communities and a few other Catalonian

houses immediately devolved upon the new representative. After this experiment, the M. H. Brother Joseph, on July 29, 1892 officially divided the peninsula into two Districts: Brother Lange's actual or virtual responsibilities, as Visitor of Barcelona, extended to Catalonia, Aragon and Valencia, while his colleague retained the rest of Spain, especially Madrid, with both Castilles.

A Frenchman in his sixties was asked to learn how to speak a foreign language, to live in a foreign land (intermittently at first, and then permanently), to move out of an institution that was soundly, flourishingly, organized in order to take in hand every describable difficulty. His obedience showed up to be almost heroic.

Brother Lange was both in mind and body a vigorous, level-headed man. He had the mind of a mathematician and broad, composed features. An intense faith inspired his actions, supported his energy and his serenity. And while he was extremely austere, he remained pleasant. He won over the Catalonians, just has he had earned the gratitude and the affection of the people in Languedoc. His administration displayed a sense of coherence, foresight and prudence.

In order to manage the debt at Bonanova — the purchase price of Torre Muntadas and the surrounding parcels of land, as well as building and furnishing costs — he obtained assistance from the Motherhouse, from the residence school in Passy and from several French Districts. But especially, since he had authorization to dispose of the assets of the residence school in Béziers — for as long as he combined the functions of Director of that school with those of Visitor in Spain — he used a part of this money to make the most pressing payments in Barcelona.

Nevertheless, the paying off of the debts was to require years. The total number of pupils rose only slowly; and by July of 1893 it had not yet reached seventy. At that time, the Superior-general recalled Brother Isidore to France, and the burden of directing the College was shifted to Brother Lange's shoulders. But since the latter still retained the responsibility for the entire District, he was joined by Bother Lo Juan with the title of Pro-director and Brother Joseph Stephen as second in command.

This triumvirate ruled the institution until 1896. And then the Brother Visitor, without suspending his serious interest in Bonanova — where, in 1905, he was to establish his place of retirement and, in 1913, where he would die — handed over the primary responsibilities to Brother Adolph Alfred. Starting at this time the school began to flourish. Between July 1896 and July 1897, the number of pupils enrolled arose from 114 to 152. From the 7th to the 10th of June, when a triduum was celebrated in honor of St. John Baptist de La Salle in a church dear to the people in Barcelona, Our Lady del Pino, it was clear that brighter days had certainly dawned. Brother Adolph had lofty qualities of mind and judgment, precise standards and many-sided expertise; his "Practical Program in the

Castillian Language" had a huge success; and commercial programs, introduced through his initiatives, contributed generally to the growth of pupil population. Upon his departure from Catalonia in 1904 to administer the American District of Havana, he left the College of Nuestra Señora de la Bonanova with 300 pupils in the monumental structure on "Ignatio Romaña" with new buildings, an imposing chapel and in a setting of palm trees, Magnolias, flower gardens and stately terraces.[698].

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In a section of his Circular dated December 3, 1889, Brother Joseph addressed his Spanish Brothers in the following terms: "Thank you for the joy you have given by your fidelity in maintaining intact, both in your Communities and in your schools, the Rules and traditions of the Institute. We have been overjoyed to acknowledge you as genuine sons of Blessed de La Salle."

Thus the journey beyond the Pyrenees had confirmed the Superior in the hopes that the new District had aroused and that his predecessor, Brother Irlide, had bequeathed to him as one of the best portions of his inheritance.

Signs of involvement were further underscored by the Superior and his Assistants. They were particularly inspired by the move to Bujedo of the groups of young men in formation whom we have seen at Las Maravillas.

The visit to the heart of the capital demonstrated that the spot was not helpful to the recollection of young Religious. Something better than los Cuatro Caminos — a public square — was needed to separate the Novices, Junior Novices and Scholastics from profane intrusions. What was required was isolation, and this was fully achieved. Bujedo in Old Castille, on a plateau over against the mountains, in a setting with powerful lines, at the mouth of the Pancorbo pass, Bujedo, "the land of box-wood", with its rocks, its springs and its somber meadows, was something of a symbol of the primitive energy and indomitable resistance as well as of the youthful vitality of the Spanish people.

Not far from the village and a Rio called the Oroncillo there stood a monastery, Santa Maria de Bujedo de Candepajares, which had been founded in the 12th century by Doña

[698] Motherhouse archives, file H20. — archives of the Béziers residence school, Brother Albert Paulin's notes. — Archives of Our Lady of Bonanova College, Historique manuscrit, by Brother Casimiro Felix. — Cincuentenario, pp. 216-218, 233-236. — In March 1902 the general strike that bathed Barcelona in blood deeply moved the College; more than fifty families withdrew their sons until order was restored

Sancha Diáz de Frias, the wife of Iñigo de Valderrama. The noble woman[699] had been friendly and devoted to the followers of St. Norbert, the Premonstratensions, who had spread rapidly throughout the Christian world. In a charter, dated August 1168, she conveyed the ownership of her estates of "Buxedo, Candepaxares, Pancorbo and Miranda" to the Abbot of "St. Christopher's", the monk Rodrigo. At the same time she placed the new center for contemplative prayer and the apostolate under the protection of Alphonso VIII, the conqueror of the Moors. Don Alphonso's successors regarded Doña Sancha's project as a royal undertaking, and in 1565 changed its name to Real Convento. Some twenty years later, the Premonstratensions modified nearly the entire edifice, and the alterations were continued into the 17th century. When the evictions of 1835 put an end to a long and peaceful history, barely disturbed for a few days by the Napoleonic invasion, the monastery from the outside still had massive and compact look of a fortress. A huge, square-shaped tower rose over the buildings and controlled the roads. It was a relic of the Middle Ages, but not the only one nor the most characteristic. The monk's church retained its 12th century apse and apsidial chapels with an exquisite purity of style and in delicately wrought sandstone. In the transept there was still the small rose-window and the harmonious columns.[700]

The main stairway to the two superimposed cloisters and to the refectory and cells, indeed the entire ensemble of spectacular architecture, dated from the reconstruction.

Even though after the departure of the rightful occupants and the pillage and devastation effected by vandals and thereafter the seasonal dampness in a deserted spot caused a great deal of damage, the structure remained sound. More than half-a-century passed. In 1880 the Fathers of the African Missions in Lyons, fearing persecution on the part of the French Republic, thought it wise to set up a foreign place of refuge for themselves. On October 28 of that year, Father Gaston Desribe Casteran, "priest, resident of Chamalières in Puy-de-Dôme," acquired the former monastery from Francisco Evaristo Arnayz y Lopez, "a resident of the city of Burgos", for the sum of 7,500 pesetas. In three further notarized deeds in the course of the following years, the estate was enlarged with a garden and some parcels of land. The Fathers undertook urgent repairs. And in order to use the buildings, while awaiting events, they opened a sort of Juniorate on the site. The experiment failed. Meanwhile the Missionary Congregation's situation in France ceased to give rise to serious misgivings.

Bujedo became burdensome, and Father Desribes sought an opportunity to get rid of it. Alerted, Brother Justinus of Mary believed that the former monastery perhaps offered a

[699] Whose tombstone is still to be seen in an annex to the chapel.

[700] The short nave, no doubt redone in the 16th century, scarcely allows us to imagine what the original church looked like at full length,

suitable asylum for future Christian Brothers. Brother Louis of Poissy arrived to study the proposal on site. He was obviously won over. On August 13, 1890, three days after the end of his visit, he wrote to the Superior-general: "The monastery is very soundly constructed…The chapel is splendid…The ceiling and the walls, entirely in cut stone, have been restored…All that's needed are an altar and flooring…On the first and second floors of the buildings there are large cloisters in very good condition, which go around the structure. On the third floor the cloister exists only on one side.[701] Columns, ceiling, arcades and walls are all in good condition…The gardens are rather vast and extremely productive. There is good soil, an abundance of water, fresh and excellent for drinking… Bujedo is one hour's distance by train from Vitoria and Burgos, the region par excellence for vacations. Miranda, a very religious city, is the closest and is a rail center with branches going to Bilbao, Saragossa and Barcelona. For the Institute, then, it occupies a very crucial location…In the immediate vicinity of the house ther are pleasant hills which would offer our Junior Novices or our Novices extremely interesting outings.

These optimistic judgments and nearly enthusiastic descriptions earned the agreement of the M.H. Brother Joseph. On January 26, 1891, before Donato Martinez Urria, notary in Miranda de Ebro, "Don Teodoro Trevit y Diris, Visitor of the Christian Brothers, resident of Madrid" signed the deed which made him co-owner of an estate of about ten acres with Peter Lesage, John Peter Michallat, Peter Saurel and August Petitnicolas, residents of Paris.[702]

On March 10 Brother Benignus Edward, former Director at Fleury Meudon and Brother Eustade arrived to direct the work of rehabilitation. They saw immediately that it would not be an inconsiderable task. Not only was there the work of clearing away, cleansing and washing, but the wood-work, the window casements, the doors and the ceilings were so dilapidated that they required general repairs. The two Brothers were men of great courage; one of them, Brother Benignus, wrote at this time to Brother Justinus of Mary that an epidemic of smallpox had begun to ravage Bujedo and that he was prepared to

[701] On the north side. — The other three sides, while provided for in the original plans, were not built until after 1900 by the Brothers of the Christian Schools. In 1935, a fire of criminal origins razed the building. The restoration, quite successfully achieved, preserved whatever survived of the ancient parts and opened up the entire edifice to the light.

[702] It was therefore a "collective" (Tontine) purchase made by the Brothers Assistants Cyrus, Raphael, Junian, Apronian of mary and Brother Visitor Justinus of Mary. The announced price was 20,000 pesetas; but it appears that the real price was twice that.

work among the victims without fear of death, which would be “meritorious in the eyes of the Savior”.

The sacrifice was not required of him. The difficult work in conditions that were especially austere in discomfort and isolation was sufficient to test the soundest virtue. Transforming themselves into mastercraftsmen, the Brothers, constantly teaching by their own example, parcelled out the work to teams of craftsmen and day-laborers. The railroad passed by a short distance away.[703]Brother Visitor had obtained from the North Spain Railroad Company exceptional stops to unload building materials.

In August the Superior-general spent a day at Bujedo. He became aware of the great effort that had already been expended and of all that the most elementary rehabilitation still demanded. Struck by the beauty of the chapel he would soon give orders for the central treasury of the Institute to finance its complete restoration.[704] On May 4, 1892 the monastic sanctuary provided the setting for the feast of Blessed de La Salle. And at the end of July, the Novices and Junior Novices left Madrid in two parties. It was a joyous departure for the youths who were setting out in search of a somewhat mysterious region. Contact with the real could not fail, humanly speaking, to appear exorbitantly harsh. In empty rooms they set up rough and ready encampments; and the food was something less than appetizing; sleep on improvised cots secured only an indifferent sort of rest. Courageously the mind and body accepted discomfort. Bujedo was, and was to remain, a school of endurance for future Brothers — and throughout the course of the early years, with such a rigorous quality that many vocations, still somewhat fragile, did not pass the test.

But there it was that the more resistent spirits were superbly fortified. The old Premonstratension monastery became — for the Brothers of the two Spanish Districts — the “House” par excellence, the cradle of Religious initiation, the reliquary of the most

[703] On an embankment which, unfortunately, closed of the monastery’s view of the plain. In any case the venerable structure escaped the destruction with which it was seriously threatened when the railroad line was at first planned.

[704] This decision was made in fulfillment of a vow. Brother Joseph feared that a new military law that was being discussed at the time in the Cortès, would compromise the young Brothers’ privilege of exemption. He promised Our Lady of Bujedo to honor her sanctuary in a special way, if his fears were completely placated. When he was heard, he kept his promise. — He placed the Novitiate, especially, under the protection of Our Lady of Good Counsel, to whom he had a particular devotion.

cherished memories, the setting for some of the most personal resolutions, generous and solemn sacrifices and an enthusiasm for holiness.[705]

The Novitiate continued to be guided by Brother Josephat Edmund who had directed it in Madrid. The Junior Novices also retained their Director, the stern, earnest and good, Brother Bernard Sulpice. The Scholastics, who had come to Bujedo around the end of 1892, were headed by Brother Seridon Isidore, who later on became an Assistant to the Superior-general, Brother Imier of Jesus; subsequently, in 1897, after Brother Seridon had succeeded Brother Edmund in the Novitiate, another Frenchman, a native of Bédariux in Lower Languedoc, Brother Secondin Michael, came from the Scholasticate in Bézier to teach the Spaniards; they yielded eagerly to his sturdy leadership, and they acquired a taste for the education that the teacher had the skill to make attractive by means of slide lectures covering a variety of experiments; they also remained grateful for the ingenious ways in which he planned Community feastdaysYouths from all over the peninsula, in growing numbers, made their way toward the austere walls in the shadow of the mountains. Between 1892 and 1905 there were more than 600 young men admitted to the house of formation.[706]

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The introduction of the Novitiate, Junior Novitiate and Scholasticate into the sacred precincts of Bujedo was work of Brother Justinus of Mary. It also formed part of his last activities on earth, which we shall now conclude by recounting.

After the migration of the future Brothers, the buildings on Calle Bravo Murillo was home only to the Procure and the tuition-free school of San José. Opportunity arose —

[705] In 1942 there was laid to rest in the Bujedo chapel the remains of the young Brother Benjamin Antonio, “a sacrificial soul,” filled with the love of God to the point of the heroic act of the total offering of self: — who was not long in being admitted into Heaven.

[706] Motherhouse archives HB f1. — Bujedo archives: deeds of purchase; Brother Assistant Louis of Poissy’s letter; Historique du petit-noviciat (by Brother Servando Paziente); Historique du novitiate (by Brother Adriano Carlos); an account of the foundation (written in 1910). — Cincuentenario, pp. 165-170. — Brother Claudio Gabriel, Notas históricas y contemporáneas de Monasterio de Santa Maria de Bujedo de Candepajares, Santander, 1942. — Bulletin de Écoles chrétiennes for January 1912, pp. 24-29.

and it may very well have inspired — the founding in Madrid of the great college of which Brother Jubinus had once, prematurely, made a beginning.[707]

As a former teacher in the schools in Aiguillon, Orthez and Pau and an educator experienced in all the arts of pedagogy, he aimed essentially at the establishment of modern secondary education, intended for commercial, industrial and agricultural levels of society. Parallel to the classical humanities, which was always available in Spain to young people striving for "liberal" careers, there remained a large rôle for the Institute to play with its Brothers who were specialized in technical education. A public for such courses would be created when to an explanation of programs and methods there was added some significant results.

Modest beginnings had to be anticipated. Brother Septimian of Mary, appointed Director, finished the first school year in August of 1893 with thirteen pupils.

Brother Justinus of Mary would not see the growth. He had planted; others, coming later, would reap the harvest. On October 30, 1896 came the Real Orden approving the operation of the College of Nuestra Señora de las Maravillas. Successively, Brothers Lucidas Joseph, Justinian, Jovinian, Directors, and Brothers Israel of Mary and John Joseph, Sub-directors, set to work. In the summer of 1903, there were fifty-eight resident students, thirty semi-residents and thirty-three day students. At the same time the affiliated tuition-free school was teaching 400 elementary school youngsters from Madrid. The College showed comparable statistics when under Brother Hippolytus between 1904 and 1923 it moved toward full growth.[708].

Four schools of unequal importance and in very different geographical locations were, within a few months, contemporaneous with the early years of Las Maravillas: St. Louis' school in Madrid; St. Joseph's school in Cadiz; Benicarlo "College" in Catalonia; and St. James the Apostles' school in Bilbao.

St. Louis' school was a response to a totally religious concern. In one of Madrid's most central locations, the Calle de Beneficiencia, an "Evangelical College" had just opened. Constantly concerned about Protestant propaganda, the Ladies' Association, presided

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[707] See above, pg. 327.

[708] Motherhouse archives, HB f1. — Cincuentenario, pp. 91-94. — Brother Claudio Gabriel, pg. 318. — Obituary of Brother Justinus of Mary, 1894. — There remains nothing today of the splendid College that was set on fire by revolutionaries on May 11, 1931. A food mart was built by the city on a portion of the site. What were once gardens are now nothing but a vacant lot, stripped of all vegetation. But a new Las Maravillas, with quite modern appointments and flooded in light, is situate din a new neighborhood, Colonia El Viso on Guadalquivir Street, a site with an immense future

over by the Countess Superunda, decided to set up close by a Brothers' school. The foundation was inaugurated on February 2, 1893 with Queen Mary Cristine, the Bishop of Madrid, the governor and the mayor in attendance.

A group who championed social works, Don José Garcia Ramos, Don José Deulofeu, Father Añeto, Don Felix Soto (the future Bishop of Badajoz) sponsored a new school in Andalousia which, during the early years of its activity, operated in a neighborhood of Cadiz.

At the origins of the Benicarlo school — out of which would grow St. Aloysius Gonzaga College — was the good advice of a physician to his pastor. Dr. Antonio Roig had at one time practiced in France; and as he had had a clientele in Nuits, in the Côte d'Or, he cared for the Brothers, who were teaching in the region; during the Franco-Prussian War of 1870, he attended the wounded among General Cremer's troops. Upon his return to Catalonia and taking up residence in a small city included in the diocese of Tortosa, he maintained excellent relations with his pastor, the zealous Don Augustine Ferrer. He counselled the latter to write to the M. H. Brother Joseph. The step met with success. And on August 30, 1893 Don Ferrer in a ringing letter to his parishioners announced the impending opening of a school. And when the Brothers arrived on September 29, distinguished citizens met them at the station, the municipal band led them through the streets and the population applauded. At the end of the first quarter, three classes were teaching 200 pupils. The inauguration in 1897 of a residence school was the prelude to a much more developed educational program.

Finally, in Bilbao there was the beginning of what would become, a half-century later, an institution of the highest importance: the Colegio de Santiago Apostol. As we have noted, the Brothers were known in the Biscaye region since 1887.[709] But what was needed here was something more than orphanages or primary schools: but an educational center which would better suit the industrial and commercial tempo of the Ria del Nervión. In 1892 efforts on the part of Don Juan Cruz Eguileor and Don Domingo Toledo ran into insuperable obstacles. Brother Philibert, the former Director at Castro Urdiales, and Brother Timothy who had directed the project in the Iturribide neighborhood, valiantly made another effort. They leased three floors of a building situated on Calle del Marquès del Puerto; and, on September 1, 1893 they began teaching one resident-pupil, two semi-residents and three day-pupils. Ten months were enough to launch a successful operation. On Calle de Rodriguez Ariz, to which the project had to be moved in July of 1894, higher elementary and commercial education were dispensed to 170 pupils. A new

[709] See above, pp. 351-352.

transfer to Olympo in 1900 was followed by a growth in prosperity. Brother Director Philibert had steered his ship through perils; worn out by his concerns, the pilot never left his post except to die. His successor in 1902, Brother Lo-Juan, the former pro-director of Bonanova, was to know difficulties but overcome them, difficulties of a journey accompanied by challenges, lived out under the *signum fidei.*

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At the beginning of 1894 Brother Justinus of Mary was sixty-three years old. It would have been difficult to find a man whose life was fuller than his. Especially, the last fifteen years — the years of his administration in Spain — represented a body of work that comes close to being prodigious. He had opened thirty-eight schools in which 9,000 boys and young men were given a Christian education. Without sacrificing anything of the integrity of the Rule nor of the spirit, the authority, the substance of the Institute, but rather by strengthening the foundations of that structure in the Communities under his jurisdiction through the example of strict obedience, he was able, in a sense, to "nationalize" the Institute beyond the Pyrenees. He had surrounded himself with associates, both French and Spanish, who were also permeated by the principles of the holy Founder. The sons of two nations, united under his aegis, had succeeded in forming a single family with ties that were so solid that no rifts would occur among the older generation — cliques based on nationality or formation traditions — and the younger men in which the native element necessarily predominated and eventually stood alone. The future was secured through the successful establishment of Bujedo, which was so effectively situated to prepare young men for the Religious life, to increase their vitality while rendering their character more flexible and while directing their affections and the fulfillment of their duties toward the supernatural.

Three hundred Brothers were working in the schools; and fifty Novices were getting ready to join them. The Visitor quite rightly had confidence in the spirit and the perseverance of this dedicated army. He himself was not planning on any leisure. It was impossible that there should be any dearth of work in the fields of the apostolate. Old age, with its afflictions and its infirmities, seemed a long way off. But it was death that was suddenly to overtake him.

Since the appointment of Brother Lange as Visitor in Barcelona, and Brother Justinus of Mary to the eastern provinces, the latter was still controlling a vast territory between Bilbao and Cadiz. As a consequence, there was a great deal of travelling, days and nights on trains in every sort of weather; there was the lack of sleep, the scarcely edible food consumed onthe-run, and the grievous wear-and-tear to which a sixty year old body put up a poor resistance. On January 28, 1894 he took the train for Andalousia, and on February 9 he returned to his residence at Nuestra Senora de las Maravillas College in Madrid. He immediately took to his bed. The illness appeared serious and caused the patient a great deal of suffering. He demonstrated a marvelous submission to the Will of God. When, under the severity of the pain, a sigh escaped him, a gesture or a look — in which were expressed his strength of soul—

disavowed, so to speak, the weakness of the flesh. A few hours before expiring the dying man was heard to murmur: "More, Lord, still more! Send me crosses. I accept them, I love them, I want them!"

Motherhouse archives, HB f^1 and H^2O. — *Cincuentenario*, pp. 105-106, 170-172, 247-248. — Brother Claudio Gabriel, pp. 329-331. — Brother Philibert's epitaph reads: *Vir bonus, Magister clams, Rector prudens*

He died on the morning of the 16th of February. The news of his death, which shocked the Brothers, was the occasion of a great deal of feeling throughout the capital. A number of distinguished persons dropped by the room in which the remains were laid out. One politician, a member of the Liberal party, declared: "I have lost my best friend!" On the day of the funeral a large crowd followed a very plain hearse; the Queen Regent, riding in a coach, encountered the funeral procession, and once she learned what was going on, took a moment to meditate on it and then, with a brisk gesture, was said to have ordered the Crown Prince Alfonso, seated beside her, to bless himself. On the following day the Brothers received from the royal palace a letter of condolences for "the irreparable loss" they had suffered.

The family of the Counts of Torreanaz offered a provisional tomb in Madrid. After five year, on February 23, 1899 the mortal remains were conveyed to Bujedo. A royal decree dated December 26, 1895 had authorized the creation of a cemetery in the monastic enclosure: surrounded by crosses that invited prayers for Brothers buried there, a modest mausoleum recalled to the pious and grateful memory of the house's inhabitants the providential Leader and great pioneer of the Spanish Communities.'

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Supervision of the Madrid District was entrusted to Brother Exuperian of Jesus, previously Director of the Sacred Heart Orphanage on Claudio Coello Street. This Brother's lofty principles and administrative skills were well-known to the Superiors. There could be no question that he would be quite attentive to the training of candidates, the good order of schools, the advancement of education and studies — in a word to the preservation of a precious inheritance.

He occupied the post of Visitor until 1908. The climate of the times, although not continuously troubled, required constant vigilance. In these transitional years between the centuries, Spain suffered and stirred. The Cuban revolution in 1895 and the unfortunate war against the United States in 1898 removed the last traces of its colonial empire in America and in the Philippines. Such a cruel ordeal had its repercussions on internal politics as well as on the morale of the nation. Authority sagged and traditions lost a great deal of their force.

Universal suffrage, reestablished in 1890,[2] gave the masses, in principle, a prevailing voice which, at the outset, they had not used, but which could decided the kingdom's future directions. It became important to see that the people were educated. But, while the number of the illiterate diminished during this period,[3] the total number of children between the ages of seven and thirteen who were still not attending any school was put at more than two million — a figure that represented about a half of all young people.'

[1] Motherhouse archives, file HB f[1]. — Bujedo archives, *Historique du petit-noviciat. — Cincuentenario,* pg. 14. — *Choir de notices necrologiques,* Vol. III, pp. 85 *et sq.* — Recollections of Brother Esperato, of Grifion.

[2] While it was introduced after the revolution of 1868, it had not been included in the Constitution of 1876.

[3] See above, pg. 300.

[4] Cossio, *op. cit.,* pg. 569

Many schools, both public and private, were not up to standard. With the exception of classes in which, since the law of 1897, Normal School students practiced taught, pupils of every age, whether in the cities or in villages, were combined in the same classroom; a single teacher taught them, occasionally backed up by a monitor. As a result there was widespread use of the "mutual method", accompanied by all the educational defects of the system.'

It was thought necessary to supply the central government with the means of raising the level of intellectual culture. This was why the Ministry of Public Education was created in 1900.[2] During the following January, the educational portfolio was given to the Count Romanones. His activities showed that he was determined to keep a tight rein on private education; he excluded uncertified teachers from examining boards; he himself assumed responsibility for the inspection of non-public institutions and made severe demands upon their; in Colleges founded by Congregations teachers had to prove their university degrees. Spanish Catholics, who were little accustomed to State supervision, were surprised and complained: a Congress assembled at St. James Compostello raised a vigorous protest against steps taken by the ministry.

An anti-clerical breeze began to blow. The decree of December 15, 1901 — which caught, it was believed, the Queen Regent unawares — determined the statute governing associations in a way that was prejudicial to Religious Orders. Thereupon, there took place a negotiation with the Vatican, which dragged on; Moret believed that, since the Congregations were subject to the Church, they must be dealt with through a special law; Romanones wanted to apply common law to all those Congregations which had grown up outside the Concordat.

These discussions advanced the cause of the enemies of the Church. The Republican party did very little to veil its intentions: it railed against the power of the clergy, and it made direct assaults on the foundations of the faith. In the larger cities, where its zealots and constituents were numerous the masses of the people became alienated from religion.

Extremists had won the upperhand: some of them incited strikes that turned into riots; and these had their "days" in Barcelona in 1902; and others armed terrorists — against

Canovas del Castillo, who was killed in Santa Agueda, and against the king himself, who, on his wedding day, escaped an assassin's attack.[1]

It became important to anticipate disorders and persecution. This was the burden of the advice addressed, in 1897, to the Spanish Visitors by

the Secretary-general of the Institute, Brother Justinus.[2] In France, he had organized a number of Building Corporations which, having become the legal owners of residence- and day-schools, would, after 1904, rescue these institutions from the clutches of the "liquidators". He counselled a similar strategy for the Districts of Madrid and Barcelona. Finally, and in concert with Don. Joaquin Dalmau Fiter, a Catalan lawyer and notary, he drew up a document that gave rise to the *Instruccion popular,* a huge network the object of which was "the founding and support of primary and secondary schools that would facilitate and advance literary, scientific, artistic, and technical instruction and the Christian education of youth, especially of those belonging to the working classes.[3]

Among the Congregation's properties which, henceforth, were included in the holdings of the Limited Corporation were the schools in Barcelona — *Condal, Bonanova, Las Corts, Gracia* and *Barceloneta — Manlleu* in Catalonia, *Lorca* in the Province of Murcie, *Valladolid, Las Maravillas* and *Bujedo.[4]*

At the same time that *Instruccion popular* was offering physical security, new governmental decrees were enabling some of the schools to incorporate. On January 2, 1899, Brother Adolph Alfred, Director of Bonanova,

[1] Brother Claudio Gabriel, pp. 210-211, 305-306. — Fernand Mourret, *Hisioire generale de l'Eglise,* Vol. IX, pg. 261.

[2] Tr. note: Not to be confused with Brother Justinus of Mary who had died in 1894.

[3] The deed of incorporation, dated June 1897. — Brother Justinus signed it as the representative of the "collective ownership" that contributed its funds to the Limited Corporation: Brother Junian (Peter Saurel), Brother Aimarus (Edward Gaussuin), Brother Apronian of Mary (August Petitnicolas), Brother Cyrus (Peter Lesage), Brother Louis of Poissy (Albert Bruny), Brother Jubinus (Alphonsus Andrew Sabatier), Brother Gabriel of Mary (Edmund Brunhes), Brother Joviano Esteban (Joseph Pascal Escudie, Director of Moncada College.

[4] Motherhouse archieves, file JE x^9.

informed Brother Justinus that besides the big college in Barcelona, *Bujedo, Lorca, Valladolid, Gracia, Las Corts* and *Barceloneta* had just received *Real Orden.*[1]

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It remains only to list the institutions into which, prior to 1904, Spain had received Brothers who had been exiled from France. The chronological order brings us into a great variety of regions, following the Visitors who had been appointed by the Superior of the Institute.

In 1895, we turn once again to Cadiz in order to witness the opening on the 25th of March, by Bishop Vicente Calvo y Valero — of the splendid St. Michael the Archangel school, a genuine mansion built on the river-bank by Don Jose Morena de Mora and his wife Dofia Micaela Aramburu.[2]

Six months later, in the wake of Don Jose Garcia BarbOn's generosity, classes opened in Verin, in Galicia: the Brothers had been recommended to the philanthropist by the Marquis of Herrera, whose mother, Dona Felisa Campuzano, had founded the *las Corrales* school in Buelna;[3] the Bishop of Orense (or is it "Bishop d'Orense?") was delighted to have the school in his diocese:[1]

Through the former Vicar in *Manlleu,* Don Colomer, who had become pastor in Sampedor, the *Colegio Llisach* was built in the latter city and opened tuition-free to all boys of school-age in the region. Don Colomer had introduced the eventual benefactors, Henry Guix and his wife Seraphina Jover de Llisach, to Brother Lange. Discussions, undertaken in September of 1897, took a few weeks to complete. The Bishop of Vich blessed the temporary quarters which were replaced in 1898 by the *Colegio.*[5]

In 1900 the Brothers were in Asturias. They launched a superb social project in that province that pursued maritime, agricultural and industrial interests, where mine shafts cut into the earth, where blast-furnaces rose, where coal piled up along rivers, in deep valleys

[1] Motherhouse archives, JE x^9.

[2] *Cincuentenario,* pp. 107-109, and *Bulletin des Ecoles chretiennes* for January 1924, pp. 35-37.

[3] See above, pp. 344-345.

[4] *Cincuentenario,* pg. 174.

[5] Motherhouse archives, 11^{29} and *Cincuentenario,* pg. 249.

inhabited by people and flocks of animals and covered with meadows whose colors darkened under the nearly constantly overcast skies. The first of the Brothers' assignments was situated at something over a mile from Llanes on the road between Oviedo and Santander. Here the air was no longer filled with dust from the mines — the Ocean was close by, and from the wooded heights one's gaze turned toward the sea. Many of the inhabitants along this coast had set sail for America. Those of them whom fortune had favored returned happy to close out their lives in their native region; they bought land, built villas on carefully selected sites, pleasantly enclosed by gardens and small-scale cultivation. One of these "Americans", Manuel Cue Fernandez, a native of Arquera, had given some thought to the education of his young fellow-citizens. As a good Christian, he want to see them in the hands of the Brothers. Construction began in 1899. Don Manuel died before the work was completed. His widow and his nephews proved to be faithful to his intentions. On October 18, 1900, Brother Cristobal Jose, Eliseo Luis, Nivardo of Jesus were present to welcome some 150 boys, most of whom were future seamen, future workers or business men in Cuba or Mexico.[1]

Brother Exuperian had taught in Llanes. And his colleague, Brother Lange at the same time, *happened to be at* Cambrils, a Mediterranean village of fishermen and farmers. Don Benito Vidal, Canon in Tarragon, loved this corner of the world where he was born and that was only a short distance from the ancient Roman and episcopal city. He endowed Cambrils in 1886 with a school operated in the beginning by the Holy Family Fathers and then by a group of Brothers affiliated with the Carmelites. After fourteen years, he entered into conversations with the Brothers, who obtained the consent of the Archbishop Costa of Tarragon to enter his diocese. A deed of gift in favor of the Institute was signed by Don Benito and, simultaneously by his nephews Don Jose and Don Francisco, the latter of whom would become Archbishop and Cardinal Vidal y Barraquer. This document stipulated that the Brothers were to maintain two tuition-free classes in the building; they were allowed to use the rest of it for a Novitiate. Their teaching, extended to the older members of families in evening courses, as well as their behavior upright and pious — had such an influence that Cambrils was transformed into a fortress of militant Catholicism. It was an aspect of the Brothers which, far from languishing in the disturbed periods of Catalonian history, was to grow in strength through the opening of a Junior Novitiate in 1905 and remain no less distinctive at the time when candidates in formation, Junior Novices, Novices and Scholastics of the District of Barcelona resided outside the urban center of population, among the olive and orange trees and the vineyards of a beautiful estate.[1]

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[1] *Cincuentenario,* pp. 176-177

In Santander, the work would for long remain painful and ill rewarded.

Father Mendia, a Jesuit, succeeded in 1901 in obtaining a few Brothers for his apostolate among the people in Menendez y Pelayo. It was the far-off echo of steps that had been taken in 1877 by Don Vicente Calvo, who had envisioned setting up the Brothers at Santa Lucia, Rio de la Pila and in Sardinero. None of these plans could be carried out. What Father Mendia offered the Institute was nothing but an extremely modest residence where it required the dedication of Brother Joad Samuel and his confreres to lay the foundations for an enduring structure. The addition of a neighborhood school on Pedrueca Street, in 1903, resulted in a request on the part of Bishop Sanchez; but "the Bishop's neighborhood" — as this educational group was called — increased the responsibility of the Community without providing it with more room. At the end of the year, an anti-clerical movement was set in motion at election time; it ended tragically, when the Brother's house was set on fire. The Religious teachers were scattered into other institutions in the *Montana* until calm was restored. For a long time the Brothers were to accumulate voluntary and extremely meritorious sacrifices before there arose to the full light of day and in a renewed city the present "La Salle College." [2]

Further south, in Palencia, surrounded by financial difficulties, a future was being planned that was not without its moments of success. Brother Exuperian of Jesus, in 1902, responded to Bishop Henry Almaraz y Santos' invitation by sending him three tuition-free teachers whom the prelate had forthwith installed. Everything went well as long as the Bishop supported the school with his funds. But destruction threatened it when he was promoted to the archiepiscopal See of Seville. Since money was lacking in this city with its Gothic grandeur it became necessary to take steps toward the opening of a pay-school.[3] Finally there was promised for Asturias a project of vast social scope of which Llanes represented little more than an outline. The huge industrial companies, nearly everywhere in this region, were about to ask the Brothers cooperation with the view of counteracting revolutionary propaganda through a basically religious education. The Director-general of the La Felguera steelworks, Don Buenaventura Junquera, a former pupil at the residence school in Bayonne, took the initiative. A Lasallian school was opened on April 1, 1902 in a village in the vicinity of the shops, sheds, blast furnaces and machinery with its noisy, insatiable action. A few months later Alphonso XIII and his brother-in-law, Don Carlos, Prince of Asturias, visited both the workers at their jobs and the schoolboys in their classrooms

[1] Motherhouse archives, HB f[1]. — *Cincuentenario,* pp. 250-253. — Brother Claudio Gabriel, pg. 385.

[2] *Cincuentenario,* pp. 177-178. Brother Claudio Gabriel, pg. 355.

[3] *Cincuentenario,* pp. 179-180.

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The importance of the La Felguera school rested with the quality of its teachers, the number of its pupils and splendor of its premises. The origins of Mieres in 1903 were more modest. During its early years the Brothers had to be satisfied with extremely poor quarters that lacked both yard and garden, set down in the middle of a collection of hovels in the ancient village; that arrangement was followed by another in which there were two buildings which, while more comfortable, were separated by a public thoroughfare. Taking advantage of the progress of urban development in this vibrant and intelligently administered community, they took up quarters in a location that was capable of admitting a large pupil-population. Surrounded by a friendly public, they achieved the influence in this mining center that had been hoped for by their sponsor, Senora Enriqueta Guilhou and her daughter, Dofia Marta, Countess of Mieres.[1]

Although it goes beyond the limits that we have set for ourselves in the present account, we must point out other places in Asturias where the Brothers taught. *La Hullera Espanola,* the powerful coal-mining company, introduced Brothers' schools into its own industrial communities. The catechetical, moral and social apostolate was undertaken in Ujo, for example, and in Bustiello and Caborana. In TurOn, in 1934, eight Brothers were martyred, victims of political partisans.[2]

We must stop, however, at the threshold of a new era: — the moment at which French Brothers asked the hospitality of Spain and came in such great numbers that six Districts

[1] *Cincuentenario,*pp. 181-183.

[2] Their bodies, after solemn translation, rest presently in the Brothers' cemetery in Bujedo.

PART TWO

THE INSTITUTE

IN

MISSION

LANDS

CHAPTER ONE

The Ottoman Empire and Egypt

This section of Volume 8 has been downloaded from an OMNIPAGE version based on Brother Edmund's original work. It could not be produced in the same format as previous sections. In addition, the final section on Ceylon (Sri Lanka) is incomplete and could not be included.Footnotes begin again from this section.

(Brother Gerard Rummery)

After our journey through Europe, it now becomes important to follow the Brothers into the eastern world. The Rumanian and Bulgarian schools were situated on the threshold of mission countries. From Sophia we shall take the road to Constantinople, and, on the shores of the Bosphorus we shall make contact once again with projects we have already taken a look at as well as with people we have already met.'

And there our attention is first of all attracted to Brother Hugonis. And his powerful personality will continue to occupy center stage throughout these thirty years of history. Since 1870 he had been the Visitor appointed to the Communities in Turkey. From 1870 to 1899 he was the Institute's representative, the tireless planner and the remarkable inspiration throughout the entire District of the Near East, from Salonica to Ersurum, from Latakia to Bethlehem, from Alexandria to Asyiit. And when the vast extent of his control was divided into three sections — "Egypt, Syria and Turkey" — he retained, apart from direct responsibility for Turkey, precedence and rights over the other two portions along with the title of "Visitor-Provincial".

We cannot therefore build walls between territories that he had for so long combined under his authority and that he had ceaselessly travelled, from the mountains in Armenia to the Valley of the Nile, apostle and founder, replicating in a sense St.Paul to the extent that, without any boasting he could appropriate the passage from the Second Epistle to the Corinthians: Constantly travelling, I have been in danger from rivers and in danger from brigands, in danger from my own people and in danger from pagans; in danger in the towns, in danger in the open country, danger at sea and danger from so-called brothers. I have worked and labored, often without sleep; I have been hungry and thirsty and often starving; I have been in the cold without clothes...[2]

It remains for us to systematize the supply of his "daily troubles" and, in the best possible order, to study all the "churches", all the religious institutions of which he had the care. We have to select the landmarks, connect the geography and the chronology and pursue parallel paths.

The first period, whose starting point is only slightly prior to the union of all the Districts under the same Visitor, appears to us to extend up to 1885, the date of the inquiry undertaken by Brothers Assistant Phileter and Raphaelis in the Near East and the important report which brought to light the reflections on, and conclusions of that pastoral journey. The second phase goes from the opening of the "apostolic Novitiate",

[1] See Vol. VI of the present work, pp. 351-374. [2] Corinth, II, 26-27 (The Jerusalem Bible).

St. Maurice, (which was eventually supplemented with the Scholasticate on the Island of Rhodes) up to the administrative rearrangements of 1899.

We shall stop at the third epoch, in 1904, so as to remain within the limits of the present volume. Furthermore, the protagonist died before the epilogue. Death came on the bridge of a ship as he conducted the last acts of his life. The famous soil along the Mediterranean would receive his remains. Associates and disciples, among whom his domain would be divided, would continue his work.

In each time-frame the various countries will take their place: — Turkey and Egypt, according to their seniority; Palestine, which was open of the Brothers' Institute in 1876; and finally Syria, attached to this patrimony after a ten years' lapse of time.

* *

The rule of the "Red Sultan", Abdul Hamid,[1] filled with wars, murders and massacres and which was brought to an end with a revolution, was, at the same time, in a surprising paradox and, providentially, the period during which the Ottoman Empire was open to the expansion of Missionary activities. "The sick man" found at his bedside a Europe that was less concerned with caring for him than with protracting his malady for its own benefit. The division of the spoils was in danger of involving dreadful clashes; as a consequence the great powers sought rather to take Turkey under trusteeship, to make use — at each other's expense — of the good offices of "Visiers", and "Pashas", and look out for their own economic interests in the capital, in the centers of political and financial power and throughout the vast extent of the provinces. But they could not ignore the advantages of moral authority; and while Austria, Germany, Italy and Russia, each within its own sphere and with its own means, pursued their plans for spiritual conquest, and while England itself did not ignore the successes of "Evangelical" propaganda, France, on the strength of history, its ancient alliances and treaties with the masters of Constantinople, clung to the rights that it refused to allow to lapse. It was the official protector

[1] Abdul Hamid succeeded Mourad in 1876. During the following year occurred the Russo-Turkish war.

of all of the Christian Near East. It occupied a place of distinction in Palestine's Holy Places; Lebanon looked upon France with affection and gratitude; and in the counsels of the "Sublime Port" France was able to intervene without creating reasonable mistrust or panic fears.

With the encouragement, the support and the cooperation of French diplomacy, Religious Congregations expanded their efforts for the glory of God and the good of souls. Following the Vincentians who, as we know, brought about the introduction of the Brothers of the Christian Schools as well as the Daughters of Charity, the Assumptionists appeared in Byzantium, the Dominicans in Mossoul and in Jerusalem, and the Jesuits in PetiteArmenie. On the heights of Beyoglu the Capuchins opened a seminary for the education of students for the priesthood, while the Assumptionists welcomed Greek Byzantine Catholics to their chapel, studied religious questions which involved Hellenism and Slavism at their center in Kadikoy, and published

their review *Echos d'Orient.* Meanwhile, members of the same group, the Little Sisters of the Assumption, added to this accumulation of knowledge and faith the merit of their charitable dedication.'

The Brothers consolidated their positions. Their St. Joseph's College rose on the Asian coast, on the site of ancient Chalcedon. Brother Hugonis had it built and, for a few years, had it under his immediate supervision. He was assisted by Brother David Leo, a man of sound discipline, rare tact and remarkable sensitivity, who had been in the East since 1858 and, after 1870, a teacher of the upper grades, Inspector of studies, and Sub-director of the Community; he was also aided by Brother Nob, whose life for more than a half-century had been identified with that of the college. In 1881, direction of the school in Kadik6y fell to Brother Semis Odilon, during extremely prosperous times of numerous classes and highly developed programs of study.[2]

Once the Sea of Marmora and Bosphorus have been crossed, we meet once again with groups of Brothers on the northern shores of the Golden Horn. In Galata St. Peter's school operated on land belonging to the Dominicans. This was a popular school, attended by a variety of nationalities and where Christians rubbed elbows with Moslems and Jews. The French military administration

[1] Georges Goyau, *Histoire religieuse de la Nation francaise,* pp. 609-610.

[2] Archives of the Secretariat-general, Sevres Street, Constantinople file. — *Choix de notices,* Vol. II, pg. 227 *et sq.,* Brother David Leo's biography.

supplied the building materials, the wood coming from the billeting used until 1856 by the army in the Crimea. Such structures were not immune to fire — disasters not uncommon in Constantinople and its suburbs. One such conflagration occurred on February 9, 1877. The loss was total, and 300 youngster who no longer had anywhere to go to school, roamed the streets.

The Visitor, Brother Hugonis, meant to rebuild immediately. The Regime approved his negotiations with the Dominicans, who retained the ownership of the property, but allowed the Brothers' Institute to use as it pleased both the site and the sub-soil for a new structure. It was up to the Visitor to raise the funds. "It is necessary to make an appeal to the city's population and to the French ambassador", wrote Brother Aimarus on February 18.[1]

In this regard Brother Hugonis had already taken the initiative. As early as the 15th of February he had described the situation to Mr. de Molly, the *charge d'affaires* who had temporarily assumed responsibility for the embassy: the school was in ashes; if it was not restored, Frances' prestige and influence would suffer.

Four days later Mr. de Molly wrote to the Duke Decazes, Minister of Foreign Affairs:

> I need not insist on the importance associated with the Brothers being able to rebuild a school as quickly as possible that will be less exposed to the danger of fire than the modest construction in wood in which they had been operating. The project under the distinguished direction of Brother Hugonis is one of those that renders the greatest service to popular education in Constantinople...I have therefore believed it a duty, at the request of the Brother and on the favorable advice of the French Consul and two national Deputies,[2] to decide that a subscription would be started to assist in the reconstruction...The Embassy's and the Consulate's personnel have had the honor of heading the subscription list. In transmitting to you, Your Excellency, the letter of the Visitor of the Christian Brothers who is asking the aid of the Ministry, I can only invoke Your Excellency's kindest consideration of this request.[3]

[1] Motherhouse archives, file ID n[2].

[2] The "French nation," officially represented in the *ports of Asia Minor.*

[3] Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, file "Religious Assistance," box no. 10, letter dated February 19, 1877.

Decazes congratulated his subordinate for have given an example of prompt generosity and allotted 1,500 francs from the Ministry's budget to Brother Hugonis, whose project was well on the way to resurrection.'

The constructive regard in which politicians held the Brothers did nothing to withhold from them the complete confidence of Church authorities. A contract on October 9, 1883 decided the future of the parochial school of the Holy Spirit in Pancaldi, the neighborhood occupied by the Latin cathedral: the Apostolic Delegate, Bishop Rotelli, awarded the direction of the classes to a team of educators proposed by Brother Hugonis.[2]

Smyrna, the first field of action of the Missionaries in the White Rabats, remained wide open to their influence. The Director, Brother Verule, had taken the first steps to introduce a semi-residence school; but the physical arrangements left a great deal to be desired. From the very outset of the project, there were plans to build, which was why, in June of 1877, Mr Burggraff, the French Consul-general in the great Asia Minor city, was informed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the granting of a sum of 1,000 francs to the Brothers of the Christian Schools.[3] However, the undertaking appeared to stall. Brother Hugonis wrote in a letter addressed to the Superior-general on June 5, 1879:

> The rebuilding of our school in Smyrna is an absolute necessity...The present sprawling hovel is everywhere collapsing. The ensuing opening of school cannot take place without the fear of accidents. The vast premises of St. Roch's hospital, currently free, has been offered to us without charge for as long as reparations will take...Plans have been drawn up so that a semi-residence school with 180 pupils divided into six classes may co-exist with tuition-free classes...It

[1] Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, file "Religious Assistance," box no. 10, letter dated March 17.

[2] Motherhouse Archives, ID n[2].

[3] Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affaris, "Religious Assistancem," box no. 10, letter dated June 29, 1877.

should meet with the approval and the adherence of the immense majority of the Catholic population. Smyrna is an important location for us, where we must cultivate our enterprises. And the education which is special to our residence schools corresponds precisely to the demands of the country.[1]

The M.H. Brother Irlide shared this position. On December 15, 1880 Brother Visitor announced that reconstruction had been completed. Archbishop Timoni, had, on the previous September 18th, approved the prospectus of the future "St. Joseph's College". The formal opening took place on December 5th. It was accompanied by a triduum of thanksgiving that commemorated the second centenary of the founding of the Institute. The prelate came not only to bless the school, but to officiate and preach at a celebration in honor of the Venerable John Baptist de La Salle. The large crowd in attendance included the entire diocesan clergy made up of former Brothers' pupils, who were remarkable for their zeal and unconstrained in their expressions of gratitude.[2]

At the outset three Brothers took care of the semi-resident pupils, all very small boys. Cautiously, it had been decided that each year a new program would be started to suit the age and the progress of the pupils who had been admitted during the year of the school's reopening.

Tuition-free classes had been moved into new quarters on Rose Street. They filled up so rapidly that thought had to be given to a second school. Many Catholic families lived in a neighborhood, located on the extreme outskirts of Smyrna, called "The Point". Their children made up a large part of the public served by the Brothers: it would make a difference if they could be brought together and taught closer to the family home. This was the Visitor's position, which was shared by the clergy and by the zealous laymen who were interested in the work of the Institute. There existed in the city a chapter of the St.Vincent de Paul Society; and its members entered into an agreement with Brother Verule to subsidize the expenses of a building for a school of three grades. In 1881 St. Andrew's school was built. Archbishop Timoni, on May 26, wrote to the Brother Superior-general: "The sixteenth of this month I blessed and sent on its way a new tuition-free school...It already has more than 100 pupils. The Brothers have heartily, ardently and zealously embraced

[1] Motherhouse Archives, file ID n[5].

[2] *Ibid.*

this crucial mission, which gives promise of the greatest success."

The Archbishop wanted the school at "The Point" to become a "continuously operating" institution; in other words he wanted to see a Community of teachers living close to the school. In 1885 his wishes were fulfilled with the expansion of the existing building. The St. Vincent de Paul Society, which had retained the property rights, handed them over to the Brothers' Institute in 1895 for a payment of 6,000 francs.'

De La Salle's star shone in the firmament above the Mediterranean world. Brother Hugonis hoped that it would be seen in more distant lands. His apostolic ambitions aimed at a people converted to Christianity from the first centuries of our era, tested by schism, persecuted by Islam but, in spite of distress and bloodshed, still preserving its vitality, its courage and its faith.

On December 3, 1881, Amedy Querry, the French Consul in Trebizond, wrote "to Mr. Gambetta, President of the Counsel, Minister of Foreign Affairs":

> Upon his arrival here, on the 28th of last September, Brother Hugonis gave me an official letter which ordered me to assist in the fulfillment of his mission, i.e., the opening of a school in Armenia. I put myself immediately at his disposal. Brother Hugonis has long experience in the East and gave me the impression of a man with remarkable intelligence. He was free to select any city as the beneficiary of his project. Following information that was given to him, as well as my own advice, he chose Trabzon. He has been assisted by Brother Theodorit and by the Armenian-Catholic Bishop Marmarian, who has supported us with reliable and selfless cooperation. Classes were begun on November 24 with 160 pupils...the majority coming from the Armenian-Catholic community. There are also a few Greek Byzantine Catholics and some Gregorians,[2] However, the people in this latter group have incited unrest. I have made representations to their bishop.

Brother Hugonis has placed the school under the protection of the patron of Armenia, St. Gregory Illuminator. His institution will provide a significant counterbalance to the efforts of American Methodists

1 Motherhouse Archives, ID n[5]. Archbishop Timoni's and the M.H. Brother Irlide's letters, May-June 1881 and Brother Verule's report, May 25, 1897.

2 Dissidents who professed the ancient Monophysite heresy that has prevailed in Armenia since the 5th

century.

who propagate English as well as unflattering ideas about France.° In a

second letter dated December 27, the Consul added:

> The Brothers' school is the first educational foundation worthy of the name in Trabzon. Instruction is conducted in French, but with lessons in Armenian and Turkish. Opposition has quieted down; the Gregorian Bishop has indicated the most conciliatory attitude.

Querry, as a diplomat concerned with his country's interests, was delighted to find the new educators were influential allies, not only in opposition to Anglo-Saxons, but also against "the machinations of the Russians".

Finally, after seven months, on August 3, 1882, the successful outcome of the Brothers' work was published: public examinations had just been completed by the local authorities.

> The children had a good understanding of what had been taught them; they speak our language with a great deal of facility and excellent pronunciation. Some conversations in French, Turkish and Armenian drew applause from those in attendance. The Gregorian Bishop, who was present, had to agree and admit that the whole thing went beyond his expectations. The schoolboys were notable for their good behavior, their liveliness and a sort of self-possession that was not unbecoming.

The Brothers taught them tuition-free in spite of rather heavy expenses, especially a rent of about 2,000 francs. But the Consul took the liberty of asking for a subsidy for St. Gregory's school from the Minister — who, at the time, was Mr. Freycinet. In Paris financial assistance was planned for the following year.'

The school's reputation spread rapidly throughout Armenia. In 1883, Bishop Melchissedechian of Erzurum asked that the Religious teachers be sent to his episcopal city. From the shores of the Black Sea to the city in the mountains was a painful and perilous journey of some eight days duration. Brother Hugonis undertook it in order respond to the invitation of a Christian community. And on frequent occasions thereafter canonical visits brought him back to Erzurum.

He entrusted the organization of the school to Brother Simeon of Mary (Joseph Eman), a curious and attractive man, an Egyptian Catholic who was born in Al-Mansiira in 1853. As a pupil of the Brothers

[1] Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Turkey, 1872-1882, box no. 5.

in his native land between 1860 and 1869, he was planning to become a teacher. In order to finish his studies he went to Marseille where he entered the Brothers' Congregation and, equipped with French diplomas, he taught for twelve years under his Religious name of Brother Simeon of Mary in the southern province. On orders from his Superiors, who thought enough of him to conduct a sensitive mission, he left France, and until 1894 directed Erzurum with intelligence. When he first began, he was given as his assistant Brother Sylvius, who was Brother Hugonis' nephew; the latter was accidentally killed in a ravine in 1887. The Visitor was only the more dedicated Armenia which had cost him the life and earthly affection of a close relative and a cherished disciples.'

* *

In 1877 Brother Adrian of Jesus' successor arrived to expand the responsibilities of the apostolic worker. The saintly Brother and pioneer of the Institute's work in Egypt,[2] on March 3 of that year had rendered to God his beautiful, humble, austere and courageous soul. Brother David Leo replaced him at the head of the College and the tuition-free school; but he was not given the title or the function of Visitor. The major Superiors believed that the time had come to combine, as in the past, the entire Near East under a single leader. The burden of these responsibilities did not crush a man like Brother Hugonis who was able to get others to work for him and relied on the competence and the dedication of gifted associates.

There was no relaxation of effort in the Alexandria region, which was advancing toward the realization of basic goals, in particular, to the opening of a Novitiate. Brother Adrian had earlier cultivated a number of vocations. In the beginning of 1874 he assembled a group of Postulants about Brother Evagre, at St. Joseph's College set up in Ramleh, in what was still semi-desert which, enriched by alluvial water, was not long in becoming a sort of marvelously green and blossoming Eden.[3] Alfred Giordano,

1 Bulletin des Be()les chritiennes for July 1913, pp. 222-223. — Archives of the Secretary-general, Constantinople file.

[2] On the beginnings of the Brothers of the Christian Schools in Egypt, see Vol. VI of the present work, pp. 374-392.

[3] On July 2, 1873, by way of Mr. Bacos, one of the principle owners of the sandy spaces of Ramleh, Brother Adrian of Jesus signed the deed of purchase for the Gerlin property. St. Joseph's College opened on the first of the following October and continued to be known by the name of "Bacos" that had been given to the entire neighborhood. (Archives of the District of Alexandria, *Historique de la maison de Ramleh.*

a former pupil in the tuition-free school of St. Catherine's was the first one to apply for admission to the Brothers' Institute.[1] Seven other young men followed him. Almost immediately after having received the Religious habit, one of them as early as February and the rest of the group in June, were moved to the city by Brother Visitor and given into the care of Brother Gemel of Mary. It was a provisional arrangement and not very satisfactory. Brother Gemel had to divide his time between his classes in the College and his Novices. Practically no further recruits applied.

This was the situation in 1878. And then, with advice from Brother David Leo, Brother Hugonis decided on a return to Ramleh. On January 7, he wrote to the Assistant, Brother Aimarus that an independent site had to be built for a Novitiate in the garden at St. Joseph's, at an estimated coast of 37,600 fancs. But St. Catherine's in Alexandria as well as Kadilthy College covered the major portion of the expenses. Indeed, it was intended to train teachers for the entire District — European Turkey, Asia Minor and Egypt. While the Near East could not immediately supply the required personnel, recruits would be sought among young men of good will in European nations. Brother David Leo became the chief architect of this project: through contact with the clergy in France, Italy, Germany and Luxembourg, he obtained a number of candidates; and he went as far away as England to find others. Brother Gemel of Mary continued to be their Director; and then the position was entrusted to Brother Jouannet. As early as 1882 there were fifty Novices, and the building which housed them became too small. Brother Hugonis in his report of February 1, asked the Regime for authorization to add to it.[2] This sort of profusion, nevertheless, was not to last. We find the Assistant, Brother Raphaelis, emphasizing the inadequacy of the results and proposing a new system.[3] A few years more after the Assistant's visit

[1] His Religious name was Brother Emmanuel Joseph, and for sixteen years taught Ramleh's schoolboys, and then directed Port Tewfik school. Faithful to his vows, lie died in 1915 in the Community on the Island of Malta.

[2] Motherhouse archives, file ID el. — Obituaries of Brother Hugonis (1901) and Brother David Leo (1912). — Victor Guerin, *La France catholique en Egypt,* 1887, pp. 76-77.

[3] See below, pg. 413 *et sq.*

the Ramleh Novitiate was continuing an operation at a much reduced pace.

Teaching groups experienced no repercussions from this decline. Fed principally by the French Districts, they responded adeptly and successfully to every demand of the moment. Brother Ideuil Casimir, Brother Evagre's successor at St. Joseph's College, directed sixty pupils in 1878 and eighty-five in 1882.[1] It was a modest institution in comparison with the educational center at St. Catherine's, where the figure of 800 pupils that had been estimated at the death of Brother Adrian of Jesus rose to 914 in 1881: 139 resident pupils, 280 semi- residents and for the combined tuition-free school and pay College, 495 day pupils.[2] To poor children the Institute freely dispensed not only instruction but textbooks, clothing and food.

It had already become desirable to enlarge the structure and to remodel. But the Brothers, occupants of a building which remained in dependency upon and under the control of Franciscan ownership, had no options. In order to expand and breathe freely, Brother Hugonis was inclined to move the residence school out of town.[3]

A sudden upheaval would, for a time, sweep away the ordinary concerns, the irritating misunderstandings, and upset every project. The future of European and Christian activities in Egypt were seriously threatened in 1882 by Arabi Pacha's insurrection.

Mohammed Ali and his heirs, Said and Ismail, had opened up the country to Western influence. France, through the aid and counsel granted to the Viceroys, and then through the brilliant enterprise of Ferdinand de Lesseps created for itself an undeniably predominate position. Its historic traditions, its economic interests and its African policies had done enough to justify its role. Furthermore, the discoveries and studies of its learned Egyptologists had won for it an extraordinary level of prestige. The disciples of John Baptist de La Salle were able, in the area of pedagogy, to enhance this intellectual and moral influence.

A second nation intended to intervene with the

[1] District archives, *Historigue de Ramleh.*

[2] *Souvenir du centenaire de Parrvie des Freres en Egypt,* 1847, pg. 49. — Of the 914 pupils, 731 were Catholic.

[3] District archives, Visitor's correspondence, 1881-1882.

dynasty and on Egyptian soil: England, which wanted no obstacle on its route to India. Fiercely it had counteracted Lesseps. Once, in spite of the efforts of the British government, the Suez Canal had been completed, a skillful manoevre enabled the English to inject themselves into the project.

The Khedive Ismail, overwhelmed with debt, sought to sell 176,602 bonds which represented his portion of the capitalization of the International Corporation: Prime Minister Disraeli purchased them in 1875.

As Egypt's financial situation became catastrophic, a Franco-English "condominium" was set up in order to introduce a sort of order into the

Egyptian administration. Ismail was hard put to tolerate this kind of supervision. And in August of 1879, he put up an opposition to the two powers that imposed their wills upon him: he lost his throne. His son Tewfik turned out to be more docile. But then severe resistance arose in the army and in the general population against European interference. A Colonel by the name of Arabi assumed leadership of the movement, and during 1882 a triumphant nationalism imposed him upon the Khedive as the Minister of War.'

That was the beginning of a bloody period. The governments in London and Paris agreed to send a naval squadron to Alexandria. The appearance of these vessels gave rise to Moslem fury.

The "handwritten journal of St. Catherine's College"[2] tells us what happened. On June 11, Sunday in the Octave of Corpus Christi, the personnel at Ramleh joined the Community in the city for a procession when it was learned that the Egyptians had killed several Europeans. The religious ceremony had to be cancelled. Night came without further horror, and the Brothers thanked God for having protected them.

But the next day panic spread through the Christian quarter. Most Western families went down to the port and boarded any boat that was getting ready to leave Egypt. "The stampede is total," wrote the chronicler, "today we lost more than four-fifths of our pupils." On June 19 (he continues) "there remain so few of them that they can all be put into three classrooms."

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[1] *Histoire de to Nation egyptienne* (published under the editorship of Gabriel Hanotaux), Vol. VI, (Egypt from 1801 to 1882, by Francis Charles-Roux, pp. 334 *et sq.*

[2] Archives of the District of Alexandria.

On the 23th the Novitiate took refuge in St. Catherine's, since the Ramleh suburb was particularly exposed to fanatics and looting. Three days later a serious decision was adopted: all novices and some of the Brothers would flee by sea to Palestine. A second group was to go to Constantinople.

July came, and the French fleet withdrew on the orders from the French Prime Minister Freycinet, who was still confident that he could obtain a solution through diplomatic means. The English, on the other hand, had opted for force.

The worst excesses on the part of the populace were to be feared. As a consequence the French Consul explicitly ordered Brother David Leo and the last of the Brothers remaining with the Director to go aboard the *Said,* a ship offering safe retreat. The order was given and executed on July 8. On the 11th the British navy bombarded Alexandria. One of the bombs struck the College's parlor, but without exploding. On the 12th, Arabi soldiers and the common people in Alexandria, breaking loose, pillaged, burned and killed.

With the rapid occupation of the city by English forces, massacres and fires were halted. As early as the 14th of July, one of the Brothers, Brother Bartholomew, who had remained in the port during the bombardment, returned to the school where two faithful servants welcomed him. Gradually, the exiles returned, the Director among the first. Brother Hugonis, who arrived in Egypt on August 12, was, in the course of the month, followed by the Brothers who had previously taken refuge in Jerusalem. Regular life began once again in a house which had suffered relatively very little damage, while devastation was piling up in the city. The reopening of classes had been fixed for September 5, but only about sixty pupils showed up on that day.

The appearance of safety took root almost immediately. In January of 1883, the school had nearly returned to its former pupil-population, since 419 boys were taking classes in the College and 415 were enrolled in the tuition-free school.[1] Around the same date, the head of the institution

[1] There was a rather large proportion (28%) of "English pupils" in the tuition-free school. These were primarily Maltese, who were numerous in Mediterranean port cities. During this period, the Brothers had few or no non-Catholics outside the pay-College. In the popular schools in Alexandria, alongside Catholics of the Byzantine Rite, there were Italians, French, Austrians and a few Spaniards. (Motherhouse archives, Register #19 (transcription by Brother Donat Charles).

specified as follows the types of educational program offered by the College:

> Teaching is conducted in French. However, depending upon the wishes of the parents, the Arab, Italian, English, German, Greek, Latin and Hebrew languages are taught. What is special to St. Catherine's College is that it provides an education demanded by the actual needs of society, i.e., for the well-to-do class, to train young men equipped with culture and education; to supply banks with workers competent in business matters; to merchants, people who know how to keep books, and initiated into the theoretical details of commerce, financial operations and ocean-going freight; and finally to prepare candidates for the schools of arts and crafts in Aix, Chalons and Angers.'

Success in such a task required optimism, courage and perseverance, and there was no dearth of difficulties. The wretched indifference of French policy in Egypt threatened in a striking way to isolate the Brothers, and perhaps abandoned them to suffocation in a hostile atmosphere. To the problems raised by being settled in a foreign land were added the irritants resulting from national jealousy and rivalry. While in the past Bishop Perpetuo Guasco had shown the Brothers the most paternal kindness and devoted cooperation, the same thing was not true of the Apostolic Delegate in 1883, Archbishop Anacleto Chicaro, who was unmistakably anti-French, an attitude that on many occasions broke out into the open. The Brothers were badgered for their literary gatherings, their civil associates and their non-Catholic pupils. There were other ploys that threw a strange light on the prelate's mind: "The Archbishop of Alexandria roused by his burning zeal to propagate the Italian language, his native tongue, thought he could rescind the subsidy from Propagation of the Faith funds provided to our tuition-free schools." In these terms, on November 27, 1883, Brother Hugonis put Brother Raphaelis on his guard. The entire subsidy benefitted the Italian schools begun by Bishop Chicaro. The Brother Visitor asked that the Counsel for the Charity, whose headquarters were in Lyons, be informed. A little later, Cardinal Pitra, the Protector of the Institute,

[1] Motherhouse archives, Register #19. While some pupils studied Latin, it took place elsewhere than in the school building, and most likely, under the direction of a Franciscan priest. As regards Greek what the prospectus refers to is modern Greek, which was spoken by many families in Alexandria.

and Count Lefebvre Behaine, the French ambassador, would make representations to the Holy See.'

Fortunately, in Paris as well as in Rome, the importance of the Christian and civilizing mission assumed in the Near East by French-speaking teachers was understood. Consuls at work in the country and naval officers, when they put in at ports, become aware of undertakings and achievements, subsequently informed their higher superiors. In 1883 Captain Mathieu, commanding the *Thetis,* wrote a detailed report to the Ministry concerning the beginnings and the vicissitudes of St. Catherine's College. Inquiring into the way in which the French Republic could support the project, he stated that "sending academic honors to Brother David Leo would not be enough". The Brother and his associates need to be efficaciously supported, if we wish "to help to regain what we have lost of our influence over the past year".

> We can: 1. ask the Holy See either to cede to the Brothers without cost the property and buildings of the existing College or allow them to purchase them; 2. to grant the pupils bachelor diplomas in literature or in science, in place of what is done for the Imperial Ottoman Secondary School in Constantinople.[2]

There were too many obstacles of a legal and psychological nature to take appropriate action toward the realization of the first suggestion. On the other hand, Captain Mathieu himself took in hand the implementation of the second.

At the end of their studies the older pupils had already been examined "by a Committee composed of distinguished Europeans, presided over by the French Consul."[3] There was a question of giving official status to the decisions of this Committee. On July 17, 1884, Brother David Leo, Director, thanked the obliging and tenacious mediator:

> The initiatives you have been so kind to undertake on our behalf with the government have just ended in the most successful way: the Minister of Public Education has authorized our pupils who have earned a regular certificate at the end of their studies in our institution

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[1] Motherhouse archives, file ID el. — Archives of the District of Alexandria, St. Catherine's College file, correspondence, 1881-1887.

[2] Motherhouse archives, copy of the cited report, #19.

[3] Note sent to the commander of the *Thetis by* Brother David Leon, 1883. (Motherhouse archives, Register cited.

to enter institutions of higher studies to which admission has hitherto not been granted except upon the reception of a bachelor's degree.' The minister alluded to was Armand Fallieres; and it was in concurrence with his colleague, Jules Ferry, at the time head of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, that he had come to his decision. Henceforth, a "special session" would be held each year in Alexandria and the French diploma would be issued in due form to candidates who had successfully completed their examinations.[2]

The stimulus given the College in Alexandria by Brother David Leo was provided the College in Cairo by Brother Gervais of Mary. Between 1860 and 1879, the initiative and the effort, the marvelous self-effacement of the Brothers had been put forth under the leadership of the saintly Brother Ildefonsus,[3] who had consolidated the foundations of the project; while the French government had granted him a number of subsidies,' especially during the period in which a financial crisis had begun to worsen in Egypt. The Director had been able to surmount the principal difficulties the perseverance inspired by the "spirit of faith". He was assisted by twenty-six Brothers in the education of about 300 pupils, nearly equally divided into paying classes and tuition-free classes.[5] The future seemed secure, provided that the staff received "new blood". Brother Hugonis indicated to the Regime on July 15, 1877, that the teaching personnel was "exhausted by age and the climate"; and he repeated the remark of the Franciscan Father Guardian: "Your Community is quite edifying; but with regard to educational programs, they no longer answer to current needs."[6]

Two years later, Brother Gervais of Mary became the restorer of St. Joseph's in Khoronfish. That he had "an eager, apostolic nature", was a description given of the new Director

[1] Note sent to the commander of the *Thais* by Brother David Leon, 1883. (Motherhouse archives, Register cited.

[2] *Le Lotus,* Bulletin St. Catherine's College, for 1928, pp. 10-11. — The first students to obtain these diplomas in 1885 were George Dibo, Jules Lombardo, Charles and Ange Luzianovich and Aristide Rotta. *(Centenaire,* pg. 238.)

[3] Concerning the Khoronfish school prior to 1874, see Vol. VI of the present work, pp. 387-391.

[4] Archives of the Foreign Ministry, Egypt file, "Religious Assistance," box no. 10, correspondence of the French Consulate in Cairo, 1876-1877-1878.

[5] *Centenaire,* pg. 162.

[6] Archives of the District of Alexandria.

in the accounts of the institution that have come down to us. He looked like an Old Testament prophet, with a magnificent beard that had rapidly turned grey, a deeply penetrating gaze shaded by thick eyebrows, while his colorful language inspired both respect and confidence. With "Francis Boulon", who had come from French mountain country and from an environment created by a religious people, his will was braced for prolonged resistance and his heart overflowed with fiery optimism. Where he was concerned there could be no fear of routine; prayer and work went hand-in-hand. Dedicated associates shared his activities: Brother Gervais of Mary was supported by Brother Sagittarius, who in 1880 was Sub-director; among "missionary" vocations, this man from Avignon, a Novice at the age of sixteen years, was one of the most generous. As a young man in 1845 he was drawn to the Island of Reunion. Thereafter, as a mature young man, Brother Sagittarius turned up in Burma and Malaysia. He was to remain in Egypt until, a man in his seventies, he would go into a well-deserved retirement in Palestine, taking up residence next door to the Basilica of the Nativity.' As chaplain, Khoronfish College had Father Frederic, a true son of St. Francis, a gripping preacher, the servant of the poor, the afflicted and the sick, and a tireless promoter of religious retreats. After giving a series of talks to St. Catherine's Community in Alexandria, the priest, deeply touched by the piety and the virtue of his audience, was pleased to volunteer his services to the Brothers in Cairo. For thirteen years, except for interruptions occasioned by the demands of the apostolate, he carried on a most effective ministry among pupils and teachers. Having finally immigrated to Canada in 1890, he died there with a reputation for sanctity.[2]

We can imagine the support that the Director received from such a chaplain. As a result of it his search for God could only have been more rapid. The tenacity of his temporal undertakings felt the effects of this supernatural boldness. Brother Gervais had scarcely taken over his position than projects followed one upon the other. The tuition-free school was in need of a thorough-going reconstruction. For the lack of something better, Brother Ildefonsus had set it up in the college building, where the two institutions were mixed up and got in each other's way. An old Arabian mansion, abandoned and nearly in ruins, stood about seventy-five yards away, on Ramleh Street:

[1] Obituary, 1899.

[2] *Centenaire,* pp. 196-198.

Brother Gervais bought it and improved its appearance, postponing a complete job of remodelling. Pupils were admitted there in February of 1880, and after a few months 272 of them had crowded into the place. The following year Khoronfish, now somewhat decongested, grew by four classrooms and a study hall. Thought was being given to the construction of a second story that would open up this building that was tightly immured among the hovels of the old quarter.[1]

But in Cairo as in Alexandria political events interrupted this work. The news of the bombardment of the great Egyptian port reached the capital: it aroused popular fury, now fuelled by Arabi's propaganda. Most Europeans fled. Christian families, foreign and native, took refuge at St. Joseph's College. The Brothers enjoy universal respect, and perhaps their residence would be spared. One of their pupils whose father, Sami Pacha, was a partisan of the nationalists, told his teachers: "As long I attend the college, have no fear. But be careful when you don't see me around any more."[2]

The danger increased, and the consular authorities prescribed retirement to Palestine or Syria. Most of the Community left for Jerusalem. Brother Gervais of Mary, on July 16, 1882, informed Brother Hugonis of this decision:

> At their request and forcefully defended, Brothers Polamion, Nearchus, Sagittarius, Idesbaud, Cade Joseph, Sigebert of Mary and Agathonicus have remained here with their Director and the Father Chaplain in order to meet the many needs involved in housing the 180 persons who have taken refuge in our school and, should occasion arise, in order to earn the palm of martyrdom...The situation, as of today, can be briefly put as follows: there generalized terror out of fear of massacre; there Arabic and Bedouin mobs that come from Alexandria and its vicinity; the railroad between Alexandria and Cafr Daourd has been cut; there has been the departure of several thousands new recruits for Arabi's army...; in the city there is a mournful silence, but everywhere the harsh police.. .[3]

[1] District archives, note sent by Brother Gervais of Mary to Brother Hugonis, June 2, 1882; in it he announces the beginning of new construction. — Cf. *Centenaire,* pg. 166.

[2] *Centenaire* pg. 167.

[3] District archives.

Fortunately, in fact, Cairo had an intelligent, humane, and dynamic chief of police, under whose protection the Brothers and their guests had been living. They kept themselves in provisions either by venturing out on the town or by opening the compound to vendors in the neighborhood. "Imagine some thirty Arabic campsites and you will have a picture of actual appearance of the College," the Director wrote to his higher Superior. And toward the end of this letter, the parts of which were written at various moments between July 17 and 24, he adds: "It's been two weeks since we have been hanging suspended, as it were, over the dreadful chasm that was dug under us by the bombardment of Alexandria."[1]

Brother Sigebert confided to his diary his carefully balanced reflections on the horror of the situation. Learning about an edict issued by the British forces, he noted on August 27: "I certainly wasn't eager to see the sons of an all too proud Albion come to Cairo and distribute Protestant Bibles and impose on us, in their tongue, rules that could strip us of our precious freedom. On the other hand, I did not have any greater satisfaction in observing the Koran and the revolution enjoying the victory."

On September 15, with a sigh of relief, but also with patriotic regrets (unfortunately, all too well-founded) and a pessimistic forecast which, thank God, events would totally discredit: "At last! the English are in Cairo...I would genuinely rejoice in their victory if it did not represent a defeat for France and a death blow to our schools."[2]

A confrere of Brother Sigebert, Brother Nearchus, was more hopeful. In the midst of the crisis, he continued the stonework on Ramleh Street, where gradually the school, with its eight huge classrooms intended to replace the "Bhahari mansion" was being build.[3]

Obviously the English occupation could not bestow any special favors on the Brothers' projects, since these were promoted by their native land. And, henceforth, the attitude of the Khedive government was patterned out of necessity if not willingly — on directives from London. The change was measured by the financial grants from which, during certain years, the Catholic schools

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[1] District archives.

[2] *Ibid.* Cf. *Bulletin des Ecoles chretiennes,* for October 1909, pg. 325.

[3] Brother Nearchus' Obituary, 1900.

had been the beneficiaries. In 1881 an Egyptian official granted the Brothers a sum equivalent to 6,620 francs; in 1883, the subsidy was maintained, and, as a matter fact, slightly raised. But in 1884 the grants were reduced by two-thirds, and during the following year they were completely rescinded. The ambitions of some statesmen, whom the British Commission could not oppose, strove to bring about a national education with programs and methods patterned on European models. After a scrupulous inspection of Khoronfish, Ali Pacha Moubareg, a would-be reformer, told Brother Gervais of Mary: "We are going to open school; there is nothing for you to do but to leave."[1]

The fulfillment of such plans, while only partially successful, would not stand in the way of the splendid expansion of the Brothers' efforts. The Catholic Church and — to tell the truth — France had, thanks to the Brothers especially, had enlarged the scope of their moral influence in this Islamic nation, "militarily occupied by England", a Protestant nation. This did not take place without exhausting labor, bitter disappointments, nor without, on occasion, fearful opposition. At certain times and places, it became necessary to struggle in the educational arena with very unequal arms. Others were more wealthy, possessed of greater political support and more worldly prestige. The Brothers were protecting the superiority of an educational philosophy based upon an experience that was two centuries old and on tried-and-true skills; they did not skimp on zeal. And in a "fair fight" they made use of their freedom.

The construction of the tuition-free school in Cairo called the "Holy Family" was completed in 1885. From then on the school enrolled more than 450 pupils. There was also another several hundreds pupils in St. Joseph's College.[2] Of the forty-four teachers employed in both institutions, thirty-six were Brothers: — twenty-eight French, four Italians and a single Englishman, while three were Egyptian either by birth or by family residence.

The eight lay-teachers were all Egyptians.[3] Such a composition faculty personnel enabled the Arabic language to take its place alongside French and for

[1] District archives, *Historigue manuscrit du college Saint-Joseph de Khoronfish.*

[2] In 1884 there were 354. — *Bulletin des Bcoles chretiennes,* for October 1909, pg. 326.

[3] *Ibid.*

a divided pupil-population, i.e., European and native, to receive, along with an introduction to the tools of civilized life, an education that was imbued with the spirit of religion.

* *

In the eyes of the Brothers in Egypt, Palestine and the Holy Land must clearly have taken on — as long ago for the sons of Israel living along the Nile — the shape and the substance of a "Promised Land". It was next door to them, just beyond the desert lands at the frontier, or even closer and more accessible by sea, from Alexandria to Jaffa. There, like St. Louis King of France, freed from his Egyptian chains, they longed to go and, peacefully, to take up once again the tradition of the Crusades. Jerusalem drew them, just as once Rome had acted as a magnet for the hopes of their holy Founder. To establish their Congregation in the land of Our Lord Jesus Christ, on soil dampened by the Divine blood would have been happiness, reward and grace. It did not seem possible for the Superiors to fail to encourage such a religious undertaking.

Such a project, suggested in February 1864 to Brother Philippe by a Grenoble lawyer, the enthusiastic, well-informed man of action, Mr. Girard, was without issue.[1] However, the question had thus been raised; it absorbed

idealistic minds; and it inspired prayers. The Brothers who dwelt in "Misrai" would have to resolve it.

In 1874 Brother Adrian of Jesus, at the moment extremely concerned with the future of his school in Alexandria, had obtained permission from the M. H. Brother Jean Olympe to send twelve of his associates on a pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre. Two of the pilgrims, Brother Evagre, Director of the Novitiate in Ramleh, and Brother Rambien, Inspector at St. Catherine's College, were specially commissioned to inquire into the possibilities of a school in Palestine.

The Patriarch, Bishop Bracco, received them kindly. Father Joseph, the Vicar for the Franciscans in the Holy Land was unsparing in his encouragement. There was one man in particular who was an enthusiastic adherent of the Institute's presence in the Holy Places: the French Consul, Mr. Patrimonio. He was delighted at the thought that the sons of St. John Baptist de La Salle as pioneers of.

Christian civilization would, at the same time, do as much for French culture. Indeed, at this time, only Father Ratisbonne, the founder of the *Ecce Homo* sanctuary, the Carmelites and the Sisters of St. Joseph of the Apparition were reminders in Jerusalem of the "Eldest daughter of the Church". The Brothers, teaching Religious, would introduce an extraordinary element into this tiny troop of contemplative Christians. Through them the name of the "French" would be respected and held in benediction by the people in the Near East.[1]

Brothers Evagre and Rambien, playing the roles of Josua and Caleb, their hearts full of hope and their memories crowded with fascinating stories, returned to Brother Adrian. Brother Visitor approved the report they wrote and sent it, on September 25, 1874, to the Superior-general. "If the Institute so desires," declared the two messengers, "Jerusalem will soon welcome us and both religion and France will bless our dear Congregation, whose crown presently lacks this gem."

Talk about a Crusade had spread. When the General Chapter assembled at Oudinot Street on July 2, 1875 after Brother Jean Olympe' death, one of the "notes" that had been submitted dealt with a foundation in the Holy Land. "Time is getting short," wrote the author, Brother Symmachus, in lines dated from the Motherhouse;[2] "the place has been overrun, from one year to the next, by schools of various sects." To the question as to who would pay the expenses, he replied:

> Perhaps it would be preferable to handle these ourselves, and to establish there something of the Institute's own. There then would be nothing in the way of seeking annual funds for the Near Eastern School Project...Let the Regime launch a subscription, leaving to the dedication of each Community the amount of money pledged.

With regard to the kind of institution, Brother Symmachus inclined in favor of a normal school. "There is great need for this type of school." But, of course, alongside it elementary and tuition-free grades would be operated. "Since Palestinian Catholics are poor, pupils would be provided with school supplies, and, indeed, for the more needy, with clothes and food."

There could be no doubt about the repercussions of such a gesture: "The Christian world would be edified to learn that the family of the Venerable De La Salle had settled in the Holy City."

All that would be necessary would be to obtain the consent of the Patriarch

[1] *Bulletin des Ecoles chretiennes,* article cited, pp. 318-319.

[2] Motherhouse archives, file ID n.

who was probably quite positively inclined. As for relations with the Franciscan Fathers they must be worked out and maintained "in the most conciliatory spirit". As long as they are not importuned for any financial assistance, "there will be no difficulty about getting along with them".

The proposal ended on a theme thoroughly inspired by faith: "While, on so many other occasions, the Superiors have been forced to yield to the entreaties of a pastor, a Bishop or a prince, a *fortiori* the Voice that reaches us from Calvary should secure from us whatever sacrifices are necessary."

And, in a "footnote" in which reference is made to "a small orphanage on the road to Bethlehem", to be gotten, perhaps, at the hands of the Patriarch and under something less than favorable conditions, the argument concludes as follows: "Isn't it only just that we prefer a country which, as St. Paul wrote to the Romans, having bestowed on us its spiritual gifts, deserves to receive in return something of our material abundance?"

Such a burning plea paved the way for the success of the cause. Brother Adrian of Jesus felt that he had been understood and supported, when on January 22, 1876, he outlined in a new report the plan for two institutions, one in Jerusalem and the other in Bethlehem: "God wills", he proclaimed, that the Institute place one near the tomb, the other near the manger, of Our Lord.

On the 23rd of the following month, Brother Floridus, the Procurator-general to the Holy See, informed Brother Irlide of a 'very long and carefully considered" report that the Patriarch had sent to the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda. The work planned for the Brothers would extend to Jaffa and Nazareth. But the prelate "insisted particularly on an immediate foundation in Jerusalem" which was to take the form of a Normal School for elementary teachers. It had become urgent in this way to combat the vigorous propaganda of Protestantism. Brother Floridus added that he himself had observed that the Franciscan Superior-general was quite clear in his assertions: according to him, his priests in the Holy Land wanted to have the cooperation of the Brothers of the Christian Schools. In order that "the project admit of the least possible delay", it would be important to assign a Brother to the site immediately.[2]

"Heaven has heard your prayers", the Superior-general wrote almost immediately to the Visitor of Egypt. "It's been done. There is no way of putting off the plan, at least as concerns

[1] *Rom.*, xv, 27.

[2] Motherhouse archives, file KH n[2].

the Patriarch of Jerusalem and the Rev. Father Guardian. Brother Evagre seems to me to be the natural choice to go to Jerusalem."'

The two pilgrims of 1874 set out once again. Their mission concluded with the most satisfying results: the Franciscans handed over their schools to the Brothers; the Patriarch offered land on which to build; and the French Consul promised to obtain an annual subsidy from his government.[2]

Nor did the promise prove empty. A letter from the Duke Decazes reached Oudinot Street on November 24, 1876: "Brother Superior-general: since the project that your Institute is planning to undertake in Palestine appears to me to present exceptional motives for the generosity of the French government, I have decided that, beginning on the first of next January a subsidy of 5,000 francs a year will be granted to the Brothers of Christian Doctrine from the funds of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in order promote the realization of the project..." [3]

In his letter of acknowledgement on the following day Brother Irlide let it be known that the order had been given to begin construction in Jerusalem. "Although moderate and modest (he hoped) that it would be worthy of France's attentiveness." [4]

A Circular in December announced to the entire Institute the impending foundation and, for its success, asked for prayers and good-will offerings:

> In response to requests coming from the Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith and to the wishes of the Holy Father, the Brothers of the Christian Schools are opening a school in Jerusalem intended to serve not only the children in the Holy City but also young men in the vicinity who wish to become teachers in the villages of Palestine; important population centers, to the extent possible, will have schools directed by the Brothers.[5]

In accordance with instructions from the Superior-general, Brother Evagre, with the title of Director, left Alexandria on November 25 in order to assume responsibility for laying the ground-work. It was the beginning of a thirty-seven year apostolate,

[1] Motherhouse archives, File ID n, letter dated March 6, 1876.

[2] *Bulletin* cited, pp. 319-321.

[3] Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Palestine, "Religious Assistance," box #10, minutes dated November 23, 1876.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] Circular, Vol. XV, December 1876.

one of the most fruitful and also the most famous in the history of the Brothers. Brother Evagre undertook it at the height of his powers and with all the resources of a man of experience. He had been born in St. Oer on July 15, 1831 and, in 1850, was admitted into a Congregation which he had known and loved for having been educated, as a boy, by several teachers who were Christian Brothers. Six years later, now perpetually professed, he directed the school in Desvres in the Boulogne area. He built a chapel, a study hall and was awarded honors by the educational authorities. And then, following the guidance of the Holy Spirit, he left for the East in October of 1862. A skillful and attractive teacher, he taught in the upper classes in Alexandria; and in 1873 he taught in the semi-residence school in Ramleh.

In qualities of mind and body Brother Evagre was a very attractive man. His blue eyes were those of a dreamer, but also a man of energy, imagination, clearsightedness, a great deal of optimism and kindness; his features were of a clear, high coloration that were early framed in a sort of halo of white, curly hair. The thin ovular face with somewhat high cheekbones, broad nostrils, drooping mustache and long goatee gave the Brother something of the likeness of a Chinese Mandarin — but a Mandarin without evasiveness, whose smiling, gracious civility was always spontaneous. He spoke calmly and without haste, always good-humoredly, in "evangelical" simplicity and gentleness. He stood erect, with something a martial air, with a hand extended cordially and open to receive, for Brother Evagre, a tireless founder and builder, could regard himself as a "mendicant Religious". He trusted in God, knew how to persuade people and rejected discouragement. "We succeed," he used to say, "when we combine the three verbs: desire, pray and act." And neither his mind nor his will diminished the role of the heart. He was devoted to people in the Middle East with a beautiful, strong and supernatural attraction: "If we find nothing but faults in the people to whom we bring the Gospel", he said on one occasion to Rene Bazin, "how can we love them? And if we don't love them, how can we do anything for them?"'

[1] *Choix de notices necrologiques,* Vol. II, pp. 314-342 (Brother Evagre, 1831-1914). — *Historique manuscrit du district de Saint-Oir.* — *Bulletin des Ecoles chretiennes* for April, 1914, pg. 145 (portrait of Brother Evagre), and for July 1914, pg. 245, (quotation from Rene Bazin's *Croquis de France et d'Orient).* — Georges Goyau, *Orientation catholiques,* pp. 206-209.

Upon their arrival in Jerusalem, Brother Evagre and his associate had no place to dwell. Father Gaudenzio Bonfigli, the Custodian of the Holy Places, offered them hospitality.

The Consul Patrimonio was eager to relate to the French Ambassador to the Sublime Porte his conversation with "the delegates of the Superior-general of the Christian Brothers": "They will undertake immediately," explained a letter dated December 10, 1876, "the task of construction... The Patriarch has relinquished all ownership to the location situated at the center of the Christian Quarter." By actively urging the work, they hoped to start classes in about a year's time.

The French representative in Palestine believed that, at its outset, the educational project would meet with difficulties. The warm welcome accorded Brother Evagre and his companion by Father Gaudenzio did not prevent certain human considerations from playing their role: Would the Franciscans regret the loss of their ancient privileges? Would Italian nationalism stir up resistance among them? Regardless of what might be feared, the final success of the Brothers was beyond doubt. The project they had achieved in Egypt guaranteed their successful future in the Holy Land.'

The Ambassador, in transmitting a copy of these lines to Decazes, commented as follows: "The Brothers of the Christian Schools have contributed powerfully to making our language the most widespread idiom in the Near East; they never miss an opportunity to provide the most striking proofs of their dedication to their native land.[2]

From the very beginning Brother Evagre's plans were boldly conceived: what he meant to build in the area that had given him and over the ancient ruins of "Tancred's Tower,"[3] was a rather large group of structures that would include an elementary school, a Normal School and a Novitiate. The stages are worth noting: but it was necessary to chart future opportunities, the vehicles for advancement.

The laying of the cornerstone took place on April 27, 1877. The work ran into material obstacles that Brother Irlide detailed in a request put to the French Ministry on February 14, 1878: "Soil irregularities, awkward

[1] Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Palestine, box #10.

[2] ***Ibid.,*** letter dated January 10, 1877, signed: Bourgoing.

[3] Or the "Psephina Tower."

underground vestiges of the old tower, extensive excavations and the scarcity and cost of water": he was granted 7,000 francs on March 5, over and above the 5000 francs annually.' On October 15 Bishop Bracco and Mr Patrimonio came to inaugurate the new building admire its harmonious and noble lines. The Patriarch blessed the chapel dedicated to the Sacred Heart.

"Pupils already numbered more than 150," wrote Brother Irlide; "quite distinguished families, although schismatic, seek the privilege of admission for their children."[2] Five Brothers were appointed to teach.[3] To the elementary program, which consisted in daily exercises in French vocabulary and grammar, would be gradually added courses in commerce.

In 1882, 238 schoolboys were in attendance at the institution. In Jerusalem Mr. Langlais, who had succeeded Mr. Patrimonio (become the French Consul-general in Syria) wrote in his report dated March 30, 1883: "The school continues to flourish and perform the most distinguish service. This result is the product of the active, intelligent and patriotic direction of Brother Evagre." However, the bureaucrat noted that complete growth had not yet been achieved. There remained to be realized the projected Normal School and the Novitiate, essential parts of the Director's design. Why had these to be postponed? Langlais thought, as did Patrimonio: "The Latin Patriarch, rather sympathetic in the beginning, has become gradually less approving...He is beginning to prefer Italian schools to those of the Brothers. And as for the Custodian, he seems to seek ways to reduce the Brothers' role to that of simple elementary school teachers." And, quite candidly, the author of the report added: "In this, he is not too far off the mark, let it be admitted; for, if to the education of the children the Brothers were to add the education of teachers, they would become the masters of education in Palestine, where no institution, whether native or Italian, would be equipped to rival their activities."[4]

[1] Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Palestine, box #10.

[2] *Ibid.,* letter to the Ministry, dated November 23, 1878.

[3] *Bulletin des Ecoles chretiennes* for October 1913, pg. 324.

[4] Archives of the Ministry of foreign Affairs, Turkey 1882-1883, Jerusalern, Vol. XV, #141, report of the Consul to the Marquis de Noailles, Ambassador to Constantinople.

Indubitably competition became more acute. Two years earlier, Brother Candidus, Director of the College in Kadikoy, had received a visit from Commandant Torcy, the military attache in the French Embassy in Turkey. There was a question of getting Brother Hugonis to abide by a semi-official communication concerning the subject of schools to be opened: the French government wanted the Brothers to settle in Bethlehem, Nazareth as well as in Syrian Tripoli. The Embassy's representative, an expert in Syrian affairs, had personally insisted that the Congregation waste no time in committing itself.'

Brother Hugonis had informed the Superiors concerning these manoeuvres. Our statesmen, declared his letter of the 28th of February 1881, "frightened by the progress that the Protestant powers were making in the Near East through the schools, were seriously considering...promoting with all their power the foundation of a number of schools in the most important population centers of Palestine. Their intention is to have us operate them."'

In fact, Bartholomew Saint-Hilaire, as political director in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, told Brother Irlide on June 1 that he "was allocating to the Brothers' Institute 17,000 francs to subsidize the costs needed for starting a school for boys in Bethlehem, and 8,000 francs intended to defray the costs of setting up another school in Nazareth."[3]

The Brothers, however, had to wait for twelve years before becoming the teachers of the youngsters in Nazareth and Bethlehem. According to the quite categorical statement of the Consul Langlais, the obstacle had been raised by the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem.'

However, there were two compensations for Brother Evagre: one in Jaffa in 1882 and in Haifa in 1883. He was pleased to pay Gambetta the honor of both foundations.[5] These were the days of the "Great Ministry" when the eventual opening of Brothers' schools in these Mediterranean ports gave rise to discussions between the "Quai d'Orsay" and Oudinot Street and to promises of subsidies.

[1] Motherhouse archives, file ID o, Brother Candidus' letter to Brother Hugonis, February 15, 1881.

[2] Motherhouse archives, file ID n.

[3] *Ibid.,* file ID n.

[4] Report cited, dated March 30, 1883.

[5] Cf. Goyau, *Orientations catholiques,* pp. 206-207.

Once again in Jaffa the French diplomat discovered the "hostility of the Custodianship". In spite of this opposition, "the school had rapidly produced results worthy of notice": 152 pupils, notes Langlais' report, were admitted by December 31, 1882. It followed the same program of studies as in Jerusalem. Nevertheless, "an effort was made to provide an important place to commercial education, since the children who had to attend this school belonged, for the most part to business families." The governmental subsidy — of 17,000 francs — had allowed the renting and the remodelling of an extremely modest building.[2] After a few months, the first Brother Director, victim of his own dedication, was drown in attempting to save a young Israeli, one of his pupils. And under Brother Ursius, who succeeded him, the school population grew (in spite of the inconveniences of the location) and studies flourished.[3]

Speaking of the professional school opened in the Holy Land by Father Ratisbonne, the French Consul stressed the idea that the purposes of the priest and the Brothers were identical: these disinterested and courageous men intended "to inspire a love of work, to restore its dignity and to guarantee its advantages to the youth of this country."[4]

The time had come for new groups of Religious to go up to Jerusalem, the City of God. The Dominicans founded a School of Biblical Studies in 1882. The White Fathers opened St. Anne's College. The Assumptionists prepared to conduct "penitential pilgrimages" and, in order to accommodate the pilgrims, to build the center they called "Our Lady of France". The Daughters of Charity and later on the Cistercians continued the movements The Consul Destrees wrote the Minister Challemel-Lecour on November 26, 1883: "I am happy to be able to announce to Your Excellency that Cardinal Lavigerie, in a conversation he had recently in Algiers with Father Toulotte, the Superior of our Near Eastern College, St. Anne's in Jerusalem,

[1] Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, report cited, dated March 30, 1883.

[2] *Ibid.,* Turkey 1882-1883, Jerusalem, Consulate's political correspondence, Vol. XV, #46, report dated March 9, 1882.

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Brother Ursius' Obituary, 1902.

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Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Turkey 1882-1883, report cited, dated March 9, 1882.

[5] G. Goyau, *Histoire religieuse de la Nation francaise,* pp. 610-611.

informed him that His Holiness Leo XIII had just authorized, in a general way, the founding in Palestine of all the Missions that French Congregations have been wanting to establish there." The Holy See, disturbed by the designs of the Russian Orthodox, consented to allow France a larger influence.'

Among these "Westerners" whose peaceable forces resumed the tasks that had been begun by St. Louis, the Brothers of the Christian Schools deserve particular mention. Patrimonio had wished to have them, as early as 1884, in Beirut, Syria, alongside the Jesuits:

> As regards elementary education, the competition offered by the Biblical Societies [Protestant] is extremely serious...For that level of education what is needed is a popular Congregation such as the Brothers...Wherever they have been introduced they have secured the upper hand. In Jerusalem, Jaffa or Haifa they have attracted not only Catholics, whether "Uniates" or Orthodox, but also Moslems and even Israelis.

The Consul-general went on to recount the beginnings of the work in Haifa:

> The Carmelite fathers of Mount Carmel who, I am pleased to note, have for two years had the best possible dispositions toward French interests, have entrusted their parochial school in Haifa to the Brothers of the Christian Schools. That is a step in which I am delighted to say that I have played a role, because its success has been spectacular. From the time this school opened, Anglican missionaries have closed their's. At the Brothers' school there are six teachers and 160 pupils. The complete replacement of Italian Carmelites by French Religious in a school that was already in operation has dispensed us from having to seek prior permission from the Porte. [2]

Somewhat later the Brothers put up a building on land situated away from maritime congestion. The site was owned by the Spanish king Alphonso XII, Before dying, he made the generous gesture of leaving the far-off estate at the disposition of the Institute for a period of ninety years and for the nominal rental of five francs a year and

[1] Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Turkey 1882-1883, Jerusalem, Vol. xv, #7.

[2] Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Turkey, 1883-1884. Beirut, Vol. xxvii, #189, report of the French Consul-general in Syria to Mr. Jules Ferry, President of the Counsel, Minister of Foreign Affairs, May 17, 1884.

with the on-going stipulation that the Brothers would always maintain a school.'

* *

In 1885 the Institute's position in the Ottoman Empire and its dependencies was very strong. The foundations that had already been laid indicated the intention of remaining and carrying forward. Persisting projects set in motion greater achievements in the future.

There was at the head of the Institute a Superior who had apostolic convictions; he was intelligent and well-informed, doubtless, as well as particularly attentive to suggestions from Rome, and, following the example of his predecessors, an exemplary servant of the universal Church; but — and this was an essential quality of his character, he was extremely human, a man whose mind expanded in proportion to his heart. He commiserated with the ignorant as well as the suffering, and he eagerly supported the most disinherited of human beings. He could repeat the well-known verse, while emphasizing with all his Christian faith and charity: *Homo sum at nil humani a me alienum puto.*

The M.H. Brother Joseph "bore the East in his heart." To come to the assistance of populations afflicted by destitution, oppressed by tyranny, and blinded by error was an idea that was bound up with his tremendous desire to support his Congregation in a position of distinction in a region in which "the Good News" had been first proclaimed, where the Church had been born and, during the early centuries, had spread its light.

He insisted on being kept well-informed. As an Assistant, he had travelled throughout England and Ireland. In the course of his generalate, he visited his associates in Spain and in Austria. And he wouldn't have hesitated to go to the countries in the Near East if he had not taken over the reins of government of the entire Institute at a difficult period.

Two of his Assistants were his *missi dominici:* Brothers Phileter and Raphaelis. The former, the more senior of the two, seemed scarcely never to have any other role than that of following his travelling companion. For all that he allowed the latter to enter Cappadocia, Pontus and Armenia alone. Together they went to Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Smyrna and Constantinople.

The chief responsibilities of the journey rested with

[1] Archives of the Secretary-general, Haifa file.

Brother Raphaelis.' He had a well-earned reputation for enterprise, energy, candor, and influential zeal. His skill in dealing with civil and religious authorities won new friends for the Institute. He cast a sympathetic glance on the destitution he found in so many homes and, upon his return, strove to collect alms among Catholic groups. But his primary obligation was to make himself familiar with the spiritual and physical needs of the Brothers' Communities, measure the extent of the results they had obtained and expand the work to be accomplished, and to plan for recruitment and the relief of the workers. Giving all his attention to these questions, the Assistant returned several times to Brother Hugonis' District — in 1887, to visit each of the Communities in Egypt, in 1888 to preside at retreats in Smyrna, Kadikoy and Ramleh. Until his tragic death in 1892, the Eastern Mediterranean continued to be at the top of his concerns.[2]

In a report to the Superior-general he committed the results of his 1885 inquiry that had been had lasted for five months, from January 15 to June 15. It was the document that served as the basis for the Regime's deliberations.[3]

The opening paragraph contained some elementary statistics: "The Institute provides religious and secular education to about 5,000 boys in the Near East. In this mission it employs the services of 188 Brothers who go to make up fourteen Communities."

Of the foundations which were thriving vigorously, Brother Raphaelis emphasized the oldest, one that had begun nearly fifty years earlier, the school in Smyrna, where twenty-four Brothers were working — ten in the tuition-free school, ten in the semi-residence school, and four others selected to do duty in the administration or the management; while five lay-teachers taught foreign languages or music. There were 450 pupils taught tuition-free and 150 paying pupils. The report continued:

> It is crucial for us to take good care of this foundation. There are many rival schools, extremely well run which, having copied us, are now our equals or have oustript us. There are two higher English schools, a Greek secondary school with 800 pupils, a large Jewish school, and several more, all

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[1] On Brothers Phileter and Raphaelis, see Vol. VII of the present work, pp. 40, 41, and 42.

[2] Brother Raphaelis' Obituary, 1892. — *Bulletin des Ecoles chretiennes* for October 1923, pp. 331-332.

[3] Motherhouse archives, file ID n[1].

> flourishing, whether Greek, Armenian, a number of Turkish secondary schools, and the Vincentian residence school...[1]

He was an investigator who, as a man seeking to avoid every illusion, observed objectively. If his impartiality faltered, it was never to protect his own confreres: he feared the commendation that was capable of lulling his own associates into a false sense of security.

Nevertheless he was entirely familiar with the efforts they made, with their initiatives. One of the boldest of these and the most fruitful — the admission of non-Catholics to their schools — he had discussed with Bishop Rotelli, the Apostolic delegate in Constantinople. The latter had told him:

> The Church cannot condemn, especially in the Near East, mixed schools such as your own, to which families freely send their children, knowing very well that you teach everybody the doctrine taught by the Holy See. Nobody's freedom is being violated; and this type of school is quite of a piece with what goes on in these countries, where everything is "mixed" — family, society, relations...

The Brothers, then, could carry on along the road that had been opened up; all that was needed were young people who would go along. The urgent task had become one of bringing them together and training them. While in Ramleh, Brother Raphaelis had seemed to have gotten a poor impression; he had read in a file on events in the Near East a note that was dated June 15, 1885: "About fifteen Novices and as many Junior Novices, all of them difficult to train, even when it is possible..." It suddenly occurred to him to wonder: "Whether Ramleh was the right place for the Novitiate." "No!," came the immediate response: "The excessive heat undermines the formation of the young Religious. Besides the house is lacking in space, and the chapel is too small."[2]

Starting with these facts and mulling over this problem, Brother Raphaelis worked out the major portion of his report. The future was contained in the paragraphs that we shall quote:

> It seems to me that there is a failure in the current system of recruiting, which consists in sending Brothers fully-formed from our Novitiates, Scholasticates or our Communities

[1] "These," added the Brother Assistant, "are not ashamed to declare during ceremonies closing the school-year that the Brothers' schools provide an education for the poor, while they alone in Smyrna are in a position to supply a suitable education to well-to-do families."

[2] Motherhouse archives, file ID el.

> and among them those who have the least aptitude; or in transporting Postulants or Novices, sometimes inflamed by an enthusiasm from which they all too easily suffer, to Ramleh to make a more or less serious novitiate. The former of these hamper the progress of Communities; the latter lose patience in the course of their education...Wouldn't it be possible for France to have a special Novitiate for Junior Novices and Postulants whose desire to dedicate themselves to education in the Near East would be put to the test?

There might be a separate Scholasticate as the necessary supplement to a missionary Noviciate. Student-Brothers in such an institution would add a study of Near Eastern languages — Turkish, Arabic, Armenian and Modern Greek — to the program for the teaching credential. The task would be to equip them with a quite competent body of knowledge. Positions to which they are going to be assigned cannot be filled by inexperienced educators, by teachers of limited competence. The time for making-do, if it every existed, was long past. At this point, the Brother Assistant came back to the motives for his concerns and the reasons for fresh efforts that he had set forth in his suggestions concerning Smyrna:

> We are experiencing not only a period of the growth of our Institute in the Near East, but also the beginning of a struggle which will get livelier. The Greeks and Armenians, and all the schismatics and Free-thinkers, Protestants and others, the Russians, Italians do not take kindly to our presence in these regions...Furthermore, they are now our equals as regards methods; and since they have considerable monetary resources available to them, they are trying to surpass us. They are teaching all the languages and all the sciences. We have to use the same weapons.

How was such an urgent appeal received? Brother Joseph decided that the residence school, St. Maurice in Exile, situated in the Dauphine, would be converted into a Novitiate for the Near East. The setting, in spite of the name so suggestive of homesickness, was actually very attractive and gentle: — wooded hills and Southern vegetation, between Vienne on the Rhone and the plains of Valloire. A landowner, Mr. Dugas, had sponsored a Catholic school on this site in 1865; his widow agreed to an alteration in the use of the estate provided that tuition-free classes were provided to children in the village.

On orders from the Motherhouse, Brother David Leo left the Direction of St. Catherine's College in Alexandria to come and

draw up plans and seek out ways and means of laying foundations. Consumed by the missionary ideal and intensely attached to the people of the Near East, the saintly Brother would henceforth devote his life to awakening vocations similar to his own. For three years he was to be Director-general as well as recruiter. And, then, too immersed in the travels demanded by his work as a "fisher of men", he was relieved of his sedentary duties so that he retained only the title of "Director of Recruitment". He could be met with anywhere in France, but most often in the Cevennes, Provence, and Lower Languedoc. He was a guest at country rectories and with good families in villages. He spoke to pupils of the grandeur of the vocation of the Religious teacher and the rewards for sacrifices accepted at God's hands. He was constantly rehearsing some enjoyable story from the shores of the Bosphorus or the Valley of the Nile. And he brought his young recruits to St. Maurice.

Both materially and spiritually the institution owed him a great deal. It's budget rarely balanced, and so Brother David, whose relatives belonged to a wealthy middle class family, made up the deficit with money from his patrimony. He donated an organ and a number of beautiful fixtures to the Novitiate chapel.

Each year a new construction was added to the original building. From the seven Postulants admitted on August 10, 1885, the Novitiate rose rapidly to sixty. Under the guidance of Brother Pambon of Jesus in the Novitiate and Brother Toussaint Victor in the Scholasticate, the project, envisaged by Brother Raphaelis and realized and supported by Brother David Leo henceforth guaranteed a very well adapted personnel, well suited to the schools in Turkey and Egypt.[1]

* *

In 1891 the Scholasticate at St. Maurice was detached from the Novitiate and transported to the Island of Rhodes. Several reasons dictated this measure: for practice in languages it was obviously of interest to place the young Brothers in an environment of a Near Eastern population. Furthermore, French military law, which compelled Religious to army duty, granted priceless exemptions to teachers who served

[1] *Choix de notices,* Vol. II, pp. 238-243. — *Bulletin des Ecoles chretiennes* for January, 1907, pp. 38-40.

the national cause overseas. Since the regulation followed by the Scholastics — absorbed by literary and scientific studies — differed from that of the Novices, drawn up primarily to promote Religious and monastic observances, the complete separation of the two groups raised no difficulty.

Brother Raphaelis had inspired the decision. Here once again, for the execution, he got cooperation of Brother David Leo. Brother David conducted the first group of future missionaries to Rhodes. He supervised the beginnings of the occupation of the new quarters. And then leaving Brother Ideuil and Brother Prosper to continue the task, and only returning to the island from time to time to accompany his candidates, he resumed his apostolic work in France.'

The Institute has had a school in Rhodes since December of 1889. This history of this foundation is bound up too closely with the account of the transfer of the Scholasticate for us to talk about it without further ado.

The French Consul, Gustave Cirilli, in 1885, undertook steps to procure a Brothers' school for the islanders who had previously been under the tutelage of the Knights-Templars. He had found a generous colleague in the person of an English citizen of either Italian or Corsican origins, Mr. Henry Ducci whose business in the Archipelago had made him a wealthy man.

Put in contact with Brother Hugonis, Mr. Ducci, around June of 1889, pledged graciously to cede a house in the Neohori quarter.[2] He had already told the Consul that if the French government promised to pay the future school an annual subsidy of 1,500 francs, he, Ducci, would make up the difference. Cirilli telegraphed the sponsor's proposals to Paris, worried about where the Minister stood, and asked when the Brothers would arrive.[3]

On October 8, a contract signed by Henry Ducci and the representative of the Congregation confirmed the transfer of property in the quarter. It was further specified: "When the Brothers decide to open a residence school, Mr. Ducci will place at their disposal his country house called Acandia, and this whether the residence school is situated there

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[1] *Choir de notices,* Vol. II, pg. 243. — Brother Prosper's Obituary, 1905. — *Bulletin des Ecoles chretiennes* for January 1907, pg. 41.

[2] Motherhouse archives, file **HB** g.

[3] Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Turkey 1881-1892, Vol. X, Rhodes, the Consul's telegraphic despatch, February 15, 1889.

or in Neohori. And at the end of twenty years of teaching the Brothers will be the sole owners of Acandia as well as of the other house. Further, a capital fund of 20,000 francs will be due them at the expiration of this period. Before that time they may draw annually on the income, under the supervision of the Consul."' On November 29 the French Ministry decided to announce the granting of a regular stipend. And it drew up plans presently to send school supplies from the stock belonging to Public Education.'

On December 6 three Brothers, introduced two weeks earlier by Brother Hugonis, began classes for twenty-five pupils.[3] A temporary school-site was forced into service while awaiting the building promised by Ducci. The classrooms were filled when the number of pupils reached forty-four, a little less than half of whom were Catholics.

When it had become possible to see things a little more clearly, the opening of a residence school was decided upon. In agreement with the donor, "St. John the Baptist College" took its place in "the French quarter" of Neohori. It had to be expanded: the Brothers, with Henry Ducci advancing the money, purchased about 38,000 sq.ft. of land. The settlement of litigation that had arisen between the vendor and the Turkish government for a while stood in the way of construction, but the group of buildings was completed in June of 1892. The six residence pupils in 1890 had become thirty-one in 1892; and tuition-paying classes admitted another thirty-six day-pupils. Of the some one hundred pupils taught, whether in the College or in the tuition-free school, more than two-thirds of them were Greek Orthodox; Catholics made up a quarter of the pupil-population that was completed by eight Moslems and five Israelis.

The years to follow brought numerous financial difficulties, a host of assaults on morale and many defections. From Constantinople the Ottoman authorities ordered Moslems to leave the Catholic school. Greeks also exhibited a jealous hostility. And by the reopening of school on September 10 the number of pupils in the College had fallen to twenty-two, while only four pupils showed up for classes in the tuition-free school! The decline finally hit bottom. And by 1900 there was an excellent spirit and a genuine appetite for work among the seventy-three young Rhodesians entrusted to the Religious teachers.[4]

At the time, the Scholastics had been at the Acandia site for

[1] Motherhouse archives, HB g.

[2] Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, File cited.

[3] Brother Director Valentinian Martyr had arrived from France on December 10.

[4] Motherhouse archives, File HB g.

nine years. A loan of 50,000 francs to the Congregation, agreed to by Mr. Ducci on December 20, 1890, had as its purpose "to enable both the opening of the College and the setting up of a Brothers' Normal School."' Acandia, situated in the Greek quarter, called St. George, at the south end of town, had seemed to Brother Raphaelis as most favorable to study and meditation: the estate, an area of about two-and-a-half acres, was surrounded by empty spaces and overlooked the sea. The building, although large enough, required almost complete remodelling. It had been given the name of "the Cova property", after one of its former owners. On August 26, 1891, Henry Ducci, acting together with his nephews, Stephen and Charles Masse, confirmed the conditional gift that he had made in 1889.

The Superior-general sought and obtained from Leo XIII the authorization to open in Rhodes, for the members of his Institute designated for the schools in the Near East, an institution in which Arab, Turkish, Greek and Armenian would be taught.[2] The French government paid 10,000 francs toward meeting the preliminary expenditures and lent weight to the expectation of an annual assistance of 4,000 francs.

The task of seeing the physical reconditioning to a successful issue fell to Brother Ideuil Casimir, Director of the residence school in Ramleh. He reconstructed the walls and cleared the land on which grew nothing but stunted olive trees and a few fig trees. Reparations were makeshift and funding remained problematic right up to the time that, under the guidance of the Brother Visitor of the Near East, the small group consisting of Brother David Leo and his teachers arriving from Smyrna landed on the island. They set to work cheerfully, Placing themselves under the patronage of the Mother of God — "Our Lady of Acandia" was the name selected for the institution.

Before he died on November 18, 1897, Henry Ducci had still time to show his friendship for the Brothers by having the deeds to the property rewritten in their name.[3] A sort

[1] Motherhouse archives, file HB g, contract notarized by the Vice-Consul.

[2] *Ibid.* The authorization of the Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith is dated September 20, 1891. It alludes to the prior approval granted by the Apostolic Prefect of the Mission to Constantinople, Father Adrian de Pise.

[3] Motherhouse archives, file HB g, contract dated February 29, 1896.

of legal recognition — on the part of Turkey — occurred in December of 1896: "This document," wrote the French Consul Paul Taillet to the Brother Director, "was transmitted to me by the local authorities who told me that, delivered according to orders from Constantinople after being issued by His Majesty the Sultan, confers upon you all the rights and immunities attached to recognition, by the Ottoman government, of foreign religious and educational institutions, especially exemption from taxation."'

* *

The above digression, necessary in connection with the houses of formation for the Near East, has temporarily interrupted our chronology. We have to take a step backward in time; and, without going outside the boundaries of the Turkish Empire, we shall move from Rhodes to Constantinople. On the strength of information supplied by the Motherhouse to the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, dated December 8, 1887, it emerges that at this time the Brothers had four Communities in the Ottoman capital, as well as four tuition-free schools and two pay-schools: — twenty-one Brothers, five lay-teachers were teaching the 748 tuition-free pupils; while thirty-three Brothers and five laymen were teaching 260 pupils in the Colleges of Kadikay and Pera.[2]

Brother Semis Odilon, Director of Kadikoy died in 1888: — victim of an illness contracted at the bedside of a young teacher whom he had insisted on caring for himself. Brother Peter of the Cross was to supervise the great institution on the Asian side for the next twelve years.[3]

But an educational center of similar quality existed on the European side: the semi-residence school of St. Michael's. An 1886 "Prospectus" describes its origins as follows:

> Many distinguished families in Pera having frequently expressed their regrets to us of not being able to send their children to our schools either because of the sacrifices demanded by our College at Kadikoy or because they preferred a semi-residence to a residence school so that they could see their sons growing up before their eyes,

[1] Motherhouse archives, file HB g, contract dated February, 1896, letter dated December 20, 1896. Cf. *Bulletin des Ecoles chritiennes* for January, 1907, pg. 41; March 1907, pp. 99-100 and May 1907, pp. 265-269.

[2] Motherhouse archives, file ID n[1].

[3] Archives of the Secretary-general, Sevres Street, Constantinople file.

we thought it was time to respond to their wishes by reestablishing the semi-residence school destroyed in the accident of June 5, 1870.[1]

St. Michael's in Pera, opened at the end of 1886, was an excellent institution for modern secondary education. Its reputation was to contribute heavily to the Brothers' influence in higher business and political circles. After twenty-five years of operation its growing pupil-population made it necessary to expand the school premises.[2]

In 1897, in Ferikoy, a third College took root. At first this was nothing more than a branch of the school in Pancaldi. The French Ambassador, the French Alliance and the Apostolic Delegate, Bishop Bonetti, agreed to invite Brother Hugonis to provide a Brothers' school in this new neighborhood that had been built very quickly to the north of Pera. On July 12, Brother Visitor asked the Superior-general's authorization, which he received without delay in a letter from Brother Assistant Apronian. The Brothers moved into a quite modest building in which an Italian school had at one time operated. After a year it was found to be too small, and a piece of property was purchased on which a new building was put up.[3]

During the last decade of the 19th century the Brothers in Smyrna endured courageously and with success: there were thirty-five of them in 1887, assisted by seven lay-teachers. Their pupils, a school-population somewhat less than that in 1885,[4] would grow in numbers and, in 1897, reach the figure of 765.[5]

The great Asia Minor port city, with its huge, active, and diverse population, occupied an important place in the Mediterranean world. The Western nations sought to set up there, by means of vast commercial relationships, political, moral and intellectual alliances. These concerns turn up in the correspondence of their agents. The French Consul-general, Firmin Rougon, wrote to Minister Spuller, on January 25, 1890:

The exceptional grant

[1] Motherhouse archives, file ID n². — Concerning the Brothers' former school in Pera, See Vol. VI of the present work, pp. 364, 366, 372-373.

[2] Secretary-general's file.

[3] Motherhouse archives, file ID n[2].

[4] There were 570 rather than 600. Motherhouse archives, file ID nl.

[5] Brother Hugois' report, cited in *Bulletin des Ecoles chretiennes,* 1923, pg. 333.

made to the new professional and apprenticeship school recently founded in the Pointe neighborhood has produced a particularly favorable impression: independently of the Brother Director, Archbishop Timoni of Smyrna and the President of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul have asked me to convey to the Foreign Affairs Office their profound gratitude for the generous role the French government has been kind enough to play in the birth of this project.[1]

As the letter just quoted indicates, the Brothers had quite extensively expanded their school in the neighborhood. Their cooperation was emphasized once again in a consular report dated December 18, 1892 and addressed to Mr. Paul Cambon, Ambassador to the Sublime-Porte. Occupying a position that was, of course, exclusively nationalistic, the French representative in Smyrna spoke of the "energetic resistance put up by French schools to urgent Italian propaganda". The heads of the government in Rome — Crispi, Di Rudini and Giolitti — were obliged to revive, in the countries of the Near East, the antique traditions and prestige of Venice; and to this end tended the educational foundations that were inspired and to a large extent promoted by statesmen who were either indifferent or hostile to religion, but who were nevertheless clearheaded patriots. Smyrna, Aiden and Rhodes were three places that had just undergone their efforts.

The Consul, Paul Cambon's subordinate, wrote: "We have responded in those places by opening five new schools." Along with "Father Ferkin's institute in Smyrna", and the Christian Brothers' schools in Rhodes, he cited "the apprenticeship shops at the Pointe and the Cordelio school", this latter also directed by "the Brothers of Christian Doctrine". Such projects "have promoted our civilizing influence...They are being strengthened thanks to the tireless zeal of the members of our Congregations and the official support which we have provided them."[2]

Thus concludes this section of the report. While political shrewdness had entered into play so as to assist the Brothers' activities, the Catholic apostolate was exercising even more liberally its own brand of generosity with respect to the political goals. On May 29, 1893, Mr Rosiere, secretary

[1] Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Turkey, 1881-1892, Vol. X.

[2] Foreign Affairs archives, file cited.

of the Central Counsel for the Propagation of the Faith wrote from Lyons to the M.H. Brother Joseph that the Institute would receive 30,000 francs for its schools in Constantinople, and 9,000 for its schools in Smyrna.[1] The Society for Near Eastern Schools, which since 1856 had striven to bring the Eastern Churches closer to the Roman West,[2] could not grudge its cooperation with Brother Hugonis, who, in 1897, wrote to the Director of the Society, Bishop Charmetant that the schools in Smyrna "were prospering from every point of view". The pupils gave evidence of exemplary piety, and adolescents persevered. Bishop Timoni was delighted to have entrusted his flock to the sons of Blessed de La Salle. And as for the dissidents who did not hesitate to attend the Brothers' schools, "they surrounded their teachers with respect and affection; they esteemed everything that had to do with religion and were diligent in learning the prayers and the catechism."[3]

The Visitor's Armenian foundations could also be proud. Less widespread, of course, than the by-now well established institutions on the shores of the Mediterranean, the schools in Trabzon and Erzurum constituted advanced outposts in which dedication was given the fullest scope. In 1887 Trabzon possessed 170 pupils taught in St. George's school by five Brothers and two lay-teachers. With the same number of teachers, there were 185 pupils in Erzurum.'

Tragic times were in store. The Sultan Abdul Hamid, constantly fearful in the depths of his palace, nourished

[1] Motherhouse archives, ID n[1]. The same letter announce 8,000 francs for Syrian, 10,000 for Jerusalem, and 11,000 for Egypt.

[2] Goyau, *Histoire religieuse de la Nation francaise,* pg. 610.

[3] *Bulletin des Ecoles chritiennes* for October 1923, pp. 333-334. — In 1898 the total number of Brothers' pupils under the jurisdiction of the Apostolic Delegations of Constantinople and Smyrna had arisen to 3,168. From the religious point of view they divided up as follows: Apostolic Delegation in Smyrna — Catholics=523, Orthodox=217, Moslems=10, Israelis=23—Total=773 — Apostolic Delegation in Constantinople — Catholics=1,551, Orthodox=655, Moslems=97, Israelis=92—Total=2,395 (across) and Totals (down) = 2,074, 872, 107, 115, 3,168.

(Source: *Bulletin de l'OEuvre des ecoles d'Orient,* for November-December 1898. Brother Hugonis' letter to Bishop Charmetant, Director-general of the Charity.)

[4] Motherhouse archives, file ID n[1].

a brooding hatred for the Armenians. He imagined that these industrious and enterprising Christians, spread to every city of Asia Minor and to the capital of the Empire, were contemplating stirring up trouble and threatening his life. He was haunted by the thought of getting rid of them. The order reached the police and the soldiers to attack them. Moslem fanaticism was unleashed. Slaughter first drenched the mountain villages with blood and then successively the cities along the Black Sea, the Mediterranean Coasts and finally Constantinople; between 1894 and 1896 there were more than 100,000 victims.

Meanwhile, powerful forces and courageous undertakings intervened to snatch a large number of potential victims from the torturer. In 1895 Trabzon became a refuge for terrorized multitudes. The Brothers took in and saved 3,125 persons. In this effort it was the work of Brother Thimon Joseph that stood out. He was himself an Armenian, a convert from Orthodoxy. His very special physical features and his speech in which French vocabulary was interlaced with sounds from his native tongue had made him very attractive. Noble in moments of horror, he placed himself in jeopardy hundreds of times for the sake of his countrymen. He undertook countless errands to the Turkish governor in order to win assistance and safety. Guards stationed through his efforts in front of the school refused passage to the murderers. Unfortunate individuals, awaiting the fatal blow in their homes which were of easy access in spite of the barred doors, would find Brother Thimon standing there prepared to lead them to a safe place. The courageous Brother went so far as to search through the wagons in which the living, piled together with the corpses, ran the risk of a horrible burial in cemetery trenches. The French government, made aware of this heroic behavior, awarded the Brother a gold medal.' By setting up an orphanage reserved for the children of the victims, the Brothers in Trabzon sustained their gesture of Christian charity for another ten years.[2]

In Europe, regions which subsequently would escape Turkish domination became open to the educators' apostolate. As early as 1885, Salonica had attracted the concern of the Holy See. Cardinal Simeoni, Prefect of the Propaganda, wrote to the Superior-general: "Given the increasingly growing needs of nascent Catholicism in Macedonia, I beseech your Lordship to make the necessary preparations to open

[1] Motherhouse archives, file ID ni.

[2] Motherhouse archives, Trabzon file.

a house and schools in the famous city of Salonica..." To this letter of the 3rd of July, Brother Joseph replied on the 13th with references to St. Paul and the Thessalonians. But he stated that he agreed with Bishop Bonetti, the sponsor of the Roman effort, to proceed primarily on an estimate of absolutely indispensable resources.'

The question was resolved in 1898 through the agency of the Vincentians. One of these missionaries, Father Galineau, Latin pastor in Salonica, had a parochial school. He also knew the Brothers well, since he had invited them to Richelieu when he exercised his priestly functions in that small city in Touraine.[2] He planned to entrust his school to them. Brother Hugonis, to whom he had written, informed Brother Assistant Raphaelis: "Salonica, which even now is a very important city" — wrote the Visitor in a letter dated July 28, 1888 — is going to get even larger. It has no less than 3,000 Catholics. It also includes in its population many Bulgarians most desirous of education and who would supply a large contingent of pupils." Bishop Bonetti resumed his advocacy by supporting Father Galineau: his heart was in Salonica; at one time it had been his missionary field. The Superior-general of the Vincentians, Father Fiat, had himself been quite clear: the Brothers would be accomplishing an excellent work in this special location; apart from the tuition-free school, they could open a paying day-school; and quite soon thereafter they would be in a position to establish a residence school.[3]

After a brief lapse of time — exactly a week after the views just expressed — the Vincentians and Brothers concluded an agreement: five Brothers housed by the Vincentians would teach classes in the Catholic parish.[4]

They appeared at the end of October, without any baggage except their small black bags and without any other provisions for the journey except five *piasters,* the only earthly fortune they possessed between them. "You are like the Apostles," exclaimed the pastor as he welcomed them.

Dame Poverty never left them. School furniture consisted of six tables. In the Community dwelling, every thing,

[1] Motherhouse archives, file ID n.

[2] *Bulletin des Ecoles chritiennes* for April 1913, pg. 136.

[3] Motherhouse archives, ID n.

[4] *Ibid.,* contract dated August 4, 1888, and signed by Father Fiat and the M.H. Brother Joseph.

even what was essential, was lacking; the Daughters of Charity lent them sheets; and the Mission's sacristan contributed a candle to illumine their single room. For the lack of a proper wood-stove they had to be satisfied with a portable one; and the Brothers shivered through the entire winter.'

Their good spirits never betrayed them; it triumphed over difficulties. Their skills attracted public attention. Alphonsus Guillois, the French Consul in Salonica, writing on the 6th of December 1888 to the offices on the Quai d'Orsay, described the new teachers' set up in the following terms:

> Their school, which has been open for about a month, is supervised by the Vincentians. It is directed by Brother Olympus, whose competence is already well-known in the Mid-East. From the thirty pupils of the first days, the number has now risen to seventy-five...In my opinion, this French school of the Brothers of Christian Doctrine promises, if it is supported, to perform a great service in the diffusion of our language.

In Salonica as in Smyrna and many other cities, a bitter competition pitted the Italians against the French. For the Macedonians King Humberto's government had just opened a school of commerce, a girls' school and a youth hostel; while an Italian primary school had been in existence for about twenty years. Nevertheless, families of Italo-Near Eastern origins never hesitated to send their sons to the Brothers. Bruni-Grimaldi, Crispi's diplomatic representative, became worried and tried to rally these deserters. At the same time, propaganda in favor of the French language was being supported by the Jewish Alliance and even by the Ottoman authorities. Brother Olympus' team Guillois described as an extremely important reinforcement. Unfortunately, he add, "its resources are inadequate". In order to guarantee its future, substantial assistance had to come from Paris.[2]

The French Ambassador in Constantinople wrote pretty much the same thing on June 29, 1889. He was delighted that in less than a year the Brothers in Salonica had assembled 130 pupils in four classes; that they had obviously "won over the friendship of the most distinguished families". But their quarters had become

1 Bulletin des Ecoles chritiennes, for April 1913, pp. 136-138.

[2] Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Turkey 1887-1889, Salonica, Vol. VIII n° 42 *his.*

too small. Without money, however, it was impossible to expand them.' Five months later a subsidy of 3,500 francs was granted to "Mr. Rassat," *alias* Brother Olympus.[2]

From the outset, the latter had put into operation a broad program of studies "consisting of the most essential features of special secondary education" and, accompanying lessons given in French, there were also German and Italian courses.[3] It was the beginning of a future college.

In order to come to a full realization, it was first necessary to undertake the expenses of building. The project remained in the planning stages until 1894; while its execution was reserved for Brother Papolein,

"Passing through Salonica, I visited the building, which has been the object of the Director's longings," wrote Brother Hugonis to Brother Assistant Apronian on December 5, 1894. "It is a huge piece of land of more than 9,000 square feet; and an immense building which, for the money, can very easily be furnished, for more than 300 pupils." On January 13, 189.5 the Superior-general authorized the purchase.[4]

The elementary classes continued. In a report dated May 6, 1896 the Vincentian Father Heudre noted that "the Brothers admit tuition-free nearly all Catholic children in the parish."[5] But their school, since its physical transformation, was operating outside what was properly the parish framework. There were fresh modifications in 1901: the tuition-free school flourished once again in the vicinity of the church; the secondary program would continue at the private College under the name of St. John Baptist de La Salle.[6]

Constantinople, Thessolonica, Smyrna and Rhodes, these were the cities that outlined the Aegean Sea, the famous cities of the ancient Eastern Empire, that Brother Hugonis had under his control. In Asia Minor, his final conquest would be„ on the Anatolian plain, the ancient Ancyra of the Galatians, the Ankara of modern Turkey. It was called Angora at the time we are studying it. The patriarchs of the Armenian Church in communion with the Holy See promoted the movement of the Brothers toward this distant land.

[1] Motherhouse archives, file ID n[1].

[2] Archives of the Ministry of foreign Affairs, file cited, letter from Consul Lequeux, December 9, 1889.

[3] Motherhouse archives, ID n[1].

[4] Motherhouse archives, ID n.

[5] Motherhouse archives, file ID e.

[6] *Bulletin des Ecoles chretiennes* for April 1913, pg. 139.

The first invitation was made on September 25, 1886 bu Bishop Stephen Peter Azarian, residing in Constantinople. On February 14, 1887 Brother Hugonis wrote to Brother Raphaelis:

> It is hoped that the M.H. will come to an understanding with the Patriarch...Angora is an important situation which will be presently united to Constantinople by a railroad, which already a third completed. The climate is much preferable to Egypt's for our Brothers' health. Furthermore, we shall probably find vocations there, which will assist us in the teaching of Eastern languages.

The project did not take on substance until for years later. Bishop Ohanessian had been appointed Bishop of Angora in 1890. On November 20, he described the situation to Brother Hugonis:

> In my episcopal city alone I have found more than 2,300 Armenian Catholic families whose piety and religious sentiments are unequaled in our other Armenian dioceses. Today more than 500 Catholic boys are attending school. But what schools, My God! It's pitiful to see at the height of the 19th century these poor boys left in the hands of lay-tutors who frequently do not know even our language.

The Institute's representative made the trip to Angora, saw the Bishop and on October 20, 1891 signed the contract. He then hurried to interest France in this new work. Once he had gotten back to Kadikoy, he set to work to draw up for the Ambassador, Paul Cambon, a request along with the weighty arguments:

> The Germans have had their eye on this country and they are only waiting for the completion of the railroad to direct the flood of their immigration to this fertile but sparsely populated land...Bishop Ohanessian has set aside for our use a site that is big enough for eight classes and a teachers' residence...He is not in a position to pay the Brothers. I am asking Your Excellency to be kind enough to obtain an annual subsidy of 4,000 francs from the French government.

The diplomat had already drawn up his sincerest assurances in reply when on November 3, the day after the foregoing letter, Brother Hugonis described the steps he had taken to the M.H. Brother Joseph.

He selected Brother Abilis as the superior of a Community of seven Brothers. But he himself assumed the leadership of the small

group from Constantinople to the end of the journey. The departure, set for October 24, 1892, was followed by forty-eight hours of exhausting travel and then the Bishop's fatherly welcome. There was some surprise to find neither desks nor tables in the classrooms. "The smallest boys sit on the ground", said the Bishop; "the older ones bring their own desks." That opened up a long discussion, but it was finally decided that the carpenters would be put to work. The school opened on November 7 with 350 pupils.

In 1895, the Visitor told the Superior-general that

> this school that had been begun only eighteen months previously, was fully flourishing. Our Brothers are performing well, and they enjoy the esteem of the clergy and the affection of the people. The 400 pupils are divided into eight classes, four of them paying and four completely tuition-free. Most of them understand and speak French well enough, in spite of the little time they have to devote to this language because of the great lot of time demanded by the Armenian and Turkish languages.

The Brothers were still in this Anatolian city in 1904. On February 5 of that year a fire destroyed the entire building which, in order to preserve their rightful autonomy, they had earlier purchased. An order from Abdul Hamid had given them permission to rebuild.'

* *

In the midst of vicissitude in Egypt the missionary educators forged ahead with their projects with continuity of purpose, serenity of conscience and remarkable success. For the most part Frenchmen, they were surrounded by many of their fellow-countrymen whose friendship they had by-and-large earned; and they received support from France's representatives and the agents. Thus, at the very center of an English possession and until after the Fachoda crisis, after the official repudiation stipulated in the Franco-British agreement of 1899, the intellectual and moral preponderance of the nation of Bonaparte, of Champollion and of de Lesseps would weather irreparable political disasters. Along the valley of the Nile, the French language remained the language of international relations. We shall repeat how

[1] Motherhouse archives, file ID n5.

the Brothers established themselves as the propagators of that language: surely not out of narrow patriotism, but in order to assist the influence of a civilization that was noble, humane and Christian.

Brother Ildefonsus, Director of St. Catherine's in Alexandria between October 1888 and May 1900 appeared as one of the typical artisans of this powerful undertaking. Calixtus Alazard, from the Rouerge, who, at fifty-one years of age, became an Egyptian on orders from Brother Raphaelis. We have already seen him in Rodez as the teacher of Francis Fabie:' the fine poet who, on a sad day would sing, of that "exquisite person" who, "by dint of fondness", made him love school, "that austere prison", and who — forbearing toward the "limping verses" of the child — unearthed "the treasures" of great writers.[2] Lacking physical presence, Brother Ildefonsus possessed a unique charm: he spoke well, with exuberance and unction; his manners were refined, his approach affable; the light of intelligence, gentleness and religious charity illumined his look and his entire facial appearance, wrinkled, bald-headed and amply bewhiskered. An extremely devout disciple of the Blessed de La Salle, ever prepared to acknowledge in each event the hand of Providence, the Director of St. Catherine's exercised a nearly irresistible mastery over the souls of his pupils and his Community.

He said that, if his prayers were heard, the school would be "a sanctuary, a family and a beehive". A sanctuary, built of "the living stones" of the youth of Alexandria, it was, physically effected on the college campus. Brother Prosperian, his predecessors, had through the mediation of Brother Hugonis, appealed to the Holy See to authorize the building of a chapel. The work began after Brother Ildefonsus' arrival. It had been subjected to enforced interruptions. It will be recalled that the school building was dependent upon the Custodian in Jerusalem; its facade and that of the Franciscan Convent matched architecturally on either side of the Latin Cathedral. The Father Superior was unnerved by the building undertaken by the Brothers. Informed, the Custodian sent a formal protest to the Visitor. It

[1] See Vol. V of the present work, pp. 501, 524.

[2] Memorial verses for Brother Ildefonsus (1911) quoted in *Centenaire,* pg. 105.

would be necessary to demolish and then wait, while awkward negotiations dragged out. Finally, on February 4, 1893, the Director was able to announce to his Superiors that the terms of an agreement would be submitted for their

signatures.'

The finished chapel was furnished with altars, Italian style ceiling-panels, newly designed decorations, religious symbols and attractive images by Brother Isidore of Peluse.[2] There was nothing in the cluster of college buildings, in the orderly plan — the main vestibule, the stone stairway, the long corridors that gave access to the classrooms — that could be grounds for reproach or criticism.

In 1894 when Bishop Sebastiani, Canon at St. John Lateran came to St. Catherine's on a special mission from Leo XIII, he spoke of his complete satisfaction with all of the results and especially of the religious successes secured by the Brothers.[3]

The "Association" of former pupils, named for the Virgin Martyr who was the patron of the school and city, flourish at this time. Twelve young men, responding to Brother Ildefonsus' appeal, fostered the beginnings of the group on Christmas night 1888. They were all Catholics, and very quickly their fraternity, expanded to include a highly select membership, became distinguished as the nucleus of convinced and dedicated Christians.[4] Brothers George, Theodore, and Oger were the promoters of its early undertakings; an Easter Retreat was organized in 1890 and preached by a Vincentian, Father Larigaldi. Making an annual event of the Retreat, the Association brought together hundreds of men and youths during Holy Week. Out of the St. Catherine's Association would grow a Eucharistic League, whose purpose was, first, to encourage faithful Christians to receive Communion more frequently and also to support two Conferences of St. Vincent de Paul. Religious and charitable activities were consistent with a program of studies, artistic pleasures and innocent relaxations: a library, literary meetings and talks, a chorus, painting exhibitions, sports and outings found their places in the life of the associates. With the popular "Brother Peter", connected with the College in Alexandria for more than half a century, the Association could only

[1] Archives of the district of Alexandria, letters 1887-1894.

[2] See Vol. VII of the present work, pp. 151-152.

[3] District archives, Brother Ildefonsus' letter to Brother Hugonis, February 14, 1894.

strengthen its foundations and its principles and, joyfully, enlarge its generous action.'

Contemporarily with the Association, the John Baptist de La Salle Academy represented another set of interests. Without neglecting moral influences, it attracted the attention and the respect of intellectuals. The best students in the upper classes were invited to become "Academicians", and since what was involved was, above all, gifts of the mind, diversity of religious adherence did not enter into play. There wer brilliant Israeli pupils, who had won the admiration of their comrades, w o had been elected to the presidency of the group. Such was the steadfast and authentic eclecticism of this fraternity that Brothers George John[2] and Pascal had set their heart's on establishing in 1888 and that Brother Ildefonsus had inaugurated on October 28, during the first days of his administration. It provided high-spirited satisfaction for the old scholar disembarking from France: Mid-Eastern youngsters would be delighting in Corneille, Racine, La Fontaine and Bossuet, commenting on classical masterpieces, and attempting to write in the clear, precise and sturdy language of the century of Louis XIV! On June 11, 1889, the first of the great annual meetings took place — it was a day of triumph. Others would follow, when poets, orators and amateur critics would present the first fruits of their talents. "The Echo of the Academy", a modest journal would publish writings, talks an reports. After a long period of somnolence, the publication was reborn under the lovely name of the Egyptian flower *The Lotus.*[3]

A number of the Institute's pupils succeeded in assimilating Western culture. It is not without interest to cite in this connection some of the Consular reports. The Academy had not yet begun when the Consul Kleczkowski wrote from Alexandria on July 10, 1887 to his Minister, Mr. Flourens:

> Last week took place the examination of the pupils at St. Catherine's College which attempts to provide the equivalent of the bachelor's degree in special secondary education...Four students

The Association's Centenary pamphlet, talk by President Naccache. — *Centenaire* of the Brothers in Egypt, pp. 104, 112. — Obituaries, Brother Ildefonsus and Brother Godefroy of the Angels. — St. Catherine's Association now has its headquarters in the great St. Mark's College.

Future Director of St. Joseph's College, Rome.

We have used as our principal source *The Lotus* for 1928. — St. Ca herine's Association and the St. John Baptist de La Salle Academy experienced flourishing times un er Brother Gordian Desire, the future Secretary-general of the Institute, teacher, Sub-Director and ally Director of the College in Alexandria from 1904-1920.

(all of Greek nationality) were admitted out of the eight who were presented...In French composition, I was pleased to observe notable progress...Without being beyond criticism as to form, the writing of the candidates who were admitted was distinguished for a simplicity of style that contrasted favorably with the phraseology that we have seen in the past. There was also consistency of ideas, clarity and the marks of personal and deliberate effort...[1]

The Foreign Affairs office promptly sent the confirmation of the diplomas along with the comments of the Parisian examining board which had reviewed the tests. Commendation was so unexceptionable that the Consul who had submitted the petition for degrees, Peter Gerard, was delighted to be able to send the reply on to Brother Ildefonsus. He also expressed he hope "that the level of the examinations would gradually rise, so that without unsettling the candidates, the Committee in Alexandria could gradually become more demanding in its judgments." [2]

Certainly, perfection was not to be so quickly attained. In July of 1888, the Consul and his assistants, Mr. de Bernard Sigoyer, Procurator-general in the Court of Appeals, Father Jomand, Jesuit and graduate of the Polytechnical Institute, passed three the four students who were presented.

These students have given evidence of significant scientific knowledge, a branch of education that has always seemed to have special interest for the Brothers. The literary and historical sections appear to be less satisfactory. It is nevertheless important to point out that the three successful students have a very easy control over our language .[3]

In this connection as well as for the opportunity it provided for serious reflection and for personal development, the Academy turned out to be an excellent laboratory. Distinguished visitors were quick to perceive it as such: Cardinal Langenieux in 1893, Felix Faure in 1899, Stephen Lamy in 1898, Melchior de Vogue in 1899, well before the well-publicized visits of Maurice Banes. Felix Faure, "profoundly touched" by the sentiments directed to him "in such delightful language", in memory of his day at St. Catherine's,

[1] Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Egypt, political correspondence of the Consuls, 1887-1889, Vol. VI, no. 58.

[2] *Ibid.,* no. 63, August 20, 1887.

[3] Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, file cited, no. 79, July 18, 1888. — In Brother Ildefonsus' time, a young Brother began his teaching career in the classes at St. Catherine's. He was a teacher and a poet who would occupy a distinguished place in the literary circles of the French-speaking colony in Egypt: hew was Brother Roland Benignus, *alias* Emile Langlois. (Cf. *Centenaire,* pp. 194-195).

founded a medal which was named after him when he became President of France.'

The College's dazzling reputation did not prevent the Brothers from taking an intense interest in their tuition-free classes. "The beloved 'Lord's School," Brother Ildefonsus called the humble institution in which eleven Brothers, assisted by two lay teachers[2] devoted themselves to the service of the poor. In 1889 the Director tasted the joy of inaugurating new buildings for his tuition-free pupils. He had asked the French government to get involved in the project. The Consul, Peter Girard, informing Mr. Spuller of this request, wrote:

> A school population of about 400 boys had been crammed up to now in ill-lighted, ill-ventilated rooms that were actually sheds; for very young pupils desks and tables had been lined up in a narrow school-yard. From now on there will be seven classes to house, rather than five, in an annex of St. Catherine's College in new structures, carefully laid out and pleasant.[3]

What Brother Ildefonsus needed were school supplies. From his colleague in Public Education the Minister of Foreign Affairs obtained surveying instruments, maps, atlases, metric system and vocabulary tables, which Mr. Fallieres' office delivered in October.[4]

For three years St. Joseph's College in Bacos had also been offering tuition-free instruction to three classes composed of children from the "ghettos". In putting together a genuine parochial school, the Director, Brother Ideuil Casimir had sought out the cooperation of the Franciscans; judging from the response, he understood that he was running the risk of getting his educational activity bogged down in a great number of restraints and a lot of disapproval. In order to preserve the peaceful relations that existed between the Brothers and the Franciscans — and from which all Christians benefitted -- he thought it was better for the Institute shoulder the entire responsibility for the enterprise. The Superiors agreed with him. Brother Ideuil's work was continued, between 1890 and 1900 by Brother Jouannet of Mary.[3]

[1] *Le Lotus,* 1928, pp. 18-19; and *Centenaire,* pg. 143.

[2] Figures for 1886, Motherhouse Archives, file ID n[1]. — *Centenaire,* pg. 104.

[3] Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, file cited, no. 21, letter dated August 22, 1889.

[4] *Ibid*.

[5] District Archives, *Historique de Ramteh.* Beginning in 1894 Brother Jouannet.

Apart from the two Colleges and the two tuition-free schools, urban growth in Alexandria induced the Brothers to open "branch" schools. The first of these was undertaken in March of 1887 by Brother Prosperian who intended it for the sons of simple employees — largely Coptic and Israeli who were beginning to take up residence in the Moharrem Bay neighborhood. He remodelled an abandoned native shanty that stood opposite a Prussian hospital and called it the "Sacred Heart School". This temporary facility remained in use for ten years. In 1897 Brother Ildefonsus acquired a piece of land, on which arose a new building that was quickly populated with about a hundred pupils. The most gifted of these finished their studies at St. Catherine's.

It was the same for those who attended "St. Joseph's College" on Consuls Square, that had been opened in 1891 and which was also available to `tuition-free pupils', and to lower-middle class pupils from "St. Louis' College", begun in 1894 on Rossetta Gate Street, subsequently translated to Caesar Street.'

The founding of a professional school in 1898 seemed a more original and a bolder undertaking. At the heart of the Egyptian population, to shape a select group of workers who knew their trade and applied themselves consciously to it was a fascinating project. Brother Ildefonsus cherished it with all his heart and was encouraged in it by the French authorities. Nothing seemed to him to be more exactly within the scope of Lasallian traditions and nothing more useful to the progress of civilization among the native masses. But in order to realize the project in this missionary country, the Brothers needed the approval of the Holy See. Meanwhile, their Superior-general was willing to undertake nothing without financial assistance from France.

In 1896 the head of the Institute — at the time the M.H. Brother Joseph — set forth the state of the question to the Brother Procurator-general: over the preceding years, the Assistant, Brother Apronian, during his visitations to the Mid East District, had given the Brother Director in Alexandria permission "in principle"; and for thirty years a site had remained at the disposal of the St. Catherine's Community: it was a pleasant building thathad been given by the Khedive Ismail. The Superior had wanted to reply, if could, to the requests

[1] District archives, Moharrem Bay file. — *Le Lotus,* 1928, pg 12. — *Cent* enaire, pg. 49. — Of these three branches, Sacred Heart College alone has survived.

"of the ministry's agents and Consuls". However, after the unfavorable report of the Apostolic Delegate, Bishop Guido Corbelli, the Superior-general feared an untimely diplomatic intervention with the Pope. "We can be denounced in Rome; we never denounce." On this brief and splendid slogan the principal portion of the letter ended.

Brother Joseph died a few months later. It was left to his successor, in the course of the year 1897 to hear the good news that all opposition had evaporated.' The Pope authorized the Brothers, "by way of an exception", to establish an industrial school in the great Mediterranean port city.

The Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda had suggested that the representative of the Holy See in Egypt — who was now Archbishop Gaudenzio Bonfigli — to reveal the decision to Brother Ildefonsus. Touched and delighted, but even more surprised, with the Archbishop's congratulations. During the same week, on July 20, 1897, Consul Boutiron challenged the Visitor of the District:

> Now that the Holy See has authorized you to open a professional school, you must act. We will help you out. The agency has 18,000 francs available, and I will ask for further subsidies. You issue the orders, and in Alexandria they will be hearing the sounds of the hammer and the molding-plan in a model school.

Brother Hugonis objected that he lacked competent personnel. He was going to ask Brother Apronian for it. Once a teaching team was found, the school began operations in the Bab Sidra neighborhood. Consul Peter Girard noted its growth in a letter to Brother Gabriel of Mary on December 21, 1896. But the project would not really expand unless 150 to 200,000 francs were invested in it; and that sum was not likely to come either from the government, nor from the French Alliance.

Brother Ildefonsus went to Paris to beg financing. He opened new shops, and after a few years about a 100 youths

[1] In 1896 Archbishop Bonfigli had replaced Bishop Corbelli in the See of Alexandria.

were learning carpentry, the art of the locksmith, shoe making and sewing in the "Holy Family School"; they would become printers and bookbinders to supply textbooks to written by Brothers in Egypt for the schools. These young workers, eager at their trades, provided a splendid example to their fellow- countrymen. Unfortunately, for the lack of timely financing, the school's physical facilities continued to be rudimentary.'

* *

No matter how vibrant and lightsome Alexandria might have been, it was still only the threshold of the Near East. Whoever wishes to surrender totally to Egypt must learn to know it in its capital city, where both Islam and Africa predominate, and then go up the Nile and penetrate into the upper regions which are cultivated by the great multitude of poor "fellahs". Once again we meet the Brothers in Cairo; and from there we reach out with them toward the provinces: to the Delta and the region of the Suez Canal, as well as toward the "moudiriehs" in the South and the edge of the desert.

Until 1893 Brother Gervais of Mary ruled St. Joseph's in Kkhoronfish and its affiliates. The spirit and faith of this great man never wavered. His eminence was never more on view that during a day in 1887: the tuition-free school, filled with 700 youngsters under the tutelage of thirteen Brothers,[2] was operating marvelously well in its new buildings; on May 17th, at four o'clock in the morning the school was destroyed by fire. Brother Gervais decided that the calamity was not going to change anything of the school day. He assembled the pupils in the church for Mass. He directed the singing himself: "I Place my Confidence, Virgin, in Your Aid" was the hymn he chose and intoned. Classes were held in any chance site, but there would be no time off for either faculty or pupils. Meanwhile, reconstruction was moved along at a brisk pace.[3]

As an administrator, a religious educator and an organizer of programs of studies, Brother Gervais was able to lead and teach; he fired the minds and the imaginations of his associates. When he announced weekly

[1] District archive, correspondence dealing with the professional school, 1896-1898. — Brother Godefroy of the Angel's Obituary, 1917. — *Centenaire,* pp. 50, 219.

[2] Motherhouse archives, ID n[1], statistics for 1887.

[3] *Centenaire,* pg. 19 (Speech by Mr. Antony Younan Bay, President of the Alumni Association of Khoronfish) and pp. 166-167.

grades, his comments assumed the dimensions of educational lectures that were attentively listened to and the memory of them was indelibly engraved in the minds of his youthful audience.'

A Community of thirty-three Brothers and three laymen made up the College's faculty.[2] Some of the older men gave the example of magnificent perseverance: Brother Sigebert of Mary, who was the Community "historian" in 1882, Brother Sedulis, "a venerable and saintly" figure, art teacher in drawing and music and the founder of "St. Joseph's Choral", Brother Angeleme of Jesus, one of the heros of the struggle against cholera in 1865, the school Procurator as of 1880, an active and vigorous old man, who provided every physical need, open - handedly pursued the laws of Lasallian hospitality and — an amateur Egyptologist — he guided visitors through the temples and tombs of ancient dynasties.[3]

The special secondary education dispensed at Khoronfish attracted a pupil-population of 350 to 400 youths. Here, the prize, after 1888, was the "Egyptian bachelor's degree", rather different than the French bachelor's degree both as to spirit and content of programs, and which was more suited to native segment of the student body. Candidates for the degree sat for examinations before an State-appointed examining board in company with

their counterparts from governmental schools.[4] One of the bachelors of 1889 was Ismail Sedky who, in the 20th century, would become Egypt's Prime Minister.[5]

Catholics, Dissident Christians, Moslems and Israelis, the graduates of the College, more often than not, remained faithful to the school of their youth and joined together in the Alumni Association established in 1885 by the efforts of the Brother Director. They evoked with emotion scenes of old Khoronfish with its narrow school-yards, its gloomy chapel and classes that began with the Brother's "reflection" and were interrupted with the reminder of God's presence.

[1] *Ibid.*, same speech.

2 Motherhouse archives, statistics for 1887.

[3] *Centenaire,* pg. 192. — Brother Angeleme of Jesus' Obituary, 1898.

[4] *Centenaire,* pg. 222 (Lecture by Brother Andrew Leo on "Some Aspects of the Educational Activity of the Brothers in Egypt," Port Said, March 4, 1947.

[5] ***Ibid.,*** pg. 257. Another graduate of the same year and future political personality was Mohammed Tewfik Nessim.

However, outside the Mousky neighborhood, new shoots took root. An aristocratic neighborhood, Ismailieh, had had absolutely no schools for the very young. In 1887 Brother Gervais of Mary purchased a house and remodelled it as a school. The opening took place on January 3, 1888. It had not been anticipated that only about sixty pupils would apply for admission during the first years. But on February 19, 1891 there arrived from Constantinople a very friendly Brother, Brother Rogatian; his grandfatherly kindness won the affection of his pupils and the confidence of parents. With him, and with his successor, Brother Alberic, "John Baptist de La Salle College kept on increasing its pupil-population recruited from a neighborhood inhabited by people of alert minds and easily illuminated souls.[1]

In 1890 the Choubrah neighborhood profited from the second branch school. At the time the area was little more than a suburb half out in the countryside: there were farms and marshes and villas in the middle of pasture-lands, alongside a few mansions surrounded by walls; the future reach of the city was merely hinted at in the form of a few blocks of flats here and there. Inhabitants had only two grammar schools available for their children, one belonging to the Greek Catholic Patriarchate, the other operated by a Syriac priest. For a wider selection of schools it was necessary to take one's chances closer in to the center of the city, not without a considerable loss of time and along uncertain routes. Brother Gervais sought to spare children both the dangers and the effort. He transposed the risks to the teachers who, each day went from Khoronfish to Choubrah, to a building with a garden on Chitty-bay Street, "St. Paul's School". Brother Sagittarius became the leader of this sturdy group; he was seventy-years of age and had completed a long and painful apostolate in the Far East. His tall stature and his white hair inspired respect, while his graciousness and joyfulness put people who spoke to him at their ease. This old man was enlivened by an almost youthful eagerness which he communicated to his associates, Brothers Louis and Gabriel and even to Father Ephrem Abiad, the Syriac priest who now took his place alongside the Brothers as the teacher of Arabic.

In 1893 the twice-daily trek of the trio of teachers came to an end.

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1 Centenaire, pp. 167-169. — An expansion of the school grounds and new taller buildings was not enough to satisfy the influx of pupils. In 1908 and exchange of sites effected under favorable conditions enabled the Brothers to create at *Bab el Lauk* the modern and very beautiful St. John Baptist de La Salle College, attended today by 600 pupils from six to fourteen years of age.

The Choubrah site had acquired the status of a "Community". There was a dearth of comfort as well as of funds. Only a very slight tuition had been asked of the pupils. But Brother Sagittarius preserved his equanimity: "God stamps with suffering," he used to say, "the edges of the projects that are going to last." St. Paul's College, founded on the groundwork of abnegation and self-effacement, would be solid. In 1894 the Greek Catholic clergy yielded their pupils and, a few years later, contributed their cooperation. In 1897 Brother Patrick and in 1902 Brother Icard Leonce followed Brother Sagittarius' footsteps, continued his tradition of work, religious spirit and paternal discipline.'

The sole setback during this period turned out to the Koubbeh property. In its fields and orchards which, later on, in a region that had been regally transformed, had acquired immense value as a building site, the Director of Khoronfish had, around 1889, begun an experimental agricultural orphanage. The orphans — mainly Copts — were refractory, lazy and without talent. In spite of the richness of the soil, the crops looked miserable. At the end of four years of unhappy attempts and lost efforts, the order to sell the place came from Oudinot Street. "Get rid of two-thirds of the property," commanded the major Superiors, "and retain the rest as a country-house for the use of the Brothers and pupils in Cairo." The order was obeyed. The huge property passed into the hands of other owners for a ridiculously low price. The portion that remained, while not for the total peace of mind of the administrator's of the Congregation's finances, at least served the collegians' play and the necessary relaxation of the teaching body.[2]

We may quickly pass over this episode of only minor importance. But how, on the other hand not insist on the founding of the French School of Law? George Goyau wrote in 1925 in his book, *Orientations catholiques:*[3] "The humble program organized by Brother Gervais of Mary for a few "Bachelors" who had graduated from Khoronfish

[1] District archives, *Historique du college Saint-Paul.* — *Centenaire,* pp. 170, 172. — Brother Leonce effected the College's move to the vast buildings situated near the superb St. Mark's church. In 1948 there were 349 pupils. The neighboring tuition-free school, which has existed since 1917 and is today called "St. Peter's School," admits about 200 pupils.

[2] District archives, *Historique de Khoronfish.* — And *Bulletin des Ecoles chretiennes,for* October 1909, pp. 333-335.

[3] Page 205.

was the beginning of the School of Law in Cairo which, in twenty- five years, included among its "Licentiates" 300 pupils of the Brothers."

But, at the same time, an historian of Egypt, G. Lecarpentier, related the origins of the School without the slightest allusion to the Brothers. In admiration of this "high point of French educational activity" in the land of the Khedives, he gave all the credit for it "to four outstanding personalities."'

The first Director of the famous school, Mr. Pelissiedu Rausas, had however insisted, in 1895, on doing justice to the real founder. A report of the School's Counsel, drawn up on November 9 of that year,[2] contains the following lines:

> I regret that the considerable share that the Brothers of the Christian Schools had in the foundation of the school seems to have been forgotten. The truth demands that I recall that it was Brother Gervais of Mary...who quite courageously began the first program of French law in Egypt.

On the occasion of his final visit to Khoronfish on May 21, 1931, the distinguished teacher reasserted: "It was here, in this old College that was born the idea of the French School of Law, where the idea took root and where its first practical realization took place...I want to acclaim that distant, but certain, paternity." [3]

According to an anecdote, that nevertheless comes from most reliable sources, the Director of St. Joseph's College, was attempting to do a favor for a French Minister, the Marquis Reverseaux who wanted his son to undertake legal studies: "Well, Minister," Brother Gervais is supposed to have replied, "We'll open a Law School."

It began in 1889 with three students in rooms at Khoronfish. In his brief description of those early days Mr. Pelissiedu Rousas names those who cooperated to make the bold venture viable: "MM. Chakou, Porter and Henon, under the auspices of the French Agency and with advice from distinguished individuals in the French Colony in Cairo." Brother Gervais of Mary delegated two members of his Community to operate as tutors. He himself declined the title of Dean.

Very quickly teachers and students left the Mousky neighborhood for a more pleasant retreat in the Ismailieh quarter. The new College begun in this place opened its doors to them.

[1] G. Lecarpentier, *l'Egypt moderne,* 1925, pg. 155.

[2] And quoted by the current Director M. Andrew Boye in his lecture on March 26, 1947. (*Centenaire,* pp. 22-25.)

Here the organization of the law courses was completed. They involved a three year program, and a set body of tenured teachers under the control of M. Pelissie du Rausas. In 1894 the School moved to the cul-de-sac called El-Awaed.

Two years earlier it had had twenty students. At the beginning of the 20th Century in had 100. Nearly half of them entered into Egyptian government work or "the Bench". A good number of the others entered the Bar or carved out a career in the Banks. Among the better known students of French juridical science were Moustapha Kemal and Saad Zaghloul, leaders of national independence.'

Brother Gervais of Mary would never see the growth of the project that owed its origins to him. He had been asked to make a harsh sacrifice: Madagascar, Reunion and Maurice needed his clearsightedness and his zeal. To the extent that he was able to dispose of his own freedom of movement, he sought to avoid emotional farewells. Nevertheless, a huge manifestation awaited him at the moment of his departure. The railroad station in Cairo was invaded by a crowd in which every social category rubbed elbows. The President of the Alumni Association read a brief tribute of gratitude. And, then, on all sides there burst out shouts of Farewell!

Egypt would have no reason to regret the choice of Brother Gervais' successor. Brother Godefroy — Jean Beaufort — born in Cantal, possessed those qualities of systematic sagacity and unshakable consistency of his countrymen. Between 1874 and 1893 a teacher and then the Director at the residence school of St. Giles in Moulin, he became the pillar of the institution. And then he was moved to missionary territory where he became the support for the burdens of an important complex.

Born in 1855, he was approaching his mature years, he did not object to work, and he did not fear responsibilities. Upon his appointment to Khoronfish, there were a number of energetic measures that had to be taken: the harmony among the Brothers left something to be desired; and there was an unhealthy strain that had slipped into the pupil population. Brother Godefroy got control over the teaching personnel; and among the collegians he undertook a severe weeding-out process.

The buildings were no longer adequate. Those that overlooked the main street were especially mournful, suggesting an

[1] *Centenaire,* lecture cited; and chapter regarding the Brothers in Cairo, pg. 173. — Lecarpentier, *op. cit.,* pp. 155-157.

2 *Centenaire,* pg. 174.

awkward likeness to the hovels in the immediate vicinity. A huge expansion program continued to be unrealized because the adjoining property was a Mosque: — a crumbling ruin, but an untouchable one! Nevertheless, the Director cultivated his plans; and at the end of the first year of his administration, he mobilized the necessary financing. Work began in February of 1885. A beautiful and substantial building — of three stories — arose facing Khoronfish and Chahrawi el Barani Streets with a facade of 183 ft. The shrewdest and most skillful advantage was taken of an awkward situation.

Once order and peace were restored to the school and the people living there, attention turned to the business of educating minds. Programs, reexamined, quite generally took into account official demands. The unification of studies in the branch-schools prepared the better endowed youths of

Ismaileh and Choubrah for the upper classes at St. Joseph's College. The tuition-free school supplied the more advanced College with a group of excellent candidates. Trimestrial examinations in the various institutions allowed those in charge to discern ability and counsel pupils concerning their future.

Each year success was achieved in the program for the Egyptian Bachelor's degree. To prepare his candidates Brother Godefroy had the highly regarded cooperation of Brother Gordian Martyr, a native of St. Bonose in Orleans, much appreciated by the clergy and the parents in his adopted city. When he was about fifty years of age he had volunteered of the Near Eastern Missions. By dint of personal courage, he had overcome the hardships of what was for him an entirely novel task, and he had gained an overall view, and decided the methods, of a type of education whose fundamentals were still vague.

While the French language enjoy a privileged status in Egypt's educational system, one could never neglect the fact that Arabic was the national language. From the very beginning of the Brothers' project in this country, the daily schedule made room for the classes taught by the Arabic teachers, most of who were Moslem Sheiks.

But in this subject progress was slow and results rather shabby. But among the Brothers there were a few "Arabic-speakers", the most remarkable of whom was Brother Pelage,' His Director asked him to write textbook in the spirit, and according to the educational philosophy of the Institute. The first

[1] Another was Brother Reposte Valentine, but he didn't publish anything.

text, a speller, appeared in 1886; it was followed by readers and grammars, intelligently scaled, clear and attractive and which obtained the widest acceptance. Nearly all the schools— Catholic, Schismatic, Israeli and even Moslem — in Syria, Palestine as well as on the banks of the Nile adopted them. The last of the people to heap praise on the writings of the French Brother were certainly not the professors in the great Koranic university of El Azhar.

A book on Egyptian geography was well as a series of history texts all showed the religious educators' determination to be worthy of their trust and their firm resolution to instill into youth a sense of belonging to a national community.

Brother Godefroy shared personally in the composition of this collection of textbooks. The Christian note could be neither absent nor disguised. It pulsated in every section of institution, and its leader inspired its "sixty workers" with the regularity, the charity and the joy that expanded, so to speak, in successive waves. Here, once again, Brother Gordian added his influence to the action of his Superior by means of the Marian Association of which he was the superb promoter. Furthermore, with the advice of Father Jerome, the Superior of the Franciscan Convent in Mousky and Father Wellinger, of the African Missionaries of Lyons, a *Manuel du jeune chretien* was published by the Director who introduced into it a number of prayers taken from the Oriental Rite.'

Before his appointment to the responsibilities of Visitor, Brother Godefroy began an important enterprise in Cairo, of the vicissitudes of which, as well as the provisional culmination we shall speak later. North of Cairo, about equidistant from the Nile and from the heights of Mokattam, heaps of debris were levelled off and a new neighborhood emerged, spacious and lightsome. A school would have been a welcomed sight there. In conformity with the rules proclaimed in Leo XIII's Apostolic Letter, *Orientalium dignitas,*[2] the organizer of the Brothers schools in

[1] District archives, *Historique de Khoronfish. — Bulletin des Ecoles chritiennes* for October 1909, pp. 328-329. — Obituaries of Brother Gordian Martyr (1905) and Brother Godefroy of the Angels (1917). — Centenaire, pg. 176. — Article by Brother Andrew Leo (on Brother Pelage and the study of Arabic) in *Bulletin de Khoronfish,* 1949.

[2] Published in 1894, this document stipulated: "No College nor Convent of the Latin Rite may henceforth be opened by Religious before they have asked and obtained the consent of the Holy See."

the Egyptian capital sought Roman authorization, through the Prefect for the Delta, Father Duret. On August 2, 1897 the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda gave a favorable reply; the Brothers could move into "the Abbassieh and Daher regions".

In October of 1898 they rented a modest building on Sabri Street. About sixty youngsters showed up almost immediately. A second measure had to be taken. Brother Godefroy purchased a 5,515 sq. ft. lot situated nearby but within region of the Apostolic Delegate's responsibility. As a result of the move, then, there was a modification of ecclesiastical jurisdiction; but since there was neither question was a new institution, nor a new locality, recourse to the Holy See did not appear to be necessary. In a letter dated March 19, 1899 Archbishop Gaudenzio Bonfigli declared that he concurred with the Brothers of the Christian Schools.[1]

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How many French members of Religious Congregations expecting until 1887 to operate schools in the Suez Canal Zone had set themselves up to be deceived! It was eighteen years since Lesseps had completed his vast labors: Empress Eugenie had inaugurated the maritime passage-way in the company of Franz-Joseph of Austria and in the midst of the sumptuous feasts dreamed up by the Prince-Regent Ismail. While the masts of ships come from Europe lined up across the desert, the conveyance of the water from the Nile transformed the western bank into an oasis. The greenery and the flowers of Ismailia would spread to Lake Timsah. At the end of the Menzaleh, Port Said extended its pier into Mediterranean waters. The Canal Company set up its local administrative headquarters in this city, where it multiplied its shops and its docks. Its personnel, to which was added the personnel of the Shipping Companies, dwelt in well-constructed houses, beautifully lined up along broad avenues. If the Arab fishermen and their boats with the triangular sails, or if a few native Arab huts did not recall Africa, these resident aliens might have thought they were at home; but the Frenchman was better off than

[1] District archives, Daher College file and *Historique* of that school. — Brother Godefroy's Obituary — *Centenaire,* pg. 177.

any other, Latin, German or Englishman. It was his language that he heard on the streets; and his countrymen, engineers, agents, consular representatives, industrialists, and employees with a variety of titles whom he met with in positions of power and of trust.

Nevertheless, he sought in vain for educational centers capable of dispensing practical lessons in grammar and writing to the sons of families separated from the mother-country. Some youths were residents at the College in Khoronfish. In Port Said there was nothing but an Italian grammar school dependent upon St. Eugenie's parish, and an obscure "international school" that had connections with Freemasonry.

It was a Franciscan, Father Leonard, who had sent out the first call to the Brothers on January 6th, 1886. At the time he was in charge of a parochial school, and he wanted to Brothers to come and "deliver him from his responsibility."[1] Brother Hugonis, then, had at least one ally on the site. He was certain of seeing other helpers materialize as well as other well-wishers.

Mr. Roualle Rouville, a high level representative of the Canal Corporation and Mr Lucian Monge, French Consul in Port Said, were immediately won over to the project that had been shown them by the Institute's representative. What the future school needed most was a free grant of land. But the request had to be submitted both to the Egyptian government and to the Canal Corporation, since they shared ownership of the land.

As a result the Visitor sent two official letters at the same time: one to the "Common Lands Commission" and the other to Mr. Rouville. He also notified Mr. Monge and sought the support of Baron Charles Lesseps, Vice-President of the Administrative Counsel in Paris.[2]

In November these gestures got results: lot #CXXVIII, 15,330 sq. ft., was granted the Brothers' Institute. Unfortunately, because it was too far from the center of town, it could not be used. Talks were opened with the view of securing an exchange.

Brother Hugonis seemed to have no doubt about the outcome. Without awaiting it, he decided to open the school on a provisional site. On January 28, 1887 he revealed his intention to Bishop Charmetant, Director of Near Eastern Charity Schools, and to Consul

[1] District archives, Port Said file, letter to Brother Visitor.

[2] *Ibid.,* letters dated 9, 10 and 12 of February 1886.

Monge, while seeking subsidies from both of them.' Brother Prosperian, Director of St. Catherine's in Alexandria, brought three Brothers to Port

Said during the first days of March.

The team was composed of Brother Pelegrinus Edward (John Peter Chevaleyre), the Director, Brother Frumence Leo, a native of Ferrara and responsible for teaching Italian and a young Brother Theodore Flavian who was to take charge of the class for the youngest pupils. Brother Edward was forty years of age; a native of St. Etienne in Forez, he arrived in Alexandria in 1868. As teacher and Inspector at St. Catherine's, he combined a wealth of experience with a lucid mind and a strong character. He was not going to lack for opportunities to test his virtue.

Their residence, rented from a certain John Baptist Pierre was in such poor shape that for fifteen days the newcomers had to accept the genial and generous hospitality of the Franciscan pastor, Father Pascal Reggio. Toward mid-March they began classes — with eight pupils. The school year had been so far advanced that there was little ground for hope of a sudden influx of pupils; but it ended with forty-six pupils enrolled.[2]

These were all paying pupils. The Director refused to neglect the poor: he fitted out two small rooms and asked for more teachers. The tuition-free classes were to start beginning in October. The first days were disappointing: nobody showed up except two Israelis. Three months later there were sixty-

seven pupils being taught *gratis pro Deo.*[3] The French Consul, Emile Wiet brought the project to the attention of the people in Paris:

> In order the better to respond to the needs of the country [he wrote on November 23] — the Brothers, at my request, have opened a tuition-free school over-and-above their French-language instruction. It is urgent that we not allow a place that is devoid of school facilities to escape our influence.[4]

As this was going on, conversations between the Institute, the Corporation and the Egyptian government concerning the land on which the college was to be built continued. Agreement proved difficult, because the lot the Brothers wanted, on the Eugenie quay,

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[1] District archives, file cited.

[2] Twelve French, eleven Greeks, eleven Austrians, four Italians, three Maltese, two Egyptians, two Turks, one Portuguese (Thirty-five Catholics, eight Orthodox, two Moslems, 1 Israeli). Centenaire, pg. 204.

[3] *Centenaire,* pg. 204.

[4] Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Egypt, Vol. VI.

was much more valuable that lot #CXXVIII although somewhat smaller in area. The Corporation turned out to be comparatively openhanded;[1] nevertheless, it had to keep in mind the constraints of "Common ownership". The beneficiaries of the land grant were asked to pay a differential of 84,000 francs, and the Brothers were reconciled to pay the amount.[2]

The school's cornerstone was laid on March 9, 1889. At the time ten Brothers were teaching 290 pupils divided into four paying classes and three tuition-free classes. In order to attract a more numerous pupil-population, the construction was speeded up. But too much haste produced a disaster: on August 16th the building under construction collapsed, killing four persons and injuring one in the workplace, where, a few minutes earlier, the Brothers had been; the tolling of a bell had, fortunately, called them to the chapel.[3]

At last St. Mary's College was inaugurated ori September 1, 1890. Brother Edward, the faithful follower of Brother Adrian of Jesus, wanted his institution to be looked upon as an affiliate of the great establishment in Alexandria. Youths with a cosmopolitan background, although docile to the voices of their Christian teachers, thronged each morning through the white facade framed in palm trees. They were given a primary education of the type that was familiar in France. Elementary notions of commerce were added as well as practice in several modern languages, such as English, Arabic and Italian.

In 1891 evening classes for adults were introduced. Over the period of the next ten years the clear eyes of Brother Edward, from behind his glasses, would scan this fortunate corner of the world. And when illness would remove him from it, there were two invaluable men who would take over his task, Brother Gordian Martyr first, and then Brother Heli Samuel.[4]

Like St. Mary's in Port Said, the school in Port Tewfik, founded in 1888, enjoyed the support and the subsidies of the Canal Corporation. The city, "cool and high-spirited, a charming cluster of green tossed onto the Red Sea,"[5] was nearly

[1] It had already allotted an annual subsidy of 2,000 francs to the Brothers.

[2] District archives, file cited, correspondence for June 22, 1887 - December 29, 1888.

[3] Where actually they arrived ahead of time: the bell-ringer had mistaken the time by a half-hour. *Centenaire,* pg. 205.

[4] *Centenaire,* pg. 206, Cf. *Rivista lasalliana* for September 1937, pg. 192. — On Brother Heli Samuel (Michael Heyraud), see Vol. VII of the present work, pp. 357, 394.

exclusively populated by Europeans. And it was for their sons that the Superior-general of the Institute in Paris on August 14, 1888 signed a contract with higher-level administrators of the Suez Corporation. The wealthy sponsor assumed all obligations including construction and installation costs as well as faculty salaries. In September 1889, Brother Hugonis, announcing a school attendance of fifty-six pupils, asked Mr. Rouville to allow a fourth Brother who would take over another tuition-free class — a request that was complied with on February 27, 1891 with an *addendum* to the contract.' As the Brothers became better known they were teaching, on the average, of about 100 pupils each year.[2]

From a contemporary point of view, to associate with the Brothers in Mansourah —while still within the compass of French history — is something like returning to the Middle Ages. The memory of St. Louis, the captive king, was still alive there and capable of moving them. There were still some Catholics there. One of the most respected of them, the President of a Charitable Society founded by Greek-Uniates, wrote on February 19, 1887 to the Brother Director in Alexandria: "Send us some of your people!"[3]

Representatives of the French government were quick to become involved in the question. Consul Kleczkowski wrote to Minister Flourens that Mansourah, an important city with a population of 50,000 persons, of which the Christian and Jewish sectors formed an appreciable percentage, wanted a Brothers' school. "The Brothers' popularity is well established in the chief regions of Lower Egypt;" it was crucial to promote their success through financial assistance.[4] A few months later, the consular office was informed that a building appeared to be in condition to receive teachers and pupils. And then the French Consul-general in Cairo, Mr. D'Aubigny told his colleagues that the French government had granted 3,000 francs by way of preliminary financial help.[5]

With that Brother Hugonis' decisions fell into line; he

[1] District archives, Port Tewfik file.

[2] Report dated 1904. — Port Tewfik was one of a number of schools that the Brothers had to give up after World War I for the lack of personnel.

[3] District archives, Mansourah file.

[4] Archives of the Ministry ofForeign Affairs, Egypte, Vol. VII, no. 72. Letter dated January 6, 1888.

[5] District archives, file cited, letters for November 1888.

informed the Apostolic Delegate, Archbishop Corbelli, of them on January 20, 1889. "I approve of the project," wrote the Archbishop, "but please plan for an Italian program."

On May 11, there was a letter from Kleczkowski to his Minister who, by then, was Eugene Spuller:

> The Brothers' school in Mansourah has been in operation for several weeks. I have just come from inaugurating it officially. The facilities are better than one might have expected; nevertheless there are shortcomings; there is the neighborhood and there is the fact that there is no schoolyard. The Brothers intend to purchase land and build at their leisure. Up to now there is only a pay-school...Tuitionfree classes will begin operation in September.

In order to appease whatever qualms there might have prevailed "in Moslem circles", the Consul, in his address, thought it appropriate to insist that "French schools" abstain from "religious proselytizing2

With due respect for the conscience of others, the Brothers disseminated the Gospel truths both in their lessons and by their example; the morality they taught, the virtues they practiced won them the confidence of parents and the appreciation of a large number of Egyptians. Mansourah adopted them genuinely as fellow-citizens. They were able to realize their plans for a new construction. In June of 1895 the opening of the new "St. Louis' School" took place amidst great pomp; France, in the persons of MM. Cogordan, Minister Plenipotentiary, Lacretelle, Consul in Alexandria and Eynard, Secretary of the Embassy, was honorably received by both the civil authorities and the clergy.[2]

Lower-Egypt, however, did not seem to be the principal target aimed at by western propaganda; the latter, much more explicitly, was directed at the upper Nile and as far as the barrier that the Mahdi had at the time raised in front of the Sudan. On the long band of plantations that attended the sustaining river, lived and toiled a numerous population, ignorant, poor and like itself over the centuries in which its kings exhausted it in order to building their temples and their tombs. Had not the archaeologists who deciphered its hieroglyphics who explored and restored its ruins and the travellers who journeyed to visit Karnak and Luxor, been overwhelmed along the way

[1] Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Egypt, Vol. VI, no. 10.

[2] District archives, file cited, letter of Brother Ildefonsus (who was present at the ceremony) to Brother Hugonis, June 15, 1895.

with pity? Surely, there would be people to offer the *Fellahs* food for both body and spirit. They would want to teach them and rescue them from fatalistic resignation. Proselytism, and occasionally ulterior political motives got mixed up with charity. Among these people of the soil and of certain urban centers there were those — authentic descendants of the ancient Egyptians — who were professed Christians: a meager minority of these were united to the Roman Church; the Coptic masses had gone over to Monophysitism, the ancient heresy of Eutyches. To strengthen some of these in the faith by equipping them with a better knowledge of it; and by enlightening others and restoring them to the unity of the faith — such was the task that Catholic Missionaries set themselves. On the other hand, there were the English and American preachers who, tenacious in their prejudices, attempted to attract certain groups to Protestantism.

After the events of 1880 — British occupation, the Mandist War, the death of Gordon Pacha, the fall of Khartoum and the retreat of AngloEgyptians toward the Nubean frontiers — rival influences could only be accentuated.

In 1887 the Committee of the French Alliance, meeting in Cairo, was concerned to found a school in Asyiit. Its President, on February 11, had asked Brother Hugonis to supply the teaching personnel. Negotiations seemed to have hit upon favorable conditions: 20,000 francs were allotted to the Brothers by the French government, which was eagerly intent upon proving its concern for this effort at peaceful conquest. In September the Visitor brought Brother Assistant Raphaelis to Asyiit to locate a promising site; at this point the French Consul-general stepped in to expedite a sale at a reduced price.' And then in January of 1888, the diplomatic representative in Alexandria, Kleczkowski, informed the Ministry on Quai d'Orsay of the withdrawal of the Brothers, who, abandoning their project in Asyut, hoped that the subsidy would still be made available to them in another place.[2] What had happened? Judging from an earlier letter from Mr. Maspero to Brother Hugonis, the Alliance Committee had been

[1] District archives, Asyut file, Brother Hugonis' letter to Mr. Beaucaire, Consul-gneeral in Cairo, October 4, 1887.

[2] Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Afairs, Egypt, Vol. VI, no 72, letter already quoted having to do with Mansourah.

frightened off by Brother Gervais of Mary's ambitious plans.' But actually it had preferred the services of other teachers. The Brothers refused to set themselves up as competitors.[2]

They would nevertheless move into Upper Egypt. The subsidy of 20, 000 francs was to be applied to the founding of a school in Tahta; Minister Rene Goblet informed the Superior-general of the Institute of this decision in an official announcement dated July 2, 1888.[3] Without mincing words, Kleczkowski had indicated to Paris that it was necessary "to combat the

invasive activity of English and American Protestant Missions."[4]The French Sugar Refinery and Mill Corporations would give their total support to the Brothers. And the Copts, who formed an important part of the population of Tahta, were to make up a large share of the school population.

The school opened on November 25 in a rented House. In 1890 a garden was purchased that was sufficiently large to provide room for a new building; the new location was occupied in May of 1891. During its first year seventy pupils applied. For a quarter of a century the pupil population remained consistently at around 150 pupils. Gradually practically all Catholic parents entrusted the boys in their families to the French Religious teachers. Among the non-Catholics, only the poor accepted the benefits of a Christian elementary education.[5]

The final word had not been spoken at Asyut. In 1892, the French Alliance took the initiative to reopen conversations with the Brothers. Mr. Barois, President of the Committee in Cairo, offered them a school that had been operating for four-and-a-half years. Some delay occurred, which was understandable, there was some hesitation in the reply. Finally, on June 26, 1895, Brother Godefroy of the Angels received the following letter from Mr. Barois: "The Committee accepts the agreement, concluded between Mr. Cogordan, the French Minister and the Brother Visitor. The school will be set up in such a way as to be at least the equivalent of the one that actually exists, both as regards the number of pupils and with respect to the level of the teachers and the studies." For the first three

[1] District Archives, file cited, letter of June 9, 1887.

[2] Kleczkowski (letter cited) said it in so many words.

[3] District Archives.

[4] Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Egypt, Vol. VI, no. 82.

[5] District archives, Tahta file. — The Lasallian school in Tahta was a nursery for vocations: twenty-six Coptic-Catholic priests and one Brother of the Christian Schools had begun there studies there. *(Centenaire,* pp. 236-237).

years the Alliance paid a subsidy of 5,000 francs which, thereafter would be reduced.'

The Superiors' endorsement was being awaited when, on September 29, Mr. Boutiron, the representative of the French government, wrote to Brother Hugonis asking: "What arrangements have been decided upon? I hope that all will go well and your standard, once firmly fixed in Upper Egypt, your school there will presently house one of your best institutions."[2]

The Visitor promised that the new faculty would begin teaching on November 2.[3] Earlier, steps undertaken in Rome had the effect of regularizing the canonical status of the institution: Bishop Camillus Macaire, Vicar-apostolic to the Copts, was officially responsible for the appeal to the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda.[4]

There was no lack of difficulty and bitter feeling, as can be easily imagined by a reading of Brother Hugonis' report to Bishop Charmetant in 1898:

> Asyut is an active center for Protestant proselytizing. American clergymen have turned this city into a boulevard for heresy in Egypt. At least as concerns the Coptic population, it is reasonable to assert that three-quarters of the people have been won over to Protestantism. In the "Evangelical Normal School", a splendid institution, ministers and local teachers are trained and then sent out into the cities, hamlets and villages of Upper and Lower Egypt...Our school is in a most embarrassing situation because of the inadequacy and the impoverished state of the physical facilities. It required every bit of the Brothers' dedication for this struggle to have a chance of success. When they arrived scarcely two years ago, they were looked upon with suspicion. Today they enjoy general respect. Their school is regarded as the best in the country.

Of the school's 181 pupils, there were twenty-seven Catholics, 128 non-Catholic Christians, and twenty-six Moslems. All were taught Catechism, although none were required to attend these classes, except the small group of those faithful to the Roman Church.[5]

[1] District archives, Asyiit file, correspondence 1892-1899.

[2] File cited.

[3] *Ibid.* In another letter, dated October 4, 1895, Brother Hugonis speaks of a plan for a Normal School in Tahta [to train local teachers]. The lack of funds stood in the way of executing the plan.

[4] Same file, the Procurator's [Brother Robustinian's] letter (copy) to Brother Apronian, October 16, 1895.

[5] Motherhouse archives, file ID n[1].

Such results were comforting. The moral climate, however, was often pathetic, as was the physical climate with its oppressive heat and its blinding "khamsins". British domination tended to incline the natives, in their studies, to insist on a greater emphasis on the conqueror's language. Under such conditions should the effort be prolonged? "Yes, we must stay in Asyut," asserted the Director, Brother Constantine Leo on May 18, 1899. "This is where the struggle is — the mission *par excellence.* The Brothers will get used to English educational programs. Their determination doesn't know what lack of confidence means."[1]

* *

The world of the Mid-east had its traps. Those courageous enough to venture into it needed, daily, constant and patient wisdom as well as energy. Disturb nothing, concede nothing, all the while preserving a radiant civility was the tactic of a skilled diplomat, and such a man was Brother Evagre who, in spite of obstacles, would get his way in Palestine. When the statistics were sent in 1887 by the Institute to the Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith, the three Palestinian schools — Jerusalem, Haifa and Jaffa - appeared in a fairly modest light: with a personnel of eighteen Brothers and six laymen, equally divided among the three, they had a total school population of 555 pupils.

Brother Evagre had been planning another school. He had turned his attention to Bethlehem. "The cradle of Christianity should become," according to the plans of the bold pioneer, "the cradle of the religious life in the new Near-East" that had been recently admitted into the Lasallian family.[2] The idea did not meet with any objection from Brother Hugonis who, on January 31, 1887, wrote about it to Brother Raphaelis: "The plan to purchase land in Bethlehem where we could build a Junior and Senior Novitiate has an important advantage in so far as it contributes to the unification and training of candidates. It would be a way of opening a door to us" in the city of the Nativity.[3]

The Visitor had no misgivings except "the lack of money" — a deficiency that Brother Evagre did not regard as insuperable. And so he wrote to the Motherhouse in Paris on

[1] District archives, Asyfit file, letter to Brother Assistant, Apronian.

[2] *Choix de notices necrologiques,* Vol. II (Brother Evagre's Obituary), Ipg. 318.

[3] Motherhouse archives, file ID n[1].

July 8, 1888: "The matter of land in Bethlehem can be dealt with: ..But we must talk to a lot of property owners, and bring all these people to one way of thinking...It's not an easy task."[1] Dogged, Brother Evagre, two years later, laid the cornerstone of the future "Holy Child Jesus School."[2]

But that was only the beginning of his difficulties. The reason why he had to wait so long for the realization of one of his fondest dreams is, of course, deeply rooted in national antagonism. It is a very sensitive question, but we cannot pass it by in silence. With the help of authentic documentation we shall attempt to describe it.

The Brother Procurator to the Holy See, Brother Robustinian, in a letter dated November 19, 1889, thanked Brother Raphaelis for having sent him a copy of the confidential letter written by a Franciscan, Father William, concerning the rather unflattering views the Fathers in Palestine entertained regarding the French Brothers. "That letter agrees completely with everything that has been said and everything that has been done in that country for the past six months".

"I am convinced," added the Institute's representative in Rome, "that Cardinal Simeoni, Prefect of the Propaganda, does not share the Holy Father's views concerning France's role and of its participation in our school activities."

And, by way of conclusion:

> If our Congregation had the necessary funds, I believe that you could ask to open new schools. But, as I see it, you have to begin in a place in which the Franciscans have no schools; furthermore, the Brothers must not show up there without an authorization that is completely approved by the Holy See. This would be a genuine way of finding out exactly whether they want to have absolutely nothing to do with us or on what conditions we are still acceptable to them.[3]

The Brothers were relying on the friendship of Leo XIII, which, for excellent reasons, was guaranteed. A detailed note in the handwriting of the Assistant, Brother Raphaelis, was intended to explain the situation:

> The Holy Father, sadly disturbed by the active propaganda practiced in Palestine by dissident sects, in June of 1889, communicated with the Superior-general and

[1] Motherhouse archives, ID n[1].

[2] *Choix de notices*, Vol. II, pg. 319.

[3] Motherhouse archives, file ID n.

> entrusted the mission of combatting anti-Catholic proselytism by opening in those places as many schools as possible similar to the ones that the Brothers operate in those countries and which have been successful with, and have won friends among, the populace.

The Superior told His Holiness that the Brothers would be happy to fulfill such a devout and honorable mission, but that the Institute could supply nothing but the workers, but without any financial resources. 'We shall take care of that,' the Pope replied.'

> ...A few days after this audience, which took place on June 5, the M.H. Brother revealed to His Holiness, in a special report, the places in Palestine where the opening of schools seemed, to be most urgently need. Response to these various projects, that were on the point of starting, would be suspended in order to provide the new foundations with the guarantees promised by the Holy Father.

But, continued the Brother Assistant, "more than a year has gone by" since these thoughtful suggestions were transmitted by the M.H. Brother Joseph. And now, we are shown "a ruling the adoption of which would have as its immediate consequence not an increase in the number of schools as the Holy Father wanted, but the destruction of some of the institutions already in operation!" [2]

> The "ruling" of 1890 had as its principle specifications the following:
>
> The Brothers schools will be open to heterodox and infidel pupils, but they shall admit Catholics exceptionally and after they have been referred to the Patriarch, who shall decide;
>
> Catholics will never be placed in the same seats alongside other pupils. If they are numerous they shall have separate classrooms and playgrounds. In church, non-Catholics shall sit apart; and in any case, it would be better to exclude them.
>
> The Patriarch will supervise the discipline of the pupils and teachers, approve books, and control the methods and programs of study;

[1] After which, Brother Raphaelis observed that "to that very day neither the Custodian nor the Propaganda had subsidized any of the Brothers schools. the French government, on the other had, granted them the assistance that had been annually approved by Parliamnt and promoted recruitment of teachers by guaranteeing them complete exemption from military service."

[2] Motherhouse archives, ID n.

> The Arabic language will be in daily usage. French will never be the language of instruction; taught only when propriety demands it, it will be considered as a luxury, reserved for a certain category of child who may be in a position to use it.

These regulations called for an appropriate rebuttal. Brother Hugonis, pen in hand, wrote the necessary replies to the articles cited above:

> Concerning the proposed statute, it seems to us that the following observations may be made:

1. Shows very little trust in the Brothers's schools and the education that they provide in them;

2. Destroys the teachers' freedom, initiative and moral authority;

3. Discredits our schools and, contrary to the wishes of the Holy See, would reduce them to a rank that in quite inferior to similar schismatic, Protestant or atheistic schools;

4. Contributes to depriving us of the resources required to subsist;

5. In relation to the schools mentioned and their teachers, removes all authority from the Major Superiors of the Institute while leaving them nevertheless with a large share of the responsibility.[1]

The goal sought by the Brothers' adversaries had clearly emerged: to strike a decisive blow at French influence, on the one hand; and, on the other, to force the Institute to opt between its Catholic pupils and their schismatic, Jewish and Moslem friends. The Patriarch had been leaning toward an exclusively confessional system, the clearest effect of which had been to eliminate the results obtained by Brother Evagre.

The latter had set forth his own ideas in a letter dated June 2, 1890:[2]

> Our Patriarch has committed his plan to writing. Before Rome expresses its own preferences, I may one last time explain my own position. Bishop Piavi wants every parish to have its own school made up exclusively of Catholics. That is not very apostolic, and it is anti-French...If His Excellency, in order to obey the Pope, asks for us in Bethhoran, Ramalla or St. Joan of Arc, etc...on condition of not admitting any but Catholics, would we go and start schools for ten, twenty or thirty pupils?...And why would we not admit dissidents? Is that apostolate forbidden? And if such work is difficult, must we reject it?...The Ottoman government recognizes us

[1] Motherhouse archives, File **ID** el.

[2] To Brother Raphaelis. Motherhouse archives, ID n.

> because all its subjects have access to our schools. And we need that recognition. And what will France say when our schools dwindle and are reduced to nothing?...If I submit body and soul to everything that Holy Church shall determine, I shall be mortified to be the prisoner of the caprices of the enemies of my native land.

The Superiors on Oudinot Street were in possession of all they needed to make up their minds. They embraced the position of their representative in the Near-East. Adopting the Visitor's language, they declared:

> Under the conditions stipulated in the proposed regulation we shall be absolutely prevented from accomplishing the Holy Father's purposes. Rather than increasing the number of our schools, we shall have to reduce the number appreciably; rather than maintaining them flourishingly in competition with Protestant and atheistic schools, we shall have to be satisfied to see them stagnate and scorned even by Catholics.[1]

This sort of impassioned appeal was, of course, expected. The regulation, which had been proposed by "the Propaganda" to the Sovereign Pontiff on March 16, 1891 and approved by Leo XIII on April 12 "for a period of five years" altered the original text in such a way as to safeguard the Brothers' freedom of action.

There was no question, however, but what the basic principles of the earlier version had been maintained: "Exclusion of heterodox and infidels" or, in any case, the "desirable" separation of Catholics from non-Catholics. But moderation prevailed, and wisely so:

> Schools established and operated by the Brothers of Christian Doctrine *[sic]* may admit and instruct through Catholic teachers not only Catholic children and youths, but also the heterodox and the infidel.

Young non-Catholics will be accorded the liberty of assisting at the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass in Catholic churches, as well as other acts of worship to which teachers take their Catholic pupils...The teachers will take care that the attitude of these [heterodox or other] pupils is as respectful as the situation warrants.

There was a concern, obviously, to protect

[1] Motherhouse archives, ID cl.

the faith of the adherents of the true Church against any scandal or any baneful impression. In this connection the Sacred Congregation insisted a great deal on "precautions" in the relations between the different groups: thus, "long conversations" between Catholics and non-Catholics had to be outlawed, especially "in religious matters".

The primary obligation of teachers was to strengthen orthodox belief; remove the dangers of "perversion" and "indifferentism". And while the Brothers were authorized to admit Greek Christians, heretics, Mohammedans and Jews into their classrooms, it was done "in the hope that the sound principles of the true religion would succeed in getting through to souls".

There remained the language problem. In this regard the regulation of 1891 had stipulated that "Catechism and Bible History would be taught in Arabic"; and that "as a consequence, the Brothers must set their young Religious to the study of Arabic and train skillful teachers" in this area of education. "French" was mentioned in a passing comment: the Brothers could adopt it as a "specialty" in their modern language programs, "provided that Arabic remained the principal language and that religious instruction in no way suffered" as a result of this specialized educational program.[1]

Within the rather broad limits of these prescriptions, Brother Evagre and his associates would henceforth manoeuvre without meeting with any serious stumbling blocks. Leo XIII's mind had already been expressed in their favor. And soon the Pope was to underscore a new aspect of his religious policy in the Near-East: in 1893 he called upon all forms of Christianity in this part of the world, whether united to the Holy See or those detached by adherence to ancient disputes "to come together in Congress to worship before the Eucharistic Christ". The "Legate", representing the Head of the Church, was a Frenchman, Cardinal Langenieux, Archbishop of Rheims, and the first since the Crusades to appear in Palestine with this title and with an official mission from the Holy See.' In the Holy Land where France had at the time been exercising a sort of Protectorate, the Pope wanted people to say once again: *Gesta Dei per Francos!*

Joyously construction work in Bethlehem

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[1] Motherhouse archives, HB g (Rhodes File).

[2] Goyau, *Histoire religiense de Is Nation francaise,* pg. 610.

advanced. In 1892, while the walls of the Junior Novitiate arose on the highest point of "David's hill", the Dominicans at their College in Jerusalem took to calling it *Castellum Evagri,* Evagre's Mansion. For "it was indeed a mansion", said one of them, the famous Father Lagrange; "in fact a sort of citadel, or rather a Thabor...On that summit everything spoke of God, of God become a Babe."[1]

The Turkish government granted its permit on January 1, 1893, and the definitive occupation took place in October. Some Junior Novices came from Jerusalem; others came from Lebanon. The first one admitted to Bethlehem by Brother Evagre was to bear the name in the Congregation of Brother Seraphim Victor. He belonged to a family of Maronite Patriarchs and had met the Brothers in Beirut. At the age fifteen years, in 1894, in the Holy Child Jesus School, he addressed the Vice-President of the Chamber of Deputies and a future President of France, Felix Faure, who had come as a pilgrim to the Crib and the Holy Sepulchre.[2]

Later, Brother Victor translated the Institute's *Rule* into Arabic, as well as St. John Baptist de La Salle's *Collection of Various Short Subjects* and the Manuel of Piety. As a teacher and Prefect of Studies in Jerusalem he was to acquire a lofty reputation in his linguistic specialty.[3]

In 1897 thirty-two youngsters and youths, Lebanese for the most part, were preparing for the life of a teaching Religious in the sturdy structure that one glimpses at a turn in the road as one goes from Zion toward the Basilica of the Nativity: two wings flanking the principal residential building; and on the bell-tower that dominates the country-side floats the French tri-color.

More majestically, perhaps, in its architectural lines arose the Brothers' building in Jerusalem, the "Mother house", of which the schools in Jaffa, Haifa, Bethlehem and — as we shall

[1] *Bulletin des Ecoles chretiennes* for July 1914, pg. 254.

[2] Brother Isidore of Peluse who had accompanied Felix Faure from Jaffa to Jerusalem, saw him kneel and weep at Christ's tomb. (Brother Isidore's Obituary, 1906.) The future Mrs. George Goyau Lucie Felix Faure — was with her father on his pilgrimage.

[3] No less a good Religious than a superb educator, Brother Victor's work was interrupted by illness. After years of suffering, he died in 1922 at the Brothers' retirement home in Moulins. During his enforced leisure, he was able to write his *Histoire de las litterature arabe* for the schools in the Mid-East. This book was especially well received in Egypt. *Choir de notices necrologiques,* Vol. I, pp. 415-424.

=see — Nazareth are the four affiliates. Twelve French Brothers — most of whom were educated at St. Maurice in Exile — dispensed tuition-free education to 200 residents of Jerusalem between the ages of six and fourteen. And "the soul of this superb institution was Brother Evagre."[1]

Nevertheless, if the tireless workman entertained a special preference for one of his projects, his friend, Father Lagrange, thought that it was for Nazareth.[2]Brother Evagre was delighted to have been able to provide a school for the fellow-citizens of the Lord Jesus. A great deal of effort, labor and tedious diplomacy had ended successfully. The route, traced out as early as 1881, could not be cleared prior to 1892. Finally, in a report dated as of the following year and addressed to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Consul-general Saint Rene Taillandier declared that "in February, the school had been opened. Set up in an extremely unpretentious site, it has a teaching personnel of three Brothers, to whom a fourth will be added when school takes in after vacation. Although classes began toward the middle of the school year, the number of pupils quickly arose to seventy-five. Brother Visitor said that there was reason to believe that this number would double in October." There were grounds for fearing the hostility of the Turks; in spite of "a regrettable incident", neither the governor nor the local authorities "did anything to procure the closing down of the school nor the serious interruption of its activities. The school, then, if not recognized, is at least known and accepted. It has gotten through the most critical period..."[3]

In 1894, Brother Evagre, concerned for his friends in Nazareth who were cramped for room, sought to obtain a more comfortable "nest" for them. He had to go out begging for the funds. In 1898 he wrote: "I am travelling everywhere for Nazareth." And, in his wanderings, he loved to pass through the tiny village, listen to the French spoken there as well as the hymns and the catechetical recitations of the children. In 1900 he received permission to build; accordingly was there greater rejoicing in

[1] Motherhouse archives, ID n, taken from an article in the review *le Correspondant* for December 25, 1897.

[2] Talk given by Father Lagrange, Director of the *Beele biblique* on March 4, 1914 in the Patriarchal

church in Jerusalem. (See *Bulletin des teeles chretiennes,* for July 1914, pg. 248.

[3] Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Turkey, 1892-1893. Beirut, Vol. XXXVII, report dated September 12, 1893, for the Minister, Mr. Develle.

Galilee during the canonization of St. John Baptist de La Salle. A spacious structure was to clutch the flanks of the hillside.'

Under the protection of the regulation of 1891, the Brothers had functioned very well indeed. There was reason, therefore, in finalizing this provisional statute.[2] The Superior-general sent Rome a request along these lines. Cardinal Ledochowski, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of the *Propaganda Fide* withheld a reply until November 28, 1896; it required the sending of information concerning "the admission and teaching of infidels and the heterodox" and "the measures taken to prevent their contact from being harmful to Catholics". It asked for statistics and promised that after inquiry, qualified bishops would see about it.

Statistics worked up through the efforts of the Assistant, Brother Apronian of Mary in February of 1897, in so far as they as concerned Palestine, produced the following figures:

In Jerusalem the Brothers taught 126 Catholics and fifty-nine heterodox; in Jaffa, 114 Catholics, seventy-nine heterodox and twenty-one infidels; in Nazareth the three groups numbered 131, nineteen and eight pupils respectively. In Haifa there was only a single heterodox pupil and four infidels as against 212 Roman Catholic children.[3]

The same document supplied appropriate explanations: non-Catholics, generally admitted at the earliest age conformed in every way with the educational regulation. But they were not allowed to participate in acts of worship unless they expressed an unambiguous desire to do so. In pay schools they remitted full tuition, and their generosity was applied to charitable works.

Concerning religious instruction, the *modus operandi* involved attendance at daily catechism lessons, the study of textbooks approved by church authorities and answers to questions. The recitation of prayers as well as the catechism's dogmatic formulas continued to be an optional matter; but a very large number of pupils, nevertheless, insisted on taking part in them. Literary instruction was based upon textbooks that were essentially Catholic and were the same for all pupils.

The precautions to be taken, in this mixed company, so

[1] *Choir de notices necrologiques,* Vol. II, pg. 319.

[2] We have to recall that it had only *been* made effective for five years.

[3] We shall give the figures for Syria in the following section. — Bethlehem admitted only Catholics.

as to avoid religious or moral dangers were rigorously observed. During recreation play was compulsory; small groups and conversations could not be tolerated. There was no religious discussion. In cases in which some word or act contrary to morals occurred, dismissal was the inexorable penalty.'

Cardinal Ledochowski insisted — as was his right — on conducting a double-proof by inviting the "Ordinaries" to list their demands with him. Complaints were lodged with him; and it was easy to recognize their provenance. They accused the Brothers: of violating the normal percentages to be selected from the various religious denomination in favor of the heterodox, "and even in favor of the Jews"; of granting "too large a place" to the French language or to profane studies; of failing to teach catechism in Arabic; and of yielding to tampering on the part of the Consuls of their own nation much more than to the directives of the Patriarch.[2]

The Superior-general who had been elected in 1897 prepared to defend his confreres. In the first place he needed only to produce the statistics for 1898 which showed that along with the 198 heterodox and thirty-one infidels the schools in Palestine included 602 Catholics. And wisely refusing to allude to anti-French prejudice, the M.H. Brother Gabriel of Mary stated:

> On the testimony of the Reverend Father confessors, there is no reason to regret the mixture of pupils of diverse faiths. Our young Catholics have preserved their faith intact. And, as for infidels and heterodox, they learned dignified and respectful habit...They followed the courses of religious instruction and so willingly recited Catechism that to fail to question them would have greatly upset them." [3]

* *

Syria and Palestine are, both geographically and ethnographically, inseparable from one another. They made up the great invasion corridor that was bordered on one side by the sea and by the desert on the other side: —

[1] Motherhouse archives, File ID n.

[2] *Ibid.,* Cardinal Ledochowski to the M.H. Brother Gabriel of Mary, May 13, 1898.

[3] Motherhouse archives ID n, information sent on August 8, 1898 to Cardinal Ledochowski through the efforts of the Assistant, Brother Apronian.

a special world between Egypt and Turkey. History, since the most distant antiquity, brought the peoples on the banks of the Jordan and on the banks of the Orontes — Hebrews, Phoenicians, Arabs, Druses, Alaouites, and Maronites — together in peace or scattered them in war. The Crusades positioned France into the center of these Near-Eastern lands; and since the Middle Ages France has maintained a presence there. Just as it had watched over the Holy Places in Jerusalem, it defended the Maronites in Lebanon. Its dependents, victims of the Turks and the Druses, had sought French assistance. And in order to put an end to fearful massacres, the forces of General Hautpoul arrived in 1860. An agreement reached on June 9, 1861, imposed upon the Sublime Porte, provided for the administrative autonomy of Lebanon and placed a Christian governor at the head of that region. The French, under a variety of regimes, believed that their prestige as well as their interests were involved in both Syria and in the Holy Land.

As we have seen, from the day that the Brothers of the Christian Schools settled in Jerusalem, their cooperation well beyond Juda and Galilee was sought out by the representatives of the French government. And when Brother Evagre needed Religious vocations for his Institute, he went to Lebanon for the recruits that were such an essential element of his Novitiate in Jerusalem.

In 1880 France was looking into the question as to what were the most favorable places for extending its influence. Beirut was soon to become the seat of a great University "the glorious future of which" — according to George Goyaul — would become the common task of the Jesuits (as its organizers) and the French Republic (as its protector)". Further to the north, Tripoli drew the attention of Mr. Torcy, Commissioner in Syria-Palestine. He had visited Brother Evagre's school in Jerusalem, where he formed a very high opinion of the Brothers. Once he had gotten back to Constantinople, he conferred, through the mediation of the Director of Kadikoy, with Brother Hugonis.[2] That turned out to only the first step.

Preliminary stages were going to require time and a great deal of deftness. The Consul-general, Patrimonio, wrote in

[1] Histoire religieuse de la Nation francaise, pg. 610.

[2] See above, pg. 408. Cf. *Bulletin des Ecoles chritiennes* for January 1913, pg. 30.

In Tripoli there is only one Maronite school in which French is taught; it is incapable of competing with the school sponsored by the Biblical Societies' missionaries. As a consequence, our influence is seriously impaired. Bishop Piavi, Apostolic delegate seems presently to be well disposed: it would be well for us to avail ourselves of him. The Congregation of the Propaganda could require that the Franciscans, who are responsible for the parish in this Gateway to the Mid-east, follow the example of the Carmelites in Haifa. They handed over their schools to the Brothers, who should be moving in presently. In this way we should avoid, as in Haifa, conflict with the Turkish authorities.

Patrimonio said he had no worries concerning the allegiance of the Brothers. On November 5, he got back to Brother Evagre:

Perhaps you know that the French government has been thinking about assisting you in opening a school in Tripoli...To this end a sum of 15,000 francs has already been set aside for you in the current budget. Are you authorized by your Superiors to deal with this matter? A skillful and experienced man is indispensable. It's a question of negotiating with the Apostolic delegate, since the Brothers cannot move into the city without a previous arrangement with the Franciscans, who operate the parochial school. A new school would run into opposition from the Turks.[2]

Brother Evagre submitted the proposal to the Superior-general. Once he had been vested with the requisite authority, he was prepared to play his role. Initially he suffered a setback at the hands of the Franciscans. But Patrimonio's tenacity shared the burden of his fellow-in-arms.

Would it be possible for you to come to Beirut so that you and I could talk about the school in Tripoli? [the diplomat wrote the Brother in August of 1885]. Perhaps we would get a more sympathetic hearing from the Capuchins than from the Franciscans. The former have a monastery in Tripoli that is extremely well situated, and which is now merely being occupied by someone leasing the place, since the Mission has abandoned it for the lack of personnel. An understanding would be necessary prior to any step we might take in Rome. The site, I think, would for a long while satisfy the uses we have for it. And we should also be avoiding difficulties that the Porte might raise.. .[3]

[1] Cited earlier, pg. 410.

[2] Motherhouse archives, File ID o.

[3] Motherhouse archives, File ID o, copy of the French Consul-general's letter, addressed, August 28, 1885, to the Assistant, Brother Raphaelis, by Brother Evagre.

The Capuchins turned out to be cooperative. Brother Evagre urged the Institute's administration to come to a decision:

> Since the French government wants a school, we must go directly to Mr. Freycinet. Regardless of the internal political climate, Paris is concerned about the Mid-East. We must dare to explain our needs to these gentlemen.[1]

"The 15,000 francs are available to us in the offices of the Ministry," assured Brother Hugonis, who, in January of 1886, had visited the representative of the French Consul in Beirut, spoke cordially with the Apostolic delegate and was given a warm reception by the Capuchins, as well as the most cheering assurances: "They promised to facilitate the opening of the school, to spare the Brothers as far as they could the trouble and annoyance from the local authorities." They agreed to lease their house for four years for 700 francs a year. "If we open Tripoli, this school must have a chance at success; and it can only succeed with good personnel."[2]

The Viscount Petiteville, Patrimonio's successor in the post of Consul-general, told Mr. Freycinet that, since arrangements had been concluded, the Brothers would start teaching classes "toward the end of the summer."[3] For his part, the Assistant, Brother Raphaelis, explained the moving procedure to the President of the Council, the Minister of Foreign Affairs: "the nearby Maronite school" was to be transferred to the Capuchin's building; gradually, "without any fanfare the Brothers would replace the teachers in this school."[4]

But too much confidence had been placed in the good will of the Maronite Archbishop, Estafan Aouad. Even though he had said that he was a good friend of France, he faltered in the final moment. By failing to hand over his tiny educational establishment to the Brothers, he ran the risk of undermining a project that had been so painfully crafted.[5]

[1] Motherhouse archives, ID o, letter dated November 3, 1885, to Brother Raphaelis.

[2] *Ibid.,* letter dated January 13, 1886, to Brother Raphaelis.

[3] Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Turkey 1886, Beirut, Vol. XXIX, no. 4, letter dated April 27, 1886.

[4] Motherhouse archives, ID o, letter dated May 6, 1886.

[5] Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Turkey 1892-1893. Beirut, Vol. XXXVII, copy of a report by Mr. Savoye, Vice-consul in Tripoli, to Mr. Saint Rene Taillandier, Consul-general in Beirut, dated November 13, 1893.

Brother Evagre refused to admit defeat. He had assembled his team, and was in possession of the funds from Paris. A Brothers Community went to Tripoli, where for a while they accepted the hospitality of the Vincentians, and, then, in November of 1886, they admitted pupils to the Capuchin quarters. It was a timid beginning and, in a way, somewhat secretive. The Director, Brother Odilon of Mary wrote the Assistant on January 1, 1887:

> Since we have been unable to obtain a permit, we are obliged to proceed very prudently... His Excellency, the governor, cannot, we are told, either see nor sympathize with Europeans...Up to now we have only about a dozen pupils; until further notice the Consul has forbidden us to admit any more...We are supposed to do some tutoring. Five of our pupils are sons of Consuls, including the son of the French Consul.'

To their every-day schedule the Brothers added a Sunday program, the preparation of youngsters for First Communion. Month by month the situation stabilized; and in December of 1887 four teachers were instructing forty pupils. [2]

Their material conditions, however, became extremely harsh. There was no assistance to be expected from the people in the neighborhood, who were, for the most part, poor and for whose sons education could be nothing if not tuition-free. Brother Hugonis brought the sad facts of life to the attention of the Consul-general. He wrote on April 2, 1889:

> Our Brothers do not have the merest necessities (on the contrary!), even as they see their competitors amply supplied...Apart from splendid compensation, the Italian government furnishes its teachers with a well-equipped schoolhouse and textbooks...Our Brothers are satisfied with very little; but they must be assured of that minimum.[3]

Nevertheless, at this very critical moment, and without despairing of the intervention of the French government, the Visitor informed the diplomat that it was crucial quickly to take over a second center for the apostolate and for the exercise of French influence: the Tripoli Maritime neighborhood. Plans had been sketched and financial estimates had been submitted to the judgment of statesmen.'

Even when subsidies were not too small nor too unpredictable, and even when the alms of the

[1] Motherhouse archives, ID o. — *Bulletin des Ecoles chretiennes* for January 1913, pp. 31-35.

[2] Motherhouse archives, ID nl, statistics.

faithful — in the form of gifts from the Near-East School Charity or the Propagation of the Faith — were added, it had to be admitted that without tuition, a school could not survive in Syria. While every measure would be taken to reserve a lot of room for tuition-free pupils, "St. Paul's School" in Tripoli would be a tuition-paying day-school; and a residence school would be opened as soon as circumstances warranted.

As early as 1890 the future emerged more clearly. Funds were beginning to come in — and with the help of France — Brother Hugonis was able to purchase, on April 7 of that year, the church, monastery and gardens that

had belonged to the Capuchins at a cost of 22,000 francs.[1] Eight days later Mr. Petiteville expressed his satisfaction in his report to the Minister: "The generous initiatives of the government put us in a position to compete in Tripoli with Italian institutions. The Brothers have just purchased the buildings that they have been occupying since their arrival in this city; and they are preparing to construct spacious classrooms."

At the same time "the school in favor of which the [Foreign Affairs] Department and the embassy were kind enough to grant a special subsidy was opened at Maritime-Tripoli", and was operating in a manner to satisfy Mr. Savoye, the Vice-consul.

At the end of the year, there was a degree of disappointment: the Moslem city government had refused the Brothers a permit to build and thereby threatened to thwart the school's "progress". And, then, "the fear of a cholera epidemic detained in the mountains Lebanese families which, ordinarily, would have spent the winter on the coast". In this way, the school population did not exceed 127 pupils. But much more discouraging were the numbers at Tripoli-Maritime: in December of 1890 there were only twenty-three pupils. There was no real reason to be disheartened, insisted the representative of France; the temporary setback was due, as he saw it, to Italian intrigues and those of their fellow-countrymen, the Holy Land Fathers. The future will change all of this.[3]

The optimism turned out to have been justified. "The Brothers in Tripoli give their pupils a genuinely sound elementary education and obtain in that city the most flattering results," notes Mr. Saint Rene Taillandier on August 17, 1893, as he conveyed to the

[1] Motherhouse archives, copy verified as conformed to the original contract deposited in the archives of the Consulate in Beirut.

[2] Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Turkey 1890, Beirut, Vol. XXXV, report sent to Mr. Alexander Ribot, April 22, 1890.

[3] *Ibid.,* report dated December 9, 1890 (by Consul Guiot).

Minister a request from the Director, Brother Prosper, who needed supplies to be used in his physics and chemistry classes.'

Eighteen months later another Director, Brother Simplice, was seeking permission from the Regime of the Institute to expand the size of his school: "It's an urgent matter...At the moment we have 229 pupils, ninety of whom are tuition-free and 139 paying pupils, and of these latter twenty-eight are resident pupils. In a very short time, Tripoli, whose situation is better than that of Beirut, is going to move ahead in a remarkable way."[2]

What might have been immediately observed in this city, the center of attraction in Northern Lebanon, was the training of a social elite in the classrooms of the Brothers' College; an education that was extremely well adapted to the needs of the region had won over peoples' minds, and a religious education had reinforced peoples' consciences.[3]

At the beginning of 1897 more than half of the pupils in the school in Tripoli were Catholics; about another hundred were schismatics, Moslems or Israelis. At Tripoli-Maritime there were sixty-four Catholics, fifty-four heterodox and twenty-nine infidels.[4] The Brothers zeal therefore had triumphed over mistrust and denigration.

Their reputation in Syria was, at the time, no longer confined between the walls of a single city. Since 1890 they had taken their place in Beirut, and, beyond that, they were laboring in Latakia, on the coastal boarders of Alaouites territory.

They had long been awaited in a number of places. In January of 1882 Brother Irlide had received, along with a circular concerning the opening of a Medical School in Beirut, the following letter from the Jesuit Father Henry, Rector of St. Joseph's University:

> If ever, My M.H. Brother, I have the obligation of making recommendations to you, I shall not fail to mention to you the City of Beirut as a place quite prepared to welcome the Brothers of the Christian Schools...In less than three years you would hav 5-600 pupils...But I hope that more authoritative and more official voices than mine will soon offer you

[1] Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Turkey 1892-1893, Beirut Vol. XXXVII, letter to Minister Develle.

[2] Motherhouse archives, letter to the Assistant, Brother Apronian of Mary, March 29, 1897.

[3] Article in the review *le Monde colonial* for December 1924, preserved in the archives of the Secretariat-general of the Institute.

[4] Motherhouse archives, IDn, statistics supplied to Cardinal Ledochowski, February 22, 1897.

The call of these "official voices" had already been discerned in the letter addressed to Jules Ferry by Consul Patrimonio on May 17, 1884.[2] After extended praise for the university work of the Jesuits, there appeared the following remarks: "The Fathers also support three elementary schools in different neighborhoods of Beirut...This sort of instruction lies outside their expertise." And, like Father Henry, the diplomatic representative, concluded that the Brothers should be introduced. "The people have been asking for them insistently," he added.

It was the same thing in Latakia, ancient Laodicea. "The demands of the populace had been supported by the Apostolic delegate, Bishop Piavi", who, in his conversation with the French Consul, "had repeated his assurance of the high opinion in which he held 'the Religious of that Institute"'.

Ultimately, Tripoli was given the preference as the site for the first experiment. Nevertheless, the way was still wide-open for other cities. Patrimonio's successor in Beirut pursued the same policy. We shall see how well he succeeded in it.

On June 19, 1889 Mr. Deschamps, President-general of the Society of St.Vincent de Paul in Syria wrote the following to the M.H. Brother Joseph:

> In order to comply with the quite earnest wishes of our excellent Consul-general, Mr. Petiteville..., I have induced my associates to entrust our schools to your superb Congregation, or at least the principal school, which operates in our headquarters and which belongs to us; 200 pupils attend it. The project has been in existence for twenty-nine years. We are not trying to get rid of it. But we are delighted to share the views of Mr. Petiteville, and we are too convinced that the children of our poor will be by a great deal the gainers in moving on from our unworthy hands into the hands of your dedicated Religious for us not to do everything in our power to facilitate your task.[3]

On April 22 of the following year, after the preliminaries had been

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1 Motherhouse archives, ID o, letter dated January 19, 1882.

2 Report cited above, pg. 410.

3 Motherhouse archives, ID o.

completed, the Consul wrote to the French Minister:

> The Brothers are going to go to Beirut under the sponsorship of the St. Vincent de Paul Society. The quarters intended for them are ready, and I have reason to believe that the next packet-boat will be carrying three of them. Up to now, the Society's classrooms have been presided over by laymen or by tolerably well instructed Maronite priests; instruction in French has been neglected. It will be altogether different with the Brothers...The school they are going to operate is especially intended for the sons of working people. Your Excellency would do well, I dare hope, to encourage its beginnings with a subsidy of 2,500 francs.'

The school in Latakia was being organized in a similar way. Writing to Brother Raphaelis on January 22, 1889, Mr. Geofroy, the French Consul, reminded him "of the institution he had run in Paris in 1886:"

> Since that time, I have pointed out to you all the good that the Brothers would be able to foster by settling in Latakia, where Anglo-American Protestant missionaries have dominated youth. When I returned here there was nothing that I had to do that was more urgent than to petition the French government for assistance so that your Congregation might open a grammar school in this region of Syria...I have obtained the promise of a compensation to cover the initial expenses for such an institution. I have opened negotiations with the Apostolic delegate and the Custodian so that the Brothers might be empowered to operate the school opened by the Fathers of the Holy Land.[2]

In the name of the Institute, the energetic Consul assumed the responsibility for purchasing, "a beautiful building" for 8,700 francs and a "huge garden of some 8,400 square feet" for 1,500 francs. An official subsidy of 10,000 francs was paid to Oudinot Street.[3]

At the last moment there arose a number of misunderstandings that he was eager to dissipate. The Viscomte Petiteville telegraphed Paris on May 24, 1890: "The Brothers in charge of the schools in Beirut and Latakia have just arrived. But in the view of Bishop Gaudenzio, the Apostolic delegate, they cannot begin classes without receiving authorization from the Propaganda.

[1] Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Turkey 19=890, Beirut, Vol. XXV, no. 17, Mr. Petiteville's report to Mr. Ribot.

[2] Motherhouse archives, ID o.

[3] *Ibid.,* Brother Hugonis' letter, April 7, 1890; Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Turkey 1890, Beirut, Vol. XXXV, no. 17, Petiteville's report, April 22, 1890.

But the Delegation had been informed, through me, six months ago concerning the opening of new schools.'"

Bishop Gaudenzio Bonfigli, Bishop Piavi's successor in Beirut, was none other than the former Custodian of the Holy Land who, in 1876, had so warmly received Brother Evagre in Jerusalem.[2] It was not possible that he entertained a bias against the Brothers, nor even any personal hostility to France. Mr. Saint Rene Taillander, three years later, would explain simply that "in order to avoid the [anti-French] patterns that had been put in place by his predecessor, Bishop Gaudenzio Bonfigli needed to obtain instructions from the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda."[3]

From the outset, the accuracy of this opinion seemed to have been proved by the events of 1890. Bishop Gaudenzio telegraphed the Vatican to obtain the authorization that he believed was necessary. He received the following reply: "The Brothers in Latakia must apply to the Patriarch in Jerusalem; as for those in Beirut, the Sacred Congregation will see to it that they are provided with an educational regulation."

He was "genuinely surprised" by such instructions, declared Petiteville. "On the strength of his own statement, the Patriarch had nothing to do with the schools in Latakia; while the schools in Beirut could not be subject to any regulation emanating from the Propaganda."

And so, the French Consul-general asked his government to intervene with the Holy See: "Delay in starting classes is extremely prejudicial" to the interests of the French government.[4]

On May 31 Mr. Ribot, Minister of Foreign Affairs, telegraphed: "The Propaganda declares that it has erroneously connected the Patriarch of Jerusalem with the school in Latakia. The Apostolic delegate has been urged to reach an agreement with the Brothers for the opening of classes.

On June 1 there was another telegram from Petiteville: Bishop Gaudenzio maintains that Cardinal Simeoni did not tell him about an agreement signed with the Brothers. — "The Propaganda is

[1] Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, File cited, no. 10.

[2] See above, pg. 406.

[3] Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Turkey 1892-1893, Beirut, Vol. XXXVII, no. 26, report sent to Minister Develle on July 20, 1893.

[4] Telegraph despatch, dated May 24, 1890.

most surprised with your account", replied the Minister to the Consul. "It telegraphed the Apostolic delegate yesterday [June 3] to learn the reasons for his refusal."'

Finally, on June 6, a direct order from Rome reached the Bishop who, the following day, revealed its contents to the Brothers: there was no longer any obstacle, and Bishop Gaudenzio "was praying for their success in Syria." [2]

And so ended the episode that had set the French Ambassador to the Vatican in motion. Commenting on Lefebvre Behaine's report, Ribot told Petiteville: "The delays which the Brothers' schools in Beirut and Latakia had to endure do not appear to be necessarily attributable to changes in the favorable attitude that the Pope has so often adopted toward the Brothers."[3]

[1] Foreign Affairs archives, Turkey 1890, Beirut, Vol. XXXV, no. 3.

[2] Motherhouse archives, ID o, Bishop Bonfigli's letter to Brother Gainus, June 7, 1890.

[3] Foreign Affairs archives, File cited, no. 33, letter dated June 13, 1890.

For the rest, the Brothers appreciated the advantages of the situation: the climate was healthy and pleasant; the surroundings offered a splendid natural setting; and the location of the Community residence had been exceptionally well chosen.'

This outpost, seventy-eight miles north of Tripoli in Syria, at the foot of the *Ansariehs* mountains was worth being supported cost what it may. In fact, beginning in 1894, it was strengthened

and reinforced. In October of 1897 there were a hundred boys being taught there; since Catholics were very few in Latakia, the majority of the pupils were schismatics; in August 1898 there were seventy-six belonging to the various heterodox faiths and seventeen Catholics, besides three "infidels"[1] Thanks to the Religious-teachers the Alaouites would raise young people who had become attached to sure principles of morality and open to civilizing currents.

At the outset the tuition free school in Beirut in 1890 had been able to admit only fifty youngsters under who were instructed by four Brothers. Materially the start was extremely painful. "The Brothers of Christian Doctrine are suffering a total crisis; they lack the finances to meet their daily expenses for food. I gave the Director an advance from my own personal funds." The Consul, Guiot, on November 5, 1890, thought he had by telegraph to inform the offices on Quai d'Orsay of this financial disaster. He asked for an as an "an emergency allowance" the 2,000 francs in assistance that had been allotted by the Ministry three weeks previously.[2]

Equipped with these funds the determined teachers expanded their operation; so that the Consular report of December 9 underscores their success: as of that date, the school had 222 pupils and "for the lack of space, could admit no more." [3]

Nevertheless, at the request of a number of French parents and with the well-founded hope of securing a regular income, Brother Isme obtained permission from Bishop Bonfigli to open classes for tuition-paying pupils: eleven youngsters took advantage of the opportunity, in one of the rooms that had been earlier reserved for the Community. This was the origin of "Sacred Heart College" on October 5, 1894. Its progress was held up for the lack of essential space in which to grow. In 1899 when Brother Ignatius Louis became Director in Beirut, there were fifty-five pupils in the College; the tuition-free pupils *[mis plus au la ge]* reached the figure of 327 in one of the buildings and 175 in the other. Most of them were Catholics; while there were no more than about thirty adherents of other religious faiths.[4]

[1] Motherhouse archives, File ID o, taken from *Historique,* and ID n[1], statistics supplied Cardinal Ledowchowski, August 8, 1898.

[2] Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Turkey 1890, Beirut, Vol. XXXV, no. 21.

[3] *Ibid., same* file, no. 52.

[4] Motherhouse archives, File ID n, statistics. — Archives of the Secretariat-general, Beirut File.

The new Director purchased a piece of property and was contemplating the construction of a beautiful building, which he was specifically forbidden to undertake by Bishop Charles Duval, Delegate of the Holy See in Syria since the transfer of Bishop Gauclenzio Bonfigli to Egypt. The Brothers' College was a too near neighbor to that of the Jesuits. Both the Bishop and the Fathers thought that it was important to avoid a provoking competition. At first Brother Ignatius Louis was satisfied to marshall his classes in narrow quarters. But, tenacious in his plans, Brother Louis finally discovered another compound, this one on Fleuve Street,' where he converted the buildings. After 1904 Sacred Heart College finally achieved success.[2] In the great Lebanese city the sons of St. John Baptist de La Salle would win a place that reflected their zeal, learning and educational philosophy.

It had been a goal that the educational activity of the Institute along the coast be expanded into the back-country. Mr. Saint Rene Taillandier's report, dated July 11, 1893, stated quite clearly how the question stood from the French point of view:

> Thanks to the numerical increase in the number of our religious institutions, to the opening of our Faculty of Medicine, and finally to the great public works undertaken in Syria by our fellow-countrymen, our language has achieved an expanding prominence along the Mediterranean coast...In Beirut and Lebanon we have gradually reached the limit of what is realizable for classical secondary education. For elementary education we are only at the beginning of our task. In this area the Brothers are working wonders. But as of yet they are operating only in the maritime cities...It is important that something be done to satisfy the very widespread desire among the mountain villagers that their children learn French.

The Consul, in agreement with the Maronite Patriarch, Archbishop Hoyek, planned French programs for future Lebanese

[1] Later changed to "Gouraud Street."

[2] File ID o, Brother Louis' report of July 29, 1904. — In 1906 they were admitting residence pupils. In 1907 a move to a new locality was effected. And upon Brother Ignatius Louis' departure from the College in 1911 the school population had reached 420 boys and young men in Sacred Heart College, with 337 pupils in the two tuition-free schools. Students in the College prepared for their examinations for the French and Lebanese bachelor's degree. Some of them followed courses in commercial education. (File at the Secretariat-general's; and *Bulletin des Ecoles chritiennes,* for October 1933, pp. 347-348.

pastors, upon whom, he believed, would devolve later the concern for spreading a knowledge of the language of nation that had adopted Lebanon. As for the Brothers, Saint Rene Taillandier assumed that "their activities had to be restricted to two or three large population centers."'

It did not depend upon the Superiors of the Congregation that the work of the Religious teachers was not offered to a wider public. In 1892 the inhabitants of *Deir el Kamar* asked to have a Brothers' school; the Maronite

Archbishop of Tyr and Sidon, the Greek Catholic Archbishop of Sida supported the request. "I pointed out this backing", wrote the Consul-general to those involved with the means of settling themselves in the locality in question. "The Jesuits had anticipated them. Father Clairet, the Superior of the Syrian Missions, told me recently that arrangements had been made for the opening of the school.[2]

Other attempts, at Beith Mery, Beith Chebab, Becharre, Jouneh, Amchith and Baabdad, were stopped or were unable to evolve normally. It seems as though a variety of interests had converged to throw up barriers along the paths of pioneers whose success and popularity had assumed to rapidly posture of victory.[3] For some of these mortifying disappointments the future would comfort the Brothers.

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The Apostolic Delegation in Constantinople as well as that in Smyrna, the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, the Delegation in Syria, Egypt and in general the constituencies of the Roman Church in the Near-East everywhere enveloped the Brothers' schools. Toward the end of 1898 in that region included forty- nine schools, 202 classes and 8,790 pupils. Divided according to religious communions this pupil population showed up as follows: 5,505 Catholics, 2,336 Schismatics or heretics, 506 Moslems and 442 Israelis.[4]

[1] Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Turkey 1892-1893, Beirut, Vol. XXXVII, no. 24, report to Minister Develle.

[2] Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Turkey 1892-1893, Beirut, Vol. XXXVII, no. 31, report dated August 18, 1893.

[3] Motherhouse archives, ID o, Brother Ignatius Louis' report of July 29, 1904.

[4] Motherhouse archives, ID n[1], Brother Hugonis' letter to Archbishop Charmetant included in *Bulletin d'OEuvre des e cotes d'Orient,* November-December, 1898.

The burden seemed too heavy for the strengthof a single individual. A decision of the Superior-general reached in the Counsel of the Regime was indicated "to the Middle Easterners" by the Assistant, Brother Apronian of Mary on November 21, 1899; the regions of the Near-East, while constituting, as it had in the past, a single District, would be divided among three Visitors: Brother Godefroy of the Angels would control Egypt, i.e., the schools in Alexandria, Ramleh, Mansourah, Port Said, Pot Tewfik, Cairo, Tahta and Asyiit. The "Syrian section", given over to [1] Brother Evagre, would combine the schools in Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Nazareth, Jaffa, and Haffa as well as those in Tripoli, Beirut and Latakia. All the rest, Constantinople, Salonica, Smyrna, Rhodes, Angora, Trebizond and Erzeroum, i.e, it the Turkish group, continued to have Brother Hugoni as their leader. But apart from the Communities in his own section, "Brlother Provincial" would visit the residences over which Brothers Godefroy and Evagre presided as well as the houses of Religious formation: the Scholasticate in Rhodes and the Novitiate at St. Maurice in Exile.'

Approaching his seventies, the old pioneer had no sense of dwindling strength. He preserved that "iron energy" that confronted storms and tempests, that kept a body racked by liver disorders in the saddle, and thrust mount and rider, balancing reports of visitations on his head. In 1899, returning from Armenia, he had been attacked by robbers, stripped of his possessions and his clothing; at his side, his coachman was severely wounded. Without luggage and without provisions, he continued his journey; a Greek business man lent him money to get back to the shores of the Black Sea.

He was the sort of man who did not take easily to a curtailment of his activities. Accustomed to give orders, he did not submit freely to a parcelling out of his authority. Overseer of a huge territory, highly regarded by the episcopacy and clergy of all rites, listened to respectfully, indeed deferentially, by Ambassadors and Consuls, he had to muster all his virtue in order to adapt to the change. He was naturally somewhat rough, "in aspect not very attractive"; "he did not like to be thwarted"; and when he had decided upon a goal, "he clung to it tenaciously". He was nevertheless sensitive, compassionate and charitable; but a person who has not

[1] Motherhouse archives, File ID n[1].

experienced weakness remains under the imprint of fear. But there was no pride in this great man, who was profoundly obedient, dedicated to his Institute "to the point of fanaticism", we are assured. Duty dictated his behavior and determined the sacrifices he made, just as in conscience Brother Hugonis never took into consideration the state of his health, his tastes nor his human inclinations.

He worked right up to the end, and he died "in office". In August 1901, he returned to the College in Kadikoy after fresh journeys to Erzeroum and Trebizond. He paused only to make the annual retreat, presided over by the Assistant, Brother Apronian. Along with the latter Superior, he left for Smyrna on the 1st of August. The extreme heat overwhelmed him. Nevertheless, he wanted to drop by Rhodes. He went aboard the Turkish steamer *Olympia* and took his place in a cabin on the bridge. He seemed to have fallen asleep. But very quickly there was the sound of a death-rattle, followed by a brief final agony. Brother Provincial had died opposite *Phocis* in the Gulf of Smyrna at 10 o'clock in the evening of August 3. The *Olympia* delivered the body to Chios. The mortal remains of Jean Pierre Hugon would combine with the dust of history. A Brothers Community that settled in the island in November 1902 cared for the tomb.'

The schools in Rhodes, with which the final thoughts of the deceased were concerned, had experienced moments of great joy in January. The triduum in honor of St. John Baptist de La Salle had enabled the Brothers to see to what point their presence on the island had become gratifying to the inhabitants: the population had thronged into the parochial church in which the ceremonies were held, a large number of Greek schismatics in a congregation of Roman Catholics. The French Vice-Consul, Mr. Belaire, was the creator of the painting on which the hallowed features of the Founder of the Congregation.[2]

The legal situation of St. John Baptist de La Salle College became clear in November, as the final property transfer placed the real estate in the hands of the new Visitor, Brother Toussaint Victor, and the Director, Brother Isace.[3] Concerning "Our Lady of Acandia", it continued to serve as a residence for the "future" of the

[1] Brother Hugonis' Obituary, 1901. — *Bulletin des Ecoles chretiennes* for July 1913, pp. 214, 219-220, 226-228. — See also Vol. VI of the present work, pp. 370-372.

[2] Motherhouse archives, File HB g.

[3] *Ibid.* The final formalities were completed on November 9, 1901.

Mid-East District, and it was adapted to embrace the gritty and very special young Frenchmen who, who departed the motherland in order to protect their vocation.'

An ordinance from Constantinople guaranteed full rights to the schools in Rhodes. The Brothers benefitted from this official act as a consequence of some rather important events of which the Island was, strictly speaking, not the theater.

The Ottoman government had been obviously hostile to institutions founded or patronized by France. The barriers it raised and the arbitrary acts it allowed its bureaucrats in the provinces had been increasing to such an extent that the Counsel of Ministers determined to adopt severe measures. Diplomatic relations were temporarily suspeilded and war ships were drawn up as a threatening gesture before Mytilene, close to the Dardanelles.

On November 12, 1901, the French Ambassador to the Sublime-Porte wrote the Consuls the following circular letter:

> The demands made by the French government have been completely satisfied. The Ottoman Empire declares that it recognizes the incorporation of our schools, religious institutions and hospitals now functioning under our protection; it grants them exemption from property taxation and they ordinary customs immunities; it authorizes construction, expansion or reparation in conformity with the catalogue that has been circulated; as regards new foundations or eventual reconstructions, it accepts an investigation procedure that concurs with French specifications.

The representatives, who were to transmit these arrangements to the Missions involved,

> must not fail to draw the important implication in the pact agreed to by Turkey...Quite correctly, it can be considered as a new charter for French institutions...The attitude of the French government shows, once again, its determination to adhere strictly to the centuries old traditions which, in every era, has supported French prestige in the Near-East, and

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[1] On may 28, 1904, Brother Prosper came from Lyon-Caluiare "with eight of his best Scholastics," among who was Brother Philotheus John, the future Visitor of Egypt and future Assistant for the Near-Eastern Districts. At the same time twelve Scholastics from St. Maurice in Exile debarked at Rhodes. (File HB g.)

to pursue with jealous care the defense of the great moral and religious interests which it sustains.

the Brothers of Christian Doctrine, the Daughters of Charity and the Oblates of the Assumption are setting the pace for us."'

In Smyrna, Pernot visited St. John's school, the "flag-ship" of the Institute's foundations along the Near Eastern seaboard, as well as the schools at La Pointe and at Cordelio, and the branch at Gueuz Tepe (that had been opened in 1901 in a neighborhood that swarmed with youngsters), and St. Joseph's, the school of Brother Verule's devising, which had already amassed more than a quart of a century of service. Pupils were equipped, some for the baccalaureate and some for the examination in commercial studies before a board presided over by the French Consul.[2] Pernot believed that "French is the official language of business; and that all employees of the larger companies have to be able to speak it. The consular magistrates do not allow any other language; and foreign affairs are contested in French in the court of Ottoman commerce."[3]

Religious teachers had obtained these results during a period when the efforts, meritorious in their own right, of the "secular-Mission" on the periphery of the Eastern Mediterranean had scarcely begun.[4] And in Palestine and in Syria the preponderant influence of Brother Evagre was already in evidence.

Since Brother Hugonis' death, Brother Evagre had possessed the title and the prestige of Visitor-Provincial. His long experience had become a part of history, his convictions were the talk of jounalists and the writings of scholars; his was a personality that was becoming the stuff of legend. But, before all else, he had remained a man of God. One of his most cherished ideas was to end in the foundation of the "Archconfraternity of the Holy Child Jesus". He had been nurturing it in his mind from as early as 1893. And he described it in the following terms:

> Establish in Bethlehem an association of prayer the purpose of which will be to promote, through piety, the practice of Christian duty among all our pupils and to restore the reign of God in all secular schools...To erect a chapel on our hillside in Bethlehem which will stand as a sort of visible prayer, while within it devout Novices contribute to the Apostolate by a generous love for the Child Jesus. In order to construct this chapel to undertake, with the approval, or even the active participation, of the M.H.

[1] *Ibid.,* pp. 31, 32.

[2] *Ibid.,* pp. 257-258.

[3] *Ibid.,* pp. 274, 275.

[4] Salonique high school, the first at that time, established around 1902.

Brother Superior General, an appeal to school children throughout the world.

On this occasion, the Institute's best spokesman was Brother Evagre himself; he summoned the Brothers' pupils and other Catholic teachers to assist him; and he presented his plans to the General Chapter of 1905. The chapel was completed in 1908. The association, which was constituted as a "confraternity" by Bishop Camasati in July of 1907, two years later in a Brief of Pius X became an archconfraternity."

For the Brother Provincial Bethlehem was a very special place. He gave himself not a moment's peace until, in spite of much opposition, there was a school in the city opened to the children in the area, young Christians who in a sense shared the birthplace of the Savior. It was there, also, that he founded an unpretentious, tuition-free Normal School in which some twenty young men, future auxiliaries of the Brothers in Palestine and Syria, were trained.

Nazareth continued to have its elementary school, which was also tuition-free. Jerusalem, Haifa and Jaffa had pay secondary schools in conjunction with classes that were open without charge to the children of the people. "The best French schools in this region", wrote Maurice Pernot, "are those of the Brothers, the Sisters of St. Joseph and the Daughters of Charity."[2]

Another traveler, visiting Jaffa, made the following observations:

> Judging by the physical appearance of their institution, the Brothers here are considered important people...The school teems with youngsters; they are of all descriptions, of every language and tribe, but all very similar in that easy, cheerful manner, in no way shy, even forward, that the Brothers are able to impart to their pupils...On the way to the station there was nothing but waves of the hand, gestures of gratitude, friendly looks and respectful handshakes...`These youngsters who are greeting me are former pupils of mine', said my companion.[3]

Concerning the Syrian schools we can, no doubt, add nothing to what has already been written more insightful, more suggestive or more succinct than the statement by Brother Justinus, Secretary-general:[4]

French teachers, in their relations with

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[1] *Choix de notices,* Vol. II, pp. 331-333.

[2] Pernot, *op. cit.,* pg. 125.

[3] E. N. Gaussens, *Au pays de l'Evangile,* 1909.

[4] Archives of the Secretary-general. Report made to the French Congress for Syria, 1919. This somewhat recent date in now way prevents the above observations from being valid for an earlier period.

> pupils of the same nationality, enjoyed the adIvantage of a similar mentality. Prior to whatever instruction, there had already been between them a very strong bond, a common fund of ideas which lent the teacher's words an influence and a depth that was special for the mind of the pupil. It was not the same thing in the case of the foreign pupils: their cast of mind was not the same, their mothertongue was different; and while they may have been using the same words, it sometimes happened that there were shades of meaning that escaped them, and there was a danger that all too often these pupils dwelt on the sheer externals of words without being able to grasp the "substance" of things. Such conditions, which could not be eradicated, called for a remedy on the part of the French teacher, the practice of a special pedagogy, founded genuinely in psychology, and guaranteed to assure the success of his teaching. In this context, he was not merely satisfied to present his lessons in an exclusively expository form...; he constantly kept attention alive; he roused intellectual curiosity and for his classes fulfilled the role of a perpetual quickener of minds; he proceeded along a route of constant questioning in order to be sure that his instruction was exactly understood; and, every time it was possible, he presented scientific or moral truths from different points of view which could make them graspable, in order the more deeply to instill them in minds.

Thus, with a creative teacher as spokesman, we learn how Lasallian education, sound in its principles and supple in its execution, adapted to the special conditions that it met with in the Middle East.

* *

The same sort of activities were deployed in a much wider field in Egypt. There is no further need to stress the incontestible truth that here the Brothers effectively served French intellectual and moral Linterests in spite of the difficulties inherent in the country's political administration. But before all else they aimed at — and they realized — "a hunanitarian and civilizing

task." Free, under the privileged system of "Concessions", to organize their schools following their own views and methods, they were the first to work toward a renaissance of science and literature in a society in which schooling

[1] Pernot, *op. cit.,* pg. 279.

had fallen to a very low level.' In the unified or coordinated programs in their various institutions, they exhibited a concern to dispense an education that was adapted to the needs of time and place: — a practical schooling that involved the study of modern languages and the application of scientific data to current problems; but not schooling that was devoid of general ideas or higher direction. "The Brothers have served Egypt well," wrote an Mid-easterner in 1897;[2] "they continue to supply the nation with cultivated and upstanding gentlemen, men of energy and progress." These alumni, whether they occupied the most prestigious posts or earned a living at the most unpretentious jobs, were recognized by the qualities that they shared: their upright conscience and their knowledge, which, if not always vast, was, on the other hand, clear and sound. They learned to love God and their country and not to look upon people of other nations, other races or other religious denominations as inevitably hostile. The Brothers were able, beyond preserving the faith in young Catholics to enliven it and make it practical; for them they set up Marian Societies, St. Vincent de Paul units, study groups as well as periods of "Recollection" and "Retreat."[3] But at tuition-free schools and at secondary schools Europeans, Egyptians, Syrians, and Lebanese met; Moslems, Israelis, Greek Orthodox and Copts rubbed elbows with Roman Catholics. Conflicts that one might have feared did not occur. By a special grace of Providence (it must be said), but also through the example of teachers, through the influence of their educational skills, their intellectual competence and their human and Christian moral qualities "a climate of acceptance" had been immediately created.[4] The schoolboys showed no aversion for catechism, which was obligatory for some, optional for others.[5] Parents trusted the wisdom of the teachers. A distinguished Moslem, Abdallah Simaika Pacha, about twenty years ago declared:

What moved many

[1] Article in *France-Islam* for June 1925; and *Centenaire* (Brother Andrew Leo's lecture), pp. 217-218.

[2] Mr. Amadou, in his book entitled *l'Enseignement francaise en Egypte,* (quoted in *France-Islam,* June 1925).

[3] Brother Andrew Leo, *op. cit.,* pg. 226.

[4] *Ibid.,* pg. 218.

[5] Today non-Christians no longer hae a catechism class. For them it has been replaced by a course in rational Ethics.

parents to select the Brothers' Colleges for their sons was the conviction that the moral level of these institutions wals high, that children in these surroundings succeeded in growing up, and that one could be sure of the liberal spirit that inspired the instruction.'

The real name for this "liberal spirit" is Christ's love, which came into the world to save all souls and which spreads peace among all sincere hearts and steadfast wills.

Men like Brother Adrian of Jesus, Brother Ildefonsus and Brother Gervais of Mary had drawn their very orthodox inspiration from the Gospel. And as the new century began, their successors found light and warmth in that same teaching.

On May 11, 1900, as the moment approach for the canonization of the Institute's Founder, Brother Ildefonsus departed Alexandria to share in the Roman celebrations. On June 3rd, Pentecost Sunday, the Pro-director, Brother Narcissus, read a letter to the St. Catherine Community that it found deeply moving: the Director would not return to Egypt. On August 7th it was learned that he had just accepted the direction of the College at Kadikoy. Brother Godefroy of the Angels was to add the direction of the Alexandrine school to his duties as Visitor.[2]

As he surveyed the immense region for which hf was accountable, from the Mediterranean to Asyut, Brother Godefroy did not neglect the youths in the great city where he resided and for whom he felt a particular responsibility. St. Catherine's, its branches and its tuition-free classes had a total of 1,207 students during the 1900-1901 school year, of whom 735 were Catholics, 293 dissident Christians, 123 Israelis and fifty-six Moslems. Fittingly, poor Catholics were the principal beneficiaries of the tuition-free classes; there were 428 of them out of 566 pupils who paid nothing for their instruction. Of the 641 college students, they divided almost evenly between Roman Catholics (307) and dissident Christians or non-Christians (334).[3] The torrent of applications for admission was unremitting. Between 1901 and 1904 two new branches were opened, St. Gabriel's in the Ibrahimieh neighborhood where a large number of fine European families dwelt, and St. Michael's in Attarine, which was frequented by the more traditional population. Earlier, Sacred Heart school,

1 Quoted in Centenaire, pg. 175.

[2] District archives, Ms. account of the Community at St. Catherine's College.

[3] District archives, St. Catherine's Community report.

in Moharrem Bey, had been raised to the status of an independent Community.

The modern French bachelor's degree continued to complete the studies for a few brilliant students; in 1900, five students were admitted to the first part of the degree and four to the second part; and while in 1901 only two succeeded in passing the final examination, sill eleven candidates successfully passed the preliminary tests. During the following year they divided eight bachelors on one side and five on the other.'

The distinguished teacher, Brother Oger Cecilian taught the rhetoric class and moderated the work of the St. John Baptist de La Salle Academy. Under his guidance, the "academicians" took such a lively interest in literature that several of them turned out to have been strongly drawn to a life of writing as a profession.[2] Brother Godefroy presided over an experienced teaching personnel; in 1904 his successor at St. Catherine's, Brother Ismaelis who, for twenty-three years was loved and admired in a variety of classes, received strong reinforcements from the Brothers who had been exiled from France.[3]

The physical arrangements were unassuming and could not match Victoria College, for example, which had been founded by England with the cooperation of several wealthy Alexandrines, Greek and Jewish for the most part. Nevertheless, the school population of Victoria in 1903-1904 was no more than fifty youths; there was, as a consequence, no fear of serious competition. The High Commissioner, Lord Cromer, who sponsored the school, made a very special point of his impartiality by making an official visit to the trade school at Bad Sidra; he took an interest in the apprentices' projects and congratulated the teachers, and in his report to his government he eulogized the activities of the French Relgious.[4]

In December of 1902 in Cairo the overall number of pupils was 1,400.[5] St. Joseph's, the original foundation in Cairo, housed 500 pupils,

[1] *Centenaire*, pg. 238.

[2] *Ibid.*, pg. 112.

[3] Among them, the future Director (1914-1920) Brother Gordian. — Brother Godefroy, Visitor until May 1913 was, at that time, elected Assistant to the Superior-general; he died on April 10, 1916.

[4] Brother Godefroy, 1903 report on the work of the schools in the Near East.

[5] For March 15, 1900 statistics already showed a total of 1,389: of whom there were 896 Egyptians, 106 Frenchmen, 127 Italians, twenty-nine Germans, sixty Englishmen and 171 Greeks; and, according to religious denomination: 277 Latin Catholics, 424 Eastern Rite Catholics, 340 Orthodox, 1800 Moslems and 168 Israelis (District archives).

nearly all of whom thronged in from distant neighborhoods to the narrow alleys of the ancient Moslem city. In August of 1900 Brother Kostka of Mary, who had been pro-Director up to the end of 1899, completely replaced Brother Godefroy at the head of the College. Calm and deliberate - rugged and well-constructed physically as well as morally — he guided his vessel unfailingly into the waters of the new century. Young men who could brandish an Egyptian baccalaureate had the doors of public administration opened to them;[1] once engaged upon a career, some of them went far and high up the ladder. In 1903 the first students to receive diplomas for higher commercial studies began to appear.[2] And, at the level of literary studies St. George's Academy would sustain the reputation. of the French language and spirit at Khoronfish.[3]

There was some doubt as to whether the lack of space endangered all this progress. There were concerns for the future. The College lacked any freedom of expansion; and, meanwhile, the neighborhood became increasingly noisy, fetid and clogged. In such a neighborhood hygiene obviously suffered. In 1902 there appeared a few cases of diphtheria. Parents, along with the French Consul, became worried. The idea df moving the school and the Community had long occupied a number of people; gradually it took shape and became realizable.

We have described[4] how Brother Godefroy had established a school in Daher and then, immediately abandoning the original site because of its narrow dimensions, purchased a lot nearby that measured some 6,000 sq. feet. On October 8, 1899 the building constructed on the site received pupils into its four classes. This became "St. Nicholas' College" or, according to the name it picked up from its near-by population center, "Faggaleh."

There was a neighboring piece of property, called the Selchasar Palace" which was for sale, and it had an area of some two-and-a-half acres. On August 11, 1902 the Brothers became purchasers of this acreage. Somewhat complicated negotiations subsequently assured them the ownership of a number of parcels. Overall they amassed almost 60,000 sq. feet in a single, excellent block of land that offered all the conditions necessary for the execution of their project. "St. Joseph's" was to be transported to Faggaleh.

[1] There were six in 1900, nine in 1901, thirteen in 1902 and ten in 1903. *(Centenaire,* pg. 257.)

[2] *Ibid.,* pg. 265.

[3] In 1907 its Moderator was Brother Roland Benignus and its President Antony Younan, the future President of the Alumni Association in Cairo and a future member of the Royal Counsel. — *Centena* ire, pg. 194.

[4] Cf. above, pp. 443-444.

The old property at Khoronfish, that had at one time been granted by the

Viceroy Said exclusively for educational purposes, could not be sold: the tuition-free school was to move its pupils there, where the Lasallian tradition would be preserved, while the sale of a building that had been put up between the year 1880 and 1885 would return some capital.

It was thought that all problems had been solved. However, in February of 1902, Brother Assistant, Apronian of Mary, raised the question as to whether it would not be wise to bear in mind the objections of the Jesuits whose College, which was also called "Faggalah", was operated a short distance away.

And the end of April 1903 the M.H. Brother Gabriel of Mary received the following letter from Cardinal Gotti, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda:

> The Brothers in Cairo stand in conflict with the spirit of the Constitution *Orientaliurni* and creating a serious problem for the work of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus...I absolutely forbid you to open any new schools in the Faggalah quarter.

It was a severe blow. An explanatory report, worked out at Oudinot Street arrived in Rome in July: it recalled the authorization granted by the Holy See on August 2, 1897, mentioned the reasons for the removal of the branch-school in 1899, and proved that there had not been really, and to the prejudice of the Jesuits, a change of neighborhoods. "The Superior-general," — read the final lines — "dares to hope that Your Most Reverend Excellencies would kindly: 1) not maintain the prohibition contained in the letter of the 27th of April; 2) authorize the Brothers to move their tuition-free school from Khoronfish to the property granted in 1854 by the Egyptian government; and 3) as a consequence, authorize them to move their College to Daher and, when circumstances permit it, to open a new tuition-free school in the building occupied until now by the St. Nicholas branch-school."

The Cardinal, in his letter of September 9, acknowledge the Brothers' good faith. He agreed to support the school at Faggalah as it existed; but he continued to be intransigent about St. Joseph's.

Wisdom and the spirit of obedience decided the Brothers' behavior. On October 20 the Visitor, Brother Godefroy, was satisfied, through the agency of the

[1] Cf. above, pg. 443.

Apostolic Delegate, to raise the following questions:

Do we have the option: 1) to assemble into a single site pupils of the branch-school' who are now dispersed in separate and inadequate sites?

2) to establish tuition-free classes in Daher for poor children?

3) to obtain a residence for the personnel employed in these schools?

4) to add an infirmary for the retirement of aged, tired or sick Brothers?

It would have been heartless to have replied to such requests in the negative. Armed, after November 23, with the Cardinal-prefect's permission, the head of the Egyptian Districtassumed the responsibility for drawing up new plans. An immense and beautiful building — in place of the great College that had been fancied — arose at the center of the Daher site; it bore the name of the Founder of the Institute and was inaugurated in 1905, having at the time 500 pupils. At the same time there opened on the site, and in the place of, St. Nicholas' a tuition-free school dedicated to St. Vincent.[2]

The period of expansion was still very far indeed from coming to an end. In August and September of 1902 two letters reached the Brother Visitor from Father Duret, of the African Missions, headquartered in Lyons. To the priests of this Society the Pope had entrusted a part of Lower Egypt; and, at the time, Father Duret was Prefect-apostolic in the Delta. "My confreres," (he wrote) "and especially Father Chabert, the pastor of Zagazig, have a great deal of respect for the Christian Brothers whom we have known extremely well since we have been in Egypt. As for myself, I hold them in as high regard as anyone else."

Zagazig, on the Bahr Moez (Moses Canal), near the ruins of Bubastis was an agricultural and industrial center; grains flowed into its market, and raw cotton was spun into thread; in 1902 it had 35,000 residents, of whom scarcely 4,000 were Christians, mostly Copts and Orthodox Greeks. The missionaries from Lyons added a school to their parochial apostolate; but those in charge of their classrooms were laymen. Toward mid-October Brother Godefroy

[1] At the time there were 250 of them.

[2] District archives, Daher file. — Brother Godefroy of the Angels' Obituary, 1917. — *Centenaire,* pg. 20 (Antony Younan Bey's talk) and pp. 177-178.

sent four teaching Brothers. The beginnings, however, were difficult: many of the school children followed their former teachers into the local school system. Only seventeen remained with the Brothers, and of these only four understood French. At the end of the first year the Director, Brother Valier Francis had succeeded in rounding up forty-three pupils. The group was never to be very large, but it grew in cohesiveness and activity. A few Europeans and Syrians formed the nucleus of the group; and young Greeks joined in good time to be able to complete their schooling.'

Upper Egypt was constantly a story of harsh labor, *labor improbus.* "Here parents tolerated the French language more than they pretended," according to Brother Godefroy. The anti-clericalism that raged in France gave a free hand, in the Nile Valley, to the Brothers adversaries, in order to "denounce Catholic education, arouse a torrent of unfavorable opinion and demolish established reputation." [2] However, the effort was neither deterred nor retarded.

In 1901 the French Alliance granted the Hubert-Debrousse prize of 5,000 francs to the Brothers in Asyut. The importance of the city as a center of population and commerce had not been lost on those who promoted the school.[3] In 1904, the Visitor set forth the situation in the following terms:

> In Asyut we have a day-school and the beginnings of a residence school, with a combined enrollment of 175 pupils. The residents come from all points of the Valley, from Minieh to Luxsor; generally they come from influential families in the countryside. The purpose of the residence school is to enable the Catholic mind to penetrate into sectors in which missionaries and catechists have difficulty reaching. The lamented Mr. G. Cogordan, the French diplomatic agent was hugely involved in the school's operations. At one time, together with Brother Hugonis, he had contemplated the idea of a Normal School in Tahta. The plan never matured. And — in the expectation of Mr Cogordan — the residence school was to have achieved some of the results that had been anticipated for the Normal School.[4]

[1] District archives, Zagazig file. — Brother Visitor's reports to the Mid-Eastern Educational Charity, 1902 and 1903.

[2] Cf. Report, 1902.

[3] Archives of the Secretary-general, Sevres Street, Asyiit file, quotation from *('Education Chritiennes* for October 26, 1901.

[4] 1'OEuvres' report of the schools in the Orient.

More to the North an apostolate of the same sort was about to be undertaken at Minieh and at Mellawi. As early as 1897 the Coptic Catholic Bishop in Minieh, Maximos Sedfaoui, had asked for Brothers for his diocese.' The question could not have been seriously explored prior to 1902. At that time the Jesuits were looking for competent personnel to staff the school that they had opened in the episcopal city, and they were thinking about inviting the Brothers. The French Ministry joined its voice to that of the Society in an appeal to the Brother Visitor. The French Alliance was also involved in the negotiations. And then, Bishop Gaudenzio Bonfigli sent the authorization of the Propaganda to the Institute. The upshot was that four Brothers replaced the lay-teachers that had been previously employed by the Jesuits; and next to the school, they rented a small house as their residence. From the eighty pupils that were being taught in 1902 the figure rose to 110 during the following year. Minieh presented the case of a rather compact group of Coptic Catholics; along with the sons of Europeans employed in the sugar refineries, and a few Syrians besides, all the elements of an excellent pupil population was ready to hand.[2]

The influence exercised over much of the local population by the occupying British power and the efforts put forth by American Protestants provided a two-pronged problem for the future. The same thing was experienced at Mellawi, where the Brothers had begun to teach about the autumn of 1903.

Mark Sab Elail, the Catholic Coptic pastor in this city, had at one time, as Brother Mark, been a member of the Institute. In heart he had remained devoted to his former Religious family; and as early as June of 1900 Brother Godefroy was receiving petitions from this zealous priest that deserved to be taken seriously: out of a population of about 15,000 people, Mellawi included 5,000 Christians; and among them, conversions to Catholicism had become frequent. Of these returnees to the unity of the Church — as Brother Visitor later noted — Father Marc was the providential instrument. He had built a church, founded a Sisters school, and reiterating his demand for teachers for a boys' school, he wrote on January 12th, 1903: "There are five-six hundred Catholics who need schooling. The nuns have taken nearly all the girls from the Protestants."

[1] District archives, Minieh file, letter dated September 29, 1897, addressed to the Brother Director [of Cairo]. — Minieh was the seat of one of the three bishoprics of the Coptic Rite begun by Leo XIII after the Patriarchate of Alexandria.

[2] District archives, Minieh file, letters (1897-1902). — Brother Godefroy of the Angels' reports, 1902 and 1903.

The sending of a team of teachers had been decided upon. Rome's approval had been officially made known at the end of August. And Sab Elall declared that subsidies would not be lacking.

Actually, the beginnings were more difficult: the locale was scanty, uncomfortable and out-of-the way; and the financing was less than meager. It was with such feeble means that they had to struggle against American competition and make up for the failure of another French school that had recently closed. In the days of the Director, Brother Isaure Laurence, what came to be called "St. Paul's school" would be strengthened.'

The opening of a school in the neighborhood of he coastal canal brought 1904 to a conclusion. At the request of the Franciscan priest, who was pastor of Suez, two Brothers were detached from the Community at Port Tewfik in October. The ancient city on the Red Sea had a flourishing girls's school operated by the Good Shepherd Sisters; but no Catholic institution existed for the boys. The Brothers had scarcely arrived when they were subjected to an anti-clerical and anti-French offensive. Nevertheless their classrooms were filled;[2] Until the period after World War II, the tiny group of Brothers in Egypt were able to support its forward positions as well as its central citadels.

NOTE

CONCERNING THE INSTITUTE IN SWITZERLAND

Following the civil war in Switzerland followed by the persecution from Geneva, the situation of the disciples of Saint John Baptist de La Salle who had set foot there in the 18th century was very diminished. The Church suffered from a violent and triumphant radicalism. The situation in 1878 was pitiable. Mgr. Lachat, the bishop of Basle, was expelled from his diocese; in difficulties with the High Council of Geneva, Mgr.Mermillod was condemned to be banished. After 1872, the Brothers of the Christian Schools in Switzerland had only their small establishment at Neuchatel , founded by the parish priest Berset and attached to the French District of Besancon.

There they enjoyed a certain peace that was gradually extended to the whole Confederation. The 26th November 1882 referendum collected 142482 votes against the law of neutrality in schools.[710] The Catholic cantons could once again work freely. Once again, Lasallians reappeared in Fribourg. At the request of the parish priest, M. Robadey, they established themselves on 23rd December 1886 in the commune of Attalens. It risked being a short stay as the Visitor of the Savoy District, Brother Orbanis, has withdrawn his Brothers in July of the preceding year. But spokesmen began discussions almost immediately between the communal Council and the Visitor of Lyon. On 20th October agreement was reached. Three Brothers from Lyon took charge of the primary classes and in December a superior course cycle was introduced. It was a heavy task as the material circumstances at the beginning were not easy and left a great deal to be desired. The teachers, however, devoted themselves willingly to this soil so rich in vocations. From then on and until to today the Congregation has always had a certain number of Brothers from Attalens and its surroundings; recruitment must never dry up.

In 1894, Savoy once again accepted responsibility for the work. A fourth teacher had to wait until 1899. From 1900-1912, the school was under the charge of Brother Valery-Etienne, former Visitor of Chambery, tireless in his efforts in spite of his sickness.

[710] CF. General History vol.II, p.382; Vol.III, p.486; vol.VI, pp.167-180

The influence of Savoy around Leman, a modest re-launching of the history of the Duchy, would at the end of the 19th century touch even Fribourg. The success of the Attalens foundation resulted in the entry of Lasallians into the capital of the canton. On 30th April 1888, the Fribourg director of public education, M. Python, presided at the examinations for the superior course recently organized by Brother Olbert-Marie. As he was very favourably impressed, he expressed the wish for a similar centre in the important intellectual city of Fribourg. Mgr. Mermillod indicated his approval to Brother Superior General. The town council added its recommendation to that of the Bishop. Funds coming from a donation from a Jesuit, R.P. Week, allowed a very well situated property, 'Les Pilettes' to be acquired.

Lyon, through its Visitor, Brother Polentius, was in contact. But the Fribourg house, and that of Attalens, joined with the District of Chambery. Brother Olbert-Marie – Louis-Antoine Dangelzer – remained there from 1890-1897. He began quietly, somewhat looked down upon by the professional class, but opinion changed and families greatly appreciated Lasallian pedagogy.

From 9 pupils in the first months, the numbers grew to 62 by October 1891. Very soon a boarding section was opened. Mgr. Deruaz, the bishop of Lausanne, Geneva and Fribourg, was present for the prizegiving in 1892. Brother Urbice-Lucien, Brother Olbert's successor, by December 1903, had 110 pupils, day boys, boarders and par-time boarders.[711]

Neuchatel was maintained but not without difficulties and setbacks. On 29th March 1888, M. Guyot, on behalf of the municipality as official supervisor of exams, paid homage to the Brothers: "I made it my duty," he wrote to M. Berset, "to express my very sincere thanks to these teachers for the efforts they have made as far as possible for the harmonious development of the intellectual faculties of their pupils, as well as to form their hearts to what is good."

Teaching here referred to the primary school. Now Neuchatel had also a commercial school and courses of classic humanities. The Brother Superior General Joseph, visiting the community in the 1888 vacation, considered that the Brothers should come out of what was obviously an inferior position. He suggested the foundation of a boarding school and a family house. In view of this, the parish bought a very large building in the suburb of Cret. Following

[711] Archives of the Mother House dossier JF u. Bernard Secret, Brothers of the Christian Schools in Savoy, p.108 – Notes provided by Brother Virgile-Marie, Visitor of Savoy. – the schools in Attalens disappeared in 1925 because of some local difficulties. That of Fribourg was closed in 1933 for lack of personnel and in face of costly reconstructions. In both towns, there was expression of regret at the departure of the Lasallians.

an agreement between “the free society of Roman Catholics” and the Superior of the Institute, the opening of the boarding school was fixed for October 1st 1893. Three young men came, then another five. Almost all came from German-speaking Switzerland in order to improve their knowledge and usage of French. Several followed the courses of the town commercial school.

In October 1894, there were only ten boarders. There was no point in continuing such an unsuccessful project. The Catholic society hired out two storeys of the building. The primary school took over the ground floor and continues to do so.[712]

[712] The boarding school began again in October 1905 with 5 boarders. The establishment continues to depend on the District of Besancon. Archives of the Mother House dossier LI h; Besancon Archives, History of Neuchatel. The German District Bothers have today a house for delinquents, *l’Erziehungsheim Saint-Georg* at Bad Knutwil, in Lucerne canton

PART TWO

THE INSTITUTE

IN

MISSION

LANDS

CHAPTER ONE

The Ottoman Empire and Egypt

This section of Volume 8 has been downloaded from an OMNIPAGE version based on Brother Edmund's original work. It could not be produced in the same format as previous sections. In addition, the final section on Ceylon (Sri Lanka) could not be included.

(Brother Gerard Rummery)

After our journey through Europe, it now becomes important to follow the Brothers into the eastern world. The Rumanian and Bulgarian schools were situated on the threshold of mission countries. From Sophia we shall take the road to Constantinople, and, on the shores of the Bosphorus we shall make contact once again with projects we have already taken a look at as well as with people we have already met.'

And there our attention is first of all attracted to Brother Hugonis. And his powerful personality will continue to occupy center stage throughout these thirty years of history. Since 1870 he had been the Visitor appointed to the Communities in Turkey. From 1870 to 1899 he was the Institute's representative, the tireless planner and the remarkable inspiration throughout the entire District of the Near East, from Salonica to Ersurum, from Latakia to Bethlehem, from Alexandria to Asyiit. And when the vast extent of his control was divided into three sections — "Egypt, Syria and Turkey" — he retained, apart from direct responsibility for Turkey, precedence and rights over the other two portions along with the title of "Visitor-Provincial".

We cannot therefore build walls between territories that he had for so long combined under his authority and that he had ceaselessly travelled, from the mountain in Armenia to the Valley of the Nile, apostle and founder, replicating in a sense St.Paul to the extent that, without any boasting he could appropriate the passage from the Second Epistle to the Corinthians: Constantly travelling, I have been in danger from rivers and in danger from brigands, in danger from my own people and in danger from pagans; in danger in the towns, in danger in the open country, danger at sea and danger from so-called brothers. I have worked and labored, often without sleep; I have been hungry and thirsty and often starving; I have been in the cold without clothes...[2]

It remains for us to systematize the supply of his "daily troubles" and, in the best possible order, to study all the "churches", all the religious institutions of which he had the care. We have to select the landmarks, connect the geography and the chronology and pursue parallel paths.

The first period, whose starting point is only slightly prior to the union of all the Districts under the same Visitor, appears to us to extend up to 1885, the date of the inquiry undertaken by Brothers Assistant Phileter and Raphaelis in the Near East and the important report which brought to light the reflections on, and conclusions of that pastoral journey. The second phase goes from the opening of the "apostolic Novitiate",

St. Maurice, (which was eventually supplemented with the Scholasticate on the Island of Rhodes) up to the administrative rearrangements of 1899.

We shall stop at the third epoch, in 1904, so as to remain within the limits of the present volume. Furthermore, the protagonist died before the epilogue. Death came on the bridge of a ship as he conducted the last acts of his life. The famous soil along the Mediterranean would receive his remains. Associates and disciples, among whom his domain would be divided, would continue his work.

In each time-frame the various countries will take their place: — Turkey and Egypt, according to their seniority; Palestine, which was open of the Brothers' Institute in 1876; and finally Syria, attached to this patrimony after a ten years' lapse of time.

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The rule of the "Red Sultan", Abdul Hamid,[1] filled with wars, murders and massacres and which was brought to an end with a revolution, was, at the same time, in a surprising paradox and, providentially, the period during which the Ottoman Empire was open to the expansion of Missionary activities. "The sick man" found at his bedside a Europe that was less concerned with caring for him than with protracting his malady for its own benefit. The division of the spoils was in danger of involving dreadful clashes; as a consequence the great powers sought rather to take Turkey under trusteeship, to make use — at each other's expense — of the good offices of "Visiers", and "Pashas", and look out for their own economic interests in the capital, in the centers of political and financial power and throughout the vast extent of the provinces. But they could not ignore the advantages of moral authority; and while Austria, Germany, Italy and Russia, each within its own sphere and with its own means, pursued their plans for spiritual conquest, and while England itself did not ignore the successes of "Evangelical" propaganda, France, on the strength of history, its ancient alliances and treaties with the masters of Constantinople, clung to the rights that it refused to allow to lapse. It was the official protector

[1] Abdul Hamid succeeded Mourad in 1876. During the following year occurred the Russo-Turkish war.

of all of the Christian Near East. It occupied a place of distinction in Palestine's Holy Places; Lebanon looked upon France with affection and gratitude; and in the counsels of the "Sublime Porte" France was able to intervene without creating reasonable mistrust or panic fears.

With the encouragement, the support and the cooperation of French diplomacy, Religious Congregations expanded their efforts for the glory of God and the good of souls. Following the Vincentians who, as we know, brought about the introduction of the Brothers of the Christian Schools as well as the Daughters of Charity, the Assumptionists appeared in Byzantium, the Dominicans in Mossoul and in Jerusalem, and the Jesuits in Petite - Armenie. On the heights of Beyoglu the Capuchins opened a seminary for the education of students for the priesthood, while the Assumptionists welcomed Greek Byzantine Catholics to their chapel, studied religious questions which involved Hellenism and Slavism at their center in Kadikoy, and published

their review *Echos d'Orient.* Meanwhile, members of the same group, the Little Sisters of the Assumption, added to this accumulation of knowledge and faith the merit of their charitable dedication.'

The Brothers consolidated their positions. Their St. Joseph's College rose on the Asian coast, on the site of ancient Chalcedon. Brother Hugonis had it built and, for a few years, had it under his immediate supervision. He was assisted by Brother David Leo, a man of sound discipline, rare tact and remarkable sensitivity, who had been in the East since 1858 and, after 1870, a teacher of the upper grades, Inspector of studies, and Sub-director of the Community; he was also aided by Brother Nob, whose life for more than a half-century had been identified with that of the college. In 1881, direction of the school in Kadik6y fell to Brother Semis Odilon, during extremely prosperous times of numerous classes and highly developed programs of study.[2]

Once the Sea of Marmora and Bosphorus have been crossed, we meet once again with groups of Brothers on the northern shores of the Golden Horn. In Galata St. Peter's school operated on land belonging to the Dominicans. This was a popular school, attended by a variety of nationalities and where Christians rubbed elbows with Moslems and Jews. The French military administration

[1] George Goyau, *Histoire religieuse de la Nation francaise,* pp. 609-610.

[2] Archives of the Secretariat-general, Sevres Street, Constantinople file. — *Choix de notices,* Vol. II, pg. 227 *et sq.,* Brother David Leo's biography.

supplied the building materials, the wood coming from the billeting used until 1856 by the army in the Crimea. Such structures were not immune to fire — disasters not uncommon in Constantinople and its suburbs. One such conflagration occurred on February 9, 1877. The loss was total, and 300 youngster who no longer had anywhere to go to school, roamed the streets.

The Visitor, Brother Hugonis, meant to rebuild immediately. The Regime approved his negotiations with the Dominicans, who retained the ownership of the property, but allowed the Brothers' Institute to use as it pleased both the site and the sub-soil for a new structure. It was up to the Visitor to raise the funds. "It is necessary to make an appeal to the city's population and to the French ambassador", wrote Brother Aimarus on February 18.[1]

In this regard Brother Hugonis had already taken the initiative. As early as the 15th of February he had described the situation to Mr. de Molly, the *charge d'affaires* who had temporarily assumed responsibility for the embassy: the school was in ashes; if it was not restored, Frances' prestige and influence would suffer.

Four days later Mr. de Molly wrote to the Duke Decazes, Minister of Foreign Affairs:

> I need not insist on the importance associated with the Brothers being able to rebuild a school as quickly as possible that will be less exposed to the danger of fire than the modest construction in wood in which they had been operating. The project under the distinguished direction of Brother Hugonis is one of those that renders the greatest service to popular education in Constantinople...I have therefore believed it a duty, at the request of the Brother and on the favorable advice of the French Consul and two national Deputies,[2] to decide that a subscription would be started to assist in the reconstruction...The Embassy's and the Consulate's personnel have had the honor of heading the subscription list. In transmitting to you, Your Excellency, the letter of the Visitor of the Christian Brothers who is asking the aid of the Ministry, I can only invoke Your Excellency's kindest consideration of this request.[3]

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[1] Motherhouse archives, file ID n[2].

[2] The "French nation," officially represented in the *ports of Asia Minor.*

[3] Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, file "Religious Assistance," box no. 10, letter dated February 19, 1877.

Decazes congratulated his subordinate for have given an example of prompt generosity and allotted 1,500 francs from the Ministry's budget to Brother Hugonis, whose project was well on the way to resurrection.'

The constructive regard in which politicians held the Brothers did nothing to withhold from them the complete confidence of Church authorities. A contract on October 9, 1883 decided the future of the parochial school of the Holy Spirit in Pancaldi, the neighborhood occupied by the Latin cathedral: the Apostolic Delegate, Bishop Rotelli, awarded the direction of the classes to a team of educators proposed by Brother Hugonis.[2]

Smyrna, the first field of action of the Missionaries in the White Rabats, remained wide open to their influence. The Director, Brother Verule, had taken the first steps to introduce a semi-residence school; but the physical arrangements left a great deal to be desired. From the very outset of the project, there were plans to build, which was why, in June of 1877, Mr Burggraff, the French Consul-general in the great Asia Minor city, was informed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the granting of a sum of 1,000 francs to the Brothers of the Christian Schools.[3] However, the undertaking appeared to stall. Brother Hugonis wrote in a letter addressed to the Superior-general on June 5, 1879:

> The rebuilding of our school in Smyrna is an absolute necessity...The present sprawling hovel is everywhere collapsing. The ensuing opening of school cannot take place without the fear of accidents. The vast premises of St. Roch's hospital, currently free, has been offered to us without charge for as long as reparations will take...Plans have been drawn up so that a semi-residence school with 180 pupils divided into six classes may co-exist with tuition-free classes...It

[1] Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, file "Religious Assistance," box no. 10, letter dated March 17.

[2] Motherhouse Archives, ID n2.

[3] Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affaris, "Religious Assistancem," box no. 10, letter dated June 29, 1877.

should meet with the approval and the adherence of the immense majority of the Catholic population. Smyrna is an important location for us, where we must cultivate our enterprises. And the education which is special to our residence schools corresponds precisely to the demands of the country.[1]

The M.H. Brother Irlide shared this position. On December 15, 1880 Brother Visitor announced that reconstruction had been completed. Archbishop Timoni, had, on the previous September 18th, approved the prospectus of the future "St. Joseph's College". The formal opening took place on December 5th. It was accompanied by a triduum of thanksgiving that commemorated the second centenary of the founding of the Institute. The prelate came not only to bless the school, but to officiate and preach at a celebration in honor of the Venerable John Baptist de La Salle. The large crowd in attendance included the entire diocesan clergy made up of former Brothers' pupils, who were remarkable for their zeal and unconstrained in their expressions of gratitude.[2]

At the outset three Brothers took care of the semi-resident pupils, all very small boys. Cautiously, it had been decided that each year a new program would be started to suit the age and the progress of the pupils who had been admitted during the year of the school's reopening.

Tuition-free classes had been moved into new quarters on Rose Street. They filled up so rapidly that thought had to be given to a second school. Many Catholic families lived in a neighborhood, located on the extreme outskirts of Smyrna, called "The Point". Their children made up a large part of the public served by the Brothers: it would make a difference if they could be brought together and taught closer to the family home. This was the Visitor's position, which was shared by the clergy and by the zealous laymen who were interested in the work of the Institute. There existed in the city a chapter of the St.Vincent de Paul Society; and its members entered into an agreement with Brother Verule to subsidize the expenses of a building for a school of three grades. In 1881 St. Andrew's school was built. Archbishop Timoni, on May 26, wrote to the Brother Superior-general: "The sixteenth of this month I blessed and sent on its way a new tuition-free school...It already has more than 100 pupils. The Brothers have heartily, ardently and zealously embraced

[1] Motherhouse Archives, file ID n[5].

[2] *Ibid.*

this crucial mission, which gives promise of the greatest success."

The Archbishop wanted the school at "The Point" to become a "continuously operating" institution; in other words he wanted to see a Community of teachers living close to the school. In 1885 his wishes were fulfilled with the expansion of the existing building. The St. Vincent de Paul Society, which had retained the property rights, handed them over to the Brothers' Institute in 1895 for a payment of 6,000 francs.'

De La Salle's star shone in the firmament above the Mediterranean world. Brother Hugonis hoped that it would be seen in more distant lands. His apostolic ambitions aimed at a people converted to Christianity from the first centuries of our era, tested by schism, persecuted by Islam but, in spite of distress and bloodshed, still preserving its vitality, its courage and its faith.

On December 3, 1881, Amedy Querry, the French Consul in Trebizond, wrote "to Mr. Gambetta, President of the Counsel, Minister of Foreign Affairs":

> Upon his arrival here, on the 28th of last September, Brother Hugonis gave me an official letter which ordered me to assist in the fulfillment of his mission, i.e., the opening of a school in Armenia. I put myself immediately at his disposal. Brother Hugonis has long experience in the East and gave me the impression of a man with remarkable intelligence. He was free to select any city as the beneficiary of his project. Following information that was given to him, as well as my own advice, he chose Trabzon. He has been assisted by Brother Theodorit and by the Armenian-Catholic Bishop Marmarian, who has supported us with reliable and selfless cooperation. Classes were begun on November 24 with 160 pupils...the majority coming from the Armenian-Catholic community. There are also a few Greek Byzantine Catholics and some Gregorians,[2] However, the people in this latter group have incited unrest. I have made representations to their bishop.

Brother Hugonis has placed the school under the protection of the patron of Armenia, St. Gregory Illuminator. His institution will provide a significant counterbalance to the efforts of American Methodists

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Motherhouse Archives, ID n[5]. Archbishop Timoni's and the M.H. Brother Irlide's letters, May-June 1881 and Brother Verule's report, May 25, 1897.

2

Dissidents who professed the ancient Monophysite heresy that has prevailed in Armenia since the 5th

century.

who propagate English as well as unflattering ideas about France.° In a

second letter dated December 27, the Consul added:

> The Brothers' school is the first educational foundation worthy of the name in Trabzon. Instruction is conducted in French, but with lessons in Armenian and Turkish. Opposition has quieted down; the Gregorian Bishop has indicated the most conciliatory attitude.

Querry, as a diplomat concerned with his country's interests, was delighted to find the new educators were influential allies, not only in opposition to Anglo-Saxons, but also against "the machinations of the Russians".

Finally, after seven months, on August 3, 1882, the successful outcome of the Brothers' work was published: public examinations had just been completed by the local authorities.

> The children had a good understanding of what had been taught them; they speak our language with a great deal of facility and excellent pronunciation. Some conversations in French, Turkish and Armenian drew applause from those in attendance. The Gregorian Bishop, who was present, had to agree and admit that the whole thing went beyond his expectations. The schoolboys were notable for their good behavior, their liveliness and a sort of self-possession that was not unbecoming.

The Brothers taught them tuition-free in spite of rather heavy expenses, especially a rent of about 2,000 francs. But the Consul took the liberty of asking for a subsidy for St. Gregory's school from the Minister — who, at the time, was Mr. Freycinet. In Paris financial assistance was planned for the following year.'

The school's reputation spread rapidly throughout Armenia. In 1883, Bishop Melchissedechian of Erzurum asked that the Religious teachers be sent to his episcopal city. From the shores of the Black Sea to the city in the mountains was a painful and perilous journey of some eight days duration. Brother Hugonis undertook it in order respond to the invitation of a Christian community. And on frequent occasions thereafter canonical visits brought him back to Erzurum.

He entrusted the organization of the school to Brother Simeon of Mary (Joseph Eman), a curious and attractive man, an Egyptian Catholic who was born in Al-Mansiira in 1853. As a pupil of the Brothers

[1] Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Turkey, 1872-1882, box no. 5.

in his native land between 1860 and 1869, he was planning to become a teacher. In order to finish his studies he went to Marseille where he entered the Brothers' Congregation and, equipped with French diplomas, he taught for twelve years under his Religious name of Brother Simeon of Mary in the southern province. On orders from his Superiors, who thought enough of him to conduct a sensitive mission, he left France, and until 1894 directed Erzurum with intelligence. When he first began, he was given as his assistant Brother Sylvius, who was Brother Hugonis' nephew; the latter was accidentally killed in a ravine in 1887. The Visitor was only the more dedicated Armenia which had cost him the life and earthly affection of a close relative and a cherished disciples.'

* *

In 1877 Brother Adrian of Jesus' successor arrived to expand the responsibilities of the apostolic worker. The saintly Brother and pioneer of the Institute's work in Egypt,[2] on March 3 of that year had rendered to God his beautiful, humble, austere and courageous soul. Brother David Leo replaced him at the head of the College and the tuition-free school; but he was not given the title nor the function of Visitor. The major Superiors believed that the time had come to combine, as in the past, the entire Near East under a single leader. The burden of these responsibilities did not crush a man like Brother Hugonis who was able to get others to work for him and relied on the competence and the dedication of gifted associates.

There was no relaxation of effort in the Alexandria region, which was advancing toward the realization of basic goals, in particular, to the opening of a Novitiate. Brother Adrian had earlier cultivated a number of vocations. In the beginning of 1874 he assembled a group of Postulants about Brother Evagre, at St. Joseph's College set up in Ramleh, in what was still semi-desert which, enriched by alluvial water, was not long in becoming a sort of marvelously green and blossoming Eden.[3] Alfred Giordano,

1 Bulletin des Be()les chritiennes for July 1913, pp. 222-223. — Archives of the Secretary-general, Constantinople file.

[2] On the beginnings of the Brothers of the Christian Schools in Egypt, see Vol. VI of the present work, pp. 374-392.

[3] On July 2, 1873, by way of Mr. Bacos, one of the principle owners of the sandy spaces of Ramleh, Brother Adrian of Jesus signed the deed of purchase for the Gerlin property. St. Joseph's College opened on the first of the following October and continued to be known by the name of "Bacos" that had been given to the entire neighborhood. (Archives of the District of Alexandria, *Historique de la maison de Ramleh.*

a former pupil in the tuition-free school of St. Catherine's was the first one to apply for admission to the Brothers' Institute.[1] Seven other young men followed him. Almost immediately after having received the Religious habit, one of them as early as February and the rest of the group in June, were moved to the city by Brother Visitor and given into the care of Brother Gemel of Mary. It was a provisional arrangement and not very satisfactory. Brother Gemel had to divide his time between his classes in the College and his Novices. Practically no further recruits applied.

This was the situation in 1878. And then, with advice from Brother David Leo, Brother Hugonis decided on a return to Ramleh. On January 7, he wrote to the Assistant, Brother Aimarus that an independent site had to be built for a Novitiate in the garden at St. Joseph's, at an estimated coast of 37,600 fancs. But St. Catherine's in Alexandria as well as Kadilthy College covered the major portion of the expenses. Indeed, it was intended to train teachers for the entire District — European Turkey, Asia Minor and Egypt. While the Near East could not immediately supply the required personnel, recruits would be sought among young men of good will in European nations. Brother David Leo became the chief architect of this project: through contact with the clergy in France, Italy, Germany and Luxembourg, he obtained a number of candidates; and he went as far away as England to find others. Brother Gemel of Mary continued to be their Director; and then the position was entrusted to Brother Jouannet. As early as 1882 there were fifty Novices, and the building which housed them became too small. Brother Hugonis in his report of February 1, asked the Regime for autho-

rization to add to it.[2]This sort of profusion, nevertheless, was not to last. We find the Assistant, Brother Raphaelis, emphasizing the inadequacy of the results and proposing a new system.[3] A few years more after the Assistant's visit

[1] His Religious name was Brother Emmanuel Joseph, and for sixteen years taught Ramleh's schoolboys, and then directed Port Tewfik school. Faithful to his vows, lie died in 1915 in the Community on the Island of Malta.

[2] Motherhouse archives, file ID el. — Obituaries of Brother Hugonis (1901) and Brother David Leo

(1912). — Victor Guerin, *La France catholique en Egypt,* 1887, pp. 76-77.

[3] See below, pg. 413 *et sq.*

the Ramleh Novitiate was continuing an operation at a much reduced pace.

Teaching groups experienced no repercussions from this decline. Fed principally by the French Districts, they responded adeptly and successfully to every demand of the moment. Brother Ideuil Casimir, Brother Evagre's successor at St. Joseph's College, directed sixty pupils in 1878 and eighty-five in 1882.[1] It was a modest institution in comparison with the educational center at St. Catherine's, where the figure of 800 pupils that had been estimated at the death of Brother Adrian of Jesus rose to 914 in 1881: 139 resident pupils, 280 semi- residents and for the combined tuition-free school and pay College, 495 day pupils.[2] To poor children the Institute freely dispensed not only instruction but textbooks, clothing and food.

It had already become desirable to enlarge the structure and to remodel. But the Brothers, occupants of a building which remained in dependency upon and under the control of Franciscan ownership, had no options. In order to expand and breath freely, Brother Hugonis was inclined to move the residence school out of town.[3]

A sudden upheaval would, for a time, sweep away the ordinary concerns, the irritating misunderstandings, and upset every project. The future of European and Christian activities in Egypt were seriously threatened in 1882 by Arabi Pacha's insurrection.

Mohammed Ali and his heirs, Said and Ismail, had opened up the country to Western influence. France, through the aid and counsel granted to the Viceroys, and then through the brilliant enterprise of Ferdinand de Lesseps created for itself an undeniably predominate position. Its historic traditions, its economic interests and its African policies had done enough to justify its role. Furthermore, the discoveries and studies of its learned Egyptologists had won for it an extraordinary level of prestige. The disciples of John Baptist de La Salle were able, in the area of pedagogy, to enhance this intellectual and moral influence.

A second nation intended to intervene with the

[1] District archives, *Historigue de Ramleh.*

[2] *Souvenir du centenaire de Parrvie des Freres en Egypt,* 1847, pg. 49. — Of the 914 pupils, 731 were Catholic.

[3] District archives, Visitor's correspondence, 1881-1882.

dynasty and on Egyptian soil: England, which wanted no obstacle on its route to India. Fiercely it had counteracted Lesseps. Once, in spite of the efforts of the British government, the Suez Canal had been completed, a skillful manoevre enabled the English to inject themselves into the project.

The Khedive Ismail, overwhelmed with debt, sought to sell 176,602 bonds which represented his portion of the capitalization of the International Corporation: Prime Minister Disraeli purchased them in 1875.

As Egypt's financial situation became catastrophic, a Franco-English "condominium" was set up in order to introduce a sort of order into the Egyptian administration. Ismail was hard put to tolerate this kind of supervision. And in August of 1879, he put up an opposition to the two powers that imposed their wills upon him: he lost his throne. His son Tewfik turned out to be more docile. But then severe resistance arose in the army and in the general population against European interference. A Colonel by the name of Arabi assumed leadership of the movement, and during 1882 a triumphant nationalism imposed him upon the Khedive as the Minister of War.'

That was the beginning of a bloody period. The governments in London and Paris agreed to send a naval squadron to Alexandria. The appearance of these vessels gave rise to Moslem fury.

The "handwritten journal of St. Catherine's College"[2] tells us what happened. On June 11, Sunday in the Octave of Corpus Christi, the personnel at Ramleh joined the Community in the city for a procession when it was learned that the Egyptians had killed several Europeans. The religious ceremony had to be cancelled. Night came without further horror, and the Brothers thanked God for having protected them.

But the next day panic spread through the Christian quarter. Most Western families went down to the port and boarded any boat that was getting ready to leave Egypt. "The stampede is total," wrote the chronicler, "today we lost more than four-fifths of our pupils." On June 19 (he continues) "there remain so few of them that they can all be put into three classrooms."

[1] *Histoire de to Nation egyptienne* (published under the editorship of Gabriel Hanotaux), Vol. VI, (Egypt from 1801 to 1882, by Francis Charles-Roux, pp. 334 *et sq.*

[2] Archives of the District of Alexandria.

On the 23th the Novitiate took refuge in St. Catherine's, since the Ramleh suburb was particularly exposed to fanatics and looting. Three days later a serious decision was adopted: all novices and some of the Brothers would flee by sea to Palestine. A second group was to go to Constantinople.

July came, and the French fleet withdrew on the orders from the French Prime Minister Freycinet, who was still confident that he could obtain a solution through diplomatic means. The English, on the other hand, had opted for force.

The worst excesses on the part of the populace were to be feared. As a consequence the French Consul explicitly ordered Brother David Leo and the last of the Brothers remaining with the Director to go aboard the *Said,* a ship offering safe retreat. The order was given and executed on July 8. On the 11th the British navy bombarded Alexandria. One of the bombs struck the College's parlor, but without exploding. On the 12th, Arabi soldiers and the common people in Alexandria, breaking loose, pillaged, burned and killed.

With the rapid occupation of the city by English forces, massacres and fires were halted. As early as the 14th of July, one of the Brothers, Brother Bartholomew, who had remained in the port during the bombardment, returned to the school where two faithful servants welcomed him. Gradually, the exiles returned, the Director among the first. Brother Hugonis, who arrived in Egypt on August 12, was, in the course of the month, followed by the Brothers who had previously taken refuge in Jerusalem. Regular life began once again in a house which had suffered relatively very little damage, while devastation was piling up in the city. The reopening of classes had been fixed for September 5, but only about sixty pupils showed up on that day.

The appearance of safety took root almost immediately. In January of 1883, the school had nearly returned to its former pupil-population, since 419 boys were taking classes in the College and 415 were enrolled in the tuition-free school.[1] Around the same date, the head of the institution

[1] There was a rather large proportion (28%) of "English pupils" in the tuition-free school. These were primarily Maltese, who were numerous in Mediterranean port cities. During this period, the Brothers had few or no non-Catholics outside the pay-College. In the popular schools in Alexandria, alongside Catholics of the Byzantine Rite, there were Italians, French, Austrians and a few Spaniards. (Motherhouse archives, Register #19 (transcription by Brother Donat Charles).

specified as follows the types of educational program offered by the College:

> Teaching is conducted in French. However, depending upon the wishes of the parents, the Arab, Italian, English, German, Greek, Latin and Hebrew languages are taught. What is special to St. Catherine's College is that it provides an education demanded by the actual needs of society, i.e., for the well-to-do class, to train young men equipped with culture and education; to supply banks with workers competent in business matters; to merchants, people who know how to keep books, and initiated into the theoretical details of commerce, financial operations and ocean-going freight; and finally to prepare candidates for the schools of arts and crafts in Aix, Chalons and Angers.'

Success in such a task required optimism, courage and perseverance, and there was no dearth of difficulties. The wretched indifference of French policy in Egypt threatened in a striking way to isolate the Brothers, and perhaps abandoned them to suffocation in a hostile atmosphere. To the problems raised by being settled in a foreign land were added the irritants resulting from national jealousy and rivalry. While in the past Bishop Perpetuo Guasco had shown the Brothers the most paternal kindness and devoted cooperation, the same thing was not true of the Apostolic Delegate in 1883, Archbishop Anacleto Chicaro, who was unmistakably anti-French, an attitude that on many occasions broke out into the open. The Brothers were badgered for their literary gatherings, their civil associates and their non-Catholic pupils. There were other ploys that threw a strange light on the prelate's mind: "The Archbishop of Alexandria roused by his burning zeal to propagate the Italian language, his native tongue, thought he could rescind the subsidy from Propagation of the Faith funds provided to our tuition-free schools." In these terms, on November 27, 1883, Brother Hugonis put Brother Raphaelis on his guard. The entire subsidy benefitted the Italian schools begun by Bishop Chicaro. The Brother Visitor asked that the Counsel for the Charity, whose headquarters were in Lyons, be informed. A little later, Cardinal Pitra, the Protector of the Institute,

[1] Motherhouse archives, Register #19. While some pupils studied Latin, it took place elsewhere than in the school building, and most likely, under the direction of a Franciscan priest. As regards Greek what the prospectus refers to is modern Greek, which was spoken by many families in Alexandria.

and Count Lefebvre Behaine, the French ambassador, would make representations to the Holy See.'

Fortunately, in Paris as well as in Rome, the importance of the Christian and civilizing mission assumed in the Near East by French-speaking teachers was understood. Consuls at work in the country and naval officers, when they put in at ports, become aware of undertakings and achievements, subsequently informed their higher superiors. In 1883 Captain Mathieu, commanding the *Thetis,* wrote a detailed report to the Ministry concerning the beginnings and the vicissitudes of St. Catherine's College. Inquiring into the way in which the French Republic could support the project, he stated that "sending academic honors to Brother David Leo would not be enough". The Brother and his associates need to be efficaciously supported, if we wish "to help to regain what we have lost of our influence over the past year".

> We can: 1. ask the Holy See either to cede to the Brothers without cost the property and buildings of the existing College or allow them to purchase them; 2. to grant the pupils bachelor diplomas in literature or in science, in place of what is done for the Imperial Ottoman Secondary School in Constantinople.[2]

There were too many obstacles of a legal and psychological nature to take appropriate action toward the realization of the first suggestion. On the other hand, Captain Mathieu himself took in hand the implementation of the second.

At the end of their studies the older pupils had already been examined "by a Committee composed of distinguished Europeans, presided over by the French Consul."[3] There was a question of giving official status to the decisions of this Committee. On July 17, 1884, Brother David Leo, Director, thanked the obliging and tenacious mediator:

> The initiatives you have been so kind to undertake on our behalf with the government have just ended in the most successful way: the Minister of Public Education has authorized our pupils who have earned a regular certificate at the end of their studies in our institution

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[1] Motherhouse archives, file ID el. — Archives of the District of Alexandria, St. Catherine's College file, correspondence, 1881-1887.

[2] Motherhouse archives, copy of the cited report, #19.

[3] Note sent to the commander of the *Thetis by* Brother David Leon, 1883. (Motherhouse archives, Register cited.

to enter institutions of higher studies to which admission has hitherto not been granted except upon the reception of a bachelor's degree.' The minister alluded to was Armand Fallieres; and it was in concurrence with his colleague, Jules Ferry, at the time head of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, that he had come to his decision. Henceforth, a "special session" would be held each year in Alexandria and the French diploma would be issued in due form to candidates who had successfully completed their examinations.[2]

The stimulus given the College in Alexandria by Brother David Leo was provided the College in Cairo by Brother Gervais of Mary. Between 1860 and 1879, the initiative and the effort, the marvelous self-effacement of the Brothers had been put forth under the leadership of the saintly Brother Ildefonsus,[3] who had consolidated the foundations of the project; while the French government had granted him a number of subsidies,' especially during the period in which a financial crisis had begun to worsen in Egypt. The Director had been able to surmount the principal difficulties the perseverance inspired by the "spirit of faith". He was assisted by twenty-six Brothers in the education of about 300 pupils, nearly equally divided into paying classes and tuition-free classes.[5] The future seemed secure, provided that the staff received "new blood". Brother Hugonis indicated to the Regime on July 15, 1877, that the teaching personnel was "exhausted by age and the climate"; and he repeated the remark of the Franciscan Father Guardian: "Your Community is quite edifying; but with regard to educational programs, they no longer answer to current needs."[6]

Two years later, Brother Gervais of Mary became the restorer of St. Joseph's in Khoronfish. That he had "an eager, apostolic nature", was a description given of the new Director

[1] Note sent to the commander of the *Thais* by Brother David Leon, 1883. (Motherhouse archives, Register cited.

[2] *Le Lotus,* Bulletin St. Catherine's College, for 1928, pp. 10-11. — The first students to obtain these diplomas in 1885 were George Dibo, Jules Lombardo, Charles and Ange Luzianovich and Aristide Rotta. *(Centenaire,* pg. 238.)

[3] Concerning the Khoronfish school prior to 1874, see Vol. VI of the present work, pp. 387-391.

[4] Archives of the Foreign Ministry, Egypt file, "Religious Assistance," box no. 10, correspondence of the French Consulate in Cairo, 1876-1877-1878.

[5] *Centenaire,* pg. 162.

[6] Archives of the District of Alexandria.

in the accounts of the institution that have come down to us. He looked like an Old Testament prophet, with a magnificent beard that had rapidly turned grey, a deeply penetrating gaze shaded by thick eyebrows, while his colorful language inspired both respect and confidence. With "Francis Boulon", who had come from French mountain country and from an environment created by a religious people, his will was braced for prolonged resistance and his heart overflowed with fiery optimism. Where he was concerned there could be no fear of routine; prayer and work went hand-in-hand. Dedicated associates shared his activities: Brother Gervais of Mary was supported by Brother Sagittarius, who in 1880 was Sub-director; among "missionary" vocations, this man from Avignon, a Novice at the age of sixteen years, was one of the most generous. As a young man in 1845 he was drawn to the Island of Reunion. Thereafter, as a mature young man, Brother Sagittarius turned up in Burma and Malaysia. He was to remain in Egypt until, a man in his seventies, he would go into a well-deserved retirement in Palestine, taking up residence next door to the Basilica of the Nativity.' As chaplain, Khoronfish College had Father Frederic, a true son of St. Francis, a gripping preacher, the servant of the poor, the afflicted and the sick, and a tireless promoter of religious retreats. After giving a series of talks to St. Catherine's Community in Alexandria, the priest, deeply touched by the piety and the virtue of his audience, was pleased to volunteer his services to the Brothers in Cairo. For thirteen years, except for interruptions occasioned by the demands of the apostolate, he carried on a most effective ministry among pupils and teachers. Having finally immigrated to Canada in 1890, he died there with a reputation for sanctity.[2]

We can imagine the support that the Director received from such a chaplain. As a result of it his search for God could only have been more rapid. The tenacity of his temporal undertakings felt the effects of this supernatural boldness. Brother Gervais had scarcely taken over his position than projects followed one upon the other. The tuition-free school was in need of a thorough-going reconstruction. For the lack of something better, Brother Ildefonsus had set it up in the college building, where the two institutions were mixed up and got in each other's way. An old Arabian mansion, abandoned and nearly in ruins, stood about seventy-five yards away, on Ramleh Street:

[1] Obituary, 1899.

[2] *Centenaire,* pp. 196-198.

Brother Gervais bought it and improved its appearance, postponing a complete job of remodelling. Pupils were admitted there in February of 1880, and after a few months 272 of them had crowded into the place. The following year Khoronfish, now somewhat decongested, grew by four classrooms and a study hall. Thought was being given to the construction of a second story that would open up this building that was tightly immured among the hovels of the old quarter.[1]

But in Cairo as in Alexandria political events interrupted this work. The news of the bombardment of the great Egyptian port reached the capital: it aroused popular fury, now fuelled by Arabi's propaganda. Most Europeans fled. Christian families, foreign and native, took refuge at St. Joseph's College. The Brothers enjoy universal respect, and perhaps their residence would be spared. One of their pupils whose father, Sami Pacha, was a partisan of the nationalists, told his teachers: "As long I attend the college, have no fear. But be careful when you don't see me around any more."[2]

The danger increased, and the consular authorities prescribed retirement to Palestine or Syria. Most of the Community left for Jerusalem. Brother Gervais of Mary, on July 16, 1882, informed Brother Hugonis of this decision:

> At their request and forcefully defended, Brothers Polamion, Nearchus, Sagittarius, Idesbaud, Cade Joseph, Sigebert of Mary and Agathonicus have remained here with their Director and the Father Chaplain in order to meet the many needs involved in housing the 180 persons who have taken refuge in our school and, should occasion arise, in order to earn the palm of martyrdom...The situation, as of today, can be briefly put as follows: there generalized terror out of fear of massacre; there Arabic and Bedouin mobs that come from Alexandria and its vicinity; the railroad between Alexandria and Cafr Daourd has been cut; there has been the departure of several thousands new recruits for Arabi's army...; in the city there is a mournful silence, but everywhere the harsh police.. .[3]

[1] District archives, note sent by Brother Gervais of Mary to Brother Hugonis, June 2, 1882; in it he announces the beginning of new construction. — Cf. *Centenaire,* pg. 166.

[2] *Centenaire* pg. 167.

[3] District archives.

Fortunately, in fact, Cairo had an intelligent, humane, and dynamic chief of police, under whose protection the Brothers and their guests had been living. They kept themselves in provisions either by venturing out on the town or by opening the compound to vendors in the neighborhood. "Imagine some thirty Arabic campsites and you will have a picture of actual appearance of the College," the Director wrote to his higher Superior. And toward the end of this letter, the parts of which were written at various moments between July 17 and 24, he adds: "It's been two weeks since we have been hanging suspended, as it were, over the dreadful chasm that was dug under us by the bombardment of Alexandria."[1]

Brother Sigebert confided to his diary his carefully balanced reflections on the horror of the situation. Learning about an edict issued by the British forces, he noted on August 27: "I certainly wasn't eager to see the sons of an all too proud Albion come to Cairo and distribute Protestant Bibles and impose on us, in their tongue, rules that could strip us of our precious freedom. On the other hand, I did not have any greater satisfaction in observing the Koran and the revolution enjoying the victory."

On September 15, with a sigh of relief, but also with patriotic regrets (unfortunately, all too well-founded) and a pessimistic forecast which, thank God, events would totally discredit: "At last! the English are in Cairo...I would genuinely rejoice in their victory if it did not represent a defeat for France and a death blow to our schools."[2]

A confrere of Brother Sigebert, Brother Nearchus, was more hopeful. In the midst of the crisis, he continued the stonework on Ramleh Street, where gradually the school, with its eight huge classrooms intended to replace the "Bhahari mansion" was being build.[3]

Obviously the English occupation could not bestow any special favors on the Brothers' projects, since these were promoted by their native land. And, henceforth, the attitude of the Khedive government was patterned out of necessity if not willingly — on directives from London. The change was measured by the financial grants from which, during certain years, the Catholic schools

[1] District archives.

[2] *Ibid.* Cf. *Bulletin des Ecoles chretiennes,* for October 1909, pg. 325.

[3] Brother Nearchus' Obituary, 1900.

had been the beneficiaries. In 1881 an Egyptian official granted the Brothers a sum equivalent to 6,620 francs; in 1883, the subsidy was maintained, and, as a matter fact, slightly raised. But in 1884 the grants were reduced by two-thirds, and during the following year they were completely rescinded. The ambitions of some statesmen, whom the British Commission could not oppose, strove to bring about a national education with programs and methods patterned on European models. After a scrupulous inspection of Khoronfish, Ali Pacha Moubareg, a would-be reformer, told Brother Gervais of Mary: "We are going to open school; there is nothing for you to do but to leave."[1]

The fulfillment of such plans, while only partially successful, would not stand in the way of the splendid expansion of the Brothers' efforts. The Catholic Church and — to tell the truth — France had, thanks to the Brothers especially, had enlarge the scope of their moral influence in this Islamic nation, "militarily occupied by England", a Protestant nation. This did not take place without exhausting labor, bitter disappointments, nor without, on occasion, fearful opposition. At certain times and places, it became necessary to struggle in the educational arena with very unequal arms. Others were more wealthy, possessed of greater political support and more worldly prestige. The Brothers were protecting the superiority of an educational philosophy based upon an experience that was two centuries old and on tried-and-true skills; they did not skimp on zeal. And in a "fair fight" they made use of their freedom.

The construction of the tuition-free school in Cairo called the "Holy Family" was completed in 1885. From then on the school enrolled more than 450 pupils. There was also another several hundreds pupils in St. Joseph's College.[2] Of the forty-four teachers employed in both institutions, thirty-six were Brothers: — twenty-eight French, four Italians and a single Englishman, while three were Egyptian either by birth or by family residence.

The eight lay-teachers were all Egyptians.[3] Such a composition faculty personnel enabled the Arabic language to take its place alongside French and for

[1] District archives, *Historigue manuscrit du college Saint-Joseph de Khoronfish.*

[2] In 1884 there were 354. — *Bulletin des Bcoles chretiennes,* for October 1909, pg. 326.

[3] *Ibid.*

a divided pupil-population, i.e., European and native, to receive, along with an introduction to the tools of civilized life, an education that was imbued with the spirit of religion.

* *

In the eyes of the Brothers in Egypt, Palestine and the Holy Land must clearly have taken on — as long ago for the sons of Israel living along the Nile — the shape and the substance of a "Promised Land". It was next door to them, just beyond the desert lands at the frontier, or even closer and more accessible by sea, from Alexandria to Jaffa. There, like St. Louis King of France, freed from his Egyptian chains, they longed to go and, peacefully, to take up once again the tradition of the Crusades. Jerusalem drew them, just as once Rome had acted as a magnet for the hopes of their holy Founder. To establish their Congregation in the land of Our Lord Jesus Christ, on soil dampened by the Divine blood would have been happiness, reward and grace. It did not seem possible for the Superiors to fail to encourage such a religious undertaking.

Such a project, suggested in February 1864 to Brother Philippe by a Grenoble lawyer, the enthusiastic, well-informed man of action, Mr. Girard, was without issue.[1] However, the question had thus been raised; it absorbed

idealistic minds; and it inspired prayers. The Brothers who dwelt in "Misrai" would have to resolve it.

In 1874 Brother Adrian of Jesus, at the moment extremely concerned with the future of his school in Alexandria, had obtained permission from the M. H. Brother Jean Olympe to send twelve of his associates on a pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre. Two of the pilgrims, Brother Evagre, Director of the Novitiate in Ramleh, and Brother Rambien, Inspector at St. Catherine's College, were specially commissioned to inquire into the possibilities of a school in Palestine.

The Patriarch, Bishop Bracco, received them kindly. Father Joseph, the Vicar for the Franciscans in the Holy Land was unsparing in his encouragement. There was one man in particular who was an enthusiastic adherent of the Institute's presence in the Holy Places: the French Consul, Mr. Patrimonio. He was delighted at the thought that the sons of St. John Baptist de La Salle as pioneers of.

Christian civilization would, at the same time, do as much for French culture. Indeed, at this time, only Father Ratisbonne, the founder of the *Ecce Homo* sanctuary, the Carmelites and the Sisters of St. Joseph of the Apparition were reminders in Jerusalem of the "Eldest daughter of the Church". The Brothers, teaching Religious, would introduce an extraordinary element into this tiny troop of contemplative Christians. Through them the name of the "French" would be respected and held in benediction by the people in the Near East.[1]

Brothers Evagre and Rambien, playing the roles of Josua and Caleb, their hearts full of hope and their memories crowded with fascinating stories, returned to Brother Adrian. Brother Visitor approved the report they wrote and sent it, on September 25, 1874, to the Superior-general. "If the Institute so desires," declared the two messengers, "Jerusalem will soon welcome us and both religion and France will bless our dear Congregation, whose crown presently lacks this gem."

Talk about a Crusade had spread. When the General Chapter assembled at Oudinot Street on July 2, 1875 after Brother Jean Olympe' death, one of the "notes" that had been submitted dealt with a foundation in the Holy Land. "Time is getting short," wrote the author, Brother Symmachus, in lines dated from the Motherhouse;[2] "the place has been overrun, from one year to the next, by schools of various sects." To the question as to who would pay the expenses, he replied:

> Perhaps it would be preferable to handle these ourselves, and to establish there something of the Institute's own. There then would be nothing in the way of seeking annual funds for the Near Eastern School Project...Let the Regime launch a subscription, leaving to the dedication of each Community the amount of money pledged.

With regard to the kind of institution, Brother Symmachus inclined in favor of a normal school. "There is great need for this type of school." But, of course, alongside it elementary and tuition-free grades would be operated. "Since Palestinian Catholics are poor, pupils would be provided with school supplies, and, indeed, for the more needy, with clothes and food."

There could be no doubt about the repercussions of such a gesture: "The Christian world would be edified to learn that the family of the Venerable De La Salle had settled in the Holy City."

All that would be necessary would be to obtain the consent of the Patriarch

[1] *Bulletin des Ecoles chretiennes,* article cited, pp. 318-319.

[2] Motherhouse archives, file ID n.

who was probably quite positively inclined. As for relations with the Franciscan Fathers they must be worked out and maintained "in the most conciliatory spirit". As long as they are not importuned for any financial assistance, "there will be no difficulty about getting along with them".

The proposal ended on a theme thoroughly inspired by faith: "While, on so many other occasions, the Superiors have been forced to yield to the entreaties of a pastor, a Bishop or a prince, a *fortiori* the Voice that reaches us from Calvary should secure from us whatever sacrifices are necessary."

And, in a "footnote" in which reference is made to "a small orphanage on the road to Bethlehem", to be gotten, perhaps, at the hands of the Patriarch and under something less than favorable conditions, the argument concludes as follows: "Isn't it only just that we prefer a country which, as St. Paul wrote to the Romans, having bestowed on us its spiritual gifts, deserves to receive in return something of our material abundance?"

Such an burning plea paved the way for the success of the cause. Brother Adrian of Jesus felt that he had been understood and support, when on January 22, 1876, he outlined in a new report the plan for two institutions, one in Jerusalem and the other in Bethlehem: "God wills", he proclaimed, that the Institute place one near the tomb, the other near the manger, of Our Lord.

On the 23rd of the following month, Brother Floridus, the Procurator-general to the Holy See, informed Brother Irlide of a 'very long and carefully considered" report that the Patriarch had sent to the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda. The work planned for the Brothers would extend to Jaffa and Nazareth. But the prelate "insisted particularly on an immediate foundation in Jerusalem" which was to take the form of a Normal School for elementary teachers. It had become urgent in this way to combat the vigorous propaganda of Protestantism. Brother Floridus added that he himself had observed that the Franciscan Superior-general was quite clear in his assertions: according to him, his priests in the Holy Land wanted to have the cooperation of the Brothers of the Christian Schools. In order that "the project admit of the least possible delay", it would be important to assign a Brother to the site immediately.[2]

"Heaven has heard your prayers", the Superior-general wrote almost immediately to the Visitor of Egypt. "It's been done. There is no way of putting of the plan, at least as concerns

[1] *Rom.*, xv, 27.

[2] Motherhouse archives, file KH n[2].

the Patriarch of Jerusalem and the Rev. Father Guardian. Brother Evagre seems to me to be the natural choice to go to Jerusalem."'

The two pilgrims of 1874 set out once again. Their mission concluded with the most satisfying results: the Franciscans handed over their schools to the Brothers; the Patriarch offered land on which to build; and the French Consul promised to obtain an annual subsidy from his government.[2]

Nor did the promise prove empty. A letter from the Duke Decazes reached Oudinot Street on November 24, 1876: "Brother Superior-general: since the project that your Institute is planning to undertake in Palestine appears to me to present exceptional motives for the generosity of the French government, I have decided that, beginning on the first of next January a subsidy of 5,000 francs a year will be granted to the Brothers of Christian Doctrine from the funds of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in order promote the realization of the project..." [3]

In his letter of acknowledgement on the following day Brother Irlide let it be known that the order had been given to begin construction in Jerusalem. "Although moderate and modest (he hoped) that it would be worthy of France's attentiveness." [4]

A Circular in December announced to the entire Institute the impending foundation and, for its success, asked for prayers and good-will offerings:

> In response to requests coming from the Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith and to the wishes of the Holy Father, the Brothers of the Christian Schools are opening a school in Jerusalem intended to serve not only the children in the Holy City but also young men in the vicinity who wish to become teachers in the villages of Palestine; important population centers, to the extent possible, will have schools directed by the Brothers.[5]

In accordance with instructions from the Superior-general, Brother Evagre, with the title of Director, left Alexandria on November 25 in order to assume responsibility for laying the ground-work. It was the beginning of a thirty-seven year apostolate,

[1] Motherhouse archives, File ID n, letter dated March 6, 1876.

[2] *Bulletin* cited, pp. 319-321.

[3] Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Palestine, "Religious Assistance," box #10, minutes dated November 23, 1876.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] Circular, Vol. XV, December 1876.

one of the most fruitful and also the most famous in the history of the Brothers. Brother Evagre undertook it at the height of his powers and with all the resources of a man of experience. He had been born in St. Oer on July 15, 1831 and, in 1850, was admitted into a Congregation which he had known and loved for having been educated, as a boy, by several teachers who were Christian Brothers. Six years later, now perpetually professed, he directed the school in Desvres in the Boulogne area. He built a chapel, a study hall and was awarded honors by the educational authorities. And then, following the guidance of the Holy Spirit, he left for the East in October of 1862. A skillful and attractive teacher, he taught in the upper classes in Alexandria; and in 1873 he taught in the semi-residence school in Ramleh.

In qualities of mind and body Brother Evagre was a very attractive man. His blue eyes were those of a dreamer, but also a man of energy, imagination, clearsightedness, a great deal of optimism and kindness; his features were of a clear, high coloration that were early framed in a sort of halo of white, curly hair. The thin ovular face with somewhat high cheekbones, broad nostrils, drooping mustache and long goatee gave the Brother something of the likeness of a Chinese Mandarin — but a Mandarin without evasiveness, whose smiling, gracious civility was always spontaneous. He spoke calmly and without haste, always good-humoredly, in "evangelical" simplicity and gentleness. He stood erect, with something a martial air, with a hand extended cordially and open to receive, for Brother Evagre, a tireless founder and builder, could regard himself as a "mendicant Religious". He trusted in God, knew how to persuade people and rejected discouragement. "We succeed," he used to say, "when we combine the three verbs: desire, pray and act." And neither his mind nor his will diminished the role of the heart. He was devoted to people in the Middle East with a beautiful, strong and supernatural attraction: "If we find nothing but faults in the people to whom we bring the Gospel", he said on one occasion to Rene Bazin, "how can we love them? And if we don't love them, how can we do anything for them?"'

[1] *Choix de notices necrologiques,* Vol. II, pp. 314-342 (Brother Evagre, 1831-1914). — *Historique manuscrit du district de Saint-Oir.* — *Bulletin des Ecoles chretiennes* for April, 1914, pg. 145 (portrait of Brother Evagre), and for July 1914, pg. 245, (quotation from Rene Bazin's *Croquis de France et d'Orient).* — Georges Goyau, *Orientation catholiques,* pp. 206-209.

Upon their arrival in Jerusalem, Brother Evagre and his associate had no place to dwell. Father Gaudenzio Bonfigli, the Custodian of the Holy Places, offered them hospitality.

The Consul Patrimonio was eager to relate to the French Ambassador to the Sublime Port his conversation with "the delegates of the Superior-general of the Christian Brothers": "They will undertake immediately," explained a letter dated December 10, 1876, "the task of construction... The Patriarch has relinquished all ownership to the location situated at the center of the Christian Quarter." By actively urging the work, they hoped to start classes in about a year's time.

The French representative in Palestine believed that, at its outset, the educational project would meet with difficulties. The warm welcome accorded Brother Evagre and his companion by Father Gaudenzio did not prevent certain human considerations from playing their role: Would the Franciscans regret the loss of their ancient privileges? Would Italian nationalism stir up resistance among them? Regardless of what might be feared, the final success of the Brothers was beyond doubt. The project they had achieved in Egypt guaranteed their successful future in the Holy Land.'

The Ambassador, in transmitting a copy of these lines to Decazes, commented as follows: "The Brothers of the Christian Schools have contributed powerfully to making our language the most widespread idiom in the Near East; they never miss an opportunity to provide the most striking proofs of their dedication to their native land.[2]

From the very beginning Brother Evagre's plans were boldly conceived: what he meant to build in the area that had given him and over the ancient ruins of "Tancred's Tower,"[3] was a rather large group of structures that would include an elementary school, a Normal School and a Novitiate. The stages are worth noting: but it was necessary to chart future opportunities, the vehicles for advancement.

The laying of the cornerstone took place on April 27, 1877. The work ran into material obstacles that Brother Irlide detailed in a request put to the French Ministry on February 14, 1878: "Soil irregularities, awkward

[1] Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Palestine, box #10.

[2] ***Ibid.,*** letter dated January 10, 1877, signed: Bourgoing.

[3] Or the "Psephina Tower."

underground vestiges of the old tower, extensive excavations and the scarcity and cost of water": he was granted 7,000 francs on March 5, over and above the 5000 franks annually.' On October 15 Bishop Bracco and Mr Patrimonio came to inaugurate the new building admire its harmonious and noble lines. The Patriarch blessed the chapel dedicated to the Sacred Heart.

"Pupils already numbered more than 150," wrote Brother Irlide; "quite distinguished families, although schismatic, seek the privilege of admission for their children."[2] Five Brothers were appointed to teach.[3] To the elementary program, which consisted in daily exercises in French vocabulary and grammar, would be gradually added courses in commerce.

In 1882, 238 schoolboys were in attendance at the institution. In Jerusalem Mr. Langlais, who had succeeded Mr. Patrimonio (become the French Consul-general in Syria) wrote in his report dated March 30, 1883: "The school continues to flourish and perform the most distinguish service. This result is the product of the active, intelligent and patriotic direction of Brother Evagre." However, the bureaucrat noted that complete growth had not yet been achieved. There remained to be realized the projected Normal School and the Novitiate, essential parts of the Director's design. Why had these to be postponed? Langlais thought, as did Patrimonio: "The Latin Patriarch, rather sympathetic in the beginning, has become gradually less approving...He is beginning to prefer Italian schools to those of the Brothers. And as for the Custodian, he seems to seek ways to reduce the Brothers' role to that of simple elementary school teachers." And, quite candidly, the author of the report added: "In this, he is not too far off the mark, let it be admitted; for, if to the education of the children the Brothers were to add the education of teachers, they would become the masters of education in Palestine, where no institution, whether native or Italian, would be equipped to rival their activities."[4]

[1] Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Palestine, box #10.

[2] *Ibid.,* letter to the Ministry, dated November 23, 1878.

[3] *Bulletin des Ecoles chretiennes* for October 1913, pg. 324.

[4] Archives of the Ministry of foreign Affairs, Turkey 1882-1883, Jerusalern, Vol. XV, #141, report of the Consul to the Marquis de Noailles, Ambassador to Constantinople.

Indubitably competition became more acute. Two years earlier, Brother Candidus, Director of the College in Kadikoy, had received a visit from Commandant Torcy, the military attache in the French Embassy in Turkey. There was a question of getting Brother Hugonis to abide by a semi-official communication concerning the subject of schools to be opened: the French government wanted the Brothers to settle in Bethlehem, Nazareth as well as in Syrian Tripoli. The Embassy's representative, an expert in Syrian affairs, had personally insisted that the Congregation waste no time in committing itself.'

Brother Hugonis had informed the Superiors concerning these manoeuvres. Our statesmen, declared his letter of the 28th of February 1881, "frightened by the progress that the Protestant powers were making in the Near East through the schools, were seriously considering...promoting with all their power the foundation of a number of schools in the most important population centers of Palestine. Their intention is to have us operate them."'

In fact, Bartholomew Saint-Hilaire, as political director in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, told Brother Irlide on June 1 that he "was allocating to the Brothers' Institute 17,000 francs to subsidize the costs needed for starting a school for boys in Bethlehem, and 8,000 francs intended to defray the costs of setting up another school in Nazareth."[3]

The Brothers, however, had to wait for twelve years before becoming the teachers of the youngsters in Nazareth and Bethlehem. According to the quite categorical statement of the Consul Langlais, the obstacle had been raised by the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem.'

However, there were two compensations for Brother Evagre: one in Jaffa in 1882 and in Haifa in 1883. He was pleased to pay Gambetta the honor of both foundations.[5] These were the days of the "Great Ministry" when the eventual opening of Brothers' schools in these Mediterranean ports gave rise to discussions between the "Quai d'Orsay" and Oudinot Street and to promises of subsidies.

[1] Motherhouse archives, file ID o, Brother Candidus' letter to Brother Hugonis, February 15, 1881.

[2] Motherhouse archives, file ID n.

[3] *Ibid.,* file ID n.

[4] Report cited, dated March 30, 1883.

[5] Cf. Goyau, *Orientations catholiques,* pp. 206-207.

Once again in Jaffa the French diplomate discovered the "hostility of the Custodianship". In spite of this opposition, "the school had rapidly produced results worthy of notice": 152 pupils, notes Langlais' report, were admitted by December 31, 1882. It followed the same program of studies as in Jerusalem. Nevertheless, "an effort was made to provide an important place to commercial education, since the children who had to attend this school belonged, for the most part to business families." The governmental subsidy — of 17,000 francs — had allowed the renting and the remodelling of an extremely modest building.[2] After a few months, the first Brother Director, victim of his own dedication, was drown in attempting to save a young Israeli, one of his pupils. And under Brother Ursius, who succeeded him, the school population grew (in spite of the inconveniences of the location) and studies flourished.[3]

Speaking of the professional school opened in the Holy Land by Father Ratisbonne, the French Consul stressed the idea that the purposes of the priest and the Brothers were identical: these disinterested and courageous men intended "to inspire a love of work, to restore its dignity and to guarantee its advantages to the youth of this country."[4]

The time had come for new groups of Religious to go up to Jerusalem, the City of God. The Dominicans founded a School of Biblical Studies in 1882. The White Fathers opened St. Ann's College. The Assumptionists prepared to conduct "penitential pilgrimages" and, in order to accommodate the pilgrims, to build the center they called "Our Lady of France". The Daughters of Charity and later on the Cistercians continued the movements The Consul Destrees wrote the Minister Challemel-Lecour on November 26, 1883: "I am happy to be able to announce to Your Excellency that Cardinal Lavigerie, in a conversation he had recently in Algiers with Father Toulotte, the Superior of our Near Eastern College, St. Anne's in Jerusalem,

[1] Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, report cited, dated March 30, 1883.

[2] *Ibid.,* Turkey 1882-1883, Jerusalem, Consulate's political correspondence, Vol. XV, #46, report dated March 9, 1882.

3

Brother Ursius' Obituary, 1902.

4

Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Turkey 1882-1883, report cited, dated March 9, 1882.

[5] G. Goyau, *Histoire religieuse de la Nation francaise,* pp. 610-611.

informed him that His Holiness Leo XIII had just authorized, in a general way, the founding in Palestine of all the Missions that French Congregations have been wanting to establish there." The Holy See, disturbed by the designs of the Russian Orthodox, consented to allow France a larger influence.'

Among these "Westerners" whose peaceable forces resumed the tasks that had been begun by St. Louis, the Brothers of the Christian Schools deserve particular mention. Patrimonio had wished to have them, as early as 1884, in Beirut, Syria, alongside the Jesuits:

> As regards elementary education, the competition offered by the Biblical Societies [Protestant] is extremely serious...For that level of education what is needed is a popular Congregation such as the Brothers...Wherever they have been introduced they have secured the upper hand. In Jerusalem, Jaffa or Haifa they have attracted not only Catholics, whether "Uniates" or Orthodox, but also Moslems and even Israelis.

The Consul-general went on to recount the beginnings of the work in Haifa:

> The Carmelite fathers of Mount Carmel who, I am pleased to note, have for two years had the best possible dispositions toward French interests, have entrusted their parochial school in Haifa to the Brothers of the Christian Schools. That is a step in which I am delighted to say that I have played a role, because its success has been spectacular. From the time this school opened, Anglican missionaries have closed their's. At the Brothers' school there are six teachers and 160 pupils. The complete replacement of Italian Carmelites by French Religious in a school that was already in operation has dispensed us from having to seek prior permission from the Parte. [2]

Somewhat later the Brothers put up a building on land situated away from maritime congestion. The site was owned by the Spanish king Alphonso XII, Before dying, he made the generous gesture of leaving the far-off estate at the disposition of the Institute for a period of ninety years and for the nominal rental of five francs a year and

[1] Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Turkey 1882-1883, Jerusalem, Vol. xv, #7.

[2] Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Turkey, 1883-1884. Beirut, Vol. xxvii, #189, report of the French Consul-general in Syria to Mr. Jules Ferry, President of the Counsel, Minister of Foreign Affairs, May 17, 1884.

with the on-going stipulation that the Brothers would always maintain a school.'

* *

In 1885 the Institute's position in the Ottoman Empire and its dependencies was very strong. The foundations that had already been laid indicated the intention of remaining and carrying forward. Persisting projects set in motion greater achievements in the future.

There was at the head of the Institute a Superior who had apostolic convictions; he was intelligent and well-informed, doubtless, as well as particularly attentive to suggestions from Rome, and, following the example of his predecessors, an exemplary servant of the universal Church; but — and this was an essential quality of his character, he was extremely human, a man whose mind expanded in proportion to his heart. He commiserated with the ignorant as well as the suffering, and he eagerly supported the most disinherited of human beings. He could repeat the well-known verse, while emphasizing with all his Christian faith and charity: *Homo sum at nil humani a me alienum puto.*

The M.H. Brother Joseph "bore the East in his heart." To come to the assistance of populations afflicted by destitution, oppressed by tyranny, and blinded by error was an idea that was bound up with his tremendous desire to support his Congregation in a position of distinction in a region in which "the Good News" had been first proclaimed, where the Church had been born and, during the early centuries, had spread its light.

He insisted on being kept well-informed. As an Assistant, he had travelled throughout England and Ireland. In the course of his generalate, his visited his associates in Spain and in Austria. And he wouldn't have hesitated to go to the countries in the Near East if he had not taken over the reins of government of the entire Institute at a difficult period.

Two of his Assistants were his *missi dominici:* Brothers Phileter and Raphaelis. The former, the more senior of the two, seemed scarcely never to have any other role than that of following his travelling companion. For all that he allowed the latter to enter Cappadocia, Pontus and Armenia alone. Together they went to Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Smyrna and Constantinople.

The chief responsibilities of the journey rested with

[1] Archives of the Secretary-general, Haifa file.

Brother Raphaelis.' He had a well-earned reputation for enterprise, energy, candor, and influential zeal. His skill in dealing with civil and religious authorities won new friends for the Institute. He cast a sympathetic glance on the destitution he found in so many homes and, upon his return, strove to collect alms among Catholic groups. But his primary obligation was to make himself familiar with the spiritual and physical needs of the Brothers' Communities, measure the extent of the results they had obtained and expand the work to be accomplished, and to plan for recruitment and the relief of the workers. Giving all his attention to these questions, the Assistant returned several times to Brother Hugonis' District — in 1887, to visit each of the Communities in Egypt, in 1888 to preside at retreats in Smyrna, KadikOy and Ramleh. Until his tragic death in 1892, the Eastern Mediterranean continued to be at the top of his concerns.[2]

In a report to the Superior-general he committed the results of his 1885 inquiry that had been had lasted for five months, from January 15 to June 15. It was the document that served as the basis for the Regime's deliberations.[3]

The opening paragraph contained some elementary statistics: "The Institute provides religious and secular education to about 5,000 boys in the Near East. In this mission it employs the services of 188 Brothers who go to make up fourteen Communities."

Of the foundations which were thriving vigorously, Brother Raphaelis emphasized the oldest, one that had begun nearly fifty years earlier, the school in Smyrna, where twenty-four Brothers were working — ten in the tuition-free school, ten in the semi-residence school, and four others selected to do duty in the administration or the management; while five lay-teachers taught foreign languages or music. There were 450 pupils taught tuition-free and 150 paying pupils. The report continued:

> It is crucial for us to take good care of this foundation. There are many rival schools, extremely well run which, having copied us, are now our equals or have oustript us. There are two higher English schools, a Greek secondary school with 800 pupils, a large Jewish school, and several more, all

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[1] On Brothers Phileter and Raphaelis, see Vol. VII of the present work, pp. 40, 41, and 42.

[2] Brother Raphaelis' Obituary, 1892. — *Bulletin des Ecoles chretiennes* for October 1923, pp. 331-332.

[3] Motherhouse archives, file ID n[1].

flourishing, whether Greek, Armenian, a number of Turkish secondary schools, and the Vincentian residence school...[1]

He was an investigator who, as a man seeking to avoid every illusion, observed objectively. If his impartiality faltered, it was never to protect his own confreres: he feared the commendation that was capable of lulling his own associates into a false sense of security.

Nevertheless he was entirely familiar with the efforts they made, with their initiatives. One of the boldest of these and the most fruitful — the admission of non-Catholics to their schools — he had discussed with Bishop Rotelli, the Apostolic delegate in Constantinople. The latter had told him:

> The Church cannot condemn, especially in the Near East, mixed schools such as your own, to which families freely send their children, knowing very well that you teach everybody the doctrine taught by the Holy See. Nobody's freedom is being violated; and this type of school is quite of a piece with what goes on in these countries, where everything is "mixed" — family, society, relations...

The Brothers, then, could carry on along the road that had been opened up; all that was needed were young people who would go along. The urgent task had become one of bringing them together and training them. While in Ramleh, Brother Raphaelis had seemed to have gotten a poor impression; he had read in a file on events in the Near East a note that was dated June 15, 1885: "About fifteen Novices and as many Junior Novices, all of them difficult to train, even when it is possible..." It suddenly occurred to him to wonder: "Whether Ramleh was the right place for the Novitiate." "No!," came the immediate response: "The excessive heat undermines the formation of the young Religious. Besides the house is lacking in space, and the chapel is too small."[2]

Starting with these facts and mulling over this problem, Brother Raphaelis worked out the major portion of his report. The future was contained in the paragraphs that we shall quote:

> It seems to me that there is a failure in the current system of recruiting, which consists in sending Brothers fully-formed from our Novitiates, Scholasticates or our Communities

[1] "These," added the Brother Assistant, "are not ashamed to declare during ceremonies closing the school-year that the Brothers' schools provide an education for the poor, while they alone in Smyrna are in a position to supply a suitable education to well-to-do families."

[2] Motherhouse archives, file ID el.

> and among them those who have the least aptitude; or in transporting Postulants or Novices, sometimes inflamed by an enthusiasm from which they all too easily suffer, to Ramleh to make a more or less serious novitiate. The former of these hamper the progress of Communities; the latter lose patience in the course of their education...Wouldn't it be possible for France to have a special Novitiate for Junior Novices and Postulants whose desire to dedicate themselves to education in the Near East would be put to the test?

There might be a separate Scholasticate as the necessary supplement to a missionary Noviciate. Student-Brothers in such an institution would add a study of Near Eastern languages — Turkish, Arabic, Armenian and Modern Greek — to the program for the teaching credential. The task would be to equip them with a quite competent body of knowledge. Positions to which they are going to be assigned cannot be filled by inexperienced educators, by teachers of limited competence. The time for making-do, if it every existed, was long past. At this point, the Brother Assistant came back to the motives for his concerns and the reasons for fresh efforts that he had set forth in his suggestions concerning Smyrna:

> We are experiencing not only a period of the growth of our Institute in the Near East, but also the beginning of a struggle which will get livelier. The Greeks and Armenians, and all the schismatics and Free-thinkers, Protestants and others, the Russians, Italians do not take kindly to our presence in these regions...Furthermore, they are now our equals as regards methods; and since they have considerable monetary resources available to them, they are trying to surpass us. They are teaching all the languages and all the sciences. We have to use the same weapons.

How was such an urgent appeal received? Brother Joseph decided that the residence school, St. Maurice in Exile, situated in the Dauphine, would be converted into a Novitiate for the Near East. The setting, in spite of the name so suggestive of homesickness, was actually very attractive and gentle: — wooded hills and Southern vegetation, between Vienne on the Rhone and the plains of Valloire. A landowner, Mr. Dugas, had sponsored a Catholic school on this site in 1865; his widow agreed to an alteration in the use of the estate provided that tuition-free classes were provided to children in the village.

On orders from the Motherhouse, Brother David Leo left the Direction of St. Catherine's College in Alexandria to come and

draw up plans and seek out ways and means of laying foundations. Consumed by the missionary ideal and intensely attached to the people of the Near East, the saintly Brother would henceforth devote his life to awakening vocations similar to his own. For three years he was to be Director-general as well as recruiter. And, then, too immersed in the travels demanded by his work as a "fisher of men", he was relieved of his sedentary duties so that he retained only the title of "Director of Recruitment". He could be met with anywhere in France, but most often in the Cevennes, Provence, and Lower Languedoc. He was a guest at country rectories and with good families in villages. He spoke to pupils of the grandeur of the vocation of the Religious teacher and the rewards for sacrifices accepted at God's hands. He was constantly rehearsing some enjoyable story from the shores of the Bosphorus or the Valley of the Nile. And he brought his young recruits to St. Maurice.

Both materially and spiritually the institution owed him a great deal. It's budget rarely balanced, and so Brother David, whose relatives belonged to a wealthy middle class family, made up the deficit with money from his patrimony. He donated an organ and a number of beautiful fixtures to the Novitiate chapel.

Each year a new construction was added to the original building. From the seven Postulants admitted on August 10, 1885, the Novitiate rose rapidly to sixty. Under the guidance of Brother Pambon of Jesus in the Novitiate and Brother Toussaint Victor in the Scholasticate, the project, envisaged by Brother Raphaelis and realized and supported by Brother David Leo henceforth guaranteed a very well adapted personnel, well suited to the schools in Turkey and Egypt.[1]

* *

In 1891 the Scholasticate at St. Maurice was detached from the Novitiate and transported to the Island of Rhodes. Several reasons dictated this measure: for practice in languages it was obviously of interest to place the young Brothers in an environment of a Near Eastern population. Furthermore, French military law, which compelled Religious to army duty, granted priceless exemptions to teachers who served

[1] *Choix de notices,* Vol. II, pp. 238-243. — *Bulletin des Ecoles chretiennes* for January, 1907, pp. 38-40.

the national cause overseas. Since the regulation followed by the Scholastics — absorbed by literary and scientific studies — differed from that of the Novices, drawn up primarily to promote Religious and monastic observances, the complete separation of the two groups raised no difficulty.

Brother Raphaelis had inspired the decision. Here once again, for the execution, he got cooperation of Brother David Leo. Brother David conducted the first group of future missionaries to Rhodes. He supervised the beginnings of the occupation of the new quarters. And then leaving Brother Ideuil and Brother Prosper to continue the task, and only returning to the island from time to time to accompany his candidates, he resumed his apostolic work in France.'

The Institute has had a school in Rhodes since December of 1889. This history of this foundation is bound up too closely with the account of the transfer of the Scholasticate for us to talk about it without further ado.

The French Consul, Gustave Cirilli, in 1885, undertook steps to procure a Brothers' school for the islanders who had previously been under the tutelage of the Knights-Templars. He had found a generous colleague in the person of an English citizen of either Italian or Corsican origins, Mr. Henry Ducci whose business in the Archipelago had made him a wealthy man.

Put in contact with Brother Hugonis, Mr. Ducci, around June of 1889, pledged graciously to cede a house in the Neohori quarter.[2] He had already told the Consul that if the French government promised to pay the future school an annual subsidy of 1,500 francs, he, Ducci, would make up the difference. Cirilli telegraphed the sponsor's proposals to Paris, worried about where the Minister stood, and asked when the Brothers would arrive.[3]

On October 8, a contract signed by Henry Ducci and the representative of the Congregation confirmed the transfer of property in the quarter. It was further specified: "When the Brothers decide to open a residence school, Mr. Ducci will place at their disposal his country house called Acandia, and this whether the residence school is situated there

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[1] *Choir de notices,* Vol. II, pg. 243. — Brother Prosper's Obituary, 1905. — *Bulletin des Ecoles chretiennes* for January 1907, pg. 41.

[2] Motherhouse archives, file **HB** g.

[3] Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Turkey 1881-1892, Vol. X, Rhodes, the Consul's telegraphic despatch, February 15, 1889.

or in Neohori. And at the end of twenty years of teaching the Brothers will be the sole owners of Acandia as well as of the other house. Further, a capital fund of 20,000 francs will be due them at the expiration of this period. Before that time they may draw annually on the income, under the supervision of the Consul."' On November 29 the French Ministry decided to announce the granting of a regular stipend. And it drew up plans presently to send school supplies from the stock belonging to Public Education.'

On December 6 three Brothers, introduced two weeks earlier by Brother Hugonis, began classes for twenty-five pupils.[3] A temporary school-site was forced into service while awaiting the building promised by Ducci. The classrooms were filled when the number of pupils reached forty-four, a little less than half of whom were Catholics.

When it had become possible to see things a little more clearly, the opening of a residence school was decided upon. In agreement with the donor, "St. John the Baptist College" took its place in "the French quarter" of Neohori. It had to be expanded: the Brothers, with Henry Ducci advancing the money, purchased about 38,000 sq.ft. of land. The settlement of litigation that had arisen between the vendor and the Turkish government for a while stood in the way of construction, but the group of buildings was completed in June of 1892. The six residence pupils in 1890 had become thirty-one in 1892; and tuition-paying classes admitted another thirty-six day-pupils. Of the some one hundred pupils taught, whether in the College or in the tuition-free school, more than two-thirds of them were Greek Orthodox; Catholics made up a quarter of the pupil-population that was completed by eight Moslems and five Israelis.

The years to follow brought numerous financial difficulties, a host of assaults on morale and many defections. From Constantinople the Ottoman authorities ordered Moslems to leave the Catholic school. Greeks also exhibited a jealous hostility. And by the reopening of school on September 10 the number of pupils in the College had fallen to twenty-two, while only four pupils showed up for classes in the tuition-free school! The decline finally hit bottom. And by 1900 there was an excellent spirit and a genuine appetite for work among the seventy-three young Rhodesians entrusted to the Religious teachers.[4]

At the time, the Scholastics had been at the Acandia site for

[1] Motherhouse archives, HB g.

[2] Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, File cited.

[3] Brother Director Valentinian Martyr had arrived from France on December 10.

[4] Motherhouse archives, File HB g.

nine years. A loan of 50,000 francs to the Congregation, agreed to by Mr. Ducci on December 20, 1890, had as its purpose "to enable both the opening of the College and the setting up of a Brothers' Normal School."' Acandia, situated in the Greek quarter, called St. George, at the south end of town, had seemed to Brother Raphaelis as most favorable to study and meditation: the estate, an area of about two-and-a-half acres, was surrounded by empty spaces and overlooked the sea. The building, although large enough, required almost complete remodelling. It had been given the name of "the Cova property", after one of its former owners. On August 26, 1891, Henry Ducci, acting together with his nephews, Stephen and Charles Masse, confirmed the conditional gift that he had made in 1889.

The Superior-general sought and obtained from Leo XIII the authorization to open in Rhodes, for the members of his Institute designated for the schools in the Near East, an institution in which Arab, Turkish, Greek and Armenian would be taught.[2] The French government paid 10,000 francs toward meeting the preliminary expenditures and lent weight to the expectation of an annual assistance of 4,000 francs.

The task of seeing the physical reconditioning to a successful issue fell to Brother Ideuil Casimir, Director of the residence school in Ramleh. He reconstructed the walls and cleared the land on which grew nothing but stunted olive trees and a few fig trees. Reparations were makeshift and funding remained problematic right up to the time that, under the guidance of the Brother Visitor of the Near East, the small group consisting of Brother David Leo and his teachers arriving from Smyrna landed on the island. They set to work cheerfully, Placing themselves under the patronage of the Mother of God — "Our Lady of Acandia" was the name selected for the institution.

Before he died on November 18, 1897, Henry Ducci had still time to show his friendship for the Brothers by having the deeds to the property rewritten in their name.[3] A sort

[1] Motherhouse archives, file HB g, contract notarized by the Vice-Consul.

[2] *Ibid.* The authorization of the Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith is dated September 20, 1891. It alludes to the prior approval granted by the Apostolic Prefect of the Mission to Constantinople, Father Adrian de Pise.

[3] Motherhouse archives, file HB g, contract dated February 29, 1896.

of legal recognition — on the part of Turkey — occurred in December of 1896: "This document," wrote the French Consul Paul Taillet to the Brother Director, "was transmitted to me by the local authorities who told me that, delivered according to orders from Constantinople after being issued by His Majesty the Sultan, confers upon you all the rights and immunities attached to recognition, by the Ottoman government, of foreign religious and educational institutions, especially exemption from taxation."'

* *

The above digression, necessary in connection with the houses of formation for the Near East, has temporarily interrupted our chronology. We have to take a step backward in time; and, without going outside the boundaries of the Turkish Empire, we shall move from Rhodes to Constantinople. On the strength of information supplied by the Motherhouse to the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, dated December 8, 1887, it emerges that at this time the Brothers had four Communities in the Ottoman capital, as well as four tuition-free schools and two pay-schools: — twenty-one Brothers, five lay-teachers were teaching the 748 tuition-free pupils; while thirty-three Brothers and five laymen were teaching 260 pupils in the Colleges of Kadikoy and Pera.[2]

Brother Semis Odilon, Director of Kadikoy died in 1888: — victim of an illness contracted at the bedside of a young teacher whom he had insisted on caring for himself. Brother Peter of the Cross was to supervise the great institution on the Asian side for the next twelve years.[3]

But an educational center of similar quality existed on the European side: the semi-residence school of St. Michael's. An 1886 "Prospectus" describes its origins as follows:

> Many distinguished families in Pera having frequently expressed their regrets to us of not being able to send their children to our schools either because of the sacrifices demanded by our College at Kadikoy or because they preferred a semi-residence to a residence school so that they could see their sons growing up before their eyes,

[1] Motherhouse archives, file HB g, contract dated February, 1896, letter dated December 20, 1896. Cf. *Bulletin des Ecoles chritiennes* for January, 1907, pg. 41; March 1907, pp. 99-100 and May 1907, pp. 265-269.

[2] Motherhouse archives, file ID n[1].

[3] Archives of the Secretary-general, Sevres Street, Constantinople file.

we thought it was time to respond to their wishes by reestablishing the semi-residence school destroyed in the accident of June 5, 1870.[1]

St. Michael's in Pera, opened at the end of 1886, was an excellent institution for modern secondary education. Its reputation was to contribute heavily to the Brothers' influence in higher business and political circles. After twenty-five years of operation its growing pupil-population made it necessary to expand the school premises.[2]

In 1897, in Ferikoy, a third College took root. At first this was nothing more than a branch of the school in Pancaldi. The French Ambassador, the French Alliance and the Apostolic Delegate, Bishop Bonetti, agreed to invite Brother Hugonis to provide a Brothers' school in this new neighborhood that had been built very quickly to the north of Pera. On July 12, Brother Visitor asked the Superior-general's authorization, which he received without delay in a letter from Brother Assistant Apronian. The Brothers moved into a quite modest building in which an Italian school had at one time operated. After a year it was found to be too small, and a piece of property was purchased on which a new building was put up.[3]

During the last decade of the 19th century the Brothers in Smyrna endured courageously and with success: there were thirty-five of them in 1887, assisted by seven lay-teachers. Their pupils, a school-population somewhat less than that in 1885,[4] would grow in numbers and, in 1897, reach the figure of 765.[5]

The great Asia Minor port city, with its huge, active, and diverse population, occupied an important place in the Mediterranean world. The Western nations sought to set up there, by means of vast commercial relationships, political, moral and intellectual alliances. These concerns turn up in the correspondence of their agents. The French Consul-general, Firmin Rougon, wrote to Minister Spuller, on January 25, 1890:

The exceptional grant

[1] Motherhouse archives, file ID n². — Concerning the Brothers' former school in Pera, See Vol. VI of the present work, pp. 364, 366, 372-373.

[2] Secretary-general's file.

[3] Motherhouse archives, file ID n[2].

[4] There were 570 rather than 600. Motherhouse archives, file ID nl.

[5] Brother Hugois' report, cited in *Bulletin des Ecoles chretiennes,* 1923, pg. 333.

made to the new professional and apprenticeship school recently founded in the Pointe neighborhood has produced a particularly favorable impression: independently of the Brother Director, Archbishop Timoni of Smyrna and the President of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul have asked me to convey to the Foreign Affairs Office their profound gratitude for the generous role the French government has been kind enough to play in the birth of this project.[1]

As the letter just quoted indicates, the Brothers had quite extensively expanded their school in the neighborhood. Their cooperation was emphasized once again in a consular report dated December 18, 1892 and addressed to Mr. Paul Cambon, Ambassador to the Sublime-Porte. Occupying a position that was, of course, exclusively nationalistic, the French representative in Smyrna spoke of the "energetic resistance put up by French schools to urgent Italian propaganda". The heads of the government in Rome — Crispi, Di Rudini and Giolitti — were obliged to revive, in the countries of the Near East, the antique traditions and prestige of Venice; and to this end tended the educational foundations that were inspired and to a large extent promoted by statesmen who were either indifferent or hostile to religion, but who were nevertheless clearheaded patriots. Smyrna, Aiden and Rhodes were three places that had just undergone their efforts.

The Consul, Paul Cambon's subordinate, wrote: "We have responded in those places by opening five new schools." Along with "Father Ferkin's institute in Smyrna", and the Christian Brothers' schools in Rhodes, he cited "the apprenticeship shops at the Pointe and the Cordelio school", this latter also directed by "the Brothers of Christian Doctrine". Such projects "have promoted our civilizing influence...They are being strengthened thanks to the tireless zeal of the members of our Congregations and the official support which we have provided them."[2]

Thus concludes this section of the report. While political shrewdness had entered into play so as to assist the Brothers' activities, the Catholic apostolate was exercising even more liberally its own brand of generosity with respect to the political goals. On May 29, 1893, Mr Rosiere, secretary

[1] Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Turkey, 1881-1892, Vol. X.

[2] Foreign Affairs archives, file cited.

of the Central Counsel for the Propagation of the Faith wrote from Lyons to the M.H. Brother Joseph that the Institute would receive 30,000 francs for its schools in Constantinople, and 9,000 for its schools in Smyrna.[1] The Society for Near Eastern Schools, which since 1856 had striven to bring the Eastern Churches closer to the Roman West,[2] could not grudge its cooperation with Brother Hugonis, who, in 1897, wrote to the Director of the Society, Bishop Charmetant that the schools in Smyrna "were prospering from every point of view". The pupils gave evidence of exemplary piety, and adolescents persevered. Bishop Timoni was delighted to have entrusted his flock to the sons of Blessed de La Salle. And as for the dissidents who did not hesitate to attend the Brothers' schools, "they surrounded their teachers with respect and affection; they esteemed everything that had to do with religion and were diligent in learning the prayers and the catechism."[3]

The Visitor's Armenian foundations could also be proud. Less widespread, of course, than the by-now well established institutions on the shores of the Mediterranean, the schools in Trabzon and Erzurum constituted advanced outposts in which dedication was given the fullest scope. In 1887 Trabzon possessed 170 pupils taught in St. George's school by five Brothers and two lay-teachers. With the same number of teachers, there were 185 pupils in Erzurum.'

Tragic times were in store. The Sultan Abdul Hamid, constantly fearful in the depths of his palace, nourished

[1] Motherhouse archives, ID n[1]. The same letter announce 8,000 francs for Syrian, 10,000 for Jerusalem, and 11,000 for Egypt.

[2] Goyau, *Histoire religieuse de la Nation francaise,* pg. 610.

[3] *Bulletin des Ecoles chritiennes* for October 1923, pp. 333-334. — In 1898 the total number of Brothers' pupils under the jurisdiction of the Apostolic Delegations of Constantinople and Smyrna had arisen to 3,168. From the religious point of view they divided up as follows: Apostolic Delegation in Smyrna — Catholics=523, Orthodox=217, Moslems=10, Israelis=23—Total=773 — Apostolic Delegation in Constantinople — Catholics=1,551, Orthodox=655, Moslems=97, Israelis=92—Total=2,395 (across) and Totals (down) = 2,074, 872, 107, 115, 3,168.

(Source: *Bulletin de l'OEuvre des ecoles d'Orient,* for November-December 1898. Brother Hugonis' letter to Bishop Charmetant, Director-general of the Charity.)

[4] Motherhouse archives, file ID n[1].

a brooding hatred for the Armenians. He imagined that these industrious and enterprising Christians, spread to every city of Asia Minor and to the capital of the Empire, were contemplating stirring up trouble and threatening his life. He was haunted by the thought of getting rid of them. The order reached the police and the soldiers to attack them. Moslem fanaticism was unleashed. Slaughter first drenched the mountain villages with blood and then successively the cities along the Black Sea, the Mediterranean Coasts and finally Constantinople; between 1894 and 1896 there were more than 100,000 victims.

Meanwhile, powerful forces and courageous undertakings intervened to snatch a large number of potential victims from the torturer. In 1895 Trabzon became a refuge for terrorized multitudes. The Brothers took in and saved 3,125 persons. In this effort it was the work of Brother Thimon Joseph that stood out. He was himself an Armenian, a convert from Orthodoxy. His very special physical features and his speech in which French vocabulary was interlaced with sounds from his native tongue had made him very attractive. Noble in moments of horror, he placed himself in jeopardy hundreds of times for the sake of his countrymen. He undertook countless errands to the Turkish governor in order to win assistance and safety. Guards stationed through his efforts in front of the school refused passage to the murderers. Unfortunate individuals, awaiting the fatal blow in their homes which were of easy access in spite of the barred doors, would find Brother Thimon standing there prepared to lead them to a safe place. The courageous Brother went so far as to search through the wagons in which the living, piled together with the corpses, ran the risk of a horrible burial in cemetery trenches. The French government, made aware of this heroic behavior, awarded the Brother a gold medal.' By setting up an orphanage reserved for the children of the victims, the Brothers in Trabzon sustained their gesture of Christian charity for another ten years.[2]

In Europe, regions which subsequently would escape Turkish domination became open to the educators' apostolate. As early as 1885, Salonica had attracted the concern of the Holy See. Cardinal Simeoni, Prefect of the Propaganda, wrote to the Superior-general: "Given the increasingly growing needs of nascent Catholicism in Macedonia, I beseech your Lordship to make the necessary preparations to open

[1] Motherhouse archives, file ID ni.

[2] Motherhouse archives, Trabzon file.

a house and schools in the famous city of Salonica..." To this letter of the 3rd of July, Brother Joseph replied on the 13th with references to St. Paul and the Thessalonians. But he stated that he agreed with Bishop Bonetti, the sponsor of the Roman effort, to proceed primarily on an estimate of absolutely indispensable resources.'

The question was resolved in 1898 through the agency of the Vincentians. One of these missionaries, Father Galineau, Latin pastor in Salonica, had a parochial school. He also knew the Brothers well, since he had invited them to Richelieu when he exercised his priestly functions in that small city in Touraine.[2] He planned to entrust his school to them. Brother Hugonis, to whom he had written, informed Brother Assistant Raphaelis: "Salonica, which even now is a very important city" — wrote the Visitor in a letter dated July 28, 1888 — is going to get even larger. It has no less than 3,000 Catholics. It also includes in its population many Bulgarians most desirous of education and who would supply a large contingent of pupils." Bishop Bonetti resumed his advocacy by supporting Father Galineau: his heart was in Salonica; at one time it had been his missionary field. The Superior-general of the Vincentians, Father Fiat, had himself been quite clear: the Brothers would be accomplishing an excellent work in this special location; apart from the tuition-free school, they could open a paying day-school; and quite soon thereafter they would be in a position to establish a residence school.[3]

After a brief lapse of time — exactly a week after the views just expressed — the Vincentians and Brothers concluded an agreement: five Brothers housed by the Vincentians would teach classes in the Catholic parish.[4]

They appeared at the end of October, without any baggage except their small black bags and without any other provisions for the journey except five *piasters,* the only earthly fortune they possessed between them. "You are like the Apostles," exclaimed the pastor as he welcomed them.

Dame Poverty never left them. School furniture consisted of six tables. In the Community dwelling, every thing,

[1] Motherhouse archives, file ID n.

[2] *Bulletin des Ecoles chritiennes* for April 1913, pg. 136.

[3] Motherhouse archives, ID n.

[4] *Ibid.,* contract dated August 4, 1888, and signed by Father Fiat and the M.H. Brother Joseph.

even what was essential, was lacking; the Daughters of Charity lent them sheets; and the Mission's sacristan contributed a candle to illumine their single room. For the lack of a proper wood-stove they had to be satisfied with a portable one; and the Brothers shivered through the entire winter.'

Their good spirits never betrayed them; it triumphed over difficulties. Their skills attracted public attention. Alphonsus Guillois, the French Consul in Salonica, writing on the 6th of December 1888 to the offices on the Quai d'Orsay, described the new teachers' set up in the following terms:

> Their school, which has been open for about a month, is supervised by the Vincentians. It is directed by Brother Olympus, whose competence is already well-known in the Mid-East. From the thirty pupils of the first days, the number has now risen to seventy-five...In my opinion, this French school of the Brothers of Christian Doctrine promises, if it is supported, to perform a great service in the diffusion of our language.

In Salonica as in Smyrna and many other cities, a bitter competition pitted the Italians against the French. For the Macedonians King Humberto's government had just opened a school of commerce, a girls' school and a youth hostel; while an Italian primary school had been in existence for about twenty years. Nevertheless, families of Italo-Near Eastern origins never hesitated to send their sons to the Brothers. Bruni-Grimaldi, Crispi's diplomatic representative, became worried and tried to rally these deserters. At the same time, propaganda in favor of the French language was being supported by the Jewish Alliance and even by the Ottoman authorities. Brother Olympus' team Guillois described as an extremely important reinforcement. Unfortunately, he add, "its resources are inadequate". In order to guarantee its future, substantial assistance had to come from Paris.[2]

The French Ambassador in Constantinople wrote pretty much the same thing on June 29, 1889. He was delighted that in less than a year the Brothers in Salonica had assembled 130 pupils in four classes; that they had obviously "won over the friendship of the most distinguished families". But their quarters had become

1 Bulletin des Ecoles chritiennes, for April 1913, pp. 136-138.

[2] Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Turkey 1887-1889, Salonica, Vol. VIII n° 42 *his.*

too small. Without money, however, it was impossible to expand them.' Five months later a subsidy of 3,500 francs was granted to "Mr. Rassat," *alias* Brother Olympus.[2]

From the outset, the latter had put into operation a broad program of studies "consisting of the most essential features of special secondary education" and, accompanying lessons given in French, there were also German and Italian courses.[3] It was the beginning of a future college.

In order to come to a full realization, it was first necessary to undertake the expenses of building. The project remained in the planning stages until 1894; while its execution was reserved for Brother Papolein,

"Passing through Salonica, I visited the building, which has been the object of the Director's longings," wrote Brother Hugonis to Brother Assistant Apronian on December 5, 1894. "It is a huge piece of land of more than 9,000 square feet; and an immense building which, for the money, can very easily be furnished, for more than 300 pupils." On January 13, 189.5 the Superior-general authorized the purchase.[4]

The elementary classes continued. In a report dated May 6, 1896 the Vincentian Father Heudre noted that "the Brothers admit tuition-free nearly all Catholic children in the parish."[5] But their school, since its physical transformation, was operating outside what was properly the parish framework. There were fresh modifications in 1901: the tuition-free school flourished once again in the vicinity of the church; the secondary program would continue at the private College under the name of St. John Baptist de La Salle.[6]

Constantinople, Thessolonica, Smyrna and Rhodes, these were the cities that outlined the Aegean Sea, the famous cities of the ancient Eastern Empire, that Brother Hugonis had under his control. In Asia Minor, his final conquest would be„ on the Anatolian plain, the ancient Ancyra of the Galatians, the Ankara of modern Turkey. It was called Angora at the time we are studying it. The patriarchs of the Armenian Church in communion with the Holy See promoted the movement of the Brothers toward this distant land.

[1] Motherhouse archives, file ID n[1].

[2] Archives of the Ministry of foreign Affairs, file cited, letter from Consul Lequeux, December 9, 1889.

[3] Motherhouse archives, ID n[1].

[4] Motherhouse archives, ID n.

[5] Motherhouse archives, file ID e.

[6] *Bulletin des Ecoles chretiennes* for April 1913, pg. 139.

The first invitation was made on September 25, 1886 bu Bishop Stephen Peter Azarian, residing in Constantinople. On February 14, 1887 Brother Hugonis wrote to Brother Raphaelis:

> It is hoped that the M.H. will come to an understanding with the Patriarch...Angora is an important situation which will be presently united to Constantinople by a railroad, which already a third completed. The climate is much preferable to Egypt's for our Brothers' health. Furthermore, we shall probably find vocations there, which will assist us in the teaching of Eastern languages.

The project did not take on substance until for years later. Bishop Ohanessian had been appointed Bishop of Angora in 1890. On November 20, he described the situation to Brother Hugonis:

> In my episcopal city alone I have found more than 2,300 Armenian Catholic families whose piety and religious sentiments are unequaled in our other Armenian dioceses. Today more than 500 Catholic boys are attending school. But what schools, My God! It's pitiful to see at the height of the 19th century these poor boys left in the hands of lay-tutors who frequently do not know even our language.

The Institute's representative made the trip to Angora, saw the Bishop and on October 20, 1891 signed the contract. He then hurried to interest France in this new work. Once he had gotten back to Kadik6y, he set to work to draw up for the Ambassador, Paul Cambon, a request along with the weighty arguments:

> The Germans have had their eye on this country and they are only waiting for the completion of the railroad to direct the flood of their immigration to this fertile but sparsely populated land...Bishop Ohanessian has set aside for our use a site that is big enough for eight classes and a teachers' residence...He is not in a position to pay the Brothers. I am asking Your Excellency to be kind enough to obtain an annual subsidy of 4,000 francs from the French government.

The diplomat had already drawn up his sincerest assurances in reply when on November 3, the day after the foregoing letter, Brother Hugonis described the steps he had taken to the M.H. Brother Joseph.

He selected Brother Abilis as the superior of a Community of seven Brothers. But he himself assumed the leadership of the small

group from Constantinople to the end of the journey. The departure, set for October 24, 1892, was followed by forty-eight hours of exhausting travel and then the Bishop's fatherly welcome. There was some surprise to find neither desks nor tables in the classrooms. "The smallest boys sit on the ground", said the Bishop; "the older ones bring their own desks." That opened up a long discussion, but it was finally decided that the carpenters would be put to work. The school opened on November 7 with 350 pupils.

In 1895, the Visitor told the Superior-general that

> this school that had been begun only eighteen months previously, was fully flourishing. Our Brothers are performing well, and they enjoy the esteem of the clergy and the affection of the people. The 400 pupils are divided into eight classes, four of them paying and four completely tuition-free. Most of them understand and speak French well enough, in spite of the little time they have to devote to this language because of the great lot of time demanded by the Armenian and Turkish languages.

The Brothers were still in this Anatolian city in 1904. On February 5 of that year a fire destroyed the entire building which, in order to preserve their rightful autonomy, they had earlier purchased. An order from Abdul Hamid had given them permission to rebuild.'

* *

In the midst of vicissitude in Egypt the missionary educators forged ahead with their projects with continuity of purpose, serenity of conscience and remarkable success. For the most part Frenchmen, they were surrounded by many of their fellow-countrymen whose friendship they had by-and-large earned; and they received support from France's representatives and the agents. Thus, at the very center of an English possession and until after the Fachoda crisis, after the official repudiation stipulated in the Franco-British agreement of 1899, the intellectual and moral preponderance of the nation of Bonaparte, of Champollion and of de Lesseps would weather irreparable political disasters. Along the valley of the Nile, the French language remained the language of international relations. We shall repeat how

[1] Motherhouse archives, file ID n5.

the Brothers established themselves as the propagators of that language: surely not out of narrow patriotism, but in order to assist the influence of a civilization that was noble, humane and Christian.

Brother Ildefonsus, Director of St. Catherine's in Alexandria between October 1888 and May 1900 appeared as one of the typical artisans of this powerful undertaking. Calixtus Alazard, from the Rouerge, who, at fifty-one years of age, became an Egyptian on orders from Brother Raphaelis. We have already seen him in Rodez as the teacher of Francis Fabie:' the fine poet who, on a sad day would sing, of that "exquisite person" who, "by dint of fondness", made him love school, "that austere prison", and who — forbearing toward the "limping verses" of the child — unearthed "the treasures" of great writers.[2] Lacking physical presence, Brother Ildefonsus possessed a unique charm: he spoke well, with exuberance and unction; his manners were refined, his approach affable; the light of intelligence, gentleness and religious charity illumined his look and his entire facial appearance, wrinkled, bald-headed and amply bewhiskered. An extremely devout disciple of the Blessed de La Salle, ever prepared to acknowledge in each event the hand of Providence, the Director of St. Catherine's exercised a nearly irresistible mastery over the souls of his pupils and his Community.

He said that, if his prayers were heard, the school would be "a sanctuary, a family and a beehive". A sanctuary, built of "the living stones" of the youth of Alexandria, it was, physically effected on the college campus. Brother Prosperian, his predecessors, had through the mediation of Brother Hugonis, appealed to the Holy See to authorize the building of a chapel. The work began after Brother Ildefonsus' arrival. It had been subjected to enforced interruptions. It will be recalled that the school building was dependent upon the Custodian in Jerusalem; its facade and that of the Franciscan Convent matched architecturally on either side of the Latin Cathedral. The Father Superior was unnerved by the building undertaken by the Brothers. Informed, the Custodian sent a formal protest to the Visitor. It

[1] See Vol. V of the present work, pp. 501, 524.

[2] Memorial verses for Brother Ildefonsus (1911) quoted in *Centenaire,* pg. 105.

would be necessary to demolish and then wait, while awkward negotiations dragged out. Finally, on February 4, 1893, the Director was able to announce to his Superiors that the terms of an agreement would be submitted for their

signatures.'

The finished chapel was furnished with altars, Italian style ceiling-panels, newly designed decorations, religious symbols and attractive images by Brother Isidore of Peluse.[2] There was nothing in the cluster of college buildings, in the orderly plan — the main vestibule, the stone stairway, the long corridors that gave access to the classrooms — that could be grounds for reproach or criticism.

In 1894 when Bishop Sebastiani, Canon at St. John Lateran came to St. Catherine's on a special mission from Leo XIII, he spoke of his complete satisfaction with all of the results and especially of the religious successes secured by the Brothers.[3]

The "Association" of former pupils, named for the Virgin Martyr who was the patron of the school and city, flourish at this time. Twelve young men, responding to Brother Ildefonsus' appeal, fostered the beginnings of the group on Christmas night 1888. They were all Catholics, and very quickly their fraternity, expanded to include a highly select membership, became distinguished as the nucleus of convinced and dedicated Christians.[4] Brothers George, Theodore, and Oger were the promoters of its early undertakings; an Easter Retreat was organized in 1890 and preached by a Vincentian, Father Larigaldi. Making an annual event of the Retreat, the Association brought together hundreds of men and youths during Holy Week. Out of the St. Catherine's Association would grow a Eucharistic League, whose purpose was, first, to encourage faithful Christians to receive Communion more frequently and also to support two Conferences of St. Vincent de Paul. Religious and charitable activities were consistent with a program of studies, artistic pleasures and innocent relaxations: a library, literary meetings and talks, a chorus, painting exhibitions, sports and outings found their places in the life of the associates. With the popular "Brother Peter", connected with the College in Alexandria for more than half a century, the Association could only

[1] Archives of the district of Alexandria, letters 1887-1894.

[2] See Vol. VII of the present work, pp. 151-152.

[3] District archives, Brother Ildefonsus' letter to Brother Hugonis, February 14, 1894.

strengthen its foundations and its principles and, joyfully, enlarge its generous action.'

Contemporarily with the Association, the John Baptist de La Salle Academy represented another set of interests. Without neglecting moral influences, it attracted the attention and the respect of intellectuals. The best students in the upper classes were invited to become "Academicians", and since what was involved was, above all, gifts of t e mind, diversity of religious adherence did not enter into play. There wer brilliant Israeli pupils, who had won the admiration of their comrades, w o had been elected to the presidency of the group. Such was the steadfast and authentic eclecticism of this fraternity that Brothers George John[2] and Pascal had set their heart's on establishing in 1888 and that Brother Ildefonsus had inaugurated on October 28, during the first days of his administration. It provided high-spirited satisfaction for the old scholar disembarking from France: Mid-Eastern youngsters would be delighting in Corneille, Racine, La Fontaine and Bossuet, commenting on classical masterpieces, and attempting to write in the clear, precise and sturdy language of the century of Louis XIV! On June 11, 1889, the first of the great annual meetings took place — it was a day of triumph. Others would follow, when poets, orators and amateur critics would present the first fruits of their talents. "The Echo of the Academy", a modest journal would publish writings, talks an reports. After a long period of somnolence, the publication was reborn under the lovely name of the Egyptian flower *The Lotus.*[3]

A number of the Institute's pupils succeeded i assimilating Western culture. It is not without interest to cite in this connection some of the Consular reports. The Academy had not yet begun when the Consul Kleczkowski wrote from Alexandria on July 10, 1887 to his Minister, Mr. Flourens:

> Last week took place the examination of the pupils at St. Catherine's College which attempts to provide the equivalent of the bachelor's degree in special secondary education...Four students

The Association's Centenary pamphlet, talk by President Naccache. — *Centenaire* of the Brothers in Egypt, pp. 104, 112. — Obituaries, Brother Ildefonsus and Brother Godefroy of the Angels. — St. Catherine's Association now has its headquarters in the great St. Mark's College.

Future Director of St. Joseph's College, Rome.

We have used as our principal source *The Lotus* for 1928. — St. Ca herine's Association and the St. John Baptist de La Salle Academy experienced flourishing times un er Brother Gordian Desire, the future Secretary-general of the Institute, teacher, Sub-Director and ally Director of the College in Alexandria from 1904-1920.

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(all of Greek nationality) were admitted out of the eight who were presented...In French composition, I was pleased to observe notable progress...Without being beyond criticism as to form, the writing of the candidates who were admitted was distinguished for a simplicity of style that contrasted favorably with the phraseology that we have seen in the past. There was also consistency of ideas, clarity and the marks of personal and deliberate effort...[1]

The Foreign Affairs office promptly sent the confirmation of the diplomas along with the comments of the Parisian examining board which had reviewed the tests. Commendation was so unexceptionable that the Consul who had submitted the petition for degrees, Peter Gerard, was delighted to be able to send the reply on to Brother Ildefonsus. He also expressed he hope "that the level of the examinations would gradually rise, so that without unsettling the candidates, the Committee in Alexandria could gradually become more demanding in its judgments." [2]

Certainly, perfection was not to be so quickly attained. In July of 1888, the Consul and his assistants, Mr. de Bernard Sigoyer, Procurator-general in the Court of Appeals, Father Jomand, Jesuit and graduate of the Polytechnical Institute, passed three the four students who were presented.

These students have given evidence of significant scientific knowledge, a branch of education that has always seemed to have special interest for the Brothers. The literary and historical sections appear to be less satisfactory. It is nevertheless important to point out that the three successful students have a very easy control over our language .[3]

In this connection as well as for the opportunity it provided for serious reflection and for personal development, the Academy turned out to be an excellent laboratory. Distinguished visitors were quick to perceive it as such: Cardinal Langenieux in 1893, Felix Faure in 1899, Stephen Lamy in 1898, Melchior de Vogue in 1899, well before the well-publicized visits of Maurice Banes. Felix Faure, "profoundly touched" by the sentiments directed to him "in such delightful language", in memory of his day at St. Catherine's,

[1] Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Egypt, political correspondence of the Consuls, 1887-1889, Vol. VI, no. 58.

[2] *Ibid.,* no. 63, August 20, 1887.

[3] Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, file cited, no. 79, July 18, 1888. — In Brother Ildefonsus' time, a young Brother began his teaching career in the classes at St. Catherine's. He was a teacher and a poet who would occupy a distinguished place in the literary circles of the French-speaking colony in Egypt: hew was Brother Roland Benignus, *alias* Emile Langlois. (Cf. *Centenaire,* pp. 194-195).

founded a medal which was named after him when he became President of France.'

The College's dazzling reputation did not prevent the Brothers from taking an intense interest in their tuition-free classes. "The beloved 'Lord's School," Brother Ildefonsus called the humble institution in which eleven Brothers, assisted by two lay teachers[2] devoted themselves to the service of the poor. In 1889 the Director tasted the joy of inaugurating new buildings for his tuition-free pupils. He had asked the French government to get involved in the project. The Consul, Peter Girard, informing Mr. Spuller of this request, wrote:

> A school population of about 400 boys had been crammed up to now in ill-lighted, ill-ventilated rooms that were actually sheds; for very young pupils desks and tables had been lined up in a narrow school-yard. From now on there will be seven classes to house, rather than five, in an annex of St. Catherine's College in new structures, carefully laid out and pleasant.[3]

What Brother Ildefonsus needed were school supplies. From his colleague in Public Education the Minister of Foreign Affairs obtained surveying instruments, maps, atlases, metric system and vocabulary tables, which Mr. Fallieres' office delivered in October.[4]

For three years St. Joseph's College in Bacos had also been offering tuition-free instruction to three classes composed of children from the "ghettos". In putting together a genuine parochial school, the Director, Brother Ideuil Casimir had sought out the cooperation of the Franciscans; judging from the response, he understood that he was running the risk of getting his educational activity bogged down in a great number of restraints and a lot of disapproval. In order to preserve the peaceful relations that existed between the Brothers and the Franciscans — and from which all Christians benefitted -- he thought it was better for the Institute shoulder the entire responsibility for the enterprise. The Superiors agreed with him. Brother Ideuil's work was continued, between 1890 and 1900 by Brother Jouannet of Mary.[3]

[1] *Le Lotus,* 1928, pp. 18-19; and *Centenaire,* pg. 143.

[2] Figures for 1886, Motherhouse Archives, file ID n[1]. — *Centenaire,* pg. 104.

[3] Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, file cited, no. 21, letter dated August 22, 1889.

[4] *Ibid*.

[5] District Archives, *Historique de Ramteh.* Beginning in 1894 Brother Jouannet.

Apart from the two Colleges and the two tuition-free schools, urban growth in Alexandria induced the Brothers to open "branch" schools. The first of these was undertaken in March of 1887 by Brother Prosperian who intended it for the sons of simple employees — largely Coptic and Israeli who were beginning to take up residence in the Moharrem Bay neighborhood. He remodelled an abandoned native shanty that stood opposite a Prussian hospital and called it the "Sacred Heart School". This temporary facility remained in use for ten years. In 1897 Brother Ildefonsus acquired a piece of land, on which arose a new building that was quickly populated with about a hundred pupils. The most gifted of these finished their studies at St. Catherine's.

It was the same for those who attended "St. Joseph's College" on Consuls Square, that had been opened in 1891 and which was also available to `tuition-free pupils', and to lower-middle class pupils from "St. Louis' College", begun in 1894 on Rossetta Gate Street, subsequently translated to Caesar Street.'

The founding of a professional school in 1898 seemed a more original and a bolder undertaking. At the heart of the Egyptian population, to shape a select group of workers who knew their trade and applied themselves consciously to it was a fascinating project. Brother Ildefonsus cherished it with all his heart and was encouraged in it by the French authorities. Nothing seemed to him to be more exactly within the scope of Lasallian traditions and nothing more useful to the progress of civilization among the native masses. But in order to realize the project in this missionary country, the Brothers needed the approval of the Holy See. Meanwhile, their Superior-general was willing to undertake nothing without financial assistance from France.

In 1896 the head of the Institute — at the time the M.H. Brother Joseph — set forth the state of the question to the Brother Procurator-general: over the preceding years, the Assistant, Brother Apronian, during his visitations to the Mid East District, had given the Brother Director in Alexandria permission "in principle"; and for thirty years a site had remained at the disposal of the St. Catherine's Community: it was a pleasant building that

had been given by the Khedive Ismail. The Superior had wanted to reply, if could, to the requests

[1] District archives, Moharrem Bay file. — *Le Lotus,* 1928, pg 12. — *Cent* enaire, pg. 49. — Of these three branches, Sacred Heart College alone has survived.

"of the ministry's agents and Consuls". However, after the unfavorable report of the Apostolic Delegate, Bishop Guido Corbelli, the Superior-general feared an untimely diplomatic intervention with the Pope. "We can be denounced in Rome; we never denounce." On this brief and splendid slogan the principal portion of the letter ended.

Brother Joseph died a few months later. It was left to his successor, in the course of the year 1897 to hear the good news that all opposition had evaporated.' The Pope authorized the Brothers, "by way of an exception", to establish an industrial school in the great Mediterranean port city.

The Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda had suggested that the representative of the Holy See in Egypt — who was now Archbishop Gaudenzio Bonfigli — to reveal the decision to Brother Ildefonsus. Touched and delighted, but even more surprised, with the Archbishop's congratulations. During the same week, on July 20, 1897, Consul Boutiron challenged the Visitor of the District:

> Now that the Holy See has authorized you to open a professional school, you must act. We will help you out. The agency has 18,000 francs available, and I will ask for further subsidies. You issue the orders, and in Alexandria they will be hearing the sounds of the hammer and the molding-plan in a model school.

Brother Hugonis objected that he lacked competent personnel. He was going to ask Brother Apronian for it. Once a teaching team was found, the school began operations in the Bab Sidra neighborhood. Consul Peter Girard noted its growth in a letter to Brother Gabriel of Mary on December 21, 1896. But the project would not really expand unless 150 to 200,000 francs were invested in it; and that sum was not likely to come either from the government, nor from the French Alliance.

Brother Ildefonsus went to Paris to beg financing. He opened new shops, and after a few years about a 100 youths

[1] In 1896 Archbishop Bonfigli had replaced Bishop Corbelli in the See of Alexandria.

were learning carpentry, the art of the locksmith, shoe making and sewing in the "Holy Family School"; they would become printers and bookbinders to supply textbooks to written by Brothers in Egypt for the schools. These young workers, eager at their trades, provided a splendid example to their fellow- countrymen. Unfortunately, for the lack of timely financing, the school's physical facilities continued to be rudimentary.'

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No matter how vibrant and lightsome Alexandria might have been, it was still only the threshold of the Near East. Whoever wishes to surrender totally to Egypt must learn to know it in its capital city, where both Islam and Africa predominate, and then go up the Nile and penetrate into the upper regions which are cultivated by the great multitude of poor "fellahs". Once again we meet the Brothers in Cairo; and from there we reach out with them toward the provinces: to the Delta and the region of the Suez Canal, as well as toward the "moudiriehs" in the South and the edge of the desert.

Until 1893 Brother Gervais of Mary ruled St. Joseph's in Kkhoronfish and its affiliates. The spirit and faith of this great man never wavered. His eminence was never more on view that during a day in 1887: the tuition-free school, filled with 700 youngsters under the tutelage of thirteen Brothers,[2] was operating marvelously well in its new buildings; on May 17th, at four o'clock in the morning the school was destroyed by fire. Brother Gervais decided that the calamity was not going to change anything of the school day. He assembled the pupils in the church for Mass. He directed the singing himself: "I Place my Confidence, Virgin, in Your Aid" was the hymn he chose and intoned. Classes were held in any chance site, but there would be no time off for either faculty or pupils. Meanwhile, reconstruction was moved along at a brisk pace.[3]

As an administrator, a religious educator and an organizer of programs of studies, Brother Gervais was able to lead and teach; he fired the minds and the imaginations of his associates. When he announced weekly

[1] District archive, correspondence dealing with the professional school, 1896-1898. — Brother Godefroy of the Angel's Obituary, 1917. — *Centenaire,* pp. 50, 219.

[2] Motherhouse archives, ID n[1], statistics for 1887.

[3] *Centenaire,* pg. 19 (Speech by Mr. Antony Younan Bay, President of the Alumni Association of Khoronfish) and pp. 166-167.

grades, his comments assumed the dimensions of educational lectures that were attentively listened to and the memory of them was indelibly engraved in the minds of his youthful audience.'

A Community of thirty-three Brothers and three laymen made up the College's faculty.[2] Some of the older men gave the example of magnificent perseverance: Brother Sigebert of Mary, who was the Community "historian" in 1882, Brother Sedulis, "a venerable and saintly" figure, art teacher in drawing and music and the founder of "St. Joseph's Choral", Brother Angeleme of Jesus, one of the heros of the struggle against cholera in 1865, the school Procurator as of 1880, an active and vigorous old man, who provided every physical need, open - handedly pursued the laws of Lasallian hospitality and — an amateur Egyptologist — he guided visitors through the temples and tombs of ancient dynasties.[3]

The special secondary education dispensed at Khoronfish attracted a pupil-population of 350 to 400 youths. Here, the prize, after 1888, was the "Egyptian bachelor's degree", rather different than the French bachelor's degree both as to spirit and content of programs, and which was more suited to native segment of the student body. Candidates for the degree sat for examinations before an State-appointed examining board in company with

their counterparts from governmental schools.[4] One of the bachelors of 1889 was Ismail Sedky who, in the 20th century, would become Egypt's Prime Minister.[5]

Catholics, Dissident Christians, Moslems and Israelis, the graduates of the College, more often than not, remained faithful to the school of their youth and joined together in the Alumni Association established in 1885 by the efforts of the Brother Director. They evoked with emotion scenes of old Khoronfish with its narrow school-yards, its gloomy chapel and classes that began with the Brother's "reflection" and were interrupted with the reminder of God's presence.

[1] *Ibid.*, same speech.

2 Motherhouse archives, statistics for 1887.

[3] *Centenaire,* pg. 192. — Brother Angeleme of Jesus' Obituary, 1898.

[4] *Centenaire,* pg. 222 (Lecture by Brother Andrew Leo on "Some Aspects of the Educational Activity of the Brothers in Egypt," Port Said, March 4, 1947.

[5] ***Ibid.,*** pg. 257. Another graduate of the same year and future political personality was Mohammed Tewfik Nessim.

However, outside the Mousky neighborhood, new shoots took root. An aristocratic neighborhood, Ismailieh, had had absolutely no schools for the very young. In 1887 Brother Gervais of Mary purchased a house and remodelled it as a school. The opening took place on January 3, 1888. It had not been anticipated that only about sixty pupils would apply for admission during the first years. But on February 19, 1891 there arrived from Constantinople a very friendly Brother, Brother Rogatian; his grandfatherly kindness won the affection of his pupils and the confidence of parents. With him, and with his successor, Brother Alberic, "John Baptist de La Salle College kept on increasing its pupil-population recruited from a neighborhood inhabited by people of alert minds and easily illuminated souls.[1]

In 1890 the Choubrah neighborhood profited from the second branch school. At the time the area was little more than a suburb half out in the countryside: there were farms and marshes and villas in the middle of pasture-lands, alongside a few mansions surrounded by walls; the future reach of the city was merely hinted at in the form of a few blocks of flats here and there. Inhabitants had only two grammar schools available for their children, one belonging to the Greek Catholic Patriarchate, the other operated by a Syriac priest. For a wider selection of schools it was necessary to take one's chances closer in to the center of the city, not without a considerable loss of time and along uncertain routes. Brother Gervais sought to spare children both the dangers and the effort. He transposed the risks to the teachers who, each day went from Khoronfish to Choubrah, to a building with a garden on Chitty-bay Street, "St. Paul's School". Brother Sagittarius became the leader of this sturdy group; he was seventy-years of age and had completed a long and painful apostolate in the Far East. His tall stature and his white hair inspired respect, while his graciousness and joyfulness put people who spoke to him at their ease. This old man was enlivened by an almost youthful eagerness which he communicated to his associates, Brothers Louis and Gabriel and even to Father Ephrem Abiad, the Syriac priest who now took his place alongside the Brothers as the teacher of Arabic.

In 1893 the twice-daily trek of the trio of teachers came to an end.

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1 Centenaire, pp. 167-169. — An expansion of the school grounds and new taller buildings was not enough to satisfy the influx of pupils. In 1908 and exchange of sites effected under favorable conditions enabled the Brothers to create at *Bab el Lauk* the modern and very beautiful St. John Baptist de La Salle College, attended today by 600 pupils from six to fourteen years of age.

The Choubrah site had acquired the status of a "Community". There was a dearth of comfort as well as of funds. Only a very slight tuition had been asked of the pupils. But Brother Sagittarius preserved his equanimity: "God stamps with suffering," he used to say, "the edges of the projects that are going to last." St. Paul's College, founded on the groundwork of abnegation and self-effacement, would be solid. In 1894 the Greek Catholic clergy yielded their pupils and, a few years later, contributed their cooperation. In 1897 Brother Patrick and in 1902 Brother Icard Leonce followed Brother Sagittarius' footsteps, continued his tradition of work, religious spirit and paternal discipline.'

The sole setback during this period turned out to the Koubbeh property. In its fields and orchards which, later on, in a region that had been regally transformed, had acquired immense value as a building site, the Director of Khoronfish had, around 1889, begun an experimental agricultural orphanage. The orphans — mainly Copts — were refractory, lazy and without talent. In spite of the richness of the soil, the crops looked miserable. At the end of four years of unhappy attempts and lost efforts, the order to sell the place came from Oudinot Street. "Get rid of two-thirds of the property," commanded the major Superiors, "and retain the rest as a country-house for the use of the Brothers and pupils in Cairo." The order was obeyed. The huge property passed into the hands of other owners for a ridiculously low price. The portion that remained, while not for the total peace of mind of the administrator's of the Congregation's finances, at least served the collegians' play and the necessary relaxation of the teaching body.[2]

We may quickly pass over this episode of only minor importance. But how, on the other hand not insist on the founding of the French School of Law? George Goyau wrote in 1925 in his book, *Orientations catholiques:*[3] "The humble program organized by Brother Gervais of Mary for a few "Bachelors" who had graduated from Khoronfish

[1] District archives, *Historique du college Saint-Paul.* — *Centenaire,* pp. 170, 172. — Brother Leonce effected the College's move to the vast buildings situated near the superb St. Mark's church. In 1948 there were 349 pupils. The neighboring tuition-free school, which has existed since 1917 and is today called "St. Peter's School," admits about 200 pupils.

[2] District archives, *Historique de Khoronfish.* — And *Bulletin des Ecoles chretiennes,for* October 1909, pp. 333-335.

[3] Page 205.

was the beginning of the School of Law in Cairo which, in twenty- five years, included among its "Licentiates" 300 pupils of the Brothers."

But, at the same time, an historian of Egypt, G. Lecarpentier, related the origins of the School without the slightest allusion to the Brothers. In admiration of this "high point of French educational activity" in the land of the Khedives, he gave all the credit for it "to four outstanding personalities."'

The first Director of the famous school, Mr. Pelissiedu Rausas, had however insisted, in 1895, on doing justice to the real founder. A report of the School's Counsel, drawn up on November 9 of that year,[2] contains the following lines:

> I regret that the considerable share that the Brothers of the Christian Schools had in the foundation of the school seems to have been forgotten. The truth demands that I recall that it was Brother Gervais of Mary...who quite courageously began the first program of French law in Egypt.

On the occasion of his final visit to Khoronfish on May 21, 1931, the distinguished teacher reasserted: "It was here, in this old College that was born the idea of the French School of Law, where the idea took root and where its first practical realization took place...I want to acclaim that distant, but certain, paternity." [3]

According to an anecdote, that nevertheless comes from most reliable sources, the Director of St. Joseph's College, was attempting to do a favor for a French Minister, the Marquis Reverseaux who wanted his son to undertake legal studies: "Well, Minister," Brother Gervais is supposed to have replied, "We'll open a Law School."

It began in 1889 with three students in rooms at Khoronfish. In his brief description of those early days Mr. Pelissiedu Rousas names those who cooperated to make the bold venture viable: "MM. Chakou, Porter and Henon, under the auspices of the French Agency and with advice from distinguished individuals in the French Colony in Cairo." Brother Gervais of Mary delegated two members of his Community to operate as tutors. He himself declined the title of Dean.

Very quickly teachers and students left the Mousky neighborhood for a more pleasant retreat in the Ismailieh quarter. The new College begun in this place opened its doors to them.

[1] G. Lecarpentier, *l'Egypt moderne,* 1925, pg. 155.

[2] And quoted by the current Director M. Andrew Boye in his lecture on March 26, 1947. (*Centenaire,* pp. 22-25.)

Here the organization of the law courses was completed. They involved a three year program, and a set body of tenured teachers under the control of M. Pelissie du Rausas. In 1894 the School moved to the cul-de-sac called El-Awaed.

Two years earlier it had had twenty students. At the beginning of the 20th Century in had 100. Nearly half of them entered into Egyptian government work or "the Bench". A good number of the others entered the Bar or carved out a career in the Banks. Among the better known students of French juridical science were Moustapha Kemal and Saad Zaghloul, leaders of national independence.'

Brother Gervais of Mary would never see the growth of the project that owed its origins to him. He had been asked to make a harsh sacrifice: Madagascar, Reunion and Maurice needed his clearsightedness and his zeal. To the extent that he was able to dispose of his own freedom of movement, he sought to avoid emotional farewells. Nevertheless, a huge manifestation awaited him at the moment of his departure. The railroad station in Cairo was invaded by a crowd in which every social category rubbed elbows. The President of the Alumni Association read a brief tribute of gratitude. And, then, on all sides there burst out shouts of Farewell!

Egypt would have no reason to regret the choice of Brother Gervais' successor. Brother Godefroy — Jean Beaufort — born in Cantal, possessed those qualities of systematic sagacity and unshakable consistency of his countrymen. Between 1874 and 1893 a teacher and then the Director at the residence school of St. Giles in Moulin, he became the pillar of the institution. And then he was moved to missionary territory where he became the support for the burdens of an important complex.

Born in 1855, he was approaching his mature years, he did not object to work, and he did not fear responsibilities. Upon his appointment to Khoronfish, there were a number of energetic measures that had to be taken: the harmony among the Brothers left something to be desired; and there was an unhealthy strain that had slipped into the pupil population. Brother Godefroy got control over the teaching personnel; and among the collegians he undertook a severe weeding-out process.

The buildings were no longer adequate. Those that overlooked the main street were especially mournful, suggesting an

[1] *Centenaire,* lecture cited; and chapter regarding the Brothers in Cairo, pg. 173. — Lecarpentier, *op. cit.,* pp. 155-157.

2 *Centenaire,* pg. 174.

awkward likeness to the hovels in the immediate vicinity. A huge expansion program continued to be unrealized because the adjoining property was a Mosque: — a crumbling ruin, but an untouchable one! Nevertheless, the Director cultivated his plans; and at the end of the first year of his administration, he mobilized the necessary financing. Work began in February of 1885. A beautiful and substantial building — of three stories — arose facing Khoronfish and Chahrawi el Barani Streets with a facade of 183 ft. The shrewdest and most skillful advantage was taken of an awkward situation.

Once order and peace were restored to the school and the people living there, attention turned to the business of educating minds. Programs, reexamined, quite generally took into account official demands. The unification of studies in the branch-schools prepared the better endowed youths of

Ismaileh and Choubrah for the upper classes at St. Joseph's College. The tuition-free school supplied the more advanced College with a group of excellent candidates. Trimestrial examinations in the various institutions allowed those in charge to discern ability and counsel pupils concerning their future.

Each year success was achieved in the program for the Egyptian Bachelor's degree. To prepare his candidates Brother Godefroy had the highly regarded cooperation of Brother Gordian Martyr, a native of St. Bonose in Orleans, much appreciated by the clergy and the parents in his adopted city. When he was about fifty years of age he had volunteered of the Near Eastern Missions. By dint of personal courage, he had overcome the hardships of what was for him an entirely novel task, and he had gained an overall view, and decided the methods, of a type of education whose fundamentals were still vague.

While the French language enjoy a privileged status in Egypt's educational system, one could never neglect the fact that Arabic was the national language. From the very beginning of the Brothers' project in this country, the daily schedule made room for the classes taught by the Arabic teachers, most of who were Moslem Sheiks.

But in this subject progress was slow and results rather shabby. But among the Brothers there were a few "Arabic-speakers", the most remarkable of whom was Brother Pelage,' His Director asked him to write textbook in the spirit, and according to the educational philosophy of the Institute. The first

[1] Another was Brother Reposte Valentine, but he didn't publish anything.

text, a speller, appeared in 1886; it was followed by readers and grammars, intelligently scaled, clear and attractive and which obtained the widest acceptance. Nearly all the schools— Catholic, Schismatic, Israeli and even Moslem — in Syria, Palestine as well as on the banks of the Nile adopted them. The last of the people to heap praise on the writings of the French Brother were certainly not the professors in the great Koranic university of El Azhar.

A book on Egyptian geography was well as a series of history texts all showed the religious educators' determination to be worthy of their trust and their firm resolution to instill into youth a sense of belonging to a national community.

Brother Godefroy shared personally in the composition of this collection of textbooks. The Christian note could be neither absent nor disguised. It pulsated in every section of institution, and its leader inspired its "sixty workers" with the regularity, the charity and the joy that expanded, so to speak, in successive waves. Here, once again, Brother Gordian added his influence to the action of his Superior by means of the Marian Association of which he was the superb promoter. Furthermore, with the advice of Father Jerome, the Superior of the Franciscan Convent in Mousky and Father Wellinger, of the African Missionaries of Lyons, a *Manuel du jeune chretien* was published by the Director who introduced into it a number of prayers taken from the Oriental Rite.'

Before his appointment to the responsibilities of Visitor, Brother Godefroy began an important enterprise in Cairo, of the vicissitudes of which, as well as the provisional culmination we shall speak later. North of Cairo, about equidistant from the Nile and from the heights of Mokattam, heaps of debris were levelled off and a new neighborhood emerged, spacious and lightsome. A school would have been a welcomed sight there. In conformity with the rules proclaimed in Leo XIII's Apostolic Letter, *Orientalium dignitas,*[2] the organizer of the Brothers schools in

[1] District archives, *Historique de Khoronfish. — Bulletin des Ecoles chritiennes* for October 1909, pp. 328-329. — Obituaries of Brother Gordian Martyr (1905) and Brother Godefroy of the Angels (1917). — Centenaire, pg. 176. — Article by Brother Andrew Leo (on Brother Pelage and the study of Arabic) in *Bulletin de Khoronfish,* 1949.

[2] Published in 1894, this document stipulated: "No College nor Convent of the Latin Rite may henceforth be opened by Religious before they have asked and obtained the consent of the Holy See."

the Egyptian capital sought Roman authorization, through the Prefect for the Delta, Father Duret. On August 2, 1897 the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda gave a favorable reply; the Brothers could move into "the Abbassieh and Daher regions".

In October of 1898 they rented a modest building on Sabri Street. About sixty youngsters showed up almost immediately. A second measure had to be taken. Brother Godefroy purchased a 5,515 sq. ft. lot situated nearby but within region of the Apostolic Delegate's responsibility. As a result of the move, then, there was a modification of ecclesiastical jurisdiction; but since there was neither question was a new institution, nor a new locality, recourse to the Holy See did not appear to be necessary. In a letter dated March 19, 1899 Archbishop Gaudenzio Bonfigli declared that he concurred with the Brothers of the Christian Schools.[1]

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How many French members of Religious Congregations expecting until 1887 to operate schools in the Suez Canal Zone had set themselves up to be deceived! It was eighteen years since Lesseps had completed his vast labors: Empress Eugenie had inaugurated the maritime passage-way in the company of Franz-Joseph of Austria and in the midst of the sumptuous feasts dreamed up by the Prince-Regent Ismail. While the masts of ships come from Europe lined up across the desert, the conveyance of the water from the Nile transformed the western bank into an oasis. The greenery

and the flowers of Ismailia would spread to Lake Timsah. At the end of

the Menzaleh, Port Said extended its pier into Mediterranean waters. The Canal Company set up its local administrative headquarters in this city, where it multiplied its shops and its docks. Its personnel, to which was added the personnel of the Shipping Companies, dwelt in well-constructed houses, beautifully lined up along broad avenues. If the Arab fishermen and their boats with the triangular sails, or if a few native Arab huts did not recall Africa, these resident aliens might have thought they were at home; but the Frenchman was better off than

[1] District archives, Daher College file and *Historique* of that school. — Brother Godefroy's Obituary — *Centenaire,* pg. 177.

any other, Latin, German or Englishman. It was his language that he heard on the streets; and his countrymen, engineers, agents, consular representatives, industrialists, and employees with a variety of titles whom he met with in positions of power and of trust.

Nevertheless, he sought in vain for educational centers capable of dispensing practical lessons in grammar and writing to the sons of families separated from the mother-country. Some youths were residents at the Col-

lege in Khoronfish. In Port Said there was nothing but an Italian grammar school dependent upon St. Eugenie's parish, and an obscure "international school" that had connections with Freemasonry.

It was a Franciscan, Father Leonard, who had sent out the first call to the Brothers on January 6th, 1886. At the time he was in charge of a parochial school, and he wanted to Brothers to come and "deliver him from his responsibility."' Brother Hugonis, then, had at least one ally on the site. He was certain of seeing other helpers materialize as well as other well-wishers.

Mr. Roualle Rouville, a high level representative of the Canal Corpora-

tion and Mr Lucian Monge, French Consul in Port Said, were immediately won over to the project that had been shown them by the Institute's representative. What the future school needed most was a free grant of land. But the request had to be submitted both to the Egyptian government and to the Canal Corporation, since they shared ownership of the land.

As a result the Visitor sent two official letters at the same time: one to the "Common Lands Commission" and the other to Mr. Rouville. He also notified Mr. Monge and sought the support of Baron Charles Lesseps, Vice-President of the Administrative Counsel in Paris.[2]

In November these gestures got results: lot #CXXVIII, 15,330 sq. ft., was granted the Brothers' Institute. Unfortunately, because it was too far from the center of town, it could not be used. Talks were opened with the view of securing an exchange.

Brother Hugonis seemed to have no doubt about the outcome. Without awaiting it, he decided to open the school on a provisional site. On January 28, 1887 he revealed his intention to Bishop Charmetant, Director of Near Eastern Charity Schools, and to Consul

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[1] District archives, Port Said file, letter to Brother Visitor.

[2] *Ibid.,* letters dated 9, 10 and 12 of February 1886.

Monge, while seeking subsidies from both of them.' Brother Prosperian, Director of St. Catherine's in Alexandria, brought three Brothers to Port

Said during the first days of March.

The team was composed of Brother Pelegrinus Edward (John Peter Chevaleyre), the Director, Brother Frumence Leo, a native of Ferrara and responsible for teaching Italian and a young Brother Theodore Flavian who was to take charge of the class for the youngest pupils. Brother Edward was forty years of age; a native of St. Etienne in Forez, he arrived in Alexandria in 1868. As teacher and Inspector at St. Catherine's, he combined a wealth of experience with a lucid mind and a strong character. He was not going to lack for opportunities to test his virtue.

Their residence, rented from a certain John Baptist Pierre was in such poor shape that for fifteen days the newcomers had to accept the genial and generous hospitality of the Franciscan pastor, Father Pascal Reggio. Toward mid-March they began classes — with eight pupils. The school year had been so far advanced that there was little ground for hope of a sudden influx of pupils; but it ended with forty-six pupils enrolled.[2]

These were all paying pupils. The Director refused to neglect the poor: he fitted out two small rooms and asked for more teachers. The tuition-free classes were to start beginning in October. The first days were disappointing: nobody showed up except two Israelis. Three months later there were sixty-

seven pupils being taught *gratis pro Deo.*[3] The French Consul, Emile Wiet brought the project to the attention of the people in Paris:

> In order the better to respond to the needs of the country [he wrote on November 23] — the Brothers, at my request, have opened a tuition-free school over-and-above their French-language instruction. It is urgent that we not allow a place that is devoid of school facilities to escape our influence.[4]

As this was going on, conversations between the Institute, the Corporation and the Egyptian government concerning the land on which the college was to be built continued. Agreement proved difficult, because the lot the Brothers wanted, on the Eugenie quay,

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[1] District archives, file cited.

[2] Twelve French, eleven Greeks, eleven Austrians, four Italians, three Maltese, two Egyptians, two Turks, one Portuguese (Thirty-five Catholics, eight Orthodox, two Moslems, 1 Israeli). Centenaire, pg. 204.

[3] *Centenaire,* pg. 204.

[4] Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Egypt, Vol. VI.

was much more valuable that lot #CXXVIII although somewhat smaller in area. The Corporation turned out to be comparatively openhanded;[1] nevertheless, it had to keep in mind the constraints of "Common ownership". The beneficiaries of the land grant were asked to pay a differential of 84,000 francs, and the Brothers were reconciled to pay the amount.[2]

The school's cornerstone was laid on March 9, 1889. At the time ten Brothers were teaching 290 pupils divided into four paying classes and three tuition-free classes. In order to attract a more numerous pupil-population, the construction was speeded up. But too much haste produced a disaster: on August 16th the building under construction collapsed, killing four persons and injuring one in the workplace, where, a few minutes earlier, the Brothers had been; the tolling of a bell had, fortunately, called them to the chapel.[3]

At last St. Mary's College was inaugurated ori September 1, 1890. Brother Edward, the faithful follower of Brother Adrian of Jesus, wanted his institution to be looked upon as an affiliate of the great establishment in Alexandria. Youths with a cosmopolitan background, although docile to the voices of their Christian teachers, thronged each morning through the white facade framed in palm trees. They were given a primary education of the type that was familiar in France. Elementary notions of commerce were added as well as practice in several modern languages, such as English, Arabic and Italian.

In 1891 evening classes for adults were introduced. Over the period of the next ten years the clear eyes of Brother Edward, from behind his glasses, would scan this fortunate corner of the world. And when illness would remove him from it, there were two invaluable men who would take over his task, Brother Gordian Martyr first, and then Brother Heli Samuel.[4]

Like St. Mary's in Port Said, the school in Port Tewfik, founded in 1888, enjoyed the support and the subsidies of the Canal Corporation. The city, "cool and high-spirited, a charming cluster of green tossed onto the Red Sea,"[5] was nearly

[1] It had already allotted an annual subsidy of 2,000 francs to the Brothers.

[2] District archives, file cited, correspondence for June 22, 1887 - December 29, 1888.

[3] Where actually they arrived ahead of time: the bell-ringer had mistaken the time by a half-hour. *Centenaire,* pg. 205.

[4] *Centenaire,* pg. 206, Cf. *Rivista lasalliana* for September 1937, pg. 192. — On Brother Heli Samuel (Michael Heyraud), see Vol. VII of the present work, pp. 357, 394.

exclusively populated by Europeans. And it was for their sons that the Superior-general of the Institute in Paris on August 14, 1888 signed a contract with higher-level administrators of the Suez Corporation. The wealthy sponsor assumed all obligations including construction and installation costs as well as faculty salaries. In September 1889, Brother Hugonis, announcing a school attendance of fifty-six pupils, asked Mr. Rouville to allow a fourth Brother who would take over another tuition-free class — a request that was complied with on February 27, 1891 with an *addendum* to the contract.' As the Brothers became better known they were teaching, on the average, of about 100 pupils each year.[2]

From a contemporary point of view, to associate with the Brothers in Mansourah —while still within the compass of French history — is something like returning to the Middle Ages. The memory of St. Louis, the captive king, was still alive there and capable of moving them. There were still some Catholics there. One of the most respected of them, the President of a Charitable Society founded by Greek-Uniates, wrote on February 19, 1887 to the Brother Director in Alexandria: "Send us some of your people!"[3]

Representatives of the French government were quick to become involved in the question. Consul Kleczkowski wrote to Minister Flourens that Mansourah, an important city with a population of 50,000 persons, of which the Christian and Jewish sectors formed an appreciable percentage, wanted a Brothers' school. "The Brothers' popularity is well established in the chief regions of Lower Egypt;" it was crucial to promote their success through financial assistance.[4] A few months later, the consular office was informed that a building appeared to be in condition to receive teachers and pupils. And then the French Consul-general in Cairo, Mr. D'Aubigny told his colleagues that the French government had granted 3,000 francs by way of preliminary financial help.[5]

With that Brother Hugonis' decisions fell into line; he

[1] District archives, Port Tewfik file.

[2] Report dated 1904. — Port Tewfik was one of a number of schools that the Brothers had to give up after World War I for the lack of personnel.

[3] District archives, Mansourah file.

[4] Archives of the Ministry ofForeign Affairs, Egypte, Vol. VII, no. 72. Letter dated January 6, 1888.

[5] District archives, file cited, letters for November 1888.

informed the Apostolic Delegate, Archbishop Corbelli, of them on January 20, 1889. "I approve of the project," wrote the Archbishop, "but please plan for an Italian program."

On May 11, there was a letter from Kleczkowski to his Minister who, by then, was Eugene Spuller:

> The Brothers' school in Mansourah has been in operation for several weeks. I have just come from inaugurating it officially. The facilities are better than one might have expected; nevertheless there are shortcomings; there is the neighborhood and there is the fact that there is no schoolyard. The Brothers intend to purchase land and build at their leisure. Up to now there is only a pay-school...Tuitionfree classes will begin operation in September.

In order to appease whatever qualms there might have prevailed "in Moslem circles", the Consul, in his address, thought it appropriate to insist that "French schools" abstain from "religious proselytizing2

With due respect for the conscience of others, the Brothers disseminated the Gospel truths both in their lessons and by their example; the morality they taught, the virtues they practiced won them the confidence of parents and the appreciation of a large number of Egyptians. Mansourah adopted them genuinely as fellow-citizens. They were able to realize their plans for a new construction. In June of 1895 the opening of the new "St. Louis' School" took place amidst great pomp; France, in the persons of MM. Cogordan, Minister Plenipotentiary, Lacretelle, Consul in Alexandria and Eynard, Secretary of the Embassy, was honorably received by both the civil authorities and the clergy.[2]

Lower-Egypt, however, did not seem to be the principal target aimed at by western propaganda; the latter, much more explicitly, was directed at the upper Nile and as far as the barrier that the Mandi had at the time raised in front of the Sudan. On the long band of plantations that attended the sustaining river, lived and toiled a numerous population, ignorant, poor and like itself over the centuries in which its kings exhausted it in order to building their temples and their tombs. Had not the archaeologists who deciphered its hieroglyphics who explored and restored its ruins and the travellers who journeyed to visit Karnak and Luxor, been overwhelmed along the way

[1] Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Egypt, Vol. VI, no. 10.

[2] District archives, file cited, letter of Brother Ildefonsus (who was present at the ceremony) to Brother Hugonis, June 15, 1895.

with pity? Surely, there would be people to offer the *Fellahs* food for both body and spirit. They would want to teach them and rescue them from fatalistic resignation. Proselytism, and occasionally ulterior political motives got mixed up with charity. Among these people of the soil and of certain urban centers there were those — authentic descendants of the ancient Egyptians — who were professed Christians: a meager minority of these were united to the Roman Church; the Coptic masses had gone over to Monophysitism, the ancient heresy of Eutyches. To strengthen some of these in the faith by equipping them with a better knowledge of it; and by enlightening others and restoring them to the unity of the faith — such was the task that Catholic Missionaries set themselves. On the other hand, there were the English and American preachers who, tenacious in their prejudices, attempted to attract certain groups to Protestantism.

After the events of 1880 — British occupation, the Mandist War, the death of Gordon Pacha, the fall of Khartoum and the retreat of AngloEgyptians toward the Nubean frontiers — rival influences could only be accentuated.

In 1887 the Committee of the French Alliance, meeting in Cairo, was concerned to found a school in Asyiit. Its President, on February 11, had asked Brother Hugonis to supply the teaching personnel. Negotiations seemed to have hit upon favorable conditions: 20,000 francs were allotted to the Brothers by the French government, which was eagerly intent upon proving its concern for this effort at peaceful conquest. In September the Visitor brought Brother Assistant Raphaelis to Asyiit to locate a promising site; at this point the French Consul-general stepped in to expedite a sale at a reduced price.' And then in January of 1888, the diplomatic representative in Alexandria, Kleczkowski, informed the Ministry on Quai d'Orsay of the withdrawal of the Brothers, who, abandoning their project in Asyut, hoped that the subsidy would still be made available to them in another place.[2] What had happened? Judging from an earlier letter from Mr. Maspero to Brother Hugonis, the Alliance Committee had been

[1] District archives, Asyut file, Brother Hugonis' letter to Mr. Beaucaire, Consul-gneeral in Cairo, October 4, 1887.

[2] Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Afairs, Egypt, Vol. VI, no 72, letter already quoted having to do with Mansourah.

frightened off by Brother Gervais of Mary's ambitious plans.' But actually it had preferred the services of other teachers. The Brothers refused to set themselves up as competitors.[2]

They would nevertheless move into Upper Egypt. The subsidy of 20, 000 francs was to be applied to the founding of a school in Tahta; Minister Rene Goblet informed the Superior-general of the Institute of this decision in an official announcement dated July 2, 1888.[3] Without mincing words, Kleczkowski had indicated to Paris that it was necessary "to combat the

invasive activity of English and American Protestant Missions."[4] The French Sugar Refinery and Mill Corporations would give their total support to the Brothers. And the Copts, who formed an important part of the population of Tahta, were to make up a large share of the school population.

The school opened on November 25 in a rented House. In 1890 a garden was purchased that was sufficiently large to provide room for a new building; the new location was occupied in May of 1891. During its first year seventy pupils applied. For a quarter of a century the pupil population remained consistently at around 150 pupils. Gradually practically all Catholic parents entrusted the boys in their families to the French Religious teachers. Among the non-Catholics, only the poor accepted the benefits of a Christian elementary education.[5]

The final word had not been spoken at Asyut. In 1892, the French Alliance took the initiative to reopen conversations with the Brothers. Mr. Barois, President of the Committee in Cairo, offered them a school that had been operating for four-and-a-half years. Some delay occurred, which was understandable, there was some hesitation in the reply. Finally, on June 26, 1895, Brother Godefroy of the Angels received the following letter from Mr. Barois: "The Committee accepts the agreement, concluded between Mr. Cogordan, the French Minister and the Brother Visitor. The school will be set up in such a way as to be at least the equivalent of the one that actually exists, both as regards the number of pupils and with respect to the level of the teachers and the studies." For the first three

[1] District Archives, file cited, letter of June 9, 1887.

[2] Kleczkowski (letter cited) said it in so many words.

[3] District Archives.

[4] Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Egypt, Vol. VI, no. 82.

[5] District archives, Tahta file. — The Lasallian school in Tahta was a nursery for vocations: twenty-six Coptic-Catholic priests and one Brother of the Christian Schools had begun there studies there. *(Centenaire,* pp. 236-237).

years the Alliance paid a subsidy of 5,000 francs which, the reafter would be reduced.'

The Superiors' endorsement was being awaited when, on September 29, Mr. Boutiron, the representative of the French government, wrote to Brother Hugonis asking: "What arrangements have been decided upon? I hope that all will go well and your standard, once firmly fixed in Upper Egypt, your school there will presently house one of your best institutions."[2]

The Visitor promised that the new faculty would begin teaching on November 2.[3] Earlier, steps undertaken in Rome had the effect of regularizing the canonical status of the institution: Bishop Camillus Macaire, Vicar-apostolic to the Copts, was officially responsible for the appeal to the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda.[4]

There was no lack of difficulty and bitter feeling, as can be easily imagined by a reading of Brother Hugonis' report to Bishop Charmetant in 1898:

> Asyut is an active center for Protestant proselytizing. American clergymen have turned this city into a boulevard for heresy in Egypt. At least as concerns the Coptic population, it is reasonable to assert that three-quarters of the people have been won over to Protestantism. In the "Evangelical Normal School", a splendid institution, ministers and local teachers are trained and then sent out into the cities, hamlets and villages of Upper and Lower Egypt...Our school is in a most embarrassing situation because of the inadequacy and the impoverished state of the physical facilities. It required every bit of the Brothers' dedication for this struggle to have a chance of success. When they arrived scarcely two years ago, they were looked upon with suspicion. Today they enjoy general respect. Their school is regarded as the best in the country.

Of the school's 181 pupils, there were twenty-seven Catholics, 128 non-Catholic Christians, and twenty-six Moslems. All were taught Catechism, although none were required to attend these classes, except the small group of those faithful to the Roman Church.[5]

[1] District archives, Asyiit file, correspondence 1892-1899.

[2] File cited.

[3] *Ibid.* In another letter, dated October 4, 1895, Brother Hugonis speaks of a plan for a Normal School in Tahta [to train local teachers]. The lack of funds stood in the way of executing the plan.

[4] Same file, the Procurator's [Brother Robustinian's] letter (copy) to Brother Apronian, October 16, 1895.

[5] Motherhouse archives, file ID n[1].

Such results were comforting. The moral climate, however, was often pathetic, as was the physical climate with its oppressive heat and its blinding "khamsins". British domination tended to incline the natives, in their studies, to insist on a greater emphasis on the conqueror's language. Under such conditions should the effort be prolonged? "Yes, we must stay in Asyut," asserted the Director, Brother Constantine Leo on May 18, 1899. "This is where the struggle is — the mission *par excellence.* The Brothers will get used to English educational programs. Their determination doesn't know what lack of confidence means."[1]

* *

The world of the Mid-east had its traps. Those courageous enough to venture into it needed, daily, constant and patient wisdom as well as energy. Disturb nothing, concede nothing, all the while preserving a radiant civility was the tactic of a skilled diplomat, and such a man was Brother Evagre who, in spite of obstacles, would get his way in Palestine. When the statistics were sent in 1887 by the Institute to the Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith, the three Palestinian schools — Jerusalem, Haifa and Jaffa

appeared in a fairly modest light: with a personnel of eighteen Brothers and six laymen, equally divided among the three, they had a total school population of 555 pupils.

Brother Evagre had been planning another school. He had turned his attention to Bethlehem. "The cradle of Christianity should become," according to the plans of the bold pioneer, "the cradle of the religious life in the new Near-East" that had been recently admitted into the Lasallian family.[2] The idea did not meet with any objection from Brother Hugonis who, on January 31, 1887, wrote about it to Brother Raphaelis: "The plan to purchase land in Bethlehem where we could build a Junior and Senior Novitiate has an important advantage in so far as it contributes to the unification and training of candidates. It would be a way of opening a door to us" in the city of the Nativity.[3]

The Visitor had no misgivings except "the lack of money" — a deficiency that Brother Evagre did not regard as insuperable. And so he wrote to the Motherhouse in Paris on

[1] District archives, Asyfit file, letter to Brother Assistant, Apronian.

[2] *Choix de notices necrologiques,* Vol. II (Brother Evagre's Obituary), Ipg. 318.

[3] Motherhouse archives, file ID n[1].

July 8, 1888: "The matter of land in Bethlehem can be dealt with: ..But we must talk to a lot of property owners, and bring all these people to one way of thinking...It's not an easy task."[1] Dogged, Brother Evagre, two years later, laid the cornerstone of the future "Holy Child Jesus School."[2]

But that was only the beginning of his difficulties. The reason why he had to wait so long for the realization of one of his fondest dreams is, of course, deeply rooted in national antagonism. It is a very sensitive question, but we cannot pass it by in silence. With the help of authentic documentation we shall attempt to describe it.

The Brother Procurator to the Holy See, Brother Robustinian, in a letter dated November 19, 1889, thanked Brother Raphaelis for having sent him a copy of the confidential letter written by a Franciscan, Father William, concerning the rather unflattering views the Fathers in Palestine entertained regarding the French Brothers. "That letter agrees completely with everything that has been said and everything that has been done in that country for the past six months".

"I am convinced," added the Institute's representative in Rome, "that Cardinal Simeoni, Prefect of the Propaganda, does not share the Holy Father's views concerning France's role and of its participation in our school activities."

And, by way of conclusion:

> If our Congregation had the necessary funds, I believe that you could ask to open new schools. But, as I see it, you have to begin in a place in which the Franciscans have no schools; furthermore, the Brothers must not show up there without an authorization that is completely approved by the Holy See. This would be a genuine way of finding out exactly whether they want to have absolutely nothing to do with us or on what conditions we are still acceptable to them.[3]

The Brothers were relying on the friendship of Leo XIII, which, for excellent reasons, was guaranteed. A detailed note in the handwriting of the Assistant, Brother Raphaelis, was intended to explain the situation:

> The Holy Father, sadly disturbed by the active propaganda practiced in Palestine by dissident sects, in June of 1889, communicated with the Superior-general and

[1] Motherhouse archives, ID n[1].

[2] *Choix de notices*, Vol. II, pg. 319.

[3] Motherhouse archives, file ID n.

> entrusted the mission of combatting anti-Catholic proselytism by opening in those places as many schools as possible similar to the ones that the Brothers operate in those countries and which have been successful with, and have won friends among, the populace.

The Superior told His Holiness that the Brothers would be happy to fulfill such a devout and honorable mission, but that the Institute could supply nothing but the workers, but without any financial resources. 'We shall take care of that,' the Pope replied.'

> ...A few days after this audience, which took place on June 5, the M.H. Brother revealed to His Holiness, in a special report, the places in Palestine where the opening of schools seemed, to be most urgently need. Response to these various projects, that were on the point of starting, would be suspended in order to provide the new foundations with the guarantees promised by the Holy Father.

But, continued the Brother Assistant, "more than a year has gone by" since these thoughtful suggestions were transmitted by the M.H. Brother Joseph. And now, we are shown "a ruling the adoption of which would have as its immediate consequence not an increase in the number of schools as the Holy Father wanted, but the destruction of some of the institutions already in operation!" [2]

> The "ruling" of 1890 had as its principle specifications the following:
>
> The Brothers schools will be open to heterodox and infidel pupils, but they shall admit Catholics exceptionally and after they have been referred to the Patriarch, who shall decide;
>
> Catholics will never be placed in the same seats alongside other pupils. If they are numerous they shall have separate classrooms and playgrounds. In church, non-Catholics shall sit apart; and in any case, it would be better to exclude them.
>
> The Patriarch will supervise the discipline of the pupils and teachers, approve books, and control the methods and programs of study;

[1] After which, Brother Raphaelis observed that "to that very day neither the Custodian nor the Propaganda had subsidized any of the Brothers schools. the French government, on the other had, granted them the assistance that had been annually approved by Parliamnt and promoted recruitment of teachers by guaranteeing them complete exemption from military service."

[2] Motherhouse archives, ID n.

The Arabic language will be in daily usage. French will never be the language of instruction; taught only when propriety demands it, it will be considered as a luxury, reserved for a certain category of child who may be in a position to use it.

These regulations called for an appropriate rebuttal. Brother Hugonis, pen in hand, wrote the necessary replies to the articles cited above:

Concerning the proposed statute, it seems to us that the following observations may be made:

6. Shows very little trust in the Brothers's schools and the education that they provide in them;

7. Destroys the teachers' freedom, initiative and moral authority;

8. Discredits our schools and, contrary to the wishes of the Holy See, would reduce them to a rank that in quite inferior to similar schismatic, Protestant or atheistic schools;

9. Contributes to depriving us of the resources required to subsist;

10. In relation to the schools mentioned and their teachers, removes all authority from the Major Superiors of the Institute while leaving them nevertheless with a large share of the responsibility.[1]

The goal sought by the Brothers' adversaries had clearly emerged: to strike a decisive blow at French influence, on the one hand; and, on the other, to force the Institute to opt between its Catholic pupils and their schismatic, Jewish and Moslem friends. The Patriarch had been leaning toward an exclusively confessional system, the clearest effect of which had been to eliminate the results obtained by Brother Evagre.

The latter had set forth his own ideas in a letter dated June 2, 1890:[2]

Our Patriarch has committed his plan to writing. Before Rome expresses its own preferences, I may one last time explain my own position. Bishop Piavi wants every parish to have its own school made up exclusively of Catholics. That is not very apostolic, and it is anti-French...If His Excellency, in order to obey the Pope, asks for us in Bethhoran, Ramalla or St. Joan of Arc, etc...on condition of not admitting any but Catholics, would we go and start schools for ten, twenty or thirty pupils?...And why would we not admit dissidents? Is that apostolate forbidden? And if such work is difficult, must we reject it?...The Ottoman government recognizes us

[1] Motherhouse archives, File **ID** el.

[2] To Brother Raphaelis. Motherhouse archives, ID n.

because all its subjects have access to our schools. And we need that recognition. And what will France say when our schools dwindle and are reduced to nothing?...If I submit body and soul to everything that Holy Church shall determine, I shall be mortified to be the prisoner of the caprices of the enemies of my native land.

The Superiors on Oudinot Street were in possession of all they needed to make up their minds. They embraced the position of their representative in the Near-East. Adopting the Visitor's language, they declared:

Under the conditions stipulated in the proposed regulation we shall be absolutely prevented from accomplishing the Holy Father's purposes. Rather than increasing the number of our schools, we shall have to reduce the number appreciably; rather than maintaining them flourishingly in competition with Protestant and atheistic schools, we shall have to be satisfied to see them stagnate and scorned even by Catholics.[1]

This sort of impassioned appeal was, of course, expected. The regulation, which had been proposed by "the Propaganda" to the Sovereign Pontiff on March 16, 1891 and approved by Leo XIII on April 12 "for a period of five years" altered the original text in such a way as to safeguard the Brothers' freedom of action.

There was no question, however, but what the basic principles of the earlier version had been maintained: "Exclusion of heterodox and infidels" or, in any case, the "desirable" separation of Catholics from non-Catholics. But moderation prevailed, and wisely so:

Schools established and operated by the Brothers of Christian Doctrine *[sic]* may admit and instruct through Catholic teachers not only Catholic children and youths, but also the heterodox and the infidel.

Young non-Catholics will be accorded the liberty of assisting at the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass in Catholic churches, as well as other acts of worship to which teachers take their Catholic pupils...The teachers will take care that the attitude of these [heterodox or other] pupils is as respectful as the situation warrants.

There was a concern, obviously, to protect

[1] Motherhouse archives, ID cl.

the faith of the adherents of the true Church against any scandal or any baneful impression. In this connection the Sacred Congregation insisted a great deal on "precautions" in the relations between the different groups: thus, "long conversations" between Catholics and non-Catholics had to be outlawed, especially "in religious matters".

The primary obligation of teachers was to strengthen orthodox belief; remove the dangers of "perversion" and "indifferentism". And while the Brothers were authorized to admit Greek Christians, heretics, Mohammedans and Jews into their classrooms, it was done "in the hope that the sound principles of the true religion would succeed in getting through to souls".

There remained the language problem. In this regard the regulation of 1891 had stipulated that "Catechism and Bible History would be taught in Arabic"; and that "as a consequence, the Brothers must set their young Religious to the study of Arabic and train skillful teachers" in this area of education. "French" was mentioned in a passing comment: the Brothers could adopt it as a "specialty" in their modern language programs, "provided that Arabic remained the principal language and that religious instruction in no way suffered" as a result of this specialized educational program.[1]

Within the rather broad limits of these prescriptions, Brother Evagre and his associates would henceforth manoeuvre without meeting with any serious stumbling blocks. Leo XIII's mind had already been expressed in their favor. And soon the Pope was to underscore a new aspect of his religious policy in the Near-East: in 1893 he called upon all forms of Christianity in this part of the world, whether united to the Holy See or those detached by adherence to ancient disputes "to come together in Congress to worship before the Eucharistic Christ". The "Legate", representing the Head of the Church, was a Frenchman, Cardinal Langenieux, Archbishop of Rheims, and the first since the Crusades to appear in Palestine with this title and with an official mission from the Holy See.' In the Holy Land where France had at the time been exercising a sort of Protectorate, the Pope wanted people to say once again: *Gesta Dei per Francos!*

Joyously construction work in Bethlehem

[1] Motherhouse archives, HB g (Rhodes File).

[2] Goyau, *Histoire religiense de Is Nation francaise,* pg. 610.

advanced. In 1892, while the walls of the Junior Novitiate arose on the highest point of "David's hill", the Dominicans at their College in Jerusalem took to calling it *Castellum Evagri,* Evagre's Mansion. For "it was indeed a mansion", said one of them, the famous Father Lagrange; "in fact a sort of citadel, or rather a Thabor...On that summit everything spoke of God, of God become a Babe."[1]

The Turkish government granted its permit on January 1, 1893, and the definitive occupation took place in October. Some Junior Novices came from Jerusalem; others came from Lebanon. The first one admitted to Bethlehem by Brother Evagre was to bear the name in the Congregation of Brother Seraphim Victor. He belonged to a family of Maronite Patriarchs and had met the Brothers in Beirut. At the age fifteen years, in 1894, in the Holy Child Jesus School, he addressed the Vice-President of the Chamber of Deputies and a future President of France, Felix Faure, who had come as a pilgrim to the Crib and the Holy Sepulchre.[2]

Later, Brother Victor translated the Institute's *Rule* into Arabic, as well as St. John Baptist de La Salle's *Collection of Various Short Subjects* and the Manuel of Piety. As a teacher and Prefect of Studies in Jerusalem he was to acquire a lofty reputation in his linguistic specialty.[3]

In 1897 thirty-two youngsters and youths, Lebanese for the most part, were preparing for the life of a teaching Religious in the sturdy structure that one glimpses at a turn in the road as one goes from Zion toward the Basilica of the Nativity: two wings flanking the principal residential building; and on the bell-tower that dominates the country-side floats the French tri-color.

More majestically, perhaps, in its architectural lines arose the Brothers' building in Jerusalem, the "Mother house", of which the schools in Jaffa, Haifa, Bethlehem and — as we shall

[1] *Bulletin des Ecoles chretiennes* for July 1914, pg. 254.

[2] Brother Isidore of Peluse who had accompanied Felix Faure from Jaffa to Jerusalem, saw him kneel and weep at Christ's tomb. (Brother Isidore's Obituary, 1906.) The future Mrs. George Goyau Lucie Felix Faure — was with her father on his pilgrimage.

[3] No less a good Religious than a superb educator, Brother Victor's work was interrupted by illness. After years of suffering, he died in 1922 at the Brothers' retirement home in Moulins. During his enforced leisure, he was able to write his *Histoire de las litterature arabe* for the schools in the Mid-East. This book was especially well received in Egypt. *Choir de notices necrologiques,* Vol. I, pp. 415-424.

=see — Nazareth are the four affiliates. Twelve French Brothers — most of whom were educated at St. Maurice in Exile — dispensed tuition-free education to 200 residents of Jerusalem between the ages of six and fourteen. And "the soul of this superb institution was Brother Evagre."[1]

Nevertheless, if the tireless workman entertained a special preference for one of his projects, his friend, Father Lagrange, thought that it was for

Nazareth.[2] Brother Evagre was delighted to have been able to provide a school for the fellow-citizens of the Lord Jesus. A great deal of effort, labor and tedious diplomacy had ended successfully. The route, traced out as early as 1881, could not be cleared prior to 1892. Finally, in a report dated as of the following year and addressed to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Consul-general Saint Rene Taillandier declared that "in February, the school had been opened. Set up in an extremely unpretentious site, it has a teaching personnel of three Brothers, to whom a fourth will be added when school takes in after vacation. Although classes began toward the middle of the school year, the number of pupils quickly arose to seventy-five. Brother Visitor said that there was reason to believe that this number would double in October." There were grounds for fearing the hostility of the Turks; in spite of "a regrettable incident", neither the governor nor the local authorities "did anything to procure the closing down of the school nor the serious interruption of its activities. The school, then, if not recognized, is at least known and accepted. It has gotten through the most critical period..."[3]

In 1894, Brother Evagre, concerned for his friends in Nazareth who were cramped for room, sought to obtain a more comfortable "nest" for them. He had to go out begging for the funds. In 1898 he wrote: "I am travelling everywhere for Nazareth." And, in his wanderings, he loved to pass through the tiny village, listen to the French spoken there as well as the hymns and the catechetical recitations of the children. In 1900 he received permission to build; accordingly was there greater rejoicing in

[1] Motherhouse archives, ID n, taken from an article in the review *le Correspondant* for December 25, 1897.

[2] Talk given by Father Lagrange, Director of the *Beele biblique* on March 4, 1914 in the Patriarchal

church in Jerusalem. (See *Bulletin des teeles chretiennes,* for July 1914, pg. 248.

[3] Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Turkey, 1892-1893. Beirut, Vol. XXXVII, report dated September 12, 1893, for the Minister, Mr. Develle.

Galilee during the canonization of St. John Baptist de La Salle. A spacious structure was to clutch the flanks of the hillside.'

Under the protection of the regulation of 1891, the Brothers had functioned very well indeed. There was reason, therefore, in finalizing this provisional statute.[2] The Superior-general sent Rome a request along these lines. Cardinal Ledochowski, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of the *Propaganda Fide* withheld a reply until November 28, 1896; it required the sending of information concerning "the admission and teaching of infidels and the heterodox" and "the measures taken to prevent their contact from being harmful to Catholics". It asked for statistics and promised that after inquiry, qualified bishops would see about it.

Statistics worked up through the efforts of the Assistant, Brother Apronian of Mary in February of 1897, in so far as they as concerned Palestine, produced the following figures:

In Jerusalem the Brothers taught 126 Catholics and fifty-nine heterodox; in Jaffa, 114 Catholics, seventy-nine heterodox and twenty-one infidels; in Nazareth the three groups numbered 131, nineteen and eight pupils respectively. In Haifa there was only a single heterodox pupil and four infidels as against 212 Roman Catholic children.[3]

The same document supplied appropriate explanations: non-Catholics, generally admitted at the earliest age conformed in every way with the educational regulation. But they were not allowed to participate in acts of worship unless they expressed an unambiguous desire to do so. In pay schools they remitted full tuition, and their generosity was applied to charitable works.

Concerning religious instruction, the *modus operandi* involved attendance at daily catechism lessons, the study of textbooks approved by church authorities and answers to questions. The recitation of prayers as well as the catechism's dogmatic formulas continued to be an optional matter; but a very large number of pupils, nevertheless, insisted on taking part in them. Literary instruction was based upon textbooks that were essentially Catholic and were the same for all pupils.

The precautions to be taken, in this mixed company, so

[1] *Choir de notices necrologiques,* Vol. II, pg. 319.

[2] We have to recall that it had only *been* made effective for five years.

[3] We shall give the figures for Syria in the following section. — Bethlehem admitted only Catholics.

as to avoid religious or moral dangers were rigorously observed. During recreation play was compulsory; small groups and conversations could not be tolerated. There was no religious discussion. In cases in which some word or act contrary to morals occurred, dismissal was the inexorable penalty.'

Cardinal Ledochowski insisted — as was his right — on conducting a double-proof by inviting the "Ordinaries" to list their demands with him. Complaints were lodged with him; and it was easy to recognize their provenance. They accused the Brothers: of violating the normal percentages to be selected from the various religious denomination in favor of the heterodox, "and even in favor of the Jews"; of granting "too large a place" to the French language or to profane studies; of failing to teach catechism in Arabic; and of yielding to tampering on the part of the Consuls of their own nation much more than to the directives of the Patriarch.[2]

The Superior-general who had been elected in 1897 prepared to defend his confreres. In the first place he needed only to produce the statistics for 1898 which showed that along with the 198 heterodox and thirty-one infidels the schools in Palestine included 602 Catholics. And wisely refusing to allude to anti-French prejudice, the M.H. Brother Gabriel of Mary stated:

> On the testimony of the Reverend Father confessors, there is no reason to regret the mixture of pupils of diverse faiths. Our young Catholics have preserved their faith intact. And, as for infidels and heterodox, they learned dignified and respectful habit...They followed the courses of religious instruction and so willingly recited Catechism that to fail to question them would have greatly upset them." [3]

* *

Syria and Palestine are, both geographically and ethnographically, inseparable from one another. They made up the great invasion corridor that was bordered on one side by the sea and by the desert on the other side: —

[1] Motherhouse archives, File ID n.

[2] *Ibid.,* Cardinal Ledochowski to the M.H. Brother Gabriel of Mary, May 13, 1898.

[3] Motherhouse archives ID n, information sent on August 8, 1898 to Cardinal Ledochowski through the efforts of the Assistant, Brother Apronian.

a special world between Egypt and Turkey. History, since the most distant antiquity, brought the peoples on the banks of the Jordan and on the banks of the Orontes — Hebrews, Phoenicians, Arabs, Druses, Alaouites, and Maronites — together in peace or scattered them in war. The Crusades positioned France into the center of these Near-Eastern lands; and since the Middle Ages France has maintained a presence there. Just as it had watched over the Holy Places in Jerusalem, it defended the Maronites in Lebanon. Its dependents, victims of the Turks and the Druses, had sought French assistance. And in order to put an end to fearful massacres, the forces of General Hautpoul arrived in 1860. An agreement reached on June 9, 1861, imposed upon the Sublime Port, provided for the administrative autonomy of Lebanon and placed a Christian governor at the head of that region. The French, under a variety of regimes, believed that their prestige as well as their interests were involved in both Syria and in the Holy Land.

As we have seen, from the day that the Brothers of the Christian Schools settled in Jerusalem, their cooperation well beyond Juda and Galilee was sought out by the representatives of the French government. And when Brother Evagre needed Religious vocations for his Institute, he went to Lebanon for the recruits that were such an essential element of his Novitiate in Jerusalem.

In 1880 France was looking into the question as to what were the most favorable places for extending its influence. Beirut was soon to become the seat of a great University "the glorious future of which" — according to George Goyaul — would become the common task of the Jesuits (as its organizers) and the French Republic (as its protector)". Further to the north, Tripoli drew the attention of Mr. Torcy, Commissioner in Syria-Palestine. He had visited Brother Evagre's school in Jerusalem, where he formed a very high opinion of the Brothers. Once he had gotten back to Constantinople, he conferred, through the mediation of the Director of Kadikoy, with Brother Hugonis.[2] That turned out to only the first step.

Preliminary stages were going to require time and a great deal of deftness. The Consul-general, Patrimonio, wrote in

[1] Histoire religieuse de la Nation francaise, pg. 610.

[2] See above, pg. 408. Cf. *Bulletin des Ecoles chritiennes* for January 1913, pg. 30.

In Tripoli there is only one Maronite school in which French is taught; it is incapable of competing with the school sponsored by the Biblical Societies' missionaries. As a consequence, our influence is seriously impaired. Bishop Piavi, Apostolic delegate seems presently to be well disposed: it would be well for us to avail ourselves of him. The Congregation of the Propaganda could require that the Franciscans, who are responsible for the parish in this Gateway to the Mid-east, follow the example of the Carmelites in Haifa. They handed over their schools to the Brothers, who should be moving in presently. In this way we should avoid, as in Haifa, conflict with the Turkish authorities.

Patrimonio said he had no worries concerning the allegiance of the Brothers. On November 5, he got back to Brother Evagre:

Perhaps you know that the French government has been thinking about assisting you in opening a school in Tripoli...To this end a sum of 15,000 francs has already been set aside for you in the current budget. Are you authorized by your Superiors to deal with this matter? A skillful and experienced man is indispensable. It's a question of negotiating with the Apostolic delegate, since the Brothers cannot move into the city without a previous arrangement with the Franciscans, who operate the parochial school. A new school would run into opposition from the Turks.[2]

Brother Evagre submitted the proposal to the Superior-general. Once he had been vested with the requisite authority, he was prepared to play his role. Initially he suffered a setback at the hands of the Franciscans. But Patrimonio's tenacity shared the burden of his fellow-in-arms.

Would it be possible for you to come to Beirut so that you and I could talk about the school in Tripoli? [the diplomat wrote the Brother in August of 1885]. Perhaps we would get a more sympathetic hearing from the Capuchins than from the Franciscans. The former have a monastery in Tripoli that is extremely well situated, and which is now merely being occupied by someone leasing the place, since the Mission has abandoned it for the lack of personnel. An understanding would be necessary prior to any step we might take in Rome. The site, I think, would for a long while satisfy the uses we have for it. And we should also be avoiding difficulties that the Port might raise.. .[3]

[1] Cited earlier, pg. 410.

[2] Motherhouse archives, File ID o.

[3] Motherhouse archives, File ID o, copy of the French Consul-general's letter, addressed, August 28, 1885, to the Assistant, Brother Raphaelis, by Brother Evagre.

The Capuchins turned out to be cooperative. Brother Evagre urged the Institute's administration to come to a decision:

> Since the French government wants a school, we must go directly to Mr. Freycinet. Regardless of the internal political climate, Paris is concerned about the Mid-East. We must dare to explain our needs to these gentlemen.[1]

"The 15,000 francs are available to us in the offices of the Ministry," assured Brother Hugonis, who, in January of 1886, had visited the representative of the French Consul in Beirut, spoke cordially with the Apostolic delegate and was given a warm reception by the Capuchins, as well as the most cheering assurances: "They promised to facilitate the opening of the school, to spare the Brothers as far as they could the trouble and annoyance from the local authorities." They agreed to lease their house for four years for 700 francs a year. "If we open Tripoli, this school must have a chance at success; and it can only succeed with good personnel."[2]

The Viscount Petiteville, Patrimonio's successor in the post of Consul-general, told Mr. Freycinet that, since arrangements had been concluded, the Brothers would start teaching classes "toward the end of the summer."[3] For his part, the Assistant, Brother Raphaelis, explained the moving procedure to the President of the Council, the Minister of Foreign Affairs: "the nearby Maronite school" was to be transferred to the Capuchin's building; gradually, "without any fanfare the Brothers would replace the teachers in this school."[4]

But too much confidence had been placed in the good will of the Maronite Archbishop, Estafan Aouad. Even though he had said that he was a good friend of France, he faltered in the final moment. By failing to hand over his tiny educational establishment to the Brothers, he ran the risk of undermining a project that had been so painfully crafted.[5]

[1] Motherhouse archives, ID o, letter dated November 3, 1885, to Brother Raphaelis.

[2] *Ibid.,* letter dated January 13, 1886, to Brother Raphaelis.

[3] Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Turkey 1886, Beirut, Vol. XXIX, no. 4, letter dated April 27, 1886.

[4] Motherhouse archives, ID o, letter dated May 6, 1886.

[5] Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Turkey 1892-1893. Beirut, Vol. XXXVII, copy of a report by Mr. Savoye, Vice-consul in Tripoli, to Mr. Saint Rene Taillandier, Consul-general in Beirut, dated November 13, 1893.

Brother Evagre refused to admit defeat. He had assembled his team, and was in possession of the funds from Paris. A Brothers Community went to Tripoli, where for a while they accepted the hospitality of the Vincentians, and, then, in November of 1886, they admitted pupils to the Capuchin quarters. It was a timid beginning and, in a way, somewhat secretive. The Director, Brother Odilon of Mary wrote the Assistant on January 1, 1887:

> Since we have been unable to obtain a permit, we are obliged to proceed very prudently... His Excellency, the governor, cannot, we are told, either see nor sympathize with Europeans...Up to now we have only about a dozen pupils; until further notice the Consul has forbidden us to admit any more...We are supposed to do some tutoring. Five of our pupils are sons of Consuls, including the son of the French Consul.'

To their every-day schedule the Brothers added a Sunday program, the preparation of youngsters for First Communion. Month by month the situation stabilized; and in December of 1887 four teachers were instructing forty pupils. [2]

Their material conditions, however, became extremely harsh. There was no assistance to be expected from the people in the neighborhood, who were, for the most part, poor and for whose sons education could be nothing if not tuition-free. Brother Hugonis brought the sad facts of life to the attention of the Consul-general. He wrote on April 2, 1889:

> Our Brothers do not have the merest necessities (on the contrary!), even as they see their competitors amply supplied...Apart from splendid compensation, the Italian government furnishes its teachers with a well-equipped schoolhouse and textbooks...Our Brothers are satisfied with very little; but they must be assured of that minimum.[3]

Nevertheless, at this very critical moment, and without despairing of the intervention of the French government, the Visitor informed the diplomat that it was crucial quickly to take over a second center for the apostolate and for the exercise of French influence: the Tripoli Maritime neighborhood. Plans had been sketched and financial estimates had been submitted to the judgment of statesmen.'

Even when subsidies were not too small nor too unpredictable, and even when the alms of the

[1] Motherhouse archives, ID o. — *Bulletin des Ecoles chretiennes* for January 1913, pp. 31-35.

[2] Motherhouse archives, ID nl, statistics.

[3] Motherhouse archives, ID o.

faithful — in the form of gifts from the Near-East School Charity or the Propagation of the Faith — were added, it had to be admitted that without tuition, a school could not survive in Syria. While every measure would be taken to reserve a lot of room for tuition-free pupils, "St. Paul's School" in Tripoli would be a tuition-paying day-school; and a residence school would be opened as soon as circumstances warranted.

As early as 1890 the future emerged more clearly. Funds were beginning to come in — and with the help of France — Brother Hugonis was able to purchase, on April 7 of that year, the church, monastery and gardens that had belonged to the Capuchins at a cost of 22,000 francs.[1] Eight days later Mr. Petiteville expressed his satisfaction in his report to the Minister: "The generous initiatives of the government put us in a position to compete in Tripoli with Italian institutions. The Brothers have just purchased the buildings that they have been occupying since their arrival in this city; and they are preparing to construct spacious classrooms."

At the same time "the school in favor of which the [Foreign Affairs] Department and the embassy were kind enough to grant a special subsidy was opened at Maritime-Tripoli", and was operating in a manner to satisfy Mr. Savoye, the Vice-consul.

At the end of the year, there was a degree of disappointment: the Moslem city government had refused the Brothers a permit to build and thereby threatened to thwart the school's "progress". And, then, "the fear of a cholera epidemic detained in the mountains Lebanese families which, ordinarily, would have spent the winter on the coast". In this way, the school population did not exceed 127 pupils. But much more discouraging were the numbers at Tripoli-Maritime: in December of 1890 there were only twenty-three pupils. There was no real reason to be disheartened, insisted the representative of France; the temporary setback was due, as he saw it, to Italian intrigues and those of their fellow-countrymen, the Holy Land Fathers. The future will change all of this.[3]

The optimism turned out to have been justified. "The Brothers in Tripoli give their pupils a genuinely sound elementary education and obtain in that city the most flattering results," notes Mr. Saint Rene Taillandier on August 17, 1893, as he conveyed to the

[1] Motherhouse archives, copy verified as conformed to the original contract deposited in the archives of the Consulate in Beirut.

[2] Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Turkey 1890, Beirut, Vol. XXXV, report sent to Mr. Alexander Ribot, April 22, 1890.

[3] *Ibid.,* report dated December 9, 1890 (by Consul Guiot).

Minister a request from the Director, Brother Prosper, who needed supplies to be used in his physics and chemistry classes.'

Eighteen months later another Director, Brother Simplice, was seeking permission from the Regime of the Institute to expand the size of his school: "It's an urgent matter...At the moment we have 229 pupils, ninety of whom are tuition-free and 139 paying pupils, and of these latter twenty-eight are resident pupils. In a very short time, Tripoli, whose situation is better than that of Beirut, is going to move ahead in a remarkable way."[2]

What might have been immediately observed in this city, the center of attraction in Northern Lebanon, was the training of a social elite in the classrooms of the Brothers' College; an education that was extremely well adapted to the needs of the region had won over peoples' minds, and a religious education had reinforced peoples' consciences.[3]

At the beginning of 1897 more than half of the pupils in the school in Tripoli were Catholics; about another hundred were schismatics, Moslems or Israelis. At Tripoli-Maritime there were sixty-four Catholics, fifty-four heterodox and twenty-nine infidels.[4] The Brothers zeal therefore had triumphed over mistrust and denigration.

Their reputation in Syria was, at the time, no longer confined between the walls of a single city. Since 1890 they had taken their place in Beirut, and, beyond that, they were laboring in Latakia, on the coastal boarders of Alaouites territory.

They had long been awaited in a number of places. In January of 1882 Brother Irlide had received, along with a circular concerning the opening of a Medical School in Beirut, the following letter from the Jesuit Father Henry, Rector of St. Joseph's University:

> If ever, My M.H. Brother, I have the obligation of making recommendations to you, I shall not Tail to mention to you the City of Beirut as a place quite prepared to welcome the Brothers of the Christian Schools...In less than three years you would hav 5-600 pupils...But I hope that more authoritative and more official voices than mine will soon offer you

[1] Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Turkey 1892-1893, Beirut Vol. XXXVII, letter to Minister Develle.

[2] Motherhouse archives, letter to the Assistant, Brother Apronian of Mary, March 29, 1897.

[3] Article in the review *le Monde colonial* for December 1924, preserved in the archives of the Secretariat-general of the Institute.

[4] Motherhouse archives, IDn, statistics supplied to Cardinal Ledochowski, February 22, 1897.

The call of these "official voices" had already been discerned in the letter addressed to Jules Ferry by Consul Patrimonio on May 17, 1884.[2] After extended praise for the university work of the Jesuits, there appeared the following remarks: "The Fathers also support three elementary schools in different neighborhoods of Beirut...This sort of instruction lies outside their expertise." And, like Father Henry, the diplomatic representative, concluded that the Brothers should be introduced. "The people have been asking for them insistently," he added.

It was the same thing in Latakia, ancient Laodicea. "The demands of the populace had been supported by the Apostolic delegate, Bishop Piavi", who, in his conversation with the French Consul, "had repeated his assurance of the high opinion in which he held 'the Religious of that Institute"'.

Ultimately, Tripoli was given the preference as the site for the first experiment. Nevertheless, the way was still wide-open for other cities. Patrimonio's successor in Beirut pursued the same policy. We shall see how well he succeeded in it.

On June 19, 1889 Mr. Deschamps, President-general of the Society of St.Vincent de Paul in Syria wrote the following to the M.H. Brother Joseph:

> In order to comply with the quite earnest wishes of our excellent Consul-general, Mr. Petiteville..., I have induced my associates to entrust our schools to your superb Congregation, or at least the principal school, which operates in our headquarters and which belongs to us; 200 pupils attend it. The project has been in existence for twenty-nine years. We are not trying to get rid of it. But we are delighted to share the views of Mr. Petiteville, and we are too convinced that the children of our poor will be by a great deal the gainers in moving on from our unworthy hands into the hands of your dedicated Religious for us not to do everything in our power to facilitate your task.[3]

On April 22 of the following year, after the preliminaries had been

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1 Motherhouse archives, ID o, letter dated January 19, 1882.

2 Report cited above, pg. 410.

3 Motherhouse archives, ID o.

completed, the Consul wrote to the French Minister:

> The Brothers are going to go to Beirut under the sponsorship of the St. Vincent de Paul Society. The quarters intended for them are ready, and I have reason to believe that the next packet-boat will be carrying three of them. Up to now, the Society's classrooms have been presided over by laymen or by tolerably well instructed Maronite priests; instruction in French has been neglected. It will be altogether different with the Brothers...The school they are going to operate is especially intended for the sons of working people. Your Excellency would do well, I dare hope, to encourage its beginnings with a subsidy of 2,500 francs.'

The school in Latakia was being organized in a similar way. Writing to Brother Raphaelis on January 22, 1889, Mr. Geofroy, the French Consul, reminded him "of the institution he had run in Paris in 1886:"

> Since that time, I have pointed out to you all the good that the Brothers would be able to foster by settling in Latakia, where Anglo-American Protestant missionaries have dominated youth. When I returned here there was nothing that I had to do that was more urgent than to petition the French government for assistance so that your Congregation might open a grammar school in this region of Syria...I have obtained the promise of a compensation to cover the initial expenses for such an institution. I have opened negotiations with the Apostolic delegate and the Custodian so that the Brothers might be empowered to operate the school opened by the Fathers of the Holy Land.[2]

In the name of the Institute, the energetic Consul assumed the responsibility for purchasing, "a beautiful building" for 8,700 francs and a "huge garden of some 8,400 square feet" for 1,500 francs. An official subsidy of 10,000 francs was paid to Oudinot Street.[3]

At the last moment there arose a number of misunderstandings that he was eager to dissipate. The Viscomte Petiteville telegraphed Paris on May 24, 1890: "The Brothers in charge of the schools in Beirut and Latakia have just arrived. But in the view of Bishop Gaudenzio, the Apostolic delegate, they cannot begin classes without receiving authorization from the Propaganda.

[1] Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Turkey 19=890, Beirut, Vol. XXV, no. 17, Mr. Petiteville's report to Mr. Ribot.

[2] Motherhouse archives, ID o.

[3] *Ibid.,* Brother Hugonis' letter, April 7, 1890; Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Turkey 1890, Beirut, Vol. XXXV, no. 17, Petiteville's report, April 22, 1890.

But the Delegation had been informed, through me, six months ago concerning the opening of new schools.'"

Bishop Gaudenzio Bonfigli, Bishop Piavi's successor in Beirut, was none other than the former Custodian of the Holy Land who, in 1876, had so warmly received Brother Evagre in Jerusalem.[2] It was not possible that he entertained a bias against the Brothers, nor even any personal hostility to France. Mr. Saint Rene Taillander, three years later, would explain simply that "in order to avoid the [anti-French] patterns that had been put in place by his predecessor, Bishop Gaudenzio Bonfigli needed to obtain instructions from the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda."[3]

From the outset, the accuracy of this opinion seemed to have been proved by the events of 1890. Bishop Gaudenzio telegraphed the Vatican to obtain the authorization that he believed was necessary. He received the following reply: "The Brothers in Latakia must apply to the Patriarch in Jerusalem; as for those in Beirut, the Sacred Congregation will see to it that they are provided with an educational regulation."

He was "genuinely surprised" by such instructions, declared Petiteville. "On the strength of his own statement, the Patriarch had nothing to do with the schools in Latakia; while the schools in Beirut could not be subject to any regulation emanating from the Propaganda."

And so, the French Consul-general asked his government to intervene with the Holy See: "Delay in starting classes is extremely prejudicial" to the interests of the French government.[4]

On May 31 Mr. Ribot, Minister of Foreign Affairs, telegraphed: "The Propaganda declares that it has erroneously connected the Patriarch of Jerusalem with the school in Latakia. The Apostolic delegate has been urged to reach an agreement with the Brothers for the opening of classes.

On June 1 there was another telegram from Petiteville: Bishop Gaudenzio maintains that Cardinal Simeoni did not tell him about an agreement signed with the Brothers. — "The Propaganda is

[1] Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, File cited, no. 10.

[2] See above, pg. 406.

[3] Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Turkey 1892-1893, Beirut, Vol. XXXVII, no. 26, report sent to Minister Develle on July 20, 1893.

[4] Telegraph despatch, dated May 24, 1890.

most surprised with your account", replied the Minister to the Consul. "It telegraphed the Apostolic delegate yesterday [June 3] to learn the reasons for his refusal."'

Finally, on June 6, a direct order from Rome reached the Bishop who, the following day, revealed its contents to the Brothers: there was no longer any obstacle, and Bishop Gaudenzio "was praying for their success in Syria." [2]

And so ended the episode that had set the French Ambassador to the Vatican in motion. Commenting on Lefebvre Behaine's report, Ribot told Petiteville: "The delays which the Brothers' schools in Beirut and Latakia had to endure do not appear to be necessarily attributable to changes in the favorable attitude that the Pope has so often adopted toward the Brothers."[3]

[1] Foreign Affairs archives, Turkey 1890, Beirut, Vol. XXXV, no. 3.

[2] Motherhouse archives, ID o, Bishop Bonfigli's letter to Brother Gainus, June 7, 1890.

[3] Foreign Affairs archives, File cited, no. 33, letter dated June 13, 1890.

For the rest, the Brothers appreciated the advantages of the situation: the climate was healthy and pleasant; the surroundings offered a splendid natural setting; and the location of the Community residence had been exceptionally well chosen.'

This outpost, seventy-eight miles north of Tripoli in Syria, at the foot of the *Ansariehs* mountains was worth being supported cost what it may. In fact, beginning in 1894, it was strengthened

[1] *Ibid.,* same letter, April 17, 1891.

and reinforced. In October of 1897 there were a hundred boys being taught there; since Catholics were very few in Latakia, the majority of the pupils were schismatics; in August 1898 there were seventy-six belonging to the various heterodox faiths and seventeen Catholics, besides three "infidels"[1] Thanks to the Religious-teachers the Alaouites would raise young people who had become attached to sure principles of morality and open to civilizing currents.

At the outset the tuition free school in Beirut in 1890 had been able to admit only fifty youngsters under who were instructed by four Brothers. Materially the start was extremely painful. "The Brothers of Christian Doctrine are suffering a total crisis; they lack the finances to meet their daily expenses for food. I gave the Director an advance from my own personal funds." The Consul, Guiot, on November 5, 1890, thought he had by telegraph to inform the offices on Quai d'Orsay of this financial disaster. He asked for an as an "an emergency allowance" the 2,000 francs in assistance that had been allotted by the Ministry three weeks previously.[2]

Equipped with these funds the determined teachers expanded their operation; so that the Consular report of December 9 underscores their success: as of that date, the school had 222 pupils and "for the lack of space, could admit no more." [3]

Nevertheless, at the request of a number of French parents and with the well-founded hope of securing a regular income, Brother Isme obtained permission from Bishop Bonfigli to open classes for tuition-paying pupils: eleven youngsters took advantage of the opportunity, in one of the rooms that had been earlier reserved for the Community. This was the origin of "Sacred Heart College" on October 5, 1894. Its progress was held up for the lack of essential space in which to grow. In 1899 when Brother Ignatius Louis became Director in Beirut, there were fifty-five pupils in the College; the tuition-free pupils *[mis plus au la ge]* reached the figure of 327 in one of the buildings and 175 in the other. Most of them were Catholics; while there were no more than about thirty adherents of other religious faiths.[4]

[1] Motherhouse archives, File ID o, taken from *Historique,* and ID n[1], statistics supplied Cardinal Ledowchowski, August 8, 1898.

[2] Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Turkey 1890, Beirut, Vol. XXXV, no. 21.

[3] *Ibid., same* file, no. 52.

[4] Motherhouse archives, File ID n, statistics. — Archives of the Secretariat-general, Beirut File.

The new Director purchased a piece of property and was contemplating the construction of a beautiful building, which he was specifically forbidden to undertake by Bishop Charles Duval, Delegate of the Holy See in Syria since the transfer of Bishop Gauclenzio Bonfigli to Egypt. The Brothers' College was a too near neighbor to that of the Jesuits. Both the Bishop and the Fathers thought that it was important to avoid a provoking competition. At first Brother Ignatius Louis was satisfied to marshall his classes in narrow quarters. But, tenacious in his plans, Brother Louis finally discovered another compound, this one on Fleuve Street,' where he converted the buildings. After 1904 Sacred Heart College finally achieved success.[2] In the great Lebanese city the sons of St. John Baptist de La Salle would win a place that reflected their zeal, learning and educational philosophy.

It had been a goal that the educational activity of the Institute along the coast be expanded into the back-country. Mr. Saint Rene Taillandier's report, dated July 11, 1893, stated quite clearly how the question stood from the French point of view:

> Thanks to the numerical increase in the number of our religious institutions, to the opening of our Faculty of Medicine, and finally to the great public works undertaken in Syria by our fellow-countrymen, our language has achieved an expanding prominence along the Mediterranean coast...In Beirut and Lebanon we have gradually reached the limit of what is realizable for classical secondary education. For elementary education we are only at the beginning of our task. In this area the Brothers are working wonders. But a of yet they are operating only in the maritime cities...It is important that something be done to satisfy the very widespread desire among the mountain villagers that their children learn French.

The Consul, in agreement with the Maronite Patriarch, Archbishop Hoyek, planned French programs for future Lebanese

[1] Later changed to "Gouraud Street."

[2] File ID o, Brother Louis' report of July 29, 1904. — In 1906 they were admitting residence pupils. In 1907 a move to a new locality was effected. And upon Brother Ignatius Louis' departure from the College in 1911 the school population had reached 420 boys and young men in Sacred Heart College, with 337 pupils in the two tuition-free schools. Students in the College prepared for their examinations for the French and Lebanese bachelor's degree. Some of them followed courses in commercial education. (File at the Secretariat-general's; and *Bulletin des Ecoles chritiennes,* for October 1933, pp. 347-348.

pastors, upon whom, he believed, would devolve later the concern for spreading a knowledge of the language of nation that had adopted Lebanon. As for the Brothers, Saint Rene Taillandier assumed that "their activities had to be restricted to two or three large population centers."'

It did not depend upon the Superiors of the Congregation that the work of the Religious teachers was not offered to a wider public. In 1892 the inhabitants of *Deir el Kamar* asked to have a Brothers' school; the Maronite

Archbishop of Tyr and Sidon, the Greek Catholic Archbishop of Sida supported the request. "I pointed out this backing", wrote the Consul-general to those involved with the means of settling themselves in the locality in question. "The Jesuits had anticipated them. Father Clairet, the Superior of the Syrian Missions, told me recently that arrangements had been made for the opening of the school.[2]

Other attempts, at Beith Mery, Beith Chebab, Becharre, Jouneh, Amchith and Baabdad, were stopped or were unable to evolve normally. It seems as though a variety of interests had converged to throw up barriers along the paths of pioneers whose success and popularity had assumed to rapidly posture of victory.[3] For some of these mortifying disappointments the future would comfort the Brothers.

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The Apostolic Delegation in Constantinople as well as that in Smyrna, the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, the Delegation in Syria, Egypt and in general the constituencies of the Roman Church in the Near-East everywhere enveloped the Brothers' schools. Toward the end of 1898 in that region included forty- nine schools, 202 classes and 8,790 pupils. Divided according to religious communions this pupil population showed up as follows: 5,505 Catholics, 2,336 Schismatics or heretics, 506 Moslems and 442 Israelis.[4]

[1] Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Turkey 1892-1893, Beirut, Vol. XXXVII, no. 24, report to Minister Develle.

[2] Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Turkey 1892-1893, Beirut, Vol. XXXVII, no. 31, report dated August 18, 1893.

[3] Motherhouse archives, ID o, Brother Ignatius Louis' report of July 29, 1904.

[4] Motherhouse archives, ID n[1], Brother Hugonis' letter to Archbishop Charmetant included in *Bulletin d'OEuvre des e cotes d'Orient,* November-December, 1898.

The burden seemed too heavy for the strengthof a single individual. A decision of the Superior-general reached in the Col)msel of the Regime was indicated "to the Middle Easterners" by the Assistant, Brother Apronian of Mary on November 21, 1899; the regions of the Near-East, while constituting, as it had in the past, a single District, would be divided among three Visitors: Brother Godefroy of the Angels would control Egypt, i.e., the schools

in Alexandria, Ramleh, Mansourah, Port Said, Pot Tewfik, Cairo, Tahta and Asyut. The "Syrian section", given over to [1] Brother Evagre, would combine the schools in Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Nazareth, Jaffa, and Haffa as well as those in Tripoli, Beirut and Latakia. All the rest, Constantinople, Salonica, Smyrna, Rhodes, Angora, Trebizond and Erzeroum, i.e, it the Turkish group, continued to have Brother Hugoni as their leader. But apart from the Communities in his own section, "Brlother Provincial" would visit the residences over which Brothers Godefroy and Evagre presided as well as the houses of Religious formation: the Scholasticate in Rhodes and the Novitiate at St. Maurice in Exile.'

Approaching his seventies, the old pioneer had no sense of dwindling strength. He preserved that "iron energy" that confronted storms and tempests, that kept a body racked by liver disorders in the saddle, and thrust mount and rider, balancing reports of visitations on his head. In 1899, returning from Armenia, he had been attacked by robbers, stripped of his possessions and his clothing; at his side, his coachman was severely wounded. Without luggage and without provisions, he continued his journey; a Greek business man lent him money to get back to the shores of the Black Sea.

He was the sort of man who did not take easily to a curtailment of his activities. Accustomed to give orders, he did not submit freely to a parcelling out of his authority. Overseer of a huge territory, highly regarded by the episcopacy and clergy of all rites, listened to respectfully, indeed deferentially, by Ambassadors and Consuls, he had to muster all his virtue in order to adapt to the change. He was naturally somewhat rough, "in aspect not very attractive"; "he did not like to be thwarted"; and when he had decided upon a goal, "he clung to it tenaciously". He was nevertheless sensitive, compassionate and charitable; but a person who has not

[1] Motherhouse archives, File ID n[1].

experienced weakness remains under the imprint of fear. But there was no pride in this great man, who was profoundly obedient, dedicated to his Institute "to the point of fanaticism", we are assured. Duty dictated his behavior and determined the sacrifices he made, just as in conscience Brother Hugonis never took into consideration the state of his health, his tastes nor his human inclinations.

He worked right up to the end, and he died "in office". In August 1901, he returned to the College in Kadikoy after fresh journeys to Erzeroum and Trebizond. He paused only to make the annual retreat, presided over by the Assistant, Brother Apronian. Along with the latter Superior, he left for Smyrna on the 1st of August. The extreme heat overwhelmed him. Nevertheless, he wanted to drop by Rhodes. He went aboard the Turkish steamer *Olympia* and took his place in a cabin on the bridge. He seemed to have fallen asleep. But very quickly there was the sound of a death-rattle, followed by a brief final agony. Brother Provincial had died opposite *Phocis* in the Gulf of Smyrna at 10 o'clock in the evening of August 3. The *Olympia* delivered the body to Chios. The mortal remains of John Peter Hugon would combine with the dust of history. A Brothers Community that settled in the island in November 1902 cared for the tomb.'

The schools in Rhodes, with which the final thoughts of the deceased were concerned, had experienced moments of great joy in January. The triduum in honor of St. John Baptist de La Salle had enabled the Brothers to see to what point their presence on the island had become gratifying to the inhabitants: the population had thronged into the parochial church in which the ceremonies were held, a large number of Greek schismatics in a congregation of Roman Catholics. The French Vice-Consul, Mr. Belaire, was the creator of the painting on which the hallowed features of the Founder of the Congregation.[2]

The legal situation of St. John Baptist de La Salle College became clear in November, as the final property transfer placed the real estate in the hands of the new Visitor, Brother Toussaint Victor, and the Director, Brother Isace.[3] Concerning "Our Lady of Acandia", it continued to serve as a residence for the "future" of the

[1] Brother Hugonis' Obituary, 1901. — *Bulletin des Ecoles chretiennes* for July 1913, pp. 214, 219-220, 226-228. — See also Vol. VI of the present work, pp. 370-372.

[2] Motherhouse archives, File HB g.

[3] *Ibid.* The final formalities were completed on November 9, 1901.

Mid-East District, and it was adapted to embrace the gritty and very special young Frenchmen who, who departed the motherland in order to protect their vocation.'

An ordinance from Constantinople guaranteed full rights to the schools in Rhodes. The Brothers benefitted from this official act as a consequence of some rather important events of which the Island was, strictly speaking, not the theater.

The Ottoman government had been obviously hostile to institutions founded or patronized by France. The barriers it raised and the arbitrary acts it allowed its bureaucrats in the provinces had been increasing to such an extent that the Counsel of Ministers determined to adopt severe measures. Diplomatic relations were temporarily suspeilded and war ships were drawn up as a threatening gesture before Mytilene, close to the Dardanelles.

On November 12, 1901, the French Ambassador to the Sublime- Port wrote the Consuls the following circular letter:

> The demands made by the French government have been completely satisfied. The Ottoman Empire declares that it recognizes the incorporation of our schools, religious institutions and hospitals now functioning under our protection; it grants them exemption from property taxation and they ordinary customs immunities; it authorizes construction, expansion or reparation in conformity with the catalogue that has been circulated; as regards new foundations or eventual reconstructions, it accepts an investigation procedure that concurs with French specifications.

The representatives, who were to transmit these arrangements to the Missions involved,

> must not fail to draw the important implication in the pact agreed to by Turkey...Quite correctly, it can be considered as a new charter for French institutions...The attitude of the French government shows, once again, its determination to adhere strictly to the centuries old traditions which, in every era, has supported French prestige in the Near-East, and

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[1] On may 28, 1904, Brother Prosper came from Lyon-Caluiare "with eight of his best Scholastics," among who was Brother Philotheus John, the future Visitor of Egypt and future Assistant for the Near-Eastern Districts. At the same time twelve Scholastics from St. Maurice in Exile debarked at Rhodes. (File HB g.)

to pursue with jealous care the defense of the great moral and religious interests which it sustains.

the Brothers of Christian Doctrine, the Daughters of Charity and the Oblates of the Assumption are setting the pace for us."'

In Smyrna, Pernot visited St. John's school, the "flag-ship" of the Institute's foundations along the Near Eastern seaboard, as well as the schools at La Pointe and at Cordelio, and the branch at Gueuz Tepe (that had been opened in 1901 in a neighborhood that swarmed with youngsters), and St. Joseph's, the school of Brother Verule's devising, which had already amassed more than a quart of a century of service. Pupils were equipped, some for the baccalaureate and some for the examination in commercial studies before a board presided over by the French Consul.[2] Pernot believed that "French is the official language of business; and that all employees of the larger companies have to be able to speak it. The consular magistrates do not allow any other language; and foreign affairs are contested in French in the court of Ottoman commerce."[3]

Religious teachers had obtained these results during a period when the efforts, meritorious in their own right, of the "secular-Mission" on the periphery of the Eastern Mediterranean had scarcely begun.[4] And in Palestine and in Syria the preponderant influence of Brother Evagre was already in evidence.

Since Brother Hugonis' death, Brother Evagre had possessed the title and the prestige of Visitor-Provincial. His long experience had become a part of history, his convictions were the talk of jounalists and the writings of scholars; his was a personality that was becoming the stuff of legend. But, before all else, he had remained a man of God. One of his most cherished ideas was to end in the foundation of the "Archconfraternity of the Holy Child Jesus". He had been nurturing it in his mind from as early as 1893. And he described it in the following terms:

> Establish in Bethlehem an association of prayer the purpose of which will be to promote, through piety, the practice of Christian duty among all our pupils and to restore the reign of God in all secular schools...To erect a chapel on our hillside in Bethlehem which will stand as a sort of visible prayer, while within it devout Novices contribute to the Apostolate by a generous love for the Child Jesus. In order to construct this chapel to undertake, with the approval, or even the active participation, of the M.H.

[1] *Ibid.,* pp. 31, 32.

[2] *Ibid.,* pp. 257-258.

[3] *Ibid.,* pp. 274, 275.

[4] Salonique high school, the first at that time, established around 1902.

Brother Superior General, an appeal to school children throughout the world.

On this occasion, the Institute's best spokesman was Brother Evagre himself; he summoned the Brothers' pupils and other Catholic teachers to assist him; and he presented his plans to the General Chapter of 1905. The chapel was completed in 1908. The association, which was constituted as a "confraternity" by Bishop Camasati in July of 1907, two years later in a Brief of Pius X became an archconfraternity."

For the Brother Provincial Bethlehem was a very special place. He gave himself not a moment's peace until, in spite of much opposition, there was a school in the city opened to the children in the area, young Christians who in a sense shared the birthplace of the Savior. It was there, also, that he founded an unpretentious, tuition-free Normal School in which some twenty young men, future auxiliaries of the Brothers in Palestine and Syria, were trained.

Nazareth continued to have its elementary school, which was also tuition-free. Jerusalem, Haifa and Jaffa had pay secondary schools in conjunction with classes that were open without charge to the children of the people. "The best French schools in this region", wrote Maurice Pernot, "are those of the Brothers, the Sisters of St. Joseph and the Daughters of Charity."[2]

Another traveler, visiting Jaffa, made the following observations:

> Judging by the physical appearance of their institution, the Brothers here are considered important people...The school teems with youngsters; they are of all descriptions, of every language and tribe, but all very similar in that easy, cheerful manner, in no way shy, even forward, that the Brothers are able to impart to their pupils...On the way to the station there was nothing but waves of the hand, gestures of gratitude, friendly looks and respectful handshakes...`These youngsters who are greeting me are former pupils of mine', said my companion.[3]

Concerning the Syrian schools we can, no doubt, add nothing to what has already been written more insightful, more suggestive or more succinct than the statement by Brother Justinus, Secretary-general:[4]

French teachers, in their relations with

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[1] *Choix de notices,* Vol. II, pp. 331-333.

[2] Pernot, *op. cit.,* pg. 125.

[3] E. N. Gaussens, *Au pays de l'Evangile,* 1909.

[4] Archives of the Secretary-general. Report made to the French Congress for Syria, 1919. This somewhat recent date in now way prevents the above observations from being valid for an earlier period.

> pupils of the same nationality, enjoyed the advantage of a similar mentality. Prior to whatever instruction, there had already been between them a very strong bond, a common fund of ideas which lent the teacher's words an influence and a depth that was special for the mind of the pupil. It was not the same thing in the case of the foreign pupils: their cast of mind was not the same, their mothertongue was different; and while they may have been using the same words, it sometimes happened that there were shades of meaning that escaped them, and there was a danger that all too often these pupils dwelt on the sheer externals of words without being able to grasp the "substance" of things. Such conditions, which could not be eradicated, called for a remedy on the part of the French teacher, the practice of a special pedagogy, founded genuinely in psychology, and guaranteed to assure the success of his teaching. In this context, he was not merely satisfied to present his lessons in an exclusively expository form...; he constantly kept attention alive; he roused intellectual curiosity and for his classes fulfilled the role of a perpetual quickener of minds; he proceeded along a route of constant questioning in order to be sure that his instruction was exactly understood; and, every time it was possible, he presented scientific or moral truths from different points of view which could make them graspable, in order the more deeply to instill them in minds.

Thus, with a creative teacher as spokesman, we learn how Lasallian education, sound in its principles and supple in its execution, adapted to the special conditions that it met with in the Middle East.

* *

The same sort of activities were deployed in a much wider field in Egypt. There is no further need to stress the incontestible truth that here the Brothers effectively served French intellectual and moral interests in spite of the difficulties inherent in the country's political administration. But before all else they aimed at — and they realized — "a hunanitarian and civilizing

task." Free, under the privileged system of "Concessions", to organize their schools following their own views and methods, they were the first to work toward a renaissance of science and literature in a society in which schooling

[1] Pernot, *op. cit.,* pg. 279.

had fallen to a very low level.' In the unified or coordinated programs in their various institutions, they exhibited a concern to dispense an education that was adapted to the needs of time and place: — a practical schooling that involved the study of modern languages and the application of scientific data to current problems; but not schooling that was devoid of general ideas or higher direction. "The Brothers have served Egypt well," wrote an Mid-easterner in 1897;[2] "they continue to supply the nation with cultivated and upstanding gentlemen, men of energy and progress." These alumni, whether they occupied the most prestigious posts or earned a living at the most unpretentious jobs, were recognized by the qualities that they shared: their upright conscience and their knowledge, which, if not always vast, was, on the other hand, clear and sound. They learned to love God and their country and not to look upon people of other nations, other races or other religious denominations as inevitably hostile. The Brothers were able, beyond preserving the faith in young Catholics to enliven it and make it practical; for them they set up Marian Societies, St. Vincent de Paul units, study groups as well as periods of "Recollection" and "Retreat."[3] But at tuition-free schools and at secondary schools Europeans, Egyptians, Syrians, and Lebanese met; Moslems, Israelis, Greek Orthodox and Copts rubbed elbows with Roman Catholics. Conflicts that one might have feared did not occur. By a special grace of Providence (it must be said), but also through the example of teachers, through the influence of their educational skills, their intellectual competence and their human and Christian moral qualities "a climate of acceptance" had been immediately created.[4] The schoolboys showed no aversion for catechism, which was obligatory for some, optional for others.[5] Parents trusted the wisdom of the teachers. A distinguished Moslem, Abdallah Simaika Pacha, about twenty years ago declared:

What moved many

[1] Article in *France-Islam* for June 1925; and *Centenaire* (Brother Andrew Leo's lecture), pp. 217-218.

[2] Mr. Amadou, in his book entitled *l'Enseignement francaise en Egypte,* (quoted in *France-Islam,* June 1925).

[3] Brother Andrew Leo, *op. cit.,* pg. 226.

[4] *Ibid.,* pg. 218.

[5] Today non-Christians no longer hae a catechism class. For them it has been replaced by a course in rational Ethics.

parents to select the Brothers' Colleges for their sons was the conviction that the moral level of these institutions wals high, that children in these surroundings succeeded in growing up, and that one could be sure of the liberal spirit that inspired the instruction.'

The real name for this "liberal spirit" is Christ's love, which came into the world to save all souls and which spreads peace among all sincere hearts and steadfast wills.

Men like Brother Adrian of Jesus, Brother Ildefonsus and Brother Gervais of Mary had drawn their very orthodox inspiration from the Gospel. And as the new century began, their successors found light and warmth in that same teaching.

On May 11, 1900, as the moment approach for the canonization of the Institute's Founder, Brother Ildefonsus departed Alexandria to share in the Roman celebrations. On June 3rd, Pentecost Sunday, the Pro-director, Brother Narcissus, read a letter to the St. Catherine Community that it found deeply moving: the Director would not return to Egypt. On August 7th it was learned that he had just accepted the direction of the College at Kadikoy. Brother Godefroy of the Angels was to add the direction of the Alexandrine school to his duties as Visitor.[2]

As he surveyed the immense region for which hf was accountable, from the Mediterranean to Asyut, Brother Godefroy did not neglect the youths in the great city where he resided and for whom he felt a particular responsibility. St. Catherine's, its branches and its tuition-free classes had a total of 1,207 students during the 1900-1901 school year, of whom 735 were Catholics, 293 dissident Christians, 123 Israelis and fifty-six Moslems. Fittingly, poor Catholics were the principal beneficiaries of the tuition-free classes; there were 428 of them out of 566 pupils who paid nothing for their instruction. Of the 641 college students, they divided almost evenly between Roman Catholics (307) and dissident Christians or non-Christians (334).[3] The torrent of applications for admission was unremitting. Between 1901 and 1904 two new branches were opened, St. Gabriel's in the Ibrahimieh neighborhood where a large number of fine European families dwelt, and St. Michael's in Attarine, which was frequented by the more traditional population. Earlier, Sacred Heart school,

1 Quoted in Centenaire, pg. 175.

[2] District archives, Ms. account of the Community at St. Catherine's College.

[3] District archives, St. Catherine's Community report.

in Moharrem Bey, had been raised to the status of an independent Community.

The modern French bachelor's degree continued to complete the studies for a few brilliant students; in 1900, five students were admitted to the first part of the degree and four to the second part; and while in 1901 only two succeeded in passing the final examination, sill eleven candidates successfully passed the preliminary tests. During the following year they divided eight bachelors on one side and five on the other.'

The distinguished teacher, Brother Oger Cecilian taught the rhetoric class and moderated the work of the St. John Baptist de La Salle Academy. Under his guidance, the "academicians" took such a lively interest in literature that several of them turned out to have been strongly drawn to a life of writing as a profession.[2] Brother Godefroy presided over an experienced teaching personnel; in 1904 his successor at St. Catherine's, Brother Ismaelis who, for twenty-three years was loved and admired in a variety of classes, received strong reinforcements from the Brothers who had been exiled from France.[3]

The physical arrangements were unassuming and could not match Victoria College, for example, which had been founded by England with the cooperation of several wealthy Alexandrines, Greek and Jewish for the most part. Nevertheless, the school population of Victoria in 1903-1904 was no more than fifty youths; there was, as a consequence, no fear of serious competition. The High Commissioner, Lord Cromer, who sponsored the school, made a very special point of his impartiality by making an official visit to the trade school at Bad Sidra; he took an interest in the apprentices' projects and congratulated the teachers, and in his report to his government he eulogized the activities of the French Relgious.[4]

In December of 1902 in Cairo the overall number of pupils was 1,400.[5] St. Joseph's, the original foundation in Cairo, housed 500 pupils,

[1] *Centenaire*, pg. 238.

[2] *Ibid.*, pg. 112.

[3] Among them, the future Director (1914-1920) Brother Gordian. — Brother Godefroy, Visitor until May 1913 was, at that time, elected Assistant to the Superior-general; he died on April 10, 1916.

[4] Brother Godefroy, 1903 report on the work of the schools in the Near East.

[5] For March 15, 1900 statistics already showed a total of 1,389: of whom there were 896 Egyptians, 106 Frenchmen, 127 Italians, twenty-nine Germans, sixty Englishmen and 171 Greeks; and, according to religious denomination: 277 Latin Catholics, 424 Eastern Rite Catholics, 340 Orthodox, 1800 Moslems and 168 Israelis (District archives).

nearly all of whom thronged in from distant neighborhoods to the narrow alleys of the ancient Moslem city. In August of 1900 Brother Kostka of Mary, who had been pro-Director up to the end of 1899, completely replaced Brother Godefroy at the head of the College. Calm and deliberate - rugged and well-constructed physically as well as morally — he guided his vessel unfailingly into the waters of the new century. Young men who could brandish an Egyptian baccalaureate had the doors of public administration opened to them;[1] once engaged upon a career, some of them went far and high up the ladder. In 1903 the first students to receive diplomas for higher commercial studies began to appear.[2] And, at the level of literary studies St. George's Academy would sustain the reputatio*. of the French language and spirit at Khoronfish.[3]

There was some doubt as to whether the lack of space endangered all this progress. There were concerns for the future. The College lacked any freedom of expansion; and, meanwhile, the neighborhood became increasingly noisy, fetid and clogged. In such a neighborhood hygiene obviously suffered. In 1902 there appeared a few cases of diphtheria. Parents, along with the French Consul, became worried. The idea df moving the school and the Community had long occupied a number of people; gradually it took shape and became realizable.

We have described[4] how Brother Godefroy had established a school in Daher and then, immediately abandoning the original site because of its narrow dimensions, purchased a lot nearby that measured some 6,000 sq. feet. On October 8, 1899 the building constructed on the site received pupils into its four classes. This became "St. Nicholas' College" or, according to the name it picked up from its near-by population center, "Faggaleh."

There was a neighboring piece of property, called the Selchasar Palace" which was for sale, and it had an area of some two-and-a-half acres. On August 11, 1902 the Brothers became purchasers of this acreage. Somewhat complicated negotiations subsequently assured them the ownership of a number of parcels. Overall they amassed almost 60,000 sq. feet in a single, excellent block of land that offered all the conditions necessary for the execution of their project. "St. Joseph's" was to be transported to Faggaleh.

[1] There were six in 1900, nine in 1901, thirteen in 1902 and ten in 1903. *(Centenaire,* pg. 257.)

[2] *Ibid.,* pg. 265.

[3] In 1907 its Moderator was Brother Roland Benignus and its President Antony Younan, the future President of the Alumni Association in Cairo and a future member of the Royal Counsel. — *Centena* ire, pg. 194.

[4] Cf. above, pp. 443-444.

The old property at Khoronfish, that had at one time been granted by the

Viceroy Said exclusively for educational purposes, could not be sold: the tuition-free school was to move its pupils there, where the Lasallian tradition would be preserved, while the sale of a building that had been put up between the year 1880 and 1885 would return some capital.

It was thought that all problems had been solved. However, in February of 1902, Brother Assistant, Apronian of Mary, raised the question as to whether it would not be wise to bear in mind the objections of the Jesuits whose College, which was also called "Faggalah", was operated a short distance away.

And the end of April 1903 the M.H. Brother Gabriel of Mary received the following letter from Cardinal Gotti, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda:

> The Brothers in Cairo stand in conflict with the spirit of the Constitution *Orientaliurni* and creating a serious problem for the work of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus...I absolutely forbid you to open any new schools in the Faggalah quarter.

It was a severe blow. An explanatory report, worked out at Oudinot Street arrived in Rome in July: it recalled the authorization granted by the Holy See on August 2, 1897, mentioned the reasons for the removal of the branch-school in 1899, and proved that there had not been really, and to the prejudice of the Jesuits, a change of neighborhoods. "The Superior-general," — read the final lines — "dares to hope that Your Most Reverend Excellencies would kindly: 1) not maintain the prohibition contained in the letter of the 27th of April; 2) authorize the Brothers to move their tuition-free school from Khoronfish to the property granted in 1854 by the Egyptian government; and 3) as a consequence, authorize them to move their College to Daher and, when circumstances permit it, to open a new tuition-free school in the building occupied until now by the St. Nicholas branch-school."

The Cardinal, in his letter of September 9, acknowledge the Brothers' good faith. He agreed to support the school at Faggalah as it existed; but he continued to be intransigent about St. Joseph's.

Wisdom and the spirit of obedience decided the Brothers' behavior. On October 20 the Visitor, Brother Godefroy, was satisfied, through the agency of the

[1] Cf. above, pg. 443.

Apostolic Delegate, to raise the following questions:

Do we have the option: 1) to assemble into a single site pupils of the branch-school' who are now dispersed in separate and inadequate sites?

5) to establish tuition-free classes in Daher for poor children?

6) to obtain a residence for the personnel employed in these schools?

7) to add an infirmary for the retirement of aged, tired or sick Brothers?

It would have been heartless to have replied to such requests in the negative. Armed, after November 23, with the Cardinal-prefect's permission, the head of the Egyptian Districtassumed the responsibility for drawing up new plans. An immense and beautiful building — in place of the great College that had been fancied — arose at the center of the Daher site; it bore the name of the Founder of the Institute and was inaugurated in 1905, having at the time 500 pupils. At the same time there opened on the site, and in the place of, St. Nicholas' a tuition-free school dedicated to St. Vincent.[2]

The period of expansion was still very far indeed from coming to an end. In August and September of 1902 two letters reached the Brother Visitor from Father Duret, of the African Missions, headquartered in Lyons. To the priests of this Society the Pope had entrusted a part of Lower Egypt; and, at the time, Father Duret was Prefect-apostolic in the Delta. "My confreres," (he wrote) "and especially Father Chabert, the pastor of Zagazig, have a great deal of respect for the Christian Brothers whom we have known extremely well since we have been in Egypt. As for myself, I hold them in as high regard as anyone else."

Zagazig, on the Bahr Moez (Moses Canal), near the ruins of Bubastis was an agricultural and industrial center; grains flowed into its market, and raw cotton was spun into thread; in 1902 it had 35,000 residents, of whom scarcely 4,000 were Christians, mostly Copts and Orthodox Greeks. The missionaries from Lyons added a school to their parochial apostolate; but those in charge of their classrooms were laymen. Toward mid-October Brother Godefroy

[1] At the time there were 250 of them.

[2] District archives, Daher file. — Brother Godefroy of the Angels' Obituary, 1917. — *Centenaire,* pg. 20 (Antony Younan Bey's talk) and pp. 177-178.

sent four teaching Brothers. The beginnings, however, were difficult: many of the school children followed their former teachers into the local school system. Only seventeen remained with the Brothers, and of these only four understood French. At the end of the first year the Director, Brother Valier Francis had succeeded in rounding up forty-three pupils. The group was never to be very large, but it grew in cohesiveness and activity. A few Europeans and Syrians formed the nucleus of the group; and young Greeks joined in good time to be able to complete their schooling.'

Upper Egypt was constantly a story of harsh labor, *labor improbus.* "Here parents tolerated the French language more than they pretended," according to Brother Godefroy. The anti-clericalism that raged in France gave a free hand, in the Nile Valley, to the Brothers adversaries, in order to "denounce Catholic education, arouse a torrent of unfavorable opinion and demolish established reputation." [2] However, the effort was neither deterred nor retarded.

In 1901 the French Alliance granted the Hubert-Debrousse prize of 5,000 francs to the Brothers in Asyut. The importance of the city as a center of population and commerce had not been lost on those who promoted the school.[3] In 1904, the Visitor set forth the situation in the following terms:

> In Asyut we have a day-school and the beginnings of a residence school, with a combined enrollment of 175 pupils. The residents come from all points of the Valley, from Minieh to Luxsor; generally they come from influential families in the countryside. The purpose of the residence school is to enable the Catholic mind to penetrate into sectors in which missionaries and catechists have difficulty reaching. The lamented Mr. G. Cogordan, the French diplomatic agent was hugely involved in the school's operations. At one time, together with Brother Hugonis, he had contemplated the idea of a Normal School in Tahta. The plan never matured. And — in the expectation of Mr Cogordan — the residence school was to have achieved some of the results that had been anticipated for the Normal School.[4]

[1] District archives, Zagazig file. — Brother Visitor's reports to the Mid-Eastern Educational Charity, 1902 and 1903.

[2] Cf. Report, 1902.

[3] Archives of the Secretary-general, Sevres Street, Asyiit file, quotation from *('Education Chritiennes* for October 26, 1901.

[4] 1'OEuvres' report of the schools in the Orient.

More to the North an apostolate of the same sort was about to be undertaken at Minieh and at Mellawi. As early as 1897 the Coptic Catholic Bishop in Minieh, Maximos Sedfaoui, had asked for Brothers for his diocese.' The question could not have been seriously explored prior to 1902. At that time the Jesuits were looking for competent personnel to staff the school that they had opened in the episcopal city, and they were thinking about inviting the Brothers. The French Ministry joined its voice to that of the Society in an appeal to the Brother Visitor. The French Alliance was also involved in the negotiations. And then, Bishop Gaudenzio Bonfigli sent the authorization of the Propaganda to the Institute. The upshot was that four Brothers replaced the lay-teachers that had been previously employed by the Jesuits; and next to the school, they rented a small house as their residence. From the eighty pupils that were being taught in 1902 the figure rose to 110 during the following year. Minieh presented the case of a rather compact group of Coptic Catholics; along with the sons of Europeans employed in the sugar refineries, and a few Syrians besides, all the elements of an excellent pupil population was ready to hand.[2]

The influence exercised over much of the local population by the occupying British power and the efforts put forth by American Protestants provided a two-pronged problem for the future. The same thing was experienced at Mellawi, where the Brothers had begun to teach about the autumn of 1903.

Mark Sab Elail, the Catholic Coptic pastor in this city, had at one time, as Brother Mark, been a member of the Institute. In heart he had remained devoted to his former Religious family; and as early as June of 1900 Brother Godefroy was receiving petitions from this zealous priest that deserved to be taken seriously: out of a population of about 15,000 people, Mellawi included 5,000 Christians; and among them, conversions to Catholicism had become frequent. Of these returnees to the unity of the Church — as Brother Visitor later noted — Father Marc was the providential instrument. He had built a church, founded a Sisters school, and reiterating his demand for teachers for a boys' school, he wrote on January 12th, 1903: "There are five-six hundred Catholics who need schooling. The nuns have taken nearly all the girls from the Protestants."

[1] District archives, Minieh file, letter dated September 29, 1897, addressed to the Brother Director [of Cairo]. — Minieh was the seat of one of the three bishoprics of the Coptic Rite begun by Leo XIII after the Patriarchate of Alexandria.

[2] District archives, Minieh file, letters (1897-1902). — Brother Godefroy of the Angels' reports, 1902 and 1903.

The sending of a team of teachers had been decided upon. Rome's approval had been officially made known at the end of August. And Sab Elall declared that subsidies would not be lacking.

Actually, the beginnings were more difficult: the locale was scanty, uncomfortable and out-of-the way; and the financing was less than meager. It was with such feeble means that they had to struggle against American competition and make up for the failure of another French school that had recently closed. In the days of the Director, Brother Isaure Laurence, what came to be called "St. Paul's school" would be strengthened.'

The opening of a school in the neighborhood of he coastal canal brought 1904 to a conclusion. At the request of the Franciscan priest, who was pastor of Suez, two Brothers were detached from the Community at Port Tewfik in October. The ancient city on the Red Sea had a flourishing girls's school operated by the Good Shepherd Sisters; but no Catholic institution existed for the boys. The Brothers had scarcely arrived when they were subjected to an anti-clerical and anti-French offensive. Nevertheless their classrooms were filled;[2] Until the period after World War II, the tiny group of Brothers in Egypt were able to support its forward positions as well as its central citadels.